



ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᑦᓴᐅᐱᑦᓂᓄᑦ
ᓴᐱᓂᑦᐱᐱᑦ 2019-ᐱ

Inuit Studies Conference 2019
Congrès d'Études Inuit 2019

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
ACTES DE COLLOQUE

Note d'édition

Ghyslain Cantin-Savoie, Matthew Schuurman, Richard Compton
Université du Québec à Montréal

Nous sommes heureux de vous offrir ce recueil d'articles des projets de recherche présentés lors de la 21^e Congrès d'études Inuit (ISC2019), qui a eu lieu à l'Université du Québec à Montréal du 3 au 6 octobre 2019. La citation des articles de ce recueil doit inclure les informations de l'exemple ci-dessous :

Auteur.e(s). 2019. Titre de l'article. Dans Ghyslain Cantin-Savoie, Matthew Schuurman & Richard Compton (eds.), *Actes de colloque du 21^e Congrès d'études Inuit / Proceedings of the 21st Inuit Studies Conference*. Montréal, Québec, Canada. URL

Les auteur.e.s conserve l'intégralité des droits d'auteur de leurs articles. Le programme complet est archivé sur le site Web de la conférence à l'adresse : <https://sites.grenadine.uqam.ca/sites/inuitstudies2019/fr/isc2019>

Editor's Note

We are pleased to offer this collection of papers representing research presented at the 21st Inuit Studies Conference (ISC2019), which took place at the Université du Québec à Montréal on October 3-6, 2019. Citation of papers in this collection should include the information in the example below:

Author(s). 2019. Paper title. In Ghyslain Cantin-Savoie, Matthew Schuurman & Richard Compton (eds.), *Actes de colloque du 21^e Congrès d'études Inuit / Proceedings of the 21st Inuit Studies Conference*. Montréal, Québec, Canada. URL.

The authors retain the full copyright for their paper. The full program is archived on the conference website at: <https://sites.grenadine.uqam.ca/sites/inuitstudies2019/en/isc2019>

Table des matières / Table of Contents

Inégalités sociales et hiérarchies linguistiques au Groenland : vers une approche politique de la langue ? <i>Pia Bailleul</i>	1-9
Sedna: Storying identity and suviance in contemporary art <i>Kathryn Florence</i>	10-24
Encouraging understanding and dialogue through moving images of northern expeditions <i>Caroline Forcier Holloway</i>	25-39
Untangling the lines: Inuit literature and translation studies <i>Valerie Henitiuk</i>	40-48
Najukkami ilisimasat inughuarnillu suleqateqarneq <i>Mari Kleist aamma Matthew Walls</i>	49-60
Natural language processing: An overview of challenges of the Indigenous languages in Canada <i>Ngoc Tan Le and Fatiha Sadat</i>	61-75
From bystander to ally: Let's have a talk <i>Emanuel Lowi</i>	76-80
Understanding each other: oral transmission of literacy in Nunatsiavut <i>Martha MacDonald</i>	81-88
Preservation and revitalization of Inuit Sign Language (ISL): Increasing Indigenous research and training capacity <i>J. Paige MacDougall, James C. MacDougall, Sandy Kownak, Clayton Ungungai</i>	89-101
Culture matérielle inuite : les infrastructures municipales au Nunavik et au Groenland <i>David Allard Martin</i>	102-113
A dossal in the Arctic: Some art and religion at Baker Lake <i>Richard D. Mohr</i>	114-117
Educating Qallunaat about Inuit: Reflections and developing Inuit history curriculum resource units for Ontario grades 4 to 10 <i>Marika Morris and Qauyisaq Etitiq</i>	118-130
An Inuktitut language vitality survey <i>Kumiko Murasugi and Brenda Jararuse</i>	131-135

Imagining continuing education, interprofessional collaboration and support in a trilingual environment: Atautsikut, a community of practice in youth mental health and wellness in Nunavik <i>Lucie Nadeau, Janique Johnson-Lafleur, Jason Annahatak, and Sarah Fraser</i>	136-145
Intégrer la nordicité dans l'éducation et la formation : exploration d'enjeux <i>Carlo Prével, et Katerin Arias-Ortega</i>	146-161
The Greenlandic school system in relation with helping children who are struggling with social issues <i>Kevin Rafiie</i>	162-175
Biographie langagière d'une locutrice plurilingue Inuk <i>Natacha Roudeix</i>	176-190
Ammalu and =lu: A universal structure analysis of conjunction in Inuktitut <i>Matthew Schuurman</i>	191-202
Nunavut urban features: vernaculars, informality and tactics <i>Lola Sheppard</i>	203-214
Change and persistence in Lifeways at Avertok/Hopedale, Labrador <i>Jacinda Sinclair</i>	215-226
Literacy and essential skills development in Inuit Nunangat: A community partnership approach <i>Krystyna Slawewski and Erin Murray</i>	227-238
Aqqaluk lynge: Poetry of survival <i>Marianne Stenbaek</i>	239-242
The increasing role and importance of the Humanities in Arctic research <i>Marianne Stenbaek</i>	243-245
Habiter le Nunavik : considérer le système de production du logement à travers la complexité et l'habiter <i>Marika Vachon</i>	246-251
Une description sémantique et syntaxique du morphème d'aspect -liq- en Inuktitut <i>Nora Villeneuve</i>	252-268

INÉGALITÉS SOCIALES ET HIÉRARCHIES LINGUISTIQUES AU GROENLAND : VERS UNE APPROCHE POLITIQUE DE LA LANGUE ?

Pia Bailleul
LESC-UMR7186

Résumé : Langue officielle du Groenland, le *kalaallisut* cohabite avec des dialectes territoriaux et le danois. Cette pluralité linguistique trouve ses origines dans l'occupation morcelée de l'île, favorisant le développement des régionalismes, et l'occupation danoise, propageant cette langue dans les secteurs scolaire et administratif. Malgré l'institutionnalisation du *kalaallisut* en 2009, le danois reste encore majoritairement utilisé dans le secteur professionnel, entraînant une situation de concurrence et de plafond de verre. À l'échelle nationale, ceci met en exergue des phénomènes d'exclusion linguistique se faisant indices et vecteurs d'inégalités sociales. À partir de données ethnographiques relatives à l'usage des langues, ce papier questionne le rôle structurel des institutions dans la socialisation linguistique et la valeur symbolique associée à chaque langue, facteurs déterminants dans l'usage pragmatique. L'étude de discours réflexifs engage la notion d'usage politique comme pratique divergente, intergénérationnelle et conscientisée de la langue.

Face à certaines langues autochtones menacées, le groenlandais de l'Ouest, *kalaallisut*, pourrait faire figure d'exception. Langue nationale, il a toujours été parlé et constitue désormais le langage d'instruction. Pour autant, ses modalités d'usage amènent à poser la question de sa pérennité comme de la mise en danger de ses dialectes. Il conviendra dans cette présentation de comprendre ce phénomène, et de mettre en lumière des discours de conscientisation de l'usage pragmatique des langues, que je qualifie de politiques. Un succinct historique de l'implantation du danois au Groenland permettra d'abord de comprendre le lien entre développement économique, milieu social et langue parlée. Ces éléments affineront ensuite des données ethnographiques relatives à l'usage des langues, et approfondiront les discours réflexifs d'interlocuteurs. Pour finir, cela nous conduira à la dimension politique du langage au Groenland.

Ma présentation s'appuie sur des informations historiques et ethnographiques récoltées à Nuuk, Qaqortoq (sud-Groenland) et Qassiarsuk (sud-Groenland) à l'occasion de terrains de recherche au printemps 2016, l'année 2018 et l'automne 2019.

1. La colonisation danoise au Groenland : ancrer le bilinguisme.

1.1 Les écoles et l'implantation du danois.

Des missionnaires et commerçants dano-norvégiens débarquent en 1721 au Groenland. Si dès le début la christianisation rend l'apprentissage de la langue groenlandaise obligatoire pour les missionnaires, qui communiquent dans cette langue avec les Groenlandais et est celle du catéchisme, le commerce impose rapidement le danois qui devient la langue de l'occupation¹.

1 Gad, Finn. 1973 [1967] *The history of Greenland II, 1700 – 1782*. Trad. du danois par Gordon C. Bodden. Londres, C. Hurst & Company.

Au milieu du 18^{ème} siècle, le catéchisme se généralise et joue le rôle d'école². L'inclusion progressive des Groenlandais dans la gestion du commerce colonial entraîne alors la nécessité de les former. L'instruction tombe entre les mains du commerce et se place comme un pilier de la politique coloniale : le danois y fait son entrée aux côtés du groenlandais, mais aussi de la botanique, des mathématiques et des cours de cuisine. Les mesures nationales scolaires prises en 1793³ échouent toutefois et ce sont seulement les enfants d'unions mixtes qui bénéficient d'un droit à l'éducation que leur confère leur nationalité. Ils apprennent le danois et le groenlandais, les plaçant comme pivots entre les deux peuples. Pour les enfants groenlandais, le catéchisme et des écoles informelles et rudimentaires se développent sous la tutelle des commerçants et en danois, dans les villes coloniales⁴.

Jusqu'aux années 1850, la politique scolaire est chaotique. Elle perturbe les pratiques éducatives précoloniales et génère des disparités. En effet, la disparition progressive de l'économie de la chasse, qui organisait les rapports sociaux, rend désormais la population dépendante aux colons. Les personnes éduquées et bilingues peuvent alors investir les structures coloniales et être actives dans un contexte de bouleversement socio-économique⁵. Elles s'autonomisent et bénéficient dans ce cadre d'un prestige social issu du nouveau système, tout en s'accoutumant à la culture et au système sociétal danois. Ces individus s'en font alors eux-mêmes les vecteurs, et deviennent des acteurs centraux des évolutions politiques du pays.

1.2 Politique co-gestionnaire, ou le colonialisme interne.

En 1860, les premières structures de gestion groenlandaises sont implantées par l'administrateur Hinrich Johannes Rink⁶. Il s'agit de Conseils qui gèrent les affaires quotidiennes et dont les prérogatives vont progressivement évoluer pour devenir l'instrument de lutte décoloniale. Dès le début, ce sont les Groenlandais bilingues et les chasseurs en lien avec les colons qui y siègent. Si les échanges ont lieu en groenlandais, la présence de colons impose le danois⁷. Ce sont donc la langue, les concepts et une pensée dano-groenlandaise qui matricent cette démarche politique. Selon le chercheur groenlandais Robert Petersen, cet élément relève du colonialisme interne⁸ car il transfère les concepts démocratiques danois au Groenland, sans laisser de choix dans les modalités de l'émancipation aux Groenlandais. On parle alors de période co-gestionnaire⁹. Parallèlement, certaines figures groenlandaises revendiquent à cette période l'art et la

2 À ce sujet, voir les excellents films d'archive de Jette Bang.

3 <http://www.ankn.uaf.edu/IEW/edgreen.html>

4 Gad, Finn, *op. cit.*

5 Sørensen, Axel Kjær. 2007 *Denmark-Greenland in the Twentieth century*. Copenhagen, Meddelelser om Grønland, Man & Society, n°34, 207p.

6 Inatsisartut. 2014 *Aqqaluks Plads*, Nuuk, Bureau for Inatsisartut, 20p.

7 Autre doc (cité sur l'article EPS)

8 Petersen, Robert. 1995 Colonialism as Seen from a Former Colonized Area. *Arctic Anthropology*, Vol. 32, pp118-126.

9 Robert-Lamblin, Joëlle. 2005 La société Inuit groenlandaise en mutation. Dans Marie-Françoise André *Le monde polaire*. Mutations et transitions, Carrefours, Ellipses, pp99-113.

culture Inuit, mais ne sont pas assimilées à un mouvement politique. Ces personnes sont bilingues et dans l'ensemble liées à l'administration danoise.

Côté enseignement, si depuis 1844 une formation enseignante est prodiguée en groenlandais, la qualité des écoles est vivement critiquée dans les années 1930¹⁰. L'une des solutions adoptées est la généralisation de l'envoi des enfants en pension au Danemark, parfois dès 6 ans, pratique déjà courante pour les enfants binationaux. C'est la période communément appelée « danisation », qui voit une industrialisation rapide et les premières luttes émancipatrices. Dans ce contexte, une école de qualité, en danois, est exigée par les politiques groenlandais. Ainsi, les premiers pas de l'émancipation se font selon la pensée politique danoise, en cette langue, revendiquant son accès à toutes et tous.

1.3 Le danois, gestion et encadrement.

En 1953, la substitution du statut de colonie par celui de Province entraîne l'exigence d'égalité entre la métropole et les citoyens groenlandais. Un large nombre de fonctionnaires danois immigrèrent¹¹. Ceci fait du danois la langue des services et de l'emploi, tandis que le groenlandais se trouve cantonné au langage courant. À cette époque, les seuls Groenlandais aptes à investir les changements et la prise de responsabilités du pays sont ceux qui sont familiers du système et sa langue, donc issus des familles de « l'élite éduquée »¹² du pays, ancrant un phénomène de reproduction sociale. Ceux qui prennent en charge la lutte émancipatrice et les institutions politiques de 1979 (acquisition de l'autonomie gouvernementale, *Home Rule*) sont finalement ceux qui sont les plus socialisés à la pensée politique et la culture danoise. Ainsi, le danois s'impose comme langue de gestion de l'autonomie, aux côtés du groenlandais. Symboliquement, une association se crée alors entre « langue danoise » et « ascension sociale », qui renvoie au lien entre « langue danoise » et « ascension économique ». Le triptyque langue danoise, ascension sociale et accumulation de richesses est ainsi central pour aborder les enjeux autour de l'éducation depuis 1950.

2. Langage professionnel et langage social : une hiérarchie déterminante.

2.1 La langue à l'école, une histoire politique.

Les informations que j'utilise sont majoritairement issues d'observations et d'échanges avec des interlocutrices et amies de Nuuk et Qaqortoq ayant eu lieu entre 2016 et 2019. Ces personnes sont toutes des femmes qui travaillent dans les services publics médicaux et administratifs. Si l'économie et l'industrialisation du Groenland étaient à chaque fois les sujets initiaux de conversations, leur recours récurrents à la dimension linguistique pour éclairer l'infrastructure économique et sociale du pays s'est avéré édifiant. Je reprends ici ces données, que j'ai compilées et synthétisées.

10 <http://www.ankn.uaf.edu/IEW/edgreen.html>

11 Bailleul, Pia. 2019 La société groenlandaise en mutation : itinéraire d'un Etat en devenir. Dans Camille Escudé-Joffres *Les régions de l'Arctique*. Paris, Atlande, Clefs-Concours, pp79-95.

12 Terme largement employé pour qualifier cette catégorie de personnes.

La génération d'écoliers des années 1950-60 passe par une école en danois, considérée gage de réussite à l'époque. Pour nombre d'entre eux, ils sont aussi envoyés au Danemark en pension. À l'inverse, les années 1970-80 voient des Groenlandais formés dans l'enseignement et les langues d'instruction se diversifier. Politiquement, c'est une période appelée « groenlandisation » qui voit l'émergence d'un nationalisme fort, et passe particulièrement par l'affirmation linguistique. Un ami *Nuummioq* m'a d'ailleurs raconté qu'à l'époque la politique du brassard avait été mise en place dans la ville de Nanortalik, dont il est originaire : il s'agissait de marquer d'un bandeau jaune les locuteurs danois pour ne leur parler qu'en groenlandais et accélérer leur apprentissage. Du harcèlement ayant dérivé de cette pratique, elle fut rapidement interrompue. Malgré tout, faute d'un nombre suffisant d'enseignants bilingues, l'école reste toujours majoritairement danoise et l'envoi des enfants en pensionnat danois courant.

La génération enseignante des années 1990 marque un tournant. L'accroissement du nombre de professionnels groenlandophones est politiquement porteur d'espoir. Ils pourraient changer la société en imposant le groenlandais comme langue professionnelle unique. La réalité que racontent les jeunes adultes à cet égard est éclairante. Ils expliquent que bien qu'ils aient grandi durant une période de valorisation politique et scolaire du groenlandais, leurs parents avaient eux été éduqués dans l'idéologie du danois comme force de développement et vécus l'inadéquation entre leur éducation en groenlandais et les nécessités du danois dans la société. À l'adolescence, leurs familles les ont donc aidés à maîtriser le danois, ou inscrits directement dans des classes de danois, pour pouvoir faire des études supérieures derrière, anticipant le décalage linguistique. Ceci pose de manière prépondérante le rôle de l'environnement familial, et met en lumière les oscillations dans les politiques linguistiques scolaires.

La politique officielle est au 100% groenlandais depuis 2009 avec danois en première langue. L'ambition sociétale derrière n'a pas changé. Pourtant, si de plus en plus de formations supérieures sont accessibles en groenlandais, la vaste majorité reste encore en danois. À ce sujet, tous mes interlocuteurs pointent du doigt que le danois enseigné à l'école, seul, est pourtant insuffisant pour intégrer ces parcours. Dès lors, comment expliquer que certains écoliers y parviennent, et d'autres non ? D'où tirent-ils leurs compétences bilingues ?

2.2 Le danois, une compétence sociale éloquente.

À cet endroit, il est intéressant de revenir au triptyque langue danoise, ascension sociale et accumulation de richesses. Le danois, de plus en plus absent de l'école, ne l'est pas des familles qui l'utilisent de manière professionnelle, ou dont c'est la langue maternelle. Un phénomène d'habitation se met donc en place chez les enfants de ces familles, qui acquièrent en grandissant la langue. Dans la mesure où ce sont les emplois les plus qualifiés et les mieux rémunérés qui l'utilisent, ce sont les familles les plus aisées qui le transmettent. Les jeunes citadins des milieux professionnels intermédiaires (fonction publique, cadres) disent acquérir les compétences suffisantes pour entrer dans les études et les formations supérieures en danois. Les enfants d'ouvriers non qualifiés, eux, ne maîtrisent que le groenlandais. Une enseignante du lycée professionnel de Qaqortoq me

disait que l' « on sait d'où vient un élève [au sens sociologique] selon sa maîtrise du danois ». En d'autres termes, la compétence bilinguistique renvoie directement au milieu social et au phénomène de reproduction sociale. Cet élément s'adosse à des inégalités territoriales : les villages, où le danois est moins parlé, verront moins leurs élèves réussir que ceux de villes comme Nuuk qui concentrent le capital, et donc des locuteurs danois. C'est ce phénomène qui rend le parcours d'autant plus compliqué pour les locuteurs de dialectes. Par ailleurs, ce lien entre richesses et langue danoise l'a rendu « *trendy* », comme me l'a qualifié un habitant de Nuuk. Le danois serait considéré comme *fashion*, synonyme d'un Groenland cosmopolite, et le groenlandais relégué à l'ancienne génération.

2.3 Plafond de verre.

Ces éléments symboliques et la reproduction sociale génèrent un phénomène de plafond de verre. Les hautes sphères professionnelles se fixent en danois et, en cela, excluent les locuteurs groenlandophones et ceux ne maîtrisant pas suffisamment bien le danois. Ceci enracine une forme sociale spécifique et ne permet pas de renouvellement hétérogène des structures. C'est pourquoi le plafond de verre tend à renforcer les disparités territoriales, creuser les inégalités sociales et générer les différences économiques de classes. Langue nationale, le *kalaallisut* se trouve malgré tout supplanter matériellement et symboliquement par le danois.

Si c'est un mécanisme colonial historique qui l'a mis en posture de domination, c'est désormais l'assemblage sociétal qui en produit le renouvellement et le renforcement, puisque cette langue semble de plus en plus être celle du capital économique. Si la plupart de mes interlocuteurs sur le sujet me disaient qu'il fallait attendre une génération de locuteurs groenlandais formés pour voir les choses évoluer, d'autres personnes choisissent consciemment une autre voix. Celle d'affirmer le groenlandais dans l'espace public.

3. Lorsque parler une langue relève du choix conscientisé.

Pour aborder cette dernière partie, j'ai fait le choix de redonner trois portraits choisis de personnes¹³ ayant élaboré un discours et une opinion au regard de ce sujet. La transformation au style indirect de leurs paroles fluidifie le propos et permet de le lier analytiquement aux parties précédentes.

3.1 Jesper Hansen, pour inverser la vapeur linguistique.

Jesper Hansen est un habitant de Nuuk d'une trentaine d'années. Il grandit à Maniitsoq et part vivre à l'âge de 4 ans au Danemark où il oublie le *kalaallisut*. C'est le divorce de ses parents qui le ramène au Groenland, à 7 ans. Sa mère se marie avec un Danois immigré qui travaille au gouvernement groenlandais depuis de nombreuses années. Ils forment une

¹³ Ayant l'accord de ces personnes dans le cadre de mon travail doctoral et non spécifiquement pour le présent papier, les noms sont anonymisés.

famille aisée financièrement et complètement bilingue. Jesper dit qu'il réfléchit dans les deux langues, et quand il parle à sa famille ou ses amis, il les assemble. Certaines choses sont donc exprimées en *kalaallisut* tandis que d'autres en danois. Professionnellement, ses études menées au Danemark puis à l'étranger l'ont rendu polyglotte: il parle anglais, danois et *kalaallisut* parfaitement. Pour autant, il s'exprime exclusivement en danois dans le cadre de son travail de fonctionnaire du gouvernement. Il explique que la barrière nationale est d'une part forte, car plus de 80 % des employés du gouvernement sont danois et ne parlent pas *kalaallisut*. Mais selon lui, cette situation relève surtout de la langue dans laquelle il pense son travail. Il ne saurait pas communiquer en *kalaallisut* dans le cadre professionnel, bien qu'il travaille avec des groenlandophones à son bureau. En effet, son département est le seul dans lequel les natifs groenlandais sont plus nombreux que les immigrés.

Pour lui, deux raisons expliquent ce phénomène. La première tient aux structures linguistiques des langues groenlandaises, compliquées pour exprimer des raisonnements complexes. Le danois apparaît plus simple. Ainsi, en situation de concurrence, c'est ce dernier, pour sa flexibilité, qui est choisi. La seconde raison tient selon lui à l'environnement professionnel. Il collabore toute la journée avec des danophones exclusifs. S'il travaillait en *kalaallisut*, il aurait tout à traduire. À ce sujet, il nuance donc son propos en disant que s'il était entouré de groenlandophones, il travaillerait certainement dans cette langue, malgré sa formation supérieure dans d'autres langues.

Il s'est rendu compte de la concurrence linguistique générale lorsqu'il est revenu à Nuuk après ses études à l'étranger. Il exprime avoir été frappé par le poids symbolique du danois : « réussite » et « *fashionness* » y sont étroitement associés. Parler danois, c'est avoir l'air « cool » selon les codes sociaux de Nuuk. Le problème, selon Jesper, c'est ce que cette association contribue au maintien de la langue, même dans un contexte éducatif qui tend au 100 % groenlandais. De son expérience, le *kalaallisut* est grandement menacé par ce phénomène, c'est pourquoi il estime qu'il faut le choisir et l'insérer en force dans la société. C'est donc la langue qu'il utilise dès qu'il est en situation de choix linguistique, en dehors du travail. Il raconte qu'au supermarché, par exemple, il pense consciemment au fait d'utiliser le *kalaallisut* plutôt que le danois pour demander du pain ou un article. En faire la langue du quotidien lui semble nécessaire et indispensable pour répondre à cette situation d'urgence et de danger. À terme, cela permettrait peut-être d'en faire le langage de tous les emplois, de la bureaucratie et du quotidien « *trendy* » de Nuuk ; et pourquoi pas également, de son avis, d'égaliser les chances sur le marché de l'emploi en insérant des locuteurs de groenlandais dans les hautes sphères professionnelles. À terme, la vapeur linguistique s'en trouverait certainement inversée.

3.2 Naasu Enoksen, combattre l'héritage colonial.

Naasu Enoksen appartient à la génération des périodes d'interdiction du groenlandais et qui a été envoyée étudier au Danemark à l'adolescence. Elle vient d'une famille aisée dont le père travaille pour l'administrateur colonial et elle bénéficie du meilleur apprentissage. Elle rapporte que dès cette époque elle se rend compte des inégalités de statut entre les enfants de colons, ou d'unions mixtes, et les autres. Cette solide base

scolaire lui permet d'intégrer les emplois de secrétariat facilement, largement distribués aux locuteurs danois dans la seconde moitié du 20^{ème} siècle. Elle affirme posséder de rares compétences linguistiques, qui expliquent d'ailleurs qu'à 73 ans elle ne puisse prendre sa retraite, car personne ne pourrait la remplacer. Elle travaille comme traductrice et conseillère auprès du centre social et de l'hôpital de Qaqortoq et côtoie ainsi au quotidien les familles les plus démunies, qui ne parlent que le dialecte groenlandais du sud. Son travail consiste à traduire entre le personnel hospitalier, largement danois, et les familles.

Ce qu'elle appelle « *les familles pauvres* » « *ne parlent pas, ne comprennent pas, ou ne maîtrisent pas la langue de l'administration et de l'économie de leur propre pays, c'est-à-dire le danois* »¹⁴. Ils sont ainsi dans une situation perpétuelle de dépendance qu'ils transmettent à leurs enfants, qui n'évoluent eux-mêmes qu'au contact du groenlandais. Décrivant cette situation, elle établit un lien de causalité entre la colonisation, les inégalités sociales contemporaines et l'état des lieux linguistique. Il lui semble évident que la détresse sociale des familles qu'elle côtoie est largement héritée d'un déterminisme qui trouve ses racines dans les mécanismes coloniaux. Pour elle, le danois n'est pas juste une langue, mais un système de codes de comportements pour se diriger, qui aboutit une situation de dépendance lorsqu'ils ne sont pas maîtrisés. C'est un jeu déloyal, car c'est désormais dans les familles qu'il est enseigné et pas à l'école. Elle s'en rend particulièrement compte, dans la mesure où elle considère provenir d'une famille privilégiée lui ayant permis de s'élever socioéconomiquement. Elle a ainsi transmis ses compétences linguistiques et sociales à ses enfants qui exercent des professions de cadre et intellectuels supérieurs, là où d'autres sont restés dans le sillage de la colonisation. Face à ça, il est important pour elle de redonner sa place au groenlandais, et ce en le parlant aux jeunes générations de tous milieux pour les rendre acteurs, pour que le groenlandais devienne le système de codes au moyen duquel s'orienter. Ainsi, elle ne parle par exemple que groenlandais dans le cadre de sa famille, bien que sa belle-fille soit danoise. Il est politiquement important pour elle que ses petits-enfants parlent groenlandais, notamment dans la mesure où ils vivent à Nuuk. Un jour où elle était en voiture avec son petit-fils de 10 ans et sa belle-fille danoise, alors qu'une voiture manœuvrait dangereusement elle s'est écriée en danois qu'il y avait danger. Son petit-fils est tombé des nues : il pensait que sa grand-mère ne parlait pas danois du tout.

3.3 Arnakkuluk Høegh

Femme de 89 ans habitant Qaqortoq depuis toujours, Arnakkuluk Høegh est retraitée. Elle n'a pas fait d'études supérieures et a trouvé du travail directement après l'école. Le groenlandais du sud est sa langue d'interlocution, celle dans laquelle l'école lui a été enseignée et celle qu'elle utilisait professionnellement. Nous sommes voisines et avons l'habitude de dialoguer en groenlandais, notamment parce qu'elle ne parle pas du tout anglais. Alors qu'un jour j'avais recours au danois pour combler un mot de vocabulaire que j'ignorais en groenlandais, elle m'affirme ne pas le parler. Elle croise les bras et

14 Traduction personnelle depuis le groenlandais du sud.

m'indiquer fermement « *pas de danois* ». Je crois alors qu'elle m'exprime ne pas le comprendre ni le parler. Puis quelque temps plus tard, lors d'une visite accompagnée d'une amie danoise qui ne parle pas du tout groenlandais, Arnakkuluk, avec aversion, mais voulant discuter, lui parle danois. Je m'étonne et pense de prime abord que, dans une logique d'apprentissage, elle m'avait stoppée en danois pour me forcer à utiliser le groenlandais. Mais quelques jours plus tard, durant un « *kaffemik* pour touristes », la question revient. Cet événement correspond à un goûter connu dans l'Arctique où une famille reçoit avec force nourritures et boissons pour célébrer une occasion. Au Groenland, ça fait désormais partie des activités touristiques et Arnakkuluk avait accepté que je participe pour observer (dans le cadre de mon enquête ethnographique). Lors d'une de ces célébrations, une touriste lui demande si elle parle danois. Elle répond que non, en précisant qu'elle « *n'en comprend[s] pas un mot* »¹⁵. À ce moment, je réalise qu'au contraire, elle comprend le danois, mais choisit de produire le discours inverse. Cette posture indique sa volonté de ne pas insérer la langue danoise dans l'espace d'interlocution et d'y donner une place solide au groenlandais. Langue dont elle use de manière consciente.

Alors qu'un vendredi soir nous dînions avec différentes amies de Qaqortoq, l'une d'elles était accompagnée de son partenaire. Ayant grandi en Inde, il était venu étudier au Danemark puis avait postulé pour un emploi au Groenland. Le danois n'était donc pas sa langue maternelle. Au fil de la conversation, il raconte vivre au Groenland depuis cinq ans, et s'exclame que le *kalaallisut* « *est une langue incompréhensible* »¹⁶. Le silence tombe autour de la table, de manière évidente, il avait dit quelque chose de très insultant. Je lui demande alors s'il a essayé de l'apprendre, ce à quoi il répond par la négative. Il ajoute que « *surtout tout le monde parle danois, [il] n'en [a] donc pas besoin* ». Au-delà du caractère jugé irrespectueux de son propos, cela illustre le paradoxe bilingue au Groenland : même dans une région et une ville où le danois est très peu usité, il est tout de même omniprésent et positionné en supériorité du groenlandais (en l'occurrence, comme une langue plus pratiquée). La posture d'Arnakkuluk s'éclaire : face à cette concurrence biaisée, elle refuse d'entrer dans un affrontement de type « danois ou pas » en coupant directement court au danois en affirmant ne pas le comprendre. Elle lui refuse tout espace interactionnel, tout espace public.

4. Conclusion

Au-delà des pratiques scolaires qui visent à imposer le groenlandais comme première langue, Jesper Hansen, Naasu Enoksen et Arnakkuluk Høegh expriment que l'enjeu est d'imposer le *kalaallisut* et ses dialectes comme les langues utilisées dans tous les domaines de la société, justement en l'utilisant de manière volontariste. Car la question n'est pas juste du choix dans l'interlocution, mais des poids symboliques inégaux associés

15 Traduction personnelle depuis le groenlandais du sud. Pour l'occasion, une guide de la ville traduisait entre les touristes et Arnakkuluk.

16 Traduction personnelle depuis l'anglais. Les échanges se déroulaient selon les interlocuteurs alternativement en anglais, danois et groenlandais du sud.

à chaque langue, historiquement déterminés et renouvelés institutionnellement dans les hautes sphères scolaires et professionnelles.

Ces trois portraits permettent de comprendre que la question linguistique se joue sur toutes les générations de l'émancipation nationale, et que malgré ce, elle ne tend pas à s'améliorer. Ainsi, de manière inévitable dans la concurrence truquée dano-groenlandaise, cette affirmation ne peut que s'opérer dans une forme de violence. Parler *kalaallisut* et ses dialectes revient donc à évincer la langue danoise, pour eux.

Références

- Bailleul, Pia. 2019 La société groenlandaise en mutation : itinéraire d'un État en devenir. Dans Camille Escudé-Joffres *Les régions de l'Arctique*, Paris, Atlande, Clefs-Concours, pp79-95.
- Gad, Finn. 1973 [1967] *The history of Greenland II, 1700 – 1782*. Trad. du danois par Gordon C. Bodden. Londres, C. Hurst & Company.
- Inatsisartut, 2014. Aqqaluks Plads. Nuuk, Bureau for Inatsisartut, 20p.
- Petersen, Robert. 1995 Colonialism as Seen from a Former Colonized Area. *Arctic Anthropology*, Vol. 32, pp118-126.
- Robert-Lamblin, Joëlle. 2005 La société Inuit groenlandaise en mutation. Dans Marie-Françoise André *Le monde polaire. Mutations et transitions*, Carrefours, Ellipses, pp99-113.
- Sørensen, Axel Kjær. 2007 *Denmark-Greenland in the Twentieth century*. Copenhagen, Meddelelser om Grønland, Man & Society, n°34, 207p.
- <http://www.ankn.uaf.edu/IEW/edgreen.html>

SEDNA: STORYING IDENTITY AND SURVIVANCE IN CONTEMPORARY ART*

Kathryn Florence
Concordia University

Abstract: Sedna, the *inua* of sea mammals, has become a mainstay of Inuit visual culture and an icon of the Canadian art market. Despite her rising prevalence in contemporary art history, there have been no examinations into what her role has become to the Inuit artists who craft her image. By exploring how David Ruben Piqtoukun, Michael Massie, Heather Campbell, and Glenn Gear relate to the image of Sedna, this article reveals how these contemporary artists are reclaiming her in their work, asserting her importance as an icon of their identity as Inuit and her position in their world. Making these images is a way of honoring that strength, because her story aligns with their own experiences in reference to the physical and cultural dislocation of residential schools and the Sixties Scoop. They return to her image again and again, because she is the ultimate story of survivance.

Sedna is no longer a stranger to *qallunaat* ('non-Inuit'). She is becoming a recognizable icon in common Southern culture. I see her everywhere. In the showrooms of the Nunavut Development Corporation and Canadian Arctic Producers, two trade art galleries located in Toronto, Ontario (fig. 1). At the 2018 ImagineNative Art Crawl, a simplified version of Germaine Arnaktauyok's *Sedna* was printed on give-away bags, postcards, and the interactive digital painting station (fig. 2). She is the namesake and logo of the Sedna Epic research project, an all-women team that operates polar dives and snorkel expeditions to the High Arctic; scouting, documenting and recording disappearing sea ice.¹ A minor planet at the edge of our solar system was named "90377 Sedna" as a metonym for the planet's frigid composition.

* Thank you to David Ruben Piqtoukun, Michael Massie, Heather Campbell, and Glenn Gear for participating in my Masters thesis and sharing their stories with me. Thank you to Heather Igloliorte for the role of thesis advisor on this project. The research presented in this article was carried out at Concordia University in Montreal. Finally, I recognize my position as a non-indigenous person speaking about indigenous subjects. My goal is to re-center Inuit voices, providing the foundations for future research from Inuit voices, to point out the ideas that are currently present in the *qallunaat* mind that can be addressed.

¹ <https://www.sednaepic.com>



Figure 1: Nunavut Development Corporation (NDC) Showroom. Photo courtesy of author. 2018.



Figure 2: Interactive digital painting station at 2018 ImagineNative Art Crawl. Image courtesy of author.

Yet no one has examined what making her image means to the artists themselves, specifically in reference to storying their identity and tales of survivance in the face of cultural displacement. By exploring how contemporary urban Inuk artists relate to the image of Sedna, this article reveals how these artists are reclaiming her in their work, asserting her importance as an icon of their identity as Inuit and her position in their world. Their works are more than pieces of art, but a deliberate act of resistance against the tides of colonialism and attempts at cultural extermination. Making these images is a way of honoring that strength, because her story aligns with their own experiences in reference to the physical and cultural dislocation of residential schools and the Sixties Scoop. They return to her image again and again, because she is the ultimate story of survivance.

2. Restory-ing Art History

There is no neutral art, and therefore there is no neutral art history. This is especially pertinent to indigenous art research, because the display of Inuit art crafts a specific story about their makers that is often written by an outside voice (Rosen 2013). Inuit arts gained popularity and value during the ethnographic expeditions because they were seen as both a finite resource via the dying Indian myth, and as an archetypal precipitation of a ‘primitive’ culture. Inuit visual arts are still thought of in terms of traditional cultural imagery, likely because that is what is promoted by galleries and dealers (Barber 1999). Still, while these themes and stereotypes are referenced in contemporary art, we cannot assume that the same meanings are being invoked. As Alena Rosen warns, “When considering myths and legends in Inuit art, qallunaat critics tended to reduce the content to preserving a memory of a past that is gone, rather than focusing on continued importance (2013: 98).” That is why this article will re-examine the figure of Sedna within northern society through contemporary artists about the present moment.

2.1 Retelling Sedna

Sedna is found across arctic societies, a tremendous feat given the constantly shifting and localized nature of mythology (Mol 1982; Merkur 1991; Roepstorff 2003; McMahon-Coleman 2006).² In fact, she’s one of the only named *inua* to be depicted widely across the spectrum of Inuit visual culture, making her readily recognizable and unavoidable when talking about Inuit art history (Laugrand 2012). *Inua* (pl. *inue*) references the essential spirit/soul/force that resides within a conceived entity, a metaphysical ‘Indweller’ that controls an existence, including nature itself (Merkur 1992). As well, these are not personifications, metaphoric representations of nature’s powers, but are the powers that constitute nature itself (Merkur 1991). Because of the permeability between the preternatural and natural it would be inaccurate to discuss *inua* as removed from this world (Fienup-Riordan 1995). This will be important in the later sections.

Humans love telling stories. Our species has been weaving tales ever since we developed the means to do so, however many millions of years ago that was. Belief systems are not just stories and names. Though intangible, these forces are very, very real. Myths make the world. They define who we are. Where we are. Why we are the way we are. They ascribe intelligible order to experienced chaos. Her story has just as many variations as she has names. I must highlight that the very nature of oral history and *unikkatuat* (‘a legend’ or ‘story’) is to adapt, to change, and yet remain undeniably true despite such reiterations. What was said by one community might not be regarded in the same way by another. The purpose of this discussion is to give context for the worldviews that could be applied to Sedna but are not authoritative fact. The important feature for this study is that her story climaxes when the titular woman, ostracized and exiled, is thrown out of the kayak by her

² This figure has many names: The Sea Mother (East Greenland), the Mother of the Sea Animals (central Canadian Arctic), *Sedna* (‘the one down there,’ Baffin Island), *Nulijuk* (Central Canada), *Arnaqqassaaq* (‘old woman from the sea,’ Greenland), *Sassuma Arnaa* (‘Mother of the Deep,’ Western Greenland), *Arnap Naalagaa* (Western Greenland), *Ímap Ukûa* (East Greenland), *Amakaphaluk*, *Arnapkapfaaluk* (‘big bad woman,’ Coronation Gulf), *Takánakapsâluk* or *Takannaaluk* (Igloodik), and *Taliivlajuuq*. I will use Sedna for the sake of clarity.

own father. When she attempts to cling to the side of the boat, he cuts off her fingers, which turn into sea mammals as they drop into the churning sea. In the end, she too sinks into the depths and becomes the inua of the sea and its dwellers.

Visual arts are one such mediums of transmission when examining the story of Sedna. Unraveling depictions of Sedna in art has three points of contention that bear consideration. First, the portrayal of inue overall. As said before, Sedna is the only named inua to be depicted so widely. Of more significance to this discussion is the fact that prior to 1949, there simply were no images of Sedna. An extensive review of texts revealed no direct reasoning for why this was. One possibility was that making her image would be seen by Sedna as a sacrilegious attempt to steal her soul (Decker 2003). But then, this Sedna-centric aniconism raises more questions. If making her image is discouraged, why is she now popular in Inuit visual arts, especially among qallunaat?

Secondly, the form Sedna takes when she is depicted. A Google search for Sedna will pull up hundreds of prints, paintings, and sculptures of a female figure with a tail in place of legs (fig. 3). Several texts explicitly refer to Sedna as half-human, half-sea creature, despite this imagery not being given in the myth (Decker 2003; Irniq 2004; Laugrand and Oosten 2011; Laugrand 2012). Further complicating matters is the presence of folkloric human-sea mammal hybrids alongside Sedna myths. These Inuit mermaids go by “*Iqalu nappaa*” (Saladin d’Anglure 2001: 51); “*kunuqnizaaq*” (Burch 1971: 153); “*lumaajut*” and “*taliillajuu*” (Laugrand and Oosten 2011: 135); “*taliillajuuq*” (Oosten and Laugrand 2009: 488); and “*Lumaajuaq*” whose story explicitly includes the fact that the mother was transformed into “an entity that was half human, half whale (Heyes 2011: 3).” Why is Sedna given this form when it is not featured in her story? Why are these other figures categorized separately from Sedna when they share morphology?



Figure 3: Abraham Anghik Ruben, *Nuliqjuk – Sedna*. 2014, Brazilian Soapstone, 36.0 x 62.0 x 34.0 cm. Inuit Art Sculpture No. AR-0309. Photo courtesy of artist at <http://www.abrahamruben.com>.

Thirdly, given that the majority of the literature has been written by qallunaat and often becomes romanticized, misinterpreted, and misunderstood because of Western biases (Barber 1999), it is imperative to interrogate what is believed from the inside frame of view. While these themes and stereotypes are referenced in contemporary Inuit art, we cannot assume that one interpretation is the only meaning being invoked. Connotations change over time and iteration. But more importantly, the connotations of Sedna's story have changed not only because of time, but also because Inuit are shifting from being the subjects of art history, to the authors of it.

2.2 Rewriting Form

All three of these issues can be traced back to when qallunaat came into the North in search of a passage but left with myths of an inhumane landscape populated by beings beyond their comprehension. In the process of colonization, they stole these stories, twisting and breaking them apart to fit them into the folklore they knew. When I show qallunaat an image of Sedna they immediately identify her as a mermaid because they do not have the cultural consciousness of who Sedna is as an inua or her position within the arctic ontology. Simply labeling the figure as Sedna does not supply enough information for them to understand. And as humans, we hate the unknown. We despise not having answers, because we cannot control what we do not know. To fill in that horrifying void, we ascribe our own meanings, our own cultural values and interpretations (Trondhjem 2005).

The Western imagination categorized the Mistress of Sea Animals as a common mermaid, diminishing her importance in the arctic landscape and consigning her to the European ontology. Obviously, mermaids have different axiological meanings. They are the beautiful oceanic maiden who lure sailors to their watery death with their hypnotic song. Gender and sexuality are prioritized. They swim between the lines of playful spirit and vengeful soul. The south shaped her into an exoticized creature, an object to be owned, a representation of a people that were held as inferior for respecting her. All that is to say; qallunaat when faced with this belief system and entrenched ontological framework they could/would not interpret decided "we reject your reality and substitute our own." Early recorders categorized her as a mermaid in an act that imposed their understandings of gender, power, and society over the figure. And on the surface, it would appear that it took. But although Montreal-based artist, Glenn Gear, describes her as the original mermaid in terms of the morphology, yet with the caveat that, "she's so much more powerful than what we think of as a siren or a mermaid. Maybe closer to siren, but she's even more powerful than a siren. But Sedna is so not a mermaid."

It is this reinterpretation—retribution—that reclaims her from the South and reiterates her continued presence and value to her people. Sedna is almost always depicted with a tail, not out of concession to qallunaat influence, but in reclamation by reconnecting it with Inuit identity and the land. They rejected that foreign rejection and have interpreted the outside additions according to their own reality. The original symbolic meanings were not only encoded into this induced morphology in resilience to colonialist attempts to demote the importance of Sedna within the cultural landscape, but also in newer contemporary associations of survivance have been imposed upon her image and the act of

making her image. Her tail now carries culturally specific connotations that can only be deciphered with the comprehension of her story in addition to the facets embedded in the beliefs surrounding inua. Her tail is symbolic of her domain over the animals. It is a means of easy movement in the depths. It simply is what she is.

She is a specter, provider, protector, mother, survivor. And the artists I interviewed, David Ruben Piqtoukun, Michael Massie, Heather Campbell and Glenn Gear (fig. 4a-d), have connected each of these aspects to Inuit identity as a whole as well as their own understanding of Sedna in the world around them.



Figure 4: a) Barry Pottle, *DAVID RUBEN PIQTOUKUN (W3-1119)*. 2011, Digital photograph, 11 x 17 in. Image courtesy Feheley Fine Arts; b) *Michael Massie, CM, RCA*. Image courtesy of Inuit Artist Database; c) *Heather Campbell*. Image courtesy of artist; d) *Glenn Gear*. Image courtesy of artist.

3. Reclamation and Reconnection

As explained independently by Indigenous scholars Joseph Brown (2001) and Shawn Wilson (2008), the intangible products of relationships—the process of creating those networks of connection—are just as important as the eventual outcomes. Carla Taunton said in her own Masters thesis, “In this sense, the performance of storytelling is a process that can be used to interrupt and intervene in colonial histories, to re-establish self-determined representations, and to provoke political resistance (2011: 69).” Through visual arts, the artists interviewed are not just receiving, reviving, and reiterating old knowledge

or creating and ascribing new meanings to the image of Sedna, their actions are changing the framework of their entire worldview.

3.1 Connecting with the Intangible

Piqtoukun, Massie, Campbell and Gear are all urban Inuit. Recent generations still live under the shadow of the scoop and residential schools, leaving descendants to reconnect the loose ends created from the abrupt loss of culture. There is a difference in worldview between those who come to the South as adults and those who are born there, however, “All Inuit, in the North and the South, have both cultural and ethnic identities. But most urban Inuit encounter serious difficulties in realizing their cultural identity (Kishigami 2002: 184).” Recent generations still live under the shadow of the scoop, leaving descendants to reconnect the loose ends created from the abrupt loss of culture. Campbell explained how, “in an urban environment it's hard to, you know, feel the same connection that you feel when you're, you know, in your hometown, but learning about Inuit spirituality really helps me.” In Ottawa, Campbell is physically distanced from her community and her heritage, but through artistic experimentation and exploration, she has found a way to bring a sense of belonging down south. Likewise, Gear’s video work, *Kablunât* (2016) (fig. 5) tells of the creation and settling of qallunaat in Labrador using archival photography, collage, and animation, in addition to the story of Sedna’s liaison with her faithful dog. Connection to the land is a visceral proponent to Indigenous identity. Gear’s piece reinserts the historical into an imagined and very real coastal landscape, asserting the priority of Inuit over the settler qallunaat while still tying the latter’s origin to a figure of the land.

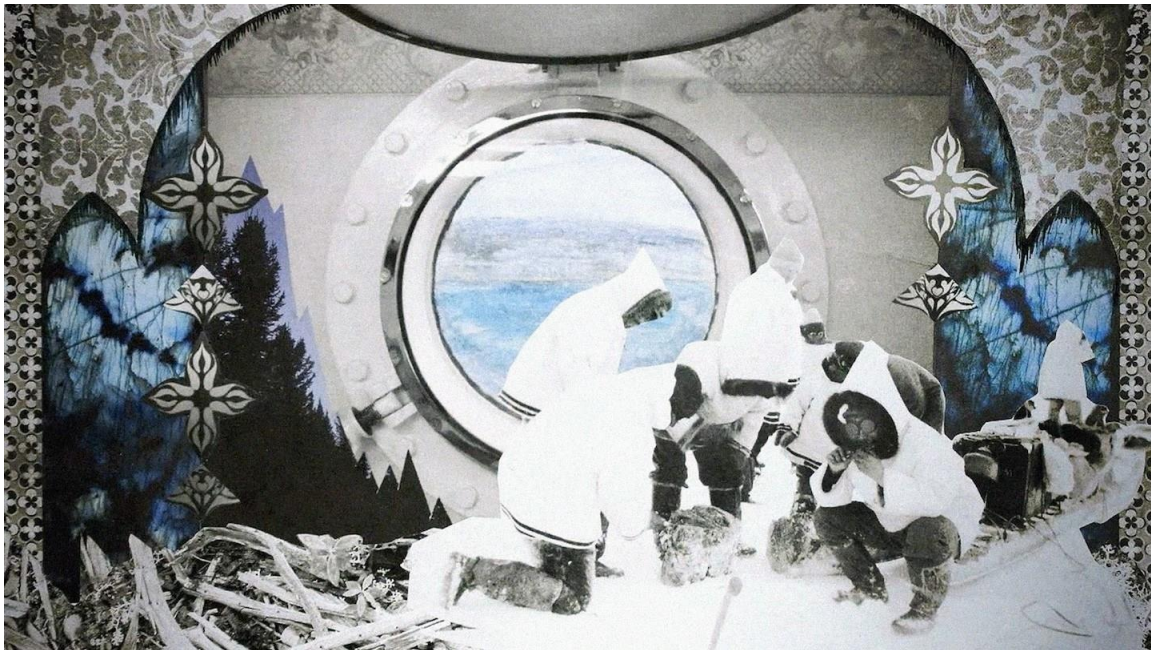


Figure 5: Glenn Gear, *Kablunât* (video still). 2016. Image courtesy of artist.

Making art is a means of looking back to move forwards; of preserving and reconnecting with the facets of his heritage that he was denied and even creating new interpretations. In this way, Nuliajuk defines who is Inuk and who is not and moreover how some are imagining that reconnection. For Piqtoukun, Massie, and Gear specifically, it is a means of reconnecting with the heritage they did not have. None of them grew up with these stories, having only heard them well into adulthood. It was through the depiction of Sedna and other myths that they were learned:

Piqtoukun: Yes. So, I'm what you say; I've been documenting from a different ballpark. You know, the mythology of my people through-through stone carving and to learn more about my people I learned it through stone carving because as I work, I have a dialogue with my sculpture, the images, and from there they teach me things, you know. I absorb a lot of knowledge, not so, much knowledge, but a lot of the stories and other related to our own mythology and I develop new stories. But I contemporized a lot of the old stories. My own interpretation of these stories and [...] That's the bottom line; is trying to interpret mythology, the stories, the legends. Well, it's these mythological stories they're teaching me about my culture, about my identity. Which is really important because at an early age I can mention that, and I received an education in forgetting.

Massie: With my background, I didn't grow up in the Inuit culture. My grandparents did. They lived off the land kind of thing. I don't think they had igloos. I'm pretty sure they didn't. But they did live from the land. They hunted. They trapped. My grandfather trapped. Even when I was still alive, when I was quite young, [they] lived in their cabins in a river, down in Mulligan. And, I mean, that's where I spent my summers. So, I learned about, the importance of looking after things, you know? That's the kinda stuff I keep sacred or kinda keep true. There's certain things that are meant to be serious.

Gear: So, yeah, I didn't really come into my indigeneity until much later in life. You know, as an adult basically. And it's very different from learning it in the beginning. I mean there were there were traces and hints of it there, but it was opaque. It was invisible to me for a while. [...] So, I feel like a new Inuk kind of coming out. This is my second coming out. [Laughs].

Piqtoukun, Massie, Campbell, and Gear all mentioned that their art was a way of connecting to the past through oral stories and unikkaatut; of finding a way back to their heritage, lineage, or history that stemmed from an absence of the culture traditionally passed down through oral history and storywork. During the era of colonial assimilation, stories were forcibly silenced. And yet, it endures by the efforts of that relentless human refusal to fade into oblivion.

3.2 Protecting Knowledge

Yet, there was a split between whether or not qallunaat actually understood Sedna or the ramifications of her story. Some southerners simply do not know the story or care for it (Kaiwik in Bagg 2006: 80; Rosen 2013). Kananginak Pootoogook said, “A white man, if he is going to buy a carving, buys it purely by the appearance of the carving. The white people do not consider the meaning of the carving, simply the appearance of the carving (in Bagg 2006: 36).” On the other hand, the artists I interviewed had this to say:

Piqtokun: Well, they understand her more so, now than they did even 10, 15 years ago. Cuz, it's been probably properly public published in books and images. And they can relate to all this new information and they're getting more interested. What I've noticed [is in the past] 5-10 years, people are very curious about the mythology and the meaning of mythology, the meaning of the legend, the stories. People find them fascinating because they see the image and they can visualize well. It's a new angle of visualizing images. People often read about but once they started seeing the images 'okay it all starts to make sense' and they can relate to them. What they see, they can relate to the story.

Campbell: Probably not. I think, I make [images of Sedna] for myself in some ways but I also make it as a conversation piece, a way to start conversations between, you know, myself and a buyer or it could be between Inuit and non-Inuit when they're looking at the piece. I understand that they're not going to get it right away but...hopefully they will. I give them something to go on.

There is a present dichotomy between unintelligibility and conversation that in the case of Sedna relates back to the medium of myth. As Robert Allan Phillips points out, “Sometimes, however, there is more to a story than its simple subject or even the storyline. Quite often, how the story is told is every bit as important as what the story is about because the way of telling influences so many of its aspects. (2015: 49).” It is not only about *what* knowledge is shared, but *how* it is kept and shared. Storytelling can be a bridge between indigenous and non-native communities (Phillips and Phillips 2005; Athens 2013). Visual arts offer a place to have that conversation through a medium that is not reliant on linguistic literacy. Furthermore, Listening requires the participation of the listener, drawing them into the community while simultaneously ensuring its continuation through the expectation that the listener will in turn share the story with others (Archibald 2014). The proliferation and popularity of Sedna in Inuit art offers a gateway to a larger collection of stories and oral histories.

And while art can be used as a way to start a conversation, as Campbell suggests, Indigenous art also has the ability “to be about things that the public does not get and is not meant to get. They are oppositional, being about ways of measuring and expressing values that are significantly different from those common in the dominant society (Townsend-Gault 1994: 105).” The uninformed would never be able to discern the story behind Piqtokun’s sculpture (fig. 6) on their own. Meaning requires context staged from a

specific framework. Physically, sculpture can be cold, distant. The stone presents concepts that we cannot delve into because the medium prevents interaction in this manner. In this way, sculptures of the Sedna are both clear depictions of a belief system and a reminder that qallunaat are incapable of understanding it. The story is not theirs to speak, to own in its totality. Thus, the unintelligibility of Sedna's meaning to qallunaat audiences asserts this sort of resistance to colonial disruption of Inuit continuity.



Figure 6: David Ruben Piqtoukun, *Journey to the Great Woman*. 1995, Brazilian soapstone/wood. Image courtesy of artist.

It is necessary to remember that myths themselves as a means of knowledge (Brown 2001). They are more than stories of spirits and seasons, but rather, explain systems of understanding, the relationship between persons and landscapes that cannot be understood otherwise. From the emic position, Sedna embodies an epistemological resource for dislocated artists and persons. She is the source and protector of this precious knowledge. Piqtoukun said, “[...] she's got that capacity to protect the knowledge of the Inuit people. I call it protecting the pearl of wisdom. Even wisdom is very important to protect. Once it's lost, it's lost forever.” Oral storytelling is valuable but fragile. At times it is too personal to be expressed to an unrelated public. It is not performed at random; it has to be prompted, drawn to the forefront of the teller's mind (Bird 2002). It is a constantly emerging narrative that is as infinite as the mind, changing profoundly over the generations (Detienne 1986).

But people disappear. Voices fall quiet. Memories are forgotten. The spoken word has no material presence. And yet, it endures; brought into the present through repetition and translation (Asatchaq 1992).

Sedna illuminates how stories are used to help construct identity, values, and customs (Anton 2018). Carving and visual arts became a medium to preserve this knowledge for the next generation (Barber 1999; Rosen 2013; Rathwell and Armitage 2016). The retelling of her story through stone and paper and animation, brings old truths into the present through new means and purposes thereby protecting it for future generations. It is how they express their practice of culture even when dislocated from their traditional homes and communities (Barber 1999; Rosen 2013). When the Dominion tried to erase her story, she was transcribed into stones that could not be broken.

3.3 Survivance

According to Gerald Vizenor, survivance is “an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name (2007: vii).” As interpreted by Dale S. Blake, “The heritage provides the groundwork for successful adjustment, not leaving the past behind, but building on it to give a firm base for exploration outwards. This direction does not mean adhering slavishly to the dictates of yesteryear, but taking what is useful and valued and adding on to it (2000: 169).” It blends resilience, endurance, and the reclamation of self-identity beyond the notion of survival into the place of thriving. Survivance, in this manner, is about living, about adapting and reclaiming. As Gear put it:

“So, there's this space that's opening up where you have really exciting and contemporary ideas around art and art making, and even crafts and printmaking and digital work that has its roots in maybe, more traditional ideas of Inuit culture that's opening up a space where there's a dialogue between the North and the South. Between the urban and say the rural, or there's the urban and the wild. I think that's really fascinating and there are a lot of young urban Inuit who are opening up that space right now. [...] That urban population which is growing. It's growing more. And it's really, really interesting time to see urban Inuit kind of articulate that space for themselves. And again that comes with it comes with urban knowledge and it's mixed with traditional Inuit knowledge and values. It's neat to see.”

Sedna is helping these artists take that space and make a statement. Doreen Jenson proclaims that, “As aboriginal artists we need to reclaim our own identities through our own work, our heritage, and our future. We don't need to live any loner within others' definitions of who and what we are. We need to put aside the titles that have been imposed on us and our creativity, titles that serve the needs of other people. (in Townsend-Gault 1994: 107).” Contemporary artists are reclaiming their own narrative through the production of traditional figures reimaged and reinvested in their lives.

Sedna still maintains her presence as the provider of life to her people. Spirits such as inue are not platonic ideals, but real beings with physical presence within the experiential world. They are ontological entities that must be acknowledged. Humans, animals, and

spirits are all agentive beings with wants, needs, and obligations to be honored. These beliefs are underpinned by the acknowledgment of a reciprocal relationship between the human, the animal, and the spirits. While straight notions of reciprocity—for instance, wherein an inue might be offered a gift in return for a favorable hunt—might not be acted upon after the incursion of missionaries and Christianity has tempered belief to varying degrees according to the individual (Cassady 2008), their legacy is alive and well according to Campbell and Massie, who affirm Sedna's presence in northern waters. Before the south came in and changed their lifeways, the Inuit lived with what offered itself to them. The seals. The whales. The fish. The creatures of the ocean. The children that Sedna would guide towards the hunters. Then the south came into the arctic. She sent the seals, whales, and fish, but they could no longer get to her people through corporate nets and red tape. The Inuit were cornered into relying on *qallunaat* goods to survive. But the south took a liking to the ivory miniatures of walruses and polar bears. Over time, the sculptures of animals became a new source of income (Townsend-Gault 1995; Maruyama 2003; Croteau 2008; Rathwell and Armitage 2016; Anton 2018). Sedna is still watching over her children and her people and giving them the means to survive in a rapidly globalizing world.

Survivance precludes adaptation as well as tradition. Campbell highlighted in her interview how Sedna has become a role model for the women in her community:

“But I think, what captures my imagination even as a child was the fact that she is a *god*. You know? She's one of the most powerful beings in the Inuit belief system and the fact that she was female, and I was a girl. It was...very empowering story that she was the one that had the control. So, it's fitting that I would use her as the symbol of gaining power and control. You know, as Inuit and then women. [...] It makes you wonder though in terms of men, if they have the same symbol as we do, you know? You know? Cause it seems that women are doing so much better in terms of adjusting to this new reality that we have. And maybe men aren't doing as well in a lot of ways. [This new reality refers to] that we're living in this...you know, consumerism. Once upon a time, men had a role of providing for the family with hunting and fishing and trapping. But all of that changed when we had to move into communities and were expected to have office jobs now. But I think our [women's] communication abilities make it more easy to adapt to office work and managerial positions and things like that. So, it wasn't such a huge transition for women as it was for men. I think [that Sedna functions through that transition. That she still maintains her prominence even though there is this new reality]. Because we have that role model. You have a role model of strength.”

Sedna embodies survivance in that she moved beyond victimhood to godhood. Her arctic waters endured centuries of ecological onslaught. Against every force of nature and spite, she refused to be erased. Hence, in contemporary meaning making her image recalls tradition and insinuates continuity between the past and present (Irwin, Rogers, and Wan 1998; Hendry 2005). Sedna always has, always is, and always will be as un-conquered as her watery home.

4. Conclusion

The depiction of Sedna is more than merely recapitulating an old tale about a long-vanished god with a beautiful piscine tail. Massie, Piqtoukun, Gear, and Campbell illuminate how making art is more than something they do; it is a process embedded in their concept of identity; a space for navigating their relationships with past/present, here/there, and self/community; a platform for expressing discontent and disconnection alongside their resilience and return. They reveal that Sedna's depiction braids together culture, identity, society wrapped in continuity and the embrace of commonality. Sedna's tale is one of tradition; of holding on to the ways of one's people; of valuing the blood that runs in your veins because it connects you to your community and the land, no matter how distant those may feel. Her tail is one of transformation; of rising to face the hardships of environment and colonialism; of becoming something greater despite the loss. Sedna is an expression of contemporary urban (and rural) Inuit endurance, resurgence, and self-determination through art, and of reclamation and resilience as unrelenting as the tides.

References

- Anton, James Wyatt. 2018. *Moccasin Tracks: Reading the Narrative in Traditional Indigenous Craft Work*. Master of Arts, University of Calgary.
- Archibald, Jo-ann. 2014. *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body, and Spirit*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Asatchaq, Jimmie Killigivuk. 1992. *The Things That Were Said of Them: Shaman Stories and Oral Histories of the Tikigaaq People*. Translated by Tom Lowenstein. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Athens, Allison Katherine. 2013. *Arctic Ecologies: The Politics and Poetics of Northern Literary Environments*. Doctor of Philosophy, University of California.
- Bagg, Shannon. 2006. *Artists, Art Historians, and the Value of Contemporary Inuit Art*. Doctor of Philosophy, Queen's University.
- Barber, Jill. 1999. *Carving out a Future: Contemporary Inuit Sculpture of Third Generation Artists from Arviat, Cape Dorset and Clyde River (Nunavut)*. Master of Arts, Carleton University.
- Bird, S. Elizabeth. 2002. It Makes Sense to Us: Cultural Identity in Local Legends of Place. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 31, no. 5: 519–47.
- Blake, Dale S. 2000. *Inuit Autobiography: Challenging the Stereotypes*. Doctor of Philosophy, University of Alberta.
- Brown, Joseph Epes. 2001. *Teaching Spirits: Understanding Native American Religious Traditions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Burch, Ernest S. 1971. The Nonempirical Environment of the Arctic Alaskan Eskimos. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 27, no. 2: 148–65.
- Cassady, Joslyn. 2008. 'Strange Things Happen to Non-Christian People': Human-Animal Transformation among the Iñupiat of Arctic Alaska. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 32, no. 1: 83–101.
- Croteau, Susan Ann. 2008. *'But It Doesn't Look Indian': Objects, Archetypes and Objectified Others in Native American Art, Culture and Identity*. Doctor of Philosophy, University of California.
- Decker, Julie Michelle. 2003. *Contemporary Art of Alaska: Found and Assembled in Alaska, and, John Hoover: Art and Life*. Doctor of Philosophy, The Union Institute & University.
- Detienne, Marcel. 1986. *The Creation of Mythology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fienup-Riordan, Ann. 1995. *Boundaries and Passages: Rule and Ritual in Yup'ik Eskimo Oral Tradition*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

- Hendry, Joy. 2005. Creativity as Evidence of Having Persisted Through Time. *Cambridge Anthropology* 25, no. 2: 36–49.
- Heyes, Scott. 2011. Recovering and Celebrating Inuit Knowledge through Design: The Making of a Virtual Storytelling Space. In *Indigenous Knowledge and Technology Conference Proceedings*, eds. Heike Winschiers-Theophilus, Nicola J Bidwell, 62–71. Windhoek: Polytechnic of Namibia.
- Irniq, Peter. 2004. The Staying Force of Inuit Knowledge. In *A Will to Survive: Indigenous Essays on the Politics of Culture, Language, and Identity*, ed. Stephen Greymorning, 18–31. Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Irwin, Rita L, Tony Rogers, and Yuh-Yao Wan. 1998. Reclamation, Reconciliation, and Reconstruction: Art Practices of Contemporary Aboriginal Artists from Canada, Australia, and Taiwan. *Journal of Cultural Research in Art Education* 16: 61.
- Kishigami, Nobuhiro. 2002. Inuit Identities in Montreal, Canada. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 26, no. 1: 183–91.
- Laugrand, Frédéric B. 2012. Sedna crucifiée: Les Inuits et la part animique du christianisme. *Théologiques* 20, no. 1–2: 453.
- Laugrand, Frédéric B., and Jarich G. Oosten. 2009. Transfer of Inuit qaujimajatuqangit in modern Inuit society. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 33, no. 1–2: 115–152
- Laugrand, Frédéric B., and Jarich G. Oosten. 2011. *La femme de la mer: Sedna dans le chamanisme et l'art inuit de l'Arctique de l'Est*. Carrefours anthropologiques. Montreal: Liber.
- McMahon-Coleman, Kimberley. 2006. Dreaming an Identity between Two Cultures: The Works of Alooook Ipellie. *Kunapipi* 28, no. 1: 108–25.
- Merkur, Daniel. 1991. *Powers Which We Do Not Know: The Gods and Spirits of the Inuit*. Moscow: University of Idaho Press.
- Merkur, Daniel. 1992. *Becoming Half Hidden: Shamanism and Initiation Among the Inuit*. Stockholm: Taylor & Francis.
- Mol, Hans. 1982. Religion and Eskimo Identity in Canada. *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 11, no. 2: 119–33.
- Oosten, Jarich G., and Frédéric B. Laugrand. 2009. Representing the 'Sea Woman.' *Religion and the Arts* 13, no. 4: 477–95.
- Phillips, Robert Alvin. 2015. Native Art as Seen through Native Eyes: An Examination of Contemporary Native Art From a Storytelling Perspective. Doctor of Philosophy, Trent University.
- Phillips, Ruth B., and Mark Salber Phillips. 2005. Double Take: Contesting Time, Place, and Nation in the First Peoples Hall of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. *American Anthropologist* 107, no. 4: 694–704.
- Rathwell, Kaitlyn J., and Derek Armitage. 2016. Art and Artistic Processes Bridge Knowledge Systems about Social-Ecological Change: An Empirical Examination with Inuit Artists from Nunavut, Canada. *Ecology and Society* 21, no. 2: 21.
- Roepstorff, Andreas. 2003. Clashing Cosmologies: Contrasting Knowledge in the Greenlandic Fishery. In *Imagining Nature: Practices of Cosmology and Identity*, edited by Andreas Roepstorff, Nils Bubandt, and Kalevi Kull, 117–42. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Rosen, Alena E. 2013. Inuit Art, Knowledge and 'Staying Power': Perspectives from Pangnirtung. Master of Arts, University of Manitoba.
- Saladin d'Anglure, Bernard, ed. 2001. *Cosmology and shamanism*. Vol. 4. Interviewing Inuit Elders. Iqaluit, Nunavut: Nunavut Arctic College.
- Taunton, Carla Jane. 2011. Performing Resistance/Negotiating Sovereignty: Indigenous Women's Performance Art in Canada. Doctor of Philosophy, Queen's University.
- Townsend-Gault, Charlotte. 1994. If Art Is the Answer, What Is the Question? — Some Queries Raised by First Nations' Visual Culture in Vancouver. *RACAR: Revue d'art Canadienne/Canadian Art Review*: 100–110.
- Townsend-Gault, Charlotte. 1995. Translation or Perversion?: Showing First Nations Art in Canada. *Cultural Studies* 9, no. 1: 91–105.
- Trondhjem, Jørgen. 2005. Representing Identity: Cultural Continuity and Change in Modern Greenlandic Art. In *Building Capacity in Arctic Societies: Dynamics and Shifting Perspectives: Proceedings of the Second IPSSAS Seminar, Iqaluit, Nunavut, Canada, May 26 to June 6, 2003*, eds. François Trudel and International Ph.D. School for Studies of Arctic Societies, 131–40. IPSSAS Seminar. Québec: Ciéra.

Vizenor, Gerald Robert. 2007. *Literary Chance: Essays on Native American Survivance*. Biblioteca Javier Coy d'estudis Nord-Americans. València: Universitat de València.

Wilson, Shawn. 2008. *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Black Point: Fernwood Pub.

ENCOURAGING UNDERSTANDING AND DIALOGUE THROUGH MOVING IMAGES OF NORTHERN EXPEDITIONS

Caroline Forcier Holloway
Library and Archives Canada

Abstract: Several years ago, a project was initiated to survey films depicting northern content, to identify gaps in its history and investigate the reason for film descriptions in varying stages of completeness. Soon after, distinct patterns emerged to reveal sizable amounts of footage depicting expeditions, mostly comprised of early home movies. As the survey ensued, the body of research became known as the Northern Expedition Film Collection. Unscripted moving images are considered some of the most authentic, illustrative and raw sources of documentary evidence about the North. Collectively, home movies and professional footage of northern expeditions contribute towards the Arctic's narratives of the relationship between Inuit and explorers who *visited* their land.

1. Introduction

This paper offers insight into the Northern Expedition Film Collection, which is a central part of the Northern Content Film Collection, held at Library and Archives Canada (LAC). It looks at the intersection between expeditions to northern regions of Canada (1910s to 1960s) and the direct or indirect involvement of Inuit, whose names and life stories are most often absent from expedition film descriptions. [*Inuit Scenes at Avvajja, Igloolik: home movie*], is an example of an expedition film that illustrates this point providing a visual narrative of an Inuit community's direct and indirect involvement with the British Canadian Arctic Expedition. Without their assistance, the expedition could not have justified its significance in mapping one of the last uncharted areas in northern Canada and excavating the first major pure Dorset culture site.

An expedition is a journey or voyage undertaken with a particular purpose especially that of exploration or scientific research. Travelers, visitors or explorers partaking in field studies, government northern patrols and surveys, all encountered and/or relied on Inuit to guide them through their intended purpose while in the North. Scenes of everyday activities are perhaps the most compelling of all images found in expedition films in which individuals seen in the background remain unidentified. Expedition members are often identified while, Inuit interpreters, guides, seamstresses, hunters and others who ensured their survival and sustained exploratory endeavours, are often nameless in the archival record.

As a way of reducing this type of problem, Nunavut Sivuniksavut, an Ottawa-based Inuit College, approached LAC in 2002 to collaborate in a photo digitization partnership with the Government of Nunavut. The goal was to digitize unidentified photographs of Inuit and invite Elders to provide content. Project Naming's success is credited in part to our institutional capability to scan large amounts of documents such as photographic images, and the social media platforms used to connect with a wider audience. Film digitization, on the other hand, can prove more labour intensive especially when an original

film requires copying. Additionally, film uploads to our institutional YouTube channel, have not been possible for a few years now, due to internal restructuring.

LAC's film collection comprises over 100,000 films, representing over 71,000 hours of features, documentaries, newsreels, home movies and short films. The Northern Expedition Film Collection is an integral part of the Northern Content Film Collection. It constitutes part of LAC's film collection that comprises a panoply of personal experiences, such as that of Graham Rowley — one of several explorers who recorded people, activities and places using a motion picture camera, and whose film is archived at LAC. The collection consists of footage mostly taken in and around the territories forming parts of the four regions of Inuit Nunangat: Nunavik, Nunatsiavut, Nunavut and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region.

In response to Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action, LAC's Indigenous Heritage Action Plan¹ enables the We are Here: Sharing Stories digitization initiative. By taking stock of its Indigenous content in all forms of archival media including maps, textual records, audio-visual material, photographs, and art, the initiative becomes part of a very crucial step in the reconciliation process. Continued efforts in the decolonization of archival descriptions containing outdated and offensive Indigenous terms are influencing the way archives think and modify approaches to description.

In particular, as the archivist and team member responsible for audio-visual content of Northern and Indigenous holdings, in 2019, I revisited the film collection on a full-time basis, to analyze and document Inuit content found in less obvious collections of Arctic expedition footage, revealing a considerable amount of home movies, documentaries, lecture films, and unpublished footage. As a result, over 400 films by and/or portraying Inuit were identified thus far. Film research is a very involved process necessitating real-time viewing with frequent intermittent stops for notetaking, examining complementary files, and revisiting donor restrictions. In line with LAC's continued efforts to decolonize archival descriptions, over 160 film descriptions were modified to make them more culturally appropriate and to accurately represent Indigenous communities in Canada. In addition, over 325 films were digitized.

2. The Northern Expedition Film Collection

A key driving force behind early exploration in the Arctic was the quest for the Northwest Passage. The establishment of trading companies, the presence of missionaries, and the rush for Arctic oil, gas, minerals, had a lasting impact on the Inuit.² The primary film sources that inform the larger Northern Content Film Collection reveal historical facts relevant to the current study of sovereignty, land claims, self-government, traditional Inuit beliefs, knowledge, languages, and culture. Other broader issues include the administration of housing, health care, defense concerns, policing and federal institutional establishments, exploitation of natural resources, communications, commercial endeavours, and more.

¹ Library and Archives Canada. 2019. Indigenous Heritage Action Plan. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada. (<https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/Pages/actionplan.aspx>).

² Milligan, Shirley and Walter Kupsch. 1986. *Living Explorers of the Canadian Arctic. The Historic Symposium of the Arctic Scientists, Explorers and Adventurers: Toronto, 1978*. Yellowknife: Outcrop. 49.

2.2 Chronological sampling of northern expeditions represented on film

The following table provides a chronological sampling of northern expeditions represented on film. For the purposes of this paper, only a limited number of expeditions are listed due to the large quantity of research categories and findings represented in the Northern Expedition Film Collection table. Some details pertaining to an expedition, including a film description, reference number and fonds name are located in the footnotes.

Table 1: A Chronological sampling of northern expeditions represented on film

Expedition Date	Expedition Name
1913-1918	Canadian Arctic Expedition ³
1914-1915	Joseph E. Bernier Expedition ⁴
c.1921	F.A. Kerr's Field Party NWT Expedition ⁵
1922	Hudson Strait Expedition ⁶
1922-1929	Canadian Government Arctic Expedition – EAP ⁷
1923; 1934	Royal Canadian Corps of Signals Radio Systems ⁸
1925; 1946	MacMillan Labrador Arctic Expedition ⁹

³ Wilkins, G. 1914/1916. Film record: *Part 2, Arctic Expedition at Herschel Island* = [*Arctic Expedition at Herschel Island and Banks Island*], of one of four Canadian Arctic Expedition films. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 168707 (National Film Board of Canada fonds).

⁴ 1914/1915. Film record: *The Land of the Midnight Sun*, of Captain Joseph E. Bernier's trip onboard the *Arctic* with the Eastern Arctic Patrol. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 25477 (Collège de Lévis fonds).

⁵ Energy, Mines and Resources. 1920/1925. Film record: [*Geological Survey of Canada: Dr. F.A. Kerr's Field Party*], of a survey to the Northwest Territories. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 196725 (National Film Board of Canada fonds).

⁶ 1922. Film record: *1922 Hudson Straits*, of an expedition to the Hudson Strait. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 203139 (Unidentified fonds).

⁷ The Eastern Arctic Patrol was carried out annually from 1922 to 1968. Various films documenting the EAP's inaugural voyage exist in numerous archival fonds. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada.

⁸ Steel, W. 1922/1925. Film record: *Establishment of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Radio System*, of the establishment of the NWT and Yukon radio systems. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 44171 (W. A. Steel fonds).

⁹ Fox Movietone News. 1925. Film record: *MacMillan Expedition Sets Off*, of a scientific expedition and aerial surveys of Baffin and Ellesmere Islands. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 334542 (Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation fonds).

1927	Charles Stephen canoe excursion on the Koksoak ¹⁰
1927	Hudson Strait Expedition to study navigation ¹¹
1928	Taylor-Rogers Expedition ¹²
1930-1931	C.W. Knight Prospecting Expedition to Ungava ¹³
1932	Dept. of the Interior Expedition; Mackenzie River ¹⁴
1933	NWT and Yukon Dept. of the Interior Expedition ¹⁵
1935	Canadian Government Arctic Expedition - EAP ¹⁶
1936-1939	British Canadian Arctic Expedition ¹⁷
1937	Canadian Government Arctic Expedition ¹⁸
1938	Expedition to Ungava and Belcher Islands ¹⁹
1940-1942	Henry Larsen Northwest Passage Expedition ²⁰

¹⁰ Stephen, C. 1926/1941. Film record: *[Life Around Ungava Bay = Life Around Hudson's Bay Posts]*, documenting one of Canada's last freighter canoe brigades between Fort Mackenzie and Fort Chimo. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 100596 (Charles N. Stephen fonds).

¹¹ Steel, W. 1927/1928. Film record: *The Royal Canadian Corps of Signals and the Hudson Strait Expedition 1927-1928*, studying navigation in the Hudson Strait. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 101179 (W. A. Steel fonds).

¹² Rogers, P. 1928. Film record: *Taylor-Rogers Expedition*, of an overland expedition from St. John River to the Northwest River in Labrador. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 326171 (Philip V. Rogers fonds).

¹³ Williams, R. 1932. Film record: *On to Ungava*, of a prospecting expedition to Ungava by canoe. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 100780 (R. Massey Williams fonds).

¹⁴ Finnie, R. 1932. Film record: *Down the Mackenzie to the Arctic Ocean: [excerpt]*, of an expedition to the Beaufort Sea, onboard the *Medico*. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 100115 (National Film Board of Canada fonds).

¹⁵ National Museums of Canada. 1933. Film record: *A Naturalist in the Arctic: [incomplete]*, of the NWT and Yukon annual expedition. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 160782 (National Film Board of Canada fonds).

¹⁶ Birchard, C. 1936. Film record: *Eastern Arctic Patrol 1935*, by Dr. Birchard. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 11329 (Charles Birchard fonds).

¹⁷ Rowley, G. 1937. Film record: *[Inuit Scenes at Avvajja, Igloolik: home movie]*, by Graham Rowley of the British Canadian Arctic Expedition. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 327812 (Unidentified fonds).

¹⁸ Nichols, D. 1937. Film record: *To the Northwest Passage on Board the Nascopie*, of the Eastern Arctic Patrol. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 106295 (D.A. Nichols fonds).

¹⁹ Twomey, A. 1938. Film record: *Belcher Island Film*, of Twomey's expedition in Ungava and the Belcher Islands. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 328669 (Arthur C. Twomey fonds).

²⁰ Farrar, F.S. 1940/1942. Film record: *Through the Northwest Passage: 1940-1942*, of the *St. Roch* travelling through the Northwest Passage. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 5666 (Associated Screen News fonds).

1944	Henry Larsen Northwest Passage Expedition ²¹
1944	Geodetic Survey Expedition to Ungava ²²
1946	Canadian Govt. Arctic Expedition – medical ²³
1946	Canadian Govt. Arctic Expedition – medical ²⁴
1947-1948	Geodetic Survey Expedition to James Bay ²⁵
1948	Rousseau expedition across Ungava Peninsula ²⁶
1949	Geodetic Survey Expedition to Foxe Basin ²⁷
1952-1954	Beaufort Sea Oceanographic Expedition ²⁸
1953	Eastern Arctic Medical Survey ²⁹
1954	Royal Canadian Navy Expedition to NW Passage ³⁰

²¹ Larsen, H. 1930/1959. Film record: *[Henry Larsen: amateur footage]*, of Larsen's voyage through the Northwest Passage. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 64409 (Henry Larsen fonds).

²² Manning, T. 1944. Film record: *Geodetic Survey*, of geodetic survey expedition. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 324464 (Thomas Manning fonds).

²³ Hooper, G. 1946. Film record: *Arctic Interlude*, by Dr. Hooper of the Eastern Arctic Patrol. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 47249 (George Hooper fonds).

²⁴ Frank, T. 1946. Film record: *Dr. Frank's Trip to the Arctic: [home movie]*, by Dr. Frank onboard the *Nascope*. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 383668 (Tim Frank fonds).

²⁵ Coombs, D. 1947/1949. Film record: *Geodetic survey = Foxe Basin Expedition Geodetic Survey*, of an expedition to James Bay. This film documents two separate expeditions. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 324454 (Donald B. Coombs fonds).

²⁶ National Film Board. 1949. Film record: *Across Arctic Ungava = À travers l'Ungava*, of a canoe expedition led by Jacques Rousseau. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 118220 (National Film Board of Canada fonds).

²⁷ Coombs, D. 1947/1949. Film record: *Geodetic Survey = Foxe Basin Expedition Geodetic Survey*, of an expedition led by Thomas Manning. This film documents two separate expeditions. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 324454 (Donald B. Coombs fonds).

²⁸ Fisheries and the Environment. 1952/1954. Film record: *Beaufort Sea Oceanographic Survey*, of Canada-U.S. expedition led by the Marine Science Directorate. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 375282 (Department of Fisheries and the Environment fonds).

²⁹ McKone, B. 1953. Film record: *[1953 X-ray and Medical Survey at Great Whale River]*, of a medical survey in James Bay. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 207081 (Barclay McKone fonds).

³⁰ Royal Canadian Navy. 1954. Film record: *The Navy Goes North*, of the Royal Canadian Navy's expedition through the NW Passage. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 100694 (National Film Board of Canada fonds).

1955-1957	Canadian Government Arctic Expedition - EAP ³¹
1964	Barnes Ice Cap Expedition to Baffin Island ³²

The Northern Expedition Film Collection table is arranged chronologically by expedition and film, as these dates may not correspond especially when a film needed to be edited. The table provides details about travel, audio-visual descriptions, collection information, Indigenous research, and digital references. The table also provides a window on people, places and events in the films, and remains very much an evergreen document.

While reading published accounts of journeys to the Arctic, most authors provide a personal narrative from the explorer's perspective. Only in very rare instances does the explorer reference film footage documenting the journey. For example, Arthur Twomey, ornithologist with the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh, published a travelogue account in *Needle to the North*, of his 1938 expedition to Ungava, Nunavik, in search of evidence of inland seals at Lower Seal Lake, and to the Belcher Islands in Hudson Bay. Early in the voyage, two feet of film were all Twomey could shoot because he experienced technical difficulties due to cold weather, "My movie shutter had frozen tight and I could never again take motion pictures until spring came, when we expected to be out of Ungava"³³.

Quite surprisingly, the very footage taken that spring, would find its way to LAC, in 2001. Twomey's ten-minute, silent, one reel home movie, *Belcher Island (sic) Film*³⁴, shot on Kodachrome, and also listed in table 1 above, is one of the earliest and rarest moving pictures documenting Inuit life on the Belcher Islands. Twomey's book provides context in identifying some of the individuals shown in the film that were key to the expedition's subsistence, including, Mata, the HBC post cook, Bob Cruickshank, driver, HBC post manager, and other residents such as young Mosisee, Markisee, older Morisee and Josisee.

3. Researching the collection

The collection provides insight into narratives of amateur and professional filmmakers as it informs the activities of those journeying and speaks to the impact of expeditions on northern Inuit communities.

Late nineteenth century Arctic expeditions such as the Adolphus Greely Expedition (1881-1884) also known as the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition, pre-date the advent of motion pictures in 1895. Sadly, eighteen men perished with the Greely expedition with

³¹ Health and Welfare. 1955/1957. Film record: [*E.A. Patrol*] = *Eastern Arctic Patrol*, of the Eastern Arctic Patrol onboard the *C.D. Howe*. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 16220 (Department of National Health and Welfare fonds).

³² Energy, Mines and Resources. 1964. Film record: *Icecap*, of the Barnes Expedition to Baffin Island. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 95192 (Energy, Mines and Resources Canada fonds).

³³ Twomey, Arthur C. 1942. *Needle to the North: The Story of an Expedition to Ungava and the Belcher Islands*. 41.

³⁴ Twomey, Arthur C. 1938. Film record: *Belcher Island Film*. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 328669 (Arthur C. Twomey fonds).

much of their records lost. LAC's only known footage of Greely, the oldest living explorer at the time a newsreel item was taken, is when the MacMillan Expedition set off from Maine in 1925.³⁵ Vilhjalmur Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913-1918) also had its share of mishaps. Although some motion picture film reels perished in the icy waters, diaries, photographs and motion picture film shot by professional filmmaker, George Hubert Wilkins, journeyed home, marking one of Canada's earliest government-sponsored Arctic expeditions documented on film.

In the 1920s, a budding international interest to study Canada's Arctic regions emerged. Geologists were now shifting their attention towards inland geographical features, where previous focus was mostly on coastal studies. The influx of scientists and explorers in the North forced officials to amend the Northwest Territories Act in 1925, requiring all to obtain permits before entering the Canadian Arctic.³⁶ Additionally, Canada's mounting concerns over Arctic sovereignty, following the Danish government's claim over Ellesmere Island, prompted the establishment of a Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) presence in the Arctic, known as the Eastern Arctic Patrol (also known as the Canadian Government Arctic Expedition) in 1922. One of Canada's concerns over the sovereignty issue was that the hunting and trapping grounds in the North were for "our Aboriginal Peoples". Denmark's response was that the area had always been considered as "no man's land".

Originally, the main purpose of the annual patrol was to establish a presence in the North by maintaining RCMP posts. With each coming year, the Eastern Arctic Patrol would transport the supplies to erect new posts and provide enough food staples for those remaining there. Captain E. Bernier, experienced mariner of the North, would navigate the initial voyages aboard the *Arctic*.

George H. Valiquette was the first professional filmmaker hired to document the 1922, 1923 and 1925 Eastern Arctic Patrols, along with Roy Tash, an equally accomplished filmmaker, who documented the 1924 voyage. There are gaps in the Eastern Arctic Patrol's film records for later years however, moving image records taken by medical practitioners and other personnel, complement official expedition records.³⁷ Richard S. Finnie, a young radio operator on board the first Eastern Arctic Patrol, and under the tutelage of Valiquette and Tash, filmed the 1927-1929, 1933 and 1937 patrols. Finnie used intertitles and dramatic structure to present a factual picture of government work in the North. He went further to shape the raw footage of the 1928 expedition into a narrative thread, *In the Shadow of the Pole*, completing his first documentary.³⁸

³⁵ Fox Movietone News. 1925. Film record: *MacMillan Expedition Sets Off*. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 334542 (Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation fonds).

³⁶ Grant, Shelagh D. 1988. *Sovereignty or Security? Government Policy in the Canadian North 1936-1950*. Vancouver: UBC Press. 248, 17.

³⁷ Eastern Arctic Patrol. 1922-1930. Ships logs of the *Arctic* and *Beothic*. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada MIKAN 138096 R216-159-4E (Northern Affairs Program. Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch fonds). Eastern Arctic Patrol. 1921-1948. Notebooks, diaries and daily journals. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada MIKAN 13097-R216-160-0-E (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds).

³⁸ Geller, Peter. 2004. *Northern Exposures. Photographing and Filming the Canadian North, 1920-45*. Vancouver-Toronto: UBC Press. 46.

Travelers to the North, who left behind documentary evidence by way of their professional or amateur film records, include medical practitioners, dentists, pilots, artists, scientists, geologists, military personnel, missionaries, anthropologists, archaeologists, and documentary filmmakers, to name a few. People took film just as today we take videos, to document just about anything of interest. Increasingly, cameras and film stock made for consumer markets became affordable, lightweight and compact. In addition, the advent of the bush plane and improvements in air transportation paired with the growing need to study, survey, develop, and protect the North fueled the frequency of government field trips.

Between 1926 and 1931, the government chartered the sealing ship *Beothic*. Two members of the Group of Seven painters, Lawren Harris and A.Y. Jackson, were amongst several passengers that filmed their northern voyage. The *Nascopie*, a Hudson's Bay Company ship, would carry out the next northern tours of duty from the early 1930s until it sank in 1947. Medical practitioners (Dr. Charles Birchard, Dr. George Hooper, Dr. Tim Frank and Dr. Joseph Moody) and a dentist (Dr. Roy Hemmerich), who provided health service to the Hudson's Bay Company employees working in the Arctic, as well as to others living in the regions including Inuit and RCMP officers, all took unofficial films of their respective tours. Each offering similar scenes documenting onboard activities from a varied and personal perspective.

In 1950, the Eastern Arctic Patrol resumed with the *C.D. Howe*, a specially designed ship with an expanded medical team trained to conduct surveys and test Inuit for tuberculosis. Unofficial film records taken onboard the *C.D. Howe* are scarce for this period, with the exception of those by Health and Welfare Canada, between 1955 and 1957, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation from 1962 to 1963.

Many archival institutions upload home movies in the public domain, to their respective YouTube channel or other platforms, and a few years ago, LAC followed suit. Dr. Barclay McKone was a medical practitioner, posted to Moosonee in the early 1950s, to conduct a tuberculosis survey of Inuit and Cree communities in regions of Hudson Bay and James Bay. Some of his home movies documenting his experiences conducting tuberculosis tests, aboard the Hudson's Bay Company *Agamaskee* and the *Labrador*, are part of a small number of films about the North, currently available on LAC's YouTube channel.³⁹

There are concerns over the privacy of individuals featured in home movies such as these films created over fifty years ago, and originally intended for an intimate audience, now since having fallen into the public domain. From the 1940s to the 1960s, nearly half of Inuit from the eastern Arctic suffering from tuberculosis were separated from their families, where many were moved without their consent. Posting home movies such as these can be a hurtful reminder to families of those who died in southern Canada tuberculosis sanatoria or even for survivors of the epidemic.

³⁹ McKone, B. 1953. Film record: [1953 X-ray and Medical Survey at Great Whale River], of a medical survey in James Bay. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 207081 (Barclay McKone fonds). Library and Archives Canada YouTube Channel (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZVxzoMU8T0>).

On the other hand, the footage posted to YouTube may be helpful in the identification of loved ones featured in the tuberculosis surveys, and may eventually play a role in providing solace as part of the healing process. More recently, LAC Indigenous archivists have been instrumental in discussions to establish Indigenous cultural protocols. Their insight and recommendations are appreciated in considering an approach to issues such as the McKone films.

4. Reuniting an orphan with its parent

My career began at LAC as a reference audio-visual archivist, where I observed research trends among filmmakers, journalists and scholars, with particular interest in the same overused early expedition footage. It was largely due to the accessibility of the footage, where the copyright had expired and it was free of restrictions, that footage would find its way into documentaries or news items about northern expeditions. Several years later, I became an audio-visual acquisition archivist. As a way to familiarize myself with my predecessor's portfolios, I surveyed the collection and enhanced a small number of existing film descriptions of northern content, with particular emphasis on expeditions, where previously such films were described at various levels of completeness.

Circumstances around films such as [*Inuit Scenes at Avvajja, Igloolik: home movie*] that somehow made their way to LAC, without an existing paper trail, proves challenging for archivists. In 2003, John Bennett, contacted me about footage that he was hopeful could have been taken by his friend, Graham Rowley, archaeologist, during the British Canadian Arctic Expedition. He was interested in obtaining a copy of the film and screen it for Rowley, who was in ill health. [*Inuit Scenes at Avvajja, Igloolik: home movie*], made its way to the then Public Archives of Canada in 1973, in a box labelled "From G.W. Rowley, c/o D.D. Jenness, National Museum of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario". These crucial provenance details located in the online record, allowed Rowley and John Bennett, to trace back the film many decades later, after he had left his camera with Father Etienne Bazin, Oblate Missionary of Mary Immaculate (OMI), at the Igloolik mission.

This orphan film, linked to an unidentified fonds since 1973, was not quite abandoned but just temporarily misplaced. Orphan films, an emerging international film movement studied closely by archivists and academics, are categorized as non-theatrical motion pictures abandoned by their respective owners. They can include a long list of films such as home movies, out-takes, industrial, and amateur films, etc.



Figure 1: Aipilik Inukshuk fishing from a makeshift raft. Frame enlargement from film [*Inuit Scenes at Avvajja, Igloolik: home movie*] Library and Archives Canada ISN 327812 (Unidentified fonds).

5. The British Canadian Arctic Expedition and its long-standing ties to Igloolik

One of the least explored parts of Canada was the west coast of Foxe Basin, the body of water that lies between Baffin Island and the mainland of Canada. Part of this coast and much of the interior had remained beyond the reach of expeditions and were rarely visited by the Inuit due to unpredictable hunting patterns. Geography had also isolated the Foxe Basin where in only two or three places is it possible to cross the island to Foxe Basin without climbing a wall of cliffs several thousand feet high.⁴⁰

Thomas Manning was an explorer, geographer and zoologist, who conducted geographical research at Southampton Island in 1933. After spending two years on his own while learning to travel and live in the Arctic, he planned to return to explore the Foxe Basin. To do this, he was looking to recruit four expedition members to form the British Canadian Arctic Expedition. Graham Rowley, finishing studies at Cambridge University, who had notions of becoming a farmer, soon changed his mind when he met Tom Manning. Reynold Bray became the expedition ornithologist, with previous Oxford University expedition experience in Ungava Bay, Nunavik. Patrick Baird, expedition geologist, had been a surveyor to the East coast of Baffin Island with the James M. Wordie Expedition in 1934. Dick Keeling, soon to study medicine, spent the first summer with the expedition.

⁴⁰ Rowley, Graham W. 1996. *Cold Comfort: My Love Affair with the Arctic*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 7.

Lastly, Peter Bennett was a lieutenant in the Royal Engineers, and joined the expedition as a surveyor, replacing Keeling at the end of the first summer.

On their way from Repulse to Igloolik, in the winter of 1937, Reynold Bray and Graham Rowley met young Aipilik Inuksuk, by chance only. The boy was hunting ptarmigan but happened upon a strange igloo and even stranger inhabitants. He led them to the digging site where local Inuit would dig soil used in building sod houses, to meet Father Bazin. It was during this expedition that Rowley found substantive evidence of the ancient Dorset culture, which began disappearing around 900 AD.

The Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, at the University of Cambridge, comprises the historically significant collection of over 2,450 artifacts from the British Canadian Arctic Expedition⁴¹. In several articles Rowley published on the subject, he acknowledges the Oblate Missionary who played a key role in providing him with the many artifacts excavated purely by accident, at the Avvajja site, as well as his Inuit companions, including Aipilik.



Figure 2: Ataguttaaluk, Queen of Igloolik. Frame enlargement from film [*Inuit Scenes at Avvajja, Igloolik: home movie*] Library and Archives Canada ISN 327812 (Unidentified fonds).

Rowley's seven-minute and fifty-six second, 8mm silent black and white with colour interspersed film, is an important visual record of only three films documenting activities of the British Canadian Arctic Expedition.⁴² Of particular interest are several seconds of rare footage featuring Ataguttaaluk (c.1870 – 1948), an Elder who survived a starvation in 1905 near Pond Inlet, and lived to become an honoured resident. Ataguttaaluk's great niece

⁴¹ University of Cambridge. 2019. Arctic collections. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. University of Cambridge (<https://maa.cam.ac.uk/arctic-collections/>).

⁴² Rowley, Graham W. 1937. ISN 327812. *Inuit Scenes at Avvajja, Igloolik*. Unidentified fonds. Accession 1973-0141, Library and Archives Canada.

offers a visual portrait of the Elder: “Ataguttaaluk, the whalers called her the Queen of Igloolik. She had a headband that was made out of metal that they gave her. It was like a crown – she wore it on her forehead, and it was very visible.”⁴³

Although Rowley published partial accounts of the home movie scenes in *Cold Comfort: My Love Affair with the Arctic*, his subsequent annotation of the film record, including the proper spelling of Inuit companions’ names and places featured in the home movie, proved to be an extremely beneficial contribution to the existing archival film record.

6. Reuniting found footage of Igloolik with members of its community

There is a certain irony in the fact that Inuit who were often the prime focus of expedition films rarely had the opportunity to see themselves or loved ones on any type of screen. In 2009, [*Inuit Scenes at Avvajja, Igloolik: home movie*] was screened for a large public audience who attended the tenth anniversary celebrating the creation of Nunavut, as part of Library and Archives Canada’s Forum on Canadian Democracy. Some of the faces in the fast moving frames spoke words that could not be recorded on film due to the lack of synchronized sound equipment available for 8mm cameras at the time the film was taken.⁴⁴ The home movie being silent, encouraged a type of participatory crowdsourcing activity, where the audience called out names of familiar faces.

Aipilik Inuksuk, one of the young boys featured in the film, attracted much attention, to his daughter’s surprise, as she watched intimate scenes of a younger version of her father on the big screen. Afterwards, she spoke about her father’s long-lasting friendship with Graham Rowley, as he would return to excavate in the Arctic. Graham Rowley and Reynold Bray were given Inuktitut names, where Graham continued to be known as Makkuktu’naaq (‘the little, or likeable, young man’), and Reynold, Umiligaarjuk (‘the little bearded one’).⁴⁵

More recently, my presentation at the Inuit Studies Conference in October 2019 included a screening of a montage of excerpts from the same film. The audience was smaller yet a few Elders who were present, recognized faces and provided names of individuals in Rowley’s home movie. The film provides a very personal record of Rowley’s encounter and daily life with Inuit companions, in particular, those who assisted in important excavations. In doing so, it offers perspective about the film collection’s significant testimonies of life in Canada’s northern regions.

7. Reconnecting through moving images

⁴³ Wachowich, Nancy. 1999. *Sagiyuq: Stories from the Lives of Three Inuit Women*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press. 71.

⁴⁴ Forcier Holloway, Caroline. 2012. Archiving Home Movies: The Particular Case of Inuit Scenes at Avvajja, Igloolik a film by Graham W. Rowley. Unpublished case study research.

⁴⁵ MacDonald, J. 2004. Graham Westbrook Rowley (1912-2003). *Arctic* 57 (2): 115-232 Obituaries. (<https://journalhosting.ucalgary.ca/index.php/arctic/article/view/63558>)

Home movies tell the truth about who we are and how we are. No other depiction of our lives can compare with their authenticity.⁴⁶ It is also evident that home movies made by the untrained eye often display typical technical inadequacies such as under-exposed or out-of-focus sequences. Regardless of their quality, expedition films such as, [*Walrus Hunting: home movie*] and [*Walrus Evisceration: home movie*] are no exception to this practice. I was intrigued to seek out other films taken during the British Canadian Arctic Expedition, when I stumbled upon these two, after closer examination of published sources that provided a link to the Patrick Baird fonds.⁴⁷

Patrick Baird, geographer with the British Canadian Arctic Expedition left a paper trail of expedition diaries and correspondence that I located in his fonds, which also seemed to reveal the only other moving images taken during the British Canadian Arctic Expedition. Baird's two 100-foot rolls of 16mm film of walrus hunting scenes, is a good example of what constituted a skeletal record.⁴⁸ Several years ago, a dozen or so yellow Kodak cardboard boxes deemed ephemeral, were salvaged. They proved extremely beneficial in providing clues such as annotations made by Baird, of the two boxes mailed to England for processing. When you have limited information to work with, an archivist is grateful for clues to help build on an existing description.

In February 2020, the Nunavut International Film Festival, organized by Nunavut Arctic College Media in Iqaluit, presented an evening of archival films with the theme "Ashore with Cameras: 1920-1954". Baird's two films included in the lineup, and totaling less than four minutes each, captivated the audience with traditional walrus hunting scenes. Although Baird's expedition diary did not provide the names of the hunters featured in the films, he does mention his frustration with not having enough film on hand and the camera seizing due to the cold, to capture such a rare event as the walrus hunt.

Eventually, more audiovisual holdings resurfaced linking later activities of members of the British Canadian Arctic Expedition. Of related interest, the Tom Manning fonds hailed a single reel of film from a later expedition during the Geodetic Survey of 1944.

Amongst LAC's governmental holdings are records of government-sponsored Arctic expeditions, mostly consisting of maps, photographs, and reports of findings. Yet, oddly, only a small amount of moving images complete the official government record. Often, a still camera was more readily available to document the activity. When such moving images were recorded, it is most likely in part due to an expedition member who volunteered the use of his own camera. Over the years, a surprising amount of one-off films taken by government scientists or members of the military involved in expeditions, were donated to LAC upon retirement. Interestingly, Tom Manning's film, listed in the table, was also obtained in this manner. Regardless of how they made their way to the archives, the films now play a meaningful role in being part of Canada's collective documentary history.

⁴⁶ Morisset, Micheline. 1980s. Audio-visual Archivist, National Archives of Canada, and member of Inédits.

⁴⁷ Jim Kidd, former archivist of the exploration portfolio at National Archives of Canada, was instrumental in acquiring significant fonds of explorers.

⁴⁸ Baird, Patrick. 1938. Film record: [*Walrus Hunting: home movie*], Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 229958 (Patrick Douglas Baird fonds) and Baird, Patrick. 1939. Film record: [*Walrus Evisceration: home movie*]. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 229959 (Patrick Douglas Baird fonds).

8. Conclusion

The northern expedition film collection stands as testimony to the stories told by both those behind the motion picture lens, and those pictured in the films. These visual records continue to be valued by generations, for as long as viewings or screenings are made possible. Further emphasis placed on in-depth research of northern expedition films will support accessibility and help ensure the preservation of Inuit culture — one film at a time.

References

- Baird, Patrick D. 1938. Film record: [*Walrus Hunting: home movie*]. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 229958 (Patrick Baird fonds).
- Baird, Patrick D. 1939. Film record: [*Walrus Evisceration: home movie*]. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 229959 (Patrick Baird fonds).
- Cavell, Janice and Jeff Noakes. 2009. The Origins of Canada's First Eastern Arctic Patrol, 1919-1922. *Polar Record* 45 (2): 97-112. (<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/polar-record/article/canadas-eastern-arctic-patrol-192268/F6F28810C8EC09AB7BE19AA6D61E5FC6>).
- Cavell, Janice and Jeff Noakes. 2010. *Acts of Occupation: Canada and Arctic Sovereignty, 1918-25*. Vancouver: UBC Press. (<https://actsofoccupation.com/>).
- Eastern Arctic Patrol. 1922-1930. Ships logs of the *Arctic* and *Beothic*. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada MIKAN 138096 R216-159-4E (Northern Affairs Program. Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch fonds). Eastern Arctic Patrol. 1921-1948. Notebooks, diaries and daily journals. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada MIKAN 13097-R216-160-0-E (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds).
- Forcier Holloway, Caroline. 2012. *Archiving Home Movies: The Particular Case of Inuit Scenes at Avvajja, Igloolik, a film by Graham W. Rowley*. Unpublished case study research.
- Grant, Shelagh D. 1988. *Sovereignty or Security? Government Policy in the Canadian North 1936-1950*. Vancouver: UBC Press: 17.
- Guénette, Jean. 1983. *National Film, Television and Sound Archives. General Guide Series 1983*. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.
- Levere, Trevor H. 1993. *Science and the Canadian Arctic: A Century of Exploration, 1818-1918*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 27: 426.
- Library and Archives Canada. 2019. Indigenous Heritage Action Plan. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada. (<https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/initiatives/Pages/actionplan.aspx>).
- MacDonald, J. 2004. Graham Westbrook Rowley (1912-2003). *Arctic* 57 (2): 115-232 Obituaries. (<https://journalhosting.ucalgary.ca/index.php/arctic/article/view/63558>).
- MacKinnon, C.S. 1991. Canada's Eastern Arctic Patrol 1922-68. *Polar Record* 27 (161): 93-101. (<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/polar-record/article/canadas-eastern-arctic-patrol-192268/F6F28810C8EC09AB7BE19AA6D61E5FC6>).
- McKone, B. 1953. Film record: [*1953 X-ray and Medical Survey at Great Whale River*], of a medical survey in James Bay. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 207081 (Barclay McKone fonds). Library and Archives Canada YouTube Channel (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZVxzoMU8T0>).
- Milligan, Shirley and Walter Kupsch. 1986. *Living Explorers of the Canadian Arctic. The Historic Symposium of the Arctic Scientists, Explorers and Adventurers: Toronto, 1978*. Yellowknife: Outcrop: 49.
- Rompré, Mathieu. 2018. The Eastern Arctic Patrol of 1945. *Library and Archives Canada Blog*. (<https://thediscoverblog.com/2018/08/23/the-eastern-arctic-patrol-of-1945/>).
- Rowley, Graham W. 1937. [*Inuit Scenes at Avvajja, Igloolik: home movie*]. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada ISN 327812 (Unidentified fonds).

- Rowley, Graham W. 1996. *Cold Comfort: My Love Affair with the Arctic*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Wachowich, Nancy. 1999. *Sagiyuq: Stories from the Lives of Three Inuit Women*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

UNTANGLING THE LINES: INUIT LITERATURE AND TRANSLATION STUDIES

Valerie Henitiuk
Concordia University of Edmonton

(Joint work with Marc-Antoine Mahieu
INALCO, Sorbonne Paris Cité)

[...T]he government employees of Aboriginal Affairs started to ask: can you arrange them in English? I said yes. I wanted to tell [the stories] all just in Inuktitut, but when the government employees asked if I could tell them in Inuktitut and arrange them in English I said yes.

(Markoosie Patsauq, forthcoming)

While traditional Inuit stories and songs have been known around the world for some 100 years, as told through translations by explorers, anthropologists, and missionaries, the Inuktitut originals tend to be elided from the record. In Canada, contemporary Inuit stories tend to be written in English. The first long-form fiction to be published by an Inuk, however, appeared in Inuktitut some 50 years ago. *Uumajursiutik unaatuinnamut, Maakusiup unikkaatuangit* [literally: hunter with only a harpoon, long stories by Markoosie] made its initial, serial appearance in syllabics in *Inuktitut Magazine*, before being adapted by the author as *Harpoon of the Hunter* (Markoosie 1970). Markoosie Patsauq's English-language version has been much loved by readers young and old (it remains the all-time best-seller for McGill-Queen's University Press) across Canada and in countries as far afield as Ukraine, Estonia, and Japan, but oddly, there has been virtually no attention paid to either the text he originally wrote or the complex and fascinating journey it has taken around the world.

Today's paper (based on collaborative work undertaken over the past few years with Marc-Antoine Mahieu, professor of Inuktitut Linguistics at INALCO, Sorbonne Paris Cité and consultant with the Kativik School Board; and drawing extensively from our forthcoming scholarly edition of Patsauq) is in some ways a call to action, arguing that a critical approach informed by Translation Studies is long overdue, if we are to create space for a renewed relationship with Inuit literature. At this conference, I am hoping especially to engage with young Inuit who may, in today's context of language revitalization and cultural reclamation, be considering careers in literary translation and particularly the emerging field of Inuktitut Translation Studies. Post-colonial Translation Studies is most definitely a thing (see, for example, the pioneering work of Tejaswini Niranjana 1992), and more recently the discipline (admittedly founded in Biblical translation practices, led by Europeans, with an almost exclusive focus on Western texts and scholars) has been enlarged through dialogue with diverse translation traditions. So much important work

awaits scholars trained to do it: *The Autobiography of John Ayaruaq* has never been translated from Inuktitut; Niviaq Korneliussen's self-translation into Danish cries out for analysis, as do its relay translations into English and other languages; there is much to say about the one translated paragraph in Tanya Tagaq's *Split Tooth*; at least two of Zacharias Kunuk's films (*The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* and *A Day in the Life of Noah Piugattuk*) go right to the heart of what translation means.... The list goes on.

I trained initially as a French translator, and then conducted research for over a decade on Japanese women's writing, but a few years ago began looking at Inuit literature. (My own Inuktitut language skills are still basic, but I understand enough to work with and be guided by fluent speakers; Mahieu is of course himself a specialist in Inuit language.) Although I have found this work invigorating and am happy to offer insights based on translation theory and practice (see Henitiuk 2018), enriched by Mahieu's linguistic insights (Henitiuk and Mahieu forthcoming), it remains undeniable that settler scholars lack the lived experience fully to establish this field. What is needed is a reciprocal sharing of knowledge between Translation Studies scholars and Inuit stakeholders—community members as well as translators, publishers, writers, and knowledge keepers—as well as a new generation of Inuit scholars who can and should take the lead. Mahieu and I recognize and acknowledge the inherent value of Indigenous perspectives and the importance of ensuring those voices are foregrounded, to ensure that translations are rigorous and sensitive, that proper attention is paid to what a given text says as well as what it does not say. An understanding of silences is vital when translating, especially in explicitly gendered texts such as Mitjarjuk Nappaaluk's *Sanaaq* (Mitjarjuk 1984), where even today English- and French-language readers must access her writing through the lens of two white males (Saladin d'Anglure 2002 and Frost 2014; for discussion, see Henitiuk 2015 and 2018, Pfeifer 2020). Working together, we can lay a firm foundation for Inuktitut Translation Studies and build much-needed capacity to better understand Inuit prose and poetry and the history of its circulation to and among different readerships.

Northern institutions such as Nunavut Arctic College do important work training Inuktitut translators and interpreters, but with a focus that is necessarily on technical rather than literary translation. In 2022, I intend to organize a summer school on translating Inuit literature, based on several years' experience designing and delivering such workshops (into and out of various languages, from French through Indonesian) as Director of the British Centre for Literary Translation. The leaders of this workshop will be Inuit writers themselves, alongside professional translators. There exists a small corpus of thinking on Indigenous translation (e.g. Brian Swann 1992 and 2011), but much of this is anthropological in focus and given the almost complete absence of Inuit voices in much of this scholarship, the risk is that Inuit are treated solely as objects of study. For example, Inuit thinkers such as Rachel Qitsualik (she is a translator as well as a much-loved author) have a great deal of wisdom to offer on this topic, yet her years' worth of columns in *Nunatsiaq News* are not known at all in the Translation Studies community (imagine if an edited collection could be published; see also Qitsualik 2004). What my paper today is advocating for is a dialogue that will enrich Inuit and Qallunaat alike, enlarging capacity among readers, teachers, and practitioners.

Representations by non-Inuit of Inuit storytelling have typically focussed on non-aesthetic aspects, and not surprisingly reflect specific agendas. In 1882, Franz Boas spent nine months near what is now Pangniquuq; *The Central Eskimo* (1888) contains various stories translated from oral to written. Diamond Jenness did pioneering work on Dorset culture and served as Chief of Anthropology (1926-48) with the National Museum of Canada. During Vilhjalmur Stephansson's 1913-16 Canadian Arctic Expedition, Jenness spent two years with the Inuinnaït (then known as Copper Eskimos), recording hundreds of songs, poems, and stories; *The People of the Twilight* was published in 1928. Paul-Émile Victor's travels to Greenland in the 1950s and 60s led to collections of Inuit poetry in French, and Maurice Métayer produced both an English and a French retelling of a biography titled *I, Nuligak/Moi, Nuligak* (1966/1972). Most famous is Knud Rasmussen, who was one-quarter Inuit and "whose name is synonymous with the collection and transmission of Inuit culture the world over" (Nungak 2004, 21). Rasmussen conducted seven Arctic expeditions between 1912 and 1933 and compiled a vast trove of oral material, especially during the Fifth Thule Expedition of 1921-24, later publishing widely in both Danish and English (see, e.g., Rasmussen 1929). All of this work cries out to be re-analysed and, in many cases, re-translated, from a post-TRC perspective.

There is today a growing number of Inuit voices speaking more directly to readers. Zebedee Nungak and Eugene Arima's *Eskimo Stories/Unikkaatuat* (1969), an early contemporary collection from the National Museum of Canada, contains four dozen stories from Puvirnituq. Also notable in the Canadian context are *Skid Row Eskimo* (Thrasher 1976), *Life among the Qallunaat* (Freeman 1978/2015), *Arctic Dreams and Nightmares* (Ipellie 1993), *Skraelings* (Qitsualik-Tinsley 2014), *Annie Muktuk and Other Stories* (Dunning 2017), the poetry and stories of Taqrilik Partridge, and Tanya Tagaq's Giller Prize long-listed *Split Tooth* (2018). Examples of Greenlandic literature available in English include *Singnagtugaq: A Greenlander's Dream* (Storch 1914/2016), *The Veins of the Heart* (Lyngé 2008/13), or *Last Night in Nuuk* (Korneliussen 2014/19); Greenland also offers a sizeable corpus available only in the Kalaallisut language. Nonetheless, almost all Inuit novels are Greenlandic in origin (Stern 2013, 120; Langgård 2011), and so groundbreaking Canadian writers such as Markoosie and Mitiarjuk represent important exceptions.

Anthologies of Inuit writing in English include *Paper Stays Put* (Gedalof and Ipellie 1980); *Tales from the Igloo* (Métayer and Nanogak 1986); *More Tales from the Igloo* (Nanogak 1986); and *Northern Voices* (Petronie 1988). Volumes of Indigenous Canadian literature typically have only one or two selections by Inuit, with little analysis. Robin McGrath's *Canadian Inuit Literature: The Development of a Tradition* (1984) remains essential reading for understanding Inuit prose and poetry, whether oral or written, while recent criticism (e.g. Martin 2012; Duvicq 2019) is developing new interpretive frameworks.

Encouraging Qallunaat scholars to be aware of these texts and traditions and providing opportunities for Inuit researchers to be trained in the discipline of Translation studies, will go a long way toward creating a dynamic network of those able to make meaningful contributions to the particular problematics of Inuit translation/publication, with the aim of bringing to light cultural wealth and insights that have been entirely elided

government official, and there also exist two separate French translations: one by Claire Martin from 1971 and another produced as recently as 2011, by Catherine Ego. Both translators have done careful work, but they necessarily worked exclusively from that English-language adaptation, without reference to the original Inuktitut text. Such a practice is known as relay or indirect translation that, not unlike the game of Telephone (sometimes called Chinese Whispers or, in French, *téléphone arabe*), can give rise to various miscomprehensions. What is worse, all critical comment on this text has always assumed the author's adaptation to be identical to his original text, despite the fact that the form, style and content of Markoosie's initial writing in Inuktitut is significantly different from what he later published in English. The problem is compounded by the adaptation circulating not only in French translation, but also in subsequent relay translations (i.e. translations from translations) into languages as various as German, Japanese, and Hindi. Our forthcoming volume is the first time any scholars have ever gone back to look at the Inuktitut original. Markoosie Patsauq himself expresses great pleasure at the sincere interest finally being shown toward his manuscript, commenting to Mahieu:

I was surprised that people from such a far country is interested in our language. I thought that the only people that should be interested in our language are the people who would be living in the Arctic or married to the people, the local people, but to learn Inuktitut in France, that's crazy! Why? Why, these people? Almost halfway around the world! [laughter]

I wasn't expecting you to be able to read Inuktitut, the way you... you... when you read the book. That's good. That's very good because in my experience, the people come up here from South to get rich and then go back, never seen again. But, like I said, the people who are planning to stay here forever, all their lives, they should, they should learn to speak Inuktitut. (Patsauq forthcoming)

The significance of Markoosie's work cannot be overstated. Our volume gives readers their first opportunity to read a translation—into any language—of what is in effect the first Indigenous novel ever published in Canada (Markoosie 1969-70). All previous renditions have been based on a later complete rewriting for non-Inuit audiences, produced in a time when southern publishers and readers demanded what Translation Studies scholars call “domesticating” translations. In contrast to “foreignization” (the terminology is Schleiermacher's but has been widely popularized by Lawrence Venuti; see, e.g., Venuti 1995), domestication means that the foreign aspects of the source text, i.e. those features perceived to pose a challenge for readers of the target text, are rewritten in order to resemble as much as possible existing works within the target literary culture, to avoid forcing readers to confront anything too foreign.

The practice of allowing others to “speak for” and package Indigenous authors for settler consumption is difficult to defend today. Staying as close as possible to Markoosie Patsauq's original conception (confirmed through conversations between Mahieu and the author), and seeking ways of understanding through other Inuit writers and thinkers, our book aims to offer a counterbalance to the more traditional approach, where everything hinges exclusively on non-Inuit “‘experts’ who might render these traditions legible”

(Martin and Partridge 2016, 194), while striving to avoid reducing the term “decolonize” to a mere metaphor (Tuck and Yang 2012:10ff). Such work looks at Inuit narrative art as dynamic, powerful works of literature, and makes it available to non-Inuktitut-speaking audiences, whether Indigenous or settler. Two decades into the twenty-first century, it is becoming increasingly difficult to defend what were once common colonizing practices, whether of reading and criticism, or editing and translation.

Given the heavily mediated state and outright elision to date of the original texts written by Mitiajuk, Markoosie, and others, there is a pressing need to return to and highlight what the Inuktitut manuscripts actually say, as well as to offer readers more direct access so they can judge for themselves. Nationally, texts written in languages other than English and French, especially those in Indigenous languages, have had little chance to become a full part of the critical record. Jeannette Armstrong writes powerfully of “the early stages of a literature in Canada which is not Canadian literature, although it has developed side by side with other contemporary Canadian writing” (qtd. in Grauer and Ruffo 2009). This country is developing greater awareness of the burgeoning corpus of Inuit writers in particular. Indigenous writing can often confound critics who are troubled by “its apparent lack of academic sophistication and complexities in the conventional sense” (Episkew 2016 [2002], 188), as well as readers unsure how to appreciate it. It is true that Inuit literature “doesn’t read like English Canadian literature. Inuit don’t speak English like people in the South, and they don’t write like people in the South [...]” (Gedalof and Ipellie 1980, 10).

Our approach in translating directly from Markoosie’s original Inuktitut-language text has been to respect insofar as possible the author’s style, vocabulary and pacing, even when we sometimes worried that features such as lexical repetition risked being negatively received by non-Inuit. Translators of Indigenous languages are well advised to “leave clues to our compromises, signs of our unwillingness to compromise” (Andrew Wiget qtd. in Swann 1987, 249). Those familiar with any of the previously published versions will be struck by how much starker and more powerful Markoosie’s original story is, stripped of the embellishments, including florid language, added scenes and a completely rewritten ending, introduced into the well-known adaptation.

Given the close link between translation and colonialism (see, e.g., Cheyfitz 1991), texts originally authored in Indigenous languages must be read critically, with an eye to the necessarily impactful mediation that occurs whenever two cultures encounter one another. It has been underscored elsewhere that “translation from dominated cultures not only informs and empowers the colonizers but also serves to interpellate the colonized into colonial subjects” (Wang 2009, 201). This is not in any way to denigrate translators, and certainly not the translators who have done exceptional work with what they had, but instead to acknowledge the inherently difficult nature of the activity.

Translation is quintessentially about understanding one another—the theme of this conference—mediating across language, culture, and history. Furthermore, it is an inescapably political, meaningful act, doubly so when Indigenous languages are involved, offering the chance to reflect deeply on the unequal nature of literary domination in (post-)colonial contexts. Dialogue between Inuit Literary Studies and Translation Studies will

In conclusion, it is worthwhile to parse out the Inuktitut verb that inspired the title of this talk. When Markoosie himself refers to how he produced the English-language version of his famous story, he never talks about simply “translating” it, which in Inuktitut would be phrased along the lines of “make these words begin to do (i.e. to speak) like the Qallunaat”: *qallunaatituulirtirijuq*. Instead, he consistently uses a verb that means to “arrange” or “put in order”:

Taakkua *Harpoon of the Hunter* unikkaarakku inuttitutuinnaq piugilaurtaraluakka. kisiani taikkua kavamakkut inulirijikkut pinasuttingit apirsulilaurmata: qallunaatitut aarqigunnapigit? Angilaurpunga. Unikkaarumalauraluarama inuttitutuinnaq, kisiani taikkua kavamakkut pinasuttingit inuttitut unikkaarunnamangaakkit aarqigunnamangaakkit qallunaatitullu apirsumata angilaurtunga.

Interestingly, that same root *aarqik-* does appear one time in the opening lines of *Hunter with Harpoon*, namely when Kamik's father says "and we should [...] untangle [< put in order] the dogsled lines" (in Inuktitut this reads: *qimmiilu ipiutangit aarqisurlugit pijariaqalirpugut*). Working together, writers and translators, scholars and practitioners, Inuit and Qallunaat can and must do the vital work of further untangling the lines of Inuit literature, allowing for more informed, more ethical practices in both criticism and translation.

Cheyfitz, Eric. 1991. *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonialism from The Tempest to Tarzan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Duvicq, Nelly. 2019. *Histoire de la littérature inuite du Nunavik*. Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec.

- critical framing by Valerie Henitiuk and Marc-Antoine Mahieu. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Pfeifer, Pitseolak. 2020. Book sheds light on what it means to be Inuk. *Nunatsiaq News*. January 23.
- Qitsualik, Rachel A. 2004. Contributor's Note. Introduction to short story "Skraeling." In *Our Story. Aboriginal Voices on Canada's Past*, edited by Thomas King, Tantoo Cardinal, and Tomson Highway, 36. Toronto: Anchor Canada.
- Rasmussen, Knud. 1929. *Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24*. The Danish Expedition to Arctic North America in Charge of Knud Rasmussen. Vol. VII. No. 1. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag.
- Saladin d'Anglure, Bernard, trans. 2002. *Sanaaq. Roman*. By Mitiarjuk (Salomé Mitiarjuk Attasi Nappaaluk). Paris: Stanké.
- Stern, Pamela R. 2013. Patsauq, Markoosie. In *Historical Dictionary of the Inuit*, second edition, 153-154. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press.
- Swann, Brian. 1987. A Note on Translation, and Remarks on Collaboration. In *Recovering the Word: Essays on Native American Literature*, edited by Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat, 247-54. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- , ed. 1992. *On the Translation of Native American Literatures*. Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution.
- , ed. 2011. *Born in the Blood: On Native American Translation*. Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Tuck, Eve, and K. Wayne Yang. 2012. Decolonization is not a metaphor. In *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* 1.1: 1-40.
- Venuti, Lawrence. 1995. *The Translator's Invisibility*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Wang Hui. 2009. Postcolonial Approaches. In *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. Second edition. Ed. Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha. London and New York: Routledge. 200-204.
- Younging, Gregory. 2018. *Elements of Indigenous Style: A Guide for Writing by and about Indigenous Peoples*. Edmonton: Brush Education.

NAJUKKAMI ILISIMASAT INUGHUARNILLU SULEQATEQARNEQ *

*Mari Kleist aamma Matthew Walls
University of Calgary*

Naalisarnera: Nunap inoqqaavisa nunaanni suliniutinik ingerlatsinerni Issittumi nunaqqatigiinnik suleqateqarnerup naleqassusaa allaaserisami matumani sammineqarpoq. Allaaserisami matumani itsarnisarsiorluni misissuilluni suliniutini Kalaallit Nunaanni Avannersuarmini nunap inoqqaavinik Inughuarnik suleqateqarnermik ataatsimut misilittakkat saqqummiunneqarput, aqqissuussanilu aalajangersimasuni periarfissat unammilligassallu eqqarsaatersuutigineqarlutik. Misissuilluni suliniutini nunap inoqqaavinik peqataatitsinerup, suleqatigiinneruleriartornerup sungiusaanerullu pingaruteqarnerat erseqqissarneqarpoq. Allaaserisap matuma siunertaraa suleqatigiinnermi iliuuserineqartut ingerlasarnerisa paasisaqaqfiginissaat, ilisimatusarnermilu nunap inoqqaavisa peqataanerulernissaannik siuarsaanissaq kiisalu eqqartorlugu ilisimatuussutsimik ilisimatusariaatsit nunasiaateqarnermit eqqarsartaatsinit qanoq qimatsisinnaanersut.

1. Aallaqqaasiut

Ukiut qulikkaar kingulliit missaanni, nunat inoqqaavini ilaasortat Issittumilu sinniisut Issittoq pillugu ataatsimiinnerni, isumasioqatigiinnerni ataatsimeersuarnernilu amerliartorluarsimapput misissuilluni suliniutini najukkani innuttaasunik suleqatiserinnilluni peqataatitsinerusoqarnissaa nunallu inoqqaavisa isiginneriaasiannik ilanngussinerusarnissaq oqariartuutigineqartarluni (aamma takuuk Inuit Tapiriit Kanadami 2019; Pikialasorsuaq pillugu Isumalioqatigiissitaq 2017). Misissuilluni suliniutinut peqatiserineqartarsimannginneq najukkanilu ilisimasat pillugit isiginnittaatsinut ilanngunneqartarsimannginneq pissutigalugu misissuilluni suliniutini tusarneqarnissamik peqataatinneqarnissamillu kissaat alliartorsimavoq (aamma takuuk Fromm 2016; Bravo & Sörlin 2002). Inuit pineqartut naleqartitaat eqqarsaatiginagit nunat inoqqaavisa kulturikkut kingornussassaasa ilisimasaasalu piiarneqartarnerat ukiuni untritolikkaani ileqqorineqarsimavoq. Nunat inoqqaavisa oqaasissaannik, isiginnittaasiannik ilisimasaannillu soqutigisaqarnani periuseqarneq qujanartumik qaangiukkiartorpoq. Tamassuma kingunerisaanik nunani killerni isummat nassaallu qitiutillugit nunat inoqqaavisa inuuniutaannik nunani killerni nalilersueriaatsit isiginnittaatsillu atorlugit nassuiaasersuisarnerit peernissaannut ilisimatusariaatsini nunasiaatilittut eqqarsartaatsinik piialluni suleqatiserinnittumillu atugassaqaqtitsinissap pingaaruteqarnera ersarissarneqarpoq. Oqaluttuarisaaneq uteqqissanngikkaanni nunat inoqqaavisa nunaanni ilisimatusarnerit ilusilersorneri ataqatigiinnerilu

* Qujassutit: Siullertut Avannersuarmit tamarmik qujaffigerusuppagut. Innuttaasut oqaluttuanik avitseqataasut qujaffigerusuppagut minnerunngitsumillu 2019-mi qanimut suleqatigut Niels Miunge, Genoveva Sadorana, Qalaseq Sadorana aamma Otto Simigaq. Minnerunngitsumillu suleqatitsinnut Pauline K. Knudsen qujarusuppagut. Ilisimatusarfimmiit ilinniartut Pivinnguaq Mørch aamma Pia Egede qujaffigaagut qanimut peqataammata. Suliamut aningaasaliisunut qujavugut ukununga: Namminersorlutik Oqartussat/Tips- og Lottomidlernes Pulje C aamma Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research council. Qujanarlu suleqatinut peqataasunullu tamanut.

eqqarsaatigeqqinneqartariaqarput, ilanngullugit nunat inoqqaavinik peqataatitsillunilu sulisitsinissamik kiisalu ilisimatusarluni suliniutit pillugit isiginnittaasaannik eqqumaffeqarnek.

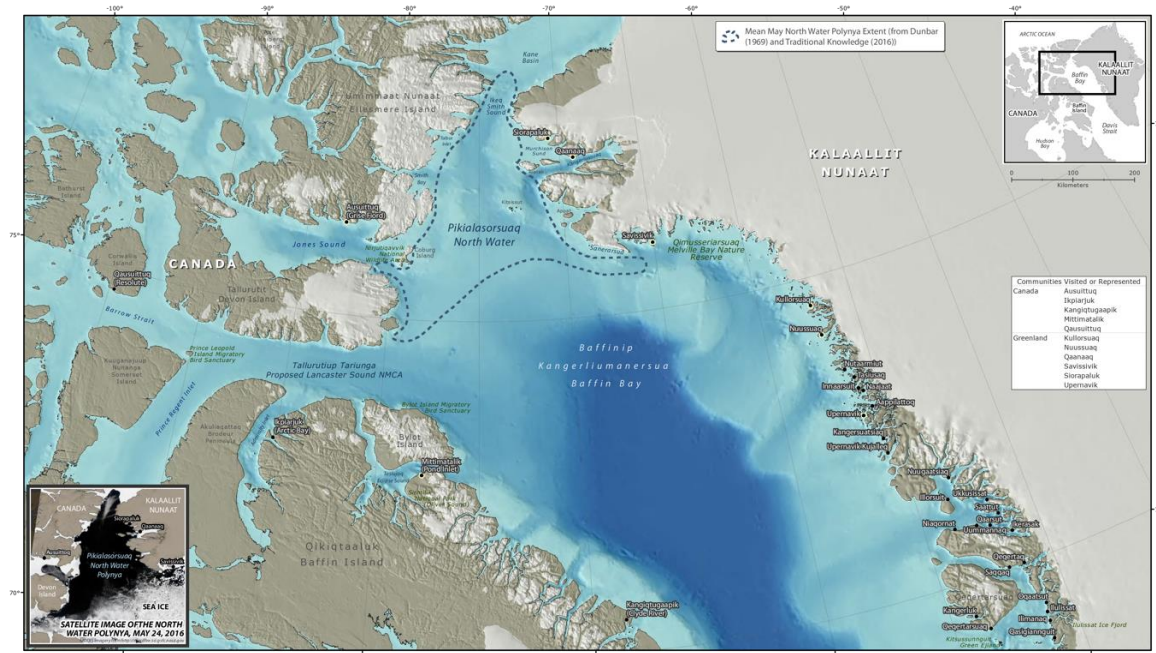
Avanersuaq nunap immikkoortuaniippoq nunani tamalaani avatangiisinik ilisimatusartunit nunarsuarmilu politikkikkut illersuisunit ukiuni qulikkaani kingullermi qitiulersimasoq (Pikialasorsuaq pillugu Isumalioqatigiissitaq 2017; aamma takuuk Powell & Dodds 2014), tassungalu atatillugu Issittup nunarsuarmit isiginiarneqarnerani najugaqartut tamatigut isiginiarneqartarsimangillat naak nunartik kingornussatillu pillugit ilisimasaqarluartuusut (aamma takuuk Kawelu 2014). Inughuit, Avanersuarmi Inuit najugaqartut, nunarsuarmit isiginiarneqarnermit politikkikkullu ilisimasaq oqaluttuarisaanerlu amerlasuutigut eqqarsaatiginagit qulaanit aalajangiinernit ajoraluartumik eqqugaanerluttarsimapput (aamma takuuk Powell 2008, 2010).

Sammineqartartuni immaqqa misissuifigineqarnerpaanut ilaapput Issittoq, silaannaap allanngoriartornera kiisalu avatangiisinut uumasooqassutsimullu sunniutit. Tamassumunnga kissatsikkiartornerata issittumi nunap isikkuanik ersarissorujussuarmik ingerlaannartumillu sunniuteqarneranik pissuteqarneruvoq. Ilisimatuussutsikkut inuillu akornanni silaannaap allanngoriartorneranik ernummassuteqarnek ukiuni qulikkaani kingullerni annertusiartuinnarsimammat nunarsuarmiunit Issittoq eqqumaffigineqarpoq (Powell & Dodds 2014). Nunarsuup kiatsikkiartornera Issittumi inuiaqatigiinnut Inunnut massakkut sunniuteqaraluartoq Inuit puigorneqakkajuttarput eqqartorneqarnatilluunniit nunarsuarmit namminnek nunaminni pisunik oqaluuserisaqarusunnerummata (Powell 2010). Issittumi nunat immikkoortuisa ilaanni najukkani politikkikkut oqallinnerit amerlanerpaat “nunarsuarmi nunagisamiluunniit piujuaannartitsisumik atugassaqartitsinermut” paasinarnerusunngorlugu kimikillisinneqartarput (aamma takuuk Powell 2008, 2010; Saammaateqatigiinnissamut Isumalioqatigiissitaq 2016), amerlasuutigullu nunani killerni ilinniagartuut, amerlasuutigut oqaasissaqarpallaartinneqartut, pullaviannik sammitinneqartarlutik. Taamannak pullaveqarnikkut najukkani inuiaqatigiinnut ingerlaannartumik sunniutit najugaqartullu avatangiisit allanngornerannut inooriaatsiminnut sunniuteqartorujussuarnut pitsaanerpaamik qanoq qisuariarnissamut akissutissarsinissamik pisariaqartitsinerat sumiginnarneqartarput. Silaannaap allanngoriartorneranut sunniutit uppersarniarlugit misissuinerni najukkani inuiaqatigiit suleqatigiinnikkut peqataatinneqarnek ajorput, pingaarnertullu Inuit issittumi nunap isikkuanik ukiuni tusintilikkaani atuisuusimagamik ilisimasaq, allannguutinillu paasinnillutik takunnissinnaalluarnernerat soqutigineqarnek ajorpoq, naak nunap immikkoortuani najugaqarnertik pissutigalugu piffik pillugu ilisimasaqarnerpaagluartut.

2. Inughuit ilisimatusarnerlu pillugit

Inughuit Avanersuup immikkoortuani Pikialasorsuup sineriaani inuusimapput (Takussutissiaq 1) siuliisa Inuit siulliit nunasseqqaartut ilaattut issittumi nunap immikkoortuanik misissuillutillu ukiut 800-ut missaasa matuma siorna (1250 AD missaani) nunassimmatali (Hastrup et al. 2018a). Piffissap ingerlanerani nunap immikkoortuani Inuit siulii assigiinngitsut, assersuutigalugit Saqqaq aamma Tunit, Inuillu

akornanni ungasissumiit niuerneq ingerlanneqartarsimavoq (aamma takuuk McGhee 1997) kingornalu nunap immikkoortuani europamiunik misissuisunik nunassittunillu attaveqatigiinnermut katersuuffiusimavoq (aamma takuuk Hastrup et al. 2018b).



Takussutissiaq 1: Pikialasorsuup eqqaatalu assinga (©Pikialasorsuaq pillugu Isumalioqatigiissitaq)

Inughuit Avanersuarlu nunap immikkoortuatut oqaluttuarisaanermi assigiinngitsunik ilisaritinneqartarsimapput. 1800-kkunni 1900-kkullu aallartinneranni nunap immikkoortuanik misissuinerni siullerni “nassaarnissaq” Inunnillu siullernik ujaasineq pingaartinneqarnerusimapput (aamma takuuk Hastrup 2010; Thisted 2010). Ilisimasassarsiornerit inuiannik ilisimaneqanngitsunik sunnerneqarsimanngitsunillu siulliulluni naapitsinissamik, inuiannik “nutaanik” “nassaarnissamik”, aallaaveqartinneqartarsimapput (aamma takuuk Hastrup 2010, 2016; Rasmussen 1905; Thisted 2010), taamannak ujaasinerimi ilisimasassarsiortut siulliit Inughuillu sunniivigeqatigiinnerat assersuutaavoq. Danskit Kalaallit Nunaannik nunasiaateqarnerminnik annertusaaneranni Avanersuaq kingulliullugu 1900-kkunni ukiut 50-it siulliit ingerlaneranni nunasiaatigilerpaat (Gilberg 1971). Piffissap ingerlanerani avataanit isiginnittaaseqarluni nunap immikkoortua takorloorneqarpoq, misissorneqarpoq, paasiniarneqarpoq, sinniisoqartinneqarpoq, paasinartunngorsarneqarpoq nassuiarneqarlunilu. Nunap immikkoortua danskit, tuluit Amerikarmiullu ilisimasassarsiortuinit ilisimatuunillu tikeraarneqartuartarpoq (aamma takuuk Gilberg 1971; Hastrup 2015; Hastrup et al. 2018b), taakkulu nunap immikkoortuanik Inughuillu inuussutaannik paasinninnermik nassuiaanermilli pingaarutilimmik peqataapput. Nunani killernit ilisimasalik suliaqarneq nunallu immikkoortuanut politikkip sammivilerneqarneranut sunniuteqartut Inughuarnullu ulloq manna tikillugu sunniuteqarlutik (Saammaateqatigiinnissamut Isumalioqatigiissitaq

2016). Nunani killerni nalilersueriaatsit isiginnittaatsillu atorneqarsimanerat paasissallugu pingaaruteqarpoq, taamalu nunani killerni isummertaatsinik takutitsillutik Inughuarniunngitsoq.

Tupinnanngitsumik Inughuit ukiuni qulikkaani arlalinni nunaminnik kulturikkullu kingornussaminnik paasiniaasoqartillugu peqataatinneqarnissaminnik pisariaqartitsillutillu pingaaruteqarnerannik ataavartumik oqariartuuteqartarsimapput (Saammaateqatigiinnissamut Isumalioqatigiissitaq 2016). Inughuit ilisimatusarnernut toqqaannartumik peqataatinneqarnissaq najukkanilu inuiaqatigiinnik naligiimmik peqatigiilluni suleqatigiinnissaq pilersinneqarnissaa nipittoraluttuinnartumik oqariartuutigaat. Peqatigiilluni suleqatigiinnerit taakku Inughuarnit aamma iluaqutigineqarsinnaassapput suleriaatsinut assigiinngitsunut sungiusarneqassammata. Inughuit ilisimatusarnermi periutsinut peqataatinneqarnerisigut nunani killerni ilisimatusarnikkut oqaluttuarineqartut kalluaasoqalersinnaalissaaq taamalu najukkami oqaluttuarisaanikkullu inuunerannik pisimasunillu paasinninneq qanorlu Inughuit kinaassusaannik nunarsuarmi ilisarititsioqarnera siuarsarneqarsinnaalissaaq. Assigiinngitsunik sammivilinnik ilisimasanik katiterinikkut pisuunnguallaataasumik assigiinngiaartumillu qaleriinnilinnik paasinninneq pilersinneqassaaq, peqataasunut tamanut iluaqutaasussamik.

3. Pikialasorsuaq pillugu Isumalioqatigiissitamit misilittakkat

Pikialasorsuarmi ilisimatusarnerni najukkami peqataatitsinissamik naleqquttunngortitsiniarluni Inunnit siulersorneqarluni sulineq (ataaniittoq takuuk) nunap inoqqaavisa ilisimasaasa isumaasalu ilanngunneqarnissaasa pingaaruteqassusiannik takutitsivoq.

Pikialasorsuaq, Avanersuup, Umimmaat Nunaata (Ellesmere Island) Tallurutillu (Devon Island) akornat, imarnersaavoq ukiunilu 4.500-ni Inuit siuliinit Inunnillu aalisarfittut piniarfittullu qitiulluinnarluni (Lyberth aamma Egede 2013; Hastrup et al. 2018c). Nunavummit Avanersuarnillu inuiaqatigiit Pikialasorsuarmi uumasogarluartuunera pinngitsoorsinnaanngilaat. Taamaattorli silaannaap allanngoriartornerata sunniutai annertusiartuinnartut ersaripput (aamma takuuk Dietz et al. 2018; Flora et al. 2018; Pikialasorsuaq pillugu Isumalioqatigiissitaq 2017) taamalu Inughuit inuunerannut tapertaallunilu inuuniutaasoq navianartorsiorpoq – ilaallutik piniartutut inuunermet, qularnanngitsumik inuussutissaqarnermet, isumannaatsumik aningaasaqarnermet il.il. ajoqusiisinnaasut. Tamanna pissutigalugu Inughuit qanga silaannaap allanngorartarnerata sunniutaanut qanoq periuseqartarsimanerannik paasinninnikkut silaannaap pissusaanik paasinninnissamut Pikialasorsuullu immikkoortuanik attassinissamik illersuinissamillu periusissatut siunnersuutitut nalilersuinernut iluaqutaasinnaassallutik. Najukkami ilisimasanik katersuisoqarnissaa siunertaralugu Pikialasorsuaq pillugu Isumalioqatigiissitaq Kalaallit Nunaannit Canadamiillu peqataatitaqartoq taamaammat Inuit Issittormiut Katuffiannit (ICC) 2016-imi pilersinneqarpoq (Pikialasorsuaq pillugu Isumalioqatigiissitaq 2016). Pikialasorsuaq pillugu politikiliornissamut siunnersuinissaq siunertaralugu isumalioqatigiissitaq sulisinnissaanut isumassarsiat siunertarineqartullu ICC-mit aqqissorneqartumik 2013-

imi workshopertitsinerimi oqaluuserineqarlutillu oqaasertalersorneqarput (Lyberth & Egede 2013). Isumalioqatigiissitaq inuiaqatigiinnut angalavoq Pikialasorsuup eqqaani najugaqartunik toqqaannartumik oqaloqateqarnikkut najukkani ilisimasat katersorneqarlutillu suliamut sumiiffiullu siunissami qanoq atorneqarnissaanut attatiinnarneqarnissaanullu innersuusiortoqarluni. Paasissutissat isumalioqatigiissitamit suliarineqarput nalunaarusiarineqarlutillu, paasissutissat tunngavigalugit siunissamik takorluuisoqarlunilu piumasaqaateqartoqarluni Inuit akornanni agguaanneqartunik. Taamannak sulinerimi najukkani inuiaqatigiit peqataatinneqarlutillu suleqatigineqarnerat nunap immikkoortuata atorneqarnera pingaaruteqarneralu pillugit misissuinerup tamakkiisuutinnissaanut pissusissamisoortunngortinneqarput – ilisimatusarnermik, sakkutooqarnermik, niuerneramik, takornariaqarnermik aningaasaqarnermilu immikkoortuni allani sullissisut Pikialasorsuarmik atuinermit soqutiginnissinnaasut ilanngullugit. Sulinerup tamatuma tamatigoortumik pingaaruteqassusaa ersarilluinnarpoq.

Inunnit siulersorneqartumik sulineq tamanna pingaaruteqaqisoq najukkani atugassarititaasut, attaveqatigiinnerit, kissaatit unammilligassallu tungaatigut ilisimasat annertusarnissaanut suleqatigiinneq peqatigiinnerlu pingaarutilerujussuusimapput. Najukkani inuiaqatigiinnit innersuussutigisarpassuarnut siunnersuutit oqaluttuallu ilagaat itsarnisarsiornermut sumiiffiit piniarfiillu qanga maannalu qitiulluinnartut sumiissusersinissaasa pingaaruteqarneri (Lyberth & Egede 2013).

4. Pikialasorsuarmi Inughuit pillugit itsarnisarsiornermik suliniut

Itsarnisarsiornermi najukkani atuuttunik suleqateqalernissaq pitsaaqutissarpassuaqarpoq. Suleqatigeeriaaseq, najukkani inuiaqatigiinnik peqataatitsinikkut pingaartinneqarsimanngikkaluartut nipaannik sallinngortitsineq qanga pillugu oqaluttuat pisuunnguallaatigisinnaasaannik periarfissiineramik aqutissiuunneqarsinnaalissaq (aamma takuuk Atalay 2006; Caxaj 2015; Hogan & Topkok 2015; Tuck & Yang 2012).

Naligiimmik suleqatigiinnissamik peqatigiittoqarnissaanik kiisalu nunasiaateqarnermik ingerlatsinermit toqqaannartumik toqqaannanngitsumillu inissisimaffeqarsimasut itsarnisarsiorneq kingornussassanillu ilisimatusarneq nunasiaateqarnermi periusersanit qimagutsinniarlugit ineriartortitsinissaq siunertarineqarpat (aamma takuuk Atalay 2006), taava kulturikkut kingornussassanik perorsaasuusugut/ingerlatitsisuusugut] qulakkiissavarput ilisimatusarnitsinni inernerusut inuiaqatigiinnut suliffigisatsinnut iluaqutigineqarnissaat. Najukkani soqutigisat ernummatillu tusassallugit pisariaqarpoq nassuerutigisariaqarlunilu tatigeqatigiinneq unnuap ingerlanerani pilersinneqarsinnaanngimmat (aamma takuuk Hogan & Topkok 2015). Najugaqartunik suleqateqarniarluta suliniarnitsinni unammilligassaqsinnaagaluarluta qanittumik suleqatigiinnissaq piffissaq ungasinnerusoq eqqarsaatigalugu iluaqutissartaqarnerunera qularutissaanngilaq. Najukkani inuiaqatigiinnik pitsaannerusumik attaveqatigiinnissamut suleqatigiinnissamullu iliuuseqarnikkut peqataatitsinermik ersarinnerutitsinermillu pilersitsissaaq tamanullu tamanna iluaqutaassaaq.

4.1 Suleqatigiinnermik peqatiserineqarneq

Inughuit piffissaq ungasinnerusoq eqqarsaatigalugu avatangiisini allanngorartuni qanoq paasinnillutillu iliortarnerannik ilisimatusaatigalugu massakkut suliniutitsinni immaqa soqutiginaateqarnerpaartaraat Inughuarnik qanittumik suleqateqalernissamik ineriartortitsineq.

Inughuarnik qanimut suleqateqarluni kiisalu Kalaallit Nunaannit Canadamiillu ilisimatusartoqatigiinnik ilinniartunillu peqataatitsilluni ilisimatusarneq ingerlaarnernik Pikialasorsuup sineriaani itsarnisarsiorfinnut sunniuteqartunik naliliivoq (Takussutissiaq 2). Tassani ilaapput Inughuit avatangiisinut qisuariarnerat, sunniutininik naliliinerit kiisalu sumiiffinnik qangarnitsanik nutaanillu/nutaaliaasunillu pingaarnersiuiuinissamut ernummatinik atugassarititaasunillu inuiaqatigiit ernummataannik takunninneq.



Takussutissiaq 2: Avannersuarmiut kissaataat malillugu itsarnisaqarfiit ilaanni sineriak illukulik nungujartulersoq takusarneqarnerpoq. Assimi takuneqarsinnaavoq illukoq nungujartortoq. Assimi ilaapput Avannersuarmiut Otto Simigaq, Qalaseq Sadorana aamma Canadamiit itsarnisarsiooq Matthew Walls.

4.2 Ilisimatusarnerup sammiviata allanngornera apeqquutillu

Ornigulluni ilisimatusarnermik suliniutit allat assigalugit suliniuterput aallartippoq suliniummut ilisimatusarnermi anguniakkanik apeqquutinillu imalinnik nassuiaateqareerluta. Ornigullutalu ilisimatusariartoqqaarnitsinnut inuiaqatigiinnillu oqaloqateqarnissatsinnut eqqarsaatigisareersimavarput inuiaqatigiinni ilaasortat peqataatinniarlugit aperiniarlugillu ilisimatusaatitsinnut suut ilanngutissanerigut.

Ataatsimoortunik ataatsimeeqateqarnerni, misissuiartorluta tikeraarnerni ornigullutalu ilisimatusarfitsinni najukkami inuiaqatigiinnut ilaasortanik apersuinitisinni paasissutissanut ilisimatusarnermullu apeqqutinik soqutiginartunik assigiinngitsunik ineriartortitsisoqarpoq. Sulinitisinni ersarissivoq najukkami inuiaqatigiinni ilaasortat kingornussatik pillugit pingaartitsisorujussuusut siuaasaminnillu, ilaatigullu utoqqarnit suli inuiaqatigiinni najugaqartunit, sumiiffiit atorneqartarsimasut erligisorujussuugaat. Inuiaqatigiinnit peqataatinneqartut, tassaasut ilaqutariit piniartukkormiut ilisimasanillu pigisaqartut, piffissartik tunniuppaat sumiiffiillu pingaaruteqartut neriorneqaraluttuinnarnerannit navianartorsiortinneqartut pillugit ilisimasaminnik avitseqatigaluta, ilisimasallu siunissami pigiinnarneqassappata sunniutininik nalilersuisoqartariaqassalluni (Takussutissiaq 3). Qanga pisimasunut, massakkut siunissarlu pillugit misigissuseqartorujussuunertik saqqummiuppaat, ilanngullugit itsarnisarsiorfiit pingaaruteqartorujusoorpasinnerat, inuiaqatigiit allannguutininik isiginnittarnerat, sumiiffiit ilaat uumasoaqatigiinnik qanga piniarfittut pingaaruteqarsimasut taaneqarlutik. Oqaluttuat ilisimasarpassuillu kinguaariit akornanni oqaluttuareqqinneqarlutillu, pinngortinneqartarnerat aaqqissoqqinneqartartullu ersarippoq, tamassumalu takutippaa Inughuit piginnaasaat sumiiffinnillu atuinerat piffissap ingerlanerani ineriartorlunilu allanngorsimasoq.



Takussutissiaq 3: Avanersuarmioq Genoveva Sadorana Pitoraarfimmi nalunaarsueqataalluni ilivitoqap oqaluttuassartaanik eqqartuisoq

Inughuit qanimut suleqatiginerini ilisimatusarnermi sammiviit apeqqutillu nutaat takkupput, tamannalu ilisimatusarnermik isummiutereerlugu eqqarsartaaseqarnitsinnik

takorluuunitsinnillu unammillernarsimasinnaavoq. Inuiaqatigiinnik peqataatsinitsinnit inernerusuni pingaarnarpaavoq inuiaqatigiinni ilaasortat kissaatiminnik siunnersuuteqarlutillu ilitersuisalermata piffiit/sumiiffiit najugaqarfikut suut misissorlugillu nalunaarsussagigut.

Najugaqarfikut aaliangersimasut immikkullu itsarnitsat eriagisassat pillugit sooqutiginnillutik paasisaqarnerorusupputaaq (Takussutissiaq 4). Tassunga atatillugu inuiaqatigiinni ilaasortat peqataasut ilisimatusarnermi sammineqartuni aalajangersaaqataallutillu aqutseqataanissamut periarfissinneqarput. Taamaaliornikkut najukkani inuiaqatigiit ilisimatusarnermut toqqaannarnerusumik peqataasinnaalerput ilisimatusarlunilu suliniutip qanoq sammiveqarnissaanut isumaqarlutik, ilisimatusarnermi apeqqutit oqaasertalersornerat ilanngullugu.



Takussutissiaq 4: Avanersuarmioq Qalaseq Sadorana Ilisimatusarfimmilu ilinniarteq Pivinnguaq Mørch Kitsissunni tupeqarfikoq sineriak uukkaannerani nungujartortoq/neriorneqaraluttuinnartoq assallugu misissoraat

Massakkut sulinitsinni misigaarput najukkani inuiaqatigiinnik toqqaannartumik saaffiginnillunilu suleqateqarnikkut itsarnisarsiorfinnut pingaarutilinnut allanut aqqutissiorneqartugut ilisimatusarnermilu apeqqutinik pilersaarutitsinni ilanngunneqarsimanngissinnaasunik ilassuteqarluta.

Najukkani inuiaqatigiinni ilaasortat nittartakkanik, atuuffinnik, nunap isikkuinik, imaani pissutsinik immikkut annertuumik immikkuualuttunillu ilisimasaminnik avitseqatigaatigut, tassuunakkullu isiginnittaatsitsinnik, ilisimasatsinnik, teoriinik pissutsinilluunniit ilisimasatsinnik allannguisunik. Inuit nipaas ilisimasaallu pillugit

ilisimatuujusugut etnografiskimik allatanit nalinginnaasumik atuarsimavagut – nunani killerni ilisimatuunit katersorneqarsimasut nunanilu killerni naleqartitat isiginnittaatsillu aallaavigalugit nassuiarneqartut (aamma takuuk Stewart-Harawira 2013). Taamaammat sulineq najukkanilu innuttaasunik toqqaannartunik suleqateqarneq amerlasuutigut pissarsinanerullunilu, peqataatitsineruvoq, akuersaarnarnerulluni ataqqinninnerullunilu.

Ilisimatusartutut ilinniarnitsinni sulinitinnilu immaqa ilikkarsimasagut ileqquusumik ilisimasanit, najukkani inuiaqatigiinnit taamaallaat ilisimaqqissaarneqartunit, unammillerneqarluarsinnaavoq. Assersuutigalugu qinnivik ilivinngoriaataarsinnaavoq ujaqqallu nalaatsortumik kinguleriaartutut inissisimasut tassaasinnaallutik ukallinut pullatit. Taamaammat ilisimatusarluni suliniutini toqqartumik tusarnaaneq, malinnaaneq, inuiaqatigiinni oqaatigineqartunik pingaarnersiuneq najukkanilu naleqquttumik peqataatitsineq paatsooratarsinnaanernik / kukkusumik nassuiaaratarsinnaanernik annikillisitsissapput kiisalu najukkani kissaatinut peqataarusussusermik, soqutiginninnermik ataqqinninnermillu qaffassaataassalluni (aamma takuuk Atalay 2006; Baird 2014; Caxaj 2015; Hogan & Topkok 2015; Kawelu 2014). Taamannak ingerlanitsinni ilisimatuussutsikkut ilisimasagut qularnanngitsumik pisuunngujallallutillu nukittorsarneqarput.

5. Siunissaq pillugu eqqarsaatersuutit

Periuseq nunasiaataanermit eqqarsartaatsimit qimagutsissagutsigu peqataanerulersillugillu, najukkani inuiaqatigiinni siuaasaannik kulturiannillu ukkataqarluta misissuiffigisatsinni iluaqutaalersillugu, eqqarsaatigisariaqarparput immitsinnullu isornartorsiorderunissarput eqqumaffiginerullugu. Sungiussisinnaaneq ammasumillu isumaliortaaseqarneq qitiuvoq. Nassuerutigissavarput qanga allanut pisimasut itsarnisarsiuut ilisimatusarnissamut kingornussatut pininnaatitaaffeqanngimmata immikkulli pininnaatinneqarlutik. Tamanna eqqarsaatigalugu Issittumi ilisimatusariaatsimik nalilersuiarnissaq pingaaruteqarluinnarpoq.

Ilisimatusarluni misissuinnermi pingaaruteqarluinnaqqissaarpoq inuit najugaqavissuusut, tassa nunat inoqqaavi, qanimut suleqatigissallugit minnerungitsumillu ilisimatusarnermi suliamut piginneqataasussanngortillugit ilisimatusarnermi angusarissaartoqassappat ineriartortoqassappallu. Ilisimatusarluni sulisussaalluni ilisimatusartuniit misissugassat aaliangersimasut aaliangereerneqartarneri kipparippallaamillu ataqqineqartarneri tulluurtuunngilaq sualummik nunat inoqqaavisa ilisimasaat ikkattutut tigooraannarneqarsimasutullu isigineqaraangata. Taamaasilluni ilisimatusartoq ilisimasaminik katersukkaminik nunat inoqqaaviniik ilisimasaqarnerusutut inissittarpoq. Piffissami matumani nunat avannarlerni inoqqaavi ilisimatusartut avataaneersut qanoq misissueriaaseqarnerisut qanorlu paasissutissanik katersisarnerisut eqqumaffigineqalerallutuinnaarput nunallu inoqqaavi piumasaqarnerulerlutik qanimut peqataatinneqarnerulernissaat. Taamaattoqartillugu apeqquarneqarsinnaavoq ilisimatusartut ilisimatusaatissaminnik pilersaarusioreaangamik tulluarnarpaannginnerisut nunaqavissut qanimut suleqatigalugit misissugassamut ilusilersueqatiginissaat.

Soorunami eqqaamaneqartariaqarpoq silarsuarmi nunat inoqqaavi tamarmik immikkuullarissuseqarmata assigiinnatillu piffimmiit piffimmut nunamiillu nunamut. Taamaattumik aamma eqqaamaneqartariaqarpoq malittariaaseq aamma suleriaaseq aaliangersimasoq nunaqavissunut tamanut atorsinnaasoq ataasiinnaasinnaangimmat. Illuatungaani suleriaatsit assigiinngitsut tulluarsarneqartariaqarput inuiaqatigiit assigiinngitsut inooriaasiat piorsarsimassusiat il. il. ataqqillugit naleqqussaasoqarluni taamatullu misissugassat ataasiakkaat ilusilersorneqarneri assigiinngittariaqarlutik. Ilisimatusartut avataaneersut misissuinerminni nunat inoqqaavi ilisimasaannik taamaallaat ilisimasanik aallerfittarfittut ilisimatusartunillu avataaneersunit taamatut isiginnittaaseq pissusilersornerlu qimakkiartorneqartariaqalerpoq. Nunat inoqqaavi suliamut piginneqataasussatut, ilusilersueqataasussatut, qanimut suleqatissatut il.il. inissinneqartalernissaat piffissanngorluinnarpoq. Taamatut allanngortitsissagaanni inuit nunaqavissut misissugassat ilusilersorneqarnissaat peqataaffigisinnaalissavaat ineriartortitseqataasinnaalissallutillu.

Taamaattumik minnerpaamik siuarsartariaqarparput najukkani inuiaqatigiit peqataanerat, peqatiginerat, piginnittuunerat qanorlu ilisimatusarnissamik pilersarusiortarnerput ingerlatsisarnerpullu eqqarsaatigisariaqarlutigu. Ilisimatuutut pisussaaffigaarput najukkani inuiaqatigiit sinnerlugit peqatigalugillu allassalluta, taakkumi inuuniutaat kingornussaallu paasiniaavigaagut ilinniagartuunut allannissaq kisiat pinnagu. Ilutigitillugu najukkani inuiaqatigiinni ilaasortat suleqatigisimasagut peqatigalugit nassuiaasiorsinnaanermik nassaarniartariaqarpugut. Taamaaliornikkut inuiaqatigiinni isiginnittaatsit akuliukkiartortilissavagut inuiaqatigiinnilu ilaasortat pingaartitaannut samminerujartulerluta. Tassanerpiaq inuiaqatigiinni ilaasortanik piviusumik peqatigiinneq aallartissaaq. Tamannalu pisinnaavoq ilisimatuussutsikkut pitsaassutsinik pitsaassutsinullu piumasaqaatinik innarliinani – pitsaassutsinullu iluaqutaasinnaalluni.

References

- Atalay, Sonya. 2006. Indigenous Archaeology as Decolonizing Practice. *American Indian Quarterly* 30(374):280-310.
- Baird, Melissa F. 2014. Heritage, Human Rights, and Social Justice. *Heritage & Society* 7(2):139-155.
- Bravo, Michael aamma Sverker Sörlin. 2002. *Narrating the Arctic. A Cultural History of Nordic Scientific Practices*. Canton, MA. Science History Publications, USA.
- Caxaj, Susanna C. 2015. Indigenous Storytelling and Participatory Action Research: Allies Toward Decolonization? Reflections From the Peoples' International Health Tribunal. *Global Qualitative Nursing Research* 1-12.
- Dietz, Rune, Anders Mosbech, Janne Flora, aamma Igor Eulaers. 2018. Interactions of climate, socio-economics, and global mercury pollution in the North Water. In *Special Issue: The North Water: Interdisciplinary studies of a High Arctic polynya under transformation*, ed. Kirsten Hastrup, Anders Mosbech, aamma Bjarne Grønnow, *Ambio* 47(2):281-295.
- Flora, Janne Kasper Lambert Johansen, Bjarne Grønnow, Astrid Oberborbeck Andersen, aamma Anders Mosbech. 2018. Present and past dynamics of Inughuit resource spaces. In *Special Issue: The North Water: Interdisciplinary studies of a High Arctic polynya under transformation*, ed. Kirsten Hastrup, Anders Mosbech, aamma Bjarne Grønnow, *Ambio* 47(2):244-264.

- Fromm, Annette B. 2016. Ethnographic museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage return to our roots. *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures* 5:89-94.
- Gilberg, Rolf. 1971. Polareskimoerne i Thule Distriktet, Nordgrønland: Økologiske beretninger over bosætning og demografi. Unpublished manuscript. The library of the Ilisimatusarfik/University of Greenland.
- Hastrup, Kirsten. 2010. *Vinterens hjerte. Knud Rasmussen og hans tid*. Historisk Tidsskrift Bind 110 Hæfte 2. Gads Forlag: Copenhagen.
- Hastrup, Kirsten. 2015. *Thule på Tidens Rand*. København: Lindhardt & Ringhof.
- Hastrup, Kirsten, Astrid Oberborbeck Andersen, Bjarne Grønnow, aamma Mads Peter Heide-Jørgensen. 2018a. Life around the North Water ecosystem: Natural and social drivers of change over a millennium. In *Special Issue: The North Water: Interdisciplinary studies of a High Arctic polynya under transformation*, ed. Kirsten Hastrup, Anders Mosbech, aamma Bjarne Grønnow, *Ambio* 47(2):213-225.
- Hastrup, Kirsten, Anders Mosbech, aamma Bjarne Grønnow. 2018b. Introducing the North Water: Histories of exploration, ice dynamics, living resources, and human settlement in the Thule Region. In *Special Issue: The North Water: Interdisciplinary studies of a High Arctic polynya under transformation*, ed. Kirsten Hastrup, Anders Mosbech, aamma Bjarne Grønnow, *Ambio* 47(2):162-174.
- Hastrup, Kirsten, Bjarne Grønnow, aamma Anders Mosbech. 2018c. Preface. In *Special Issue: The North Water: Interdisciplinary studies of a High Arctic polynya under transformation*, ed. Kirsten Hastrup, Anders Mosbech, aamma Bjarne Grønnow, *Ambio* 47(2):159-161.
- Hogan, Maureen P. aamma Sean A. Topkok. 2015. Teaching Indigenous methodology and an Iñupiaq example. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, education & Society* 4(2):50-75.
- Kawelu, Kathleen. 2014. In Their Own Voices: Contemporary Native Hawaiian and Archaeological Narratives about Hawaiian Archaeology. *The Contemporary Pacific* 26(1):31-62.
- McGhee, Robert. 1997. *Ancient people in the Arctic*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanadami. 2019. National Inuit Strategy on Research Roundtable Summary Report 2019. [pdf] ITK. Available at: https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/ITK_NISR_Roundtable_11.pdf
- Lyberth, Bjarne, aamma Parnuna Egede. 2013. PIKIALASORSUAQ – “Bridging the Bay” Workshop Report 2013. [pdf] Inuit Circumpolar Council - Greenland. Available at: <http://pikiasorsuaq.org/en/About/the-project>
- Pikiasorsuaq pillugu Isumalioqatigiissitaq. 2016. Pikiasorsuaq – the North Water Work Plan 2016. [pdf] Inuit Circumpolar Council. Available at: <http://pikiasorsuaq.org/en/About/the-project>
- Pikiasorsuaq pillugu Isumalioqatigiissitaq. 2017. Report of the Pikiasorsuaq Commission - Nov 2017. People of the Ice Bridge: The Future of the Pikiasorsuaq. [pdf] Inuit Circumpolar Council. Available through: <http://pikiasorsuaq.org/en/Resources/Reports>
- Powell, Richard C. 2008. Configuring an “Arctic Commons”? *Political Geography* 27(8):827-832.
- Powell, Richard C. 2010. Lines of possession? The anxious constitution of a polar geopolitics. *Political Geography* 29(2):74-77.
- Powell, Richard aamma Klaus Dodds. 2014. *Polar Geopolitics? Knowledges, Resources and Legal Regimes*. Edward Elgar Publishing: Cheltenham Northampton, MA.
- Rasmussen, Knud. 1905. *Nye Mennesker*. Gyldendal: Copenhagen.
- Saammaateqatigiinnissamut Isumalioqatigiissitaq. 2016. Statusrapport 2016. [pdf]. Available through: <http://pikiasorsuaq.org/en/Resources/Reports>
- Stewart-Harawira, Makere. 2013. Challenging Knowledge Capitalism. Indigenous Research in the 21st Century. *The Journal of the Society for Socialist Studies/Revue de la Société d'études socialistes* 9(1):3951.
- Thisted, Kirsten. 2010. Voicing the Arctic: Knud Rasmussen and the ambivalence of cultural translation. In *Arctic Discourses*, ed. Anker Ryall, Johan Schimanski, aamma Henning Howlid Wærp, Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle upon Tyne pp. 59-81.

Tuck, Eve and K. Wayne Yang. 2012. Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, education & Society*1(1):1-40.

NATURAL LANGUAGE PROCESSING: AN OVERVIEW OF CHALLENGES OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES IN CANADA

Ngoc Tan Le and Fatiha Sadat

le.ngoc_tan@courrier.uqam.ca, sadat.fatiha@uqam.ca

Department of Computer Science, Université du Québec à Montréal

Abstract: The Indigenous languages of Canada have been endangered for decades and very little research related to their revitalization and preservation has been done. These languages are particularly considered challenging for Natural Language Processing (NLP). In general, NLP systems have to deal with linguistics challenges such as polysynthesis, diversity of grammatical features of morphology, dialect variation with rich morpho-phonemics, spelling with noisy and unstructured data and low resource scenario challenges. In this survey paper, we are interested in reviewing the current and existing research work done on the Indigenous languages in Canada, especially in Quebec with Inuktitut, Cree, Algonquian languages. We review the past, current and future research directions, as well as the digital resources and the available NLP systems that have been developed for these Indigenous languages.

1. Introduction

In the Americas, there are a wide range of linguistic families about 140 linguistic families in the world. Rice (2008) reported, in Canada, 10 distinct linguistic families with more than 60 Indigenous languages currently spoken. Mager et al. (2018) reported about 900 different Indigenous languages spoken in the Americas approximately. There is a great diversity of Indigenous languages in Canada. Indigenous languages, grouped into 12 language families, have been central to the history of First Nations people, Métis and Inuit in Canada and continue to play a vital role to this day. There were more than 70 distinct Indigenous languages reported in the 2016 Census, more than 30 of which had at least 500 speakers (Statistics Canada, 2016).

Nowadays, many young people are interested in learning. There are significantly the growing demands for Indigenous language educational documents and supports for courses, materials and technology. Indigenous languages are crucially at the heart of community-driven Indigenous linguistics and cultures to the nations that speak them and the benefits with their use are wide-ranging, such as language technology development, revitalization (Coronel-Molina, 2016) and documentation of these languages between Indigenous communities and federal - provincial government (Whalen et al., 2016; Oster et al., 2014; Rice, 2011).

However, the Indigenous language technology development faces many challenges. Most of these languages have a high morpheme per word rate and many of them are polysynthetic. Other characteristics concern a lack of orthographic normalization and a wide dialectal variation. There is a limited digital text and speech data available; which makes more challenges in developing applications that work for all users.

The aim of this research is to survey and explore the research in the NLP fields with a focus on Canada Indigenous languages, especially in Quebec with Inuktitut, Cree, Algonquian.

We review the past, current, future research directions, as well as the digital resources and the available NLP systems that have been developed for these Indigenous languages.

Our contributions in the current research are three-fold: 1) we give an introduction about the diverse Indigenous languages (Quebec): Inuit, Cree, Algonquian; 2) we give an overview of the state-of-the-art about the existing corpora and toolkits for these languages; 3) we discuss the methodologies, challenges and open questions for the most researched NLP tasks in these languages.

The balance of the paper is as follows: Section 2 presents the state-of-the-art of general challenges for indigenous languages in Canada. In Section 3, we present all available tasks-driven NLP development to deal with these indigenous languages. Section 4 presents digital texts and speech data available in order to develop indigenous language technologies in the context of NLP. Finally, Section 5 resumes our contributions and proposes perspectives for future research.

2. General challenges for Indigenous languages in Canada

2.1 Official Indigenous languages

Cree, Inuktitut and Ojibway languages are considered as the most frequently reported Indigenous languages in Canada. Canada's two official languages have enjoyed official recognition since Confederation in 1867. Technically, in Canada, the "official languages" term refers to English and French. Canada mirrors the global language crisis, both in its peril and promise. Indigenous language has the largest number of speakers. There are more than 70 Indigenous languages across 12 languages groups currently spoken in Canada. In 2006, an estimated 260,550 people were speaking their Indigenous language (Norris, 2007; Statistics Canada, 2016). Almost 90% of those who are identified with an Indigenous mother tongue in Canada, claim one of just 10 languages such as Cree, Inuktitut, Ojibwa, Innu (Montagnais-Naskapi), Dene, Anishinini (Oji-Cree), Mi'kmaq, Dakota/Sioux, Atikamekw and Blackfoot. 50 languages are spoken by First Nations with fewer than 3,000 tribal members; within these communities, linguistic affiliation based on ethnicity does not imply language fluency across the population¹.

We observe that Canada boasts some 53 Aboriginal groups, but just only three languages are judged to be relatively healthy: Cree, Inuktitut and Ojibwa (Norris, 2007). These languages are stable and viable; they account for nearly two-thirds of the nearly 229,000 Canadians who claim an Indigenous language as mother tongue and who regularly speak that language at home² (McIvor, 2018).

¹ <https://www.canadiangeographic.ca/article/why-Indigenous-languages-matter>

² <https://en.ccunesco.ca/-/media/Files/Unesco/Resources/2018/09/IndigenousLanguagesCCUNESCO.pdf>

2.2 Inuktitut - the most frequently reported Indigenous language in Canada

Quebec province has used two official languages French and English as a multilingual province in Canada. However, there are 9 Indigenous languages still used in Quebec such as Montagnais, Naskapi, Inuktitut, Cree, Algonquian, Atikamekw, Mohawk, Abenaki, and Micmac (Dorais, 1996). These languages are actually spoken and used as the main communication in Quebec. According to the 2011 Canadian census, in Quebec, the Indigenous languages most frequently reported as mother tongues were the Cree languages, Inuktitut, Innu/Montagnais and Atikamekw (Figure 1). This province has been known as the territory in which highest proportions of the people reported an aboriginal mother tongue in Canada.

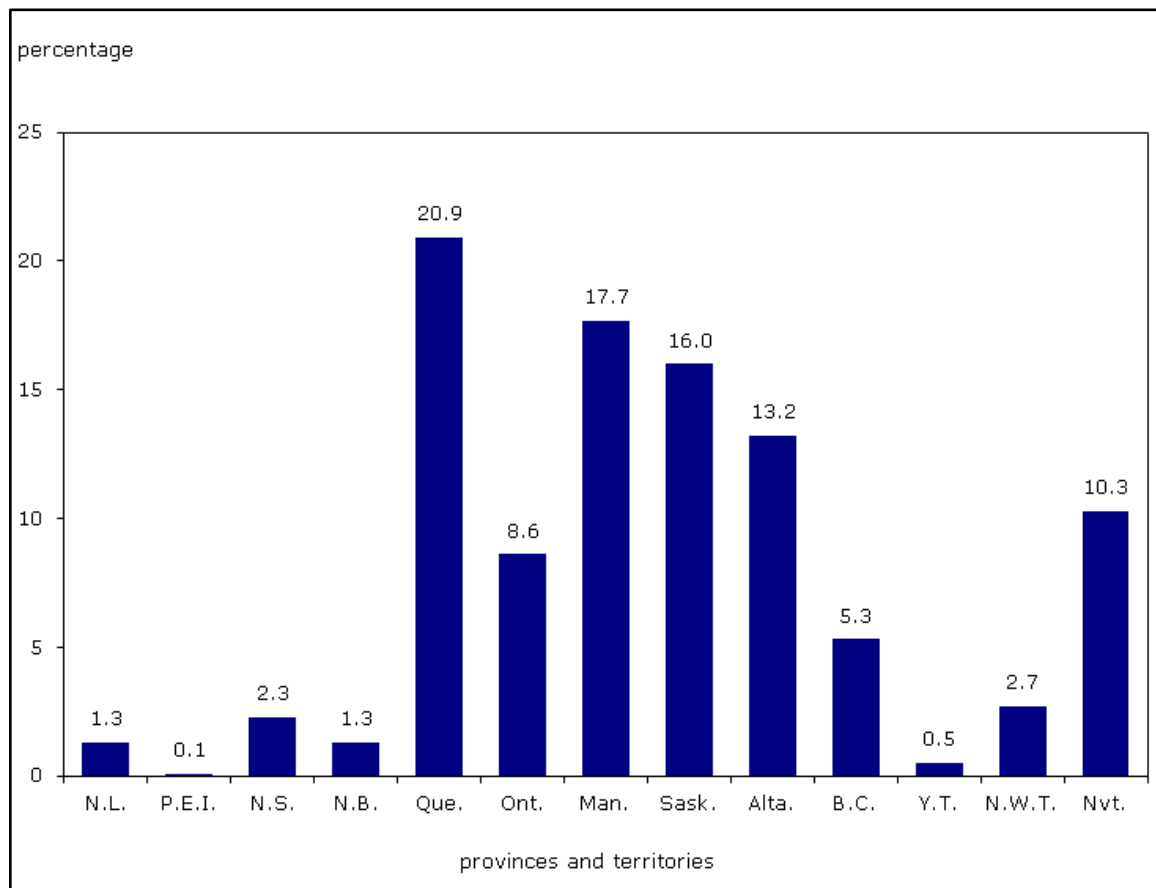


Figure 1: Distribution of the Indigenous mother-tongue population provinces and territories in 2011. Source: Statistics Canada³, Census of Population, 2011.

³ Statistics Canada, 2011: https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/as-sa/98-314-x/2011003/fig/fig3_3-1-eng.cfm

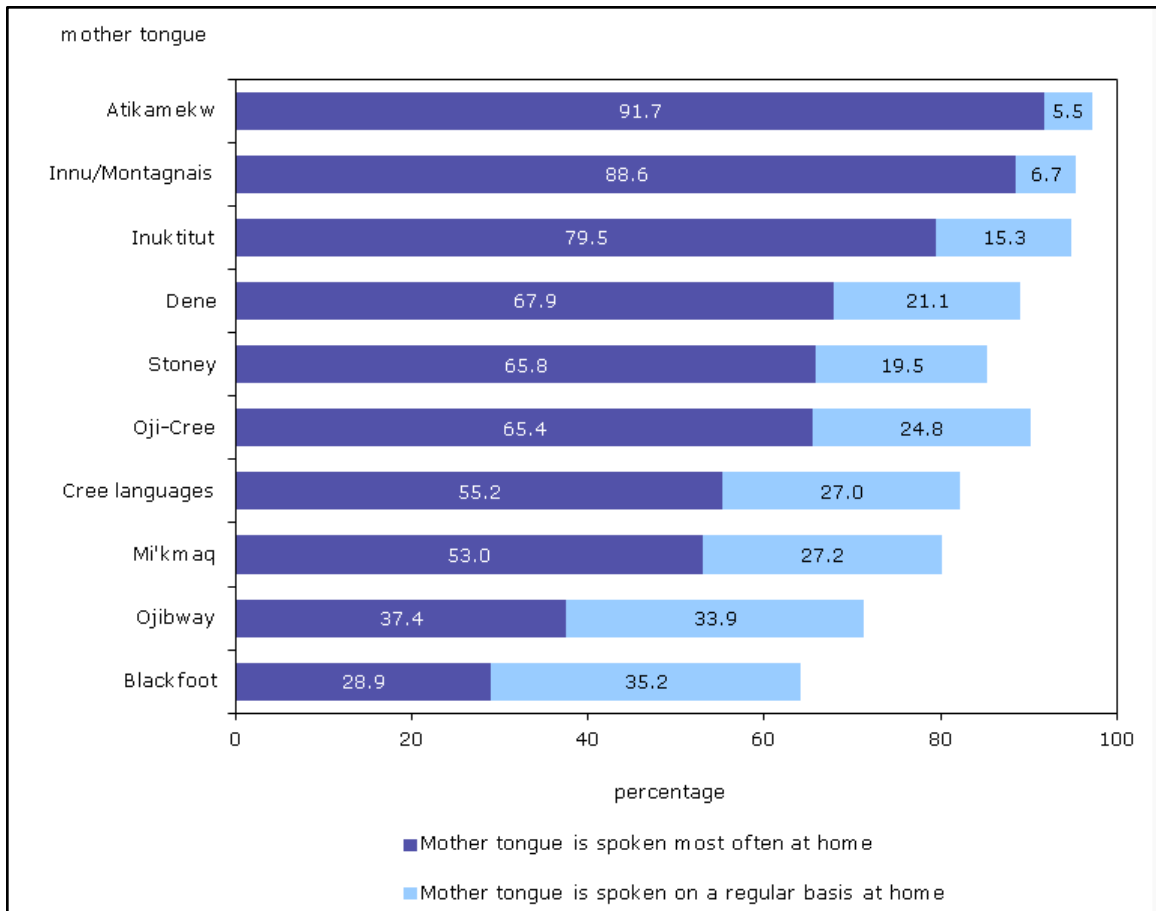


Figure 2: Proportion of the population whose mother tongue is one of the ten most reported Aboriginal languages who speak their language most often or on a regular basis at home, Canada, 2011.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2011.

Moreover, we observe that results, from the 2011 Canadian census, showed people with Inuktitut as their mother tongue lived mainly in Nunavut or Quebec. The rate of Indigenous language maintenance appears to be directly proportional to the geographic isolation of the community where the language is spoken. In Nunavik, the most northerly and most isolated region of Quebec, 97.9% of the people reporting an Indigenous origin use their aboriginal language in the home setting. However, this proportion has been significantly decreasing from North to the further South. In the Abitibi-Témiscamingue region, only 28.3% of the people speak the Indigenous language at home. In the Outaouais region of South Western Quebec, 3.1% of Indigenous people speak the ancestral language at home (Figure 2). Finally, in the Laurentides regions, just north of Montreal, almost none of whom report speaking the Indigenous language at home (Taylor et al., 2008).

Overall, the 2011 Canadian census has concluded that 79.5% of Indigenous people speak Inuktitut often at home in Canada and this ratio might be higher in Quebec where the largest Inuit community lives.

machine translation. In this section, we present tasks-driven NLP research with a focus on morphological analysis and machine translation.

3.1 Morphological Analyzer

Johnson and Martin (2003) proposed an unsupervised technique with the hubs concept in a finite-state automaton. Those hubs mark the boundary between root and suffix. Inuktitut words are split into morphemes and merged hubs in a finite-state automaton. As evaluation, they reported good performance for English morphological analysis, with the text of Tom Sawyer, which obtained the precision of 92.15%. However, for Inuktitut morphological analysis, they reported 31.80% precision and a low recall of 8.10%. They argued the poor performance for Inuktitut roots due to the difficulty of identifying word-internal hubs.

Farley (2009) developed a morphological analyzer for Inuktitut, which makes use of a finite-state transducer and hand-crafted rules. This Uqa·Ila·Ut project (Uqailaut) is a rule-based system based on regular morphological variations of about 3200 head, 350 lexical, and 1500 grammatical morphemes, with heuristics for ranking the various readings.

Nicholson et al. (2012) presented an evaluation about the morphological analyzer for Inuktitut, proposed by Farley (2009), and about alignment error rate with the use of the English-Inuktitut Nunavut Hansard corpus. They reported the best experimental results, in terms of head approach which, in Inuktitut, corresponds to the first one or two syllables of a token, with 79.70% precision, 92.20% recall and 17.60% alignment error rate. They reported that the analyzer was able to provide at least a single analysis for approximately 218K Inuktitut types (65%) from the Nunavut Hansard corpus. They observed the lexical encoding of morphology of Inuktitut is significantly different than English, that the assumption of Inuktitut morphemes aligning to English words is untrue or at least unfindable within the proposed framework.

Micher (2017), inspired by the Uqailaut project of Farley (2009), applied a segmental recurrent neural network approach (Kong et al., 2015) from the output of this morphological analyzer for Inuktitut. The models in Micher (2017) were trained with approximately 23K types having a single analysis from the Uqailaut analyzer. The proposed model was evaluated between 16 labels in the coarse-grained outputs (M1), versus 1691 labels in the fine-grained outputs (M2). In both experiments, (1) for the segmentation only and (2) for the segmentation plus tagging task, the coarse-grained outputs outperformed the fine-grained outputs with F-measure (1) 95.26% (M1) versus 85.07% (M2) and (2) 94.96% (M1) versus 72.60% (M2) respectively.

3.2 Machine Translation

Machine translation is one of the best-known language technologies, that received significant attention from academia, industry, and the general public. Constructing reliable and high quality in machine translation is a great challenge for Indigenous languages. Translation of low-resourced languages represents an interesting and active research problem in the NLP field (Mager et al., 2018). The development of MT systems for Indigenous languages have followed the trends in the field, with (1) rule-based, (2) statistical-based and (3) neural network-based approaches.

(1) Rule-Based Machine Translation (RBMT) approaches are popular and suitable for low resource languages. The main advantage is the RBMT systems do not require aligned parallel corpora. However, the main drawback is the training requires a lot of linguistic knowledge related to Indigenous languages. RBMT systems have a set of shortcomings. The majority is not able to translate complex constructions, especially when the languages are distant from each other, which increases the complexity of the machine translation rules. In recent years, research on data-driven approaches has increased, with the aim to overcome the scarcity of data using different methods (Mager et al., 2018).

(2) In Statistical-based Machine Translation (SMT) approaches, for translating to and from morphologically complex languages, researchers have proposed treating words as sentences or subword units. SMT systems performance is highly dependent on the number of training data; they represent a challenge when low resource conditions are faced. In the case of the native languages of the Americas, they tend to be morphologically rich and this must be taken into account to improve the translation and reduce the data sparseness. We observed the variety of this research and its foundation in the SMT line of research. Koehn and Knight (2003) split German compounds and showed an improvement on German noun translation. Sennrich et al. (2015) proposed using byte pair encoding (BPE) to segment words into subword units and showed improvement in machine translation on an English to German and English to Russian task of up to 1.1 and 1.3 BLEU, respectively. Micher (2018) applied the BPE algorithm preprocessing both the English and Inuktitut sides of the corpus, in the English to Inuktitut direction, reported a BLEU score of 30.04 ± 1.77 .

(3) Neural network-based Machine Translation (NMT) approaches use neural networks architectures that are fed with very big amounts of parallel texts. However, these resources are currently unavailable in most Indigenous languages, except Inuktitut.

In sum, sub-word level models and machine learning research in low-resourced settings could enhance Machine Translation for these Indigenous languages. Otherwise, SMT and NMT systems should be adapted to deal with the scarcity, of the sparseness of word forms and the language-dependent rich morphology. Although there are works that try to handle this challenge, they are rarely applied to Native American languages (Mager et al., 2018).

3.3 Other researches and studies

We notice most native speakers from Indigenous communities are bilingual because they communicate either with their mother-tongue language or the official language of their country, i.e. English, French, Spanish or Portuguese. Moreover, with the migrations and the social networks, we observe the social significance of the multilinguality and the code-switching in cross-cultural communication.

Code-switching aims to alternate between the use of two or more languages in a same text. It makes more difficult to deal with this challenge in NLP. We observe there is few researches about Indigenous languages in speech and morphology tasks. Dorais (1989) presented bilingualism and diglossia in the Canadian Eastern Arctic. Allen et al. (2002) examined all possible patterns of code mixing in English-Inuktitut bilinguals. Jenni (2010) evaluated morphological features from conversations in bilingual Inuktitut-English speakers. Recently, Al-Bataineh and Abdelhady (2019) evaluated the morphosyntactic

constraints for Cree-English intrasentential code-switching by using the matrix language frame model.

Moreover, several Websites are created to support the Indigenous languages learning because of the growing demands from Indigenous speakers. We can find language educational documents and supports for courses, materials and technology. An online learning portal⁵ is constructed for the East Cree language, spoken in Northern Quebec, Canada, in the James Bay area (Luchian and Junker, 2004; Junker et al., 2016) and in the Inuktitut-language Uqalimaarluk (means “Read To Me”) application for iPad⁶.

4. Linguistic resources

Annotated and unannotated corpora are crucially required for almost tasks-driven NLP research. For instance, parallel corpora, speech data are essential for building statistical machine translation systems, for building automatic speech recognition or speech synthesis systems respectively, while morphological annotated data, dictionaries are essential for morphological analyzers, part-of-speech taggers and parsers. Due to low-resourced challenge, Indigenous languages of the Americas in general, and of Canada in particular, don’t have enough Websites or text production comparable to other official rich-resourced languages, such as English, Spanish or French. It is difficult to find Websites that offer their content in the native languages. In this section, we present available corpora, dictionaries for research purposes.

4.1 Nunavut Hansard dataset for English and Inuktitut

The Legislative Assembly of Nunavut⁷ publishes its Hansard in Inuktitut and in English. Hansard is the substantially verbatim transcript of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly. Since these are direct translations of each other, they are an excellent candidate for a parallel corpus for Inuktitut-English. They graciously gave us access to this corpus for research purposes. English-Inuktitut pair language was part of one of the shared tasks in the ACL 2005 workshop on building and using parallel texts (Martin et al., 2005). The download link of this corpus is as follows:

<http://www.inuktitutcomputing.ca/NunavutHansard/info.php>.

This bilingual corpus contains 340k parallel sentences pairs. Micher (2018) reported statistics about this resource. We notice Inuktitut monolingual side has a large amount of types, 417k, versus English monolingual side, only 27k types. The type-token ratios between two monolingual corpora are significant 0.0067 for English versus 0.1938 for Inuktitut, respectively. In the morphological analysis, the challenge of the morphology becomes apparent when dealing with very weak type-token ratios scenarios. The Table 1 shows statistics of the Nunavut Hansard corpus.

⁵ Online learning portal: www.eastcree.org/cree/en/lessons/sing-along/

⁶ App for iPad: <https://itunes.apple.com/ca/app/uqalimaarluk/id1348117314/>

⁷ Legislative Assembly of Nunavut: <https://assembly.nu.ca/>

Table 1: Nunavut Hansard Corpus Statistics. Source: Micher (2018)

	English	Inuktitut
Tokens	3,992,298	2,153,034
Types	27,127	417,406
Type-token ratio	0.0067	0.1938
Percentage of singletons	32.41%	80.93%
Average word length in characters	4.26	9.31
Average line length in words	11.72	6.22

4.2 Speech corpora

There has been limited development of Indigenous language speech corpora in order to build an automatic speech recognition (ASR) system or a speech synthesis system. The East Cree language is a Native American language of North America and belongs to the Algonquian language family. The main concept consists of taking a speech recording and a transcription of it and aligns which segments of audio correspond to words and/or phonemes in the transcription. This process is one of the prerequisite steps for speech-text alignment before building an automatic speech recognition (ASR) system or a speech synthesis system.

Dunham et al. (2014) developed tools for annotation of text and audio for Blackfoot, Gitksan, Okanagan, Tlingit, Plains Cree, Coeur d’Alene and Kwak’wala. With these tools they gather 19,187 word forms, 324 texts and 18.8 GB of audio.

In addition, the National Research Council of Canada (NRC), is collaborating with the Computer Research Institute of Montréal (CRIM) and the Pirurvik Centre on an audio keyword search project for Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC) radio broadcasts in the Inuktitut and Cree languages (Littel et al., 2018). Computer Research Institute of Montréal⁸ (CRIM) experts hope that the speech recognition and annotation methods developed for the target languages, notably Inuktitut and Cree, will be applicable to several of the 70 Indigenous languages spoken in Canada.

4.3 Dictionaries

Although there does not appear to be a monolingual dictionary available online, there are several bilingual dictionaries in several languages. It is the most popular online resource for Canadian Indigenous languages. The Cree dialects are the most represented with three

⁸ Computer Research Institute of Montréal: <https://www.crim.ca/en/news/crim-is-part-of-a-vast-technological-project-on-Indigenous-languages-in-canada>

dictionary-type resources. Other resources including dictionaries in Indigenous languages also have a dictionary devoted to different varieties of Cree (Junker et al., 2018).

In particular, the Algonquian Dictionaries Project involves the development for several dictionaries related to Cree language as following:

- Eastern James Bay Cree Dictionary (Northern dialect)
- Eastern James Bay Cree Dictionary (Southern dialect)
- Fort Seven (Swampy Cree) Dictionary
- Innu Dictionary
- Eastern Swampy and Moose Cree Dictionary
- Naskapi Dictionary (work in progress)
- Plains Cree Dictionary (work in progress)
- Atikamekw Dictionary (work in progress)
- Michif Dictionary
- Blackfoot Dictionary (work in progress)
- Nishnaabemwin (Ojibwe)
- Oji-Cree Dictionary (coming soon)

The data used for the construction of these dictionaries come from the Database of Algonquian Language Structures, directed by Will Oxford (principal investigator) of the University of Manitoba. The Table 2 shows all available dictionaries with their functionalities.

Table 2: Multiple dictionaries for Canadian Indigenous languages

No	Dictionary	Functionalities
1	Eastern James Bay Cree dictionaries	This dictionary is available in two versions, according to the two varieties of Eastern Cree, Southern (18,399 words) and Northern (15,617 words). Link: https://dictionary.eastcree.org/
2	Online Cree dictionary (Woods Cree and Plains Cree)	This dictionary regroups together five dictionaries and corpora, including: ● Alberta Elders' Cree Dictionary ● The Cree Vocabulary of Rev. Roger Vandersteene ● Cree Dictionary Nêhiyawêwin: Itwêwina / Cree: Words ● Dictionary of Professor Arok Wolfengrey (First Nations University, Alberta) ● The Cree Language Resource Project (CLRP) Link: https://plainscree.atlas-ling.ca/

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 3 | Plains Cree dictionary (Giellatekno) | <p>Based on the Wolvengrey dictionary (paper format), read by native speakers. The records are available with the word search. Word search and word suggestion.</p> <p>Itqwêzina Online Plains Cree Dictionary
Link: https://altlab.ualberta.ca/itwewina/</p> |
| 4 | Fort Severn dictionary (Swampy Cree) | <p>Data collected from native speakers, no information on the size of the corpus.
Link: https://fortsevern.atlas-ling.ca/</p> |
| 5 | Moose and Swampy Cree glossary | <p>Defined as an online dictionary, straddling a glossary and a dictionary.
The corpus is composed of a few works: Spoken Cree (three volumes), Cree Legends and Narratives from the West Coast of James Bay. The forms are all given in Moose Cree.
The number of words in this dictionary is not given. It is presented in the form of a list, but it is possible to search the list.
It is also possible to search according to several parameters: Cree Word, English definition, Part of speech, Beginning with, Containing, Ending with, Whole word and All.
Link: https://www.spokencree.org/glossary/</p> |
| 6 | Eastern Swampy and Moose Cree dictionary | <p>Dictionary developed in the Algonquian Dictionaries Project.
Cree varieties spoken in Eastern of James Bay.
Links:
https://dictionary.moosecree.atlas-ling.ca/
https://dictionary.swampycree.atlas-ling.ca/
https://dictionary.mushkegowuk.atlas-ling.ca/</p> |
| 7 | Innu dictionary | <p>Included in the Algonquian Dictionaries Project
Link: https://dictionary.innu-aimun.ca/</p> |
| 8 | Atikamekw dictionary | <p>Included in the Algonquian Dictionaries Project
Link: https://atikamekw.atlas-ling.ca/ (work in progress)</p> |
| 9 | Naskapi dictionary | <p>Included in the Algonquian Dictionaries Project
Link: https://naskapi.atlas-ling.ca/ (work in progress)</p> |

10	Ojibwe People's dictionary	The corpus is composed of records produced by Ojibwa Elders as part of the National Science Foundation's Endangered Languages Program, with the goal of expanding an existing dictionary, A Concise Dictionary of Minnesota with 17,000 entries. Link: http://ojibwe.lib.umn.edu/
11	Blackfoot dictionary	Blackfoot Language Translator (online dictionary) Link: https://www.freelang.net/online/blackfoot.php?lg=gb There are 563 entries. Link: https://dictionary.blackfoot.atlas-ling.ca/ (work in progress) • English-Blackfoot and Blackfoot-English, • Search with keywords, • Partial search with several options such as beginning with, ending with, containing, whole word, exact word
12	Michif dictionary	Cree, French for Métis language of Canada Link: https://michif.atlas-ling.ca/
13	Mother Tongues dictionaries	Included in the Waldayu and Waldayu Mobile project (Littel et al., 2017) This project provides online and mobile interfaces to a forthcoming Gitksan (Tsimshianic) e-dictionary, but are intended to be language-neutral and have since been expanded to St'at'imcets (Salish), Nuuchahnulth (Wakashan), Sliammon (Salish), Squamish (Salish), Thangmi (Sino-Tibetan), and Cayuga (Iroquoian).

In the literature review, we noticed that most of the current state-of-the-art NLP methods require a significant amount of linguistic resources to achieve good performance. We need more standardized datasets in order to help Indigenous language technology development.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we presented an overview of the state-of-the-art about the existing corpora and toolkits for Indigenous languages of Canada. We explored the research in relation to the NLP field with a focus on some Indigenous languages of Canada, especially in Quebec such as Inuktitut, Cree and Algonquian. We reviewed the past, current research, the digital resources and the available NLP systems that have been developed for these Indigenous languages.

The interests for Indigenous languages are growing in the NLP community. We noticed that North American languages are the most studied. We observed that the past and the current NLP researches have been done on the studying the morphology and machine translation. The study of Indigenous languages could lead us for a more complete understanding of human languages and advances towards a universal NLP model.

We observed not only positive social impacts for the speakers by maintaining the living cultural heritage that each Indigenous language represents, and also that is important for Canada's Indigenous communities to support the revitalization and preservation of Indigenous languages. Unesco declared 2019 - International Year of Indigenous Languages⁹ within an international conference at Paris, France. This event contributed towards the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms of all language users to access information and knowledge in languages that are best understood. It also aims to encourage all relevant stakeholders to take concrete measures for the promotion of linguistic diversity, truly multilingual internet and language technologies, with special focus on Indigenous languages.

In the future, for scientific progress, we expect more research to enhance Indigenous language technology development. We also suggest to build a close collaboration with Indigenous community-driven organizations and Indigenous communities across Canada.

References

- Al-Bataineh, H., and Abdelhady, S. 2019. Cree-English intrasentential code-switching: Testing the morphosyntactic constraints of the Matrix Language Frame model. *Open Linguistics*, 5(1), 706-728.
- Allen, S. E. M., Genesee, F. H., Fish, S. A., and Crago, M. B. 2002. Patterns of code mixing in English-Inuktitut bilinguals. In *Proceedings of the 37th annual meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society* (Vol. 2, pp. 171-188). Chicago, IL: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Arppe, A., Schmirler, K., Harrigan, A. G., and Wolvengrey, A. 2017. A Morphosyntactically Tagged Corpus for Plains Cree. In *49th Algonquian Conference*, Montreal, Quebec, pp. 27-29.
- Coronel-Molina, S. 2016. Indigenous language revitalization in the Americas. T. L. McCarty (Ed.). Routledge.
- Désilets, A., Farley, B., Stojanovic, M., and Patenaude, G. 2008. WeBiText: Building large heterogeneous translation memories from parallel web content. In *Proceedings of Translating and the Computer*, 30, pp. 27-28.
- Dorais, L. J. 1989. Bilingualism and diglossia in the Canadian Eastern Arctic. *Arctic*, 199-207.
- Dorais, L., 1990. The Canadian Inuit and their Language. In *Arctic Languages, An Awakening*, Ed. Dirmid R. F. Collins, Unesco, pp. 185-289.
- Dorais, L. J. 1996. La parole inuit: langue, culture et société dans l'Arctique nord-américain (Vol. 3). Peeters Publishers.
- Farley B. 2009. The Uqailaut project. Ottawa (Canada): Inuktitut Computing; 2009. [accessed February 2020]. <http://www.inuktitutcomputing.ca/Uqailaut/info.php>.

⁹ Unesco: <https://en.unesco.org/LT4All>

- Gasser, M. 2011. Computational morphology and the teaching of Indigenous languages. In *Indigenous Languages of Latin America—Actas del Primer Simposio sobre Enseñanza de Lenguas Indígenas de América Latina*, pp. 52-61.
- Jenni, B. 2010. Morphological awareness in bilingual Inuktitut-English speakers from the perspective of relational spreading. *Working Papers of the Linguistics Circle*, 20(1), 1-15.
- Joel, D., Cook, G. and Horner J.. 2014. Lingsync & the online linguistic database: New models for the collection and management of data for language communities, linguists and language learners. In *Proceedings of the 2014 Workshop on the Use of Computational Methods in the Study of Endangered Languages*, pp. 24–33.
- Johnson, H., and Martin, J. 2003. Unsupervised learning of morphology for English and Inuktitut. In *Proceedings of the 2003 Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics on Human Language Technology: companion volume of the Proceedings of HLT-NAACL 2003--short papers-Volume 2*, pp. 43-45. Association for Computational Linguistics.
- Junker, M.-O., MacKenzie, M., Bobbish-Salt, L., Duff, A., Visitor, L., Salt, R., Blacksmith, A., Diamond, P., and Weistche, P. (Eds.). 2018. *The Eastern James Bay Cree Dictionary on the Web: English-Cree and Cree-English, French-Cree and Cree-French (Northern and Southern dialects)*. Retrieved from <https://dictionary.eastcree.org/>
- Junker M.O., Mollen ,Y., St-Onge H., and Torkornoo, D.. 2016. Integrated web tools for Innu language maintenance. In J. R. Valentine and M. MacCauley, editors, *Papers of the 44st Algonquian Conference*.
- Kong, L., Dyer, C., and Smith, N. A. 2015. Segmental recurrent neural networks. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1511.06018*.
- Langlais, P., Gotti, F., and Cao, G.. 2005. Nukti: English-Inuktitut word alignment system description. In *Proceedings of the ACL Workshop on Building and Using Parallel Texts*, pp. 75–78. Association for Computational Linguistics.
- Littell, P., Kazantseva, A., Kuhn, R., Pine, A., Arppe, A., Cox, C., and Junker, M. O. 2018. Indigenous language technologies in Canada: Assessment, challenges, and successes. In *Proceedings of the 27th International Conference on Computational Linguistics*, pp. 2620-2632.
- Littell, P., Pine, A., and Davis, H. 2017. Waldayu and Waldayu Mobile: Modern digital dictionary interfaces for endangered languages. In *Proceedings of the 2nd Workshop on the Use of Computational Methods in the Study of Endangered Languages*, pp. 141-150.
- Luchian, R. and Junker, M.O.. 2004. *Developing an on-line Cree read-along with syllabics*. Carleton University Cognitive Science Technical Report, 2006-01.
- Mager, M., Gutierrez-Vasques, X., Sierra, G., and Meza, I. 2018. Challenges of language technologies for the Indigenous languages of the Americas. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1806.04291*.
- Martin, J., Johnson, H., Farley, B., and MacLachlan, A. 2003, *Aligning and Using an English-Inuktitut Parallel Corpus*, HLT-NAACL Workshop: Building and Using Parallel Texts Data Driven Machine Translation and Beyond, Edmonton, May-June 2003, pp. 115-118.
- McIvor, O. 2018. *Indigenous languages in Canada: What you need to know*. Ottawa, ON, Canada: CCUNESCO.
- Micher, J. 2017. Improving coverage of an inuktitut morphological analyzer using a segmental recurrent neural network. In *Proceedings of the 2nd Workshop on the Use of Computational Methods in the Study of Endangered Languages*, pp. 101-106.
- Micher, J. 2018. Using the Nunavut Hansard data for experiments in morphological analysis and machine translation. In *Proceedings of the Workshop on Computational Modeling of Polysynthetic Languages*, pp. 65-72.
- Micher, J. 2019. Bootstrapping a Neural Morphological Generator from Morphological Analyzer Output for Inuktitut. In *Proceedings of the Workshop on Computational Methods for Endangered Languages (Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 7)*.
- Mithun, M. 2015. Morphological complexity and language contact in languages Indigenous to North America. *Linguistic Discovery*, 13(2), pp. 37-59.
- Nicholson, J., Cohn, T., and Baldwin, T. 2012. Evaluating a morphological analyser of Inuktitut. In *Proceedings of the 2012 Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics: Human Language Technologies (pp. 372-376)*. Association for Computational Linguistics.
- Norris, M. J. 2007. Aboriginal languages in Canada: Emerging trends and perspectives on second language acquisition. *Canadian Social Trends*, 83(20), pp. 11-008.
- Oster, R. T., Grier, A., Lightning, R., Mayan, M. J., and Toth, E. L. 2014. Cultural continuity, traditional Indigenous language, and diabetes in Alberta First Nations: a mixed methods study. *International journal for equity in health*, 13(1), 92.
- Rice, K. 2008. Indigenous languages in Canada. In *The Canadian Encyclopedia*.
- Rice, K. 2011. Documentary linguistics and community relations. *Language Documentation & Conservation*, 5, pp. 187-207.

- Statistics Canada. 2016. Aboriginal languages in Canada, 2016 census of population, catalogue no. 98-200-X.
- Taylor, D. M., Caouette, J., Osborne, E. and Wright, S. C. 2008. Aboriginal Languages in Quebec: Fighting Linguicide with Bilingual Education. *Diversité urbaine*, pp. 69–89. <https://doi.org/10.7202/019562ar>
- Whalen, D. H., Moss, M., and Baldwin, D. 2016. Healing through language: Positive physical health effects of Indigenous language use. *F1000Research*, 5(852), 852.

FROM BYSTANDER TO ALLY: LET'S HAVE A TALK.

AI! Tungasugit! Maani-uvunga. (ᐱᐢᐸ ᐸᐅᐱᐸ!)

My name is Emanuel Lowi and I teach here in Montreal at Concordia University's First Peoples Studies program. The courses I teach look at a variety of the issues – historical, cultural, social and political – which concern First Peoples across the country.

One of my courses is focussed on the Inuit, with special emphasis on the the people of Nunavik, where I lived for many years with my Inuit family, the Inukpuks, in Inukjuak, while working for Makivik, Avataq, Kativik Ilisarniliriniq and Ilagiisag -- the federation of coops.

If you had told me just 5 years ago that one day I'd be giving a talk like this at something called an Inuit Studies Conference, I'd have told you that you were stealing an idea from Zebedee Nungak's wonderful film, called *Qallunaat! Why White People Are Funny*, which, if you have not seen it, is Zebedee's satiric look at all the peculiar ideas White people have about Inuit, and all the whacky things they do and say about Inuit.

This talk and, indeed, everything I teach my students, is heavily influenced by Zebedee and his work and his views and, in fact, I wish he was here today as he really deserves the credit, not me.

In fact this talk isn't really about Inuit. It's about Qallunaat, mostly about the students I encounter in the university classroom. So perhaps I should be across the street speaking at the parallel Qallunaat Studies Conference, if there could be one, where I could deliver this personal account. What follows are merely empirical or anecdotal musings. I am not an expert.

So why do university undergraduates choose to take a course about the Inuit? What motivates students to consign precious time and money towards learning about the people of the Arctic? And how can they learn to be true allies of the Indigenous resistance to colonialism?

On the first day of class each semester, I hand out a questionnaire to all my students, quizzing them about their basic knowledge about Inuit. What does the word Inuit mean? In which countries do the Inuit live as an Indigenous people? What is Natan Obed? That's like a question on Jeopardy!

Basic facts.

Then I ask at the bottom of the quiz: Tell me why you are taking this class? Tell me why you are interested in Inuit?

You see, as I point out to my students every year, if you go study creative writing, you may become a published author someday. If you study studio art or theater, you might just end up an artist or an actor. Study philosophy long enough and you may be regarded by some people as a philosopher. Take a course about computer game design, play your cards right, you could end up a designer of some computer games, and get rich.

But study Inuit? STUDY INUIT??? You don't get to become an Inuk. There's no transformation. You don't get a job or a career or any kind of money. You get nothing tangible. Nothing you can take to the bank. Except to the bank of Western Knowledge. Is that really good enough anymore?

Now, about their basic knowledge, on day one, they have little. Very little. Which is of course a nice territory for a teacher, because it gives you things to do.

But as to the question about their reasons, I can tell you that 99% of the students, year in, year out, they answer and they say that they have an intrinsic motivation. They feel a kind of moral imperative.

They feel a special desire.

They write things like (and I quote from the students own words):

I care very much about First Peoples affairs and lives.

The Inuit are important because they are part of the Indigenous people.

I never knew about our neighbours in the North. This is an opportunity to know more about my brothers and sisters

I think it is extremely important to know about Inuit history and culture while living on unceded territory

As a resident of Quebec, it seems important to learn about the history of what makes the largest part of the province – Nunavik

I hope to travel to northern Quebec and Greenland one day

I'd like to do outreach work here and there is a large Inuit population in the city.

I feel it is my responsibility to educate myself and be an effective respectful ally.

So, I asked myself early on: What shall I do with these students? What should I teach them, and why?

And I decided, because of Zebedee, to take the students' innocent yet sincere desires and weaponize it.

And so I tell them, on the first day, straight up: In this class, you will learn to become Zebedee's Ninjas.

You, wearing your natural Qallunaat disguises (...with some accessories) will be trained to infiltrate Qallunaat society and carry out acts of words and deeds as allies of the Inuit.

You will become the sleeper cells across the land, armed to act as agents of resistance, a fifth column of ideological saboteurs against the colonial dragon that comes to devour the land.

Should you choose to accept it, this will be your mission. This will be YOUR contribution to reconciliation.

Now, nobody said this would be easy!

So what pedagogical strategies could function well towards making this training program work?

Furthermore, what kinds of course content – including readings – work best in the effort to inspire students to go beyond mere casual curiosity about Inuit and move them into the realm of the effective ally?

You see, in a time when there is a general vague concern about Indigenous-Settler relations in Canada, we need more than anguished hand-wringing. Not just sympathy. Sorry isn't good enough. We need a call to action. We need to provoke and be provoked.

Some aspects of the training takes place in the classroom, university-style learning activities. Some things must wait because they take time, they take experience, and they take thought. Those latter types of learning are inspired by the Inuit ways of learning, from experience.

First, I expect basic knowledge. The students begin by reading Mini Aodla Freeman's book, *Life Among the Qallunaat*. That secures the students' good will towards Inuit. It's a wonderful book. Many students fall in love with Mini just from reading her book, just as I did, when I read it, 35 years ago. It was soooo nice to finally meet Mini here on Thursday. A thrill of a lifetime.

They read Saladin d'Anglure's seminal book about *Traditional Social Organization among the Inuit of Kangiqsujaq*, which develops in them a deep deep respect for the skills and the knowledge and the hard hard work which is what being an Inuk is made of.

They learn about Lisa Koperqualuk's research about pregnancy and childbirth and about customary law among the Inuit.

They read Sheila Watt-Cloutier's book, *The Right to Be Cold*.

Last year, Sheila herself came to our class and spoke to the students about climate change in the Arctic. And she told us about Greta Thunberg. Just imagine, for 50 students, the very first time they heard about Greta was from an Inuk. How cool is that?

They read Zebedee's book *Wrestling Colonialism on Steroids*. The publisher told me that our class at Concordia was the very first university course to adopt Zebedee's book as required reading.

They learn about the Experimental Eskimos. They meet Peter Ittinuar, who was the first Inuk member of Parliament here in Canada.

This is just for starters. Then the going gets tough.

They learn to pronounce the names of all 15 existing Nunavik Inuit communities. And they are tested on this and are tested on how to spell correctly the names of those communities.

I told you this wasn't easy.

There's no Great Whale in my class. It's Kuujjuaraapik. With all the double letters.

There's no George River. It's Kangiqsualujjuaq. Must have that double j.

They practice reciting out loud: **Quaqtaq**, around the room, one at a time, every student: **Quaqtaq! Quaqtaq! Quaqtaq! Say Quaqtaq!**

They study sections of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and they learn how it was negotiated and how it's been amended and how it is being implemented. More respect! It's an impressive accomplishment.

I tell them that, to fully appreciate the wisdom of Inuit knowledge, you need to experience life on the land.

I tell a story about my first year up North. I was spring time, I was out camping with a group of families. There still was snow on the ground and I met some women who were picking and eating red berries that had been frozen on the tundra under the snow all winter since the last fall and I asked: "Are they any good?" And one of the women looked at me and said, somewhat critically, "Don't just ask questions. Try them yourself."

Lesson learned. Not all knowledge comes in the shape of a question and an answer. Try it yourself. Don't just ask questions. Inuit knowledge comes from experience. That's an important lesson.

(I remembered this once when I was in Kangirsuk and Zebedee invited me over to his place for lunch. After a bit of preliminary chit-chat, he said it was time for lunch – and he

indicated a large entire caribou head, of course raw, waiting for us on the floor. I knew not to ask if it was good. I tried it. It was. But I digress).

And lastly, I explain to them – and I try to instill in them -- something deeper.

There are many beautiful words in Inuttituut, many beautiful ideas in those words. Perhaps my favourite, though, is the word AALUMMI. So I teach this one word. This one idea in Inuttituut.

Aalummi has several connotations. Most simply, it means “I feel for you,” but said with love.

Or “I’m with you, in your emotion.”

“I feel WITH you.”

“I am in solidarity with you, I am with you, because you are dear to me.”

I want my students to understand this.

Because, in my opinion, being open to the emotional qualities of solidarity is the essential requirement of a true ally who is effective and everlasting.

The First Peoples of this country need committed non-Indigenous allies now more than ever.

In the contact and conflict with the dominant culture, the stakes for Inuit have always been high.

And they’re higher and higher today, as industry races for natural resources – minerals, petroleum, animal species, fresh water, geopolitical territorial ambitions, all of those who would control the polar regions and turn their spectral gaze upon Inuit Nunangat as they pursue global domination at the cost of Inuit human rights.

So while I cannot require every one of my students to become an ally of the Inuit, that is, sort of, my sneaky little motive behind all of this.

Taima-tagat. Thank you.

UNDERSTANDING EACH OTHER: ORAL TRANSMISSION OF LITERACY IN NUNATSIAVUT

*Martha MacDonald, PhD
Independent Scholar*

Abstract: The acquisition of literacy in Inuktitut and later in English in Nunatsiavut began in the Moravian schools but was also passed along outside the classroom, and was adapted for use in contexts where it was viewed as a life skill. This informal oral transmission and development of a print-based academic skill is an example of the agency and ingenuity Inuit used to negotiate daily life.

This paper looks at some ideas that eventually expanded into a much larger project I carried out on Inuktitut language shift, but that research began with a project I carried out on valuing literacy with Dr. Hans Rollmann in 2002-3. I would like to thank him as Principal Investigator for permission to use the information we collected. In examining Labrador Inuit literacy, we see a practice that began as a simple skill to advance religious culture, but evolved into one of the components of identity and agency.

As a folklorist, my research begins with the stories I hear. I have always been interested in learning about how people learned to read in an era when, in many places, formal education was sometimes scanty or non-existent. I moved to Goose Bay, Labrador, where I still live, in 1988, and was introduced to a new set of such narratives. A friend from Nain told me one day that her mother had leaned to read from the Carnation milk can, and this started me on a quest for stories about the paradoxical acquisition of a print-based skill through informal oral folk teaching. (Personal communication, Sophie Ford)

Sophie's mother and aunt were the oldest of a large family living at Nutak in northern Labrador, where there were no schools. As we will see in the following narratives, not only did Inuit learn to read and write in Inuktitut and English, but they used that legacy and affirmed the value ascribed to it in a wide variety of applications.

These are the words of Christine Baikie, who now lives in Nain: "I was born in 1931. We had a big family. Well, I'm the oldest of ten brothers and sisters. We worked hard, but there was no school where I lived. And myself and my sister next to me, Jessie Ford, we never, ever went to school. But we both learned to read and write, in both languages. We just sort of picked it up on our own. In our house 'twas all English speaking, but I always spoke Inuktitut outside. My friends were Inuit children and they never talked English. But I learned to talk Inuktitut from playing with them. I grew up with two languages I spoke, really, but not in the home. I just sort of picked up [reading and writing] on my own. And my mother taught me some. My mother never went to school, but she picked it up too. It's a valuable thing, reading and writing. I love reading, always did. I used to learn off milk cans or anything on the label, asking my mom. I guess my mom taught me the alphabet." (Baikie 2010:48)

The history of early Moravian schools in Labrador has been well documented through work with the very extensive Moravian records. Formal schooling began in Nain and Okak

in the winter of 1780-81 and consisted of classes in reading, writing and catechism. Classes were held for both boys and girls, and the primary focus was to provide education to the Inuit in order for them to learn how to read the Bible, though numeracy, geography and practical skills were also introduced. Inuit teachers from the community were an important part of the staff, and instruction was offered to the Inuit only in Inuktitut until Confederation with Canada brought about a change in 1949. (Rollmann 2008)

Schooling was offered in English much later to the portion of the population historically referred to as “Settlers,” people with mixed European and Inuit ancestry. This instruction took place in the home of Torsten Andersen in the area that became Makkovik, and continued in that community when a boarding school opened in 1918. Classes were offered periodically for Settler people in Hopedale and Nain, side by side with the Inuktitut classroom for Inuit.

Education provided (or imposed) by the Moravians brought about a very high literacy rate amongst the Inuit. However, education was necessarily limited because of the practice of leaving school at an early age due to the family obligations of students and the limited resources of the missionaries. Instead, people found their own ways to use and extend their literacy and their education. In the twentieth century, because the Inuit had a long tradition of literacy, they eventually enjoyed reading in English as well.

Once the idea of schooling became part of the mission-influenced life, Inuit took the Bible and Daily Text books with them when they went to fishing camps, and continued their education through group study. People outside the mission area learned to read as well, sometimes taught by Inuit travelling to other communities. Robin McGrath has observed that, “At least part of the answer [to why literacy was valued] lies with the fact that teaching literacy was not seen as the prerogative of specialists but was seen as being a tool to everyday comfort and survival, much like the ability to use a gun or set a trap, as a skill to be acquired from a parent, elder sibling or neighbour.” (McGrath 1991:39)

Muriel Andersen commented on this with the example of her grandmother, who could read and write in Inuktitut: “She’d get up at the big table and she’d get out the Bible and we’d all have to sit around and she’d read the Bible and she’d sing. She learned from her people, I guess, ‘cause there was no schools. The Andersen boys, they knowed how to read and write but not that much. There were no schools, they learned from their parents.” (Interview M. Andersen 2003)

People might learn from a spouse as well, as Beatrice Watts recalled in the case of her mother, Rosie Pamack, a survivor of the Spanish Influenza that wiped out her community of Okak: “She wasn’t allowed to go to school after the flu. My father taught her to read and write but she had been learning somewhere along the way. She used to read to us all the time. My dad taught her how to read.” (Interview Watts 2003)

Naeme Tuglavina shared her story: “Mom read, and I can remember when I was starting school, Mom used to teach my father how to read from the Bible. In our own house she always used to have him reading from the New Testament, teaching him like that.” (Interview Tuglavina 2003)

Miriam Lyall from Hopedale had a similar account: “I have heard of people learning to read on their own, those who were up in the bays and all that. My mother after grade 3 taught herself a lot, how to read and write more.” (Interview M. Lyall 2002)

Christine Vincent reported on the same practice in the 1950s: “My parents used to go up to the bay for fishing and they’d probably go on the last ice or the first break-up. They’d head up to the bay and they’d ask the teacher if we could go and we’d take our books up the bay and study.” (Interview Vincent 2003)

Much of this instruction involved the reading and writing of Inuktitut, although it was no longer taught in schools officially after about 1955. As Naeme Tuglavina said, “I started reading Inuktitut because we used to be away in our cabins any time of the season, and we used to have those books, AB PAT we used to call them, the little red books. We used to use them to learn how to read. And I don’t know how I picked it up, how to read Inuktitut. I found a note one time on the road, and without realizing it I knew what it said, and gave it to Mom. I remember she was really surprised. Then she got me a liturgy book for going to church with her, because she knew I knew how to read then.” (Interview Tuglavina 2003)

Many people I talked to learned to read Inuktitut through church, the domain that retained the use of that language after it was removed from the schools. Christine Vincent reported: “I never did write Inuktitut. But I can read it. I guess it’s just the sound, and going to church, that’s mostly where I picked it up. Because all the books we had in church was Inuktitut.” (Interview Vincent 2003)

Miriam Lyall went away to school, first to St. Anthony, Newfoundland and then to North West River, Labrador. When asked about her ability to read and write Inuktitut, she said: “Well, I guess at home and at church too. We read it in church a lot, so when we were singing it was just natural, you were singing and if you heard your grandparents talking or anyone else around you you’d pick it up, and children do when they’re learning. It’s just natural for all of us who grew up with a second language.” (Interview M. Lyall 2002)

Independent learning was enforced by families in places where there were no schools, as we have seen in the case of Christine Baikie. Ed Lyall also lived in Nutak and finally went to school in Nain at the age of nine. “But I could read and write when I left home. Father taught me how to read and write, and Bob the same and Winnie the same. He might have ordered the books through the Hudson’s Bay or the Moravian church. Every single evening. Well, he was working all day so he’d come home and we’d have to sit down and do our lessons. The next year I left again in the fall, spent the winter in Nain, Nain school there, but they ran out of firewood so they had to close the school the last of February. I went up in Voisey’s Bay with Grandfather, spent the winter up there. And Mrs. Peacock gave me a pile of books. My grandfather was a little more strict than Father was. I’d get up and have my breakfast and he’d come with the book, Bang! ‘Now, you sit down and study that!’” (Interview E. Lyall 2003)

The most commonly-available book in Inuktitut was the Bible, and it was used for writing exercises and reading practice as well as for devotions. Christine Baikie described the literature that was available: “The only Inuktitut books we had were the AB PAT and the Inuit hymnbooks and the Bible and the liturgy. My mother, when she was a child, she had some books from Okak, they had a big old place in Okak. And I know my mother had a book they called AB PAT. I think I learned from that on my own.” (Interview Baikie 2003)

AB PAT, first published in 1790, was given to parents so they could teach their children the alphabet before they started school. It was in continuous use for the entire period of Moravian education and was recalled by many people. Besides the earlier works translated by the missionaries into Inuktitut, there were some other sources available for perfecting reading skills. Newsletters from other Moravian mission stations translated into Inuktitut provided information on the outside world, and such works as *Tom Sawyer* and *A Christmas Carol* were translated into Inuktitut by Reverend George Harp. Reverend F. W. Peacock translated English works for radio broadcasts.

In addition to using these sources, Labrador Inuit produced their own published literature, much of which consisted of memoirs, sometimes written as part of life history project such as those produced during the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Sarah Elizabeth Ford, writing as Anauta, produced an autobiography entitled *Land of the Good Shadows*. Paulus Maggo wrote his memoirs entitled *Remembering the Years of My Life*,

Josephina Kalleo wrote and illustrated *Taipsumane: A Collection of Labrador Stories*, and John Igloliorte published *An Inuk Boy Becomes a Hunter*. Writing in Inuktitut in recent years has included accounts published in newsletters, articles in *Them Days Magazine*, and children's books in Inuktitut produced at the Labrador Institute of Memorial University and through the Inukbook project of *Tradition and Transition Among the Labrador Inuit*.

One indication of the value of literacy for the Inuit is evident in the practice of using that skill to create their own unpublished materials, either for learning purposes or for reading for pleasure. An example of this is the handwritten autobiography of Martin Martin observed by Hans Rollmann in the home of Gordon Obed in Nain. An earlier example was the classis work *A Pilgrim's Progress*, recalled by a couple of people. Beatrice Watts: "There was the *Pilgrim's Progress* all translated. We used to listen to them reading to each other on Sunday afternoon, the adults, and as children you had to be very quiet or go outside, and they used to listen to stories. They'd read to each other, whatever books they had, and that was one of the ones they had, the *Pilgrim's Progress*." (Interview Watts 2003)

Miriam Lyall had a handwritten copy of the book: "Well, there's one interesting book, I have a little booklet here with a brown paper cover that my dad's brother, I think, had translated, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, into Inuktitut, and there's little illustrations in it, and it's very interesting. The writing is really tiny and it's written all on brown paper." (Interview M. Lyall 2002)

Sabina Lidd grew up in a unilingual family: "My parents read to me a book in Inuktitut, just like the Bible, and they tried to teach us how to read. I think their books came from their own parents. And sometimes when they didn't have the Bible, they were written by the older people. Our parents wrote them down and had them from the far past, my great-great-grandmother. And there's a dictionary, written just like the English dictionaries, some parts might be missing. It's like an alphabet. The hand-written Bible stories had no pictures, just old scribbles, small little old ones." (Interview Lidd 2003)

Hilda Lyall spoke of the reading materials they took with them to their fishing place: "Oh yes, my mother had a New Testament and she had a little booklet, I remember she had a little book about that size, small book, and it was in syllabics. She used to read syllabics

stories to put us to sleep in the tent out in the fishing places. [The stories were] about fathers out trapping, hunting or fishing, stuff like that. I guess somebody wrote them, they were really short stories. They were in pencil, handwritten, Not much was written down because of not enough paper, or nobody had pencils, that's luxury to a lot of people to have pencil and paper." (Interview H. Lyall 2002)

Brigitte Schloss, a Moravian teacher, recounted: "The Inuit had a lot of stories that they would tell and they had written down. Sometimes when I would go visiting they would have these books and they were all written, their own old stories." (Interview Schloss 2002)

Many are familiar with the diary kept by Abraham Ulrikab, detailing his journey to Hamburg to join Carl Hagenbeck's zoo in 1880, but we know that many other people kept diaries as well. William Lacey Amy reported in *The Wide World* (1918) that he corresponded for several years with the famous World War I hero, John Shiwak, who taught himself to read and produced poetry as well. Shiwak sent his winter diaries to Amy when break-up occurred in the spring, and they continued to correspond as Shiwak went overseas to the war. (Amy 1918)

Self-taught Isabella Lyall, mother of Christine Baikie, carried out this practice as well: "My mother, every day she'd write in her diary. I have some of them. When my mother passed away we all shared her diaries up. I have quite a few of them. I know the first one was a big old ledger book." (Interview Baikie 2003)

More casual diary-keeping in both languages took place in the Moravian books of Daily Texts, used for worship in the homes. Christine Vincent described this practice: "I've got a few Daily Texts that belonged to Mom. She used to use them for a diary a lot. She made notes of what was going on that day, like if the harbour opened up, or berry picking. A lot of them she made notes in, things she wanted to remember. Some were from the 1890s." (Interview Vincent 2003)

Literacy became a tool of Inuit agency when its value was seen outside the classroom and the church and was put to new uses. Teacher Kate Hettasch recorded in her diary that she read to children as a treat, and others recall reading in groups or listening to others reading aloud. Many people I talked to recalled their pleasure in reading or being read to, in both languages. Christine Baikie: "My mother used to read bedtime stories. Mostly the same little books, Dick and Jane and little religious books." (Interview Baikie 2003)

Ed Voisey recalled the most popular time for reading: "Yes, after supper. There was nothing else to do after you finished your work. And Sundays, you wasn't allowed to do nothing else on Sunday, so you had all that time to try to read then. My grandfather used to get newspapers, news from all over the world." (Interview E. Voisey 2003)

Ed Lyall's family lived in a community with no school, but they had access to books: "We used to have some books at home. We used to get those little soft-covered detective stories. Grandmother used to get the *Family Herald*, so many months together, and that was all brought in by dog team, just once a year. The ones could read would read the paper and those who couldn't read, my mother or father or grandmother would read to them. There were a lot of children's stories in them. A lot of puzzles and so you'd do the riddles and you'd have to wait for the answers for the next boat." (Interview E. Lyall 2003)

Beatrice Watts recalled reading for entertainment: "People used to read to each other as a pastime, Kids loved the *Grimms' Fairy Tales*. Whatever books people could get their

hands on.” Her family also used to get books that Commander Donald MacMillan brought to Nain: “My mother read the stories over and over to us and it wasn’t very long before I could read myself. *Gulliver’s Travels* was one thing we had, and *The Little Match Girl*. Whatever books she could get from the mission she would get.” (Interview Watts 2003)

Fran Williams had a similar recollection: “We used to go to the missionaries’ house and every weekend Mrs. Grubb would be reading *Heidi*. And I loved it.” (Interview Williams 2002)

As Carol Brice-Bennett wrote in 1981: “The Inuit had also learned to write and used the skill to communicate with friends and relatives in other settlements. The achievement of literacy added a new dimension to Inuit society and introduced a cultural revolution, as dramatic and important as the adoption of Christianity itself.” (Brice-Bennett 1981:198) This skill remained vital in the twentieth century as well, as Christine Baikie noted: “We used to get mail once or twice in the winter and maybe once or twice in the summer, but there used to be people travelling back and forth and we’d write notes to friends, not even in an envelope, just folded up.” (Interview Baikie 2003)

Ed Lyall elaborated on this practice: “If people couldn’t read and write, they couldn’t communicate with anyone. Well, you take Grandfather; he lived in Voisey’s Bay and we lived in Nain. We might see him once or twice a month. So if you had relatives in Nain you either had to tell the person going in to pass on these messages to such and such, or it could be that a woman would want to have a little chat but wouldn’t feel like telling her son that news. I can remember people travelling back and forth from Hebron to Nutak or whatever, and they always had the grub box on the front. And a fellow’d come to the house and lift up his grub box and a handful of paper. You’d write the address on the folded paper—now there’s no guarantee the other fellow wouldn’t open it up and read it! North of here we always called it a “Labrador envelope.” (Interview E. Lyall 2003)

Robin McGrath commented on this practice in other parts of the north; visiting the central Arctic in 1973, she was handed notes and letters to deliver to people in Spence Bay, on paper folded into envelopes. Traditionally it was not easy to get paper in the North. It was used for making hand-packed cartridges, so was in high demand. As in Labrador, people used the endpapers of books for notes and correspondence. (McGrath 2015:2)

Ed Lyall recalled that a letter would occasionally be written on a piece of brown paper. The letters he saw were mostly in Inuktitut: “There wasn’t too many people that couldn’t read or write years ago. There was more Inuit that could read or write than there was the Settlers. We all had slates, we never had no paper. I suppose they couldn’t afford paper.” (Interview E. Lyall 2003)

Further ingenuity brought forth by the lack of paper was the practice of responding on top of the letter just received, by writing over the lines in the other direction. In another important function of literacy, Sarah Townley retained her Inuktitut fluency by writing letters home from school in North West River in the 1970s.

Miriam Lyall recalled correspondence as a public service: “My mother used to do a lot of letter writing for the elderly. “There was a lot of letter writing when I was growing up, we had friends and that was the way to communicate. Even in the Paddon Home when I was working in the last six of seven years [early 2000s] I was still reading letters in Inuktitut and writing back for them in Inuktitut.” (Interview M. Lyall 2002)

Many people recalled their elders writing letters in syllabics, and this was another facet of homegrown literacy. Although the Labrador Inuit wrote using the Roman orthography taught by the Moravians, their contact with the writing system used elsewhere in the north provided this skill to those who had the chance to learn it in the same orally-transmitted form. As Beatrice Watts explained, “The first time I came across that I was teaching in Nain, and when the Hebron and Nutak people were relocated there were a couple of families that had syllabics. I know one lady had the Lord’s Prayer in the back of the Bible. They brought it from northern Quebec. People were so mobile with the fur trade, there was a lot of movement in those days.” (Interview Watts 2003)

Amongst the numerous accounts was this from Hilda Lyall: “People of my mother’s age used to use syllabics a lot. My mother learned to read it from her mother, because she used to be up in Okak and they used syllabics more there than in Nain.” (Interview H. Lyall 2002)

Our self-taught informant Christine Baikie added syllabics to her accomplishments: “At one point in time I was able to read and write in syllabics too. People came up from around George’s River and they brought it from there.” (Interview Baikie 2003) It was passed along in the oral transmission method to Fran Williams, who recounted, “The only time I learned syllabics was when I was in hospital in St. Anthony for two years. There was this old woman from Hebron and she taught me syllabics.” (Interview Williams 2002)

In 1950, a letter was written to Premier Joseph Smallwood by the elders in Nain, requesting financial assistance to match the collection the community had taken up to build a community hall. Other letters were written concerning community development and policy, and this use of literacy is one of the most significant in terms of Inuit agency, where the originally imposed skill set enabled the Inuit to meet with provincial leadership in their chosen method of communication. As Peter Evans wrote in 2012: “Writing, in the hands of the elders, became a powerful instrument for communicating with distant St. John’s, from where, in the 1920s, governors of the colony of Newfoundland sent occasional glances toward the Labrador coast. Inuit elders sent petitions to the Governor in St. John’s in 1921 and 1924 objecting to the government’s attempt to regulate caribou hunting.” (Evans 2012:163)

Literacy became a tool in the struggle for autonomy and identity when young Inuit in the 1970s began to push back against the accepted orthography of written Inuktitut, insisting on a revision that would reflect the way they now spoke. The ensuing disagreements over the written language underscored their determination to assert ownership over their own language, including the way it was written and how it was used.

An anecdote from Benny Powell of southern Labrador, where schooling and literacy were formally established much later, illustrates the consequences of the lack of these skills. Long ago, the community of Campbell’s Cove in southern Labrador was experiencing a hungry spring with no caribou or partridges to hunt. In desperation, several trappers headed north in the hope of finding game. They had no luck, and on their return to their disappointed families they stopped at a cabin in Hawke’s Bay to rest. Someone had recently left a note on the table, but they ignored this, as none of the men could read. Later in the summer a man from Sandwich Bay stopped in at Square Islands and asked if the Campbell’s Cove men had found the six caribou he and his friends had killed and left

for them, along with the note telling them where the meat had been stored. Their inability to read had deprived them of the food that would have sustained their community through the hard months, and the hardship thus experienced led to Ben Powell Senior's resolve to start a business that would lead to a permanent community and the opportunity for children to go to school. (Personal communication Benny Powell)

Narratives about literacy's long duration in Nunatsiavut showcase the power of the Inuit in domains that were created by outsiders, but were in time rendered Inuit-controlled. The very high rate of literacy was a source of pride and a force for retaining culture, even as it adopted forms that came from outside. In fact, literacy transcended the bounds of the classroom and in the best manner of folk tradition made it into the daily lives of the people.

References

- Amy, William Lacy. 1918. "The Empire's Only Eskimo Soldier." *The Wide World* 2:n.p.
- Andersen, Muriel. 2003. Personal interview.
- Baikie, Christine. 2003. Personal interview.
- Baikie, Christine. 2010. "Two Languages." *Them Days* 34.4:48.
- Brice-Bennett, Carol. 1981. "Two Opinions: Inuit and Moravian Missionaries in Labrador 1804-1860." MA thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Lidd, Sabina. 2003. Personal interview.
- Lyll, Ed. 2003. Personal interview.
- Lyll, Hilda. 2002. Personal interview.
- Lyll, Miriam. 2002. Personal interview.
- McGrath, Robin. 1991. "The History of Inuit Literacy in Labrador." *Newfoundland Quarterly* 87.1:91-92.
- McGrath, Robin. 2015. "Folding Envelopes." *Them Days* 39.2: 30-31.
- Rollmann, Hans. 2008. "Moravian Education in Labrador: A Legacy of Literacy." *Conference Proceedings Symposium 2008: Post-Confederation Reform from Rhetoric to Reality*. Eds. Gerald Galway and David Dibbon. St. John's, NL: Memorial University of Newfoundland. 227-36.
- Schloss, Brigitte. 2002. Personal interview.
- Tuglavina, Naeme. 2003. Personal interview.
- Vincent, Christine. 2003. Personal interview.
- Voisey, Ed. 2003. Personal interview.
- Watts, Beatrice. 2003. Personal interview.
- Williams. Fran. 2002. Personal interview.

PRESERVATION AND REVITALIZATION OF INUIT SIGN LANGUAGE (ISL): INCREASING INDIGENOUS RESEARCH AND TRAINING CAPACITY*

*J. Paige MacDougall, James C. MacDougall, Sandy Kownak, Clayton Ungungai
Canadian Deafness Research and Training Institute, McGill University,
Nunavut Deaf Society*

Abstract: Inuit Sign Language (ISL) is a long-neglected form of the Inuit language which is used widely by deaf Nunavummiut and their family members, as well as by others in their communities who are hearing. This widespread use of ISL generates a relatively inclusive atmosphere for Inuit deaf persons. We use video to record Inuit deaf life stories and create ISL vocabulary flashcards, posters, games, and illustrated life history booklets. While revitalizing the Inuit Sign Language, our materials provide a source for the reaffirmation of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (Inuit Societal Values). In connection with our ISL revitalization projects we are developing strategies to increase deaf Inuit research and training capacity. In this regard, we recently held an inclusive interactive workshop in the community of Rankin Inlet, Nunavut. With an opening Qulliq ceremony by elder Monica Ugjuk, local service providers and deaf Nunavummiut collaborated in generating ideas for building more accessible inclusive communities.

1. Introduction

The Inuit Sign Language (ISL) is a rich language with a long and proud cultural history. Used widely by deaf Nunavummiut and their families across Nunavut, ISL provides a rich source for gaining insight into Inuit beliefs and customs as they are embedded and expressed in the language. While spoken Inuit languages are clearly important, it is clear that Inuit culture holds communication as a highly esteemed value in both spoken and signed modalities.

The present paper provides a brief summary of the activities carried out by the Canadian Deafness Research and Training Institute and McGill University – in collaboration with the Nunavut Deaf Society – to record and revitalize the Inuit Sign Language. All investigations of ISL are carried out by means of long term, in depth community consultations with deaf Nunavummiut and their families and friends in the communities of Rankin Inlet, Iqaluit, Pangnirtung, Taloyoak, Igloolik, Arviat, and Baker Lake. The Nunavut Deaf Society was formed in 2014 as a means for deaf Nunavummiut to advocate for themselves, and to improve their sense of wellbeing within their communities. Revitalization of the Inuit Sign Language is playing a key role in fostering a more inclusive social model based on Inuit Societal Values (Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit) which highlight the importance of inclusion for all members of society in daily life.

With support from the Government of Nunavut, and the Department of Canadian Heritage, since 2007 we have been recording ISL signs in the form of printed illustrated cards, as well as generating story line posters depicting ISL use in customary contexts such as hunting, weaving, and artisanship. To date, we have created a set of forty illustrated ISL

* This Research is supported by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Government of Nunavut (Department of Culture and Heritage), and the Government of Canada (Canadian Heritage). We would also like to thank all of our community collaborators in Nunavut.

vocabulary sign cards incorporating Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun, fingerspelling, ISL and English), as well nine illustrated Inuit deaf life story booklets. We are now using these materials to generate ISL awareness posters, story boards, and games as a means to revitalize this endangered Inuk language.

2. Engaging indigenous knowledge

Two of the major recommendations from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission are the pressing need for language revitalization, and the importance of maintaining the guiding principle of inclusivity in the process of improving the relationship between the indigenous and non-indigenous communities in Canada. In this inclusive context, it is important to ensure that the special needs of indigenous persons with disability are taken into consideration in a culturally appropriate way. One unique group, deaf Inuit, have advocated strongly that their language, Inuit Sign Language (ISL), be included in the language recognition and revitalization process. For this revitalization process to be successful, there is a pressing need to develop collaborative, culturally relevant research and training strategies which can serve as a road map for moving forward with this aspect of the reconciliation process.

To engage indigenous knowledge, and mobilize that knowledge in constructive ways, we held an inclusive workshop in Rankin Inlet, Nunavut (January 2019) connecting deaf Nunavummiut and their families with local service providers. This workshop involved the active participation of indigenous elders and youth of both genders, engaging deaf and hearing Nunavummiut and their families. Representatives from the Department of Justice, Health Services, Career Development, Education, and Family Services were also involved, generating constructive dialogues about ways to link the revitalization of Inuit Sign Language to improve community inclusivity. The special knowledge embedded in the Inuit Sign Language contributes in unique ways to the reconciliation process ensuring that all members of society, and in particular deaf Nunavummiut who use Inuit Sign Language, are full participants in the language revitalization process.

During the inclusive workshop, participants and their families shared the unique cultural knowledge embedded in their indigenous sign language with persons in social service. The group contemplated new strategies for enhancing community engagement for persons with diverse abilities in their community. In the case of deaf Nunavummiut, revitalization of Inuit Sign Language was articulated as the starting point to open new areas of employment for deaf persons and facilitate further development of deaf capacities to become involved with community led projects. Service providers were particularly interested in the role that revitalization of ISL will play in implementing sign language into the education system with an eye toward the eventual development of sign language interpreter training programs which will ensure that the rights of deaf persons are respected in the context of health and justice.

Participants in the workshop included a deaf woman and her two daughters, a deaf man and his wife, a respected elder mother and her deaf son, an elder Inuktitut-English translator, a woman studying to be a teacher, and representatives from the Department of Health Services, the Department of Justice (victims information referral center), the

Pulaarvik Kablu Friendship Centre (spousal abuse counselling program), a career development officer, and a local preschool teacher.¹

3. Supporting indigenous talent and research careers: fostering an inclusive research and training environment

This project builds on recommendations from a Deaf Focus Group and Community workshop which was held in Iqaluit (2006) bringing deaf Nunavummiut and their families together from across the territory to discuss their needs and celebrate their use of sign language.² With continuing support from the Department of Culture and Heritage of the Government of Nunavut we have been pursuing the recommendations outlined at this meeting for over a decade. More recently (2016-2020) we have been engaged in ISL language and cultural revitalization projects supported by the Government of Canada (Canadian Heritage) which involve recording and producing illustrated deaf life histories on video.³ These previous projects have involved innovative communication strategies developed in collaboration with various Nunavut communities, which incorporate indigenous knowledge and historical perspectives through recording story-telling (in sign language) on video. In this way, the customary ways of life specific to deaf Inuit persons in their communities are highlighted. We used these previously developed materials to orient the workshop, enabling deaf Inuit people the opportunity to express themselves using their own language, Inuit Sign Language (ISL). To ensure inclusivity, all of our ISL revitalization materials are presented in Inuktitut, English, and French as well as in Inuit Sign Language (ISL), American Sign Language (ASL) and Langue de Signes Québécoise (LSQ).

The event was framed by indigenous values and perspectives which led to directed sharing of stories which always linked back to the importance of having access to communication in ISL, and to the other local signed languages used in Nunavut. Owing to the effects of colonialism, where many children were sent south to residential schools, deaf children were traumatized by being unable to communicate with their families when they returned to their communities – having been educated exclusively in English or ASL. This situation caused significant distress when they were eventually reunited with their families who only knew spoken Inuktitut or Inuit Sign Language.⁴ The continuance of ISL, a minority language used by deaf Nunavummiut and their families, was threatened when

¹ Workshop preparation and the analysis of results involved extensive partnership between an academic institution (McGill University), a federally incorporated non-profit organization (CDRTI), and the Nunavut Deaf Society (NDS). The workshop event attracted media attention from CBC radio in Iqaluit, Nunavut, and from Kivalliq News.

² This workshop was facilitated by Dr. James MacDougall and Dr. Janet Tamalik McGrath.

³ Videos are available for viewing at <https://www.cdrti.org>

⁴ For explanation of the traumatic effects that attending residential schools had on indigenous peoples in Canada, involving many atrocities including being forbidden to use their own language, see Ronald Niezen (2017), *Truth & Indignation. Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission on Indian Residential Schools*.

deaf children were systematically sent down south to school. The complex linguistic situation for deaf Inuit peoples deserves special reconciliatory attention. The revitalization of ISL may contribute to reaffirming the cultural heritage of deaf Nunavummiut in constructive ways. This inclusive workshop presented an ideal opportunity to find ways to use the ISL revitalization materials we have been creating as the basis for involving deaf persons in education, research and training programs, and in listening to local ideas about how to sensitize communities to their special needs in culturally appropriate ways.

4. Deaf identities and indigenous sign languages

It is clear that relationships between deaf and hearing persons are very different in Nunavut compared to in the south, in that sign language appears to form part of the broader system of communication for both deaf and hearing persons. In non-indigenous contexts, elsewhere in Canada and the United States, the group of Deaf people who share a common language – American Sign Language (ASL) or Langue de Signes Québécoise (LSQ) – consider themselves members of a distinct Deaf culture involving a shared world view (Andrews et al. 2004:10-13, 25-35; Bauman 2008; Baynton 2008:293; Brueggemann 2009; Lane 2008, 2005, 1999, 1976; Lane et al. 1996; Marschark and Spencer 2010; Moores 1996:26-28,151-163; Padden and Humphries 2005, 1988; Sacks 1989; Schein 1993; Schein and Stewart 1995:151-192; Senghas and Monaghan 2002; Woll and Ladd 2003:151-163).⁵

In the context of Nunavut, the Inuit societal value of inclusion (*Tunnganariq*) emphasizes the importance of being welcoming and non-judgmental in family and community life, generating a more open-minded attitude toward deafness and the use of sign language than is active in many societies. In other indigenous communities where both deaf and hearing indigenous persons appear to use sign language more readily, membership in the larger cultural community takes precedence over hearing status for identity constructions, enabling for a higher degree of social inclusion for deaf community members.⁶ For example, in parallel to the use of spoken Inuktitut and ISL, indigenous Maya peoples use spoken Yucatec Maya, and Yucatec Maya Sign Language (YMSL). The possibility of translating ISL materials (Inuit deaf life stories) into other indigenous languages, such as YMSL, means that the revitalization of Inuit Sign Language can serve as a model for demonstrating the persistence of indigenous languages despite global colonial encounters which have devalued indigenous languages in the past. This is a rich topic of national and international research involving indigenous peoples (see Brickford and McKay-Cody 2018; Farnell 1995; Frishberg 1987; Fox Tree 2009; Johnson 1991; Kusters 2009, 2015; MacDougall 2001; MacDougall 2012, 2015; Mallery [1881] 1972;

⁵ In stark contrast to Deaf culture, medical approaches see deafness as a disability, and understand the condition as a deficit in need of a cure.

⁶ For this reason, when referring to deaf persons in Nunavut we are using a lower case “d” since the cultural assertions associated with unified Deaf identities elsewhere do not appear to be paramount for deaf Nunavummiut.

Nonaka 2004; Nyst 2007; Polich 2005; Sayce 1880; Sebeok & Umiker-Sebeok 1978; Schuit, Baker and Pfau 2011; Tomkins 1969; Woodward 1978; Zeshan and de Vos 2012).

5. Inclusive workshop arrangements

Scheduling the workshop was challenging as weather conditions in the Kivalliq region of Nunavut in January are harsh, with frequent blizzards that may prevent flying, and frigid temperatures ranging between minus 40 to minus 65 degrees Celsius. Experiencing a five-day delay in Iqaluit prior to arrival in Rankin Inlet, workshop dates had to be rearranged twice. Uncertainties related to climate shape the realities of life in Nunavut, and workshop participants accommodated changes in scheduling without complaint. As the workshop dialogues unfolded, Inuit propensities to work collaboratively and come up with strategies for developing local capacities became clear. A collective consensus-building model shaped our group conversations, aligning the initiatives of deaf persons with those of service providers, generating some concrete ideas about how to work together to cultivate more inclusive equitable communities.

The workshop was hosted in English by Dr. Paige MacDougall with live translation in spoken Inuktitut and American Sign Language (ASL).⁷ Prior to arrival in Rankin Inlet Paige visited Iqaluit to consult with the Nunavut Deaf Society (NDS) President Sandy Kownak, and with member Clayton Ungungai regarding workshop design and orienting themes. In collaboration with principal investigator Dr. James MacDougall, who has been involved with the revitalization of ISL across Nunavut for over a decade, ISL cards, booklets, brochures and videos were incorporated into the workshop to familiarize participants with the history of ISL use in Nunavut. Additional members of NDS were consulted in Rankin Inlet, ensuring that workshop design would allow deaf participants the opportunity to express their lived experiences, including the struggles they have faced owing to historical experiences of linguistic and cultural suppression. Members of NDS were especially interested in sharing their experiences with service providers, and to work collaboratively on the development of strategies to enhance their participation in social, educational and community life.

6. The Qulliq ceremony

With an opening Qulliq ceremony by elder Monica Ugjuk, who has five deaf children, the workshop began by illustrating community respect for the principles of inclusivity, effectively framing the goals of workshop discussions in the principles of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (Inuit Societal Values).⁸ In particular, Monica's opening speech demonstrated the way disability accommodation and models of accessibility may be tailored in the Inuit context to reflect customary values and models for living. During the Qulliq ceremony, the values put forward for designing inclusive models of research and

⁷ Liz Scully is an ASL Interpreter and a Research Associate at the Canadian Deafness Research and Training Institute.

⁸ <https://www.gov.nu.ca/information/inuit-societal-values>

training in Nunavut were succinctly highlighted, generating an attitude of respect and openness among participants.

We sat in a semi-circle, very still, surrounding Monica as she prepared to light the customary oil lamp, called a Qulliq, used for warmth and light inside igloos after dark. She spoke poetically in Inuktitut, and her messages united us in our understanding of the core values of Inuit society. Monica's messages were clear, giving shape to the workshop discussions that followed. The values she cited were explained as principles essential to family life, child rearing, and also to cultivating connections between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples during conferences, workshops, and research projects. She urged the group:

“do not judge others; do not gossip as talking about others can be hurtful to your family and community; treat everyone the same; respect people who have different abilities and who use different languages; allow the stories and voices of indigenous peoples to be heard...there is never enough time given to *us* to speak during conferences; accept that positive change is a slow process; understand that patience is essential because making a difference takes time”.

After the Qulliq ceremony, there was a video presentation of Inuit deaf life stories which provided participants insight into the history of ISL use, including experiences of being born on the land and customary forms of life for Inuit. Stories of deaf children being linguistically and culturally disconnected from their families when they were sent south to schools for the Deaf (in Montreal, Edmonton, Winnipeg or Vancouver) are also illustrated in the deaf life story videos. This sharing of Inuit deaf life histories, and customary use of ISL, brought to light the need to outline new strategies for including deaf children and adults in community life by means of incorporating ISL into regular educational curriculums. The recording of ISL is an important step here, but deeper explorations of the lived experiences of deaf persons and their families in their communities is also needed, to ensure that education surrounding deafness is not restricted to instruction in sign language but also embodies the special indigenous knowledge and values embedded in the Inuit Sign Language.

Life story videos describing situations where deaf persons were *not* sent south to school, and therefore learned ISL, provide rich representations of the use of ISL in customary Inuit contexts. One striking example is the life story of the late Yvo Samgushak, who was an exclusive user of ISL and a respected hunter and artist in his community. He shared knowledge of ISL with younger deaf children and their families, and he was a mentor to one deaf participant in the workshop, named Philip. Group discussions with Philip about his learning ISL from Yvo led to ideas about holding further consultations with elder hearing men who were friends of Yvo, to record their knowledge of ISL, contributing in important ways to the revitalization of customary uses of ISL by both deaf and hearing persons. In this way, strategies to revitalize ISL not only involve linguistic recording of the language but also provide insight into inclusive social models wherein both deaf and hearing persons were using ISL, leading to a high degree of inclusivity for deaf members of the community.

7. Building local epistemologies of communication, inclusivity and education: fostering mutually respectful relationships

Persons working in early education were extremely eager to see new program designs developed, implementing ISL materials (such as books, videos, and games) into early education classrooms and also participating in the design of language workshops for youth and adults. The ideas generated were that knowledge of ISL and respect for deaf community members provide the first step in generating more inclusive communities. However, rather than concentrating exclusively on the linguistic recording of ISL (which was certainly highlighted as an essential component of the revitalization process) discussions also focused on attitudinal factors as contributing to discrimination, misunderstandings, and limitations in employability (and employment mobility). Deaf persons and their families were enthusiastic about finding ways to create deaf friendly communities and felt their ideas may reach beyond their own community, providing a model that could be implemented across Nunavut.

In Rankin Inlet it is worth noting that the use of fingerspelling is widespread among the hearing population, enabling deaf persons a higher degree of freedom to communicate publicly than is the case in most social contexts. Communications revealed a strong desire by service workers, deaf persons and their families to further cultivate the widespread use of fingerspelling among hearing persons in the community. Deaf participants and their families explained that even young children in the community commonly know how to communicate using fingerspelling, and representatives from the service agencies were open to the idea of generating sign language awareness materials to sensitize the public to the special communication needs of deaf community members. Teaching fingerspelling was identified by educators as holding significant potential for improving literacy skills in both English and Inuktitut (for both deaf and hearing students). Including images of fingerspelling in the English ABC's, and also in phonetic representations of written Inuktitut (in syllabic form), incited enthusiasm among the group who decided this would be an excellent way to link fingerspelling to Inuit language learning.

Building on the model already active in Rankin Inlet, where many hearing persons have some knowledge of sign language, workshop participants felt enthusiastic about the idea of further developing this model by creating deaf awareness posters which would incorporate some basic information about deafness, fingerspelling, and useful representations of Inuit Sign Language. Deaf persons are keen to become engaged in research surrounding the appropriate Inuit imagery and values to be presented on awareness posters, keeping in mind the important role that family plays in assisting deaf community members in their communications with hearing persons. The inclusion of artistic symbols representing Inuit Societal Values (Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit) was suggested as an orienting principle for posters, and various deaf artists were identified who could participate in poster design. As ideas for implementing awareness posters began taking shape, members of the workshop began enthusiastically sharing their ideas for poster locations, reflecting on areas of social life where they had encountered difficulties owing

to attitudinal factors or misunderstandings about communication in sign language. In sequence, people began sharing their stories and we learned that useful places for poster placement would include: the Health Center, schools, the Department of Justice, the Friendship Center, the RCMP office, the airport, the court, and in restaurants, taxis, banks, the post office, and the income support office. As the discussion progressed, making modifications to the poster for presentation in different social settings/sectors emerged as another important step in the process of improving accessibility in the community (sensitive to clientele in terms of language, vocabulary, age, gender, and special needs). Strategies for recording and revitalizing ISL may be oriented by the grouping of vocabulary and expressions related to particular social service themes, and then arranged into language learning modules or ISL training workshops.

Keen on hearing deaf experiences to learn how collectively developed tools could be designed to bridge gaps in communication, representatives from the service agencies expressed interest in incorporating ISL access materials into their places of work. For now, everyone agreed that the creation of a basic template for a deaf awareness poster would contribute significantly toward generating a more inclusive community, and for improving experiences of accessibility for deaf persons. Johnny, a deaf man who is married to a hearing woman, explained his frustration and dismay when he was not feeling well one morning and requested time off work to visit the Health Center (Johnny is employed by Government of Nunavut). “I arrived at eleven in the morning” he said and went on to explain that he was left in the waiting room for over five hours before seeing a doctor. Frustrated, he complained:

“I could see others going in ahead of me even though I had arrived before they had, and I figured out that the people working in the Health Center had no idea how to communicate with me because I am deaf – so they just left me sitting there all day”.

The group was dismayed by this extreme breakdown of communication in the context of health care, stimulating deeper discussion about the creation of deaf awareness posters to be posted in public spaces.

The Eldridge Supreme Court decision (1997) mandates sign language interpretation as a free service under the Canada Health Act for all deaf Canadians, including indigenous peoples. The Canadian Charter of Rights (section 14) also specifically mandates sign language interpretation for deaf access to the justice system. In the context of justice and health services, the conversation gradually emerged into specifying the need to dissolve access barriers through the development of interpreter training programs in Nunavut. Research studies aimed at the development of a model to deliver such services in Nunavut are badly needed (MacDougall 2001). At the present time there are no organized sign language interpretation services in Nunavut for either American Sign Language (ASL) or Inuit Sign Language (ISL).

8. Mobilizing knowledge and partnerships for reconciliation: ISL interpreter training programs

For the time being, communications where interpreters are required to respect the rights of deaf persons are not being dealt with adequately in Nunavut. Our discussions revealed that many deaf persons rely on writing in situations of health care, but it is well known that writing is not an adequate means of communication for deaf persons in health care settings. For deaf Nunavummiut who use ISL exclusively, and may not be literate in written language, the situation is especially troubling. Conversations about the research process involved with designing ISL interpretation training programs were fruitful during the workshop, with collective brain storming outlining steps and strategies for the development of such programs in Nunavut. Again, the revitalization of ISL was confirmed as the foundation for creating interpreter training programs, beginning with designing ISL linguistic and cultural learning materials. Investigating the appropriate media formats will be essential, and as well, determining the best ISL learning tools for use in particular educational contexts will need to be evaluated beforehand. Workshop participants pointed out that as ISL revitalization progresses, we will need to develop particular thematic materials for specialized education programs in health, justice and social work, for example. At this stage, the processes of developing interpreter training programs will open up new options for career training for local peoples who will be afforded the opportunity to study this field in higher levels of education.

To ensure programs are culturally appropriate in Nunavut, it was suggested that the role of the family be incorporated into interpreter training programs.⁹ Adding to this, participants mentioned that training regarding confidentiality would also be necessary, especially owing to the current (almost exclusive) role of family members in providing interpretation for their deaf relatives in the context of health. Consistent with strategies being used to revitalize spoken Inuk languages, designing ISL language camps wherein participants are afforded the opportunity to learn language through engagement and lived experience, may be an especially useful teaching strategy. In relation to the specific fields of learning mentioned above, specialized modules could be developed for persons interested in becoming interpreters with specific specialties. Our methodology for recording and revitalizing ISL, and supporting the use of all the forms of sign languages in Nunavut, can be aligned with efforts to develop specialized ISL training modules.

In addition to the technicalities of ISL revitalization, as well as the extensive research involved with designing and implementing culturally appropriate interpreter training programs in schools, raising public awareness surrounding deafness and sign language use was emphasized as being essential to this process. As outlined above, our workshop communications led to some concrete and complementary ideas, outlining strategies for building the capacity of deaf people to participate in revitalizing ISL, developing and implementing deaf awareness materials, and designing ISL interpreter training programs.

⁹ TCPS 2 - Chapter 9 Research Involving the First Nations, Inuit and Métis Peoples of Canada <http://www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/eng/policy-politique/initiatives/tcps2-eptc2/chapter9-chapitre9/>; *Ethical principles for the conduct of research in the North* (Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies, 2003)

9. Fostering mutually respectful relationships: revitalization of indigenous languages

The Federal government recently passed the Indigenous Languages Act¹⁰ which seeks to preserve and revitalize indigenous languages in Canada. Similarly, the government of Canada also passed the Accessible Canada Act recognizing the importance of American Sign Language and Langue de Signes Québécoise, as well as Indigenous Sign Languages.¹¹ Our workshop represented a constructive effort to work collaboratively toward developing research strategies that include deaf Nunavummiut in the language revitalization process, and in developing tools to improve deaf access to social services such as health, education and justice. Communication in indigenous languages was highlighted by all workshop participants as being essential to the design of future research and training models, with special emphasis on the revitalization and continuance of Inuit Sign Language. Working toward the goal of building local capacity to improve equitable participation of deaf Nunavummiut in community life, there was consensus surrounding the importance of developing strategies that align closely with the research guidelines stipulated by the Nunavut Research Institute (NRI).¹²

In addition to continuing the process of documenting the life stories of deaf Nunavummiut, and revitalizing ISL through the creation of educational materials, improving social awareness about deafness and sign language was emphasized as a priority during the workshop. With this goal in mind, deaf and hearing participants in the workshop were eager to begin this process by assessing where gaps of knowledge and understandings about deafness could be bridged by having access to deaf awareness materials (posters). Also, many ideas were discussed about the appropriate format and messages to be included in awareness materials, ensuring that messages are framed using the Inuit principle of inclusivity (*Tunganarniq*).

10. Developing Inuit Sign Language educational resources

One element hindering full social participation for deaf Nunavummiut, and posing challenges for equitable access to services, relates to their being an absence of ISL instruction in schools. Developing educational materials was therefore put forward as a key step in the revitalization process. Once ISL educational materials have been further developed, they could be progressively implemented not only into early education classrooms, but also into higher levels of education and training. The eventual design of interpreter training programs will provide new education and training opportunities for community members, perhaps initially for family members of deaf persons who are already fluent in sign language. The creation of these programs will open up new avenues for local persons to become involved with ethnographic research exploring the appropriate design of these programs in the context of Nunavut. Members of the Nunavut Deaf Society –

¹⁰ <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/campaigns/celebrate-indigenous-languages/legislation.html>

¹¹ <https://www.parl.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/bill/C-81/royal-assent>

¹² https://www.nri.nu.ca/sites/default/files/public/files/06-068_itk_nrr_booklet.pdf

located in Iqaluit, Baker Lake, Pangnirtung, and Taloyoak – are well positioned to become engaged in research extending the ISL revitalization process to include dialectical variations used in different communities and regions. Complementary to the revitalization of ISL, workshop discussions also suggested cultivating the already widespread use of fingerspelling in Rankin Inlet. The implications of teaching fingerspelling in the context of improving literacy skills for both deaf and hearing children, was highlighted as a very positive outcome in educational terms.

11. Recommendations

The policy recommendations emerging from this inclusive community-based workshop align with the guidelines stipulated by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) and Nunavut Research Institute (NRI), reinforcing some important principles for the development of indigenous research and training capacity in the context of Nunavut. Using ISL revitalization as a framework for creating more inclusive communities for deaf Inuit provides a linguistically and culturally embodied approach toward generating meaningful research partnerships in the process of reconciliation.

References

- Andrews, Jean F., Irene W. Leigh, Irene and Mary T. Weiner. 2004. Deaf people: evolving perspectives from psychology, education and sociology. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.: 10-13, 25-35.
- Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies. 2003. Ethical principles for the conduct of research in the North. Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
- Bauman, H-Dirksen L., ed. 2008. Open Your Eyes. Deaf Studies Talking. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Baynton, Douglas C. 2008. Beyond Culture: Deaf Studies and the Deaf Body. In Open Your Eyes. Deaf Studies Talking. H-Dirksen L. Bauman, ed. Pp. 293-313. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.: 293.
- Brueggemann, B. 2009. Deaf Subjects: Between Identities and Places. New York and London: New York University Press.
- Brickford, Albert J. and Melanie McKay-Cody. 2018. Endangerment and revitalization of sign languages. In Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization. Edited by Hinton, Leanne and Gerald Roche (Chapter 25). New York: Routledge.
- Eldridge. 1997. Eldridge vs. British Columbia. In 151 D.L.R. (4th).
- Farnell, B. 1995. Do you see what I mean? Plains Indian Sign Talk and the Embodiment of Action. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Fox Tree, E. 2009. Meemul Tziji: An Indigenous Sign Language Complex of Mesoamerica. Sign Language Complex of Mesoamerica. Sign Language Studies 9(3):324-366.
- Frishberg, N. 1987. Ghanaian Sign Language. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. 2002. Negotiating research relationships: a guide for communities. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and Nunavut Research Institute, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and Nunavut Research Institute. 2007. Negotiating research relationships with Inuit communities: a guide for researchers. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and Nunavut Research Institute, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
- Johnson, R.E. 1991. Sign Language, Culture and Community in a Traditional Yucatec Maya Village. Sign Language Studies 73:461-474.
- Joke Schuit, Anne Baker and Roland Pfau. 2011. Inuit Sign Language: a contribution to sign language typology. Universiteit van Amsterdam. ALCL Working Papers.

- Kusters, Annelies. 2015. *Deaf Space in Adamorobe: An Ethnographic Study in a Village in Ghana*. Washington D.C.: Gallaudet University Press.
- Kusters, Annelies. 2009. *Deaf Utopias? Reviewing the Sociocultural Literature on the World's "Martha's Vineyard Situations"*. Theories/Reviews. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lane, Harlan L. 2008. Do Deaf People Have a Disability? In *Open Your Eyes. Deaf Studies Talking*. H-Dirksen L. Bauman, ed. Pp. 227-292. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Lane, Harlan L. 2005. Ethnicity, Ethics, and the Deaf-World. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education* 10(3): 291-310.
- Lane, Harlan L. 1999 [1992]. *The Mask of Benevolence: Disabling the Deaf Community*. New York, NY: Alfred, Inc.
- Lane, Harlan L. 1976. *The Wild Boy of Aveyron*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Lane, Harlan L. and Robert Hoffmeister and Benjamin J. Bahan (eds.). 1996. *A Journey into the Deaf-World*. San Diego, CA: Dawn Sign Press.
- MacDougall, J. C. 2001. Access to Justice for Deaf Inuit in Nunavut: The Role of "Inuit Sign Language". *Canadian Psychology* 42: 61-73.
- MacDougall, J. P. 2015. *Deafness and Sign Language in a Yucatec Maya Community: Emergent Ethnographic Practice*. *Annals of Anthropological Practice*. The Role of Anthropology in Improving Services for Children and Families. Volume 39, Issue 2.
- MacDougall, J. P. 2012. *Being Deaf in a Yucatec Maya Community: Communication and Identity Negotiation*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, McGill University.
- Mallery, G. 1972 [1881]. *Sign Language among North American Indians Compared with That among Other Peoples and Deaf-Mutes*. *Approaches to Semiotics* 14. The Hague, the Netherlands: Mouton & Co.
- Marschark, Mark, and Patricia Spencer, eds. 2010. *Oxford Handbook of Deaf Studies, Language, and Education*. Volume 2. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Moore, Donald F. 1996. *Educating the deaf: psychology, principles, and practices*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Nonaka, Angela M. 2004. The forgotten endangered languages: Lessons on the importance of remembering from Thailand's Ban Khor Sign Language. *Language in Society* 33, 737-767.
- Niezen, R. 2017. *Truth & Indignation. Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission on Indian Residential Schools* (Second edition). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Nyst, V. A. S. 2007. *A Descriptive Analysis of Adamorobe Sign Language (Ghana)*. University of Amsterdam dissertation.
- Padden, Carol, and Tom Humphries, eds. 2005. *Inside Deaf Culture*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Padden, Carol 1988. *Deaf in America: Voices from a Culture*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Polich, L. 2005. *The Emergence of the Deaf community in Nicaragua. With Sign Language You Can Learn so Much*. Washington, D. C.: Gallaudet University Press.
- Sacks, Oliver W. 1989. *Seeing voices: a journey into the world of the deaf*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sayce, A. H. 1880. Sign language among the American Indians. *Nature* 22: 93-94.
- Schein, Jerome D. 1993. *At Home Among Strangers*. Washington, D. C.: Gallaudet University Press.
- Schein, Jerome D. and David A. Stewart 1995. *Language in motion: Exploring the nature of sign*. Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press.: 151-192.
- Sebeok, T. A. and D. J. Umiker-Sebeok (eds). 1978. *Aboriginal sign languages of the Americas and Australia*. Volume 1 and 2. New York: Plenum Press.
- Senghas, Richard J., and Leila Monaghan. 2002. Signs of their Times: Deaf Communities and the Culture of Language. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31:67-69.
- Tomkins, W. 1969. *Indian Sign Language*. New York: Dover.
- Woll, Benice, and Paddy Ladd. 2003. Deaf Communities. In *Oxford Handbook of Deaf Studies, Language, and Education*. Mark Marschark and Patricia E. Spencer, eds. Pp. 151-163. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Woodward, J. 1978. Attitudes Toward Deaf People on Providence Island. *Sign Language Studies* 18:49-68.
- Zeshan, Ulrike and Connie de Vos (eds.). 2012. *Sign Language in Village Communities*. Anthropological and

Linguistic Insights. Berlin, Germany: Moutin De Gruyter Moutin & Ishara Press.

On-line references

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit:

<https://www.gov.nu.ca/information/inuit-societal-values>

Nunavut Research Institute. Negotiating Research Relationships with Inuit communities.

<https://www.nri.nu.ca/sites/default/files/public/files/06-068%20ITK%20NRR%20booklet.pdf>

TCPS 2 - Chapter 9 Research Involving the First Nations, Inuit and Métis Peoples of Canada

<http://www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/eng/policy-politique/initiatives/tcps2-eptc2/chapter9-chapitre9/>

CULTURE MATÉRIELLE INUITE : LES INFRASTRUCTURES MUNICIPALES AU NUNAVIK ET AU GROENLAND

David Allard Martin
Université du Québec à Montréal

Résumé : Les infrastructures sont des réseaux qui transportent des choses tangibles ou intangibles dans l'espace. Ces systèmes se matérialisent par des objets et des espaces qui ont leur esthétique et leur matérialité propre, et avec lesquels nous entretenons différentes relations. Dans ce papier, nous analysons trois aspects de trois types d'infrastructures municipales d'eau du Nord : nous tentons de mettre en lumière le fonctionnement de ces systèmes, leurs caractéristiques formelles ainsi que les pratiques matérielles qui leur sont associées. Cette étude nous permet d'une part de tirer des conclusions quant aux liens entre la forme urbaine des communautés nordiques et la forme que prennent les artefacts techniques. D'autre part, nous démontrons que l'aspect socioculturel des systèmes doit être considéré dans la planification et la conception des infrastructures municipales. Cette approche a le potentiel d'enrichir les réflexions quant à l'habitation et l'urbanisation du Nord.

1. Introduction

Dans le cadre de cette recherche en design de l'environnement menée au Nunavik, nous nous intéressons au rôle que jouent les infrastructures municipales dans la perpétuation de la forme des villages nordiques du Québec. Depuis les années 1960, ceux-ci évoluent dans le giron de politiques d'aménagement provenant des gouvernements fédéraux et provinciaux. Des études démontrent qu'encore aujourd'hui, des décennies plus tard, il persiste une double ordonnance entre les pratiques spatiales des populations du Nunavik et les interventions planifiées provenant des différents paliers de gouvernement. Même si le domaine de l'aménagement est aujourd'hui de plus en plus pris en charge par les pouvoirs locaux, il reste que les impératifs économiques provenant de l'efficacité de la construction dominent la planification, la conception et la mise en place de l'habitat au Nunavik (Breton et Cloutier 2017, Duhaime 1985).

Les villages sont toujours développés comme l'avait prévu le modèle étatique des années 1960, soit en prenant la forme des banlieues d'après-guerre. Malgré les problématiques culturelles et sociales qu'elle engendre, cette forme urbaine se perpétue. Caractérisée par une échelle loin de celle de l'humain, elle avantage plutôt le mouvement des véhicules lourds qui sillonnent les villages (Groupe Habitats + Cultures 2017, Vachon *et al.* 2017). Ceux-ci font partie de la logistique municipale et permettent entre autres la circulation de fluides : l'eau potable, les eaux usées et le mazout. Selon notre interprétation, le camion-citerne est devenu l'unité de base de cette échelle quasi industrielle. La présence de ce système mobile se retrouve autant au niveau de la forme urbaine que dans l'architecture des espaces intérieurs (Robert, 2018 ; Société d'habitation du Québec, 2012, 2017).

Face à ce constat, nous nous sommes intéressés aux infrastructures d'eau municipales dans le contexte particulier du monde froid. L'objectif de cette recherche est de conceptualiser les relations qui existent entre ces infrastructures et la forme urbaine. Nous posons les questions suivantes : comment les infrastructures participent-elles à la culture

matérielle des gens du Nord ? Comment peut-on travailler avec ces infrastructures dans le cadre d'une pratique en design de l'environnement à l'échelle urbaine au Nunavik ?

2. Infrastructure

D'abord, tentons de définir ce qu'est l'infrastructure. Le concept d'infrastructure est fondé principalement sur la notion de système. Les systèmes se matérialisent par des objets et des espaces qui ont leurs formes et matérialités propres. C'est à partir de l'analyse de ces artefacts que nous pouvons aborder l'envers socioculturel des infrastructures dans le Nord, entre autres par le concept des pratiques matérielles.

2.1 Systèmes

Qu'entend-on par infrastructure ? Les infrastructures sont des réseaux construits qui permettent le mouvement de choses, de personnes ou d'idées à travers l'espace (Larkin 2013). L'aspect systémique est donc la caractéristique première des infrastructures. Celles-ci en tant que « systèmes de substrats » (Star 1999) se représentent toutefois par la chose transportée dans l'espace plutôt que par les artefacts qui les composent. Dans le cas des infrastructures d'eau, leur représentation se réalise par la ressource transportée, l'eau, et par les points d'accès à celle-ci, les robinets, par exemple. Cet exemple est frappant, car l'ensemble du système technologique qui comprend les pompes, la tuyauterie, les égouts et toute la panoplie d'artefacts nécessaires au bon fonctionnement de cette infrastructure nous est invisible, ou du moins caché. Notre représentation des infrastructures se réalise donc par ce avec quoi nous entretenons une relation directe. Larkin (2013) nous explique que la complexité de l'ontologie des infrastructures vient du fait que celles-ci sont à la fois des choses et la relation entre des choses.

Dans l'article *The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure*, l'anthropologue aborde la complexité de l'infrastructure en avançant que la majeure partie des études anthropologiques concernant le sujet se sont concentrées sur sa facette technopolitique. Pour lui, les infrastructures ont une complexité plus grande encore : elles incorporent des désirs et des fantasmes collectifs qui peuvent être totalement autonomes de leur fonction technique première. Il propose ceci :

« It also means being alive to the formal dimensions of infrastructures, understanding what sort of semiotic objects they are, and determining how they address and constitute subjects, as well as their technical operations. » (Larkin 2013 : 329)

Larkin tente de nous faire comprendre que les infrastructures sont à la fois des systèmes techniques, des systèmes de systèmes, mais également des objets tangibles et sémiotiques. Dans le cadre de cette recherche en design, nous nous sommes d'abord attardés à l'objet tangible de l'infrastructure, sa forme et ses effets formels sur l'environnement.

2.2 Objets et espaces

Nous venons de le voir, les infrastructures sont des réseaux. Le vocabulaire qui y est relié évoque un mouvement dans l'espace par rapport au temps : flux, entrées et sorties,

conversion ou échange, distance, vitesse, débit, etc. Ces notions parfois floues se concrétisent dans la réalité tangible par des artefacts matériels dont les qualités formelles permettent au concept de réseau de se matérialiser. Pour reprendre ce que nous avons vu plus haut, une station de traitement d'eau, par exemple, n'est pas une infrastructure en soi, mais bien une technologie. C'est lorsque la station est connectée à tous les artefacts nécessaires à la distribution d'eau potable que la notion d'infrastructure apparaît (Larkin 2013).

Les artefacts de l'infrastructure d'eau (tuyauterie, pompes, stations de traitements, etc.) partagent donc un même « code » : leur forme, leur matérialité, les pratiques qui y sont associées et les technologies qui y sont intégrées « communiquent » ensemble afin de rendre possible le transport de la ressource dans l'espace avec le moins de « friction » possible. L'étude des objets et des espaces qui participent aux infrastructures est donc fondamentale, car c'est par ceux-ci que nous entretenons des relations avec les réseaux.

La littérature nous force cependant à constater que ces artefacts ne sont cependant pas conçus formellement : ils sont plutôt la résultante de lois, de normes et de règlements qui assurent que chaque artefact participe à la faisabilité et la fiabilité d'un réseau. L'objet « infrastructurel » est donc principalement technocratique : les objets qui composent les infrastructures sont conçus en fonction du rôle qu'ils jouent dans un système, et non en fonction de leur qualité esthétique, par exemple (D'Hooghe 2010, Larkin 2013).

D'Hooghe (2010) retrace ce qui, pour lui, marque un changement de paradigme dans la conception des infrastructures routières aux États-Unis du XXe siècle :

« To this corresponded a shift in the design of roads from one by architects and artists, to one by engineers and policy-makers, the field of culture ended up being purged from what was to become the postwar suburbanized city's main public realm: that of the roadway. » (D'Hooghe 2010 : 79)

L'auteur plaide pour un retour à une conception des infrastructures plus sensible, une conception qui serait orientée sur l'objet infrastructurel : ses qualités formelles et esthétiques, son intégration à l'espace public et au paysage. La critique de D'Hooghe ne repose pas seulement sur l'esthétique des infrastructures contemporaines, mais également sur la monofonctionnalité des artefacts qui les composent. Au lieu de contribuer à construire l'espace public et à en multiplier les potentiels, les artefacts infrastructureux monofonctionnels créent des limites en privilégiant des types précis d'échanges et de mouvements.

D'Hooghe reste toutefois réaliste dans sa critique : si les artefacts infrastructureux prennent forme à partir de codes technocratiques, il faut alors que les concepteurs s'approprient lesdits codes. Le professeur au MIT convie donc les designers et architectes à prendre part au grand projet d'art public qu'est la mise en forme d'artefacts infrastructureux :

« A critical design project will then consist in the creative appropriation of these codes, forms, and the entire syntax of bureaucratic order, in order to reinvent and rebuild it as an authored system with a human poetic element. » (D'Hooghe 2010 : 83)

Notre projet de recherche s'inscrit dans cette réflexion.

2.3 Pratiques matérielles

Lors de son doctorat, la chercheuse en architecture Carruth (2015) s'est attardée à la culture matérielle des Groenlandais. Son projet avait pour objectif d'évaluer le potentiel d'intégration de nouvelles technologies d'énergie propre au Groenland. Carruth a alors développé un cadre conceptuel fondé sur une critique du courant intellectuel *infrastructural urbanism*. Ce courant pourfend l'universalisation, la standardisation et la domination de l'ingénierie dans le domaine de la planification des infrastructures que l'Occident a connu au XXe siècle. Les principaux arguments de l'*infrastructural urbanism* sont marqués par une logique de symbiose entre les processus d'urbanisation postindustrielle et les processus environnementaux par la conception d'infrastructures. Convaincante du point de vue écologique, l'argumentation reste toutefois distant de la sphère socioculturelle.

Pour Carruth (2016) et plusieurs intellectuels, les infrastructures sont intrinsèquement liées à la culture. Pour son travail doctoral, elle a modifié le cadre de l'*infrastructural urbanism* en y ajoutant des notions socioculturelles fondées sur les pratiques. Son travail au Groenland lui a permis de développer un concept que nous reprenons dans notre propre étude : les pratiques matérielles. Elle définit le concept comme étant « [...] the commonplace practices carried out by people in relation to, and in conjunction with, their material environment » (Carruth 2016: 71).

Suite à son étude au Groenland, Carruth a proposé six pratiques matérielles en lien avec les infrastructures chez les Groenlandais. La chercheuse avance que pour que des infrastructures soient réellement adoptées par la population locale dans un contexte de nouveauté, elles doivent s'adapter à leurs pratiques matérielles existantes. Elle conclut donc que les prochaines générations d'infrastructures d'énergie propre doivent être sensibles à cette culture matérielle propre au contexte groenlandais (Carruth 2016).

3. Les infrastructures d'eau du Nord

À la section 2, nous avons d'abord abordé l'infrastructure d'un point de vue anthropologique. Cette première définition nous a permis de nous sortir de l'hégémonie de la technicité des réseaux pour plonger dans un aspect beaucoup plus complexe. Les infrastructures sont certes des systèmes qui permettent de transporter des choses tangibles et intangibles efficacement sur le territoire, il ne faut toutefois pas oublier l'aspect matériel de ces systèmes. L'humain moderne entretient quotidiennement des relations avec ces objets et espaces qui composent les infrastructures. Par la suite, nous avons abordé brièvement le concept des pratiques matérielles au Groenland. Pour le bien de notre recherche, nous émettons l'hypothèse que ces pratiques sont transférables au contexte socioculturel du Nunavik.

Pour la suite de ce papier, nous allons explorer trois types de systèmes de gestion des eaux dans le Nord. Notre analyse étudie chacun des systèmes sous trois angles. D'abord, nous examinons l'aspect systémique de l'infrastructure. Comment fonctionne-t-elle ? Que permet-elle de faire, de transporter ? Ensuite, nous nous attardons à son aspect formel. Quels sont les objets et espaces qui la composent ? Quels effets ont ces artefacts sur la

forme des villages et de l'architecture ? Finalement, nous catégorisons chacun des systèmes dans l'une des pratiques matérielles de Carruth.

Dans le contexte de la crise du logement qui sévit au Nunavik depuis des années, une telle compréhension du sujet technique nous apparaît nécessaire (Robert 2018, Smith *et al.* 2016). Pour que des changements systémiques s'opèrent dans le domaine de l'habitation et que ceux-ci soient intégrés par les communautés du Nunavik, il faut être en mesure d'aborder l'architecture et l'infrastructure par la complexité des pratiques plutôt que par la technique seulement.

3.1 La place centrale

Le premier système étudié est celui d'une infrastructure d'eau qui prend la forme d'un espace public central. Nous prenons comme exemple Sarfannguit, un village groenlandais d'une centaine d'habitants. Le principe de ce type de système est simple : l'eau est d'abord acheminée de la source jusqu'à une station de traitement qui se trouve à proximité du village. L'eau est ensuite transportée en son centre par le biais d'une tuyauterie isolée et chauffée. Malgré la présence de ce petit réseau d'aqueduc, peu d'habitations y sont raccordées. Le coût du raccord et les frais liés à la consommation de l'eau sont des éléments qui découragent les propriétaires de profiter de l'eau courante. Les habitants vont plutôt chercher l'eau par eux-mêmes à la station de distribution extérieure ou vont visiter le bâtiment de service du village où les services liés à l'eau y sont centralisés. Les eaux brunes sont quant à elles collectées dans des sacs alors que les eaux grises sont simplement rejetées derrière les bâtiments. Les sacs sont éventuellement ramassés et leur contenu est vidé dans l'océan. La **Figure 1** schématise le fonctionnement de ce type de système.

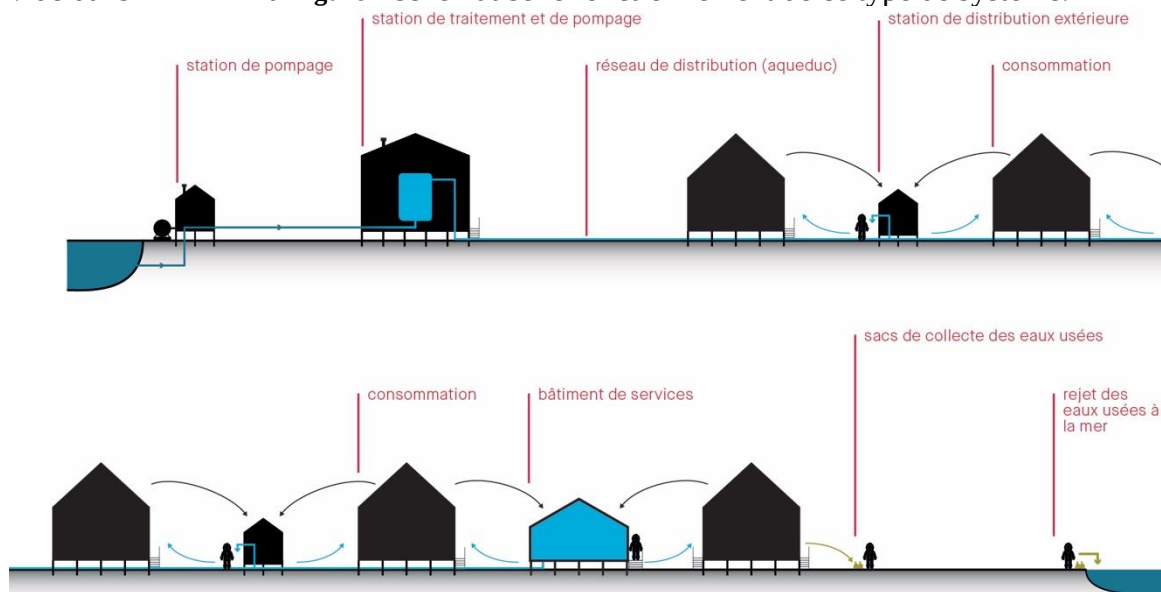


Figure 1 : Fonctionnement de l'infrastructure de type « place centrale »

Revenons au bâtiment de service. Dans ce cas de figure, l'infrastructure d'eau prend la forme d'un espace communautaire où les gens se rencontrent. Des employés travaillent d'ailleurs à son entretien et au service de buanderie qui y est associé. L'infrastructure prend ici la forme d'un espace qui a un programme architectural. Une infrastructure collective comme celle-ci impose aux gens à se rendre jusqu'à un point de distribution plutôt que de transporter la ressource jusqu'à eux. Par la proximité que les habitants doivent avoir avec cette « place centrale », le village se doit d'avoir une certaine densité tout en maintenant une échelle urbaine humaine. Cette infrastructure a donc pour effet de concentrer les bâtiments autour d'elle-même. D'un point de vue architectural, ceux-ci sont d'ailleurs libérés des salles techniques avec réservoirs. Les constructions sont ainsi beaucoup moins coûteuses, ce qui les rend économiquement accessibles.

Les gens ont en contrepartie plus de responsabilités et doivent s'organiser autour du fait que l'eau n'est pas toujours accessible. Selon Carruth, une telle infrastructure se caractérise par une pratique matérielle dite collective. Ce qui est intéressant à retenir ici, c'est cette idée de collectiviser un service (l'accès à une ressource), ce qui a pour effet de créer un lieu. On peut d'ailleurs imaginer que le programme d'un tel espace peut être bonifié par l'ajout d'autres services collectifs comme une cuisine, une serre, du rangement, un espace pour faire de la mécanique, etc. L'infrastructure collective, lorsqu'elle prend la forme d'un espace, peut incorporer d'autres activités et réellement devenir un point central dans le village.

3.2 Le service de livraison

Notre deuxième cas d'étude est le système de transport d'eau par camion-citerne. Dans ce cas-ci, l'infrastructure prend la forme d'un objet mobile dans l'espace qui transporte un volume. On retrouve ce système dans la majorité des communautés de l'Arctique et dans tous les villages du Nunavik. Dans ce cas-ci, le système se veut modulaire, car les objets qui le composent sont standardisés et interchangeables. Cette modularité impose cependant une uniformisation de l'espace, comme nous allons le voir.

Comme le montre l'illustration de la **Figure 2**, l'eau est premièrement acheminée de la source jusqu'à une station de traitement et de pompage. Là, la citerne du camion est remplie manuellement par un employé du service. Une fois plein, le camion parcourt le village et remplit les réservoirs vides des bâtiments. Pour se départir des eaux usées, un autre camion-citerne est nécessaire. Celles-ci sont pompées dans ce deuxième camion puis rejetées dans des lagunes de décantation à l'extérieur du village.

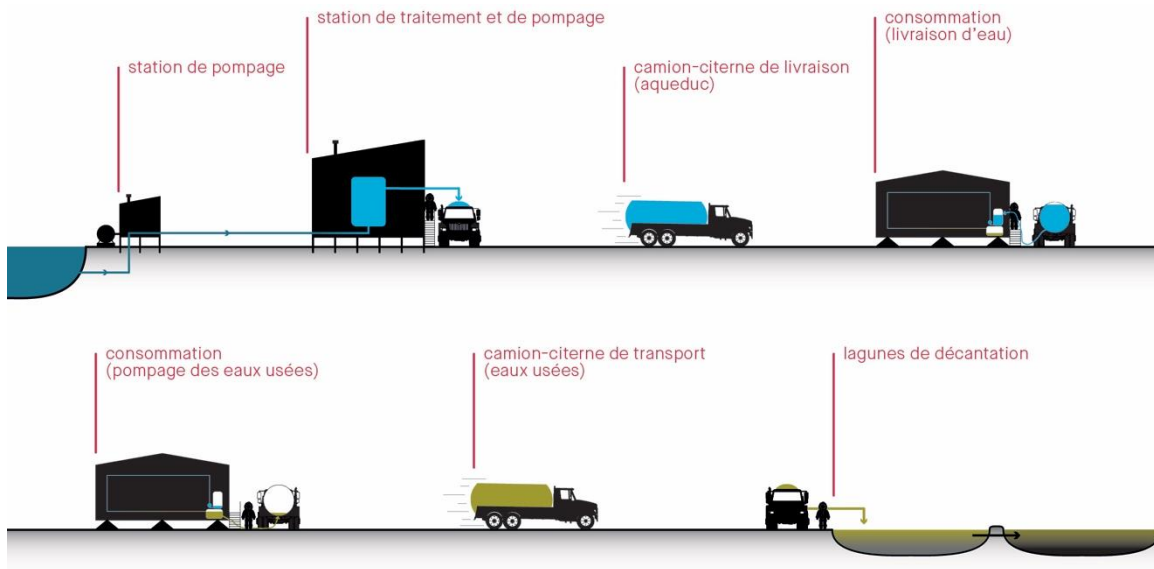


Figure 2 : Fonctionnement de l'infrastructure de type « service de livraison »

Deux choses sont à noter ici : premièrement, pour que le système soit rapide et efficace, le camion-citerne doit pouvoir se rendre le plus près possible des bâtiments. Le dégagement entre ceux-ci doit donc avoir été planifié en fonction de la forme du camion et de son déplacement. Deuxièmement, chacun des bâtiments doit posséder au moins trois citernes intérieures. Dans la salle technique, on retrouve un réservoir d'eau potable, un réservoir d'eau chaude et un réservoir d'eaux usées. Une salle technique complexe est donc nécessaire à même l'enveloppe de tous les bâtiments.

Revenons à la forme du camion dans l'espace du village. Si les réservoirs et la salle technique ont une trace dans l'architecture des bâtiments, le camion a lui une empreinte importante dans le village à cause de sa mobilité, empreinte plus grande que la surface du camion au sol. Effectivement, le camion a un rayon de braquage. Pour tourner, le camion nécessite une surface libre beaucoup plus importante que sa propre surface. Ce constat est illustré à la Figure 3. On observe en rouge la surface nécessaire au camion pour tourner d'un sens comme de l'autre.

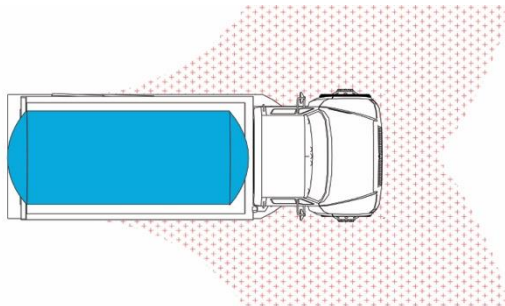


Figure 3 : Surface au sol du rayon de courbure d'un camion-citerne

La surface provenant du rayon de braquage doit donc être prévue dans l'espace urbain afin que le camion puisse se mouvoir librement. Ce paramètre formel influence ainsi la forme urbaine. L'efficacité de ce système mobile de distribution de l'eau repose entre autres sur le degré d'uniformité de la forme urbaine.

La Figure 4 montre d'ailleurs l'effet du camion-citerne dans un quartier de

Kuujuaq au Nunavik. On remarque que les rues ont la largeur nécessaire pour que deux camions se rencontrent alors que les interstices entre les bâtiments permettent aux camions de s'y stationner facilement. L'utilisation de ces camions limite également la construction dans les pentes, car ce dernier ne peut gravir de pentes de plus de quelques degrés. La forme urbaine est définie et standardisée par bien des facteurs, et le camion-citerne en est indéniablement un.

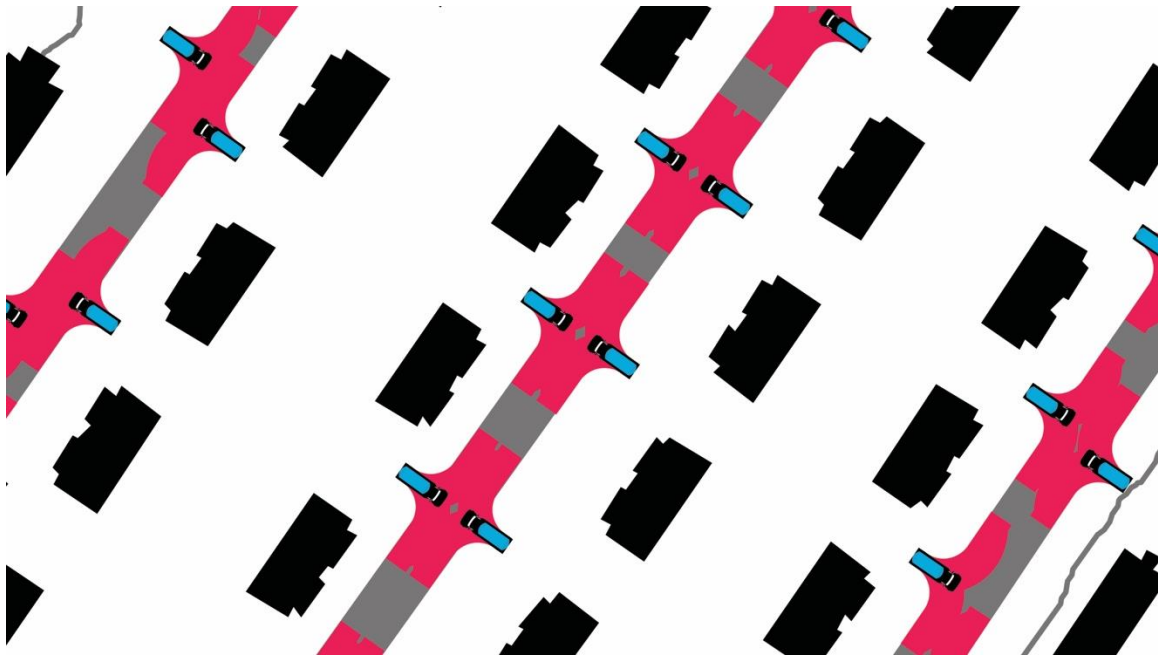


Figure 4 : L'empreinte du camion-citerne dans un quartier de Kuujuaq, Nunavik

Le « service de livraison » présente des aspects relationnels qui doivent également être étudiés. D'une part, plusieurs personnes travaillent à faire fonctionner ce système qui n'est pas automatisé. Comme il n'est pas connecté numériquement à des systèmes de contrôle, les citoyens doivent appeler le service pour signifier qu'ils n'ont plus d'eau. Il y a donc plusieurs gestes qui impliquent des relations entre les citoyens, les travailleurs et le système lui-même (Allard Martin 2018).

Cette infrastructure peut être associée à une pratique de la modularité qui permet d'interchanger les objets qui le composent, mais qui impose nécessairement une certaine uniformisation spatiale qui, comme nous venons de le voir, se répercute sur l'architecture et la forme des villages.

3.3 Un système technologique

Le dernier cas étudié dans le cadre de ce papier est celui que l'on retrouve principalement dans les villes groenlandaises. Celui-ci est composé entre autres de tuyaux isolés et chauffés hors sol qui permettent de transporter des fluides malgré le froid et le pergélisol. Au Groenland, ce système intègre également les réseaux de distribution d'énergie et le câblage nécessaire aux télécommunications. Il libère ainsi à plusieurs endroits le paysage

du câblage aérien qui altère les vues sur le territoire à partir des communautés. Nous allons voir comment, malgré l’empreinte importante de ce genre de réseau technologique au sol, les Groenlandais fusionnent ces infrastructures à des ouvrages de nature civique.

La figure ci-dessous montre la partie non enfouie des réseaux d’aqueduc (en bleu) de chauffage de district (rouge et bleu foncé) de la ville de Sisimiut au Groenland. L’utilisation de tuyaux hors sol permet une flexibilité importante : le tuyau s’adapte à la forme urbaine et au territoire, contrairement au camion-citerne. Dans le présent exemple, notons entre autres la topographie abrupte du territoire sur lequel est construit Sisimiut.



Figure 5 : Les réseaux hors sol à Sisimiut



Figure 7 : Atténuation de l’effet de limite créé par un pipeline d’eau



Figure 6 : Couplage d’un escalier urbain à des tuyaux de distribution d’eau

En étant hors du sol, les tuyaux créent cependant des limites qui sont bien perceptibles dans la ville. La **Figure 7** montre l’exemple d’une intervention qui tente d’adoucir la limite créée par le pipeline. Cette stratégie fonctionne, mais c’est lorsque la linéarité du réseau est prise en compte qu’un couplage s’effectue efficacement entre technique et civique. La **Figure 6** montre un trottoir-escalier construit au-dessus d’un pipeline qui masque l’effet de

limite en tirant avantage sur la linéarité du tuyau. À Nuuk et à Sisimiut, on retrouve ce genre de trottoir-escalier urbain surélevé à plusieurs endroits. Ils permettent aux piétons de traverser la ville efficacement et sans détour. La fusion de la technique et du civique est une pratique qui transforme l'expérience urbaine et qui, dans ce cas de figure, permet de considérer la marche comme un moyen de se déplacer efficacement dans la ville malgré les pentes importantes et la présence des réseaux hors sol. Les deux stratégies que nous venons d'explorer sont schématisées à la **Figure 8**.

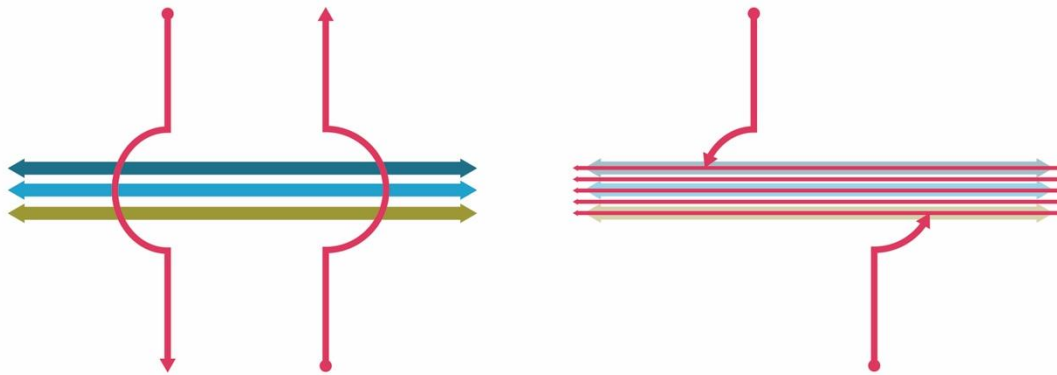


Figure 8 : Deux façons d'aborder la fusion entre la technique (les réseaux en surface) et le civique (trottoir) : masquer l'effet de limite (à gauche) ; tirer profit de la linéarité (à droite)

Carruth catégorise ce genre de pratique comme « polysynthétique » (*polysyntheticity*) : contrairement aux paysages urbains occidentaux où les artefacts techniques sont souvent invisibles, les infrastructures au Groenland sont souvent fusionnées à des artefacts civiques pour former des systèmes multifonctionnels.

5. Conclusion

Ces trois types de systèmes présentent des caractéristiques particulières qui ont des effets différents sur la forme urbaine et qui engendrent ou ont été engendrés par des pratiques matérielles diverses. Résumons les traits de chacun de ces systèmes.

Le système le plus simple est sans contredit celui identifié comme la « place centrale ». Bien que celui-ci puisse être considéré comme précaire notamment parce que les utilisateurs n'ont pas accès à l'eau courante dans leur habitation, il offre l'avantage de créer un espace communautaire dans le village. Puisque les gens doivent s'y rendre régulièrement, le plus souvent à pied, le bâtiment de service joue un rôle structurant au niveau de la densité. Les habitations doivent être construites à proximité, ce qui limite l'étalement. Cette pratique fondée sur la collectivisation ou le partage des responsabilités et des bénéfices est à considérer dans la conception et la planification des prochaines générations d'infrastructures municipales au Nunavik. Comprenons-nous, nous ne proposons pas ici de limiter l'accès à l'eau courante. La collectivisation des systèmes techniques est toutefois un élément de conception qui pourrait à notre avis générer de

nouvelles idées quant à l'habitation, idées qui ont le potentiel d'avoir des répercussions sur la forme urbaine des villages nordiques.

Le « service de livraison » produit quant à lui l'effet inverse sur la forme urbaine : les bâtiments doivent être espacés, les rues doivent être larges et les pentes doivent être évitées. L'utilisation de camions-citernes nécessite que chacun des bâtiments soit muni de réservoirs pour accueillir l'eau potable et les eaux usées, ce qui crée des contraintes architecturales importantes. Ce système a cependant l'avantage d'être composé de pièces interchangeables et crée certaines dynamiques sociales. Devant l'ampleur du défi qu'imposent l'urbanisation rapide et le surpeuplement des logements au Nunavik (Desbiens 2017, Dybbroe 2008, Smith *et al.* 2016), les autorités répliquent ce système dans les nouveaux quartiers des villages nordiques. Cela a pour effet d'étendre les villages sur des surfaces de plus en plus grandes, ce qui fait croître les problématiques d'étalement urbain. À notre avis, cette pratique basée sur la modularité rend le déploiement de l'habitation au Nunavik efficace, mais perpétue la forme actuelle des villages, qui elle, est problématique. Devant l'urgence de proposer des solutions qui auront des effets positifs à long terme sur le cadre bâti des communautés nordiques, c'est l'ensemble du domaine de l'habitation qui doit être revu, les systèmes techniques étant une partie intégrale de cette réflexion.

Face à ce constat, il peut être tentant de proposer d'implanter des systèmes technologiques qui répliquent « l'idéal infrastructurel occidental » (Gandy 2004) : accessibilité universelle à la ressource, artéfacts techniques cachés, contrôle numérique à distance, etc. Notre dernier cas d'étude démontre qu'en effet, l'implantation de réseaux d'aqueduc et d'eaux usées peut être une solution envisageable. Cette solution aurait pour effet principal de densifier les nouveaux développements dans les villages. La construction pourrait également se réaliser sur des terrains en pente sur lesquels il est actuellement impossible de construire.

Il ne faut toutefois pas tomber dans le piège d'un « technopositivisme » moderne : il faut se questionner en amont sur les impacts socioculturels que créerait l'introduction d'un tel système. Les réseaux hors sol créent des limites qui sont perceptibles visuellement et formellement dans le paysage urbain. Ces dimensions esthétiques et paysagères du projet d'infrastructure doivent être abordées dès la planification, tout comme les pratiques matérielles. Nous l'avons vu, les Groenlandais se sont approprié les infrastructures visibles dans l'espace public en les fusionnant avec des artéfacts civiques comme des escaliers et des trottoirs. En serait-il de même au Nunavik ? Nous ne pouvons répondre à cette question dans le cadre de ce papier, mais comme l'ont fait Tajima et Chaouni (2010), nous pouvons toutefois plaider pour que les aspects socioculturels, esthétiques et formels des systèmes techniques soient dorénavant étudiés et pris en compte. L'habitation au Nunavik en serait, à notre avis, positivement transformée.

Références

- Allard Martin, David. 2018. L'eau sous zéro. Dans *n360*. <https://www.n360.uqam.ca/v02-eau-sous-zero>
- Breton, Marie-Pier et Geneviève Cloutier. 2017. Cadre institutionnel et pratiques locales de l'aménagement en territoire nordique: un dialogue en trois temps illustré par le cas de Kuujuaq. *Recherches*

- amérindiennes au Québec* 47(1) : 87-99. <http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1042901ar>
- Carruth, Susan J. 2015. Infrastructural Urbanism that Learns from Place: Operationalising Meta Material Practices to Guide Renewable Energy Planning in Greenland. Thèse de doctorat. Arkitektskolen Aarhus
- Carruth, Susan J. 2016. Developing renewable energy in discontinuous Greenland: an infrastructural urbanism of 'material practices'. *Journal of Landscape Architecture* 11(1) : 66-79. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/18626033.2016.1144686>
- Desbiens, Caroline. 2017. Un nouveau sens du lieu ? « L'effet urbain » dans les communautés du Nunavik. *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 47(1) : 151. <http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1042906ar>
- D'Hooghe, Alexander. 2010. The Objectification of Infrastructure: the Cultural Project of Suburban Infrastructure Design. Dans *Infrastructure as architecture designing composite networks*, sous la direction de Stoll, Katrina et Scott Lloyd, 78-83. Berlin : Jovis.
- Duhaime, Gérard. 1985. *De l'igloo au H.L.M.: les Inuit sédentaires et l'Etat-providence*. Québec : Centre d'études nordiques.
- Dybbroe, Susanne. 2008. Is the Arctic really urbanising? *Études/Inuit/Studies* 32(1) : 13.
- Gandy, Matthew. 2004. Rethinking urban metabolism: water, space and the modern city. *City* 8(3) : 363-379. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1360481042000313509>
- Groupe Habitats + Cultures. 2017. *Habiter ici : Portrait des communautés innues du Nitassinan et inuit du Nunavik / Living Here : Portrait of the Innu communities of Nitassinan and Inuit villages of Nunavik*. Québec : École d'architecture de l'Université Laval.
- Larkin, Brian. 2013. The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42(1) : 327-343. <http://www.annualreviews.org/doi/10.1146/annurev-anthro-092412-155522>
- Robert, Bianca. 2018. Rénover et repenser les logements inuits existants au Nunavik. Mémoire de maîtrise. Université du Québec à Montréal. <https://archipel.uqam.ca/11472/>
- Smith, Kristina et Shirley Li. 2016. *Les Inuits : feuillet d'information du Nunavik*. Ottawa : Statistique Canada. <https://www.deslibris.ca/ID/10049853>
- Société d'habitation du Québec. 2012. *Charrette de réflexion sur l'habitation au Nunavik*. Inédit.
- Société d'habitation du Québec. 2017. *Construction d'habitations au Nunavik : guide des bonnes pratiques*. 1^e édition. Québec : Société d'habitation du Québec. <http://www.habitation.gouv.qc.ca>
- Star, Susan Leigh. 1999. The ethnography of infrastructure. *The American Behavioral Scientist* 43(3) : 377-391.
- Tajima, Takato et Aziza Chaouni. 2010. Cultured Infrastructures. Dans *Infrastructure as architecture designing composite networks*, sous la direction de Stoll, Katrina et Scott Lloyd, 89-95. Berlin : Jovis.
- Vachon, Geneviève, Érick Rivard, Mathieu Avarello et Laurence St-Jean. 2017. Imaginer l'aménagement soutenable des villages inuits du Nunavik : le design pour réfléchir aux possibles. *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 47(1) : 137-150. <http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1042905ar>

A DOSSAL IN THE ARCTIC: SOME ART AND RELIGION AT BAKER LAKE

Richard D. Mohr
University of Illinois–Urbana

Abstract: This essay tracks relations between art and religion at Baker Lake. The vehicle for the exploration is a wall-hanging that serves as the dossal or altar screen for the town's Pentecostal church.

At Baker Lake, art and religion revolve around each other like twin stars. So, in September 2018, while visiting the hamlet to engage with its artists on their own turf, I attended a Sunday service at the local Pentecostal meetinghouse, a mission of Glad Tidings Full Gospel Church. Pentecostalism is the most vital of religious forces among contemporary Inuit and a plurality of the artists I spoke with are active Pentecostals. I had secured permission from the minister to audit the proceedings and even take a few photographs.

The congregation's fellowship hall itself houses a noteworthy art work, a dossal or altar screen, one that fuses a modern classic of Inuit design — the wall-hanging — with a modern classic of Christian iconography.



Figure 1: The dossal — or altar screen — at Baker Lake’s Glad Tidings Full Gospel Church.

In a glorious and extravagant mixed-media flourish, this wall-hanging of otherwise customary construction — felt and floss on duffle — incorporates into its careening symmetries a wood-framed chromolithograph of “Christ at Heart’s Door” (1942), a painting by Warner E. Sallman (1892–1968), Illinois’ most famous artist.

In an act of consoling spirit or cosmic irony, this painting, in turn, is based on — is a sentimental reworking of — a painting from Britain’s decadent Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood — “Light of the World” (1853) by William Holman Hunt (1827–1910). Both illustrate Revelation 3:20, but it is the mawkish American, not the luminously brooding Brit, that has become one of the world’s most widely-known religious tableaux from any period or place.

Couched around the lithograph are inspirational symbols and sayings: “God is Love, ...The Truth, ...The Light, ...The Way.” Of the symbols, two are imports — Noah’s dove and a Bible. The third is northern-sourced — an inuksuk. Though the use of inuksuk imagery, along with that of the dancing bear, is the most hardened of clichés in Inuit art, here the inuksuk is perfect. Most commonly, Inuit placed inuksuit out on the land to help drive migrating caribou into water traps. But on the flat and treeless expanses surrounding Baker Lake, they also serve as waymarkers for hunters and travelers. So, on the dossal, the inuksuk provides a simple, direct symbol for The Way.



Figure 2: Out on the land, an inuksuk by the late, great Baker Lake artist Simon Tookoome (1934–2010) points the way towards both the heavens above and the good hunting grounds across the Prince River.

All photos: Richard D. Mohr.

When set against the rest of Inuit art, whatever the medium — wall-hanging, drawing, print, carving — the dossal’s colour scheme is startling, possibly unique. But it is exhaustively keyed to its calling. Given the wall-hanging’s Christian context, the deep purple, almost Russian violet, of its duffle ground is a symbol of piety and faith. And in a

specifically Pentecostal setting, the colour is also likely to symbolize the third and evangelically most important of the earthly offices of Christ — prophet, priest, king. The white of the felt appliqués nods to peace, purity, and probably, like Noah’s dove, renewal. The red in the amaranthine floss — which binds the edges of the dossal in a blanket stitch, embroiders a segmented running frame, and decoratively infills the lettering — is a symbol of the Good Friday passion. The solitary fleck of green, depicting the dove’s olive branch, though, in a way, necessary for representational purposes, is the happiest of accidents. Its yellow component complements the purple ground, and its full colour complements the red floss. It acts like a purse string drawing a lumpy bundle into a tidy chromatic reticule. It gives “exquisite touch” new meaning.



Pentecostalism came to the North right after the Second World War, percolated a long while, and then really took off in the 1990s.

Its blend of public confession, ecstatic ritual, healing by spiritual means, congregational looseness, and a touch of prosperity theology resonates strongly with Inuit culture, whose traditional shamanistic seances incorporated all of these elements. Fender Stratocasters and trap sets have replaced handle-held, rim-struck hoop drums, but the hypnotic, swaying and throbbing cadences of both beats help usher the spirit world into everyday life.



Figure 3: The interior of the fellowship hall at Baker Lake’s Glad Tidings Church, showing the position of the dossal.

Multipronged efforts to discover the maker and date of the dossal have proved unavailing. Glad Tidings Arctic Missions came to the North in 1956 and now has half a dozen congregations across the western Canadian Arctic. The Baker Lake congregation was established in 1971.



Figure 4: The exterior of Baker Lake's Glad Tidings Church.

In October 2019, with the local Glad Tidings congregation as its partner, the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association holds a two-day crusade in Baker Lake. The crowd for the revival exceeds the capacity of Glad Tidings' meetinghouse and instead congregates in the cavernous Baker Lake Community Center, which itself reaches standing-room-only limits for the hundreds upon hundreds of attendees gathering from among the town's 2000 citizens. At the end of the first day, a quarter of the assembled "make a decision for Christ." Near the hall's ceiling, safely above the fray of rock bands, rapturous song, "dancing in the Spirit," and other spontaneous enthusiasms, a casual but permanent installation of Baker Lake prints and wall-hangings, like a scroll of mute runes, encircles the jubilation below.

EDUCATING QALLUNAAT¹ ABOUT INUIT: REFLECTIONS ON DEVELOPING INUIT HISTORY CURRICULUM RESOURCE UNITS FOR ONTARIO GRADES 4 TO 10

Marika Morris and Qauyisag Etitiq
Carleton University

1. Introduction: The project and process

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada's 62nd and 63rd Calls to Action involve, among other things, the development of materials on Indigenous histories and cultures to be taught in all schools across Canada. In 2017, the Ontario Ministry of Education issued a call for proposals to develop materials for classroom use in partial fulfillment of these Calls to Action. Tungasuvvingat Inuit² submitted a successful proposal in order to develop accurate, engaging, informative and age-appropriate curriculum materials about Inuit which met Ontario Ministry of Education requirements and needs to fit into the existing curricula for Grades 4, 5, and 6 Social Studies and Grades 7, 8 and 10 History, and to provide guidance and background information for teachers. The resources were to be made available free in English, French, Inuktitut syllabics (North Baffin dialect) and Inuktitut roman orthography, and posted on a website in versions that conform to the Accessibility for Ontarians with Disabilities Act (AODA).

In preparation for this project proposal, a brief review was undertaken of curriculum materials available to Ontario teachers about Indigenous issues. Inuit were either absent, lumped in with First Nations (although Inuit are culturally, historically and linguistically distinct and recognized separately in the Canadian Constitution), and in one document, inaccuracies about Inuit were perpetrated. This is damaging both to Inuit students in Ontario schools, and damaging to all students in developing an accurate understanding of who Indigenous peoples are in Ontario and Canada. According to Statistics Canada (2017), over a quarter (27%) of Inuit now live outside the four Inuit regions (Nunavut, Nunavik, Nunatsiavut and the Inuvialuit settlement area of the Northwest Territories). There are

¹ *Qallunaat*, referring to white people or people who are not Inuit. This word has regional dialectical variations, such as *Kablunaat*.

² Tungasuvvingat Inuit (TI) is registered, charitable, not-for-profit organization in Ontario that provides Inuit-specific social support, cultural activities, counselling and crisis intervention as a one-stop resource centre to meet the rapidly growing, complex and evolving needs of Inuit in Ontario. TI is the only Inuit-specific service organization of its kind in urban Canada offering support through the entire life cycle. Tungasuvvingat Inuit has almost 30 years of experience in crafting the design, development and delivery of a wide range of effective, client-centered services. With 27% of Inuit now living outside of the North, TI is recognized as a leading advocate for urban Inuit and is prominent within the framework of national Inuit organizations.

many Inuit students in cities such as Ottawa, Montreal, Edmonton, Winnipeg and St. John's. They are underserved by well-meaning teachers who do not understand their background and culture, and by fellow students who hold racist stereotypes about Inuit. There is no jurisdiction in Canada, including in Inuit regions, where the whole curriculum, including math, science and other subjects, are completely inclusive of Inuit.

The Ontario Inuit Curriculum Project resulted in a guidebook made up of an introduction for Ontario teachers for their own professional development and understanding of the scope of Inuit issues, and 12 units that could be used as standalone segments for the appropriate grade/strand of Social Studies or History. Taken as a whole, this curriculum guidebook traces Inuit history, challenges and achievements from thousands of years ago to the present, highlighting innovations, culture, language, worldview, environment, first contacts (with First Nations, Vikings, explorers, whalers, missionaries, traders), colonization (replacement of Inuit governance and justice systems, forced resettlement, taking away of land and decision-making power, imposition of foreign laws and language, residential schools/day schools where kids were abused and their language and culture erased, the race-based identification system just for Inuit (E-discs/E-tags), TB ships, dog sled slaughter, military presence, etc.), the effects of colonization (intergenerational trauma, higher rate of suicide, violence and addictions), effects on Inuit of world events (Cold War and Arctic sovereignty, climate change) and Inuit resilience and agency (negotiation of modern land claims, creation of a new territory - Nunavut - with unique system of governance based on Inuit *Qaujimajatuqangit* (Inuit cultural values), Inuit activism on climate change, seal hunt and establishing services for other Inuit, and Inuit contributions to Canadian identity.

The project team consisted of:

- Quayisak Etitiq (B.A. Sociology/Indigenous Studies), who spearheaded the project as Education Policy Advisor at Tungasuvvingat Inuit (TI), assembled the project team, and stayed on the advisory team to share his vast knowledge of Inuit history and education once he left TI to pursue other opportunities. Quayisak represented TI on Ontario Ministry of Education committees, is an Inuit awareness trainer and has led workshops and courses on Inuit culture and society for governments and organizations;
- Marika Morris (Ph.D. Canadian Studies), an Adjunct Research Professor in the School of Indigenous and Canadian Studies at Carleton University and a consultant who conducts research for various Inuit organizations. She is published on the issues of participatory research methods with Inuit, urban Inuit, and Inuit approaches to suicide prevention, among other topics, and did her Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR) postdoctoral research as a partnership with Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada;
- An Inuk teacher (B.Sc., B.Ed, M.Ed) living in Toronto, and licensed by the Ontario College of Teachers, who does not wish to be named in this paper;
- Katherine Irgaut (B.A. Film Studies), who joined the project to manage responsibility for finding appropriate visual materials, finding and seeking

- permission from the copyright holders to use the materials, and providing research assistance;
- A representative of TI's Education Policy department.

The project team consulted with Nunavut Sivuniksavut³ (NS) students and instructors. NS advice on this project was crucial. Students were asked what they wished *Qallunaat* teachers knew about Inuit. Instructors were asked to recommend source materials about Inuit history and culture. NS allowed the project to use some of its own graphics, such as the “Unifying the Inuit Story” chart, which traces the story of Inuit control over their own lives.

The initial timeframe for developing the project was curtailed by about six months, resulting in the cutting of many planned consultations for the project. Nevertheless, the project benefitted from the input of Inuuqatigiit Centre for Inuit Children, Youth and Families (based in Ottawa), and targeted consultations in areas in which there were contradictory historical accounts and perspectives.

Although an Inuit organization spearheaded the process, Ontario Ministry of Education parameters had to be followed, and Inuit history squeezed into ways of learning that Inuit did not develop. Challenges included: approaching history by time period when Inuit history does not fit easily into this, discovery learning methods that draw on colonial approaches, Inuit dialect issues, problems with some *Qallunaat* academics, contradictory source materials, lack of time and money to do consultations. As well, we dealt with issues that came up in a survey of Ontario Inuit K-12 students and parents. This paper describes the challenges encountered while developing these materials for Ontario schools.

2. A teacher's guide based on feedback from Inuit students in Ontario

We included a teacher's guide along with the 12 classroom units, as many Ontario teachers know little to nothing about Inuit. It is important that they not spread stereotypes and misinformation. The guide contains basic information about Inuit history, culture and learning styles. It also addresses stereotypes and how Inuit students are sometimes made to feel in the classroom, identified by TI's survey of Ontario Inuit students and our consultations with students and staff at Nunavut Sivuniksavut. Ontario Inuit students ranged from having recently arrived from the North, to having been born in Ontario. More than half of the Ontario Inuit students and their parents/guardians had suffered intergenerational trauma, racism and crime. Inuit students can be bullied on the basis of race, including by First Nations students. A quarter of Ontario Inuit students felt singled out in class when Indigenous issues were discussed. Nevertheless, academic success was very important to the overwhelming majority.

³ Nunavut Sivuniksavut (NS) is an Ottawa-based college program for Nunavut Inuit students. It provides “cultural and academic learning experiences that will allow [students] to develop the knowledge, skills and positive attitudes needed to contribute to the building of Nunavut.” It is affiliated with Algonquin College and its Inuit Studies program can bestow credentials recognized by the Ontario government. Although focused primarily on Nunavut, its Inuit history courses draws on materials from all Inuit regions.

The learning outcomes for educators were to: bridge the gaps in their training and education about Inuit; be able to identify key differences between Inuit and other Indigenous groups and differentiate Inuit cultural touchstone from those of First Nations; enhance their skills and knowledge in relation to supporting Inuit students; engage with ideas about learning strategies for the Inuit history units; be aware of how to approach and engage Inuit for participation in classroom activities; be better able to avoid common stereotypes about Inuit and avoid cultural appropriation in classroom activities. We also covered the principles of creating a trauma-informed classroom, outlined by the Australian Childhood Foundation (2010).

3. Squeezing Inuit history into colonial time periods, gazes and concepts

Our task was to create 12 units of materials that could be used for specific courses and strands of Ontario Grades 4 to 6 Social Studies and Grades 7, 8 and 10 History, spanning from 3,000 BCE (Grade 4) to the present (Grade 10). Most of the colonial time periods the Ontario Ministry of Education required did not reflect Inuit history very well. For example, the relevant Grade 5 Social Studies strand was: “Heritage and Identity: Interactions among and between Indigenous Peoples and Europeans in What Would Become Canada, 1500–1713” with the goal to “analyse some key short- and long-term consequences of interactions among and between Indigenous peoples and Europeans prior to 1713 in what would become Canada.” Most First Nations had already met Europeans by 1713, but not all Inuit had. Inuit in some regions only met *Qallunaat* in the late 19th or early 20th century. In the 1500s and 1600s, some Inuit on the coast of Labrador met with, traded with, or raided deserted *Qallunaat* camps, but the more significant interactions in that area would not come until the Moravian missionaries in the 1770s. So in our Grade 5 unit, we discussed Inuit contact with Dene, Cree and Innu, not just white people, and we focused our Grade 5 unit on the Inuit who discovered the Frobisher expeditions (1576-78) which came into Inuit waters. We set this in the context of the Doctrine of Discovery and the world in the 1500s CE.

This is how we structured the units in response to pre-determined colonial time periods, even though various events happened at very different times in different Inuit regions:

Unit 1: Materials for Grade 4 on Inuit and Paleo-Inuit history from 3,000 BCE to 1,000 CE, with a focus on Inuit technologies and innovations.

Unit 2: Materials for Grade 5 on Inuit history from 1500-1713, with a focus on Frobisher and first contact.

Unit 3: Materials for Grade 5 on Governance. This includes Inuit traditional leadership before colonization, and the land claims process.

Unit 4: Materials for Grade 6 on heritage and identity. The focus is on Inuit culture, the importance of language, culture and identity to mental health, the contribution of Inuit culture to Canadian identity, and cultural appropriation.

Unit 5: Materials for Grade 7 focusing on Labrador Inuit history in the 1700s and the British-Inuit Treaty of 1765.

Unit 6: Materials for Grade 7 focusing on Inuit contact with the Franklin expedition, and the Inuit role in finding the Franklin ships. This unit has some exercises on perspective. Most Canadians still think a white person “discovered” the Northwest Passage. Paleo-Inuit were the first humans to discover it, 5,000 years ago.

Unit 7: Materials for Grade 8 on whaling in the 1850-1890 period, primarily around Baffin.

Unit 8: Materials for Grade 8 on the 1890-1914 period with a focus on how Inuit were displayed in human zoos, misrepresented in film and by people pretending to be Inuit on lecture tours, and also covering the transition from shamanism to Christianity in certain areas.

Unit 9: Materials for Grade 10 on Inuit history from 1914-1929, with a focus on decorated WW1 corporal John Shiwak, the Nuqallaq trial in 1923 in Pond Inlet with context about the arrival of police and courts in the North, the differences between Canadian and Inuit laws and perspectives, and the transition from Inuit systems of dealing with wrongdoing to the Canadian system which was imposed on them.

Unit 10: Materials for Grade 10 on Inuit history from 1929-1945, with a focus on the short- and long-term impact on Inuit of the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) presence and trapping of Arctic fox, and using Banks Island trapping as a case study. The Banks Island example is one of Inuit success and prosperity because they were able to manage the resource, and were not limited to primarily or just the HBC as a buyer. This unit also covers US military presence in the eastern Arctic.

Unit 11: Materials for Grade 10 on Inuit history from 1945-1982, covering E-tags, the Book of Wisdom for Eskimos and Ottawa's Eskimo Affairs Committee which had no Inuit on it, the DEW Line, forced/coerced settlement and relocation, TB ships, sled dog slaughter, residential schools (TI was also funded by the Ministry to produce separate and longer materials about residential schools). This unit ends with Inuit organizing from the 1970s to 1982, including the full text of the telegram from the Coppermine Conference, and Peter Ittinuar's contributions to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Unit 12: Materials for Grade 10 on Inuit history from 1982 to the present. This covers the creation of Nunavut, Inuit founding services and organizations to help other Inuit, but the primary focus is on Inuit youth and cultural creation - modern Inuit art, film, music, stories, humour, video games, and fashion design. It is how Inuit are successfully combining

traditional culture with modern technology. There is also a section on Inuit activism on issues such as climate change, the seal hunt, and food prices.

We were able to take a few liberties with the historical periods, for example, Grade 8 History was supposed to cover “various significant people, events, and developments, including the Indian Act, Treaties and Residential Schools, in Canada between 1850 and 1890...” However, Inuit were not sent to residential schools until the mid-20th century, Inuit did not negotiate land claims until the 1970s, and the Indian Act did not apply to Inuit in the 1850-1890 time period. So the Ministry was trying to include some Indigenous history in the mainstream curriculum, without realizing that the focus on certain events within rigid time periods did not fit Inuit history at all.

Time periods were also an issue when representing Inuit history. Inuit organizations often use the phrase “time immemorial” to represent their relationship with their homelands. Archeologists say Inuit arrived in several waves from what is now northeastern Russia and Alaska from 3,200 BCE to 1000 CE (Friesen and Mason 2016). There is a way to represent both of these ideas. Inuit really have lived in their homelands for as long as anyone can remember (“time immemorial”). Archeologists piece together a story from the artefacts left behind. Not everything has been found, so this is not the full story. This issue offers the opportunity to say *how* we know what we know, what the Inuit perspective is, and not come across sounding like an all-knowing deity making sweeping statements that will never change – which was the case in the history books two of the project team members remember.

4. The colonial gaze embedded in most history texts and websites

There’s a saying that “History is written by the victors.” In Canada, the victors are the descendants of the French and British settlers. They came to other people’s homelands and imposed their language, religion, economic, cultural, justice and governance systems.

There is so little Inuit history or culture in Ontario textbooks that it is easy for students to think of Inuit as still living the way they did at first contact with Europeans, and think of the English/French/Canadians as how they are *now*, rather than the way they were then. This sets up students to think of Indigenous civilizations as “uncivilized.” Until 1983 in Canada, police did not charge men for assaulting their wives, and the rape of one’s wife was not a crime. Women were not allowed on juries in Quebec until as recently as 1974. Before missionaries, Inuit girls were often married off by their parents shortly after puberty. From today’s perspective, this may seem “uncivilized”. However, Inuit were not the only ones to do this at that time, when life expectancy was shorter for everyone and before teens were expected to go to school. A large figure in Canadian history, Samuel de Champlain, married 13-year-old Hélène Boullé when he was 44 years old. He arranged it with the girl’s father, which was common for the French at the time. In Inuit society, there could be large differences in age, including much older women married to younger men.

When we covered Inuit history, we tried to look at whatever foreigners they met (French, English, Canadians, others) in the same historical context – how they lived then,

what their priorities were then. We covered the Inuit perspective as well as the settler perspective. When doing this, Inuit do not come across as “uncivilized”.

The project team was required to closely follow Ministry of Education parameters about the social studies or history inquiry process, where children are supposed to do their own research or use websites to piece together a story, and apply their own judgements and conclusions. This is designed to enhance students’ research and critical thinking skills, which ordinarily is a positive thing. However, in addition to inaccurate, misleading or partial and regional-only information available on the internet which is covered in a separate section of this paper, students are required to make judgements about a culture most of them only know through a short lesson. This replicates the colonial practice of judging Inuit by non-Inuit standards, values and priorities, instead of listening carefully and respectfully to Inuit about their own lives. We tried to deal with this issue by suggesting certain Inuit-led websites about certain things, which although of good quality were regional in scope, and providing any missing context and information.

5. Different dialects, regional histories and Elders with different perspectives

Some Inuit regions have a wonderful cultural institute that collects historical knowledge and disseminates it in person and on a website.⁴ These cultural institutes enjoy the major advantage of being from an Inuit point of view, unlike most academic sources. However, there is no centralized body where information about Inuit history across regions and countries can be found. What happened in one region at a certain time cannot be generalized to all Inuit, and many non-Inuit who might use these sites do not know that. For example, if one is looking for when missionaries came into contact with Inuit, it will be different for each region, and this information may not be available on all regional sites. A non-Inuk who does not know that there are four Inuit regions might read something on one of these sites and assume it applies to all Inuit. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) used to have a paper on the history of Inuit on its site, but this paper did not get into much regional detail.

There is an international organization for Inuit in Canada, the United States, Greenland and Russia – the Inuit Circumpolar Conference – but it does not have a mandate or the funds to maintain a site of Inuit collective history across the world. It would be useful to have such a resource in place that points to all the reliable information that exists in the world about Inuit, including Inuit oral history sources.

The Inuit historical sources can also be contradictory, not just because of regional differences, but because of different recollections and interpretations of Elders. For example in one source a male Elder says rape does not exist, while one of the authors listened to a female Elder who helped sex offenders in prison talk about how she was raped as a young woman. There may be many stories, particularly about abuse, that may be untold. Some Inuit history sources can be taken out of context – like an Elder who had nothing but good things to say about non-Inuit whalers, while another source said Inuit women and children were afraid when drunk whalers came. We know that there are many

⁴ For example, Kitikmeot Heritage Society, Avataq Cultural Institute.

descendants in the North of these whalers. Some of the relationships may have been mutual and wanted, but some may not have been. It takes a comprehensive survey of Elders across regions to record oral history before it is lost, but no one seems to have the funds to do this. Where oral history has been recorded, sometimes it is not made available beyond the local community.

We experienced challenges around Inuit language issues. There are at least 16 dialects of the Inuit language in the world,(Dorais 2014) seven of which are spoken in Canada.⁵ These dialects have some different words, different pronunciations and do not necessarily share the same writing system. Therefore, if we wanted to use the Inuit word for something, we had to choose one from a particular dialect, as we did not have the time or resources to ensure every Inuit word was represented in each dialect. This was a particular issue for the Grade 4 Social Studies unit which focused on Inuit culture. Sometimes words for the same thing in different dialects sound similar (e.g. *qulliq*, *kudlik*, etc.), and sometimes they are completely different. We only had the budget to translate the resource materials into one dialect, and we chose North Baffin. ITK's Atausiq Inuktitut Titirasiq Task Group is in the process of developing a unified written Inuktitut, but this is still in progress (ITK 2020).

In addition, Ontario students are very diverse, with many first languages other than English, French or Inuktitut. Units had to be in plain language to accommodate all students, and each unit came with a glossary. The units had to be short and simple in order to be taught, so there are time periods that focus primarily on Inuit history in one region only by theme. All regions are covered in the total of the units, but as these units are optional – teachers can choose to use them or not, and they already have a lot of material to teach – it is unlikely that Ontario students will be exposed to all of Inuit history or regions. As well, a significant number of Ontario students have moved to Canada recently and may have missed any discussion of Inuit in earlier grades.

6. Incorrect, incomplete, contradictory or misleading source materials

Section 5 covered the challenges involved in using Inuit sources, and this section deals primarily with problematic non-Inuit sources of information.

Often non-Inuit sources of information about Inuit were wrong, contradictory or partial and out of context. The project team found several errors, incomplete or misleading information about Inuit even in sources like the *Canadian Encyclopedia* and *Historica Canada's* information about treaties. A professor wrote an entire book about misinformation about Inuit that has found its way into Canadian university textbooks (Steckley 2008). Too often one local or regional source is generalized to all Inuit, when it may be one point of view or one local experience. Then when that source is magnified, it is repeated everywhere and taken as true. Even more problematically, there have been non-Inuit who have pretended to be Inuit and gone on North American lecture tours, and some of this misinformation found its way into textbooks (Steckley 2008).

⁵ See Dialects of *Inuktitut*, with dialect with labels in Inuujuingajut, the Standard Roman alphabet for Inuktitut (Source: Wikimedia Commons. Map: Asybaris01)

Although there may be plans to remedy the situation, on the rare occasions when Inuit history is mentioned in current Ontario learning materials, the information is not always accurate. For example, in the summer of 2019, the Ontario Grade 10 Canadian History e-course covering the Depression era had stories from various individuals in Canada for students to explore. The only Inuk represented was not a real historical figure, what was attributed to him was clearly made up by a non-Inuk, everything that was said was inaccurate about Inuit history,⁶ and the drawing of the “Inuit trapper” which accompanied the text was dressed in Cree or Dene-type clothing, not Inuit clothing.

For our project, we relied mainly on books chosen as texts by Nunavut Sivuniksavut instructors to teach Inuit history, including *Northern Voices* edited by Penny Petrone (1988), which contains the words of actual Inuit from the 1930s and various other time periods. We hoped to avoid the misinformation about Inuit history, and the instances where Inuit history has been clearly made-up by well-meaning (or not) white people.

7. Digging through Qallunaat academic interpretations of Inuit culture and history

Some non-Inuit historians, archivists and archeologists were very helpful to our project. One of these was University of Toronto Arctic archeologist Max Friesen, who provided us with his estimate of how many Inuit and Paleo-Inuit archeological sites there are in the North (15,000), including in the High Arctic (Friesen 2018). Another example was Library and Archives Canada (LAC), which was in the process of digitizing their photographs so more people could have access to them. LAC decided that since the photos we were asking for had educational value to Inuit, they would prioritize those photos for their digitization efforts. The Canadian Museum of History was also supportive.

However, some non-Inuit historians and archeologists we encountered thought they were being “helpful” by trying to rewrite our story to suit their purposes and beliefs or to highlight their own work; dismissing Inuit perspectives and assuming that Inuit oral history was unreliable; assuming that if they did not know a source existed, then it didn’t exist and Inuit must be making it up to “bolster a land claim”; looking at Inuit history through a French or English colonial lens, using colonial concepts of land use and colonial writings about Inuit as if they represented the whole story.

8. Challenges in finding appropriate Inuit artefacts

Inuit artefacts are spread out around the world. Many historical photos of Inuit and Inuit artefacts are not “owned” by Inuit. They are found in institutions such as the Smithsonian,

⁶ In a very business-like manner, this supposed Inuk from the 1930s said his wife had died in a TB sanitarium in the south (TB ships didn’t happen until the 1950s and 60s), his daughter was away at residential school (which did not apply to Inuit until the 1950s), and he lived in Iqaluit, which at that time existed only as a fishing spot, not a year-round settlement. What would become the city of Iqaluit was founded in the 1942 when an American military base was set up there, and the town was known as Frobisher Bay until 1987. What the passage said about how Inuit were affected by the Great Depression was also incorrect.

the Canadian Museum of History, the Anchorage Museum, Library and Archives Canada, the McCord Museum, museums across Europe, and in small private collections of non-Inuit. Sometimes, licenses had to be purchased for an Inuit organization to use Inuit materials for educational purposes about Inuit. An additional person joined the project team just to chase down visual materials and get licenses and permissions for their use.

It was difficult to sort through the Canadian Museum of History's (CMH) Inuit artefacts, because these were catalogued at different times by different people, with some providing detail and others not at all. For the purposes of a search, some Inuit artefacts have been coded as only one of the following: "Inuit", "Eskimo" or "Copper Eskimo", "Inuvialuit", "Arctic", "Labrador", "NWT" or simply by the local place name. Some have only a descriptor of the object, such as "ulu" or even worse, "knife". This makes it difficult to search for all of the Inuit objects kept by the CMH, because so many different search terms must be used. There is always the possibility of missing something. Some items do have multiple search terms associated with them, making them easier to find, but the CMH could do an overhaul of its catalogue to ensure that all Inuit artefacts have the search term "Inuit" (as well as anything else) as a tag.

9. Cultural appropriation in the classroom and life

One of our units is about Inuit identity, the importance of culture, language and identity to mental health, the contribution of Inuit to the Canadian identity and Arctic sovereignty, and a discussion and exercise about cultural appropriation.

A section of our unit for educators also dealt with cultural appropriation. Teachers, of course, want to make things interesting and real for their students. They may be tempted to make Inuit cultural objects such as *inuksuit* ("inukshuks") in the classroom. We outlined when it would be appropriate (only with Inuit consent and leadership).

10. Dealing with complex and difficult issues

We had to think about how to deal with difficult issues, such as sexual, physical and emotional abuse in residential and day schools. We also had to think about this from the point of view of Inuit students in the Ontario classroom, who could be the only Inuk in the class. How would this make them feel, in the absence of cultural supports?

In the Grade 10 History units, we covered 20th century colonial policies such as forced relocation, sled dog slaughter, residential and day schools, TB evacuation in which many were buried in the south in unmarked graves and their families never informed, the race-based identification system for Inuit (E-tags or E-discs), the racism and paternalism of the Canadian government, which had an Eskimo Affairs Committee with no Inuit on it, and issued a guidebook for Inuit (Book of Wisdom for Eskimo) that, among other things, contained instructions on how to breathe, and how to protect yourself from the cold. During this time, Inuit women made clothing for RCMP and other government officials, to protect *them* from the cold. However, we also highlighted how Inuit organized themselves to oppose these policies and to negotiate for their lands back. We suggested that teachers

provide a list of psychological supports and help-lines to help Inuit and non-Inuit students disturbed by the material.

11. Challenges of time and funding

We faced challenges related to timing and funding. The original project proposal was for one year of work, which included consultations and review. The Ministry of Education's approval of the project was delayed, then the funds were delayed. This long delay in receiving the approval and funds meant that the time to complete the project was cut by more than half, and there was no time for full-scale consultation or review.

Ideally, all of the materials produced for this project would have been developed with and reviewed by historical and cultural experts in each region. The units have not yet been released pending TI's reorganization of its website.

12. Opportunities to discuss how the history we learn is constructed

How do we know what we know about history? History is often presented as a series of facts, but history is not fact, it is a collection of stories and physical evidence. Up to now, most of the history in Canadian textbooks are the stories of French and English settlers, and the physical evidence important to those settlers, and interpreted by those settlers. Inuit stories and evidence of Inuit past from an Inuit perspective has not been a part of the Canadian mainstream. It is important for students to learn how history is constructed from various historical sources, and how our knowledge of history can change when more sources are included and more perspectives are used. We included these ideas in a number of units, and highlighted the role of Inuit oral history in a more comprehensive and fair understanding of what happened in the past.

13. Opportunities to learn and create needed materials

Despite all the challenges, this project offered the opportunity for the project team to think and learn from one another, and to take a first stab at developing curriculum materials about Inuit history and culture for Grades 4-10. This does not exist even in Nunavut or any other Inuit region – only isolated curriculum materials exist about particular topics, not about Inuit history from 3,000 BCE to the present. One of the recommendations in Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami's *National Strategy on Inuit Education* is for a “meaningful and relevant curriculum... supported by useful teaching and learning resources ... incorporating Inuit culture, history and worldview” (ITK 2011: 12). This would not only help Inuit students succeed in school, but would help non-Inuit students better know their fellow Canadians and the history of their country.

14. Opportunities to highlight Inuit innovations and achievements

The project also provided the opportunity to highlight Inuit innovations and achievements from the distant past to today. There is a good source for children about Inuit inventions of

the past: *The Inuit Thought of It: Amazing Arctic Innovations*, by Alooook Ipellie and David MacDonald. These inventions include the world's first sleeping bags, covered boats that could roll in the water (kayak/*qajaq*), warm snow houses (*igluit*), waterproof clothing, specialized tools for Arctic hunting, curved knife useful for cutting through frozen meat which enables the maximum use of muscle strength in the shoulder, arm, wrist and hand (*ulu*), unique summer food preservation techniques (burying food in airtight sealskin bags under rocks so animals could not dig it), dog sled (*qamutiik*), and bow drill. We also included inventions not in the book: a unique way-finding system (*inuksuk*) and the world's first anti-glare goggles (*ilgaak*), which the College of Optometrists recognizes as the world's first eyewear (College of Optometrists 2020). Unlike most non-Inuit sources about Inuit, which focus only on physical objects, we also talked about Inuit societal values (Inuit *Qaujimajatuqangit*) that helped Inuit survive and thrive in such a harsh climate – by prioritizing harmony and working together.

We especially wanted the last unit (for Grade 10, spanning from 1982 to the present) to reflect modern Inuit innovations and achievements: the creativity of Inuit in producing unique art, music, fashion, comedy, film and video, the persistence and commitment of Inuit to organize services to help other Inuit and continue to organize for the rights of all Inuit, and the importance of Inuit on the forefront of warning about climate change.

15. Conclusion

In developing Inuit-focused curriculum resource materials for Ontario Grades 4-10 Social Studies and History we had to address the following challenges: The majority of teachers know very little about Inuit and can perpetuate stereotypes; Inuit history had to be squeezed into the colonial time periods required by the Ontario Ministry of Education even though things happened to Inuit at different times in different regions; the difficulty of trying to cover all regions, different dialects and perspectives in a limited numbers of pages; incorrect, incomplete, contradictory or misleading source materials; digging through *Qallunaat* academic interpretations of Inuit history and culture; finding appropriate Inuit artifacts which are scattered across the world and gaining permission to use them; having to use the “discovery learning” process which can encourage colonial judgements about Inuit; dealing with complex and traumatic issues in an appropriate way for kids; addressing issues of cultural appropriation; facing challenges of timeframe and funding. In the end, the project also provided many opportunities, particularly to learn more about the history of Inuit in various regions, highlight Inuit innovations and achievements, and reframe the Inuit story in academic materials paying more attention to issues of importance to Inuit, and from an Inuit perspective.

The optional curriculum resource materials about Inuit history that we developed for Ontario Grades 4-10 are a start. Ideally, the next steps could include:

- Revising the curriculum resource materials with more input from Inuit experts;
- Educating educators across Canada about Inuit history and culture, including content at teacher's colleges/Bachelor of Education programs;

- Creating a centralized source of reliable, accurate Inuit history, encompassing all four countries/regions in which Inuit have their homelands (Russia, US-Alaska, Denmark-Greenland and Canada-Nunatsiavut, Nunavik, Nunavut and the Inuvialuit settlement region); and
- Rethinking the way history is taught in Canadian schools.

References

- Australian Childhood Foundation. 2010. *Making Space for Learning: Trauma-Informed Practice in Schools*. Ringwood, Australia: Australian Childhood Foundation.
<https://www.theactgroup.com.au/documents/makingspaceforlearning-traumainschools.pdf>
- College of Optometrists. 2020. Eskimo Goggles – the First Eyewear? <https://www.college-optometrists.org/the-college/museum/online-exhibitions/virtual-spectacles-gallery/eskimo-goggles-the-first-eyewear-.html>
- Dorais, Louis-Jacques. 2014. *The Language of the Inuit: Syntax, Semantics, and Society in the Arctic*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Friesen, Max. 2018. Personal e-mail correspondence to Marika Morris, May 9, 2018.
- Friesen, T. Max and Owen K. Mason. Introduction: Archeology of the North American Arctic. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Prehistoric Arctic*, ed. T. Max Friesen and Owen K. Mason, 1-24. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK). 2020. Atausiq Inuktut Titirausiq. <https://www.itk.ca/amaujaq/unification-writing-system/>.
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK). 2011. *National Strategy on Inuit Education*. Ottawa: ITK.
<https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/National-Strategy-on-Inuit-Education-2011.pdf>
- Ipellie, Alooook, and David MacDonald. 2007. *The Inuit Thought of It: Amazing Arctic Innovations*. Toronto: Annick Press.
- Petrone, Penny, ed. 1988. *Northern Voices: Inuit Writing in English*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Statistics Canada. 2017. *Aboriginal peoples in Canada: Key results from the 2016 Census*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/171025/dq171025a-eng.pdf>.
- Steckley, John L. 2008. *White Lies About the Inuit*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

AN INUKTUT LANGUAGE VITALITY SURVEY*

*Kumiko Murasugi and Brenda Jararuse
Carleton University and Nunatsiavut Government*

Abstract: This paper reports on an Inuktitut language vitality survey to be conducted in Nunatsiavut (northern Labrador). The purpose of the survey is to collect updated statistics on the number and proficiency level of Inuktitut speakers, ask about their past and present language usage, and gather their thoughts on existing and desired language learning methods and programs. This will help determine the future directions of government and community language programming, and contribute to the next Strategic Plan of the Nunatsiavut Government's Department of Language, Culture and Tourism. The survey results will be presented in the *Atlas of the Inuit Language in Canada*, a collaborative cybercartographic atlas project involving university and Inuit partners.

1. Introduction

The vitality of the Inuktitut language in Inuit Nunangat (Inuit homeland in Canada) varies across the different land claim regions. According to the 2016 Statistics Canada census, the language is strongest in Nunavik (Arctic Quebec), where 99% of the Inuit population of 11,800 is able to carry on a conversation in Inuktitut. In Nunavut, 89% of the 30,190 Inuit living in the territory are able to converse in their language. Inuktitut is considered endangered in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) in the Northwest Territories and in Nunatsiavut (northern Labrador) in the east (Moseley 2010). In 2016 only 21% of the Inuit populations in each region (population 3,110 in the ISR and 2,290 in Nunatsiavut) reported the ability to converse in Inuktitut.¹

This paper reports on a language vitality survey that will be launched in Nunatsiavut in the spring of 2020. In a region where the Inuktitut language is at a crossroads, possibly facing its complete loss (Andersen and Johns 2005), the Nunatsiavut Government is actively involved in supporting and promoting its revitalization. The purpose of the Nunatsiavut survey is to collect updated statistics on the number and proficiency level of Inuktitut speakers, ask about their past and present language usage, and gather their thoughts on existing and desired language learning methods and programs. This will help determine the future directions of government and community language programming, as well as contribute to the Department of Language, Culture and Tourism's next Strategic Plan.

The results of the survey will be presented in the *Atlas of the Inuit Language in Canada*, a cybercartographic atlas being developed in a collaborative project between two universities and five Inuit partner organizations.² The goal of the Inuit Language Atlas is

* We would like to thank the participants of the Inuit Studies Conference for their comments and questions, and the participants of the Nunatsiavut Language Summit in Nain, NL (November 4-6, 2019) for their feedback on the survey. We wish to acknowledge the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

¹ See Statistics Canada (2016 a,b,c) and Lepage and Langlois (2019) for regional statistics.

² Currently the participants in the Atlas project are: Carleton University, University of Toronto, Nunatsiavut Government (Department of Language, Culture and Tourism), Government of Nunavut (Department of

to help protect, promote and revitalize the Inuktitut language through the collection, analysis and representation of language data. In the next section we present the key ideas of cybercartography and features of the Inuit Language Atlas, and in section 3 we discuss the Nunatsiavut language vitality survey.

2. *Atlas of the Inuit Language in Canada*

The *Atlas of the Inuit Language in Canada* is built upon the principles of cybercartography, an approach to mapping that originated over 20 years ago and has undergone several developments since then (Taylor 1997, 2005, 2014, 2019). A cybercartographic atlas is an online, interactive, multimedia platform for presenting information from different sources in various formats; these include maps, tables, graphs, timelines, photographs, sound files, and videos (Hayes, Pulsifer and Piset 2014; Hayes and Taylor 2019). The representation of multiple perspectives is a key component of cybercartography, and is highlighted in the Inuit Language Atlas. “Multiple perspectives” can refer to the different perspectives of atlas users, such as speakers of different dialects, or users with different purposes, e.g. teachers, learners, translators, or linguists (Murasugi 2019). It can also refer to multiple perspectives on data relations and data presentation.

Currently the main database in the Atlas is a multidialectal lexicon of written and spoken words and phrases in 11 Inuktitut dialects (Murasugi and Ittusardjuat 2018, Murasugi 2019). Each dialect is equal in terms of accessibility and presentation, regardless of number of speakers or geographic location. This is especially significant for the Inuktitut dialects in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, western Nunavut, and Nunatsiavut, where the language is most endangered.

The Atlas database and accompanying information can be accessed in different formats, or modules, allowing the Atlas to address the needs and capabilities of different types of users (see Murasugi 2019 for details of the modules). The complete database can be viewed in the Word List module. The other modules represent different relations, such as location and communities (Community Map module), location and dialects (Dialect Map), word forms and dialects (Dialect Chart), and word forms and dialects for a specific semantic category, i.e. body parts (Sculptuary). New data and data relations are straightforwardly accommodated within the Nunaliit Atlas Framework, a flexible, open-source data management system developed at Carleton University (Hayes et al. 2014, Hayes and Taylor 2019).

The plan for the Atlas includes a second component: the presentation of data from an Inuktitut language vitality survey. The overall goal of the survey is to assess the vitality of the language in each community across the regions in order to help determine the vitality of Inuktitut as a whole, in response to concerns about the strength and preservation of the language. The original objective was that the survey would be distributed regionally, with the results accessible in the Atlas from multiple perspectives, i.e. from community and regional dialects to an overview of the Inuktitut language across Inuit Nunangat. The Atlas is an ideal platform for presenting the results, as the iterative, holistic approach to

Culture and Heritage), Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit, Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. The atlas can be found at <https://inuktitutlexicon.gcrc.carleton.ca>.

cybercartography allows for multiple perspectives to be presented on the same topic without giving privilege to any one view (Taylor 2014).

However, there are challenges to creating one survey due to regional differences in language concerns and scope of previous surveys, and the logistics of collaboratively designing and implementing a collective survey. For example, regarding language issues, language revitalization is a major concern in regions where the language is weaker, e.g. Nunatsiavut, Kitikmeot (Nunavut), and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. In Nunavut, where the language is considerably stronger, concerns include the right of Inuit to use Inuktitut in government and the workplace and to receive essential services in the language (Cloutier 2013), which require a different set of survey questions. Therefore our modified approach is to design a separate survey for each Inuit region, with a significant overlap in the questions asked. We are starting with Nunatsiavut.

3. Nunatsiavut language vitality survey

Language is one of the priority areas in the 2017-2020 Strategic Plan of the Nunatsiavut Government's Department of Language, Culture and Tourism. The goals of the Plan include increasing the language proficiency of Nunatsiavut Inuit and promoting Inuktitut in the communities. In order to facilitate their support for language maintenance and revitalization, the department seeks to answer some general questions about the state of the language in Nunatsiavut:

- Is the language stronger or weaker than in previous years?
- Are youth becoming more excited and active about language?
- What are the elders' current thoughts on the current status of Inuktitut and next steps to take?
- Are there new ideas that the communities would like to see?

A number of surveys have previously collected data on language in Nunatsiavut. Statistics Canada's 2016 Population Census and 2012 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (in addition to those from previous years) are two national surveys that cover all regions in Inuit Nunangat, including Nunatsiavut, but they contain only a few language-related questions: on mother tongue, language of home and work, and ability to converse in an Inuit language. Andersen's (2009) comprehensive survey on Inuktitut language attitudes and usage focuses specifically on Nunatsiavut, but only in one community, Nain. Andersen reports on an earlier survey conducted across Nunatsiavut in 2000 by the Torngâsok Cultural Centre in which 2,224 responses were collected on Inuktitut language use, attitudes and beliefs. Our Nunatsiavut survey will provide updated statistics 20 years later.

Our survey is modeled on an unpublished pilot questionnaire developed in 2015 by the Assessing Language Status Committee of the Arctic Indigenous Languages Vitality Initiatives.³ This pilot survey consists of questions on linguistic background, linguistic

³ A report by the Language Assessment Committee can be found here: <https://www.sdwg.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Arctic-Indigenous-Languages-Vitality-Report-2013-2015-to-SDWG-Feb-2015-FINAL.pdf>

usage and environment, language knowledge and skills, and ideas for the future. Our Nunatsiavut survey includes questions on the following:

- Current and past places of residence
- Inuktitut language use – past and present
- Importance of speaking and understanding Inuktitut
- Current level of Inuktitut language proficiency
- Interest in improving Inuktitut proficiency
- Current activities being used to improve Inuktitut
- Language learning methods – which ones are being used, are desired, are best for children and youth

The survey design and questions were presented at the Nunatsiavut Language Summit in Nain in November 2019, attended by Inuit educators, language experts, government officials, elders and youth. Modifications to the survey were made based on participant feedback.

We will collect information from beneficiaries living in and outside Nunatsiavut, aiming to start this spring.⁴ The survey will consist of both online and paper versions. Gathering updated statistics on the current status of Inuktitut in the region will help determine the level of community interest in current language programming (such as the Master-apprentice Program, IlinniaKatigennik Radio Show, and an Inuttitut café), past programming (e.g. Labrador Inuttitut Training program), and future initiatives such as online learning resources, community classes, and the Nunatsiavut Government Civil Service training program. Collecting the voices of the region's residents is vital to the Nunatsiavut Government's Department of Language, Culture and Tourism as it plans its next steps in language programming and develops its next Strategic Plan.

References

- Andersen, Catharyn. 2009. A sociolinguistic survey of language behaviours and attitudes in Nain, Nunatsiavut. Master's thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Andersen, Catharyn, and Alana Johns. 2005. Labrador Inuttitut: Speaking into the future. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 29: 187-205. <https://doi.org/10.7202/013939ar>
- Cloutier, Stéphane. 2013. UQAUSIVUT: Our language – Implementing made-in-Nunavut language legislation. In *Endangered languages beyond boundaries: Community connections, collaborative approaches and cross-disciplinary research. Proceedings of the 17th Foundation for Endangered Languages conference*, ed. Nicholas Ostler, Donna Patrick, Marie-Odile Junker, Erik Anonby and Mary Jane Norris, 12-15. Ottawa: Carleton University.
- Hayes, Amos, Peter Pulsifer, and J-P Fiset. 2014. The Nunaliit Cybercartographic Framework. In *Developments in the theory and practice of cybercartography: Applications and Indigenous mapping*, ed. D.R. Fraser Taylor and Tracey P. Lauriault, 129-140. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Hayes, Amos, and D.R. Fraser Taylor. 2019. Developments in the Nunaliit Cybercartographic Atlas Framework. In *Further developments in the theory and practice of cybercartography: International*

⁴ The COVID-19 pandemic has delayed the start of data collection.

- dimensions and language mapping*, ed. D.R. Fraser Taylor, Erik Anonby and Kumiko Murasugi, 205-218. San Diego: Elsevier Press.
- Lepage, Jean-François and Stéphanie Langlois (with the collaboration of Martin Turcotte). 2019. *Evolution of the language situation in Nunavut, 2001 to 2016*. Ethnicity, Language and Immigration Thematic Series. Catalogue no. 89-657-X201910. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-657-x/89-657-x2019010-eng.pdf>.
- Moseley, Christopher (ed.). 2010. *Atlas of the world's languages in danger*, 3rd edn. Paris, UNESCO Publishing. Online version: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages/atlas>.
- Murasugi, Kumiko. 2019. Expanding the boundaries of language mapping. In *Further developments in the theory and practice of cybercartography: International dimensions and language mapping*, ed. D.R. Fraser Taylor, Erik Anonby and Kumiko Murasugi, 389-412. San Diego: Elsevier Press.
- Murasugi, Kumiko, and Monica Ittusardjuat. 2018. Documenting linguistic knowledge in an Inuit language atlas. *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 40: 169-190.
- Statistics Canada. 2016a. Aboriginal Population Profile, 2016 Census. Inuvialuit region [Inuit region], Northwest Territories. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/abpopprof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=AB&Code1=2016C1005086&Data=Count&SearchText=inuvialuit&SearchType=Begins&B1=Language&C1=All&SEX_ID=1&AGE_ID=1&RESGEO_ID=1.
- Statistics Canada. 2016b. Aboriginal Population Profile, 2016 Census. Nunavik [Inuit region], Quebec. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/abpopprof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=AB&Code1=2016C1005084&Data=Count&SearchText=Nunavik&SearchType=Begins&B1=Language&C1=All&SEX_ID=1&AGE_ID=1&RESGEO_ID=1.
- Statistics Canada. 2016c. Aboriginal Population Profile, 2016 Census. Nunatsiavut [Inuit region], Newfoundland and Labrador. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/abpopprof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=AB&Code1=2016C1005083&Data=Count&SearchText=Nunatsiavut&SearchType=Begins&B1=Language&C1=All&SEX_ID=1&AGE_ID=1&RESGEO_ID=1.
- Taylor, D.R. Fraser. 1997. Maps and mapping in the information era. Keynote address to 18th International Cartographic Association Cartographic Conference, 23 June 1997, Stockholm, Sweden. In *Proceedings of the International Cartographic Conference 97:1*, ed. L. Ottoson, 1-10. Gavle: Swedish Cartographic Society.
- Taylor, D.R. Fraser. 2005. The theory and practice of cybercartography: An introduction. In *Cybercartography: Theory and practice*, ed. D.R. Fraser Taylor, 1-13. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Taylor, D.R. Fraser. 2014. Some recent developments in the theory and practice of cybercartography: Applications in Indigenous Mapping: An Introduction. In *Developments in the theory and practice of cybercartography: Applications and Indigenous mapping, Second ed.*, ed. D.R. Fraser Taylor and Tracey P. Lauriault, 1-15. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Taylor, D.R. Fraser. 2019. Cybercartography revisited. In *Further developments in the theory and practice of cybercartography: International dimensions and language mapping*, ed. D.R. Fraser Taylor, Erik Anonby and Kumiko Murasugi, 3-23. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

IMAGINING CONTINUING EDUCATION, INTERPROFESSIONAL COLLABORATION AND SUPPORT IN A TRILINGUAL ENVIRONMENT: ATAUTSIKUT, A COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE IN YOUTH MENTAL HEALTH AND WELLNESS IN NUNAVIK*

Lucie Nadeau^{1,2}, Janique Johnson-Lafleur^{1,2}, Jason Annahatak², and Sarah Fraser^{2,3}
¹McGill University, ²Sherpa Research Center, and ³Université de Montréal

Abstract: A community of practice (CoP) in youth mental health and wellness is being developed in the 14 Inuit communities of Nunavik to provide face-to-face and online activities to workers involved in this field. This CoP's goal is to bring together people sharing a common practice to learn from one another, support, and inspire one another. This initiative wishes to contribute to continuing education adapted to Inuit and non-Inuit service providers, and to promote interprofessional collaboration and support. The CoP's activities are designed to build on Inuit knowledge, values and practices, and non-Inuit knowledge. In Nunavik, Inuit and non-Inuit service providers are multilingual. Activities of the CoP will include presentations in Inuktitut and English, and group discussions characterized by code switching between Inuktitut, English and French. This will allow the richness of a multilingual environment while also revealing its challenges. The CoP is being evaluated through a participatory mixed-methods implementation research.

A community of practice (CoP) in youth mental health and wellness named *Atautsikut* (*togetherness*) is in the process of being developed in Nunavik. The project holds three main goals: supporting workers, fostering interprofessional collaboration, and encouraging capacity building. This initiative is funded through a CIHR Project grant and supported by in-kinds from the Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services and by the two regional hospitals: the Inuulitsivik Health and Social Services Center and the Ungava Tulattavik Health and Social services Center.

We present here the journey towards this initiative of a youth mental health and wellness CoP in the 14 communities of Nunavik, in order to

1. Give background information which describes the context and the reasoning behind the implementation of *Atautsikut*, the common principles of CoPs, as well as the specific objectives and potential impacts, modalities, and implementation process of *Atautsikut*.
2. Reflect on *Atautsikut*'s underlying philosophy of building on Inuit knowledge, values and practices while integrating a diversity of knowledge in a trilingual space. This implies reflecting on the use of Inuktitut, English and French, on

* The authors would like to thank the collaborators in Nunavik and the members of the research team who contributed to the development of the *Atautsikut* project, therefore of this paper. It goes without saying that without their contributions, this project would never have seen the light of day.

cultural codes within the CoP, and on how it frames, enriches and challenges the implementation of a culturally and emotionally safe space.

1. Background Information

1.1 Youth Mental Health and Wellness in Nunavik

Youth mental health and wellness is currently a major concern for Nunavimmiut (people of the land in Nunavik, Quebec). While there are multiple examples of resilience, many Inuit youth experience emotional turmoil and suicidality. Many are witnesses of family and community struggles. Moreover, Nunavik currently has high rates of placements of children and youth under child welfare services. Youth, families and communities are facing a lot of suffering.

In Nunavik, the development and delivery of mental health care is challenging for a variety of reasons, including important training, communication, collaboration and structural barriers that have been observed and reported by community members and services providers alike (Parnasimautik Consultation Report 2014, Fraser and Nadeau 2015). In addition, work environments for practitioners is highly stressful and resource-limited in the field of youth mental health and wellness. Practitioners are involved in the management of complex clinical situations yet social support for these professionals is scarce.

Over the years, information collected from practitioners and administrators allowed us to identify three main needs for first-line workers involved in youth mental health and wellness in Nunavik, namely: 1) training (professional development and capacity building), 2) improved interprofessional collaboration, and 3) social support (Fraser et al. 2016, Nadeau et al. 2016). Ongoing work within our research team also highlights the pertinence of CoPs in the field of youth mental health. Indeed, this work conducted in the Montreal area allowed us to observe how CoPs can effectively be used to improve the quality of care in socio-culturally diverse settings by providing practitioners with a safe environment in which they can better communicate with colleagues, exchange on effective, culturally safe and innovative practices, and receive peer support (Nadeau et al. 2014, Pontbriand et al. 2015).

1.2 What Is a Community of Practice (CoP)?

A CoP is a group of people who share a common professional practice or domain of inquiry or expertise, and who come together to exchange, share and learn from one another (Wenger 1998). The literature on CoPs suggests that over time CoP members come to share resources with each other, to pool experiences and knowledge, to support and inspire one another, to reflect on shared issues, and to develop a common repertoire of resources (Wenger 1998, 2011; Soubhi et al. 2010; Seibert 2015). Each CoP also ends up forming its own collective identity. Thus, the purpose of a CoP is to provide a way for practitioners to share information, to exchange knowledge and experiences, and to have discussions on specific aspects of their common practice. In terms of impacts, CoPs in the field of primary

healthcare have been shown to contribute to professional development, to provide social support to their members, and to increase the overall quality of services (Wenger 1998).

There are many ways by which members communicate among themselves. In this sense, CoPs can take different forms and ways of functioning. For instance, a CoP can include only virtual and web-based activities, or members can hold their meetings in a face-to-face setting (Ranmuthugala et al. 2011). Yet, all CoPs have the same basic characteristics including the presence of a facilitator and flexible modes of participation. According to Wenger (1998), the structure of a CoP always includes three interrelated elements, namely: a mutual engagement, a joint enterprise and a shared repertoire. ‘Mutual engagement’ refers to the actual participation and commitment of people. Sharing a common interest among members is an essential component to ensure this engagement. As for ‘joint enterprise’, it refers to what people consider to be the bond that unites them. It relates to the CoP’s goals and vision and is sometimes referred to as the ‘domain’ of the CoP. Finally, through participation, members collectively produce shared resources such as knowledge banks, methods, tools, symbols, routines, and so on, which together form the ‘shared repository’ of the CoP.

1.3 Atautsikut: A CoP in Youth Mental Health and Wellness in Nunavik

1.3.1 How Was the *Atautsikut* Project Initiated?

The idea of developing a CoP in youth mental health and wellness in Nunavik came about as we realized that the needs previously identified among Inuit and non-Inuit clinicians, namely training, collaboration and support needs, had previously been found to be positively impacted by the creation of CoPs within the literature. Furthermore, the CoP model would seem to be in sync with Inuit values of collaboration and solidarity (Government of Nunavut 2013; Fraser et al. 2016) and appears to offer a promising strategy to integrate knowledge and practices from diverse cultural and professional backgrounds.

1.3.2 What Is *Atautsikut*?

Atautsikut, which translates in English to ‘togetherness’, is the name that was given by Minnie Grey, Executive Director of the Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services, to the CoP in youth mental health and wellness that is currently being developed in the 14 communities of Nunavik. It should be noted that although the specific domain of the *Atautsikut* CoP is youth mental health and wellness, it nonetheless draws on an ecosystemic view of mental health and wellness which encompasses families and communities. This systemic perspective also corresponds to the reality of workers who intervene not only with children and youth, but also with their extended families and friends.

The objective of the *Atautsikut* CoP is to provide activities that will be useful to its members, notably to meet their needs for training, support and enhanced interprofessional collaboration. As to the overall goal of the project, it consists in enabling the development

of a comfortable, meaningful and culturally safe space in which workers can learn from each other to promote and improve youth and family wellness in Nunavik.

Members of the *Atautsikut* CoP are Inuit and non-Inuit first-line workers involved in some way or another in the field of youth mental health and wellness in Nunavik. This includes community workers, healthcare workers, social services workers, youth protection workers, family house workers, educators, etc. It is meant to build on both Inuit and mainstream knowledge. *Atautsikut* is a community-based project with a research component using a critical participatory mixed-method design. The research component aims at assessing, improving and helping to sustain the CoP. It involves key stakeholders, who are part of the project advisory committee, in the identification, design and in conducting phases of the research. The advisory committee was put together keeping in mind the importance of a balance between Inuit and non-Inuit members, and ensuring representativity of the different fields and institutions that work alongside youth and families.

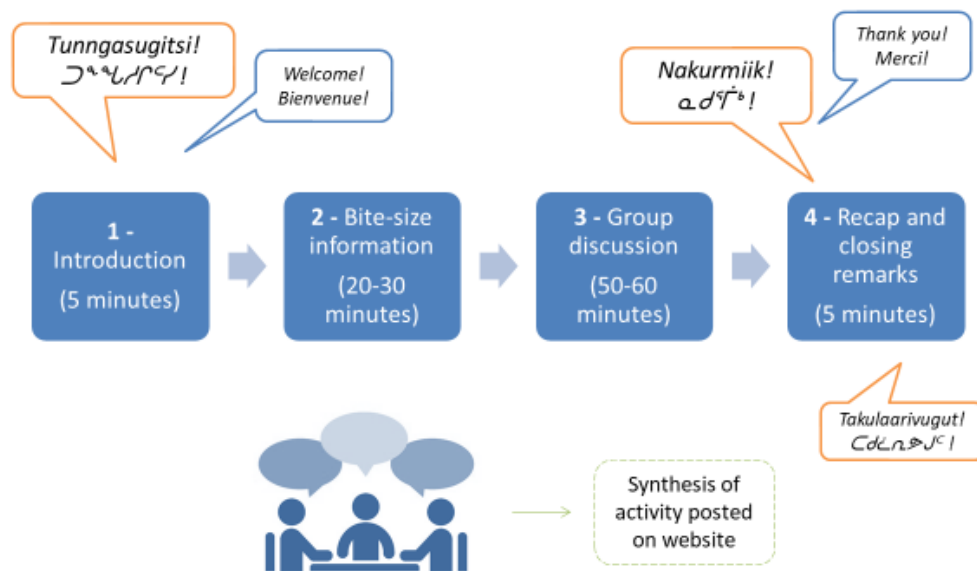
1.3.3 What Are the *Atautsikut* Activities?

The first year of the project was devoted to designing the CoP and the research through participatory methods. It was decided, by key stakeholders and the advisory committee, that the *Atautsikut* CoP will provide face-to-face and online activities in which members will be invited to participate on a voluntary basis, according to their preferences and availability. The activities will be developed in collaboration with the members and their content will be informed by Inuit and mainstream mental health and wellness knowledges. Online activities will include a website and the distribution of a members' newsletter by email. Face-to-face activities will include ongoing small group meetings and semi-annual workshops via videoconferencing.

The ongoing monthly meetings will bring together workers from two or three communities of Nunavik to form small CoP groups. The modality of these group meetings consists of a combination of in person gatherings and technology-supported interactions. This will allow for workers in the same village to meet face-to-face, but also to connect and exchange via visioconferencing with workers from other communities as well as with a facilitating team who will, most of the time, be located in Montréal. Each meeting will last 90 minutes and will address a topic of interest to members that is related to their professional practice. One of the roles of the facilitation team will be to enable the creation of a positive atmosphere of trust, respect and collegiality among members. In terms of structure, these CoP group meetings will take place as follows. First, the facilitating team will welcome the participants, make a brief introduction and invite people to briefly present themselves so that CoP members can get to know fellow participants. Then, a short presentation on the meeting's topic will be offered by the facilitators or by a guest speaker. These short presentations, also called "bite-size information" (Wexler et al. 2016), will last approximately 20 minutes and will be conducted in Inuktitut and English. Finally, the longest part of the meeting will consist of a group discussion on the topic presented so that participants can share the challenges they face in their practice, the strategies they have tried, the successes they have achieved and the lessons they have learned. A short recap of

the session and closing remarks will then be made by the facilitators to end the meeting. At the end of the month, when all the groups have completed their session on the given topic, the implementation team will produce an anonymized synthesis of all the ideas that have been exchanged in all the groups in order to enable the followings: 1) that members who were unable to attend their group meeting have access to the content of the presentation and the discussions that followed it; and 2) that all CoP members, including those who attended their group meeting, have access to the ideas that emerged in groups other than their own and can benefit from the knowledge created in the Atautsikut CoP as a whole. These syntheses, as well as the content of the ‘bite-size information’ presentations will be posted on the Atautsikut website (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Atautsikut monthly meetings
(90 minutes)



This website, which will be online soon, will serve as a general hub of information and connection. Resources that may be useful to CoP members will be available on the platform. This will include the syntheses of monthly activities, a calendar of the CoP activities, a repertoire of relevant events, links to other clinical resources, etc. In sum, written documents, images, audio and video files will be posted on the website and accessible to CoP members. In addition, a private section, accessible with a password, will be set up to host a discussion forum with the intention of bringing together and foster collaboration among the youth mental health and wellness workers from all 14 Nunavik communities. In this forum, CoP members will have the opportunity to ask questions to fellow members and to exchange on their common practice. Finally, the website will also be a means to survey participants and receive feedback on the CoP so that the

implementation and facilitation team can continuously transform the activities according to the members' needs and interests. The topics of the first CoP small group meetings will be determined by the implementation team according to the information gathered during past community consultations and presentation sessions of the project, and the subsequent topics will be determined and prioritized through the use of mini-surveys on the website as well as according to the direct requests that CoP members will make to the team.

The CoP small group meetings will be held in Inuktitut, English and French to allow members to express themselves in their language of preference. Using multiple languages can be a challenge. The following strategies are proposed to facilitate the multilanguage space: at the beginning of the first meetings, when we go around the table, people could introduce themselves and mention which languages they speak and understand. Then, when the facilitators make a presentation, we propose to start in Inuktitut and then translate in English and/or French, depending on the needs of those present. During the group discussions, participants would speak the language of their choice. However, to make sure everyone understood and is included in the discussion, we propose that what was said could then be briefly summarized and translated in English, either by the speaker, by a facilitator or by another member of the CoP.

In sum, the intended purpose of the *Atautsikut* activities is to allow CoP members to learn from each other and to create a sense of support and collaboration, in a comfortable and safe space in which they can express themselves. A further objective is to bring out practitioners' experiential knowledge and thus to be able to combine theoretical knowledge with situated knowledge from the field, as the importance to do so was clearly demonstrated in the literature on implementation science and on clinical and cultural competence (Kolb 1984, Maudsley and Strivens 2000, Fuller 2007).

2. Bringing Forward Inuit Knowledge

2.1 The Challenges of Building on Inuit Knowledge, Values and Practices While Integrating a Diversity of Knowledge

2.1.1 Historic and Contemporary Power Dynamics

The CoP is designed in such a way as to build on Inuit knowledge, values and practices while integrating a diversity of knowledges, including mainstream. However, this presents its own set of challenges. A first challenge is linked to the history of colonization and its long-term impacts. As an example, in Quebec, the Commission Viens as recently as September 2019 recognized the presence of systemic discrimination towards Indigenous people (Gouvernement du Québec 2019).

Publicly recognizing that this ongoing oppression needs to be addressed allows workers to reflect on ways in which discrimination takes place in their relationships with patients and with colleagues. The concept of internalized colonialism and oppression helps to understand the ravage it can do as it attacks identity and self-esteem (Fanon 1971, Kral 2012). In such a context, the CoP must recognize that despite all good intentions and

despite one's capacity to reflect on the potential colonial relationships, all individuals have blind spots where colonialism, and internalized oppression can be enacted and become a barrier to communication. Unequal power dynamics can affect the contribution of Inuit knowledges. One way of limiting this phenomenon is ensuring the presence of a sufficient number of Inuit members in the CoP groups so that they feel supported by one another when they speak.

2.1.2 Different Languages and Communication Styles

A second challenge is the occurrences of misunderstandings originating in the use of different languages and communicating styles. This may hinder the objective of sharing to learn, feel supported and collaborate. This is not only about what may be lost in translation, but also about ways of expressing oneself. Socio-cultural realities and personal characteristics frame our ways of expression. For example, rhythm adopted within a conversation holds the subtle quality by which one knows intuitively how much time to leave between the end of one talking and the other person starting to react to what was said (Mahieu, private conversation). This time is generally longer among Inuktitut speakers compared to English or French speakers. Another example is the use of silence which is often more present in conversational practices among Inuit as compared to the customs of many non-Inuit workers. As well, consensus is an important value among Inuit and the CoP meetings might struggle in reaching the right balance between members who are comfortable with challenging points of view and arguing versus members looking to express consensus.

2.1.3 A Diversity of Ways of Learning and Knowing

Third, sharing knowledge requires a certain acknowledgement that each individual has their own rhythms and modalities of learning (Pritchard 2017) and that ways of learning are embedded in and enacted through cultural practices (Gutiérrez and Rogoff 2003). A CoP implies a communication which reflects on and adapts to ways of learning and knowing of its members.

2.2 A Trilingual Space

The CoP functions as a trilingual space, allowing for its members to express themselves in either Inuktitut, English or French. Exploring further this idea, we have collected comments of workers. A number of elements emerged from these comments.

- The use of one's own language should help in avoiding misunderstandings.
 - "In Inuktitut, it will be clearer. We can miss parts when it's in English only."
"Choosing words can be difficult."
- The trilingual space has the potential of offering a certain comfort in expression.

- “Inuktitut is important for feeling comfortable.” “People will be less nervous.”
- Allowing others to speak their own language is essential for people to feel included. These comments appear to show a desire for the CoP to be a place where taking care of one another is important. This is illustrated by the comment of an Inuk leader/worker made during a conversation in English: “It should be trilingual; One can speak in French.”. Similarly, a non-Inuk worker stated: “Inuit workers must feel left out when things are only in English or French”
- The use of Inuktitut holds also a larger meaning, symbolizing the inclusion of cultural values and knowledge in the use of language.
 - “Doing the activities in Inuktitut, it’s... respecting our culture.”

In fact, this trilingual space hopes to convey the importance of Inuktitut to ensure the CoP fosters Inuit knowledge. Often in Nunavik, in work meetings where non-Inuit are present, Inuktitut gets put aside. Therefore, the trilingual space is also a statement in positioning Inuktitut at the forefront.

These comments convey the importance of being aware of potential misunderstandings due to differences in language use and communication codes. These misunderstandings will likely be enacted or named during CoP activities, as this trilingual space of sharing holds many challenges. One would hope that CoP small groups meetings could be an opportunity to work them through. As such, this process of working through challenges is a condition by which collaboration and support can become alive.

Finally, the CoP aims at embodying the diversity of knowledge, of ways of learning, and of languages through the very identity of members of the facilitating team which includes Inuit and non-Inuit animators representing different fields of practice and knowledge.

3. Conclusion

Who and what are we putting together in this in-between space which hopes to be creative?

The *Atautsikut* CoP brings together different cultures, a variety of domains of intervention, different ways of knowing and learning, and three languages (Inuktitut, English and French). It hopes to foster togetherness, yet the group needs to acknowledge also that togetherness is somewhat of an illusion. Such an initiative can aim at approaching yet not achieving total understanding, consensus, and optimal communication. It is a complex endeavor with its risks of misunderstandings and miscommunicating, and with its challenges to consensus. In the face of such complexity, participants could be at risk of feeling overwhelmed by the magnitude of the task and wanting to give up the adventure. Thus, it appears beneficial to focus on building a safe place where people can engage in dialogue, in other words, aiming for a *good enough* togetherness.

As such, the *Atautsikut* project can be viewed as a journey into the subtleties of developing a culturally safe, meaningful and supportive space for Inuit and non-Inuit workers involved in youth mental health and wellness.

References

- Arora, S., Thornton, K., Jenkusky, S. M., Parish, B., and Scaletti, J. V. 2007. Project ECHO: linking university specialists with rural and prison-based clinicians to improve care for people with chronic hepatitis C in New Mexico. *Public Health Reports* 122(2 suppl): 74-77.
- Fanon, F. 1971. *Peau noire, masques blancs*. 1952. Paris : Points-Essais-Seuil.
- Fraser, S.L. and Nadeau, L., 2015. Experience and representations of health and social services in a community of Nunavik. *Contemporary nurse* 51(2-3): 286-300.
- Fraser, S., Rouillard, R., Nadeau, L., D'Ostie Racine, L. and Mickpegak, R. 2016. Collaborating to improve child and youth mental health in Nunavik. *Études Inuit Studies* 40(1): 23-41.
- Fuller, A. 2007. Critiquing theories of learning and communities of practice. In: Hughes, J., Jewson, N., Unwin, L. (eds.) *Communities of practice: critical perspectives*. New York, NY: Routledge. p. 15-29.
- Gouvernement du Québec 2019. Commission d'enquête sur les relations entre les autochtones et certains services publics. [Public inquiry Commission on relations between indigenous peoples and certain public services in Québec.] 520p.
- Government of Nunavut 2013. *Incorporating Inuit Societal Values*. Retrieved from <http://www.gov.nu.ca/culture-and-heritage/information/inuit-societal-values-project>
- Gutiérrez, K. D., and Rogoff, B. 2003. Cultural ways of learning: Individual traits or repertoires of practice. *Educational researcher* 32(5): 19-25.
- Kolb, D. 1984. *Experiential Learning: experience as the source of learning and development*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Kral, M. 2012. Postcolonial suicide among Inuit in Arctic Canada. *Cult Med Psychiatry* 36(2): 306-25.
- Maudsley, G., and Strivens, J. 2000. Promoting professional knowledge, experiential learning and critical thinking for medical students. *Medical education* 34(7): 535-544.
- Nadeau, L., Fraser, S., Rouillard, R., Johnson-Lafleur, J., Pontbriand, A., Hunter, J., and Mickpegak, R. 2016. Tasiurvik: Towards Holding Hands for Inuit Child Mental Health and Family Wellbeing in Nunavik. *17th Canadian Collaborative Mental Health Care Conference*, Kelowna, British Columbia.
- Nadeau, L., Pontbriand, A., Rousseau, C., Johnson-Lafleur, J. and Richard-Fortier, Z. 2014. Interweaving of knowledge, collaboration and support: implementing a community of practice around collaborative care in youth mental health. *15th Canadian Collaborative Mental Health Care Conference*, Toronto, Ontario.
- Papps, E., and Ramsden, I. 1996. Cultural safety in nursing: The New Zealand experience. *International Journal for Quality in Health Care* 8(5): 491-497.
- Parnasimautik Consultation Report 2014. Prepared under the direction of leaders of the Makivik Corporation, the Kativik Regional Government, the Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services, the Kativik School Board, the Nunavik Landholding Corporations Association, the Avataq Cultural Institute and the Saputiit Youth Association.
- Pontbriand, A., Nadeau, L., Johnson-Lafleur, J. and Rousseau, C. 2015. Fostering collaboration and empowering clinicians: The experience of a community of practice in first line youth mental health. *3rd International Conference on Youth Mental Health (IAYMH)*, Montreal, Quebec.
- Pritchard, A. 2017. *Ways of learning: Learning theories for the classroom*. Routledge.
- Ranmuthugala, G., Cunningham, F. C., Plumb, J. J., Long, J., Georgiou, A., Westbrook, J. I., and Braithwaite, J. 2011. A realist evaluation of the role of communities of practice in changing healthcare practice. *Implementation Science* 6(1): 49.
- Seibert, S. 2015. The meaning of a healthcare community of practice. *Nursing forum* 50(2): 69-74.

- Soubhi, H., Bayliss, E. A., Fortin, M., Hudon, C., van den Akker, M., Thivierge, R., ... and Fleiszer, D. 2010. Learning and caring in communities of practice: using relationships and collective learning to improve primary care for patients with multimorbidity. *The Annals of Family Medicine* 8(2): 170-177.
- Utsey, S. O., Abrams, J. A., Opare-Henaku, A., Bolden, M. A., and Williams III, O. 2015. Assessing the psychological consequences of internalized colonialism on the psychological well-being of young adults in Ghana. *Journal of Black Psychology* 41(3): 195-220.
- Wenger, E. 1998. *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wenger, E., Trayner, B., and De Laat, M. 2011. *Promoting and assessing value creation in communities and networks: A conceptual framework*. Ruud de Moor Centrum.
- Wexler, L., McEachern, D., DiFulvio, G., Smith, C., Graham, L. F., and Dombrowski, K. 2016. Creating a community of practice to prevent suicide through multiple channels: describing the theoretical foundations and structured learning of PC CARES. *International quarterly of community health education* 36(2): 115-122.

INTÉGRER LA NORDICITÉ DANS L'ÉDUCATION ET LA FORMATION: EXPLORATION D'ENJEUX

Carlo Prével, et Katerin Arias-Ortega

Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue, UQAT et Université Catholique de Temuco, UCT

Résumé: Les études sur la nordicité semblent avoir pris un essor considérable dans l'ensemble des agendas fédéraux et provinciaux depuis le tournant du millénaire. Pourtant, il est permis de se questionner sur un certain décalage et même d'un retard pour la prise en charge de l'éducation au Nord dans la géographie scolaire. Historiquement, la géographie scolaire a très peu considéré la pertinence d'inclure les connaissances sur le Nord comme des contenus à faire apprendre pour l'éducation au lieu dans les programmes scolaires. Le Nord est principalement considéré comme un réservoir de ressources naturelles. Toutefois, les territoires du Nord sont également porteurs de complexités culturelles et socioécologiques, puisque les imaginaires, les identités et les cultures véhiculées par ces lieux peuvent s'inscrire dans des perspectives distinctes, voire antagonistes, selon les groupes d'intérêt ou les communautés de pratiques en présence. Tout ceci constitue de nouveaux enjeux interpellant les finalités de l'éducation et la formation sur le monde social. Cet article discute l'opportunité de réfléchir sur les processus de production de nouveaux savoirs à faire apprendre sur le Nord dans l'éducation et la formation au Québec et au Canada. Les lieux du Nord autant que les communautés qui les convoient font face à des transformations socioterritoriales de divers ordres dans le temps, dans l'espace et dans leurs valeurs respectives, et tout ceci dans un monde qui change. Nous concevons de cette exploration une réelle opportunité pour la recomposition disciplinaire de la géographie scolaire.

1. Contexte

L'éducation et la formation au monde social (géographie, histoire et éducation à la citoyenneté) visent à former des apprenants cultivés et aider les citoyens de demain à se doter d'une vision du territoire en tant qu'espace que les humains se sont approprié; qu'ils ont aménagé et auquel ils se sont adaptés (Québec, 2010). Cette éducation répond à des finalités essentielles dans la formation des futurs citoyens, notamment pour la connaissance de la société et du territoire d'appartenance et l'intégration des normes sociales (respect des autres, ouverture à la diversité culturelle, respect de l'environnement, etc.) (Audigier, 1997). Dans sa conception et sa définition, les compétences visées et les repères culturels annoncés pour les territoires de référence s'inscrivent, en termes de contenu, dans la logique du développement économique du Québec et du Canada. Ce développement est centré prioritairement sur les projets de la base sociale implantée sur une bande de moins de 400 kilomètres au nord de la frontière avec les États-Unis d'Amérique. Dans ces conditions, il est urgent de se demander, quelle "Éducation au Nord" faut-il offrir aux nouvelles générations pour répondre aux défis du vivre-ensemble tout en formant des individus épanouis, des futurs citoyens engagés autant que des travailleurs qualifiés au Québec et au Canada?

Dans cette contribution nous nous attardons sur la nécessité d'une nouvelle conceptualisation des savoirs à faire apprendre sur le Nord. Cette démarche est d'autant

plus nécessaire que ces lieux (au Nord) autant que les communautés qui les habitent ou les convoient font face à des transformations de divers ordres dans le temps, dans l'espace et dans leurs valeurs respectives, dans un Monde qui change (Niens et Reilly, 2012; Colin, 2013; Bocking et Martin 2017). Cette contribution peut aider à enrichir les débats sur l'éducation au Nord et interroger les finalités des programmes de formation par rapport aux réalités socioterritoriales du Nord, espace, constituant plus des deux tiers du territoire du Québec et environ 40% de l'ensemble du Canada (Hamelin, 1976; Asselin, 2011).

Nous cherchons à explorer les conditions d'émergence d'un cadre pour le développement d'une éducation au Nord à même d'intégrer les complexités culturelles et socioécologiques, puisque les imaginaires, les identités et les cultures véhiculées par ces lieux doivent caractériser les faits (concepts) les imaginaires (percepts) et les représentations (affects) au sein des contenus à faire apprendre, pour une géographie scolaire recomposée. Une telle démarche, peut contribuer à l'établissement d'une conversation soutenue pour la reconnaissance du développement du Nord, de l'Autochtonie et de l'environnement comme des piliers fondamentaux pour l'émergence d'un cadre pour le développement de l'éducation et la formation au Nord, dans une vision d'éducation interculturelle.

2. Éducation géographique et Éducation au Nord

En retenant la perspective du ministère de l'Éducation au Québec, nous concevons que l'éducation à "l'école doit aider l'ensemble des jeunes à développer les habiletés qui leur permettent d'être des individus cultivés, des citoyens engagés, des travailleurs compétents, et ce, tout en continuant de leur donner accès aux savoirs des générations précédentes" (enseignement sec. 1^{er} cycle, Québec, 2010). Par rapport au Nord, il convient de se questionner sur ce que la société au Québec et au Canada est en mesure de transmettre comme système de savoirs, de valeurs et d'attitudes (Hamelin, 1976; Bocking et Martin 2017). Qu'est-ce qui est proposé pour l'éducation et la formation au Nord sur la « vision du territoire en tant qu'espace que les humains se sont approprié (!); qu'ils ont aménagé et auquel ils se sont adaptés » (Québec, 2010)?

Dans le programme de formation de l'école québécoise au primaire une seule thématique nordique est abordée au 3^{ème} cycle (10-12 ans) (Déry 2016). Elle porte sur les Inuits comme peuples du Nord. Au secondaire, en géographie (1^{ère} et 2^{ème} années, 12 – 15 ans), le territoire « région » inclut la production énergétique avec le Nord. L'espace au nord du 49^{ème} parallèle est étudié également comme territoire « autochtone » (en relation avec les revendications territoriales et les Traités) (Québec, 2010). Dans tous les autres cycles de formation, incluant à l'université, il n'existe aucun référentiel transversal pour la formation et l'acquisition de savoirs et de compétences relatives aux territoires et aux sociétés du Nord (Desbiens, 2012; Hamelin, 2006; Bouchard, 2013). Le peu de visibilité accordé aux réalités du Nord est de nature à avoir des perceptions négatives (froideur, isolement, précarité, revendications autochtones) sur le développement de l'identité culturelle et le sens de l'appartenance territoriale (Audigier, 2012). Finalement, cela limite la formation au vivre-ensemble des nouvelles générations dans une perspective interculturelle qui enseigne le respect de l'autre, porteur de savoirs distincts et de visions

différentes sur certains aspects des réalités sociales et territoriales, comme il peut en être le cas avec les communautés autochtones du Nord.

Le Nord du Canada fait l'objet d'une attention soutenue depuis le tournant du millénaire (Tableau 1). Le premier ministre Harper déclarait à l'occasion du lancement de la *Stratégie pour le Nord du Canada* (août 2008, Inuvik, TNO): « Le Canada est un pays nordique. Le vrai Nord est l'avenir des explorateurs, des entrepreneurs et des artistes canadiens. Nous tournerions le dos à notre identité en tant que Canadiens si nous n'agissions pas sur le potentiel de cette région, le vrai Nord, qui entreprend actuellement son ascension. » (Canada, 2009). Avec de telles initiatives, le Canada voulait marquer le regain de ses intérêts pour le Nord et tenter d'affirmer ses droits par rapport à plusieurs pays nordiques, comme la Norvège, la Suède, la Finlande et la Russie (SSHRC and NSERC, 2000; Chant, 2010; Bocking et Martin 2017).

Tableau 1: Canada et le Nord

Année	Entité	Initiatives
2001	Forum des Ministres	Responsables du développement du Nord
2002	Centre de recherche sur les sciences naturelles et génie (CRSNG)	Création de six (6) Chaires de recherche sur le Nord dans les universités au Canada
2003	Min. des Affaires indiennes et du Nord canadien	Lignes directrices sur l'aménagement des terres du Nord
2007-2008	Année Polaire Internationale	Inauguration du Brise-glace <i>Amundsen</i> . Lancement du Réseau de Centres d'excellence <i>Arctic Net</i> (100 chercheurs et 27 universités au Canada)
2008	Canada	Stratégie pour le Nord du Canada
2012	Canada	Création du Ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord du Canada
2016	Canada	Création du Ministère des Affaires autochtones et du Développement du Nord du Canada

2020	Canada	Cadre stratégique pour l'Arctique et le Nord du Canada
------	--------	--

Les différentes provinces du Canada ont bien suivi le pas (Tableau 2).

Tableau 2 : Gouvernances territoriales au Nord du Canada

Année	Entité territoriale	Initiative
1998	Saskatchewan	Northern Saskatchewan's Planning for Growth program
1999	Nunavut	Création du Territoire fédéral du Nord
2000	Manitoba	Large Area Land-Use Planning (LALUP)
2004	Colombie-Britannique	Northern Development Initiative Trust
2007	Terre-Neuve-et-Labrador	Northern Strategic Plan for Labrador
2008	Alberta	Province's Land Use Framework
2010	Ontario	Growth Plan for Northern Ontario
2011	Québec	Le Plan Nord

Note : Les Provinces du Nouveau-Brunswick et de la Nouvelle-Écosse ne détiennent pas de territoire au Nord comme défini dans le texte.

Au Québec, plusieurs initiatives méritent également d'être mentionnées depuis 2008. Elles sont issues des gouvernements autant que de la société civile (Tableau 3).

Tableau 3: Québec et le Nord

Année	Instances	Initiatives
2010	Plan Nord (Parti Libéral du Québec)	85 milliards \$ / 30 ans
2013	Plan Nord 2.0 (Parti	20 milliards \$ / 10

	Québécois)	ans
2014	Nouveau Plan Nord (Parti Libéral du Québec)	50 milliards \$ / 20 ans
2019	Nord pour Tous (Coalition Avenir Québec)	30 milliards \$ / 12 ans

Débats sociaux sur le Nord au Québec depuis 2008 : [Forum Plan Nord (2012) : *Citoyens CSN*, *CSQ*, *Chaire de Recherche du Canada*, *Femmes Autochtones*, *Nature Québec*, etc.; Objectif Nord (2013) (*Télé-Québec*); Dossier Nord (2011) (*Le Devoir* ; *La Presse*; *Le Journal*; *Radio Canada*); Association d’Entreprises Minières et Blogs; etc.].

Étudier le Nord, c’est d’abord se positionner par rapport à des localisations, c’est ensuite se questionner par rapport à des lieux, des espaces et des milieux de vie, pour finalement s’intéresser à des relations plus complexes portant sur des dynamiques spatiales jusqu’à des aires d’appartenance ou de gouvernance territoriale (Chartier 2014; Bayly, 2018). S’il est aisé de s’accorder sur les “localisations” du Nord [au-delà du 49^{ème} parallèle au Québec, au 55^{ème} pour le reste du Canada ou au 60^{ème} pour le Grand Nord], on peut réaliser rapidement que pour définir le « sens de ce Nord » les constats peuvent varier en complexité selon les parties prenantes selon ce qu’un acteur donné aura respectivement vu, perçu, imaginé, vécu ou représenté par rapport à cet espace (Pichon, 2015). Dans ces conditions, les savoirs essentiels à faire apprendre, les valeurs et les attitudes à transmettre en éducation scolaire ou familiale peuvent être affectés à des degrés divers, jusqu’à la pertinence de la compétence à développer. Cette variabilité affectera également les différentes identités ou cultures à transmettre ou à construire par rapport au sens du lieu et par rapport aux ressources à préserver ou à extraire en ces lieux (Audigier 1997). Tout ceci peut entraîner des tensions, voire des conflits, selon les identités propres des communautés culturelles ou des communautés de pratiques en présence.

3. Affirmation d’une Autochtonie dans le Nord du Québec et du Canada

Les communautés Autochtones au Canada réfèrent aux Premières Nations, aux Métis et aux Inuit (Parott, 2019). Minoritaires à l’échelle du pays, ces communautés sont réparties et s’identifient majoritairement dans la portion septentrionale (Nord) du pays, où elles constituent souvent les communautés résidentes majoritaires [85% au Nunavut; 50% dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest, etc.] (Hamelin, 1999; Bocking et Martin 2017; StatCan, 2017). Les communautés non-Autochtones, majoritaires et dominantes dans l’ensemble du Canada, sont concentrées particulièrement dans la portion méridionale (Sud) du pays où les communautés Autochtones représentent près de 5% (2016) pour l’ensemble du Canada (StatCan, 2017; Parott, 2019). Le Nord couvre plus de 70% du territoire du Québec pour moins de 10% de la population (StatCan, 2017). De cette population, 30% environ se réclame de l’identité autochtone, alors que cette identité est revendiquée par moins de 2% de la population pour le reste du territoire (StatCan, 2017).

Au Nord, les Autochtones se considèrent comme des habitants permanents avec une économie basée sur les ressources renouvelables (chasse, trappage, pêche). Les non-Autochtones se considèrent davantage en affectation temporaire dans une économie de services ou d'exploitation des ressources non renouvelables (forêt, pipeline, mines) (Parrott, 2019). Les Autochtones réclament une plus grande implication dans le développement du territoire en vue de la création d'une économie autochtone et d'institutions politiques reconnaissant leur présence et leurs revendications territoriales (Bayly, 2018;). Ces reconnaissances seraient essentielles pour la protection de leur identité (langues, art, cultures, valeurs), de leur économie (ressources renouvelables) en plus de leur participation à l'économie des ressources non renouvelables. Ce qui porte plusieurs auteurs à faire état de la persistance de fractures majeures au Québec et au Canada, par rapport aux enjeux des études sur le Nord, entre les communautés Autochtones et les communautés non-Autochtones (Bouchard, 2013; Bocking et Martin 2017).

Depuis le tournant du millénaire, les gouvernements provinciaux revendiquent au nom de l'ensemble de la société, les potentialités des territoires du Nord (Documents-Plan Nord, 2019). Ces potentialités sont définies souvent dans une vision extractive de la gestion des ressources, même quand les gains potentiels dans une économie mondialisée peuvent être assez partagés au sein des différentes communautés de pratiques de la société (Asselin, 2012; Bouchard, 2013). Hamelin (2006) a plaidé pour que le Québec, comme société apprenne à mieux tenir compte des perspectives autochtones des enjeux du Nord, puisque ces communautés sont antérieures à l'arrivée des « Découvreurs ». Les territoires sont perçus comme étant ancestraux et non dotés d'un statut de propriété défini par le Code civil ou le fruit d'un rapport de force découlant d'une conquête récente. De plus, les Autochtones du Nord pratiquent des genres de vie traditionnels, actualisés, modernes ou combinés tout en désirant la promotion d'institutions politiques en propre à l'intérieur du pays (Bayly, 2018). Hamelin (2006) insiste également pour considérer que les enjeux du Nord réactualisent le principe de l'« *Until Policy* » pour l'aménagement du territoire et nécessitent une nouvelle éducation ou rééducation au lieu : « en territoire réclamé, le développement économique des non-Autochtones ne peut arriver qu'après une solution aux revendications foncières ... » (Hamelin, 2006, p.96). Ce principe de l'« *Until Policy* » découlant de la clause Autochtone de la Constitution de 1982, donne une portée particulière pour promouvoir la réconciliation et améliorer les relations entre les peuples autochtones et non-autochtones, par rapport au Nord.

Trois grands défis de société au Québec et au Canada portent à reconnaître l'importance de l'éducation au Nord comme un enjeu fondamental, du domaine d'apprentissage du monde social, pour le développement d'une compétence transversale au sens du lieu, propice à l'éducation à l'écocitoyenneté et à la gouvernance socioterritoriale. Ce sont: a) l'environnement, l'évolution des changements climatiques et la nécessité de la recherche de scénarios d'adaptation de proximité pour les milieux très fragiles comme le Nord (Ouranos, 2015); b) les effets de la mondialisation et la demande par les pays développés et émergents de matières premières que regorge le Nord (Canada, 2009; Québec, 2010); c) mais avant tout, la dynamique socioterritoriale et culturelle propre de la société canadienne, qui définit un ancrage identitaire et culturel prédominant des Premiers Peuples dans le Nord (Hamelin, 1976; Canada, 2009; Parrott, 2019). En effet, la

nécessité de mieux intégrer les Autochtones avec leurs valeurs et leurs cultures dans les débats socioterritoriaux portant sur les deux premiers défis (environnement et économie mondialisée) renforce l'importance de savoirs essentiels partagés en éducation sur le lieu et particulièrement sur le Nord, en reconnaissance de l'Autochtonie du Nord (Painchaud, 1979; Hamelin, 1976 Chartier 2014; Bocking et Martin 2017).

Les défis soulevés par l'éducation au Nord rejoignent des préoccupations actuelles pour le développement de nouveaux savoirs pour appuyer l'enseignement-apprentissage de contenus et de compétences qui soient de plus en plus contextualisés (Prévil et Arias-Ortega, 2020). Cette contextualisation permettra de répondre à des enjeux diversifiés en raison d'aspects socioéconomiques, interculturels, environnementaux et écocitoyens, à chaque fois sous-jacents (Cheng, Kruger et Daniels, 2003). L'éducation au Nord permet de soulever des questions de sens (Cottureau, 1999) et s'inscrit comme un enjeu de développement de savoir original. Il s'insère dans un champ conceptuel à l'interface: du lieu, de l'interculturalisme et de l'écocitoyenneté, et comme nouvel objet d'apprentissage à faire émerger dans les curriculums de formation (Harvey, 1994; Sauvé et *al.*, 2017).

L'opportunité d'éducation et de formation de plus en plus contextualisées au Nord a été réclamée depuis le tournant des années 60 (Fraternité des Indiens, 1972; Hamelin, 1976 Mowat, 1952, [1963] 2009). Ce créneau de savoir tarde encore à faire ses marques dans les formations sur le monde social, même si les éléments de connaissances d'intérêt sont en production dans différentes disciplines des études nordiques en géographie physique ou en sciences et génie (Painchaud, 1979; Griffiths et *al.* 2015). Ces productions, prises de manière isolée, ne permettent pas d'offrir un cadre cohérent pour leur transposition dans l'éducation et surtout pour définir les contenus à faire apprendre et des pratiques d'enseignement dans la formation scolaire (Niens et Reilly, 2012; Sauvé et *al.*, 2017). C'est en ce sens que s'établit la nécessité de nouvelles contributions pour l'Éducation au Nord, par une mise en perspective des interconnexions de la géographie, de la culture et de l'éducation (Audiger, 2012; Prévil et Arias-Ortega, 2020).

4. Interconnexions de la géographie, de la culture et de l'éducation

Les approches épistémologiques associées à la culture géographique permettent d'identifier des valeurs à prendre en compte pour la géographie scolaire et l'éducation (Di Méo, 1998; Bonnemaïson, 2000; Claval, 2012; 2017). Ces approches aident à formaliser l'importance de l'information (faits) dans les processus de co-construction de connaissances (concepts) qui induisent la construction territoriale, comme espace informé, par et pour, les acteurs territoriaux et les communautés de pratiques (François, 2008). Ces co-constructions donnent du sens aux contextes culturels à travers des imaginaires géographiques (percepts) et des représentations (affects) (Anderson, 2006; Claval, 2012; Pichon, 2015). Finalement, elles aident à cristalliser les processus de formation de l'identité des apprenants sous l'angle de l'identité territoriale et culturelle (Heidegger, [1927] 1985; Girault et Barthes, 2016; Claval 2017).

Dans la structuration complexe de la relation de la société avec l'espace surgit une double proposition du sens du lieu pour : a) la définition de l'identité territoriale Nord/Sud (Bouchard, 2013), et; b) l'appropriation et la gouvernance des ressources territoriales

Sud/Nord (Canobbio, 2009). Par rapport aux finalités de l'école (Audigier, 1997), la priorité de production de connaissances sur le Nord semble privilégier jusqu'ici, celles nécessaires à la formation du travailleur compétent pour l'extraction et l'exploitation des ressources du Nord dans une économie mondialisée (finalités intellectuelles, professionnelles et pratiques) (Griffiths et *al.* 2015). Dans ce contexte émerge une fracture Nord/Sud du territoire pour transmettre également des savoirs, des valeurs et des attitudes aptes à former des individus épanouis et des citoyens engagés (finalités patrimoniales, culturelles et critiques) (Chartier 2014). Ces dernières finalités sont essentielles pour faire face et participer aux débats socioterritoriaux portant sur le Nord, comme question socialement vive à travers les enjeux du développement du Nord, de l'Autochtonie et de l'environnement (Dorion et Lacasse, 2011; Audigier, 1997 et 2012). La recomposition de la géographie scolaire doit répondre à la demande sociale pour former des individus et des citoyens capables de partager des points de vue multiples sur le territoire parce que la société change, la culture et le territoire changent (Audigier, 1997 et 2012). L'école doit pouvoir offrir une éducation au Nord incluant ces nouvelles valeurs et aptitudes pour: a) ce qui est commun et partagé par l'ensemble de la société, et qui vise l'harmonisation des relations sociales pour la préparation à la vie commune (vivre-ensemble et citoyenneté) (Bouchard, 2013; Chartier 2014); b) ce qui est spécifique selon les contextes, les situations, les cultures (autochtones ou non-autochtones, par exemple) qui sont affirmées comme différents et relevant de constructions et de traitements spécifiques (diversité, environnement et consommation) (Canobbio, 2009; Audigier, 2012).

5. Points de vues et perspectives disponibles pour l'éducation et la formation au Nord

En tenant compte des enjeux de l'éducation et la formation au Nord discutés jusqu'ici, nous présentons à présent six perspectives pouvant contribuer, à chaque fois, à l'intégration : du développement du Nord, de l'Autochtonie et de l'environnement en vue d'établir des lignes d'action d'une géographie scolaire renouvelée pour l'éducation et la formation au Nord. En retenant une trame chronologique, il sera présenté respectivement: 1) la Nordicité (Hamelin, 1976); 2) l'Évanescence (Mowat, 1963 et 1967); 3) la Géopoétique nordique (Désy, 2013); 4) le Développement durable (Québec, 2006); 5) le cadre d'action Éducation 2030 (UNESCO, 2015); 6) l'Éducation et la pédagogie autochtones (Campeau, 2019).

5.1. Nordicité

Partant de premières formulations dans les années 50, Hamelin (1976) a défini la nordicité comme : « la polarité de l'hémisphère boréal ». La nordicité intègre selon lui « un questionnement de sens, d'état, d'identité et d'objet au sujet de la zone froide de l'hémisphère boréal » (Hamelin, 1976). La nordicité géographique se calcule et s'exprime en VAPO ou valeurs polaires attribuées selon 10 indicateurs allant de la latitude au degré d'activités économiques (Hamelin, 2006). Ces indicateurs combinent des caractéristiques climatiques, biogéographiques, géographiques, psychologiques et sociologiques. En associant des imaginaires, des faits et des représentations, ces indicateurs permettent

d'établir des lignes d'*isonord* contribuant à caractériser de manière comparative les caractéristiques territoriales et régionales d'un Québec total (Hamelin, 1976). Desbiens (2012, pp. 656) soulignait ainsi que la nordicité exprime « un processus d'échange interculturel qui, à son tour, peut soutenir une identification territoriale plurielle dans un Québec qui serait à la fois solidaire et diversifié », un ensemble d'idées devant se retrouver au cœur de l'éducation et la formation au Nord.

5.2. Évanescence

À côté de la présentation des idées de Hamelin (1976) sur la Nordicité, dans le Canada anglais, les représentations sur le Nord ont davantage été mises de l'avant à travers les publications de Farley Mowat (*People of the Deer*, 1952; *Never cry wolf*, 1963; *Canada North*, 1967) : une approche du Nord qui peut être associée à l'évanescence (Adock, p. 131-177 in Bocking et Martin 2017). L'évanescence constitue un contrepied radical aux approches anthropocentriques d'exploitation des ressources naturelles et de gestion de l'environnement. Elle peut être représentée comme un principe de dénuement matériel pour se rapprocher, voire se fondre dans la Nature. Il s'agirait d'une représentation partagée par différents chercheurs nordiques canadiens pour argumenter leur conception de l'adaptation des communautés du Nord à leur environnement (Adock, p. 131-177 in Bocking et Martin 2017). Mowat en ce sens évoque sa vision de la nature et de la civilisation à travers sa dichotomie « *Need vs Greed* » (Mowat, 1963). Ses considérations mettent de l'avant une acceptation que les Peuples du Nord prélèvent de l'environnement ce qui est nécessaire à leur survie et leur reproduction (*Need*) alors que les communautés du Sud vont prélever de la Nature au-delà de ce qui leur est nécessaire pour en tirer des avantages substantiels pour le profit (*Greed*). Dans ses conceptualisations du Nord, Mowat invite à retrouver la nature en nous, au seuil de l'animalité plutôt que de l'humanité (Loo, p. 223-260 in Bocking et Martin 2017). Les conceptions de Farley Mowat en plus d'avoir inspiré les législateurs et les concepteurs de parcs nationaux au Canada peuvent contribuer à l'éducation et la formation au Nord en intégrant le sens du lieu, la culture autochtone et des conceptions de la nature et de l'environnement (Mowat, 1952 et 1963, 1967).

5.3. Géopoétique nordique

La géolittérature et la géopoétique associant la toponymie et la connaissance des lieux aux autres sources d'expressions du ressenti, des imaginaires, des faits, des savoirs locaux et des valeurs populaires constituent une perspective originale pour l'éducation et la formation au Nord (Cottureau, 1999; Canobbio 2009). À travers la géopoétique, on retrouve à chaque fois la mesure du ressenti et l'expression de l'attachement dans la modulation des faits, du vécu et du perçu (Cheng et al, 2003; Vaillancourt 2017). La littérature, la sculpture, les contes, les légendes, les chants, les danses ou la musique venant du Nord peuvent intégrer à chaque fois une géopoétique pour raconter les lieux, le territoire et le monde social d'une manière authentique (Bouvert, 2015). Partant de la toponymie autochtone et la littérature nordique, en passant par les chants jusqu'à la poésie, on retrouve à chaque fois cette puissance évocatrice du lieu et du sens du lieu (Claval, 2012). Cette

conceptualisation aiderait à porter l'éducation et la formation au Nord dans des perspectives se démarquant des créneaux traditionnels pour l'embedding et la caractérisation des savoirs à faire apprendre sur le Nord (Désy, 2013; Vaillancourt, 2017).

5.4. Développement durable du Nord

Les Plans Nord, évoquent à chaque fois les échos des revendications des groupes sociaux pour introduire l'idée d'un développement durable du Nord. Le Plan Nord présenté en 2012, a intégré le « développement durable », un garant incontournable du développement dans une économie mondialisée depuis le Sommet de Rio de 1992 (Nations Unies, 1992). En 2006, l'Assemblée Nationale du Québec a adopté à l'unanimité la Loi sur le développement durable (L.R.Q., c. D-8.1.1). Ce cadre législatif a été par la suite complété d'objectifs et d'indicateurs de suivi des actions des organismes gouvernementaux (Québec 2012). Les différentes versions du Plan Nord ont toujours été assujetties à cette loi, ainsi que les principes et indicateurs y afférents (Documents du Plan Nord, 2019). Ces indicateurs évoquent autant des critères de la biodiversité, des sols ou du climat que le sentiment d'appartenance, l'équité ou le développement culturel (Québec 2012). De même, les principes comme par exemple de participation du public, de précaution, de protection du patrimoine culturel, de préservation de la biodiversité ou de respect de la capacité de support des écosystèmes permettent de se rapprocher de la nécessité d'intégrer autant les faits que les imaginaires pour harmoniser les représentations pour l'éducation et la formation au Nord (Québec 2012).

5.5. Cadre d'action Éducation 2030

Les organismes des Nations Unies ont initié de nombreuses initiatives pour la promotion de la culture, de l'éducation et l'environnement depuis ces cinquante dernières années (Sauvé, 2006). En 2015, l'UNESCO (en collaboration avec l'UNICEF, la Banque mondiale, le FNUAP, le PNUD, ONU-Femmes et le HCR) s'est proposée de donner une feuille de route globale pour le secteur de l'éducation à travers la Déclaration d'Incheon et l'agenda Education 2030, dans le cadre du Forum Mondial sur l'Éducation de 2015 (UNESCO, 2015).

L'agenda Education 2030 reconnaît que l'éducation est essentielle pour la réalisation des objectifs du développement durable et souligne que l'éducation doit être « ... fondée sur les droits de l'homme et la dignité, la justice sociale, l'inclusion, la protection, la diversité culturelle, linguistique et ethnique, ainsi que sur une responsabilité et une obligation de rendre des comptes partagés. » (UNESCO, 2015, art. 5). En effet, le cadre d'action Éducation 2030 s'accompagne d'un système d'indicateurs établis selon des critères de : pertinence, alignement, faisabilité, communicabilité et interprétation. Ces indicateurs permettent de mesurer les progrès en éducation au développement durable pour habiter les territoires selon des perspectives mondiale, régionale (comme les Amériques), nationale ou thématique (UNESCO, 2015). Les indicateurs relèvent que cette éducation au développement durable devait s'accompagner de mesures pour la compréhension adéquate des questions socialement vives relatives à la citoyenneté mondiale et à la durabilité, et

montrant une maîtrise des connaissances de la science environnementale et de la géoscience. Il convient de signaler particulièrement la cible 4.7 (pp. 73-78) réclamant que d'ici à 2030, les élèves acquièrent les connaissances et compétences nécessaires pour promouvoir le développement durable, l'appréciation de la diversité culturelle et de la contribution de la culture au développement durable (UNESCO, 2015).

5.6. Éducation et pédagogie autochtones

Plusieurs auteurs font état d'une pédagogie autochtone caractérisant les stratégies chez les groupes Autochtones de l'époque précolombienne pour transmettre aux nouvelles générations tout un ensemble de savoirs et de savoir-faire encodés à travers la langue et la culture, grâce à des enseignements et des apprentissages qui se développent au sein des communautés (Battiste, 2002; Semin, 2009). Il devait s'établir un équilibre entre l'épanouissement de l'individu et celui du groupe dans l'espace, mais également au-delà du temps (Prévil et Arias-Ortega, 2020).

Campeau (2019) a proposé une démarche pratique de revitalisation de telles préoccupations en définissant à travers une recherche-action une pédagogie hybride intégrant la pédagogie autochtone (Battiste, 2002) et la pédagogie du lieu (Somerville et al. 2011). Ainsi, la pédagogie hybride a su rapprocher des contenus en histoire, écologie et sciences du territoire à des légendes et des récits, à travers la langue et la culture, sans négliger la spiritualité, doublée de la perspective autochtone de la science et de la technologie (Campeau, 2019). Dans de tels contextes, l'acte éducatif devient transcendantal et porte également toute une vision de l'Être, de l'Autre et du Lieu pour donner du sens à chaque expérience humaine et à son appartenance à des communautés (Prévil et Arias, 2020). Avec une telle approche, l'éducation et la formation au Nord permettent de se doter d'une identité, autant que d'une vision du monde en apprenant selon des dimensions fondamentales à même d'intégrer le développement territorial, la perspective autochtone ainsi que les enjeux environnementaux (Campeau, 2019).

6. Nécessité d'une intégration des pistes de réflexion et d'action pour l'éducation et la formation au Nord

Dans la complexité des rapports des communautés et des sociétés à l'espace émerge la nécessité, pour l'éducation et la formation au Nord, de bien faire apprendre une double finalité de l'appropriation territoriale pour une meilleure : a) définition de l'identité culturelle et territoriale; b) gouvernance des ressources territoriales et environnementales (Hamelin, 1976 ; Canobbio, 2009; Griffiths, 2015). Les capacités, les démarches et les référents didactiques essentiels pour favoriser le développement d'identités et la concertation pour la gouvernance des ressources du Nord nécessiteront une éducation intégrant les complexités culturelles et socioécologiques (Audigier, 1997; Campeau, 2019). En tenant compte des perspectives esquissées dans les précédentes sections, on comprend que, pour définir les savoirs essentiels à faire apprendre, ce couplage nécessitera l'émergence et l'intégration, pour le Nord, de percepts (imaginaires), de concepts (faits et information) et d'affects (représentations) pour renforcer l'agentivité dans le

développement de l'identité territoriale et culturelle par rapport au Nord.

6.1. Percepts du Nord

Les percepts du Nord sont des entités cognitives, constituées d'un ensemble d'informations sélectionnées et structurées en fonction de l'expérience antérieure, et qui sont mobilisées dans une perception particulière (Jay-Rayon, 1983). Les percepts souvent découlent des savoirs locaux ou des valeurs. Ils peuvent être attractifs et positifs (beauté, tranquillité, immensité, diversité, sensibilité ou spiritualité) ou bien répulsifs, voire négatifs (fragilité, hostilité, précarité, animalité, dangerosité ou pauvreté). De tels percepts peuvent être constamment revisités particulièrement à travers l'évanescence [5.2], la géopoétique nordique [5.3], jusque dans les approches de l'éducation et la pédagogie autochtones [5.6].

6.2. Concepts du Nord

Découlant de savoirs ou d'idées générales sur les lieux, ils expriment les mesures que se font l'esprit humain d'un objet de pensée concret ou abstrait, et qui lui permet de rattacher à ce même objet les diverses perceptions qu'il en a, en plus d'en organiser les connaissances et les mesures (Jay-Rayon, 1983; Wackermann, 2005). Dans l'enseignement du monde social actuel, il est question, par exemple, de territoire autochtone et de territoire ressource (Québec, 2010). Un nouveau concept à définir peut-être celui de territoire nordique. Dans cet esprit, les indicateurs de la VAPO [5.1] autant que les indicateurs du développement durable [5.4] associés à ceux de l'Éducation 2030 [5.5] peuvent constituer des contenus prioritaires à définir, caractériser et faire apprendre selon les cycles d'éducation et les domaines de formation sur le Nord.

6.3. Affects pour le Nord

Les affects expriment le résultat d'une certaine « expertise » pour renforcer l'agentivité par rapport au Nord. Ils se manifestent par des attitudes conformes à des habiletés exercées ou éprouvées. Les affects expriment qu'on connaît très bien quelque chose par la pratique et par l'intellect (Jay-Rayon, 1983). Ils témoignent d'une certaine compétence apte à mobiliser un comportement jusqu'à l'agentivité. Les groupes humains ont appris à intégrer tout un ensemble de savoirs, de savoir-faire et de savoir-être encodés à travers la langue et la culture [5.3]. Par l'intégration [5.1], le témoignage [5.4] et l'accompagnement, il est possible de transmettre des fondamentaux éducatifs expérientiels [5.6]. L'agentivité par la pratique peut profiter des savoirs découlant de l'éducation et la pédagogie autochtones [5.6] pour viser une perspective écocène [5.2] modulée à travers l'écocitoyenneté [5.5] (Sauvé et al., 2017). L'éducation et la formation au Nord à développer nécessitent ainsi des savoirs pour découvrir, protéger, habiter, et apprendre le Nord. Ces apprentissages sont dédiés autant aux Autochtones qu'aux non-Autochtones. Ces apprentissages devront intégrer les enjeux de la Mondialisation, de l'adaptation aux changements climatiques, sans négliger les défis du vivre-ensemble, par l'intégration interculturelle.

Jusqu'ici, le développement des connaissances pour le Nord a traité essentiellement

le Nord à « développer ». Il s'agit à présent d'implémenter une démarche portant sur le Nord à « faire connaître » pour le vivre-ensemble, grâce à une éducation et une formation au lieu par les imaginaires (percepts), les faits (concepts) et les représentations (affects) propices à l'agentivité pour le Nord. Il convient d'insister pour que dans cette éducation au Nord, il soit fondamental d'intégrer la perspective de l'éducation et la pédagogie autochtones pour une co-construction des connaissances. Ce qui implique le travail avec les communautés autochtones qui détiennent la maîtrise de savoirs multiples en relation à ce milieu. Il s'agira de redéfinir les pratiques et les contenus éducatifs non pas seulement selon des « dires d'experts », mais de préférence se commettre dans la décolonisation du savoir. De cette manière, cette éducation et cette formation au Nord pourront prétendre à une éducation pour un Québec ou un Canada total selon les espaces et entre les communautés. L'éducation au Nord intégrera ainsi des questions de sens pour l'écocitoyenneté.

7. Opportunité de la recomposition disciplinaire de la géographie scolaire pour l'éducation et la formation au Nord au Québec et au Canada

L'école doit se renouveler au rythme des transformations en cours dans la société, pour préparer les jeunes à faire face à la complexité des enjeux et des réalités sociales du 21^{ème} siècle (UNESCO, 2015; Bennammas et Araujo-Oliveira, 2019). Les programmes de formation contemporains identifient un ensemble de savoirs, de savoir-faire et d'attitudes aptes à développer chez l'élève des compétences fondamentales, instrumentales et transversales traitant de l'environnement et la consommation, la diversité, le vivre-ensemble et la citoyenneté à travers le domaine d'apprentissage du monde social (Québec, 2010). L'histoire, la géographie et l'éducation à la citoyenneté sont identifiées également comme les disciplines prépondérantes pour étudier ce monde social (Québec, 2010; Audigier, 2015). Cet article a traité de l'opportunité d'une « recomposition disciplinaire » de la géographie scolaire pour l'éducation et la formation au Nord comme modalité du sens du lieu dans les programmes de formation.

La recomposition disciplinaire implique non seulement le développement des savoirs sur les espaces et les territoires (Mérenne-Shoumaker, 2019), mais également les façons de co-construire des attitudes et des comportements personnels et sociaux par rapport à ces territoires, pour prendre position et agir, pour les protéger et les améliorer, ou simplement corriger leurs dysfonctionnements (Lengen, 2012; Audigier, 2015). Nous avons ainsi exploré six pistes de réflexion et d'action pouvant contribuer à cette recomposition. Dans ces pistes, les contributions relevant de l'éducation et la pédagogie autochtones, par exemple, pourraient avoir un impact particulier en permettant un lien privilégié avec les milieux communautaires pour s'ouvrir à d'autres formes de relations et de comportement avec le milieu naturel et territorial.

C'est ainsi que la géographie scolaire recomposée pourra prétendre contribuer à développer l'agentivité et à former un individu épanoui, un citoyen engagé et un travailleur responsable (Québec, 2010). Ces enjeux de l'éducation et de la formation au Nord soulèvent la nécessité de développer de manière transversale de nouveaux repères pour la transmission de savoirs clés et l'émergence de nouvelles compétences sur le lieu et le sens

du lieu (*Sense of Place*) au Nord, par rapport au milieu de vie, son organisation et sa dynamique spatiale (Harvey, 1994; Hamelin, 2006). Ces nouveaux savoirs et ces nouvelles compétences seront ainsi les garants de la construction d'identités territoriales et culturelles et de valeurs pour exprimer des attitudes aptes au renforcement de l'écocitoyenneté (Sauvé et al., 2017). L'éducation et la formation au Nord comme modalité du sens du lieu (*Sense of Place*) s'inscrivent, dans ce contexte, comme un chaînon manquant du développement de savoir sur le monde social.

Références

- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso Books.
- Asselin, H. (2011). Plan Nord: les Autochtones laissés en plan. *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, 41(1), 37-46.
- Audigier, F. (1997). Histoire et géographie: Un modèle disciplinaire pour penser l'identité professionnelle. *Recherche & formation*, 25(1), 9-21.
- Audigier, F. (2012). Les Éducation à ... et la formation au monde social. *Recherches en didactiques*, 14(2), 47-63. doi:10.3917/rdid.014.0047.
- Audigier, F. (2015). Éducation à ... et préparation à la vie. Chapitre 2 Dans : F. Audigier, A. Sgard et N. Tutiaux-Guillon (Dir), *Sciences de la nature et de la société dans une école en mutation: Fragmentations, recompositions, nouvelles alliances ?* (pp. 25-35). Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgique: De Boeck Supérieur.
- Battiste, M. (2002). *Indigenous knowledge and pedagogy in First Nations education. A literature review*. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Repéré à <http://tinyurl.com/llyafcm>.
- Bayly, J., Nord (2018). Dans *l'Encyclopédie Canadienne*. Repéré à <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/fr/article/nord-5>
- Bennammas, A., et Araújo-Oliveira, A. (2019). Éduquer aux sciences humaines et sociales. Éduquer aux sciences humaines et sociales.
- Bocking, S., & Martin, B. (2017). *Ice Blink: Navigating Northern Environmental History*. University of Calgary Press.
- Bonnemaison, J. (2000). *La géographie culturelle*. Paris : Éditions du CTHS.
- Bouchard, Serge, et Jean Désy. L'Objectif Nord: le Québec au-delà du 49e. Québec: Sylvain Harvey, 2013.
- Brossard, L. (2019). Les peuples autochtones: des réalités méconnues à tout point de vue. Publication en ligne de l'ICEA. [Consulté : 13 avril 2019] : <http://icea-apprendreagir.ca/les-peuples-autochtones-des-realites-meconnues-a-tout-point-de-vue/>
- Campeau, Diane (2019) : Pédagogie autochtone et pédagogie du lieu : démarche hybride pour l'intégration de dimensions culturelles autochtones dans l'enseignement au primaire au Québec. Thèse. Université de Sherbrooke. 436 p.
- Canada (2009), Canada, Affaires indiennes et du Nord, et Interlocuteur fédéral auprès des Métis et des Indiens non-inscrits (Canada). *Canada's Northern Strategy: our North, our heritage, our future = Stratégie pour le Nord du Canada : notre Nord, notre patrimoine, notre avenir = Kanataup ukiuqtaqtumiunginnut upalungaijautingat : Ukiuqtaqtuvut, iliqkusivut, sivuniksavullu*. Ottawa: Gouvernement du Canada, 2009.
- Canobbio, Éric (2009). *Géopolitique d'une ambition Inuite: le Québec face à son destin nordique*. Québec: Septentrion. 342 p.
- Chant Christina, 2010: *Quel avenir pour la recherche sur l'Arctique? Affaires universitaires*. 8 mars 2010. <https://www.affairesuniversitaires.ca/articles-de-fond/article/quel-avenir-pour-la-recherche-sur-arctique/>
- Chartier, D. (2014). *La nordicité du Québec: Entretiens avec Louis-Edmond Hamelin*. Presses de l'Université du Québec.

- Cheng, A., Kruger, L. E., Daniels, S.E. (2003). "Place" As An Integrating Concept In Natural Resource Politics: Propositions for a Social Science Research Agenda, *Society & Natural Resources: An International Journal*, 16:2, 87-104.
- Claval, P. (2012). *Géographie culturelle: une nouvelle approche des sociétés et des milieux*. Armand Colin.
- Claval, P. (2017). *Géo-épistémologie*. Armand Colin.
- Colin, Brock. (2013). The geography of education and comparative education, *Comparative Education*, 49:3, 275-289, DOI: 10.1080/03050068.2013.803818
- Cottureau, Dominique. (1999). *Chemins de l'imaginaire, Pédagogie de l'imaginaire en éducation à l'environnement*, Éditions de Babio, 75 p.
- Déry, C. (2016). *Enseigner les enjeux du Nord québécois et la nordicité en géographie ; quelques pistes pour le 3^e cycle du primaire et le 1^{er} cycle du secondaire*.
- Desbiens, C. (2012). 10 Idées pour le Nord : un manifeste pour la nordicité. *Cahiers de géographie du Québec*, 56(159), 643– 659. doi:10.7202/1015311a
- Di Méo, G. (1998). *Géographie sociale et territoires*. Paris : Nathan.
- Documents - Plan Nord, 2019. Consulté le 10 janvier 2020. <https://plannord.gouv.qc.ca/fr/spn/documentation/>.
- Dorion, H., & Lacasse, J. P. (2011). *Le Québec: territoire incertain*. Septentrion.
- François, L (dir.) (2008). *Intelligence territoriale*. Cachan : Lavoisier.
- Fraternité des Indiens, 1972 :. Maîtrise indienne de l'éducation indienne.
- Girault, Y., et Barthes, A. (2016). Postures épistémologiques et cadres théoriques des principaux courants de l'éducation aux territoires1. *Education Relative à l'Environnement-Regards, Recherches, Réflexions*.
- Griffiths, F., Huebert, R. N., & Lackenbauer, P. W. (2015). *Le Canada et l'Arctique*. Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal.
- Hamelin, Louis-Edmond, (1976). Nordicité canadienne, *Cahiers du Québec : Géographie*, Éditions Hurtubise Inc., 444 p.
- Hamelin, Louis-Edmond (1999) Passer près d'une perdrix sans la voir ou attitudes à l'égard des Autochtones. Montréal, Université McGill, Programme d'études sur le Québec (Coll. « Grandes conférences Desjardins, no 5 »), 91 p.
- Hamelin, L. E. (2006). *L'âme de la terre: Parcours d'un géographe*. Éditions MultiMondes.
- Harvey, F. (1994). L'historiographie du Nord du Québec. *Recherches sociographiques*, 35(3), 373–420. doi:10.7202/056898ar
- Heidegger Martin. (1985). (trad. Emmanuel Martineau), *Être et Temps*, [1927] Paris, Authentica.
- Jay-Rayon Jean-Claude, 1983 : *Pour prendre le temps d'être mieux*. Sillery: Québec science, 1983.
- Lengen, C., Kistemann, T., (2012). Sense of place and place identity: Review of neuroscientific evidence, *Health & Place* 18 (2012) 1162–1171.
- Mérenne-Schoumaker, B. (2019). Apports et finalité de la géographie dans une formation de base. *Réflexions et propositions. Éducation et francophonie*, 47(2), 8-23.
- Mialaret Gaston, 2006 : *Sciences de l'éducation : aspects historiques, problèmes épistémologiques*, Paris, PUF, coll. «Quadrige».
- Mowat, F. (1952): *People of the Deer* (Boston: Little Brown, 1952).
- Mowat, F. (1967). *Canada North*. McClelland and Stewart.
- Mowat, F. (2009). *Never cry wolf*. [1963] McClelland & Stewart.
- Nations Unies, 2016, *Nouveau Programme pour les villes*, New York, Nations unies, <http://habitat3.org/wp-content/uploads/NUA-French.pdf>.
- Nations Unies. (1992, August). Déclaration de Rio sur l'environnement et le développement. In *Assemblée Générale A/CONF* (Vol. 151, p. 26).
- Niens, U., & Reilly, J. (2012). Education for global citizenship in a divided society? Young people's views and experiences. *Comparative Education*, 48(1), 103-118.
- Ouranos (2015). *Vers l'adaptation. Synthèse des connaissances sur les changements climatiques au Québec*. Partie 1 : Évolution climatique au Québec. Edition 2015. Montréal, Québec : Ouranos, 114 p.
- Parrott, Zach. "Peuples autochtones au Canada". *l'Encyclopédie Canadienne*, 19 août 2019, *Historica Canada*. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/fr/article/peuples-autochtones>.
- Painchaud, P. (1979). La nordicité : nouveau mythe canado québécois de politique étrangère. *Études*

- internationales*, 10 (3), 614–624. doi:10.7202/700967ar
- Pichon Matthieu (2015), « Espace vécu, perceptions, cartes mentales : l'émergence d'un intérêt pour les représentations symboliques dans la géographie française (1966-1985) », *Bulletin de l'association de géographes français*, 92-1 | 2015, 95-110.
- Prévil Carlo, Arias Ortega Katerin Elizabeth (2020) : Persistance de la crise éducative autochtone au Québec (Canada) et dans l'Araucania (Chili), une approche comparative (soumis) In Maheux, G., Quintriego, S., Bacon, L. et Pellerin, G. . *La décolonisation de la scolarisation en milieu autochtone : exploration de différentes approches*. Québec : Presses de l'Université du Québec. Sous Presse
- Québec, Gouvernement du (2006). Loi sur le développement durable. *Projet de loi*, (118).
- Québec, Gouvernement du (2012): *Document synthèse sur les indicateurs québécois de développement durable* . Documentation gouvernementale.
- Québec, Gouvernement du Québec (2010). Programme de formation de l'école québécoise. Éducation préscolaire et enseignement primaire. Québec: Ministère de l'éducation.
- Sauvé, L. (2006). *L'organisation et la structuration du secteur de l'éducation en réponse au programme onusien du développement durable*. Dans « Former et éduquer pour changer nos modes de vie », Liaison Énergie-Francophonie, 72, 33-41.
- Sauvé, L., Orellana, I., Villemagne, C., & Bader, B. (2017). *Éducation, environnement, écocitoyenneté: repères contemporains*. PUQ. 214 p.
- Semin, G. (2009). *Language, culture, cognition. How do they intersect? Problems and solutions in Cross-Cultural Research, Theory and Application*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Somerville, M., Davies, B., Power, K., Gannon, S. et Carteret, P. (2011). *Place pedagogy change*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- SSHRC and NSERC 2000. *From crisis to opportunity: rebuilding Canada's role in northern research. Final Report to SSHRC and NSERC*. Research, Task Force on Northern Minister of Public Works and Government Services Ottawa.
- StatCan, Statistique Canada. 2017. *Les peuples autochtones au Canada : faits saillants du Recensement de 2016*, 2 octobre 2019. : <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/171025/dq171025a-fra.pdf>
- UNESCO 2015. Education 2030, *Déclaration d'Incheon et Cadre d'action pour la mise en oeuvre de l'objectif de développement durable 4*. 84 p.
- UNESCO, 2015b: Indicateurs thématiques pour le suivi de l'agenda de l'Éducation 2030. Proposition du Groupe consultatif technique. 24 p. <http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/thematic-indicators-to-monitor-the-education-2030-agenda-technical-advisory-group-proposal-2015-fr.pdf>
- Vaillancourt, M. È. (2017). Un héritage à habiter: Lecture géopoétique de Kuessipan/À toi et de Puamun, le rêve, de Naomi Fontaine. *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, 47(1), 25-34.
- Wackermann, G. (2005). *Dictionnaire de géographie*. Ellipses.

THE GREENLANDIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IN RELATION WITH HELPING CHILDREN WHO ARE STRUGGLING WITH SOCIAL ISSUES

Kevin Rafiie

Université Versailles Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines

Abstract: Throughout history the Inuit of Greenland have developed issues that are current in all the societies. Many individuals are touched by them, including children, yet the government struggles to solve these issues. The purpose of this study is to examine how the role of the school system can help children who are experiencing issues and ultimately, how the system can solve these issues. For the research, semi-direct interviews were conducted. All participants were related to the field of education. The role of the teacher was found to be critical; interviewees provided a definition of social issues and well-being in Greenland; suggestions were given to help them live in a more sustainable state of well-being; Greenland should have more educated people in all areas and specifically in education, and teachers should be trained in order to deal with issues that children are experiencing.

1. Background – The educational system in greenland

In 1998, the Ministry of Education observed the need to acquire and implement a new educational system that would fit the Greenlandic culture. Prior to this the Danish educational system was present in Greenlandic schools and the government now wished to separate from this to « promote Greenlandic culture and identity » (Wyatt, 2012). Therefore, in 2002, the Government adopted a new system developed by a Hawaiian agency called Center for Research on Education, Diversity, and Excellence (CREDE). The system known as *Atuarfitsialak* (which translates to “the good school”) was then implemented throughout schools in Greenland – however, it left teachers open to determine their own methods of execution. (Wyatt, 2012)

60% of the population of 18-25 year olds « have not yet completed or are still active in high school or vocational educations » (Statistics Greenland, 2018). 7,500 children are elementary school-aged. (Statistics Greenland, 2018)

The population of young people in Nuuk, under the age of 25 years, reaches nearly 6,000 persons with 2,200 elementary school age children. The educational system is challenged further by the complexity of languages spoken in the country as there are three main « Greenlandic » languages. One of them is considered the first official language, with the second being Danish. These two official languages, lends itself to complications in many different fields. In all corporate areas of work (for example within the Government), the Danish language is dominant. However, the Greenlandic language is the mother tongue and the primary language for most Greenlanders. In Nuuk, the elementary school provides lessons both in Greenlandic and Danish – with Danish being more prominent. This is primarily due to the unavailability of teaching materials in the Greenlandic language and is more obvious in higher levels of education where no subject is offered in Greenlandic as there are simply no resources available.

2. Theories

2.1 Social issues

The concept of social issues is at the core of my research question and through which I studied how the school provides help for the children who experience these issues. There are several definitions of this term due to the difficulty to define this broad concept (Lauer, 1976). One definition suggests that social issues are problems that are affecting more than a small group of individuals (Thio & Taylor, 2011) whereas another states that issues exist due to a collective recognition (Blumer, 1971). Blumer (1971) goes on to define that an issue becomes social through the number of cases of the same issue. Since the main issues in Greenland are similar from one case to another, it seemed pertinent to use such a definition. He also explains that after the process of recognition, only then can the social issue be taken care of and be treated by the appropriate institutions (Blumer, 1971). This idea also answered the question that I raised.

In another report, dated 2017, the United Nations declares that the indigenous groups around the Arctic « face significant challenges in protecting their traditional cultures and languages in the face of contemporary environmental, social and economic pressures » – even though Greenland may be an exception regarding its strong implemented indigenous language. These challenges can be added to others suggested by Weller (1985) such as « loss of land, loss of subsistence foods, loss of kin ties, and loss of self-worth » which provoke significant complications and problems « at the individual and community level for the middle generation » (Weller, 1985). He makes a connection with the increase of « hostility, anxiety and depression ». These can be considered as social issues. Furthermore, these problems are manifesting themselves in a different way for youth in the Arctic. They are facing issues regarding « issues of self-worth, employment, affluence, poverty » (Weller, 1985).

2.2 Child neglect and abuse

When parents are « [failing] to meet the needs of the child » or « the minimum requirements for care » of the child, this is considered an act of neglect (Horwath, 2013; McCoy & Keen, 2009). The World Health Organisation (1999) defines it as « all forms of physical and/or emotional ill-treatment, sexual abuse, neglect or negligent treatment or commercial or other exploitation, resulting in actual or potential harm to the child's health, survival, development or dignity in the context of a relationship of responsibility, trust or power » (as cited in Radford et al., 2011).

The definition of neglect is very clear and wide at the same time. This is why « identifying neglect » is not always easy as well as knowing « what, exactly, constitutes child neglect » (Horwath, 2013; McCoy & Keen, 2009). It is also necessary to add that each country has its own definition (Horwath, 2013; McCoy & Keen, 2009). However, there are several types of neglect that are found in every definition: physical neglect; emotional neglect; medical neglect; mental health neglect; educational neglect; abandonment (McCoy & Keen, 2009). It is also possible to find subdivisions in each type

of neglect (McCoy & Keen, 2009). McCoy and Keen (2009) explain that one of the reasons of neglecting a child is when parents have, themselves been neglected.

Obviously, there are consequences of a child being neglected. According to McCoy and Keen (2009) the consequences are different if the child has been neglected during infancy, childhood or adolescence. One possible outcome of neglect is positive and known as resilience. Resilient children are children who survive neglect, abuse and maltreatment, by providing for themselves all the needs they require and who come out with « minimal negative effects » (McCoy & Keen, 2009). What allows them to be resilient can either come from within themselves or they seek it from outside support – for example through the help of a supportive adult in their life (McCoy & Keen, 2009).

Defining sexual abuse in children is also a complex task. A violent behaviour can be defined differently according to « time, social situation and cultures (Goldman & Wheeler, as cited in Hirschy & Wilkinson, 2009). One definition that is accepted observes that child abuse is « an occurrence where a caretaker injures a child, not by accident, but in anger or deliberately » (Gelles, as cited in Hirschy & Wilkinson, 2009). Evaluating whether a child has been a victim of abuse can be problematic since there are « varying definitions of the type of sexual contact and what constitutes a child » (Jenny, 2010). According to Jenny (2010), the terminology of sexual abuse can incorporate rape, sexual assaults, incest or sexual exploitation which together define sexual abuse.

2.3 Social well-being

The relevance of this concept comes out of my research question which focuses on solving social issues through an increase of social well-being. The complexity of this concept lends itself difficult to providing a strict definition. However, the concept is explored in different ways. Keyes (1998) defines it as the absence of « negative conditions and feelings » in one's life and the capacity to adapt to difficulties experienced. The contribution one can make to society brings about these latter feelings as it results in bringing something of value to one's society and to fellow citizens (Keyes, 1998). This concept connects to the one of self-efficacy deeply developed by Albert Bandura (1995). Transforming one's environment increases a feeling of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1995). Furthermore, « a strong sense of efficacy in socially valued pursuits is conducive to human attainment and well-being » (Bandura, 1995). In addition, the concept of well-being is approached through the concept of capabilities. It excludes the idea that well-being is attained only through an equal share of resources (Scott, 2012). It rather takes into consideration the attainment of human potential which will contribute in accessing resources equally (Scott, 2012).

Contributing to society with something seen to be lacking brings well-being, according to Keyes (1998). In other words, acting for something greater than oneself brings a certain satisfaction for the reason of not doing it for our own selves. It seems that this definition bears relevance for the appearance of one's well-being. Bandura (1995) defines self-efficacy as « the beliefs in one's capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action to manage prospective situations. » It « influences how people think, feel, motivate themselves and act. » (Bandura, 1995) Self-efficacy is related to the transformation of one's environment (Bandura, 1995), this is why Keyes connects it to social contribution.

Bandura asserts that « a strong sense of efficacy in socially valued pursuits is conducive to human attainment and well-being » (Bandura, 1995, p. 1).

According to Wexler (2009), there is a clear connection between indigenous identity and culture, and well-being. Maintaining a « positive affiliation and engagement with their culture » develops among the indigenous youth « well-being and resilience » (Wexler, 2009). The author defines resilience as « the processes by which people overcome life challenges to achieve their sense of well-being » (Wexler, 2009, p.267). The concept of identity, and more precisely « ethnic identity » has a central role to play in indigenous resilience, through the process of « historical consciousness » (Wexler, 2009).

3. Methodology

3.1 Ethical considerations

For the purpose of conducting interviews to answer my research question, before contacting the schools, I prepared an interview guide with just a few questions in order to let the respondents' answers follow the course of their thoughts (Sauvayre, 2013 ; Dépelteau, 2010). It had to be relevant for the Greenlandic context. This is why it went through a review and later approbation. Each interviewee, children and parents received a form for informed consent. Once again, it had to be reviewed and then approved. Only later, was it translated into Danish to ease the understanding of each participants. The available resources did not allow us to translate the document into Greenlandic.

Moreover, because of the subject of my research, social issues, is often a sensitive subject that is not easy to talk about. I had to be aware of the fact that although I would take some distance from the subject in order to fulfill the purpose of the study, the respondents might not have the same ease in talking about the topic or issues. Indeed, the likelihood of interviewing people who were themselves victims of issues was high and I had to be cautious of the way I would encourage people to answer and to know when to move on. As it happened, some respondents showed reserve in talking about the issues Greenlandic people are facing.

3.2 Preparing and conducting interviews

In order to answer my research question that aims to study what the school does in Greenland to help children who are facing issues, I planned to interview pupils, teachers, principals and social workers in different schools in Nuuk as well as student teachers from the teaching college (*Ilinniartissuaq*) (Naalakkersuisut, 2017) in order to gather information related to my research question (Dépelteau, 2010 ; Berthier, 2016). To do so, with the help of my supervisor, I identified four schools that I contacted through email, as well as the administrative office of *Ilinniartissuaq*. These four schools in Nuuk are representative of a diverse social and cultural background. I aimed to interview a diverse group of individuals because of the wide range of answers I would be able to receive (Berthier, 2016).

Obtaining appointments with the schools was more of a challenge. Sending emails was not sufficient. I decided to call and talk directly to the principles which showed good

results for some of the schools. In one school I conducted interviews with the principal and the social worker. In the second, I interviewed three teachers and two pupils. Obtaining these appointments required me to follow up through several emails and calls.

In addition, it seemed relevant to meet individuals from other public institutions. The purpose was to reach to a fuller definition some of the key concepts of my research question. I met employees working at the Ministry of Social Affairs, at the Municipality in the Department of Pedagogical and Psychological Counselling (MISI or PPR) and a research assistant working for the national survey on Health Behavior in School-aged Children (HBSC).

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Education as developing social skills

After sharing the understanding that school is made to acquire academic knowledge, the respondents emphasised on the fact that it should also help in developing social skills. The purpose of education is « To nurture the next generation. Not only with knowledge of languages we learn primarily here, maths and such but also to educate them about, yeah, socially. I think it's important that they also prepare socially. » (J.A., personal interview, April 13, 2018) The same respondent also gave the example of some professions that do not require any specific education such as a taxi driver or cleaner. However, she specifies that « they have to be able to work with people and that kinda, socialisation kinda in that working with people. So, I think that's important. Very. » (J.A., personal interview, April 13, 2018). Thus, she focused her answer on human relationship development rather than on a materialistic approach. Another respondent shared that education is having social skills such as knowing « how do you behave in society, how do you... to prepare you for life. » (L.J., personal interview, May 16, 2018).

One respondent stated that in Greenland, « We need more teachers. We need more academics. But also we need more people who work at the offices, all over Greenland. We need to edu–educate more people to– to help people with the problems, social problems. » (E.S., personal interview, April 18, 2018) In addition, the interviewee later mentioned that education is necessary and combined with having a purpose. « Many young people takes and starts an education without knowing it's something they want to do the rest of their lives. And they just stopped after one year or less. » (E.S., personal interview, April 18, 2018) She thought that teaching children is the way for them to know their purpose and to know « what they best–what they are good at. » and to « courage them [sic] to find out by trying things instead of take the same one way just because we told them to. They need to– they need to try out many different things. » (E.S., personal interview, April 18, 2018)

Another respondent's view is combining both aspects of education under the principle of « being prepared for life » and « to be able to make good decisions in your life » (M.K., personal interview, May 3, 2018). Education is also seen as having « some paper » that allows one to pursue a profession, taking in account that some profession entails « unwritten teaching like we have many–how to say–fishers or fishermen » (N.H., personal interview, May 16, 2018). Furthermore, education « can be about how to behave or how to behave with other children. » (N.H., personal interview, May 16, 2018) For one respondent,

apart from receiving the knowledge necessary to reach one's goal, education is also about learning about the Inuit culture (J.P., personal interview, May 24, 2018).

4.2 Too much emphasis on acquiring academic knowledge, not enough on cultural aspects

According to nine respondents, there is a need for the Greenlandic school system to adopt a system that is less focused on acquiring academic knowledge. This means using less books, using more activities, trying out new things in order for the pupils to know what their talents are, considering the needs of children to move, be in the nature, learn social skills such as how to behave, aspects related to their culture and to being a Greenlandic. These are suggestions from the respondents that I present here as results answering part of the research question.

In 2012, Wyatt writes a report on the school reform in Greenland, a process which started in 2002. She offers an overview of the first 10 years of the implementation of the reform. The purpose of the reform was to continue the process of decolonization by withdrawing the Danish educational model from their school system (Wyatt, 2012). The new model would strengthen « the language, culture and history of its people » by implementing « a model of culturally compatible education » (Wyatt, 2012). Consequently, « promote Greenlandic culture and identity » (Wyatt, 2012).

Concerning the actual educational system in Greenland, one respondent said: « it's a copy from—I think it's mostly a copy from the Danish system, school system. I think if we—if we—if we could do it—if my opinion is if—if I could make a school system that fits for the—for the Greenlandic people it will be more culture. And it will be more—not so much—yeah not so much with the European culture like we—we should be more out in the nature we should learn more about being—being Greenlanders. » (H.P., personal interview, May 16, 2018)

Despite these efforts, a colonial presence still exists within Greenlandic classrooms which has an impact on « student learning and identity » (Wyatt, 2012). The author notes that the differences between the home and the school are too great and results in « conflicts, misunderstandings, and ultimately failure for those students » (Ledlow, as cited in Wyatt, 2012, p. 2). Wyatt (2012) certifies that for all the students to have an « equal opportunity » to succeed in school, these differences were to be minimized. Besides, to achieve educational success, children should be certain of « their intellectual, spiritual and emotional safety » (United Nations et al., 2018).

Greenland took an important step forward through the implementation of *Atuarfitsialak* in 2003. However, if the country expects further improvement in their educational system and in a healthy social system, more effort must be made for « their curriculum [to] be grounded in their own cultural knowledge systems » (United Nations, 2018).

4.3 The role of the school system regarding social issues and social well-being

During the interviews, nine participants out of 13 expressed their opinions that the school system should have a better role in helping children who are experiencing social issues but

also in solving these issues and in developing a more thorough social well-being. Some respondents did not have a precise idea on how the school system could work, however they believed that there is a specific role regarding social issues that the school system should play. One of the suggestions from the interviewees was to talk about the issues in the classroom, learn about them in order to discard the taboo that is often associated with these issues. This could be by providing spaces for parents and children (or children only) to talk to one another. « ...gathering children and make them talk to each other about how do you—how do you cope with divorce, how do you cope with having lost a parent, how do you cope with daddy is in jail, how do you cope with growing up with your grandparents because your mom or dad couldn't take care of you. » (M.K., personal interview, May 3, 2018).

However, such a suggestion requires to « educate more teachers to do such programs or have more people like this in school like our social worker she does it a little bit but I think we need some more programs and we need some more time and resources to doing—to doing such things. » (M.K., personal interview, May 3, 2018) In this connection, the respondents expressed some needs required by the school such as having more social workers in the schools. Each school has only one who turns out to be too busy to answer the needs of all the pupils. Other needs include having more programmes and tools to help children, because the teachers who want to help do not know how to.

Despite the fact that the schools in Nuuk are not equipped to work with children, one interviewee is certain of the role of the school to help children who experience social issues. In order to do so, the teachers have to show professionalism. As a matter of fact, irrespective of the behavior of any child, whether troubling or being constructive, the teachers have to be just in their approach to every child. As the interviewee said, « we have to every morning welcome every child. » Even though a child has been « mad » or « was kicking and screaming and shouting » or « using bad words » to other kids or to the teacher. Everyday, each child has the right to feel welcome and be welcomed at school (M.K., personal interview, May 3, 2018).

4.4 Social issues

4.4.1 General aspects

One respondent suggests a general definition of social issue which « is affecting not only the—the individual. It's go [sic] beyond that. It is something the society or something that—that effect more than just one individual. » (K.E.R, personal interview, April 18, 2018). His definition is in agreement with Thio & Taylor's (2011) which says that a problem becomes social when it involves more than just a few individuals, rather an important number of people.

That respondent describes that when a social issue arises, « you have to act on it. It's like a society based interventions [sic]. Because you cannot say to—maybe you want to do this, should change your behavior because it goes much bigger scale I think. » (K.E.R., personal interview, April 18, 2018)

One respondent notes that « there are many social issues of the bad kind » (L.J, personal interview, May 16, 2018). Another one confirmed that « we have lots and lots of

problems, social issues and we see them every day » (H.P., personal interview, May 16, 2018). Finally, one pupil observed: « I wouldn't say there are no problems, there—we have problems. Very serious problems actually. » (J.P., personal interview, May 24, 2018). Regardless, another teacher found it necessary to comment and specify that the group of pupils who is experiencing issues is smaller than the group of pupils who is doing fine (N.H., personal interview, May 16, 2018). One respondent developed the idea that « Many pupils in school here are stuck with the parents' problems » (E.S., personal interview, April 18, 2018).

4.4.2 Alcohol and drug abuse

The issue that came up most often in the respondent's answers was around the abuse of alcohol. It represents either their first or second answer when defining social issues in Greenland. For two respondents, they consider alcohol abuse as « a big problem » (K.E.R., personal interview, April 18, 2018 ; M.K., personal interview, May 3, 2018). According to a respondent who was working on Health Behavior in School-aged Children (HBSC) as a research assistant, alcohol is « one of the biggest social issue right now » (K.E.R., personal interview, April 18, 2018). He also mentioned that for this year's survey, HBSC is going to put a specific emphasis on the alcohol issue within the questionnaire that is going to be submitted to every child in Greenland (K.E.R., personal interview, April 18, 2018). He notices that Greenlandic children start drinking alcohol at an early age and to a surprising quantity when « compared to Europe or European countries » (K.E.R., personal interview, April 18, 2018). According to Pedersen & Bjerregaard (as cited in Karsberg, 2016), 37% of the youth in Greenland « report alcohol abuse in their immediate family » and 20% of those concerns relate to parents directly. Furthermore, Bjerregaard & Dahl-Petersen, Pedersen & Bjerregaard (as cited in Karsberg, 2016) are making a clear relation between alcohol abuse and it being the cause of family issues.

Another participant made the connection between trauma children can experience and parents who drink alcohol (M.K., personal interview, May 3, 2018). In such a situation, one respondent, a teacher, mentions that the trauma is too difficult for the children to bear. To such an extent that they would rather leave their home and « be taken away [...] and get a new start, a new life » (N.H., personal interview, May 16, 2018). Yet, the child is aware that « they have some problems at home » (N.H., personal interview, May 16, 2018).

As Karsberg (2016) identifies in the report published by the Nordic Welfare Center, alcohol abuse is a concern related to both family environment and health. In relation to children and according to what the participants have answered, alcohol abuse is a bigger concern regarding the family environment in which the child is brought up in. The last survey from HBSC dated 2013/2014, reports an increase in « alcohol use and (early) drunkenness [...] with age (especially between 13 and 15) for boys and girls » as a general conclusion. Greenlandic boys at 13 years-old reporting that they have been drunk on one or more occasion represents 2% whereas 23% at 15 years of age. Girls represent 4% at 13 years- old and 25% at 15 (Inchley et al., 2016). Except for the research assistant from HBSC in Greenland, no other respondents mentioned alcohol use among children, yet it exists. Teachers and principles are likely unaware of this as it often takes place outside the school environment.

One participant qualifies the issue of drug abuse as « also kind of a big problem here » (K.E.R., personal interview, 18 April, 2018). Just like alcohol abuse, drug abuse can also create a hard environment for children whose parents are drug abusers. As cited above, when this becomes too difficult for the children to deal with, one teacher had said during the interview, that children would rather « be [taken] away from their homes » (N.H., personal interview, May 16, 2018).

According to one participant, the reason why some people abuse drugs and alcohol is to « forget their own problems » because they are unable to talk about them (E.S., personal interview, April 18, 2018). Another participant's perception of the situation was similar. He also stated that they are not used to talk about their feelings (K.E.R., personal interview, April 18, 2018). According to Bjerregaard & Curtis (2002) substance abuse is the result of the process of acculturation which does not contradict the respondent's answer since acculturation is a « problem » in itself that people experience in Greenland.

4.4.3 The sensitive issue of sexual abuse

Sexual abuse is a more delicate issue. Not everyone is comfortable to talk about it. Four participants mentioned it. For some people it is a taboo subject. Indeed, one participant had difficulties mentioning it. After a time of silence, she eventually whispered « rape » (J.A., personal interview, April 13, 2018). According to her, as a future teacher, one can be « startled » when encountering a child who has fallen victim to sexual abuse. Therefore, teachers should be prepared to handle these types of cases (J.A., personal interview, April 13, 2018). Furthermore, it does not seem to be an issue that happens rarely. The respondent mentioned that she has met pupils, friends and family who have experienced this kind of abuse (J.A., personal interview, April 13, 2018). « ...from my family there has been also some episodes where that happened » (J.A., personal interview, April 13, 2018). Another participant stated « incest » without developing it as well as another one who noted « sexual abuse » (E.S., personal interview, April 18, 2018; L.S., personal interview, April 26, 2018).

Finally, sexual abuse is the first issue referred to by one participant. She defines it as a « very bad [trauma] » that children can experience (M.K., personal interview, May 3, 2018). Sexual abuse is explored by Karsberg (2016) as issues experienced by youth in her section on families and environmental influences. The author specifies that most of the sexual abuse in Greenland happens during childhood (Karsberg, 2016) and that there was no decrease in the number of cases between 2004 and 2011 (Pedersen & Bjerregaard as cited in Karsberg, 2016) as « the prevalence of childhood sexual abuse was estimated to lie between 4.4% and 9% among boys and between 14% and 28% among girls » (Karsberg et al., Curtis et al., as cited in Karsberg, 2016). Finally, the author makes a connection between alcohol in the youth's immediate family and being a victim of sexual abuse (Bjerregaard & Dahl-Petersen, Pedersen & Bjerregaard, as cited in Karsberg, 2016).

4.4.4 Parents lack their responsibility of providing for their children

Another issue that two participants have noted is parents neglecting their children. One of the participants explains that some parents neglect their children by not paying attention to them because they are too busy with their work (J.A., personal interview, April 13, 2018).

According to her, « neglect and physical abuse » are issues that are not talked about enough. She uses the personal pronoun « we ». It may refer either to society at large or to the school educational body (the participant is a future teacher). As she says, « we » are to talk more about such issues and make sure « it's not a taboo » (J.A, personal interview, April 13, 2018). She puts forward the necessity to gather information concerning why parents act in such ways. Then, society would know what to do about it.

Another participant talks about times at home that are difficult for children. This is related to when a child is uncertain about his home environment, « you don't know if your parents are drunk today or tomorrow, they might not know if they are going to sleep if there's gonna—if they are party [sic]. Maybe they don't get stuff to eat. There can be a lot of stuff [...] you don't had [sic] enough sleep, maybe you have seen fights [...] » (L.S., personal interview, April 26, 2018). Later, she offers a definition of neglect giving some examples « It can be that I hit you, it can be I don't feed you, it can be psychological. Like If always yell at you "You are so stupid, you can't do anything." And of course sexual – » (L.S., personal interview, April 26, 2018). Finally, one teacher states that among their pupils « many of them are not taking care of from mom and dad [...] properly. » (L.J., personal interview, May 16, 2018)

L.S. mentions a child who is not being fed as a form of neglect. It is also an aspect shared by a teacher « We have children who don't get food. And who are sent off without eating in the morning and with no lunch. » (L.J., personal interview, May 16, 2018). At 11 years-old, 74% of girls and 65% of boys in Greenland eat breakfast and down to 56% of girls and 50% of boys at 15 years-old which is below the average HBSC total (Inchley et al., 2016).

4.4.5 The impact of issues on the child and on the society

One respondent shared how issues influence the capacity to focus on education. In her personal experience she was able to see it. Out of a certain number of people close to her who had experienced issues, only one was able to go further in their studies. The reason for that is that the others « still [need] to be heard. Even they are adults now. The problems are too heavy. » (E.S., personal interview, April 18, 2018)

Among the children who struggle with issues, one respondent says that « many, they have a very hard time learning because their private life isn't so good » (J.A., personal interview, April 13, 2018). Another respondent validated this view. She said that because of a bad environment at home, a child may come to school and be tired and stressed which will lead to difficulties focusing, learning and remembering (L.S., personal interview, April 26, 2018). She asserts too that certain feelings such as sadness deprive the child from being able to pay attention at school « even though the kid [...] can sit still, he can have a hard to remember, a hard time to concentrate » (L.S., personal interview, April 26, 2018).

Finally, according to her, this can have a direct impact on whether the pupil would drop out of school or continue on to higher education (L.S., personal interview, April 26, 2018). If the child is not able to learn at school, they may tend to not to see the point on going to school and therefore drop out. According to her, that explains the high drop out rate and the high percentage of young people outside school. In truth, 43.5% of the pupils

in primary school do not continue onto secondary education which results in 61.9% of the 16-18 years-old outside the educational system (Naalakkeruisut, 2015).

4.5 Social well-being

According to Keyes, the « functioning in society » relies on five aspects of the relationship between the individual and society. They are: social integration, acceptance, contribution, actualisation and coherence (Keyes, 1998). I do not intend to develop them here. However, social contribution is the capacity of evaluating oneself regarding the contribution made for the rest of society, when the person has « something of value to give to the world » and be a « vital member of society » (Keyes, 1998). Social contribution, efficacy and responsibility are terms and concepts that are similar to each other (Keyes, 1998). Contributing to society with something one judges a lack of brings well-being according to Keyes (1998). In other words, acting for something greater than oneself brings a certain satisfaction. It seems that this definition bears relevance for the appearance of one's well-being.

One pupil who participated in the interview, responded with a solution when posed with a question regarding well-being. In his answer, he stated that « it will take a lot of people, a lot of people with desire to make Nuuk a better place » (J.P., personal interview, May 24, 2018). However, as to whether he can do something as an individual he answered that he does not have any power to make a difference (J.P., personal interview, May 24, 2018). So it seems that in order to make a change, it is required to have a considerable number of individuals involved, if not all.

The concept of self-efficacy has been largely developed by Albert Bandura. He defines it as « the beliefs in one's capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action to manage prospective situations. » It « influences how people think, feel, motivate themselves and act. » (Bandura, 1995) Self-efficacy is related to the transformation of one's environment (Bandura, 1995), this is why Keyes connects it to social contribution. Bandura asserts that « a strong sense of efficacy in socially valued pursuits is conducive to human attainment and well-being » (Bandura, 1995, p. 1).

4.5.1 The child's well-being

The child's well-being, according to the respondents is the absence of neglect from the parents, having « a safe home » and feeling « safe and secure » (L.S., personal interview, April 26, 2018 ; M.K., personal interview, May 3, 2018). Five of the respondents mention the necessity to have access to food and being fed every meal as a manner to secure well-being (L.S., personal interview, April 26, 2018 ; M.K., personal interview, May 3, 2018 ; L.J., personal interview, May 16, 2018 ; H.P., personal interview, May 16, 2018 ; N.K., personal interview, April 24, 2018). Four respondents refer to the need of sleeping enough and having a place to live (M.K., personal interview, May 3, 2018 ; L.J., personal interview, May 16, 2018 ; H.P., personal interview, May 16, 2018 ; N.H., personal interview, May 16, 2018). As general observations, respondents answered that well-being is also being taken care of properly by parents, having parents who are interested in their child or having a parent to trust and a good relationship with them (M.K., personal interview, May 3, 2018

; L.J., personal interview, May 16, 2018 ; N.H., personal interview, May 16, 2018 ; H.P., personal interview, May 16, 2018).

4.5.2 The well-being at the level of the individual and of the society

Throughout the analysis of the data, I found that in other answers, the respondents tended to separate well-being into two categories. The first examines the individual level of well-being. One respondent's understanding is related to being « free from prejudice and judgement » and also « not try to undermine or judge people by their subculture » (J.A., personal interview, April 13, 2018). Another answer suggested, was related to the individual's well-being. It is when « people [...] can take care of themselves, taking care of their own problems, asking for help [sic] » (E.S., personal interview, April 18, 2018). Social well-being is also understood when one is happy, healthy, loving and has strong social relationships (S.D., personal interview, April 18, 2018). Having these characteristics makes one able to « do everything » and « work hard » (S.D., personal interview, April 18, 2018). Social well-being can be as different as there are individuals, as long as one follows what one likes (N.K., personal interview, April 24, 2018). According to one pupil, social well-being is attainable if individuals were concerned with the idea of volunteering. According to him, it is a way of solving issues and reaching a state of well-being (J.P., personal interview, May 24, 2018). Indeed, this idea can be completed by Keyes' idea that contribution to one's society brings to the individual a satisfaction, a feeling of being a valuable member of society (Keyes, 1998).

The second aspect of social well-being recognised in the interviews suggests a collective dimension. Two respondents list some aspects that society should acquire in order to contribute to reaching a state of well-being on a collective level. One of these aspects is to accept others and their opinions (J.A., personal interview, April 13, 2018). It seems that acceptance is a moving topic for this respondent. Another aspect is the gender equality that only this respondent talked about. According to her, both women and men should have the same rights regarding leave for the birth of a child and no differences should be made culturally. She gives the example of hunting that is traditionally associated with men and to hunt for a woman is somehow not so much accepted (J.A., personal interview, April 13, 2018). A second example is with regards to the differences society promotes between raising girls and boys with different kind of toys and that children should be free to decide what they want to play with – without the fear of being judged (J.A., personal interview, April 13, 2018). The same respondent evokes the role of society to help parents with issues. She explains that even though some parents may make some mistakes in raising their children, it is society's duty to help these parents, without judging and try to understand them. According to her, this is a way to solve issues and to reach a better state of well-being (J.A., personal interview, April 13, 2018).

The second respondent who mentioned society as a whole leading to a more sustainable condition of well-being was a pupil. He stated that collecting trash, voluntarily and as a group is relevant for this question (J.P., personal interview, May 24, 2018). He also refers to the fact that it helps creating social bonds with the other people involved. In the school, what is necessary is for the pupils to help each other. He gives an example of a case of the class specifically helping two other pupils because « some people struggle »

and they shouldn't be left out (J.P., personal interview, May 24, 2018). Because a high percentage of youth are outside the school system, the respondent understands that well-being will be more reachable when this population is being helped to return to the school system (J.P., personal interview, May 24, 2018).

5. Conclusion

To this day, Greenland and the Greenlandic people are suffering from many social issues. Working on this research allowed me to widen my awareness and gather insights into what is at stake and what it will take in order to work and solve the issues and help those struggling from them. It is a complex task for any government. But an even more complex one for such a young government. It is touching to see how Inuit people are filled with a desire to see a betterment in their society but also to see their fellow Inuit be happy and be rid of all hindrances. This is what I witnessed when I lived in Nuuk but also when undertaking my research and conducting the interviews. The research shown in this thesis has its limitations due to the fact that the number of participants is small and limited in its diversity.

The elements shared bring a panel of what are the children facing in their daily lives and the traumas that can be brought by being raised in an alcoholic environment, by being neglected and have parents, children cannot rely on, or by being physically and sexually abused. Out of the interviews, the study shows that there is a potential to develop the school system so that it can be used (and should be used) to work on social issues. Children spend the majority of their time in school. If the school does not feel an obligation to help the children, who will? The educational system can develop and implement programmes, as well as human resources in order to educate the children – adults of tomorrow – in acquiring the skills necessary for a good life, not only for themselves but for their children and for the society as a whole. The teachers – who are well aware of the reality of children in their school – expressed the need to have specific programmes that can fit the requirements. Having new programmes means having further training for teachers who will run them. This cannot but go through developing the programme for teachers since important aspects shown were the role of the teacher and related, the lack of training for teachers to be apt to help children. They are the one who can make a difference, teachers are those adults who can be a reference in a child's life, sometimes the only stable adult in the life of a child.

References

- Bandura, A. 1995. Self-efficacy. In A. S. R. Manstead & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *Blackwell encyclopedia of social psychology* (pp. 453-454). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Berthier, N. 2016. *Les techniques d'enquête en sciences sociales: méthodes et exercices corrigés*. Armand Colin.
- Bjerregaard, P., & Curtis, T. 2002. *Cultural change and mental health in Greenland: the association of childhood conditions, language, and urbanization with mental health and suicidal thoughts among the Inuit of Greenland*. *Social Science & Medicine*, 54(1), 33–48. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536\(01\)00005-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536(01)00005-3)
- Blumer, H. 1971. *Social Problems as Collective Behavior*. *Social Problems*, 18(3), 298-306. doi: 10.2307/799797
- Dépelteau, F. 2010. *La démarche d'une recherche en sciences humaines: De la question de départ à la communication des résultats*. De Boeck Supérieur. Retrieved from [https:// books.google.fr/books?id=wDkuqaU39k4C](https://books.google.fr/books?id=wDkuqaU39k4C)

- Horwath, J. 2013. *Child Neglect: Planning and Intervention*. Palgrave Macmillan. Retrieved from <https://books.google.fr/books?id=C0YdBQAAQBAJ>
- Hirschy, S., & Wilkinson, E. 2009. *Protecting Our Children: Understanding and Preventing Abuse and Neglect in Early Childhood*. Cengage Learning. Retrieved from <https://books.google.fr/books?id=souI2dBfecwC>
- Inchley, J., Currie, D., Young, T., Samdal, O., Torsheim, T., Augustson, L., World Health Organization (Eds.). 2016. *Growing up unequal: gender and socioeconomic differences in young people's health and well-being: Health Behaviour in School-Aged Children (HBSC) Study: international report from the 2013/2014 survey*. Copenhagen, Denmark: World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe.
- Jenny, C. 2010. *Child Abuse and Neglect: Diagnosis, Treatment, and Evidence*. Saunders/ Elsevier. Retrieved from <https://books.google.fr/books?id=JnwOvwc7tXcC>
- Karsberg, S. 2016. *Mental Health Among Youth in Greenland*. Who is responsible? What is being done? (p. 48). Nordic Welfare Centre.
- Keyes, C. L. M. 1998. *Social Well-Being*. Social Psychology Quarterly, 61(2), 121. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2787065>
- Lauer, R. H. 1976. *Defining Social Problems: Public and Professional Perspectives*. Social Problems, 24(1), 122–130. <https://doi.org/10.2307/800329>
- McCoy, M. L., & Keen, S. M. 2009. *Child Abuse and Neglect*. Taylor & Francis. Retrieved from <https://books.google.fr/books?id=EFh4AgAAQBAJ>
- Radford, L., Corral, S., Bradley, C., Fisher, H., Bassett, C., Howat, N., & Collishaw, S. 2011. *Child Abuse and Neglect in the UK Today*.
- Sauvayre, R. 2013. *Les méthodes de l'entretien en sciences sociales*. Dunod. Retrieved from <https://books.google.fr/books?id=NIEXAgAAQBAJ>
- Scott, K. 2012. *Measuring Wellbeing: Towards Sustainability?* Routledge. Retrieved from <https://books.google.fr/books?id=lWBXjk1nocIC>
- Statistics Greenland. 2017. *Greenland in figures 2017*
- Thio, A., & Taylor, J. 2011. *Social Problems* (Jones & Bartlett Publishers).
- United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, Division for Social Policy and Development, Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (United Nations), & Secretariat. 2018. *State of the world's indigenous peoples: education* : 3rd volume.
- Weller, G. 1985. *National Issues and Research Priorities in the Arctic* (p. 124). Washington, D.C.: National Research Council.
- Wexler, L. 2009. *The Importance of Identity, History, and Culture in the Wellbeing of Indigenous Youth*. The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth, 2(2), 267–276. <https://doi.org/10.1353/hcy.0.0055>
- Wyatt, T. R. 2012. *Atuarfitsialak: Greenland's cultural compatible reform*. International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 25(6), 819–836. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2011.558033>

BIOGRAPHIE LANGAGIÈRE D'UNE LOCUTRICE PLURILINGUE INUK

Natacha Roudeix

Doctorante/Simon Fraser University et INALCO

Résumé: Voici la biographie langagière et le retour introspectif d'une locutrice plurilingue Inuk d'après une entrevue faite avec Skype. Cette étude met en évidence les relations complexes entre les notions de langues, culture et identité. Ce récit de vie témoigne des représentations des langues d'une Inuk du Nunavik en exposant tous les facteurs favorisant son plurilinguisme, à savoir : famille, école, réseaux et migration. En effet, les Inuit ont-ils une vision différente de leur plurilinguisme et de leur pluriculturalisme ?

Dans cet article, il sera question de présenter des extraits de la biographie langagière ainsi que le retour introspectif d'une locutrice plurilingue Inuk (P) d'après une entrevue faite avec Skype. Cette étude met en évidence les relations complexes entre les notions de langues, culture et identité. Pour les besoins de l'article, je m'attarderai uniquement à quelques aspects de l'analyse des données, sachant que l'objet de la recherche sera plus amplement discuté dans une thèse de doctorat.

1. Langues et cultures

« Tous les aspects de la vie d'un groupe font partie de la culture de ce groupe : organisation sociale et politique, règles, comportements, attitudes, croyances, valeurs, habitudes, traditions, littératures, etc. » (Grosjean, 1995, p. 29). La langue y est donc un élément essentiel, car elle est souvent le vecteur de transport de la culture. Grosjean (1995) nous rappelle que la personne biculturelle « participe au moins en partie, à la vie de deux cultures [...] de manière régulière. Elle sait adapter [...] son comportement, ses attitudes, son langage à un environnement culturel donné. Elle combine et synthétise des traits de chacune des deux cultures » (p. 30). De plus, « elle [la personne biculturelle] n'est ni la somme de deux cultures en question, ni le réceptacle de deux cultures distinctes, mais une entité qui combine et synthétise les aspects et les traits de ses deux cultures, et ceci de façon originale et personnelle » (Grosjean, 1995, p. 37).

1.1 Acquisition de la langue et langue maternelle

Selon Déprez (1999), l'acquisition des langues n'est pas uniforme, elle repose sur plusieurs théories. Tout d'abord, selon le modèle behavioriste de Skinner (1957), les parents auraient une influence en tant que modèle et facilitateur que les enfants imiteraient. Puis, le courant piagétien a mis de l'avant que la pensée symbolique et le jeu allaient de pair avec le langage. L'apprentissage se fait donc par étape avec des progrès positifs ou négatifs permettant d'avancer. Ensuite, Leeneberg (1967) et Chomsky (1972) voyaient l'Homme comme un être étant prédisposé à apprendre une langue, et ce, rapidement. Enfin, il existe des courants développementalistes qui voient l'apprentissage de la langue en termes de progression.

Cependant, il est important de mentionner que « le langage ne naît pas de rien » (Déprez, 1999, p. 106) et l'Autre est nécessaire pour que la communication et l'apprentissage se fassent. Autrement dit, les langues ont besoin de la dimension sociale et d'être parlées pour exister.

En ce qui concerne ma participante, l'acquisition de ses langues ne relève pas d'une, mais de plusieurs théories. En effet, ses parents, et plus particulièrement son père, voulaient absolument qu'elle apprenne le français. Cependant, la mère n'y a eu aucune objection étant donné que sa langue était enseignée jusqu'à la troisième année de sa scolarité. Le français fut donc un choix qui allait de soi sachant que le père était francophone. On peut également faire le lien avec les migrants comme le disait Moore (2007), « pour beaucoup de familles migrantes qui sentent leur héritage linguistique menacé, le souhait des parents de protéger leurs langues, les pousse à opter pour leur usage préférentiel comme contrepoids à celle en usage dans la société environnante » (p. 80).

(1) P (65) : j'étais à l'école à partir de troisième année . .. à kuujjuaq comment ça fonctionne c'est que à partir de maternelle juqu'en deuxième t'es obligé d'aller ... de suivre ton école en inuktitut n'importe quelle . .. origine tu es ... pis À PARTIR DE TROISIÈME ANNÉE C'EST LÀ QUE TU CHOISIS soit tu t'en vas en anglais ou en français pis mon père PARCE QU'IL PARLE LE FRANÇAIS pis mes parents voulaient que je maîtrise la langue **I guess là** . .. je hum ... ils m'ont envoyé euh . .. ils m'ont envoyée à l'école fran . .. en français euh en français pis j'ai fait toutes mes études EN FRANÇAIS

Elle a appris la langue de sa mère comme le disait Louise Dabène (1994) « la langue maternelle est celle parlée par la mère – ou par l'environnement parental immédiat » (p. 10). Il y a, cependant, une contradiction, car son père ne parle pas l'inuktitut.

La personne bilingue est « toute personne qui comprend et ou parle quotidiennement et sans difficulté deux langues différentes » (Déprez, 1999, p. 22). Cet aspect est très bien illustré par la participante étant donné qu'elle s'est exprimée dans quatre langues sans réfléchir et sans hésitation.

(2) P (140) : ... parce que c'est aussi facile pour moi . .. **to talk to you in english** ou de te parler en français **inuktitutqumanitsunga XXX abla espagnol**

La participante fait une comparaison entre ses frères jumeaux et elle en ce qui concerne son propre apprentissage des langues. Elle a dit que même si elle ne parlait pas le français avec son père, elle comprenait ce qu'il lui disait, elle avait « cliqué » sans même vraiment savoir comment. Mais elle savait. Elle ne s'explique d'ailleurs toujours pas pourquoi l'apprentissage des langues de ses frères jumeaux fut si laborieux.

(3) P (170) : hum ... souvent quand on était jeune c'était euh ... en fait oui . .. mes frères jumeaux moi pis j on avait comme appris le français l'anglais pis l'inuktitut comme en même temps ok j'étais capable de comprendre mon père . .. même si je lui répondais pas tsé on avait cliqué comme vient t'en je vais te donner ton bain c'était ok faut aller à la salle de bain pour aller prendre un bain on avait compris mais mes frères jumeaux y ont parlé que inuktitut jusqu'à l'âge de 6 ans ... ou c'était plus tard ... je sais pas mais

à un moment donné jusqu'à l'âge qu'ils aillent à l'école ils parlaient juste inuktitut mon père ils ne le comprenaient pas

Elle relate un fait concernant son frère désespéré qui pleurait devant l'incompréhension de son propre père. Ce dernier se sentait complètement désemparé face à son fils, car il ne comprenait pas ce qu'il voulait. La barrière de la langue s'était installée, mais ma participante a permis de rétablir le contact en mimant ce que son frère désirait. Elle n'avait pas besoin d'explication : le français, l'anglais et l'inuktitut faisaient bel et bien partie de son répertoire propre.

(4) P (172) : [...] je me souviens quand j'étais rentrée dans la maison pis mon frère il était à terre . . . comme il était assis comme il était couché à terre pis il pleurait . . . pis mon père il était avec les armoires ouvert pis il disait ké c tu veux c'est quoi tu veux pis il lui expliquait en inuktitut pis je sais pas c'est quoi parle-moi en français dis-le moi en anglais dis-moi quelque chose moi chu t'arrivée pis ju dis c'est quoi tu veux il avait quel âge ?... il était jeune pis il parlait pas un mot en français ni anglais pis il disait jus du jus je sais qu'il veut du jus pis à partir de quand j'ai ouvert l'armoire pour lui verser son jus que ça a comme arrêté j'ai dit parce qu'il voulait un verre là

La langue des individus nous renvoie à la notion de langue maternelle. Il est vrai que tout le monde utilise ce terme. Mais savons-nous réellement le sens de cette expression ? Louise Dabène (1994) a eu beaucoup de difficultés à le définir. Elle insiste, tout d'abord, sur les critères qui pourraient donner des pistes de solutions, à savoir : la langue de la mère, la première acquise, la langue la mieux connue, et la langue acquise « naturellement » (p. 13). Cela rejoint les propos de mon sujet. Elle pense aussi avoir appris toutes les langues en même temps du simple fait de contact. En effet, l'inuktitut n'a fait l'objet d'un apprentissage scolaire que pendant trois ans : de l'âge de 5 à 8 ans. Elle a ensuite été scolarisée en français et l'anglais n'a pas fait l'objet d'un apprentissage pédagogique.

(5) P (45) : Hum . . . j'parle heu . . . ma langue maternelle . . . la langue de ma mère c'est l'inuktitut L'INUKTITUT

En effet, la personne interrogée insiste sur le fait que sa langue maternelle est l'inuktitut, car c'est la langue de sa mère. La répétition et les pauses montrent une réflexion et une insistance. Elle met d'ailleurs l'emphasis sur le mot inuktitut. Pour elle, il s'agit de sa langue maternelle, même si l'on verra plus loin, que le français reste la langue dans laquelle elle communique le plus. Pour elle, la langue des Inuit a une valeur en ce qui concerne sa personnalité et cela nous renvoie aux écrits de Dabène (1994), qui nous explique que « la langue maternelle est celle dans laquelle s'est organisée la fonction langagière elle-même, en tant que fonction symbolique primordiale, et celle qui a accompagné la construction de la personnalité » (p. 16).

1.2 La langue comme reflet de la culture

Les Peuples Autochtones insistent souvent sur le fait que parler la langue ancestrale ne signifie pas seulement sauvegarder un héritage linguistique et culturel. « La langue est

indissociable de la vision du monde. » (Moore, 2007, p. 140). Ceci résume parfaitement les idées de l'interviewée. En effet, elle possède un véritable sentiment d'appartenance au Nord, même si elle n'y vit plus depuis un moment. Il y a un désir de retour aux traditions en ce qui la concerne. Elle nous indique également que son retour aux études lui permet de combler ses lacunes sur sa culture inuk, ainsi que sur sa langue. Il y a donc une véritable volonté de reconnexion avec les traditions.

- (6) P (43) : tsé je sais que ça fait très très longtemps que j'ai pas été chez nous et je vis pas de la façon traditionnelle et tout sauf que ... je trouve que . .. hum j'ai lu quelque part dernièrement que c'est pas tant . .. un retour à la tradition XXX une recreation de notre de notre territoire de notre tradition là . .. fait que de notre culture de notre de notre peuple là . .. mais j'sais pas mais j'imagine que je me considère comme une INUITE MODERNE ah ah ah

Son insistance sur sa culture inuk est récurrente. Cependant, elle ne définit pas vraiment ce qu'elle entend par « sa culture ». Elle en parle en termes de force et d'importance. Il est important pour elle de la préserver.

- (7) P (39) : je me considère UN ENFANT DE LA TERRE ah ah non honnêtement ma culture je je ... c'est ça ma culture . .. chu TRÈS TRÈS TRÈS FIÈRE de ma culture inuite là ... je pense que je m'identifie beaucoup plus comme une inuite qu'une québécoise là

I (40) : [...]

P : (41) : parce que . .. je pense que je m'identifie plus comme une inuite qu'une québécoise là . .. bin parce que . .. LA CULTURE INUITE ELLE EST TELLEMENT FORTE ET TELLEMENT IMPORTANTE LÀ ... pis aussi que . .. c'est que . .. comme ma famille québécoise MÊME MA FAMILLE QUÉBÉCOISE sont toutes là il se reconnaît pas ils vont se reconnaître comme des QUÉBÉCOIS sauf que ... t'sé notre vie est DANS L'NORD LÀ ...

Elle met l'accent sur la maîtrise de la langue et plus particulièrement de sa langue. Le changement de pronom entre « cette langue » et « ma langue » est très révélateur. On peut aussi retrouver ce pronom au tour de parole 98. Elle a un souci de la parler et de la transmettre aux autres. Elle est d'ailleurs très étonnée de pouvoir à nouveau la parler après l'avoir perdue. C'est vraiment un retour vers son passé et vers ses ancêtres.

- (8) P (94) : hum . .. j'aimerais maîtriser ... maîtriser la langue inuktitut j'aimerais BEAUCOUP BEAUCOUP MAÎTRISER CETTE LANGUE MA LANGUE puis euh ... maintenant je : je me force à le parler . .. et euh je me suis beaucoup beaucoup améliorée d'ailleurs j'ai fait une présentation dernièrement juste en inuktitut on était supposé notre travail c'était de faire un un un . .. pub pour euh . .. promouvoir l'école . .. moi . .. j'ai euh . .. enfin en équipe . .. on a fait euh . .. on a faite un poster et euh . .. un petite publicité puis euh . .. comme c'est avec le cours d'inuktitut on avait besoin de le présenter qu'en inuktitut pis euh ça m'a surpris que j'étais capable de faire ça
I (95) : ouais parce que moi quand j't'ai connu tu me disais que l'inuktitut finalement tu le parlais mais pas super bien non plus tsé t'étais pas à l'aise de tout dire

P (960) : non non mais je m'améliore beaucoup beaucoup beaucoup là pis je me FORCE vraiment à le parler euh . .. je vais essayer comme sur facebook je vas essayer de mettre des commentaires en inuktitut euh ...

Un fait culturel marquant chez beaucoup de Peuples Autochtones est la coupure entre les Aînés et les jeunes de la nouvelle génération. Coupure due à la non-connaissance de la langue ancestrale. En effet, la participante se rappelle son retour à Kuujjuaq après avoir passé quelques années dans le Sud dans un milieu totalement francophone. Elle se souvient surtout du fait qu'elle ne pouvait plus parler à sa grand-mère. Une barrière de la langue s'était installée qui fut un déclencheur pour le réapprentissage de sa langue. La participante a mis de l'emphase sur le mot «LÀ» quand elle dit, je cite : « *Là j'ai voulu* » (tour de parole 100) sous-entendu : « à partir de ce moment-là ». Ceci démontre un commencement dans sa réflexion en ce qui concerne la prise de conscience de sa langue qu'elle considère comme importante et maternelle. La communication avait été rompue, il fallait donc la rétablir à tout prix : d'un besoin, c'est devenu un devoir.

(9) P (100) : ouais c'est ça mais regarde là j'ai . .. comme là . .. quand je suis retournée à kuujjuaq j'ai pas été capable de parler avec ma grand-mère pis LÀ j'ai voulu . .. l'apprendre ... mais euh ... pis je l'apprenais petit à petit mais MAINTENANT je me donne le DEVOIR c'est pas XXX je me dis pas oh j'aimerais ça j'aimerais ça

Pour elle, la langue c'est la culture. Comment se dire Inuk, si elle n'est pas capable de parler la langue des Inuit ? Elle a besoin d'appartenir à un groupe et pour y arriver cela passe pour elle par l'apprentissage et la maîtrise de sa langue : l'inuktitut. Ainsi comme le disait Déprez (1999), « une communauté linguistique se définit par son unité et son homogénéité : ses membres parlent la « même » langue » (p. 169).

(10) P (102) : non parce que je m'identifie comme inuite pis si chu même pas capable de parler la langue bin quess que je suis là je sais pas

Pour elle, l'inuktitut est le reflet de la culture, car toute activité dite culturelle se passe en inuktitut. Elle parle de son frère aîné qui maîtrise la langue inuk, car il a beaucoup chassé et que, pendant ces moments-là, la langue utilisée n'est ni l'anglais, ni le français. La couture et la chasse font partie de la culture et permettent à la langue de se véhiculer et de se préserver.

Le maintien des liens avec le territoire, les pratiques culturelles et le mode de vie en Arctique sont considérés comme essentiels à la survie de la communauté Inuit urbaine et à son bien-être en tant que communauté autochtone en situation de migration. (G. Budach, D. Patrick, 2012. p. 105)

Ma participante a aussi trouvé un moyen de préserver et d'apprendre cette langue qui la définit. Elle prend des cours à Ottawa dans un programme (Nunavut Sivuniksavut) fait par les Inuit et pour les Inuit. Elle a un désir de connaissance au niveau de sa culture et de

sa langue. Peut-être cherche-t-elle son identité ?

- (11) a. P (29) : euh bah c'est ça c'est des cours : c'est ça . . . je sais pas comment l'expliquer parce que c'est une peu bizarre man c'est des cours . . . fait par les INUIT pour les INUIT et c'est des cours sur les INUIT c'est vraiment c'est vraiment comme des . . . des études . . . autochtones là i guess là . . . on apprend sur l'histoire des . . . l'histoire du peuple d'où ce qui viennent euh . . . comme la culture on apprend des chants de gorge on apprend des cours d'inuktitut on a des cours d'inuktitut pour améliorer la langue euh on a . . . toute sorte de bons cours comme ça euh . . . on fait des performances . . . c'est pas une école reconnue comme comme d'autres universités ou cégep que tu connais là mais hum . . . pour le nord en tout cas kek chose c'est quand même quelque chose de très important là
- b. P (35) : [...] j'pense que c'est important il me manque beaucoup de connaissances sur ma culture la donc j'ai décidé de : de le suivre la
- c. P (39) : nunavut sivuniksavut ça veut dire euh . . . le futur de NOTRE TERRE

1.3 La langue reflet de l'identité

Pour se décrire, la participante a commencé par dire d'où elle venait, comme si le lieu avait une importance identitaire. Et on voit très bien dans sa façon de l'exprimer et dans les détails donnés que son lieu de naissance la qualifie. Son désir de partir au Yukon est aussi très révélateur de cette appartenance au Nord.

- (12) P (25) : merci euh ... chu née à kuujjuaq au nord du québec au-dessus de 50e non 55e parallèle euh . . . au nord du québec euh . . . qui est . . . le nunavik . . . c'est pas un territoire en elle-même mais c'est comme ... c'est pas officiellement un territoire mais c'est une région du québec là

Il faut aussi admettre que l'individu participe souvent activement au choix de son identité sociale. En d'autres termes, le comportement linguistique d'un individu à travers lequel il crée et manifeste son identité n'est pas la simple résultante mécanique d'un certain nombre de facteurs ; il constitue plutôt la réponse active d'un acteur à cet ensemble de facteurs, réponse par laquelle il contribue à la définition de la situation (Lüdi et Py, 2003, p. 39).

Cela revient à dire que ma participante veut absolument renouer avec la culture inuk pour pouvoir faire partie de ce groupe et elle est actrice dans ce choix en reprenant des cours et en s'y intéressant de l'intérieur. Il y a eu une évolution dans son cheminement, car sa première langue parlée et étudiée fut l'inuktitut, puis tout changea, elle a continué sa vie en français sans repenser à sa culture qu'elle dit sienne aujourd'hui. Son identité n'a donc pas été statique en ce qui concerne le langage. La personnalité de la participante est donc comme un oignon à plusieurs couches. Moore (2007) nous dit que « les choix de langues

permettent de révéler, voire d'afficher, des identités distinctes, et la volonté ou non d'accepter l'autre en lui laissant ou non la possibilité de lui répondre dans les mêmes langues » (p. 98). Elle a donc choisi son camp : elle se qualifie en tant qu'Inuk québécoise qui parle anglais et espagnol, mais il est important de remarquer qu'elle est avant toute chose Inuk.

- (13) a. P (144) : JE SUIS UN INUITE QUÉBÉCOISE QUI PARLE ANGLAIS
 CHU UNE INUK QUÉBÉCOISE pis tsé c'est con : parce que J'AIME PAS la langue anglaise je la trouve TELLEMENT LAIDE : c'est vrai je trouve pas ça beau je sais pas je sais pas je trouve ça très bizarre comme langue chu une inuit québécoise qui parle anglais
 b. I (146) : et qui apprend l'espagnol

2. Représentation des langues

La représentation d'une langue est « l'image que les locuteurs se font de leurs langues, les valeurs qu'ils leur accordent et les loyautés affichées sont largement affectées par les processus sociaux qui entourent la mobilité, et peuvent évoluer ou se déplacer, au cours du temps selon les contextes » (Moore, 2007, p. 26).

2.1 Langues et valeurs

Les gens dans la communauté de la participante voyaient sa connaissance de la langue française comme un atout tout comme Moore (2007) le dit le plurilinguisme est un atout et un tremplin d'apprentissage. La connaissance de cette langue avait donc un côté positif, c'était un plus.

- (14) P (63) : ... tsé en grandissant les gens me disaient souvent ah t'es chanceuse tu parles le français mais pis il me disait ah oui oui **kulualik** petite française

Selon Lüdi et Py (2003), les attitudes « ... se manifestent comme sentiment d'ouverture ou fermeture, d'attrait ou répulsion, de sympathie ou indifférence, d'admiration ou dédain... » (p. 88). La participante aime l'inuktitut, le français et l'espagnol. Elle aime les sons et la langue. Par contre, elle dit avoir une aversion pour l'anglais. Elle n'aime pas les sons et la sensation dans sa bouche. Ceci peut être mis en relation avec l'exemple de Kathryn dans Moore (2006). « Les mots se voient, se sentent, se goûtent, et « transportent » le locuteur » (Moore, 2007, p. 221). Elle a un sentiment de rejet en ce qui concerne l'anglais sans, néanmoins, que cela ait eu de l'incidence sur son apprentissage, bien au contraire...

- (15) P (178) : ... non mais ma langue ... bah j'ai pas vraiment de langue bah je préfère parler l'inuktitut et le français je n'aime pas l'anglais parce que j'aime pas l'anglais j'aime pas les sons j'aime pas j'aime parler l'espagnol la phonétique pis j'aime comment ça tsé le sentiment dans ma bouche j'aime **gusta mucho abla espagnol gusta la la manera de les palabras boca** j'aime comment ça sort de ma bouche

j'aime le français j'aime comme ça sort de ma bouche **inuktitutgumanitsunga**
j'aime comment ça sort de ma bouche mais l'anglais j'aime pas ça **i don't like i don't like speaking english very much**

Autre contradiction, elle dit au tour de parole 178 qu'elle n'a pas vraiment de langue alors qu'au début de la conversation elle parle de sa langue comme la langue inuktitut. Son discours change ainsi que ses perceptions.

Dans un autre ordre d'idées, la participante nous parle aussi de son choix de langues en fonction de ses émotions. En effet, elle se fâchera plus facilement en inuktitut, car elle pense que cette langue permet de bien faire ressortir les émotions de la colère. L'inuktitut est donc la première langue qui lui vient à l'esprit en situation de stress et de colère.

- (16) a. P (163) : ... donc ils sont liés parce que je pense simultanément dans toutes les langues dépendamment de l'émotion que je tente de refléter en mots
b. P (182) : je me fâche en inuktitut parce que les autres langues n'expriment pas assez certaines colères ou émotions.

2.2 La gêne au détriment d'une langue

La participante parle beaucoup de sa gêne ou de sa timidité par rapport à la langue française lorsqu'elle était jeune. Selon Lüdi et Py (2003) la personne bilingue choisit ses langues en fonction de plusieurs critères. Le déterminisme social, les compétences langagières, les comportements liés à l'habitude et les automatismes sont déterminants dans le choix des langues. Elle réagit donc de façon différente au fil du temps en fonction de la personne qui lui parle. Les enfants n'ont pas de barrière lorsqu'ils sont petits. Ils parlent les langues sans penser aux autres, car ils sont très égocentriques. Cependant, lorsque l'enfant grandit, il entre plus au moins en conflit et ses comportements changent, des attitudes qui passent aussi par les langues parlées. La participante relate des faits que lorsqu'elle était très jeune elle parlait sans problème en français avec son père, puis elle s'est arrêtée par la gêne nous dit-elle. Elle s'est surprise à lui reparler en français dans une situation de forte émotion, car elle recherchait son chat. Son père fut aussi très surpris et lui fit même répéter pour être sûr d'avoir bien entendu...

J'ai pu remarquer que dans le village de Kuujjuaq, le français n'est pas du tout valorisé et les gens ne vous diront jamais qu'ils le parlent. Il s'agit d'une langue qu'on apprend et qu'on garde pour soi, contrairement au village de Salluit où les gens le parlent beaucoup plus facilement. Chaque communauté a donc des valeurs différentes en ce qui concerne le statut des langues.

- (17) I (50) : mais tu lui parlais en inuktitut pour parce que tu n'avais pas envie de lui parler en français ou parce que /
P(51) : ben j'étais GÊNÉE j'avais une p'tite gêne j'pense ...
I (52) : ok
P (53) : ... ben non ça à l'air que quand j'étais jeune jeune enfant euh je lui parlais en

français ... mais comme a un moment donné y'a un âge y'a comme la gêne s'installe ... puis ... les gens à kuujuaq ... les gens parlent le français mais ils sont trop gênés pour le parler donc j'étais un peu ... je me souviens même de la première fois que j'ai répondu à mon père en français sans ... le voir ah ah ah

I (54) : (rire)

P (55) : je crois que j'avais onze ans ou dix ans ... on cherchait mon chat parce qu'il s'était sauvé de la maison pis ... mon père disait pis tu l'as tu trouvé tu l'as tu vu tu l'as tu vu pis euh à un moment donné ... je m'étais tournée pis ... j'lui répond non non je l'ai pas vu EN FRANÇAIS ... il m'a regardé pis il m'a dit quess t'as dit chu partie à rire j'ai dit j'ai rien dit pis j'ai continué parler en anglais pis y'avait comme une p'tite gêne je sais pas mais ça a pas duré très très longtemps t'sé

3. Facteurs favorisant l'apprentissage de plusieurs langues

Le plurilinguisme résulte d'un melting pot de facteurs. En effet, la société fait en sorte de créer cette réalité avec l'aide de la famille, de l'école, des réseaux sociaux et des parcours de migration. Au fil du temps, les gens changent et leur langue aussi. Ceci a d'ailleurs été le cas pour ma participante.

3.1 La famille

À première vue, on pourrait penser que la famille directe de ma participante est bilingue, car le père est Québécois donc francophone et la mère est Inuk donc elle parle inuktitut. Cependant, une troisième langue s'est imposée pour la communication entre la mère et le père, à savoir : l'anglais, car ni l'un ni l'autre ne parlait la langue de l'autre. Déprez (1999) résume parfaitement les nuances avec cette citation :

Vue du dehors la communication familiale apparaîtra homogène (...)
Vue du dedans c'est son hétérogénéité qui sautera aux yeux : chacun, selon ses compétences, son statut et ses enjeux identitaires, les exprimera en jouant sur son répertoire bilingue d'une façon qui lui sera personnelle. Ajoutons à cela qu'on ne parle pas tout seul et qu'il faudra tenir compte, dans les interactions des partenaires avec lesquels on s'engage dans la conversation (p. 34).

Ainsi, chaque membre de la famille utilisera une langue ou une autre pour se faire comprendre.

« Une autre façon de rendre compte de l'évolution des répertoires d'une famille bilingue est d'en faire une présentation diachronique sous forme d'arbres généalogiques linguistiques ». (Déprez, 1999, p. 87). L'arbre de ma participante ne serait pas si simple que cela, car les langues dans sa famille sont mélangées et tous ses membres ne parlent pas tous les mêmes langues, comme elle le relate dans ses propos. « Les répertoires linguistiques et les parlars de chacun sont extrêmement variables et labiles, divers et mouvants à la fois ». (Déprez, 1999, p. 169). De plus, la participante utilise le mot «*xàa*»

(maman) en inuktitut pour désigner sa mère et « papa » en français pour désigner son père. Cependant, sa mère ne vit plus dans le Nord tandis que son père oui.

(18) a. P (49) : ben ma mère elle me parlait en inuktitut, ma famille . . . inuite me parlait seulement en inuktitut ma grand-mère XXX était unilingue ma grand-mère elle parlait . . . mon grand-père aussi euh ma mère me parlait toujours avec SA LANGUE mon père il me parlait EN FRANÇAIS mon père me parlait toujours en français pis même j'lui répondais je lui répondais en en . . . inuktitut ah ah ah

b. I (115) : ta mère parle tu un peu français

P (116) : ma mère ma mère parle un petit peu le français (imitation de sa mère) elle parle un petit peu français moi aussi je parle le français qu'elle dit :

I (117) : ok mais elle comprend parce que il y a parler et parler mais est-ce qu'elle comprend le français

P (118) : nan nan elle a appris quelques petits bouts avec mon père mais ça fait longtemps ça fait comme douze treize ans qu'ils sont plus ensemble pis qu'elle vit pas au québec

I (119) : ouais donc c'est plus compliqué

P (120) : mais avec ma mère je parle mettons quarante-cinq cinquante-cinq.

I (121) : c'est bien mais sinon avec tes frères ta famille en général même tes amis est ce que tu vas utiliser plusieurs langues pour communiquer tsé comme anglais français

P (122) : oui bah MA VIE c'est comme PLUSIEURS LANGUES tsé ma vie c'est le FRANGLINUKTITUT (rire) ... je sais pas ... je parle le frangliskimo . . . je sais pas comment dire . . . non mais non mais ma vie est comme ... c'est juste vraiment un mixte là avec ma mère je parle anglais avec mes tantes j'parle anglais ou inuktitut et quand je parle anglais l'inuktitut avec ma mère aussi là bah . . . du côté de ma mère famille je parle anglais inuktitut pis j'essaie le mieux mais ça dépend avec qui parce que les gens y'a des gens de ma famille qui sont très ... hum ... comme ils se donnent des airs autains parce que je parle pas l'inuktitut là je viens comme un peu intimidée là de leur parler là . . . par peur de faire une erreur là . . . hum mais c'est l'anglais inuktitut . . . ma famille g. c'est QUE c'est SEULEMENT QU'EN FRANÇAIS pis mes amis . . . c'est . . . encore ça dépend . . . d'où qu'ils viennent mes amis mais c'est drôle hein : comme avec toi si . . . je sais que t'es française que tu parles le français et que ta langue primaire est le français si j'aurai parlé au départ en anglais ... je va toujours te parler en anglais même si je sais que . . . c'est vraiment vraiment bizarre comme ouais de continuer de changer avec une autre langue c'est ça c'est vraiment un mich-mach là

La participante a trois frères, un plus âgé et des jumeaux. La communication avec ses frères a beaucoup changé au fil du temps à son grand étonnement. Elle parle d'un avant et d'aujourd'hui. Elle fait une distinction temporelle et on voit qu'elle pense beaucoup en parlant. Finalement, elle parle beaucoup plus en français et en anglais avec ses frères que dans sa langue.

(19) P (68) : comment tu communicates avec tes frères

I (69) : c'est DRÔLE HEIN c'est vraiment drôle parce que ... AVANT ... je parlais à mon frère j en français pis il me répondait en inuktitut . .. je parlais à mes frères jumeaux . .. quand je dis frères jumeaux c'est deux personnes différents mais ... je sais pas . .. j'les dans un gros paquet j'parlais j'parlais à mes frères jumeaux je leur parlais en français pis la il me répondaient en anglais ... j il parlait aux jumeaux en inuktitut pis lui eux-autres . .. ils répondaient en anglais mais ... AUJOURD'HUI ... on se parle toute en FRANÇAIS OU EN ANGLAIS mais ... en même temps C'EST PAS VRAI je sais pas comment l'expliquer ... ok Jeff lui il maîtrise la langue en anglais en français pis en inuktitut j il maîtrise plus la langue inuktitut que nous 4 parce qu'on est 4

Elle nous fait également remarquer que l'apprentissage des langues n'a pas été égal dans la fratrie. Ses frères jumeaux ont eu beaucoup plus de mal avec le français et cela les ralentissait dans leur développement. Il a donc fallu basculer en anglais en ce qui les concerne pour qu'ils permettent d'évoluer de manière positive (« de fleurir ») et ce, malgré le fait que le père n'ait pas fait d'exception avec eux. On pourrait en conclure que certains ont plus de facilité que d'autres à apprendre des langues, même s'ils y ont été exposés très tôt.

(20) P (73) : il a fait toute son toute son toute sa scolarité en français ... mes frères

jumeaux ils ont eu de la misère c'est drôle hein . .. parce que quand on quand on a déménagé dans les laurentides j'avais douze ans j il avait dix pis les jumeaux avaient huit ans . .. mes frères jumeaux ont eu BEAUCOUP BEAUCOUP BEAUCOUP DE MISÈRE À L'ÉCOLE EN FRANÇAIS ils avaient beaucoup de misère à maîtriser la langue à comprendre à faire les activités et tout donc euh . .. euh ces deux là ils ont été à l'école en anglais pis . .. ensuite de ça ils ont fleuri comme ils ont vraiment parce que le système scolaire disait que y avaient des déficits . .. d'apprentissage mais une fois qu'ils ont . .. étudié en anglais ils ont vraiment fleuri leur notes y ont MONTÉ euh ils faisaient leur devoir TOUT SEUL ça allait SUPER BIEN pis POURQUOI je pourrais pas te le dire moi pis j on a fait notre école en français

I (74) : ouais pis vous avez réussi mais ton père est-ce qu'il a PLUS parlé en français avec vous?

P (75) : NON la même chose il nous a toujours parlé également toute les il nous a toujours parlé en français toute la gang là

Comme l'affirme Moore (2007), le locuteur choisit sa langue en fonction de la situation :

Les passages d'une langue à l'autre règlent les frontières entre les langues comme entre les groupes. Les alternances contribuent ainsi à des mises à distance des langues (le changement de langues participant à édifier les frontières) ou, au contraire, comme des mises en proximité, en favorisant des modes d'interprétation

(p.156).

En effet, parfois, les gens vont parler une autre langue pour ne pas être compris des autres et c'est totalement ce que fait la participante avec ses frères. L'inuktitut devient une langue secrète.

(21) P (87) : c'est ça souvent quand on veut pas que les autres nous comprennent

3.2 École

« L'entrée à l'école marque une étape fondamentale dans le développement des compétences littéraciées ». (Moore, 2007, p. 118). Cependant, « l'école, qui, avec les familles, devrait inscrire le développement de l'enfant dans une continuité, ouvre souvent alors la voie à des fractures linguistiques et culturelles » (Moore, 2007, p. 118). Ces propos sont totalement appuyés par la participante. En effet, elle nous expose son histoire et nous parle de ses frères qui ont été déracinés et qui ne comprenaient pas ce qu'il se passait en classe. Personne n'a tenu compte de leur culture première. Ils ont donc échoué en français et ont dû être redirigés en anglais pour leur permettre de vivre des réussites. Cela n'a pas été le cas de ma participante, car elle avait déjà été scolarisée en français auparavant et elle avait des bases solides. L'écart entre le famille et l'école n'était pas si grand. L'école fait face à divers défis, mais le plus important est la réussite pour tous malgré des langues et des cultures différentes. Elle parle également du système scolaire dans le Nord qui n'est pas forcément adapté aux enfants, car l'écart de culture est énorme et on demande souvent aux enfants de mettre leur culture première de côté...

- (22) P (77) : bah j'ai l'impression que peut-être c'est à cause du système . . . scolaire . . . dans le NORD [parce qu'il y avait] /
I (78) : bah parles-en du système scolaire dans le nord
P (79) : ben c'est parce que . . . j'ai l'impression que ... a huit ans t'est-en quelle année? t'es t-en troisième?
I (80) : ouais
P (81) : c'est tu ça?
I (82) : ouais ouais c'est huit neuf ans t'en en troisième année
P (83) : ouais c'est ça . . . parce que . . . mes . . . mes frères avaient été à l'école seulement en inuktitut y sont monté pour aller faire l'école en français pis j'ai l'impression que/
I (84) : ouais ils avaient pas les bases comme toi tu les avais
P (85) : c'est pour ça . . . pis ils disaient qu'il y avait un déficit d'apprentissage . . . mais ... C'EST BIZARRE PARCE QUE ILS PARLAIENT AUTANT FRANÇAIS QU'IL PARLAIT L'ANGLAIS . . .

L'école n'a pas seulement des points négatifs. Parfois, elle permet une ouverture d'esprit et est un tremplin à l'apprentissage et à la découverte de nouvelles langues et

cultures. À l'heure actuelle, dans ma classe, je fais découvrir l'inuktitut à mes élèves et ils adorent ça. Ils se sentent spéciaux, car ils sont les seuls à pouvoir lire et écrire leur nom. L'un des enseignants de ma participante lui a aussi fait vivre cet intérêt grâce au « National Geographic ». Pour elle, cela a été un événement marquant de sa scolarité, car cela a piqué sa curiosité et son désir de découverte. Elle voulait aussi savoir comment on disait « je t'aime » en différentes langues. En l'écoutant, on pouvait lire une certaine passion dans sa voix.

- (23) P (160) : bah oui c'est ça c'est ça je veux voir : apprendre : pis je sais pas . . . quand j'étais jeune là je savais comment dire je t'm en QUATORZE LANGUES
 I (161) : pis tu les as oublié?
 P (162) : non y'a ... je connais je t'aime **i love you nalligivarit té qiamo ti amo yalougrouteria** euh . . . en fait j'ai . . . j'ai gardé 6 je connaissais en japonais, en chinois, en arabe, je connaissais . . . en allemand
 I (163) : oui **ich liebe dich**
 P (164) OUI **ich liebe dich** C'EST ÇA bah oui : c'est ça : à chaque fois que je rencontrais quelqu'un d'une culture différente . . . je leur demandais toujours comment qu'on dit je t'aime dans ta langue pis j'avais peut-être douze ans
 I (165) : donc les langues t'on toujours intéressée aussi alors
 P (166) : comment
 I (167) : les langues t'ont toujours intéressée
 P (168) : oui mais le voyage m'a toujours intéressée . . . en fait mon professeur de quatrième monsieur c qu'il s'appelle je sais pas si tu connais p c il était directeur à XXX c'est le directeur à kangiqsuk ... lui là . . . c'était mon professeur de quatrième année euh . . . puis euh ... merveilleux bonhomme là . . . pis j'ai là . . . il nous à fait faire un projet pour savoir c'qu'on allait faire quand on serait plus vieux ... pis MOI ben ... c'était ... j'allais apprendre toutes les langues du monde j'allais être artiste et voyager loin XXX pis aussi j'allais être fermière . . . c'est ça . . . mais tsé je pense que c'est représentatif de ma personne parce que j'aime beaucoup beaucoup la campagne les endroits extérieurs là j'ai toujours aimé comme la nature et tout pis la j'imagine que quand j'étais jeune être sur une ferme ça représentait ça et aussi de voyager . . . comme le monde dit toujours ah t'es curieuse mon prof monsieur c . . . y nous y nous laissait du temps libre . . . pour feuilleter les national geographics . . . pis il nous demandait d'essayer de deviner c'est quoi et qu'est-ce que tu penses que c'est pis après il nous expliquait il nous avait vraiment comme ouvert l'esprit comme à l'extérieur fait que c'est pour ça que j'ai besoin de voyager, j'ai besoin de voir ... kit à revenir à un moment donné chez nous mais pour tout de suite ... euh je pense pas que c'est ma place

3.3 Réseaux social

Le réseau social joue aussi un rôle primordial dans notre vision du monde et dans la pratique de nos langues. On pourrait le représenter comme un cercle concentrique dans lequel nous serions le noyau et autour duquel différentes couches s'imbriqueraient.

Pendant l'entrevue, ma participante a fait un diagramme de Venn de son réseau social. Elle a représenté toutes les langues qu'elle parlait en nous indiquant les interactions comme suit :

- (24) P (124) : ouais mes langues y changent vraiment tout dépendant là là pis c'est ça que je voulais te montrer comme schéma . .. je voulais faire comme trois dessins représentant comme . .. une langue chaque dessin mettons pis des p'tits carrés pour représenter des contextes des situations . .. mettre les langues dans ces dans ces contextes là je sais pas si ça fait du sens j'vas essayer de le faire ... que ... ça ressemble un peu à ça ok mettons pour la langue . .. bah là je veux pas faire de lettre ça serait facile de faire f pour français, a pour anglais et i pour inuktitut mais c'est pas mal plate là (rire) euh . .. mettons . .. on va faire ça comme ça on va faire f pour français, a pour anglais et i pour inuktitut ok ça c'est les langues ok attend c'est ça quelque chose comme ça là là mais la je vais être obligée de le faire mieux là ... c'est un croquis . .. c'est pas beau là . ..
parce que je vois pas dans quelle situation je mélangerais l'inuktitut pis le français quand les gens parlent inuktitut avec qui je parle inuktitut je vais leur parler en inuktitut pis en anglais non c'est pas vrai j'ai une amie avec qui je parle plus le français que l'anglais fait que je lui parle en inuktitut pis le français fait que c'est beau français anglais bah ça c'est les personnes de st-laurent là

Ma participante en tant que personne plurilingue a appris diverses langues pour combler des besoins et principalement par souci de communication. Son but ultime est le de se faire comprendre du plus grand nombre. Ce fut pour elle, une véritable introspection, un retour sur elle-même et sur tous les mécanismes qu'elle utilise pour communiquer.

Sa langue la représente et dicte ce qu'elle est. Étant moi-même enseignante et désirant le meilleur pour mes élèves dans leur épanouissement et leur apprentissage, ce travail m'a fait réfléchir sur ma pratique en tant qu'enseignante d'une langue qui n'est pas forcément celle parlée à la maison. Comment faire pour permettre aux enfants de ne pas être perdus ? Peut-être serait-il judicieux d'apprendre des concepts dans différentes langues pour pouvoir établir des ponts ? J'ai pris conscience que nos élèves eux aussi ont une biographie langagière qui leur est propre et qu'il serait important de la découvrir pour les aider à cheminer dans leur apprentissage. Ceci leur permettrait de pouvoir créer des hyperconcepts...

Je pense qu'il est important de s'asseoir et de réfléchir sur sa pratique dans le but de trouver des stratégies qui nous permettront une meilleure réussite des élèves. Cette entrevue avait donc pour but de comprendre les mécanismes d'apprentissage d'une personne plurilingue dans toute sa complexité pour être en mesure d'aider nos futurs étudiants. L'enfant n'est pas seulement un élève à qui l'on doit apprendre une langue, mais il s'agit d'un individu avec une histoire et des émotions. Il est donc nécessaire de voir l'enfant dans sa globalité.

Être bilingue ou plurilingue n'est pas une superposition de langues que l'on place les unes sur les autres. Il ne faut pas penser que nos étudiants auront le même niveau de maîtrise dans toutes les langues. Ils gèrent leurs langues en fonction des contextes et des

gens et utilisent au mieux toutes leurs langues et leurs cultures dans un but de communication.

Alors, une langue n'existe jamais sans l'utilisation de l'une et de l'autre...

Références

- Budach, Gabrièle, et Patrick, Donna. 2012. *Recherche en didactique des langues et des cultures : Les cahiers de L'Acedle, volume 9, numéro 2*. Chaque objet raconte une histoire. Les pratiques de littératie chez des Inuit en milieu urbain. (p. 85-108). acedle.org.
- Calvet, Louis-Jean. 1974. *Linguistique et colonialisme. Petit traité de Glottophagie*, Chap. 2. «Les dialectes et la langue» (p. 40-54), Paris, Bibliothèque scientifique Payot.
- Castellotti, Véronique, et Moore, Danièle. 2009. Dessins d'enfants et constructions plurilingues. Territoires imagés et parcours imaginés. In M. Molinié (ed.). *Le dessin réflexif. Élément pour une herméneutique du sujet plurilingue*. (p. 45-85). CRTF-Encrages, Belles Lettres, Paris.
- Cavalli, Marisa. 2000. Éducation bilingue : principes et modèles de référence, *L'école Valdôtaine*.
- Dabène, Louise. 1994. Repères sociolinguistiques pour l'enseignement des langues, Chap. 1. «Qu'est-ce que la langue maternelle?» (p. 7-25), Paris, Clé International.
- Deprez, Christine. 1999. *Les enfants bilingues : langues et familles*, Collection Crédif-Essais, Paris, Didier.
- Deprez, Christine. 1999. Les enquêtes "micro". Pratiques et transmissions familiales des langues d'origine dans l'immigration en France. In Calvet, L.-J. & Dumont, P. *L'enquête sociolinguistique*. (p.77-102). L'Harmattan, Paris.
- Grosjean, François. 1993, « Le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme : essai de définition ». *Tranel*, 19, 13-42.
- Lüdi, Georges, et Py, Bernard. (2003). *Etre bilingue*, Berne : Peter Lang.
- Moore, Danièle. 1996. Bouées transcodiques en situation immersive ou comment interagir avec deux langues quand on apprend une langue étrangère à l'école. *Acquisition et interaction en langue étrangère*, 7, 95-121.
- Moore, Danièle. 2007. *Plurilinguismes et école*, Coll. LAL, Didier.
- Moore, Danièle, et Castellotti, Véronique. 2011. Dessins d'enfants, recherche qualitative, interprétation. Des poly-textes pour l'étude des imaginaires du plurilinguisme. In Blanchet, Ph. & Chardenet, P. (eds.). *Guide pour la recherche en didactique des langues et cultures. Approches contextualisées* (p. 118-132). Éditions des archives contemporaines, Paris.

Ammalu and =lu: A universal structure analysis of conjunction in Inuktitut *

Matthew Schuurman
Université du Québec à Montréal

Abstract

This paper presents novel conjunction data from three subdialects of Inuktitut: South Baffin, North Baffin, and Nunavik. In these dialects, there are two conjunction coordination morphemes, a monosyndetic coordinator *amma(lu)* and a bisyndetic coordinator *=lu*. The paper analyzes the syntactic structure of these coordinators through the use of a universal coordination structure as proposed in Mitrović and Sauerland (2014, 2016). While *amma(lu)* fits the predictions made their proposal, *=lu* does not. Several alternative possible analyses as to why these morphemes pattern differently are considered, but ultimately rejected, leaving the final analysis of these morphemes for future research.

1. Introduction

There is significant cross-linguistic variation seen in the types of morphemes used in coordination. Two coordination patterns seen cross-linguistically are *monosyndetic* coordination *bisyndetic* coordination. Monosyndetic coordination is the use of a single coordinator, as in (1a), where the coordinator may appear between the two conjuncts in languages such as French or English, or after the second conjunct, as in Latin.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) a. <i>French:</i>
le lion et le mouton
the lion and the sheep
'The lion and the sheep' | b. <i>Latin:</i>
senatus populus- que
senate people-and
'The senate and the people.' |
|---|--|

In contrast, bisyndetic coordination is the use of two coordinators. In this construction, the two coordinators each appear after a conjunct, as seen in (2)

- | | |
|---|--|
| (2) a. <i>Avar:</i>
keto gi hva gi
cat and dog and
'cat and dog' | (<i>Mitrović & Sauerland, 2014:45</i>) |
|---|--|

*Many thanks to all the Inuktitut speakers involved in this project for sharing the knowledge of their language. All non-referenced data is from personal elicitation sessions. Any mistakes are my own. This work was supported by a SSHRC Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Doctoral Scholarship and funding from the Northern Scientific Training Program.

- b. *Martunthunira*
 puliyanyja-ngara-**thurti** jantira-ngara-**thurti**
 old.man-PL-and old.woman-PL-and
 ‘old men and old women’

(Dench, 1995:98)

Inuktitut (Inuit) possesses both type of coordination, the monosyndetic coordinator *amma(lu)* and bisyndetic coordinator *=lu*. This paper presents novel conjunction data from three dialects of Inuktitut: North Baffin Inuktitut (NBI), South Baffin Inuktitut (SBI) and Nunavik (NI). The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 presents the data, by comparing the distributional similarities and differences between nominal and clausal conjunction. Section 3 outlines Mitrović and Sauerland’s (2014, 2016) proposal of a universal structure of coordination, in which monosyndetic and bisyndetic coordination are part of the same syntactic structure. Their proposal makes several generalizations about the behaviour of the two types of coordinators. In Section 4, I compare the universal structure and its generalizations to the Inuktitut data, the result being that *amma(lu)* follows the generalizations while *=lu* does not. Section 5 presents two additional distributional facts of *=lu* and *amma(lu)*, namely that *=lu* is also the comitative marker in Inuktitut, and in complex coordinated constructions, *amma(lu)*, not *=lu* must be the matrix-level coordinator. Section 6 concludes.

2. Conjunction in Inuktitut

In this section, novel coordination data is presented from South Baffin (SBI), North Baffin (NBI) and Nunavik Inuktitut (NI). The Inuit languages are a dialect continuum spoken across North America and Greenland. North Baffin and South Baffin Inuktitut are spoken in and around eastern Nunavut, while Nunavik is spoken in Northern Quebec. As mentioned, the two coordination morphemes under investigation are the free morpheme *amma(lu)* and the enclitic *=lu*. It should be noted that *-lu* in *amma(lu)* is optional for some speakers as it can also appear as *amma*. The general consensus among speakers is that there is a generational distinction between these two forms, with younger speakers preferring *amma*, while older speakers tend to prefer *ammalu*. This generational preference appeared in all of the three dialects, regardless of any region differences. There is also no difference between the forms with respects to grammaticality judgments. Therefore, all data with *amma(lu)* can be treated as either *ammalu* or *amma*. In Section 2.1 the distribution of the two coordinators are compared with nominal conjuncts, while section 2.2 presents the clausal conjunct distribution.

2.1 Nominal conjunction

In nominal conjunction there are three main strategies. The first strategy is to use the coordinator *amma(lu)*, however, it must linearly be between the two nominal conjuncts and cannot appear before the first conjunct or after the second conjunct, as demonstrated in (3).

- (3) a. Miali taku-lauq-tuq [qimmi-mik **amma(lu)** amarur-mik]
 Mary(ABS.SG) see-PST-DEC.3SG dog-OBL.SG **CONJ** wolf-OBL.SG
 ‘Mary saw a dog and a wolf’
 b. *Miali taku-lauq-tuq [**amma(lu)** qimmi-mik amarur-mik]
 Mary(ABS.SG) see-PST-DEC.3SG **CONJ** dog-OBL.SG wolf-OBL.SG
 ‘Intended: Mary saw a dog and a wolf’
 c. *Miali taku-lauq-tuq [qimmi-mik amarur-mik **amma(lu)**]
 Mary(ABS.SG) see-PST-DEC.3SG dog-OBL.SG wolf-OBL.SG **CONJ**
 ‘Intended: Mary saw a dog and a wolf’ (SBI, NBI, NI)

The second strategy is to use the enclitic =*lu*. The enclitic must obligatorily attach to the last conjunct and can optionally co-occur with the first conjunct. This is seen in (4a) and (4b).

- (4) a. Miali taku-lauq-tuq [qimmi-mik(=**lu**) amarur-mik=**lu**]
 Miali(ABS.SG) see-PST-DEC.3SG dog-OBL.SG=**CONJ** wolf-OBL.SG=**CONJ**
 ‘Miali saw a dog and a wolf’
 b. *Miali taku-lauq-tuq [qimmi-mik=**lu** amarur-mik]
 Miali(ABS.SG) see-PST-DEC.3SG dog-OBL.SG=**CONJ** wolf-OBL.SG
 ‘Intended: Miali saw a dog and a wolf’ (SBI, NBI, NI)

The final strategy is when both coordinators are used together. This strategy follows the conditions set in first and second strategy. *Amma(lu)* must be between the conjuncts, and =*lu* must appear on the final conjunct, as seen in (5).

- (5) Miali taku-lauq-tuq [qimmi-mik(=**lu**) **amma(lu)** amarur-mik=**lu**]
 Miali(ABS.SG) see-PST-DEC.3SG dog-OBL.SG=**CONJ** **CONJ** wolf-OBL.SG=**CONJ**
 ‘Miali saw a dog and a wolf’ SBI, NBI, NI

2.2 Clausal conjunction

In clausal conjunction, there are only two strategies allowed. In the first strategy, *amma(lu)* must appear between the conjuncts and cannot precede the first conjunct or follow the second conjunct, identical to the restrictions seen with nominal coordination. This can be seen in (6).

- (6) a. Miali [inngi-lauq-tuq **amma(lu)** mumi-lauq-tuq]
 Miali sing-PST-INTR.3SG **CONJ** dance-PST-DEC.3SG
 ‘Miali was singing and dancing.’
 b. *Miali [**amma(lu)** inngi-lauq-tuq mumi-lauq-tuq]
 Miali **CONJ** sing-PST-INTR.3SG dance-PST-DEC.3SG
 ‘Intended: Miali was singing and dancing.’
 c. *Miali [inngi-lauq-tuq mumi-lauq-tuq **amma(lu)**]
 Miali sing-PST-INTR.3SG dance-PST-DEC.3SG **CONJ**
 ‘Intended: Miali was singing and dancing.’ SBI, NBI

The second strategy with *=lu* in clausal conjunction has the same restrictions as nominal coordination, namely that the enclitic *=lu* must appear with the second conjunct and cannot appear on the first conjunct alone, as in (7a) and (7b). However, unlike nominal coordination, *=lu* cannot co-occur with the first conjunct, as seen in (7c).

- (7) a. Miali [inn̄gi-lauq-tuq mumi-lauq-tuq=**lu**]
 Mialiy sing-PST-INTR.3SG dance-PST-DEC.3SG=**CONJ**
 ‘Miali was singing and dancing.’ SBI, NBI
- b. *Miali [inn̄gi-lauq-tuq=**lu** mumi-lauq-tuq]
 Miali sing-PST-INTR.3SG=**CONJ** dance-PST-DEC.3SG
 ‘Intended: Miali was singing and dancing.’ SBI, NBI
- c. *Miali [inn̄gi-lauq-tuq=**lu** mumi-lauq-tuq=**lu**]
 Miali sing-PST-INTR.3SG=**CONJ** dance-PST-DEC.3SG=**CONJ**
 ‘Intended: Miali was singing and dancing.’ SBI, NBI

Finally, in clausal conjunction it is not possible to use *amma(lu)* and *=lu* together, as can be seen in (8).

- (8) *Miali [inn̄gi-lauq-tuq(=**lu**) **amma(lu)** mumi-lauq-tuq=**lu**]
 Miali sing-PST-DEC.3SG(=**CONJ**) **CONJ** dance-PST-DEC.3SG=**CONJ**
 ‘Intended: Miali was singing and dancing.’ SBI, NBI

2.3 Summary of the data

Based on the data presented, Inuktitut has a monosydetic coordinator *amma(lu)* and a bisynthetic coordination *=lu*. There are three general strategies that are employed for coordination, however there are different restrictions depending on whether the conjuncts are nominal or clausal. The complete distribution is shown in the following chart.

	nominal conj.	clausal conj.
Strategy 1: <i>amma(lu)</i>	✓	✓
Strategy 2: <i>=lu</i>	✓	✓*
Strategy 3: split conj.	✓	×

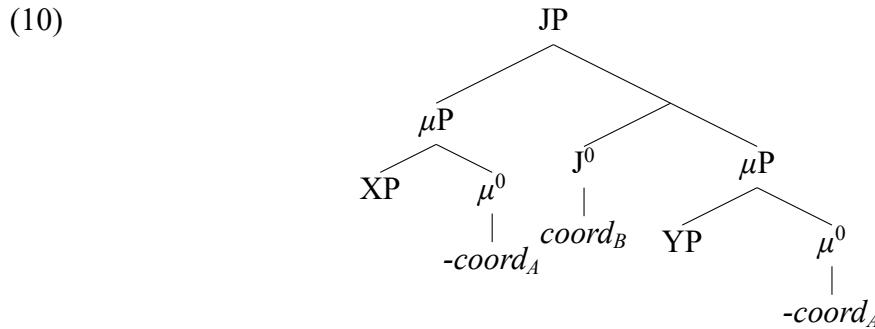
There are several questions about the syntactic restrictions of the two coordinators that can be posed. First, why is it that *=lu* does not appear in the same linear position as *amma(lu)*, namely between the two conjuncts? Second, why does *=lu* appear on both conjuncts for nominal coordination but not for clausal coordination? Thirdly, why is the third strategy of using both coordinators together grammatical with nominal conjuncts, but ungrammatical for clausal conjuncts? And finally, what is the syntactic structure of coordination in Inuktitut that can model and predict the distribution of *amma(lu)* and *=lu*? The remainder of this paper focuses on these questions.

3. A universal structure of coordination

One proposal for a structure of coordination involving monosyndetic and bisyndetic coordinators comes from Mitrović & Sauerland (2014, 2016). Their proposal stems from the observation that in many languages, conjunction morphemes are polyfunctional. They propose therefore that there are two types of coordinators involved in nominal coordination, a μ -type coordinator and a J-type coordinator. The μ -type coordinator is seen in languages like Japanese and can express the meanings of conjunction (i.e., and), quantification (i.e., all), additivity (i.e., also), and is only used for nominal conjunction, as shown in (9).

- (9) a. Bill **mo** Mary **mo**
 B μ M μ
 ‘(both) Bill **and** Mary’
- b. Mary **mo**
 M μ
 ‘also Mary’
- c. dare **mo**
 who μ
 ‘everyone’
- d. done gakusei **mo**
 INDET student μ
 ‘every student’
- (Mitrović & Sauerland, 2014:40)

In contrast, the J-type coordinator is seen in languages like English and expresses only conjunction (i.e., English *and*). Furthermore, the J-type coordinator can be used to express both nominal and clausal conjunction. They argue, following Munn (1993) and den Dikken (2006), for a universal syntactic structure of coordination, where μ coordinators combine with a single type e argument and J coordinators combine with two type t arguments. They propose the structure in (10).



They propose that languages vary whether they have overt morphemes of the μ -type, J-type, or both. Their proposal makes three main generalizations: (i) only J-type coordinators have propositional uses; (ii) only μ -type coordinators have quantificational and additive uses; and (iii) only μ -type coordinators can double.¹

¹I have not included the argumentation for these proposals and claims in this paper for reasons of space. They can be found in the first two sections of Mitrović & Sauerland (2016).

One caveat though, is that in all the examples of clausal coordination seen so far, the conjuncts are using the participial clause type, denoted by the final *-tuq*. It has been argued in previous work on Inuktitut that the participial clause type is a nominalizer, homophonous with the participial clause marker (Johns, 1987; Bok-Bennema, 1991). Under this analysis *=lu* is not conjoining two clausal conjuncts in (14) but rather two conjuncts that are nominal in nature. When a different clause type than the participial is used, such as the contingent clause type, only the coordinator *amma(lu)* can be employed, while the use of *=lu* is now ungrammatical, as shown in (15). Based on the contrast between coordination of participial clauses and non-participial clauses, it appears that *=lu* does in fact attach to elements with nominal aspects, and therefore *=lu* does in fact appear to follow the first generalization.

- (15) a. *Tainna turusiq niri-kainna-tuq iqalu-mit kaa-kainna-rami amma(lu)*
 that boy(ABS.SG) eat-REC.PST-3SG fish-(OBL.SG) be.hungry-REC.PST-3SG.CNTG CONJ
tainna panik imatuinnatu-kainna-tuq imiruk-kami
 that girl(ABS.SG) drank.water-REC.PST-3SG be.thirsty-3SG.CNTG
 ‘That boy ate the fish because he was hungry and that girl drank the water because she was thirsty.’
- b. **Tainna turusiq niri-kainna-tuq iqalu-mit kaa-kainna-rami(=lu)*
 that boy(ABS.SG) eat-REC.PST-3SG fish-(OBL.SG) be.hungry-REC.PST-3SG.CNTG(=CONJ)
tainna panik imatuinnatu-kainna-tuq imiruk-kami=lu
 that girl(ABS.SG) drank.water-REC.PST-3SG be.thirsty-3SG.CNTG=CONJ
 ‘Intended: That boy ate the fish because he was hungry and that girl drank the water because she was thirsty.’ NBI, NI

The second generalization states that a μ -type coordinator *=lu* can have additive and quantificational uses. While *=lu* does not have quantificational uses, it does have additive uses, as illustrated in (16).

- (16) a. *uvanga=lu*
 1SG=CONJ
 ‘Me too’.
- b. *anaana-ga=lu ataata-ga=lu nagligivaakkaak*
 mother-1SG-POSS=CONJ father-1SG-POSS=CONJ love.FIX>ME
 ‘I love (both) my father and my mother.’ (Spalding, 1979: 16)

The third generalization states that μ -type coordinators can double. We have already seen in section 2.1 that *=lu* can occur with both nominal conjuncts, see (3a), repeated below in (17a). However, when then two conjuncts involve the participial clause type, as seen in (7c), repeated below in (17b) *=lu* cannot be doubled.

- (17) a. *Miali taku-lauq-tuq [qimmi-mik(=lu) amarur-mik=lu]*
 Miali(ABS.SG) see-PST-DEC.3SG dog-OBL.SG(=CONJ) wolf-OBL.SG=CONJ
 ‘Miali saw a dog and a wolf’ SBI, NBI, NI
- b. *Miali [inngi-lauq-tuq(*=lu) mumi-lauq-tuq=lu]*
 Miali sing-PST-INTR.3SG=CONJ dance-PST-DEC.3SG=CONJ
 ‘Intended: Miali was singing and dancing.’ SBI, NBI

There are two ways to account for this contrast. One way is to propose that participial clauses are a different type of nominal than non-participial nominals. That is, there must be difference in the participial's syntactic structure that disallows *=lu* being attached to both conjuncts. This difference is what allows for *=lu* to attach to the first conjunct, restricts *=lu* for the first conjunct. One immediate issue with this proposal is that we are left with the question of why can *=lu* attach to a participial conjunct at all? If it is the syntactic structure of the participial itself that blocks the enclitic from attaching to the first conjunct, then it should also be blocked on the final conjunct.²

The second account is to propose that *=lu* is not a μ -type coordinator, at least not as defined in Mitrović & Sauerland (2014, 2016). The enclitic *=lu* has the properties of both a μ -type and a J-type coordinator. It follows the first two generalizations for a μ -type in that it cannot be used for clausal conjunction (assuming a nominal analysis of participials) and has additive uses (but not quantificational). However, for the third generalization it follows the μ -type and J-type coordinator; it can be doubled for 'standard' nominals, but not participial nominals. The exact analysis of *=lu* remains an open question and is left to future research.

5. Additional properties of *=lu*

Further complicating an analysis of *=lu* is its behavior in comitative structures and in complex coordinated structures. The first part of this section presents data where *=lu* is the comitative marker in extended associates and plural pronoun constructions. The second part presents data where we see that *=lu* cannot be used as the matrix-level coordinator in complex coordinated structures.

5.1 The comitative use of *=lu*.

In Inuktitut, *=lu* is also employed as the comitative marker in extended associates (EA) and plural pronoun constructions (PPC) (Yuan, 2017). EAs are constructions where an associative marked nominal is interpreted as singular when co-occurring with a comitative phrase. For example, in (18a), *Siapu-yar* has the associative marker *-yar* and the phrase has a plural interpretation. However, in (18b) the interpretation of *Siapu* is singular, despite the fact that the plural marker *-yar* is used. It is the presence of the comitative marker *aga* that produces this interpretation.

- (18) *Margi*
 a. *Siapu-yar*
 Siapu-PL
 'Siapu and his followers'

²One way out of this last problem is to posit a coordination structure where *=lu* attaches to the entire coordination complex [*Conjunct₁ Conjunct₂]=lu, however this structure is not compatible with the structure proposed in Mitrović & Sauerland (2014, 2016), where a μ -type coordinator attaches to the conjunct itself, not the conjunct complex as a whole. And we are then left with accounting for why *=lu* can attach inside this coordination complex with non-participial nominal conjunction.*

- b. Siapu-**yar** [_{pp} **aga** mala gənda]
 Siapu-PL with his wife
 ‘Siapu and his wife’ (Vassilieva, 2005:4)

In Inuktitut, the associative marker is *-kku*, seen in (19a). Here, the interpretation of a noun with the associative marker *-kku* is one that is plural. When the associated nominal appears with *=lu* as the comitative marker, the interpretation is now singular, seen in (19b).

(19) *Inuktitut*

- a. Eva-**kku**
 Eva-ASSOC
 ‘Eva and others’
 b. Eva-**kku** [pani-nga=**lu**]
 Eva-ASSOC daughter-PSS.3s/3s=also
 ‘Eva + her daughter’ (Yuan, 2017:7)

Plural pronoun constructions involve a plural pronoun that is interpreted as singular in the presence of a comitative phrase. Similar to the extended associates, the comitative marker in Inuktitut is *=lu*, as seen in (??), where the presence of *=lu* causes the plural pronoun *ilitsi* to be interpreted as singular.

- (20) Kelsey=**lu** ilitsi niqi-liuq-tusi
 Kelsey=also 2P food-make-DEC.2P
 ‘You(sg) + Kelsey are cooking.’ (Yuan, 2017:9b)

In PCCs, the presence of comitative *=lu* is required for the plural pronoun be interpreted as singular. For example, if the coordinator *amma(lu)* is used instead, the singular interpretation is lost, seen in the contrast in (21).

- (21) a. Kelsey=*lu* **uvagut...**
 Kelsey=also 1.P
 ‘I + Kelsey’
 b. Kelsey *amma(lu)* **uvagut...**
 Kelsey CONJ 1.P
 ‘Kelsey and us/*me.’ (Yuan, 2017:11)

Based on the behaviour of *=lu* in extended associates and plural pronoun constructions, combined with the fact that both of these constructions have an inherent conjunction interpretation, it would seem like it’s possible that *=lu* isn’t a coordinator at all, but rather a comitative marker. If this is the case, then this is a possible explanation for why *=lu* doesn’t fit the properties of a μ -type coordinator; it is a comitative marker and not a coordinator. However, this is not the right analysis, as is seen from when compared to with the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC).

The (CSC) states that no conjunct may be extracted from a coordination structure (Ross, 1986). However, comitatives are not subject to restrictions on extraction of either

of their NPs, and so do not follow the CSC (Stassen, 2003). If *=lu* is in fact a comitative and not a coordinator, it should not be subject to extraction restrictions. When tested, *=lu* follows the CSC and does not allow for extraction of either conjunct, as seen in (22).³

- (22) a. Miali taku-lauq-tuq Jaani-mi=**lu** Taiviti-mi=**lu**
Miali(ABS.SG) see-PST-DEC.3SG Jaani-OBL.SG=**CONJ** Taiviti-OBL.SG=**CONJ**
‘Miali saw Jaani and Taiviti.’ NBI, NI
- b. *Miali kinamit taku-lauq-tuq Jaani-mi=**lu** _____
Miali(ABS.SG) who-OBL.SG see-PST-DEC.3SG Jaani-OBL.SG=**CONJ**
‘Intended: Who did Miali see Jaani and ____.’ NBI, NI
- c. *Miali kinamit taku-lauq-tuq _____ Taiviti-mi=**lu**
Miali(ABS.SG) who-OBL.SG see-PST-DEC.3SG Taiviti-OBL.SG=**CONJ**
‘Intended: Who did Miali see _____ and Taiviti.’ NBI, NI

When we test extraction with the coordinator *amma(lu)*, the same results occur, where neither of the two conjuncts can be extracted, as seen in the (23).

- (23) a. Miali taku-lauq-tuq Jaani-mit **amma(lu)** Taiviti-mit
Miali(ABS.SG) see-PST-DEC.3SG Jaani-OBL.SG **CONJ** Taiviti-OBL.SG
‘Miali saw Jaani and Taiviti.’ NBI, NI
- b. *Miali kina-mit taku-lauq-tuq Jaani-mit **amma(lu)** _____
Miali(ABS.SG) who-OBL.SG see-PST-DEC.3SG Jaani-OBL.SG **CONJ**
‘Intended: Who did Miali see Jaani and ____.’ NBI, NI
- c. *Miali kinamit taku-lauq-tuq _____ **amma(lu)** Taiviti-mit
Miali(ABS.SG) who-OBL.SG see-PST-DEC.3SG **CONJ** Taiviti-OBL.SG
‘Intended: Who did Miali see _____ and Taiviti.’ NBI, NI

The data pair in (22) and (23) illustrates that both *=lu* and *amma(lu)* behave as conjunction coordinators in standard conjunction examples. Despite the fact that *=lu* is used as a comitative in EA and PPC data, it is a coordinator in the rest of the coordination examples.

5.2 Coordinating coordinated structures

The final observation to make about the behaviour of *=lu* is that it cannot be matrix coordinator in a coordinated structure where the conjuncts are also coordinated structures (i.e., [A

³Sherkina-Lieber (2004) illustrates that in SBI wh-words, the wh-word must be in a preverbal position and subjects must be in the highest overtly filled position. This means that the preferred word order in Inuktitut wh-questions is *Subj Wh-word(s) V*, as seen in (1). This is why the CSC examples shown here do not have the wh-word in the highest structural position (as is commonly the case in CSC examples from other languages). Note that (22a) is the base sentence, and (22b) and (22c) show the sentence with extraction of a conjunct.

- (1) Miali **kina-mit** taku-lauq-tuq
Miali(ABS.SG) who-OBL.SG see-PST-DEC.3SG
‘Who did Mary see?’

(Sherkina-Lieber, 2004: 27)

and B] and [X and Y]), while *amma(lu)* can. In (24a), the conjunct coordinated structures appear with *=lu*, while the matrix-level coordinator is *amma(lu)*. The coordinator *amma(lu)* cannot be used within the conjunct coordinated structures, as seen in (24b) and (24c), while *=lu* cannot be used as the matrix-level coordinator, as seen in (24c).

- (24) a. [Kelsey=**lu**] Jaani=**lu**] *amma(lu)* [Miali=**lu**] Taiviti=**lu**] katitau-lauq-tuq
 Kelsey(=**CONJ**) Jaani=**CONJ CONJ** Miali(=**CONJ**) Taiviti=**CONJ** married-PST-DEC.3SG
 ‘[Kelsy and Jaani] and [Miali and Taiviti] got married.’
- b. *[Kelsey *amma(lu)* Jaani] *amma(lu)* [Miali *amma(lu)* Taiviti] katitau-lauq-tuq
 Kelsey **CONJ** Jaani **CONJ** Miali **CONJ** Taiviti married-PST-DEC.3SG
 ‘Intended: [Kelsy and Jaani] and [Miali and Taiviti] got married.’
- c. *[Kelsey *amma(lu)* Jaani](=**lu**) [Miali *amma(lu)* Taiviti]=**lu** katitau-lauq-tuq
 Kelsy **CONJ** Jaani(=**CONJ**) Miali **CONJ** Taiviti=**CONJ** married-PST-DEC.3SG
 ‘Intended: [Kelsy and Jaani] and [Miali and Taiviti] got married.’ NBI, NI

Only *amma(lu)* can be used as the higher order matrix coordinator, however it is not clear why *=lu* cannot. This question remains open to further research.

6. Conclusion

This paper presented novel conjunction data from three Inuktitut dialects under a universal coordination analysis proposed in Mitrović and Sauerland (2014). The initial hypothesis was that *amma(lu)* is a J-type coordinator, while *=lu* is a μ type coordinator. However, upon further examination, while *amma(lu)* fits the predictions of a J-type coordinator, *=lu* has properties of both types. The enclitic *=lu* is also the comitative marker in Inuktitut, but in it follows the CSC in standard coordinated structures, meaning it is used as a coordinator in these contexts. In complex coordinated structures, only *amma(lu)* can be used as the matrix-level coordinator.

Mitrović & Sauerland (2014, 2016) propose two types of coordinators, but the Inuktitut data suggests a more complex story. We need a syntactic account of coordinator types that involves the properties of both the J-type and the μ -type to account for the behaviour of *=lu*.

References

- Bok-Bennema, R. (1991). *Case and Agreement in Inuit*. Berlin: Foris Publications.
- Compton, R. and Pittman, C. (2010). Word-formation by phase in Inuit. *Lingua*, 120(9):2167–2192.
- Dench, A. C. et al. (1995). *Martuthunira: A language of the Pilbara region of Western Australia*. Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies.
- Johns, A. (1987). *Transitivity and grammatical relations in Inuktitut*. University of Ottawa (Canada).
- Mitrovic, M. and Sauerland, U. (2014). Decomposing coordination. In *Proceedings of NELS*, volume 44, pages 39–52.
- Mitrović, M. and Sauerland, U. (2016). Two conjunctions are better than one. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*, 63(4):471–494.

- Sherkina-Lieber, M. (2004). Focus fronting in wh-questions in Inuktitut. *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics*, 23.
- Vassilieva, M. (2005). *Associative and pronominal plurality*. PhD thesis, Stony Brook University.
- Vassilieva, M. and Larson, R. K. (2005). The semantics of the plural pronoun construction. *Natural Language Semantics*, 13(2):101–124.
- Yuan, M. (2017). Diagnosing object agreement vs. clitic doubling: Evidence from Inuktitut.
- Yuan, M. (2018). *Dimensions of Ergativity in Inuit: Theory and Microvariation*. PhD thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

NUNAVUT URBAN FUTURES: VERNACULARS, INFORMALITY AND TACTICS

Lola Sheppard

Abstract: The Canadian Arctic, and Nunavut in particular, is one of the fastest-growing regions per capita in the country, raising the question of what might constitute an Arctic Indigenous urbanism? One of the cultural challenges of an urbanizing Canadian North is that for most Indigenous peoples, permanent settlement, with the imposition of spatial, temporal, economic and institutional structures that came with it, has been antithetical to traditional ways of life and culture, which are deeply tied to land and seasons. Throughout the past seventy-five years, architecture, infrastructure, and settlement form were imported models, and have served as spatial tools of cultural colonization, which neutralized local cultural and geographic specificities. As communities in Nunavut continue to grow at a rapid rate, new frameworks to planning are urgently needed. This paper outlines three ideas or approaches that might constitute the beginning of more culturally reflective planning practices for Nunavut: (1) Redefining what might constitute a northern urban vernacular and its potential role in design. (2) Challenging the current top-down masterplan by embracing strategies of informal urbanism. (3) Encouraging master planning approaches which embrace territorial strategies more responsive to geography, landscape and seasonality.

Keywords: Nunavut, urbanism, planning, northern vernaculars

The Canadian Arctic is one of the fastest-growing regions per capita in the country, with more than 120,000 people now living in the cities, towns, and hamlets in the territories north of 60 degrees. (Stats Canada 2016) The region is predominantly populated by small, dispersed communities: with the exception of the three territorial capitals—Whitehorse (pop. 25,000), Yellowknife (pop. 19,500), and Iqaluit (pop. 7,700)—most of the 85 communities have fewer than 1,000 residents, and only a handful cross the 3,000-person threshold.¹ Vast differences exist within the Canadian Arctic—from west to east, from coast to inland, from territorial capitals to remote hamlets. The history and culture of Indigenous people and their inhabitation patterns of the land and coast initiated those differences. Today, the eastern and western Arctic are at different stages of resource and infrastructure development and urbanization. Access via air, road, and water accentuate disparities in terms of cost of goods and building supplies. This has yielded distinct responses in planning, architecture, and infrastructure. Nonetheless, far northern communities are growing and will need to confront the challenge of conceptualizing an authentically northern practice of planning and design that reflects place and people.

The North is not singular with respect to economics, culture, nor in its states of urban and infrastructural development or needs. Familiar southern types of development exist in larger communities such as Yellowknife and Whitehorse, however remoteness, geography, and climate continue to resist the flattening forces of globalization and modernity in much of the Canadian North, creating distinctly arctic communities. **Given the different conditions and realities of urbanization in Canada's North, this essay will primarily**

¹ See Yukon Government website, Communities; Northwest Territories government website, Community Data; Nunavut Bureau of Statistics, Population Data.; <http://www.gov.yk.ca/aboutyukon/communities.html> <http://www.statsnwt.ca/community-data/index.html>; <http://www.stats.gov.nu.ca/en/Population.aspx>

focus on questions of urbanization in Nunavut, Canada's largest, and youngest territory. With a population over 39,000 that is 85% Inuit, distributed in 25 communities, the territory is the fastest growing per capita, in the nation, rising by 8.5% between 2011 and 2016.²

Imagining Arctic Indigenous Urbanism

Despite the recent growth of Arctic communities, the Danish anthropologist Susanne Dybbroe, in her analysis of Greenland, questions whether urbanization is the right term in the context of the Arctic (Dybbroe 2008). She and others acknowledge that life in Arctic communities is transforming: increased access to internet, hunting using skidoos and GPS navigation systems, use of telehealth and distance education in certain instances, have brought the conditions of the global to the remote north. Many aspects make Inuit societies modern—living in towns, access to technology, connections to the south, among others. Dybbroe argues that “while these situations are often not obviously urban in all, or even many, details, a certain urban colouring is created by their integration into regional, State and global systems.” (Ibid, 26) As Nunavut continues to grow in population, so too will its communities, such as Rankin Inlet, Arviat and other mid-size communities (by Nunavut standards) will graduate from hamlet to town. How can planning, community design and architecture, engage the fundamental challenge of creating communities that reflect and support Inuit culture, social structures and patterns of daily life? And how might a truly authentic Indigenous arctic urbanism be defined or imagined?

The North is increasingly connected, but perhaps not urban, at least in a conventional sense. Environmental historian Finn Arne Jørgensen notes: “The North is a networked region: Northern places can’t be understood as disconnected sites, isolated from the world: they are instead nodes, tightly networked and connected in a variety of ways.” (2013, 277) This notion of networked space has a strong connection of Indigenous ways of knowing and being on the land. Geographer Beatrice Collignon notes: “Inuinait geosophy appears to be founded on a high sense of context and relations, in which space and networks are indeed more important than places. The Inuinait sense of places is in their relations to others, in the fluidity of the connected territory.” (Collignon 2006, 204) Perhaps then, Arctic urbanism must be understood in a multivalent way: a distributed territorialization of small communities linked by non-physical networks of trails, internet and a shared culture. While Nunavut’s towns and hamlets can be understood as geographically separated islands of inhabitation, the region is connected in other ways: technologically, culturally and through particular social infrastructures.

The notion of decentralization is inherent in the foundations of Nunavut. When the territory was officially established in 1999, government institutions were intentionally decentralized throughout the territory, and its three sub-regions. This represented a desire to distribute the wealth of administrative jobs, but equally an attempt to imagine a less hierarchical political structure, to bring government closer to the people (White, 2015). Certain social infrastructures in Nunavut, such as the regional college programs, health

² See Government of Nunavut Census Data. <https://www.gov.nu.ca/eia/information/census-data>

services, and government services already operate as distributed networks, with presence in all or many communities, depending on the service.³ However, these attributes are not reflected in architectural design nor spatial planning strategies. Given the remote, dispersed nature of communities, one can argue that institutions should imagine new building and campus types which would support and reflect—in the programming, siting, and calendar cycles—decentralized health, higher education and culture. It is compelling to imagine social infrastructure that could be tactical, scalable, and adaptable in order to leverage and respond to the unique geography. Connectivity through spatial distribution, digital technology or physical infrastructure represent untapped opportunities for design thinking.

However, does technological, infrastructural or digital connectedness make a place more “urban,” and indirectly, less northern? Such questions were raised four decades ago by Quebec geographer Louis Edmond Hamelin’s in *Nordicité canadienne* or *Canadian Nordicity: It’s your North Too* of 1976. Hamelin charted both a geographic nordicity and a mental nordicity (1978). Nordicity was calculated according to a series of “polar values,” including infrastructural connectivity, economic development, climate, among others. He acknowledged that modernity and urbanity could be at odds with certain northern or polar values, and noted that the condition of nordicity could change, and diminish, over time: as economic development, connectivity or population increased, polar values diminished (Ibid).

One of the cultural challenges of an urbanizing Canadian North is that for most Indigenous peoples, permanent settlement, with the imposition of spatial, temporal, economic and institutional structures that came with it, has been antithetical to traditional ways of life, which are deeply tied to land, and attuned seasonality. (Mauss et. al 1979; Damas 2009) Anthropologist Edmund Searle notes that “Inuit identity requires particular places that nourish Inuit identity (e.g., outpost camps) while other places drain it away (e.g., Iqaluit).” (2008, 240) Inuit elders have observed that “being in town feels like being in jail,” and that many Inuit feel free once they are out of town and either at their land-based cabins or camping on the land for the weekend; that being on the land was “being at home.” (Tester 2018, 14) This is due to the fact that throughout the last seventy-five years, architecture, infrastructure, and settlement form were imported models, and have served as spatial tools of cultural colonization, imposing an image of the state while neutralizing local cultural and geographic specificities. (Farish Lackenbauer 2009) The legacy of colonial rule is deeply embedded in planning of northern Indigenous communities, with the historical intent, often forcibly, of administrative efficiency. (Thomas and Thompson 1972; Tester 2009; McCartney 2018). In light of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s 2015 report, there is a heightened awareness that planning northern communities must develop a more inclusive approach, which involves knowledge exchange rather than the imposition of ideas. (McCartney 2018)

³ The Nunavut Arctic College network is an interesting example of such a decentralized social infrastructure. Their website declares: “Community Learning Centres located all 25 communities of Nunavut bring our programs home to people throughout the territory. These Centres are a doorway to a wider world of learning opportunities.” The <http://www.arcticcollege.ca/arctic-college-overview>

Current planning for growth in Nunavut is driven primarily by functional concerns for fire services, deployment of available land, efficient road and lot layout, climate change impacts and infrastructure servicing.⁴ Community planning typically replicates southern, suburban models in their lot layout, parking allowances, and road layouts. As Nunavut communities continue to grow, new planning models are needed. This paper outlines **three ideas or approaches** that might constitute the beginning of more culturally reflective planning practices for Nunavut: (1) Redefining what might constitute a northern urban vernacular and its potential role in design. (2) Challenging the current top-down masterplan by embracing strategies of informal urbanism. (3) Encouraging master planning approaches which embrace territorial strategies more responsive to geography, landscape and seasonality.

1. Defining Northern Vernaculars

Within the discipline of architecture, vernaculars are often characterised by buildings made of local materials and construction practices, typically without the involvement of architects. Such architecture typically adapts to regional geography and is responsive to climatic and environmental conditions through unique building form or material responses. The role of the vernacular in architecture was brought to the fore by architectural historian Bernard Rudofsky, in his celebrated book *Architecture without Architects, an Introduction to Nonpedigreed Architecture*, presented “exotic” images of vernacular construction from across the world, presented, some argued, as an counter-position to Modernism’s unifying and reductionist visual doctrine. (Scott 2000) The images indirectly reinforced the perception of the vernacular as an aesthetic, picturesque, and pattern-based logic given the book’s limited analysis of building form’s relation to climate, cultural patterns, or social structures. Yet other social science disciplines (sociology, anthropology, ethnography, etc.) understand architectural vernaculars as a mirror of a given society’s material culture, deeply intertwined with the patterns of daily life and ritual.

The question however, is what constitutes Nunavut’s vernacular today? There is a well-known legacy of Inuit vernacular architecture: the *iglu*, the *qarmaq*, the *tupiq*, and others. However, with the imposition of permanent settlements, these types have lessened in everyday relevance. In the central and eastern Arctic, the building and planning practices imposed by the Canadian agencies were the antithesis of vernacular traditions: the product of imported materials, and external logics such as building or fire code, southern shipping logistics, and construction cost efficiency. Yet the modern multi-plex, the utilidor, the trucking of fuel and water, the Northmart, among other architectural types and planning adaptations of Nunavut communities, are pervasive, and have arguably become a contemporary vernacular, albeit one decoupled, if not directly suppressing, social structures and community practices. (Sheppard, White, 2017) Simultaneously, bottom-up practices, such as repurposing shipping containers for shed and storage, the construction of cabins

⁴ The tremendous cost and shortages of urban infrastructure and serviceable lots significantly impedes development in communities such as Iqaluit, and are largely responsible for the dramatic housing shortages. Based on phone call with Iqaluit City planner, Jennifer Jarvis, May 28, 2019.

out on the land, or the activation of school parking lots for festivals, are contemporary, locally generated practices.⁵ Traditional activities, including moving on the land trails, hunting and harvesting are of course practice. Together, these top-down and bottom-up practices constitute what might be spatial practices or vernaculars—actions, constructions, movements and markings—on the land that are shaping a modern northern vernacular. (Ibid.). How might future arctic planning better integrate the spatial logics of contemporary planning with Inuit spatial practices?

In the context of the Canadian North, landscape theorist J. B. Jackson's understanding of vernacular landscapes as reflections and materializations of cultural landscapes and values, is perhaps a more fruitful model. For Jackson, the rural, the vernacular, and the seemingly banal built environment of America were understood as worthy of investigation, and reflected a multiplicity of narratives about the people that inhabit it. Jackson writes that an understanding of landscape should begin with commonplace. "American vernacular represents the hybridization of "Old World and New World factors. It is not simply rural and agricultural, it is identified with mining and shipping communities, with cities and the architect- or engineer-planned villages having military or political function. Finally, it used materials and techniques imported from elsewhere" (Jackson 1984, 11). The analogies with Nunavut communities are striking, in recognizing that vernacular are hybrids of imposed and local systems. Like Jackson's rural landscapes, Canadian Arctic communities are rarely beautiful or picturesque in the conventional southern sense, except for the sublime landscapes in which they sit. However, they embody a particular set of local constraints with regard to siting, layout, construction logistics and mobility.

This notion of "commonplace" is framed in other means by Harold Kalman, in his *History of Canadian Architecture*, who noted: "many Northern designers have adopted an approach to design that is more pragmatic, and consequently less appealing...[producing] tight and well constructed buildings [that] strive to work in harmony with the local climate and circumstance." (Kalman 1994, 704) This northern pragmatism suggests either a logical response to context, or is, less optimistically, evidence of Federal and territorial government seeking out efficiency and expediency as the primary criteria for architecture and planning in Nunavut. As communities continue to grow, imagining how design could support an emergent arctic urban vernacular by leveraging local spatial practices, will be ever more important if design is to be culturally responsive.

A representative element in northern communities is the utilidor, found in Iqaluit, Inuvik, and in the future, Arviat and others. It is a distinctly northern innovation in which municipal water and waste infrastructure is carried above ground because of the difficulty of ground conditions—permafrost or rock. Running within the interior of a planning block, utilidors are sometimes paired with walkways, to enable pedestrians to navigate over and along it. However, the utilidor and its attendant walkways could play a larger role in planning and defining zones of movement, to be more catalytic in shaping urban space, rather than becoming a spatial afterthought. An interesting precedent for this potential is

⁵ Architect Joshua Armstrong notes that the presence of cabins on the land is a relatively new practice, dating back 15-20 years (2018, 77). However, the making of structures for housing dates back to the first relations to settlements (Damas 2002)

the extensive network of walkways in Nuuk, Greenland, which navigate between the backs of residential buildings, across complex topography, offering a more intimate pedestrian navigation system to walking on the main streets. Nuuk's walkways are a distinctly northern urban innovation, much as the utilidor in Nunavut communities could offer an alternate mode of navigating and experiencing the towns in which they are found.

2. Refuting the Masterplan: Adaptable Urbanism

A significant challenge of planning in Nunavut is its resistance to customization or change by its users or even the ability to adapt to community priorities. Hamlet and town plans are, in some cases, done with limited community engagement, leaving the degree to which residents see themselves reflected in the layout of their community limited. (Havelka 2018, 137; McMillan Sheppard 2020.) Driven by legitimate concerns for efficiency and safety, community plans tend to replicate southern, suburban models as unquestioned solutions. Amplifying the seeming spatial un-adaptability of the collective realm is the singular nature of housing in Nunavut, the cornerstone of the built fabric of all communities. In an effort to control costs, housing—most often the 5-plex or 5-unit block—is reduced to the most minimal structure. There is limited spatial interface between interior and exterior, in the form of decks, wind-shelter areas, and even the cold-porches or rear doors have been eliminated in certain versions.⁶ Furthermore, little consideration is given to the spaces created between buildings, how these might be appropriated by citizens, or how this space could shape the quality of the urban realm. The question of the space created between buildings, the semi-public collective realm of the domestic, will need to be prioritized as communities grow, to avoid what might be viewed as a ‘barrack urbanism’ of perfunctorily placed housing blocks.

In addition, a second, more tactical practice could be employed to produce a more calibrated northern urbanism. Urban theorist Margaret Crawford's concept of “everyday urbanism” might offer clues of how to conceptualize an urbanizing North that eschews traditional approaches of public realm design or even function. Strongly influenced by the work of Lefevre, De Certeau and Debord, everyday urbanism resists top-down planning structures, finding its meaning instead in everyday life through an understanding of the social use of space. (Chase, Crawford et al. 2008) ⁷ Using careful observation of the patterns and temporalities of daily life and community engagement, this practice seeks to eliminate the distance between planning “experts” and ordinary users. Resisting the logic of large-scale planning, everyday urbanism leverages incremental, small-scale

⁶ For a recent evolution of the 5-plex housing type which dominates Nunavut Housing Corporations's housing stock, see Gary Wong. *NHC 5Plex MURB as a best practice in Nunavut*. FN MURB Workshop May 15-17, 2018 Whitehorse, YK.

www.housing.yk.ca/pdf/5-FN-MURB-Workshop-NHC-Gary-Wong-18-05-15.pdf

⁷ Michel de Certeau, in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1980), distinguished between strategy and tactic, proposing that everyday users operate tactically and subversively, in a bottom up manner, within the strategic framework developed by the institutions and structures of power (de Certeau 1984) In the context of the North, however, tactics are not directly about subverting power but rather, motivated by local adaptations to the environment.

interventions, working by intensification of existing experiences and practices rather than the imposition of new spatial structures. While Jackson and Crawford were writing about radically different climatic and cultural contexts, the notion of customizability of interior and exterior space of dwelling, and the conception of bottom-up planning strategies offers potential in the context of Nunavut.

The ability of Inuit to respond and adapt to their physical environment, both historically and today, has been extensively documented. (Mauss 1979, Tester 2006) Architect Suzanne Havelka, has noted the strong culture of adapting dwellings in communities such as Clyde River, through the construction of *uqsuu* (porches), *sanavii* (workshop) and *ilugarlaa* (outbuildings or storage sheds) producing an unintentional everyday architecture. Havelka notes: “the leveraging of the ‘gap space’ or *akuningaa* is an important concept in the eastern Arctic. The gaps comprise all micro spaces that are part of the town proper but not the houses themselves.” (2018, 176). Considering this at an urban scale, it is precisely the “gap spaces” that have been ignored by town plans in Nunavut and elsewhere in the North. These gap spaces offer the promise of a more flexible collective realm, which residents can appropriate. Shacklands, another term for this informal landscape “speak to an indigenous informality of place. [...] Such gaps in the city fabric have the potential to be nurtured over the long term; they provide sites for the imagination of a culturally considered built future (2012,3). Could such bottom-up, temporal practices co-exist in town, with more formal planning strategies, and be integrated into the very conception of community plans?

A simple example is the potential role of shipping containers and cabins in Nunavut communities. Often left behind after the annual sealift deliveries, the containers are repurposed by individuals for storage or workshop spaces. Cabins are built, in a do-it-yourself manner, using locally available, often repurposed, building materials (Armstrong 2012; Havelka 2018). In most Nunavut communities, cabins and shipping containers are placed in an ad-hoc way by residents. Armstrong notes the cabins by Iqaluit’s beach waterfront tend to fall in a grey zone in which authorities don’t want to impose strict control, while the owners of cabins have subverted formal authority through a series of tactics of construction, squatting, and resistance to imposed rules (2012, 65). In contrast, in the city of Nuuk, storage structures are built by the municipality, as part of housing projects, adjacent to the walkway networks described earlier. These structures define a planned but informal, collective space—a northern equivalent to the backyard or laneway. One could imagine in Nunavut including containers and cabins in the design and zoning of community plans, not to suppress or control them, but to coordinate them to create deliberate spaces for work, repair, or crafts.⁸ Micro-grants could enable owners to improve, paint, maintain or adapt their out-buildings, offering community residents agency over a small element of their domestic space as it relates to public realm. Greater community engagement and participatory design practice might foster more inclusive community plans

⁸ During a 2016 design charrette hosted by the Canadian Centre for Architecture, “Recomposer Le Nord,” several student projects proposed leveraging the location and arrangement of shipping containers in communities, for various uses, from material depot and storage, to snowmobile garage to help shape the public realm.

<https://www.cca.qc.ca/charrette/2016/index.html>

in which Nunavummiut see themselves reflected and are invited to appropriate, and take ownership.

3. Engaging Geography and Seasonality

Geographers and anthropologists have written extensively about the relationship of Inuit to the land, and their long-standing knowledge of its topography, seasonality, morphology. (Aporta 2009, Collignon 2006b) Movement in Nunavut communities extends between and beyond the roads, to include the informal snow-mobile and all-terrain vehicle paths, creating a second layer of seasonal movement. This effectively expands the territory of the community beyond official boundaries; as trails connect the community to a vast hinterland of hunting spots and gathering points, marked by mobile and permanent cabins that form an extension of life in the community. Here is a space that can be appropriated, constructed and built up as residents wish (Havelka 2018, 190). Returning to Collignon's observation of networks of spaces in Inuinait geosophy, she notes: "What is important to them is not so much to have a place of their own but to have at their disposal a whole set of various places, with very different qualities, all connected together through the shared experiences of the various members of the community." (2006, 204). While the spaces in question refer to ones out in the land, could an Arctic urbanism operate in a similar manner, with diverse, connected places, offering a range of experiences. For the rapidly growing northern towns, there is not the tradition of main street that is more familiar in rural morphology. Instead, community life occurs in a constellation of spaces in town—in schools, and their parking lots, at skating rinks, in community centres and *out on the land*. In this model, city and hinterland, material and virtual networks, cease to be dichotomies. Could planning acknowledge and integrate this extended territory and geography?

It is surprising how little the town and hamlet plans of Nunavut communities engage or respond to the landscapes and ecologies in which they sit. For instance, few significant municipal buildings in Iqaluit address Frobisher Bay in their siting, save the Nunatta Sunakkutaangit Museum and Visitor information Centre, which are situated near the bay. Even the Nunavut legislature, perhaps the most symbolic building in the territory, sits perfunctorily at the intersection of two downtown streets, with no consideration of view or siting to the adjacent majestic landscape. This is largely the legacy of functional planning whose roots lie in the military encampment that Iqaluit once was. (Qikiqtani 2014) Informal cabins line the Bay's edge in Iqaluit, in an ad hoc way, neither amplifying the community's relationship to the land nor acknowledging the paths that serve as a gateway to the extended landscape when the bay freezes. During construction of new buildings, land is sometimes erased or covered with little regard for the fragile ecology of lichen and other plants that take years to grow back.⁹ At a more intrusive scale, Arviat, in its new town plan, proposes to pave over the local ground, landscape and its attendant ponds, to create an new artificial ground for construction (McMillan Sheppard 2020). This lack of planning and landscape consideration stands in sharp contrast to a city like Nuuk, where several

⁹ Based on conversation with residents in Iqaluit, September 2017.

buildings, such as the University of Greenland or the Greenland National Archives address particular geographies: a geographic highpoint and water's edge respectively.

Similarly, the 2011 planning redevelopment of the very large Block P in Nuuk was dedicated in its focus equally to the public realm as it was to building layouts.¹⁰ Urban design studies that examine a finer grain than merely land use, is largely absent in Nunavut. One exception is the work of the group *Habiter le Nord* who are exploring arctic urbanism through questions of housing and public realm in consultation with various communities in Nunavik, Quebec. Their research leverages modern vernaculars such as the utilidor, cabins, and housing cluster strategies to shape collective space and respond to geographic and topographic conditions, social patterns, as well as wind and snow orientation, in a more calibrated manner (Vachon 2017).

Beyond the current spatial, typological and morphological fixity of Nunavut planning and housing, there has been an imposition of temporal structures. Over the course of the twentieth century, Canada imported and imposed southern institutions, calendars, political structures, and language, among other frameworks. (Stern 2003, Searle 2008) Living off the land had very different notions of time; the emergence of permanent communities, wage-based economies (and the associated calendar of lunch breaks, pay-checks, weekends, etc.) and patterns of social structures attendant to education, recreational activities, among others, produced increasing temporal regulation. (Ibid.) Contrary to Western control of time, "Inuit learn how to relinquish a desire to control time in order to become more aware of, and therefore better able to yield to, the rhythm and movements of weather, tides, animals, seasons, etc..." (Searles 2008, 248). This contrast of southern time and northern time relates to design in how it questions programming, responsiveness to seasonality, and considerations about the life-span of structures. Could social infrastructures in the city acknowledge daily, seasonal and annual events? How might collective spaces and buildings be calibrated to seasonal changes?

An example of planning that acknowledges temporal and local practices is the Iqaluit's 2005 masterplan developed to address the growing presence of snowmobiles in the community, whose spatial patterns are distinct from pedestrians and cars, and hence overlay a non-orthographic system of movement that resists the formal order of the town. While the proposed strategies and plan were predominantly focused on pragmatic issues of intersection design, and negotiation of pedestrian and snowmobiles, it represents an instance of incorporating the distinctly northern reality of snowmobiles into urban design and a recognition that mobility patterns change according to seasons. This study happened in parallel with the Capital District Redevelopment Plan for Iqaluit from 2005 which attempts to acknowledge seasonal trails, and the City's connection to the bay. However, some of the built outcomes of the plan, such as the creation or demarcation of Iqaluit Square fail to be used by residents, begging the question what might constitute successful public realm typologies in the Arctic? Rather than formally delineated spaces, public realm might

10 Block P was the largest housing project in Nuuk, dating from 1965, which at one point was largest apartment in Denmark. It was deemed unsuitable as housing and was demolished in 2013, prompting design studies for the redevelopment. See planning proposals by MDL architects. <https://mdh.no/project/nuuk-masterplan/>

be better shaped by the thoughtful use of program, and consideration of the relationship between buildings, and between buildings, the landscape and the larger territory.

Building a Northern Urban Vocabulary

A key challenge of planning and design in Nunavut is not only the absence of precedents, given the unique history, climate and culture of Nunavut, but equally, the absence of relevant terminology or words to speak accurately about the particular phenomena of urbanization. Terms such as ‘urban design’, landscape architecture, or public space, are southern importations and inappropriate given the ambiguousness of the very term ‘urban’ in this context. However, terms such as *katilvik*, meaning ‘a gathering or meeting place’¹¹ might offer some clues to a northern lexicon and morphology for urbanism. This would require working with Inuit, and groups such as Nunavut Culture and Heritage, to imagine new words, that begin to get at ideas of collective space that are uniquely Nunavummiut. In the late 20th century, urban theorists such as Jackson and Crawford developed terms and practices that eluded traditional urban design and indeed challenged its tropes. In the context of Nunavut, and indeed much of the Canadian Arctic, in which design at all scales was imposed and has served as a tool of colonization, a similar recalibration of practice and vocabulary is needed.

Both Inuit leaders and scholars have affirmed the degree to which Inuit people have been adaptable—to changing climate, culture, technology, and architecture. (Mauss 1979; Dawson 2006; Aporta 2009; Pearce et al. 2005). In each instance, resilience and adaptability has come from locally developed tools or strategies for adaptation. The challenge to architecture and planning is paralleled: rather than community adaptation happening *in spite* of design, planning will need to embrace local vernacular spatial practices (which hybridize tradition and modernity), and it must develop frameworks which gives agency to users to adapt local plans. Lastly it will need to move beyond land use, to a finer grain understanding of buildings’ relationship to each other, to the land, and to the larger territory which is central to the experience of daily life in Nunavut communities. Only then will planning and design serve as tools of cultural empowerment to Nunavummiut.

References

- APORTA, Claudio. 2009. The Trail as Home: Inuit and Their Pan-Arctic Network of Routes. *Human Ecology* 37 (2): 131-146.
- ARMSTRONG, Joshua. 2012. *The Second Promise: An Architect’s Journey through the Shacklands of the North*. Ottawa.: Carleton University, Master of Architecture Thesis.
- CHASE, John, Margaret CRAWFORD, and John KALISKI (eds.), 2008. *Everyday Urbanism*. (Expanded ed) New York: The Monacelli Press.

¹¹ See SPALDING, Alex. with Thomas Kusugaq. 1998. *Inuktitut - A Multi-dialectal Outline Dictionary (with an Aivilingmiut base)*. Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College. <http://www.inuktitutcomputing.ca/Spalding/index.php?lang=fr>

- COLLIGNON, Béatrice. 2006. Inuit Places Names and Sense of Places. In Pamela Stern and Lisa Stevenson (eds.), *Critical Inuit Studies: An Anthology of Contemporary Arctic Ethnography*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press: 187-205.
- COLLIGNON, Béatrice. 2006b. *Knowing Places: The Inuinait, Landscapes, and the Environment*. Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, U. of Alberta.
- Core Area and Capital District Redevelopment Plan, Iqaluit. 2004. Prepared by Office for Urbanism, FoTenn, Laird & Associates. July 2004.
- DAMAS, David. 2002. *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers: The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- DAWSON, Peter C. 2006. Seeing like an Inuit family: The relationship between house form and culture in northern Canada. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 30 (2): 113-135.
- DE CERTEAU, Michel. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. University of California Press, Berkeley. Trans. by Steven Rendall.
- DYBBROE, Susanne. 2008. Is the Arctic really urbanising? *Études/Inuit/Studies* 32 (1): 13-32, 14.
- FARISH, Matthew, P. Whitney LACKENBAUER. 2009. High modernism in the Arctic: Planning Frobisher Bay and Inuvik. *Journal of Historical Geography* 35: 517-544
- HAMELIN, Louis Edmond. 1978. *Canadian Nordicity: it's your North Too*. Montreal: Harvest House
- HAVELKA, Suzane. 2018. *Building with IQ (Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit): The Rise of a Hybrid Design Tradition in Canada's Eastern Arctic*. McGill Doctoral Dissertation. Peter Guo-hua Fu School of Architecture, Faculty of Engineering, McGill University. Montreal.
- JACKSON, John Brinckerhoff. 1984. *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- JØRGENSEN, Finn Arne. 2013. The Networked North. In Dolly Jørgensen and Sverker Sörlin (eds.) *Northscapes: History, Technology, and the Making of Northern Environments*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press: 277.
- KALMAN, Harold. 1994. *A History of Canadian Architecture*, vol. 2. Toronto: Oxford University Press: 1994.
- MAUSS, Marcel, Henri BEUCHAT, and James J. FOX. 1979. *Seasonal variations of the Eskimo : a study in social morphology, 1872-1950*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. Translated from the original: *Essai sur les variations saisonnières des sociétés Eskimo*.
- MCCARTNEY, Shelagh. 2016. Re-Thinking Housing: From Physical Manifestation of Colonial Planning Policy to Community-Focused Networks. *Urban Planning*. (v.1-4): 20-31.
- MCMILLAN, Jason and Lola SHEPPARD. 2020. Unsettling Ground: Arctic Urbanism in Fluid Geography. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 42 (2).
- QIKIQTANI INUIT ASSOCIATION. 2014. *Qikiqtani Truth Commission: Community Histories 1950-1975, Iqaluit.*, April 2014.
- RUDOLFSKY, Bernard. 1964. *Architecture without Architects, an Introduction to Nonpedigreed Architecture*. Museum of Modern Art.
- PEARCE, Tristan, James FORD, Ashlee CUNSOLO WILLOX and Barry SMITH. 2005. Inuit Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), Subsistence Hunting and Adaptation to Climate Change in the Canadian Arctic. *Arctic* 68, (2): 233-245.
- SEARLES, Edmund (Ned). 2008. Inuit Identity in the Canadian Arctic. *Ethnology*. Vol. 47, No. 4 (Fall 2008): 239-255.
- SCOTT, Felicity. 2000. Bernard Rudofsky. Allegories of Nomadism and Dwelling. In S. Williams Goldhagen and R. Legault (eds.), *Anxious Modernisms. Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*. Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture & Cambridge: MIT Press.
- SHEPPARD, Lola, Mason WHITE. 2017. *Many Norths: Spatial Practice in a Polar Territory*. Barcelona: Actar.
- STATISTICS CANADA. 2016. Population by year, by province and territory. Ottawa, Ontario. September 28. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo02a-eng.htm>
- STERN, Pamela. 2003. Upside-Down and Backwards: Time Discipline in a Canadian Inuit Town. *Anthropologica* 45 (1): 159.

- TESTER, Frank. 2006. Iglu to Iglurjuaq. In Pamela Stern and Lisa Stevenson (eds.), *Critical Inuit Studies: An Anthology of Contemporary Arctic Ethnography*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press: 230-252.
- TESTER, Frank. 2009. Iglutaasaavut (Our New Homes): Neither “New” nor “Ours” Housing Challenges of the Nunavut Territorial Government. *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 43 (2) University of Toronto Press:137-158.
- TESTER, Frank and Peter KULCHYSKI. 2011. *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-63*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- TESTER, Frank. 2018. Inuit Homelessness: Knowing, Growing and Going to Make a Difference. *National Conference on Ending Homelessness*. Hamilton. November, 2018.
- THOMAS, David K. and Charles Thomas THOMPSON. 1972. *Eskimo Housing as Planned Culture Change*. Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Northern Science Research Group.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *2015 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*. Manitoba.
- Transportation and Urban Design Study, Iqaluit*. 2005. Prepared for The City of Iqaluit Planning and Lands Department. Prepared by Office for Urbanism, Marshall Macklin Monaghan John Laird Associates. December 2005.
- VACHON, Geneviève and Érick RIVARD, Mathieu AVARELLO, Laurence ST-JEAN. 2017. Imaginer l'aménagement soutenable des villages inuits du Nunavik Le design pour réfléchir aux possibles. *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec. Habitation : imaginaires et réalités autochtones* 47 (1): 137-150.
- WHITE, Graham. 2015. *Made in Nunavut: An Experiment in Decentralized Government*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- WONG, Gary. 2018. *NHC 5Plex MURB as a best practice in Nunavut*. FN MURB Workshop May 15-17, 2018 Whitehorse, YK.

CHANGE AND PERSISTENCE IN LIFEWAYS AT AVERTOK/HOPEDALE, LABRADOR*

Jacinda Sinclair
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Abstract: From 2017-2018 the Agvutuk Archaeology Project performed a reassessment of Avertok, Hopedale's original Inuit settlement. As *the place of whales*, Avertok was a 16th-18th century centre of whaling and coastal trade. It was also important for the Moravian mission established nearby in 1782. Despite being the focus of Junius Bird's foundational 1934 Hopedale area survey, many archaeological questions persist and are complicated by early archaeology's limitations and the possibility that 1930s thinking may have led Bird to poor methodology and inaccurate conclusions. To achieve the dual goals of reassessing the accuracy of Bird's conclusions and gaining new insight about Avertok's lifeways, it was necessary to conduct fieldwork at not only Avertok, but also two additional sites—Karmakulluk and Old Hopedale. This paper discusses the methodologies employed and how the data revealed practices of change and persistence in the progressive adoption of European-derived material culture and continued marine mammal hunting.

1. Introduction

This paper discusses three sites excavated in 2017 and 2018 by the Agvutuk Archaeology Project (AAP), which is part of the larger Tradition and Transition Research Partnership between the Nunatsiavut Government (NG) and Memorial University (MUN) (Tradition and Transition 2019). This work, like all AAP initiatives, was requested by the Nunatsiavut and Hopedale Inuit Community Governments and has been carried out using a community archaeology methodology (Gaulton and Rankin 2018, Kelvin et al. 2018, Marshall 2002, Rankin et al. 2019). The results of this research, which ultimately seeks to help develop a better understanding of past Inuit lifeways at Avertok (GiCb-01), serves as the basis for the author's Master's thesis at Memorial University's Department of Archaeology.

Located on Labrador's central coast, Hopedale is Nunatsiavut's legislative capital. It also shares a footprint with several archaeological sites including Avertok, *the place of whales*, and the Moravian Hopedale Mission (established in 1782). In 2017, Nunatsiavut stated its desire to have Hopedale named a UNESCO World Heritage Site due to the combined importance of Avertok, the Moravian Mission, and Hopedale's current role within Nunatsiavut, so what is known about Avertok will influence how Canada's Inuit heritage is presented globally (Arsenault 2017).

Avertok was Hopedale's original Inuit settlement, dating from the 16th-18th centuries. It was said to be a major gathering point for Inuit wanting to take part in communal whale hunts and thus was also an integral part of trade networks (Arendt 2013:

* The author would like to acknowledge and thank the Nunatsiavut and the Hopedale Inuit Community Governments for their continued support of this project. Thanks is also owed to the many individuals in Hopedale who, in a variety of ways, have contributed their time, effort, and kindness.

305, Bird 1945, Rankin and Crompton 2016, Taylor 1976). According to the missionary Jens Haven, in 1773 the settlement contained an estimated population of 270 living in homes made of both sod and snow (Taylor 1975: 274).

The increasing and evolving dynamics of Inuit-European contact had many effects on Inuit society. Europe's need for baleen and oil had enlarged market demands for whales and sea mammals, prompting Inuit to respond to these changing economics in ways that included intensifications of whaling and trade (Rankin and Crompton 2016, Taylor 1976). Concurrent trends taking place in Inuit housing practices involved the emergence of the Communal House Phase—a shift from small, single family sod-houses of 4-5 individuals to large, multi-family ones containing more than 20 people. Debate exists over the reason for the Communal House Phase. Originally theories fell into one of two general camps. Some attributed it to increased wealth and status among trade middlemen (Kaplan 1980, Taylor 1976). Others theorized reactions to outside environmental stressors, such as European conflict and a decrease in sea mammal populations, which required multiple families to pool resources and cooperate for survival (Bird 1945; Schledermann 1976). More recently the situation has been acknowledged as more complex with social and environmental elements environment in play (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). Therefore, the first of the AAP's two objectives was to gain new information about lifeways at Avertok, and especially evidence of whaling, which it was hoped would be able to add to the understanding of the changes happening in Inuit society during this period. In contrast, the AAP's second objective originated within the history of archaeology as a discipline and sought to say something about the archaeologists who had already carried out work at Avertok.

Although visitors to the area were already removing items (sometimes on behalf of museums), the 1920s was the formal start of archaeology at Avertok (Penney 2019: 14). In 1927, William Strong visited Hopedale and dug test pits at the site's three largest sod-houses (Avertok GiCb-01, 2016). Then in 1934, Junius Bird conducted the site's first major excavation on behalf of the American Museum of Natural History (Bird 1945). In 61 days, he excavated at five sites between Oakes Bay and Eskimo Island. With the help of his wife, Peggy, and local Inuk guide, Heinrich Ursak, Bird identified and excavated as many sod-houses and site features as he could. Avertok was the largest of these sites. Here, Bird identified 20 sod-houses and excavated nine. He also partially excavated the only midden he observed at the site (Bird 1945: 131-156).

Bird's work happened in an era when little archaeology had been done in Labrador (Penney 2019). Thus, it was he who established the region's first cultural history and created a typology system to classify architectural changes (Bird 1945: 128). Today, many of the research themes he identified continue to be relevant, but there are also problems. Bird's speed of excavation has raised questions about how much data could have been accurately collected and he is also thought to have discarded European-derived artifacts because they did not agree with his conception of Inuit authenticity (Arendt 2013: 307).

If true, Bird may have misrepresented Inuit lifeways out of an inability to perceive the entire history of Inuit-European interactions as a culturally meaningful influence. And so, the AAP's second objective was to reassess Bird's methods. This meant finding

evidence of excluded artifacts, but also going beyond questions of *was he right or wrong* and focusing on *why* and *how*.

2. Fieldwork and artifact analysis

2.1 Avertok

Originally, the AAP planned for one field season at Avertok to take place in 2017, but conditions encountered at the site required the project be expanded in time and scope. A second field season was added in 2018 and two additional sites were also investigated. These were Karmakulluk (GjCb-06), another site Bird excavated in 1934, and Old Hopedale (GiCb-05),¹ which was the settlement of Hopedale's early Moravian converts (Sinclair 2018).

The initial 2017 investigation of Avertok sought to complete three aims: (1) to assess the state of the site; (2) to excavate an undisturbed sod-house; and (3) to find Bird's backfill in order to collect discarded artifacts and determine if anything was systematically excluded. During this field season, both NG and MUN dug test pits which failed to conclusively reveal any of the targeted features (sod-houses, middens, or backfill). Extensive site destruction from build-over was also observed throughout the site. However, a few locations were identified high-interest and marked for later investigation (Brake and Davies 2018: 18, Sinclair 2018: 11). In 2018, MUN returned to the site and two of these high-interest locations were further examined. An excavation was carried out at the location of one of the 2017 NG test pits and additional test pits were dug at the northern edge of the site in an attempt to locate the three Communal House Phase dwellings previously test pitted by Strong (Sinclair 2019). An area which appeared to overlap with a cemetery was identified in 2017, but not investigated either year.

During the cataloguing process, one of six cultural labels (Inuit, European, Contemporary, Pre-contact, Post-contact, and Undetermined) was associated with each artifact based in part on the perceived origin of its raw materials. The choice to group artifacts this way is potentially problematic if one fails to recognize the fluidities of artifact creation, modification, usage, and transportation. Ultimately, all artifacts must be interpreted as the products of Inuit lifeways (Lightfoot 1995, Murphy 2012). However, given that Bird may not have recognized how European objects became Inuit, the AAP's use of this categorization system is relevant.

Less than 1% of MUN's 2017 test pit assemblage contained Inuit-derived materials and at only 1.3%, European-derived archaeological materials were similarly absent from the total (Table 1), but in 2018, both investigations successfully produced meaningful concentrations of artifacts. The excavation revealed a disturbed midden-like deposit. Modern materials were mixed in throughout and found directly above sterile soil, but Inuit and European materials represented 46.4% and 14.4% of the assemblage

¹ The site Old Hopedale is also known as Hopedale Telephone Pole Midden; however, Old Hopedale is the name preferred by the AAP as it refers to the site's original nature.

respectively. There was a relatively high frequency of soapstone (n=102) compared to ceramics (n=4). Whale products were present (n=10) as was slate (n=4) but both were outnumbered by European iron (n=25). A nephrite bead was also recovered. Given the nature of the artifacts that were present and their disturbed context, precise dates are difficult, but the range appears to skew towards the earlier end of Avertok's occupation.

Among the 2018 test pits, one contained a mixture of modern and 18th century materials. This assemblage differed from that year's excavation in that 48.4% was European-derived, predominately ceramics (n=11) and metals (n=19), and only 3.1%, a pair of slate flakes, was Inuit-derived (Table 1). These items are likely connected to the occupation of the site's three large communal sod-houses.

The 2017 and 2018 fieldwork also provided a faunal record for Avertok, which was something Bird had largely overlooked (Bird 1945). While Caribou was the most common species in the 2017 test pits and mussels were the most common in the 2018 test pits, seals were the most common in the 2018 excavation and were also the most consistently abundant across the three assemblages (i.e. they were the second most abundant in the other two assemblages) (Table 2). In contrast, whale was relatively rare; it was not present in the 2017 test pits and was less than 1% of each 2018 assemblage.

Table 1: Artifacts collected by MUN at Avertok from 2017-2018

	2017 test pits n=371	2018 excavation n=250	2018 test pits n=64
Inuit	3 (0.8%)	116 (46.4%)	2 (3.1%)
European	5 (1.3%)	36 (14.4%)	31 (48.4%)
Contemporary	172 (46.4%)	28 (11.2%)	7 (10.9%)
Pre-contact	16 (4.3%)	24 (9.6%)	3 (4.7%)
Post-contact	168 (45.3%)	31 (12.4%)	20 (31.3%)
Undetermined	7 (1.9%)	15 (6.0%)	1 (1.6%)

Table 2: Faunal materials collected by MUN at Avertok from 2017-2018

	2017 test pits n=37	2018 excavation n=1323	2018 test pits n=106
Bird	5 (13.5%)	21 (1.6%)	3 (2.8%)
Mussel	3 (8.1%)	44 (3.3%)	30 (28.3%)
Cod		2 (0.2%)	3 (2.8%)
Fish		1 (0.1%)	7 (6.6%)
Seal	6 (16.2%)	444 (33.6%)	28 (26.4%)
Whale		10 (0.8%)	1 (0.9%)
Caribou	15 (40.5%)	47 (3.6%)	1 (0.9%)
Dog		15 (1.1%)	
Hare		3 (0.2%)	
Mammal	6 (16.2%)	729 (55.1%)	
Indeterminate	2 (5.4%)	7 (0.5%)	33 (31.1%)

2.2 Karmakulluk

Karmakulluk is another coastal settlement located approximately 10 minutes north of Hopedale by boat. It is comprised of nine sod-houses in a treed natural harbor (Karmakulluk GjCb-06, 2016). In 1934, Bird excavated the entire site (Bird 1945: 163-171). He was dismissive of the experience and wrote that there were not many artifacts and that preservation was bad (Bird 1945: 165). His conclusion was that Karmakulluk had only been briefly inhabited and that it was abandoned prior to 1752 (Bird 1945: 165). The portion of the site investigated is believed to be the oldest occupation discussed in this paper.

The AAP investigation at Karmakulluk was able to provide a unique perspective on Bird's methods. Because he had already excavated all the sod-houses identified at this site, the AAP's main task would be the re-excavation of a previously excavated sod-house, which would provide insight on both Inuit lifeways and Bird's thoroughness. The AAP also wanted to find evidence of middens and discrete backfill piles if they were present. The entirety of House 2 and a portion of House 3 were re-excavated (Sinclair 2018). Three additional units were also excavated as potential midden but were determined to not be middens upon investigation.

The artifacts collected represent those either missed or excluded by Bird. There was a mix of Inuit-derived (64.9%) (mainly soapstone n=63 and slate n=5) and European-derived materials (24.3%) (exclusively iron n=24 and beads n=3). Given that many items tended to be located around the edges of the houses or in proximity to floor stones—places where a quick excavator could not be as meticulous—excavation speed seems to have been the major factor in determining what was still present. Many artifacts were also very small—69% of the 2017 assemblage was artifacts weighing less than one gram each, so the lack of screening in the 1930s also caused artifacts to be overlooked. This might explain why Bird missed glass beads as a category; he did not report any from the site, but three were found in 2017. It is known that Bird had discrete backfill piles at Avertok because he mapped their locations, but this was not the case at Karmakulluk (Bird 1945: 130, 164). It appears that when he dug, Bird deposited the removed soil around the house perimeters wherever it was convenient. After, he left the excavation exposed and did not backfill it. Over time, the soil slid back into the pits, where it was later re-excavated. Given where artifacts tended to be found, Bird does not appear to have been discarding them into his backfill. However, this may only apply to European artifacts. Bird wrote that he did not collect faunal material, but in 2017, the AAP also found a nephrite flake and 11 pieces of quarried soapstone with the largest being 2.4kg. The nephrite may have been small enough to overlook, but the soapstone could not have been accidentally missed.

As for the faunal assemblage (Table 4), it was the least diverse of those the AAP collected. While mussel was technically the most abundant by count (73.4%), a count does not necessarily correlate to the same number of individuals; the pieces were extremely small and fragmentary to the point that they may only represent a handful of specimens. Seal (3.7%), whale (3.4%), dog (0.2%), and bird (0.2%) were also recovered. Snails (12.1%), exclusively collected through the fine-screening of soil samples, are believed to be non-cultural.

Table 3: Artifacts collected at Karmakulluk in 2017

	Karmakulluk 2017 n=111
Inuit	72 (64.9%)
European	27 (24.3%)
Contemporary	0 (0%)
Pre-contact	2 (1.8%)
Post-contact	1 (0.9%)
Undetermined	9 (8.1%)

Table 4: Faunal materials collected at Karmakulluk in 2017

	Karmakulluk 2017 n=563
Bird	1 (0.2%)
Mussel	413 (73.4%)
Snail	68 (12.1%)
Seal	21 (3.7%)
Whale	19 (3.4%)
Dog	1 (0.2%)
Mammal	25 (4.4%)
Indeterminate	15 (2.7%)

2.3 Old Hopedale

Old Hopedale is located approximately 130m southeast of the Hopedale Moravian Mission, though the full size and layout of the site is still unknown. It was first recorded in 2002 when it was disturbed during a construction project (Hopedale Telephone Pole Midden GiCb-05, 2017). The site represents Inuit the Moravians converted to Christianity and who were then encouraged to physically and symbolically move away from Avertok and closer to the mission. Originally, there were no plans for this site, but the AAP had been told that there was a sod-house in the area that might be part of Avertok. Work took place in 2017 (Sinclair 2018). First, three test pits were dug as part of MUN's test pitting of Avertok. While these test pits were then determined to be a different site, an excavation was carried out in order to better understand the impact of the Moravian mission on Avertok. All the test pits and units were halted prior to reaching sterile soil. No evidence of a house was found; instead the entire investigation area was part of a large, disturbed midden of an undetermined depth. Because of this, the test pit and excavation assemblages were merged for analytical purposes.

There was a broad mix of Inuit, European, and modern materials more diverse than those of the other sites. This may be due in part to Moravian influence, but the fact that this is a formal midden with much larger total quantities of materials is almost certainly a significant factor as well. Only 0.5% of the assemblage was catalogued as Inuit and 12.7% has been tentatively marked European, though the true percentage of European items is almost certainly higher (Table 5). This is because the investigated area was extremely disturbed from repeated construction projects and contained extensive amounts

of modern admixture. Many items were also extremely small and fragmentary, preventing adequate identification. These factors resulted in many artifacts that may have otherwise been distinguishable as European or Contemporary having to be labelled Post-contact.

The faunal record was also larger and more diverse than the others collected during this project. As with the other faunal datasets, seal (21.5%) was much more common than whale (0.03%), but the most notable difference was the large amount of cod (14.1%) (Table 6). It is known that Moravians encouraged participation in the European market economy through the adoption of cod fishing which was not previously a large-scale practice in Inuit society (Arendt 2010).

Table 5: Artifacts collected at Old Hopedale in 2017

	Old Hopedale 2017 n=3264
Inuit	16 (0.5%)
European	411 (12.7%)
Contemporary	241 (7.4%)
Pre-contact	15 (0.5%)
Post-contact	2532 (77.6%)
Undetermined	49 (1.5%)

Table 6: Faunal materials collected at Old Hopedale in 2017

	Old Hopedale 2017 n=3169
Bird	62 (2.0%)
Mussel	244 (7.7%)
Snail	20 (0.6%)
Cod	446 (14.1%)
Fish	259 (8.2%)
Seal	680 (21.5%)
Whale	1 (0.03%)
Caribou	33 (1.0%)
Dog	13 (0.4%)
Pig	1 (0.03%)
Fox	6 (0.2%)
Mammal	1392 (43.9%)
Indeterminate	12 (0.4%)

3. Discussion: change versus persistence

The dominant narrative about Bird implies that he excavated haphazardly, downplayed Inuit agency in Inuit-European contact, and misunderstood the significance of European-derived materials (Arendt 2013). To be clear, his excavation was incredibly rapid and large amounts of contextual data were lost because of it. It is also evident from the variation in his published site maps and the language he used that his attitude towards individual sites varied and that this impacted the level of care taken in his excavations (Bird 1945). However, the dominant narrative also appears to be wrong in a few important ways. Bird's excavation was often surprisingly thorough and when his methods did fall short, it was often because of contextual and logistical necessities (i.e. speed of excavation) or the norms of the era (i.e. a lack of screening). The AAP data also suggests that Bird attempted to collect European materials when he encountered them in what he believed were pre-Moravian contexts. Rather, the disconnect appears to be more in his

writing and how he downplayed the European components of assemblages. However, the case can be made that multiple categories of Inuit-derived materials were systematically excluded. While failing to collect nephrite at both Karmakulluk and Avertok may have been accidental, the discard of quarried soapstone at Karmakulluk and faunal materials from all Bird's excavations was intentional. This demonstrates that new narratives with a stronger focus on the complexity of Inuit agency and lifeways are possible and need to be pursued.

If the sites are organized chronologically, a twofold picture is present across them. Among the artifacts, there is a pattern of change—the progressive replacement of traditional materials for European counterparts of equivalent functionality. For example, the replacement of slate for iron and soapstone for ceramics with materials like whalebone and nephrite also decreasing or disappearing over time. This cannot be thought of as a process in which European materials were passively received (Lightfoot 1995, Murphy 2012). Artifacts recovered at multiple sites point to acts of Inuit agency: iron and whalebone can be combined into a single object; nails can be modified for new purposes; and broken ceramics can be drilled and mended in the same way as a soapstone vessel. Moreover, the roles of agency and intent in the efforts taken to obtain these items should not be ignored.

As for the faunal records, the fundamental pattern is the opposite—it resists change. While evidence of whale does generally decrease, overall, the reliance on wild species is incredibly consistent over time. Except for dogs, a single pig bone from Old Hopedale is the only example present of a domesticate, and considering the extent of the disturbances and modern fill present at Avertok and Old Hopedale, it can be argued that this is a consistency seen into the present. Obviously, there are other aspects of subsistence not represented by this data, but it still unambiguously points towards an enduring pattern of marine-focused strategies.

It has already been stated that the fact the Old Hopedale assemblages were collected from a midden influenced the diversity of artifacts and species present. The overarching patterns of change and persistence still hold true, but there are also some important differences—a much larger diversity of European goods and the introduction of large-scale cod fishing. These can be interpreted as physical representations of the identity shifts that occurred when Inuit became Moravian. It has been argued that being Moravian was a major, but often overlooked, part of the identities of many early Inuit converts (Rollmann 2010: 9). Comparisons between sites such as Avertok and Old Hopedale show that European contact alone cannot explain the whole story of how Inuit lifeways changed. The focus must be on Inuit choices and actions.

4. Conclusion: Avertok's past and future

While evidence of whale use and/or hunting existed at all sites, there was not an especially large amount of local whaling evidence in the 2017-2018 assemblages and what evidence there was appeared to decrease over time implying that seals, which were consistently present in high numbers, were the more likely basis of daily subsistence. Many researchers have asserted this already about the significance of whales versus seals

as a dietary resource during this period (Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Woollett 1999, 2007), while others have also stated that more whaling took place along stretches of the coast further north (Kaplan 1980, Taylor 1976). But whaling's significance goes beyond its use as food and raw materials. The huge amount of cooperation and resources required meant that the profits were often more importantly social and political capital, making even an occasional whale extremely important (Kaplan and Woollett 2000, Rankin and Crompton 2016, Taylor 1976). Avertok would not be *the place of whales* without reason, but the name may point to a more complex relationship than mere hunting volume.

More archaeological work is needed at Avertok. Meaningful artifact concentrations still exist, and several high-interest locations were identified and should be investigated, including a continuation of 2018's test-pitting at the northern edge of the site. At Old Hopedale, many of the most fundamental questions about the size and layout of the site are still unanswered. More excavation will also provide additional information about the lifeways of Moravian Inuit at Hopedale. As for Karmakulluk, while there are still presumably artifacts left behind in the other sod-houses, it is believed that additional re-excavations at this time would not meaningfully change our present understanding.

All the assemblages discussed in this paper were in some way defined by their disturbances and/or the problems of their past excavations. It is true that we cannot ignore how disturbed contexts and old styles of excavation may have caused problems and data loss, but instead Avertok's case should be emphasized as a hopeful one. Many insights came directly from having to address these challenges and the AAP's main aims were still accomplished. At the same time, this is also a reminder that archaeological landscapes are not static. The influences that shape them come from many directions and the present can be as much a part of these landscapes as the past. With this in mind, archaeologists also have to be careful about how their interactions with the archaeological record affect the narratives that others have access to.

References

- Arendt, Beatrix. 2010. Caribou to Cod: Moravian Missionary Influence on Inuit Subsistence Strategies. *Historical Archaeology* 44(3): 81-101.
- Arendt, Beatrix. 2013. The Return to Hopedale: Excavations at Anniowaktook Island, Hopedale, Labrador. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 37: 302-330.
- Arsenault, Nancy. 2017. Nunatsiavut's Tourism Strategy 2014 - 2020: A 2017 Mid-Point Review and Tactical Update, Nunatsiavut Government, <https://hnl.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Nunatsiavut-Tourism-Strategy.pdf>, accessed September 28, 2019.
- Avertok GiCb-01, 2016. Nunatsiavut Archaeological Site Record. Nunatsiavut Government. On file at the Archaeology Office, Nunatsiavut Government, Nain.
- Bird, Junius B. 1945. *Archaeology of the Hopedale Area, Labrador*. Anthropological Papers Vol. 39, Pt. 2. American Museum of Natural History, New York.
- Brake, Jamie and Michelle Davies. 2018. Nunatsiavut Archaeology Office Fieldwork 2017. *Provincial Archaeology Office 2017 Archaeology Review* 16: 17-30.
- Gaulton, Barry C. and Lisa K. Rankin. 2018. Archaeological Heritage as a Catalyst for Public Engagement, Rural Rejuvenation, and Rethinking our Shared Past; Perspectives from a Quarter Century of Community Archaeology in Newfoundland and Labrador. *Revista de Arqueologia Publica de Unicamp* 66(2): 19-44.

- Hopedale Telephone Pole Midden GiCb-05, 2017. Nunatsiavut Archaeological Site Record Form. On file at the Archaeology Office, Nunatsiavut Government, Nain.
- Lightfoot, Kent G. 1995. Culture Contact Studies: Redefining the Relationship Between Prehistoric and Historical Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 60(2): 199-217.
- Kaplan, Susan A. 1980. Neo-Eskimo Occupations of the Northern Labrador Coast. *Arctic* 33(3): 646-658.
- Kaplan, Susan A. and Jim. M. Woollett. 2000. Challenges and Choices: Exploring the Interplay of Climate, History, and Culture on Canada's Labrador Coast. *Arctic, Antarctic, and Alpine Research* 32(3): 351-359.
- Karmakulluk GjCb-06, 2016. Nunatsiavut Archaeological Site Record Form. Hopedale: Newfoundland and Labrador. On file at the Archaeology Office, Nunatsiavut Government, Nain.
- Kelvin, Laura, Maria Lear, Jacinda Sinclair, and Lisa Rankin. 2018. Avertok Archaeology Project, 2017. *Provincial Archaeology Office 2017 Archaeology Review* 16: 60-163.
- Marshall, Yvonne. 2002. What is community archaeology? *World Archaeology* 34(2): 211-219.
- Murphy, Pheobe. 2012. *Identifying the Inuit Communal House Phase in Southern Labrador*. Occasional Papers in Northeastern Archaeology No.19. Copetown Press, St. John's.
- Penny, Gerald. 2019. Hopedale Provisions Warehouse Drainage Infrastructure Archaeological Excavations (15A5/GiCb-06). On file at the Archaeology Office, Nunatsiavut Government, Nain.
- Rankin, Lisa and Amanda Crompton. 2016. Kayaks and Chaloupes: Labrador Inuit and the Seascapes of Cultural Contact. In *Marine Ventures: Archaeological Perspectives on Human-Sea Relations*, edited by Hein Bjerck, Heidi M. Breivik, Silje E. Frenthim, Ernesto L. Piana, Birgitte Skar, Angélica M. Tivoli, A. Francisco and J. Zangrando, pp.383-398 Equinox Publishing, Sheffield.
- Rankin, Lisa, Deirdre Elliott, Laura Kelvin, Maria Lear, and Jacinda Sinclair. 2019. Avertok Archaeology Project, 2018. *Provincial Archaeology Office 2018 Archaeology Review* 17: 214-219.
- Rollmann, Hans J. 2010. Moravians in Central Labrador: The Indigenous Inuit Mission of Jacobi's and Salome at Snooks Cove. *Journal of Moravian History* 9: 6-40.
- Schledermann, Peter. 1976. Thule Culture Communal Houses in Labrador. *Arctic* 29(1): 27-37.
- Sinclair, Jacinda. 2018. Karmakulluk (CjCb-06), Hopedale Region, Labrador: A Report on Activities Conducted Under Permit NG17.02 in 2017. On file at the Archaeology Office, Nunatsiavut Government, Nain.
- Sinclair, Jacinda. 2019. Avertok (GiCb-01), Hopedale Region, Labrador: A Report on Activities Conducted Under Permit NG18.04 in 2018. On file at the Archaeology Office, Nunatsiavut Government, Nain.
- Taylor, Garth J. 1975. Demography and Adaptations of Eighteenth-Century Eskimo Groups in Northern Labrador and Ungava. In *Prehistoric Maritime Adaptations of the Circumpolar Zone*, ed. William Fitzhugh, pp.269-278. Aldine Publishing, Chicago.
- Taylor, Garth J. 1976. The Inuit Middleman in the Labrador Baleen Trade. Prepared for Symposium: Economics, Politics and Trade in the Post-contact New World. Paper presented at the 75th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association.
- Tradition and Transition. 2019. Electronic document, <https://www.traditionandtransition.com/mandate/>, accessed September 28, 2019.
- Woollett, James. 1999. Living in the Narrows: Subsistence Economy and Culture Change in Labrador Inuit Society During the Contact Period. *World Archaeology* 30(3): 370-387.
- Woollett, James. 2007. Labrador Inuit Subsistence in the Context of Environmental Change: An Initial Landscape History Perspective. *American Antiquity* 109(1): 69-84.

LITERACY AND ESSENTIAL SKILLS DEVELOPMENT IN INUIT NUNANGAT: A COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIP APPROACH

*Krystyna Slawecki and Erin Murray
Frontier College*

1. Introduction

1.1 The Role of Community Partnerships in Literacy and Essential Skills Programming

Partnerships have long been valued in Literacy and Essential Skills (LES) development programs. In their recent report on LES policy and practices in Canada, the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) identified that across Canada, “the programs that best meet the needs of individuals are those that have been developed and delivered in partnership, from design to evaluation” (2019, p. 33). Their report suggests that such partnerships are natural in literacy programs because the learners have complex needs that require a variety of expertise.

Working in partnership to develop and deliver educational programming is of particular importance in Northern and remote communities where geography, small community size, and limited financial resources drive the need for increased collaboration between schools, community service providers, local businesses, and local governments. In their 2012 report *Lessons Learned: Achieving Positive Education Outcomes in Northern Communities*, the Conference Board of Canada identified partnerships that connect educational institutions to communities as one of five “key elements in educational design and delivery that are proving effective in helping Northerners to overcome some of the unique challenges they face” (p. 19). Additionally, in 2008, the Nunavut Adult Learning Strategy (NALS) stated that the direct involvement of communities in the planning, development, and delivery of programs encourages greater interest, participation, and participant retention (NALS, 2008, p. 29).

Frontier College has long embraced the philosophy that working in partnership is the key to providing strong, relevant, and lasting literacy programs. Community partners and stakeholders such as schools, parents, community members, service providers, and local institutions are intimately connected to the needs and realities of the terrain and are therefore critical for designing programs adapted to Northern communities. We are currently operating four different models of community-based literacy programming across Inuit Nunangat, with each model making use of partnerships in unique ways.

Our experience working in partnership in Inuit communities can be summarized according to four key learnings:

Partnerships are essential in order to be able to provide literacy programming that responds to the unique needs of the community/region, including appropriate cultural content and language retention.

According to Inuit Tapirit Kanatami (ITK)'s National Strategy on Inuit Education, one of the key elements to improving educational outcomes for Inuit is "providing a bilingual curriculum to achieve literacy in the Inuit language and at least one of Canada's official languages, and learning resources that are relevant to the Inuit culture, history and worldview" (ITK, 2001, p 3). Cultural relevance is a cornerstone of effective educational programs, and the only way to be able to provide this support and content for Inuit learners in programs is by working in partnership with the local community.

By partnering with local institutions that participants are already familiar with, there is an existing level of trust and engagement that that can be built upon, which facilitates participant recruitment and retention.

Programs are set up and developed only in those communities that have actively invited and shown interest in supporting programs. Partners in the community help establish programs and allow outside organizations to be recognized as a trusted partner. In addition, community partners often provide essential program resources in the form of materials and delivery space.

Partnership means involving on-the-ground stakeholders such as parents, community members, and local institutions in needs assessment, program delivery, and program evaluation.

Partner involvement is not limited to the consultation and assessment phase of a project or program; they are included in every step of the process. Feedback is sought in the form of program evaluations and community surveys that allow us to continuously improve and adapt our programs to the needs of the local community.

Partnerships allow us to reduce barriers and increase learner success by integrating LES programs into already existing services.

In a recent research report on Literacy and Essential Skills as a Poverty Reduction Strategy, it was identified that LES interventions are more likely to be successful when they are offered in partnership with poverty reduction services such as mental health supports, housing and shelter services, legal aid, and financial supports (SRDC, 2019, p. 49). Community partnerships allow for the possibility of "wrap-around" services that

address multiple client needs; having a well-coordinated support system can help learners achieve greater success in both learning and life outcomes.

1.2 Frontier College in Inuit Nunangat: Who We Are and What We Do

Frontier College is Canada's original literacy organization. Founded in 1899 on the belief that literacy is a right, we help people in Canada improve their literacy, numeracy, and essential skills to increase their opportunities to succeed in school, work, and life. Our programs are adaptable to the specific needs of learners from a wide range of urban, rural, and remote communities, including youth at-risk, First Nation, Inuit and Métis peoples, individuals with disabilities, low-skilled workers, and newcomers to Canada.

In 2013, ITK's Amaujaq National Centre for Inuit Education approached Frontier College to explore potential collaborations on literacy programming for Inuit children, youth, and families, as part of the early and family education framework outlined in First Canadians, Canadians First: The National Strategy on Inuit Education. The objective of the strategy is "to graduate bilingual Inuit children with the skills and knowledge to contribute with pride and confidence to the 21st century" (ITK, 2011, p. 5). Frontier College contributes to the realization of that vision by supporting children and youth to help them stay in school. Additionally, through our adult programs, we assist adults to strengthen their employability and on-the-job skills through literacy, numeracy, and test-taking support.

As of October 2019, Frontier College is operating four program delivery models in 28 communities across Inuit Nunangat. These four program models are:

- Literacy and Essential Skills for the Building Trades program (Nunavut)
- Summer Literacy Camps (all 4 regions of Inuit Nunangat)
- Math and Literacy Tutoring Program for high school students (Nunavik)
- Community Literacy Catalyst program (Nunavut and Nunavik)

Endorsements from local community leaders and educators across Canada have helped Frontier College establish trust as an agency that works respectfully and collaboratively with Inuit communities. The success of our work in these communities rests on our ability to build and work in partnerships with local community groups and stakeholders.

Our work with Indigenous communities aims to improve literacy and education rates by offering quality, relevant educational supports that directly address the specific needs of learners. We do this by: collaborating with local community workers, Elders, and others to make sure programming respects community values, culture, and aspirations; by delivering programs in partnership with existing service; and by offering training and

workshop opportunities for partners to increase local capacity. We are constantly expanding and adapting our programming models and adapting to local realities.

In the following discussion paper, we will describe each of our four current program models in detail, highlighting the essential role(s) of community partnerships at every stage of program development and delivery.

2. Four Literacy Program Models

2.1 Literacy and Essential Skills for the Trades

In Nunavut, a significant number of skilled workers are employed in the construction sector but have not successfully challenged the Trades Entrance Exam or sought the national Red Seal credential. The barriers to certification include low literacy/language, science, and math skills, difficulty accessing existing pre-trades programs (due to location or employment constraints), and lack of academic confidence needed to navigate the trades certification process. In 2014, with support from the federal Office of Literacy and Essential Skills, Frontier College began piloting trades-based Literacy and Essential Skills (LES) programming for aspiring and current apprentices in sites across Canada, including a site in Iqaluit (NU) in June 2016. With funding from the GN's Targeted Training Initiative, the project continues today in Iqaluit, and in September 2019, two new program sites were added in Kinngait and Rankin Inlet.

The main objectives of this program are to:

- Increase registration, retention, and completion in apprenticeship training;
- Improve trades examination pass rates and attainment of trades certification;
- Support the integration of LES into apprenticeship programs and policies, trades training, and other services of construction trade unions and industry contractors; and,
- Address LES gaps that negatively impact the recruitment and retention of quality apprentices into building trades careers in Nunavut.

Summary of Outcomes:

- Since 2016, over 700 hours of individual tutoring instruction has been offered to 89 learners in Iqaluit, Kinngait, and Rankin Inlet to support them to pursue a range of goals, primarily the goal of entering the pre-trades and apprenticeship programs offered by Nunavut Arctic College.

- As of January 2020, 29 learners have attempted the Trades Entrance Exam (TEE), with a total of 16 learners successfully passing the TEE, many of whom have progressed to taking apprenticeship courses.
- 100% of learners who participated in this program report an increased confidence in their skills.

Program delivery for this project occurs in multiple ways, and in collaboration with several partners. One of our key partnerships is with the Department of Family Services Career Development and Income Support Office. In addition to referring some of their clients to our tutoring services, they were also able to provide a workspace within their offices for the Frontier College Instructor to set up as a base of operations in Iqaluit. By having the instructor physically present within the Career Development and Income Support office, we help create a single access point for multiple services, which reduces barriers for learners who wish to access the program.

In addition to providing services at the Family Services office, the Instructor is also able to be mobile and bring programming to the learners as needed. We have formed partnerships with 10 local business in Iqaluit to provide on-the-job literacy and numeracy upgrading directly to their employees who would like to enter apprenticeship training. Through this program, learners receive individual tutoring 2-3 times per week with a dedicated instructor who knows the content of the Trades Entrance Exam (TEE) and can guide learners to the areas where they need to improve. The tutoring and all instructional materials are provided free to participants, and employers provide time during work hours (2-3 hours per week) for the tutoring to take place. By partnering with employers to integrate the tutoring program into the weekly work schedule, we make academic upgrading more accessible to employees who are balancing full-time work, family, and other commitments, and would not otherwise be able to participate in an upgrading program. The individual support of Frontier College tutors means that the learning experience is tailored to the individual student's needs, and this allows the learners to progress quickly towards their goals.

In addition to our work with local businesses, Frontier College provides an individual pre-trades tutoring program for inmates at the Makigiarvik Correctional Centre in Iqaluit. The Frontier College instructor designs individual curriculum for each learner and meets with them once a week at the correctional facility to provide tutoring support. We work in partnership with the community release programs as well to ensure that the tutoring support is maintained (as much as possible) throughout an inmate's transition back into the community.

2.2 Summer Literacy Camps

“As simple as it sounds, reading books can reverse the summer slide in literacy skills. [...] Giving kids 12 books to read over the summer was as effective as summer school in raising the students’ reading scores. [...] Regardless of family income, the effect of reading four to five books over the summer was large enough to prevent a decline in reading-achievement scores from the spring to the fall” (Murphy Paul, 2013).

The Summer Literacy Camps aim to prevent summer learning loss by increasing the availability of books and learning opportunities during summer months. The camps, at no cost to families, offer a varied curriculum that keeps children learning while they are having fun. Literacy, numeracy, science, and critical thinking skills are embedded in active outdoor games, arts and crafts, field trips, and cultural activities.

The literacy camps project was first offered in two communities, Nunavut and Nunavik, in 2014, and has since grown to be Frontier College’s most extensive and far-reaching program in Inuit Nunangat. Indeed, by harnessing the power of community partnerships, the camps now stretch across all four Inuit territories in the country, bringing together no less than six key Inuit partners in education.¹ In 2019, the Summer Literacy Camps in Inuit Nunangat reached 1,387 children across 252 communities, and 6,000 books in Inuktitut, English, and French were distributed.

Approaching literacy with an Inuit-centric lens that encompasses many aspects of childhood learning and well-being is at the core of the camp model. The summer camp model centres on our understanding that “what matters to Indigenous peoples in education is that children, youth, adults and Elders have the opportunity to develop their gifts in a respectful space [...] It is about fostering identity, facilitating well-being, connecting to land, honouring language, infusing with teachings and recognizing the inherent right to self-determination” (Toulouse, 2016, p. 4). It is because of the partnership and support of community members that we are able to create a camp environment that valorizes and promotes Inuit knowledge and cultural traditions. In one single summer each of the 25 camps will benefit from over 1,000 individual visits from Elders, family, and community members who share their knowledge, read with campers, and help celebrate campers’ achievements, indicating community-wide interest in literacy initiatives. As one parent from Rigolet, Nunatsiavut said:

¹ Kativik Ilisarniliriniq, Government of Nunavut, Nunatsiavut Government, Makivik Corporation, Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, in addition to 4 other Inuit-owned donors (funders)

² Breakdown according to regions: 12 communities in Nunavik, 4 in Nunatsiavut, 3 in Nunavut, and 6 in Inuvialuit

“The camp seemed to really understand that literacy is not simply reading words on a page, rather it is a holistic approach that involves all forms of communication. Learning to follow the instructions of a new physical activity, the investigative/creative process experienced through arts and crafts, and the social interactions among peers also played a key role in creating an environment that was full of learning experiences.”³

In addition to providing a holistic learning environment for children, the literacy camps also provide employment to Inuit youth and young adults. “Positive role models from youth cultural groups are an incredible asset in developing a healthy cultural identity” (Crooks, Chiodo and Thomas, 2009, p. 46). Hiring and training local counsellors represents a triple advantage: first, to the children, who grow up with role models in their community; secondly, to the employed youth themselves, who gain experience and leadership skills; and finally, to the community who may potentially see these youth as future teachers and leaders. In 2019, the 77 Indigenous counsellors employed all agreed that this work experience enhanced their skills, notably in their ability and confidence to work with children in an educational setting. In fact, the camps are also inspiring some of the younger youth in the community to see themselves as future role models for their peers: “I cannot wait to come back next year. I am going to be 13 so I want to help out,” claimed a camper in Kuujuaq.

Without partnerships with the schools, hamlet and northern village offices the summer literacy camps project would not be sustainable. The local schools not only provide the space for the program, transforming into a fun and colourful location where camp is held, they are also key actors in promoting the counsellor job offers and referring candidates, registering the children, providing housing for counsellors that arrive from outside the communities, and contributing to the camp counsellor training. The active partnership and collaboration of local schools is essential to the camp’s success. Beyond their role in the logistical aspects of program delivery, stakeholders in the community are essential to guiding the evolution of the program. Feedback is gathered from a variety of sources; every year, over 140 parents/guardians, teachers, and community members provide feedback on content, structure, general appreciation, etc. This allows for a consistently solid and relevant program that continues to be shaped by the communities it serves.

The literacy camps respond to several of the key components identified in ITK’s National Strategy on Inuit Education (2011), by involving the whole community,

³ Retrieved from 2019 Frontier College Literacy Camps Report to the Nunatsiavut Government

integrating culture and language, and working to develop Inuit leaders in education. The remarkable impact and growth of the program is a testament to strong partnerships at both the local and organizational levels, partnerships that grow and strengthen every summer.

2.3 The Community Literacy Catalyst Project

Of all our program models, none captures the essence of community partnerships in the context of the North better than the Community Literacy Catalyst (CLC) model. The vision of the CLC model is to support the well-being and empowerment of community members through innovative, integrated literacy supports that are flexible, locally developed, and responsive to local needs. The CLC model takes an approach that is rooted in language and culture, embodying life-long, holistic and communal experiences: elements that are widely believed to represent key characteristics of learning for FNMI communities (CCL-CCA, 2007, p. 5).

Through this project, Frontier College staff provides training, mentorship, and support for a locally hired literacy worker to design and deliver programming in Inuktitut and English that is peer-to-peer led and cross-generational in its approach. Each program is developed and delivered in collaboration with on-the-ground individuals and institutions: Schools, NVs and hamlets offices, clinics, detention centers, daycares, shelters, etc. The literacy component can be structured, as in computer literacy courses to adults and one-to-one tutoring for children, or can take a more flexible and holistic approach, reflecting the local culture, priorities, and available resources.

The intensiveness of Frontier College's training and mentorship support decreases over time as the literacy worker and their local partners assume greater leadership the project. Part of this transition includes planning for the sustainability of the programs beyond Frontier College's direct involvement, namely securing funding and finding a permanent home for the literacy worker within existing community infrastructure, with the goal of enhancing local capacity.

This initiative was piloted on a small scale in Iqaluit (2016) and Kuujjuaq (2018-2020), with a number of significant results. In Iqaluit, 65 youths and children participated in a variety of literacy-based programming, and 40 adults were reached through one-to-one tutoring. In one year of the CLC project in Kuujjuaq, the literacy worker launched eight new programs in the community, reaching a total of 120 children and 20 parents.

The strength of this program model lies in the flexibility of implementation; literacy programs and learning opportunities are woven in to the existing fabric of community living to create meaningful experiential learning opportunities. Experiential learning "is seen as connected to lived experience, as in learning by doing, and is structured formally through regular community interactions such as sharing circles, ceremonies, meditation, or storytelling, and daily activities" (CCL-CCA, 2007, p. 6). Programming follows the ebb

and flow of community needs and opportunities as they arise: Are the youth animators interested in upgrading their skills to include some literacy games in their existing programs? Is the library looking for ways to engage families in reading circles in the evening and on the weekend? Is the youth detention center trying to engage youth in expressing themselves through writing? Can we include books in the yearly Christmas drive run by the NV? Is there an opportunity for young children to spend time at the Elders' centre to become closer to their roots and traditional ways? The literacy worker is trained to conduct this ongoing needs assessment, to creatively seek out opportunities to enhance literacy programming within their community, and to forge and reinforce relationships with community members and participants encircling the programs. As the literacy worker develops their network and sets up an array of programs, these partners will in turn ensure that the literacy programs initiated are integrated and adapted, eventually becoming embedded in the local infrastructure over the long term. The CLC model is an inherently grassroots and community strength-based approach to literacy programming, which presupposes that the existing pillars of a society should indeed be the driving force of informal learning.

2.4 Math and Literacy Tutoring Program

Since November 2017, Frontier College has been providing math and literacy tutors to high school students in 12 Nunavik communities in partnership with Kativik Ilisarniliriniq. Each year, Frontier College recruits and trains 7 to 11 tutors to work in close collaboration with high school math teachers and principals to identify student needs, assess skill levels, and establish program set-up and delivery. The math tutors offer a flexible service adapted to the needs of the students and the context of each school. Tutoring sessions focus on ensuring a strong understanding of basic math concepts while gradually integrating more advanced concepts, and provide support to students in developing solid study skills and building confidence. In addition to tutoring students outside of class hours, tutors spend an average of 15 hours per week in math classes, offering one-to-one support to students while the teachers focus their energies on delivering the curriculum.

This three-year project is part of Frontier College and Kativik Ilisarniliriniq's shared commitment to improving education outcomes for Nunavik students and creating opportunities for success. In 2017-2018, program results demonstrated an impact of 20% (average) increase in grades between tutored and non-tutored students.⁴ Teachers cited a number of positive impacts regarding the extra support and the presence of tutors in their classrooms: 83% of teachers said that students had gotten better at completing their

⁴ Data analysis provided by Kativik Ilisarniliriniq 2017

schoolwork and 75% teachers agreed or strongly agreed that the tutor had a positive effect on classroom dynamics.

Further results from 2018-2019 are indicative of the growing success of this partnership:

- 275 high school students have received one-to-one intensive tutoring, an increase of 64 from the previous year.
- 91 students attended out of class tutoring sessions this year (an increase from 57 in 2017-18), of whom 15 came on a regular basis.
- 80% of parents agree that their child is more confident in his/her abilities, as well as more motivated to learn math, and has a better attitude towards school since the tutor program started.
- 91% of parents strongly agree that the tutoring program is a valuable program for the community.⁵

The tutors do not create this program alone; we note that “collaboration with the classroom teacher is often cited as vital to a tutoring program’s success or failure” (Rothman and Henderson, 2011, p. 4). The tutors work closely with classroom teachers to identify those learners who may require or benefit from individualized support, and determine how best to support them during and outside of class time. Collaboration with teachers ensures that tutoring sessions provide continuity and reinforcement of materials seen in class. The flexibility of this program allows tutors to move between structured time in class and offering their services in spaces where learning would not ordinarily take place, adapting to their students’ schedules, comfort levels, and environment.

Trust is often cited as the essential ingredient to building relationship with teenagers (Lampley and Johnson, 2010; Rothman and Henderson, 2011). This is especially true in a learning environment where students who exhibit lower self-esteem with regard to their skills. Gauging when the trust and relationships are sufficient for tutors to transition towards the after-school tutoring programming successfully is critical. This delicate transition, done at the right time, can ensure that the student will wholeheartedly engage in the tutoring sessions.

In addition to providing support in math, tutors are also using their talents and strengths to reach out to the learners, build their confidence, and motivate them through the arts, expression, and learning new skills. Tutors have launched a total of 100 literacy and numeracy-based activities, reaching out to youth of all ages, offering new opportunities for engaging youth, and reinforcing school perseverance and lifelong learning.

⁵ Data emanating from surveys to 50 parents and 80 students over 2 years.

3. Conclusion

Frontier College has been working with Inuit, First Nation, and Métis communities for over 60 years. Our work with Indigenous communities aims to support local education priorities and improve literacy and education rates by offering quality, relevant educational supports that directly address the specific needs of learners. Throughout our time working in and with Inuit communities, our community partnerships have been essential to the success of our programs. We have experienced the essential role that partnerships play, particularly when working with Northern communities, in developing and providing strong, relevant, and lasting literacy programs.

When working with Inuit communities, we recognize the need for literacy programming to reflect Inuit culture and values. Partnerships allow us to work collaboratively with local community workers, Elders, and others to make sure programming integrates community values, culture, language, and aspirations. We seek ongoing feedback from partners and stakeholders in order to be able to continuously adapt and expand our programming. As much as possible we seek to integrate literacy programming into the existing supports and services provided in the community, and offer training and workshops opportunities for these organizations to build local capacity. Most importantly, we do not go where we are not actively invited, and we rely on community partners to help us establish ourselves as an organization of trust.

References

- Canadian Council on Learning CCL-CCA. (2007). Redefining how success is measured in First Nations, Inuit and Métis learning, report on learning in Canada 2007. Canadian Council on Learning. Ottawa: 2007. Retrieved from https://www.afn.ca/uploads/files/education/5.2007_redefining_how_success_is_measured_en.pdf
- Canadian Union of Public Employees. (2019). Influences: Lessons from policy and practices in literacy and essential skills in Canada 1990-2019. Centre de documentation sur l'éducation des adultes et la condition féminine (CDÉACF). Retrieved from https://cupe.ca/sites/cupe/files/report_literacy_essentialskills_eng_2019_2.pdf
- Conference Board of Canada. (2012). Lessons learned: Achieving positive education outcomes in Northern communities. Conference Board of Canada. Retrieved from https://www.conferenceboard.ca/temp/daa9d866-4903-4a9f-b93b-a0ad16976c96/12-212_LessonsLearned-RPT.pdf
- Crooks, C. & Chiodo, D. & Thomas, D. (2009). Engaging and empowering Aboriginal youth: a toolkit for service providers. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228702247_Engaging_and_empowering_Aboriginal_youth_a_toolkit_for_service_providers
- Government of Nunavut Department of Education. (2008). Nunavut adult learning strategy. Government of Nunavut. Retrieved from https://www.gov.nu.ca/sites/default/files/nu_adult_learning_strategy_eng.pdf

- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. (2011). First Canadians, Canadians first: National strategy on Inuit education. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. Retrieved from <https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/National-Strategy-on-Inuit-Education-2011.pdf>
- Lampley, J.H., & Johnson, K.C. (2010). Mentoring at-risk youth: Improving academic achievement in middle school students, *Nonpartisan Education Review*, 6(1). Retrieved from <http://nonpartisaneducation.org/Review/Articles/v6n1.pdf>
- Murphy Paul, A. (2013, July). Do kids really have ‘summer learning loss’? Time. Retrieved from <https://ideas.time.com/2013/07/01/do-kids-really-have-summer-learning-loss/>
- Rothman, T. & Henderson, M. (2011). Do school-based tutoring programs significantly improve student performance on standardized tests? *RMLE Online*, 34:6, 1-10. Retrieved from <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/19404476.2011.11462079?needAccess=true>
- Social Research and Demonstration Corporation. (2019). Literacy and essential skills as a poverty reduction strategy: National research report. Frontier College. Retrieved from https://www.frontiercollege.ca/getattachment/6705c18a-981e-4c4f-ad83-e51bf70079e9/Poverty_Reduction_Full.aspx
- Toulouse, Pamela Rose. (2016) What matters in Indigenous education: implementing a vision committed to holism, diversity and engagement. In *Measuring What Matters*, People for Education. Toronto: March, 2016. Retrieved from <https://peopleforeducation.ca/our-work/3099-2/>

AQQALUK LYNGE: POETRY OF SURVIVAL

Marianne Stenbaek

Melting icebergs, melting Ice Caps—Greenland is at the center of global climate change; but Greenland has also been the centre for a change of equal magnitude—the change from a traditional hunting society into a modern society with strong links to both Europe and North America.

Greenland had been a traditional Inuit hunting society for several thousand years. The Vikings arrived in southern Greenland around 1000 AD but mysteriously disappeared by 1400 AD. Whalers and other seafarers had occasionally passed its shores but it was not until 1721 when the Danish Lutheran minister, Hans Egede, arrived that a new period of contact with the outside world started. Christianity and trade were introduced by the colonialists, but the old hunting society adapted and persevered. Greenland was very much a closed colony, run by Danish officials until 1953, when Denmark amended its constitution to end the colonial administration of Greenland, at least officially.

Life in Greenland then changed rapidly, often too rapidly, and a constant fight for survival began for the Inuit culture in a modern and foreign world. As Greenland emerged from its colonial past to assert its own individuality and priorities, it entered a modern period of self-rule and increasing autonomy, maintained by its own unique northern culture.

Many former colonies wanted their liberation and autonomy in the 50s and 60s and so did young Greenlanders. Among the indigenous leaders, at this time, were a group of young Greenlandic students in Copenhagen. Aqqaluk Lynge was a leader of this group, Kalaallit Inuusuttut Ataqatigiit (Young Greenlanders Council), who initiated many of the cultural and political changes which eventually gave rise to the establishment of the Greenland Home Rule Government, in 1979. This eventually led to the establishment of a Self-Rule Government in 2009.

Out of the frustrations Aqqaluk Lynge experienced while a student in Denmark, grew both his political consciousness and concurrent artistic awakening.

Aqqaluk Lynge graduated from the Copenhagen Social Work College in 1976. This provided him with a framework to view the social ills caused by Danish laws created to assimilate Greenlanders as ersatz Danes. The results of this attempted assimilation, coupled with the change from a subsistence to a mixed economy and the destruction of much of traditional Greenlandic life, were evident in the many suicides, the abuses, the alcoholism, the alienation and despair caused by these all too rapid changes. The years between 1960 and 1980 were revolutionary; though many changes appeared peaceful on the surface. For the “Greenland revolution” was one of the very few bloodless revolutions in the history of former colonial regions, but the human costs remain very great. During these years.

Lynge's rebellion against the Danish rulers and the compassion for his fellow Greenlanders grew and began finding expression as poems as well as political action.

In order to reach a Danish and a Greenlandic audience, he wrote in both languages and now, also, in English, a few in French. The poems differ somewhat from language to language:

"I write in both languages. This means that even if it is the same poem, then the two languages can address themselves to two different audiences. And it is, of course, a fantastic possibility one has to be able to write in several languages..." (private conversation).

His poetry is a reflection on recent Greenlandic history and social change as the traditional Inuit society was pressured into the new mold of a modern Scandinavian society whose values and organization often are at odds with Greenlandic society. For Greenlanders, this has meant a fight for survival in the face of impositions from the outside and the Danish authorities attempts at "danishization". This attempt at assimilation is a struggle mirrored in many former colonies and indigenous communities around the world; these poems could also be their stories.

In any indigenous community, there is usually a very close inter-relationship between culture and politics. Cultural independence is a pre-requisite for political independence and political independence cannot exist or even be engendered without cultural independence.

Aqqaluk Lynge has combined poetic imagery with political action to become one of the most influential Greenlanders. He has been a member of the ICC leadership for 34 consecutive years 1980-2014. He was president of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) from 1997-2002 and then Chair of the Inuit Circumpolar Council, 2010-2014. ICC is the international organization which unites and represents the world's 165,000 Inuit. He is the founder of the Inuit Ataqatigiit, one of the main political parties in Greenland and cofounder of Aasivik Cultural Summercamps (1975-1993). He has served as a Member of Parliament as well as a Minister of several portfolios in the Home Rule Government in Greenland. He is an established author and filmmaker as well as active in the Greenlandic Authors' Association. He was on the Board of the UN Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues (2005-07) and worked on the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. He continues to fight for the human rights of indigenous peoples around the globe. His life-long commitment has been honoured by the award of the national medals of distinction both by the Greenlandic Parliament and by Queen Margrethe of Denmark.

His poetry and other works portray the anguish and the successes of Greenlanders and other Inuit as they emerge as indigenous leaders on the world's stage. New relationships are being formed not only with other Inuit communities but with other indigenous peoples and with Denmark. There is no longer any doubt that Greenlanders, the land and the culture they love, will survive.

Today, Greenland has its own parliament and a Self-Rule Government with full powers in most areas of jurisdiction; it is still a part of the Kingdom of Denmark. Inuit in Alaska, Canada and Russia. Indeed, Greenland may be considered a contemporary success story.

Many of the world's indigenous groups look to Greenland as a model for what can be achieved in a modern indigenous society. The fight for survival still continues among many of the more than 330 million indigenous peoples, as "stolen generations" continue their fight for their rightful places in the world.

Aqqaluk Lynge has become one of the most respected and influential indigenous leaders in the world today. The collection *Veins of his heart to the pinnacle of his mind* (2008) shows the anti-colonial ideology of his youth as it focuses on the betterment of his people: not only Inuit, but all indigenous peoples.

One of the poems from this collection asks the pertinent questions of the colonialists as Aqqaluk Lynge celebrates indigenous life and culture, celebrates the Greenlanders' survival.

A life of respect

In the old days
when we still lived our own lives
in our own country
we could hear
as faraway thunder
the caribou approaching
two or three days in advance

Then we did not count the animals, but knew
that when the caribou herd arrived
it would be seven days
before all the animals crossed the river
We did not count them
We had no quotas
We knew only
that a child's weeping
or a seagull's cry
could frighten the animals away

Then we knew
that there is a balance
between the animals and us
lives of mutual respect

Now it is as if we are under arrest
The wardens are everywhere
We are interrogated constantly
In your hungering after more riches and land
you make us suspect
force us to justify our existence

On maps of the country
we must draw points and lines
to show we have been here
and are here today
here, where the foxes run
and birds nest
and the fish spawn

You circumscribe everything
demand that we prove
we exist
that we use the land that was always ours
that we have a right to our ancestral lands

But now it is we who ask
by what right are *you* here?

Aqqaluk Lynge has played a central role in finding answers to these questions ensuring the survival of his peoples.

THE INCREASING ROLE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE HUMANITIES IN ARCTIC RESEARCH

Professor Marianne Stenbaek

An unexpected benefit of climate change is that it is developing a new role and importance of the Humanities in Arctic research. This presentation will explore and question how a Humanities component may add new, important and interesting dimensions to any research project or scientific study dealing with the Arctic. Indeed, the inclusion of the Humanities in some form now seems to be a necessary component of the many projects dealing with climate change in the Arctic as it touches on many human dimensions.

Contemporary research projects are often becoming multidisciplinary in order to reflect the complexity of the Arctic and its peoples. The Humanities reveal aspects that otherwise would likely be overlooked. The Humanities therefore focus on aspects of projects in new and unexpected ways that enlarge our understanding and appreciation.

It is now generally accepted that the Inuit and other arctic indigenous and non-indigenous peoples must be included in all aspects of the science undertaken in the Arctic or on their traditional lands. Indigenous peoples want their traditional knowledge and priorities to be included and respected as stated in the ethical principles, outlined in the National Inuit Strategy on Research, formulated by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. UNDRIP and the calls to action from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada should also be considered in formulating research projects.

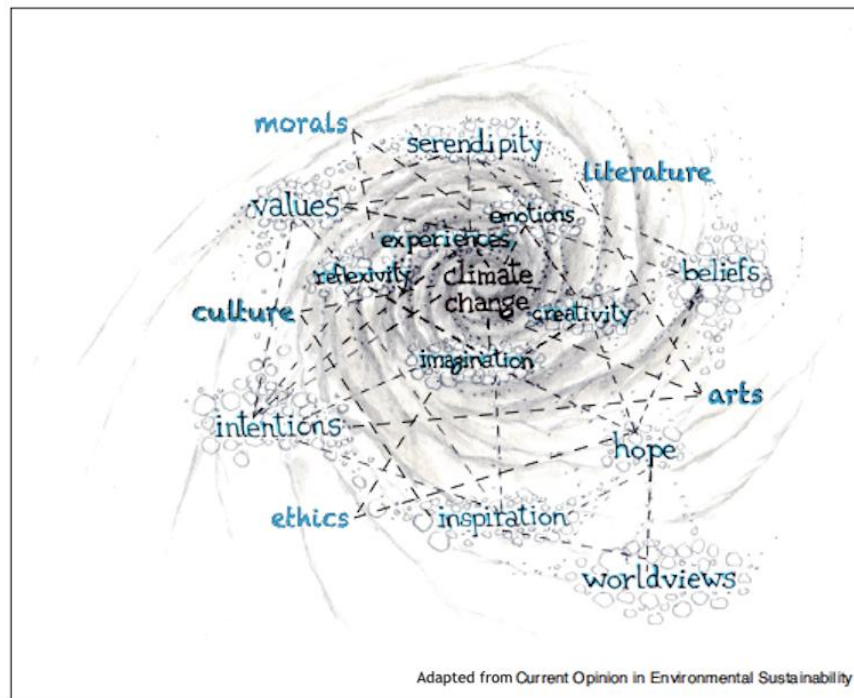
In Canada, we all know that in 2019, the Arctic and its peoples are at a crossroads as this region achieves new and expanded geopolitical, economic and cultural importance in the world because of climate change, resource development, reconciliation, arctic sovereignty, new forms of governance and a deeper understanding of arctic cultures and its peoples. The Humanities possess unique perspectives and capabilities to illuminate and participate in these developments in 2019 and beyond.

In my own research over the years, I have looked at the importance, impact and manifestations of circumpolar media, Inuit arctic policy, film, literature, story-telling and arctic indigenous cultures. My students have looked at other areas such as the visual and pictorial arts, broadcasting, journalism, photography, theater, music, dance and religion. All are relevant to Arctic research.

So my understanding of The Humanities is wide but does include the usual disciplines that are perceived as Humanities such as literature, film, cultural studies, photography, art, music, dance, indigenous culture, religion, policy, story-telling, media and broadcasting (some aspects of history and languages). This presentation does not address the distinct methodologies and theories of Humanities that distinguish them from other sciences, the present work is based on “grounded” theory and methodology; but a further exploration of that aspect is a later research project.

In this presentation, the Arctic is defined as the four regions of Inuit Nunangat in Canada as well as other circumpolar regions. It includes Inuit, arctic First Nations, other arctic peoples as well as non-indigenous residents.

* * *



The above diagram aims to show the centrality of climate change research to many other areas of inquiry. It leads us to several questions that have no firm answers at the moment, but which are interesting and productive to ponder as we move forward with our research.

Is there really an unexpected benefit of global change?

What role do the Humanities play or could play or should play in arctic/northern science and research projects?

Why do we need the Humanities in arctic research?

How does a Humanities component add new and interesting dimensions to any research project or scientific study dealing with the Arctic?

Is the inclusion of the Humanities in some form a necessary component of the many projects dealing with climate change in the Arctic as it touches on many human dimensions?

The premise is that the Humanities enlarge our imagination and show us things that otherwise would be unnoticed. Correct?

The Humanities make science come to life in new and unexpected ways that foster our understanding and appreciation. Do they?

As stated above, in 2019, the Arctic and its peoples are at a crossroads as this region achieves new and expanded geo-political, economic and cultural importance in the world because of climate change, resource development, reconciliation, arctic sovereignty, new forms of governance and a deeper understanding of arctic cultures and its peoples.

The Humanities possess unique perspectives to illuminate and participate in this development in 2019 and beyond. Is this the “added value” the Humanities may contribute to a project? And the reason, they need to be included?

Thank you

Merci

Qajanak

* * *

HABITER LE NUNAVIK: CONSIDÉRER LE SYSTÈME DE PRODUCTION DU LOGEMENT À TRAVERS LA COMPLEXITÉ ET L'HABITER

Marika Vachon
Université Laval

Résumé : Il est reconnu que les populations inuit du Nunavik font face à un manque de logements adaptés aux réalités socioterritoriales du Nord. La communication propose une réflexion sur le système de production du logement au Nunavik, à la lumière des notions de complexité et d'habiter. L'analyse des processus offre l'occasion de créer des ponts entre les connaissances des réalités du logement pour les communautés et les considérations matérielles, immatérielles et symboliques liées au fait d'habiter le Nord. Aborder la situation selon l'angle de la complexité permet une compréhension élargie de la situation et ouvre l'opportunité d'intégrer des connaissances et savoirs porteurs dans des façons de faire renouvelées. Cette communication souligne que les processus actuels de production du logement, linéaires et standardisés, sont basés sur une logique de rationalité technique orientée davantage vers la quantité d'unités à construire que vers la qualité, l'habitabilité et la recherche de sens pour les populations visées.

Au cours des vingt dernières années, les recherches ayant porté sur la question du logement au Nunavik ont démontré une volonté de documenter les divers angles de la problématique, le tout à travers des analyses portant sur les politiques et ententes en place, le rôle des divers acteurs, l'utilisation culturelle des espaces, les effets des logements sur les ménages, etc. Le tout, presque toujours en fonction des traditions de recherche spécifiques aux diverses disciplines impliquées : sciences politiques, anthropologie et sociologie, principalement. Plusieurs conviennent que l'on se trouve dans le domaine des problèmes complexes, impliquant de nombreux acteurs ayant des visions, normes et valeurs, mais aussi perceptions différentes de la problématique. Cette complexité est entre autres liée aux dynamiques des processus et aux systèmes d'éléments interreliés, à l'incertitude de financement et aux enjeux techniques, aux considérations sociales et aux formes de gouvernance en place.

Toutefois, si la complexité est un état, elle peut aussi devenir un atout, une méthode pour ouvrir le champ des possibles. Edgar Morin, sociologue français, nous dirait que pour comprendre un système complexe, il faut lier, relier... non pas isoler et séparer en champs disciplinaires distincts. La complexité est donc une méthode de recherche qui vise à aspirer à l'interdisciplinarité et à une vision multidimensionnelle. Elle demande une approche interprétative qui permet l'ouverture vers une variété d'options, qui encourage l'intersubjectivité et la contextualisation. Assez similairement, chez les anthropologues et sociologues, on parle de « bricolage », méthode combinant et mettant en relation des significations, des éléments provenant de la conscience collective sociale, pour créer quelque chose de nouveau, ancré dans une pensée mythique plutôt que moderne.

Actuellement, au Nunavik, les cadres de gouvernance en place sont toujours issus de cette pensée Moderne se basant sur une logique de rationalité technique et de fragmentation

des champs disciplinaires, orientée davantage vers la quantité d'unités de logement à construire que vers leur qualité, leur habitabilité et leur sens pour les futurs usagers.

Les problèmes associés aux logements au Nunavik sont bien connus, toutefois, comme le suggèrent Brière et Laugrand (2017 :36) : « Au-delà du manque crucial de logements, plusieurs des 'problèmes' identifiés comme tels par nombre d'experts et de journalistes s'appréhendent mieux comme des symptômes de conflits de normes et de valeurs culturelles. Ces problèmes suggèrent que des difficultés plus fondamentales existent en amont, de sorte que la non-adaptation des logements est manifeste ». De plus, on sait que les peuples autochtones et inuit se reconnaissent plutôt dans les systèmes de pensée tout autres, mythiques (Lévis-Strauss, 1962), où tout est intégré.

Processus actuels de production des logements sociaux

Les logements sociaux au Nunavik représentent plus de 90% du parc immobilier actuel et l'actuel processus de production des logements sociaux au Nunavik représente littéralement une pensée orientée avant tout sur la rationalité technique. La figure 1 présente ce processus, dans lequel on retrouve les phases habituelles en gestion de projets de construction, selon les méthodes reconnues du Project Management Institute (PMI). D'emblée, on remarque que les responsabilités sont fragmentées selon plusieurs organisations.

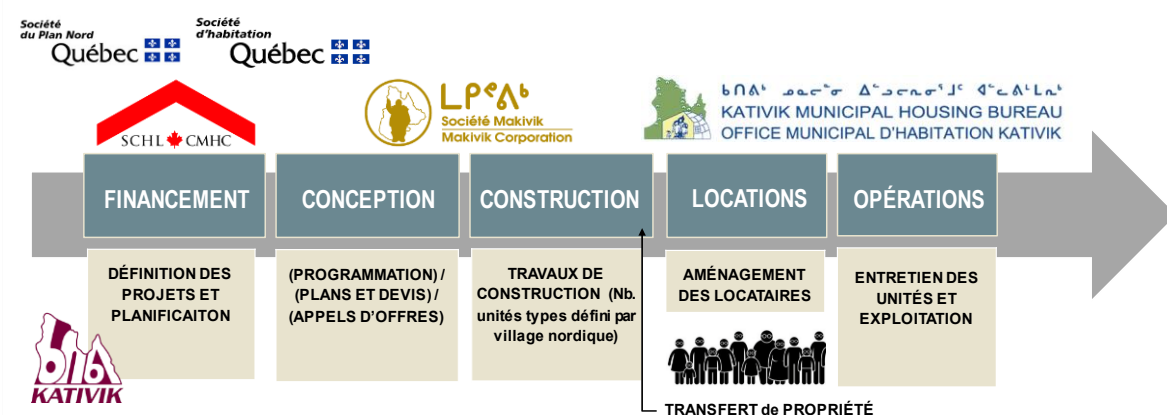


Figure 1 : Synthèse du processus actuel de production des logements sociaux au Nunavik.

Le financement des nouvelles infrastructures est pris en charge par la Société Canadienne d'Hypothèque et de Logement (SCHL) et, à quelques occasions, par la Société du Plan Nord (SPN). Les coûts d'entretien du parc immobilier sont quant à eux défrayés par la Société d'habitation du Québec (SHQ). La Division construction de Makivik est responsable des étapes de conception et construction, selon un principe 'clé-en-main': on accélère ainsi ces étapes en réutilisant les plans types de bâtiments, par exemple un modèle convenu de duplex, conçu en fonction des modèles culturels du sud). On évite ainsi les appels d'offres traditionnellement publics et les consultations habituelles de définition de besoins des usagers. La propriété est ensuite transférée, à la fin du chantier, à l'Office

Municipal d'habitation Kativik (OMHK). L'Office Municipal d'habitation Kativik prend localement le relais pour la gestion du processus d'attribution, de location et d'entretien du parc immobilier. Les locataires reçoivent finalement les unités livrées après plusieurs années sur des listes d'attente, en fonction de critères d'accès qui sont souvent perçus comme restrictifs et discriminatoires, entre autres par les jeunes.

Parallèlement, quelques comités siègent sur une base annuelle (incluant Administration Régionale Kativik et les corporations foncières), afin d'assurer le respect de la Convention de la Baie James et du Nord Québécois, de livrer un nombre optimal d'unités de logement inuit et de terminer dans quelles communautés et sur quels sites seront construites ces unités. Ainsi, comme l'ont soulevé Therrien et Duhaime (2017), les acteurs inuit sont maintenant davantage intégrés aux processus de consultation et de cogestion, mais sont toujours absents des décisions associées au logement, se prenant aux niveaux fédéral et provincial.

Dans ce contexte reflétant une pensée de rationalité technique provenant du Sud qui ne semble pas faire sens au Nord, on peut se demander comment les modèles de réalisation de l'habitat au Nunavik pourraient être davantage en cohérence avec les réalités, aspirations et façons d'habiter des communautés inuit ? À quelles étapes des processus et selon quelles considérations pourrait-on faire contribuer les organisations et divers acteurs impliqués ?

Cadre théorique

Le cadre théorique proposé dans la thèse vise donc une transition vers des modèles, des façons de faire qui soient davantage porteuses de sens, qui soient cohérentes avec les aspirations des habitants du nord.

Les méthodes de la complexité nous invitent à évaluer les interactions dans le système, à les interpréter à travers le modèle proposé par Le Moigne qui relie l'éthique, l'épistémique et le pragmatique. Se faisant, le système de production ne peut plus être considéré selon l'angle unique du pragmatique et de la rationalité technique dominante, mais plutôt en fonction de considérations solidaires reliant également l'épistémique et l'éthique, redirigeant le discours vers des approches et concepts significatifs.

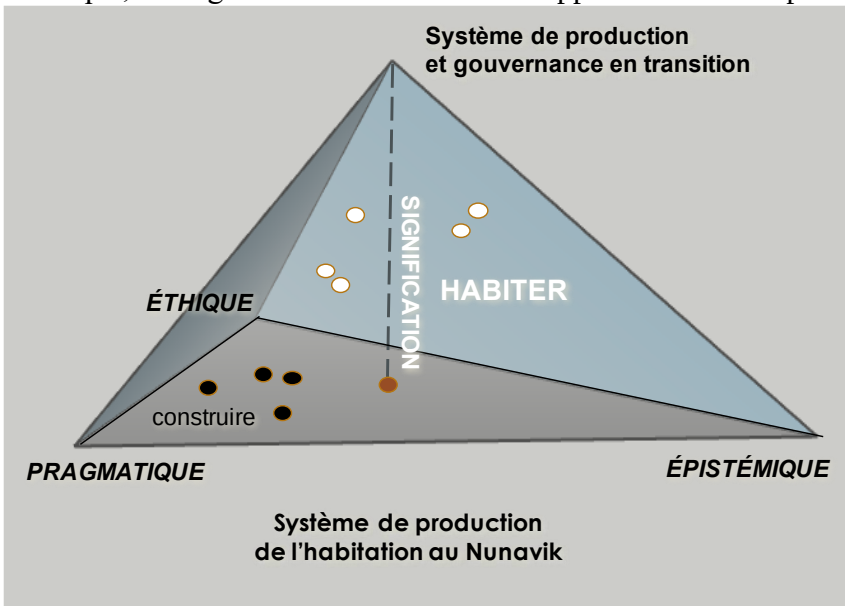


Figure 2 : Adaptation du modèle de complexité de Le Moigne et intégration du concept d'habiter en tant qu'opérateur pour l'ouverture du système.

L'habiter est reconnu comme un marqueur significatif des relations des hommes à l'espace. Pour plusieurs anthropologues, dont Ingold, c'est à travers le fait « d'habiter » que le monde devient un endroit significatif, et non seulement en fonction de l'acte de « construire ».

« Habiter c'est, dans un espace et un temps donnés, tracer un rapport au territoire en lui attribuant des qualités qui permettent à chacun de s'y identifier ». Segaud 2010 :70

Les cultures et diverses théories de l'habiter ont été déclinées en concepts particulièrement riches par différents champs de recherche (philosophie, anthropologie, sociologie, géographie et architecture), à travers des formes, des pratiques, des représentations, des habitudes. La signification de ce qu'est habiter est donc variée ; pour certains, l'habiter peut être une façon d'occuper l'espace, de se représenter l'espace. Pour d'autres, l'habiter est liée aux formes culturelles, aux pratiques du quotidien. Dans tous les cas, il semble que de façon plus ontologique, ce soit un espace de projection pour l'être.

Dans le contexte de l'habitation au Nunavik, les récentes études ont démontré que les Inuit, à travers leurs pratiques de l'espace, déploient différentes tactiques pour maintenir cet « habiter » vivant. Brière et Laugrand (2017) ont démontré que l'habitus nomade persiste au Nunavik, à travers les sorties sur le territoire qui se perpétuent le week-end, à travers la forte mobilité intra et intercommunautaire ainsi qu'à travers la manière dont les Inuit habitent et aménagent leurs cabanes. Collignon (2001) et Dawson (2006; 2008) l'associent au fait que les intérieurs des maisons sont marqués par une grande dualité entre les postures à l'occidentale et les postures inuit; l'espace exerçant une contrainte sur les pratiques des habitants dans certaines pièces de l'espace domestique standardisé, dont les cuisines et les salons.

Ainsi, suivant les approches de la complexité et du « bricolage », l'habiter, à travers ses formes, ses pratiques, ses représentations et ses habitudes peut ainsi agir comme opérateur d'ouverture du système alors que la signification peut devenir l'opérateur de réorganisation du système pour mise en place de stratégies de gouvernance adaptées. Nous pourrions ainsi considérer une transition de la perspective rationaliste centrée sur le fait de construire, vers une approche plus holistique (multidimensionnelle) centrée sur le concept d'habiter, exprimant les aspirations, visions du monde, mythes et croyances des futurs usagers (aspects immatériels et symboliques).

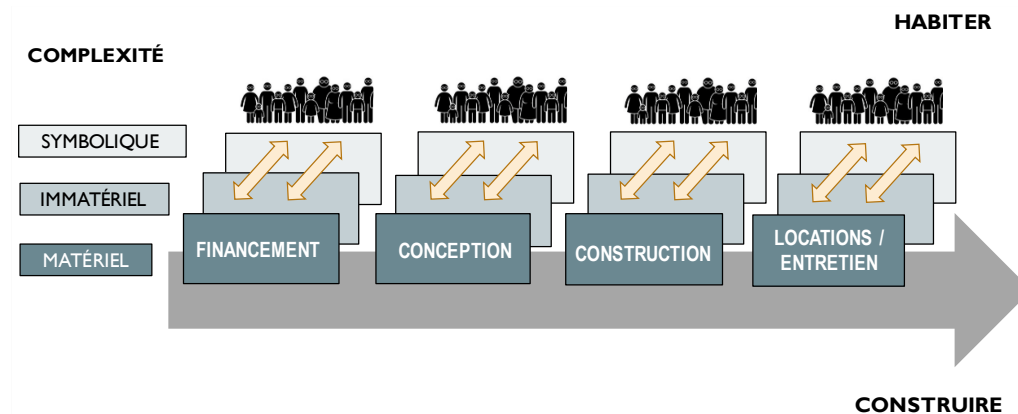


Figure 3 : Processus multidimensionnel permettant une transition « du construire » vers « l’habiter ».

Pour croiser ainsi divers types de savoirs et des visions du monde issues de contextes socioculturels différents - qu’ils se situent « au Nord » avec les acteurs inuit porteurs de leurs savoirs, valeurs et traditions ou « au Sud » selon les réalités des organisations provinciales et fédérales impliquées -, on doit pouvoir lier plutôt que fragmenter encore davantage. Permettre des espaces de rencontre plus inclusives dans les processus, ce que Porter (2016) nomme *zones de contact*, permettrait ainsi d’ouvrir un espace de discussions pour mieux apprendre les uns des autres, envisager une variété d’options, de modèles de production du cadre bâti, et de co-crée des solutions...

À titre d’exemple, permettre des interactions, des relations tôt dans le processus avec une variété d’acteurs, « des experts du quotidien » et des représentants provenant des diverses communautés pourrait permettre de capter les aspirations des futurs usagers, d’ouvrir la voie à des alternatives. Ces adaptations à divers niveaux, pourraient ainsi être en lien avec le financement et avec une variété de modes de tenures (coopératives familiales, logements locatifs privés, etc.) et avec les phases de conception afin de co-crée en fonction des préférences, de permettre des adaptations des standards en fonction des pratiques quotidiennes. Évaluer les options au niveau des pratiques de construction / opérations pourrait permettre davantage d’appropriations, de choix à travers ce « faire ». Enfin, l’objectif étant de permettre de mieux adapter les bâtiments et les espaces adjacents, d’en faire des lieux où l’habiter est possible et surtout valorisé.

Finalement, considérer les processus de construction à partir de perspectives interdisciplinaires et multidimensionnelles, intégrant les représentations de l’habiter, est une approche innovante qui peut certainement faire écho dans divers contextes interculturels ou organisationnels. C’est aussi une approche qui ouvre la voie à des alternatives plus résilientes en termes de systèmes, étant davantage cohérents avec les réalités, les aspirations et les pratiques de l’habiter des communautés inuit du Nunavik. C’est précisément cet axe que je vais explorer dans le cadre de ma thèse combinant architecture, anthropologie et gouvernance du territoire.

Références

- Breton, Marie-Pierre et Geneviève Cloutier. 2017. Cadre institutionnel et pratiques locales de l'aménagement en territoire nordique : un dialogue en trois temps illustré par le cas de Kuujuaq. Dans *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 47 (1) : 87-99.
- Brière, Andréanne et Frédéric Laugrand. 2017. Maisons en communauté et cabanes dans la toundra : appropriation partielle, adaptation et nomadisme chez les Inuits du Nunavik et du Nunavut. Dans *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* XLVII (1) : 35-48.
- Christensen, Julia. 2016. Indigenous housing and health in the Canadian North : revisiting cultural safety. Dans *Health & Place* 40 : 83-90.
- Collignon, Beatrice. 2001. Esprit des lieux et modèles culturels. La mutation des espaces domestiques en antarctique inuit. Dans *Annales de Géographie* 110 (620) : 383-404.
- Dawson, Peter. 2008. Unfriendly architecture : using observations of Inuit spatial behavior to design culturally sustaining houses in Arctic Canada. Dans *Housing studies* 23 :1, p.111-128
- Dawson, Peter C. 2006. Seeing like an Inuit family: The relationship between house form and culture in Northern Canada. Dans *Études/Inuit/Studies* 30(2) : 113-135.
- Ingold, Tim. 2013. *Marcher avec les dragons*. Point, zones sensibles. Lonrai.
- Le Moigne, Jean-Louis. 2013. The intelligence of complexity : do the ethical aims of research and intervention in education not lead us to a new discourse on the study methods of our time ? Dans *Complicity : an international journal of complexity and education* 10 (1) : 1-17.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. [1962] 2017. *La pensée sauvage*. Collection Agora, Plon. Paris.
- Morin, Edgar. 2005. *Introduction à la pensée complexe*. Editions du Seuil, 'Points Essais'. Paris.
- Porter, Libby et Janice Barry. 2016. *Planning for Coexistence ? Recognizing Indigenous rights through land-use planning in Canada and Australia*, Routledge, Londres et New York.
- Segaud, Marion [2007]2017). *Anthropologie de l'espace. Habiter, fonder, distribuer, transformer*, Deuxième édition, Armand Colin, collection U. Domont.
- Therrien, Aude et Gérard Duhaime. 2017. Le logement social au Nunavik : pouvoirs et responsabilités. Dans *Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec* 47 (1) : 101-110.

UNE DESCRIPTION SÉMANTIQUE ET SYNTAXIQUE DU MORPHÈME D'ASPECT *-liq-* EN INUKTITUT

Nora Villeneuve
Université du Québec à Montréal

Resumé : Ce travail consiste à fournir une description syntaxique et sémantique d'un morphème de l'inuktitut, le morphème *-liq-*, considéré dans la littérature comme étant un morphème d'aspect inceptif. L'analyse du morphème *-liq-* s'applique au sens général de celui-ci, mais également à son interaction avec les propriétés temporelles intrinsèques des racines verbales auxquelles il est joint, à sa position syntaxique et à sa combinatoire avec d'autres morphèmes fonctionnels.

1. Introduction

L'objectif de cet article est d'analyser le sens que peut avoir l'item *-liq-*, morphème de l'inuktitut considéré dans la littérature comme un morphème d'aspect inceptif. À partir de données collectées en inuktitut du Sud de Baffin (SB), voici quelques observations générales que l'on peut faire sur les différentes acceptions que peut avoir le morphème *-liq-* dans différents contextes. Il peut avoir un sens *inceptif*, qui détermine que l'action ou le processus commence, tel que le montre les exemples 1a, 1b, 2a et 2b.

- (1) a. Mumi^q- tunga
danser 1SG.DÉC
'I am dancing'¹
b. Mumi^q- liq- tunga
danser LIQ 1SG.DÉC
'I am starting to dance'
- (2) a. Niri- puq
manger 3SG.IND
'He/she is eating'
b. Niri- liq- puq
manger LIQ 3SG.IND
'He/she is starting to eat'

Il peut avoir le sens de *maintenant*, comme dans les exemples 3a, 3b, 4a et 4b.

¹Les gloses sont gardées en anglais pour éviter toute perte de nuance sémantique que pourrait amener une troisième traduction de l'anglais au français.

- (3) a. Quviasut- tunga
 être.heureux 1SG.DÉC
 'I am happy'
- b. Quviasut- liq- tunga
 être.heureux LIQ 1SG.DÉC
 'I am happy now'
- (4) a. Aanniaq- tunga
 être.malade 1SG.DÉC
 'I am sick'
- b. Aanniaq- liq- tunga
 être.malade LIQ 1SG.DÉC
 'I am sick now'

Il peut signifier qu'une action est en train de se dérouler.

- (5) Aqquiti ikaa- liq- tara
 rue traverser LIQ 1SG.3SG.DÉC
 'I am crossing the street'

Finalement, l'utilisation de deux morphèmes *-liq-* donne le sens de *devenir*, comme dans les exemples 6a et 6b.

- (6) a. Aanniaq- liq- liq- tunga
 être.malade LIQ LIQ 1SG.DÉC
 'I am becoming sick'
- b. Quviasut- liq- liq- tunga
 être.heureux LIQ LIQ 1SG.DÉC
 'I am becoming happy'

Ces données en inuktitut SB² serviront de base pour l'analyse de la variation sémantique du morphème *-liq-*, qui pourrait être généralisable à d'autres morphèmes, et permettre de mettre en lumière des propriétés ou des règles propres à l'inuktitut et ainsi contribuer à la description de la langue ou d'autres langues polysynthétiques.³ Les sections qui suivent présentent les analyses précédentes de *-liq-* (section 2), le cadre théorique (section 3), la problématique de recherche (section 4) ainsi que mon analyse du sens de *-liq-* (section 5).

²Les données ont été collectées auprès de 8 locuteurs et locutrices d'inuktitut SB.

³Puisque ce travail se concentre sur la morphosyntaxe et la sémantique de l'inuktitut, les contraintes phonotactiques de la langue ne seront pas abordées, et les gloses ne contiendront pas les suppressions de phonèmes et autres phénomènes phonologiques de l'inuktitut.

2. Analyses précédentes

2.1 -liq- dans la littérature

Dans la littérature, *-liq-* est souvent considéré comme un marqueur d'aspect inceptif, c'est-à-dire qu'il introduit le commencement d'un procès ou d'une action. C'est la définition que lui donne Fortescue (1980) dans ses travaux sur le groenlandais de l'Ouest, un autre dialecte de la langue inuite. Le morphème *-liq-* est associé aux définitions *begin*, *about to*, et deux autres gloses correspondent à certaines de ses acceptions, soit *-li-* (*become*) et *-lir-* (*begin/about to*). Cette définition va de pair avec celle fournie par Spreng (2016, p.9) dans ses travaux sur les contrastes aspectuels en inuktitut, où *-liq-* est défini comme le « *readiness, commencement of action or motion, becoming* ». Elle décrit *-liq-* en le comparant avec le morphème *-si-*, qui a également un sens inceptif lorsqu'il est utilisé avec un verbe intransitif régulier ou avec un verbe transitif. Elle spécifie la régularité du verbe intransitif car *-si-* est également un marqueur de forme antipassive. Spreng distingue *-liq-* de *-si-* puisqu'il ne peut être utilisé comme morphème antipassif, pour faire de l'*argument-shifting* ou pour détransitiviser un verbe. Il aurait un sens et une fonction strictement aspectuelle.

Bien que ces définitions correspondent avec plusieurs données en inuktitut SB ou dans d'autres dialectes, elles sont insuffisantes puisqu'elles ne rendent pas compte de certaines acceptions de *-liq-*. Les entrées de Fortescue (1980) sont toutefois intéressantes, car dans ce dialecte les sens qui correspondent à ceux de *-liq-* en inuktitut SB sont associés à trois morphèmes différents. Ces trois morphèmes distincts en groenlandais pourraient être polysémiques en inuktitut SB.

2.2 Définitions du dictionnaire

Dans le *Dictionary of Uktuhiksalingmiut Inuktitut Postbase Suffixes* (Briggs, Cook et Johns, 2015, p.247-248), qui répertorie les suffixes d'une variété de l'inuktitut parlé dans le centre de l'Arctique canadien, le sens de *-liq-* est décrit comme suit :

- (a) *Be in the process of Xing; be just Xing now; become X; begin to X; be X now*
- (b) *Generally emphasizes the "now"-ness of an event. activity or state, but this translates in several different ways depending of the type of verb stems it attaches to.*
- (c) *More than one use of -liq- may occur in the same word, when the first -liq- means "become" or "begin" and the second -liq- means "in process", so that the whole meaning is "in process of becoming".*

Ces définitions, bien qu'elles correspondent à des données provenant d'un autre sous-dialecte, concordent avec les observations faites à partir des données en inuktitut SB.

Les auteur.e.s proposent deux points principaux par rapport à la variation du sens de *-liq-* :

1. Son sens principal, ou plus général; il mettrait de l'emphase sur le fait qu'une action se déroule maintenant.

2. Le sens de ses différentes acceptions varie selon la catégorisation sémantique des racines en inuktitut, soit les verbes d'état, les événements et les activités.

3. Cadre théorique

3.1 Inuktitut

L'inuktitut est un dialecte de la langue inuite, qui fait elle-même partie de la famille des langues eskimo-aléoute. Les langues de cette famille sont considérées très productives sur le plan de la morphologie, et elles sont définies comme étant fortement polysynthétiques. Fortescue décrit la famille eskimo-aléoute comme étant la plus polysynthétique au monde (2002 ; p. 257). Pour en parler ainsi, il faut donc qu'il y ait une gradabilité reliée au fait d'être polysynthétique ou non, qui ne s'applique pas à toutes les définitions du terme. Cela fonctionne si l'on prend la définition de Greenberg (1960, cité par Mithun, 2009, p. 15), qui s'appuie sur un ratio M/W , soit la moyenne du nombre de morphèmes par mot. Cette définition ne s'appuie que sur la productivité morphologique d'une langue, sans imposer de limites, ainsi qu'en offrant une façon d'analyser le nombre de morphèmes comme une variable continue au lieu de discrète. Dans les travaux de Greenberg, le groenlandais de l'Ouest a obtenu le ratio M/W le plus élevé, soit de 3.72 morphèmes par mot, alors que très peu de langues ont un ratio de plus de 3 (Mithun, 2009). Sachant que les dialectes de l'inuit ont une structure morphosyntaxique très similaires (Dorais, 1945), nous analyserons l'inuktitut comme étant polysynthétique

En inuktitut, un énoncé est minimalement composé d'un mot verbal complexe (Compton & Pittman, 2010), qui est lui-même minimalement composé d'une racine et d'un affixe flexionnel (Fortescue, 1984). Entre la racine et l'affixe final, on peut retrouver des affixes intermédiaires, qui sont optionnels et qui causent le caractère polysynthétique de l'inuktitut, par le fait qu'ils peuvent se combiner de façon à allonger le mot verbal et à complexifier son sens, et ce, sans limite clairement définie (Cook et Johns, 2009). Il ne peut y avoir qu'une racine lexicale par mot verbal, et celle-ci peut être un verbe «concret» ou une racine nominale à laquelle s'ajoutera une particule qui représente un verbe abstrait (Johns, 2007). Les deux structures de mot verbal décrites précédemment sont représentées dans les exemples 7a et 7b⁴ :

(7) [Racine verbale] X Y Z ... Flexion

- a. hini -liq -nia -haaq -&unga
sleep begin future about.to 1SG.APPOS
'just before I went to sleep'

[Racine nominale] verbe léger X Y Z ... Flexion

- b. tuktu -qaq -nia -&a -'man
caribou exist future expressive 3SG.CAUS
'because there might be caribou'

⁴Exemples tirés de Cook et Johns, 2009, p.154

Les éléments *X*, *Y* et *Z* sont facultatifs. Ils correspondent à des morphèmes fonctionnels, dont *-liq-* fait partie, qui amènent des informations grammaticales. C'est parce que leur sens est abstrait et sous-spécifié qu'ils peuvent se combiner de sorte à rendre l'inuktitut une langue polysynthétique (Cook et Johns, 2009).

3.2 Morphèmes fonctionnels et position syntaxique

Cook et Johns (2009) qualifient les affixes intermédiaires de fonctionnels, en opposition avec les morphèmes lexicaux selon la définition de Harley et Noyer (2000, cité par Cook et Johns, 2009, p.156). Cette théorie fait une distinction binaire entre les morphèmes lexicaux (*l-morphèmes*) et les morphèmes fonctionnels (*f-morphèmes*). Les morphèmes lexicaux sont décrits comme une classe plus libre où le locuteur peut choisir quel item utiliser en fonction de son sens encyclopédique (qui permet de distinguer deux objets ou concepts, comme *pomme* versus *orange*), tandis que les morphèmes fonctionnels forment une classe contrainte par les propriétés formelles du morphème, qui doit être choisi dans des contextes plus précis. Ce statut fonctionnel implique, selon la définition de Harley et Noyer (2000), que ces items ont un sens sous-spécifié, qui est plus abstrait, et qui se spécifie selon le contexte grammatical dans lequel il est utilisé. Cela se constate par la forte polysémie que l'on retrouve au sein des affixes intermédiaires en inuktitut. Les affixes intermédiaires, ou morphèmes post-bases, ont été décrits et regroupés par Fortescue au cours de ses travaux (1980, 1983, 1984, cité par Cook et Johns, 2009), et cette catégorisation reste la plus exhaustive à ce jour. Les quatre principales catégories d'éléments fonctionnels de l'inuktitut développées par Fortescue (1980) sont les suivantes :

1. Les **Vs** (pour *sentential*), dans lesquels on retrouve l'expression du temps (**Vten**), de la négation (**Vneg**) et les impressions subjectives du locuteur (**Vsub**).
2. Les **Vmod**, qui regroupent les aspects et différents types d'adverbes.
3. Les **Vr**, qui représentent les *light verbs* qui permettent l'incorporation de noms comme racines lexicales.
4. Les **Ve**, qui sont des éléments qui permettent les phénomènes d'*argument-shifting* tels que la causativité et la passivité, ou qui représentent des verbes abstraits tels que «penser», «vouloir» et «dire».

Fortescue place *-liq-* parmi les **Vmod**. Les adverbes qui en font partie ajoutent des informations sémantiques de degré, de fréquence, de durée et de manière (Fortescue inclut dans ces derniers les adverbes d'intensité, de rapidité, de qualité et de compréhension). Les adverbes qui décrivent une émotion (*e.g.*, *happily*) ou une manière liée à un adjectif (*e.g.*, *thirstily*) sont exclus de cette catégorie (Compton et Pittman, 2007), puisqu'ils représentent des éléments lexicaux partageant des liens avec d'autres sens encyclopédiques (*heureux* en opposition avec *triste*).

Parmi les **Vmod**, dans la sous-catégorie des *Phase of completion*, les deux entrées en groenlandais de l'Ouest fournies par Fortescue correspondent à deux des sens de *-liq-* en inuktitut SB, respectivement *-li-* (*become*) et *-lir-* (*begin/about to*).

3.3 Aspect grammatical et *aktionsart*

Comme mentionné dans la section 2, il est proposé par Cook et Johns (2009) que l'aspect lexical est un des facteurs qui participent à la spécification du sens des morphèmes fonctionnels. Il est donc important de faire la distinction entre l'aspect lexical (ou *aktionsart*) et grammatical. L'aspect lexical correspond aux propriétés sémantiques temporelles qui sont inhérentes à un procès, c'est-à-dire les traits de temporalité enracinés à un verbe, indépendamment de son contexte syntaxique. Vendler (1957) en a proposé quatre catégories (les états, les activités, les achèvements et les accomplissements) pour séparer les verbes selon trois traits binaires de temporalité, soit la télélicité, le dynamisme et la durée d'un procès. La télélicité correspond à la propriété d'un verbe ou d'un prédicat de devoir être complété ou d'avoir une fin. Par exemple, pour le prédicat *Construire une maison*, la fin intrinsèque est le moment où la maison est construite. À l'inverse, un verbe qui n'implique pas de fin nécessairement ou qui dénote une action qui n'a pas été complétée est dit atélique (e.g. *Parler* ou *Danser*). La durativité est le trait qui détermine si un verbe ou un prédicat est ponctuel ou s'il dure un certain moment (pas nécessairement déterminé). La dynamisme, en opposition avec la stativité, est la propriété d'un verbe ou d'un prédicat à évoluer ou changer dans le temps. À l'inverse, il n'y a pas d'évolution ou de changement dans l'action qu'un verbe statique exprime (e.g. *Croire* ou *Savoir*). On associe les verbes dynamiques aux verbes d'action et les verbes statiques aux verbes d'état. Il existe également d'autres traits de temporalité que Vendler n'a pas pris en compte lorsqu'il a développé ces catégories, mais ces trois traits sont particulièrement pertinents pour analyser les racines de l'inuktitut, si l'on suit la proposition de Cook et Johns (2009) (voir la section 4. Certains tests permettent de démontrer la pertinence de ces catégories, en montrant que l'utilisation d'adverbes temporels (ex : en quelques heures/pendant quelques heures) peut rendre un énoncé grammatical ou non dépendamment du type de verbe avec lequel il est jumelé. Ces tests ne sont évidemment pas infaillibles, et il est difficile de les utiliser translinguistiquement. Les catégories de Vendler, bien qu'encore utilisées aujourd'hui dans les recherches sur la sémantique temporelle, sont toutefois insuffisantes pour rendre compte de toutes les caractéristiques temporelles que peut avoir un procès. D'autres catégories sont se définies au cours de travaux sur le sujet, tentant de rendre compte de certaines distinctions mises de côté. Comrie (1976), entre autre, fut le premier à introduire la catégorie des semelfactifs, qui correspondent à des procès ponctuels et instantanés (ex : cogner, éternuer, etc.). Ces catégories créées à partir de ces traits temporels peuvent se résumer comme suit ⁵ :

Classe	Exemples	Dynamique	Duratif	Télique
État	Savoir, Croire, Aimer	-	+	-
Activité	Courir, Nager, Conduire	+	+	-
Accomplissement	Construire une maison	+	+	+
Achèvement	Trouver, Atteindre le sommet	+	-	+
Semelfactif	Tousser, Cogner	+	-	-

Les verbes, par le type de situation qu'ils représentent, possèderaient donc dans leur

⁵Tel que dans Hayashi, 2010, p.17

structure interne des propriétés temporelles de base servant à décrire comment elles prennent place dans le temps (Dowty, 1991). Les catégories proposées par Vendler et d'autres rendent compte d'une bonne variété de bases et de leurs propriétés temporelles, mais celles-ci ne s'appliquent pas à toutes les langues. En effet, certaines langues ne font pas de distinction entre certaines de ces catégories, et parfois ce sont les traits temporels qui définissent la catégorisation des verbes d'une langue plutôt qu'une combinaison de traits. C'est d'ailleurs ce qui a été proposé pour l'inuktitut par Cook et Johns (2009), mais également par Spreng (2008), qui distinguent les verbes qui ne sont pas des états seulement par leur télicité. La catégorisation qu'ils proposent pour les prédicats en inuktitut se décriraient donc de la sorte :

- Les verbes d'état : [-dynamique] [-télique] [+duratif]
- Les verbes atéliques (activités) : [+dynamique] [-télique] [+duratif]
- Les verbes téliques (événements) : [+dynamique] [+télique] [+/-duratif]

Selon cette proposition, il n'y a pas de contraste entre les accomplissements et les achèvements en inuktitut, donc le trait duratif ne serait pas spécifié pour cette catégorie. À première vue, le seul trait qui distingue la catégorie des verbes d'état et des verbes atéliques en inuktitut serait le trait dynamique. Pour cette raison, je postule que si le sens varie entre ces deux types de prédicat, la dynamicité doit avoir une influence sur la variation sémantique de *-liq-*, du moins pour ces deux catégories.

L'aspect grammatical, quant à lui, correspond aux différentes manières de décrire la temporalité interne d'une situation, ou les relations temporelles qui relient plusieurs situations ensemble (Hayashi, 2011). Contrairement aux *aktionsarts*, cette description de la temporalité n'est pas inhérente au procès. Dans un ouvrage sur le sujet, Comrie (1976) explique que l'aspect grammatical est soit exprimé morphologiquement (synthétiquement) ou syntaxiquement (analytiquement), indépendamment des cas plus complexes à analyser où il s'agit d'une interaction entre les deux systèmes. On retrouve également d'autres définitions moins courantes de l'aspect grammatical dans la littérature, telle que celle-ci (Kamp and Reyle, 1993 ; de Swart, 1998 :348 ; 2007 :6 ; Tonhauser, 2006 :20 ; Cité par Hayashi, 2011) :

Grammatical aspects can be treated as operations on eventuality descriptions, i.e., denotations of predicates combined with their arguments and modifiers.

Bien qu'incomplète, cette définition est intéressante puisqu'elle décrit les marqueurs d'aspect non pas comme des éléments individuels dans le système linguistique, mais comme des opérations qui interagissent avec d'autres systèmes tels que les propriétés prédictives du verbe, les adverbes et autres modificateurs du verbe. Cette définition s'applique bien dans le cas de l'inuktitut, à cause de la complexité des interactions à prendre en compte pour analyser le sens des morphèmes aspectuels.

La division la plus importante fait au sein de l'aspect grammatical est celle de la perfectivité, qui rend compte de ce que plusieurs considèrent comme les aspects de base de plusieurs langues (Comrie, 1976 ; Bonhemeyer, 2003) puisqu'ils distinguent si l'on peut percevoir une situation dans sa temporalité interne (imperfectif) ou si celle-ci est perçue comme un tout insécable (perfectif). Les verbes semelfactifs sont perfectifs par définition

puisque'ils sont instantanés, mais il existe au sein de l'aspect imperfectif plusieurs sous-catégorisations rendant compte des différentes manières d'analyser et de décrire cette temporalité interne.

Puisque ce travail porte sur la description d'un morphème qui est considéré comme le morphème inceptif de l'inuktitut, il convient définir de quel aspect il s'agit ainsi que d'autres avec lesquels il est parfois confondu dans la littérature, l'aspect inchoatif et l'aspect ingressif. L'aspect inchoatif est sémantiquement défini en opposition avec l'aspect causatif. Pour un même verbe, qui signifie un changement d'état dans la majorité des cas, la forme inchoative sera celle qui est intransitive et dont le sujet n'est pas un agent, mais un patient, l'objet qui subit le changement d'état. La forme causative du verbe aura un agent comme sujet et un patient comme complément. La forme inchoative implique souvent que le changement d'état se fait de manière spontanée, sur le moment. C'est pour cette raison qu'il est confondu avec l'aspect inceptif, qui dénote le commencement d'une action ou d'un état. Ce qui le distingue de l'aspect inchoatif n'est pas clairement défini, mis à part qu'il n'est pas nécessairement opposé à la causativité. On retrouve également dans la littérature l'aspect ingressif, défini par Comrie (1976, p.19) comme étant le commencement d'une situation également. Certains distinguent l'aspect inceptif des aspects inchoatif et ingressif, en disant que le premier réfère au commencement d'une action ou d'une situation, tandis que les derniers réfèreraient à un changement d'état. Les exemples 8a, 8b et 8c illustrent la nuance entre ces trois aspects grammaticaux :

- (8) a. Jack a commencé à travailler. (Inceptif)⁶
b. Jim a commencé à dessiner un cercle. (Ingressif)⁷
c. Le volcan est entré en éruption.
(Inchoatif, la forme causative serait *Le tremblement de terre a provoqué l'éruption volcanique*)⁸

Vu la ressemblance entre les formes que peuvent prendre ces trois aspects, il peut être difficile de les distinguer,. Dans des études translinguistiques, demander des traductions peut mener à des mauvaises interprétations puisqu'un même verbe peut être utilisé pour deux aspects, tel qu'en 8a et 8b.

4. Problématique

Dans leur article *Determining the semantics of postbases*, Cook et Johns (2009) proposent une théorie sur comment analyser sémantiquement les affixes fonctionnels en inuktitut (voir la section 3 pour la structure des mots en inuktitut). Comme mentionné plus haut, ceux-ci ont un sens abstrait lorsqu'il est sous-spécifié, et il se spécifie dépendamment du contexte grammatical dans lequel il est produit.

⁶Exemple tiré de Kiyota (1998, p.14)

⁷Exemple tiré de Boland (2006, p.47)

⁸Exemple tiré de Borillo (2014, p.8)

La question se pose alors à savoir si ces cas dénotent de la polysémie, de l'homophonie ou s'il s'agit d'un seul morphème au sens plus large qui se spécifie selon sa distribution. Plusieurs travaux penchent en faveur de cette dernière hypothèse (Cook et Johns, 2009 ; Tersis et Mahieu, 2006) selon laquelle un morphème post-base correspond à une unité sémantique, de laquelle découle d'autres significations en distribution complémentaire (Johns, 1992). Par souci d'économie, et parce que ses différentes acceptions partagent un certain lien logique, *-liq-* sera analysé comme tel. Selon Cook et Johns, cette variation de sens découlerait principalement de deux facteurs :

- (a) La position syntaxique de l'item dans l'énoncé
- (b) Les propriétés temporelles de la racine

Les morphèmes fonctionnels possèderaient un sens large sous-spécifié, qui se spécifie selon la catégorisation d'aspect lexical des prédicats. Ils ont défini trois catégories aspectuelles pour les verbes de l'inuktitut, soit les verbes d'état, les verbes atéliques et les verbes téliques, à partir de données du sous-dialecte utkuhiksalingmiut comprenant le morphème *-ma-*, tel que démontré dans les exemples 9a, 9b et 9c :

- (9) a. Haqvi- ma- řuq
lost MA PTCP.3s
'He/it is (in a state of being) lost' (état)
- b. Uqalu- ma- řuq
talk MA PTCP.3s
'He talks a lot' (atélique)
- c. Aulla -ma -ksaaq -lua -runi
travel MA long.time very COND.4s
'If one is away from home for a very long time' (télique)

Selon leur hypothèse, le sens d'un morphème fonctionnel peut être prédit en fonction de ces trois catégories de prédicat, et ce, d'une manière systématique et stable. Dans le cas du morphème *-ma-*, ils en formalisent le sens comme suit :

- *state* → *state extended beyond reference time*
- *telic event* → *result state extended beyond reference time*
- *atelic activity* → *activity extended beyond reference time*⁹

À partir des différentes définitions fournies par le dictionnaire (Briggs, Cook, Johns, 2015) et de l'hypothèse de Cook et Johns (2009) selon laquelle le sens des affixes fonctionnels se spécifie en fonction de la catégorisation sémantique de la base verbale, on pourrait faire ces prédictions quant au sens du morphème *-liq-* :

1. Verbe d'état → *-liq-* indique une transition complétée, d'un état non X à un état X (be X now)

⁹Exemples et définitions tirés de *Determining the semantics of postbases* (Cook et Johns, 2009, p.160)

2. Verbe télique (événements) → *-liq-* capture le moment de transition de non X à X, celle-ci n'est pas complétée (become X)
3. Verbe atélique (activités) → l'action ou le processus commence (begin to X; be in the process of Xing now)

Cette hypothèse suppose que la télicité d'un prédicat est l'un des facteurs qui modifierait le sens d'un morphème fonctionnel, et que le sens peut être divisé selon ces catégories d'aspect lexical. À partir des données collectées pour ce travail, je propose que la dynamité du prédicat fait varier le sens de *-liq-*, ou du moins qu'elle a plus d'influence que la télicité sur ses variations de sens. Je propose également que *-liq-* est un morphème d'aspect ingressif plutôt qu'inceptif. Dans la section 5, une analyse du sens de *-liq-* sera décrite selon les facteurs proposés par Cook et Johns (2009), soit la position syntaxique du morphème et sa combinatoire avec les propriétés sémantiques des prédicats.

5. Analyse des données

5.1 Le sens général de *-liq-*

Alors qu'il est proposé dans le dictionnaire par Briggs, Cook et Johns (2015) que le sens large de *-liq-* est l'emphasis mise sur le "*now*"-ness d'un prédicat, il semble que les contextes où le morphème signifie *maintenant* sont plutôt minoritaires (seulement avec des verbes non dynamiques). Il serait dès lors surprenant qu'il s'agisse de son sens principal. Comme le démontre l'exemple 18a, si l'on ajoute le morphème de passé *-lauq-* après l'utilisation de *-liq-* avec un verbe d'état (seule catégorie de verbes avec laquelle *-liq-* signifie vraiment *maintenant*), l'ajout du passé capture plutôt la transition entre l'état $\neg X$ et X.

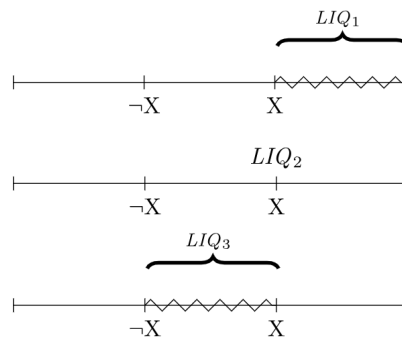
- (10) a. Quviasuq- liq- tunga
 être.heureux maintenant 1SG.DÉC
 'I am happy now'
- b. Quviasuq- liq- lauq- tunga
 être.heureux commencer PAST 1SG.DÉC
 'I got happy'

Si *-liq-* avait l'emphasis de *maintenant* comme sens général, on pourrait s'attendre à ce que l'utilisation du passé mette l'emphasis sur le moment dans le passé où un état X avait lieu. Une hypothèse plausible quant au sens sous-spécifié de *-liq-* aurait été qu'il a un sens inceptif, puisqu'il est défini comme tel dans la littérature et qu'il a cette signification lorsqu'il est joint à un verbe dynamique. Mais cette analyse n'expliquerait pas pourquoi il met l'emphasis sur *maintenant* avec un verbe non dynamique. L'explication se trouve peut-être dans l'ambiguïté qui réside entre l'aspect inceptif et ingressif, tel qu'expliqué dans la section 3.3. L'aspect ingressif, qui fait partie de l'aspect phasal, détermine un changement d'état, et ça pourrait justifier certaines des lectures que l'on peut faire de *-liq-*, qu'on peut résumer en *maintenant X*, *commencer X* et *en processus de X*. Ces trois sens pourraient être en fait différentes manières de mettre de l'emphasis sur le changement d'un état $\neg X$ à X.

Ici, *état* ne signifie pas la catégorie aspectuelle du prédicat. Pour un verbe d'activité comme *Danser*, le changement d'état pourrait être de $\neg$ *Danser* à *Danser*, par exemple. Je propose donc que *-liq-* est un morphème d'aspect phasal lorsqu'il est sous-spécifié.

Ces trois manières de mettre de l'emphase sur le changement d'état correspondraient à :

1. *LIQ₁* : Lorsqu'il signifie *maintenant X*, il met l'emphase sur l'état final ou résultant, soit X, en opposition avec l'état $\neg$ X.
2. *LIQ₂* : Lorsqu'il signifie *commencer X*, il met l'emphase sur le moment (ponctuel) où l'état X commence.
3. *LIQ₃* : Lorsqu'il signifie *en processus de X*, il met l'emphase sur la transition de $\neg$ X à X.



Pour que l'hypothèse soit valide, il est nécessaire que lorsque *-liq-* signifie *maintenant X*, ce soit en opposition avec le fait qu'il y avait un état $\neg$ X avant ce moment, ce qui a été confirmé avec les locuteurs et locutrices qui ont participé à la collecte de données.

5.2 Traits temporels

Le prédicat *Lire* est considéré comme une activité dans certaines langues indo-européennes comme le français et l'anglais. Par exemple, en français, les états ne sont pas compatibles avec *en train de* ou *venir de*, mais les activités le sont :

- (a) #Cameron est en train d'aimer Kim.
- (b) #Cameron vient d'aimer Kim.
- (c) Cameron en en train de lire le journal.
- (d) Cameron vient de lire le journal.
- (e) Cameron en en train de danser.
- (f) Cameron vient de danser.

Selon ce test, il y a donc une distinction en français entre un verbe comme *Aimer*, et des verbes comme *Lire* ou *Danser*, soit la distinction faite entre un verbe d'état et un verbe d'activité. Pourtant, si on ajoute *-liq-* au prédicat *Lire* en inuktitut, on en fait pourtant la même lecture qu'avec les verbes d'état, c'est-à-dire qu'il ajoute une emphase sur le fait que maintenant un état est achevé (voir exemples 11a et 11b. Avec une activité (atélique et dynamique) - par exemple *Danser* - il reçoit habituellement une lecture inceptive, comme dans l'exemple 12b.

- (11) a. Uqalimaaq- tunga
lire 1SG.DÉC
'I read'
- b. Uqalimaaq- liq- tunga
lire maintenant 1SG.DÉC
'I read now'
- (12) a. Mumiq- tunga
danser 1SG.DÉC
'I am dancing'
- b. Mumiq- liq- tunga
danser commencer 1SG.DÉC
'I am starting to dance'

Il semblerait que *Lire* en inuktitut serait catégorisé différemment qu'en français. Il doit donc avoir un trait sémantique qui le distingue des activités et qui l'associe aux verbes d'état, puisqu'ils donnent à *-liq-* la même signification. La distinction ne semble pas être basée sur la télicité. Il serait possible que ce soit la dynamicité du prédicat qui fait varier le sens de *-liq-* dans ce cas-ci, puisque le trait de dynamicité est celui qui distingue la catégorie des verbes d'état et celle des verbes d'activité. Il serait logiquement pertinent de considérer *Lire*, qui est une action plutôt passive, comme un verbe non dynamique. L'utilisation de deux morphèmes *-liq-* est d'ailleurs seulement possible avec les verbes d'état, et l'utilisation du deuxième morphème *-liq-* semble rendre le changement d'état dynamique, alors qu'il rend l'énoncé agrammatical avec un verbe dynamique :

- (13) a. Quviasuq- liq- liq- tunga
être.heureux commencer en.processus.de 1SG.DÉC
'I am becoming happy'
- b. *Mumiq- liq- liq- tunga
danser commencer en.processus.de 1SG.DÉC

La distinction faite par Cook et Johns entre les verbes téliques et atéliques ne semblent pas aussi clairement définie si l'on se fie à certaines données. Dans les exemples 14a, 14b et 14c, l'utilisation de *-liq-* peut avoir deux acceptions différentes avec le prédicat télique *Traverser la rue*, soit les deux acceptions prévues pour les verbes téliques et non téliques. Ces données ont été traduites par le même locuteur, donc nous pouvons écarter l'hypothèse des différences dialectales :

- (14) a. Aqcuti ikaa- tara
rue traverser 1SG SUJET.3SG OBJET.IND
'I cross the street'
- b. Aqcuti ikaa- liq- tara
rue traverser commencer 1SG SUJET.3SG OBJET.IND
'I begin to cross the street'
- c. Aqcuti ikaa- liq- tara
rue traverser en.processus.de 1SG SUJET.3SG OBJET.IND
'I am crossing the street'

Ces exemples infirment l'hypothèse de Cook et Johns selon laquelle la distribution des affixes fonctionnels de l'inuktitut peut être prédite systématiquement entre ces trois catégories.

5.3 La position syntaxique

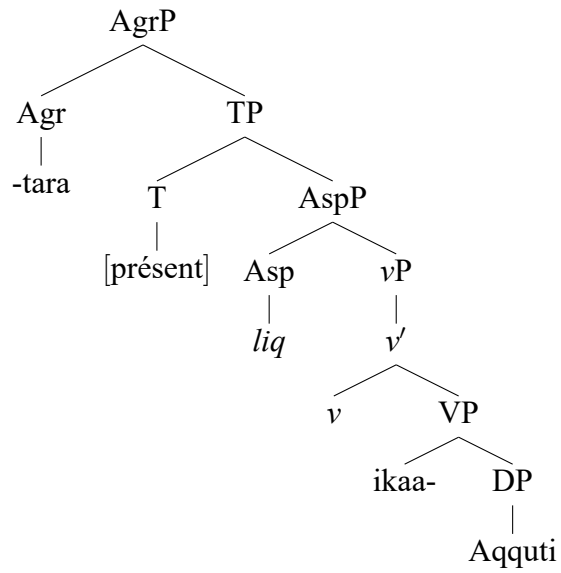
Comme mentionné dans la section 4, Cook et Johns avancent que la position syntaxique influence l'interprétation d'un morphème fonctionnel. Le redoublement de *-liq-* au sein d'un même énoncé nous permet de visualiser des cas où il occupe deux positions syntaxiques différentes. Dans leur article, ils analysent le sens du morphème inceptif et antipassif *-hi-* de l'utkuhiksalingmiut selon ces deux positions syntaxiques :

1. *-hi-* sous *vP* → fonction antipassive, change la structure argumentale.
2. *-hi-* sous *Asp/T* → lecture aspectuelle, change le sens du prédicat.

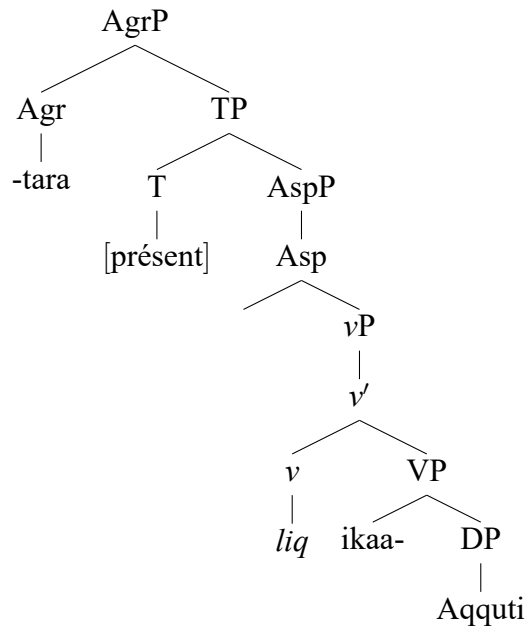
Puisque *-liq-* a un sens aspectuel, il serait plausible qu'on le retrouve également sous **Asp**. Lorsqu'il prend le sens de *commencer* ou *devenir*, il pourrait aussi être sous *v* sachant que certains verbes légers peuvent s'y retrouver. Ce faisant, voici comment nous pourrions formaliser les sens de *-liq-* en fonction de ces deux positions syntaxiques, qui pourraient expliquer les deux lectures que nous pouvons en faire avec le prédicat *Traverser la rue* :

1. *-liq-* sous *v* → *commencer/devenir*
2. *-liq-* sous **Asp** → *en processus de*

- (15) *I am crossing the street* :

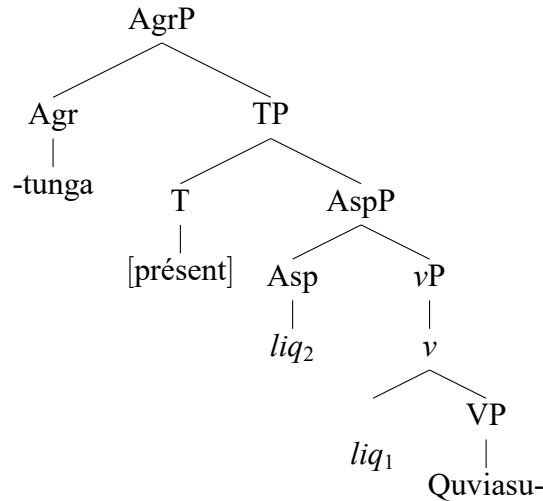


(16) *I begin to cross the street :*



Tel que mentionné précédemment, *-liq-* peut occuper les deux positions syntaxiques dans le même énoncé avec un verbe d'état.

(17)



L'utilisation du morphème de passé *-lauq-* est possible avec un seul *-liq-*, mais rend l'énoncé agrammatical s'il est utilisé le morphème redoublé. Les exemples avec *-lauq-* pourraient signifier qu'un des deux *-liq-* occupe la position sous **T**, habituellement occupée par *-lauq-*. Il se pourrait également qu'un des deux *-liq-* spécifie des traits sous **T** qui empêchent l'énonciation de *-lauq-*. Par contre, ça n'expliquerait pas pourquoi le même phénomène se produit avec le morphème *-sima-*, morphème d'aspect parfait. Si le morphème de temps *-lauq-* ne peut se produire avec un deuxième *-liq-* parce que la position sous **T** est prise, *-sima-* devrait pouvoir être produit avec ce deuxième *-liq-* puisque la position sous **Asp** est libre, mais *-sima-* rend l'énoncé agrammatical également dans ce contexte.

- (18) a. Quviasuq- liq- lauq- tunga
 être.heureux commencer PAST 1SG.DÉC
 'I got happy'
- b. *Quviasut- liq- liq- lauq- tunga
 être.heureux commencer en.processus.de PAST 1SG.DÉC
- (19) a. Quviasut- liq- sima- junga
 être.heureux commencer PERF 1SG.DÉC
 'I have been feeling happy'
- b. *Quviasut- liq- liq- sima- junga
 être.heureux commencer en.processus.de PERF 1SG.DÉC

Selon Cable (2013), les systèmes de temps gradés (*Tense remoteness system*, TRS) seraient des systèmes aspectuels et non des systèmes de temps, puisque les morphèmes de TRS modifient le temps de l'événement (E) et non du point de référence (R). Les morphèmes de TRS se situeraient sous la tête **Asp** et non sous **T**. Si la position du deuxième morphème *-liq-* est sous **Asp**, cela expliquerait pourquoi il empêche la production de *-lauq-* et de *-sima-* également.

6. Discussion

Cette étude ouvre la porte vers une analyse plus approfondie des traits sémantiques qui influencent l'interprétation des morphèmes fonctionnels et de l'interaction sémantique entre ces morphèmes fonctionnels en l'inuktitut. Les travaux à ce sujet contribuent plus globalement à la description des langues polysynthétiques et à la préservation des langues autochtones telle que la langue inuite. De mieux comprendre les contextes dans lesquels on peut utiliser ou non des morphèmes au sens plus abstraits permet à la langue d'être plus facilement acquise par des nouveaux apprenants. L'article de Cable (2013) et les données en inuktitut SB nous amène également à nous demander si les temps gradables de l'inuktitut sont aspectuels ou temporels, et ramènent sur la table le débat concernant l'absence de système de temps de la langue inuite.

Références

- Binnick, Robert I., éd. 2012. *The Oxford handbook of tense and aspect*. Oxford ; New York : Oxford University Press. ISBN : 978-0-19-538197-9.
- Bohnenmeyer, Juergen. s.d. "Elicitation and documentation of tense and aspect" : 33.
- Bohnenmeyer, Jürgen, et Mary Swift. 2004. "Event Realization and Default Aspect". *Linguistics and Philosophy*. 27, no 3 (juin) : 263-296. ISSN : 0165-0157, visité le 10 décembre 2018. doi :10.1023/B:LING.0000023371.15460.43. <http://link.springer.com/10.1023/B:LING.0000023371.15460.43>.
- Boland, Johanna Hendrika Geertruida. 2006. "Aspect, tense and modality : Theory, typology, acquisition".
- Borillo, Andrée. 2014. "Nominalisations et problèmes d'aspect".
- Cable, Seth. 2013. "Beyond the past, present, and future : towards the semantics of 'graded tense' in G`ik`uy`u". *Natural Language Semantics* 21, no 3 (septembre) : 219-276. ISSN : 0925-854X, 1572-865X, visité le 25 avril 2019. doi :10.1007/s11050-012-9092-3. <http://link.springer.com/10.1007/s11050-012-9092-3>.
- Chuang, Yuan-Ting. 2015. "Interaction entre le temps, l'aspect et le mode dans les phrases complexes en mandarin moderne". Sous la direction de Nicolas Tournadre : 360.
- Compton, Richard, et Christine Pittman. 2010. "Word-Formation by Phase in Inuit".
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect : an introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Cambridge textbooks in linguistics. Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press. ISBN : 978-0-521-21109-3.
- Cook, Connor, et Alana Johns. s.d. "Determining the semantics of Inuktitut postbases". Sous la direction de Marc-Antoine Mahieu : 15.
- Dorais, Louis-Jacques. 1945. "Inuit languages and dialects : Inuit Uqausiqatigiit" : 259.
- Fortescue, Michael. 1992. "Morphophonemic Complexity and Typological Stability in a Polysynthetic Language Family". *International Journal of American Linguistics* 58, no 2 (avril) : 242-248. ISSN : 0020-7071, 1545-7001, visité le 10 décembre 2018. doi :10.1086/ijal.58.2.3519761. <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/ijal.58.2.3519761>.
- Fortescue, Michael D., Marianne Mithun et Nicholas Evans, eds. 2017. *The Oxford handbook of polysynthesis*. First edition. Oxford handbooks in linguistics. OCLC : 1008881903. Oxford : Oxford University Press. ISBN : 978-0-19-968320-8.
- Hayashi, Midori, et Bettina Spreng. s.d. "IS INUKTITUT TENSELESS?" : 12.
- Johns, Alana, Diane Massam et Juvenal Ndayiragije, eds. 2006. *Ergativity : emerging issues*. Studies in innatural language and linguistic theory v. 65. OCLC : ocm65166801. Dordrecht, Netherlands : Springer. ISBN : 978-1-4020-4186-0 978-1-4020-4188-4.
- Klein, Wolfgang. 1994. *Time in language*. Germanic linguistics. London; New York : Routledge. ISBN : 978-0-415-10412-8.
- Kozłowska, Monika. s.d. "Bornage et ordre temporel" : 24.
- Lareau, François. s.d. "Le temps verbal dans l'interface sémantique-syntaxe du français" : 10.
- Mahieu, Marc-Antoine, éd. 2009. *Variations on polysynthesis : the Eskaleut languages*. Typological studies in language 86. OCLC : 602689650. Amsterdam : Benjamins. ISBN : 978-90-272-0667-1.

- Mithun, Marianne. 1988. "System-defining Structural Properties in Polysynthetic Languages". *STUF – Language Typology and Universals* 41, no 1 (janvier). ISSN : 2196-7148, 1867-8319, visité le 10 décembre 2018. doi :10.1524/stuf.1988.41.16.442. <http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/stuf.1988.41.issue-1-6/stuf.1988.41.16.442/stuf.1988.41.16.442.xml>.
- Payne, Thomas E. 1997. "Describing morphosyntax : A guide for field linguists" : 433.
- Spreng, Bettina. 2016. "Aspect contrasts in Inuktitut" : 32. s.d. "Viewpoint Aspect in Inuktitut : The Syntax and Semantics of Antipassives" : 231.
- Talmy, Leonard. s.d. "Toward a Cognitive Semantics, Volume I, Concept Structuring Systems" : 2.