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## Nunatsiavut, 'Our beautiful land': Inuit landscape ethnoecology in Labrador, Canada

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**Abstract :**

For Inuit in the subarctic transition zone of northeastern Canada, an intimate knowledge of the environment and local biodiversity is crucial for successful traditional activities. This study examines what kinds of landscape features and habitats Inuit of Nunatsiavut recognize and name. During interviews, community members (mostly Elders) were shown photographs from the region, and were asked to describe and name salient types of places in Labrador Inuttit. The most frequently reported geographical units dealt with the region's topography (e.g., 'mountain', 'island', 'flat-place'), hydrology (e.g., 'river', 'bay'), and superficial characteristics (e.g., 'bedrock', 'permanent snow patch'). Ecological considerations were also prominent, such as plant associations and animal habitats (e.g., 'shrubby-place', 'wetland', 'caribou-return-to-place'). Areas were often characterized by a dominant species or substrate type, being named using the plural form of the species/substrate (e.g., napâttuk 'tree'/ napâttuit 'forest', siugak 'sand'/siugalak 'sandy-area'). Some types of places reported by Inuit were significant mainly for traditional activities (e.g., 'berry-patch', 'seal-place', 'dry-wood-place', 'danger-place'), aiding navigation and resource finding. Integrating Inuit conceptions of ecosystems and their component landscape units with those of contemporary science can improve our understanding of subarctic ecology, benefit climate change adaptation strategies and Inuit language/culture conservation initiatives.

**Keywords :** Landscape ethnoecology, Inuit, traditional ecological knowledge, Nunatsiavut, Labrador Inuttit.

## Introduction

Located in northern Labrador, the Inuit territory of Nunatsiavut is unique in Inuit Nunangat due to its location in the ecological transition zone between arctic tundra and open boreal forest (Lopoukhine *et al.* 1978; Brandt 2009). Traditionally hunter-fisher-gatherers, the Inuit of Nunatsiavut have occupied the northern coast of Labrador for at least the last 400 years (Richling 2000). However, dramatic sociocultural changes have occurred recently, as people settled into permanent villages and adopted Euro-Canadian culture more extensively (Brice-Bennett 1977). One of those important changes is language loss, as Labrador Inuttitut is losing ground to English, most importantly in younger generations (Andersen and Johns 2005). Because Inuit ecological knowledge is not traditionally recorded in writing, specific terminology and concepts, especially regarding local flora and landscape, are at risk of vanishing as older generations pass away without transmitting their knowledge to the younger ones (Watson *et al.* 2003; Wenzel 2004).

Landscape ethnoecology provides a means of conserving the subset of ecological knowledge that deals with how cultures name, categorize, perceive, and understand their environments (Hunn and Meilleur 2009). By including socio-cultural aspects of the landscape, ethnoecology provides a holistic approach that can be complementary to contemporary scientific methodologies, often producing different interpretations of landscape patterns and environmental phenomena, which can result in overall better prediction of habitat and resource distributions across a landscape (Berkes 1999, 2008). This type of research and documentation is particularly important and timely in communities where language barriers and cultural shifts have contributed to a break in the flow of traditional knowledge transmission (Pearce *et al.* 2011). Despite its importance, few studies have dealt with Inuit ethnoecologies in their arctic homeland. Collignon (2006) does discuss Inuinait geographies of the central (Canadian) Arctic, and several authors (e.g., Aporta 2009a; Krupnik *et al.* 2010; Heyes 2011) have examined Inuit understanding of sea ice and its associated terminology, arguably a vital aspect of Inuit “landscape” ethnoecology given its predominance throughout the year and its importance for

travelling and hunting. Place names, however, have been fairly extensively documented across the Arctic, particularly in Nunavik (Saladin d'Anglure 1968; Müller-Wille and Müller-Wille 1983; Müller-Wille 1984, 1987, 1989, 1991; KRG 2011), and can produce important insights into the kinds of landscape features that are salient for the people using those names (Johnson 2010).

In Nunatsiavut, some landscape categories can be gleaned from historical place names recorded in the region, notably by Brice-Bennet (1977) or Wheeler (1953). The latter lists over 500 Inuit toponyms, primarily from the Nain-Okak region of northern Labrador, applied to over 40 types of geographical features (e.g., island, point, peninsula, isthmus, lake, river, etc.). To develop a better understanding of Inuit conceptions of the landscape and its relationship with its inhabitants (plants, animals and humans), this study aimed to identify and record the kinds of landscape features and habitats Nunatsiavummiut recognize and name. It focused on non-ice/snow features, as these have been covered extensively in other areas of the Arctic by other researchers (e.g., Aporta 2009a; Krupnik et al. 2010; Heyes 2011).

## Materials and methods

### Study area

Interviews took place in Nain (56°33' N, 61°41' W), the northernmost populated village in Nunatsiavut, on the coast of the Labrador Sea in northeastern Canada. Nain is located at the northern edge of sporadic discontinuous permafrost (10-50%; Natural Resources Canada 2012) in the Canadian Shield plateau physiographic region. At the border between subarctic and polar climate, Nain has a daily mean temperature of -3°C, with an average summer high of 16°C and an average winter low of -23°C (Environment Canada 2012). The region has particularly high precipitation for its low elevation and consistently cold climate, with an average annual rainfall of 400.4 mm and average annual snowfall of 492.2 cm. Nain's population was 1,188 in 2011, primarily Inuit but among these a small percentage of European-heritage Canadians (Statistics Canada 2012).

Due to Nain's proximity to the tree line, a variety of plant habitats are represented at this boreal forest and tundra transition zone, the most important habitats being: marine coastal (upper and lower littoral); dry, rocky areas; aquatic and wet areas; and disturbed areas (by animals or humans; Blondeau et al. 2011, Cuerrier and Hermanutz 2012). Tree growth at lower latitudes and altitudes is replaced by scrub vegetation and lichen tundra further north and at higher altitudes. As in other regions located in the forest-tundra ecotone, the predominant tree species are *Picea mariana* (Mill.) Britton, Sterns & Poggenb., *Larix laricina* (Du Roi) K. Koch, and *Picea glauca* (Moench) Voss. Low-lying shrubs dominate the tundra landscape and are characterised by a number of species from the Ericaceae, Salicaceae and Betulaceae plant families (Blondeau et al. 2011, Cuerrier and Hermanutz 2012).

### Data Collection

Data was collected using semi-structured interviews with local residents (Martin 1996). Participants were identified and recruited based on suggestions of our interpreters and other community members, for a total of 18 participants (8 women, 10 men, average age 67.5, median age 65). Each interview lasted between 30 minutes to 2 hours, depending on participants' knowledge and availability. Interviews were conducted in English and Inuktitut, with the help of local interpreter/translators when needed. Interviews took place in March 2011, in homes or at our temporary residence in Nain. Informal discussions also took place in the field.

To guide the discussions, photos of locations and landscape features from the region were shown to participants. The majority of the photos were taken by the authors, supplemented by aerial photos and photos from publications of landscape features inaccessible within a day's travel (on foot or by boat) of Nain (e.g., KRG 2005). Participants were asked to point out and name features of the photos that they perceived to be salient elements of the landscape. Terms deemed relevant were recorded and reviewed in two dictionaries (Andersen et al. 2007; Pigott, date unknown) following the first interview. Our spellings use the standardized Labrador Inuktitut writing system as outlined in the

dictionary by Andersen et al. (2007), but reflect variations in speaker pronunciation, resulting that a single 'word' was not always transcribed the same way during interviews.

Approval for this project was granted by the Faculty of Arts and Science Research Ethics Board of the University of Montreal (CÉRFAAS-2010-11-241-A). Permission was granted for work in Nain and for the collection of plants by the Nunatsiavut Government under Land Use permit no. LIL030017PR. All participants participated under prior informed consent, having been explained the objectives and methodology of the project, and of their right to withdraw from the study at any point.

## Results & Discussion

Physiographic landscape terms recorded primarily denoted hydrological and topographic features, as well as substrates, snow, and other surfaces. Ecological considerations also played a role, with various plant communities and animal habitats recognized. Other types of places were reported based on their significance to traditional human activities. In most cases, the generic place terms were not reported as simple root words on their own, but were rather mentioned in context as part of a sentence. Because of the complexity of Inuktitut grammar, this meant that the root words usually occurred with a suffixed postbase (i.e. a type of morpheme, or unit of meaning, characteristic of Inuktitut and a couple of other languages, often adding more semantic content than the types of affixes that occur in English or French). In some cases, it was obvious when affixes were used simply to make the utterance grammatical, but in other instances the affixes modified the root word to an extent that this new construction could count as a whole new word, representing a novel and independent concept (Andersen and Johns 2005; Johns 2009, 2010a, b) for a discussion regarding this and other difficulties of listing words in Labrador Inuktitut).

We chose to record terms as they were reported to us, so as not to miss important nuances that may not have been immediately obvious. The challenge presented with this was that of over 1400

entries, fewer than 85 words (approximately 6% of terms recorded) were reported the same way more than once, even after combining pronunciation variations of ‘words’ with the same reported meaning. Four root words were reported by 10-12 participants (*sitjak* ‘beach’, *kok* ‘river’, *tasik* ‘pond/lake’, *ujagak* ‘rock’), 17 reported by 5-8 participants, 25 reported by 3-4 participants, and 39 by 2 participants. The rest were reported in their particular form only once. An in-depth analysis of the postbases used in these words is beyond the scope of this paper, but several of the more important and frequently occurring ones are discussed below. Table 1 lists the most frequently mentioned terms. Some additional terms that were reported only once, or listed in one of the Labrador Inuttitut dictionaries but not mentioned in our interviews, were included in cases where they demonstrated unique concepts not otherwise reported.

“Table 1 – About here”

### Topographic and hydrological features

Most large and obvious features of the landscape were recognized and named (see Table 1). Various suffixes modified the size of an object or the extent of an area (Table 2). As shown in Table 2, *-uluk* is suffixed to indicate that its referent is small/smaller (and can be repeated for emphasis, *-ulukuluk*, *-ulukulukuluk*, etc.), while *-âluk* and *-suak* are aggrandizing. Alternatively (depending on speaker preference, or perhaps a sub-dialectal difference), object terms may be preceded by *mikijuk* ‘small’ or *angijuk* ‘large’ to affect this same modification. Some concept of absolute size seemed to be implied with each degree of modification (one participant estimated for us, in meters, what height a waterfall should typically be to correspond to each suffix addition). The base words themselves, however, tended to have a wide range regarding the size of the feature they could denote, for example, *tasik* being a perfectly acceptable term for any contained body of (fresh) water, ranging from a small pond all the way to a large lake (but not so small as a puddle (*tasiaguk*), and maybe not so large as a lake whose opposite shoreline could not be seen (*tasialuk* or *tasitsuak*)). Likewise, *KakKak* can denote

a range of convex features, being glossed as both hill and mountain. It seems modified terms can also be used to indicate their size relative to another smaller or larger feature, even if these do not correspond to the 'standard' sizes (e.g., the smaller of two ponds might be termed a *tasilukuluk* in one context, yet in another situation be referred to as a *tasik* in comparison to an even smaller *tasikuluk*).

## Table 2 About here

Sometimes features were named according to their resemblance to another feature. For example, *tasiujak*, literally "pond/lake-like", denotes a saltwater pond, or a bay resembling a lake. The suffix *-manik* seems to indicate a notion of 'not genuine', as in *Kigittaumanik* 'almost-island', *tasiliuttaumanik* 'reservoir lake from a man-made dam', and *kangidsumanikuluk* 'small bay that "wants to be a big bay"'.

## Substrates, areas, and surfaces

The suffixes *-ujak* and *-ajuk* seem to denote an area characterized by a particular trait:

### -ujak:

- 'bedrock' *Kaittuk* → *Kaittujak* 'bare, bedrock area';
- 'shallow' *ikkatuk* → *ikkatujak* 'shallow water area';
- 'flat' *natingnak* → *natingnajak* 'flat ground, valley';

### -ajuk:

- 'low tide' *Tinik* → *tingajak* 'low tide area' (lower littoral zone);
- 'high tide' *Ulik* → *ulingajak* 'high tide area' (upper littoral zone);
- 'fire' *ikisimmak* → *ikisimajak* 'burned area';
- 'straight' *sittuk* → *situngajak* 'straight (flat) area (on ice)' or 'straight (down) area' (implying a rock/landslide

area or an avalanche track).

In a similar way, various aggrandizing suffixes, when added to substrate or other landscape terms, seem to denote an area typified by that substrate or feature:

**-alak:**

- ‘sand’                    *siugak*    → *siugalak* ‘sandy area’;
- ‘mud’                    *makKak* → *makKâgalak* ‘sinky/mucky area’;
- ‘rock’                    *ujagak*    → *ujagalak* ‘rocky area’;
- ‘wetland’                *imatsuk* → *imatsugalak* ‘wetlands area’;

**-suak:**

- ‘water’                    *imak*        → *imaksuak* ‘sea, ocean’;
- ‘bedrock’                *Kaittuk*    → *Kaittisuk* ‘vast expanse, tundra?’;
- ‘earth, soil, land’ *nunak*      → *nunaksuak* ‘big land, mainland, world’;
- ‘tree’                    *napâtuk* → *napâtusuk* ‘dense forest’;

**-âluk:**

- ‘cliff’                    *innak*        → *innâluk* ‘place where there is a large or many cliffs’?
- ‘flat’                    *anniak*      → *aniagâluk* ‘flat area’;

**Other examples:**

- ‘island’                 *Kikittak*    → *Kikittaukak* ‘archipelago, several neighbouring islands’;

Nunatsiavummiut identified a limited number of edaphic categories, which mainly took into account superficial characteristics such as solidness and moisture level: *siugak* ‘sand’, *makKak* ‘mud, clay’, *matjak* ‘mud, more earthy than sandy, different from *makKak*’, *Kausittuk* ‘wet (mud)’, *panittuk* ‘dry (mud)’, *ujagak* ‘rock’, and *Kaittuk* ‘bedrock’. Three terms for ‘earth, soil’ were also given (*nunak*, *itjuk*, and *sanik*), but any difference between these was not elucidated. This level of distinction is similar to what has been recorded for other northern hunter, fisher, gatherers (Legat et al.



2001), and is consistent with the fact that soil types are not as central in this type of subsistence strategy as it can be for agricultural groups, who can develop more complex classifications (Martin 1993; Oral and Beaucage 1996).

Although some vegetation types (mostly only individual species) were mentioned as growing specifically in association with a type of substrate (e.g., *tuligunnak* ‘*Rhodiola rosea* L.’ on the *Kaittuk*, or *ivit* ‘grass’ on the *sitjak* ‘beach’), habitat types specifically taking into account plant communities associated with different soil characteristics, such as listed by Dogrib elders (Legat *et al.*, 2001), were not as extensively described by Nunatsiavut Inuit. However, other ecological associations were inherent when describing substrate types, especially in a marine context, such as what type of beach would harbour sea urchins and mussels (*ujagalak* ‘rocky (beach)’), or clams (*makKâgalak* ‘muddy (beach)’). Some speakers even made a distinction between *ujagak* ‘rock, on the mountain, in the lake, but not in the saltwater area’, and *ikkagok* ‘rock, in a saltwater area’, though whether this was simply a matter of the location of the rock, or the specific mineral composition (or other characteristics) of the rock, was not clarified.

This level of distinction around the marine context may be due to the important place marine landscapes play in the Inuit way of life. Amongst the Nunavimmiut, the Inuit of Nunavik in northern Québec, associations between harvested organisms and their habitats were made by adding the suffix *-miutait* or *-ait* to the root words of specific substrates or areas into classificatory terms, such as *tininnimiutait* for organisms from *tininniq* ‘intertidal zone’ or *irmamiutait*, from *imaq* ‘water’, for marine mammals (Rapinski *et al.* 2018, 2021). The relatively low distinction of vegetation communities in flat areas, on the other hand, may be a result of these types of places being covered in snow for a large portion of the year and useful more for the ease of travelling they provide than the plant resources they harbour.

## Ecological associations

### *Plant habitats*

Certain plant communities are recognized to grow predictably in association with particular landscape features, and are often named according to their location:

- ***pigunnatuit sitjamik*** ‘plants that grow at the beach, by the shore’ – such plants include ***ivik*** ‘*Leymus mollis* (Trin.) Pilg.’, ***malitsuagak*** ‘*Honckenya peploides* (L.) Ehrh.’, and ***malitsuak*** ‘*Mertensia maritima* (L.) Gray’;
- ***pigunnatuit imatsuni, imatsimiutak*** ‘plants that grow in the wetland’ – such plants include ***appik*** ‘*Rubus chamaemorus* L.’, ***suputaujak*** ‘*Eriophorum angustifolium* Honck.’, ***mamaittuKotet*** ‘*Rhododendron groenlandicum* (Oeder) Kron & Judd’;
- ***pigunnatuit tasikulummi, tasimiutak*** ‘plants that grow at the pond’ – such plants include ***suputaujak*** ‘*E. angustifolium*’, *Hippuris vulgaris* L., *Comarum palustre* L. and *Carex* spp.;
- ***piguungatuit nunaupKanganik*** ‘plants growing on land/soil’ (contrasted with ***Kaittuk***) – such plants include ***apiujak*** ‘*Rubus arcticus* subsp. *acaulis* (Michx.) Focke’, ***sigalak*** ‘*Cornus canadensis* L.’ and a number of boreal forest species and trees including ***napâttuk*** ‘*P. mariana*’, ***pingik*** ‘*L. laricina*’, and ***Killagittuk*** ‘*Abies balsamea* (L.) Mill.’ due to Nain’s proximity to the tree line;
- ***piguungatuit KaitukKanganik, Kaittutuinami piguttuit*** ‘plants that grow on the rock’ – these include ***tuligunnak*** ‘*R. rosea* L.’, ***nakatannaujak*** ‘*Oxytropis campestris* var. *johannensis* Fernald’, ***uKaujak*** ‘*Salix arctica* Pall.’ and ‘*Salix arctophila* Cockerell ex A. Heller’, *Saxifraga* spp., *Woodsia* spp. and ***niKak*** ‘lichens’;
- ***natsani paunngaluvinik*** ‘there are a lot of berries on the hill’ – such plants include ***paungak*** ‘*Empetrum nigrum* L.’, ***kigutanginnak*** ‘*Vaccinium uliginosum* L.’, and ***kimminak*** ‘*Vaccinium vitis-idaea* subsp. *minus* (Lodd., G. Lodd. & W. Lodd.) Hultén’.

These plant communities that are labelled according to where they are growing tend to be composed of multiple species, but unless a species is particularly salient – due, for example, to its size or usefulness – it suffices to call the area according to its associated landscape feature, rather than

according to a dominant species. Anishinaabe have somewhat comparable constructions in that a landscape feature is used to locate a plant community according to its geographical association, but they specify extra information regarding what type of plant community it is, such as ‘cottonwood point’ (Davidson-Hunt and Berkes 2003).

Nunatsiavut Inuit also recognized plant communities based on their predominant species, though not in direct association with a particular landscape feature. Areas abundant in a certain plant were labelled using the plural form of the dominant species, similar to how areas typified by a certain substrate or landscape element were also named using their aggrandized or plural form. For example, the term *napâttuit* literally translated means ‘trees’ (from its singular form *napâttuk* ‘tree’ – specifically *Picea* species, but also the generic term for any tree), but in context would be used to mean ‘forest’. A forest can also be described in terms of its dominant species (if other than spruce), such as a forest composed predominantly of larch, *pingialuit* (from *pingik* ‘*L. laricina*’), or fir, *Killagittuit* (from *Killagittuk* ‘*A. balsamea*’). To specifically indicate that the forest is comprised of a variety of tree species, *adjigengitut napâttuit* ‘mixed forest’ can be used. Other examples of plant communities categorized based on their dominant species include: *itvisukak* ‘grassy area’ (from *ivik* ‘grass’, typically *L. mollis*), *upigasak* ‘bushy place’/*upigialialuk* ‘place with many bushes/shrubs’ (from *upigak* ‘willow, shrub’, including shrubby *Salix*, *Betula*, and *Alnus* species), *paungalialuk* ‘place with many berries’ (from *paungak* ‘berry’, specifically *E. nigrum*).

This way of characterizing a plant community based on a particular area’s dominant species is fairly common with other aboriginal groups, though rather than using the plural form of the species name, these places are usually labelled in the form of ‘place of x’, where ‘x’ is the dominant species. For example, Chinantec farmers in Mexico use a term meaning ‘place of corn’ (Martin 1993), while Gitksan in northwestern Canada name pine groves as ‘place of pine’ (Johnson 2010).

### Patches

Plant communities that are named using the plural form of the dominant species, or as ‘place of x’, tend to be areas of significant extent, but finer grained distinctions in vegetation are also made. Smaller areas rich in a particular plant or animal resource are explicitly denoted by Inuit by adding the suffix *-Kautik* ‘patch’. The Anishinaabe of northern Ontario name vegetation patches in a similar way through use of the morpheme *-kwaa* ‘patch’ and its variants (Davidson-Hunt and Berkes 2003).

This seems to be a versatile term that can be used to describe a place where a) there is *at present* an abundance of the plant (or other resources) in question (e.g., *KikuaKautik*, ‘shark’s blanket (kelp) patch’ – anchored to the sea floor and thus rather stable in location, but might also apply when several entwined kelps are floating, not fixed in place but still visible as a distinct conglomeration), or b) an area that is known to *usually* be plentiful (e.g., *paungaKautik* ‘berry-patch’, a place with many potentially berry-bearing plants), or perhaps even c) any type of habitat that would be *appropriate* for the resource even if one does not have immediate first-hand knowledge of whether the resource is in fact present (e.g., *ammumajuKautik* ‘clam-patch’, muddy beach at low tide).

The *-Kautik* conception seems to be in contrast to places recognized for their immediate presence of something. For example, *paungaluvinik* ‘(place where) there are many berries’ only denotes an area if there are *currently* many berries (even applying to places that are not necessarily the actual habitat of the plant, such as a pile of berries *paungatalik*), but this term does not apply to a usual berry patch that happens not to be abundant that year (*Kunulisimaiguit* ‘(berries) not going to grow anymore, all dried up’), or to a patch that has already been picked (*numutsiviusimajuk*). *Napâttuluvinik* is similarly a ‘place with many trees’, an alternate way of denoting a forested area, but perhaps emphasizing the current presence of trees.

Although the nominal base form was given for vegetated areas, often speakers gave us terms that locate speakers within the area in question, such as *napâttuni* ‘in the trees/forest’ or *Killagittulimi* ‘among the (needle-bearing) trees’. Gitksan has similar constructions, such as *sbagaytgangan* ‘among the trees/trees’ to indicate mixed forest, or *sbagaytgan am ‘mel* ‘among the trees/cottonwood’ (Johnson 2000).

For larger plants, such as shrubs or trees, and even tall grasses, it seems that within context, a postbase indicating that a term denotes a place (such as *-talik*, *-luvinik*, or *-ajuk*) is not always necessary, the plural of the most abundant/largest species being sufficient to indicate the place of abundance by extension of reference.

### *Animal habitats*

Various places are characterized by their association with animals, many of these being represented by primary lexemes (as opposed to secondary lexemes, or compound words), such as *autturak* ‘bird’s nest’ and *sitjait* ‘fox burrow’ (*tigiganniak* ‘fox’). Each herd of *tuttuk* ‘caribou (*Rangifer tarandus* [Linnaeus, 1758])’ have their own *nukKangak*, described as a ‘place where the caribou come back to every year’, because they “have their certain food and there’s a river where they can drink”. Animal traces are also well-recognized, such as *nigipivingik* (*nigipingik?*) ‘area with a lot of *pingik* ‘juniper tree (*L. laricina*)’ where porcupines (*illaKusik*; *Erethizon dorsatum* [Linnaeus, 1758]) have been eating’ (from *nigik* ‘eat’).

The suffix *-apvik/-apvet* was also used several times, with the apparent meaning of ‘place where..., house of ...’, such as in *nukKangapvik* ‘place where an animal has been’, *Kittungalupvik* ‘place where ducks go to lay their eggs’, *puijisiupvet* ‘place where seals are’ (*puijik* ‘seal [Phocidae]’), and perhaps also in *ikKalivet* ‘place where arctic char are’, from *ikKaluk* ‘arctic char (*Salvelinus alpinus* [Linnaeus, 1758])’. These places not only reveal specific areas where certain resources may be harvested, but can also become important places for conservation and resource management. In an effort of revitalising the local population of walrus (*Odobenus rosmarus* [Linnaeus, 1758]) near Ivujivik (Nunavik, Québec), some Nunavimmiut Elders engaged the hunters in their community to be aware of certain islands like *Aivirtuuq* that once harboured large populations of *aiviq* ‘walrus’ (Rapinski et al. 2021).

### **Implicit ecological knowledge**

Knowledge of other plant and animal associations can also be covert, containing information about where to look for a particular resource or what types of places to avoid, but without explicitly mentioning the resource. For example, a *Kogutsunâk* ‘cave’ or *Kunnik* ‘crack’ is known to be a good place to look for *Kungulik* ‘mountain sorrel (*Oxyria digyna* [L.] Hill)’, just as *tuligunnak* ‘roseroot (*R. rosea*)’ is known to be abundant on the outside islands on the *Kaittuk* ‘bedrock’. *Killagittulimi* ‘amongst the (needle-bearing) trees’ (from *Killagittuk* ‘balsam fir (*A. balsamea*)’) is described as where the *akkigilik* ‘spruce ptarmigan’ live, *Kammanik* is the ‘deep area under the falls’ where arctic chars are abundant, and *Kausittuk* ‘wet’, referring to a wet or swampy place, is known to be where the mosquitoes grow and lay their eggs. Across Canada’s north-eastern arctic and subarctic regions, terminology derived from landscapes provide a wealth of ecological knowledge. The Nunavimmiut classification of organisms based on their habitat, for instance, not only links together morphologically distinct species (*i.e.* *tininnimiutait* ‘intertidal organisms’ include algae, echinoderms, molluscs, crustaceans and fish), but reveals harvesting strategies bound by environmental constraints (Cuerrier and the Elders of Kangiqsualujjuaq 2012; Rapinski et al. 2018, 2021). Hence, resources from the shore may best be harvested during the lowest tides of the new or full moon, whereas those from the sea require specialised equipment.

### Relational and Human-Centric Concepts

Some terms, apparently simplex words, expressed their relation to another landscape feature, such as *simikutak* ‘island close to a cove or bay’ or *avakKutak* ‘island in a river’. Others were simple descriptions: *nunak Kausittuk* ‘wet place on land’, *tasik KakKamijut* ‘lake in the hills/mountains’, *napâttuit issua KakKangi* ‘tree edge on the mountain’ (alpine timberline), *tasikuluk sitjamik* ‘(saltwater) pond by the shore’, *tiniup issua* ‘low tide edge’, *ulinniup issua* ‘high tide edge’, *tasikuluk ulitjausuk* ‘high-tide pond’ (tidal pool?), *iKaluitkangiapvinga* ‘where the char go in’ and *kogalupsiugunga* ‘sandy riverbank’.

Some terms also dealt primarily with the human aspect, such as *tupivik* ‘campsite (single tent)’, *tuppivet* ‘campsite (seasonal, multiple tents)’, *innullimi* ‘village’ and *innuKangitumi* ‘where there’s no people’, i.e. the area outside the village.

### Terms relevant to travelling

Various landscape terms were relevant to travelling, particularly highlighting dangerous areas or places to avoid, such as *auKannik* ‘strong current area where ice won’t form, thin ice area, hole in the ice’, *ikkagojak* ‘shallow water area between an island and the mainland’, *ukualinâluk* ‘area with very deep water where you can’t anchor’, or simply *kappianattuk*, *kappianattutalik* ‘dangerous area’ (“you can expect something that is dangerous... because you know you're not supposed to go there (can apply to many different places); need to let other people know about them”). Other terms denote places that would be useful while travelling, such as the *akKutik* ‘route’, *akkusinit* ‘trail/path’, *anniak*, *aniagâluk* ‘flat area’ (“we might go along this area when we’re hunting because it’s flat”), *ippiutak* ‘shallow water, piece of land connecting an island to the mainland’, (“you could walk across here”, or could be a caribou crossing). Areas appropriate for shelter were also named, such as *Killak* ‘cave’ (“when it’s bad weather you can go inside and keep warm away from the wind”) or *Kogutsunâk*, ‘almost like a cave’ (“could sleep in it when you are travelling”). Places that can be important for food or water are named, such as *Kaiguk* ‘cave, cache’ (“can store or ferment food in it”), or *mangaijakKutik* ‘place with snow’ (“if you didn't have water with you, you could melt snow like this, boil it and have it for tea, it's not dirty”).

### Orientation

Cardinal orientation terms were used: *avani* ‘north’, *kitâ* ‘east’, *sikinik* ‘south’, *kangik* ‘west’, in addition to speaking about landscape features or locations being further inland (toward *nunak*) from the coast or further out to sea (“inside” islands being closer than “outside” islands in local English), as well as up or down the coast. Cardinal directions are a form of absolute abstract reference, which has

been found to be correlated with other cultures that live in non-urban areas (Majid et al. 2004). Regardless of whether directionality is based on an absolute frame of reference (e.g., north, south) or in reference to self (e.g., left, right), a crucial role in navigation and travelling is played by landmarks (Burenhult and Levinson 2008), stressing the importance of one's ability to recognize landscape features.

### **Disturbance events**

Successional communities were not overtly described by Nunatsiavut Inuit, though they did name *ikisimajuk* 'burned place' and recognized this as a good place to find *pannaKautik*, a 'dry-wood patch' for firewood collection. Disturbance events and the types of places they create were likewise not extensively named by the Gitksan, Kaska, or Dene of northwestern Canada (Johnson 2010), but this is not to say that environmental changes go unnoticed.

Slide areas can all be referred to as *sittuk* ('straight') or *sittungajuk* (literally, 'straight (-down) place?'). To specify, one could say *ujagak sittunik* for a rockslide or talus scree, *apputik sittusimajut* for an avalanche or the snow pile resulting from an avalanche. Interestingly, an alternate usage of the term *sittungajuk* 'straight-place' seems to denote a very flat area, as one would encounter on a frozen bay or the ocean. It was unclear whether this is a dedicated term (i.e. that it always refers to these types of places), or merely a contextual term used in situations where what is being referred to as 'straight' is obvious. Johns (2010) mentions this dedicated/contextual distinction as one of the difficulties of producing lists of words that denote ice in Labrador Inuttitut – a difficulty not isolated to ice terms.

### **Generic landscape terms, temporary descriptions of place, and permanent toponyms**

Like many other indigenous groups, talking about generic types of places is not as obvious for Nunatsiavut Inuit as referring to specific places known through personal experience. Hunn and Selam (1990) note that for the Sahaptin, fisher-foragers of the western United States' Columbia Basin, people



usually talk about specific places and the activities appropriate for that place, rather than about generic *types* of places. When talking about specific places, people often use proper place names, or toponyms.

Many of the generic place terms recorded here for Nunatsiavut are also used as specific place names, and many of these occur multiple times throughout the territory, for example Tasialuk. Some of these have even been incorporated into standard English toponyms, such as Tasialuk Lake (i.e., 'big lake' lake). This is the case for Inuit regions across the Arctic. Collignon (2006) classified over 1000 Inuinnait toponyms from the Central Canadian Arctic, and many of the place names were equivalent (accounting for phonological differences between dialects) to toponyms in Labrador (from Wheeler, 1953). While Aporta (2009b) stresses the importance of toponyms as nodes in creating a pan-Arctic network, connecting routes across the landscape, Collignon argues that the main utility of toponyms is not so much to aid navigation during travels, but rather to help recount the voyage to others, thereby humanizing the landscape and making it a place where people feel more comfortable because of their knowledge and inclusion in its history.

## Conclusions

We have shown that the Inuit of Nunatsiavut recognize and name a variety of kinds of places and habitats, based mainly on topographical and hydrological, but also ecological and practical considerations. Building on ethnobotanical work, this ethnoecology project is a step toward conservation of arctic biodiversity, as well as Inuit language and culture. As climate change renders environmental responses more difficult to predict, traditional knowledge of the environment will continue to contribute important alternative perspectives to contemporary science (Green et al. 2008; Downing and Cuerrier 2011; Henry et al. 2012). Not only do Inuit make acute observations of a changing environment (Rapinski et al. 2018), but changes to landscapes due to climate change negatively affect feelings of place attachment by disrupting hunting, fishing and foraging activities (Cunsolo Willox et al. 2012; Cuerrier et al. 2012). Indeed, the importance of specific sites, rendered

evident through naming, is akin to cultural keystone places (Cuerrier et al. 2012, 2015), whereas the complex relationship between the health of beings and that of the environment is in keeping with concepts of social-ecological health (Berkes et al. 2003; Parlee et al. 2005). Collaboration between scientists and local groups can help build the way forward toward increased adaptive capacity for Inuit, and Indigenous groups worldwide.

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#### **Competing interests**

The authors declare there are no competing interests.

#### **Contributor's statement**

C.C. conducted field work, performed the primary analyses and redacted the initial drafts of this paper. A.C. supervised the research and redacted the final drafts. F.D.-S. and M.R. reviewed and provided additional elements of discussion.

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### **Data availability**

The data underpinning the work is not available.

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## Tables

**Table 1.** Landscape terms in Nain, Nunatsiavut.

Inuttitut lexicon	Meaning	Comments: Uses, Significance	
<b>Topographic</b>			
<b><i>Kigittak</i></b>	island		
<i>Kigittakuluk</i>	small island	"good for nothing!"[because it's too small to have important resources]	
<i>Kigittakulukuluk</i>	very small island		
<i>Kigittâluk</i>	big island		
<i>Kigittaumanik</i>	"almost island"		
<i>simikutak</i>	island close to a cove or bay		
<i>avakKutak</i>	island in a river		
<i>Kigtuk manilik</i>	egg-island		manilik = eggs
<b><i>tikigak, tikigatsuk</i></b>	point, peninsula		
<i>tikigatsukuluk</i>	small point/peninsula		
<b><i>nuvuk</i></b>	point, tip, peak		
<i>nuvukuluk</i>	small point		
<i>nuvutangak</i>	big point		
<b><i>natsak</i></b>	high hill, sloped side of a mountain?		
<i>natsasuak</i>	steep high hill		
<i>natsani paunngaluviniq</i>	'there are a lot of berries on the hill'		

<b><i>KakKak</i></b>	hill, mountain	
<i>KakKakuluk</i>	hill, small hill	
<i>KakKâluk</i>	big hill, mountain, big mountain	
<i>KakKasuagaluk</i>	big mountain	
<i>situkKak</i>	hill, slope	
<b><i>sittuk, situngajuk</i></b>	slide area (snow, ice, rock, land, etc.)	"falling straight down...waterfall, rocks, person, anything" "too steep to climb, steeper than natsasuak"
<i>situjak</i>	avalanche, rock face	natsasuak"
<i>sittunik</i>	talus, scree (rockslide, landslide) fallen rocks, rock pile at the base	
<i>ujagak sittunik</i>	of a slope avalanche, snow pile at the base	ujagak = rock
<i>apputik situsimajut</i>	of a slope	apputik = snow
<b><i>uvingajak, uvinganik</i></b>	slope	
<b><i>innak</i></b>	cliff, rockface	
<i>innakuluk</i>	small cliff	
<i>innâluk</i>	big cliff	
<i>innaluit</i>	cliffs, more vast than innak	
<b><i>natingnak, natingajak</i></b>	flat area, flat ground (e.g., in a valley)	
<b><i>sittungajuk</i></b>	flat area (on the ice)	
<b><i>sikujak, manigak</i></b>	flat land flat area (anywhere, e.g., beach, between mountains, etc.)	
<b><i>anniak, aniagâluk</i></b>		

<i>Kaittujângudluni anniak</i>	flat rock area	Kaittuk = bedrock
<b><i>Koppak</i></b>	crack (anywhere, e.g., in a rock, in a mountain, in ice on a river or the sea, etc.)	
<i>Kokpakuluk</i>	small crack	
<i>Kokpâluk</i>	big or wide crack, crevasse	
<b><i>Kunnik</i></b>	crack, crevasse (deep and wide, going down a long way, "bigger than Koppak")	
<b><i>Kutsunak</i></b>	crevasse	
<b><i>kogutsunâk</i></b>	gorge, ravine, small canyon, split between the rocks	
<b><i>Kaiguk, Kaigusuk</i></b>	cave, cache, any hole in the rocks	
<b><i>Kogutsunâk</i></b>	"almost like a cave", crack, tunnel?, ("bigger than a Koppak, you could crawl through it")	
<b><i>Killak</i></b>	cave	
<b>Hydrologic</b>		
<b><i>imak</i></b>	water (salt water or fresh water), sea, ocean	
<i>imaksuak</i>	sea, ocean ("big water")	
<i>imappik</i>	sea, ocean	
<b><i>tagiuk</i></b>	saltwater, sea	
<b><i>kok</i></b>	river	
<i>kokuluk</i>	small river	

<i>kogukuluk</i>	very small river	
<i>kogaluk</i>	big river	
<i>koksuak</i>	big river	
<i>kogutsuak</i>	very long river	
<i>kogaluk sittungajuk</i>	straight river	also: ikkatuk kugalak
<i>kogaluk sittungamituk</i>	winding river	also: sugunggajak kok
<i>kok pang</i>	mouth of the river	
<b><i>KopviKojak</i></b>	stream running down the hill	means "crying"
<b><i>kogalupsiugunga</i></b>	sandy river bank	siugak = sand
<b><i>Koluttuk</i></b>	waterfall	
<i>Koluttukuluk</i>	small waterfall	
<i>Koluttualuk</i>	big waterfall	
	water (river?) going over a	
<i>siaKiguk</i>	rockface	
	stream on flat land before it falls	
<i>sukKanik</i>	as a waterfall	
<b><i>tasik</i></b>	lake, pond	also means "to stretch"
<i>tasikuluk</i>	small pond	
<i>tasialuk</i>	large lake	"lake that's so long you can't see
<i>tasitsuak</i>	big lake	the other end"
<i>tasiliuttaumanik</i>	dam (manmade)	might not have water during dry
<i>tasiumajuk,</i>		weather but fills with water when
<i>tasiumajukuluk</i>	"almost like a pond"	it's rainy weather

<i>tasikuluk sitjamik</i>	saltwater pond (small pond by the shore)	sitjak = shore
<i>tasikuluk ulitjausuk</i>	tidal pool? ("pond what the tide catches")	ulik = high tide
<i>tasik KakKamijut</i>	lake in the hills/mountains	
<i>tasijut killingani</i>	"edge of the pond and the plants around it"	killinga = edge
<i>tasimiutak</i>	"things that grow at the pond"	
<i>pigunnatuit tasikulummi</i>	"plants in/at the pond"	
<i>tasiujak</i>	saltwater pond, bay resembling a lake	
<i>tasiujuk</i>	"pond when the tide goes up"	
<b>Kausittuk</b>	standing water?, wet	Where the mosquitoes come from, where they lay their eggs.
<i>nunak Kausittuk</i>	wet place on land, swampy place	("never dry, always wet, alive, not dry and dead... explains everything growing there")
<b>Kautsik</b>	wet area with living plants?	
<b>imatsuk</b>	wetland, swamp, marsh, bog, fen, wet place	
<i>imatsuit</i>	wetlands	
<i>imatsukuluit</i>	many small ponds, area with puddles	
<i>imatsugak, imatsugait</i>	"place where it's always wet"	
<i>imatsugalak</i>	wetland	

<i>imatsualuk</i>	large wetland area	("when it's spring and the snow is melting - when there's water it's called tasikuluk, when there's no water, imatinnik")
<i>imatinnik</i>	damp area that used to be a pond/ that would become a pond if there was more water?	
<i>imatsimiutak,</i>		
<i>imatsimiutait</i>	"things that grow in the wetland"	
<i>pigunnatuit imatsuni</i>	"plants in the wetlands"	
<i>suputet pigukviusunga</i>	patch of cottongrass ( <i>Eriophorum</i> spp.) plants growing in a wet/damp place	
<i>imatsuk</i>		
<b><i>kangidsuk</i></b>	bay, cove	"where the char go in" (iKaluit = char)
<i>kangidsukuluk</i>	small bay	
<i>kangitsuak</i>	really long bay	
<i>kangidsumanikuluk</i>	small bay "that wants to be a big bay"	
<i>iKaluit kangiapvinga</i>	river mouth into a bay?	
<b><i>sitjak</i></b>	shore, beach, shoreline	"where the water meets the land"
<i>sitjangakangitsupsikanga</i>	shore of a saltwater bay	(in contrast to the shore of a freshwater lake)
<i>sitjaktininganiga</i>	beach at low tide	
<i>pigunnatuit sitjamik</i>	plants that grow by the beach	(pigunnatuit = plants)

<b><i>tinik, tiningajuk,</i></b>	low tide, low tide place	
<b><i>tinitsualuk</i></b>		
<i>tinitsuak</i>	falling tide	
<i>tinitunnik</i>	lowest tide of the month	
<i>tinittatumi</i>	"the beach area, where the water falls"	
<i>tiniup issua</i>	low tide edge, "where the water falls to"	
<b><i>ulik, ulingajuk,</i></b>	high tide, high tide place	
<b><i>ulitsualuk</i></b>		
<i>ulitsuak</i>	rising tide	
<i>ulitunnik</i>	highest tide of the month	
<i>ulittatumi</i>	"the beach area, where the water rises"	
<i>ulinniup issua</i>	high tide edge, "where the water rises to"	
<b><i>tinnitjiasuk</i></b>	intertidal zone, place at low tide connecting land that gets covered by water when the tide rises	
<b><i>ulitjiasuk</i></b>	intertidal zone, place connecting land when the tide is high and it's covered by water	
<b><i>ikKak</i></b>	floor of a body of water (ocean, lake)	
<b><i>ikkatuk, ikkatujak</i></b>	shallow water, shallow water area	can see the bottom,



<i>ikkagojak</i>	shallow water area between an island and the mainland	
<i>ikijasakuluk</i>	small shallow channel	
<i>ikkatuk kugalâk</i>	"small (shallow) river on the beach, or a river coming down on flat land"	
<i>ippiutak, ittilik, ittiliasuk</i>	shallow water, piece of land that connects an island to the mainland,	
<i>attautajuk</i>	"shallow enough to walk across" part of land attaching two larger pieces of land (tide can't separate them	
<i>ikKigasâk</i>	because it won't go over it) "neck of the rattle, because you can see the islands are connected"	
<i>itijuk</i>	deep water	
<i>ukualinâluk</i>	"area with really deep water where you can't anchor"	
<i>Kammanik</i>	deep area (under waterfalls)	"a lot of char in that area"
<i>mallik</i>	waves	
<i>ikulliak</i>	calm water	

<i>auKannik</i>	strong current area where ice won't form, thin ice area, hole in the ice	
<i>pujugak</i>	mist off the water where the river (freshwater) mixes with salt water of the sea, it turns to fog	
<b>Substrates, snow, surfaces</b>		
<i>siugak</i>	sand	
<i>siugâlak</i>	sandy area, "lots of sand"	
<i>siugajak</i>	riverbed? (sandy area)	"because there's no water coming down"
<i>makKak</i>	mud, clay, muddy place, "mucky place"	
<i>matjak/matsak</i>	mud, "more earthy than sandy, different from makKak"	
<i>makKâgalak</i>	mixture of sand and mud, "sinky" area	
<i>Kausituk</i>	wet mud, muddy area	(Kausik = "wet area, alive, not dried up")
<i>panittuk</i>	dry, hard mud; dry place	
<i>nunak</i>	land, shore, earth, ground, place of residence, country	"where it's growing," "just basically the land"
<i>nunajak</i>	ground, earth, soil, dirt	"where there's stuff growing, stuck on the rock"

<i>nunaksuak</i>	big land, mainland, world	
<i>nunak mikijuk</i>	small bits of sod? ("small earth")	
<i>nunaksiak</i>	pretty/beautiful land	"that area that the bakeapples grow, it's a little bit more wet"
<i>nunatsiavut</i>	our beautiful land	
<i>piguungatuit</i>	plants growing on soil (versus on	"things that grow on the earth,
<i>nunaupKanganik</i>	bedrock)	because they're not growing on the rock,
<b><i>sanik</i></b>		on the Kaittuk" (contrasted with piguungatuit KaittukKanganik)
	earth, soil	
<b><i>itjuk</i></b>	soil, the ground	
<b><i>ujagak</i></b>	rock	"rock on the mountain, in the lake, but not in saltwater area"
<i>ujagaluit</i>	many rocks, pile of rocks, big rock	"could also call Mount Sophie (a mountain) ujaluit, it doesn't matter how big it is"
<i>ujagakuluk, ujakaluit</i>	small rock(s), pebbles or slightly larger	
<i>mikijuk ujakak</i>	small rock	"small rocks, but bigger than sikKaliak"
<i>sikKaliak</i>	rock, gravel, "small broken up rocks"	

<i>ujagalak</i>	rocks, many different sized rocks, rock "all broken up", gravelly place	"out on the land, or in town (like a gravel road or bank of the airstrip)"
<i>ujagasutjuk</i>	boulder	"bigger than ujakak, but not a KakKak (which is) so big you could walk on it"
<i>ikkagok</i>	rock	
<i>ikkagoaluit</i>	place with many rocks	ikkagojak = "shallow water area between an island and the mainland"
<b>Alluvik</b>	"small rocks that you could step on across a brook, smaller than an island"	
<b>Kaittuk</b>	bedrock, solid/flat rock, ground, rock bank, rock face, granite, rock beach	"area where there's nothing growing on it (compared to itjuk 'soil')", "all the steep parts where you can't climb are called Kaittuk", "rock beach typical of the outside islands", "utsuKammak, tuligunnak ( <i>Rhodiola rosea</i> ) grow on the Kaittuk"
<i>Kaittisuaq</i>	vast expanse (of rock)	
<i>Kaittujângudluni</i>		
<i>anniak</i>	flat rock	anniak = flat

<i>Kaittujak</i>	bare rock area (not covered with earth)	"same thing as Kaittuk, it's called Kaittujak where they start growing,
<i>piguungatuit</i>	things (plants) that grow on the rocks	
<i>KaitukKanganik</i>	vegetation on solid rock	because there's no itjuk (soil)"
<i>Kaittutuinami piguttuit</i>		
<b>nillak</b>	ice, frozen?	
<i>nigak?, nillak nunaup</i>		
<i>atani</i>	permafrost?, ice under the ground	atani = underneath
<b>manituk</b>	rough (ice) area	
<i>manituâluk</i>	very rough area	
<i>manitunnituk</i>	smooth (ice) area (compared to manituk)	see sittungajuk = slide area
<b>sittungajuk</b>	flat (ice) area ("all straight")	"falling straight down"
<i>sittuk</i>	straight, flat	
<b>aujuituk</b>	glacier, frozen ground	
<b>apputik</b>	snow	
<i>appusinek</i>	patch of snow (in the summer, area is frozen year-round)	
<i>apputik/apputek</i>	snow patches, smaller (and lower down the hill?) than appusinek	
<i>angiuvak</i>	snow patch that never melts, unmelted snow	
<i>apputik auliktuk</i>	melting snow patch	

<i>apputik situsimajut</i>	fallen snow, avalanche snow	
<i>KakKak apputilik</i>	snow on the hills	
<i>mangaijakKutik</i>	place with snow	
<i>maujak</i>	deep snow	
	snow that you would sink in if	
<i>aKittuk</i>	you walked on it	
<i>Kangattâk</i>	snow/ice overhang?	
<b>Vegetation communities</b>		
<i>napâttuit</i>	trees, forest	plural of napâttuk = tree, "plain tree" (spruce)
		"for example on the hills, sparse enough that you can still see
<i>napâttuit</i>	trees, sparse forest	through
		them (compared to napattusuat, "forest")
<i>napâttusuat</i>		"when you're in the trees and can't
	dense forest	see anything else"
	place with many trees, forested	
<i>napâttuluviniq</i>	area	
<i>napâttuni</i>	in the trees, forest	
<i>napâttukuluit</i>	many small trees, young forest	napâttukuluk = small tree

<i>akulligedlutik</i>	lots of small trees/plants? mixed	
<i>napattukuluit</i>	together	piguttuk = plant
<i>pigusimajut</i>		
	"small little trees, just starting to	
<i>napâttuagait</i>	grow"	napâttuagak = small/young tree napâttualuk = big/tall tree, "taller
<i>napâttualuit,</i>		than a person", napâttusuak =
<i>napâttulialuk</i>	big trees, mature growth forest	very tall tree
<i>napâttusigualuit</i>	many trees, big forest	
	mixed forest, mix of different	
<i>adjigengitut napâttuit</i>	species of trees	
	area with no trees, where the	
<i>napâttuKangituk</i>	trees don't grow	
	"you are travelling in/on the	
<i>akKutiKannik</i>	tundra"	
<i>napâttuit issua</i>	timberline, "edge of the trees on	
<i>KakKangi</i>	the hill"	
<b><i>upigasak</i></b>	bushy place	upigak = willow/shrub
<i>upigait</i>	willows (shrubs, bushes)	'smaller, scattered around'
<i>upigaluit</i>	willows (shrubs, bushes)	'thicker, bigger willows'
<i>upigatalik</i>	shrubby place	
<i>upigalialuk</i>	very bushy/shrubby place	
<i>unuktualuit</i>	many bushes	
<b><i>Killagittulimi</i></b>	amongst the (needle-bearing) trees	"that's where the akkigilik (spruce ptarmigan) live"

<i>Killagittuk, Killagittuit</i>	needle-bearing tree(s) ( <i>Abies balsamea</i> , by extension <i>Picea mariana</i> )	"worst kind of wood in the world for firewood"
<b><i>pingiluvinik</i></b>	place with lots of juniper trees ( <i>Larix laricina</i> )	pingik = <i>Larix laricina</i>
<i>pingialuit</i>	many juniper trees (predominantly <i>L. laricina</i> forest)	
<i>pingialunnut</i>	"juniper tree ( <i>L. laricina</i> ) forest, not much plain trees ( <i>Picea</i> sp.)"	"go here to find the dry wood"
<i>nigipivingik</i>	area with a lot of pingik where porcupines have been eating	"if he came across pingiks that had been eaten by porcupine, he would call it nigipivinik"
<b><i>ivitsukak</i></b>	grassy area, grass, grassy area along the shore	
<i>ivitsuat</i>	"grasses, where it's damp, wetland"	
<b><i>paungaKautik</i></b>	berry patch	paungak = <i>Empetrum nigrum</i> , also any berry
<i>paungnialialuk</i>	berry patch ("same thing as paungaKautik")	
<i>paungatuinnak</i>	berry-place	real berry place from -tuinnak = true, real
<i>paungatapvet</i>	place for blackberries, the area where you pick blackberries	



<i>paungaluvinik</i>	(it has/place with) a lot of berries/black berries	"only when a place has a lot of berries you could call it this, not in a year
<i>paungatalik</i>	pile of berries, place for berries	where a place doesn't have a lot of berries"
<i>paungasik</i>	place for blackberries	"higher up in the country, further inland, not right by the water like the place for appiks"
<b>Ecological</b>		
<i>panittuk</i>	dry place	"but you would never say sunaKangituk, it's better to say panittuk"
<i>sunaKangituk</i>	desert	
<i>pannaKautik</i>	dry wood patch	
<i>KiuKaunnaituk</i>	"no more dry wood"	
<i>ikisimajuk,</i>		
<i>ikisimajutalik</i>	burned-place, 'fire place'	(-ajuk = place, ikisimmak = fire)
	burned-place, 'it was burned in	
<i>ikualasimajuk</i>	the fire'	ikualuk = fire
<i>talinganik</i>	shady-place	talik = shade
<b>-Kautik</b>	patch of ...	
<i>iKaluKautik</i>	patch of char	good place for char (mostly around brooks, rivers) [ikKaluk, ikKaluit = char]

<i>ammumajuKautik</i>	patch of clams	good place for clams [clam = ammumajuk]
<i>uvilliKautik</i>	patch of mussels	good place for mussels [mussel = uviluk]
<i>maniKautik</i>	patch of eggs	place for eggs [manik = egg]
<i>aKiKiKautik</i>	patch of ptarmigan/partridges	[aKiKik = ptarmigan/partridge]
<i>KikuaKautik</i>	patch of seaweed	place with seaweed
<i>kuaniKautik</i>	patch of shark's blanket (kelp)	place for shark's blanket (kelp)
<i>KunguliKautik</i>	patch of sorrel	patch of Kungulik [sorrel], "grow in the Kogutsunâk"
<i>pannaKautik</i>	patch of dry wood	[dry wood = pannak]
<i>paungaKautik</i>	patch of berries, crowberries ( <i>Empetrum nigrum</i> )	berry-place (even if no berries currently there)
<i>kigutanginaKautik</i>	patch of blueberries ( <i>Vaccinium caespitosum</i> , <i>V. uliginosum</i> )	
<i>kimminaKautik</i>	patch of redberry ( <i>Vaccinium uva-ursi</i> )	
<i>appiKautik</i>	patch of bakeapples ( <i>Rubus chamaemorus</i> )	
<b>Animal habitat</b>		
<i>nukKangapvik</i>	place where (any kind of) animal has been	[where there is evidence of an animal?]
<i>nukKangak, nunaKajuit</i>	place where the caribou come back to every year, "because they have their certain food, and	"each herd has their own nukKangak", [caribou = tuktuk, tuttuk]

	there's a river there where they can drink"	
<i>sitjait</i>	fox burrow	"holes in the ground, where foxes make their homes and rear their young"
<i>autturak</i>	bird's nest	[fox = tigiganniak]
<i>Kittungalupvik,</i> <i>Kitungaliuvik</i>	place where ducks go to lay their eggs	
<i>puijisiupvet</i>	good place to find seals	[seal = puijik]
<i>KulliligaKaluagaluk</i>	good place for capelin	[capelin = Killiligak]
<i>ikKaluKaluagaluk,</i> <i>ikKalivet</i>	good place for char (mostly around brooks, rivers)	[char = ikKaluk, ikKaluit]
<i>ikKállivit/ikKállivik,</i> <i>ikKalungniavik</i>		
<i>uviluKasok,</i> <i>uviluKatsiutumivuk</i>	good place for mussels	[mussel = uviluk]
<b>Places associated with people</b>		
<i>innullimi</i>	village	
<i>innuKangitumi</i>	wilderness?	"place where there's no people "
<i>nunalinni</i>	community, village	
<i>tupiffik</i>	campsite (one tent)	
	campsite (seasonal, where people would return to, more than just one	
<i>tupiffet/tuppipvet</i>		

<b><i>akKutik</i></b>	tent/family)	
<i>akkusinit</i>	route/road, trail, pass	"any trail, even one made by animals"
<i>takijualuk</i>	trail/path	
	trail	
<b>Orientation</b>		
<b><i>ini</i></b>	place	
<b><i>nanituinnak,</i></b>		
<b><i>namutuinnak</i></b>	everywhere, anywhere	
<b><i>avani</i></b>	north	
<b><i>kitâ</i></b>	east	
<b><i>sikinik</i></b>	south	
<b><i>kangik</i></b>	west	
<b><i>Kang, Kânga</i></b>	top	
<i>KakKaupKang,</i>	top of the hill/mountain	
<i>KakKasuapKânga</i>		
<b><i>KikKangani</i></b>	middle	
<i>KakKaupKikKangani</i>	middle of the mountain	
<b><i>atani</i></b>		
<i>KakKakatani,</i>	bottom of the hill/mountain,	
<i>KakKaup atanni</i>	valley	
<b><i>ikKak</i></b>	bottom	
<b><i>issua</i></b>	edge, border	
<b><i>killinga</i></b>	edge	

<i>kappianattuk,</i> <i>kappianattutalik</i>	"dangerous area"	
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**Table 2.** Size affixes.

<b>Suffix</b>				
<b>Root</b>	<i>-uluk</i>	<i>-ulukuluk</i>	<i>-uak</i> (larger)	<i>-âluk</i>
<b>word</b>	(smaller)	(smaller still)		(larger)
<b>tasik</b>  'lake, pond'	<i>tasilukuluk</i>  ( <i>mikujuk tasik</i> )  'small lake'	<i>tasilukuluk,</i> <i>tasilukulukuluk</i>  'small pond'	<i>tasitsuak</i>  'large lake'	<i>tasiâluk</i>  ( <i>angujuk tasik</i> )  'large lake'
<b>Kollutuk</b>  'waterfall'	<i>Kollutukuluk</i>  'small waterfall'  (5-10 meters)	<i>Kollutukululuk</i>  'very small waterfall'  (<5 meters)		<i>Kollutuâluk?</i>  'high waterfall'  (>50 meters)
<b>KakKak</b>  'mountain/hill'	<i>KakKakuluk</i>  'small hill'	<i>KakKakulukuluk</i>  'very small hill'		<i>KakKâluk</i>  'big mountain'