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Community knowledge on the distribution and abundance of species at risk in southern Baffin Island, Nunavut, Canada

M. L. Mallory, J. Akearok, and A. J. Fontaine

Canadian Wildlife Service, Prairie and Northern Region, P.O. Box 1870, Iqaluit, Nunavut, Canada X0A 0H0

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Copies may be obtained from:

Mark Mallory Habitat Biologist Environment Canada, Canadian Wildlife Service Prairie and Northern Region P.O. Box 1870 Iqaluit, Nunavut, Canada X0A 0H0

 Ph:
 867 975 4637

 FAX:
 867 975 4645

 Email:
 mark.mallory@ec.gc.ca

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ABSTRACT

We conducted interviews of hunters and elders in the Baffin Island communities of Cape Dorset, Kimmirut, Iqaluit and Pangnirtung to gather traditional ecological knowledge (or Inuit Qaujimanituqangit) on species at risk in this region. In particular, we were interested in any information pertaining to the distribution and abundance of the harlequin duck (*Histrionicus histrionicus*), ivory gull (*Pagophila eburnea*), Ross' gull (*Rhodostethia rosea*), peregrine falcon (*Falco peregrinus*), and wolverine (*Gulo gulo*). Information gathered from Inuit confirmed that all of these bird species occur in southern Baffin Island, although there was no evidence that the gulls breed here. Wolverines may occur in the region, but the evidence is weak. Data on species' distributions were stronger than data on abundance. We suggest that traditional ecological knowledge can play an important, companion role to typical, "western science" survey techniques when managing species at risk in the Arctic.

RESUME

Nous avons dirigé des entrevues auprès des chasseurs et aînés des communautés de Cape Dorset, Kimmirut, Iqaluit et Pangirtung de l'Ile de Baffin pour recueillir des connaissances écologique traditionelle (ou Inuit Qaujimanituqangit) sur les espèces à risque de cette région. En particulier, nous étions intéressé par toute information aillant trait à la distrubution et abondance du canard arlequin (*Histrionicus histrionicus*), de la mouette blanche (*Pagophila eburnea*), de la mouette rosée (*Rhodostethia rosea*), du faucon pélerin (*Falco peregrinus*), et du carcajou (*Gulo gulo*). Les informations recuilli auprès des Inuit ont confirmé que toutes ces espèces d'oiseaux sont présente dans la partie sud de l'Ile de Baffin, bien qu'il n'y ait aucune évidence que les mouettes ne s'y reproduisent. Il se peut que le carcajou soit présent dans cette région mais les preuves sont faible. Les données de distribution des espèces étaient plus fiable que les données d'abondance. Nous suggèrons que les connaissances écologique traditionelle peuvent jouer un rôle partenaire important aux techniques d'expertise plus typique des "sciences occidentales" pour la gestion des espèces à risque dans l'Arctique.

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This project would not have been possible without the financial and logistic assistance of the World Wildlife Fund, as well as assistance from the Qikiqtaaluq Wildlife Board and the Chicago Zoological Society. In particular, we thank Joanasie Akumalik and John Laird for their efforts helping to organize this work. The Nunavut Research Institute permitted this social studies project under Scientific Registry 00. We are deeply indebted to the Hunters' and Trappers' Organizations Cape Dorset, Kimmirut, Iqaluit and Pangnirtung. Finally, and most importantly, we thank those individuals who agreed to be interviewed and provided the community and traditional knowledge presented in this report: Simeonie Akpik, Sandy Akavak, Atsiaq Allasuaq, Peter Atsiqtaq, David Audlakiak, Elijah Keenainak, Mangitak Kellypalik, M. Maniapik, Towkie Maniapik, Joeelee Papatsie, Sagiatok Sagiatok, and one interviewee who preferred to remain anonymous.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In 2000, there were officially eight species of threatened or endangered birds that breed in Nunavut and Northwest Territories, but a more extensive review by the Canadian Wildlife Service (Yellowknife) and the territorial government suggests that in fact 45 species may be vulnerable, threatened or endangered (CWS unpublished report). Our knowledge of the abundance, distribution and breeding habitat of these northern species is usually limited. This is due in part to the logistical constraints and corresponding high costs of broad-based surveys associated with working in arctic regions. Hence, standard, "western" scientific approaches to gathering information for management of these species can be difficult to apply.

Considerable attention has been given recently to the role that traditional or community aboriginal knowledge (also known as Inuit Qaujimanituqangit) can and should play in the management of northern wildlife (Usher 2000). This concept was recognized in the original draft of the Species at Risk Act by the Government of Canada (Government of Canada 2000). Traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) has been used to help define and manage local populations of some marine species (e.g. Stewart et al. 1995), and a major study of TEK was undertaken to add information to our knowledge of the status of the endangered bowhead whale (*Balaena mysticetus*; Hay 2000).

While TEK can provide useful information not readily obtainable through western scientific approaches, there are also limitations that the researcher must consider. First, almost all Inuit now live in widely scattered coastal settlements, unlike their distribution before the 1960s and 1970s. Hence, most current information will be limited to the typical hunting range around these communities. Second, the amount of TEK Inuit possess on various species will differ depending on how important each species is in their history and culture. Tremendous amounts of TEK are available on key harvested species, such as caribou and seals, but relatively less is known on small species that have not traditionally formed a major part of their diet. This does not mean that resident Inuit are unaware of the presence or biology of various little known species; in fact, our experience is that Inuit hunters are exceptionally observant of their environment (M. Mallory, pers. obs.). Instead, it means that the researcher must be cognizant of the relationship between the focal species and Inuit culture when interpreting results.

In this pilot study, we were interested in gathering information on the abundance and distribution of certain threatened and endangered bird species in southern Baffin Island. This region supports four communities: Cape Dorset (or Kinngait), Kimmirut (or Lake Harbour), Iqaluit (or Frobisher Bay), and Pangnirtung (Fig. 1). Specifically, we sought information on harlequin ducks (*Histrionicus histrionicus*), ivory gulls (*Pagophila eburnea*), Ross' gulls (*Rhodostethia rosea*), peregrine falcons (*Falco peregrinus*), and wolverine (*Gulo gulo*).

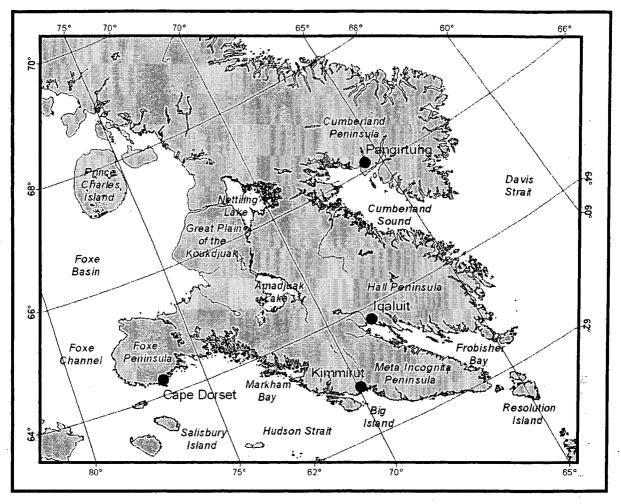


Figure 1 - Locations of southern Baffin communities where interviews were conducted

2.0 METHODS

We gathered TEK through direct interviews with hunters and elders in the communities of Cape Dorset, Kimmirut, Iqaluit and Pangnirtung in July and August of 2000. We contacted the local Hunters' and Trappers' Associations (HTA) in each community approximately one month prior to the interviews, and had the HTA select appropriate hunters and elders to be interviewed.

For each interview, the interviewer (J. Akearok) took a list of questions, a notebook, a tape recorder, laminated, 1:250,000 topographic maps, and pictures of each species. Prior to each interview, a consent form in Inuktitut and English was shown to each interviewee, and they were asked to sign the form to indicate if they wished to be identified in publications resulting from this work. Questions were posed in Inuktitut or English. Interviewees were paid a \$50 honorarium, and interviews were generally kept to about one hour.

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Questions were kept simple and brief, on the advice and experience of the Iqaluit HTO. The list of questions (Appendix A) was based in part on the questions used in the recent TEK study on bowhead whales (Hay 2000). The list was also used more as a guideline than a rigid series of queries. Sometimes questions were not asked. For instance, if an interviewee had not seen the species in question, then further questions along this line (e.g. "Have you seen eggs of this species") were not asked. For most of the interviews, however, consistency in the questions was maintained as much as possible. Aside from specific questions like whether they had seen the species in question, we also asked if they could or wanted to elaborate on the subject in any way that they felt comfortable. At times some of the interviewees would start talking about a different species and they were permitted to finish. Before the end of each interview on each species, the interviewer would state that if they did not have anything else to say on the species that they were finished on the specific topic. During the questions, interviewees were encouraged to indicate on maps where they had observed the species, and these notations were kept on maps and in a notebook.

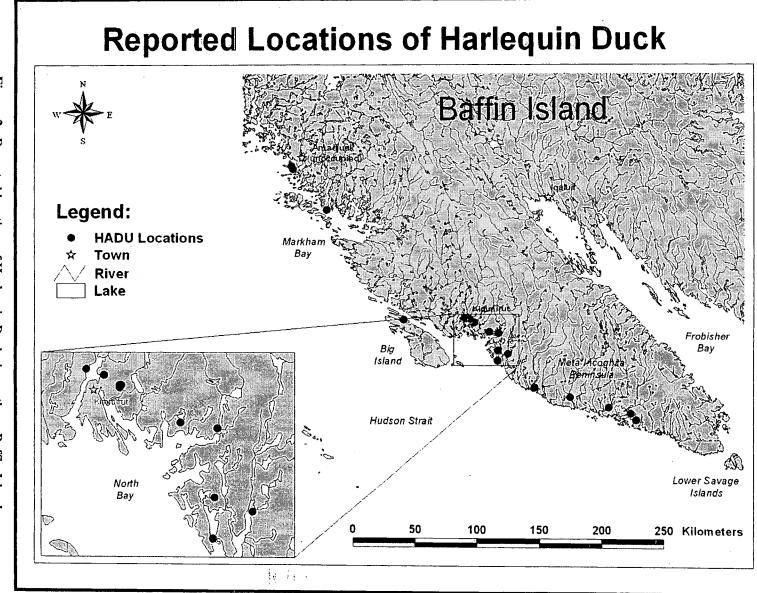
After all the interviews had been collected, they were transcribed and relevant sections translated (Appendix A).

3.0 **RESULTS**

We interviewed 12 Inuit: three in Cape Dorset, three in Kimmirut, two in Iqaluit and four in Pangnirtung. Some of the interviewees were difficult to understand, either because of their dialect, or the quality of the tape recording and/or recording location. We were confident that we extracted all of the pertinent information, but there were sections of the interviews that could not be translated. Also, it is important to recognize that Inuit elders do not refer to species abundance in absolute quantities, but instead they comment on abundance relative to other species, notably species they hunt. Thus, a response that says "there are not many harlequin ducks" should be interpreted as "there are not many of this species of duck compared to ducks that we commonly see and consume, like eiders".

Harlequin Ducks (Histrionicus histrionicus)

Seven of the 12 interviewees reported seeing harlequin ducks in southern Baffin Island. Based on their statements and the information they provided when looking at maps, the locations of harlequin duck sightings are provided in Figure 2. All interviewees in Kimmirut had observed this species consistently each spring (one actually provided a field dressed specimen), and all had observed harlequins with young (with five to seven chicks), although no interviewee had observed a nest. There was considerable overlap of indicated locations for harlequins among Kimmirut interviewees. Two of the Cape Dorset interviewees indicated that they had observed harlequins once, and that they were found closer to Kimmirut. One interviewee from Iqaluit had observed the species in Frobisher Bay (although he did not provide precise coordinates), while the other had observed them near Kimmirut. No one in Pangnirtung had observed harlequins, although one interviewee mentioned that someone had shot one in 1998. Those interviewees that described habitat mentioned that this species was usually found near fast-flowing



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Figure 2 -**Reported locations of Harlequin Ducks in southern Baffin Island**

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streams. Also, all interviewees mentioned that this species was not that common, and no one had noticed any changes in numbers of harlequins.

Ivory Gulls (Pagophila eburnea)

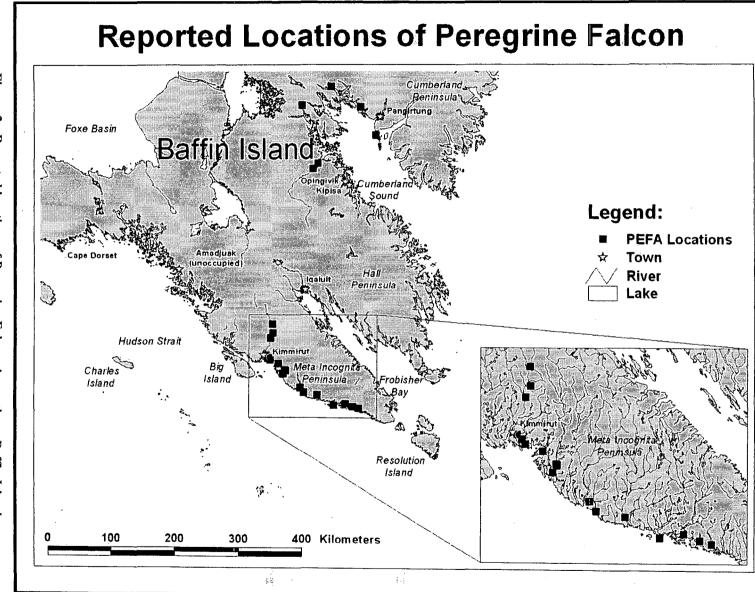
All interviewees said that they had observed ivory gulls, each near their respective communities. In Cape Dorset, interviewees indicated that ivory gulls were observed in the spring and fall. As no one had observed a nest or young, the interviewees suggested that likely saw the birds during migration. They also said that they never saw this species in large numbers, and that they hadn't noticed changes in numbers of this gull. Like Cape Dorset, all interviewees in Kimmirut also said they saw this species on migration in the spring and fall, that they were not that common, and that they hadn't noticed changes in numbers. In Iqaluit, interviewees reported seeing the species well down (east) in Frobisher Bay, and one had observed this species in the summer. However, no nests or chicks were reported. One interviewee said that ivory gulls were more common near Kimmirut. Again, interviewees indicated that this species was uncommon, and no changes in numbers were noticed. In Pangnirtung, there was some confusion among interviewees as to whether this species was called "naujavaaq" or "kaniq" in Inuktitut. Nonetheless, all interviewees reported seeing this species in Cumberland Sound, with two of the people reported seeing the bird annually. One said he observed this species close to town in the spring and fall. As with the other communities, this species was noted as uncommon, with no obvious changes in numbers.

Ross' Gull (*Rhodostethia rosea*)

Five of the interviewees reported observing Ross' gulls. In Cape Dorset, one hunter reported seeing them south of the community in the autumn, and that they are more common than ivory gulls. He also indicated that he had seen Ross' gulls near Markham Bay (half way between Cape Dorset and Kimmirut) when he was younger. This hunter also noted peculiar flight patterns of Ross' gulls, that some people imitate their calls, and that he thought he was seeing more of them lately. There was no indication of nests near Cape Dorset. In Kimmirut, none of the interviewees reported seeing Ross' gulls. In Iqaluit, both interviewees had observed Ross' gulls in Frobisher Bay, notably in August to September after bad storms. One interviewees aid he had also observed this species near Kimmirut. Similarly, two of the interviewees in Pangnirtung had noted Ross' gulls in Cumberland Sound, again especially following a strong southeasterly wind. In all cases, sightings of Ross' gulls were rare, and other than the one interviewee near Cape Dorset, no one indicated and trends in numbers or occurrence.

Peregrine Falcon (Falco peregrinus)

All but one of the interviewees had observed peregrine falcons on Baffin Island. In Cape Dorset, two of the three interviewees had observed peregrines near their community, and these hunters had also observed young in the nest (Fig. 3). One hunter thought peregrines were more common now than when he was younger. In Kimmirut, all hunters reported observing peregrines near the community, including eggs and young. None of





Species at Risk in southern Baffin Island

these hunters thought numbers of peregrines had changed. In Iqaluit, one interviewee reported locations of peregrines from the 1960s, and indicated that there are still nests near Iqaluit. He also described experiences he had years ago witnessing a falconer catch peregrines near Cape Dyer and Cape Dorset. The other interviewee commented on observations of this species near Kimmirut. In Pangnirtung, all interviewees had observed this species near the community, including nests, eggs and/or young. One interviewee thought they saw more peregrines now than when he was young. Across communities, all interviewees made it clear that these birds arrived in the spring (about when the snow disappeared) and departed by October, unlike gyrfalcons (*Falco rusticolus*) which sometimes stay around all winter.

Wolverine (Gulo gulo)

One of the interviewees reported seeing a wolverine on Baffin Island. One interviewee from Cape Dorset reported that he had observed wolverine footprints when he was younger near Nettiling Lake, and another indicated that they may have occurred near Cape Dorset when he was younger because his grandfather talked about them. Two interviewees from Kimmirut indicated that wolverine footprints had been observed near that community in the past, but no one had seen footprints or an animal recently. One interviewee in Iqaluit reported that he had heard of tracks being seen, but he suggested that in discussions with other hunters, the evidence for wolverines on Baffin Island was inconclusive. One interviewee from Pangnirtung reported that one wolverine was caught north of that community, and another interviewee also indicated that wolverines were rarely reported to the north. A third interviewee reported observing wolverine tracks but never seeing the animal.

4.0 DISCUSSION

Our interviews with hunters and elders in southern Baffin Island yielded valuable information on species at risk in the North. Our confidence in the reports of these individuals was strengthened by the details provided on species' habits and habitats - in almost all cases, these descriptions matched known behaviours or habitat preferences very well.

Perhaps the major contribution of this work was the information provided on harlequin ducks. Although this species had been recorded breeding on Baffin Island prior to the 1930s (Soper 1946), it had not been reported since then (e.g. MacPherson and McLaren 1959), and there was some question whether harlequins bred here anymore (Robertson and Goudie 1999). In fact, in light of the eastern population declines and the lack of information from this area, the most recent and detailed range maps on this species did not include Baffin Island (Robertson and Goudie 1999). The interviews, however, clearly revealed evidence of harlequins around much of the Meta Incognita Peninsula from west of Kimmirut to Iqaluit, including evidence of one dead specimen. Inuit hunters described the typical habitat of this species as fast-flowing rivers and streams or stream/ocean interfaces, exactly where we expect this duck to occur (Rodway 1998). Moreover, hunters in Kimmirut reported seeing harlequin broods - this is the first

evidence of breeding on Baffin Island in more than 70 years, and it comes from the same, southeasterly region as reported by Soper (1946). Interestingly, Soper (1946) also reported the species in Cumberland Sound, but Inuit in Pangnirtung did not report much contact with this species.

The ivory gull is known to migrate southeast along Davis Strait, and thus the observations of ivory gulls in Pangnirtung and Iqaluit were not surprising. Moreover, the indication that they showed up after strong, southeast winds is consistent with the expectation that they stay near the floe edge and avoid open water or long stretches of inland ice (Haney and MacDonald 1995). What was surprising was the finding that the communities of Cape Dorset and Kimmirut regularly observed ivory gulls during spring and fall migration. This southern shore of Baffin Island is not identified as one of the major migration routes for this species (Haney and MacDonald 1995), and in fact the ivory gull was considered rare in southwestern Baffin Island (Soper 1946, Macpherson and McLaren 1959). Our findings suggest that a small proportion of the ivory gull population consistently moves along the Hudson Strait coast each year.

The Ross' gull is an Old World species that has been observed occasionally in the Canadian arctic over the past 30 years. It was originally described from two specimens shot in 1823 by Sir James Clark Ross on the east coast of the Melville Peninsula. In fact, it has now been recorded breeding near Devon Island, at Churchill, Manitoba, and at Prince Charles Island in Foxe Basin (Bechet et al. 2000). Surprisingly, it has been observed at Cape Dorset, Frobisher Bay and Cumberland Sound, but not at Kimmirut. This may mean that it does not migrate past the tip of Meta Incognita Peninsula, or conversely it is very rare, and Inuit in Kimmirut have simply not had the opportunity to encounter it yet. However, with breeding now recorded in Foxe Basin, it is possible that this species is increasing near southwestern Baffin Island, as suggested by one Cape Dorset hunter. None of the communities indicated that this species breeds around southern Baffin, and hence most birds observed were probably rare migrants or individuals blown inshore by storms.

Peregrine falcons were known from each of the southern Baffin Island communities. Soper (1946, p. 224) recorded that "this species nests sparingly throughout the region", referring to the Foxe and Meta Incognita Peninsulas, but MacPherson and McLaren (1959) noted that it was more common near Cape Dorset than in Soper's (1946) findings. By the time of surveys in 1983-1984, up to 33 peregrine falcon territories were observed in a year in only 6,663 km² of survey area (Bromley and McLean 1986). Interviewees identified many nesting sites near Kimmirut and Pangnirtung, and a few close to Iqaluit, while Cape Dorset did not provide specific nesting sites. Collectively these results suggest that peregrine falcon populations in southern Baffin Island have remained stable or increased since the 1930s.

The wolverine purportedly occurs across Baffin Island (Banfield 1974). It is clear from these interviews, however, that it is at best uncommon across southern Baffin Island, and more realistically might be considered rare. Much of this part of Baffin Island is rough, mountainous terrain (part of the Arctic Cordillera), whereas wolverines are considered

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more common on the tundra plains. The information from Pangnirtung, suggesting that wolverines were found "north", might be consistent with the occurrence of this species on the flat tundra around Nettiling Lake and the Great Plains of the Koukdjuak, northwest of Pangnirtung.

The results of this pilot study indicate that local Inuit elders and hunters possess considerable knowledge on species that are not key components of their traditional diet or culture. We suggest that traditional knowledge can be a valuable companion to western scientific approaches in dealing with issues of distribution of species at risk, notably in regions such as the Arctic where normal field survey techniques are logistically complex and expensive.

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10.0 APPENDIX A

This appendix contains the translated transcript of the interviews with the hunters and elders. Because of some difficulties in translating from Inuktitut to English, there are sections that have been omitted. Prior to omission, it was determined that these sections were not germane to the purpose of the interviews.

CAPE DORSET INTERVIEWS

Mangitak Kellypalik

Harlequin Duck

J: The first part of the interview that I would like to discuss if the harlequin duck. Have you seen the harlequin duck before?

M: Around here I have never seen this bird before.

J: You have never seen them?

M: Yes, I have never seen them. This is the first time I've seen one (looking at picture).

J: Even though you have never seen one do you have any comments about it?

M: Well, if I had seen one I would have something to say but I haven't seen one before.

J: Thank you then were finished this part of the interview.

Ivory Gull

J: Have you seen the ivory gull around here before?

- M: Yes, the ivory gull passes (or migrates) through here in the spring from the South. Around here (or in Cape Dorset) I don't know where they bear young. Only in the springtime when they pass (or migrate) through do we see them.
- J: Do you see them every spring?
- M: Yes, and sometimes there are many of them.

J: I see. Do you see them over the summer?

- M: No, they aren't here over the summer. I don't know where they bear their young. Maybe at Ivallirmi (I don't know if he is referring to a name of a place or if he's is describing a setting someplace).
- J: When you see them in the spring do you see them when you still riding skidoos near the floe edge or do you see them when it is the boating season?
- M: By boat down there by the ice far away [Note that there are two possibilities here: 1) the floe edge is still there and he is referring to boating past the floe edge or:

2) there is still ice but there is enough gone for boating.]

However, we do not see them often. [Note that I think he means that he does not see them close to town often]. In the winter, I don't know where from, when they start returning just before winter starts, around September, they pass through here.

J: You see them again?

M: Yes.

- J: Have you always seen them when you were younger as well during the spring and winter? [Note that when I said winter I was referring to the month of September in reference to his previous comment].
- M: Yes, since the past I have always seen them. Since the past there are more of them now, I know that.
- J: I wanted to ask you if you could recall if their numbers had changed or if any other aspects of them had changed?
- M: Yes, around since 1957-58 I have seen them when there weren't many of them.. however.. we didn't have boats then (*Probably referring to motorized boats*) so we were closer (*to town*). We travel farther now so we see more of them but there aren't many of them near town.
- J: The more of them you are seeing, can you recall if you see them two at a time or how many of them do you see?
- M: Yeah there are usually two of them but when we are eating seal meat they begin to crave the seal fat, perhaps around 5 or 4 of them can gather very close to us.
- J: Have you seen their eggs or their young before?
- M: Not at all. I have never seen their eggs but their young who've gotten bigger pass (or migrate) through here.
- J: When they start returning (I'm referring to migration in the fall).
- M: Yes.
- J: When they start returning around September, back to the South. (I'm showing him the known migration pathways of ivory gulls at that time). This map states that this is where they stay during the winter. In the summer it states that this is where they lay their eggs. Now, in the winter when they start arriving around September, that is the month when you see them I mean, do you see them around October as well?
- M: Yeah, around that time they pass (or migrate) through here. In the spring I see them around, after they've had their young they come here in the fall and feed (and they feed all winter) [I didn't quite catch what he said on tape and I think he is just saying that once the ivory gulls pass through here in the fall they return to feed in their wintering areas). Not too many of them come here. Perhaps around 4 or 5 I've seen together.
- J: The last question I'd like to ask you is if you can comment on their habits or anything that you know of.
- M: Yes, they are fairly tame (or not very frightened by people) and they approach very near. They aren't very frightened or maybe because their very hungry they get very close to you. I mean people don't easily frighten them. (... pure white (reference to their plumage)).

Ross' Gull

- J: Have you seen this bird before? (Pointing at a picture of the Ross' gull)
- M: This bird I haven't seen it before.
- J: You have never seen them before?
- M: Yes, I've never seen them before.

Peregrine Falcon

- J: The last bird I want to ask you about is the peregrine falcon. Have you seen the peregrine falcon around here before?
- M: No, I haven't seen them here before. (I'm not sure what he says next but he basically repeats saying that he hasn't seen the peregrine falcon here before).
- J: Has someone discussed to you here if they are here or not or any other comments? (I'm asking him if someone has discussed the peregrine falcon besides whether they've seen it or not as well). Can you recall?
- M: Whether someone else has seen it or not... Whether someone has seen it here I haven't heard. Other knowledge regarding the peregrine falcon is probably abundant (*I'm not sure what he's saying after that*).. they winter here (*I think he is now referring to the snowy owl now*). They stay here, the snowy owl.
- J: You haven't, however, seen (pointing at picture of peregrine falcon) this bird?
- M: Yes, I haven't seen them. If people had seen them in the past, they don't come here.

Wolverine Interview

- J: The last part of the interview I want to ask you about is the wolverine. Have you seen the wolverine here before?
- M: Not at all. I haven't seen them here before. I have heard about them before though, up there, someone who caught one (*I think he's referring to someone who shot one*) at tatyilirngmi (*maybe a name of a place*). I mean close to here now there is any at all.
- J: On this subject to you have anything to say?
- M: Yeah, I have heard that the wolverine that they are as strong as a bear (*this is more of an analogy than an actual comparison of strength*). They are very strong in that they can remove large rocks (*he was motioning that they can remove large rocks in order to hide under rocks*). I have seen them on TV.

Sagiatok Sagiatok

Harlequin Duck

- J: The first part of the interview that I would like to ask you about is the harlequin duck. Have you seen this bird around here before?
- S: Yes, around here I have seen them before.
- J: In Cape Dorset you have seen them before? I mean, near Cape Dorset?
- S: Down there only (I'm not sure but I think he is referring to an old sod house far from Cape Dorset) near Kimmirut. I have seen that kind of bird (referring to the picture of the harlequin duck).
- J: Can you recall when you saw it? In the spring, summer?
- S: In the spring.
- J: Do you see them every spring I mean do they come here consistently?
- S: I don't know (*probably doesn't know whether they come here* consistently) but when I saw it I can't recall. In the past I have seen one but every year I haven't seen them just that one time.
- J: When you saw them in the past was it only one time or, I mean ... in the spring was it only one time you saw one?
- S: At that time there was two of them. In the spring I've seen them once.
- J: When you saw them can you recall what they were doing? I mean, were they near fast flowing waters or were they on land (*not flying*) or can you recall what they were doing?
- S: No, I haven't caught one. I haven't caught one. How they taste I don't know.

J: When you were younger. \dots is it only one time you've seen them?

S: Yes.

- S: Yes.
- J: Have you seen their eggs or their young?
- S: No, I have just seen them but I haven't seen their eggs or their young.
- J: The last question I'd like to ask you is if you know the habits or any knowledge of these birds that you know of?
- S: I don't know what their habits are because I've only seen them once.
- J: If you don't have anything else to say about this bird then we're finished.
- S: Yes, I don't have anything to say... cause I've only seen them once.

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J: Just those two?

Ivory Gull

- J: Now have you seen the ivory gull around here before?
- S: Yes, I have seen the ivory gull. (Saying that he hasn't seen much of them). There isn't much of them in Cape Dorset.
- J: Can you recall when you saw them, in the springtime, summertime or when did you see them?
- S: In the spring, I mean in early summer, springtime, when summer is near I have seen them.
- J: Do you see them every spring?
- S: I don't always see them every spring but I have seen one but I don't see them anymore (he was fairly old so I think he just means that he doesn't see them anymore because he doesn't go out as much).
- J: Have you always seen them since you were younger?
- S: Yes.
- J: How did you see them? I mean, were you on a boat?
- S: When I was boating around here, down there (he is probably referring to being in Hudson Strait but within the Cape Dorset area).
- J: Have you noticed any changes in numbers or changes in general?
- S: No, I haven't seen much of them. I have seen two, however, I can distinctly recall seeing two of them.
- J: Have you seen their eggs or young before?
- S: No I haven't seen those.
- J: Can you recall when you see them in the spring? Do you see them in the winter as well when the start returning south?
- S: No, I don't see them in the winter.
- J: How about in the fall?
- S: Yes, I have seen them in the fall.
- J: Can you comment on this subject (Note that I meant on the ivory gull in general he understood that).
- S: I don't have any comments because I haven't seen much of them.
- J: If you don't have anything else to say we are finished.
- S: They fly very close to you down there when you are boating. In the past ... (recalling a incident when they were flying right close to a boat he was on).
- J: Have you seen them in the summer? I mean, if you were to go boating right now (July 20, 2000), would you see one?

S: I wouldn't see one now if I went away (referring to going boating). There aren't much of them here

Ross' Gull

- J: Have you seen this bird here (pointing at picture of Ross' gull)?
- S: I have never seen one like that. Yes, I haven't seen one like that before.
- J: Even though you haven't seen it before do you have any comments on it?
- S: I don't have anything to say.
- J: Have you heard of any hunters or elders who have seen them?
- S: I haven't heard of anyone seeing one.

Peregrine Falcon

- J: The last bird I would like to interview you with is the peregrine falcon. Have you seen the peregrine falcon around here?
- S: Yes, I see them around here. In the spring and summer they are around here.
- J: You see them every springtime?
- S: Yes, every spring. Every spring I see them here.
- J: Did you see them when you were younger as well?
- S: Yes, in the past since I was a child I have seen them. Around here there are many of them on the land.
- J: Have you noticed any changes in numbers or any changes in general?
- S: I see them consistently but I don't know how many there are.
- J: Have you seen their eggs or young before?
- S: I have seen their young but not their eggs. I don't try and catch (probably means hunt) them.
- J: When you saw their young were they flying or in their nest?
- S: When they were in the nest. When they were still small.
- J: Do you know when they aren't around anymore? I mean when they start going back south?
- S: I don't keep track of when they start returning south. I don't know when they start going south.
- J: Do you have anything to add on your general knowledge of the peregrine falcon?
- S: Yes, just a small comment. When one is near the nest they are very aggressive; they swoop down very close when the have eggs, young.
- J: Yes, thank you. If you no longer have anything else to add we are finished.

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Wolverine

- J: The last animal I would like to interview you about is the wolverine. Have you seen the wolverine?
- S: No, but I've seen them on TV. And in the winter in Nattiling (*I think he is referring to Netilling Lake*)... Up there when we lived there in Nattiling, when we were on a dog team going home we saw wolverine footprints. But I haven't seen a live wolverine.
- J: Can you tell me perhaps about someone who has seen one?
- S: They are slow even when they are running. Yes, people say that one can catch them by dog team, so I've heard. When the wolverine is caught, they lie flat and try to bite. They try and bite off the dog's legs.
- J: Do you have anything else to add?
- S: I don't have much to say because I don't see them. The only thing I've heard is that their slow, I mean that dogs can catch them when they (wolverine) are running.

Atsiaq Allasuaq

Harlequin Duck

- J: For the first part of the interview I'd like to discuss the harlequin duck. Have you seen the harlequin duck before?
- A: Yes, I have seen them before but near Markham Bay.
- J: Markham Bay?
- A: Yes, in between Kimmirut and Cape Dorset. (I think he said that they are closer to Kimmirut).
- J: When do you see them, in the spring?
- A: Only in the spring. Around 1958.
- J: Have you only seen them one time?
- A: Yes, those pair. I haven't seen another one besides those pair.
- **J:** Only in 1958?
- A: Yes, around 1958 in the spring.
- J: You've only seen them once?
- A: Yes, I haven't seen another one. Another one around here.
- J: Have you seen their eggs or their young?
- A: No, I saw them before they would have laid any eggs in the spring. I saw them near a lake.

- J: My last question is do you have any comments regarding their habits or what you know about them or what you've heard from hunters or elders on these birds?
- A: I don't have anything to say because they don't come here often and people do not see them often except for once in long while, but they occasionally do come here. They inhabit warmer places; they don't come here often. Where they bear young I don't know.
- J: If you have nothing further to add we are finished.
- A: I've noticed that they fly up almost vertically when they take off. They don't have to have a long runway to take flight. As soon as they attempt flight they lift up right away. If they took flight on one spot they'd lift up right away. They don't have to have take off from a long distance. I mean they aren't like ducks because they can take flight quicker.

Ivory Gull

- J: Have you seen the ivory gull around here before?
- A: They don't bear young here. They do come here in the fall though when winter is arriving, they pass (*or migrate*) through here.
- J: In the fall?
- A: Yes, in mid to late fall. There aren't a lot of them. I also haven't seen them bear young around here. I do see them sometimes though; very close to one.
- J: Do you see them ever fall?
- A: Yes, they aren't here over the summer. They don't have any nests here. Where they bear young I don't know. Only in the fall around September, October.
- J: Did you see them when you were younger as well?
- A: Yes, I have seen them then.
- J: When you see them are there a lot of them or...
- A: There isn't a lot of them, now I've seen one sometimes two together. One sees them alone more often around here. I haven't seen them much any place else.
- J: Have you noticed any changes in numbers or changes in general? I mean..
- A: I haven't noticed where they nest here, I have only seen them. I've seen them less frequently, I mean ... I can't say where I could see them again. I can't say there is some over there for instance.
- J: The ones you've seen, you've seen them while boating?
- A: From land (I'm not sure but I think he said that he's seen them by boat and from land).
- J: I've already asked you this but have you said that you haven't seen their eggs or their young?
- A: Yes, I mean.. I've probably seen their young (I'm sure he is referring to their young when they migrate through in the fall).

- J: In the fall?
- A: Yes, the ivory gulls that aren't completely white, I've seen those. I've seen one that I think were their young. But I haven't seen them when they were smaller or their eggs.
- J: Has any other hunters or elders discussed the ivory gull with you?
- A: Not too many people discuss the ivory gull. They aren't used here. They are just seen as other birds.
- J: My last question is do you have any knowledge that you can share about this bird?
- A: Yes, (he recounted an incident of how he could lure ivory gulls very close to him using seal fat).
- J: If you have nothing further to add we are finished.
- A: Yes, I can't say where they bear young or where they come from but they do pass through here in the fall, not much of them.
- J: Not much of them?
- A: Whether they are decreasing I don't know it seems like there haven't been any changes. Ducks, for instance, there used to be just two of them (*referring to pairs*), then three, now there is a lot of them. But these, I don't think they've increased around here. They aren't from here, they live further up.

Ross' Gull

- J: (Note that it took a while for both of us to come to an understanding of what it was we were looking at in the picture of the Ross' gull. He initially wondered if it was the Arctic Tern. However, I think it was clarified). Have you seen the Ross' gull before?
- A: These birds, in the fall as well. They don't nest here as well. They glide very close to the water and the tips of the wings touch the water. They make the call "titiruq, titiruq". People do see them because there are many of them (*keep in mind that many in this case is a relative term*). Around here people do not use them. They are more of them than ivory gulls during the fall. After the summer when their young have grown they are more frequent.
- J: Do you see them by boat in the fall?
- A: Yes, down there in the ocean (probably just south of Cape Dorset) but there aren't much near land.
- J: You've already said this but you said that there are more of them than ivory gulls?
- A: Yes, I'd say there is more of them. They frequently go in groups, sometimes there is four of them close by.
- J: Do you see them every fall?
- A: (He does say he sees them every fall but early, mid or late fall I'm not sure). If I was to go out boating right now I wouldn't see any even if I went far.
- J: Only in the fall?
- A: Yes, in the fall past an outpost camp. Around September sometime there are more of them.

- J: Did you see them when you were younger as well around here?
- A: Down there around the Markham Bay area.
- J: The ivory gull is there too right?
- A: Only down there. They (Ross' gull) don't come near land here but are far offshore.
- J: Have you noticed any changes in numbers or changes in general?
- A: (I couldn't catch some of what he was saying but he does mention that he thinks he is seeing more of them). I think that there aren't around here when they bear young but I see more of them in the fall, or late summer.
- J: Have you seen their eggs or their young?
- A: They aren't here as well but further north. Where they breed I haven't seen it except through the TV. They don't nest here.
- J: Have other hunters and/or elders discussed this bird with you?
- A: Yes, they eat as much as they can when they have the opportunity. So much so that they can't fly. When they are fed fat (*probably referring to seal fat*).
- J: My last question is do you have any comments on this bird?
- A: Yes, these birds aren't eaten here. Whether they are good to eat no one thinks about that. When people see them, people imitate its call "titiruq, titiruq". They make that call when they skim just above the water with the tips of their wings touching the water. They aren't very afraid of people because people don't really bother them that much.
- J: Thank you. If you have nothing further to add we're finished.
- A: Yes, I don't know that bird that well except that when the fly nearby people imitate their calls.

Peregrine Falcon

- J: The last bird I'd like to interview you with is the peregrine falcon. Have you seen the peregrine falcon around here?
- A: Peregrine falcon, yes. They can be seen in a lot of places. Up north on the land, there one can see them often.
- J: When do you first see them? Do you first see them in the spring, summer?
- A: In the spring they start arriving and one can start seeing them. Also, during the summer, when there are more of them.. they breed everywhere (when I write down everywhere know that he is just emphasizing that they is a lot of them relative to other birds probably the other birds are the ones I've interviewed him with). In pairs the peregrine falcon breed anywhere.
- J: Do you see them every spring and summer?

- A: One doesn't always see them every spring. They aren't around here very much (*referring to Cape Dorset*).
- J: Did you see the peregrine falcon when you were younger as well?
- A: I've seen them frequently. (He mentions the snowy owl and how it is more abundant than the peregrine falcon and that they winter around the Cape Dorset area).
- J: Right now, if I was to walk, if I was looking for them would I see them around?

A: Yes.

- J: Have you noticed any changes in number or changes in general? How about whether they have moved someplace else, can you recall?
- A: Yes, it seems that I see them more frequently. I mean, I used to say there wasn't much of them, I have walked a lot on the land going up north.
- J: Have you seen their eggs and/or their young?
- A: I don't look for their eggs because they nest on high cliffs. However, their young are visible and I have seen them before they can fly.
- J: Have other hunters and/or elders discussed this bird with you?
- A: Not too many people discuss them compared to other birds. People don't' say whether they catch them or not.
- J: Do you have any other knowledge that you can share?
- A: Yes, I don't study the peregrine falcon very much. Each pair tends to return back to where they were before (*probably referring to their nesting site*).

Wolverine

- J: For the last part of the interview I'd like to discuss the wolverine.
- A: They aren't from around here. I have heard about them, that they were around in the past. I haven't even seen their footprints. They aren't any here. There used to be some because my grandfather used to talk about them.
- J: If you have nothing further to add we're finished.
- A: Yes, I can't say any more because I haven't seen them before. I haven't heard of anyone catching the wolverine here.

KIMMIRUT INTERVIEWS

Simeonie Akpik

Harlequin Duck

- J: Do you see the harlequin duck annually? Do you see them in the spring, summer when do you see them?
- S: They arrive in the spring. I only see them in the spring. They do come here to breed. They frequently habit fast flowing waters. I know some near fast flowing waters. They breed early. I have. They arrive here before they lay eggs.
- J: Can you show me where you've seen them on the maps provided?
- S: I only know of harlequin ducks close to town.
- J: Close to town?
- S: Close to town. In early spring (see Inuit seasons) I have seen them in polynyas near town.
- J: You've seen them in polynyas as well?
- S: Yes, although I do not know where they lay their eggs. I have seen harlequin ducks around a big (either waterfall or fast flowing river) called Tiararni.
- J: Do you see them every spring?
- S: Yes. They do arrive here annually but not in large numbers. I see them each spring. They travel along the floe edge.
- J: Can you recall how many you've seen when you see them? Do they group in pairs or have you seen more?
- S: They arrive with their mates. I do not think there's a lot to begin with. They don't congregate in large groups. They only assemble in pairs.
- J: Have you always seen them in the past?
- S: Yes. I've hunted one when I was a young child right along a river. I can recall as a young child how beautiful I thought those birds are. Although I haven't seen them every spring it may be because I wasn't looking for them. They arrive here each spring to breed although I can't point out where they lay their eggs. Although they don't come in large numbers. However, oldsquaws are plenty here.
- J: Can you recall if there is any changes in numbers or anything else that you can think of regarding harlequin ducks?
- S: Instances like ducks, seals or other animals we speak of as not as many but whether their numbers are decreasing we do not say that. Same with birds we've probably noted not as many or more birds now and then. We've not spoken saying that animals are going extinct.

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- J: You haven't seen harlequin eggs?
- S: I have gotten an egg near a polynya.
- J: You shot one that had eggs?
- S: The dead female had egg(s).
- J: Have you ever seen their nests?
- S: They don't lay eggs near polynyas. They lay their nests near lakes and anywhere on the land they _ lay their eggs.
- J: Can you tell me your knowledge on harlequin ducks or information you might've heard from elders and/or hunters?
- S: I haven't paid much attention to harlequin habits but that they do breed here.

Ivory Gull

- J: Have you seen the ivory gull near Kimmirut?
- S: Yes, I have seen them in the fall. Although they are still here now once in the fall I can recall a lot of ivory gulls. I have not seen as many as I did before. I have caught some in the past. Although I don't see as many there are still some in the fall.
- J: Can you recall when you see them? Do you see them in March, April? Do you consistently see them in the fall?
- S: Yes I see them in the fall and in the spring.
- J: Do you see them every spring?
- S: Yes, although I do not see a lot of them in the spring.
- J: Do you consistently see them near the floe edge?
- S: Yes, in the fall.
- J: Did you see them when you were younger?
- S: Yes, I've already mentioned seeing a lot when I was younger. There has been a lot.
- J: Have you noticed any changes over the years regarding ivory gulls?
- S: I have always seen them here. I can't say whether they nest here or not.
- J: (Showing map) Can you recall if they pass through here when winter is near?
- S: They do migrate through with their young. After they reproduce in the spring they migrate through Kimmirut in the fall.
- J: Can you tell me your knowledge or knowledge you've gained from elders or other hunters on ivory gulls?

S: They land nearby when food is available.

Ross' Gull

- J: Have you seen the Ross' gull near Kimmirut?
- S: No.
- J: Have you heard of anyone seeing the Ross' gull?
- S: No. I can't say that they pass through here.

Peregrine Falcon

- J: Have you seen the peregrine falcon?
- S: Yes, they bear young here in the spring. I know that they arrive in the spring, the peregrine falcons. Now those ones that are all white, they stay here through the winter. Now these (*peregrine falcon*) are not here over the winter. Only in the spring do they arrive to bear young.
- J: Do you consistently see them?
- S: Yes, I know of places nearby where they've laid their eggs. Although I've never actually taken hold of their eggs I know that they lay eggs here. I have seen one right near Kimmirut (*referring to a time when there was a pair that nested just across the bay*). When I was a child I can recall a pair (*same pair each spring*) of peregrine falcons that lived at that spot (*referring to a high cliff across the bay from the town of Kimmirut*). However, the (*pair of*) peregrine falcons aren't there any more. There are peregrine falcons around in a lot places up there (*up north*).
- J: Have you noticed any changes in their numbers or any changes at all?
- S: I study them closely because I see them often I've noticed them chasing small birds as well as their other activities. However, they don't group together in large numbers. Only in pairs, with their mates, that's how they are.
- J: Have you seen their eggs or their young?
- S: Yes, one time when I lived over there where I used to live I was able to get close to one. I saw their eggs.
- J: Do you know when they first start arriving here?
- S: In the spring at the same time when their food (or prey) arrives.
- J: Do you know when they returning back south?
- S: I think soon after their young is capable of flying.
- J: My last question is do you have anything that you would like to add about the peregrine falcon?
- S: (Unfortunately I couldn't understand a lot of what he said here. Although I think he mentioned that he hadn't noticed any changes in their numbers)

Wolverine

- J: Have you seen the wolverine?
- S: Only in Yellowknife.
- J: But not here?
- S: No, they don't live here.
- J: Have you heard of someone who has seen it here?
- S: Whether they have been here I haven't heard.

Sandy Akavak

Harlequin Duck

Jason: Have you seen the harlequin duck?

- Sandy: Yes, there are harlequin ducks around here.
- Jason: Have you seen a lot of them here? Do you see them consistently?
- Sandy: Yes, although I haven't seen a lot of them but they are here around fast flowing waters. I don't know if there is a lot of them.
- Jason: Can you point out where you've seen them on the maps provided?
- Sandy: There are some right near Kimmirut.

Jason: Do you consistently see them?

- Sandy: Yes. I have seen them in Pleasant Inlet, Shaftesbury Inlet. I have seen them also in Iggajuq (pointing on map). They aren't a lot of them. Here fast flowing waters and around lakes. In the past I have seen 4 of them together.
- **Jason**: Have you seen harlequin ducks around here (pointing at map)?
- Sandy: No. I haven't visited some areas lately. There are some in Markham Bay. Yes, I have seen them but flying around. There is no doubt that there are some near fast flowing waters.
- Jason: Do you know if other have seen harlequin ducks?
- Sandy: Yes, in the summer we see them most often. I think they nest here around fast flowing waters.

Jason: Do you see them every summer?

- Sandy: Yes, we see them every summer.
- **Jason**: Have you seen them recently?

Sandy: Yes, I have seen them up top around here (pointing).

Jason: Can you tell me your knowledge on harlequin ducks?

Sandy: I do not know much on harlequin's but that they are like aggiq's.

Jason: Like aggiq's.

Sandy: Yes.

Jason: Have you seen the harlequin duck when you were younger?

Sandy: Yes, I have seen them when I was younger. We have always seen them but since we don't eat them we don't hunt them. Although they are hunted for their plumage now and then.

Jason: Do you know if there are any changes in harlequin numbers?

Sandy: I don't think there has been changes. There aren't a lot to begin with. They aren't like other ducks. Harlequin's come in pairs near fast flowing waters and sometimes there are 4 of them. I don't think there's a lot of them.

Jason: You haven't seen harlequin eggs?

Sandy: Yes, I have not seen their eggs but I have seen their young.

- **Jason**: Do you know when they start leaving or when you do not see them as often?
- Sandy: Like other ducks they probably arrive in the spring. Like aggiq's they probably arrive around June.

Jason: Harlequin's arrive around June?

- Sandy: Yes, but they probably start leaving around October, November. Around November I don't see harlequin's probably because they've left.
- Jason: Do other hunters and elders discuss harlequin's with you?

Sandy: Yes.

Jason: They've seen them here too?

Sandy: Yes, they see them here too.

Jason: Do you have knowledge that you can share regarding harlequin ducks?

Sandy: Yes, they frequent fast flowing waters. When the tide is rising they tend to frequent fast flowing waters.

Ivory Gull

Jason: Have you seen the ivory gull before?

- Sandy: Yes, I have seen them but I think they are just passing through. I don't think they nest here. We see the ivory gull in the spring time. In early spring near the floe edge there are ivory gulls around. The go up somewhere.
- **Jason**: They are near the floe edge?
- Sandy: Yes, they are around the floe edge when there is still a floe edge. They are around the salt water.
- Jason: Do you see them in the spring or summer?
- Sandy: Yes, in the spring. They are probably just passing through in the spring time. Although in the fall we do not notice them as much. Maybe they go a different in the fall.
- Jason: They aren't around right now?
- Sandy: Yes, right now there aren't any.
- Jason: Do you see them every spring?
- Sandy: Yes, every spring. Sometimes there is more than one but there aren't too many. I haven't seen any ivory gull eggs though.
- Jason: You've always seen them when they pass through?
- Sandy: Yes, near the floe edge when there is still food available they come near they are probably passing through.
- Jason: Have you noticed any changes in ivory gull numbers over the years?
- Sandy: No, they haven't changed and there isn't a lot of them to begin with. Sometimes there is a good number but not a lot, at least the ones that pass through here. They are always here though.
- Jason: You haven't seen their eggs?
- Sandy: Yes and I haven't heard whether they nest here or not.
- **Jason**: Do you know when they start migrating back south?
- Sandy: I don't know when they start returning south although they are around in the spring when the floe edge is still here. They pass through here in the spring and summer but we haven't seen them in the fall.
- Jason: Do you have knowledge you can share regarding ivory gulls?
- Sandy: I don't have much to say but that they get very close when you have seal fat nearby. We do not eat them.

Ross' Gull

Jason: Have you seen the Ross' gull?

- Sandy: I don't know this bird.
- Jason: You haven't seen the Ross' gull?

- Sandy: Maybe I have seen one when they have passed through but I can't be sure. They aren't around here.
- Jason: You haven't seen them in this plumage (showing picture)?
- Sandy: Yes I haven't seen them in that plumage. I've seen different kinds of (gulls) but not very many. They don't lay their eggs here.
- Jason: You can't recall these (Ross' gull) particular birds?
- Sandy: Yes, I can't recall them.

Peregrine Falcon

Jason: Have you seen the peregrine falcon around Kimmirut?

Sandy: Yes, there is some here.

Jason: Can you show me where you've seen them on the maps provided?

Sandy: Yes, I've seen them near the Soper River.

Jason: Soper River?

Sandy: Yes, Soper River. There are some here at Mount Joy as well. There is some here as well I think.

Jason: Mount Moore?

Sandy: Yes, Mount Moore. That's where I've seen them at high cliffs.

Jason: When do you see them?

Sandy: In the spring. There is still some here now nearby.

Jason: Have you noticed any changes in peregrine numbers?

Sandy: No, they haven't changed. Although there isn't a lot of them they are still here unchanged.

Jason: Have you seen their eggs?

Sandy: No because they nest on high cliffs.

Jason: The cliffs are too high?

Sandy: Yes.

Jason: Have you seen their young?

Sandy: Yes but only when they've gotten older.

Jason: Do you know when they start migrating south?

Sandy: I know they start going south in early fall, mid-fall. Perhaps around October.

Jason: October?

Sandy: Yes, October. Their young probably return here.

- Jason: Have elders and hunters discussed the peregrine falcon with you?
- Sandy: I can't recall much discussion but that the peregrine falcon was monitored by wildlife departments. The wildlife people were testing whether peregrine's returned here or not. They return back here.
- Jason: Do you have anything else to add?

Sandy: No.

Wolverine

Jason: Have you seen the wolverine before?

- Sandy: No.
- Jason: You've never seen them?
- Sandy: There aren't any here. Although my father and mother said that they've seen wolverine footprints before I was born.
- Jason: Do you have anything to say on wolverines?

Sandy: I don't know much about them because there aren't any here.

Name withheld by request

Harlequin Duck

- J: Have you seen the harlequin duck around here?
- A: Although we consistently see them here, however, there aren't a lot of them. I've known of them since I was a child.
- J: In the past?
- A: Yes, in the past I saw a lot of them.
- J: Do you consistently see them. I mean.. do you see them in the summer or in the spring?
- A: In the spring is when they start arriving here.
- J: Do you see them in the summer as well?
- A: Yes, they nest here although there aren't a lot of them I mean I don't know of a large group nesting close together.

J: You've said that you consistently saw them when you were younger?

- A: Yes, I saw them then and I still see them now.
- J: You see them now?
- A: Yes, I see them now and I've (recently probably that spring) seen them down there (probably south of Kimmirut).
- J: Have you noticed any changes in numbers have their numbers changed since you can remember when you were younger?
- A: No, there aren't a lot of them but I've always seen them and I don't think (*their numbers*) have changed.
- J: Did you say that you haven't seen their young or their eggs?
- A: I've only seen their young, I haven't seen their eggs.
- J: Can you recall how many young there were?
- A: Seven young.
- J: Were they flying or walking?
- A: Now the ones that I saw weren't able to fly yet.
- J: Were they on their own or with their mother?
- A: Their mother was with them.
- J: Did you see the young with their mother and father or with just one of them?
- A: Both the mother and the father were with them that's how I've seen them.
- J: Can you recall when you saw the family of young?
- A: Around August before they could fly.
- J: Do you have some idea when they start returning back to the south?
- A: I haven't taken much thought to that.
- J: Can you tell me a bit about their habits?
- A: I don't know much about their habits but that they nest here.

Ivory Gull

- J: Have you seen this bird (pointing at picture of ivory gull) here?
- A: Yes, they are here in the summer and spring. We don't see them often because this is not their destination.

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- J: You do see them in the summer however?
- A: Yes, in the summer after they've had their young they pass through (*or migrate*) here, that's when we see them.
- J: Do you see them while you're boating or when you're by the floe edge?
- A: By boat in the summer is when we see them; they are not here for very long.
- J: All summer?
- A: Yes, they aren't here for the whole summer. When they come here is when the ice is just about gone.
- J: Now do you see them every summer, every spring?
- A: No, one doesn't see them much in the spring; only when they are returning (*back south*) is when we see them.
- J: When they start returning from the north?
- A: Yes, after they've had their young is when they start (*migrating back south*). Now I have never seen their eggs here even though I've been in a lot of places here (*Kimmirut area*); whether they nest here or not I don't know.
- J: Can you recall if you had seen these birds when you were younger as well?
- A: Yes, we used to try and catch (or shoot) them. They fly low so it was fun to try and catch them (like other young men he may have tried to stone low flying ivory gulls). Nobody here, however, has found their nests. I haven't seen their nests either.
- J: Now have you noticed any changes... have their numbers gotten smaller or does it seem that there haven't been any population changes or does it seem like there are more of them?
- A: Now from down there (I think he means down the sea from Kimmirut) to here since I started going out (hunting, camping) there are more of them (I think he suspects that he sees more of them because he can travel farther), however, they aren't from here, whether there are more of them I don't know.
- J: Although you've already mentioned this but have you seen their eggs or their young?
- A: Yes, I haven't seen them.
- J: Now they have been observed here over the winter (*pointing to distribution of wintering ivory gulls on a map*). And in the summer they reside here where they nest. Now can you recall when they start returning, is it when winter is near?
- A: Around September is when they start returning. They pass through here.
- J: You've seen them?
- A: Yes.

J: By boat?

- A: Yes.
- J: Now have other people discussed this bird with you? Whether they've seen them or discussions on their habits?
- A: No, I haven't heard of someone finding their nests here. Only when they migrate through here is when people see them.
- J: Do you have anything that you would like to add? On their habits or on anything?
- A: Well they don't stay here except when they migrate through is when we see them by boat. I've already mentioned that I don't know if their numbers have changed.

Ross' Gull

- J: Have you seen this bird here before?
- A: No, I haven't seen one like that here before. I have never seen one like that.
- J: Has anyone ever discussed this bird with you?
- A: No, nobody has discussed this bird and I haven't heard of anyone seeing it.

Peregrine Falcon

- J: Have you seen the peregrine falcon around here before?
- A: Yes, we see them consistently around here. I had consistently seen them as well when I was younger.
- J: Can you show me where you've seen them using the maps?
- A: Yes, I can also discuss where I've seen them. We used to live down there (*I think he means southeast of Kimmirut*) and there is always some there, however, there aren't a lot of them here. They nest here nearby (*close to Kimmirut*).
- J: Do you know when you first start seeing them, I mean is it in the fall, in the summer?
- A: In the spring, during the spring the peregrine falcons arrive here. They don't winter here. I mean the peregrine falcon.
- J: Do you consistently see them?
- A: Yes, I have seen some this spring. Now they eat (*smaller birds*) and I have seen one chase a (*small bird*) in the spring.
- J: Now you see them in the summer as well?
- A: Yes in the summer. One can see them up on cliffs here and I have seen their nests, however, they nest in hard to reach places.

- J: Now you've seen them when you were younger as well?
- A: Yes, I have seen them then and ever since and I have paid attention to them since then. Now I didn't see them when there were a lot of them and I can't say whether they have decreased or increased in numbers either.
- J: Have you seen their eggs and/or their young?
- A: Only their young when they first start flying is when I've seen them. Now I haven't seen their eggs. They live on steep cliffs that are hard to access.
- J: Do you know when they start returning back south?
- A: They probably start returning in late summer although there are still some here then. They start going south when it starts getting cold again here.
- J: Have other hunters and/or elders discussed the peregrine falcon with you? Can you recall if someone has discussed this with you?
- A: They do discuss animals here, like birds that they hunt and eat. I have heard that it (*peregrine falcon*) can catch larger birds like ducks.
- J: Do you have anything to say about the peregrine falcon, like their habits or anything at all that you would like to discuss?
- A: (He didn't have anything to say).

Wolverine

- J: Have you seen or heard of the wolverine here?
- A: I've only heard about it but I haven't seen one.
- J: Did you hear of someone seeing one here?
- A: Only that people have seen wolverine footprints. Not of one who has seen one.
- J: Now you haven't seen one?
- A: Yes, I haven't heard of someone seeing one.
- J: Do you have anything to say about this? Can you discuss this topic?
- A: I haven't seen one so I don't have anything to discuss about it.

IQALUIT INTERVIEWS

David Audlakiak

Harlequin Duck

- **David:** I understand that you will be asking me questions in Inuktitut. What is the name of the bird near Kimmirut in Inuktitut?
- Jason: Ivigaq. I understand that you have seen the harlequin duck around Kimmirut (formerly called Lake Harbour) can you show me on the map where you have seen them?
- **David:** Yes, I can show.
- Jason: Where were they?
- **David:** Here is Meta Incognita Peninsula and here is Iqaluit, across the peninsula as you can see is Kimmirut.
- Jason: So where did you see these harlequin ducks?
- **David:** Near Kimmirut, in the bottom portion there (62 51 N & 69 47 W), where the river meets the salt water ocean.... high tide the falls are clear. You see Lake Harbour is approximately in this area... (60 or 15?) minutes by boat.... This bay, as you can see there's this large lake..... freshwater meets saltwater. Conveniently close to Lake Harbour community...few minutes.
- Jason: Do you have an idea of how many?
- **David:** They were obviously a pair.
- Jason: Saw two?
- David: Yes. What we thought were male and hopefully a female bird in the same area. Probably feeding in the bottom of the water. If they were in fact breeding, we were not sure. We left them alone because these were the types that we did not eat for one thing. Eider ducks we would, but these were strange to us. Now obviously, didn't make any move to kill anyone. They are completely foreign birds. Something we don't include in our diet other than eider ducks. That's why we left them alone.
- Jason: Can you recall which months you saw them or maybe was it spring time?
- **David:** It was end of July because ice was out. But then, ice goes out earlier over there (Kimmirut) than Iqaluit. The bay here (Iqaluit) is so long, takes longer for ice to melt and eventually leave the bay. When we have high winds or tides at right time of the month, it might go earlier. But in Lake Harbour the ice goes earlier each year.
- Jason: You've seen them that once or did you see them again?
- **David:** Joe (Audluktuq?), the resident of Kimmirut may have seen them in the past also. He is a former MLA for that region, also my ex-father.
- Jason: You were telling me...I remember the last time you were telling me stories of; where they were; what they were doing. Can you tell me that? The waterfalls and they were diving.

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David:

- Yes, we were me and my friend who was also owner of ultra-light aircraft in Lake Harbour, Sam (Pitseolak?). We would go out seal hunting in these small bays. During that time I was along the land area where the falls were. Waiting for low tide so I could have access to some seaweed, which is considered delicacy among Inuit. I was waiting for low tide to go low enough so I had access to this particular seaweed. While we were waiting in that region there were these very fine birds. Diving once in a while, coming up for air, obviously they were going after some food. Which was not anywhere near salt water ocean, because the falls were
- right there and therefore the water, that was coming down was freshwater, and obviously they probably were going after some small crustaceans. Probably I thought they were feeding at the time. They would dive, they would come up on the surface. We watched them for some time, I did because I thought they were very different. They were probably not in the salt water obviously. They were frequenting freshwater for some reason. They prefer that probably and I knew they had webbed feet that's about it, and that they were not eider ducks.
- Jason: Before I move on I'd like to ask if you've seen them any place else besides that lake? Do you recall?
- **David:** I've been pretty well I had ventured outside of Lake Harbour community and that was only place where I have, may have seen what I thought were these kinds of birds on the picture, and they are harlequin ducks....these two birds, they reacted differently to human presence.
- Jason: You've seen them at one time, can you recall seeing them several years back or when you were younger?
- **David:** No, they were only once I've seen. I'm originally north of Pangnirtung, a little place called Broughton Island. I've been pretty well all over and that was only one particular place where I have seen these particular birds, no where else. These species I am used to seeing are an eider or these.....
- Jason: Have you noticed any nests?
- **David:** It was one of these occasions where you were especially going after something. In this case I was waiting for tide to go so I could get some seaweed and I didn't pay too much attention to these birds. I had no idea some species of birds were in fact endangered, until you came by and sure enough I've seen these kinds of birds and they acted differently...coming in and out of this freshwater.
- **Jason:** Do you have anything else you'd like to add or you can recall about the harlequin duck?
- **David:** Yes my few of my boys are now living in Lake Harbour. They probably remember seeing these kinds of birds in the vicinity. That specific location I pointed out to you on the map is where I've seen them myself. But I have two boys now who are growing up and living with grandparents in Lake Harbour. Joe (Audluktuq?) and I think Joe (Audluktuq?) may even have seen these species of birds sometime in the past.

Ivory Gull

- Jason: Have you seen the ivory gulls around here (Frobisher Bay area) or any place else?
- David: After recent high winds near blizzard conditions during the summer especially autumn we sometimes see them on east coast of Baffin Island. But we know that they do breed in High Arctic. Pure white, small seagull באלכ. We call them באלכ. Depending on where you go on Baffin Island, on northern tip of Baffin Island; Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay, they have names

for those...they are up in that area annually. Occasionally we have seen them in Broughton Island, after a big storm during the summer or in autumn. Although we know they don't breed near community of Broughton Island. They have been seen way in the ocean. But more hunters have seen them each year in the High Arctic region; Grise Fiord, Resolute, Arctic Bay, Nanisivik, Mittimatalik (Pond Inlet).

Jason: Can you point out where in south Baffin...have you seen them (in south Baffin Island)?

David: Ivory gull?

Jason: Yes.

David: Not too often we see them in around Iqaluit here.

Jason: At the end of Frobisher Bay or anything?

David: They may be concentrate more in the open ocean area. Here we are living inside 65 mile of the bay. Not too many birds...ocean dwelling birds including ivory gulls would be in the mouth or outside of Iqaluit area.

Jason: So you've only seen them up above Pang and Broughton and...?

David: Broughton area...sometime, odd times after blizzard...after storm. They were probably were taking in around there by the high winds. Otherwise they don't breed anywhere near Broughton to my knowledge. I know there are other species of birds like fulmars - qaqulluit. Akpait...what are they called in English? They are around Cape Dyer area...common murres, near Padloping Island south of Broughton Island. Qagulluit, fulmars, there small version of albatross, that have long slender wing span. They spend a lot of time not flapping their wings but gliding around between big waves. But they do breed on the tip of Cape Dyer, between Cape Dyer and Broughton Island. There are colonies of probably 200,000 - 500,000 birds. Akpait - same with them. They live in the sheer cliff, couple thousand feet above sea level. Common murres -Akpait. And those two species of birds are common in this area. Where fulmars live, there's also very very high cliffs. It's full of these birds. Definitely breed there. Qaqulluit we call them. And its a real site to see and an experience ... you have to look up and close your mouth. Close to 100,000 maybe 500,000 birds in these colonies...in sheer cliffs. It's very mountainous in this region. Between Cape Dyer, Pangnirtung and Broughton Island which is where I come from.

Jason: If you haven't seen the ivory gull in south Baffin we'll move on the next bird.

Ross' Gull

Jason: Have you seen the Ross' gull?

David: ヘトナペ^c, but if we speak to elders each species has a name. If we go to elders residence talk to some of my friends down there. Show them and they will tell the name right off the top of head. I recall, however, its very very rare. Sighting...of this region. ヘトナペ^c.

Jason: You have seen the Ross' gull then?

David: Yeah, they flap their wing differently. But I'm afraid what I have seen in this regard may have been ΔΓ[&]dCΔ⊂...Arctic tern. Like I say its not often you see Δ▷▷𝔇^C's. But there are rare sighting of common murres little way down. There not common. There mostly concentrated on Δ[&]<⊃^C. But like after big storm they will show up.

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Jason: Is that the same for the Ross' gull?

David: Yes, because they are open water birds.

Jason: Did you see them here?

David: Occasionally yes.

Jason: In Frobisher Bay?

David: Yes, after a big blizzard, in big winds. Open water but big winds.

Jason: Can you point that out on the map?

- **David:** Certainly. Around here. Right around where you mark it. Because that's far enough away from inland and that's where I think I have seen them. Not only me, other hunters I go out with you know we get to see birds that normally people in town would never see.
- Jason: And do you remember how many?

David: Okay these would be anywhere from 8 and 10 to 12.

Jason: Can you recall like what time, year?

David: These would be around...end of August, beginning of September.

Jason: What year?

David: This was a few years ago now. I remember specifically because I go out quite a bit. Although I don't have a boat my girlfriend's father has a boat. I go out with him.

Jason: So, have you seen the Ross' gull consistently, maybe not each year but every few years or so?

- **David:** These are birds that are rare. Like I mentioned they would be mostly in the open ocean area. Iqaluit is so far inland almost 65 miles from the mouth of the mouth to the end of the bay which is where Iqaluit is. Not too many species of birds including the gulls in question do come in that often, because of the long bay. Some many species of birds of...(gull)species including the one you...Ross' gull, those are rare commodities and they would congregate more in open ocean then they would inside the bay. Occasionally the strong winds will disrupt their navigation ability because the strong wind will make them turn in this area inadvertently and that's why we have from time to time seen these species of gulls.
- Jason: As you say they are open water species but have you noticed any changes...in numbers, year to year or is it hard to tell because they are rare?
- **David:** They are rare. We are in this region more used to seeing regular gulls like...not so much like Ross' gull. Or ivory gull for that matter is a very rare species for any hunters to see in this area. Common gulls are more common in that we, everyone knows they breed at high cliffs just few miles from here. And any hunter and family would know this kind of bird. However, Ross' gull, ivory gull, even very few elders would tell you that they have seen some of these in their lifetime.
- Jason: You haven't noticed colonies?

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- **David:** Not around here. They would have...be around the tip of south Baffin Island where its more open; where food is more plentiful for these specific species of birds. Pretty rare.
- Jason: Have any other hunters mentioned where they might've seen them or elders...have they ever talked to you about the Ross' gull?
- **David:** Yes they have. They have specific names for specific kinds of birds and like I mentioned if we should go an visit the elders facility now or in the future they will tell us providing we show them the photos, the pictures from the magazine or book they have name for each bird. Which is kind of nice. I like preserving something's like that for our children to see and for them to know the name its a real treasure.
- **Jason:** Do you have anything else you want to add or knowledge that you can recall?
- David: I like to remind the hunters we should be careful what we shoot. The ducks as you know we go after their eggs ... they're able to reproduce...very fortunately but there are species of birds I like to see protected. Although we like to see and eat eggs from these birds. That's a part of our culture. But there are birds that are worth saving. For you or I and our children. For their sake don't shoot any bird we see. Have conservation in mind if you can. There are species of birds that are really worth saving including not only predators...(scavengers help keep nature clean in a way). I'd just like to re-iterate for all hunters up here for the sake or our children. Don't kill off all birds we see. Save them if we can. Thank you.

Peregrine Falcon

- Jason: You've probably seen them here before, the peregrine falcons Puld dtb. So, have you seen them around south Baffin before?
- **David:** Yes, I have. I am originally from north of Pangnirtung. In a little place called Broughton Island. In the 1960's I moved to Iqaluit and stayed around ever since. During this time there was peregrine falcons. They used to breed here (Iqaluit). If you like I could show you where the first peregrine falcon I've seen breeding in the 1960's...if you wish.

Jason: Yes, what area on the map?

- **David:** Specifically if we go out there, I could show you where they had their nest too. Although recent years...in ten years or so I haven't seen any. They may have moved on, but if they breed each year same pair would come up each year too. Something may have happened I don't know.
- Jason: General area or specific area? Whatever works.
- **David:** This area here and this area. These two inadvertently marked blue is where they were in the 1960's. I remember very distinctly they were dive bombing at me. Obviously they were protecting something. And therefore they had babies.
- **Jason:** Have you seen them recently any time after that?
- **David:** I have not seen any recently. Although I have not checked there in the last five years. I'll show you the locations...of ravens...were sharing peregrine falcon. The peregrine falcons were having (nests?) in the same year, same area. And ravens also had their nests in the same cliff. So they had a constant threat between them. My observations tell me that what was happening.

Jason: Did you see them...like how many? There was two or did you se one of them?

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David: There was on of them, one peregrine falcon.

- Jason: Could you tell whether it was a male or female?
- **David:** By the way it was dive bombing it was probably a female. Now there may have been another peregrine falcon. This is going back a few years now and...usually if there's a female in the vicinity there should be a male somewhere hunting. (The female feed the young ones...)
- Jason: Can you recall an earlier or later time when you might've seen them?
- **David:** In the 1960's I've seen them for sure. I went to school in Ottawa and then Churchill and then I don't spend too much time in Iqaluit...over time...
- Jason: When you saw (the peregrine falcon) were there chicks?
- **David:** No...birds with intention to protect the nest, let alone the chicks, they will dive bomb you at that speed. You stay away from the area. Which I did. So it was not possible for me to climb the cliff in that it was pretty steep for this area. It was, however, clear that they were protecting something and it could have been the chicks in the nest. This was behind the rock.
- Jason: Anything more that you can share about the...your knowledge of peregrine?
- David: Yes, I grew up in the DEW line site. Late 1960's and beyond. Around Cape Dyer and Broughton Island. My old man, who is in heaven, brought me up in the DEW line area where annually it seems to my memory around Cape Dyer there are very ideal conditions for birds such as peregrine falcons to have a nest each year. And then it seems in that area there would be someone coming in with pigeons. All decked up with what appeared to be fishing line...quality...lassoes on the back of the pigeons...where pigeon was attached to a string and the person trying to catch the peregrine falcon was a little ways away behind the rock. And the pigeon was a little ways away from the person. And when there was a falcon flying by, obviously they saw this bird. Mountainous bird of prey...and will look for ptarmigan including pigeon and first thing you know is they will go after that bird because its flapping the wings and its another species of bird. Ideal for food for peregrine falcon. Naturally they...they take their paws, grab the bird. In the process, these small lassoes...lasso, the top end of the feet, and that's how these guys would catch these falcon, in the DEW line. In many places they had what they called upper base. Higher altitude. Which is ideal condition for bringing up the chicks. Ravens, peregrine falcons and the like...and this is what happened in and around Cape Dyer. Each August maybe a little bit later...when peregrine falcon turned white in September they did that. And they would come up and put hood on them and I'm so close to you now (3 feet) I could get so close to this captured falcon. They put a nice hood on it so it doesn't panic and it was a wonderful experience being that close to wild bird. Not too many people in my age group at the time in my culture had this opportunity to be so close to this beautiful predatory bird, which does not stay all year round...its a seasonal bird that do come up and breed in that area.
- **Jason:** One final question I...can you recall other hunters or elders talk to you about $P^{\downarrow} L \land \neg \neg^{\flat}$.
- David: P나스식국^b 's are typically around mountainous area. And in Cape Dorset I assisted one falconer...the person that studies falcons from university in the States and our job was to locate by boat...traveling on the boat around Cape Dorset community and locating what he thought were some nests. We were successful finding these fine birds also. And their ability to fly at high speed was incredible. We saw couple incidences where they were going after snow buntings for their young ones obviously hunting. And it was wonderful to see these wild birds going after the prey. In their own element, in that speed. It's very very nice to see these wonderful birds trying to get their prey. The way they did, in that speed. And its a wonderful

experience. And I think they should not be killed off and I would often wonder why should we kill them off. They are beautiful...

...but once they have babies, eggs and that, nests each year they go to that location don't they?

Jason: From what I understand they are pretty site specific so that they return to the same nest each year. So yes, I know perhaps next year...right now we're just trying to find out where they are.

Wolverine

Jason: What is the wolverine called in Inuktitut?

David: ^ፍଧል^ь.

Jason: Have you seen the wolverine around the south Baffin area?

David: There has been report of sighting...of tracks. Not necessarily physically seeing the animal.

Jason: Can you point out these tracks on the maps or a general area; south Baffin?

David: I have not physically seen it myself but having spoken with number of hunters in here in Iqaluit they say including musk ox and wolverines may have never lived in Baffin Island for all we know. In that many hunters I have spoken to over the years have reported having never seen the skull of a musk ox or wolverine for that matter. We have seen them or well I have seen them on television. In the western Arctic many Inuit people parkas have a trim from the wolverines skin. They are therefor obviously mainland animal. Baffin Island being an island some species of animals including wolverines may have never made it to Baffin Island. They would be mostly mainland animals. Igloolik, Repulse Bay I have...during my travels with other communities...talk to some hunters...annually they get 3 or 4 wolverines a year. But that is on the mainland. Pelly Bay, Repulse Bay, including Igloolik. Now there are reports of sightings of lynx, moose around Rankin Inlet and Arviat, what was then Eskimo Point. Moose that's something else. Lynx also, wandered up the tundra away from the treeline. Now these are reports of more wolverines around Rankin Inlet area also, but you would have to go far inland and find some tracks let alone the animals themselves. They're quite rare. There are probably more around Baffin Island. I know hunters talking about the paws would be identical to the polar bear, the design. A smaller version of polar bear according to some more traditional hunters talking about or comparing, the parts of the body including paws of a wolverine and a polar bear.

- Jason: Do you have anything else...knowledge that you can share from what you've heard or know yourself?
- **David:** I would like to see many hunters taking some kind of action to preserve some species of birds that are (endangered?) like harlequin ducks. If they are listed in endangered species...we can preserve these birds...not just for you or I...scientists down the road but for our children also for them to see in the future. (Because as I have said to kill all the birds we see...?)

Peter Atsiqtaq

Harlequin Duck

J: Have you seen this bird before (*pointing at picture of harlequin duck*) either here in Iqaluit, or in Pangnirtung or Kimmirut?

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- P: Yes, they are here, I have seen them here in Iqaluit. Yes, in Kimmirut as well, these birds there are more of them in Kimmirut. Here (*Iqaluit*) I used to walk a lot (*on the land probably while hunting*) and these birds (*frequent*) fast-flowing waters. Yes, these birds inhabit fast-flowing waters. Yes, I have seen these birds here but there not as many here.
- J: You've seen them in Iqaluit as well?
- **P:** Yes. I have seen them here in Iqaluit. I have also seen the up there (*up further north of Iqaluit*) in the river, anywhere down there (*south of Iqaluit*) in the river. They live near rivers. Now down there (*south of Iqaluit*) in a river called "niaqunngu" is where I've seen them.
- J: So you've seen them here and in Kimmirut?
- P: Yes, I have seen them here in Iqaluit and in Kimmirut.
- J: Do you see them in the spring?
- **P:** Yes, I have seen these birds in the spring.
- J: Have you seen them here in Iqaluit in the spring?

P: Yes.

- **J:** I mean around here?
- **P:** Yes. Up there (*north of Iqaluit*) and down there (*south of Iqaluit*) where there are rivers. These birds inhabit rivers.
- J: Have you consistently seen them every spring?
- P: Every spring? They come every spring. I don't know how many there are though.
- J: Did you consistently see them?
- **P:** Yes. Every spring. Once I noticed them I saw them every spring, in Kimmirut.
- J: When you did you them can you recall how many of them there were? I mean do them group in pairs or more?
- P: No, I saw them in pairs. I haven't seen a lot of them together.
- J: They are usually in a pair?
- P: Yes, they come in pairs. Yes, that's how I've seen them. I mean I haven't seen a lot of them together.
- J: Do you know of their habits have you noticed something distinct about them? Have you eaten one before or shot one?
- P: Yes, I have shot one. I've shot the male and the female in Kimmirut.
- J: Have you eaten one?
- P: I have shot two of them. When there were two of them in a river in Kimmirut.

- J: When you saw them in the river did you observe them feeding? Were they diving?
- **P:** Yes, they eat small fish I mean they eat them.
- J: Small fish?
- **P:** Probably since they inhabit rivers.
- J: Did you see these birds in Iqaluit and Kimmirut when you were younger?
- P: Yes.
- J: When you were younger?
- **P:** Yes. We used to walk on the land often back then.
- J: Have you seen their eggs before?
- **P:** No, I've only heard of someone who saw their eggs. I've only heard about it but I haven't seen their eggs.
- J: Do you know when they start returning back south?
- **P:** Yes, in the fall is when they start leaving.
- J: When you were in Kimmirut you noticed when they started going south?
- **P:** Yes, here when it starts getting cold is when they start going south.

Ivory Gull

- J: Have you seen this bird in Iqaluit (pointing at picture or ivory gull)?
- **P:** Yes, I see these most often here. Down there (down Frobisher Bay) on ice as well as by boat I have seen these birds.
- J: Have you seen them here as well as in Kimmirut?
- **P:** Yes, there are more of the in Kimmirut.
- J: Were there a lot of them?
- **P:** Not *a lot*. Yes there are more of them there.
- J: In Kimmirut.
- **P:** Yes in Kimmirut.
- J: Did you see them by the floe edge or while you were boating?
- **P:** I have seen them by boat.
- J: Did you see them in the spring or...

- **P:** In the spring is when I saw them.
- J: Have you seen them in the summer?
- **P:** Yes I have also seen them in the summer here.
- J: So you've seen them both in the summer and in the spring?
- P: Yes, I have seen them in the spring and summer. I have seen more than one of those in Kimmirut.
- J: Did you consistently see them every spring and summer time when you were out boating?

P: Yes.

- J: Did you see them when you were younger?
- P: Yes.
- J: While you were out on hunting?
- P: Yes.
- J: Have you observed any changes in their numbers, or any changes in general?
- P: I don't know but there probably has been changes. I've seen them every spring.
- J: You've consistently seen them?
- P: Yes. I saw them when I was out hunting bearded seals.
- J: When you were hunting bearded seals?
- P: Yes, when I was hunting bearded seals.
- J: Have you seen them close (to town)?
- **P:** Yes, one can see these birds close by, sometimes.
- J: Have you seen them by the flow edge as well?
- **P:** Yes, by the floe edge and nearby.
- J: Have you seen their eggs or their young?
- **P:** No, I haven't seen their eggs.
- J: Have you seen their young?
- **P:** Yes, I have seen their young but not their eggs.
- J: Do you know when they start heading back south?
- . P: Yes, I don't know very accurately but when its start getting cold. I don't know the month. When its start getting cold is when they start heading south.

- J: Do you know of their habits?
- **P:** Yes, while I was eating down there (*Frobisher Bay*) on the ice (*I couldn't decipher a lot of words but it seemed to say that ivory gulls can approach very close so as to try and catch a meal*).

Ross' Gull

- J: Have you seen this bird here?
- **P:** I have seen this bird once.
- J: Have you only seen it once?
- P: I have seen one of these before while I was out hunting. They can eat a lot of things like fat, anything.
- J: You've seen this bird down there (Frobisher Bay) in Iqaluit?
- P: Yes, I have seen one here.
- J: Here and Kimmirut?
- P: In Kimmirut as well. There aren't many of them
- J: So you've only seen them once?
- **P:** Yes, I have seen one of them (I'm not sure if he means if he has seen them once in his lifetime or if he has seen more but one at a time).
- J: Do you remember when you saw it? I mean, was it in the summer?
- P: In the spring. I saw one while I was out hunting bearded seals. There aren't a lot of them.
- J: They don't come here often?
- P: Yes, they don't come here often. I don't know much about this bird.
- J: You've seen one here?
- P: Yes I've seen one like that.
- J: Do you see them every summer and spring?
- P: No. Only in the spring when there is still ice is when I saw one.
- J: Near the floe edge?
- **P:** Yes, here down by the floe edge.
- J: When there was still ice is when you saw one.
- P: Yes, I saw one when there was still ice.
- J: You saw one by the floe edge? While you were hunting?

- P: Yes, I've seen one down there in Kimmirut.
- J: In Kimmirut as well? By the floe edge?
- **P:** Yes, by the floe edge.
- J: Did you see them when you were younger?
- P: Yes.
- J: Did you see them after strong winds or during calm weather?
- P: When the weather was calm as well as during strong winds.

Peregrine Falcon

- J: The last bird I'd like to discuss with you is the peregrine falcon. Now have you seen this bird around here? In Kimmirut and Iqaluit?
- P: Yes, I have seen them here. They arrive in the spring that is what I know. I haven't seen their eggs because they nest in steep cliffs.
- J: They nest in high mountains?
- P: On steep cliffs.
- J: You've seen them here in Iqaluit.
- P: I've seen them in Kimmirut.
- J: You've seen them there (*Kimmirut*) consistently?
- P: Yes, I saw them consistently. They nest on steep cliffs these peregrine falcons.
- J: Did you see them consistently every summer in Kimmirut as well as here?
- **P:** Yes, around here.
- J: Did you see them when you were younger?
- **P:** Yes, when I was younger.
- J: When you saw them were they on their own or in a pair? Or were there more of them?
- P: They were in pairs. I could see them in pairs on steep cliffs.
- J: Can you recall if you saw them every summer, every spring did you notice any changes in numbers?
- **P:** Yes, there's probably been changes. I've heard that they return here every year (*site philopatry*).
- J: They return here every year?
- **P:** Yes, they come here every spring.

J: Have you seen their eggs or their young?

P: No, I have seen their young. I haven't seen their eggs. I have seen two young in their nest.

J: When you saw their young were they flying or..

P: Up in their nest.

J: That's where you saw them?

P: On a steep cliff is where I saw their young.

J: Did you see them in Iqaluit?

P: In Kimmirut.

J: Do you know when they start returning south?

P: I don't know.

J: Have other hunters or elders discussed the peregrine falcon with you?

P: Yes, (I think he said that he's been told where one has seen their nests).

J: Do you know of their habits?

P: They eat small birds as well as lemmings. I have seen one clutching a small birds.

Wolverine

J: Have you seen the wolverine before?

- P: No, but I've seen them on TV. I haven't seen one but there's probably some here.
- J: Has anyone ever talked to you about seeing one here?

P: I haven't heard of one here in Iqaluit. I don't have anything to saw about this.

PANGNIRTUNG INTERVIEWS

Towkie Maniapik

Harlequin Duck

J: Have you seen the harlequin duck in Pangnirtung before?

T: I haven't seen a harlequin duck before.

- J: They typically are near rivers. Have you seen them?
- T: I've never heard of a harlequin duck.

J: Thank you then.

Ivory Gull

- J: Have you seen this bird before (pointing at picture of ivory gull)? (Note that he couldn't see very well and also he couldn't hear very well. I had forgotten what the name of the ivory gull in Inuktitut. Instead I called it what M. Maniapik had called it "naujavaaq" instead of the other name "kaniq". I'm therefore not sure if we were talking about the same bird.)
- T: (Note that he talked about the "naujavaaq" instead of "kaniq"). Whether they have eggs here I don't know. Although I have seen the "naujavaaq" here.
- J: The legs of this bird are all black. (I didn't know the Inuktitut name for white in order to point out that the body of the ivory gull is all white. Again I tried pointing at white objects but he didn't seem to see very well and didn't get what I was trying to say). Have you seen this bird?
- T: Perhaps over there is where they nest. If they are "naujavaaq" then they don't nest near here or (he states that they don't nest in some camp he describes).
- J: They are called "kaniq". Have you seen them around here?
- **T:** Only one that was flying. Not one on land.
- J: Have you always seen them since you were younger?
- **T:** Only when I was young (*Note that he did look very old*). I did use to see them.
- J: Can you recall if.. do you remember when you would first see them? In the spring or the summer?
- **T:** In the summer.
- J: You saw them in summer?
- T: Here I have seen them mostly in Netilling Lake. Do you know Netilling Lake?
- J: Yes. Have you seen these birds near the floe edge?
- **T:** Only when they were flying like I've said.
- J: Have you seen their eggs or their young?
- T: No I haven't seen their eggs or their young because they don't nest here.
- J: For the last question I'd like to ask you if you have any general knowledge on the this bird?
- T: They let themselves be approached fairly close. They aren't easily frightened of people. When people are cutting up caribou they can get very close because they want some of the meat.
- **J:** Thank you, we're finished this part of the interview.

Ross' Gull

(Note that I didn't know the name of the Ross' gull in Inuktitut. Although it is referred to as "naujaa" in the Birds of Nunavut book this is more of a general term for all the seagulls in Nunavut. He couldn't see very well and I wasn't able to describe the bird with my limited Inuktitut – I didn't know the colours in Inuktitut to describe the Ross' gull adequately to him. I just skipped the Ross' gull interview.)

Peregrine Falcon

- J: Have you seen the peregrine falcon here before?
- T: Yes, I definitely have seen them. They are similar looking to its (other bird of prey) ... (he couldn't remember the name but I think he was also referring to the gyrfalcon). They are here only through the summer.
- J: When do you first see the peregrine falcon? In the spring? In the summer?
- T: Now those one that are black only in the summer. Only in the summer.
- J: Now you only see the peregrine falcon in the summer?
- **T:** Only in Netilling Lake (*perhaps he lived in Netilling Lake most of his life?*). I mean, they do come here, they can be found in a lot places.
- J: You've always seen them since you were younger?
- T: Yes, however, I don't go out (*hunting and camping*) much any more so I don't see them now.
- J: Since you saw them every summer did you notice any changes in numbers or changes in general?
- T: Probably since I've always seen them. Around here they nest in a lot of places.
- J: Have you seen their eggs or their young here before?
- **T:** No, I haven't seen that?
- J: Do you have any general knowledge on the peregrine falcon?
- **T:** Now these birds hunt small birds like the ptarmigan that 's what I know.
- J: Thank you.

Wolverine

J: (Now this elder was intimidating – he was fairly old – and in reviewing the interview we weren't pronouncing the name of the wolverine in Inuktitut very well. Although the interviewee said he hadn't seen the wolverine before he may not have understood what we were trying to explain to him).

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M. Maniapik

Harlequin Duck

- J: For the first part of the interview I'd like to ask you questions on the harlequin duck. Have you seen it around before?
- **M:** I haven't seen that here before.
- J: You haven't seen it at all here? You haven't even heard of it?
- M: Yes.
- J: Do you have anything to say on this subject?
- M: Yes, I don't have anything to say.
- J: Thank you, we're finished this part of the interview then.

Ivory Gull

- J: Have you seen the ivory gull around here?
- M: (Note that he wasn't sure what it was initially and that he called it differently than what the other Pangnirtung interviewees called it. He then went on to say that if it was what he called it that he had seen it. After looking at the picture over he said that people called it "naujavaaq", however, two of the interviewees called it "kaniq". I don't think there is any reason to suspect that he was thinking of a different bird instead of the ivory gull because he did see its picture and because different regions call the ivory gull differently. Be aware through that he did call it differently). I have seen them here. One that was flying..
- J: Where did you see them?
- M: Down there (probably means down Cumberland Sound).
- J: Do you remember when you saw them, I mean, in the spring or summer?
- M: Summer time.
- J: While you were boating?
- M: Yeah. Down there.. here down Cumberland Sound, in the middle down there.
- J: Do you see them every summer?
- M: No.
- J: When did you see this bird then?
- M: I saw it in the summer.
- J: Just once?

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M :	Yeah.
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J: Have you seen their eggs or young?

M: No, I haven't seen their eggs.

J: So you've only seen it once? I mean, during the summer?

M: Here.. yeah. Is this "naujavaa"? We call it "naujavaaq" here.

J: Yeah. So you haven't seen their eggs or their young?

M: Yeah. I haven't seen their eggs.

- J: Do you have any comments on this birds habits or any general knowledge that you know of?
- M: No, I only saw it once when it was flying.

Ross' Gull

- J: Have you seen the Ross' gull around here?
- M: No, I haven't seen that before.
- J: Yeah, you haven't seen it at all?
- M: Yeah.
- J: Do you have anything to say on this topic?
- M: No, I haven't seen them before. Maybe they're from Greenland? I mean, they probably come here.
- J: Okay, we're finished this part of the interview

Peregrine Falcon

- J: Now have you seen the peregrine falcon around here?
- M: Peregrine falcons are not around here often. Over there at "iliuilurmi" they are their often (*I think* he is saying that peregrine falcons do not actually come near the Pangnirtung town but are nonetheless in the "Pangnirtung area").
- J: When do you see them, in the spring? In the summer?
- M: Yes, in the summer. The snowy owl is here throughout the winter. The peregrine falcon, gyrfalcon are here sometimes... (goes on to talk about the gyrfalcon).
- J: Do you consistently see them?
- M: Myself, I don't go on the land very much. There is always some over there where people go caribou hunting.

- J: Do you see them every summer?
- M: They are very noticeable in the summer. (I think he then goes on to say that they stay here until their young can fly).
- J: Do you consistently see them?
- M: Since then?
- J: Yeah.
- M: Yes, over there. Around here though I have seen them but only a small number of them, near Pangnirtung I mean that is what I know.
- J: I see. I would like to ask you if you've noticed any changes changes in numbers or changes in general?
- M: Yes, peregrine falcons at least. In the past I did not see them as much near Pangnirtung. I see them more often now.
- J: Have you seen their eggs and young here?
- M: I have seen their young over there at "inaaru". They are hard to get to.
- J: Do you know when they start heading back south? In the fall? In the winter?
- M: I don't know whether they go back south or stay here over the winter (I think he's now talking about the gyrfalcon. He then goes on to talk about the snowy owl and that it stays in Pangnirtung over the winter).
- J: ⁷ Do you have any comments of the peregrine falcon?
- M: I don't know much about the peregrine falcon. I have seen them catch guillemots here. While it was flying (*I think he then goes on to say that the peregrine falcon caught the guillemot by the head*).
- J: Thank you, we're finished this part of the interview.

Wolverine

- J: For the last part of the interview I'd like to discuss the wolverine. Have you seen the wolverine before?
- M: I have seen their footprints but I haven't seen them though.
- J: You've only seen their footprints?
- M: Yes, there are footprints around here up north past "anu".
- J: You've only seen it once?
- M: Their footprints yes.

- J: Do you have any comments on this topic?
- M: Since I haven't seen one I don't have anything to say. But I have seen their footprints. They are probably here but not a lot of them. However, there are some in Greenland.
- J: Thank you, we're finished then.

Joeelee Papatsie

Harlequin Duck

- J: For the first part of the interview I would like to discuss the harlequin duck. Have you seen the harlequin duck around here?
- Jo: At one time someone caught one here while camping, when there were people camping down there (*or down south of Pangnirtung*) at around 1998. They don't come by here except from the south when there is a strong east wind. Down there where people were camping they did see one.
- J: Have you seen it?
- Jo: No, I haven't seen one. I have seen pictures of them here but I haven't seen one. When they were showing the partner I did see it (I think he's saying that someone caught a female harlequin and had shown him).
- J: They are only seen after strong winds?
- Jo: They don't come here but when there is a strong east wind from the south some of them get blown here (I think he's saying that if they do come they originate from the south and that they sometimes get blown in by a strong east wind).
- J: The last question I'd like to ask you is has someone mentioned whether they come here or any other information in general?
- Jo: No, they haven't been talked about since. I have said, however, that while people were camping they did see one.
- J: Okay, thank you we're finished.

Ivory Gull

- J: Have you seen the ivory gull before?
- Jo: Yes, they come here from down there (south of Pangnirtung). (I think he next states that they go by the coast). Further down (probably referring to down Cumberland Sound) when there isn't any ice they come by.
- J: When do you see them, I mean do you see them in the spring or summer?
- Jo: Only in the spring do they come here.
- J: They are past the floe edge?

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- Jo: Yes, they frequent along the floe edge, just before boating (he also means right after the ice has gone note that it is not unusual for the ice in Cumberland Sound sometimes leaves very early). These birds when there is still ice they are around.
- J: Now you see them in Cumberland Sound near the floe edge?
- Jo: Yes, when we are near the floe edge down there.. these birds they start arriving around June, they start being seen, people start seeing them then.
- J: Do you see them every spring?
- Jo: Yes, down there near the floe edge when there is still ice one can see them consistently.
- J: Can you recall if you had seen them when you were younger?
- Jo: Yes, here down the bay that is where they are. Around here when summer is approaching they stay here, whether they bear young here though I don't know. Other gulls do bear young around here (*Pangnirtung area*) but whether these birds bear young here I don't know.
- J: Are there a lot of them or not much of them near the floe edge?
- Jo: Yes, there aren't much of them even when they group together, not a lot of them arrive here. When they group together there is sometimes four of them. I haven't seen a lot of them grouped together.
- J: Have you noticed any changes in numbers or changes in general?
- Jo: I haven't noticed any changes. There aren't a lot of them and sometimes I just see one of them. One doesn't seem them often unless one is on the ice. One can see them when there is still ice around.
- J: Have you seen their eggs and/or their young?
- Jo: No, I've said that I don't know when they bear young. I haven't seen their eggs or their young around here.
- J: Do you know if they pass through here during the winter on their way back south.
- Jo: No, they just pass through here in the spring on their way to their summering area. I haven't seen them in the fall.
- J: The last question I'd like to ask you is can you comment on their habits or general knowledge that you know or might have heard of?
- Jo: They are similar to other gulls that are around here. When they are flying even in strong winds they can still manage to follow boats. In strong winds they can get real close (*close to the moving boat*). Other gulls get very close even when in strong winds. They too get very close and seem to follow boats during strong winds.

Ross' Gull

- J: Have you seen the Ross' gull around here?
- Jo: No, I haven't seen that before (looking at picture). Although they look similar to the other gulls.

- J: Would there be any of those (*pointing at picture*) here now?
- Jo: That kind with a streak I haven't seen it before.
- J: Has anyone talked about seeing it before to you?
- Jo: No, I've never heard of it but close by here (makes reference to a gull) there is a gull what we call "tiratiraa", there are some of those (I think he is referring to a similar looking gull) but not that (Ross' gull) type. Now these gulls are smaller that seagulls (again referring to other gulls besides the Ross' gull).
- J: Yeah.
- Jo: However, I haven't seen one like that but there are similar looking gulls that I have seen.
- J: Even though you haven't seen this bird before do you have anything else to add?
- Jo: Yes, I haven't seen them before so I can't say anything about them.

Peregrine Falcon

- J: Have you seen the peregrine falcon here before?
- Jo: Yes, these birds bear young here all over the place. Around here they live on high cliffs.
- J: Do you know when they arrive here?
- Jo: They arrive here in the spring to bear young. They arrive here when the snow is gone. The peregrine falcon comes here all the time.
- J: You see them here (pointing at peregrine falcon so as to not get confused with the gyrfalcon).
- Jo: Yes, in the summer they bear young here.
- J: Have you noticed any changes in number or changes in general, since the past?
- Jo: Yes, I think so. In the past it seemed there were less of them even though we didn't hunt them. There are some here in Pangnirtung. People who've gone caribou hunting see them with their young. Since we don't hunt them we don't pay much attention to them. Although we see them all the time and we know that they bear young here.
- J: You've already said that you've seen their eggs and their young here before?
- Jo: I haven't seen their eggs but I have seen their young when they got bigger, and their plumage was still fairly white.
- J: Do you know when they start returning to the south? When they are no longer here?
- Jo: Yes, around the fall one does not see them as often. When their young have grown. In the summer their young begin to fly.
- J: My last question on this bird is do you have anything to say about their habits or any general information?

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Jo: Yes, (I wasn't able to catch some of what he said on tape but I think he stated that they hunt small rabbits as well as other small birds).

Wolverine

- J: Have you seen the wolverine around here before?
- Jo: I haven't seen one but I have heard that one had seen one in the past near where they hunt caribou but right now I haven't heard of anyone seeing one.
- J: Do you have anything to say on this subject?
- Jo: Just that one of my wife's relative had seen without catching it. They had only seen it once.

Elijah Keenainak

Harlequin Duck

- J: For the first part of the interview I'd like to ask you questions on the harlequin duck. Have you seen the harlequin duck around here before?
- **E:** I've seen their pictures but they don't come here.
- J: Do you have anything to add on this subject?
- **E:** Yes, I haven't seen this bird. I've only see their pictures.
- J: Okay, thank you were finished this part of the interview.

Ivory Gull

- J: Have you seen this bird around here before (*pointing at picture of ivory gull*)?
- **E:** Yes, I have seen them here.
- J: When do you see them? In the spring? In the summer?
- E: One can see them most often during the fall. They're not really from around here. We see them from the south after they've been blown this way.
- J: Do you see them at the floe edge?
- E: They don't lay eggs here but I've said that we see them in the fall. Now the Arctic tern is always here (*probably means they nest there*). Now these birds (*ivory gull*) don't nest here. I don't know where.
- J: Do you see them in the spring?
- E: In the fall.
- J: Did you see them when you were younger as well?

- E: Yes, I saw them when I was younger. I think they look nice. I tried catching one (*probably means hunt one*) when they were here.
- J: When you saw them can remember how many you saw? I mean were there a lot of them or only a small number of them?
- E: There isn't much here. Even when there was a group of them there aren 't many of them. Even when they are feeding there isn't much of them
- J: I know you've already said you've seen them but you only see them after strong winds around here?
- E: I don't see them here (I think he thought that I meant if he had see them right close to Pangnirtung). (He goes on to discuss a similar looking gull which I couldn't quite make out sometime).
- J: Have you seen ivory gull eggs before?
- **E:** I haven't seen that type of egg.
- J: Do you have any comments that you can add on this subject or any general knowledge or the habits of the ivory gull?
- E: I only know of them in the fall. Yes, only in the fall when they are passing through. They don't come by land very often. Only after strong winds do they come close to land.
- J: Thank you we're finished this part of the interview

Ross' Gull

- J: Have you seen this bird before (*pointing at picture of Ross' gull*).
- **E:** Yes, I have seen them here.
- J: I mean have you seen it here?
- E: I don't always see them all the time but around here in the winter (*probably referring to late fall*)... I don't see them.
- J: But you've seen this bird here before?
- E: Yes, I have seen them but only when winter is near.
- J: In the winter?
- E: Yes, I see this more often (I wasn't able to make out what he said but he may mean that he has seen the Ross' gull more often than the ivory gull) we don't see them often.
- J: Do you see them every fall?
- E: In the past we used to live past "saksiu". We've lived here since then now and I haven't seen them again.

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- J: So you saw them when you were younger?
- E: Yes, when I was younger I saw them. I liked them and I tried to shoot them when I first started noticing them. Around here its not as warm and its not warm enough here for it. After a strong east wind, it blows from down there, from the east often (*stating that one can see them after a strong easterly wind*), they don't come here often.
- J: Like the ivory gull then, they arrive here after strong winds?
- E: Sometimes, not very many of them.
- J: Not a lot of them though?
- **E:** Yes, not many of them, sometimes only one of them.
- J: Have you noticed any changes in numbers since you've seen them in the fall or any changes in general?
- E: I have no clue if there have been any changes. Whether they are decreasing I don't know. I don't have much to say about them. I don't whether they are increasing or decreasing.
- J: Have you seen their eggs, or their young?
- E: I have never seen their eggs or their young here. They don't lay eggs here.
- J: Do you have any knowledge that you would like to discuss on this subject?
- E: I don't have much to say because they don't really come here. They are known down there (*further south*) in Iqaluit and further south.

Peregrine Falcon

- J: Now have you seen the peregrine falcon around here before?
- E: Yes, these birds are definitely from here. There aren't a lot here. I only know of one up north (*I* think he was thinking of a very particular place because he seems to contradict himself afterwards). In the summer up north there are a lot of them. When we were walking we saw one (further north probably). There are more of these here. They are here in the summer and they leave in the winter.

(Now pointing at gyrfalcon) These birds are here all through winter.

(Now referring to peregrine falcon) Now they return to the south. Here I know that they hunt ptarmigans and ducks. They stay here over the summer.

- J: You only see them over the summer?
- E: Yes, they are in a lot of places over the summer. I haven't seen much of them. I've seen their eggs once and their eggs were yellowish.
- J: Do you see the peregrine falcon first in the summer or the spring?
- E: Yes, in the spring when birds start arriving here. They follow other birds that they eat. But I don't know when they start leaving.

- J: Now do you see these birds every spring?
- E: Yes, I see them every spring. They lay their eggs close to here. They lay their eggs on high cliffs but one was accessible and I saw their eggs. (Now he then goes on to say that he hasn't seen their eggs but I think he means besides the ones he saw).
- J: Have you always seen them since you were younger?
- E: Yes, I have definitely always seen them up north since I used to live on the land. We've known that there are some here. I don't know how many of them there are. (*He goes on to talk about ducks which I can't quite make out sometimes*).
- J: Have you noticed any changes in numbers or any changes in general?
- E: I have no idea if there have been any changes (he seems to say that there is more of them but he contradicts himself next I may have misheard him on tape though).
- J: There are more of them?
- E: I don't think they've increased, just the same (as before). Now since there are people here they don't lay their eggs nearby here.
- J: Now I know you've already said this but have you seen their eggs and/or their young before?
- E: I haven't seen their young?
- J: Even their eggs?
- **E:** I have seen their eggs but not the eggs of these birds (*I think he was referring to gyrfalcon eggs*).
- J: Do you know when the peregrine falcon starts returning back south?
- E: Around the fall is when the start returning south. Around September. They start arriving here in the spring. (He goes on to talk about ducks and the snowy owl which unfortunately I can't make out very well).
- J: Can you discuss the peregrine falcon? Any information that you know of?
- E: They hunt gulls by knocking them out in flight. (He also goes on to say that they hunt ducks and I think by isolating them on land).

Wolverine

- J: Now the last part of the interview that I would like to discuss is the wolverine. Have you seen the wolverine before?
- **E:** Yes, I have seen them but (*I think he then states that he hadn't seen them recently*).
- J: Where did you see it?
- **E:** Only up further north.

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J: Near Pangnirtung?

- E: Yes, they are around here but not many of them. My father (*I think he says that while trapping for fox that his father inadvertently trapped a wolverine*). Now someone who wasn't from here caught one.
- J: Now the one that you've seen, was it just the one time?
- E: Yes, that one was caught. I've only see one once. Now there isn't much of them. Now and then one finds their footprints. There isn't a lot of them. People have seen their footprints on the land and even near the shoreline. Now there is very little of them, maybe none.
- J: You've only seen one once?
- **E:** Yes, just once.
- J: Do you have anything to add on this subject?
- E: I don't know of them much because I don 't really see them. Now people from Naujaq know of them very well.
- J: Naujaq?
- E: Yes, they catch wolverines there. Yes, they know them well there but I've only seen one, I don't know them.