

# On Some of the Ice Terminology in Nunavut and Labrador<sup>1</sup>

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## Introduction

There are a myriad of ice terms in Inuktitut<sup>2</sup> dialects but this is not surprising, given that ice plays a pivotal role in transportation and sustenance. Once the fall ice has frozen enough, transportation becomes much easier, since the same vehicle can traverse both land and ice. At the same time, underneath the ice are arctic char, ringed seals, etc. Knowledge of ice conditions and how to navigate the ice safely is critical to human survival in this environment. Thus the knowledge which lies behind the words used to refer to and describe ice is very important to both Inuit and non-Inuit. Collecting and preserving them is a worthwhile endeavour. *Inuit qauijimajaqtuqangit*, or Inuit traditional knowledge, has been becoming more and more prominent, both in the north and south. The knowledge is there. The questions are how to transmit it, to whom and in what form? Traditional methods of teaching younger generations still are very strong but there are gaps in regions where Inuktitut is waning, and most members of the younger generation report that they know fewer specialized or technical words than their elders; new methods of knowledge transmission are emerging. At the same time, non-Inuit scientists are hoping to augment southern knowledge of ice and its behaviour through learning about the ice knowledge of Inuit. Collecting and recording ice terminology is one step in this

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<sup>1</sup> In the following, all Inuktitut examples are given in the orthography of the dictionary or paper in which they are written, with the exception of Jeddore (1976) and Smith (1978), which I transliterate into a modern Labrador orthography.

<sup>2</sup> In this article I use the term Inuktitut to refer to the language and all its dialects, knowing that many regions reject this cover term in favour of their own dialect name.

research. From an anthropological perspective, there is also good reason to collect these terms, as they intersect with cultural knowledge and tradition.

From a linguistic perspective, there is less scientific purpose in collecting all the words for ice. Most linguists are weary of futile discussions about the number of words for snow in Inuktitut. The exact number of words for ‘snow’ in Inuktitut is unknowable, as in any language where snow is a significant cultural factor. The inability to be precise regarding the number of terms results from dialect differences combined with the limitations of the researcher’s ability to collect all the words in all dialects. In addition, in the Inuktitut language, the grammatical complexity of words, where the same root might be followed by what seems like an infinite combination of additional elements (see below) further thwarts any principled goal of counting. For a representative discussion of a linguist’s perspective on counting words for snow, see Woodbury (1991) and Kaplan (2003). As a result, we will wisely put aside any goal of determining the number of words for ice. Instead we can examine these sets of words for more important reasons, their nature and what they tell us about ice conditions.

The differences between dialects in the use of ice terms is daunting to explain.<sup>3</sup> For each list of words discussed below, we cannot be sure if other words could have also been included or sometimes even whether or not a particular word is indeed an ice term.

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<sup>3</sup> Even within a single dialect, it is well-known that lexical differences exist, so a linguist might consider some sort of sociolinguistic study, such as those that are done to track lexical differences in English, e.g. sneakers/running shoes; softdrink/pop, etc.

For example the Utkuhiksalik<sup>4</sup> word *aniu*, which generally refers to snow that is to be melted for water, but it can sometimes be used for ice which was originally snow (e.g. in a ravine). Is this then an ice term? Questions such as this and others abound in the collection of any sets of terminology.

### **Aspects of Inuktitut Linguistics Pertaining to Collecting Ice Terminology.**

As lists of ice terminology have not involved linguists before, I am going to discuss in this section a few linguistics concepts that may be relevant to those undertaking to compile or examining these lists. This discussion is necessarily incomplete, as a full treatment is beyond the scope of this paper or even a single linguist.

Inuktitut words range from simple to highly complex. An Inuktitut word can be equivalent to a full and complex English sentence, as in the S. Baffin word *qaujigumatuinnarattaqtunga* ‘I just wanted to know’. Thus, the Inuktitut word is often not a monolithic object but is composed of sub-units, each bearing a piece of meaning, often abstract, which linguists call morphemes. In almost all words, the first element is the root - very important morpheme which carries a central piece of meaning. The simplest words will consist of only a root, as in the noun *siku* ‘ice’. If the Inuktitut word is a verb or adjective, it must also have in addition to the root, an ending (see below). The

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<sup>4</sup> The Utkuhiksalingmiut people originally lived in the area of the Back River in Nunavut. They moved into existing communities and now live mostly in Uqsuqtuuq (Gjoa Haven) and Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake). All Utkuhiksalingmiut dialect data in this article comes from joint work with Jean Briggs on the Utkuhiksalingmiutitit Dictionary Project (Briggs and Johns in progress). All the data in this project were collected by Jean Briggs through fieldwork in Utkuhik (Chantry Inlet), Uqsuqtuuq and Qamani'tuaq. I would like to thank Jean Briggs for allowing me to use this data here and thanks also to Conor Cook for initially extracting a set of ice data from the database, from which I have selected a subset (see Appendix).

root may be immediately followed with any number of modifiers and grammatical morphemes, to add extra meaning. These intermediate elements sometimes change the category of the word from noun to verb or vice versa. It has long been observed that these word-internal morphemes appear in the reverse order to that found in an English sentence. Consider again, the example from above.

*qauji-guma-tuinna-rattaq-tunga*

know-want-merely-habitual-1s.statement

‘I just wanted to know.’

Once we know the meanings of the morphemes within word, shown directly under the example in the second line, we can read the pieces of meaning from right to left and see how these pieces add up to the English translation in the third line.

As a result it will increase our understanding of Inuktitut ice terms if we examine what the meaning of the root of each word is, and also the meaning of any other morphemes that are attached. To ignore this additional information is to treat a complex object as a simplex one.<sup>5</sup>

Inuktitut words can be entities (nouns), descriptions (adjectives or verbs) or actions (verbs). Often we see words in ice lists that have simple intransitive verb endings in the third person singular (*-juq* after vowels or *-tuq* after consonants) added on to an entity to make the word into an action. For example, in Cape Dorset *sikuaq* is ‘the first thin layer of frozen ice’ and we are therefore not surprised to see as well the action *sikuaqtuq* ‘the process of *sikuaq* forming.’ (Laidler and Elee 2008, 55). We need to

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<sup>5</sup> As in all languages, speakers of a language are not naturally able to provide principled analyses of morphemes without training, special skills or experience. Many Inuktitut speakers do not perceive the individual pieces within the word, even as they use them with great expertise.

determine whether verbs such as these are indeed independent ice terms, since the addition of these verbs endings is a predictable and transparent process.

Another linguistic issue that can arise is the differing phonology across dialects. In many Baffin Dialects word final /q/ is not pronounced, so we are not surprised to see *qamittu* in Laidler and Elee (2008), in the Cape Dorset word meaning ‘ice with a little bit of water on it.’ This word likely should be *qamittuq* with the intransitive verbal ending – *tuq* (see above). The root of the Cape Dorset word is interesting because *qamittuq* usually means ‘put out a light’ or ‘a light goes out’ (Spalding 1998). We find also the Utkuhiksalingmiut word *qamittuq* ‘it’s extinguished (a motor, light, flame’. The same root can sometimes also mean ‘close an eye,’ as in the Utkuhiksalingmiut word *qamititsiřuq* ‘He shuts one eye.’ Thus we gain a deeper understanding of the Cape Dorset ice word as alluding to the covering effect of the water on the ice.

### **Dedicated and Contextual Terms**

One aspect to consider in understanding the ice terms is the issue of whether or not the Inuktitut word for ice is “dedicated” to the concept of ice. By dedicated I mean that the use of this word necessarily denotes some ice no matter what the context of the utterance. For example, the word *siku* ‘ice’ is a dedicated ice word that almost always refers to ice (but see the Utkuhiksalingmiut word in the Appendix below). On the other hand, the word *aulajuq* ‘moving ice’ (Laidler and Ikummaq 2008, 139) is not a dedicated word. It is based on the verb root *aula-* ‘move’ (Spalding 1998; Andersen, Kalleo and Watts 2007). Out of context, this word can be used to describe anything from wood floating in water to a piece of paper in the wind on the land; but in the ice context, this word refers

to the process by which the ice as a whole moves c.f. *aulaniq* ‘moving ice field’ (Spalding 1998), which contains the nominalizer *-niq*.

So are these non-dedicated ice terms really ice terms?

Many non-dedicated Inuktitut ice terms are like terms we use in a special contexts in English. Within these special contexts, there is no ambiguity whatsoever. We often see English terms of this nature in game settings, where all the players knows the special terms or learn them through playing with more experienced players. To take an example, terms used in the game of curling (which is played on ice) are probably unfamiliar to most English speakers (other than Canadians or Scots). Within the game of curling, the terms *button*, *shot rock*, *pebble*, *weight*, *house*, and *curl* each have a unique meaning within the game environment. Within curling, the term *house* refers to the ring of circles at the far end of the ice, including a central spot within the circles. The whole area constitutes the target range for the play.<sup>6</sup> If you regularly participate in the game of curling, the noun-phrase *the house* is completely unambiguous while you are within the curling context and another speaker would have to provide extra detail and information if they wanted you to interpret this phrase as the more common definition of house (building). In this same way, once out hunting, fishing, traveling on the ice, the set of ice terms have little competition from the general meanings that co-exist in the language alongside these terms. From this perspective, both dedicated and some non-dedicated ice terms, are equally deserving of an independent status, although in the case of a non-dedicated term, it is enlightening to keep track of its more general sense.

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<sup>6</sup> For the definitions of other curling terms, see <http://www.curling.ca/content/GoCurling/glossary.asp> N.B. It is not a complete list.

Spalding (1998) clearly recognizes the above distinction between general terms and semi-dedicated terms. Laidler and Ikummaq (2008, 139) give the Igloolike ice term *puktaaq* or ‘free floating ice.’ The root in this word is *pukta-* meaning simply ‘float (in water),’ so that in principle, words containing it could refer to anything floating in water, e.g. a dead seal. Spalding (1998) gives this general sense through the words *puktajujq* ‘it floats or buoys itself up in the water’ and also *puktaakkut* ‘float; buoy; fish-net float. Importantly, Spalding also gives the word *puktaaq*, marked explicitly as a meteorological word, indicating that it has a specialized meaning, in this case ‘flat drift ice’. We find this same distinction in Andersen, Kalleo and Watts (2007), where *puttavuk* means ‘it is floating’ but *puttâk* means ‘small or large ice pans floating freely in the fall or spring.’ In Utkuhiksalingmiutitut, *puktaaq* is ‘a piece of flat drifting ice used as a raft,’ even though the root clearly refers only to floating, as in the Utkuhiksalingmiutitut word *puktalaaqtut* ‘they are floating (e.g. tea leaves in kettle)’.

So it may be that the word *puktaaq*, even though it is built on the general root ‘float’ is actually a dedicated ice term, exclusive to the world of ice. This could be confirmed with speakers by asking out of the blue in a non-ice context, e.g. inside a house, what a *puktaaq* is. If they respond by describing only ice, then *puktaaq* has become a lexicalized word, i.e., it is a word which has acquired more meaning than just its formal components. This is reminiscent of semantic narrowing, such as we see in language change generally, e.g. *hound* used to refer to any dog in earlier versions of English but now it usually refers to a specific species of dog.

Another example of lexicalization may be the word *sikujujq* which is composed of *siku* ‘ice’ + *juq* the intransitive verbal ending (third person singular). While we might

imagine this combination could have a wide range of potential meanings ‘it’s icy’ etc., in some dialects it in fact means that the ice has formed into a thick enough object as to allow travel ‘ice that is travelable’ (Laidler and Elee 2008, 55). In Laidler, Dialla and Joamie (2008, 339), we are only told that the ‘water has frozen over,’ with no mention of whether or not one can travel. This more cautious meaning is also found in Spalding (1998), Jeddore (1976) and Andersen, Kalleo and Watts (2007); An Utkuhiksalingmiut version of this word has not been found, although there is a root for ‘freeze/harden’ which is used for objects *qiqiřuq* ‘it is hardened or frozen.’

Some ice terms seem to be found in all dialects of Inuktitut. The word for ‘ice’ *siku* (or *hiku* in western dialects, where single [s] is found as [h]) is such a word. We might wonder if cross-dialectal terms are only dedicated terms. There are also some gaps. For example *sinaaq* ‘ice edge’ (where the ice meets open water) is very common in eastern dialects (Laidler, Dialla and Joamie 2008, 339; Laidler and Ikummaq 2008, 131) and Laidler and Elee (2008, 55), but its counterpart is not found in the Utkuhiksaliik dialect. Utkuhiksalingmiutitit has only *hinnaa* ‘its edge’ which can be applied to a wide variety of edge contexts, including both shoreline and floe edge, i.e. it has no special relation to ice. Spalding (1998) has *sinaa* as a meteorological word for ‘floe edge,’ and also *sini* ‘edge’ and *sinaarut* ‘beaded edging of a garment or *atigi*.’ We understand *sinaa* to possibly mean ‘its edge’ with the third person possessive *-a* morpheme attached.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Possessives are much more frequent in Inuktitut than English. All the expressions of positional location with respect to an object or person are constructed with possessives, e.g. ‘on top of’ is *qaanga* (*qaa* + *nga*) ‘its top.’



Perhaps the final /q/ is a late addition.<sup>8</sup> Labrador (Andersen, Kalleo and Watts 2007) also has the same word as in the Baffin dialects *sinâk* ‘edge of the shore ice’ (where â = aa) and /k/ is the final consonant of all singular non-possessed nouns.<sup>9</sup> Jeddore (1978) gives it as *sinâ*, again suggesting that it contains a possessive ending, since there is no final **k**.

### **Some Remarks on Ice Terms in Various Dialects.**

As non-Inuktitut speakers, we gain extra insight into the nuances of Inuktitut ice terms through more careful linguistic analysis. For example, the word *nigajutaq* is ‘an area of sea ice that freezes later than others’ (Laidler and Elee (2008, 55; Laidler and Ikummaq 2008, 131; Laidler, Dialla and Joamie 2008, 339). The root of this word is *nigaaq* ‘snare’ (Spalding 1998) and *-taq* is the passive participle form which indicates that it is a noun which has undergone the particular action. This means that an unfrozen area of water is described as being ensnared by the surrounding ice (literally: the one ensnared).<sup>10</sup> The exact same description is found in the Utkuhiksalingmiut dialect. The word *nigaaqtuq* refers to an action where something has been trapped by placing a rope around its burrow opening, i.e. snare. At the same time, *nigajutaq* means ‘a place (places) that haven’t yet iced over (in autumn, when ice is first forming).’ The fact that dialect regions so distant from one another make identical distinctions means that this is a

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<sup>8</sup> The western possessive ending *-a* has become *-nga* in eastern dialects so that it is possible that eastern dialect speakers don’t recognize the *-a* in a word as a possessive marking.

<sup>9</sup> There is no syllable final **K** (q) in Labrador; we find **k** instead.

<sup>10</sup> English had no word for this concept so borrowed the Russian word *polynya*, which is based on the meaning ‘hollow.’ So while Russian focuses on the hole, Inuktitut focuses on the circling or delineation.

long-standing word for this ice phenomenon.<sup>11</sup> In Labrador, however, while we find the same root used for snaring in Labrador *niganniajuk* ‘he has put out snares’ (Andersen, Kalleo and Watts 2007), we don’t see any variant listed anywhere in ice terminology.

The Igloolik word *uukkaqtuq* ‘the ice breaking off from the *sinaaq*’ in Laidler and Ikummaq (2008, 139) appears to be a dedicated ice term, in the sense defined above. It is a verb or description exclusively referring to the action of ice breaking off. We can well imagine that this action would be very important to survival, potentially leaving a person helplessly stranded on a piece of ice drifting out to sea. This seems to be a dedicated ice word in other dialects as well; Spalding (1998) gives *uukkaqtuq* as ‘the solid sea ice breaks off’ with no meteorological marking, nor competing definitions. Laidler and Ikummaq (2008, 139) also give the related term word *ukkaruti* ‘the ice that has broken off due to *uukkaqtuq*, and is now free floating.’ The related word contains the instrumental morpheme *-uti*, so the word literally means ‘the instrument causing the ice breaking off.’ They also give another related word *uukkaqtaqtuq* ‘ice continuously breaking from the *sinaaq*.’ This last word contains within it the morpheme of repetition *-taq-*. These two words, transparently related to *uukkaqtuq*, are not really independent ice words but simply predictable variations of *uukkaqtuq*. We can call these satellite terms.

The word *millutsiniq* ‘a slushy patch on the ice caused by snowfall on thin ice’ is found in Laidler and Elee (2008, 55), but not found in other dialect lists. On investigation, this word nonetheless turns out to conjure up a potentially perilous situation, for it is composed of *milluk-tsi-niq*, or [suck in/under –actor-event], i.e. an

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<sup>11</sup> We see the word exists in Clyde River in the plural *nigajutat* (Gearherd et al. in progress) and also confirmed in the plural for Igloolik *nigajutait* (Aporta 2003).

event where something sucks in another entity.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, Laidler and Elee p. 59 discuss this term in the context of dangerous melting conditions, where snow serves as insulation to either warm the ice or prevent it from freezing further. The English translation of slushy patch does seem as dangerous the term in Inuktitut.<sup>13</sup>

The dedicated ice term meaning ‘iceberg’ is *piqalujaq* in Igloolik (Laidler and Ikummaq 2008, 139),<sup>14</sup> but is the slightly different *piqulajaq* in Utkuhiksalingmiut. We see the word *piqalujak* in Clyde River (Gearherd et. al. in progress). In Labrador we are not surprised to see the form *piKalujak* (Jeddore 1976; Andersen, Kalleo and Watts 2007), where K=q. The final [k] is expected in Labrador because of the neutralization of final **k/q** (mentioned above).

Another term seemingly unique to Cape Dorset in Laidler and Elee (2008, 55) is *sallivaliajuq* ‘ice thinning, due to rain, wind or snowfall.’ This term appears to be contain *-vallia-* ‘more and more’<sup>15</sup> and the root is likely *salik-* ‘wipe away, clean off, scrape’ (see Spalding 1998), so the Cape Dorset word may actually be *salivalliajuq*, literally meaning ‘it has been worn away.’ If this is so, then whether or not it is really a genuine ice term in the sense defined here, or is simply an on-the-spot description remains to be clarified.

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<sup>12</sup> Spalding (1998) gives both *milluartuq* ‘it is sucked in or ingested with a series of sucks’ and *miluktuq* ‘it is sucked in’; ingested (as blood, milk, fumes, juices, etc.).

<sup>13</sup> Perhaps I am going too far here. We need to consult Inuktitut speakers further.

<sup>14</sup> This term is verified by the Aporta’s Igloolik list which contains *piqalujaviniit* ‘ice floe that has broken off from an iceberg,’ where the removal of the plural morpheme *-vinniit* ‘former (pl.)’ gives us *piqalujaq* (presumably ending in **q**).

<sup>15</sup> We see this same morpheme in the Igloolik word *sikuvalliajuq* ‘the process of the ocean freezing over (freeze-up) in Laidler and Ikummaq (2008, 131). Based on the classification outlined in this paper, we now see that this word as a satellite term, which does not necessarily require an independent entry; it is the predictably augmented form of *sikujuq* (see above).

The word *sinaaviniq* ‘a former *sinaaq*’ is found in Laidler and Ikummaq (2008, 131). This word is transparently composed of *sinaaq* ‘floe edge’ + *viniq* ‘former.’ Because this word is produced through a regular word formation process, there seems little need to make an independent entry for it, any more than there is for the many English phrases with *former* added to them in English (e.g. *former house*). Note that *-viniq* is much more commonly found in Inuktitut than *former* is in English (and has a wider range of meaning). We can apply the exact same reasoning to *nigajutaviniq* ‘a former *nigajutaq* which has frozen over’ (Laidler and Ikummaq 2008, 131). Both *sinaaviniq* and *nigajutaviniq* appear to be satellite words, as discussed above, rather than independent ice words.

Another Igloolike ice term is *aggurtippalliajuq*<sup>16</sup> ‘the process of ice freezing in an upwind direction’ (Laidler and Ikummaq 2008, 131). This word is literally *aggur-tit-pallia-juq* or in [the face of the wind]-make-more and more-verb ending, suggesting it means literally ‘it is becoming progressively facing into the wind.’ It would be nice to have evidence this is more like a conventional term rather than merely a description. By merely a description, I mean that another person from the same community could potentially refer to the same process with a different turn of phrase. This same issue is found in the Utkuhiksalingmiutitut word *aaqluqtittuq* ‘a piece of ice that has been stuck to the shore, comes unstuck from the land under the water, separates from the land-bottom and rises up at one end more than at the other.’ It is based on the root *aaqluq* ‘to raise one’s face up.’

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<sup>16</sup> I have inserted an extra **p** and **l** in the middle of this word because *-vallia-* ‘more and more’ only becomes *-pallia-* following a consonant, which would then assimilate, giving **pp**.

The word *qanguti* is found in Igloolik (Laidler and Ikummaq 2008, 131); Cape Dorset (Laidler and Elee 2008, 55) and as *qanngut* in Pangnirtung (Laidler, Dialla and Joamie 2008, 357). These words refer to ice with crystal-like snow formation on top. We might expect them to have the root *kani(q)* since the root meaning ‘frost’ is *kaniq* in Spalding (2007) and also in Utkuhiksalingmiutit. The Igloolike ice word also seems to contain the instrumental morpheme *-ut(i)*. In Labrador *kani* is ‘hoar frost, frost crystals that form due to moisture in the air’ (Andersen, Kalleo and Watts 2007). Labrador also has *KaKunnak* ‘hoarfrost’ in Jeddore (1976) which starts with q (recall K=q). So it looks as if variation between k/q in the initial consonant of the root for ‘frost’ is common.<sup>17</sup> There is a chilling definition in Spalding (1998), where the plural form of frost *kanit* is defined as ‘great caverns in the sea ice formed by the collection of soft slush ice in the fall which, when frozen in winter, separates, forming deep caverns; these in turn fill up with hoar frost (*kanit*) and the surface is covered with snow, giving the appearance of solid ice - very dangerous for sled drivers and sea-ice hunters.’

The word *sikuqaq* ‘new sea ice, a few days old’ in Laidler and Ikummaq (2008, 131); Laidler and Elee (2008, 55) would not seem to be a term but a shortened version of the phrase *sikuqaqtuq* ‘There is (or it has) ice.’ It is found in neither Spalding (1998), Andersen, Kalleo and Watts (2007), Jeddore (1976) nor Utkuhiksalingmiutit. It is possible that this is a neologism, but this needs to be investigated more. It might also be some form of *sikuaq* (see above). Interestingly, Aporta (2003) has *sikutuqaq* as ‘multi-

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<sup>17</sup> Jean Briggs p.c. confirms this to be true. Another example she gives is ‘snow tongues’ (wind-formed ridges) Utkuhiksalingmiutit: *qahuq&ait* vs. Qamani’tuarmitit: *kahuqsait*

year ice’ and Gearheard et al. (in progress) have also the word *sikutuqaq*.

Utkuhiksalingmiutitut does not have a variant of this word, but does have the morpheme *-tuqaq* in the word *iituqaq* ‘yes, a long time ago,’ so *-tuqaq* seems to refer to something that is longstanding or that took place a long time ago. This is verified in Labrador, as Smith (1978) gives the morpheme *-tuKak* ‘a long time, old’ as in *nunalituKak*.

Spalding (1998) has some terms I have not seen in other lists. There is *qaaptiniviniq* or ‘ice formed from seeping or bubbling water over cracks of old sea ice; white chalk-coloured ice formed from water seeping up over old ice.’ Spalding gives *qaaptiniq* as the process. A related word is found in Utkuhiksalingmiutitut: *qaaptinniq* ‘white ice that results when water bubbles up through ice (either through a crack or when a fishing hole is dug ), and floods snow on top of ice , which( snow) then freezes’. In this instance, the simpler word is the process, not the result. It is possible that these words relate to *qaa-* ‘top, surface’ and contain a third person possessive in the locative.

### **Some Considerations on Methodologies and Disciplines**

All the ice terms have until recently been collected either by anthropologists, geographers and/or Inuit people themselves. As mentioned above, linguists are not likely to initiate this type of work on their own. More Inuit are co-authoring with other researchers to make these collections as in the work by Gaidler et al. and Gearheard et al. Most of the Inuit side of the co-authored research in published forms seems to be the words themselves and their definitions. We don’t see much in the text in of these articles that was clearly written from an Inuk perspective, other than quotes. I am curious about how Inuit view these lists, whether they have noticed some of the issues discussed above, and

whether a refinement of how the words are treated in being developed.<sup>18</sup> Recall that words are often sentences in Inuktitut so the status of word between the two languages is quite different. There is unlikely to be lists of sentences in English collected.

We get a sense of the differences between anthropology and geography as fields as we examine the data, thus confirming the suspicion that a southern researcher's background can influence the collection of words. Geographers seem to start with specific geological distinctions in mind, while anthropologists collect terms in the context of hunting, fishing and travel. Inuit lexicographers Jeddore (1976); Andersen, Kalleo and Watts (2007) do not seem to have paid any special attention to ice terminology, but that might be changing as the specialized work on ice gains more attention.

It is to be hoped that there will be an increase in collaboration across disciplines, perhaps producing co-authored work. Evans (2009, 111) in particular states clearly that in language documentation, specialists from different areas should be involved in close cooperation (as is the goal of this book). He considers interdisciplinary work "essential."

<sup>19</sup> He cites a story told in Diamond (1991), who describes an instance in Papua New Guinea, where the experienced anthropologist Ralph Bulmer was initially told there was only one word for rocks in the Kalam language. The anthropologist reports the following year a geologist was given a long list of names of different rocks only because the

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<sup>18</sup> Jay Arnakak is working on a dictionary where reduction of word entries is given considerable thought.

<sup>19</sup> In fact Briggs and Johns (in progress) involves a fruitful collaboration between an anthropologist, fluent in Inuktitut and an Inuktitut linguistics specialist.

geologist's questions showed that he knew about rocks. This kind of experience can happen even within a single discipline.<sup>20</sup>

The collection of ice knowledge is a relatively new area. Collaboration and communication are essential. New tools will likely be developed. I'd be interested in hearing ice accounts from Inuit, where contexts and actions are described in detail. Video may be a useful way of preserving and sharing knowledge. It is an exciting area, where we all can learn.

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<sup>20</sup> I had been unsuccessful in eliciting third person agent ergative constructions in South Baffin for a number of years, when a colleague Peter Hallman started asking for them as the second (not first) sentence in a consecutive series. All of sudden the constructions were fine.



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**Appendix: A Sample Set of Utkuhiksalingmiutitut Ice Words from Briggs and Johns (in progress).**

These words come from the database compiled by Jean Briggs. I have ordered them alphabetically, except that a) I have placed words beginning with **h** in the position of **s**, since they correspond to **s** words in other dialects and b) I have placed words beginning with **ř** in the position of **j** since they correspond to **j** in other dialects.

**aaquqtittuq** a piece of ice that has been stuck to the shore, comes unstuck from the land under the water, separates from the land-bottom and rises up at one end more than at the other. cf. **aaquqlutit** raise your head/face up

**ainniq** a crack in sea ice, narrow in the fall but in the spring it's open, sometimes one to two feet wide; contains water and is dangerous. They widen as the ice deepens.

**akluaq** a hole in the ice for fishing.

**atuarut** (1) crack that runs between shorefast ice and ice that is not attached to the shore, parallel to the shore; (2) cracks that run as (approx.) right angles to (1), starting from a rock that is underwater but attached to the shore. These *atuarutit* are rich in fish, good places for fishing holes. They exist all winter long and are not dangerous.

It is a specific instance of a *qu'niq* or general word for 'crack'.

**iřitittuq** thin ice weighted down by snow or many fish piled beside fishing hole so that has sunk; and surface (if it's by a fishing hole) has become water-covered. c.f. **iřiqutut** They are hiding.

**ikiqtiniq** the channel of water that is formed between shore and sea/lake/river ice after the ice has loosened and floated up and away from the bottom of the water in spring.

**ikkalruq** a place in the sea where ice rests on top of an underwater 'hill' (stays resting on the 'hill' when the surrounding water level has dropped. cf. **ikkattuq** it is shallow (water or sleep).

**illaurat** plural. *illauraq* singular. vertical ice needles that result from (or that constitute the ice surface, on both sea and lake, when) water has drained off in spring.

**ipřuaqtittuq** the ice has gotten thick; said when the ice is about two feet thick.

Exclamatory: *ipřuqtilla&ranguřaqquq* The ice is really getting thick! c.f. *ipřutaq* thick (cloth, pile of papers, etc.)

ivulaaqtuq

**kaanniq** a place where ice has detached and risen up from the river or sea bottom, i.e. from the land under the ice.

**kipuktitaqtut** plural. many pieces of ice have run under/over each other from opposite directions to create layered ice. cf. **kipuktut** they pass, coming from opposite direction without seeing or taking note of each other (even if they do see each other).

**kuaha** ice with no snow on top (i.e. , slippery).

**kuřřiniq** a concavity/depression in sea ice in vicinity of a seal hole or crack. They can be wide, long, winding, and (after a time) as deep as three feet. Water stands in them and drains into the hole or crack.

**maniillat** plural. uneven ice, forced up and broken by pressure. cf. *maniitug* it (surface) is rough or uneven

**nataaq** a thin underlayer of ice between two layers of water in river; from top down: ice - water - ice [nataaq] - water - river bottom

**piqulajaq** iceberg.

**puktaaq** a piece of flat drifting ice used as a raft; people can fish from it.

**qaaptinniq** white ice that results when water bubbles up through ice (either through a crack or when a fishing hole is dug), and floods snow on top of ice, and the snow then freezes.

**qaimnguq** New-forming ice at edge of river/lake; ice that forms on top of shore rocks and on shore, as a result of tides . This ice forms in early fall, and is uneven and bumpy; it forms only on seashore and not in Chantrey (which lacks tides). It remains attached to shore in spring when the rest of the ice floats out to sea.

**haaviliqtuq** the ice is moving away from the land (in spring) or has completed moving away from land. cf. **haavittuq** the (food - and/or other object) is put out in full view/central position.

**hakliq** thin autumn ice. cf. **hakliqtaq** a thin piece of board (eg plywood); also a thin braid; plywood.

**hiku** ice; glasses; watch face; lantern globe.

**uiguaqtuq** Long thin strips of new, very thin ice form on the surface of water that is just beginning to freeze - so thin they look like calm water (when the water surface is wind-ruffled) . cf. **uiguřut** several pieces (of something) have been laid end-to-end to lengthen something. The Netsilik equivalent to this word is **qimiraqhiřuq**.

