otherwise ensure that the research serves community interests. A new generation of scholars, some represented in this issue of the *Northern Review*, has internalized these expectations and is in the process of transforming Arctic research. Indigenous scholars, including Inuit, have emerged together with non-Indigenous researchers to bring new perspectives to the study of human activity in the Far North.

The rethinking and the reimagining of the historic and contemporary experience of the Inuit is continuing apace. Emerging topics are providing new perspectives on a variety of important themes, from understanding Inuit relationships with land and traditional territories, the response to the mining industry, Inuit experience with education and training programs, representations of Inuit priorities in national political processes, and the integration of Inuit cultural awareness within Canadian institutions, like the Canadian Armed Forces. This work, importantly, is typically done in partnership with Inuit communities and organizations while managing to make significant contributions to global academic understanding of the internal and external dynamics of Inuit life.

There are two major strands, both represented in this collection of articles, in the study of Inuit in the Canadian North. The first focuses on the internal aspects of Inuit life, from matters of language, land use, artistic expression, and the social realities of northern Indigenous peoples wrestling with the challenges and opportunities of the twenty-first century. The second strand relates to Inuit relationships with the broader world, from resource-based economics to the cultural intrusions of modern media, from the politics of Indigenous rights to engagement with the institutions of the modern state.

Because of the complexities of legal contests over Indigenous rights, the remarkable political transitions associated with Nunavut and Nunavik, consultation requirements associated with resource projects, and the Inuit desire to protect their traditional territories from environmental change, research figures prominently in Inuit affairs. As the Inuit support more students who are pursuing advanced studies, and as northern research centres, like the Nunavut Research Institute, the Canadian High Arctic Research Station, and the Aurora Research Institute, enhance north-centred capacity, the evolution of academic research on the Inuit continues apace.

As the articles in this issue demonstrate, the introduction of new approaches, new scholars, and more North-centric research is enriching northern scholarship and, even more important, providing the academic foundation for efforts to improve the quality of life for Inuit people in the Canadian North.

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The Northern Review
Exploring human experience in the North

Research Article

Iliamna Lake *Nanvarpak* Ethnogeography: Yup'ik and Contemporary Place Names and Stories of these Places

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Abstract: This article explores Iliamna Lake ethnogeography through place names and associated stories about these places through Yup'ik eyes. Iliamna Lake has been home to Indigenous Peoples of Central Yup'ik, Dena'ina, Alutiiq (or Sugpiaq), and other language groups for generations. Many Iliamna Lake residents in the twenty-first century have multicultural heritages because of intermarriages and sharing territorial boundaries. When telling about place names, Iliamna Lake Yup'ik Elders often weave their personal experiences and local histories into their narratives, such as their seasonal routes and the arrival of newcomers in the region. My research revealed that telling and retelling stories of places enables people to visualize their landscapes while affirming and reinforcing the knowledge that has enabled them to survive and thrive in the region for many generations. Ethnogeography addresses, from community perspectives, how these cultural landscapes intertwine with local histories and changes in the land.

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This article presents the findings of my project incorporating Iliamna Lake ethnogeography and analysis of Yup'ik and contemporary English place names and the stories of these places, documented with five Iliamna Lake communities between 2016 and 2019. Place names and associated stories about these places illustrate community histories, lifeways, and cultural ethics and practices that are grounded in people's intimate relationships with their homeland. I experienced the study of ethnogeography during my fieldwork, collecting place names along with stories while listening to community Elders, travelling to these places with community members, and participating in harvesting berries and fish. The Elders' memories about the land and places awaken old connections to the landmarks, streams, lakes, and mountains that have given them life, food, and shelter. Sharing the place names in these stories and injecting their own experiences into the stories expands the narratives, making them more personal and applicable to the Elders' own settlements. In this article, I introduce the project and study area, define ethnogeography, present examples of Yup'ik and contemporary English place names and stories of the land, and analyze the significance of these place names to the Iliamna Lake people in the past and present.

Iliamna Lake Place Names Project

The documentation of Iliamna Lake Yup'ik place names started with Iliamna Lake residents' interests. While building rapport with the communities since 2012, and conducting literature reviews on this region, I learned that Iliamna Lake Yup'ik place names have rarely been recorded, compared to about 200 Dena'ina place names in the Iliamna Lake area that are published (Evanoff 2010; Kari 2010). When I visited Newhalen, one of the Iliamna Lake communities, some residents told me that Iliamna Lake Yupiit (plural for Central Yup'ik people) have not had opportunities to record place names. One Iliamna Lake resident told me he wished someone had recorded local place names and oral narratives about these places twenty years ago when there were more Elders—"the original Googles"—in the communities (Iliamna Lake resident, pers. comm., August 2016). Considering that the knowledge of Iliamna Lake Yup'ik speakers is declining, along with their population, this research project was timely. The mutual trust and interest in the subject matter that led Iliamna Lake residents to approach me about Yup'ik place name research in their region deepened throughout the research process and contributed immeasurably to our outcomes.

I used two methods: qualitative interviewing as used by oral historians, and a community-based participatory approach to gather ethnographic data. Like many other Indigenous Peoples around the world, the Iliamna Lake Yupiit have orally shared and passed down their place names, along with associated narratives, and did not maintain their stories in written format. Using the community-based participatory approach, I asked community village and tribal council members if they would like to participate in the project. In the early stages of the research, I supplemented and revised some of my research questions to reflect community perspectives. This process helped me appreciate how narrators learned and passed down their practices and stories about the places from their perspectives. Their place-based memories often reflected where narrators resided and observed historical events and/or participated in specific activities. The memories thus reflect community perspectives of the land.

A community-based participatory approach allows researchers and study communities to co-benefit from developing the research design collaboratively, as well as conducting the research and analysis as cooperative research partners. Researchers gain permission from the community to conduct the project, while the study community enhances their community well-being by sharing their knowledge as they contribute to a project of their choosing. When the Yup'ik Elders told their stories among themselves, they often spoke only in Yugcetun (the Central Yup'ik language), which allowed them to express more clearly locations and their perceptions of the land features, which in turn reflected their world views. Using their Indigenous language enhances the accuracy of and meaning drawn from their storytelling. References to place names, and their perceptions expressed in their language, represent deep place-based knowledge.

The study of Iliamna Lake Yup'ik place names was originally *my* project when I proposed it to the communities in 2016, but it became *our* project (the Iliamna Lake communities' and mine) through time. During eight field trips in five communities from 2016 to 2019, Elders, research participants, and I recorded 219 Yup'ik and over 100 contemporary English place names and stories of these places.

Place

Iliamna Lake lies about 362 km southwest of Anchorage, Alaska (Figure 1). The Kvichak River (approximately 120 km long) is the source of the largest population of sockeye salmon in the world, and the salmon return to Iliamna Lake and its tributaries from Bristol Bay, Alaska, every summer. Iliamna Lake has been home to the Yupiit, Dena'ina, Alutiit (or Sugpiat), and other language groups for generations. Iliamna Lake has two Indigenous names: *Nila Vena* ("islands lake" in Dena'ina) and *Nanvarpak* ("big lake" in Yugcetun), both of which include the generic term "lake" (*vena* and *nanvarq*) but signify different characteristics (Figure 2).

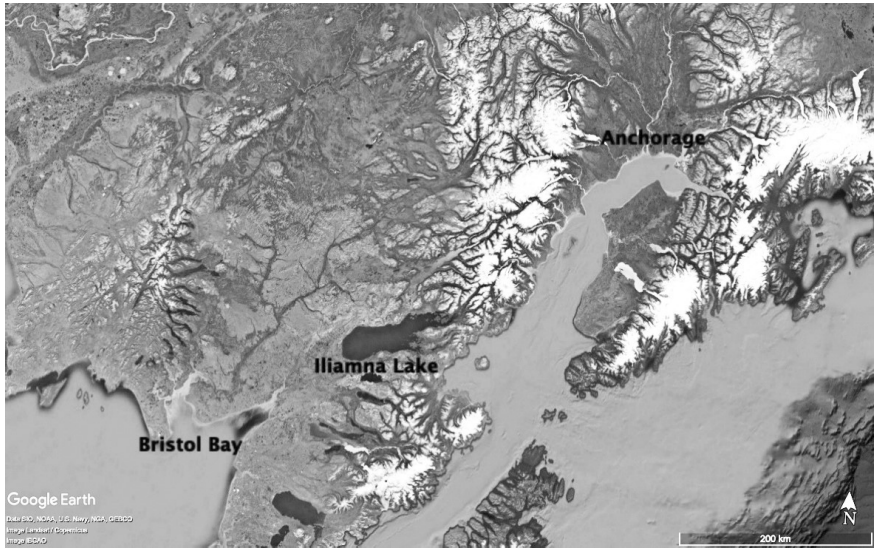

Figure 1. Location of Iliamna Lake in Southwest Alaska (Google Earth, 2021).

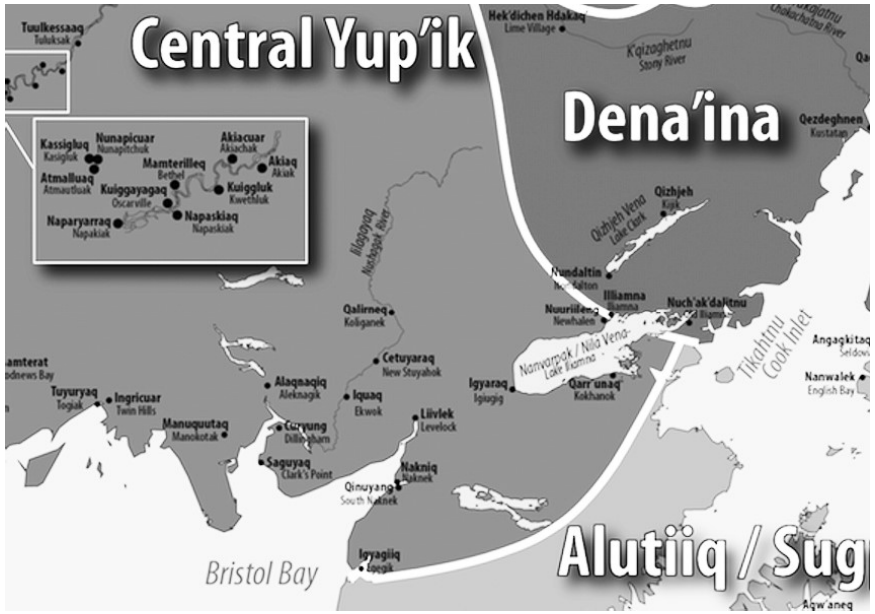

Figure 2. Map of the Iliamna Lake area in Southwest Alaska. Based on Krauss, Holton, Kerr, and West 2011 [detail].

Today, five communities lie on the shore of the lake: Pedro Bay[1], Iliamna, Newhalen, Kokhanok, and Igiugig. A sixth community, Levelock, which lies on the bank of the Kvichak River, has close ties with the Iliamna Lake communities. For a couple of generations, the people of Levelock have travelled on the Kvichak River to Iliamna Lake communities for visiting, and Iliamna Lake residents have travelled through Levelock and Naknek for commercial fishing. Many residents of the region have moved from one community to another to live with their marriage partners' families. According to several Iliamna Lake Yup'ik Elders, their families came from the Kwethluk area on the Kuskokwim River to the present-day Newhalen area looking for food during a time of high starvation in the mid-nineteenth century (Coffing 1991; Iliamna Lake Place Names Workshop, 2018). Owing to travelling, migration, and intermarriage, Iliamna Lake communities include descendants of Dena'ina, Central Yup'ik, Alutiiq, Russian, and northern European people.

Place Names and Ethnogeography

When Russians and Euro-Americans arrived in Alaska, they often renamed Indigenous place names in Russian and English, usually ignoring local histories and understandings of these places. Map surveyors often viewed the land as empty. In Latin, this concept is called *terra nullius*, which means "the land of no one," and this has legal implications when land is claimed based only on the state's or government's occupation of it (Wallenfeldt 2019). Government surveyors who recorded and named places in Russian and English neglected to recognize the Indigenous Peoples' relationships with their homelands. Surveyors collected many Indigenous place names during their expeditions, but they lacked knowledge of Indigenous languages, cultures, and local histories. Donald Orth's book, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names* (1967), exemplifies those surveyors' simplification of locally used or English modified Indigenous names into "local names." These place names became the principal sources when the US Geological Survey began a program of exploration and mapping the land in 1898 (Orth 1956, 5). When prospectors arrived in Alaska searching for gold in the late nineteenth century, they sought maps and other information to guide them through the country. These and subsequent maps produced by the US Geological Survey are now known as "USGS maps."

People use place names to refer to locations and to communicate information about the place—for instance the Yup'ik name for a creek called *Qaluyaraq* (lit. *qalu-* to dip with a dip net) refers to a place for dip netting (Parks, 2016a). I

discovered that Iliamna Lake Yup'ik Elders referred to many place names as they conversed and shared memories of the past. Naming places by referring to fish, animals, and plants is one of the popular naming patterns among the Iliamna Lake Yupiit who also used place-naming strategies similar to those used among many language groups, including generic land feature terms, honouring political or community figures, borrowing another language's name, and referencing historic events at places. Cultural factors behind place names, such as narratives about these places and personal experiences on the land, have helped people to visualize their own landscapes (Cruikshank 1990; Stoffle, Halmo, and Austin 1997; Thornton 1997). One of the pioneers of Indigenous place names studies, Keith Basso (1996), points out that Native place names provide the Western Apache with mental advice and physical instructions, for instance producing mental images of specific places, relating their ancestors' lessons, and confirming their cultural values. Place names as vernacular knowledge comprise observations of places and territory, and experiences in places, cumulatively shared by members of a cultural group (Collignon 2004; Hunn 2006). Remembering the place names and using them shape the people's cultural understanding of and relationships with the landscape.

Franz Boas (1887) initially introduced the term "ethnogeography" to study how landscapes, or people's homelands, shaped their cultures. Since the 1920s, geographers (e.g., Davidson 1977; Knight 1971; Sauer 1925; Samson 1997) have refined this definition to include the study of physical features and local environments. Historian James Carson (2003, 770) describes ethnogeography as the disciplines of ethnohistory and geography, observing, "Native Americans' understanding of land and their relationship to it is vitally important to their cultures and histories." Geographers, historians, and anthropologists have used the term ethnogeography in multidisciplinary studies of Indigenous place names drawing on geography, linguistics, archaeology, and cultural anthropology since the 1980s (Andrews and Zoe 1997; Aporta et al. 2014; Carson 2003; Cowell, Taylor, and Brockie 2016; Holton and Thornton 2019; Jette and Jones 1986; McCarthy 1986; Meadows 2008; Rivers and Jones 1993). In my usage, ethnogeography is the study of people and their land by exploring culture(s) from insider perspectives, drawing on place names, narratives about these places, traditional and contemporary land uses, ethnohistory, and ethnoarchaeology.

Ethnogeography also explores how people comprehend meanings of place names, not only from their experience and sharing in oral traditions of these places, but also through revitalizing cultural practices and maintaining their ancestors' homeland. Through the *Įdaà* Heritage Resource Inventory Project started in 1990, Dogrib Elders in the Northwest Territories, Canada, who worked with researchers documenting historical sites, place names, and routes, have developed a baseline for future generations to protect their cultural sites. Thomas Andrews and John Zoe (1997, 173) note that Dogrib place names and mapping narratives about these places guide people in visualizing the landscape, a principle of Dogrib ethnogeography. If a person comprehends the meanings of the Indigenous place names (or local names), they can reflect on their own experiences with the places to recall how they looked during their own lifetime or what to watch for in the surroundings, while also strengthening their cultural identity. By following their family practices and speaking in their own language, they can affirm and reinforce an intimate relationship with the land built on family ties going back generations, which instills a deep sense of belonging. Place names do not always explain when or what historical event Indigenous people observed or participated in at these places, but that land features act as "mnemonic pegs" to remind the people of multi-generational relationships with the land (Cruikshank 1990, 56). Trails often physically join such places, while information and wisdom gained from historical events connects the places and trails.

The following section introduces some Yup'ik place names and associated stories that exemplify Iliamna Lake ethnogeography.

Iliamna Lake Yup'ik and Contemporary Place Names

During my ethnographic fieldwork, I discovered that some places possess more than one name and multiple stories. Various generations have given certain places different Yup'ik names and contemporary English names that reflect different observations and experiences. The map (Figure 3) shows the distribution of Yup'ik and contemporary place names in the Iliamna Lake area. Elders reported that some Yup'ik place names became "just names" because the stories of places have been forgotten as a result of the Yupiit having to learn English and being forbidden to speak Yugcetun in modern school systems (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015; Ray 1971). Nevertheless, many place names, Yup'ik and English, are widely recognized, and the narratives associated with places tend to be personal and reflect narrower, localized perspectives.

As I recorded Yup'ik place names with Iliamna Lake Yup'ik Elders, I discovered that the literal meanings of some place names describe these places from the direction of narrators' settlements and from their perspectives. Table 1 shows examples of places whose names reflect Elders' positions in relation to the sites and their observations, including sizes and shapes of land features, activities that occurred at these places, and stories relating to the names.

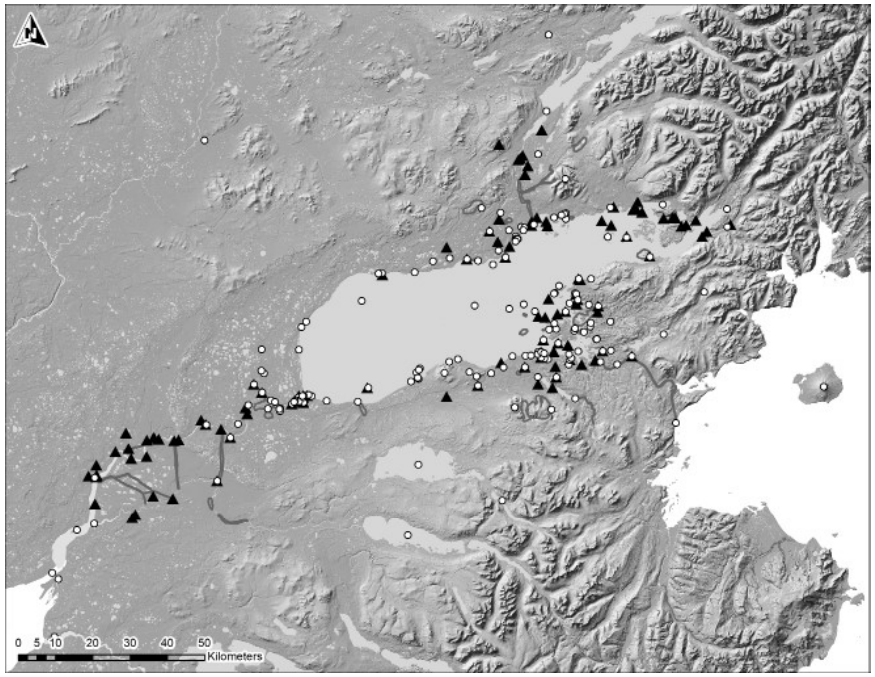

Figure 3. Distribution of Yup'ik (white circles) and contemporary (black triangles) place names in the Iliamna Lake area (compiled by the author). Map created by Gerad Smith.

Table 1. Examples of place names describing land features from various perspectives (Kugo 2021, 252).

English or Local Name	Yup'ik Name 1	Literal Meaning 1	Yup'ik Name 2	Literal Meaning 2
Kokhanok Lake	*Qamanelnguq*	"the one inside, obscured"	*Anuqellugli*	"windy [lake]"
Lookout Mountain	*Qengarpak, Qengaq*	"big nose," or "nose"	*Qengarngalnguq*	"the one that it is like a nose"
Annie's Lake	*Qikertalek*	"place with islands"	–	–
No English name (Boulders offshore in southwest portion of Iliamna Lake water)	*Kass'aruayiit*	"those that look like priests"	*Yuguat*	"human-like; fake humans"
Egg Island on the Kvichak River	*Peksussurvik*	"place to hunt eggs"	*Qikertacuar*	"small island"

Qamanelnguq and Anuqellugli

Kokhanok Yupiit who live on the south shore of Iliamna Lake recognize the location of Kokhanok Lake differently than outsiders. Residents envision the location of a historic Yup'ik settlement, while outsiders likely recognize the official location shown on a map. *Qarr'unaq* (the historical settlement) lies on the bank of Gibraltar River, which flows into Gibraltar Lake, near Kokhanok (Figure 4). Kokhanok Elders reported the original name of Gibraltar Lake as "Kokhanok or *Qarr'unaq* Lake" which refers to the historical settlement *Qarr'unaq*. As I learned during the group interview in Kokhanok, another "Kokhanok Lake" lies upriver on the Kokhanok River (or Kakhonak[2] River), that is, the Kokhanok Lake on the USGS map (1957).

The officially recognized Kokhanok Lake possesses two Yup'ik names, *Qamanelnguq* and *Anuqellugli*, which signify various Kokhanok perspectives. The name, *Qamanelnguq* ("the one inside, obscured") originated from the people who could not see the lake from their historical settlement *Qarr'unaq* or from their present settlement *Assigyuk* (present-day Kokhanok). When Kokhanok Elder Anesia Newyaka said her father used to call the lake *Qamanelnguq,* community Yup'ik translator Marsha Wassillie explained to me that he called it as such "because it goes all the way *qavavet* (inside)" (Newyaka and Wassillie, 2017), meaning beyond the view of the observer. This place name consists of a demonstrative pronoun *gamna* (the one inside, obscured) and *nguq* (one that is doing), which expresses the lake's location as obscured from view from their Yup'ik settlement.

When Kokhanok historian Gary Nielsen told me the lake's name means "windy lake," he asked his mother-in-law, Annie Parks, what she would call this place in Yugcetun. Parks translated "windy lake" into Yugcetun literally as *Anuqellugli* (Nielsen and Parks, 2016). The English translation of this base word *anuqellugte-* is "to blow in an unfavourable direction wind" (Jacobson 2012, 123). In this case the name refers to a wind that blows in many directions—hence Nielsen's term "windy lake." The process of recording the name *Anuqellugli* exemplifies how Elders sometimes identify place names as they listen to others describing the places and become more confident of their memories. While Nielsen did not remember how to say "windy lake" in Yugcetun, I recorded Parks's translation of the English term into Yup'i—*Anuqellugli*—as the Yup'ik name of Kokhanok Lake, even though it is possible that the original Yup'ik name differed somewhat. Elders sometimes inferred Yup'ik place names from stories about the places: the places' appearances, their locations, and the literal meanings of the names. Eight of the 219 Yup'ik place names we recorded represented such inferences.

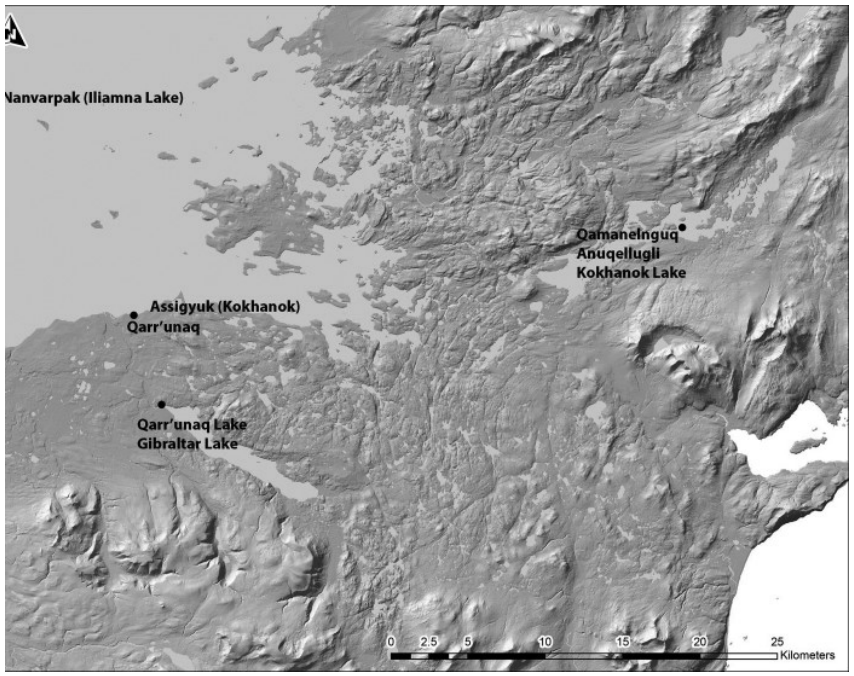

Figure 4. Locations of *Qarr'unaq* Lake (Gibraltar Lake) and *Qamanelnguq*, *Anuqellugli* or Kokhanok (Kakhonak) Lake. Map created by Gerad Smith.

Kass'aruayiit and Yuguat

Descriptions of places and their locations often reflect the speakers' reference points—that is, the direction from which they view the places. The boulders that sit on the southwest side of Iliamna Lake have two names, *Kass'aruayiit* (those that look like priests) and *Yuguat* (human-like, pretend people), given by two groups, both of which describe the boulders' shapes (Figure 5). Newhalen and Kokhanok residents view them as priest-like figures to whom they give offerings in the hope of safe travel. They tell stories about incidents that occurred when crossing *Nanvarpak* (big lake, Iliamna Lake) near Big Island, which lies in the lake by *Kass'aruayiit*. Some Yup'ik Elders reported they make offerings by casting food or pieces of crackers into the water when they pass by *Kass'aruayiit*. Newhalen Elder Annie Parks remembered hearing:

> *Napalriit taukut. Waten pilartut, Kass'aruayiit-gguq ketaiquvciki neqerrlugmek wall'u-qaa keliparrarmek egcisqelluki. Tua-i ta͡ugaam tamatumek niitelartua.*
>
> The ones that are standing upright. They tell us that when we pass through *Kass'aruayiit* to throw dried fish toward them, or a piece of bread. That is all I've heard about it. (Parks, 2016b)

Feeding *Kass'aruayiit* will ensure "good weather," according to Parks. This practice has been shared among the people of Newhalen and Kokhanok. Gary Nielsen remembers hearing the boulders called "the rocks that eat," a reference to the traditional practice of offering *Kass'aruayiit* food (Nielsen, 2016).

The Igiugig people, who live at the mouth, at the southwest of Iliamna Lake, call these boulders *Yuguat* (human-like, pretend people), referring to their shapes. They commonly travelled that area by land along the shore, and rarely by water. Thus, they do not see the boulders as a sign of the danger like the Newhalen and Kokhanok people do. These place names and stories illustrate how Iliamna Lake Elders visualize their cultural landscapes by seeing and interacting with such physical land features and sharing stories about the places.

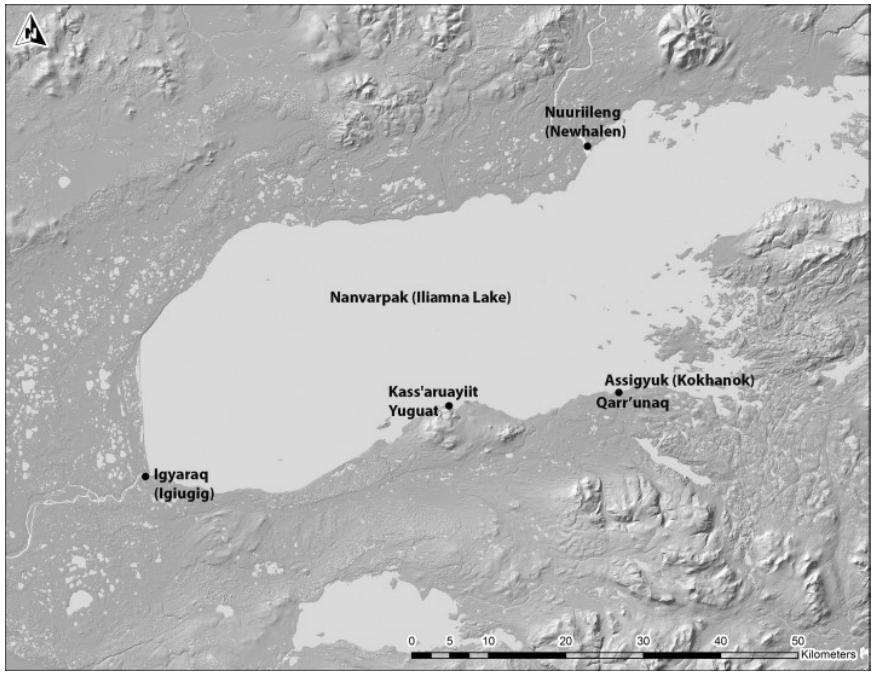

Figure 5, Locations of *Kass'aruayiit* and *Yuguat*. Map created by Gerad Smith.

Peksussurvik and Qikertacuar

In some cases, translations of Yup'ik place names into English (their official English names) carry original meanings, such as references to traditional activities at the place. For example, residents of both Igiugig and Levelock enjoy hunting for eggs at Egg Island, which lies about halfway between the two communities in the Kvichak River. Residents use the contemporary place name, Egg Island, but Igiugig Yup'ik Elders remember the island's name as *Peksussurvik* (place to hunt eggs) (Figure 6).

Levelock Yup'ik Elder Olga Chukwak (2017) calls this island *Qikertacuar* (small island), likely because the Levelock people think of this island as a landmark they see as they travel upriver to Igiugig, rather than primarily as a destination for collecting eggs. Iliamna Lake Yup'ik Elders refer to harvesting seagull eggs on many small islands in the area. However, only the place name for the island *Peksussurvik* (contemporary Egg Island) in the Iliamna Lake–Kvichak River area contains the word *peksute-* (to find eggs) (Jacobson 2012, 484). Igiugig and Levelock people harvest eggs here in the spring. Their seasonal activities resulted in the sharing of collective knowledge along the Kvichak River. Iliamna Lake Yup'ik community members themselves began to call the island Egg Island, presumably as English became the dominant language in the region. Official topographic maps do not show this place name.

Figure 6. A Levelock resident searching for seagull eggs on the island *Peksussurvik* (place to hunt eggs), May 2017. Photo by the author.

Qengarpak, Qengarngalnguq, and Lookout Mountain

Understanding Yup'ik place names often requires contextual knowledge. Iliamna Lake Yup'ik Elders often use a general term *ingriq* (mountain) when referring to various specific mountains. Elders distinguish *Ingriq* from other mountains through recalling their experiences of travelling on the land from their settlement to *Ingriq*, looking at *Ingriq* across the lake, and sharing narratives about *Ingriq*. When I participated in the Elders' conversations, I recognized that speakers, seemingly unintentionally, emphasized these places from their own viewpoints. Mary Wassillie and many other Kokhanok Elders remember Lookout Mountain, west of present-day Kokhanok, as *Qengaq* (nose), or *Qengarpak* (big nose) "because it looks (to me) like a nose" (Wassillie, 2016) (Figure 7).

On the other side of Iliamna Lake, Newhalen Elder Annie Parks remembered "*Qengarngalngurmek tauna pilaraat* [They call that *Qengarngalnguq*]" (Parks, 2016a), which suggests not that she thought it looked like a nose, but that others say so. *Qengarngalnguq* literally means "the one that resembles a nose." As Parks described it, the Newhalen people could not see the shape of the nose clearly because the mountain lies on the other side of the lake (Figure 8). These two names exemplify how Iliamna Lake people named places based on their appearances when viewing them from their own settlements.

While many Iliamna Lake Yup'ik Elders remembered Lookout Mountain as *Qengarpak* (big nose), Nielsen remembered that this mountain has a Yup'ik name meaning "lookout," but he did not recall the Yup'ik name (Nielsen, 2016). A name "Lookout Mountain" is a common name across cultures throughout Alaska. I inferred that Yupiit initially named it after lookout places on the top of the mountain, and geographers literally translated its name into English. Later, I learned that this mountain's name contains references to historical events witnessed by Dena'ina and Yupiit.

Several Elders reported that wars occurred between the Dena'ina and Yupiit near Lookout Mountain and Tommy Point (east of present-day Kokhanok), but the Dena'ina people no longer came there after the Yupiit won (Wassillie, 2016). Kokhanok Elder Wassillie noted that the Dena'ina and Yupiit established a peaceful relationship through time. The stories Iliamna Lake people have shared of Dena'ina and Yupiit interactions across the region reflect their collective history. Iliamna Dena'ina Elder Lary Hill remembers hearing that Lookout Mountain was an important landmark for both the Dena'ina and Yupiit when the Russians arrived in the Iliamna Lake area:

> Lookout Mountain … Yup'ik or Dena'ina did not go there … [Yupiit and Dena'ina] built a little fort, they were afraid of Russians. It wasn't [that] they were afraid of each other … they were looking out for Russians. That's a lookout not for Dena'ina. They were afraid of Russians …. And then across the riverside, too, up on the Roadhouse Mountain. They "lookout" there, too. (Hill, 2018)

The English name clearly reflects both the Dena'ina and Yup'ik experience with keeping vigil, watching for the Russians at lookout points on the mountain.

Across from Lookout Mountain, Dena'ina and Yupiit settlements lay on the banks of the stream that many Iliamna Yup'ik Elders remembered as *Vach Dalek*, a Dena'ina name. Marsha Wassillie and Peducia Andrew of Kokhanok were born and grew up at the settlement *Vach Dalek*, on the east side of the stream. They affirmed that the term is likely a Dena'ina name (Wassillie, 2016), an indication that this settlement lay in Dena'ina territory or neutral boundary territory of the Dena'ina and Yupiit.

My Yup'ik translators struggled with writing *Vach Dalek,* because Elders pronounce the name *Vachaduliq*', *Evacitalek*, or *Maacitaalek*. Nielsen reported that it means "where seagull(s) sit" (Nielsen, 2016). When she heard the name, Togiak Yup'ik translator Eva Evelyn Yanez first thought it could be a Yup'ik name, related to the word *eva-* (to sit on eggs) (Jacobson 2012, 273); however, many Elders remembered it as a Dena'ina name. Dena'ina language scholar James Kari confirmed that if this is a Dena'ina name, it originated from *Vach Daliht* (where seagulls exist) (Kari, pers. comm., Jul. 18, 2019). The Yup'ik spelling of *Evacitalek* exemplifies place name folk-etymology. The Yup'ik word *eva-* has a similar sound and meaning to the Dena'ina word *vach* (seagull), due to the almost-unpronounced initial "e" in Yup'ik, suggesting that the Yupiit "Yupified" the Dena'ina name to have it make sense from Yup'ik perspectives.

Qikertalek and Annie's Lake

Since the mid-twentieth century, Iliamna Lake people have named some places after people who owned land, built cabins, or resided at the places. Some places possess Yup'ik and contemporary English names that represent residents' understandings of the landscape through multiple generations. Newhalen Elder Annie Parks reported the lake name on the west side of the Newhalen River as *Qikertalek* (place with islands) because the lake contains islands (Figure 9). Her description of the landscape goes beyond the literal meaning of the name: she notes that the area around *Qikertalek* is good animal habitat, which means it is also a good hunting ground.

Figure 7. *Qengarpak* (big nose) or *Qengarngalnguq* "the one that resembles a nose," March 2017. Photo by the author.

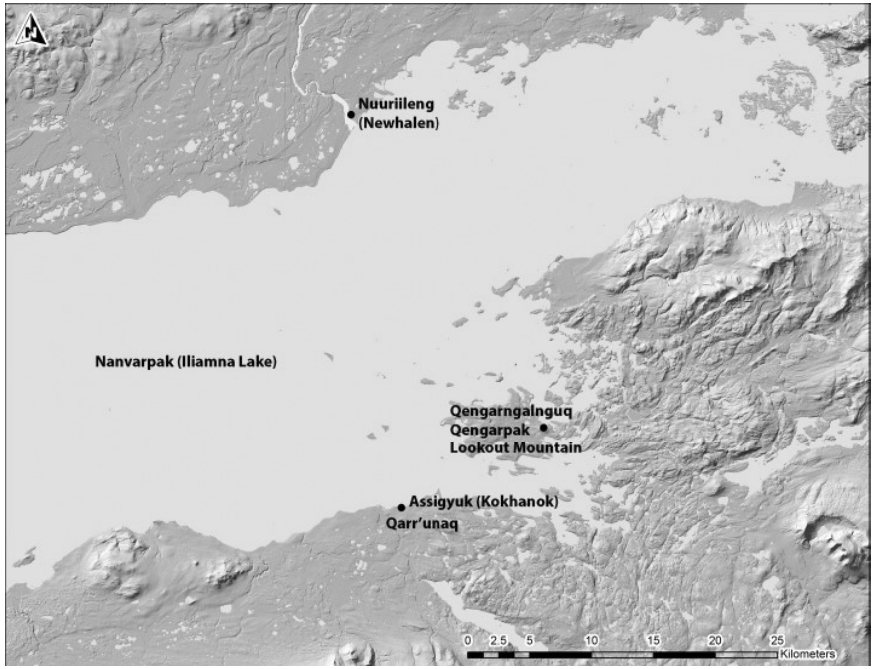

Figure 8. Locations of *Qengarpak*, *Qengarngalnguq*, or Lookout Mountain from Newhalen and from Kokhanok. Map created by Gerad Smith.

Figure 9. *Qikertalek* (place with islands), or Annie's Lake, May 2018. Photo by the author.

Newhalen residents know the lake *Qikertalek* (place with islands) as "Annie's Lake," because this is Annie Parks's native allotment.[3] Evidently, Newhalen residents adopted the name Annie's Lake after 1970, upon learning that Parks selected the land. Newhalen residents Michael Trefon and Bill Cornell recognize that people often follow Foxy, Dry, and Annie's lakes when travelling on the west side of the Newhalen River (Trefon and Cornell, 2017). Contemporary place names that do not retain the original Yup'ik meanings tend to signify Iliamna Lake residents observing, adjusting, and adapting to changes in land ownership, yet Trefon and Cornell's references to hunting routes around Annie's Lake echo Parks's memories of *Qikertalek,* that the area is a healthy environment for animals.

Discussion

Iliamna Lake Yup'ik place names and the oral history of these places contribute to creating cultural landscapes through recollections of who travelled to places when and why, in relating the local history at these places, and by teaching cultural ethics related to the places. In naming places, repeating and listening to stories about these places, and sharing skills with others, individuals have shaped their own experiences on the land, all of which has become shared local geographic knowledge. Ethnogeography attempts to understand such cultural landscapes, how individuals' memories connect the people and land through their eyes, emotions, and experiences, and how their individual perspectives contribute to a collective understanding of their homeland. The Iliamna Lake Yupiit recognize many Yup'ik place names that they commonly use, such as *Nanvarpak* (big lake, Iliamna Lake) and *Ingriq* (mountain). The people use other place names in more localized ways, perceiving them relative to their settlements, and with meanings relevant only within their settlements. The two boulders' names *Kass'aruayiit* (shaman-like) and *Yuguat* (human-like), exemplify this localized pattern.

I have been interested in learning how the Iliamna Lake Yupiit communicate with the landscape; that is, how the people understand the land's response, or behaviour, to the people's actions. When I learned of the Iliamna Lake Yupiit gift-offering practice at the boulders *Kass'aruayiit* (those that look like priests), I thought of similar Japanese cultural practices I have experienced. During my youth in Japan, my family members and I made gift offerings to certain stone statues at my family grave sites to show respect and receive good fortune. As I learned about gift offering practices from Iliamna Lake Yup'ik Elders, I recognized that their practice and mine appear to be similar but contain different cultural meanings. While my gift offerings in Japan implied expectations of reciprocity in the form of good fortune, they did not reflect ties to a specific place. Iliamna Lake Yupiit practices, on the other hand, relate directly to their homeland. Their gift offerings strengthen the spiritual connection between the Yupiit and the land as the Yupiit experience the boulders overseeing the people's safe travels. These cultural practices reflect Iliamna Lake Yup'ik cultural values and sense of place, core components of ethnogeography.

Viewing these boulders from the boat, the many accidents Iliamna Lake Elders remembered here struck me. Their gift-offering practices are responses to accidents that these Elders witnessed or heard of during their lifetimes. Iliamna Lake Yup'ik Elders did not remember when the people began offering food to *Kass'aruayiit*, but this practice reflects an important element of the Yup'ik world view—sharing resources with others, including non-humans, and living respectfully and in harmony with the land to ensure surviving and thriving (Kawagley 2006; Fienup-Riordan 1990). I realized how gift offering by Iliamna Lake Yupiit has connected them to their ancestors and to the land features, such as *Kass'aruayiit,* and has strengthened their confidence and competence in living on the land. By passing on their cultural ethics, the Iliamna Lake Yupiit have maintained spiritual relationships with the land and their ancestors, as they give gifts to the land and acknowledge their ancestors. This and other examples of reciprocity, such as the practice of returning parts of harvested fish to the water, illustrate the people's understanding that when the land is healthy, they experience good fortune; they will not only survive but thrive. Through my multiple visits and during the transcription of my interviews and my writing process, I came to understand more deeply how such practices, and the *telling and retelling of stories*

related to place names over many generations, have affirmed and enhanced the people's knowledge and subsistence capacities, in turn enriching their lives and their relationships with one another and with their homeland.

Places possessing more than one name such as Kokhanok Lake and Lookout Mountain, exemplify that the Iliamna Lake Yupiit understand those locations in various ways through their own eyes and from their own settlements. To best comprehend place names' meanings and significance, place name researchers must elicit peoples' understandings and feelings about places, information they convey through dialogue. Understanding is further enhanced by learning about places and cultural practices *on the land.* I would not have understood how the Iliamna Lake people perceive the landmarks and interact with them, such as offering to feed *Kass'aruayiit*, if I had not travelled on the lake with residents.

Historical events and conditions can influence place naming by, for example, acknowledging individuals who owned or used various sites, buildings, and other human made objects, as well as relatively recent activities. As I sought community members' voices to explore how residents have named and renamed places in English, their narratives revealed that contemporary place names reflect changes in Iliamna Lake residents' lifeways. Young people have named many places in English centered on their own experiences, much as Iliamna Lake Yupiit named places traditionally. For instance, Newhalen residents recognize the area around *Qikertalek* (Annie's Lake) as a good hunting ground but no longer use its Yup'ik name, whereas many residents understand *Peksussurvik* (Egg Island) as a place to hunt seagull eggs, by using an English translation of the Yup'ik name. Igiugig residents still harvest eggs on that island. These names act as mnemonic devices for sharing the landscape and local history through generations.

Throughout my field trips, Iliamna Lake Elders and I recorded several Yup'ik place names that the Yupiit modified, or Yupified Dena'ina names. The names referring to places on the bank of the Newhalen River and east side of present-day Kokhanok exemplify boundary areas the Dena'ina and Yupiit used for travelling, trading, and intermarriage. Yup'ik Elders remember that the origin of the historical settlement *Vach Dalek* is Dena'ina, although its meaning has been forgotten through time because the people did not borrow or share the context. Iliamna Lake Elders in the twenty-first century do not remember the origins of some Dena'ina and Yup'ik names for at least two reasons. First, their ancestors named these places or adopted or adapted the names of these places long ago, perhaps through intermarriage or sharing travel routes with others. Second, declining fluency in Dena'ina and Yup'ik has hindered Elders from passing down their knowledge in their mother tongues. Language is intricately embedded within culture, and both are interconnected with sense of place and reinforce physical and mental well-being (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015, 110). Language is a vital tool for the people to share knowledge of the landscape to enhance travel safely and to convey oral traditions that connect the people with the land. Weakening fluency could diminish knowledge of lifeways including hunting, fishing, and gathering, and could engender a sense of loss within and among the people. When I asked Kokhanok Elders about the meanings of Yup'ik place names, Kokhanok Elder Anesia Newyaka said:

> *Camek-am piqalaryaaqaat ava-i. Arenqiatuq old timer-aariucamta.*
>
> They used to call it something, but I cannot remember it. Too bad we no longer have elders. (Newyaka, 2016)

Many Elders spent several years away from home while attending school in Anchorage, Dillingham, Alberta (Canada), and in the continental United States (Iliamna Lake Place Names Workshop, 2018). They learned English and acquired other Western education at school, which helped them to find paid employment after high school graduation. During this time away from home, however, they missed opportunities to go hunting and trapping with their families, which is when older relatives historically passed down their cultural knowledge, including subsistence skills, Indigenous place names, and traditional trails. As I listened to their testimony, I was struck by the wealth of local knowledge that had been lost within one or two generations. I often heard Elders talking about their deceased relatives and familiar places. For instance, Kokhanok Elder Mary Nelson told me a story of the lake name *Cuukvalek* (place with pike) by describing a route from Kokhanok to the lake. She told of her parents showing her to fish *cuukvak* (northern pike, *Esox Lucius*) through the ice and how to dry them to prepare *segg'aruaq* (split and dried pike), and described the taste of it (Nelson, 2016). Nelson visualized her cultural landscape as she told these stories. However, people no longer travel from Kokhanok to *Cuukvalek* by dog team or on foot. These often emotion-laden stories about places and family brought the narrators' personal and oral histories to life. Even though Elders have forgotten many Dena'ina or Yup'ik place names, and/or their meanings, their memories remain rooted in places in the Iliamna Lake area.

Place names reflect Iliamna Lake people's lifeways, cultural ethics, and resiliency. The Elders often emphasized their connections to specific places by expressing their feelings for those places. Nelson's story of *Cuukvalek* exemplifies how she gained a sense of a place through her experience of annually following a well-used trail, applying traditional fishing and preservation techniques, and adhering to ethical practices learned from her parents at the same place each year. I recorded at least ten place names that relate to *cuukvak*, including *Cuukvalek* (place with pike), *Cuukvayagalek* (place with little pike), and *Cuukviit Uitaviat* (place where pike live). Naming many places *cuukvak* and Pike Lakes in the

region indicates that pike fishing has been an important part of the Iliamna Lake people's lifeways. Through their oral narratives and experiences of seasonal camping, Iliamna Lake Elders' geographic knowledge extends through space and time to their parents' and grandparents' origins, and how they lived off the land. Indigenous place names thus represent memory footprints of the Iliamna Lake people.

The residents no longer depend on trapping fur animals and maintaining dog teams, but many still harvest, share, and consume local fish, moose, caribou, birds, berries, and mushrooms. Local (subsistence) food contributes importantly to physical and mental health, and Elders have assisted their children and grandchildren in harvesting fish, meat, and plants properly. Regular and seasonal routes, place names, cultural ethics, diet, and family traditions interconnect through Iliamna Lake Yup'ik lifeways, as the people continue to move about the land and share their personal experiences with one another. The meanings of Indigenous and contemporary English place names and stories about these places act as mnemonic pegs for community residents, aiding in navigation and carrying on family stories. Sharing personal experiences and relating anecdotes and oral traditions with community members reinforces the people's relationships with their homeland and ancestors, reminding the people today to care for the land for future generations.

Using a community-based participatory approach, our project demonstrated that place names are not artifacts or objects, but rather living resources that community members continue to rely on in their daily lives. Place names continue to evolve as people name and rename places based on current usage. Telling and retelling stories is a ritual that affirms Iliamna Lake people's sense of place, and their confidence and competence in the geographic knowledge that allows them to thrive on their homeland and cherish and maintain it through practising their cultural ethics.

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Notes

1. The Pedro Bay Village Council has not participated in the project, despite some residents' interest in the Iliamna Lake place names project, because the council responded that there were no Yup'ik speakers living in Pedro Bay.
2. Orth (1967) and USGS (1957) list the name "Kakhonak" for its settlement, river, bay, and lake. In this article I use the English spelling "Kokhanok" to refer to these land features, which is the same as its local village council's name.
3. The 1906 Alaska Native Allotment Act provided a maximum of 160 acres of non-mineral land to Alaska Natives, to enable them to obtain legal title to their selected lands they used and occupied, and for protection of the lands. Section 18(a) of Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971 replaced the Alaska Native Allotment and more than ten thousand Alaska Native peoples have filed for the application (Case and Voluck 2012, 113, 121).

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Research Article

Social Considerations in Mine Closure: Exploring Policy and Practice in Nunavik, Quebec

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Abstract: Northern Canada has a long history of poorly remediated and outright abandoned mines. These sites have caused long-term environmental hazards, socio-economic disruptions, and threats to Indigenous communities across the North. Given the potential legacy effects of improper mine closure, best practice guidelines now suggest that mine closures address not only environmental remediation, but also include robust plans for mitigating social and economic impacts, and that companies engage early and consistently with impacted communities. This research seeks to understand how social and economic planning and community engagement for closure are governed in Nunavik, Quebec. Through semi-structured interviews with government and industry actors and an analysis of regional and provincial mining policy, this research demonstrates that mine closure regulations remain vague when describing how companies should involve impacted communities in mine closure planning, and governments largely neglect to regulate the social aspects of mine closure. This article discusses why an overreliance on impact assessment and overconfidence in closure regulations are creating risks for Nunavimmiut. Without regulatory change, future closures may continue to result in unemployment, social dislocation, costly abandoned sites, and continued distrust in the industry.

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