With or Without the Camera Running: the work of Inuit Filmmaking

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Abstract:

This article argues for the critical evaluation of indigenous media, art, and aesthetic practices within local trajectories of meaning-making. Drawing on ethnographic research in Arctic Canada with a notable Inuit video and film production company, Igloolik Isuma Productions, I emphasize the value of focusing on locally defined processes of filmic production and on relational bounties accrued outside the camera's field of vision. Indigenous media-making emerges as a collaborative, adaptive, intercultural, and improvisational practice, one akin to Inuit traditions of hunting, carving, garment-sewing, tool-making, and storytelling, and celebrated for its ability to foster unique environmental relationships, material practices, and perceptual orientations. Exploring the compound and relational workings of indigenous media invites critical reconsideration of the generative potentials it holds for the practitioner-inhabitants of indigenous communities, anthropologists, and mainstream audiences more broadly.

Introduction: The shoot

The inspiration for this piece came one cold spring afternoon in 2005 when I was at an open-air film-shoot at Siuraarjuk, an Inuit hunting camp located on the northwest coast of Baffin Island, in Canada's Eastern High Arctic. A young Inuit hunter was returning from the sea ice with a ringed seal carcass carefully tied with a bungy cord to the back of his snowmobile. He presented it to the camp elder. Filmmakers, cast, and crew from the neighbouring community of Igloolik, as well as cities in Canada and Europe, had convened that spring to record footage for a feature film, *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* (2005). Backed by $6.3 million dollars of Canadian and Danish funding, the film project was initiated by indigenous media collective Igloolik Isuma Productions (hereafter called Isuma) and, as part of the film's original scriptwriting team, I was on-set and commissioned by Isuma to write blog-pieces for their dedicated production website. As is the way of things with anthropological fieldwork, I fell into other roles as production assistant and an extra pair of hands on set, catering, carting equipment, costumes, clapperboards, and children to and from the set, and helping with costumes.

The seal was taken on the third day of the shoot. There had been no hunt planned that day. It was clear and sunny: perfect conditions for filming. Key scenes were scheduled and the timeline was tight. The entire crew was in the operations tent (that doubled as a dining hall) for the morning production meeting, with cast and extras dressed in fur costumes, all ready to begin filming. As the producers began outlining the day's plan,

the on-site cook interrupted with an announcement: the camp was low on meat. What he meant by meat was what Inuit call ‘country food’, like seal, walrus, and whale, real meat that keeps you warm when the temperature drops below -20°C, not imported packaged fillers like beef, pork or chicken. Numbers at the camp had swelled unexpectedly in the days preceding. Family members of the Inuit crew had made the trip, just to be part of the event. The tent stirred; news of low reserves met nervously. The directors exchanged a long look, and then in silent agreement surrendered the floor to the camp elder, hunter Leo Uttak who, speaking in Inuktitut, delivered instructions to all Iglulingmiut male actors and crew.[1] Siuraarjuk is an ancestral campsite located near a permanent polynya - an area of unfrozen sea within the pack ice – providing reliable access to marine mammals in wintertime. Cameras were put down, rifles picked up, and the nature of the shoot was transformed as the hunters set off to scout the polynya’s edge. A frozen caribou haunch and some walrus ribs materialised outside the elder’s tent, contributions from private family stashes I was told. Those not hunting waited with eyes to the horizon watching for hunters to return. It only when that first seal had been caught (followed by others) was the prospect of filming put back on the agenda. The carcasses were butchered, the meat eaten raw on set during the afternoon’s session, and then distributed to the rest of the camp members after filming was over.

This cycle of shooting game, shooting footage, and feasting on-and-off camera was to continue across the next nine days. Animals of the hunt served as vital resource and as cinematic props as Inuit notions of the bounty of the hunt and filmmaking's reward came together as one. (See figure 1) The complexity of meanings found in the taking of a ringed seal serves as a single manifestation of a wider cultural moment, one where filmmaking and hunting speak to different ontological registers, yet find creative synergy.

This article argues for the conceptual value of broadening understandings of indigenous media to incorporate locally grounded affective registers. Like leading indigenous media scholar Faye Ginsburg, who has herself written about Isuma and whose concept of 'embedded aesthetics' (1994a) I build upon here, my contention is that the formulation of indigenous media is multi-perspectival, and subject to alternating, cross-cultural visions of history, identity, technology, and output. My anthropological interest in more local ontologies and communities of practice derives from over a decade of fieldwork with Isuma and my associated research before and since with Inuit storytellers, artists, seamstresses, and media makers. This piece focuses on Isuma's efforts to redress the enduring effects of arctic colonialism through its appropriation of visual cinema, and its subversion and bypassing of associated modernist tropes. But it also speaks to wider relational ecologies of Inuit media making. My use of the term relational ecologies builds on the writings of

anthropologists Tim Ingold (2000) and Nurit Bird-David (1999) relating to personhood, ecological perceptions and what Bird-David terms ‘relational epistemologies’. They consider how meaning is created through emergent fields of relations between people, skilled practice, perception, and animate environments. Attention to this ecological interrelatedness, I argue, is crucial to understanding not just Isuma’s work, but also on the improvisational practices and expansive instances of reward that inspire indigenous artworks more generally.

Isuma’s media-making first began in 1985, in the fly-in Inuit settlement of Igloolik located on the eastern shores of the Northern Foxe Basin with a population today of about 1,700. [2] Isuma’s team has experimented with different media interfaces over the years, ranging from video-art, to HD digital filmmaking to internet-TV.[3] Its corpus of work has been analysed extensively from a range of scholarly perspectives in media studies, folklore, film studies, Canadian studies, art history, cultural geography, and anthropology, and was recently chosen to represent Canada at the 2019 Venice Biennale. As I discuss later, my own concerns lie not with reviewing the aesthetic or political evaluation of Isuma’s filmic productions, speaking to Isuma’s fit within western visual forms, or analyzing their reception by and effects on viewing audiences. Rather, I want to explore what their media-making practices mean for Inuit practitioners and their families, an analytic positioning that relies upon an intimate ethnographic understanding of the nuances and challenges of Inuit

family life over the short and long term, and an eye to a wider history of colonialism in the region. My central argument is that: in Igloolik, media-making has become integral to Inuit hunting and everyday life in ways that often bypass a dialogue with the global.

By calling attention to local trajectories of meaning-making, this work is informed by, and aligns itself with, established debate among indigenous media scholars in anthropology. Portable, hand-held video cameras first became available to indigenous peoples in communities like Igloolik during the early 1980s. Since then anthropologists have grown increasingly attentive to the ways in which new communications media, in various evolving formats, have successfully disrupted dominant western traditions of visual expression, highlighted tensions between cultural regimes of knowledge, and cleared spaces for uniquely indigenous modes of expression (Ginsburg 1991, 1994a, Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod and Larkin 2002, Wilson and Stewart 2008). Certainly, the power and popular appeal of indigenous media has been in its capacity to project 'defiant images' (Turner 1992) of indigenous forms of consciousness in national and transnational settings. And yet, what has also been of ongoing anthropological interest are the subtle workings-through of these same projects: the compound, conjunctive ways in which artists appropriate new media forms for individual, family, and community imperatives (Michaels 1987, Ginsburg 1994b, Turner 1991, Deger 2006). Attention to localized processes of cultural transformation, home-grown production practices, and

the complex creative forms they generate —which are to greater or lesser extent external to the western art tradition— is crucial, in that it enables critical reflection on broader epistemological questions of aesthetic appreciation across cultures, cultural collaborations, appropriations, improvisations, and new fields of vision (Morphy 1989, Ginsburg 1994a, 1999, Myers 2004). Such analyses usefully challenge and subvert expectations of indigenous art and aesthetics that otherwise prevail as part of the western tradition. And yet, a focus on the cultural particularities of media-making is not only about confronting epistemic assumptions that inhere in a non-indigenous culture of appreciation, it is also an appeal to understand conditions of indigenous production on its own terms.

In a social media exchange, occurring some five years after the film shoot at Siuraarjuk, co-producer of the film Zacharias Kunuk explained his approach to me. In Inuktitut, there is no single term covering the English word 'art', he typed, 'I always see it [filmmaking] as *sana*, it's my work'.[4] Inuktitut differs notably from the English language in that sentences are made of one long word with suffixes qualifying an initial verbal stem. *Sana*, then, which can be the root word for an *oeuvre* or a production, is not a term in itself, and only exists in relation to its qualifiers.[5] Kunuk's lesson was politely accommodating of my elementary Inuktitut, though still insistently making a point: Inuit art and media practice is often translated using the same root word, *sana*, translating roughly and broadly as 'work'. Art is work. Work is art.

This brief philosophical exchange set the terms through which I began to question cross-cultural understandings of Isuma's art, work, and indigenous media more generally. In what follows I expand on how I have come to understand Kunuk's broader point. To frame the article, I first consider critical interpretations of Isuma's cultural productions by metropolitan art and academic audiences. I then revisit Isuma's genesis, complicating received Euro-American ideas of authorship, creative genius, and indigeneity by highlighting the collaborative and intercultural roots of Isuma as a creative enterprise, specifically its placement in the recent history of emancipatory experimental media emerging in disparate yet coexisting 'media worlds' (Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod and Larkin 2002) of Igloolik and New York City in the late 1960s and 1970s. The three ensuing sections speak to, what I refer to as, the 'relational bounties' of Isuma's filmmaking activity. These are the social, environmental, material, affective, and ancestral networks of relationships variably forged through distributive media-making. First, I explain how, during many of Isuma's film-shoots, the process (ie. the re-occupation of ancestral territories and rejuvenation of pre-1960s Inuit lifeways) can often take precedence over the final circulated product (the programs and films). I draw parallels between video art, in its early form, and aesthetic values or practices recognised by Inuit as inherent to their culture – thereby critically reflecting upon claims made by media scholars about a revolution in new communication technology. Second, I place Isuma's work within an array

of Inuit art forms that allow people to act upon their material world, continuously bringing it into being. Third, I address the ancestral histories rejuvenated in Isuma's media-making work. Finally, the paper concludes by considering the 'feedback' or local impacts of Isuma's transmedia work, presenting it as a currency of everyday creative engagement and exchange, both concrete and conceptual, and a means through which Inuit ensure the continuance of ancestral lifeways in the face of rapidly changing social and physical environments.

The global screen

When asked about when Isuma first made its mark in the world of visual culture, the company's producers point to the 1990s. While artistic experimentation and collaborations began earlier, this decade saw the circulation of Isuma's earliest set of programmes (the *Qaggiq* trilogy and the 13-part *Nunavut Series*). Screened at metropolitan art galleries, film festivals, and on television networks, these were historical re-enactments of Inuit camp-life from the 1940s[6]. The recordings captivated audiences, blurring recognized categories of documentary and drama and prompting academic discussion and debate regarding, variously: anthropology's own representational tradition (Ginsburg 1991, Weiner et al 1997), primitivist archetypes about the Inuit portrayed in film (e.g. Rony 1996); Inuit historical consciousness and storytelling (e.g. Cache Collective 2008, Evans 2008, Santo 2004); and, established ethnographic experiments in

collaboration, cinema verité, authorship, and reflexivity (Ginsburg 1994a, 1994b, 1995b, 1997). Isuma's early video productions, real-time scenes of people travelling across vast, snowy landscapes, hunting game and relaxing with family inside sodhouses, tents, and igloos were celebrated for their ability to offer unique 'cultural sensoriums'; the air, the space, the cold, the hunted animals, the warmth of the dwelling, and the scenes of feasting caught on film were noted for their ability to evoke rich 'tactile epistemologies' and multi-sensual memory and meaning-making processes for intercultural cinema audiences (Marks 2000:216).

The winter of 1997 – my first extended phase of fieldwork in Igloolik – coincided with the year when Isuma co-founder, Paul Apak Angilirq, wrote the original screenplay that would later become *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner* (2000), arguably one of the most celebrated indigenous films of the past quarter century. At the time, Isuma was already spearheading what would soon become a vocal, global indigenous media movement (Ginsburg 1991, 1994, 1997). And yet, that winter, the Isuma office, a two-storey house on the beach road in town, was a peaceful, contemplative space with Apak Angilirq fastidiously documenting his elders' tales. Atanarjuat's story is one that is age-old and oft-told, in the best sense: a heartrending and pointed tale of love, jealousy, and murder set in the pre-contact (pre-1820s) period. At his desk, with a window-view onto the grocery store and then the great expanse of sea-ice beyond, Apak Angilirq combined eight different collected versions of the

story into a unified Inuktitut film-script. Tragically, Apak Angilirq was diagnosed that year with aggressive cancer and did not outlive the writing project by many months. Following his death, in the spring of 1998, fellow Isuma producers took over the task of converting his film-script into screenplay and then film production.

Released 2000, *Atanarjuat; The Fast Runner*, marked a departure from Isuma's earlier small-scale video-art projects. It employed sixty people and deployed high-definition digital technology. And, as the first full-length feature film to be produced by Inuit in the Inuktitut language, it brought more than $1.5 million into Igloolik's local economy. Garnering critical acclaim worldwide *Atanarjuat* won prestigious awards, the Camera d'Or for Best First Feature Film at the 2001 Cannes International Film Festival among them. Academic researchers celebrated the film, variously describing it as a colonial allegory (Huhndorf 2003), a telling example of Inuit culture 'talking back' (Bessire 2003) and an achievement in 'indigenous advocacy' (Ginsburg 2003). A research monograph was published that tracked the film's genesis (Evans 2010). Mainstream media film critics of the period pronounced *Atanarjuat* as a 'masterpiece' (Scott 2002), 'Shakespeare on Ice' (Andre 2002), of literary magnitude equal to that of epic Greek myths (Said 2002a) or to Tolkien (Said 2002b). *Atanarjuat* 'feeds a hunger', one critic wrote, that 'Hollywood's modern myths too often leave unsatisfied' (Said 2002b: 22).

This proclaimed yearning on the part of western audiences for an indigenous storytelling tradition outside of Hollywood was recognized and deployed by Isuma's producers to strategically promote their work globally (Ginsburg 2003, Krupat 2007, Bessire 2008) and secure economic backing for new transmedia projects, among them documentaries, feature films, educational websites, an indigenous internet television platform (www.isuma.tv), and a digital networking media project (Santo 2008). The list of Isuma's productions remain extensive and still growing, as the company, its associated women's video collective, Arnait Productions, and Isuma's incarnation Kinguliit Productions (translated as 'those who came after') continue to experiment with the medium. Politicized documentary 'interventions', such *My Father's Land* (2014) airing local concerns about mining development, join decidedly Inuit appropriations of western cinematic genres, such as Zacharias Kunuk's 2016 Inuktitut cowboy western *Maliglutit (Searchers)*, and Arnait's children's film *Tia and Piujuq (2018)*. These works are just a few.

Time has passed since the immediate excitement of the red-carpet period of Atanarjuat and its afterglow. In light of this growing inventory of Isuma's work, it seems timely now to direct attention away from productions on screen and their reception, and instead offer a more fine-grained, situated ethnographic account of the company's beginnings, focussing on the distinctive aesthetics practices cultivated in the company's host community. Isuma's story thus emerges as one not of concrete

accomplishments, but of becomings, or possibilities—generative moments and affective states emerging organically in the fields of relations fostered between community members, audiences, physical environments, and even ancestral pasts.

Hunting with a camera

In the rest of this piece I focus on media-making's meaning as expressed by Isuma producers, actors, crew, families and community members. I begin with the genesis of Igloolik Isuma Productions. This origin story, based on founders anthropological life history accounts, circumvents conventional western modes of art appreciation, specifically those foregrounding the creative genious of an individual artist or cultural authenticity. Like the foundational accounts of indigenous media initiatives in other regions of the world (cf. Turner 1991, Michaels 1994, Ginsburg 1995a) Isuma's historical beginnings are presented here as a collective response to colonialism and to the dominant visual tropes of western cinema. Crucial to this indigenous media history is non-Indigenous contribution, as is seen in native New Yorker Norman Cohn's pivotal role in Isuma's early creative collaborations. Four interconnected biographies drawn from my 1997-2005 interviews with Isuma's four founding members demonstrate how a unique form of intercultural media-making was cultivated in Igloolik, one rightly characterized as indigenous, and one

whose cinematic frames and ecologies of practice resisted western aesthetic and cultural categorizations.

Stories about Isuma most often feature founder Zacharias Kunuk, Isuma's principal spokesperson and now the only surviving Iglulingmiut founder. Kunuk was born in 1957 and grew up in Inuit hunting camps until he was eight; he was raised, he once relayed pointedly to me, to 'pay attention to things'. For Inuit, learning to hunt was a lifetime apprenticeship that involved not just acquiring understanding of animal behaviour, geographical features, changing environmental patterns, and hunting strategies, but also developing a finely attuned perceptual orientation. Anthropologist Jean Briggs write about how Inuit children were socialized to see the world in a relational manner, to carefully study the rhythms of their physical environment and adjust their own activities to them. The world is presented to children as never fixed or taken for granted, but instead, as, 'potentially knowable and usable from moment to moment'. People, animals, objects, and forces that make up the world emerge 'in terms of multiple and shifting qualities and uses' (Briggs 1991:262). Yet in 1966 Kunuk's world changed drastically when government agents arrived unexpectedly at his camp, commissioned to take him to Federal Day School in Igloolik (then a population of 500 people). This was a watershed moment, one that he repeatedly described as his 'worst day' (Kunuk 2002).

Kunuk's expressions of individual and cultural loss are those of a generation of young Inuit taken from their camps and forced to forfeit training in the experiential states and expressive forms fundamental to their ancestor's nomadic lives. Among them was fellow co-founder, Paul Apak Angilirq, who was sent to a Catholic residential school in Chesterfield Inlet, around 750 kilometres distant from his home, and was subject to even more punitive assimilation policies. In conversation one afternoon, he declared 'I never had a chance to really see myself, to really see who I am' (Apak Angilirq in Wachowich 2002:19). It was the existential anguish of residential school, and a need to help feed his extended family, that drove Apak Angilirq to quit school at age 15 and reclaim his hunting apprenticeship foregone.[7] In 1971, commercial television arrived in the Canadian Arctic and in 1982 the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) was established with a mandate to produce Inuit programming (Roth 2005). A camera joined Apak Angilirq's rifle as tools of trade. A 1978-1981, federally-funded, video-access and training program, the Inukshuk Project (Valaskakis 1982) provided him with his first kit and a wage to financially subsidise his hunting trips.

Accompanying Apak Angilirq on many of these hunting trips was Zacharias Kunuk. Kunuk had also left school as a young teen but had first turned to soapstone carving, a tourist art imported to the arctic in the late 1950s, for cash income. His signature pieces were of shamanic scenes, a theme marketable to southern buyers but also one he said that allowed him

to explore for himself an ancestral past and religious belief system rarely mentioned anymore in this devotedly Christian settlement.[8] In 1981 Kunuk swapped media, using income earned from selling two carvings to a Montreal gallery to buy a video camera. IBC's satellite office opened in Igloolik soon after, and both Kunuk and Apak Angilirq were hired full-time as videographers to film community events and hunts. Known locally as *ajjiliuriji*, people who make copies of things, they simultaneously delivered game to hungry family and friends, and footage to IBC, while making their own experimental films on the side.[9]

Isuma's oldest co-founder, Pauloosie Qulitalik was hired with IBC around this time, and began working with both men and further mentoring them in land skills. Qulitalik had been 26 years old in the mid-1960s, when a head injury put him in a Montreal hospital. He returned north two years later, at the height of authoritarian Canadian government policies to settle the Inuit, and found his wife and children moved to a settlement house and himself without the means to take them home. In 2005, almost forty years later, and he still recounted this abrupt and forced abandonment of his hunting life in ardent and heartfelt terms; it was like the break-up of a passionate relationship, he told me. The settlement felt claustrophobic. He longed for the sights, sounds and smells of his youth. Pointing to the expanse of sea ice just beyond the steps of the Isuma building where we were holding our interview, he described how his 'heart and mind' were always still 'out there'.[10]

It was 1985 when Qulitalik, Kunuk, and Apak met Norman Cohn, Isuma's fourth founder. Cohn, a freelance video artist at the time, had been hired that spring to run an 'alternative documentary course' in the territorial administrative centre, Iqaluit (a two-hour flight southeast). Cohn had made his name in US metropolitan video-art circles of the 1960s-1970s, and was renowned for his series of experimental installations, real-time close-ups of moving faces of individuals, what he termed 'subjective video portraitures'. These installations invited viewing audiences to engage in long periods of unbroken staring at an individual. Reflecting back on the revelatory and transformative element of this intersubjective process, he explained, 'You never stare at a person for such a long amount of time. Video offers up the chance to do something, perceptually, that in life you never do'[11]. The intimate observation or self-observation (as Cohn considered the subjects themselves to be the principal audience) made possible through the intervention of the camera, was seen to foster the conditions for a heightened awareness of the subjectivity of others and of the self. Historians of video art have described how the early artistic appeal of the medium was in ability to open up 'the rich and complex territory between perception and participation, between the actual and the virtual, between the moving and the static, between technology and art' (Meigh-Andrews 2006: 284). Cohn recounts how he was initially drawn to video for its capacity to offer viewers new ways of perceiving the social and physical world not appreciable to the naked (and impatient) eye.

Kunuk travelled from Igloolik to Iqaluit in the spring of 1985 to attend Cohn's workshop. In separate discussions, both men recalled the exhilaration felt upon first recognising aesthetic parallels in the experimental video art of the other. Cohn described how the concentrated, patient forms of observation that he had developed though his video art practice were already well-honed among Iglulingmiut hunters, and how the circumvention of modernist cinematic frames was a given. Kunuk invited Cohn to Igloolik when the workshop was done and the week-long visit planned extended into months of experimentation with video in the arctic spring light. Kunuk, Apak Angilirq, and Qulitalik subsequently resigned from IBC, claiming creative malaise as their main motive, a disaffection that matched Cohn's own with what he saw as an increasingly self-referential New York video art scene. Video art in the early 1980s for all men had lost the creative freedom and emancipatory element that had initially inspired them. If for Cohn, metropolitan video art had migrated too far into the realm of the aesthetic, for Kunuk and Apak Angilirq it had migrated too far into that of the bureaucratic, with directives increasingly coming from an Ottawa. Cohn moved to Igloolik with his family, learned Inuktitut, was apprenticed in land skills, and helped found the company. They chose the Inuktitut term, Isuma, (broadly translated as 'wisdom' or 'thinking') to represent their learned practice.

Isuma's subsequent steady success with sourcing and securing external arts council funding garnered income for salaries, camera equipment, and the building of a two-storey building with production studios, and editing rooms. Grants allowed for the purchasing of hunting gear, fuel, and food required for extended (video) hunting excursions on the land. These excursions offered local Inuit and their families —be they full-time hunters, students, clerical workers, truck drivers, the unemployed, or video/film producers—the chance to travel and hunt in a manner comparable to that of their ancestors, and to dwell for extended periods with their families in hunting and fishing camps abandoned in the 1960s. Enabling such a return to the land (for days, weeks or even longer) is no small feat in a place with chronic unemployment where equipping a hunter (with a snowmobile, sled, boat, outboard motor, rifles, ammunition, and camping gear) can quite easily cost more than what an Igloolik schoolteacher would make in a year. The attendant processes of re/learning land skills and rejuvenating environmental relationships once forsaken were formative. One Isuma couple and their six children, inspired by these film-camps, moved from the settlement permanently to re-inhabit one of the mother's childhood hunting camps, Kapuivik, several hours from Igloolik, where they stayed for twelve years.

With or without the camera running

This regeneration of Inuit hunting skills and ontologies stimulated new creative beginnings. Isuma producers, cast and crew have often described to me how, when filming at once-abandoned hunting camps over the years —sometimes the birth and burial sites of their ancestors—an artistic improvisation can come to spontaneously unfold, one that incorporates the camera's framing of events, but that also occurs in a manner inherently familiar to Inuit hunting lifeways. Producers, actors and crew at these camps hunt for seals, walrus, caribou, polar bear, and migratory birds. They fish for char and gather birds' eggs, berries, lichen, and arctic cotton. They butcher meat, fabricate tools, and construct shelters from snow, ice skin, sod, and stone. They process and sew animal skins for garments; they tend to their children; they eat their catches; and they rest. In Isuma's historical programmes, cast and crew are tasked with wearing traditional dress, speaking in 'old-fashioned' Inuktitut and re-enacting more or less loosely scripted past lives for the camera. But, as is oft-recounted, a functional, spontaneous and resourceful orientation frequently takes hold, one that variably incorporates all members of Isuma's camps as the act of filming becomes incorporated into the day-to-day round of work, rather than the other way around. Tasks prescribe timings, rhythms, and tempos of action and dialogue included in the recordings. The presence of the video camera maintains historical time frames depicted. It invites social relationships and action that unfold in their own unique ways as days pass. Yet, in the process of working and living together, the camera's frame can become largely disregarded and any settled sense of temporality as

understood in chronological terms can collapse. Action instead becomes attuned to cyclical environmental rhythms, material and multi-sensorial aspects of tasks at hand, and relationships between people as they engage in what Ingold refers to more broadly as ‘processes of dwelling’ in the landscape (2000: 189-208). And in the creative moments that unfold, ancestral pasts, contemporary lives, and indefinite futures can come together, and the boundaries between virtual and real blurred. Sometimes the camera is running; sometimes it isn’t.

This apparent softening of the technological imperative is a different take on video and filmic technology than those of 1960s media visionaries writing in the pioneering days of metropolitan video art. Portable video technology was celebrated then for its capacity to provide an accessible, reproducible, and democratic medium, one that promised to revolutionize television broadcasting industries and empower marginalized groups (Meigh-Andrews 2006). Video cameras were envisioned as inexpensive, portable, and non-intrusive technologies: offering the possibilities of changing consciousness and making art from the most mundane and repetitive elements of everyday life. But such revolutionary claims by early video activists that, ‘the cathode ray tube will replace the canvas’ (Paik 1974: n.p.) did not carry the same rhetorical force in the Canadian North, where canvas-based, ‘high art’ has no great cultural tradition, and art is democratized and part of the everyday.

Indeed, video cameras were enthusiastically adopted in Igloolik but they were received as the latest in a long line of tools (both native and imported to the region) through which people bring their world into being, not unlike the hunting tools, rifles, needles, knives, pencils, carving tools, tape recorders or still cameras before them. In other word, the democratic and accessible nature of this representational medium was not considered revolutionary, but instead fulfilled expectations of creative experimentation that were already well established for Inuit. The meditative act of working and reworking elements of one's immediate surroundings, and of drawing out certain dimensions of everyday experience, be they concrete or conceptual, has always been integral to Inuit lifestyles, and involves not just self-declared artists. Media-making is construed as akin to hunting, garment-making, tool-making, carving, and so on: it is creative, it draws on ancestral knowledge, but it is also expressed using the root word *sana*, as a form of work.

This privileging of process over product as delivered through the camera is a different take on Isuma's work from that of scholars who have usefully marked the potential of this company's appropriation of filmmaking techniques for reinvigorating Inuit storytelling traditions (Evans 2010) and providing an emergent databank of stored knowledge for future generations (Cache Collective 2008). This seeming indifference to the power of the camera or to the finished filmic product by those involved in the immediacy of filmmaking seems curious at first glance, for it is

Isuma's approbation from mainstream audiences and, accordingly, funding from outside agencies that enable these gatherings to happen in the first place (Ginsburg 2003, Santo 2008). Creating cultural resources and publicly circulating healthy images of Inuit occupying of traditional territories, poised and confident in their land skills fosters community pride and draws in external revenue to finance further excursions. In the current political climate—where Inuit face publicized threats to their sovereignty by, among others, animal rights groups, extractive industries, and nation states—the currency held in healthy broadcast images of a better Inuit life, as lived on the land, is not to be underestimated.

Yet, just as Cohn's, early video portraitures were aimed first and foremost at the subjects themselves as primary audience, so to must Isuma's productions be understood as attending first to more personal or existential needs of those involved in their making. It is true that for many, creative potential might lie in the end products, where novelty, beauty or usefulness is judged by the artefact made or left behind. Yet equally so, such value and the appeal can be in the processes or the performances. These performances can, of course, be seen to exist as entities bounded by the cinematic scene or 'take', but they are also processual: to borrow Ingold's term, they *occur* (2011). Programmes and productions thrown up by these improvisations, rightfully acknowledged and lovingly preserved by western art/museum collectors, and scholars, can become secondary to

people whose more immediate concerns and needs are registered on different indexes.

The essence of this reconfiguration of process and output is captured in the reflections of Jayson Kunnuk, a sound-artist from Igloolik (and Zach Kunuk's nephew) who was part of the 2005 Siuraarjuk seal hunt, the story of which began this piece. Kunnuk described his work ferrying equipment and people by skidoo to and from the video camps during the 2005 production of *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*. Twenty-nine at the time, he emphasized upon recollection the fulfillment he had gained not so much from reaching his destinations, or wages earned, but from the journeys themselves: the terrain traveled, skills honed, weather experienced, animals sighted, heard, tracked and/or hunted along the way, and the sense of accomplishment and pride he felt bringing fresh meat to his grandfather to eat and sealskins for his mother to process and sew[12] (See figure 2). For Kunnuk, these journeys encapsulated the extensive form, function, and bounty of Isuma's work. Filmmaking is the hunt as the hunt is filmmaking.

Relational bounties and immanent possibilities

Recognizing and appreciating these fleeting, subjectively experienced moments of reward requires understanding materials as shifting and emergent within more expansive fields of relations. In the

nomadic past, Inuit ancestors fashioned for themselves shelters, tools, clothing, sleds, fuel, food, toys or animistic amulets using just skin, bone, stone, ice, and snow. Families travelled by sled, boat, and foot and carried little with them, making tools as and when materials presented themselves and as and when needed. The innovative shapes that a carcass, a stone, ice, or snow took on was said to emerge not only from the material itself but also from its immediate relationship with the maker in a wider relational ecology. Antlers became sleds; stones became knives; skins became clothes, tents, or bedding; fish became sled runners. As expressed to me in different ways during my time in Inuit communities: everything (and every person too) is considered to have an immanent potential for growth, transformation and renewal.

In the past the *knowledge* of how to fabricate tools from the physical environment was known to be of greater value than the actual *possession* of these tools. Travelling hunters will today still come upon abandoned campsites with long histories of occupation, littered with everyday objects, carefully designed tools and carvings left there through the ages for the next occupants to use. Many Inuit homes, to this day, remain surprisingly minimalist in their decor. People may lend, share, or give away upon demand their most precious of items, which might then circulate through different households as they are loaned, shared, returned, or given away again. The material environment is thus not always made up not of objects to be held, stored, displayed, carried or acted upon. Things

may not necessarily exist to accumulate and delight in. Materials are transient. They happen. They occur. They find meaning in their fields of relations. Objects or things thus belong to people's stories, not to their inventories or systems of classification. They are considered verbs, not nouns.

In such material complexes, valuations of art and aesthetics can be reckoned relationally. Thus, an analogue or digital production's acclaim may be considered secondary to the experiential value of its making. Its meaning emerges in the meditative interface between makers and their environments, and in the possibilities this invites. Such interfaces can be enduring, or more ephemeral. Indeed, the swiftness with which they can change became apparent to me on the morning of 28 April 2005 when, at the height of the filming of *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* at Siuraarjuk, the announcement of a suicide of a young man in Igloolik provoked an immediate emptying of the camp and a cavalcade of skidoos headed back across the sea ice to Igloolik. Suicides are a far too common occurrence in the Canadian Arctic. This death was as desperately tragic as all the rest. The unplanned break in production required pay-checks be immediately distributed to Iglulingmiut cast and crew upon their arrival in town for the burial. By the close of the day, the two multi-purpose shops in Igloolik were emptied of their snowmobile stocks and, that evening, the lead female actor, Leah Angutimarik, was seen riding around the settlement on her new machine, with members of her family taking turns balancing on the back or

driving. All-terrain vehicles, tents, rifles, and other hunting gear, toys, clothing, and groceries were purchased that day, and Igloolik's only cash machine was emptied of bills, I was told, as cast and crew shared their wages with kin, or drowned their sorrow with loved ones of the deceased. Travelling back across the ice to Siuraarjuk several days later to continue the shoot, many had no more in their bank accounts than when they had first left for filming.

Such spontaneous galvanisation of sharing obligations are detailed in the ethnographic record and make sense if we think of objects in terms of their dynamic use values. In Igloolik, the more uses, wear and handling one brings to the objects in one's world, the more skilled and adaptive one reveals oneself to be. Plywood from sea-lift deliveries is quickly transformed into shacks on the land, dog-houses, make-shift covers for snowmobile engines, or elaborate little boxes built on the backs of sleds to protect passengers from the cold. Peanut butter can become engine grease for a failing outboard motor during a boating trip. A glass top to a coffee table mysteriously disappears from a woman's house, only to reappear as the windscreen on her husband's boat. Seal, wolf, polar bear, and caribou furs are converted into clothing and mattresses for camping. Dog fur is used for parka trim or mittens. Women process raw animals hides and convert them into elaborately ornamented skin garments, take them apart, use the same skins to sew new ones that look slightly different, and later, if the fur remains pliable and thick, they then take them apart and start again

(Wachowich 2014). Fur comes in different forms and has multiple potential uses. With that in mind, one friend from neighbouring Mittimatalik memorably wrote to me in an email in 1999 punctuated with an emoticon wink, ‘My grandma has been eyeing my dog lately, waiting for her to die’.

Objects in this process-oriented aesthetic exist in a sphere of immanent possibility; in other words, they have no single predetermined placement or form. In a changeable arctic physical environment, resourcefulness can be a survival skill. If a hunter finds himself caught on the land with a punctured boat, a broken-down snowmobile, damaged sled, or a hole in his parka, an abandoned soup can, a plastic wrapper, a chunk of Styrofoam, rubber boots, duct-tape, or old shoe-laces take on new meaning (cf Bates 2007). ‘Garbage is our lifeline’, my dog-owner friend whose email I quoted from above once told me. Such creative improvisations can be mischievous and wryly comic too. The silver coloured silk designer neck-tie bought in 2001 by Zacharias Kunuk to attend awards ceremonies for *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner* in Toronto and Cannes became transformed, the following year, into a belt, barely visible between the layers of his everyday white winter hunting parka, thus transforming a visible, non-functional item into a virtually invisible, but thoroughly functional one (See figure 3). Neck-ties become belts. Dogs become mittens. Government grants become cameras, hunting gear, filmic productions, consumer goods, and a hunter’s bounty. Materials have many

uses and all are ultimately disposable, until they come around again, returning in another form.

This relational approach to the physical and material world is found in its early Inuit art forms and in the Inuktitut language. A distinctive mark of pre-contact ivory carvings, Edmund Carpenter wrote, is that each ‘lacks a single, favored point of view, hence, a base. Indeed, they aren’t intended to be set in place and viewed, but rather to be worn or handled, turned this way and that’ (1973:132). They are meant to be experienced, as Laura Marks similarly argued for intercultural cinema, ‘haptically’ (2000). Carpenter describes a trader who, in an effort to display carvings as conventional works of art filed each piece on the bottom ‘to make it stand up, but alas he also made [the pieces] stationary, something the carver never intended’ (ibid). Analogously, in 1998, Inuktitut language instructors Alexina Kublu and Mick Mallon had our class of ten adult learners at Nunavut Arctic College’s Iqaluit campus memorize word lists of the elaborate Inuktitut terms for ‘over there’ and for types of movement on the near or distant horizon. Inuktitut is a hunting language. For hunters, the instructors taught us, the animal exists only in its movement, until it is shot, when it then becomes food, clothing, tools. With Isuma’s filmic work, the action is in motion; and then like an animal that has been shot, it becomes an image, a by-product of the hunt, one that can be set upon a course anew, a course among many.

The emphasis on immanent potentials rather than static forms allows Isuma's productions to fit within stories of use rather than a typology of essence. Like traditional ivory carvings mentioned above, their works are edited to fit western frames of art appreciation, but their meaning-making processes continue to defy such fixedness. Two examples of storytelling from Isuma's intercultural roots in the United States and Igloolik explain how Isuma's works are set in motion. First, before helping found Isuma, Norman Cohn had made his name through a series of video installations, the most notable of which exhibited at the 1970 White House Conference on Children in Washington, D.C. He described how this work, and those subsequent offered audiences the chance to witness real-time 'days in the life' of individual members of a common community—a school, hospital or old age home in a US town or city. People went about their everyday activities with the camera in close proximity. When made into an installation, these real-time videos were presented on a timeless loop, with no beginning or end. My second example of comes from my 1997 conversations with Paul Apak Anglirq. Much like the improvisational storytelling tradition from which it evolves, the plot lines of many of Isuma's productions are not rigidly pre-ordained but instead creatively altered in the immediacy of the moment. Apak Angilirq explained to me how he had heard, recorded, and cobbled together nine different versions of the story of Atanarjuat to write his script. His own storyline was not considered inauthentic or un-true by Isuma cast and crew, or by contributing elders themselves familiar with other versions. The circulated

film—with its ending of exile and forgiveness chosen over other versions that stressed murder and revenge— became just one of many versions still told by Igloolik storytellers. The story, as Cruikshank (1998) argues for oral histories more generally, continues to exist in its various and layered tellings. Moreover, as *Atanarjuat*'s film legacy and Isuma's success proves, digital media's capacity for endless reproduction allows room for constant renovation, reconfiguration, and renewal.

The past, the present, and peoples' incarnations

Recognizing material and storytelling practices as multidimensional and relational is fundamental to understanding Inuit notions of productive work and the conviction many hold that all beings, humans included, are transient in form (see Briggs 1991) This perceptual orientation becomes evidently clear at Isuma's land-based hunting camps where ancestors, relationships and histories are given new life in the present through adherence on set to the Inuit naming system.

In Inuit society, names are passed through the generations as individuals are named after recently deceased relatives or friends. Community members and are said to share characteristics, indeed to share souls, with the person whose name they have been given. From early childhood, Inuit children are told of the personalities and skills of the person who previously held their name and are treated accordingly. In many ways, children are said to become their namesake all over again, and

not just the one preceding person but also all those, as Iglulingmiut shaman Aua explained in 1929, ‘who in the far distant past once bore the same name’ (Aua in Rasmussen 1929:59). Those who share names are seen to have a ‘source of life’ in common (Aua Rasmussen 1929:58). Names are gender neutral; and socially defined kin relationships and attendant reciprocal obligations are inherited alongside names. An old man I came to know in Mittimatalik in 1991, for example, referred to his beloved toddler grandson named after his deceased wife as ‘my wife’. The man would bring this boy special food items that his wife used to favour. He reminded the boy of shared memories and jokes between them. As the toddler matured, he learned to reciprocate in kind. Namesake inheritances can also manifest themselves physically, taking the form of a distinctive gaits, facial expressions or nervous habits. A six-year-old boy who I knew in Igloolik in 1997 was born with a circular scar on his abdomen: a memento, I was told, of the gunshot wound from the hunting accident that had killed his namesake.

Environmental knowledge acquired during previous incarnations is brought back into circulation through ones’ namesakes. Igloolik historian and linguist Alexina Kublu wrote of an experience her sister, Attagutaaluk (also known by her Christian name, Michelline Ammaq), had in 1993 during an Isuma film shoot. While occupying an ancestral camp called Qaqqalik and scoping for an elevated site to shoot panoramic landscapes, Attagutaaluk and her young daughter Qunngaatalluriktuq (Wilma) led

Zacharias Kunuk to a prominent boulder with ancestral footholds worn into it. The rock had been used as a lookout point for centuries. Kunuk and Qunngaatalluriktuq had never visited this site before, but Attagutaaluk had been there as a child when, too small to climb it herself, she had watched her older sister clamber up using well-worn footholds. More than thirty years later and returning this second time, she and Kunuk were struggling to think of a way to climb it when little Qunngaatalluriktuq tugged at her mother impatiently, 'I already showed you how to (climb) when I was still yet big'. She then proceeded to instruct the two adults where to put each foot (Kublu and Oosten 1999:72). Attagutaaluk had named this young girl after her older sister, Qunngaatalluriktuq, who died in an accident in the 1970s. The new Qunngaatalluriktuq 'remembered', from her previous incarnation, how to climb the boulder. She had done it before.

While on set during Isuma's less scripted productions, Inuit actors are encouraged to use their Inuktitut names and are treated as the people who previously held their names. Qunngaatalluriktuq's siblings, who on the streets of Igloolik are known as Bonnie and Isa, become their Inuktitut selves on set: Uvivinik and Arnainnuk respectively. Three examples from Isuma shoots illustrate this 'collective incarnation' (Guemple1994:121) of identities through naming. First, in a 1995 *Nunavut Series* episode called *Angiraq (Home)*, a boy, Tapaatiaq, not much more than four years old, enters the sodhouse, wailing. Tears running down his cheeks, he stumbles straight over to elder, Rachel Uyarasuk, who is seated on a sleeping

platform and cries: ‘I bumped my head’. The old woman stops tending her seal oil lamp and receives him with a heartfelt expression. She cuddles him, strokes his hair and tenderly comforts him (See figure 4). The little boy was named after the woman’s oldest son who died in 1986, when he was in his fifties. To Uyarasuk, this much adored little boy is her son all over again, on set and off.

A second example can be seen in *Nunavut Series* Episode 3, *Qamaq (Stone House).* Here a different grandmother pokes her head into a sealskin tent and reproaches a youngster for lazing around while others outside work. ‘Pikujak, go help the others. Try and be helpful’, she says. The namesake of the little boy, Pikujak, had previously been an Iglulingmiut woman who died in 1971. Pikujak was known as a generous and orderly person. ‘Her doors were always open to visitors and her home was always very, very tidy’, said Iglulingmiut colleague, Leah Aksaajuq Otak, who had been Pikujak’s neighbour in the 1960s. Yet another one of Pikujak’s namesakes recalled to me what she had been told: ‘She was a real neat freak’. By this grandmother’s gentle admonishment, caught on camera, the young boy is reminded to live like, and indeed to be, Pikujak.

A third and final example of ancestral histories brought to life through Isuma’s media work is found in the experience of Sarpinaq, Isuma producer Carol Kunnuk, who was named after her great great-grandmother, a woman who was a seasonal wife of the 1920s resident whaler-cum-trader George Washington Cleveland. In the spring 2005 filming of the *Journals*

of Knud Rasmussen, Sapirnaq was commissioned by Kunuk and Cohn to play her ancestor in scenes with Quebecois actor, Pierre Lebeau, hired to play Cleveland. Just a few minutes prior to the filming, Sarpinaq, dressed in a Klondike-style ball gown pulled on over top of her caribou-skin parka and trousers, nervously chatted with those of us around her about the challenges she faced having been set the task of playing 'herself', as she was more than 80 years previously. The characteristics Sarpinaq brought to this (re)enactment depended on her own unique embodiment of the name in the moment. This particular scene was eventually edited out of the final cut, yet the partly-staged, partly- improvised interaction between Sarpinaq and Lebeau still remains part of the collective memory of the film project. The preparations for it, the coaching Sarpinaq received from her elders, the footage and the ensuing social relationships are also now part of the wider historical conscious and Isuma's living legacy in Igloolik.

Tapaatiaq's, Pikujak's and Sarpinaq's experiences speak to the new (or renewed) perceptual orientations fostered by Isuma's media-making practices. Just how much each of the actors becomes their namesake is unknowable. But time, generally thought of in western modernist frameworks as both linear and progressive, shifts in orientation here and becomes cyclical. Many of the Isuma cast and crew would agree that—in the act of living amid the ruined sod-houses and dispersed graves of their ancestors—ancient histories and relationships (personal, familial, colonial) are re-experienced in the present. Constructive comparisons can, I would

argue, be drawn here, between this experiential shift and the magical, surreal, 'creative euphoria' that ethnographic filmmaker Jean Rouch describes upon entering into 'ciné-transes' while filming Songhay possession rituals in Africa in the 1950s (Rouch 2003). Rouch's improvisational filmmaking challenged cinematic realism through the creation of a 'cinema-vérité', an altered form of reality that came alive in the improvisational energy of the filmmaking act. Jennifer Deger's ethnography of Indigenous Australian Yolngu media-making describes a similar perceptual shift on the part of participants and audiences, described as 'media effects' or 'shimmering screens' (2006, see also Morphy 1989). This suggestion of a different experiential level, or order of truth, made possible by the camera is evident as well at Isuma's video and filmmaking camps where, little by little, the tempo of the hunting camp sets in. The lived durée of each moment fluctuates as activities are undertaken each in their own time. Time presses into the future, yet is also experienced as an active remembrance of the past, as storytelling takes hold. Key to this process is the fact that Isuma's cast and crew remember knowledge, skills, narrative histories as they go about their actions. As this improvisational approach to artistic practice is fostered, an emancipatory element of filmic practice emerges, as generations telescope or merge. The result is an experiential moment in which members of the camp collectively engage, a re/enactment and re-learning of skills that eludes distinctions between authentic (real) and staged events, and even between historical and contemporary Inuit ways. Crucially, none of the dimensions of this

improvisational approach and its extended notions of bounty are spelled out for non-Inuit audiences.

Conclusion: feedback

Ethnographic accounts from the Isuma sets and from community life demonstrate the ways in which indigenous media-making has become yet another medium through which Inuit bring their world into being. As with hunting, carving, skin sewing or storytelling, media work can be functional—and very often stunningly so. But it also has the capacity to merge past, present, and future existences. By inviting a form of meditative expression that captures Inuit social and environmental relationships for the camera, Isuma's cast and crew collectively and creatively transcend the routines of everyday settlement life and cultivate a state of being through which they experience hunting life-worlds in the manner of their ancestors. This epistemological shift—or time traveling—occurs even if the batteries go dead, the sim card fills, or the 'record' button is overlooked. Material by-products of these happenings in the form of footage is edited into television programs, short films and feature films for local consumption and export. Such exporting of healthy images of life on the land is essential, for just as this artistic collective was born of an intercultural meeting, so its images must escape the local context to be used as currency in global discussions of Inuit governance and further guarantee the flow of government and film industry financing into Igloolik's local economy.

Sustaining Inuit livelihoods is a vital project as Igloolik remains, by many measures, a colonial outpost wracked with social problems. In the clear light of day, moments of cultural pride accompany moments of despair, humiliation, and rightful indignation in the lives of inhabitants. Unemployment, poverty-induced substance abuse, acute depression and other ill effects of over-paternalistic social policies continue. The suicide rate in Nunavut is disproportionately high, with the vast majority of victims being young, Inuit and male. As the spontaneous emptying of Siuraarjuk showed—and as Arnaits gripping work, *Sol* (2014) on the shocking death of Isuma performer Solomon Tapaatiaq Uyarasuk (once the injured boy in the episode *Angiraq* who sought grandmotherly comfort) further bears witness to – violence and suicide has become a haunting backdrop to everyday life in the community. For these people, finding a way to survive and prosper in this contemporary world is essential. And making room for Inuit storylines that can challenge global discourses of indigeneity and the arctic remains a critical ethnographic task.

If indigenous media-making offers a re-envisioning of subjective self and society, can Isuma's creative expressions of a timeless past lead to a more productive and dignified present and future for people in Igloolik? Will feedback from successful artistic practice be that which inspires the next generation? Answers to these questions sometimes find positive expression in the most ordinary aspects of community life. Witness the

heightened liveliness in Igloolik when the Danish and Greenlandic actors and crew arrived in the spring of 2005 to film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* and the accompanying delight with which Inuit producers and actors promote Isuma, Kinguliit, and Arnait films among mainstream celebrities at international film festivals. Witness role-playing games of children staging their own versions of *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner* on settlement roads in Nunavut. Witness the pride with which the most recent productions are received locally, the media-making skills cultivated by Isuma's new home-grown intern producers, and the proliferation of short clips uploaded by emergent Inuit artists on video-sharing sites such as *IsumaTV*.

In conclusion, this piece began with a moment on a film set where the immediate and tangible fear of going hungry shifted agendas and hierarchies, as filmmaking became more than the simple procuring of a cinematic shot. Understanding this complicated, yet generative, relationship between aesthetic practice and Inuit ideologies of hunting calls for an anthropological line of inquiry that examines media-making within larger, shifting fields of social and environmental relations. Viewed in this light, footage remains a valuable material return for Isuma, but one that exists firmly alongside other outputs of the hunt: these include not just meat and skins but also environmental knowledge, skills, social relationships, histories, and memories intimate to the practitioners-inhabitants of Inuit communities and sometimes networked with media

worlds further afield. The importance of process over product was a foundational element of early experimentation in video art circles. This continues to be an Inuit value as new technological interfaces are explored. Media-making in Igloolik exists as a new form of subsistence hunting, a new form of work, with or without the camera running.

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Notes:

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[1] Inuktitut is the Nunavut Inuit language. Iglulingmiut translates as ‘people from Igloolik’.

[2] The settlement of Igloolik is spelled two ways using Roman orthography. I use the English spelling rather its Inuktitut/French alternative (Iglulik) in order to correspond with Isuma’s own self designation. Igloolik translates as ‘place with houses’.

[3] In 2011 Isuma’s film production company, Igloolik Isuma Productions went into receivership, reforming as Kinguliit Productions with offices in Montreal and Igloolik. Isuma's online television service, Isuma.tv continues to operate alongside Kinguliit Productions as does its affiliate Arnait Video Productions.

[4] Zacharias Kunuk, personal communication, 2010

[5] Examples of such terms would be sanajuq (he/she works), sanannguagaq (carving) or sanarulujarmik (odd jobs).

[6] Prior to the late 1960s, when the Canadian government implemented policies to move Inuit into settlements, families practiced a semi-nomadic lifestyle moving between seasonal hunting camps. Extended families are still associated with particular camps where the graves of many of their ancestors lie.

[7] Interview, Paul Apak Angilirq, 16 April, 1997.

[8] Interview, Zacharias Kunuk, 24 April, 1997)

[9] According to linguist Michèle Therrien, *ajjuliuriji* pertains to a reality without being exactly reality, and is often found in the word *ajjinnguaq*

(photo). The *–nnguaq* suffix means a miniature of, another dimension (personal communication, 21 June 2010).

[10] Interview, Pauloosie Qulitalik, 21 July, 2005.

[11] Interview, Norman Cohn 8 July, 2003.
[12] Interview, Jayson Kunnuk, 15 July, 2005.

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