

Report of 1986 and 1987 Inuit

Archaeological Field Schools

Presented to:

Ilivvik Inc.

By:

the Avataq Cultural Institute Inc.

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Table of Contents

	Page
Figures	ii
Appendices	iii
Summary	iv
Acknowledgments	vi
1.0 Introduction	1
2.0 Description of the Field Schools	3
2.1 Context and Orientations	3
2.2 Personnel	6
2.3 Training Activities	8
3.0 Field School Results	11
3.1 Archaeological Data	11
3.2 Training Development	15
3.3 Community Benefits	17
4.0 Discussion	19

Figures

		Page
Figure 1.	Location of Quaqtqa and Nunaingok	4
Figure 2.	Location of the JgEj-3 site, Quaqtqa	5
Figure 3.	Location of the JcDe-1 site, Nunaingok	7

Appendices

- Appendix 1 List of 1986 and 1987 Inuit Field School Personnel
- Appendix 2 Avataq Inuit Archaeological Field School, The JgEj-3 site, Quaqtq, Northern Quebec. Site Plan and Excavations, 1985 and 1986.
- Appendix 3 Plan of Inuit Archaeological Field School Excavations (1985 - 1987), the JgEj-3 site, Quaqtq
- Appendix 4 Plan of Inuit Archaeological Field School Excavations (1987), the JcDe-1 site, Nunaingok

Summary

The Avataq Cultural Institute conducted archaeological field schools for Inuit at Quaqtq in 1986 and 1987 and at Nunaingok, near Killinek Island, in 1987. The Quaqtq field schools were introductory in nature and centered on the salvage excavation of semi-subterranean dwellings in the JgEj-3 site. The Nunaingok course emphasized advanced training in the context of a long-term archaeological research and Inuit field school project at the multi-component JcDe-1 site. This first year of project activities at the latter site focused principally on the excavation of 3 historic Inuit sod dwellings and, secondarily, on the surface-collecting of eroding prehistoric lithics. In all, a total of 22 Inuit trainees from 8 communities participated in the field schools over a combined period of 15 weeks.

The approximately 15,000 lithic specimens recovered from the 469m² excavated at JgEj-3 indicate that the site was occupied by groups related to the initial phase of the Dorset culture. This collection, including 2,100 tools, now suggests the "in site" transition in Ungava of Dorset technology from the earlier Pre-Dorset culture during the 8th century B.C. The Nunaingok excavations, covering 125m², yielded a substantial amount of traditional Inuit cultural equipment essential to the preservation of local knowledge concerning past Inuit lifeways in Nunavik. Too, the roughly 5,000 lithic specimens surface - collected at JcDe-1 confirm some 3,000 - 3,500 years of continuous Inuit occupation of the site. More importantly, 5 of the trainees who successfully completed the field courses have expressed a strong interest in archaeology as a career orientation.

This high number of continuing students fulfills in large measure the primary objective of the archaeological training programme for Inuit implemented by Avataq in 1985.

Archaeological training activities will be continued at Nunaingok during 1988. This second field school at the site will involve the 5 successful trainees for a period of 5 weeks. In addition, 2 of these students have been selected for subsequent on-the-job training in analysis techniques and methods in the Avataq archaeology laboratory

Acknowledgments

We wish to express our gratitude to Mr. David Okpik, General Manager of Quaqtq, who acted as local site manager for the field schools conducted at the JgEj-3 site, and to Mr. Mark Annanack, Mayor of Kangiqsualujjuaq in 1987, for his kind assistance in the logistical preparation of the Nunaingok project. Too, our sincere thanks to Mr. Michel Noël, Director of the Direction régionale du Nouveau-Québec et service aux autochtones of the Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec, and to Mr. Charles Martijn, archaeologist with the ministry. Mr. Noël not only organized the filming of the Nunaingok project but, as well, participated in the excavations at the site. Mr. Martijn voluntarily assisted in both the 1986 Quaqtq and 1987 Nunaingok field schools. The Japanese research team collaborating in the Nunaingok project also volunteered their assistance in the 1987 Quaqtq field school. Special thanks are due to Mr. André Bergeron, of the Centre de conservation et de restauration du Québec, for his demonstrations of archaeological conservation techniques at Nunaingok.

Major funding for the field schools was provided by allocations from the Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec and by training grants from Iivviq Inc. and Employment and Immigration Canada. The Japanese research team, sponsored by a grant from the Ministry of Education of Japan, supported a portion of the Nunaingok project logistics costs.

The Avataq Cultural Institute gratefully acknowledges the contributions of these individuals and agencies to the 1986 and 1987 field school projects.

1.0 Introduction

The present report concerns the Inuit archaeological field schools conducted by the Avataq Cultural Institute in 1986 and 1987. These field schools, undertaken in collaboration with the Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec, represent the continuation of the training programme initiated by Avataq in 1985.

The impetus for this programme lies partly in the policy of the Government of Québec to transfer greater responsibility to the Northern Quebec Inuit for the management of archaeological resources in Nunavik. It also resides in the progressively increased awareness among the Inuit communities of the cultural heritage value of such resources. This awareness has generated a desire in the communities for archaeological projects of local interest and, hence, an appreciation of the need for the training of Inuit in archaeology.

The field schools were organized as a first priority in the archaeological programmes executed by Avataq over the past 2 years. During this period training courses were carried out at 2 archaeological sites: the JgEj-3 site in the Municipality of Quaqaq (1986 and 1987) and the JcDe-1 site at Nunaingok (1987), on the Quebec mainland near Killinek Island. These courses extended over a combined total of 15 weeks and involved 22 Inuit trainees from 8 villages.

Several factors contributed to the selection of the 2 sites as field schools. Firstly, each is considered as being of prime importance to original research concerning Northern Quebec Inuit culture-history. Secondly, the variable composition and complexity of these fundamentally different sites provide diversified settings appropriate to different levels of training. The field schools were also integral to the planning of salvage excavations at the JgEj-3 site and of international archaeological research activities at the JcDe-1 site. The integration of training in these projects both optimized archaeological productivity at the sites and minimized overall field logistics expenditures. Moreover, it allowed the participating Inuit trainees practical experience in archaeological impact mitigation and research procedures and, in the case of Nunaingok, exposure to various field techniques and methods.

2.0 Description of the Field Schools

2.1 Context and Orientations

The primary objective of the training programme is to promote the development of Northern Quebec Inuit archaeologists and archaeological technicians capable of undertaking the management and research of archaeological resources both locally as well as throughout the region. The eventual implementation of community-based and community-oriented archaeological projects is explicit to the programme. Accordingly, the field schools have been organized so as to provide a maximum as possible of practical training in archaeological field methods and techniques in different contexts.

The Quaqtq field schools have been carried out within the context of the archaeological salvage excavation of the JgEj-3 site. This early prehistoric settlement is characterized by 10 semi-subterranean dwellings and an undetermined number of tent rings. Several of these habitation structures as well as other parts of the site were partially destroyed or extensively disturbed by use of the locality as a gravel pit for the construction of an access road in 1984. In the case of the Quaqtq field schools, training has been "introductory" in nature, focusing on instruction in basic archaeological techniques.

Alternately, the Nunaingok field school stressed advanced training within the context of a long-term international archaeological research project at the JcDe-1 site. This site is composed of several archaeological localities defined, variously, by concentrations of habitation structures, stone burial vaults, and other cultural features. The principal occupation area comprises a cluster of 14 semi-subterranean dwellings, most of which appear to be historic Inuit in origin. Extensive early prehistoric cultural deposits also occur

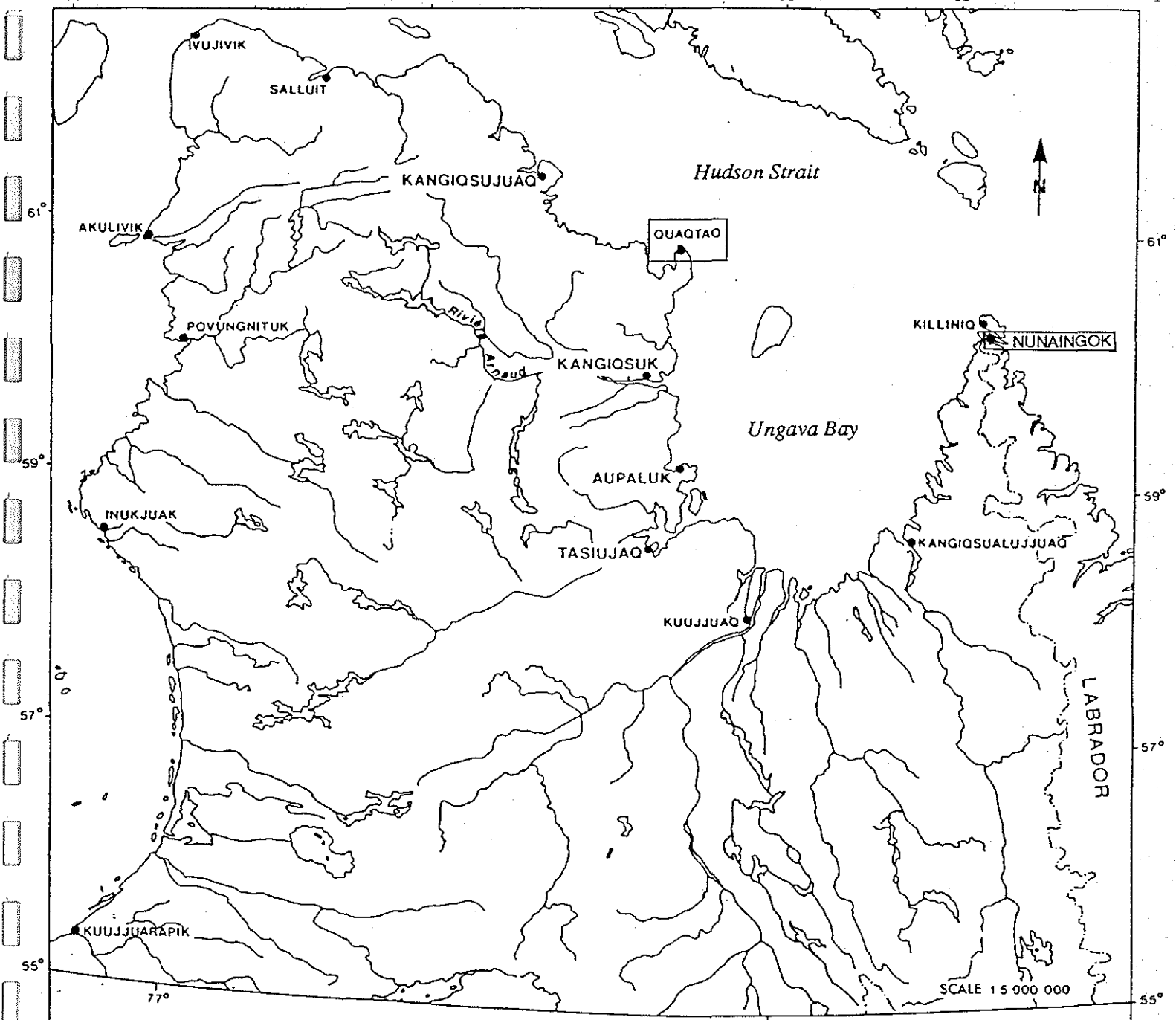


FIGURE 1

LOCATION OF
QUAQTAQ
AND
NUNAINGOK

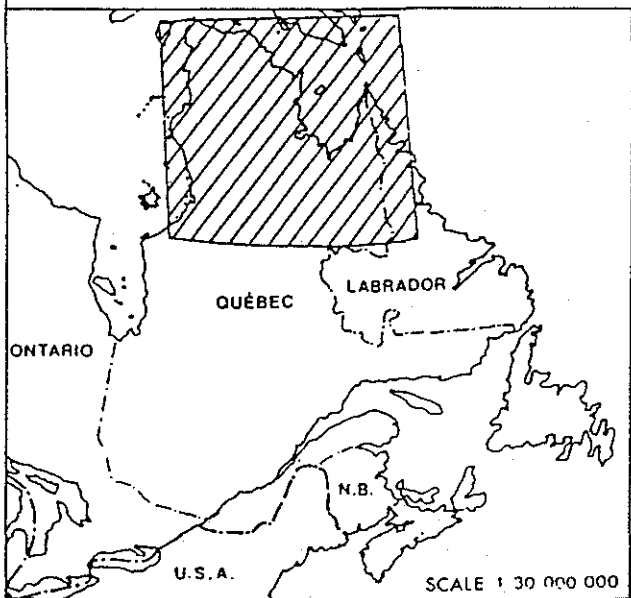
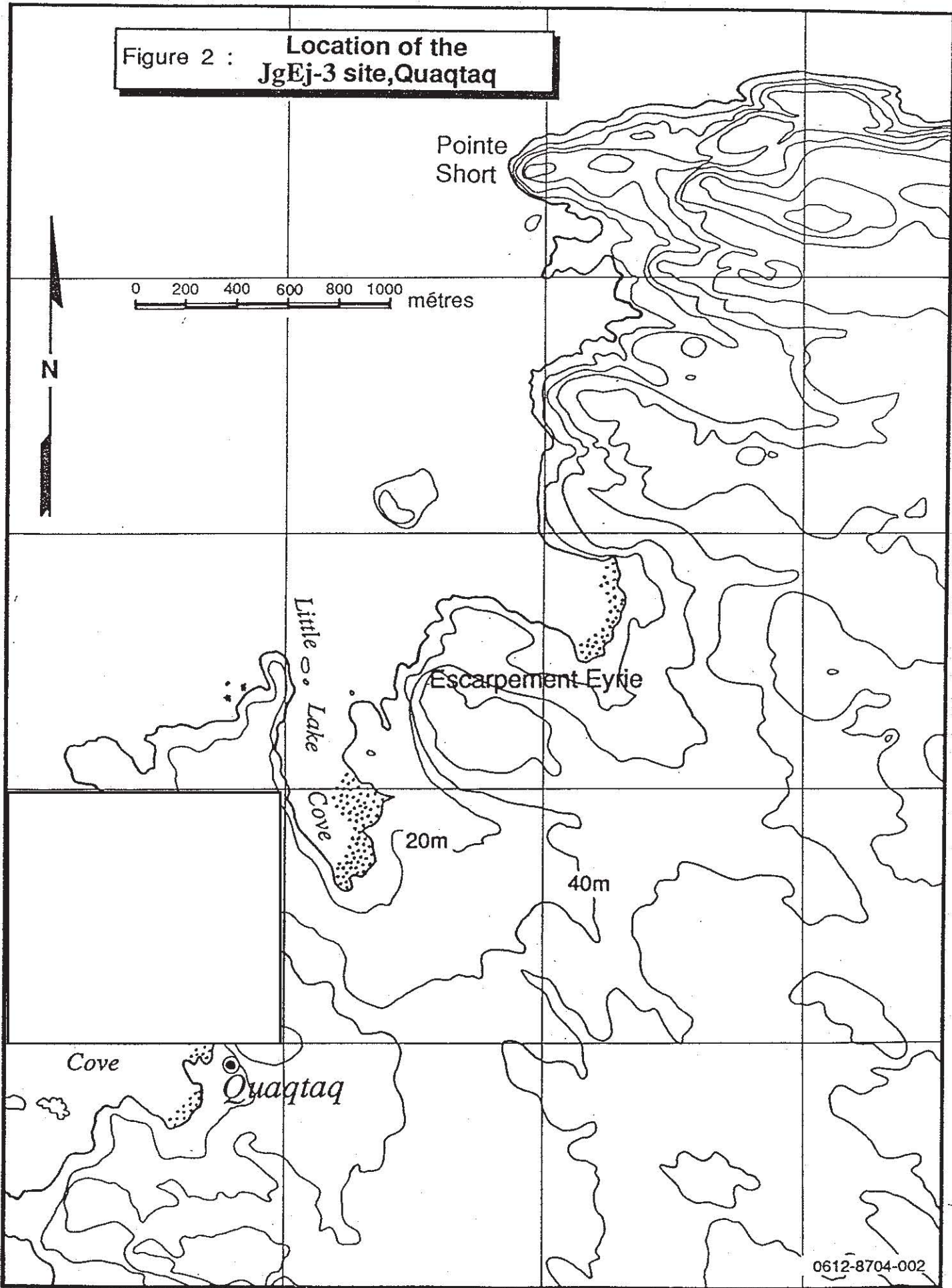


Figure 2 : Location of the JgEj-3 site, Quaqtqaq



throughout the site and in the principal area. However, in the present instance training was centered on research of historic components in this area and only coincidentally on the collection of prehistoric data

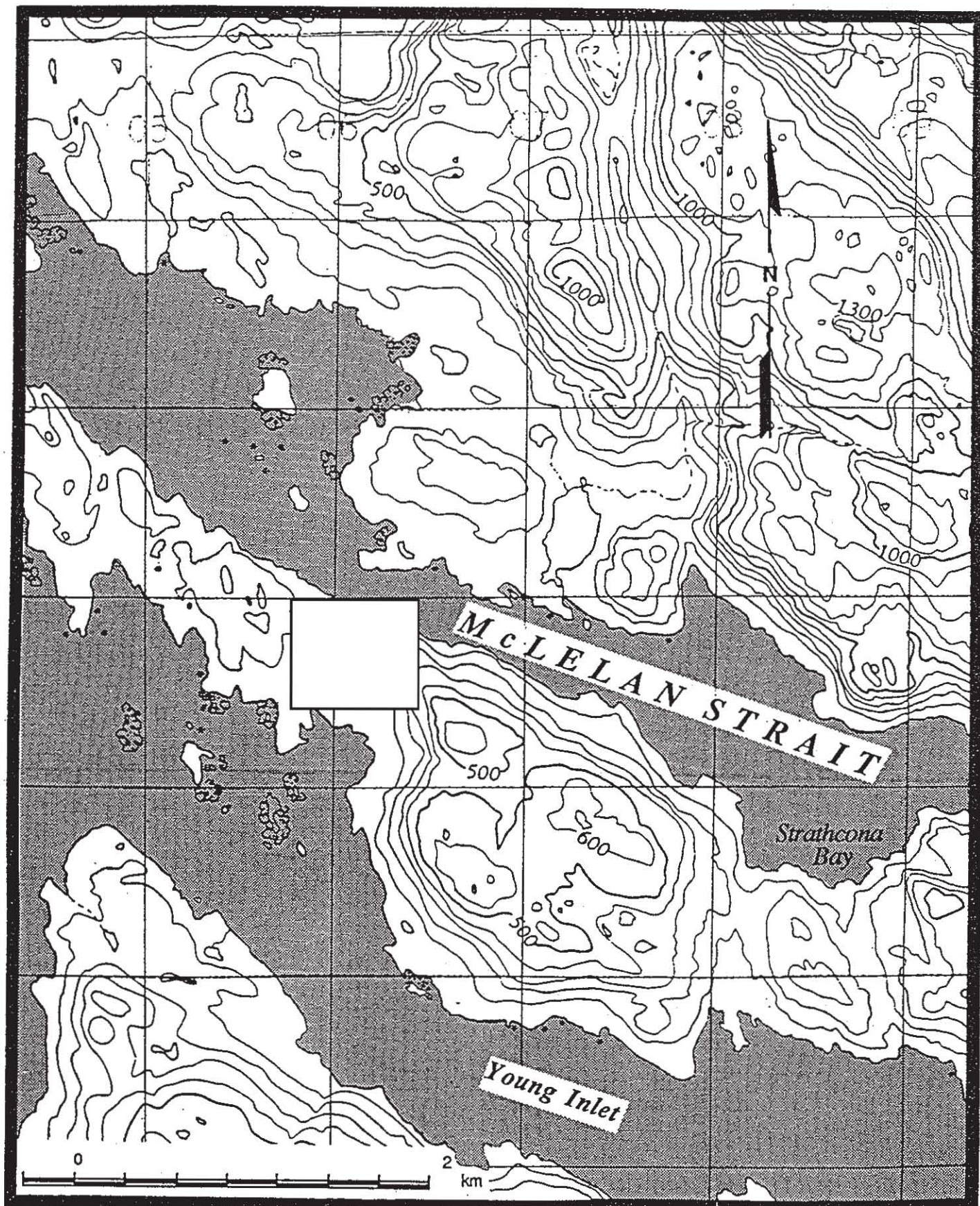
2.2 Personnel

The 1986 field school at Quaqtq extended over a 7-week period during July-August and involved a total of 16 Inuit trainees from 8 villages. These individuals, ranging in age from 12 to 28, were selected as training candidates by their respective municipal councils. With 3 exceptions, none of the trainees had any previous experience in archaeology.

The 1987 Quaqtq field course, carried out during 5 weeks in July and August, involved 8 Inuit trainees from 4 communities. Six of these students were selected by Avataq while the 2 others were recommended by municipal officials. Seven of the individuals had participated as trainees in the earlier field school or as assistants in previous Avataq archaeological projects.

Of the 6 trainees chosen for the Nunaingok field school, 4 had completed either one or both of the Quaqtq field courses while another had participated in the 1986 Avataq archaeological survey of the east coast of Ungava Bay. The sixth trainee was an introductory student chosen in the field in the interest of expanding training productivity. The Nunaingok field school was conducted over 3 weeks in August, including 1 week for return transportation to the site.

Figure 3: Location of the JcDe-1 site, Nunaingok



The Quaqtq and Nunaingok field schools were supervised by 2 archaeological assistants under the direction of the Resident Archaeologist of Avataq. Mr. Henry Stewart, of Mejiro Gakuen Women's College, Tokyo, Japan, assisted throughout the 1986 course. Mr. Stewart had been invited that year to participate in the Avataq archaeological programme in order to familiarize himself with the context of Northern Quebec Inuit archaeology prior to the initiation of the Nunaingok project. He and the other 3 members of the Nunaingok Japanese archaeological research crew also participated in the 1987 Quaqtq field school.

The Nunaingok field crew included 3 officials from the Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec, a 2-man film crew from the provincial government, a T.N.I. film producer, and a television reporter from Radio-Canada (c.f., Appendix 1). Inuit support personnel consisted of 3 hunters, a camp manager, and 3 cooks. Return transportation to the site was provided by 2 longliners: the "Iniqunnaq" from Kangiqsualujjuaq and the "Aivik" from Taqpangayuk.

2.3 Training Activities

The field schools at both sites have emphasized training in techniques for the recovery of archaeological data through controlled excavation. At Quaqtq, the principal activities carried out included instruction in procedures for:

- site gridding using a theodolite;
- excavation of grid units in stratigraphic context;
- identification of cultural features and specimens

(i.e., activity areas, lithic raw materials, functional categories of implements, etc.);

- registration of data (drawing of excavation plans and stratigraphic profiles, site photography, etc.);
- systematic surface-collecting;
- site survey and sampling.

These activities were complemented by a number of "classroom" sessions providing training in the sorting and cataloguing of archaeological specimens, the preparation of artifact catalogues, and the assembly of artifact distribution plans according to stratigraphic level. Brief informal seminars on Inuit prehistory and preliminary interpretations of site data also were presented during these sessions.

Although similar in kind, field school activities at Nunaingok were directed toward training in more complicated and diversified field techniques. In this case, excavations undertaken by the Avataq crew were organized in terms of modified historical archaeological methods. These methods involved the delimitation of "operations" and "sub-operations" based on definable features rather than the installation of gridded square metres as excavation units. In contrast, excavation techniques as commonly practiced in Japan were applied by the Japanese crew.

In addition, the conservator of the Quebec Cultural Affairs ministry provided demonstrations in various methods for the "in tact" retrieval of fragile organic materials (i.e., implements in water-saturated wood, decayed bone tools, preserved remnants of animal hide, etc.). Procedures for the temporary preservation in the field of these materials and for the consolidation and removal of stratigraphic soil profiles also were demonstrated.

Supplementary activities undertaken at Nunaingok included intensive surface-collecting of eroding prehistoric lithics and information sessions centered on the explanation of excavation strategies and on data interpretation.

All aspects of the Nunaingok archaeological work, the hunting activities related to the subsistence of the field crew and, as well, the relocation of the Killiniq community to Taqpanyayuk were jointly filmed by T.N.I. and the government film crew. This footage, some 10 hours in length, is currently being edited into several documentaries for educational purposes and general broadcast. Those detailing archaeological training and research will be co-produced by T.N.I. and Cultural Affairs Quebec in conjunction with Avataq.

3.0 Field School Results

3.1 Archaeological Data

Quaqtaq

The past 2 field schools conducted at the JgEj-3 site have resulted in the excavation of 469 m² (267m² in 1986 and 202m² in 1987). These excavation encompass 4 semi-subterranean dwellings (i.e., Structures E, F, G and H), a habitation area associated with several overlapping tent rings (designated Structure D), and various interstructural zones (c.f., appendices 2 and 3). Additional tent rings and other cultural features or activity areas also have been identified in these zones. The latter include a stone-lined cache pit, a number of exterior hearths, and well-defined lithic workshops.

Together, excavation and surface-collecting activities yielded a total of 15,053 lithic specimens, including 2,137 complete and fragmentary tools. The remainder of the collection is composed of waste flakes resulting from tool manufacturing. Chipped stone tools, representing about 85% of the implements collected, include microblades, several varieties of projectile points, knives and end scrapers, blade and flake cores, spalled burins, and biface fragments of undetermined function. Polished points, knives, and burin-like tools also occur in relatively high proportions. Other specimens include soapstone lamp and vessel fragments, large blades, polished burin spalls, an adze, and retouched as well as used flakes.

The few organic remains recorded comprise several fragments of animal bone, carbonized grease, and charcoal. Walrus, seal, and caribou have been tentatively identified in the faunal assemblage.

The bulk of the lithic tool types and the comparatively high frequency of microblades and polished implements indicate that the site was occupied during the Groswater phase of the Dorset culture. This phase, corresponding to the transition in Labrador of Dorset technology from that of the preceding Pre-Dorset culture, is generally dated to between the 8th and 6th centuries B.C.. A comparable antiquity is therefore suggested for the JgEj-3 site.

Although dated to as late as the 15th century A.D. in Ungava, the early phases of Dorset culture in northern Quebec remain poorly understood. Prior to the initiation of field school activities at Quaqaq, Groswater sites were known to occur only on the central and northern Labrador coast, Nunaingok defining the northernmost expression of the phase. However, the JgEj-3 site now extends the geographical limits of the territory occupied by this initial Dorset population to northwestern Ungava Bay. It also allows speculation on the "in situ" development of the Dorset culture in this area. As Ungava Pre-Dorset sites date to as early as 1350 B.C., some 2500 years of continuous Palaeoeskimo occupation in the region is implied.

As habitation structures are generally lacking in the Labrador Groswater sites, little information is currently available concerning the seasonality and social organization of these occupations. In contrast, the presence of both semi-subterranean dwellings and tent rings in the JgEj-3 site suggests that the locality was occupied on a multi-seasonal basis. The number, distribution, and dimensions of the structures further suggest repeated

occupation of the site by groups varying in composition from 1 to several nuclear families. While the few faunal remains recovered preclude any interpretation of the economic orientations of these groups, exploitation of both terrestrial and marine mammals is nevertheless indicated.

Nunaingok

A total of 125m² was excavated in the principal occupation area of the JcDe-1 site during 1987. The excavations undertaken by the Avataq crew were concentrated in Structure 1 (ca. 16m²), the zone immediately exterior to the entrance passage of this house (16m²), and in the midden associated with Structures 1 and 2 (52m²); approximately 12m² also were partially excavated in the interior and entrance passage of the second dwelling. Excavations by the Japanese crew, covering 29m², were carried out in and around Structure 3.

A considerable quantity of historic manufactured goods as well as an appreciable amount of traditional Inuit cultural equipment were recovered from each of the dwellings. The manufactured goods include trade beads, iron nails, cartridge cases of various calibre, a pocket watch, buttons, pieces of metal, glass pane and porcelain, and several fragments of newspaper, one of which is a portion of the St. John's Star (Newfoundland) dated January 17, 1919. A harpoon head, snowknife, hide scraper and a blubber pounder, a soapstone lamp and soapstone pot fragments, a wooden snow beater, and a miniature sculpture of an ulu in polished slate are noted among the traditional items.

The excavations produced 7,338 faunal osteological remains (2,735 from the midden; 2,520 from Structure 1; 780 from Structure 2; and 1,303 from Structure 3). The

greater part of these bones are presumed to be associated with the occupations of the dwellings. Conversely, those found in the wall units may have been coincidentally transported from elsewhere in the site in sod blocks used for the construction of the habitations. Although analysis is pending, various species of seal, caribou, bear, wolf, fox, and dog have been identified in the faunal assemblage. This assemblage is accompanied by a number of pieces of seal skin.

Intensive surface-collecting carried out in 4 areas along the edge of the eroding shoreline of the site resulted in the rescue of 4,968 lithic specimens. This collection is composed of 4,719 waste flakes and 249 tools. The tools, numerically dominated by microblades (N:97), include triangular and side-notched projectile points, chipped knives, and scrapers, burin-like tools, tip flutes and biface fragments of undetermined function. A small quantity of Dorset lithics also was recovered in the habitations. The latter also are presumed to have been transported from other parts of the site in sod blocks used for construction purposes.

At present, all 3 habitations are interpreted as historic Inuit dwellings dating to the late 19th-early 20th centuries. Several occupations of the dwellings are suggested, each of which may have involved architectural alterations of the habitations. The spatial arrangement of Structures 1 and 2 and the associated common midden suggest that these dwellings may have been constructed and originally occupied at the same point in time. On the other hand, Structure 3 appears to represent an isolated occupational component unrelated to the other 2 habitations. While possibly somewhat older in age, the contents of the dwelling nevertheless demonstrate that Structure 3 was occupied during the early 1900's.

Although the date of the most recent occupations of the habitations remains to be determined, historical records indicate that sod dwellings fell into disuse at Nunaingok in the mid-1930's. Structures 1 and 3 do not seem to have been disturbed subsequent to their final abandonment. However, a massive concentration of sizeable rocks in Structure 2 strongly suggests that a large cache was erected in the dwelling following its last occupation. Sometime later, a hearth pit was constructed in this concentration.

Available ethnographic information indicates that sod dwellings at Nunaingok were occupied from November through late December-early January by single or, in some cases, extended nuclear families. Occupation of the site at that time of year appears to have been influenced by an abundance of sea mammals, particularly seals, frequenting a polynya in the nearby narrows of McLelan Strait. This year-round open water would also have favoured prehistoric settlement at Nunaingok during fall-winter.

The overwhelming majority of the lithic tools surface-collected at JcDe-1 pertain to the Groswater and succeeding Early Dorset phases. Too, Pre-Dorset and later Thule specimens occur in the collection. These data confirm continuous Inuit occupation of Nunaingok over the past 3000-3500 years

3.2 Training Development

Of the 16 Inuit trainees involved in the 1986 field school at Quaqtqaq, 2 were dismissed and 6 were released on request during the project. The work periods of most of these individuals varied from several days to about 4 weeks. The remaining 8 trainees, including 2 replacements, satisfactorily completed the course.

The 1987 Quaqtq trainees comprised 4 former students, 2 who had participated in previous archaeological projects, and 2 without prior experience in archaeology. Of the 5 trainees who completed the course, 4 were selected for further training at Nunaingok. These candidates were joined at JcDe-1 by another with earlier archaeological experience and an introductory student. All 6 of these trainees were engaged for the duration of the course.

The adequate performance of the introductory student aside, all of the Nunaingok trainees excelled in on-the-job training in field techniques. Each rapidly acquired a considerable level of proficiency in excavation techniques and, additionally, a sufficient understanding of general and particular archaeological research strategies. Moreover, each has expressed a strong desire for continued career-oriented training in archaeology.

Statistically, these 5 continuing students represent approximately 23% of the total number of 1986 and 1987 field trainees. This proportionately high percentage results, basically, from the personal motivation and interest of these individuals to develop archaeological skills. Furthermore, it is considered to reflect the general proportion of young Inuit in Nunavik interested in archaeology as a vocation

While evaluation of the training programme is pending, lack of motivation appears to have been the major factor in the failure of trainees to complete the field schools at Quaqtq. Other factors contributing to the failure rate include inadequate scholastic background and attendant frustration with instruction in archaeological methods, misconception of the field schools as employment opportunities rather than as training exercises, and, to some extent, trainee selection procedures. However, the overall effects of this situation are not entirely negative.

For example, the 1986 field school provided a basis for the identification of potential training candidates and, accordingly, allowed the development of more appropriate trainee selection procedures. As applied in 1987, these procedures emphasized the selection of candidates with confirmed interest in archaeological training and, to a lesser degree, introductory trainees desiring initiation to archaeology. The former included students who had successfully completed the previous course and others with prior archaeological field experience. Also, during the past 2 years a relatively large number of young Inuit have been exposed to the physical context and importance of archaeological resources. Too, most of the trainees obtained at least a minimum of practical experience in basic field techniques for the recovery of these resources. Hopefully, this acquired knowledge will be retained and, perhaps, be of later benefit to the communities and to the individuals concerned.

3.3 Community Benefits

The most readily apparent benefits to the communities directly involved in the field schools are monetary in nature. In 1986, a considerable portion of the field school budget was injected into the community of Quaqtak in the form of student salaries, accommodations payments, and supplies purchasing. Although reduced in scale, a substantial amount of the 1987 Quaqtak field school budget was similarly spent in the village. Additionally, 7 Inuit from Kangiqsualujjuaq and Taqpingayuk were employed as support personnel at Nunaingok.

Aside from immediate economic benefits, activities undertaken at the field schools have been of service to both the communities and the regional population as a whole. In

particular, the salvage context of the Quaqtq field schools and the intensive surface-collecting carried out at Nunaingok allowed the rescue of prehistoric archaeological data which otherwise would have been permanently lost. Excavations conducted at Quaqtq also have resulted in the widespread removal of the quantitatively most significant cultural deposits occurring throughout an extensive portion of the field school site which is now available to the community for gravel exploitation as may be required. On a more comprehensive level, it is noted that the Nunaingok film footage will be edited into a number of programmes of educational and general interest for broadcast in the north. These programmes, of archival value, will include a documentary on the relocation of Killiniq people to Taqpangayuk.

Less apparent but substantively more important long-term results also have begun to emerge from the training programme. For instance, the field schools have stimulated an increased interest in the communities in archaeology. This interest is reflected in requests from various municipalities for the implementation of local field schools and, in some cases, archaeological research projects of local interest. Increased and more direct participation of the communities in archaeological activities is implicit in these requests. Furthermore, the excavations at Nunaingok have yielded a substantial amount of traditional Inuit cultural equipment recognizable to Northern Quebec Inuit elders. The responsibility to acquire traditional items was mandated to Avataq by the 1981 Inuit Elders' Conference at Kangirsuk as an archaeological priority. Specifically, the recovery of such items is deemed as being of the utmost importance to the preservation and transmission of knowledge concerning past Inuit lifeways in Nunavik. Of the numerous archaeological excavations carried out to date in the region, only those undertaken at Nunaingok have produced traditional cultural materials in quantity.

4.0 Discussion

With the execution of the 1986 and 1987 field schools, the Avataq Cultural Institute has achieved a measure of success in the implementation of its long-term training programme for Inuit in archaeology. These field courses have produced information of importance not only to a fuller comprehension of Inuit prehistory and history but to the preservation of local knowledge concerning traditional lifeways in Nunavik. A relatively large number of young Inuit also have been introduced to archaeology as a technique as well as a study. More particularly, 5 of the trainees have been provided the opportunity to develop their practical skills and interests in archaeology as a career orientation. This high number of students requesting additional on-the-job training after 2 years of field instruction is wholly satisfactory and fulfills to a large extent the primary objective of the Avataq training programme.

In view of the positive results of the past field schools, it is therefore the intention of the Avataq Cultural Institute to continue the training programme as a first priority. During 1988 field training efforts will be centered on the JcDe-1 site at Nunaingok. As the recovery of data in the field represents but a single aspect of archaeology, training in archaeological laboratory methods will also be stressed.

As last year, the second field course at Nunaingok will be carried out in the context of international archaeological research collaboration and will focus on advanced training in field techniques. While activities will be concentrated on the research of historical Inuit components, greater emphasis will be directed this summer toward the recovery of prehistoric data through controlled excavations in undisturbed portions of the site. The field work will involve the 5 continuing Inuit trainees for a period of 5 weeks in July and

August. The international complement will consist of 7 visiting Japanese archaeological researchers, sponsored by a grant from the Ministry of Education of Japan.

Two of the Nunaingok trainees have been selected for training in laboratory procedures following the field course. One of these students, engaged as an Avataq laboratory assistant since January, 1987, recently completed his first year of studies in anthropology/archaeology at McGill University and, in September, will re-enroll in the university. The second trainee has acquired some 15 weeks of field experience in various Avataq archaeological projects over the past 2 years, including the 1987 Quaqtaq and Nunaingok field schools. Laboratory training will be carried out at the Avataq Archaeology Department in Montreal between September, 1988, and May, 1989, and will include instruction in:

- the sorting, cataloguing, and classification of archaeological specimens;
- the preliminary analysis and interpretation of artifactual, habitation, and other data;
- the technical drafting of site and excavation plans, stratigraphic profiles, and other illustrations;
- the preparation of samples for various specialized analyses (i.e., radiocarbon-dating, faunal osteological analysis, petrographic analysis, etc.);
- basic procedures for the maintenance and conservation of archaeological collections.

The 2 laboratory trainees will be involved in the writing and production of reports and publications of scientific value and of educational interest, particularly to the Northern Quebec Inuit.

Laboratory training will be complemented by regular seminars in archaeological theory, Arctic culture-history, and Inuit ethnography.

Introductory field schools for Inuit will also be continued by the Avataq Cultural Institute as an integral part of the overall training programme. At present, it is suggested that these training exercises be developed in terms of archaeological salvage projects required or requested by the various communities throughout Nunavik. The development of such mobile field schools will allow a maximum number of young Inuit exposure to basic archaeological techniques and methods in a variety of situations while rendering service to the communities. It will also serve as a means of identifying and encouraging students interested in archaeology as a vocation.

Appendix 1

List of 1986 and 1987 Inuit
Field School Personnel

Appendix 1. List of 1986 and 1987 Inuit Field School Personnel

A. 1986 Quaqtaq Field School

Instructors

Ian Badgley, Avataq Resident Archaeologist, Director

Luc Litwinionek, Archaeological Assistant

Gerard Gagné, Archaeological Assistant

Inuit Trainees

Lizzie Puttayuk	Quaqtaq
Mary Tukkiapik	Quaqtaq
Bobby Putulik	Quaqtaq
Alaku Kulula	Quaqtaq
Eya Nuvuka	Quaqtaq
Janice Deer	Quaqtaq
Christina Aloupa	Quaqtaq
Harriet Kelutak	Quaqtaq
Annie Okpik	Quaqtaq
Pasha Keelan	Community of Killiniq
Annie Ningiuk	Inukjuak
George Pilurtuut	Kangiqsujuaq
Abraham Qinauyuk	Povungnituk
Minnie Sequaluk	Aupaluk
Bobby Grey	Kangirsuk
Lizzie Emuk	Kangiqsualujjuaq

Volunteers

Charles Martijn Direction régionale du Nouveau-Québec et service aux autochtones,
Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec

Henry Stewart Mejiro Gakuen Women's College, Tokyo, Japan

Local Site Manager

David Okpik General Manager, Municipality of Quaqtaq

B. 1987 Quaqtaq Field School

Instructors

Ian Badgley, Avataq Resident Archaeologist, Director

Daniel Gendron, Archaeological Assistant

Ghyslaine Labelle, Archaeological Assistant

Inuit Trainees

Joanna Kakkinék Quaqtaq

Mary Tukkiapik Quaqtaq

Janice Deer Quaqtaq

Pasha Keelan Community of Killiniq

Tommy Weetaluktuk Inukjuak

Annie Weetaluktuk Inukjuak

Noah Naktairaluk Inukjuak

Bobby Grey Kangirsuk

Nunaingok Japanese Research Crew

Henry Stewart Mejiro Gakuen Women's College, Director

Kiyoshi Yamaura Rikkyo University, Assistant Director

Kaoru Tezuka Waseda University, Field Assistant

Naomi Kameda Waseda University, Field Assistant

Local Site Manager

David Okpik General Manager, Municipality of Quaqtaq

C. 1987 Nunaingok Field School

Instructors

Ian Badgley, Avataq Resident Archaeologist, Director

Daniel Gendron, Archaeological Assistant

Ghyslaine Labelle, Archaeological Assistant

Inuit Trainees

Pasha Keelan

Taqpangayuk

Tommy Weetaluktuk

Inukjuak

Noah Naktairaluk

Inukjuak

Bobby Grey

Kangirsuk

Ema Etok

Kangiqsualujjuaq

Johnny Annanack

Kangiqsualujjuaq

Japanese Research Crew

Henry Stewart,

Mejiro Gakuen Women's College, Director

Kiyoshi Yamaura,

Rikkyo University, Assistant Director

Kaoru Tezuka,

Waseda University, Field Assistant

Naomi Kameda,

Waseda University, Field Assistant

Appendix 2