APPENDIX D

Innu Use of the Territory and Knowledge of its Resources

NEW MILLENNIUM
CAPITAL CORP.

DIRECT-SHIPPING ORE PROJECT

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION

Innu Use of the Territory and Knowledge of its Resources

Final Report

By: Daniel Clément

Mai 2009

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION

Direct-Shipping Ore Project

Innu Use of the Territory and Knowledge of its Resources

Report presented to: New Millennium Capital Corp.

By: DANIEL CLÉMENT, Consulting Anthropologist

Final Report

May 2009

FACT SHEET

CLÉMENT, DANIEL, 2009. *Resource Knowledge and Land use by the Innu*. Final report presented to New Millennium Capital Corp. 110 pages + appendices.

Summary:
Our mandate consisted in documenting the Innu use of resources and their knowledge of the Schefferville region, where the mining company New Millennium Capital Corp. (NML) plans to develop its DSO mining project. The plan in the beginning was to interview members of the Nation Innu Matimekush-Lac John (NIMLJ) and of Innu Takuaikan Uashat mak Mani-Utenam (ITUM). For reasons beyond our control, the latter community had to be excluded from this study. A field visit enabled us to meet with 10 members of NIMLJ. They were all users of the Study Area, which overlaps two traplines, No. 207 and 211, in the Saguenay Division Sept-Îles Nord Beaver Reserve. The ages of the informants ranged from 45 to 81. They were interviewed using a questionnaire covering all aspects of their use of the territory and their knowledge of its resources.

The research revealed some 35 toponyms related to the Study Area. The toponyms indicate a high level of use of the land both synchronically and diachronically. Analyzing them also provides data on the distribution of several animal and plant species, close relationships with the land indicated by references to the names of historical persons and events, and places associated with religion.

Analysis of the historical context of Innu occupation, extending from the contact period until the 1980s, made it possible to update the land occupation pattern, which has been constant but has also adapted to the changes that have occurred over the centuries. Until the Innu settled in Schefferville, the yearly cycle of activities had remained practically unchanged since the period before colonization, marked by annual migrations between the shore of the St. Lawrence and the region currently under study and even beyond. This nomadic lifestyle came under serious pressure at the beginning of the 20th century, because of many external factors, such as mine development, Euro-Canadian migration, the vagaries of the fur-trade, etc. In the 1950s, the Innu associated traditionally with the region began settling in Schefferville, enticed by sources of revenue made available from railway construction and the opening of mines. Two reserves were subsequently recognized, Matimekush and John Lake. The yearly cycle of activities during that period was characterized by more intermittent stays on the land and the pursuit of traditional activities coordinated with other sources of revenue (employment income and government subsidies).

The results of the survey indicates a pattern similar to the one that prevailed before the cessation of mining operations in the region, namely a relatively unchanged yearly cycle and the introduction of new relationships with the land. The current cycle is still characterized by the fall hunt of big game, fall and winter trapping, communal hunting of geese and waterfowl in May, and berry gathering in the summer. Fishing and hunting of small game are practised year-round. The new elements include the development of solitary hunting trips and cottaging.
Of direct relevance to the development planned by NML, the results have also provided data on the locations of hunting camps in the Study Area and on the activities carried out there. The corpus of Innu knowledge of the fauna provided an overview of the distribution of animal species according to the Innu as well as ethological data on the target species, including caribou. The distribution data also augmented the data

obtained by the biologists working for NML.

During this survey, the Innu also spontaneously talked about the potential impacts of the project, though this topic was not part of our mandate. Those comments concerned several aspects, including noise pollution, dust deposits, changes in caribou migrations, fear of increased pressure on resources due to the arrival of mine workers, etc. Moreover, all the users predict that the level of their activities will be maintained in coming years or even increased compared to 2008. It can therefore be said that in these terms the Study Area needs to be protected.

610,000 620,000 630,000 640,000 650,000

67°20'W 67°10'W 67°W 66°50'W 66°40'W

55°10'N 6,110,000 6,100,000 55°N 6,090,000 6,080,000 54°50'N 6,070,000 6,060,000 54°40'N

Goodwood
Kivivik 1
Kivivik 2
Kivivik 5
Kivivik 4
Kivivik 3 north
Sunny 1
Kivivik 3 south
DSO 4
Crusher and camp
Concasseur et camp
Annabelle 3
Lac Tesserie (Gerenbrook 1)

QUÉBEC

Barney 1
Barney 2
DSO 3
Howse
Timmins 4
Timmins 7
Timmins 3 north
Sawmill 1
Fleming 7 north
Fleming 6
Crusher, Wash Plant,
Tailings Area & Camp
Concasseur, usine de lavage,
bassin des résidus & camp
LabMag
Lac Fauves
Kawawachikamach
DSO 2
Ferriman 4
Star Creek 2
Lac John
Matimekush
Schefferville
Gill (Ruth 1)
Silver Yards
James (Ruth 10) ake 1
LABRADOR
QUÉBEC
M353
DSO 1
Malcolm 1
Houston 2 north
Houston 1
Houston 2 south
Houston 3
Redmond 5

LEGEND / LÉGENDE

- Deposit / Gisement
- Main access road / Chemin d'accès principal
- Railway to be reconstructed / Chemin de fer à reconstruire
- DSO Claim / Titre minier 'DSO'
- Boundary / Frontière: Québec-Labrador

KILOMETRES / KILOMÈTRES
0 5 10

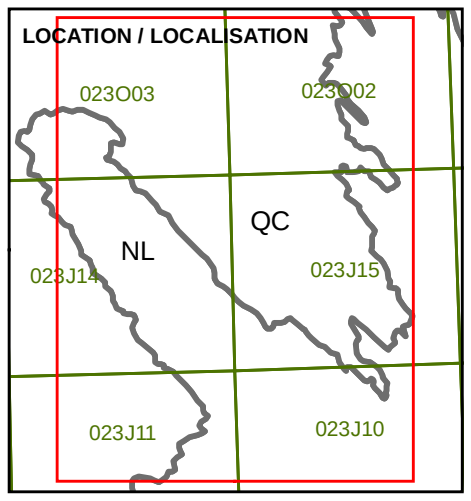
1:200,000 UTM19N NAD83

Figure 1

DSO Project Overview
Aperçu du Projet 'DSO'

GIS-0030-10 2009-04-20 L.C.

LOCATION / LOCALISATION



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1 Context and Objectives

This study was carried out in the context of the Direct-Shipping Ore Project ("DSOP") of New Millennium Capital Corp ("NML"). The DSOP involves land in Quebec and Labrador where mining development is planned in the Schefferville region. The characteristics of the project are described in a project notice prepared by WILKINSON ET AL. (2008).

The development of this mining project affects a territory used by, among others, the Innu of Quebec, including members of Nation Innu Matimekush-Lac John ("NIMLJ") and Innu Takuaikan Uashat mak Mani-Utenam ("ITUM"). As part of the impact study, NML has to carry out an analysis of land- and resource-use in the area affected by its project and to record relevant local Innu knowledge in accordance with the guidelines issued by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

1.1 Description of the Project

The project involves iron ore deposits in the Schefferville region that were mined intensively between 1954 and 1982. Between 2004 and 2006, NML obtained the mining rights for certain deposits. Its objective is to produce eight million tonnes of DSO (direct-shipping ore) in three years in the relevant region of Quebec and Labrador.

As part of its project, NML plans certain works, including the removal of topsoil and vegetation, the stringing of electrical lines, the construction of a camp, the installation of generators, the repair of roads and the construction of a plant to crush aggregate and to make concrete. Certain infrastructure (garage, offices, electrical substation, fuel tank, etc.) are also planned for the operation of the complex. Table 1 shows the key activities of the three phases of the project: preparation, construction and operation.

Table 1. Characteristics of the DSOP

PHASES	ACTIVITIES
Preparation	• removal of topsoil and vegetation • stringing of electrical lines • construction of a camp • installation of generators • repair of roads • construction of a plant (to crush aggregate and make concrete)
Construction	• crushing and processing plant • railcar-loading station • garage, workshops, washing station and warehouse • electrical substation • installation of railway facilities • water supply system • fuel tank • explosives plant and magazine • dewatering wells and water drainage system
Operation	• ore extraction (stripping, drilling, blasting, transportation by truck to the processing plant) • ore processing • tailings disposal • solid waste disposal • wastewater recycling • transportation by train between the processing plant and the main rail line between Schefferville and Sept-Îles

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study was to document land- and resource-use by the Innu of NIMLJ and ITUM, as well as to compile their knowledge of the region affected by the DSOP. The data collected will be incorporated into the impact assessment of the Project and the identification of mitigating measures. More specifically, the purpose of the study is: (a) to paint a portrait of the past and present use of the study area and its resources by the Innu of NIMLJ and ITUM; (b) to collect Innu ecological information to complement the scientific data collected for the Project.

2 The Study Area

The study area (Figure 1) corresponds broadly to a narrow strip a few kilometres wide and about 30 km from north to south (M353), enclosing part of the Howells River basin and the area to the east of it. It encompasses the DSO1 deposit located in Labrador, as well as the DSO2 and DSO3 deposits located in Quebec and Labrador, for which NML holds the claims. More precisely, it covers land used by the Innu of NIMLJ and ITUM. Those lands can be identified under the beaver reserve system as part of traplines 207 and 211 Sept-Îles Nord Division of the Saguenay beaver reserve.

In this report, the foregoing “Study Area” is distinguished from the “Study Region”. The need for that distinction became apparent as soon as the first field interviews were carried out. During those interviews, it became obvious that the description of the use of hunting territories could not be restricted to the corridor of the Study Area without running the risk of distorting the picture of the use of the territory and the practice of hunting and fishing.

In general, the Study Region extends beyond the corridor of the mining project to the west as far as the extremity of the Howells River valley itself and including Stakit, Fleming, Elross and Rosemary lakes; to the east, it extends as far as Matemace Lake; to the north, it extends to the area around Guillet and Gillard lakes; and, in the south, it extends to the Gilling Lake region. It also includes the Matimekush-Lac John reserves.

Figure 2 (see Section 4) illustrates the Study Region as defined above.

3 Definitions and Methods

The development of this mining project affects a territory traditionally occupied by, among others, the Innu of Quebec including some members of Nation Innu Matimekush-Lac John (NIMLJ) and Innu Takuaikan Uashat mak Mani-Utenam (ITUM). Moreover, as part of the impact study, NML has to carry out an assessment of land- and resource-use and a survey of the knowledge of the local Innu, in accordance with the guidelines issued by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

This study addresses the past and present land use by the Innu and their relevant ecological knowledge, especially their knowledge of the Study Area and the Study Region (Figures 1 & 2) that is relevant to the development of the mining project. This research is based both on documentation and on a field survey at Matimekush-Lac John

A presentation of the methods used follows.

3.1 Definitions

3.1.1 Land use and occupation

Since the work carried out during the Berger Commission on the Mackenzie Valley pipeline (BERGER 1977), there has developed in Canada a rich tradition of expertise in studies of land-use and -occupation by Aboriginal peoples. Such studies are carried out in the context of land claims or of impact studies related to important industrial developments on Aboriginal lands. They have led to a series of classic studies over the years, such as, in eastern Canada, BRICE-BENNETT (1977) on the Labrador Inuit, the work of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Native Harvesting Research Committee on the levels of harvesting of wildlife by the Crees (JBNQNHRC 1982) and, closer to our own study, the work of DOMINIQUE AND DESCHÊNES (1983) on the Innu of Quebec.

A theoretical book on the question was published recently (TOBIAS 2000), the author of which makes a fundamental distinction between the occupation of the territory and the use of the resources. The distinction is borrowed from an expert in such studies, PETER USHER. According to USHER, use refers to traditional harvesting activities, such as hunting, trapping, fishing, gathering medicinal plants, etc., while the concept of occupation refers to a territory that a given group considers its own because it names it, uses it continuously, lives in it, knows it and controls it. The geographic area in which

resources are used is greater than the area occupied. For that reason, studies related to land claims should be based more on occupation than on use. In fact, the occupation of a territory is more stable and intensive than its use, the borders of which can overlap that of neighbouring groups and thus create conflicts.

Given that this study is not concerned with a land claim, but instead is related to the use of a given territory targetted by the development of a mining project, it goes without saying that the data to be collected may cover a territory larger than the Study zone. They may also overlap provincial borders and include lands claimed by neighbouring groups, without prejudice to those groups.

The foregoing distinction corresponds to the distinction between the Study Area and the Study Region described above.

3.1.2 TEK and ATK

The concept of TEK, which stands for "*Traditional Ecological Knowledge*" or, sometimes, *"Traditional Environmental Knowledge,"* to refer to the knowledge of other societies, as opposed to science, made its appearance in environmental studies in the mid 1980s. As with the previous concepts, the recording of TEK is carried out in the context of various development projects that could affect those same societies.

The incorporation of TEK into impact studies (EA or Environmental Assessment) in Canada goes back to the beginning of the 1990s. But the concept remains ambiguous, since it transcends several levels of reality (e.g., components of ecological knowledge can overlap with religious rites). In 2003, the *Canadian Environmental Assessment Act* of 1992 was amended. The following provision was added to the general provisions on the assessment process to officially recognize the use of Aboriginal knowledge in the assessment of a project:

> "16.1 Community knowledge and aboriginal traditional knowledge may be considered in conducting an environmental assessment."

Certainly, the use of the expression "Aboriginal Traditional Knowledge", or ATK, instead of TEK is an attempt to dispel the ambiguity surrounding that latter concept. In fact, using the two concepts makes it possible to differentiate Aboriginal knowledge related to

physical elements in the environment (TEK) from other Aboriginal descriptions of their culture, their values, etc. (ATK).

In 2004, the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency also published a guide for collecting ATK in the process of environmental assessment. In those guidelines, which are only interim, TEK is clearly distinguished from ATK, of which it becomes a subset:

> "Note: the term traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) is often used interchangeably with ATK. For the purposes of this paper, TEK can be considered a subset of ATK that is concerned primarily with the environment." (CEAA 2004: 2)

And further:

> "While those involved in environmental assessment will likely be most interested in traditional knowledge about the environment (or, traditional ecological knowledge), it must be understood to form a part of a larger body of knowledge which encompasses knowledge about cultural, environmental, economic, political and spiritual inter-relationships." (CEAA 2004: 2)

In its guidelines, the Agency describes procedures for collecting ATK and establishes protocols for respecting the intellectual property of other societies.

3.1.3 TEK in this Study

This study incorporates mainly the traditional ecological knowledge of the Innu and not their ATK which is beyond its scope. The definition that we have adopted of TEK — the least ambiguous that we know of — is the following. It comes from the Dene Cultural Institute. Traditional ecological knowledge is defined as: "a body of knowledge of natural history built up by a group of people through generations of living in close contact with nature" (DENE CULTURAL INSTITUTE 1994: 7).

The aim therefore is to collect both diachronic and synchronic TEK. This study also includes a few other elements of interest for the proposed environmental assessment that are indirectly related to TEK. For example, toponymy will be also described, since it constitutes one of the keys to interpreting Innu ecological knowledge.

3.2 Methods

This research project addresses specifically local Innu knowledge of the territory targeted by NML's development project. The work was carried out in four major stages:

Stage 1. Planning the mandate;
Stage 2. Documentary research;
Stage 3. Collection of data in the field;
Stage 4. Analysis of the results.

3.2.1 Planning the Mandate

The first stage essentially involved working meetings to produce a questionnaire. This questionnaire, first developed for a related project (the LABMAG project) of NML with the help of GENIVAR and Ashuanipi Corporation, had to be modified subsequently given the different objectives and the more limited study area.

3.2.2 Documentary Research

The documentary research was done in two parts: documentation on land-use and -occupation; and research on local Innu knowledge. The main source for the land-use and -occupation and the use of resources by the Innu of Matimekush-Lac John is LAFOREST (1983). There is no published equivalent of this research for the Innu of Uashat mak Mani-Utenam.

Several bibliographies were consulted (DOMINIQUE AND DESCHÊNES 1980; CHAREST AND CLÉMENT 1997). They enabled us to update the few works that are indirectly related to the project: for example, a fairly recent monograph on Matimekush (CHARRON AND BOUDREAULT 1994) and older socio-economic (e.g. DÉSY 1963) and historical research (e.g. COOKE 1976). One important documentary source could not be examined given the limited scope of the project. It deserves, however, to be mentioned for future studies: there are dozens of audio-visual documents on the Innu communities produced either by the Ateliers audio-visuels du Québec (Arthur Lamothe) or by Les Productions Premières Nations.

Toponymy is also an important source of information on land-use and -occupation. The archives of the Commission de toponymie du Québec contain the results of an extremely relevant survey on the place names used by the Innu of Matimekush (ST-ONGE 1979). A

similar survey was also carried out for the Naskapis of Kawawachikamach (MACKENZIE 1979).

Local knowledge has been the subject of many specific studies, in particular since the 1970s. In fact, the Innu are among the rare aboriginal groups in Canada for whom data has been compiled in more than one field (for example, botany, zoology and geography). In chronological order, there are major works on: animal classification in Ekuanitshit and Matimekush (BOUCHARD 1973; BOUCHARD AND MAILHOT 1973); knowledge related to the caribou in Nutashkuan (DOMINIQUE 1979); botanical knowledge in Ekuanitshit (CLÉMENT 1990); general zoological knowledge in Ekuanitshit (CLÉMENT 1995A); and the ethology of individual species, such as the otter (ID. 1985a), the beaver (ID.1985b.), the muskrat (ID. 1985c), the weasel (ID. 1986a), the porcupine (ID. 1986b.), the wolf (ID. 1987), the Red fox (ID. 1992a), the woodchuck (ID. 1993) and the hare (ID. 1995b); astronomical knowledge in Matimekush (ICETA 1997); knowledge of the marine environment on the North Shore (CLÉMENT 1997, 2004); and knowledge about ice in Pessamit (CLÉMENT 2000).

To this can be added other works that document Innu science directly or indirectly, such as studies on fish in Sheshatshit (INNES 1997), mammals in Labrador (STRONG 1930), medicinal plants on the North Shore and in Mashteuiash (SPECK 1917; TANTAQUIDGEON 1932), general geographical features (MAILHOT 1975) and salmon at Ekuanitshit (RICHARD 2006). To that list could be added the scattered data in the classic literature on the Innu: for example, on animals (SPECK 1977 [1935]), birds (SPECK 1921), the environment (WAUGH 1921-22) and the Innu names for animals (HARP 1964), etc.

In this regard, two works should be mentioned. These are research studies carried out in the Innu community on local ecological knowledge, one as part of an impact study for a nickel mining project (CLÉMENT 1998), and one for a hydro-electric project on the North Shore (CLÉMENT 2007).

The literature reviewed provided basic data that assisted in drafting of the general questionnaire and conducting the field survey.

3.2.3 Collection of Data

3.2.3.1 Survey Tools

A toponymic record (Appendix 1) was prepared in advance of the survey. It was inspired by several general texts on methods for collecting such data (POIRIER 1965; ROULSTON 1977; GUAY 1979; HUDON 1987; BONNELLY 1996). This type of record has been validated in prior surveys (CLÉMENT 1998, 2007). All the informants were asked about place names in the Study Region.

A general questionnaire (Appendix 2) was also drafted in collaboration with GENIVAR and Ashuanipi Corporation. It addressed the following themes:

- land use and traditional knowledge;
- use of animals;
- changes;
- protected species;
- plants;
- other uses of the territory and the evolution of behaviour.

For each theme, the questionnaire contains a list of questions intended to elicit data relevant to the project. For example, for the use of the territory, there are questions on transportation to hunting grounds, the composition of hunting groups, the types of camps and the activities carried out in the course of a complete year of activity. For the use of animals, there are questions on the ways (food, clothing, trade, etc.) in which each species hunted is used. Some themes, for example, the detailed use of harvests were eliminated in whole or in part because of time limitations or the complexity of the subject. In any case, that theme is relatively well documented in ethnographic studies and the data from those studies fills in the gaps in the field work.

3.2.3.2 Informants and Interviews

The interviews were carried out in Matimekush from January 5 to 14, 2009. For reasons beyond our control, no interviews were done in Uashat mak Mani-Utenam. Most of the interviews were recorded, for a total of approximately 24 hours. Only one informant refused to be recorded. Topographic maps were used with each of the informants (scale 1:50,000). Some of the data collected are shown on the maps that accompany this report. Those maps were prepared by NML.

Table 2. Traplines

TRAPLINE	*Utshimauat* (former)	*Utshimauat* (current)
207	late Louis McKenzie	Son Philippe McKenzie Brother Alfred McKenzie
211	late Jean-Marie McKenzie	Johnny McKenzie

Ten Innu from Matimekush-Lac John took part in the survey as informants. Most were men, since the choice of informants was partly beyond our control for essentially political reasons. In Matimekush, we met an elderly woman, who provided us with more information on certain aspects that were neglected by the male informants.

Table 3. Informants

COMMUNITY	INFORMANTS	
Matimekush	Informant No. 1	47 years old
	Informant No. 2	52 years old
	Informant No. 3	45 years old
	Informant No. 4	76 years old
	Informant No. 5	55 years old
	Informant No. 6	60 years old
	Informant No. 7	81 years old
	Informant No. 8	73 years old
	Informant No. 9	72 years old
	Informant No. 10	52 years old

The ages of the informants ranged from 45 to 81. A consent form (Appendix 2) for participation in the survey was signed by each of the participants.

3.2.4 Analysis of the Results

The analysis of the results was carried out with the objective of highlighting the diachronic and synchronic aspects of the use of the study area and its resources. More specifically, the aim of this aspect of the study was:

- to present succinctly the historical data collected;
- to paint a general portrait of the current situation according to a yearly cycle of activities carried out in the Study Area;

- to build upon the surveys already conducted and to improve the impact assessment and the mitigation measures on the basis of local knowledge.

In addition, the data are also analyzed and presented bearing in mind the primary objectives of the users, namely the continuation of the activities carried out in the Study Area. The analysis is thus approached, in part, in an evolutionary context, taking into account the past and current conditions of the territory.

In the presentation of results, the confidentiality of data is respected. Numbers and letters are therefore used to refer to the statements of the informants (for example, Informants No. 1, 2, 3, etc. for the individuals interviewed as part of this study; Informants A, B, C, etc. to refer to the Elders whose knowledge was collected by the author during other surveys conducted in Matimekush in October 1995).

3.3 Linguistic Note

The spelling used to transcribe the Innu terms appearing in this report generally follows the current model developed in the 1980s by linguists and the Innu (DRAPEAU AND MAILHOT 1989). Long vowels are not distinguished from short vowels. Labialization is indicated by an upper-case (^{u}). An Innu technolinguist, Yvette Mollen, reviewed most of the terms used in this study and in the appendices.

A few preliminary comments are required for non-experts. First of all, like all the Algonquian languages, the Innu language has two genders, which linguists call animate and inanimate. Attribution of the animate gender to a lexeme can be related to the cultural importance of the referent of the term. The animate gender includes most of the time "all individuals, animals, spirits, and large trees, and some other objects" (BLOOMFIELD 1946: 94). Several hypotheses have been invoked to explain that phenomenon of differentiation (some plants are assigned the animate gender and others not; some anatomical parts are and others are not, etc.) such as "power" (CLARKE 1982: 19), the capacity to speak (HOCKETT 1966: 62) or the capacity to move. In all cases, cultural importance appears to play a role, as illustrated by all of the vocabulary related to the environment: all the names of animals are animate, as well as all the names of trees, the term for ice, etc.

Second, the Innu language, once again like all the Algonquian languages, is dominated by verb forms. That manifested as much in place names, which are geographical elements, as in the conception of events. That fact is important in the analysis of perceptions of the environment, since, for example, the term for lake, *'shakaikan',* is a noun, while the term for bay, *'uashau'* is a verb ('it is a bay, there is a bay'). That phenomenon is not always easy to explain, but it could provide a clue into the flexibility of a cognitive model that could be used to distinguish, for example, the relationship that a group of hunters has with a lake ("fixedness") from that with a bay ("movement" one could say).

Third, the Innu language is extremely flexible not only because of the predominance of verb forms, but also because of its almost unlimited ability to agglutinate morphemes to signify subtle differences between the referents. That latter trait, as well as the differentiation of animate and inanimate genders and the predominance of verbs, will be useful for presenting and understanding Innu concepts related to hunting and fishing activities and to the environment in the following pages.

4 Innu Toponymy

There are several reasons for the systematic compilation and detailed analysis of the toponyms of the Study Area. The collection of those toponyms enables us, first of all, to establish the topographical and geographical context of the environmental knowledge of each informant. Enumerating those toponyms is also in itself an act of cultural protection with respect to the sites that would be disturbed if the Project goes ahead. The analysis of the toponyms will further enable us to elucidate the environmental knowledge of the informant in question; for example, toponyms that reflect the presence of certain types of game and therefore their distribution. Finally, toponyms are evidence of land occupation that extends back several generations, and their number is an indicator of the limits of the area used.

The Innu toponyms in the Study Area have been the object of a few studies, including the above-cited general survey by the Commission de toponymie du Québec of place names around Sept-Îles and Schefferville (ST-ONGE 1979), which includes a dozen references for the Study Area. The survey by LAFOREST (1983) of land-occupation also includes a few place names. The travel journals of fathers BABEL and ARNAUD in the 1860s and 1870s were not very helpful. Father Babel, for example, did not go further than Petitsikapau Lake.

Excluding synonyms, about 35 Innu toponyms were identified in this study. Appendix 3 contains the detailed analysis of their etymologies and some additional information, such as other sources, synonyms, etc. The Innu toponyms appear below as a table and a figure: Figure 3 illustrates their locations; Table 4 provides the Innu name, its etymology, the synonym(s), the type of geographical feature, the official name and the UTM coordinates for each of them.

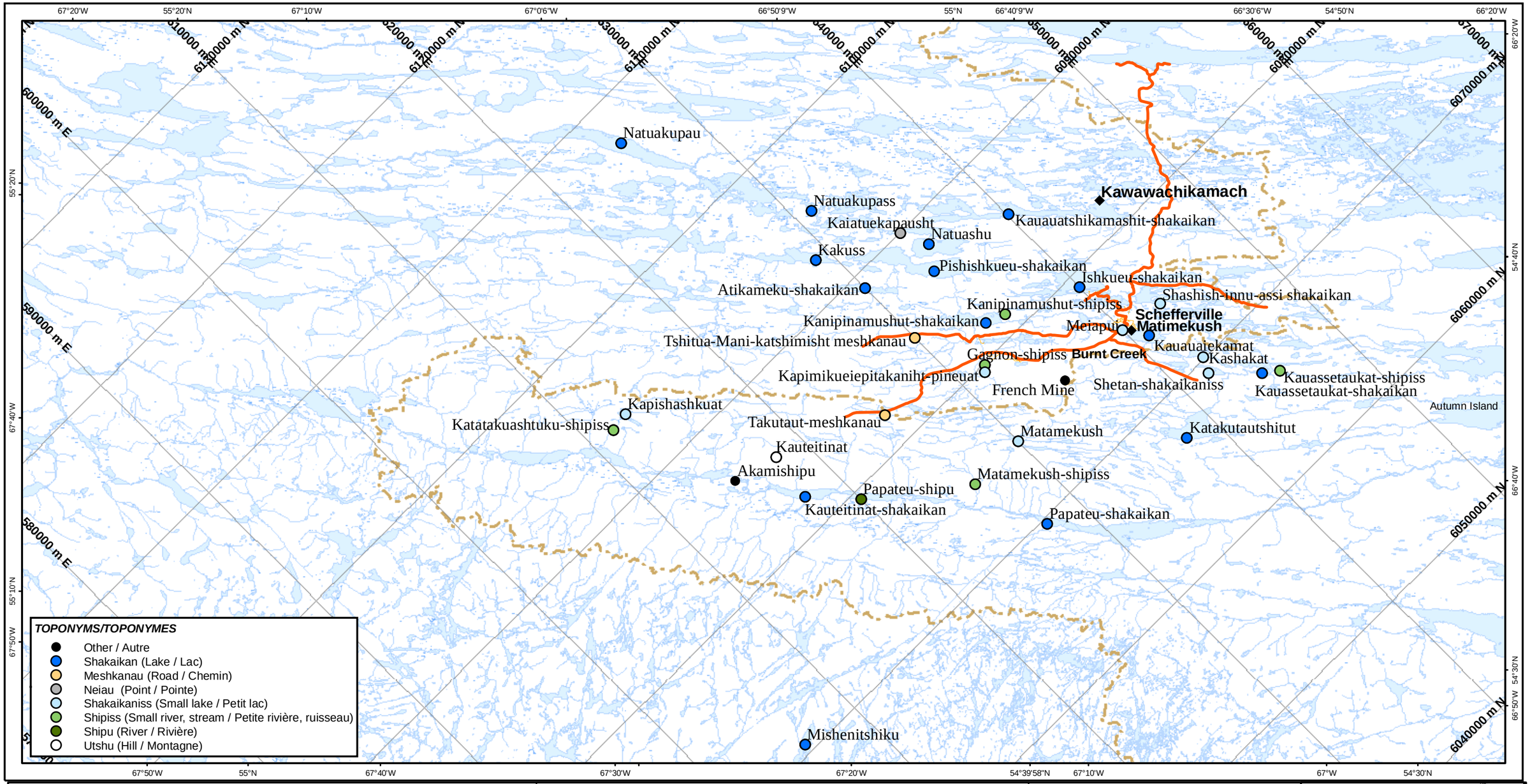
Table 4. Innu Toponymy

INNU NAME	ETYMOLOGY	SYNONYM	ENTITY	OFFICIAL NAME	UTM
Akamishipu	"the other side of the river"			--------	615000/6086000
Atikameku-shakaikan	"the lake with whitefish"		shakaikan	de Milly Lake	630000/6088900
Gagnon-shipiss	"Gagnon's stream"		shipiss	Star Creek	632000/6079800
Ishkueu-shakaikan	"lake of the woman"	Anikutshash; Uepashtamakan-katueushit-shakaikan	shakaikan	Squaw Lake	640000/6079000
French mine	"the mine of the French"			Burnt Creek	635000/6075350
Kaiatuekapausht	"where the trees are in small lines"		neiau	Sauvaget Lake point	634200/6089820
Kakuss	"small porcupine"		shakaikan	La Miltière Lake	629000/6092500
Kanipinamushut-shakaikan	"lake where the water does not freeze in winter"	Key Lake	shakaikan	La Cosa Lake	655000/6081700
Kanipinamushut-shipiss	"stream of the lake where the water does not freeze in winter"		shipiss	La Cosa Lake stream	635300/6081200
Kapimikueiepitakaniht-pineuat	"where one wrings the necks of partridges"	Tommy Inishushakameshum; Gagnon Lake	shakaikaniss	Star Lake	631650/6079450
Kapishashkuat	"where the trees are small"		shakaikaniss	Greenbush Lake	613000/6094200
Kashakat	"where there are alders"		shakaikaniss	Abel Lake	642500/6070000
Katakutautshitut	"where the summit is steep"		shakaikan	Wishart Lake	
Katatakuashtuku-shipiss	"the stream of trees of the same height"		shipiss	Greenbush Brook	611700/6094000

Kauassetaukat-shakaikan	"the lake where there is a hill with a rounded overhang"		shakaikan	Gilling Lake	
Kauassetaukat-shipiss	"the small river of the lake with the hill with the rounded overhang"		shipiss	Gilling River	
Kauauaiekamat	"round lake"	Naplek	shakaikan	Knob Lake	641000/6073500
Kauauatshikamashit innu-assi	"the reserve of the lake with several bends"		innu-assi	Naskapi Village	642800/6082450
Kauauatshikamashit-shakaikan	"the lake with several bends"		shakaikan	Matemace Lake	640100/6085700
Kauteitinat	"the mountain in the shape of a heart"		utshu	----------	618000/6085200
Kauteitinat-shakaikan	"the lake of the mountain shaped like a heart"		shakaikan	Elross Lake	617500/6082000
Matamekush	"the small trout"		shakaikaniss	----------	630000/6074700
Matamekush-shipiss	"small river of the lake of the small trout"		shipiss	----------	626000/6074690
Meiapui	"shitty water"		shakaikaniss	Dauriat Lake	640000/6075000
Mishenitshik[u]	"fat otter"		shakaikan	Bazil Lake	606000/6070500
Natuakupass	"the small basin of calm water surrounded by alders"		shakaikan	Guillet Lake	631100/6095000
Natuakupau	"the basin of calm water surrounded by alders"		shakaikan	Gillard Lake	
Natuashu	"divided in two"		shakaikan	Sauvaget Lake	635000/6088000
Papateu-shakaikan	"the lake of the river with flat rocks"		shakaikan	Stakit Lake	627500/6069500
Papateu-shipu	"the river with flat rocks"	Shapatish-shipu	shipu	Howells River	620000/6079300
Pishishkueu-shakaikan	"lake of the small woman"		shakaikan	Vacher Lake	655000/6086500
Shashish-innu-assi	"lake of the old reserve"		shakaikaniss	John Lake	643000/6074500

shakaikan					
Shetan-shakaikaniss	"little lake Sainte-Anne"		shakaikaniss	Hope Lake	642000/6069000
Takutaut-meshkanau	"the path to the summit of the mountain"	Ka-uteitinat-meshkanau; Greenbush-meshkanau; Redmond-meshkanau; Kausheiautshimut-meshkanau	meshkanau	----------	625000/6082100
Tshitua-Mani-katshimisht meshkanau	"the road of the Holy Virgin"		meshkanau	----------	630000/6084300

* shakaikan "lake"; shakaikaniss: "small lake";
shipu: "river"; shipiss: "small river, stream";
neiau: "point"; utshu "mountain";
innu-assi: "reserve, Indian territory";
meshkanau: "path"



LEGEND/LÉGENDE

Existing access road / Voie d'accès existante

Border/Frontière: Québec-Labrador

Figure 2
Toponymy / Toponymie

0 5 10 20

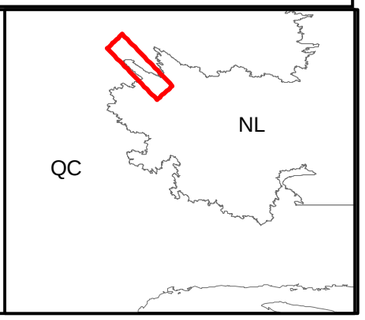
KILOMETRES/KILOMÈTRES

SCALE / ÉCHELLE:
1:250,000

UTM 19N NAD 83

FILE, VERSION, DATE, AUTHOR/
FICHIER, VERSION, DATE, AUTEUR:

GIS-0094-01 , 2009-05-05 , L.C.



The Innu toponyms are presented with brief comments below according to categories developed for the purposes of this study. Those categories are the following: resources; geographical features; people; religious sites; and miscellaneous.

4.1 Resources

Resources are represented by some ten toponyms in the Study Area, including one extremely noteworthy example, namely a term designating both the Matimekush Reserve itself and the small lake nearby that is of historical importance. The small Matamekush Lake has no equivalent in the official toponymy. It is located between Schefferville and the Howells River, and the stream or small river of the same name flows into it: Matamekush-shipiss. That place is famous. The oral tradition (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush) says that a group of hunters made up of the families of Sylvestre McKenzie and Joseph Jean-Pierre, among others, which was hunting in the area in the 1920s-1930s, had exhausted its food reserves and was in danger of starving to death. The discovery of this small lake very rich in brook trout saved them from a horrible fate. The name of the small lake still refers to this resource, which saved their lives.

Other toponyms refer to resources that are among the most common in the sector. Star Lake is thus named Kapimikueiepitakaniht-pineuat by the informant who occupies a cabin on its shores. The name, which means '"where one wrings the necks of partridges", refers to the abundance of Tetraonidae found there. Tommy Inishushakameshum, "Tommy Inish's fish-rich place," is a synonym reported by an Innu (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). It refers to the fact that a certain Tommy Inish was the first to discover this very fish-rich place, to which we shall return below.

Atikameku-shakaikan, '"the lake with whitefish," for de Milly Lake, is an ancient name and was recorded by ST-ONGE (1979). The contemporary Innu know it, but do not use it. The lake does not, however, have any other name.

Mishenitshik^{u}," the fat otter," is the current name of Bazil Lake. As its name indicates, the site is known for its otters. Anikutshash, "the squirrel," is a recent name for Squaw Lake, which is otherwise called Ishkueu-shakaikan. The Innu of Matimekush-Lac John used it

spontaneously. La Miltière Lake is called Kakuss, "the small porcupine." The contribution of this animal to the diet of the Innu is well known.

A few toponyms include references to plant resources. They are directly related to geographical features (see below), but indirectly, they also allude to potential resources, for example, sites for supplies of fuelwood or of alders for making various tools (e.g. frames for drying beaver pelts, tent pegs). This is the case with the following place names: Kaiatuekapausht, "where the trees (black spruce, *sheshekatik^{u})* are in small lines" is the name for a point on Sauvaget Lake; Kapishashkuat, "where the trees are small", is the name for Greenbush Lake; Kashakat, "where there are alders", is the name for Abel Lake; Katatakuashtuku-shipiss, "the stream of trees of the same height", is the name for Greenbush Brook; Natuakupass, "the small basin of calm water surrounded by alders", and Natuakupau, "the basin of calm water surrounded by alders", are the names for Guillet and Gillard lakes respectively.

4.2 Geographical Features

Geographical features are indispensable signs for finding one's way around on the land, which explains their very large number in the Study Area. If we add to those toponyms all the names of geographical features that the Innu use for spatial orientation (for example, *shipu* "river"; *shakaikan* "lake"; *neiau* "point"; etc.) as well as the geographical terms appearing in the toponyms as secondary referents (e.g. Matamekush-shipiss, "the small river of the lake with small trout"), we can certainly state that no fewer than 60% of all Innu toponyms have geographic connotations.

Several physical characteristics are used to differentiate features from each other. Shape plays a primary role, whether in reference to mountains (for example, Kautetinat "the mountain in the shape of a heart") or lakes (for example, Kauauaiekamat "round lake" for Knob Lake; Kauauatshikamashit-shakaikan "the lake with several bends" for Matemace Lake; Kauassetaukat-shakaikan "the lake where there is a round hill with a rounded overhang," for Gilling Lake). A specific characteristic can also be used as a referent: for example Papateu-shakaikan "the lake of the river with flat rocks" for the Howells River, referring to the stones found there; Kanipinamushut-shakaikan "lake where the water does not freeze in winter" for La Cosa Lake, so named because the

water along the lakeshore is reputed not to freeze in winter because of many tributaries; Katakutautshitut "where the summit is steep" for Wishart Lake and also alluding to an environmental characteristic. But the listing of all those toponyms goes far beyond the scope of this study.

We would, however, like to note a few other important details. For example, one recent toponym, Meiapui, for Dauriat Lake, in Schefferville itself, refers to pollution caused to the water body because of its proximity to the town. Meiapui really means "shitty water." Natuashu "divided in two" refers to a specific characteristic of Vacher Lake and Sauvaget Lake. Taken together, the two lakes seem to form a whole, of which one half, Sauvaget Lake, takes the name "divided in two."

4.3 People

From the Innu perspective, the land, is also and above all about people. Many names of individuals are thus associated historically with sites. Ishkueu-shakaikan "the lake of the woman," for Squaw Lake, is, no doubt, the best-known. The official French name is based on the Innu name. A woman Elder explained that the name of the lake derives from the fact that women once went to that lake specifically to gather stones the beauty of which made them suitable for making necklaces (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush). The use of the term Uepashtamakan-katueushit-shakaikan for the same lake seems to go back about 30 years, and the name Anikutshash, "the squirrel", currently in vogue, seems to be even more recent.

For the toponym Pishishkueu-shakaikan, the "lake of the small woman," which refers to Vacher Lake, the etymological explanations vary. MACKENZIE (1979) and ST-ONGE (1979) state that this is the "name of a woman who had found a good place for fishing". One of our informants said that the source of the name is an event from about 1925, when a woman of small stature is said to have given birth to a child at this very lake.

Mining operations also provided a few names of public figures connected to certain sites. The fame of Timmins is well established. According to the Innu, he was one of the big bosses of the Iron Ore Company, and he is identified with a very specific mine site on the mountain northwest of Schefferville (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). The persons for whom

other features are named are less well-known. For example, French Mine, which applies to a site near Burnt Creek, is so named because of a French-Canadian miner; Gagnon-shipiss, "Gagnon's stream", and Gagnon Lake, for Star Lake, refer to the name of the first mine foreman who worked at this location (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

Other names of individuals appear in toponyms, although we do not know their origins. Two such examples are the synonyms: Shapatish-shipu, "Jean-Baptiste River," for Howells River and Key Lake, widely used for La Cosa Lake.

4.4 Religious Sites

Two names associated with religion proved to be important. The first is the toponym Shetan-shakaikaniss, "le Petit lac Saint-Anne," used instead of the name Hope Lake. A statue of Sainte-Anne was erected at this lake about 30 years ago, and it is a pilgrimage site for Saint Anne's Day when the Innu cannot go to Sainte-Anne de Beaupré itself to celebrate the assembly of aboriginals in July of each year.

The second place name is Tshitua-Mani-katshimisht meshkanau, "the road of the Holy Virgin," to designate the dirt road that runs from Schefferville to Annabel Lake and Leroy Lake, which is very extensively used for hunting by the Innu. Along this road, actually at Hameau Lake, a statue of the Virgin was erected.

4.5 Miscellaneous

Two toponyms referring to the reserves merit comment. Kauauatshikamashit Innu-assi, '"the reserve of the lake with several bends,"' is the Innu name for the Naskapi reserve located 15 km northeast of Schefferville, on the shores of Matemace Lake. The same name is used by the Naskapis.

Shashish-Innu-assi shakaikan, "the "lake of the old reserve," is an interesting name. It is the name used by the Innu themselves — even the residents of John Lake — to designate the first site where the Innu settled in 1955. Today, most of the Innu live in Schefferville although some families still reside on this old site.

5 Historical Context of Innu Occupation

The data in this section are taken primarily from the monograph on Schefferville by LAFOREST (1983). It is part of a series of studies carried out in the early 1980s by the now-defunct Attikamek-Montagnais Council in most Innu and Attikamekw communities that were designed to create a large database that would be used for negotiating land claims.

The monographs all follow a similar model, with chapters devoted to prehistory, history and contemporary occupation described on the basis of interviews with Innu informants. Hunting, fishing, movements on the land, etc. are presented according to the yearly cycle of the hunting groups of each band.

5.1 The Historical Period

5.1.1 Prehistoric occupation (7000 BP to the contact period)

Amerindian presence in the general region of Schefferville (the south-central region of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula) goes back at least 7000 years. It occurred from two directions: the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the interior of Quebec. Incursions by the populations of the Maritime Archaic were at first brief and limited to caribou hunting and fishing. They took place mainly in the autumn and winter, and the resulting harvests supplemented a diet that was more coastal. Other populations also migrated from the centre of Canada. They sporadically inhabited the basin of the Moisie River around 6000 BP. These last populations of the Shield Archaic also came in time to use coastal resources more fully. They are considered to be the ancestors of the contemporary Montagnais-Naskapi.

5.1.2 The first Contacts

The first Europeans, other than the Vikings, reached the Quebec-Labrador region at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. During colonization, the Europeans developed an increasing interest in furs for the clothing market. Expeditions exclusively intended for the acquisition of pelts were organized, and the first trading sites appeared, including one at Tadoussac and another on the Bay of Sept-Îles. Certain Amerindians acted as intermediaries between the European traders and the aboriginal inhabitants of the hinterland.

KILOMETRES / KILOMÈTRES
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Figure 3

Le centre-sud de la péninsule Québec-Labrador
(d'après Laforest 1983)
Centre-south of the Québec-Labrador Peninsula
(according to Laforest 1983)

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Legend / Légende

- Communities / Communauté
- Railway / Voie ferrée
- Highway / Route
- Provincial power transmission line / Ligne de transport d'énergie provinciale
- Border / Frontière: Québec-Labrador

5.1.3 Land Settlement in the 17th and 18th Centuries

The 17th and 18th centuries were times of fierce competition between traders in Quebec and Labrador. Everyone was seeking a monopoly over the fur trade, the Tadoussac Trade or the King's Domain under the French regime, and English companies such as the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) under English rule. A trading post created in 1743 on Hamilton Inlet played a role among the populations of the south-central region, who occasionally travelled to the Labrador coast. The same was true for a Moisie outpost on Ashuanipi Lake at the turn of the 17th century. In the 1770s, the HBC, which was already firmly established in Rupert's Land since 1668, that is, in the James Bay and Hudson Bay region, began to extend its presence inland and constructed a series of posts that would play a role in the south-central region (e.g. the Caniapiscau outpost on the lake of the same name, which operated from 1834 to 1844; Fort Nascopie on Petitsikapau Lake, which operated from 1838 to 1873; etc.).

5.1.4 The Amerindian Populations in the 17th and 18th Centuries

On the basis of the information collected from old texts, including those of the first Jesuits, it is possible to paint a portrait of the various populations living in the south-central region. These reconstructions are, however, only approximate, since they are largely reflections of the prejudices and misunderstandings of the chroniclers of the period.

Seven groups in total seem to have shared the region. Going from the coast to the interior, they were: the ***Montagnais*** between Quebec City and Tadoussac; the ***Papinachois*** and the Montagnais around Betsiamites; the ***Chisebec*** and the ***Oumamiouek*** in the Sept-Îles and Moisie River region; the ***Cuneskapi*** on Ashuanipi Lake; the ***Ouchestigouetch*** east of the latter; and the ***Nitschikirinouets*** on Nichicun Lake. To give just one example, we also know that the Cuneskapi who occupied the Ashanipi Lake area comprised about 40 families.

5.1.5 Relationships with the Amerindians

The abundance of caribou in the south-central region permitted the Amerindians to be relatively independent in their relationships with the fur traders. Two herds were hunted. The first spent the summer on the western shore of Ungava Bay, but migrated in the autumn farther south to spend the winter as far away as Caniapiscau Lake. That herd

corresponds to the current Herd of Caniapiscau, Delorme and Opiscotéo lakes. The second herd spent time on the Atlantic coast and in the autumn migrated west, crossing the George River. The George River herd still exists today.

Caribou were essential to the survival of the Amerindians: they provided food, clothing, dwellings, tools and means of transportation. Their use governed the social organization of the hunters, among whom the family constituted the basic unit. In the fall, the hunters gathered at caribou crossings. In January and February, they were constantly on the move in search of caribou scattered over the land. When there were too few caribou, fishing and hunting of small game predominated.

In a context of abundant caribou, the participation of the Amerindians in the fur trade was limited. It also varied according to the new merchandise they wanted to acquire. A relatively small number of furs was enough to supply their needs. It is known, however, that fur trapping was in competition with the subsistence pattern of the populations of the interior. When the search for furs predominated, groups could face famine, because the two types of prey, fur animals and caribou, lived in different habitats.

5.1.6 Abandonment of the Central Plateau (1850-1875)

Caribou became rare in the Caniapiscau area from 1835 on, and the Fort Nascopie region experienced large forest fires. Caribou were confined to the tundra, and other animal populations experienced a significant demographic decline: hares and porcupines disappeared from the region; the southern populations of beaver were no longer as large, etc. At the turn of the 20th century, caribou disappeared to all intents and purposes from the Caniapiscau area. Beaver, historically rare in the northern sector of the central plateau, did not really make its appearance near Schefferville until the second half of the 20th century.

The consequences were disastrous for the Amerindians. Food shortages were reported everywhere, particularly in the Fort Chimo, Caniapiscau and Nichicun areas, in the 1830-1840s. Many deaths from starvation were also reported throughout the 19th century. The Amerindians reacted by increasing their involvement in the fur trade, which guaranteed them food supplies.

> "The 'dependency' of the Amerindians on the fur trade is indeed a consequence of a decrease in the caribou population. At the beginning of the 1890s, it was observed that only the "Eastern Naskapi" were not yet wearing clothing provided by the trading posts" (LAFOREST 1983: 37) [Translation]

Fort Nascopie, located on the shores of Petitsikapau Lake, was the main trading post on the central plateau. When caribou disappeared from the region, the Amerindians began to abandon it. Many were attracted by the new opportunities on the coasts, enticed by stories of the presence of the White people, boats and missionaries. Many migrated to the North Shore, others to Hamilton Inlet. The first ones to arrive at the coast did so in 1859. Many died along the way, along the Manicouagan, Trinité, Sainte-Marguerite and Moisie rivers. Those who survived developed marine activities (e.g. fishing and seal hunting in the estuaries). Fort Nascopie was closed in 1873.

5.1.7 The Amerindian Populations in the 19th Century (1800-1850)

In the nineteenth century, the main factor for attributing a band name to a specific group of families of hunters was no doubt the name of the trading post to which it went. The toponym of the hydrographic network frequented also played a role. This exocentric system was not concerned with how the Amerindian bands identified themselves or one another.

The south-central region of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula was no exception to that rule. The band names mentioned in the documentation show the operation of both of the preceding factors. In the Study Area, the biggest bands were the following, from north to south: the Petesekapau Band, the **Petesekapau Unnut**, made up of 14 families in 1860, who had the same name as the lake; a small band, the **Meneyik Unnut**, identified with Menihek Lake, was apparently affiliated with it; a further to the west, there was the Caniapiscau Lake Band, the **Kaniapeshkau Unnut**, who had such close links with the Sainte-Marguerite River Band, to the south, the **Tshemanipistuk Unnut**, made up of about 10 families, that the two groups sometimes formed one band.

Immediately east of this last group, there were also the **Mista Shipu Unnut**, the "Innu of the Big River," i.e. the Moisie River Innu. Some 10 families also maintained close links with the people of the hinterland. The same is true of the **Mishikamau Unnut**, in the

northeast, the "Innu of the Big Lake," in reference to Mishikamau Lake, whose land was at a crossing point between the Labrador coast and Sept-Îles.

One last group is notable, the **Wesakwopetan Unnut**, living around Shelter Bay, and whose activities were dispersed between the shore of the St. Lawrence and inland over more than 150 kilometres along the Shelter Bay River.

Surrounding these groups, there were also many other Innu bands, such as those of the Mingan River, North West River, Davis Inlet, George River, Nichicun Lake, etc. Movements between all these groups were frequent as a result of numerous factors: the presence of game, matrimonial alliances, rotation of territories, kinship relationships, etc.

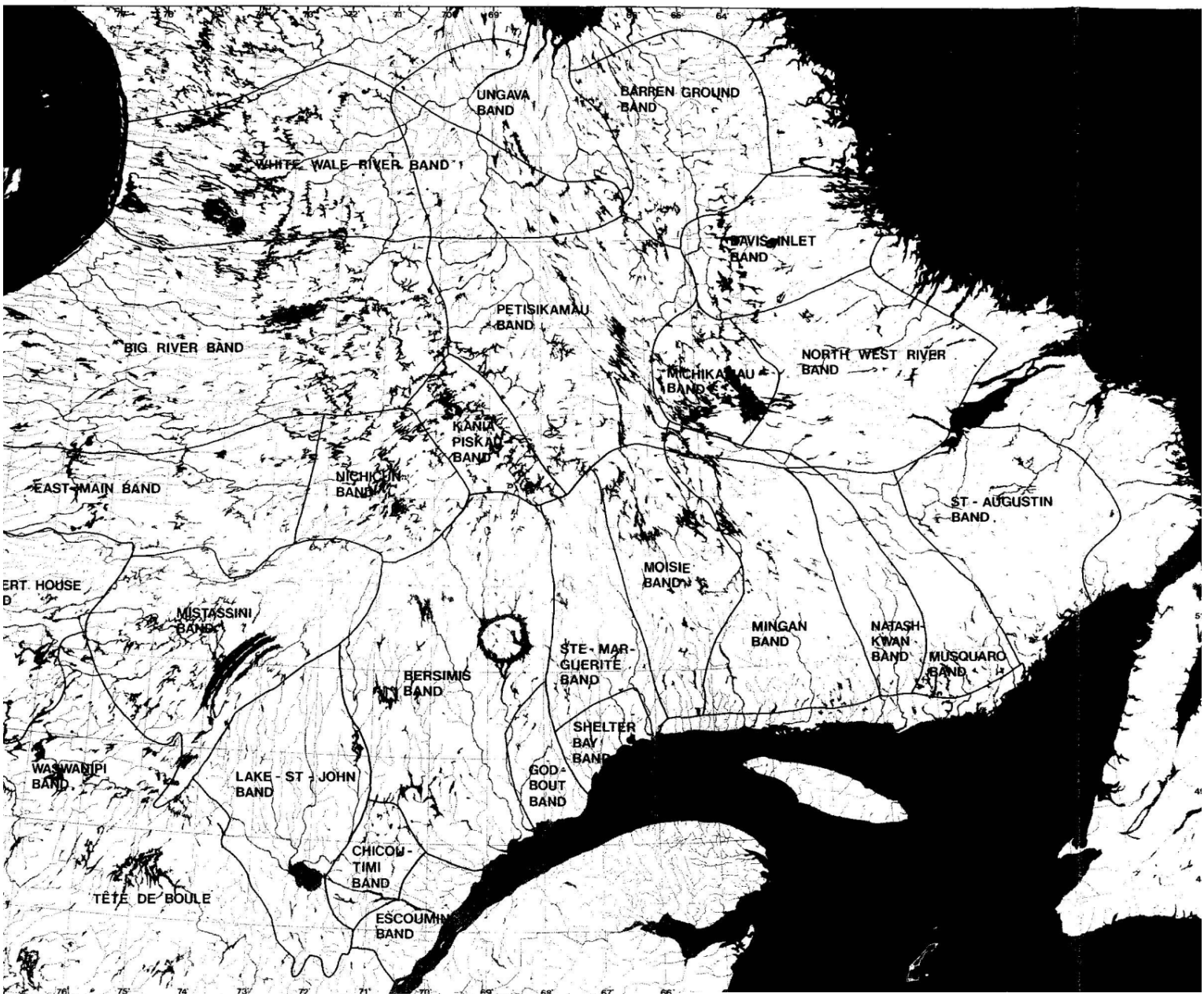
5.2 The Contemporary Period

5.2.1 The Sept-Îles Band

The closing of Fort Nascopie in 1873 had major consequences for the organization of the Innu. New groups formed, and trading habits changed. One group travelled to Fort Chimo in the north. The other half of the hunters associated with Fort Nascopie now travelled to Sept-Îles, Mingan or North West River.

The Caniapiscau and Petitsikapau bands joined the group from Sainte-Marguerite, while the Michikamau and Ashuanipi families joined the Moisie families. When the Moisie trading post closed (after 1895), all the groups went to trade in Sept-Îles, although the former Moisie trading post would remain a summer camp area for many families.

The Sept-Îles Reserve was established in 1909. In 1926, it was populated by about 60 families; 200 Aboriginals still used the Moisie site. In 1950, the Moisie Band numbered more than 800 individuals.



KILOMETRES / KILOMÈTRES
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Figure 4

Bandes indiennes de la péninsule Québec-Labrador
(d'après Laforest 1983) /
Indian Bands of the Québec-Labrador Peninsula
(according to Laforest 1983)

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The Amerindians of the Sept-Îles Reserve called themselves the **Uashaunnut**. They were all Innu. However, there were distinctions. Those who went up the Sainte-Marguerite River were known as the **Tshemanipistuk Unnut**, and their land extended beyond Lake Caniapiscau. Those who frequented the Moisie were called the **Mista Shipu Unnut**, namely the "Innu of the Big River". They sometimes went as far north as the east branch of the George River.

Furthermore, a distinction was made between the Innu who went inland, the **Nutshimi Unnut**, the "Innu of the woods", and those who used coastal resources during the winter, the **Winipek Unnut**, the "Innu of the coast." There was also a Métis population that lived mainly close to the trading posts.

5.2.2 The Pursuit of Traditional Activities in the South-Central Area

During this period, fur trapping took on considerable importance. Dependency on supplies from the trading posts increased. Formerly, hunting and fishing provided all the necessities of life. Now the Innu had to rely on good results from the trapping season to survive. Competition also developed between the HBC and other traders, mainly the French company Révillon et frères, which opened posts in 1903 all along the North Shore of the St. Lawrence. That competition had advantages and disadvantages: fur prices increased, but that brought about a decrease in the populations of fur-bearers. Certain regions, however, maintained excellent fur supplies: for example Lake Caniapiscau, where an abundance of marten and fox was still found.

To counteract the effects of competition, among other reasons, the HBC re-opened posts inland. In the region with which we are concerned, a post was established at the source of the Swampy River, Fort McKenzie, which operated from 1916 to 1948. It attracted hunters both from the Ungava and from the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Hudson Bay. Other outposts were also possibly established.

The Sept-Îles Innu also had to contend with a significant influx of white or Métis trappers who came into the hinterland, even west of Michikamau Lake, between 1895 and 1920. For several reasons, including the opening of an air base at Goose Bay in 1941, those newcomers gradually abandoned their traplines and the movement into the hinterland was reversed.

In the first half of the 20th century, most of the Sept-Îles Innu continued their traditional activities in south-central Labrador. The first subsidies (e.g. food coupons; assistance for the sick) appeared during that period, and various types of jobs, temporary or seasonal, began to be offered to the Amerindians.

5.2.3 Mine Development

The mining industry appeared in the region starting in 1867, when a smelter went into operation in Moisie, Les Forges de Moisie, to process ferruginous sand. Inland, this industry goes back to the first references to ore made by the missionaries ARNAUD and BABEL when they explored the hinterland. References were made in 1860 by Father BABEL to the area south of Petitsikapau Lake, then in the 1890s by the geologist ALBERT P. LOW. Other explorers reported discoveries of deposits, and some short-lived mining work occurred. It was only in 1945 that mining camps were established on the shores of Knob Lake, and test drilling was carried out. Those activities had a ripple effect: a landing strip was built; an electric company was set up; and surveying was done to build a railway line. The railway was completed in 1954, as were port facilities in Sept-Îles. Production began the same year, and the Town of Schefferville was incorporated in 1955.

5.2.4 Development of Government Activities in Aboriginal Communities

The Mani-Utenam Reserve was created in 1949. The inhabitants of the Moisie River were forced to move there, as were the families living in Sept-Îles. Many of the latter refused. They eventually won their case, with the result that today there is a community on each of the two reserves, Uashat and Mani-Utenam. Mandatory school attendance began immediately with the construction of a residential school in Mani-Utenam in 1951.

To protect beaver trapping, the governments of Quebec and Canada created at the beginning of the 1940s a system of beaver reserves, where trapping was reserved exclusively for the aboriginals. The Saguenay Beaver Reserve, which includes Matimekush and John Lake, was created in 1954.

Starting in the 1950s, new transfer payment programs appeared that would also influence traditional activities. Social assistance, old age pensions, family allowances, etc. became increasingly available.

5.2.5 The Settlement of the Innu in Schefferville

The Second World War caused fur prices to collapse on the world market. The inland posts and outposts were closed one after the other. For many Amerindians, it became essential to find new sources of income. As a result, many Sept-Îles Innu worked on the construction of the railway and the mining development in Schefferville. The prospect of finding jobs also attracted aboriginals from other reserves (Pessamit, Nutashkuan, Sheshatshit). All those workers and their families settled near Knob Lake, but living conditions were difficult there, not to mention that once they had left their reserves, they were no longer eligible for government assistance. Fearing that the presence of the Innu would cause the pollution of Knob Lake, the mining company offered them in 1956 a new site near John Lake. They moved there.

The same year, some 175 Naskapis who were in the habit of meeting in Fort Chimo settled near the Schefferville railway station. The following year, the town asked that the Naskapis be moved away, again invoking the danger of water pollution. The Naskapis thus joined the Innu already resettled at John Lake.

In 1957, more than 500 Innu lived in Schefferville, but their status was still not recognized by the Department of Indian Affairs. The federal government, anticipating the end of mining development work, put pressure on them to return to their original reserves. Some complied with those directives, but more than 300 individuals stayed. They were mostly families whose hunting territory was nearby. In 1968, the Schefferville Innu were finally recognized as an autonomous band.

There followed a period of housing development near the Town of Schefferville, on a point that extends into Pearce Lake. Some Innu opposed this move and won their case. Other houses were therefore built in 1975 on the shores of John Lake.

Today, most of the Innu live on the Matimekush Reserve, outside of Schefferville. A few families still remain at John Lake, 3.5 km east of the town.

The Schefferville Innu designate themselves by the name **Naplekinnuat**, namely the "Innu of Knob Lake." The expression Schefferville Innuat is also used. The Elders still identify themselves as **Mishta Shipu Innuat**, the "Innu of the Big River," i.e. the Moisie River. The **Mishta Shipu Innuat** are a subgroup of the **Uashau-innuat** of Sept-Îles.

> In fact, the current population of Schefferville is made up of families and their descendants whose hunting territories have always been in the region. As such, they are Amerindians of the land, NUTSHIMI UNNUT. The territory they frequent still corresponds to that of the former Michikamau and Petitsikapau bands, and certain sectors of the territory of the Kaniapiskau Band. As we have seen, the Michikamau and Petitsikapau bands joined the Moisie Band to form a single group, the Mista Shipu Unnut. Almost all the Schefferville Montagnais are connected by kinship. They still have frequent contacts with those who live in Sept-Îles and Maliotenam. (FRENETTE in LAFOREST 1983: 86-91)

The Schefferville Innu can still be called **Kameshtupuspet**, namely those who go far inland. This is a general sub-category, like the Uinipeku-Innuat, the "Innu of the coast," which indicates this time the relative situation of a subgroup, in this case the northernmost Innu of the former Moisie Band. They are the ones whose descendants are the members of the Matimekush-Lac John community.

5.3 Land Use from 1900 to 1956

The following description is based on data collected from informants in Schefferville during the 1980s. Only the most relevant information, that relating to the Study Area, has been retained. That in no way invalidates the observation that the occupation and use of land and resources far surpasses the limited framework of this report.

5.3.1 Routes

Hunting and fishing activity within a given territory involved the use of specific routes, year after year, to reach the areas exploited. Two annual migrations defined the cycle of activity of the Mishta-shipu-Innuat during the first half of the 20th century. The first involved a journey in June from the interior to the sea; the second involved a journey in late summer in the opposite direction, towards the hinterland. The main route extended from the mouth of the Moisie River to Great Menihek Lake in the north. The journey lasted approximately one month. Along the way, the group separated into single- or

multi-family units, each of which travelled in different directions. The same applied at Menihek Lake, which served as “the crossroads for several trails criss-crossing the slope of the Caniapiscau basin and the head of the George and Whale rivers located north and northeast of the territory and the Nascaupi and Hamilton basins to the east.” (LAFOREST 1983: 112).

Numerous secondary routes radiating outwards from Menihek Lake allowed hunters to travel in all directions. One in particular extended to the Matimekush area as follows:

> “From Lake Menihek, the MISTA SHIPIU UNNUT could enter the eastern slope of the Caniapiscau basin via the McPhayden River (UPUSHKUESHKAU SHIPU), the outlet of Clark Lake (METSHUSISHTUN SHIPU), and a chain of lakes leading to Bazil Lake (MESHENTSUK), the Rivière au Sable (MESHENTSUK SHIPU) and the Swampy Bay River (USHKASSIU SHIPU). This river route is connected to the secondary route of the Astray, Petitsikapau (PETISSIKAPAU), and Attikamagen (NATIKAMEIKAN) great lakes, and extends beyond the borders of the MISTA SHIPIU UNNUT territory to the trading posts at Fort McKenzie (KANTSHEKAKUMAU) and Fort Chimo (USHKAIKAN).” (LAFOREST 1983: 116)

5.3.2 Territorial Divisions

A territorial division existed among the Mishta-shipu-Innuat, characterized by various ecological zones, specific animal species and even cultural specificities. This division between the Innu of the coast (Uinipeku-Innuat) and the Innu of the high lands (Kameshtukuspet) split the territory into southern and northern sectors. The northern sector, which is the focus of our study, was dominated by an open lichen forest, and caribou was the principal resource, as opposed to the beaver located further south. The sectors were divided into family hunting grounds, each of which was usually run by a leader commonly designed as *utshimau* (“chief”, “captain”). A family or multi-family unit was often thus referred to by the name of its captain, i.e.: “Bastien had another name [...]; it was SHUIAPEU. The other families [...], they called us SHUIAPEUT because that designated the whole family, an entire group, Bastien Dominique’s family” (LAFOREST 1983: 119).

Territorial boundaries were dynamic and subject to change from year to year, although certain families were assigned specific areas where they usually hunted. All members of the community also had access to the entire territory. The survey of Schefferville families allowed these spatial units to be clearly designated. In the study area during this period, the family of Joseph Vachon was located in the area surrounding Meshentsuk Lake

(Bazil Lake), and the families of Bastien Dominique, Pierre Gabriel and William Meloatam were located to the east and northeast of that family, around Natikameiken Lake (Astray Lake) (Map 18; LAFOREST 1983).

5.3 3 Annual Cycle

Overall, the annual cycle of activity during the first half of the 20th century was divided into five phases: "the summer journey up, the autumn hunt, the wintering period, the return journey in spring and the trip to the sea" (LAFOREST 1983: 123). The autumn phase was divided into two periods: before and after the freeze-up. The return journey in spring was also divided into two: the trip to the meeting places and the trip to the coast.

The summer journey, during which supplies that were brought along were consumed, took place in August. The division of the territory into exploitable areas often took place during that journey. The trip to Menihek lasted over a month. The type of shelter used then was a conical tent covered with cotton fabric (*teshtuakantshuap*). The means of transportation used was, obviously, the canoe, occasionally equipped with a sail for crossing large lakes. The summer journey also involved a constant search for food, during which fishing, primarily for salmon and then for other species, played a major role. Travellers also hunted small game along portage routes or near intermediate campgrounds. From Menihek, people travelled in small, two- or three-family groups. During the 1950s, people also travelled part-way by train. Hydroplane transportation also became available then.

When the group entered the area in which it intended to spend the winter, or shortly before reaching it, it focused on hunting large game, seeking to accumulate provisions for the autumn hunt. Before freeze-up, caribou sightings were also noted. The autumn campsite was established near a body of water, where nets were installed, and freeze-up was awaited at that location. If caribou were slaughtered in the surrounding area, the base camp was moved to that area so that they could be butchered. Any excess, along with certain types of fish (e.g., suckers) caught to serve as bait, was placed in storage areas for the coming months. The beginning of the trapping season usually coincided with freeze-up. The camp was then moved once again, near a lake rich in fish. The main type of fish caught was the Lake trout. The people lived in a round, flat-roofed shelter

called an *uishkatshantshuap*, or *apunueshitshuap*. The group exploiting these resources, consisting of one, or sometimes two, nuclear families remained in the same location until the holidays, and its main activity involved trapping fur-bearers. Labour was divided by gender: the men would leave for several consecutive days to tend the traplines, while the women remained at the base camp with the children, preparing the skins and hunting small game, etc. The trapping territory consisted of several traplines that were checked on a regular basis. During the autumn season, some groups were more mobile, moving campsites every two weeks, depending on the presence or absence of game. From 1945 onwards, certain families travelled down to Sept-Îles by plane for the holiday period, thus marking the transition to winter subsistence hunting.

From the end of December until March, the principal activities included fishing, small game hunting and caribou hunting. Depending on the abundance of caribou, families also came together for group hunts. During the winter, groups would sometimes travel to a trading post for supplies. In March, another phase of trapping began, very often in another area. The main species hunted were the same as in the autumn, i.e. otter, marten, fox and mink.

In April, groups began travelling down towards the spring gathering place. This first phase of the descent included stops to hunt otter. Gatherings took place at Menihek and Ashuanipi lakes, where migratory birds were hunted. During the last weeks of June, families undertook the second phase of their descent, which led them toward the sea. An Elder acted as leader, and his experience led the group to the proper location without any problems. The summer season involved trading, family gatherings and preparations for the return to the hinterland.

5.4 Land Use from 1957 to 1982

Overall territorial occupation strategies changed when some of the Mishta-shipu-Innuat settled in Schefferville around 1956. The promise of employment for at least 100 years (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush) attracted a significant number of individuals. The newcomers, the Naplek Innuat or Schefferville Innuat, thus established a new base of operations from which traditional activities radiated. However, these activities were incorporated into

their lifestyle differently, since they no longer constituted the only types of economic activity:

> "Comparatively speaking, during the first period, these activities were interdependent elements of the same economic system; here, however, they constituted independent activities. The symbiotic relationship between subsistence hunting and commercial trapping was not self-evident during the second period" (LAFOREST 1983 : 182).

5.4.1 Outside Influences

Several political, economic and social factors account for the changes observed in land-use during the second half of the 20th century. They included: the creation of the Saguenay Beaver Reserve in 1954; the massive influx of Euro-Canadian workers in the mining sector and their predatory activities within the territory; the signature of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement and the Northeastern Québec Agreement in the 1970s; restrictions imposed on the Schefferville and the Sept-Îles Innu by the Newfoundland government, which, beginning in 1968, no longer considered them to be Labrador residents. Many measures were imposed on the Innu who occupied the land, resulting immediately in restricting the size of the territory that they could occupy and the activities that they were able to carry out within it. They also led to a more sedentary lifestyle and suffered related constraints. That may explain why the territory used appears smaller than that occupied during the first half of the century.

5.4.2 Routes

Beginning in the 1950s, the use of the territory was characterized by intermittent stays on the land. The main area of settlement was Schefferville. The modes of transportation –train, snowmobile, motorized canoe – were faster, and the Innu reached their principal activity sites very often on the day of as their departure. Resources, especially caribou and Lake trout, also in greater supply, were no doubt more easily accessible to them than for other communities.

Routes changed and now included those constructed to meet the needs of the mining industry. Traffic was therefore heavier in the area surrounding the community, where, "after several hours' walk, people began activities such as hunting, trapping and fishing" (LAFOREST 1983: 197). Aircraft were used to travel further afield. Traditional modes of transport (snowshoes, toboggan, canoe) were still used, and the old and new modes

complemented each other. Trips on the land therefore took place in increments; trains and roads were often used for the first part of a journey, in winter and summer alike; and canoes, snowmobiles or snowshoes were used for the final sections of the journey.

5.4.3 Annual Cycle

Despite the many changes that took place due to external influences, traditional hunting and fishing remained very important to the Innu population for food, clothing, healthcare and trade. However, over time, those activities gave way to other sources of income. When mining operations ceased in the early 1980s, trapping increased and was also stimulated by government grants.

The annual cycle of activity during this period basically involved the same phases as the cycle during the first half of the 20th century. The types of activity were divided in more or less the same manner, with priority assigned to subsistence from autumn before freeze-up to winter and spring, while trapping fur-bearers took place after the autumn freeze-up and in late winter. Summer was devoted to salaried employment, although fishing also constituted a major activity.

The autumn season emphasized the caribou hunt, which had begun in late summer. Since 1967-68, hunters have favoured areas under Quebec jurisdiction. That hunt was principally a male activity. Gradually, other activities, such as net fishing and hunting small game, beaver and waterfowl, also took place. Certain groups also left Schefferville by aircraft in early October to stay on the land for prolonged periods. Those groups consisted mainly of men. Traditional dwellings were always used.

After freeze-up, activity focused mainly on trapping fur-bearers. The principal animal hunted was the marten, both near the town or in remote areas. People travelled to their territory by train or snowmobile. As during the previous period, metal traps were used, although wooden traps were occasionally set as well. Trapping was also more easily dissociated from subsistence activity, since hunters could count on sources of supply other than their own captures. Occasionally, hunters spread nets and hunted ptarmigan. In mid-December, groups of hunters in remote areas returned to the reserve.

Very little activity took place in January-February, since animals hibernated or moved about infrequently during this time. People focused more closely on the caribou hunt, especially between late February and May.

In March, the caribou hunt often took place on a collective basis, in the southwest during the 1970s and north of Schefferville during the 1980s. In late winter, trapping increased. Occasionally, hunters travelled to remote areas for two months. Hunters appeared to trap less frequently than during the autumn: “The trapping of marten, mink, fox, lynx and weasel ended around April 15 or 30, while beaver, otter and muskrat could be caught until mid-June” (LAFOREST 1983: 211). As the weather warmed up, other activities were added, such as small game hunting or ice fishing. Around mid-April, groups located in remote areas returned to Schefferville.

In the spring, many camps were established for periods varying from a few days to one or two weeks to allow people to hunt waterfowl. They hunted Canada goose in early May, and then other species, whose hunting season lasted longer. Break-up followed, and net fishing increased.

The summer season, from mid-June to September, was mainly devoted to fishing. However, during that period, most efforts were focused on salaried employment—the mining sector before the 1980s, and then house construction, public works and outfitting. Summer was also the time for trips to Sept-Îles or Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré for the annual pilgrimage in July.

5.5 Conclusions

During the first half of the 20th century, the occupation of the territory by the Mishta-shipu-Innuat was characterized by a nomadic lifestyle and a pattern of use of resources in accordance with a millennial model. From the 1950s on, the influence of industrial society and government intervention disturbed that model and gave rise to new modes of harvesting centered around the Matimekush-Lac John community.

As we shall soon see, the current situation basically reflects the same model of harvesting that prevailed after the cessation of mining operations during the 1980s. This

model will not be documented in its entirety, since the territory covered by our study does not extend beyond 30 km from the Matimekush-Lac John reserve. Activities in the Schefferville area do, however, follow the same annual cycle and a similar pattern.

6 Innu Use of the Schefferville Region

Contemporary use of the Schefferville region by the Innu follows essentially the same pattern as that described in the previous section. It is reconstructed from interviews conducted with 10 informants. The interviews dealt mainly with activity during 2008. The few informants who did not frequent the study area during 2008 for various reasons (illness, work, etc.) were questioned about their most recent use of the land, which occurred, except in one case, within the past 10 years (see Table 5). Additional information was also collected regarding activity prior to the contemporary period of use. This information often consisted of clarifications provided spontaneously by the Innu to explain the contemporary situation more clearly.

The discussion of data concerning the use of the Study Area generally recapitulates the subjects discussed in the previous section, namely movements within the territory, the organization of the hunt and the annual cycle, and ends with a brief conclusion.

6.1 Movement

6.1.1 Routes

There are two main gravel roads that cross the Study Area. The lower part of the second one was previously used for mining operations. Those two roads are known in Innu as Tshitua-Mani-katshimisht meshkanau (Blessed Virgin Road) and Takutaut-meshkanau (Mountain Summit Road). The first road extends from Schefferville to Annabel and Leroy lakes. It runs along the shores of several major lakes, in particular Kanipinamushut-shakaikan ("the lake whose water does not freeze in winter"), otherwise known as Lake La Cosa, where several miners built cabins that have now been taken over by the Innu (see below). The second road, Takutaut-meshkanau, runs partially parallel to the first, but is located slightly to the west. The Innu have named it in several ways, which seem to vary depending on the desired destination, i.e. either Kauteitinat-meshkanau (Heart-shaped Mountain Road); Greenbush-meshkanau (Greenbush Road) or Redmond-meshkanau (Redmond Road). This road also starts in Schefferville and extends to Lake Le Fer. It crosses a mountain that was one of the principal sites previously exploited for its iron deposits. At the "heart-shaped mountain" along the east flank of which it runs, it divides into two parts, one of which runs to Greenbush to the northeast, and the other to

Howells River to the west. It crosses the Howells River and follows it west bank. There are also many secondary dirt roads that join the two preceding roads.

These two roads are the main routes for the Innu in the Study Area. There are two other noteworthy roads. The first is a dirt road from Schefferville southwest towards Wishart Lake. Several users take it to travel from this point, via snowmobile or ATV depending on the season, to Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) situated further west. From there, all of the Howells River is accessible.

The other route begins in Schefferville and extends in a northeasterly direction. It crosses Ishkueu-shakaikan (Squaw Lake) and continue to Natuashu (Lake Sauvaget) and Pishishkueu-shakaikan (Lake Vacher). Part of it is a dirt road, at the end of which users may proceed via watercraft. In the winter, the Innu travel here by snowmobile.

Table 5 provides a few details regarding the travels of the Innu who participated in this study. It summarizes the profile given above concerning exploited sites as well as routes. This profile could be more detailed. For example, the principal site used by Informant No. 3 is Star Lake, but resource harvesting was not limited to that lake. We asked that informant to delineate the borders of the territory that he used in the surrounding area. Map 5 illustrates those details. That hunter thoroughly covered the entire area between Star Lake to the east, Howells River to the west, Elross Lake to the north and Stakit Lake to the south. Activities in that area took place on an ongoing basis. That situation may also apply to other users of the land, whom the scope of this study did not allow us to meet.

Table 5. Travel within the Study Area

Inf. #	Principal Sites Used	Routes	Mode of Transport - Winter	Mode of Transport - Spring	Mode of Transport - Summer	Mode of Transport - Autumn
1	a. Takutaut-meshkanau b. Kakuss –La Miltière Lake	a. Takutaut-meshkanau b. Dirt road and trail running through lakes Squaw, Vacher, etc. areas	snowmobile	car/truck	car/truck water craft	car/truck snowmobile
2	a. Takutaut-meshkanau b. Papateu-shipu – Howells River c. Natuashu –Sauvaget Lake	a. Takutaut-meshkanau b. Takutaut-meshkanau c. Dirt road and trail	snowmobile[1]	snowmobile[1]	car/truck[1]	car/truck[1]
3	Star Lake	Takutaut-meshkanau and trails	snowmobile	car/truck snowmobile ATV	car/truck ATV	car/truck AVT snowmobile
4	a. Takutaut-meshkanau b. Star Lake	Takutaut-meshkanau	snowmobile[2]	snowmobile[2]	car/truck[3]	———
5	a. Takutaut-meshkanau b. Tshitua-Mani-katshimisht meshkanau c. Pishishkueu-shakaikan – Vacher Lake	a. Takutaut-meshkanau b. Tshitua-Mani-katshimisht meshkanau c. Dirt road and snowmobile trail	snowmobile	car/truck snowmobile helicopter[4]	car/truck	car/truck
6	Papateu-shakaikan - Stakit Lake	Dirt road and trail running through Katakutautshitut – Wishart Lake	snowmobile	snowmobile car	car/truck	car/truck snowmobile
7	a. Papateu-shakaikan - Stakit Lake b. Shetan-shakaikan - Hope Lake		snowmobile	snowmobile	car/truck	car/truck
8	a. Takutaut-meshkanau Papateu-shakaikan - b. Stakit Lake c. Matamekush	a. Takutaut-meshkanau b. Dirt road c. Dirt road	———	snowmobile[5]	car/truck water craft	———
9	Papateu-shakaikan - Stakit Lake	Snowmobile trail	———	snowmobile[6]	———	———
10	a. Kanipinamushut-	a. Tshitua-Mani-katshimisht	snowmobile	car/truck	car/truck	car/truck

	shakaikan - La Cosa Lake b. Pishishkueu-shakaikan – Vacher Lake	meshkanau b. Land route and trail passing through Ishkueu-shakaikan – Squaw Lake)		snowmobile watercraft		snowmobile

1. 1997
2. Winter and spring 2005
3. Summer 2006
4. 2006
5. May 1982
6. March 1998

620,000 625,000 630,000

67°W

6,085,000

6,080,000

6,075,000

6,070,000

54°50'N

Pinette Lake

Howells River

Howells River

Lac Star

Stork Lake

Stakit Lake

KILOMETRES / KILOMÈTRES
0 1 2

1:60,000

UTM19N NAD83

Figure 5

Hunting Area /
Aire de chasse (Inf. #3)

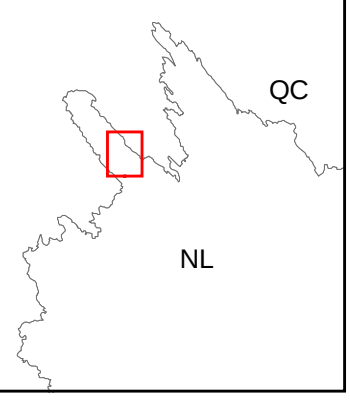
GIS-0079-00 2009-04-15 L.C.

CONFIDENTIAL

LEGEND / LÉGENDE

- Hunting Area / Aire de chasse
- Cabin / Chalet
- Existing access road / Voie d'accès existante
- Border / Frontière: Québec / Labrador

LOCATION / LOCALISATION



6.1.2 Modes of Transport

Table 5 also provides several details of the modes of transportation used. In the winter, snowmobile was the mode of choice. After the spring thaw, mixed means (truck, ATV, watercraft) replaced it for the summer. After freeze-up, the snowmobile once again became the preferred mode. Helicopters were also used in special cases in 2006 to rescue hunters stranded by a premature freeze in the Pishishkueu-shakaikan (Vacher Lake) region.

Those transportation modes differ significantly from those recorded for the period preceding the cessation of mining operations. Traditional modes, such as snowshoes and toboggan, were abandoned in favour of motorized means. Canoes are now motorized and are often abandoned in favour of a large craft (*freighters)*, especially for bodies of water that allow this (for example, lakes Vacher, Sauvaget, etc.). Although they apply to the Study Area, these observations may not apply in more remote areas.

Table 6 presents information on the number and duration of harvesting trips and on the duration of trips to harvesting areas broken down by season. The average travel time is relatively short (between 30 and 60 min.) and does not appear to vary by season. Significantly longer travel times noted in the table (e.g. five hours for Informant. No. 2 in spring) reflect very difficult weather conditions, for example during break-up. We shall discuss this table further below.

Table 6. Number of Harvesting Trips, Duration of Trips and Travel Time, by Season

Inf. #	Winter Trips	Winter Duration	Winter Travel[1]	Spring Trips	Spring Duration	Spring Travel[1]	Summer Trips	Summer Duration	Summer Travel[1]	Autumn Trips	Autumn Duration	*Autumn* Travel[1]
1	20	2-3 days	2-4 hrs	1	7-10 days	45 min	weekends	2 days	?	weekends	2 days	1 hr
2	5-6	2 days	45 min	1	2 weeks	½-5 hrs	1	1 day	1 day	often	round trip	?
3	weekends evenings	2-3 days round trip	30 min 30 min	weekends long w.	2-3 days 2 weeks	30 min 30 min	often	1 evening	20 min	weekends long w.	2-3 days 15 days	20-30 min
4	?	?	?	1	2 weeks	?	weekends	2-3 days	15-20 min	?	?	?
5	6	round trip	20 min	weekends evening long w.	round trip round trip 7-10 days	50 min	weekends	round trip	3-4 hrs	weekends	round trip	30 min
6	weekends	2-3 days	1.5 hrs	weekends long w.	2-3 days 2 weeks	1 hr	weekends	2-3 days	1 hour	weekends	2-3 days	1 hour
7	often	2-3 days	1.5 hrs	1	1 week	1 hr	often	1-7 days	15 min	1	3 days	1.5 hours
8	——	——	——	1	1 week	1 hr	often 1 long w 2 1	—— 1 week round trip round trip	1.5 hours 1.5 hours 1 hour 1 hour	Every day	round trip	n/a
9	3-4	round trip	?	——	——	——	——	——	——	——	——	——
10	10-12	round trip	?	1 long w.	round trip 1 week	2 hrs 1hr	3 5	round trip 1 day	n/a 30 min	2 2-3	round trip round trip	? ?

[1] Duration of trip from residence to harvesting location.

Key: ? missing data; - no activity during period in question; n/a not applicable.

6.2 Organization of the Hunt

6.2.1 Hunting Groups

Hunting groups in the Study Area vary in all possible ways. In that regard, the pattern more closely resembles that of the second half of the 20th century than the more traditional pattern, according to which groups consisted typically of a nuclear or extended family. A new variation occurs now, however, in that individuals sometimes hunt alone, since the proximity of hunting grounds allows for this. Informants nonetheless pointed out the disadvantage and dangers of hunting alone, although the practice is widespread. Table 7, which illustrates the composition of hunting groups, attests to this. It includes several references to hunts without a partner in winter and autumn. It must also be noted that that practice applies exclusively to round trips.

Adult males also hunt in single-sex groups. That trend increased along with a sedentary lifestyle and obligatory education for children. It is practised frequently near the reserves. Individuals go hunting with a friend in the same age group or with a parent, with someone younger (e.g., a younger brother) or with someone older (father-in-law). All-male groups may also consist of upto five adults, especially for the goose hunt in spring.

A hunting group is often composed of a single nuclear family, which is the traditional model. That is the case for at least two informants and it occurs year-round. There is no deviation from this, except to open the group to the extended family.

There are two other situations. Hunting groups consisting of upto 40 may be formed in one of two situations: the spring goose hunt, in which case the groups often consist of people related by blood; the second is new and involves groups of Elders and of younger individuals (aged between 11 and 12 years) formed for educational purposes. Every year, a group such as this one is formed for a week-long trip to the bush in the Greenbush area, where the Elders share their traditional knowledge and know-how with the younger people.

Table 7. Composition of Hunting Groups

Inf. #	WINTER	SPRING	SUMMER	*AUTUMN*
1	3 - 4 adult males	2 adult males	a. 2 adult males b. with younger people (fishing)	a. 2-3 adult males b. with younger people (beaver)
2	a. alone b. 2 adult males	several families (30 - 40 people)	1 adult male and 4 adult women	a. alone b. with younger people
3	One family (2 adults, 2 children, 1 grandchild)	a. one family b. 20 people in 2007	one family	a. one family b. wife only
4	?	?	one family (2 adults; 1 young man, 32 years old)	?
5	a. alone b. with younger brother	a. 3-5 adult males b. 2 adults (friend or wife)	3-4 adults (with friends and wife)	2 adults (with brother, friend or wife)
6	one family (2 adults, 1 child, 1 grandchild)	a. one family b. with brother's family and/or friends	one family	one family
7	?	20 people (relatives and friends)	With children and grandchildren	With children and grandchildren
8	———	2-3 adult males	a. 18 people (6 adults and 12 children aged 11-12) b. 2 adult males c. with child aged 4-5	?
9	a. with father-in-law b. with friend c. with child	———	———	———
10	With father-in-law	a. 4 adult males + grand-nephew and guests b. with friend c. with wife	a. with father-in-law b. 2 families (informant's family and in-laws)	a. with father-in-law b. alone

6.2.2 Campsites

When the Innu make round trips on the same day to hunt or fish in the Study Area, no shelter of any significance is built. At the very most, a tarp is placed on stakes to protect them from the elements. When the trip involves an overnight stay, especially during the summer, they may sleep under the stars. At least that is what one informant (No. 1) reported when he provided details regarding fishing trips in July to the Vacher and Sauvaget lakes area. The same informant used a fabric tent (*patshuianitshuap*) when children accompanied him for the same activities.

Table 8 illustrates the types of shelter used by the Innu in the study area. The traditional fabric tent is still used frequently, although occasionally they use a commercial tent called a *kakussesshitshuap*, a term also used to designate a white cabin (*kakusseshitshuap*). The term “white cabin” most often means a plywood cabin in the woods.

The traditional fabric tent is often used when a hunting group increases in size during special events. For example, during the Canada goose hunt, the group may comprise 20 people; the host lives in his cabin, while the guests pitch tents.

In order of importance, the cabin is the primary source of shelter in the Study Area. Figure 6 illustrates the locations of these wood cabins, referred to in Innu by various designations, including *mishtikushitshuap*, *kakusseshitshuap*, *mitshuap* and *tetaut patshuian tetaut mishtik*^{u}.

Tableau 8. Shelter Types, by Season

Inf. #	WINTER	SPRING	SUMMER	*AUTUMN*
1	*patshuianitshuap* (fabric tent)	day shelter	a. outdoors b. *patshuianitshuap* (children) (fabric tent)	*n/a*
2	*patshuianitshuap* (fabric tent)	*kakusseshitshuap* (white tent)	n/a	*n/a*
3	*mitshuap* (house)	*mitshuap* (house) + *patshuianitshuap* (fabric tent)	*mitshuap* (house)	mitshuap *(house)*
4	?	?	*mishtikushitshuap* (wood cabin)	*?*
5	n/a	*patshuianitshuap* (fabric tent)	n/a	*n/a*
6	*mishtikushitshuap* (wood cabin)	*mishtikushitshuap* (wood cabin) and *patshuianitshuap* (fabric tent)	*mishtikushitshuap* (wood cabin)	mishtikushitshuap *(wood cabin)*
7	*mishtikushitshuap* (wood cabin)	*mishtikushitshuap* (wood cabin)	*tetaut patshuian, tetaut mishtik*[u] (half fabric, half wood)	mishtikushitshuap *(wood cabin)*
8	———	?	*patshuianitshuap* (fabric tent)	*n/a*
9	n/a	———	———	———
10	*n/a*	patshuianitshuap *(fabric tent)*	*a. n/a* *b.* kakusseshitshuap *(white cabin)*	*n/a*

625,000 630,000 635,000 640,000 645,000

67°W 66°50'W

6,090,000 6,085,000 6,080,000 6,075,000 6,070,000 6,065,000 6,060,000

54°50'N 54°40'N

Lac De Milly
Lac Fauves
Lac Sauvaget
Lac Vacher
Lac Matemace
Pinette Lake
Lac La Cosa
Kawawachikamach
Lac Peter
Lac Ridge
Lac Star
Lac de la Squaw
Lac Denault
Howells River
Schefferville
Matimekush
Lac John
Lac Knob
Stork Lake
Skirt Lake
Ruth Lake
Stakit Lake
Evelyn Lake
Wishart Lake
Stakit Lake
Howells River

KILOMETRES / KILOMÈTRES
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1:100,000 UTM19N NAD83

Figure 6

Location of Cabins /
Emplacement de chalets

GIS-0079-00 2009-04-15 L.C.

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LEGEND / LÉGENDE

- Cabin / Chalet
- Existing access road / Voie d'accès existante
- Border / Frontière: Québec / Labrador

LOCATION / LOCALISATION

QC

NL

When Informant No. 3 refers to his cabin at Star Lake as a *mitshuap*, there is every reason to believe that it is more than a cabin. In fact, “mitshuap” means “house”, and this informant emphasized that the shelter had all the characteristics of a house, given its finished state. Informant No. 4, who also has a cabin near the same lake, refers to it as a *mishtikushitshuap*, i.e. a wood cabin. Such wood cabins may be made built of logs, the old-fashioned way, although today they all appear to be made of plywood, which is why they are also called *kakusseshitshuap*, meaning “white cabins”. The campsite at Star Lake has a shelter made of plywood, which the informant built 10 years ago.

There are several such campsites in the Study Area: three at Wishart Lake; at least two at Stakit Lake; one, said to be “deluxe”, at Vacher Lake; and a good 10 others at La Cosa, Ridge and Degault lakes. To our knowledge, all those shelters are cabins that formerly belonged to a Euro-Canadian mine worker but that were taken over by Innu.

The cabin known as *tetaut patshuian tetaut mishtikᵘ* is a structure consisting of a wood floor with a fabric tent over it. Informant No. 7 uses one at Shetan-shakaikan (Hope Lake).

There is no doubt that the situation in the Study Area near Matimekush-Lac John and Schefferville may partially account for the presence of many cabins, as well as their use by the Innu. The introduction of commercial tents is also something new as compared to the previous period. Near Schefferville, the *shaputuan* and other large community tents are conspicuously absent. One informant (No. 10) told us about a gathering site at Ridge Lake that, until recently (2007), was used annually by 50 persons to celebrate National Aboriginal Day. No major shelters appear to have been erected for that event. The same holds true for another event reported by the Innu — Father’s Day — bringing 20 people together in June at Key Lake.

6.3 Annual activities

6.3.1 Annual Cycle

Currently, changes are occurring in the annual cycle of activities in the Study Area as compared with the model described in the second half of the 20th century. The changes are not major, and they appear to stem from a series of factors that favour some

activities at the expense of others. Activities are divided up in the same way as before, with priority given to big game hunting in fall before freeze-up, trapping fur bearers after freeze-up, hunting Canada goose in spring and paid employment in summer. Fishing is still practised throughout the year, and it appears to take precedence over other forms of activities. The same holds true for small game hunting, which increases in importance near the reserves and benefits from the road network and motorized means of transportation.

Table 9 shows the main activities of the Innu interviewed for this survey. In fall, caribou hunting predominates. Other activities are also engaged in, such as fishing, small game hunting, some waterfowl hunting and trapping. The trapping season starts in fall and continues through early spring, during more or less long periods that vary according to the species. Families often practise these activities together, except for trapping, which continues to be practised mainly by men.

Most of those activities continue into March, with a significant slowdown in February due to dropping temperatures and the reduction of the animals' movements.

In March-April, caribou hunting is resumed because of the spring migration through the region. In May, energy is focused on traditional hunting of Canada goose. That is the only time of year when people go on communal trips and for longer periods of time (7 to 10 days) (see Table 6).

Table 9. Annual Cycle

Inf. #	WINTER	SPRING	SUMMER	FALL
1	caribou hunting small game hunting fishing trapping (<1998)	Canada goose hunting	fishing	caribou hunting beaver hunting small game hunting
2	caribou hunting small game hunting fishing trapping (<1998)	Canada goose hunting fishing	small game hunting gathering	small game hunting trapping
3	fur bearing animal hunting trapping small game hunting fishing cottaging	Canada goose hunting fur bearing animal hunting fishing small game hunting	hunting fishing cutting firewood	trapping small game hunting fishing
4	?	Canada goose hunting	Fishing	?
5	fishing small game hunting	Canada goose hunting fishing	Canada goose and waterfowl hunting small game hunting	caribou hunting (<2006) small game hunting fishing
6	caribou hunting small game hunting fishing	Canada goose hunting fishing trapping small game hunting	fishing	caribou hunting small game hunting fishing trapping
7	small game hunting fishing	Canada goose hunting fishing	fishing berry gathering	waterfowl hunting fishing
8	———	Canada goose and waterfowl hunting fishing small game hunting	fishing small game hunting caribou hunting	small game hunting trapping (<1999)
9	small game hunting trapping	———	———	———
10	small game hunting cottaging	Canada goose hunting fishing	small game hunting fishing	caribou hunting small game hunting

Summer, from mid-June to September, is mainly given over to fishing, small game hunting and gathering, often practised on weekends since many Innu have paid employment. This is also when firewood is cut in preparation for winter. Lastly, summer also provides the opportunity for trips to Sept-Iles or Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré for the annual pilgrimage in July. For those who cannot travel, religious activities are held at Shetan-shakaikan (Hope Lake), near Schefferville.

Table 10 provides capture data for 2008. Only those informants who were able to provide complete data for that year were selected. Captures are briefly commented in each main category of activity. Obviously these data only concern the Study Area, which does not mean that the hunters in question did not carry out captures elsewhere in the traditional lands in 2008.

6.3.2 Caribou Hunting

Big game hunting in the Study Area is limited to caribou, or rather, it was limited to caribou. Black bear, although abundant in the vicinity of the city dump, are not hunted because of their new feeding habits. Moose, newcomers to the region, are virtually absent near the Matimekush-Lac John reserves. That animal has not gained popularity among the Innu of the region either.

Caribou hunting continues to be practised mainly by men, who, starting from Schefferville, go on short trips (a return trip of 2-3 days; See Table 6) in the surrounding areas to locate them. Return trips may also be made each day (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush). Before 2006, hunters could take caribou in the Study Area at the end of August. Up to 20 caribou (Table 10) could be taken in the sector.

However, for the past two to three years, no more caribou cross the study area "perhaps because of the prospection drilling work there" (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush).

During caribou hunting, game is butchered on site (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush) even if it is killed in the Study Area near the permanent settlements of Matimekush or John Lake.

Table 10. Captures in 2008

Categories	Species	1	3	5	6	8	*10*
Aueshishat	*Amishk*^{u} (beaver)		3		2		
	atik^{u} (caribou)	5	20	4	0[b]	3	
	atshakash (mink)		20				
	kak^{u} (porcupine)	5-6	1		5		
	*Maikan (*wolf)		0[a]				
	Matsheshu (Red fox)		30		2		
	nitshik^{u} (otter)		2				
	uapush (hare)		100	15	20-30	4-5	
	uapishtan (marten)		20				
	Utshashk^{u} (muskrat)		6-10				
Nameshat	*Matamek*^{u} (Brook trout)	300	1000	50-75	150	25	*20*
	Papakatamek^{u}					10	*3*
	Uanan (Atlantic salmon)				10	7	
	*Kukamess (*Lake trout)				50	50	
	Tshinusheu (pike)	1-2			25	10	
	Attikamek^{u} (L. whitefish)				100	20	
	Makatsheu (W. sucker.)				10	30	
	Mikuashai (L. sucker)				20	40	
	*Minai (*burbot)					10	
	Atshakashamekuss Minnow						
Missipat	*Nishk* (Can. goose)	22	20	5	25	10	*2*
	Muak^{u} (Common loon)		3				
	Inniship (Am. black duck)		10	3			
	Auiu (Long-tailed duck)						*10*
	Kuaikan (Black scoter)						*2*
	Other ducks		30				
Pineuat	Innineu *(Spruce grouse)*	*20-30*		*40*	*40*	*50*	*20*
	Uapineu *(W. ptarmigan)*	*2-3*		*120*	*200*	*60*	*20*

a. 2 on average in past years; b. 7 in 2007

Caribou are used as much for food as for clothing and ritual purposes. The skin is still used to make many clothing accessories, such as mitts and mocassins. The sinew is used to make snowshoes. The skin is also used to make traditional drums. Various bones are made into tools, namely a variety of scrapers and hooks.

6.3.3 Canada Goose and Waterfowl Hunting

Canada goose hunting is practised in larger groups, as previously indicated. It is practised at many sites in the Study Area (Figure 7). Those sites are distributed near many bodies of water, such as Stakit Lake, Elross Lake and Rosemary Lake along

Howells River or near other lakes including lakes La Cosa, Sauvaget, etc. One user believes that Canada goose is "harder to take" “harder to approach" than in the past (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush), but he does not know the reason. That user also noted that Canada goose now "taste too sweet", which he attributes to the abundance of Alpine cranberries.

Everyone uses Canada goose for food and for clothing. The down is used to make pillows and covers, or it can be used as lining in mitts and coats.

Waterfowl hunting usually takes place during the same period as Canada goose hunting, in spring and in fall. Waterfowl are eaten, but some parts are used for other purposes: for example, the flight feathers from some birds are used for traditional drums.

The eggs of waterfowl are also gathered, or at least they were until quite recently. One informant states that he ate seagull and merganser eggs in 2003. He had found about 20 near John Lake (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). Another user explained that the birds usually lay their eggs on small islands in lakes (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). The Canada goose can have up to six eggs in a nest, and the merganser lays between 12 and 14 in rotten wood (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). That user consumed eggs for the last time around 1960, but his son continues to gather them.

6.3.4 Fishing

Many fishing techniques were reported, namely, net fishing, rod fishing, dip netting, manual capture and a type that we would describe as seine netting.

Anipi, the net, is used for various species specifically whitefish (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush) and White and Longnose sucker (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush). Those fish are caught mainly as bait either for traps or for line fishing. Minnows captured by hand or by dip netting, may also be used as bait (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush) or by dip netting (Inf. Nos. 3 and 10, Matimekush).

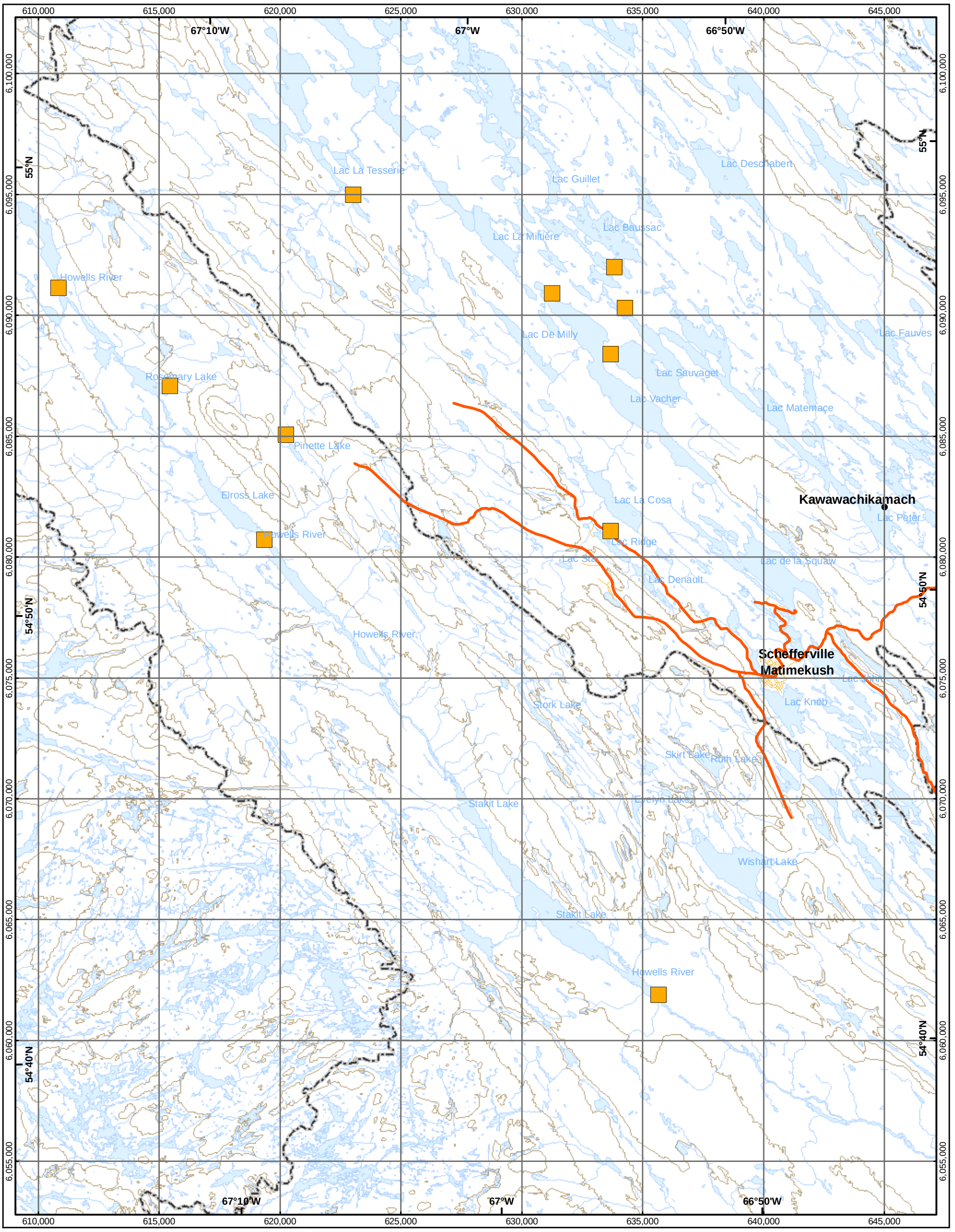

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Figure 7

Canada Goose Hunting Sites / Sites de chasse à l'outarde

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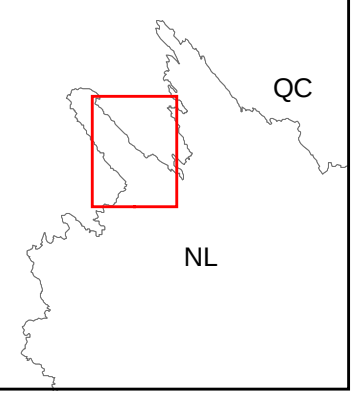
CONFIDENTIAL

LEGEND / LÉGENDE

- Canada goose hunting site / Site de chasse à l'outarde
- Existing access road / Voie d'accès existante
- Border / Frontière: Québec / Labrador

LOCATION / LOCALISATION



Trout (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush), pike (idem) and Atlantic salmon are fished with rods (Inf. Nos. 2 and 3, Matimekush).

Fishing beneath the ice is practised in winter with suitable gear, *kushkaniapi* (Inf. Nos. 2 and 3, Matimekush). Brook trout is still fished at this time. Brook trout is subject to intensive seine netting. One informant described it thus: three men are required, two to hold a large piece of canvas and another one who directs fish up the river toward this improvised trap.

A highly prized trout fishing site is located at Star Lake, where, according to our sources, more than 40 different groups go fishing every year, taking on average 200 fish at a time. The same user reported annual catches of 1000 fish in 2008 (Inf. No. 3, Matimekush) (See Table 10). One informant (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush) commented that Brook trout now "seem to spawn more than once a year" and that, generally, "trout seem to have gotten bigger". He attributed the change "perhaps to Churchill dam".

6.3.5 Small Game Hunting

Small game hunting covers several species, including Tetraonidae shot with a .22-calibre rifle (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush), porcupine, which is stunned using the traditional capture method (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush), and hare, caught with snares (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush).

Those animals provide a significant quantity of meat, but they are also used for other purposes: the quills of the porcupine for decoration; the feathers of certain birds for drums; the down of Tetraonidae as lining for mitts; the fur of the hare around the thumb of mitts to protect against the cold when driving a snowmobile; etc.

6.3.6 Trapping

The participation of hunters in trapping fur-bearers has declined compared to the preceding period, at least in the Study Area. Some users even said that they no longer practise this activity. (Inf. Nos. 1 and 10, Matimekush). There are many reasons, ranging from the high cost of trapping (mainly transportation), to a lack of time (e.g. due to year-round work, as in the case of Inf. No. 10).

Nevertheless, other hunters continue to trap in the Study Area, where one Innu succeeds in taking an impressive number of fur-bearers year after year: in 2009, three beavers, two otters, 20 marten, 20 mink, 30 fox and about 10 muskrat (see Table 10).

Many fur-bearers are not eaten today. In the past, some of them were eaten, such as otter (Inf. Nos. 5 and 6, Matimekush), mink and marten (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush), and wolf and fox (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). Other species formerly eaten, such as squirrel (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush), woodchuck (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush) and even mice in the event of famine (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush), have been abandoned. Beaver and muskrat are still considered favourite dishes.

Most fur-bearers continue to provide materials for various types of clothing, such as mitts, scarves, hats, etc. Some bones are used in games (for example, a game with a specific beaver bone). But, more specifically, those species and others are put to use in an altogether distinct field, medicine. Table 11 presents a few examples of this kind of use. A more detailed study of Innu use of animals for medicinal purposes should be conducted.

Table 11. Some Aspects of the Medicinal Use of Animals

Animal	**Part**	***Use***
Amishk^{u} (beaver)	*uishinau* - castoreum gland	*cough, flu; infection; bladder disease; toothache*
Atik^{u} (caribou)	*umishtatai-umik*^{u} - rumen blood	*for overall health*
innineu (Spruce grouse)	*mushkami* - soup	*flu*
Kak^{u} (porcupine)	*kauiak*^{u} - quills	*heart diseases*
Kukamess (Lake trout)	*uishupui*	*rhumatism, chest pains*
Mashk^{u} (Black bear)	*uishupui* - gall bladder *uishinau* *pimi* - fat	*?* *?* *skin diseases, wounds, baldness*
*nishk (*Canada goose)	*pimi* - fat	*scars*
Nitshik^{u} (River otter)	*ushui-pimi* - fat from the tail	*earaches*
*shiship (*waterfowl)	*mushkami* - soup	*fortifying*
Uapush (Snowshoe hare)	*uapushuian* - fur	*scars, burns*
Utshashk^{u} (muskrat*)*	pimi - *fat*	*skin diseases*

6.3.7 Gathering

Some data were also collected about vegetation and flora. The examples below may illustrate the type of inventory that could be updated in a more thorough study. The examples are divided into three categories: *mina* (edible berries); plants used for medicinal and technical purposes; and *mita* (firewood).

6.3.7.1 Mina (edible berries)

Table 12 includes the main berries gathered by informants in the Study Area. The notation "pres." for "present" indicates that the plant was observed in the region, but that it was not harvested. According to Table 12 and Figure 8 which identifies the main gathering sites, obviously, the most important berries are cloudberries, Alpine cranberries and blueberries. Two types of blueberries are recognized, namely *inniminanakashi,* which, strictly speaking, are blueberries and *nissiminanakashi*, which are Bog bilberries.

The berrying season generally lasts from July to September. Cloudberries are gathered "in peat bogs or on islands in lakes" (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush), blueberries and Alpine cranberries, in particular, "along roads in the mountainous area" (Inf. Nos. 1 and 5, Matimekush). The advantage of Alpine cranberries is that they can be preserved in their natural state all winter long. Therefore they are also picked in spring (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush).

Certain berries are also used for therapeutic purposes, as we shall see below. Some Innu men consider berry gathering a female activity. Other men join in willingly, accompanying family members, both men and women. Some of the gathering sites are near roads that will have more traffic if the mining project is implemented.

6.3.7.2 Plants Used for Medicinal and Technical Purposes

Table 13 includes a few examples of plants gathered in the Study Area in 2008 and used for either medicinal or technical purposes.

Table 12. Main Berries Gathered

Inf. #	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	***10***
anushkaniminanakashi - raspberry (*Rubus idaeus*)[1]				✓						
assiminanakashi - Black crowberries (*Empetrum nigrum*)				✓	✓	✓	✓			
inniminanakashi - blueberry (*Vaccinium* sp.)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
kakuminanakashi - currant (*Ribes* sp.)				meadows						
mashkuminanakashi - dogberry (*Sorbus decora*)				meadows						
massekuminanakashi - cranberries (*Vaccinium oxycoccos*)				meadows						
mushuminanakashi - mooseberry (*Viburnum edule*)							✓			
nissimininanakashi - bog bilberries (*Vaccinium uliginosum*)						✓	✓	✓	✓	
pineuminanakashi - Creeping snowberry (*Gaultheria hispidula*)							✓			
shikuteu - cloudberry (*Rubus chamaemorus*)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
uishatshiminanakashi - Alpine cranberry (*Vaccinium vitis-idaea*)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
uteiminananakashi – *strawberry* (*Fragaria virginiana*)			✓	✓		✓				

[1] The plants were identified based on documentation. Since the same Innu name may refer in some cases to different taxa depending on the community, only the Innu names reported above are error-free.

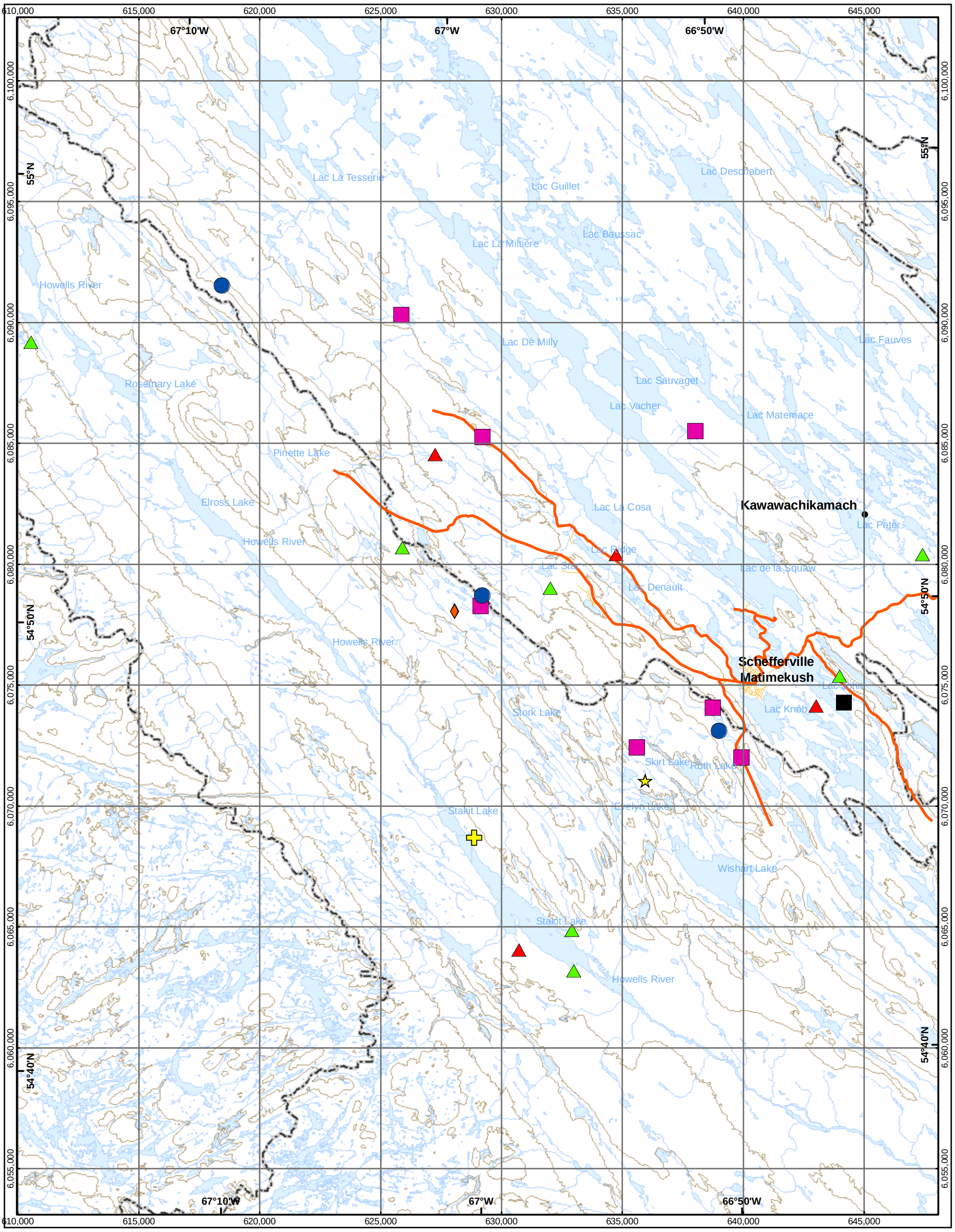


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Figure 8

Gathering Sites /
Sites de cueillette

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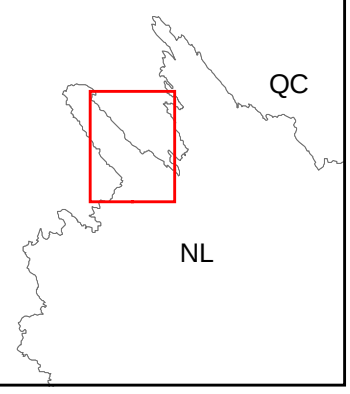
CONFIDENTIAL

LEGEND / LÉGENDE

- Bog bilberry / Airelle des marécages
- Blueberry / Bleuet
- Firewood / Bois de chauffage
- Cloudberry / Chicouté
- Strawberry / Fraise
- Black crowberry / Graines noires
- Lingonberry / Graines rouges
- Highbush cranberry fruit / Pimbina
- Existing access road / Voie d'accès existante
- Border / Frontière: Québec / Labrador

LOCATION / LOCALISATION



According to one Innu (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush), *ikuta*, Labrador tea, is gathered in August along roads below the mountains. One woman, on the other hand, says that it is gathered in June. (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush). Large quantities are gathered to stock up for winter. Labrador tea is undoubtedly the best-known plant for its therapeutic properties. One Innu explains that it must be gathered "far enough away, where there is no dust" (Inf. No. 9, Matimekush). This comment is crucial, given the dust generated by the Project.

Other plants are also prepared for future use. For example, the bark of young tamarack is prepared as an ointment that is later frozen and used as needed (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush).

Technical uses of trees, shrubs and plants in general are also diverse. Universal use of coniferous tree branches to cover the bottom of tents and create a soft surface for sleeping is well known. Many uses of the wood of trees and shrubs are also familiar (axe handles, moulds for drying skins, tent poles). However, using White spruce cones (*Picea glauca*) for making nets invisible and odourless to fish is a less familiar practice (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

As for technical uses, the nomenclature of types of rocks and their use by the Innu should also be studied. One informant (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush) opened the door to this possibility when he mentioned the gathering of special rocks that are "round and hard enough to resist cracking" for the sweating lodge. He also mentioned the presence of *ushpuakan-ashini* ('pipestone'), rock that "can be easily hollowed out, displays layers and resembles sand." During a survey conducted in Utshimassit, Labrador, the Innu reported about 15 different terms distinguishing types of rock in their region (CLÉMENT 1998: 141).

6.3.7.3 Mita (firewood)

Tree species are also used to supply *mita* (firewood). This is undoubtedly the most widespread use of plants for personal purposes. There are many needs, such as heating and cooking in camps, fires for bivouacs and also heating in houses on the reserves.

Table 13. Examples of Plants Used

Plant	**Purpose**	***Use***
ikuta - Labrador tea	medicinal	*flu, fever, bronchitis, cancer*
innasht - Balsam fir	medicinal	*oleoresin (*pitshu-atshuk^{u}*) for colds, flu*
mashkushu - herbaceous plant in gen.	technical	*for attracting geese*
minapakun - Old Man's beard	technical	*for starting fires*
mushuminanakashi - mooseberry	medicinal	*sore throats*
shakau – alder	technical	*mould for drying skins; poles for tents and sweating lodges*
tshishtapakun - coniferous tree branches	technical	*floor of tent; mattress*
uapineu-mitshim - willow	medicinal	*chest pain, flu, asthma*
uapitsheuashkamuk^{u} - Reindeer moss	technical	*caulking for log cabins*
uashkuetui - cone	medicinal	*swollen wounds*
uashkuetui - cone (White spruce)	technical	*for making nets invisible to fish*
uatshinakan - tamarack	medicinal	*ointment for cuts; drink for flu and sore throats*
uishatshiminanakashi - Alpine cranberries	medicinal	*sore throats*
ushkatamui - Water lily rhizome	medicinal	*Burns*
ushkuai – birch	technical	*snowshoes, axe handles*
ushkuai – *birch*	medicinal	*internal pains*

The species used vary, but often, they are already dry when gathered or at least before they are used: *pashteu-mit* 'dry wood'. One scenario involves of taking trees from land where there has been a forest fire. Dried trees are also cut. Apparently, the following species are preferred: *minaikutak^{u}*, dry White spruce; *sheshekatikutak^{u}*, dry Black spruce; and *uatshinakantak^{u}*, dry tamarack. The last species is used at night, because it is said that "it lasts longer" (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush).

One informant says he uses 'small wood' (*mishtikussa*) when he goes camping, i.e., dry wood gathered off the ground, whereas he cuts dry wood and green Black spruce (*shikashk^{u}*) for his house (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush). Some speak instead of *ushkashk^{u}* to designate green wood, literally 'young wood'.

Engaging in a new consumer activity, some Innu offer their services as wood merchants. One informant (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush) says that he buys his winter supply of wood by the cord from another Innu, who sells it at $40.00 per cord.

Figure 9 includes a few firewood cutting sites reported by the informants, including at least one in the heart of the Study Area.

6.4 Ashkui and Nipinamushu

The survey included questions on what there is a consensus to call *ashkui* in the literature. The term appears to be taken from surveys conducted with the Innu of Labrador. It refers to areas of water that do not freeze in winter because of the current that agitates water, for example at the bottom of falls, at the inlet or outlet of a lake or above a powerful eddy, etc. Those places appear to have advantages for the Innu of Labrador: they are better for fishing and for hunting migratory birds, etc.

To our knowledge, *ashkui* do not have the same importance for the more southern and western Innu, such as those of Matimekush-Lac John and Uashat mak Mani-Utenam. In fact, as on the North Shore (CLÉMENT 2007: 150), such places are referred to in the Innu language by several terms that sometimes overlap from one informant to the other. What is more, sites that do not freeze are not necessarily considered advantageous.

First of all, the words recorded in the literature are presented as follows:

- the first term, *ashkui*, appears in Pessamit (DRAPEAU 1991: 124) as *ishkun;*
- it is a place in the water where the ice doesn't take;
- at Unaman-shipu, the term *ashkauaimuat*, meaning 'ice does not form in winter in this place in the lake', is found (COM. CULT. 1978: 37); in Labrador, at Utshimassit (CLÉMENT 1998: 27), the term *ashkui* is found.

The second term appears as follows: at Pessamit (DRAPEAU 1991: 409), *nipinamushu* "place that never freezes on the edge of a lake, of a river;" at Unaman-shipu, *nipinamushu* 'the summer water (that does not freeze in winter)' (COM. CULT. 1978: 208); at Ekuanitshit (MCNULTY AND BASILE 1981: 32) *nipinamuhu* 'water that does not freeze'.

Within the framework of this study, we have not explored the semantic differences between the two terms, but it should be done. At Ekuanitshit, Nutashkuan and Unaman-shipu, the Innu interviewed for a recent survey (CLÉMENT 2007) used the first term (*ashkui*, *ashkuiu*, etc.), but the second term was only used once.

At Matimekush-Lac John, the informants used many terms, including in order of frequency: *nipinamushu*, *pikuanipi* (“the water where there is a hole in the ice”), *apu mishkumit shipu* ('there is no ice on the river') and *ashkueun*.

The places where water does not freeze in winter are reputed to have advantages and disadvantages. The advantages reported below are not necessarily reported by all the informants. Some say that such places are favouable for otter (Inf. No. 3, Matimekush), for Canada goose (Inf. No. 3, Matimekush) or for waterfowl in general in spring (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush), or for drawing drinking water or making tea (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush). Some say that they are good for fishing (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush), but not others (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush). Such places are deemed dangerous by more than one (Inf. Nos. 6, 7 and 10, Matimekush).

When we asked the informants to indicate places that do not freeze in winter, regardless of their names, we always encountered the same difficulty. Most such sites are located at the inlets and outlets of lakes. Figure 9 illustrates such locations in the Study Area.

6.5 Conclusions

Although the hunting and fishing activities of the Innu of Matimekush-Lac John are for the most part distributed in the same way as during the period before the mining operations ceased, there are some significant changes. Among those changes, we note an increase in very short hunting trips within the Study Area, the relative abandonment of certain activities (e.g., trapping) in favour of others (e.g., fishing), new hunting practices (e.g., individuals hunt alone) and new forms of activities such as community teaching of hunting and the operation of vacation cottages. Some informants also told us that they often make return trips close to Schefferville for the sole purpose of travel or taking their children out, either by truck over developed roads or by snowmobile in winter (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush). A study should be conducted to determine whether the new mining operations will interfere with that practice.

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54°50'N 54°40'N

Lac De Milly
Lac Fauves
Lac Sauvaget
Lac Vacher
Lac Matemace
Lac La Cosa
Kawawachikamach
Lac Peter
Lac Ridge
Lac Star
Lac de la Squaw
Lac Denault
Howells River
Schefferville
Matimekush
Lac John
Lac Knob
Stork Lake
Skirt Lake
Ruth Lake
Evelyn Lake
Stakit Lake
Wishart Lake
Stakit Lake
Howells River

KILOMETRES / KILOMÈTRES
0 2.5 5

1:100,000 UTM19N NAD83

Figure 9

Ashkui Sites / Sites d'ashkui

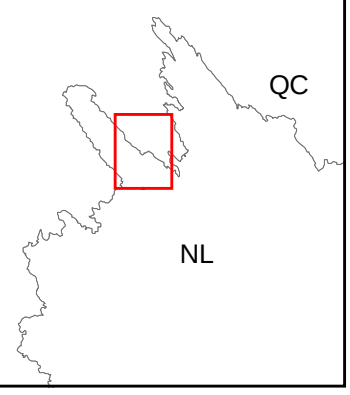
GIS-0079-00 2009-04-15 L.C.

CONFIDENTIAL

LEGEND / LÉGENDE

- Ashkui
- Existing access road / Voie d'accès existante
- Border / Frontière: Québec / Labrador

LOCATION / LOCALISATION



7 Knowledge of Resources

This section deals exclusively with Innu knowledge of animals, because other environmental knowledge, such as that of vegetation, has been discussed above. The observation period generally covers 2008, although in some cases it extends back over two or three years. The reference year is indicated for observations prior to 2005. The knowledge identified in the course of this study is varied and concerns a range of themes. However, some aspects have been given priority in the data-compilation, such as species distribution. When necessary, comments have been included concerning similarities or differences between the observations of the Innu and those of biologists, as stated in the Project Notifice (WILKINSON *ET AL*. 2008).

7.1 Caribou, Moose and Black Bear

7.1.1 Atik^{u} (caribou)

a) Sedentary Caribou and Migratory Caribou

Euro-Canadians recognize two identifiable groups within the single species of caribou, *Rangifer tarandus*, i.e., migratory (tundra) caribou and sedentary (woodland) caribou. Generally, Innu located furthest south distinguish, or used to distinguish, three types of caribou (DOMINIQUE 1979: 47-48): *minashkuau-atik^{u}* (still called *nutshimiu-atik^{u}*), Sedentary caribou; *mushuau-atik^{u}*, migratory caribou; and *uinipeku-atik^{u},* Coastal caribou.

Many Innu of Matimekush-Lac John usually identify only one species of caribou, *atik^{u}*. When the compound word *mushuau-atik^{u}* is used, which literally means 'caribou of the tundra', the referent is not really *mushuau,* 'tundra,' but rather Mushuau-shipu, the 'river of the tundra' or George River. Most of the caribou that migrate to the Study Area come from the George River. As an Elder stated during this study, "we speak of *minashkuau-atik^{u}* (woodland caribou) because from George River, the *mushuau-atik^{u}* go into the *minashkuat* ('the woods'), where there are a lot of *shatshimeuat* (diptera in general); hence another name for the same caribou, *shatshimeu-atik^{u}*" (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). Another reason is as follows:

> "The caribou that come from George River spend winter south of the Smallwood reservoir [in the western part of Labrador, at the source of the Churchill River], in

> the woods, that's why they are called that. My father never heard the word *minashkuau-atik*^{u}" (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

Other Innu acknowledge the existence of these two types of caribou, although some do not recognize any difference between the two except in terms of habitat: one lives in the forests, the other in the tundra (Inf. No. 4, Matimekush). Others distinguish characteristics specific to each type, although there are significant variations. The characteristics are as follows: sedentary caribou always remain in the same place and do not migrate (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush); the body of sedentary caribou is heavier than that of the migratory caribou, or the converse (Inf. No. 2, 5 and 6, Matimekush) (Inf. No. 3, Matimekush); the antlers of sedentary caribou are smaller than those of migratory caribou (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush). For at least two Innu informants, the flesh of sedentary caribou is better than the flesh of migratory caribou, because the sedentary caribou travels less (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush); "it stays put like a hare, the meat is more tender, the caribou is fatter" (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush).

b) Distribution

Those who acknowledge the existence of the sedentary caribou say they are extremely rare in the region (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush), if not absent (Inf. No. 3, Matimekush). Only one hunter observed any; he states that: "they only move west to east towards the end of August, or beginning of September; afterwards, we don't see them again" (Inf. No. 2). Other Innu have observed some outside the study area: for example, south of Wabush (Inf. No. 3, Matimekush), a long time ago, along the railroad tracks (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush) or "70 miles south, at Cabana Lake" (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush).

Migratory caribou is present in the Study Area, although for some years they have avoided Schefferville. There are many reasons, such as, in order of importance, resumption of drilling work, fear of airplanes and even global warming (a fashionable argument).

> "Two or three years ago, they came every year; in the past, when there was the mine, they travelled more in the north, up by Greenbush, in fall and spring; after 1982, around 1985, caribou approached Schefferville, even at former mining sites. Now, they don't come here any more. This might also be because of global warming" (Inf. No. 1; Matimekush).

> "They didn't come in 2007-2008. Five years, ago, they would come into town. In September-October, they came from Greenbush; sometimes also in March, before

> the drilling, they would come from George River, then they would follow the mountains along lakes Ishkueu-shakaikan, (Squaw Lake), Pishishkueu-shakaikan (Vacher Lake), etc. After the drilling, they don't come here any more" (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush).
>
> "Now, they are afraid of airplanes. They have also avoided the region for two to three years because of the noise of exploration" (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush).

c) Annual cycle

Figures 10 and 11 illustrate the fall and spring migrations of the migratory caribou. The personal experience of each Innu informant explains many possibilities. Generally, there are two annual migrations and two main routes.

The first main route is as follows. The caribou arrive from the George River and pass through the region from east to west (actually from the north-east to the south-west). In the past, that movement could begin as early as August 15, but it is usually observed in the fall, from September to November depending on the year. Caribou are present for about three to four weeks. Some of the caribou coming from the George River branch off into the sector and move further south towards the Smallwood Reservoir (Inf. Nos. 1 and 9, Matimekush-Lac John). Others overwinter in the region of Fermont (Inf. No. 9, John Lake), returning to cross the Study Area in April-May (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). Another Innu speaks of two waves in the fall from the George River: the first wave occurs in September, and these caribou stay for three weeks about 30 miles north of the area; the second wave follows in November, lasting for about one week, and they move on to Schefferville (Inf. No. 3, Matimekush). They stay within a group when passing through (Inf. No. 3, Matimekush).

The second migration route follows the opposite direction. Caribou come from Caniapiscau at the same time, from August 15 until November, depending on the year and the experience of each informant. Those caribou migrate from west to east (in fact from the south-west to the north-east). They cross the Howells River in the Study Area over a period of one month. Some of them branch off, returning north by La Miltière Lake (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

There are other variations, such as migrating from the north (via Greenbush) in the fall (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush). Yet another informant indicated the following migration

corridor: from the George River at Kuujjuaq to Caniapiscau and returning towards the George River (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush).

Lastly, a spring migration is also indicated above. It usually occurs in April-May. According to some (Inf. Nos. 1 and 9, Matimekush-Lac John), the caribou can come from the south (Fermont, Esker). According to others (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush), they came from the George River. In the former case, it is said that the caribou pass through only for one week, heading toward Champdoré Lake. In the latter case, the caribou follow a chain of hills, returning northward by lakes Ishkueu-shakaikan (Squaw Lake) and Pishishkueu-shakaikan (Vacher Lake).

d) Habitat

The places that caribou prefer vary according to a number of factors. Usually, depending on the season, they frequent the mountains during summer because there may still be snow there (Inf. No. B, Matimekush). In winter, they stay in the woods and on lakes (id.). In the rutting season, they frequent peat bogs and wooded areas. One informant reported having seen rutting caribou in October in the alder stands near the reserve (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush). Another one mentioned Attikamagen Lake as a rutting area in October (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). Peat bogs are the preferred location for calving, which occurs in May or June (Inf. Nos. 6 and 7, Matimekush).

e) Feeding

Tundra caribou feed in the mountains in fall and in winter until February; sometimes at night they come further down (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush). Feeding also varies according to the seasons and the availability of resources. Generally, both in winter and summer, the caribou's main source of food is *uapitsheushkamik*^{u} (Reindeer moss). It may be supplemented by *mashkushua* ('herbaceous plants'), *nipisha* ('leaves') of various tree and shrub species, *uakunapishk*^{u} (Oak fern, *Lasallia papulosa*), *minapakuna* (Old Man's Beard), twigs, shoots, etc. More specifically, in summer they also feed on *massekushkamik*^{u} (gen. sphagnum, *Sphagnum* spp.), *anikutshash-nekautu* (gen. fungus), *massekumina* (cranberry, *Vaccinium oxycoccos*), *atikumina* (bearberry, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*), etc. Caribou is also known to sometimes ingest *ashinia* (stones) or *nekau* (sand).

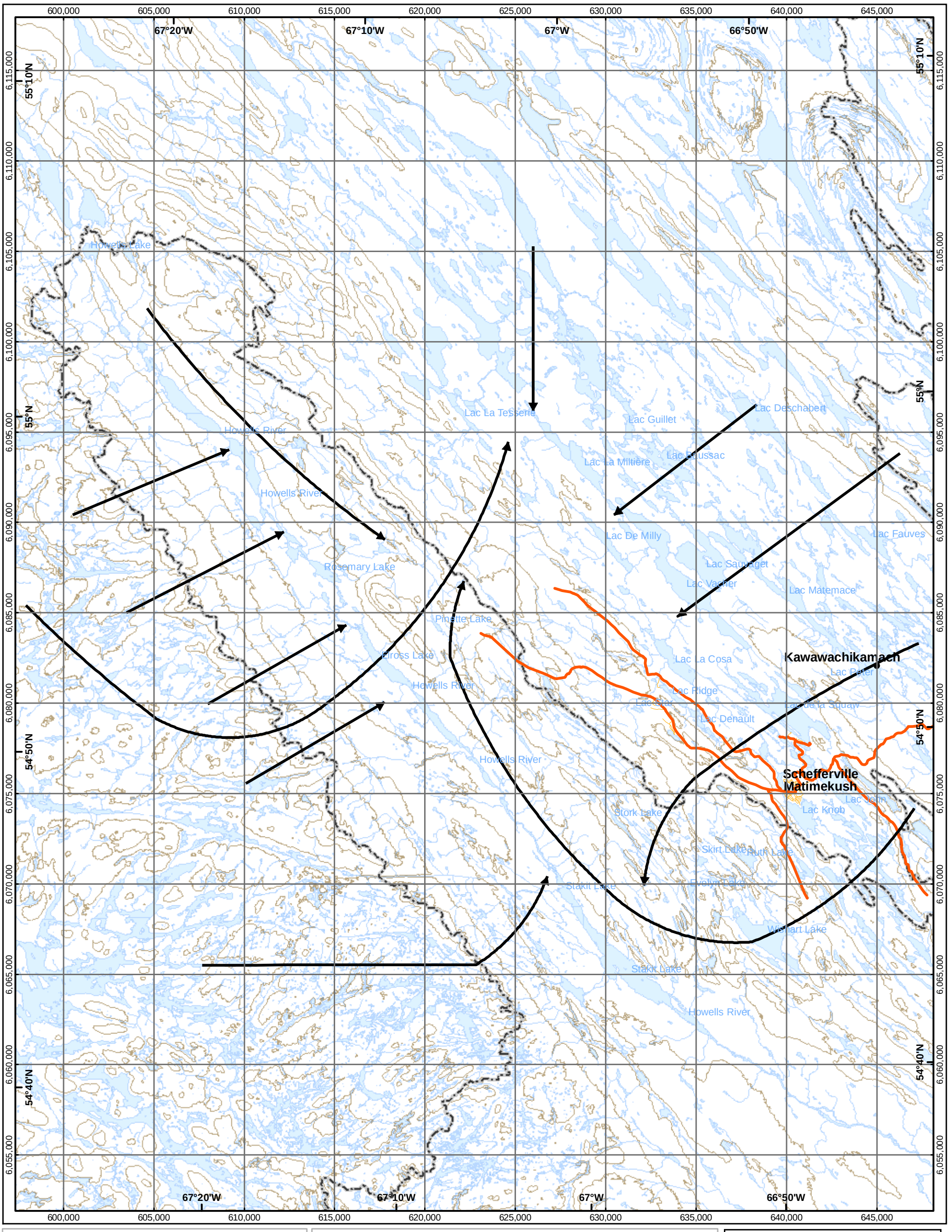


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Figure 10

Caribou Movements - Fall /
Déplacements automnaux d**u** caribou

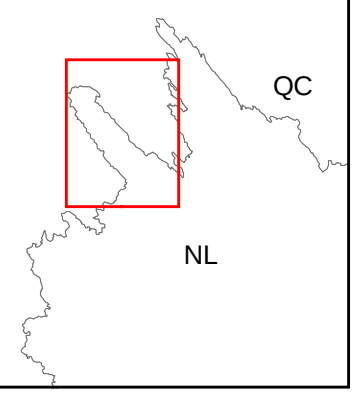
GIS-0079-00 2009-04-16 L.C.

CONFIDENTIAL

LEGEND / LÉGENDE

- Movement / Déplacement
- Existing access road / Voie d'accès existante
- Border / Frontière: Québec / Labrador

LOCATION / LOCALISATION



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Lac La Tesserie
Lac Guillet
Lac Deschabert
Lac Baussac
Lac La Miltière
Howells River
Lac De Milly
Lac Fauves
Rosemary Lake
Lac Sauvageot
Lac Vacher
Lac Matemace
Pinette Lake
Elross Lake
Howells River
Lac La Cosa
Kawawachikamach
Lac Peter
Lac Ridge
Lac Star
Lac de la Squaw
Lac Denault
Howells River
Schefferville
Matimekush
Lac John
Lac Knob
Stork Lake
Skirt Lake
Ruth Lake
Evelyn Lake
Stakit Lake
Wishart Lake
Stakit Lake
Howells River

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67°10'W 67°W 66°50'W

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Figure 11

Caribou Movements - Spring /
Déplacements printaniers du caribou

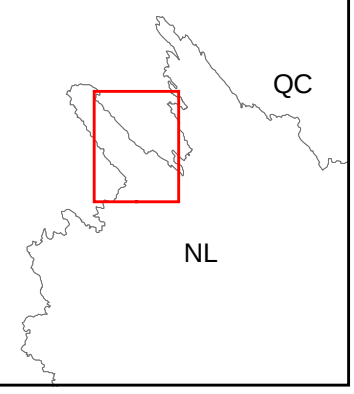
GIS-0079-00 2009-04-16 L.C.

CONFIDENTIAL

LEGEND / LÉGENDE

- Movement / Déplacement
- Existing access road / Voie d'accès existante
- Border / Frontière: Québec / Labrador

LOCATION / LOCALISATION



f) Calving Areas

Caribou calving areas were located differently depending on each informant's experience. These sites, the location of which was never certain because they had never been observed, are the following: the Champdoré Lake sector (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush); Leaf River (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush); an area 200 miles north-east of the George River (Inf. No. 3, Matimekush); south-west of Attikamagen Lake (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush); and in the vicinity of the George River (Inf. Nos. 5, 8 and 9, Matimekush). As one Innu said: "We have never observed calving. We have never observed rutting caribou. Caribou can pass through this area in March. The Elders say that the females are going off to calve" (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush).

On the other hand, some accounts relate that caribou calved near the Study Area, or within it. One informant reported having seen a female and a calf in 1994 east of Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake); that informant believes that the female calved in the general area (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush). One Elder stated that females sometimes calve around Annabel Lake, further north (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

7.1.2 Mush (moose)

Moose are present in the Study Area in very small numbers. Construction of the railroad made it easier for them to move northward, but, paradoxically, the noise of trains causes them to flee (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). Some are occasionally killed: for example, the father of an Innu informant killed two in 1966 on the mountain north-east of Stark Lake (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush). Otherwise, from time to time, some are observed around the Matimekush Reserve (Inf. Nos. 7 and 10, Matimekush). One witness related having seen some in 2008 on the Tshitua-Mani-katshimisht meshkanau road leading north to Annabel Lake and also on the road leading south towards Menihek. Another Innu observed some along Howells River (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). Another hunter reported having seen three in the area of Bazil Lake; apparently there are more in this sector (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush). Moose are not often hunted.

7.1.3 Mashk^{u} (Black bear)

Most Innu saw bears in 2008 in the Study Area. In the context of this study, we should mention the proliferation of Black bears attracted by the sanitary landfill of the City of Schefferville. From six to 14 individuals can be found there (Inf. Nos. 8 and 9,

Matimekush-Lac John), particularly beginning in July (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush). One user of Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) observed a Black bear near his cottage in April 2008 (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush). Another Innu observed a Black bear in 2008 in the Howells River valley south of Fleming Lake (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush). Dens (*uatashkua*) are hard to identify in the sector. One Innu states that he observed an *uatashk*^{u} at the cemetery in Schefferville (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush). Another den was seen in the mountains west of Papateu-shipu, Howells Rivers (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush).

7.2 Other *aueshishat* (Quadrupeds)

This section includes all mammals other than caribou, moose and Black bear. The presentation of these species is brief. Emphasis is placed on certain species, such as *kuekuatsheu* (wolverine).

7.2.1 Kuekuatsheu (Wolverine)

a) Distribution

Since a single wolverine (*Gulo gulo*) may occupy a territory of over 500 km^2, it is not easy to detect the presence of this mustelidae. The Innu who travel in this territory and who possess the memory of generations can provide clues to its presence in the area. The oldest indications according to the Innu informants go back to 1935-1940, when it was said that wolverines were abundant in the area: "there were a lot of them" (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). Beginning at that time, observations are reported in the following locations: Le Fer Lake to the north ("my grandfather saw some in area of Le Fer Lake;" Inf. No. 2, Matimekush); at Champdoré Lake, more specifically in 1942 ("there were many of them; we would see their trail;" Inf. No. 4, Matimekush); along the railroad around "Kanameshut Lake and Mitshu-shipu", where the father of an Elder trapped one (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush); and again at Champdoré Lake in 1956, where wolverines were caught by the grandfather of another Innu informant and where this informant has also seen fresh tracks (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

In 1954-1955, the father of an informant saw a wolverine in the Caniapiscau area (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush) and, more recently, around 1984, the same informant saw wolverine tracks at Lachaussée Lake to the west at a site where the Band Council had built about

25 camps for members of the community: "It must have been a male, because the tracks were made by a big one" (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush).

b) Feeding

Wolverines are omnivorous. A partial list of food provided by a hunter speaks volumes in that respect: caribou, marten, mink, fish (Lake trout, Brook trout, pike, whitefish), wolf, porcupine, small birds, ducks, mice, partridge and hares (Inf. A, Matimekush). Wolverines may also feed on various berries (blueberries, billberries, cloudberries, etc.) (Inf. A, Matimekush), as well as eggs such as those of the osprey (Inf. B, Matimekush).

Wolverines are also reputed to be thieves, capable of springing traps without getting caught and feeding on the bait placed by hunters (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). "Even bears are afraid of them, because they can steal bear food" (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush). This mustelidae also has the bad reputation of soiling everything it finds, making venison unfit for consumption for anyone but itself. (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). It behaves this way at fresh slaughter sites and with Innu provisions in caches (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). It drags everything it finds over considerable distances (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

Its technique for slaughtering caribou is explained as follows:

> "It can kill a caribou when there is a lot of snow. It jumps on the caribou from behind, bites it in the nape of the neck and breaks the caribou's neck. The head falls. A wolverine can also kill a beaver" (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

7.2.2 Maikan (Wolf)

The Innu recognize only one species of wolf in the area, *maikan,* which corresponds to *Canis lupus*. A phenotypic variation, the albino, has also been identified: "We sometimes see the *uapaikan* ['the white wolf']" (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

Wolves have been seen in the Study Area recently: for example, near Greenbush (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush), Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush), at the dump, which they sometimes visit (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush), and in the mountains east of Kauteitinat (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush). A sighting was also made at Kauteitinat as recently as 2000 (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush). According to one Innu, "wolves always stay close to the caribou" (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

Opinions about the demographic status of wolves vary. Some think that the wolf population has decreased because they have been overhunted (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush); on the other hand, others think that it has increased, perhaps because the mine was abandoned (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush) or that it has stayed the same (Inf. Nos. 5 and 6, Matimekush).

7.2.3 Pishu (Lynx)

The Innu of the area recognize only one species of lynx (*Lynx lynx*), i.e., *pishu*. It is seldom seen in the Study Area, and many Innu informants have never observed any. Those who have seen them report them either inside or outside the Study Area. Those who have sighted them in the area of Schefferville have observed them west of Kauteitinat (Inf. No. 9, John Lake), at Papateu-shakaikan (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush) and even at John Lake (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush). Other Innu mentioned more remote areas such as Harris Lake (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush), Pied de la Montagne Lake west of Papateu-shipu (Howells River), where tracks were observed (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush), Petitsikapau Lake (Inf. No. 9, John Lake), as well as at Bear Lake in November 2008 (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush). No cougar (*Felix concolor*) have been observed.

7.2.4 Amishk^{u} (Beaver)

According to most of the Innu informants, the beaver population has remained stable over the past 10 years (Inf. Nos. 1, 2 and 3, Matimekush). Some say it has even increased on the grounds that it seems that the number of pelts harvested has increased (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush). In the Innu language, a "place where there is always beaver" is called an *ushakamishk^{u}*. One Innu indicated a place known for the abundance of beaver (Inf. No. 9, John Lake) north of Papateu-shikaikan (Stakit Lake), and it is indicated on Figure 12. Figure 12 also indicates all of the *uisht*, the beaver lodges, identified in the Study Area. Most of them are located in Papateu-shipu (Howells River) or its tributaries, although the presence of lodges in the heart of the Study Area is reported (e.g., in a small lake west of Star Lake, in Pinette Lake and a little further north-west of Ione Lake). Most of the observations date from recent years, but some are older (e.g. in 1997 at Ione Lake; in 1980 near Greenbush Brook). Other visual observations of beavers were made, such as at a site between Star and Ridge lakes (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush) or at Papateu-shakaikan

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Lac La Tesserie
Lac Deschabert
Lac La Miltière
Howells River
Lac De Milly
Lac Fauves
Rosemary Lake
Lac Sauvaget
Lac Vacher
Lac Matemace
Pinette Lake
Elross Lake
Lac La Cosa
Kawawachikamach
Howells River
Lac Denault
Lac de la Squaw
54°50'N
Howells River
Schefferville
Matimekush
Lac Dolly
Lac Knob
Lac Easel
Stork Lake
Elizabeth Lake
Evelyn Lake
Stakit Lake
Wishart Lake
Stakit Lake
Howells River
54°40'N

67°10'W 67°W 66°50'W

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Figure 12

Observations of Beavers /
Observations de castors

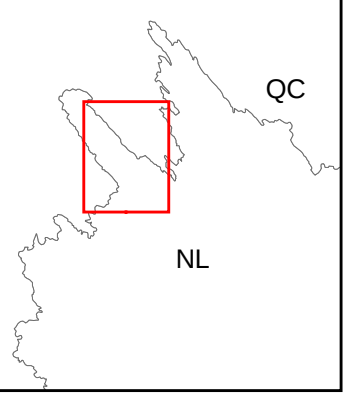
GIS-0079-00 2009-05-04 L.C.

CONFIDENTIAL

LEGEND / LÉGENDE

- ***Ushakamishk*[u]**
- **Lodge / Hutte**
- **Existing access road / Voie d'accès existante**
- **Border / Frontière: Québec / Labrador**

LOCATION / LOCALISATION



(Stakit Lake) (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush). Despite the fact that some of the accounts are old, the Study Area continues to be a very significant potential habitat for beaver.

7.2.5 Utshashkᵘ (Muskrat)

Utshashkᵘ is the muskrat (*Ondatra zibethicus*). Opinions on the status of the population vary a great deal, from stable (Inf. Nos. 3 and 5, Matimekush) to declining (Inf. Nos. 1 and 2, Matimekush) and even increasing (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush).

Muskrat is mainly found at Papateu-shipu (Howells River) (Inf. Nos. 2, 6 and 8, Matimekush), all along the river (Inf. No. 8) from Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) in the south (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush) to Rosemary Lake in the north (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush).

Other places that are likely to contain a significant population are in the vicinity of lakes Pishishkueu-shakaikan (Vacher Lake) (Inf. No. 9, John Lake) and Natuashu (Sauvaget Lake) (Inf. Nos. 5 and 10, Matimekush). It has also been reported at John Lake (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush).

7.2.6 Uapishtan (American Marten)

The marten (*Martes pennanti*) population status is never the same, according to one Innu:

> "If the ground is cold, *uapishtan* does not move around. If the ground warms, they come out of their underground holes. Since the temperature varies, the population also varies" (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush).

According to most of the other Innu informants, the marten population status appears to have remained stable in recent years in the Study Area (Inf. Nos. 2, 3 and 5, Matimekush). Very few think the number of marten has increased (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush)

However, observations in the area are not abundant. Generally, it is said that rivers and small lakes (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush) are the preferred habitat in contrast to mountains, where none are found (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). Sporadic observations have been made at Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush), along Takutaut-meshkanau toward Greenbush (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush) or at Barry Lake, further east (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush).

7.2.7 Atshakash (American Mink)

The presence of *atshakash*, American mink (*Mustela vison*), in the Study Area is reported by all the informants. Although some suggest that the numbers of mink are low (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush), one hunter, who is also employed, caught 20 in 2008 (see Section 6) in the sector covered by this survey.

Mink are found mainly in rivers and small lakes (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush). More specifically, they have been tracked at Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush), at Papateu-shipu (Howells River) near Rosemary Lake (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush) and at Curlingstone Lake (Inf. no. 2, Matimekush). The Innu express a nearly unanimous opinion about the population status over the past 10 years: it is very stable (Inf. Nos. 2, 3, 5, and 6, Matimekush). Only one Innu believes that it has decreased (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush)

7.2.8 Shikush (Weasel)

a) Nomenclature

Shikush designates primarily the weasel (*Mustela erminea*) in Innu, although the name also cover the Least weasel (*Mustela nivalis*). Many hunters from all communities recognize the existence of two types of weasel, a large one and a smaller one. In Matimekush, one Innu also mentioned the existence of two types of shikush that he respectively called *kamishishtit* 'the big one' and *kaiapishissishit* 'the small one' (Inf. No. 9, Matimekush). There is no doubt in our mind that he was referring to the two species indicated above.

b) Distribution

The Innu did not make distinctions between the weasel and the Least weasel in their observations of *shikush* in the territory. Since they are aware of their existence, we can assume that both species are present there. However, Least weasel are not reported as present in the area in the Project Notice as present in the area (WILKINSON *ET AL*. 2008).

The Innu have reported the presence of *shikush* throughout the Study Area (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush), although in relatively limited numbers (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush). They frequent rivers and lakes (Inf. Nos. 2 and 10, Matimekush). More specifically, the Innu

have observed them at Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush) and at Easel Lake (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush). In general, informants believe that the population is stable (Inf. Nos. 2, 3, 5 and 6, Matimekush).

7.2.9 Matsheshu (Red Fox)

a) Nomenclature

The Innu identify two species of fox, i.e., *matsheshu*, Red fox (*Vulpes vulpes*), and *uapatsheshu*, Arctic fox (*Alopex lagopus*), in addition to multiple phenotypic variations, including *kashteuatsheshu* ('Black fox'), *katshipiatukuashunashut* ('the one that it is striped with a cross'), *pikutanatsheshu* ('Samson's fox'), etc. (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush).

b) Distribution

Matsheshu, Red fox, is found everywhere in the area (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). Informants indicate the following locations: at the dump at Ishkueu-shakaikan (Squaw Lake); at Knob Lake and at Dauriat Lake (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush); at Triangle Lake to the east (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush); at Pishishkueu-shakaikan (Vacher Lake) (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush); immediately north of the Matimekush Reserve (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush); as well as in the mountains west of Papateu-shipu (Howells River) (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush).

Uapatsheshu (Arctic fox), more familiarly called *uapatsheshiss,* 'the little white fox', is known to everyone (Inf. Nos. 3, 5, 6, etc., Matimekush) and has been sighted many times, in particular in the following locations: in the vicinity of Greenbush, 5-6 miles to the north, around 1986 (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush); at Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush); near Kauteitinat (Inf. No. 9, John Lake); in the mountains to the west of Papateu-shipu (Howells River) (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush); and even, on January 12, 2009, right in the middle of Schefferville beside an informant's house (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush). However, people say they do not see them often and that they usually stay further away in the tundra (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). Arctic fox is not mentioned in NML's Project Notice (WILKINSON *ET AL*. 2008).

The Red fox population has increased in recent years according to many Innu (Inf. Nos. 1, 5 and 6, Matimekush). There are many reasons. People mention that there are fewer trappers (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush), but also the fact that "a breeder in Smallwood

released 2000 foxes in 1990 because of losses sustained as a result of the low price of fur" (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush).

7.2.10 Uapush (Snowshoe Hare)

All Innu pointed out the presence in abundance (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush) of *uapush* (*Lepus americanus*), Snowshoe hare, in the Study Area. The population has increased (Inf. Nos. 1, 2, 6, Matimekush), although the numbers always vary from year to year because of predators (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush). More specifically, hares have been observed or caught in the following sectors: at Ridge Lake (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush); at Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) (Inf. Nos. 6 and 7, Matimekush); and generally on the lower slopes of mountains (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush).

7.2.11 Nitshik^{u} (River Otter)

Only one species of *nitshik^{u}*, River otter (*Lontra canadensis*), is reported in the area, although the Innu located further south or east acknowledge at least two other species, in addition to phenotypic variations. Furthermore, one Innu in Matimekush indicated the existence of the *uapinitshik^{u}* form, or 'white otter', an individual albino (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). A lake further west bears the name Mishenitshik^{u} 'the fat otter', or Bazil Lake.

Everyone reports the presence of otter in the Study Area. Just as many are found in the east in the vicinity of Natuashu (Sauvaget Lake) (Inf. Nos. 1 and 5, Matimekush), Pishishkueu-shakaikan (Vacher Lake) (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush), Ridge Lake (Inf. No, 8, Matimekush) or Kanipinamushut-shakaikan (La Cosa Lake) (Inf. Nos. 8 and 10, Matimekush), as in the west, in Papateu-shipu (Howells River) (Inf. Nos. 2 and 5, Matimekush) or in the lake of the same name, Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush). One Innu reports having observed an otter even at Knob Lake, near the reserve (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush).

Otter habitat varies, but according to some Innu otters frequent "places where there are geese" (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush). They are said to be found more often in rivers and small streams than in lakes (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

The River otter population has been stable over the past 15 years, according to most of the informants (Inf. Nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, Matimekush). Only one Innu stated that it has decreased (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush)

7.2.12 Kak^{u} (Porcupine)

In this study, all Innu reported the presence of *kak^{u}* (porcupine) (*Erethizon dorsatum*) in the Study Area. It is found everywhere along the two main routes, Takutaut-meshkanau, the road leading to Kauteitinat (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush) or the more eastern route, Tshitua-Mani-katshimisht meshkanau leading to Annabel Lake (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). Observations were also made, particularly at Ridge Lake (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush), west of Kanipinamushut-shakaikan (La Cosa Lake) (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush), west of Triangle Lake (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush) and of Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush).

7.2.13 Anikutshash (Squirrel in General)

The Innu reported the presence of two types of *anikutshashat* (squirrel in general) in the Study Area, i.e., *anikutshash*, Red squirrel (*Tamiasciurus hudsonicus*), which is the nominate race, and *upau-anikutshash*, Northern flying squirrel (*Glaucomys sabrinus*). In contrast to many academics, who state that the tracks left by the Red squirrel and the Northern flying squirrel are similar, many Innu say that the tracks of the *upau-anikutshash* are specific. Thus, one informant was able to identify the presence of a Northern flying squirrel by its tracks at Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). Visual observations were also made at Esker, outside the Study Area (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush). Northern flying squirrel were not reported in NML's Project Notice (WILKINSON *ET AL*. 2008). The nominate race was reported by everyone everywhere, even in town, (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush).

7.2.14 Apikushish (Mouse, Shrew, Vole, in general)

a) Nomenclature

The Innu recognize several sorts of *apikushishat* (mouse in general), namely *nanashpatinishtsheshu* (Star-nosed mole, *Condylura cristata)*, *tshinishtui-apikushish* (shrew in general, including Cinereous shrew, *Sorex cinereus*); *atamipeku-apikushish* (several aquatic species including American water shrew, *Sorex palustris*); *upau-apikushish* (bat in general); *katshimuashkuamuieshit* (jumping mice in general);

kaiapishissishit-apikushish (prob. Pygmy shrew, *Microsorex hoyi*); and *misht-apikushish* (Norway rat, *Rattus norvegicus*). The Innu did not conduct as systematic an inventory of these small mammals as on the one carried out for other mammals in the framework of this study, for a number of reasons (limits of the study; they attach little economic importance to these animals). The data presented below are thus far from exhaustive.

b) Distribution

Nanashpatinishtsheshu (Star-nosed mole) is seldom observed (Inf. No. 9, John Lake), but its presence is reported in the Study Area. It is said to feed on small aquatic animals, but finding a dead one brings bad luck: it predicts a death (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush).

Atamipeku-apikushish (many aquatic species) have been observed at Petitsikapau Lake (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

Observations of *upau-apikushish* (bat in general), chiroptera, were made at the following locations: Shetan-shakaikaniss (Hope Lake) (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush); and Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush). It is said that bats do not move around during winter (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

Norway rat (*misht-apikushish*) was sighted in a camp near the dump (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush), but that hear-say.

Generally, mice are observed in large numbers in the Study Area, but the species were not identified.

7.2.15 Uinashk^{u} (Woodchuck)

The NML preliminary project studies (WILKINSON *ET AL*. 2008) do not include observations of woodchuck (*Marmotta monax*). However, according to many Innu, it is present in the territory, (Inf. Nos. 1, 2, 5, 8 and 9, Matimekush-Lac John). In general, there are large numbers of them, and they are observed throughout the Study Area (Inf. No. 9, John Lake), although in summer 2008 their numbers were low (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush).

Specific observations were reported at Shetan-shakaikaniss (Hope Lake) (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush) and at the bridge over Howells River, south of Rosemary Lake (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush).

7.2.16 Shikak^{u} (Striped Skunk)

The Project Notice (WILKINSON *AND AL*. 2008) does not report the presence of the Striped skunk (*Mephitis mephitis*). One Innu reported one observation south of Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush). Another Innu saw Striped skunks in the area of Sept-Îles (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). The Study Area could thus be potential habitat for this mustelidae.

7.2.17 Utshek (Fisher)

Most Innu informants are familiar with the vernacular name fisher (*Martes pennanti*), *utshek*, but no observations were made in the Study Area. The geographic distribution of the fisher established by Euro-Canadian biologists does not extend as far north as Schefferville.

7.3 *Nameshat* (Aquatic Animals)

This section specifically concerns freshwater fish, even though the category *nameshat* in Innu covers other realities (i.e., shellfish).

7.3.1 Shushashui (Arctic Char)

Generally, *shushashui* corresponds to Arctic char (*Salvelinus alpinus*). Its presence is reported only further north (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush) or in the vicinity of the George River (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush).

7.3.2 Matamek^{u} (Brook Trout)

a) Nomenclature

The Innu recognize at least two, and possibly three, types of *matamek^{u},* Brook trout (*Salvelinus fontinalis*), in the context of this study: the *matamek^{u}* nominate race*, papakatamek^{u}* ('the thin trout') for trout with compact bodies; and *matissen* (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush), unidentified, but possibly a synonym of the latter. In this survey, the Innu reported having mainly observed *matamek^{u}*, the nominate race, and *papakatamek^{u}* in fewer numbers and always at the same sites.

b) Distribution

Brook trout are plentiful everywhere (Inf. Nos. 6, 7, 9, and 10, Matimekush-Lac John) in rivers, streams and lakes. The best-known places are Matamekush Lake itself (Inf. Nos. 2 and 5, Matimekush), Papateu-shipu (Howells River) (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush) and all its bodies of water, such as Elross Lake (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush), Star Lake (Inf. Nos. 2, 3 and 5, Matimekush), where one Innu reports the presence of a spawning ground, in the north (Inf. No. 3, Matimekush), as well as in other lakes to the north and west such as Island Pond and Boot Lake (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush) and Ishkueu-shakaikan (Squaw Lake) and Pishishkueu-shakaikan (Vacher Lake) (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush).

Some Innu state that the Brook trout population has increased for a variety of reasons: the departure of Euro-Canadians and the abandonment of mines is one reason (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush). Another reason is global warming: "The rivers thaw one month earlier than in other years; the fish are also bigger; in the past, they were 4-5 lbs on average, now, 12 lbs" (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush). Other Innu informants consider the population stable (Inf. Nos. 2, 3 and 6, Matimekush).

7.3.3 Uanan (Atlantic Salmon)

The Innu term *uanan* taxonomically covers Atlantic salmon (*Salmo salar*). Based on the data collected in the framework of this survey, its distribution is as follows: in Papateu-shipu (Howells River) generally (Inf. Nos. 1, 3 and 4, Matimekush); in the southern part of Rosemary Lake (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush); and a few in Elross Lake and Stakit Lake (Inf. No. 9, John Lake) in particular. Many are also found near Menihek (Inf. Nos. 8 and 10, Matimekush).

The Atlantic salmon population is stable according to most of the Innu interviewed for this question (Inf. Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 6, Matimekush).

7.3.4 Kukamess (Lake Trout)

Kukamess is Lake trout (*Salvelinus namaycush*). Its presence year-round is reported everywhere, in particular in the bodies of water along Tshitua-Mani-katshimisht meshkanau, the road that leads to Annabel Lake (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush), in Papateu-

shipu (Howells River) (Inf. Nos. 2, 3 and 4, Matimekush) or in its various bodies of water, such as Rosemary Lake (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush), Elross Lake (Inf. No. 9, John Lake), Fleming Lake (Inf. No. 9, John Lake) and Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush). Further east, it is found in a nameless lake east of Knob Lake (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush), as well as in Natuashu (Sauvaget Lake) (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush). Lake trout does not frequent rapids (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush). Most Innu believe that the Lake trout population is stable (Inf. Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 6, Matimekush).

7.3.5 Tshinusheu (Northern Pike)

Tshinusheu is Northern pike (*Esox lucius*). Pike is found everywhere (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). More specifically, the Innu indicated the following places located in the Study Area: summer and winter in Papateu-shipu (Howells River) (Inf. Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5 and 9); in the bodies of water along Tshitua-Mani-katshimisht meshkanau, the road that leads to Annabel Lake (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush); near the bridge that crosses Papateu-shipu (Howells River) near Rosemary Lake (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush); in Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush); and, to the east, in Natuashu (Sauvaget Lake) (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush). Most of the Innu informants believed that the northern pike population is stable (Inf. Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 6, Matimekush).

7.3.6 Atikamek^{u} (Lake Whitefish)

The Innu name *atikamek^{u}* covers only one species from the standpoint of the western system, Lake whitefish (*Coregonus clupeaformis*). According to the Innu informants, observations of the presence of Lake whitefish are as follows: everywhere in lakes and rivers (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush) but more specifically in large lakes (Inf. No. 4, Matimekush) such as Fleming Lake (Inf. No. 9, John Lake), Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush), Pishishkueu-shakaikan (Vacher Lake) (Inf. No. 9, John Lake) and Natuashu (Sauvaget Lake) (Inf. Nos. 5 and 10, Matimekush). The Lake whitefish population has been stable in recent years (Inf. Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 6, Matimekush).

7.3.7 Makatsheu (White Sucker); mikuashai (Longnose Sucker)

The distribution of *makatsheu*, White Sucker (*Catostomus catostomus*), is identical to that of *mikuashai*, Longnose sucker (*Catostomus commersoni*), according to the Innu informants. The two species are caught in the same locations, i.e., in spring in all

streams (Inf. No. 9, John Lake), but more specifically in the bodies of water along the road that leads to Annabel Lake and in winter, in Pishishkueu-shakaikan (Vacher Lake) (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush); by the Papateu-shipu bridge (Howells River) (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush); in Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush); and further east in Ishkueu-shakaikan (Squaw Lake) (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush) and Natuashu (Sauvaget Lake) (Inf. Nos. 5 and 10, Matimekush). The sucker populations are considered to be stable (Inf. Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 6, Matimekush).

7.3.8 Atshakashamekush (Unidentified)

Atshakashmekush literally means 'the small fish of the mink', meaning that the mink is its predator. Some say that these fish can grow to eight or 10 inches and are caught in nets (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush). The name might cover many species, such as lake chub (*Couesius plumbeus*), or even sand smelt, whitefish, etc.

The presence of *atshakashamekush* is reported in small streams (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush) as well as in lakes such as Kashakat (Abel Lake) (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). The population is considered to be stable (Inf. No. 3 and 6, Matimekush).

7.3.9 Kauatuieshish (Rainbow Smelt)

Kauatuieshish usually refers to smelt (*Osmerus mordax*) in the Innu language. That fish has not been reported in this area under the western system. Only one informant used the term to designate a fish that can be caught by hand and that is found in Kauauatshikamashit-shakaikan (Matemace Lake) (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush).

7.3.10 Minai (Burbot)

Not all informants know the *minai*, burbot (*Lota lota*), but its presence is reported in more than one location both inside and outside the Study Area: for example, in Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush); in Astray Lake and in Knob Lake (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush); in Petitsikapau Lake (Inf. No. 9, John Lake); and in Attikamagen Lake (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). The burbot population is considered to be stable (Inf. No. 1 and 2, Matimekush) or growing (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush).

7.4 *Missipat* (Waterfowl)

Table 14 lists the waterfowl observed in the Study Area.

Nutshipaushtikueshish (Harlequin duck) literally means 'the little one who runs in the rapids'. The bird is undoubtedly associated with *paushtikua* 'rapids,' and this is confirmed by the observations: "We see them a little in the rapids" (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). The bird is seldom seen in the Study Area.

In the Innu language, the *mishikushk^{u}* category includes goldeneye and, in general, bluebill. More specifically, *Mishikushk^{u}* refers to goldeneye, whereas *papatshukuteu-mishikushk^{u}* is reserved for bluebill. Most of the informants know only the generic term and do not make distinctions in terms of the nomenclature for the various types of goldeneye or bluebill. Only one Innu distinguished between *mishikushk^{u}* (Common goldeneye) and *mamatau-mishikushk^{u}* (possibly Barrow's goldeneye) and indicated their presence in the Study Area (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush). The account of informant No. 5 dates to 1995, when he saw a goldeneye at Natuashu (Sauvaget Lake).

The Innu recognize three types of *nishk* (goose, in general): *nishk*, strictly speaking, or Canada goose; *uapishk,* or Snow goose; and *apishtiss,* or brant. *Apishtiss* is not present in the Study Area, although it has been observed at Attikamagen (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush), and some Elders have indicated that there were "a few in 1965" (Inf. No. 9, John Lake) or even "many more around 1972" (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). *Uapishk* seldom frequents the Study Area. It is often said that it only passes through (Inf. No. 8 and 10, Matimekush) and hardly stops except to drink. This goose "passes through the south-east of Kanipinamushut-shakaikan (La Cosa Lake)" (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). Other observations were also made near Greenbush (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush) and, in 2004, near Star Lake (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush). *Nishk* is the most commonly observed.

Table 14. *Missipat* (Waterfowl)

Innu name	English name	Latin name	Inf No.1	Inf No.2	Inf No.3	Inf No.4	Inf No.5	Inf No.6	Inf No.7	Inf No.8	Inf No.9	*Inf No.10*
Nutshipaushtiku-eshish	Harlequin duck	*Histrionicus histrionicus*	n.k.[1]	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	abs[2]	✓	✓	✓	n.k.
Mishikushk[u]	Goldeneye in general Common goldeneye	*Bucephala clangula*	✓	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	n.k.
Mamatau-Mishikushk[u]	Barrow's goldeneye?	*Bucephala islandica*	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	✓	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.
Papasthukuteu-mishikushk[u]	bluebill in general	*Aythya* spp.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	✓	n.k.	✓	n.k.	n.k.
Nishk	Canada Goose	*Branta canadensis*	✓	✓	✓	n.k.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Uapishk	Snow goose	*Anser caerulescens*	✓	✓	abs	n.k.	✓	abs	abs	✓	✓	✓
Apishtiss	Brant	*Branta bernicla*	abs	abs	n.k.	n.k.	abs	n.k.	abs	abs	abs	n.k.
Umumuk[u]	White-winged Scoter	*Melanitta fusca*	n.k.	abs	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	✓	n.k.	✓	✓	n.k.
Kuishkushipatam[u]	Surf Scoter	*Melanitta perspicillata*	✓	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.
(A)kuaikan	Black scoter	*Melanitta nigra*	✓	abs	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Muak[u]	Common loon	*Gavia immer*	✓	✓	✓	n.k.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ashu-muak[u]	Red-throated loon	*Gavia stellata*	abs	✓	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	abs	abs	abs	✓	n.k.
Uitui-muakush	a type of loon	n/a	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	✓	n.k.
Kakatshiship	Double-crested Cormorant	*Phalacrocorax auritus*	abs	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	abs	✓	n.k.	n.k.
Innishipi	American black duck	*Anas rubripes*	✓	✓	✓	n.k.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	n.k.
Uapinnishipi	Northern pintail	*Anas acuta*	✓	✓	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	abs	abs	✓	n.k.
Amishkunishipi	Green-winged teal	*Anas crecca*	n.k.	✓	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	abs	n.k.	n.k.	✓	n.k.
Auiu	Long-tailed duck	*Clangula hyemalis*	✓	✓	n.k.	n.k.	✓	✓	abs	✓	✓	✓

Innu name	**English name**	**Latin name**	**Inf No.1**	**Inf No.2**	**Inf No.3**	**Inf No.4**	**Inf No.5**	**Inf No.6**	**Inf No.7**	**Inf No.8**	**Inf No.9**	***Inf No.10***
Ushik[u]	Merganser in general including Common merganser Red-breasted merganser	*Mergus merganser Mergus serrator*	✓	✓	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	✓	✓	✓	✓	n.k.
Mishtshishik[u]	Common merganser	*Mergus merganser*	n.k.	abs	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	✓	abs	✓	✓	n.k.
Tshiashk[u]	seagull in general including Herring gull	*Larus argentatus*	✓	✓	✓	n.k.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	n.k.
Tshiashkueshish	Iceland gull	*Larus glaucoides*	✓	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	✓	✓	abs	✓	n.k.
Mishi- tshiashk[u]	Great black-backed gull	*Larus marinus*	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	abs	abs	abs	n.k.
Tshiashkueshish	*Tern in general, including Common tern*	Sterna hirundo	n.k.	✓	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	*n.k.*

[1] Informant not familiar with species.

[2] Observed by the informant, but not in the Study Area.

Hunting sites have already been indicated (see Figure 7). In addition to these sites, its presence has also been reported at Pinette Lake (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush) and in the area located between Ishkueu-shakaikan (Squaw Lake) and John Lake (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush).

Umumuk^{u} is the generic term for scoter and includes three species: the nominate race, *umumuk*^{u} strictly speaking, which refers to the White-winged scoter; *kuishkushipatam*^{u}*,* which designates the Surf scoter; and *kuaikan* (syn. *shashteship*) for the Black scoter. *Kuaikan* (syn. *shashteship*) appears to be the most widespread in the area, given the number of times that it is reported. But some also say they "sometimes only see it in spring at Knob Lake" (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush) and that it usually it settles further north, (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush): "*Shashteship*, it stays further north, it only comes in spring" (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

The Innu distinguish three species of loon, including one that could not be identified according to the western system: *muak*^{u} strictly speaking, Common loon; *ashu-muak*^{u}, Red-throated loon; and *uitui-muakush*. *Uitui-muakush* 'the little loon with the preening gland'. This species is reported in the Study Area by only one observer (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). The nominate race, *muak*^{u}*,* is very widespread. Its presence is reported at John Lake in particular (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush) and along Papateu-shipu (Howells River) in the vicinity of Greenbush Brook (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush). *Ashu-muak*^{u}, Red-throated loon, has been seen on the east bank of Rosemary Lake (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush). This loon has also been frequently observed outside the area: for example on the Menihek road (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush), further north (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush) and even at Sept-Îles (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush). It is said that this loon "is very intelligent (*Innuhiu*), because it doesn't come by when it sees lights" (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush).

Kakatshiship is the cormorant. Only one informant reports any in the Study Area (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). The others are familiar with it, because they have seen it elsewhere, further south (Inf. Nos. 1 and 7, Matimekush).

Innishipi (American black duck), *uapinnishipi* (Northern pintail) and *amishkunishipi* (Green-winged teal) belong to the same Innu category. *Innishipi* "is the first to arrive in spring" (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). More specifically, it is seen between John Lake and Ishkueu-

shakaikan (Squaw Lake) (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush) and north of Elross Lake, along Papateu-shipu (Howells River) (Inf. No. 2, Matiemkosh). *Uapinnishipu* has been seen beyond Greenbush (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush) and *amishkunishipu* in the vicinity of Star Lake (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush).

Auiu is the Long-tailed duck. Some say it is very widespread: "We see it everywhere in spring" (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). Others say it only passes through the area (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). Observations have been made in the following locations: east of Papateu-shipu (Howells River) between lakes Fleming and Stakit (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush); west of the same river (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush); and outside the Study Area, at Harris Lake (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush).

Ushik^{u} (merganser in general) is a generic term that includes *ushik^{u}* strictly speaking (Red-breasted merganser) and *mishtshishik^{u}* (Common Merganser). Some *ushikuat* have been seen passing through the area west of Papateu-shipu (Howells River) as well as on the eastern shore of Rosemary Lake (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush). One observer also reports the presence of *mishtshishik^{u}* (Common merganser) at Ishkueu-shakikan (Squaw Lake) (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush).

Tshiashk^{u} is the generic term for seagull. It includes several species. Generally, seagulls are found at the dump site of the City of Schefferville (Inf. Nos. 1 and 8, Matimekush). *Tshiashkueshish* (Iceland gull) is present in summer, according to some (Inf. No 1, Matimekush). They have been observed at Attikamagen (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). *Mishi-tshiashk^{u}* (Great black-backed gull) is absent from the area, but it is present further south, as in Sept-Iles (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

One informant used the term *tshiashkueshish* to designate a tern that he observed along Papateu-shipu (Howells River) (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush).

7.5 Birds of Prey

7.5.1 Mitshishu or *missu* (generally, Eagle)

a) Nomenclature

Generally, the Innu recognize two types of *missu* ('eagle'): the Bald eagle (*kauapishtikuanit-missu*) and a (*missu*) eagle, strictly speaking. One informant (Inf.

No. 10, Matimekush) considers the two species, the Bald eagle (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*) and the Golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*), as one species; another one defines the first as a transformation of the second (an older individual) (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). In most cases as well, when the species are distinguished, they are also distinguished from a lexemic point of view.

b) Distribution

Missu (Golden eagle) has been observed in the following locations: along Papateu-Shipu (Howells River) (Inf. No. 9, John Lake), more specifically between Kauteitinat and the river (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush) and south of Kivivic Lake (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush); and at Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) during goose hunting season (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush).

Kauapishtikuanit-missu, Bald eagle, has been observed at the following locations: along Papateu-shipu (Howells River) (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush); at Papateu-shakaikan (Stakit Lake) (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush); further east, between Ishkueu-shakaikan (Squaw Lake) and Pishishkueu-shakaikan (Vacher Lake), where no fewer than six individuals were observed (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush); between Kakuss (La Miltière Lake) and Pishishkueu-shakaikan (Vacher Lake) (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush); or, further away, at Champdoré Lake (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). Some Innu state that the Bald eagle is rarer than the Golden eagle. They also say that it "interferes with goose hunting" (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush).

c) Nests

Nests are also visible in the area. Their locations closely match the above observations. A nest of an unidentified eagle was recorded at Kauteitinat (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush). Golden eagle nests have been reported at the following sites: Papateu-shipu (Howells River) in 2006, 150 metres north-east of Stakit Lake (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush); and Petitsikapau Lake (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

A Bald eagle nest was observed in the vicinity of Natuashu (Sauvaget Lake) and Baussac Lake (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush); another one was seen at Pishishkueu-shakaikan (Vacher Lake) (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush); and, outside the Study Area, nests were

observed at Petitsikapau and Attikamagen (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush) and further south along the railroad tracks (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush).

7.5.2 Akuashimesheu (Osprey)

Countless nests of *akuashimesheu* (osprey, *Pandion haliaetus*) were observed by Innu, in the centre of the Town of Schefferville (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush), everywhere along the railroad tracks or on poles along the roads leading to Menihek (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush). The Innu are unanimous that this bird is on the increase (Inf. Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10, Matimekush).

7.5.3 Nutshineueshu (Northern Goshawk)

Nutshineueshu is the Northern goshawk (*Accipiter gentilis*). The term literally means the 'little one who chases Tetraonidae'. In the boreal forest, the goshawk is undoubtedly associated with partridge, its main source of food. One informant described it as follows, "brown and white, like a little falcon" (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush). Another reports that the "bird flies fast" (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush). Another considers it as a type of owl: "It's almost a snowy owl. The partridge hunter" (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush). The presence of *nutshineueshu* is reported by many Innu in the Study Area (Inf. Nos. 2, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10, Matimekush-Lac John). More specifically, the following locations were reported: at the southern tip of John Lake (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush); along Ishkueu-shakaikan (Squaw Lake), Kanipinamushut-shakaikan (La Cosa Lake), Knob Lake (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush); along Papateu-shipu (Howells River); to the north-east of Stakit Lake (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush); and in more remote areas, such as the mountains to the west of Papateu-shipu (Howells River) (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush) and at Natuakupass (Guillet Lake) (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush). *Nutshineueshu* "settle where *uapineuat* are found [Willow ptarmigan]" (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). This means that it is present during winter.

7.5.4 Pipitshish (perhaps Merlin)

Pipitshish seems to be the merlin (*Falco colombarius*). One informant is familiar with the name, but its presence is not reported in the Study Area (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush).

7.5.5 Uhuat (Owls)

a) Nomenclature

Owls are a complex concept for the Innu, because some species are identified by the sounds they emit, others by specific behaviours, etc. Illustrations and specimens are not useful. According to our current studies, which in some cases complement and in other cases contradict previous data (CLÉMENT 1995), there are at least six types of *uhuat* (owls in general) in the Innu language, i.e., *uhu*, *uapakanui*, *kashashkatashit* (syn. e*kakanapishit*, *ekakauapatasht*), *papanashtshish*, *kukuku* and *pishk^{u}*. In Schefferville, many of these are recognized, including *uhu*, *uapakanui*, *papanashtshish*, *(e)kakauapatasht* and *pishk^{u}*.

Uhu, the nominate race, undoubtedly refers to the Great horned owl (*Bubo virginianus*). *Uapakanui* (also known as *uap-uhu* 'the white owl') is the Snowy owl (*Nyctea scandiaca*). *Ekakauapatasht* literally means 'the one who does not see clearly'. According to the Innu, the bird can be approached during the day and it will not fly away. This term corresponds to the Northern hawk-owl (*Surnia ulula*). *Papanashtshish* might be the Boreal owl. The etymology of the term is unknown to us. *Pishk^{u}* is the Common nighthawk (*Chordeiles minor*). The bird belongs to *uhuat* (owls in general) according to some, but not necessarily according to everyone.

Moreover, *kukuku* or even *kukukueshish* corresponds to the Short-eared owl (*Asio flammeus*) in Innu communities other than Matimekush-Lac John. The people interviewed did not know the name.

b) Distribution

The presence of *uhu*, the Great horned owl, is reported by most Innu informants (Inf. Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7 and 9, Matimekush). Observations were made along Papateu-shipu (Howells River) (Inf. Nos. 2, 5 and 6, Matimekush), more specifically around Fleming Lake (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush) and south of Kivivic Lake (Inf. No. 5, Matimekush); in the area of Pishishkueu-shakaikan (Vacher Lake) (Inf. Nos. 1 and 2, Matimekush); and at Attikamagen (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). A nest was also observed west of Papateu-shipu (Howells River) (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush). Great horned owls frequent valleys (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush). "If we hear it at night, that means it will snow" (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

Uapakanui, Snowy owl, was observed west of Papateu-shipu (Howells River) (Inf. No. 6, Matimekush); at Kauteitinat (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush); at Greenbush in 1983 and 1985 (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush); in the area of Pishishkueu-shakaikan (Vacher Lake) (Inf. No. 1 and 2, Matimekush); and, further, at Attikamagen (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush), where it is said that it is "present, but rare" (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). Many report its presence in general (Inf. Nos. 4, 5 and 6, Matimekush). "*Uapakanui* builds its nest in the rocks, but it doesn't always settle in the same nest" (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush). Owls settle in the mountains (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush).

Ekakauapatasht, Northern hawk-owl, was seen at Knob Lake (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). Another Innu pointed out that it is seen "from time to time" just about everywhere in the Study Area (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

Papanashtshish (perhaps Boreal owl) is present in the Study Area (Inf. Nos. 4, 7, 8 and 9, Matimekush). One nest was reported north of Kakuss (La Miltière Lake) (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). Some observations were made north of Stark Lake, at Matamekush (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush) and in the area of Pishishkueu-shakaikan (Vacher Lake) (Inf. No. 9, John Lake), but its presence is described as rare.

Pishk^{u}, Common nighthawk, was seen only in Sept-Îles (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush).

Among all these birds, some are not reported in the Project Notice (WILKINSON *ET AL*. 2008). The list of species frequenting the area should be updated in the Project Notice.

7.6 *Pineuat* (Tetraonidae)

a) Nomenclature

Several species of *pineuat* (Tetraonidae) are known to the Innu, including three that are widespread in the Study Area: *innineu* (Spruce grouse, *Falcipennis canadensis*); *uapineu* ('white tetraonidae', or Willow ptarmigan, *Lagopus lagopus*); and *kashkanatshish* (Rock ptarmigan, *Lagopus mutus*). *Pashpashtshu* (Ruffed grouse, *Bonassa umbellus*) was also observed (Inf. No. 3, Matimekush).

b) Distribution

Innineu (Spruce grouse) is present in winter and summer (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush). It is the most common species. It is found everywhere on roads (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush) such as Tshitua-Mani-katshimisht meshkanau, the road that leads to Annabel Lake (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). It is also found on the west side of Papateu-shipu (Howells River) (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush).

Uapineu ('white tetraonidae') is ubiquitous in winter. It is observed in many locations, including Kanipinamushut-shakaikan (La Cosa Lake) (Inf. No. 9, John Lake) and on the west side of Papateu-shipu (Howells River) (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush).

Kashkanatshish (Rock ptarmigan) is visible either in November (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush) or in spring (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush). They frequent mountains (Inf. Nos. 3, 8 and 9, Matimekush), in particular west of the mountain with former mine sites (Inf. Nos. 2, 8, 9 and 10, Matimekush). It is smaller than the other Tetraonidae (Inf. No. 4, Matimekush). One Innu says he catches some every year, although they were rare in 2008 (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush).

Pashpashtshu (Ruffed grouse) was observed by only one of the Innu informants. One Elder states that "we saw them in the past" (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush) in the area. The other hunters stated that they are found only near the St. Lawrence River (Inf. No. 4, Matimekush) or in the vicinity of Sept-Îles (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush).

7.7 *Pineshishat* (Small Birds)

Attention to the distribution of forest birds in the Study Area was limited, since time constraints did not allow an in-depth study. There were also other reasons, namely that many vernacular names are generic and the fact that a name (for example, *uishau-pineshish*) can designate all small yellow birds, including the Yellow-bellied flycatcher, warblers, etc. it appears to be difficult to determine the distribution of species considered different from the standpoint of the western system. In addition, the names vary among communities, and the identification of species has been conducted in a precise manner only among the Innu of Ekuanitshit. Consequently, the distribution of species below, although accurate as a whole, is not definitive. It is based solely on Innu names. When it became obvious during interviews that the names used did not correspond to the birds

named in the same way on the North Shore, we made the necessary adjustments. Nonetheless, some errors in identification may persist.

Table 15 summarizes the *pineshishat* that the informants observed or did not observe in the Study Area. The list of birds presented to the informants included other species present in the area, but the informants did not know the terms (e.g. *ashtaukuteshish* for White-winged crossbill (*Loxia leucoptera*); *pashkaipishish* for Fox sparrow (*Passerella iliaca*); etc.). Thus, it is possible that there are local terms that we were unable to update.

The informants commented on bird habitats, the period of time during which they frequent the territory and even some beliefs. For example, it is said that finding a nest of a *uishkatshan* (Canada jay) brings bad luck. One informant relates that two months after having seen one at Vacher Lake, his grandfather died. The jay's nest is well camouflaged, and is therefore hard to find (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush). The jay is undoubtedly the most often observed small bird: "It always comes when we set up tents" (Inf. No. 10, Matimekush).

As far as habitats are concerned, it is reported that *shesheshu* (shank in general) settles either in sandy areas (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush) or, during summer, in peat bogs (*massekut*) (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). *Pipitsheu* (American robin) frequents the lower slopes of mountains; according to the same Innu, there are several types, including one that is all black, another one with a red throat; in particular they are seen at Kauteitinat (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush). Another informant reports having observed the American robin only during summer (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

There is a high degree of lexical variation for the Snow bunting. We have recorded no fewer than four different names that designate it: *uapitshupinekushish*, *uapinekushish*, *pupun-pineshish* and even *shakueikanish*, the usual name for swallow. On the North

Table 15. *Pineshishat* (Small Birds)

Innu name	English name	Latin name	Inf 1	Inf 2	Inf 3	Inf 4	Inf 5	Inf 6	Inf 7	Inf 8	Inf 9	*Inf 10*
Kamushkuashit	snipe in general	n/a	n.k.[1]	n.k.	n.k	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	✓	✓	n.k.
Nutapashkueshu	Whimbrel	*Numenius phaeopus*	n.k.	n.k.	n.k	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	abs[2]	n.k.
Shesheshu	shank in general	n/a	✓	abs	n.k.	n.k.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	n.k.
Utshishtshimanishu	Belted kingfisher	*Megaceryle alcyon*	rare	abs	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	✓	abs	n.k.	abs	n.k.
Pashpashteu	woodpecker in general	n/a	✓	✓	✓	n.k.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	n.k.
Mushuau-pineshish	birds of the tundra in general	n/a	✓	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.
Shakau-pineshish	Alder birds in general including Alder flycatcher	*Empidonax alnorum*	n.k.	✓	n.k.	n.k.	✓	n.k.	✓	n.k.	✓	n.k.
Shakueikanish	swallows in general including Tree swallow	*Tachycineta bicolor*	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	✓	✓	n.k.	n.k.
Uishkatshan	Canada jay	*Perisoreus canadensis*	✓	✓	✓	n.k.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Kakatshu	Common raven	*Corvus corax*	✓	✓	✓	n.k.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pitshikaishkashish	Boreal chickadee	*Parus hudsonicus*	✓	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	✓	✓	✓	n.k.
Pipitsheu	American robin	*Turdus migratorius*	✓	✓	n.k.	n.k.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	n.k.
Tshatshakanui	blackbirds in general including Rusty blackbird	*Euphagus carolinus*	n.k.	abs	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	✓	✓	n.k.
Mishui	Pine grosbeak	*Pinicola enucleator*	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	✓	n.k.
Nutshipemakueshish	Common redpoll	*Carduelis flammea*	n.k.	abs	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	✓	n.k.
Kautuassakuanish-kueishit	several species, including Golden-crowned kinglet	*Regulus satrapa*	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.	✓	n.k.	✓	n.k.
Pupun-pineshish	Snow bunting	*Plectrophenax nivalis*	n.k.	✓	✓	n.k.	✓	✓	n.k.	✓	✓	✓

[1] The informant is not familiar with the species in question.

[2] The informant is familiar with the species but has observed it only outside the Study Area.

Shore, the bird is called *uapishush*. This bunting is present in the area in April-May (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush). It has been seen at Rosemary Lake among other places (id.).

The term *mushuau-pineshish* covers several species. The term means 'small birds of the tundra.' One informant describes them as small brown and/or grey birds who feed in the same way as Tetraonidae (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush). We were unable to identify them in this study.

Nutapashkueshu (whimbrel) was seen only at Sept-Îles. *Utshishtshimanishu* (kingfisher) is rather rare near Schefferville. *Pashpashteu* (woodpecker in general) settles in *minaikuat* (white spruce); and *pitshikeshkeshish* (Boreal chickadee) in the woods (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). The *pashpashteu* (woodpecker in general) are found in particular along Papateu-shipu (Howells River) and in the area between Triangle and Ione lakes (Inf. No. 2, Matimekush).

Of all these birds, only one is reported to be edible, because it is "bigger," i.e., *shesheshu* (shank in general) (Inf. No. 9, John Lake).

If we compare those data with the observations recorded in the Project Notice (WILKINSON *ET AL*. 2008), at least two species were not reported by the biologists, Snow bunting and Pine grosbeak.

7.8 *Manitushat* (Pest Species)

In the Innu classification, *manitushat* include amphibians, reptiles, and insects. Since the Innu consider these species unfit for consumption, very few were commented on in this survey.

Anik, American toad, was observed in the south near Ashuanipi Lake (Inf. No. 9, Matimekush), at Sept-Îles (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush) and also by one informant in the Study Area, although he states that it is rare there (Inf. No. 7, Matimekush). *Umatiskut*, frog in general (including the Northern frog, *Rana septentrionalis*) is present everywhere in peat bogs (Inf. No. 8, Matimekush).

The insects observed everywhere are: *shatshimeu* (diptera in general); *kuakuapishish* (butterfly in general); *kamitshetukatet* or *kaushuniamit* (spider in general); *utsheu* (fly in general); *enik*^{u} (ant in general); *amu* (bee, wasp and bumble bee in general); and *missak*^{u} (diptera flies), which

were quite rare in 2008 (Inf. No. 1, Matimekush). *Shatshimeuat* (diptera) are used as bait for fishing Brook trout (Inf. No. 3, Matimekush)

Among the other species mentioned during the interviews, the following were not observed in the area: *atshinepik*^{u} (snake) and *utshishkatatak*^{u} (a kind of salamander). *Teteu*, a more southern term used to designate the Green frog (*Rana clamitans*), among others, was apparently unknown to the Innu informants.

8 Conclusions

Our mandate was to document Innu resource use and their knowledge of the Schefferville area, where NML plans to develop its DSOP. At the outset, we targeted members of the Nation Innu Matimekush-Lac John and Innu Takuaikan Uashat mak Mani-utenam. For reasons beyond our control, the latter community had to be excluded from this study.

A field visit allowed us to meet with 10 members of the NIMLJ. They were all users, to varying degrees, of the Study Area that overlaps two traplines, i.e. Nos. 207 and 211 Saguenay Beaver Reserve, Division Sept-Îles Nord. The ages of the informants ranged from 45 to 81 years. They were interviewed using a questionnaire covering all aspects concerning their use of the Study Area and their knowledge of this environment.

The research revealed some 35 toponyms related to the Study Area, i.e. the area that extends westward to the Howells River valley itself and to lakes Stakit, Fleming, Elross and Rosemary; eastward, to Matemace Lake; northward, near lakes Guillet and Gillard; and southward, near Gilling Lake. It also includes the Matimekush and Lac John reserves.

The toponyms in themselves indicate extensive use of the territory, both at present and in the past. The analysis of the toponyms also allowed us to focus on the distribution of many animal and plant species, the close relationships with the land indicated by references to names of historical persons and events, places associated with religion.

The analysis of the historical background of Innu occupation, extending from the period of contact until the 1980s, made it possible to define a model for land use that has been constant, but that has also adapted to the changes experienced over the centuries. Until the Innu settled at Schefferville, the annual cycle of activities remained virtually unchanged from the period before colonization, marked by annual return voyages from the shore of the St. Lawrence to the Study Area and even beyond. That nomadic phase was significantly tested in the early 20th century, because of many external factors such as mining development, Euro-Canadian migration and the vagaries of the fur trade, etc. In the 1950s, the Innu traditionally associated with the area began to move to Schefferville, prompted by sources of income made available by the construction of the railway and the opening of mines. Two reserves were later recognized, Matimekush and Lac John. The annual cycle of activities during that period was characterized by more intermittent stays in the territory and the articulation of traditional activities with other

sources of income (employment earnings and government subsidies).

The analysis of the results of this survey reveals a model that is similar to the one existing before mining operations in the area ceased, i.e., a relatively unchanged annual cycle and the introduction of new relationships with the territory. The current cycle continues to be characterized by fall hunting for big game, fall and winter trapping, group hunting of Canada goose and waterfowl in May and activities related to berry gathering in summer. Fishing and small game hunting are practised throughout the year. New activities include the development of solitary hunting trips and cottaging.

Of direct concern to the DSOP, the results also made it possible to locate the sites of hunters' cabins in the Study Area and to identify the activities carried out there. All of the Innu knowledge of fauna, including mammals (*aueshishat*), fish (*nameshat*), waterfowl (*missipat*), birds of prey, Tetraonidae (*pineuat*) and dozens of species of small birds (*pineshishat*), has provided an overview of the distribution of animal species according to the Innu and ethological data concerning them, including caribou. The distribution data were also used to enhance the data obtained by biologists working on the same project.

Table 16. Summary of Anticipated Impacts

	THEMES	**IMPACTS**
ACTIVITIES	Roads	Interference with movement on the main roads (Takutaut-meshkanau and Tshitua-Mani-katshimisht meshkanau)
	Camp sites	Partial or complete abandonment of two cottages at Star Lake
	Goose hunting	Partial or complete abandonment of goose hunting at various sites (Pinette Lake, Elross Lake, etc.)
	Fishing	Partial or complete abandonment of fishing on Star Lake
	Caribou hunting	Abandonment of caribou hunting in the Study Area
	Small game	Partial or complete abandonment of small game hunting along the main roads in the Study Area
	Gathering	Complete or partial abandonment of plant gathering in the Study Area because of dust
FAUNA AND FLORA	Animal populations	Possible decrease in game in neighbouring areas because of an increase in hunters from outside
	Caribou	Change in migration routes

In the framework of this study, the Innu also spontaneously referred to the potential impacts of the DSOP, although it was not within our mandate to elaborate on that topic. Those comments

touch on several aspects. There is reason to take note of some of them. First of all, it would appear that noise caused by road traffic and the exploratory work conducted over the past two years has caused great inconvenience (Inf. No. 3, Matimekush) for the occupants of cottages on Star Lake located in the heart of the Study Area. The Innu in question formulated complaints to construction site workers, but he was referred to the company bosses, and no follow-up occurred. Similarly, other Innu expressed their discontent concerning a lack of respect for their territory in the case of another mining company that did not obtain use permits to carry out exploratory work (Inf. No. 9, John Lake). Second, it also seems that the impacts of dust caused by the same work are endangering Star Lake, which is considered threatened because currently it is "at its lowest level" in terms of yield (Inf. No. 3, Matimekush). People still fear that the lake will ultimately become completely polluted (Inf. No. 3, Matimekush). This concern is similar to that regarding plant gathering, i.e. that they must be gathered in remote areas, free of dust. Third, all our informants stated that they would maintain or even increase the level of their activities in the years to come, compared to 2008. This means that the Study Area must be protected in that regard.

Table 3 summarizes the anticipated impacts. Some of them reflect Aboriginal concerns, such as the fear of increased pressure on hunting, justified by previous experience during the presence of mining workers. Others arise from the facts gathered as part of this study. These are all possible effects and merit examination.

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APPENDIX 1
TOPONYMIC RECORD

INNU TOPONYMS

Innu name(s)	Type of place
1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____	

MGR	Map #	County/District/Municipality

Translation	Period name used

Morphemes

Meaning

Origin

Other data

Documentation

Name of informant	Community	Age
Date	Interviewer	

APPENDIX 2
QUESTIONNAIRE

FIELD SURVEY

Questionnaire

Direct Shipping Ore Project

Land- and Resource-Use by the members of
Innu Takuaikan Uashat Mak Mani-Utenam (ITUM)
and of the
Nation Innu Matimekush-Lac John (NIMLJ)

CONSENT FORM

Within the framework of the Environmental Impact Study of the Direct Shipping Ore Project (DSOP), Mr. Daniel Clément was mandated by New Millennium Capital Corp. to describe land occupancy and resource use by your community.

The DSOP involves the mining of iron ore in deposits located in Quebec and in Labrador, 30 km west of Schefferville. The general study area of the DSOP forms a narrow band a few kilometers in width and approximately 30 kilometers in length, which lies in the basin of the Howells River and extends east of the latter from south to north starting at M353. In this area, the mining company anticipates carrying out work that includes the stripping of the humus layer and vegetation, the installation of power lines and generators, the construction of a camp, the repairing of roads and the establishment of an aggregate crushing and concrete-making plant. You can see the mine site on the attached map. The iron ore will be transported by rail to Pointe-Noire (Sept-Îles), in Quebec.

The study that we are undertaking aims at understanding land use as practised by yourself and the members of your community. It also aims at recording knowledge on animals, plants and the environment in general — known as TEK (Traditional Ecological Knowledge) — that you and your community have accumulated on the study area. Please note that it is essential to answer all the questions and that your answers (whether affirmative or negative) will be written on the questionnaire in such a way as to convey your point of view as faithfully as possible.

New Millennium Capital Corp. needs your consent to use the information that you will provide within the framework of its impact study. The information will be used solely for that purpose. With your consent, the interview will be taped. Note that the interview may take from two to six hours. You must sign on the indicated line below in order to give your authorization to New Millennium Capital Corp.

Authorization to use the questionnaire. Your answers as an informant will be used for the purpose of impact analysis of the New Millennium Capital Corp. project. Your signature confirms that you give New Millennium Capital Corp. the authorization to use the information for the purpose of the project's environmental assessment and related activities, such as the development of mitigation measures.

Signature of the informant: _____ Date: _____

Name of the informant (in block letters): _____

Witness (other than the interviewer): _____

IDENTIFICATION OF THE INFORMANT

Date of interview: Month: _____ Date: _____ Interview beginning at (hr): _____

Informant

Family name:_____ First name: _____

Age: _____ Sex: M or F

Informant Status: Tallyman/"Owner" — User — Spouse — Relative — In transit —

Other, please specify _____

Trapline(s) Number(s): _____ (Indicate the number on the map)

How long have you been using this trapline? _____

Permanent residence (name of the community) _____

_____

Identification of the trapline principal users (specify your relationship with the tallyman/"owner")

Name	Age	Relationship to tallyman/"owner"	Since when have you been using this trapline?
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			

LAND USE AND TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE

1 **Toponymy**

1.1 Specify and indicate (in block letters) on the map the Innu toponyms for the main features of the territory (lakes, rivers, mountains, etc.) and the places most often used.

2 **Reference year**
Answer the questions by describing what you did in 2008.

2.1 Winter

2.1.1 Transport (winter 2008)

2.1.1.1 During this period how often did you visit your trapline?
_____ Number of visits

2.1.1.2 Why did you visit your trapline?
_____
_____
_____

2.1.1.3 When you visited your trapline, how long did you stay on average? (Number of days or weeks)
_____

2.1.1.4 What means of transportation did you use to get to your trapline?
Car Train
Plane Skidoo Other (specify)

2.1.1.5 How long did it take you to get to your trapline from your permanent residence?

Hours _____ Days _____

2.1.1.6 If you used the train, at what railroad mile did you disembark?

Indicate the mile _____

2.1.1.7 On the map accompanying this questionnaire, draw the routes you used to get to your trapline. Use a different colour for each season.

2.1.1.8 On the map, draw the routes you used for hunting and fishing in the winter of 2008.

2.1.2 Composition of the hunting party (winter 2008)

2.1.2.1 In all, how many people went to the trapline?

	Winter
Child male (1-13 years)	
Child female (1-13 years)	
Young male (14-30 years)	
Young female (14-30 years)	
Adult male (31-60 years)	
Adult female (31-60 years)	
Elderly male (61 and over)	
Elderly female (61 and over)	
Total	

2.1.3. Camps (winter 2008)

2.1.3.1 What types of dwellings did you use on the trapline? Indicate them on the map: location, type (abbreviation) and year of construction.

Log cabin (C) Log and canvas cabin (CT)
House (M) Tent (T)
Other (specify)

2.1.3.2 Did you use one or more secondary camps in the winter of 2008? Indicate their locations with the abbreviation CS on the map.

2.1.3.3 At what distance from the railroad are these dwellings located? (Write the number and circle the measurement unit below, and indicate them on the map.)

Permanent dwellings _____ feet miles metres kilometres
Secondary camps _____feet miles metres kilometres

2.1.3.4 Except for dwellings and camps, can you indicate on the map (place and type (abbreviation)) any material cache (cm), supply cache (cp) or other type of cache (ca) you prepared ?

2.1.3.5 For heating and cooking in your dwellings (permanent or secondary), what did you use (fireplace, stove etc.) ? If you burned wood, where did the wood come from?

_____
_____
_____

2.1.4 Activities (winter 2008)

2.1.4.1 What activities did you carry out on the trapline?
Hunting Fishing Trapping Vacationing
Other (specify) _____

2.1.4.2 Are there *ashkui* (areas permanently free of ice or that thaw early on rivers, lakes and estuaries) on the trapline, more specifically on the route you use to get to your fishing sites ? (use the map for location)

2.1.4.3 Do you know and how do you identify the following species?

a. Kashashkatashit (K) (Northern hawk-owl) YES NO

b. Great gray owl (CL) YES NO

c. Papanashtshish (P) (syn. kukukueshish (K) (Boreal owl) YES NO

d. Uhu (Uhu) (Great Horned owl) YES NO

e. Uapakanui (Ua) (Snowy owl) YES NO

2.1.4.4 Do you know if there are any nesting areas for those birds on your trapline? (Northern hawk-owl, Great gray owl, Boreal owl, Great Horned owl, Snowy owl)?

Yes No

If yes, indicate them on the map using the abbreviation for each species.

2.1.4.5 In the winter of 2008, how many times did you observe those birds on your trapline?

Kashashkatashit (K) _____

Great gray owl (CL) _____

Papanashtshish (P) ou kukukueshish (K) _____

Uhu (Uhu) _____

Uapakanui (Ua) _____

Indicate your observations on the map using the abbreviation for each species.

2.1.4.6 What animal species are present on your trapline in winter? Put an X in the present or absent column and indicate the numbers harvested.

A) **Aueshishat (Quadruped)**

Species	**Present**	**Absent**	**# Harvested**
Utshashk^{u} (muskrat)			
Apikushish (mouse)			
Uapush (hare)			
Nitshik^{u} (otter)			
Shakak^{u} (Striped skunk)			
Shikush (weasel)			
Atshakash (mink)			
Uapishtan (marten)			
Maikan (wolf)			
Shitaikan (kind of wolf)			
Mashk^{u} (Black bear)			
Matsheshu (Red fox)			
Kak^{u} (porcupine)			
Uinashk^{u} (woodchuck)			
Pishu (lynx)			
Pepeshapishish (kind of lynx)			
Shitai-pishu (kind of lynx)			
Cougar			
Kuekuatsheu (wolverine)			
Mush (moose)			
Amishk^{u} (beaver)			
Utshek (fisher)			
Anikutshash (squirrel)			
Minashkuau-atik^{u} (sedentary caribou)			
Mushuau-atik^{u} (migratory caribou)			
Others			

B) NAMESHAT (Fish)

Species	**Present**	**Absent**	**# Harvested**
Shushashui (Arctic char)			
Matamek^{u} (Brook trout)			
Other kind			
Other kind			
Uanan (Atlantic salmon)			
Kukamess (Lake trout)			
Tshinusheu (Northern pike)			
Atikamek^{u} (Lake whitefish)			
Makatsheu (White sucker)			
Mikuashai (Longnose sucker)			
Kauapishishit (Unidentified)			
Kauatuieshish (Rainbow smelt)			
Minei (Burbot)			
Nemeu (Atlantic sturgeon)			
Others			

C) **MISSIPAT** (**Waterfowl)**

Species	**Present**	**Absent**	**# Harvested**
Nutshipaushtikueshish (Harlequin duck)			
Mishikushk^{u} (goldeneye)			
Tshitshue mishikushk^{u} (Common goldeneye)			
Mamatau-mishikushk^{u} (Barrow's goldeneye)			
Papatshukuteu-mishikushk^{u} (bluebill)			
Nishk (Canada goose)			
Uapishk (Snow goose)			
Apishtiss (brant)			
Umumuku (White-wing scoter)			
Papukutshat (Surf scoter)			
Shashteship (Black scoter)			
Muak^{u} (Common loon)			
Ashu-muak^{u} (Red-throated loon)			
Uitui-muakush (unidentified)			
Uetataku (Northern gannet)			
Kakatshiship (Double-crested cormorant)			
Uapitukuan (Great cormorant)			
Mukamishu (American bittern)			
Inniship (American black duck)			
Uapinniship (Northern pintail)			
Amishkuniship (Green-winged teal)			
Auiu (Long-tailed duck)			
Tshitshue missip (Common eider)			
Passip (may be an eider sub-species)			
Ueuinukuteu (King eider)			
Ushik^{u} (merganser)			
Mishtshishik^{u} (Common merganser)			
Tshiashk^{u} (Herring gull or Glaucous gull)			
Tshiashkueshish (Iceland gull)			
Mishi-tshiashk^{u} (Great black-backed gull)			
Taukamiu-tshiashkush (Black-legged kittiwake)			
Atshen-tshiashku (jaeger)			
Tshinash (tern)			
Innukut (razorbill and/or Thick-billed murre)			
Ketshinukuteu (Common murre)			
Tshumushumash (dovekie)			
Shikauniss (Black guillemot)			
Munaikutanish (Atlantic puffin)			
Others			

D) BIRDS OF PREY

Species	**Present**	**Absent**	**# Harvested**
Mitshishu or missu (Golden eagle)			
Kauapishtikuanit-missu (Bald eagle)			
Shakuatam^{u} (syn,?)			
Atshenashu (syn.)			
Akuashimesheu (Osprey)			
Shakuatam^{u} (may be Rough-Legged hawk)			

Nutshineueshu (unidentified)			
Tshetshek^{u} (may be Northern harrier)			
Pipitshish (may be merlin)			
Uhu (Great Horned owl)			
Uapakanui (Snowy owl)			
Kashashkatashit (Northern hawk-owl)			
Ekakanapishit (syn.)			
Papanashtshish (Boreal owl)			
Kukueshish (syn.)			
Kukuku (Short-eared owl)			
Great gray owl			
Pishk^{u} (Common nighthawk)			
Others			

E) PINEUAT (*Tetraonidae*)

Species	**Present**	**Absent**	**# Harvested**
Innineu (Spruce grouse)			
Pashpashtshu (Ruffed grouse)			
Innapineu (Willow ptarmigan)			
Kashkanatshish (Rock ptarmigan)			
Amishkuapineu (Unidentified)			
Others			

F) PINESHISHAT (Small birds)

Species	**Present**	**Absent**	**# Harvested**
Aiapanish (shorebirds)			
Misht-aiapanish (kind of shorebird)			
Katapishkatshet-aiapanish (kind of shorebird)			
Kamushkuashit (Common snipe)			
Nutapashkueshu (whimbrel)			
Teshtueshtshish (Spotted sandpiper)			
Shesheshu (sandpiper)			
Kaiapishissishit aiapanish (Least sandpiper)			
Akumushish (phalarope)			
Utshishtshimanishu (kingfisher)			
Pashpashteu (woodpecker)			
Mishta-pashpashteu (Pileated woodpecker)			
Uishuau-pineshish (yellow birds)			
Shakau-pineshish (alder birds)			
Atshentun (Horned lark)			
Shakueikanish (swallow)			
Kapminau (Canada jay)			
Kakatshu (Common raven)			
Ashu (American crow)			
Pitshikeshkeshish (Boreal chickadee)			
Matshi-pitshikeshkeshish (may be Red-breasted nuthatch)			
Pipitsheu (American robin)			
Tshatshakanui (blackbird)			
Mishui (Pine grosbeak)			

Nutshipemakueshish (Common redpoll *et al*.)			
Ashtaukuteshish (crossbill)			
Katashkataneshit (unidentified)			
Kautuassakuanishkueishit (several species)			
Pashkaipishish (Fox sparrow)			
Uapishush (Snow bunting)			
Others			

G) MANITUSHAT (PESTS)

Species	**Present**	**Absent**	**# *Harvested***
Atshinepuku (snake)			
Anik (American toad)			
Umatshashkuk (Northern frog)			
Teteu (Leopard frog or Green frog)			
Utshishkatakak^{u} (kind of salamander)			
Ushitshinauish (kind of salamander)			
Amu (bee, wasp, bumble bee)			
Others			

2.2 Spring

2.2.1 Transport (spring 2008)

2.2.1.1 During this period how often did you visit your trapline?
_____ Number of visits?

2.2.1.2 Why did you visit your trapline?
_____
_____
_____

2.2.1.3 When you visited your trapline, how long did you stay on average? (Number of days or weeks)
_____

2.2.1.4 What means of transportation did you use to get to your trapline?

Car	Train	Canoe
Plane	Skidoo	Other (specify)

2.2.1.5 How long did it take you to get to your trapline from your permanent residence?

Hours _____ Days _____

2.2.1.6 If you used the train, at what railroad mile did you disembark?

Indicate the mile _____

2.2.1.7 On the map accompanying this questionnaire, draw the routes you used to get to your trapline. Use a different colour for each season.

2.2.1.8 On the map, draw the routes you used for hunting and fishing in the spring of 2008.

2.2.2 Composition of the hunting party (spring 2008)

2.2.2.1 In all, how many people went to the trapline?

	Spring
Child male (1-13 years)	
Child female (1-13 years)	
Young male (14-30 years)	
Young female (14-30 years)	
Adult male (31-60 years)	
Adult female (31-60 years)	
Elderly male (61 and over)	
Elderly female (61 and over)	
Total	

2.2.3. Camps (spring 2008)

2.2.3.1 What types of dwellings did you use on the trapline? Indicate them on the map: location, type (abbreviation) and year of construction.

Log cabin (C) Log and canvas cabin (CT)
House (M) Tent (T)
Other (specify)

2.2.3.2 Did you use one or more secondary camps in the spring of 2008? Indicate their locations with the abbreviation CS on the map.

2.2.3.3 At what distance from the railroad are these dwellings located? (Write the number and circle the measurement unit below, and indicate them on the map.)

Permanent dwellings _____ feet miles metres kilometres
Secondary camps _____feet miles metres kilometres

2.2.3.4 Except for dwellings and camps, can you indicate on the map (place and type (abbreviation)) any material cache (cm), supply cache (cp) or other type of cache (ca) you may have prepared?

2.2.3.5 For heating and cooking in your dwellings (permanent or secondary), what did you use (fireplace, stove etc.) ? If you burned wood, where did the wood come from?

_____
_____
_____

2.2.4 Activities (spring 2008)

2.2.4.1 What activities were carried out on the trapline?
Hunting Fishing Trapping Vacationing
Other (specify) _____

2.2.4.2 Are there *ashkui* (areas permanently free of ice or thawing early on rivers, lakes and estuaries) on your trapline, more specifically on the route you use to get to your fishing sites (use the map for location)?

2.2.4.3 Are there any spawning grounds in the lakes and rivers that you use?

Yes No

If so, what fish species use them? Indicate spawning grounds on the map with the letters FR and the fish species.

_____
_____

2.2.4.4 Are there any *cervidae* calving grounds on your trapline?
Yes No

If so, what species of *cervidae* use them? Indicate calving grounds on the map with the letters MB and the cervidae species.

_____

2.2.4.5 What animal species are present on your trapline in the spring? Put an X in the present or absent column and indicate the numbers harvested.

REPEAT LIST OF ANIMALS

2.3 Summer

2.3.1 Transport (summer 2008)

2.3.1.1 During this period how often did you visit your trapline?
_____ Number of visits?

2.3.1.2 Why did you visit your trapline?
_____
_____
_____

2.3.1.3 When you visited your trapline, how long did you stay on average? (Number of days or weeks)
_____

2.3.1.4 What means of transportation did you use to get to your trapline?
Car Train
Plane Canoe Other (specify)

2.3.1.5 How long did it take you to get to your trapline from your permanent residence?

Hours _____ Days _____

2.3.1.6 If you used the train, at what railroad mile did you disembark?

Indicate the mile _____

2.3.1.7 On the map accompanying this questionnaire, draw the routes you used to get to your trapline. Use a different colour for each season.

2.3.1.8 On the map, draw the routes you used for hunting and fishing in the summer of 2008.

2.3.2 Composition of the hunting party (summer 2008)

2.3.2.1 In all, how many people went to the trapline?

	Summer
Child male (1-13 years)	
Child female (1-13 years)	
Young male (14-30 years)	
Young female (14-30 years)	
Adult male (31-60 years)	
Adult female (31-60 years)	
Elderly male (61 and over)	
Elderly female (61 and over)	
Total	

2.3.3. Camps (summer 2008)

2.3.3.1 What types of dwellings did you use on the trapline? Indicate them on the map: location, type (abbreviation) and year of construction.

Log cabin (C) Log and canvas cabin (CT)
House (M) Tent (T)
Other (specify)

2.3.3.2 Did you use one or more secondary camps in the summer of 2008? Indicate their locations with the abbreviation CS on the map.

2.3.3.3 At what distance from the railroad are these dwellings located? (Write the number and circle the measurement unit below, and indicate them on the map.)

Permanent dwellings _____ feet miles metres kilometres
Secondary camps _____feet miles metres kilometres

2.3.3.4 Except for dwellings and camps, can you indicate on the map (place and type (abbreviation)) any material cache (cm), supply cache (cp) or other type of cache (ca) you may have prepared?

2.3.3.5 For heating and cooking in your dwellings (permanent or secondary), what did you use (fireplace, stove etc.)? If you burned wood, where did the wood come from?

_____
_____
_____

2.3.4 Activities (summer 2008)

2.3.4.1 What activities were carried out on the trapline?
Hunting Fishing Trapping Vacationing
Other (specify) _____

2.3.4.2 What animal species are present on your trapline in the spring? Put an X in the present or absent column and indicate the numbers harvested.

REPEAT THE LIST OF ANIMALS

2.4 Fall

2.4.1 Transport (fall 2008)

2.4.1.1 During this period how often did you visit your trapline?
_____ Number of visits?

2.4.1.2 Why did you visit your trapline?
_____
_____
_____

2.4.1.3 When you visited your trapline, how long did you stay on average? (Number of days or weeks)
_____

2.4.1.4 What means of transportation did you use to get to your trapline?

Car	Train	Canoe
Plane	Skidoo	Other (specify)

2.4.1.5 How long did it take you to get to your trapline from your permanent residence?

Hours _____ Days _____

2.4.1.6 If you used the train, at what railroad mile did you disembark?

Indicate the mile _____

2.4.1.7 On the map accompanying this questionnaire, draw the routes you used to get to your trapline. Use a different colour for each season.

2.4.1.8 On the map, draw the routes you used for hunting and fishing in the fall of 2008.

2.4.2 Composition of the hunting party (fall 2008)

2.3.2.1 In all, how many people went to the trapline?

	Fall
Child male (1-13 years)	
Child female (1-13 years)	
Young male (14-30 years)	
Young female (14-30 years)	
Adult male (31-60 years)	
Adult female (31-60 years)	
Elderly male (61 and over)	
Elderly female (61 and over)	
Total	

2.4.3. Camps (fall 2008)

2.4.3.1 What types of dwellings did you use on the trapline? Indicate them on the map: location, type (abbreviation) and year of construction.

Log cabin (C) Log and canvas cabin (CT)
House (M) Tent (T)
Other (specify)

2.4.3.2 Did you use one or more secondary camps in the fall of 2008? Indicate their locations with the abbreviation CS on the map.

2.4.3.3 At what distance from the railroad are these dwellings located? (Write the number and circle the measurement unit below, and indicate them on the map.)

Permanent dwellings _____ feet miles metres kilometres
Secondary camps _____feet miles metres kilometres

2.4.3.4 Except for dwellings and camps, can you indicate on the map (place and abbreviation) any material cache (cm), supply cache (cp) or other type of cache (ca) you may have prepared?

2.4.3.5 For heating and cooking in your dwellings (permanent or secondary), what did you use (fireplace, stove etc.)? If you burned wood, where did the wood come from?

_____
_____
_____

2.4.4 Activities (fall 2008)

2.4.4.1 What activities were carried out on the trapline?
Hunting Fishing Trapping Vacationing
Other (specify) _____

2.4.4.2 Are there *ashkui* (areas permanently free of ice or thawing early on rivers, lakes and estuaries) on your trapline, more specifically on the route you used to get to your fishing sites ? (use the map for location)

2.4.4.3 Are there any spawning grounds in the lakes and rivers that you use?

Yes No

If so, what fish species use them? Indicate spawning grounds on the map with the letters FR and the fish species.

_____
_____

2.4.4.4 What animal species are present on your trapline in the fall? Put an X in the present or absent column and indicate the numbers harvested.

REPEAT THE LIST OF ANIMALS

3 Use of animals

In general, what are the use of the animals you capture (for each species mentioned above put an “X” under each use)?

A) **Aueshishat (Quadruped)**

Species	**Food**	**Tools**	**Clothing**	**Skin**	**Medicine**	**Ritual**	**Craft**	***Other***
Utshashk^{u} (muskrat)								
Apikushish (mouse)								
Uapush (hare)								
Nitshik^{u} (otter)								
Shakak^{u} (Striped skunk)								
Shikush (weasel)								
Atshakash (mink)								
Uapishtan (marten)								
Maikan (wolf)								
Shitaikan (kind of wolf)								
Mashk^{u} (Black bear)								
Matsheshu (Red fox)								
Kak^{u} (porcupine)								
Uinashk^{u} (woodchuck)								
Pishu (lynx)								
Pepeshapishish (kind of lynx)								
Shitai-pishu (kind of lynx)								
Cougar								
Kuekuatsheu (wolverine)								
Mush (moose)								
Amishk^{u} (beaver)								
Utshek (fisher)								
Anikutshash (squirrel)								
Minashkuau-atik^{u} (sedentary caribou)								
Mushuau-atik^{u} (migratory caribou)								
Others								

B) NAMESHAT (Fish)

Species	**Food**	**Tools**	**Clothing**	**Skin**	**Medicine**	**Ritual**	**Craft**	***Other***
Shushashui (Arctic char)								
Matamek^{u} (Brook trout)								
Other kinds								
Other kinds								
Uanan (Atlantic salmon)								
Kukamess (Lake trout)								
Tshinusheu (Northern pike)								
Atikamek^{u} (Lake whitefish)								
Makatsheu (White sucker)								
Mikuashai (Longnose sucker)								
Kauapishishit (Unidentified)								
Kauatuieshish (Rainbow smelt)								
Minei (Burbot)								
Nemeu (Atlantic sturgeon)								
Others								

C) **MISSIPAT** (**Waterfowl)**

Species	**Food**	**Tools**	**Clothing**	**Skin**	**Medicine**	**Ritual**	**Craft**	***Other***
Nutshipaushtikueshish (Harlequin duck)								
Mishikushk^{u} (goldeneye)								
Tshitshue mishikushk^{u} (Common goldeneye)								
Mamatau-mishikushk^{u} (Barrow's goldeneye?)								
Papatshukuteu-mishikushk^{u} (bluebill)								
Nishk (Canada goose)								
Uapishk (Snow goose)								
Apishtiss (brant)								
Umumuku (White-winged scoter)								
Papukutshat (Surf scoter)								
Shashteship (Black scoter)								
Muak^{u} (Common loon)								

Ashu-muak^{u} (Red-throated loon)								
Uitui-muakush (unidentified)								
Uetataku (Northern gannet)								
Kakatshiship (Double-crested cormorant)								
Uapitukuan (Great cormorant)								
Mukamishu (American bittern)								
Inniship (American black duck)								
Uapinniship (Northern pintail)								
Amishkuniship (Green-winged teal)								
Auiu (Long-tailed duck)								
Tshitshue missip (Common eider)								
Passip (may be an eider sub-species)								
Ueuinukuteu (King eider)								
Ushik^{u} (merganser)								
Mishtshishik^{u} (Common merganser)								
Tshiashk^{u} (Herring gull or Glaucous gull)								
Tshiashkueshish (Iceland gull)								
Mishi-tshiashk^{u} (Great black-backed gull)								
Taukamiu-tshiashkush (Black-legged kittiwake)								
Atshen-tshiashku (jaeger)								
Tshinash (tern)								
Innukut (razorbill and/or Thick-billed murre)								
Ketshinukuteu (Common murre)								
Tshumushumash (dovekie)								
Shikauniss (Black guillemot)								
Munaikutanish (Atlantic puffin)								
Others								

D) BIRDS OF PREY

Species	**Food**	**Tools**	**Clothing**	**Skin**	**Medicine**	**Ritual**	**Craft**	***Other***
Mitshishu ou missu (Golden eagle)								
Kauapishtikuanit-missu (Bald eagle)								
Shakuatam[u] (syn,?)								
Atshenashu (syn.)								
Akuashimesheu (Osprey)								
Shakuatam[u] (may be Rough-Legged hawk)								
Nutshineueshu (unidentified)								
Tshetshek[u] (may be Northern harrier)								
Pipitshish (may be merlin)								
Uhu (Great Horned owl)								
Uapakanui (Snowy owl)								
Kashashkatashit (Northern hawk-owl)								
Ekakanapishit (syn.)								
Papanashtshish (Boreal owl)								
Kukueshish (syn.)								
Kukuku (Short-eared owl)								
Great gray owl								
Pishk[u] (Common nighthawk)								
Others								

E) PINEUAT (*Tetraonidae*)

Species	**Food**	**Tools**	**Clothing**	**Skin**	**Medicine**	**Ritual**	**Craft**	***Other***
Innineu (Spruce grouse)								
Pashpashtshu (Ruffed grouse)								
Innapineu (Willow ptarmigan)								
Kashkanatshish (Rock ptarmigan)								
Amishkuapineu (Unidentified)								
Others								

F) PINESHISHAT (Small birds)

Species	**Food**	**Tools**	**Clothing**	**Skin**	**Medicine**	**Ritual**	**Craft**	***Other***
Aiapanish (shorebirds)								
Misht-aiapanish (kind of shorebird)								
Katapishkatshet-aiapanish (kind of shorebird)								
Kamushkuashit (Common snipe)								
Nutapashkueshu (whimbrel)								
Teshtueshtshish (Spotted sandpiper)								
Shesheshu (sandpiper)								
Kaiapishissishit aiapanish (Least sandpiper)								
Akumushish (phalarope)								
Utshishtshimanishu (kingfisher)								
Pashpashteu (woodpecker)								
Mishta-pashpashteu (Pileated woodpecker)								
Uishuau-pineshish (yellow birds)								
Shakau-pineshish (alder birds)								
Atshentun (Horned lark)								
Shakueikanish (swallow)								
Kapminau (Canada jay)								
Kakatshu (Common raven)								
Ashu (American crow)								
Pitshikeshkeshish (Boreal chickadee)								
Matshi-pitshikeshkeshish (may be the Red-breasted nuthatch)								
Pipitsheu (American robin)								
Tshatshakanui (blackbird)								
Mishui (Pine grosbeak)								
Nutshipemakueshish (Common redpoll *et al*.)								
Ashtaukuteshish (crossbill)								
Katashkataneshit (unidentified)								
Kautuassakuanishkueishit (several species)								
Pashkaipishish (Fox sparrow)								
Uapishush (Snow bunting)								
Others								

G) MANITUSHAT (PESTS)

Species	**Food**	**Tools**	**Clothing**	**Skin**	**Medicine**	**Ritual**	**Craft**	***Other***
Atshinepuku (snakes)								
Anik (American toad)								
Umatshashkuk (Northern frog)								
Teteu (Leopard frog or Green frog)								
Utshishkatakak[u] (kind of salamander)								
Ushitshinauish (kind of salamander)								
Amu (bee, wasp, bumble bee)								
Others								

4 **Changes**

In the last 15 years, have you noticed a change in the number of animals present on your trapline? Put a single "X" per species now present.

A) Aueshishat (Quadruped)

Species	Same #	Increased #	Decreased #	*Unobserved*
Utshashk^{u} (muskrat)				
Apikushish (mouse)				
Uapush (hare)				
Nitshik^{u} (otter)				
Shakak^{u} (Striped skunk)				
Shikush (weasel)				
Atshakash (mink)				
Uapishtan (marten)				
Maikan (wolf)				
Shitaikan (kind of wolf)				
Mashk^{u} (Black bear)				
Matsheshu (Red fox)				
Kak^{u} (porcupine)				
Uinashk^{u} (woodchuck)				
Pishu (lynx)				
Pepeshapishish (kind of lynx)				
Shitai-pishu (kind of lynx)				
Cougar				
Kuekuatsheu (wolverine)				
Mush (moose)				
Amishk^{u} (beaver)				
Utshek (fisher)				
Anikutshash (squirrel)				
Minashkuau-atik^{u} (sedentary caribou)				
Mushuau-atik^{u} (migratory caribou)				
Others				

B) NAMESHAT (Fish)

Species	Same #	Increased #	Decreased #	*Unobserved*
Shushashui (Arctic char)				
Matamek^{u} (Brook trout)				
Other kinds				
Other kinds				
Uanan (Atlantic salmon)				
Kukamess (Lake trout)				
Tshinusheu (Northern pike)				
Atikamek^{u} (Lake whitefish)				
Makatsheu (White sucker)				
Mikuashai (Longnose sucker)				
Kauapishishit (Unidentified)				
Kauatuieshish (Rainbow smelt)				
Minei (Burbot)				
Nemeu (Atlantic sturgeon)				

Others				

C) **MISSIPAT** (**Waterfowl)**

Species	**Same #**	**Increased #**	**Decreased #**	***Unobserved***
Nutshipaushtikueshish (Harlequin duck)				
Mishikushk^{u} (goldeneye)				
Tshitshue mishikushk^{u} (Common goldeneye)				
Mamatau-mishikushk^{u} (Barrow's goldeneye?)				
Papatshukuteu-mishikushk^{u} (bluebill)				
Nishk (Canada goose)				
Uapishk (Snow goose)				
Apishtiss (brant)				
Umumuku (White-winged scoter)				
Papukutshat (Surf scoter)				
Shashteship (Black scoter)				
Muak^{u} (Common loon)				
Ashu-muak^{u} (Red-throated loon)				
Uitui-muakush (unidentified)				
Uetataku (Northern gannet)				
Kakatshiship (Double-crested cormorant)				
Uapitukuan (Great cormorant)				
Mukamishu (American bittern)				
Inniship (American black duck)				
Uapinniship (Northern pintail)				
Amishkuniship (Green-winged teal)				
Auiu (Long-tailed duck)				
Tshitshue missip (Common eider)				
Passip (may be an eider sub-species)				
Ueuinukuteu (King eider)				
Ushik^{u} (merganser)				
Mishtshishik^{u} (Common merganser)				
Tshiashk^{u} (Herring gull or Glaucous gull)				
Tshiashkueshish (Iceland gull)				
Mishi-tshiashk^{u} (Great black-backed gull)				
Taukamiu-tshiashkush (Black-legged kittiwake)				
Atshen-tshiashku (jaeger)				
Tshinash (tern)				
Innukut (razorbill and/or Thick-billed murre)				
Ketshinukuteu (Common murre)				
Tshumushumash (dovekie)				
Shikauniss (Black guillemot)				
Munaikutanish (Atlantic puffin)				
Others				

D) BIRDS OF PREY

Species	**Same #**	**Increased #**	**Decreased #**	***Unobserved***
Mitshishu or missu (Golden eagle)				
Kauapishtikuanit-missu (Bald eagle)				
Shakuatam^{u} (syn,?)				
Atshenashu (syn.)				

Akuashimesheu (Osprey)				
Shakuatam[u] (may be Rough-Legged hawk)				
Nutshineueshu (unidentified)				
Tshetshek[u] (may be Northern harrier)				
Pipitshish (may be merlin)				
Uhu (Great Horned owl)				
Uapakanui (Snowy owl)				
Kashashkatashit (Northern hawk-owl)				
Ekakanapishit (syn.)				
Papanashtshish (Boreal owl)				
Kukueshish (syn.)				
Kukuku (Short-eared owl)				
Great gray owl				
Pishk[u] (Common nighthawk)				
Others				

E) PINEUAT (*Tetraonidae*)

Species	**Same #**	**Increased #**	**Decreased #**	***Unobserved***
Innineu (Spruce grouse)				
Pashpashtshu (Ruffed grouse)				
Innapineu (Willow ptarmigan)				
Kashkanatshish (Rock ptarmigan)				
Amishkuapineu (Unidentified)				
Others				

F) PINESHISHAT (Small birds)

Species	**Same #**	**Increased #**	**Decreased #**	***Unobserved***
Aiapanish (shorebirds)				
Misht-aiapanish (kind of shorebird)				
Katapishkatshet-aiapanish (kind of shorebird)				
Kamushkuashit (Common snipe)				
Nutapashkueshu (whimbrel)				
Teshtueshtshish (Spotted sandpiper)				
Shesheshu (sandpiper)				
Kaiapishissishit aiapanish (Least sandpiper)				
Akumushish (phalarope)				
Utshishtshimanishu (kingfisher)				
Pashpashteu (woodpecker)				
Mishta-pashpashteu (Pileated woodpecker)				
Uishuau-pineshish (yellow birds)				
Shakau-pineshish (alder birds)				
Atshentun (Horned lark)				
Shakueikanish (swallow)				
Kapminau (Canada jay)				
Kakatshu (Common raven)				
Ashu (American crow)				
Pitshikeshkeshish (Boreal chickadee)				
Matshi-pitshikeshkeshish (may be the Red-breasted nuthatch)				
Pipitsheu (American robin)				

Tshatshakanui (blackbird)				
Mishui (Pine grosbeak)				
Nutshipemakueshish (Common redpoll *et al*.)				
Ashtaukuteshish (crossbill)				
Katashkataneshit (unidentified)				
Kautuassakuanishkueishit (several species)				
Pashkaipishish (Fox sparrow)				
Uapishush (Snow bunting)				
Others				

G) MANITUSHAT (PESTS)

Species	**Same #**	**Increased #**	**Decreased #**	***Unobserved***
Atshinepuku (snakes)				
Anik (American toad)				
Umatshashkuk (Northern frog)				
Teteu (Leopard frog or Green frog)				
Utshishkatakak^{u} (kind of salamander)				
Ushitshinauish (kind of salamander)				
Amu (bee, wasp, bumble bee)				
Others				

5 **Species at risk**

5.1 Can you recognize the following species: wolverine, caribou, cougar and Short-eared owl?

Kuekuatsheu (wolverine) (CJ)	Yes	No
Atik^{u} (caribou) (CB)	Yes	No
?? (cougar) (CG)	Yes	No
Kukuku (Short-eared owl) (HM)	Yes	No

5.2 Do you know of breeding areas on your trapline for wolverine, caribou and cougar? With respect to Short-eared owls, do you know of any nesting sites for those birds on your trapline?

Kuekuatsheu (wolverine)	Yes	No
Atik^{u} (caribou)	Yes	No
?? couguar	Yes	No
Kukuku (Short-eared owl)	Yes	No

If so, indicate them on the map with the abbreviation for each species (in 5.1 above) adding in each case the letters MB in parentheses.

5.3 How often have your observed the following species on your trapline in 2008: wolverine, caribou, cougar and Short-eared owl? Indicate the observations on the map with the abbreviation for each species.

Kuekuatsheu (wolverine) (CJ)
Atik^{u} (caribou) (CB)

?? (cougar) (CG)
Kukuku (Short-eared owl) (HM)

5.4 What do you know, in a general way and in your experience, about the way of life of the following species:

5.4.1 Kuekuatsheu (wolverine)

a) Reproduction

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

b) Birthing areas

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

c) Feeding

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

d) Territory

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

e) Migration routes

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

5.4.2 Minashkuau-atik^{u} (caribou - sedentary)

a) Reproduction

b) Calving ground

c) Feeding

d) Territory

e) Migration routes

5.4.3 Mushuau-atik^{u} (caribou - migratory)

a) Reproduction

b) Calving ground

c) Feeding

d) Territory

e) Migration routes

5.4.4 Cougar

a) Reproduction

b) Birthing areas

c) Feeding

d) Territory

e) Migration routes

5.4.5 Kukuku (Short-eared owl)

a) Reproduction

b) Nesting areas

c) Feeding

d) Territory

e) Migration routes

6 **Plants**

6.1 In 2008, did you harvest trees and/or plants (fruit, roots, etc.)?

Yes No

If so, which species did you harvest and for what use?

Name of tree (plant or part of plant)	**Season harvested**	***Use***

6.2. Did you harvest anything else during 2008? In what season? For what use?

7 **Other land use and evolution of habits**

7.1 Except for hunting, fishing and trapping, do you use the land for any other purposes (cultural, religious, special events such as birth, political or social gatherings) ?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

7.2 Do you know of any burial sites, heritage places or archaeological sites? If so, can you identify their location on the map?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

7.3 Have your way of using the land stayed the same in recent years? If not, have you been present on the land more often or less often? Explain.

a) Stayed the same: Yes No

Explain_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

b) More often present: fall winter spring summer

c) Less often present: fall winter spring summer

If you have been less often present, what are the reasons:

Aging : _____

Less game and/or fish : _____

Increase in transportation costs: _____

Less interest: _____

Difficulty of accessing the trapline: _____

Wage employment: _____

Studying: _____

Being outside the region: _____

Illness: _____

Other (specify) : _____

7.4 In 2009, do you anticipate being on the land more often, less often or the same amount of time? Check one of the three options.

a) Same amount of time: _____
b) More often: _____
c) Less often: _____

8 **Additional space for the interviewer's notes**

Name of interviewer (in block letters): _____

Interview ending at (hr): _____

APPENDIX 3
ANALYSIS OF PLACE NAMES

Akamishipu "on the other side of the river"
ETYM.: akam-: "across, on the other side" + -i-: liaison + -shipu: "river"

Anukutshash "squirrel"
ETYM.: anukutshash "squirrel"
SYN.: Ishkueu Lake; Upashtamakankatueshut-shakaikan

Atikameku-shakaikan
ÉTYM.: atikameku-: "whitefish" + shakaikan: "lake"
OTHER SOURCE: Tekumek shakaikan de Milly Lake "Lake Whitefish (big fish)" (ST-ONGE 1979)

French Mine “the mine of the French man”

Gagnon-shipiss "Gagnon's stream"
ETYM.: from shipiss: "small river, stream"

Ishkueu-shakaikan "the lake of the woman"
ÉTYM.: ishkueu: "woman" + shakaikan: "lake"
OTHER SOURCE: Ishkuen shakaikan Squaw Lake "lake of the woman" (ST-ONGE 1979)
SYN.: Anikutshash; Uepashtamakan-katueshit-shakaikan

Kaiatuekapausht "where the trees are in lines"
ETYM.: ka-: "the one that, where" + -i-: liaison + -atuekapau-: "standing, in a line" -sh-: dim. + -t: 3.s. conj.

Kakuss "small porcupine"
ÉTYM.: "kaku-": "porcupine" + -ss: diminutive

Kanipinamushut-shakaikan "lake where it does not freeze"
ÉTYM.: ka-: "the one that, where" + -nipinamushu-: "place on the shore of a water body that never freezes in winter" + -t: 3.s. conj.
OTHER SOURCE: Kanipunnameshuit shakaikan La Cosa Lake "it does not freeze (big fish)" (ST-ONGE 1979)
SYN.: Key Lake

Kanipinamushut-shipiss
ÉTYM.: ka-: "the one that, where" + -nipinamushu-: "place on the shore of a water body that never freezes in winter" + -t: 3.s. conj. + shipiss: "stream, small river"
OTHER SOURCE: Kanipunnameshuit shipish stream of La Cosa Lake "it does not freeze (big fish)" (ST-ONGE 1979)

Kapimikueiepitakaniht "where one wrings the necks of partridges"
ETYM.: ka -: "the one that, where" + -pimikueiepit-: "wring the neck" + akaniht: verb ending + pineuat: "partridge"
SYN.: Gagnon Lake; Tommy Inishushakameshum

Kapishashkuat "where the trees are small"
ETYM.: ka -: "the one that, where" + -apishashku-: "something in wood of small size" + -a-: verb ending + -t: 3.s. conj.

Kashakat "where there are alders"

ETYM.: ka-: "the one that, where" + -shaka-: "alder" + -t: 3.s. conj.

OTHER SOURCES: Kashekash mont "Mountain above forest of scrub" (ST-ONGE 1979); Kashekasht shipiss Gilling RIver "River where there are alders, scrub" (MACKENZIE 1979)

Katakutautshitut "where the summit is steep"

ETYM.: ka-: "the one that, where" + -takutaut- "at the top of a mountain" + -tshitu-: "hard, steep, rigid" + -t: 3.s. conj.

OTHER SOURCE: Katakutautitik (LAFOREST 1983)

Katatakuashtuku-shipiss "the stream of trees of the same height"

ETYM.: ka-: "the one that, where" + -ta-: redupl. (same) + -takuash-: "of the same height, flat, short" + -tuku:

"tree, dry wood, useful wood" + shipiss: "small river, stream"

Kauassetaukat-shakaikan "the lake where there is a round hill with a rounded overhang,"

ETYM.: ka-: "the one that, where" + -uassetaukau-: "hill with a rounded overhang" + -t: 3.s.

conj. + shakaikan: "lake"

Kauassetaukat-shipiss "the small river of the lake with the hill with the rounded overhang"

ETYM.: ka-: "the one that, where" + -uassetaukau-: "hill with a rounded overhang" + -t: 3.s.

conj. + shipiss: "stream, small river"

Kauauaiekamat "round lake"

ETYM.: ka-: "the one that, where" + -uauie-: "round, circular" + -kam-: "expanse of water" + -a-: a.i. ending + -t: 3.s. conj.

SYN.: Naplek

Kauauatshikamashit innu-assi "the reserve of the lake with several bends"

ETYM.: ka-: "the one that, where" + -uauatshikam-: "lake that makes several bends" + -a-: a.i. ending + -shit: 3.pl conj. + innu-assi: "Indian reserve, Indian territory "

OTHER SOURCE: Kawawachikamach village Naskapi (MAILHOT, n.d.)

Kauauatshikamashit-shakaikan "the lake with several bends"

ETYM.: ka-: "the one that, where" + -uauatshikam-: "lake that makes several bends" + -a-: a.i. ending + -shit: 3. pl conj. + shakaikan: "lake"

OTHER SOURCES: Kawachagmas, Kwachagmas, Kawawachikamasu Matemace Lake (MAILHOT, n.d.); Ka-: uatshekemah Matemace Lake "crooked lake" (ST-ONGE 1979)

Kausheiautshimut-meshkanau "the road that leads to the crest of the mountain"

ETYM.: ka-: "the one that, where" + -usheiaut-: "on the crest of the mountain" + -shimu-: “to lead to” + -t: 3.s. conj. + meshkanau: “road”

SYN.: Takutaut-meshkanau

Kautetinat "the mountain in the shape of a heart"

ETYM.: ka-: "the one that, where" + -ute-: "heart" + -tin-: "mount, mountain" + -a-: a.i. ending + -t: 3.s. conj.

Kautetinat-meshkanau "the road of the mountain in the shape of a heart"
ETYM.: ka-: "the one that, where" + -utei-: "heart" + -tin-: "mount, mountain" + -a-: a.i. ending + -t: 3.s. conj. + meshkanau-: "road"
SYN.: Greenbush-meshkanau; Redmond-meshkanau; Takutaut-meshkanau

Kauteitinat-shakaikan "the lake of the mountain shaped like a heart"
ETYM.: ka-: "the one that, where" + -ute-: "heart" + -tin-: "mount, mountain" + -a-: a.i. ending + -t: 3.s. conj. + shakaikan: "lake"

Mishenitshik^{u} "fat otter"
ETYM.: mishe-: "big, fat" + nitshik^{u}: "otter"

Matamekush "the small trout"
ETYM.: matameku-: "char, trout" –sh: diminutive
OTHER SOURCE: Matimekosh "Small trout" (MAILHOT n. d.)

Matamekush-shipiss "small river of the lake of the small trout"
ETYM.: matameku-: "char, trout" –sh: diminutive + shipiss: "small river, stream"

Meiapui "shitty water"
ETYM.: mei-: "excrement" + -apui: "water"

Naplek "Knob Lake"
ETYM.: from the English. Knob Lake
OTHER SOURCE: Naplek Knob Lake (LAFOREST 1983: 93)

Natuakupass "the small basin of calm water surrounded by alders"
ETYM.: natuakupa-: "basin of calm water surrounded by alders" + -ss: diminutive
OTHER SOURCE: Natuakupas (LAFOREST 1983)

Natuakupau "the basin of calm water surrounded by alders"
ETYM.: natuakupau: "there is a basin of calm water surrounded by alders"
OTHER SOURCE: Natuakupau (LAFOREST 1983)

Natuashu "divided in two"
ETYM.: natua-: “broken, sectioned” + -shu: “two”

Papateu-shakaikan "the lake of the river with flat rocks"
ETYM.: papat-: "flat, thin" + -eu-: ? + shakaikan: "lake"
OTHER SOURCE: Papateu-shakaikan (LAFOREST 1983)

Papateu-shipu "the river with flat rocks"
ETYM.: papat-: "flat, thin" + -eu-: ? + shipu: "river"
OTHER SOURCES: Papateu-shipu (LAFOREST 1983); Papateu-shipu "River with the rock that shatters when heated" (MACKENZIE 1979)
SYN.: Shapatish-shipu

Pishishkueu-shakaikan "lake of the small woman"

ETYM.: (a)pish-: "small" + -shkueu: "woman" + shakaikan: "lake"

OTHER SOURCES: Pishishkueu (LAFOREST 1983); Pesheshkueu shakaikan Vacher Lake and Gunshot Lake "Name of a woman who had found a good place for fishing" (MACKENZIE 1979); Pesheshkuen Vacher Lake "Name of a woman who finds a spot for fish" (ST-ONGE 1979); Apisiskau Lake at Vacher Lake (MAILHOT n. d.)

Shapatish-shipu "Jean-Baptiste River"

ETYM.: Shapatish: "Jean-Baptiste" + shipu: "river"

SYN.: Papateu-shipu

Shashish-Innu-assi shakaikan "lake of the old reserve"

ETYM.: shashish: "a long time ago" + Innu-assi: "Indian reserve, Indian territory" + shakaikan: "lake"

Shetan-shakaikaniss "Little Lake Saint-Anne"

ETYM.: Shetan: "Saint-Anne" + shakaikaniss: "small lake"

Takutaut-meshkanau "the path to the summit of the mountain"

ÉTYM.: takutaut "at the top of a mountain" + meshkanau: "path, road"

SYN.: Kauteitinat-meshkanau; Kausheiautshimut-meshkanau

Tommy Inishushakameshum "Tommy Inish's fish-rich place"

ETYM.: ushak-: "place where there are always some" + -amesh-: "fish" + -u-: nominal ending + -m: possessive

SYN.: Kapimikueiepitakanisht-pineuat; Gagnon Lake

Tshitua-Mani-katshimisht meshkanau "the road of the Holy Virgin"

ETYM.: tshitua-: "saint" + -Mani-: "Marie" + katshimisht : ? + meshkanau-: "road"

Uepashtamakan-katueushit-shakaikan “lake where the plane can only just land”

ETYM.: uepashtamakan: "airplane" + ka-: “the one that, where” + tueu-: “land” + -sh-: diminutive + -it: 3. s. conj. + shakaikan: lake

SYN.: Ishkueu-shakaikan; Anikutshash