

“*INULARIUYUNGA; IMNGIRNIK QUVIGIYAQAQTUNGA!*”—I’M A REAL *INUK*;

I LOVE TO SING!

INTERACTIONS BETWEEN MUSIC, *INUMMARIIT*, AND BELIEF
IN AN INUIT COMMUNITY SINCE RESETTLEMENT

by

©Mary Elizabeth Piercey-Lewis

A thesis submitted to the
School of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

School of Music

Memorial University of Newfoundland

May 2015

St. John’s

Newfoundland

Abstract

Arviat (previously Eskimo Point) is a small predominantly Inuit hamlet in Nunavut, which in 2006 had 2,060 residents. Like all other native communities in the Canadian north, Arviat has experienced, and is experiencing, tremendous change. The nomadic iglu-dwellers have become sedentary wage workers and/or sophisticated harvesters of Arctic char and other natural resources.

In spite of cultural and social change, Inuit feel a strong continuity between their past and present. Many born and raised on the land now occupy key economic, political, managerial, and educational positions within an administrative apparatus that did not even exist fifty-five years ago. Many Inuit accept change as it comes, and make modifications in their lifestyle and cultural habits based on their strong sense of Inuit identity. This strong sense of Inuit identity is based on an Inuit concept called *inumhariit*, which translates as “real Inuit.”

Most Inuit live by a belief system based on living like a “true Inuk.” How Inuit conceptualize living the “Inuit way” or *inumhariit* is diverse and complex. Furthermore, *inumhariit* identity is constantly changing. This can be seen in how Inuit have negotiated outside influences such as Christianity, fox trapping, media, technology, and syllabic reading and writing into the same body of Inuit traditional knowledge as hunting caribou, oral tradition, and survival on the land.

This dissertation investigates the ways in which music, *inumhariit*, and belief interact in the Inuit community of Arviat. It examines how Inuit belief systems have changed and developed in response to resettlement and colonialism using music as a

portal to understand personal negotiations and transitions. To accomplish this goal, the musical stories of three generations of three musically oriented Inuit families are examined: the Illungiyoks, the Okatsiaks, and the Mamgarks.

Using Bourdieu's (1977) theory of generations and in particular his notion of habitus, I analyze stability and change in the music performed by Inuit in Arviat, revealing the many ways in which *inummarit* is conceptualized by generations. An examination of the distinctive generational cohorts which have shaped Arviat's history, politics, and culture provides an understanding of how twenty-first century Inuit think about music and contemporary Inuit life.

The Illungiyoks are a family of tradition-bearers who perform the traditional Inuit drum dance in contemporary contexts. This dissertation examines the connection between the performance of traditional Inuit drum dances and the concept of *inummarit* for three generations of male Inuit from the same family. I argue that the performance of the drum dance and its accompanying song parallel generational ideas about Inuit social organization and identity negotiation. The history of interaction between Inuit and their colonizers suggests that the current practice of drum dancing is one means employed by Inuit to preserve some of their traditions and to empower Inuit to attempt to assert local sovereignties, identities (whether sub-group specific or pan-Inuit), and expressions.

The Okatsiaks are the music and song leaders at the Anglican Church in Arviat. This dissertation examines the ways music and *inummarit* are negotiated in the performance of religious rites. The performance of *Kuukpaluk*—the River at Easter is a Christian rite which connects Inuit with their past, both Anglican and Inuit. This dissertation shows that it is not only a tradition of the past, it is a dynamic event practiced

today; an event that has evolved and changed over the decades. Issues of syncretism between Christianity and traditional Inuit ideology are discussed, revealing how contesting and accepting conceptualizations of *inumhariit* are enacted simultaneously.

The Mamgarks are adherents to the Catholic faith. The matriarch is the song leader at the Catholic Church in Arviat. The present study extrapolates understandings of *inumhariit* from the religious practice of three generations of women from the Mamgark family. Through the examination of the enactment of the Mass, localized and local hymn texts,¹ and the radically different generational attitudes toward music and Catholicism, generational conceptualizations of *inumhariit* are revealed.

This study focuses on the Inuit concept of identity—*inumhariit*. *Inumhariit*, the true Inuit way of knowing and being, is multifaceted and diverse. Individual and generational conceptualizations of what it means to be a “true Inuk” overlap in many ways while coexisting. These conceptualizations, as revealed through the performance of and narratives about music, nuance histories of encounter and resettlement, education and language loss, and cultural revitalization in the community. These conceptualizations insist that *inumhariit* be understood as traditional and modern simultaneously.

¹ By localized texts I mean Inuktitut translations of pre-existing Christian hymns where translations deviate from the original English meaning to reflect an Inuit understanding. By local hymn texts I mean newly composed Inuit Christian songs.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I wish to dedicate this dissertation to my dear friend, my little sister (*nukaq*), Gara Mamgark (Figure i.1), whose unfailing commitment to this study is exemplary. Thank you, Gara for sharing your friendship, work ethic, and expertise:

Nakurmiik nukaq!

This dissertation is the outcome of my thirteen years of interaction with Arviamiut. Its completion would have been impossible if they had not offered me their friendship and trust. I thus wish to thank warmly all of the Arviamiut who welcomed me into their community, churches, homes, and families: *matna luaviik!* Special thanks must be given to my adoptive Inuit parents, Simeonie and Rosie Mamgark (Figure i.2), who over the years genuinely considered me their *ukuaq* (daughter-in-law): *qujannamiik sakik*. Thanks are due to all of my informants, who graciously agreed to share their knowledge and experiences with me: Rosie Mamgark, Simeonie Mamgark, Gara Mamgark, Matilda Sulurayok (Figure i.3), Bernadette Illungiyok, Silas Illungiyok (Figure i.4), Qahuq Illungiyok (Figure i.5), Ollie Illungiyok (Figure i.6), Mariah Illungiyok (Figure i.7), Eva Okatsiak (Figure i.8), Sandy Okatsiak (Figure i.9), Mary Okatsiak (Figure i.8), Jamie Okatsiak (Figure i.10), Martha Nutarasungnik, Eric Anoe Jr., and Ee Ulayok. You are true friends: *piqannarijat*.

Other people and organizations deserve my gratitude. I am grateful for Gara Mamgark, Sandy Okatsiak, and Mariah Illungiyok who read and re-read versions of this dissertation so that I got their families' stories right. I would like to thank elder Louis Angalik and Simeonie Mamgark for drawing maps of the Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut

territories and for providing the Inuktitut names of places, rivers, and lakes situated on those maps.

My fieldwork would have been difficult to undertake without the support of the Arviat District Education Authority, St. Francis Anglican Church, and St. Therese Catholic Church. On the intellectual side, my PhD supervisor Dr. Beverley Diamond instilled in me a desire for rigorous research, an appetite for reflective writing, and a passion for a pursuit of understanding the multi-faced nature of culture—indeed life. I am indebted to the members of my thesis committee Jean Briggs, Tom Gordon, Kati Szego and Beverley Diamond who read and re-read drafts of this work and who provided valuable criticism and comments to help make it a better contribution to the field of ethnomusicology.

I extend heartfelt thanks to friends and family who have supported me throughout the completion of this dream. In particular, I am grateful to fellow doctoral candidate Evelyn Osborne, who provided inspiration and motivation throughout the entire writing process. To my own family my husband Christopher Lewis, my mother Mary Piercey, my father Eric Piercey, and my sister Margaret Piercey: you believed in me from the beginning, encouraged me to pursue my dreams, and supported me in every way possible. Thank you.

Last, but not least, I must thank all the organizations which have made my fieldwork—and this dissertation—possible: Canada's Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Canada's Northern Scientific Training Program, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Nunavut Research Institute, and the Department of Education with the Government of Nunavut. Some passages from the

present dissertation are published elsewhere. They are used here with permission from the original publishers: *Canadian Folk Music Journal Bulletin* (2005), *International Journal of Community Music* (2008), *Aboriginal Music in Contemporary Canada: echoes and exchanges* (2012, eds. Diamond and Hoefnagels), *Critical Perspectives in Canadian Music Education* (2012, eds. Beynon and Veblen). My thanks to the editors of these publications for permission to include segments of these essays in this greatly revised and expanded dissertation.



Figure i.1 Lou and Gara Mamgark, Arviat, Nunavut, 2003.



Figure i.2 Simeonie and Rosie Mamgark, Arviat, Nunavut, 2004.

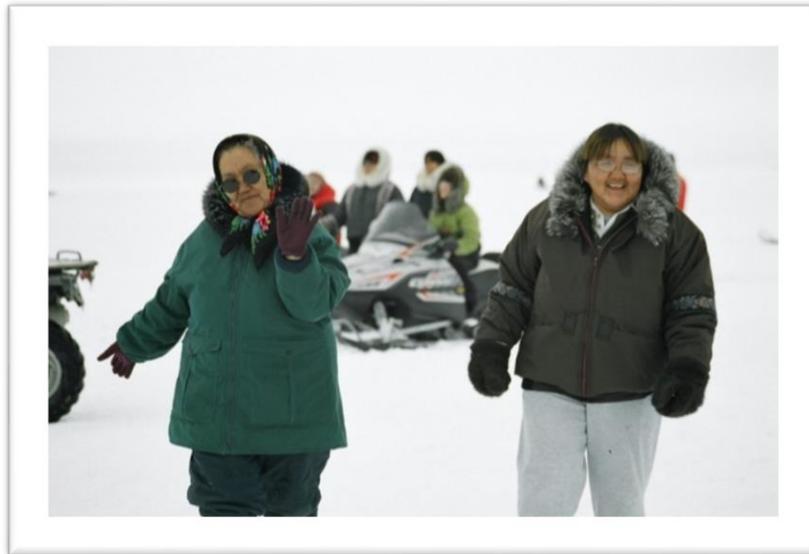


Figure i.3 Matilda Sulurayok and Rosie Mamgark, Arviat, Nunavut, 2006.



Figure i.4 Silas Illungiyok, at the Iglu Project, 2006.

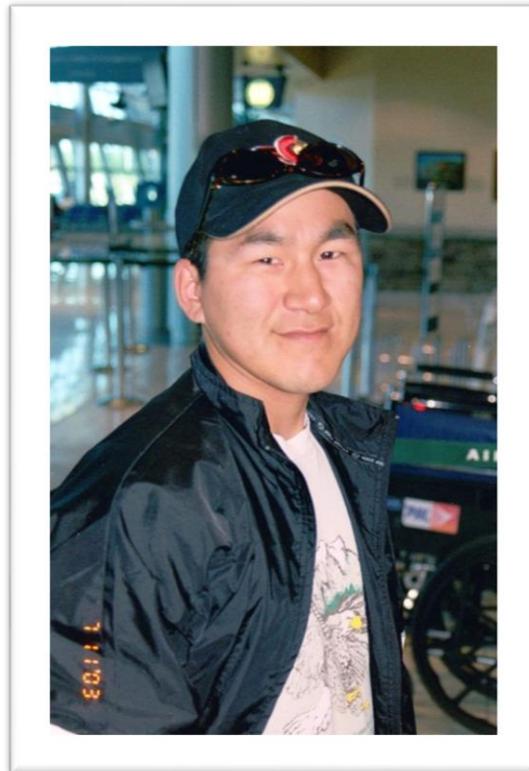


Figure i.5 Qahuq Illungiyok, Festival 500, St. John's, NL, 2003.



Figure i.6 Ollie Illunigayok, Arviat, Nunavut, 2006.



Figure i.7 Mariah Illungiyok and Katelyn Sulurayok, Qitiqliq High School, 2002.



Figure i.8 Mary and Eva Okatsiak at the Anglican Church, Arviat, Nunavut, 2007.



Figure i.9 Sandy Okatsiak at the Anglican Church, Arviat, Nunavut, 2007.



Figure i.10 Jamie Okatsiak, Qitiqliq High School, Arviat, Nunavut 2002.

A note on Inuktitut Roman orthography

The spelling of Inuktitut words and phrases is not always consistent, as some words come from different regions and/or areas of Nunavut; even Inuit from the various sub-groups living within Arviat spell certain words differently. This is especially evident in the different styles of transcription used by informants and/or translators who participated in the current project. For example, inconsistencies in the present study are evident in the varied use of the symbol *y* or *j* for the voiced palatal approximant. Spelling is further complicated by the introduction of Inuktitut language classes at local schools and the Arctic College taught by Inuit from a variety of regions within Nunavut. In short, there is no standard way of spelling and I chose to use spellings as they were presented by the Inuit involved. For a more elaborate and detailed glossary that gives valuable information on local variations, see Kublu 2004.

Table of Contents

Book 1

List of Appendices.....	xv
List of Figures	xvi
Chapter 1: “<i>Inulariuyunga; imngirnik quvigiyaaqtunga!</i>”—I’m a real <i>Inuk</i>; I love to sing! Introduction: Interactions between music, <i>inummariit</i> , and belief in an Inuit community since resettlement and colonialism	1
1.1 <i>Inummariit</i> Problematized.....	10
1.2 Relationship to Existing Research and Literature—Inuit Music	19
1.3 Relationship to Existing Research and Literature—Christianization and Music...	25
1.4 Theoretical Approaches	30
1.5 Methodology	42
1.6 Outline of Subsequent Chapters.....	49
Chapter 2: <i>Arvianit Hunikuit</i>—History of Arviat	53
2.1 Arviat.....	54
2.2 <i>Ahiarmiut</i> (people out of the way—inland people).....	55
2.3 <i>Padlirmiut</i> (people of the willow thicket).....	57
2.4 <i>Tariuqmiut</i> (salt water people)	60
2.5 Contact	62
2.6 Relocation/Resettlement	64
2.7 Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.....	71
2.8 <i>Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit</i>	75
2.9 Arviat Musical History.....	80

Chapter 3: <i>Iqauma</i>—Remembering. Reflecting on Reflexivity: Teaching and Conducting Research in an Inuit Community	90
3.1 Telling the Story.....	91
3.2 Teaching in Arviat.....	93
3.3 Attending Church.....	96
3.4 Reflecting on Reflexivity.....	97
3.5 Meeting New People.....	101
3.6 Conclusion.....	113
Chapter 4: <i>Qillauyaqpaluk</i>—Voices of the Drum. Performing Identity: Issues of <i>Inummarit</i> in the Performance of the Traditional Inuit Drum Dance	115
4.1 Silas Illungiyok—Dissemination of Traditional Indigenous Knowledge and History, Social Empowerment and Enjoyment.....	119
4.2 Silas Illungiyok—Healing.....	141
4.3 Ronnie Qahuq Illungiyok—Uses his <i>Qilauti</i> to Promote Inuit Culture and Identity.....	154
4.4 Danny Ollie Illungiyok—Stability and Change; Continuation and Innovation..	161
4.5 Conclusion: <i>Inummarit</i> as Constructed by Different Generations.....	175
Chapter 5: <i>Qanuq Ukpiqtunguqmangamata</i>—How We Became Christians. Total Christian Conversion or Negotiation of Belief Systems? The Anglican Church in Arviat	182
5.1 The Inuit-missionary Encounter.....	183
5.2 Holy Week and Easter: An Inuit Transformation of an Anglican Tradition.....	191
5.3 Easter Vigil— <i>Makitaugvik</i> —Saturday, April 7, 2007.....	200
5.4 Easter Sunday Service—Sunday, April 8, 2007.....	237
5.5 Conclusion.....	249
5.5.1 Syncretism.....	251
5.5.2 Sub-Group Affiliation.....	256
5.5.3 The Role of Media and Transmission.....	257
5.5.4 Language.....	260
5.5.5 Song Texts.....	264

Chapter 6: <i>Imngiutikut Unipkausiit Mamgarkut Arnagit</i>—Musical Stories of the Mamgark Women. The Catholic Church in Arviat and its influence on the lives of three generations of women	268
6.1 Matilda and the Inuit-missionary Encounter	269
6.2 Roman Catholic Mass— <i>Ikirayuaq Tuksiarniq</i> —April 23, 2006	275
6.3 <i>Inummariit</i> as Constructed by Different Generations	312
6.4 Conclusion.....	346
6.4.1 Syncretism.....	346
6.4.2 Song Text Themes	348
6.4.3 Repertoire.....	351
6.4.4 Modes of Transmission.....	352
6.4.5 Language.....	354
6.4.6 Gender	355
6.4.7 “Traditional?”—Discursive Practices	359
Chapter 7: <i>Taima</i>—Conclusion. <i>Inummariit</i> manifested in Inuit ideas about spirituality, traditional lifeways, and Christianity as exhibited through music performance.....	363
7.1 Continuities and Synchronicity in Vernacular and Institutional Belief Systems .	365
7.1.1 Complex Relationship between Individuality and Social Cohesion.....	365
7.1.2 Spiritual Power of Language	370
7.1.3 “ <i>Quvia-</i> ”—Happiness.....	375
7.1.4 Healing.....	380
7.2 Challenges to Vernacular and Institutionalized Belief Systems	382
7.2.1 <i>Inummariit</i> as Constructed by Different Generations.....	382
7.2.2 Music, Spirituality and Gender	388
7.2.3 Transmission Processes and Technology.....	395
7.3 Inuit Sub-Group Affiliation to Homogenized Inuit Identity	398
7.4 Music and Inuit Rights	401
7.5 Implications for Future Research	403
List of References	405
Discography	421
Interviews Cited	423

List of Appendices

	Book 2
Appendix A: Inuktitut-English glossary	1
Appendix B: Maps of Arviat, Nunavut and surrounding areas	13
Appendix C: Photographs	19
Appendix D: Arviat history timeline	34
Appendix E: Chart of traditional Inuit music made by the Illungiyok family	36
Appendix F: Charts of styles of music made by the Mamgark family	38
Appendix G: Musical transcriptions	43
Appendix H: Inuktitut song texts and English translations	115
Appendix I: Genealogical Charts	175
Appendix J: <i>Inuit Qaujimaqatuqangit</i> Definition	179

List of Figures

Located in Acknowledgements		Book 1
Figure i.1	Lou and Gara Mamgark	vi
Figure i.2	Simeonie and Rosie Mamgark	vii
Figure i.3	Matilda Sulurayok and Rosie Mamgark	vii
Figure i.4	Silas Illungiyok	viii
Figure i.5	Ronnie Qahuq Illungiyok	viii
Figure i.6	Ollie Illungiyok	ix
Figure i.7	Mariah Illungiyok and Katlyn Sulurayok	ix
Figure i.8	Mary and Eva Okatsiak	x
Figure i.9	Sandy Okatsiak	x
Figure i.10	Jamie Okatsiak	xi
 Located in Appendix B		 Book 2
Figure 1.B1	Map of Nunavut	14
Figure 2.B2	Map of Kivalliq Region of Nunavut	15
Figure 2.B3	Map of Ahirarmiut Territory	16
Figure 2.B4	Map of Padlirmiut Territory	17
Figure 2.B5	Map of Tariuqmiut Territory	18
 Located in Body of Dissertation		 Book 1
Figure 4.1	Illungiyok’s Drumming Style	133
Figure 5.1	Anglican Church hand-made songbook	194
Figure 5.2	Anglican Church hand-made songbook	194
Figure 5.3	#98 in Anglican Church hand-made songbook	213
Figure 5.4	“Welcome...” in Sandy Okatsiak’s hand-made songbook	231
Figure 5.5	“ <i>Qilalimat</i> ” in Sandy Okatsiak’s hand-made songbook	233
Figure 6.1	Chart of Rosie Mamgark’s song repertoire	325
Figure 6.2	Chart of Gara Mamgark’s song repertoire	331

	Located in Appendix C	Book 2
Figure 2.C1	Alliance Church in Arviat, Nunavut	20
Figure 2.C2	Arviaqpaluk radio station in Arviat, Nunavut	20
Figure 3.C3	Qitiqliq School, Arviat, Nunavut	21
Figure 3.C4	Arviat Imngitingit (Singers)	21
Figure 3.C5	Ronnie Qahuq Illungiyok	22
Figure 3.C6	Sandy Okatsiak and Kuuku Mikeeuneak (Father)	22
Figure 3.C7	Gara Mamgark	23
Figure 4.C8	Silas Illungiyok	23
Figure 4.C9	Elizabeth Nibgoarsi and Eva Mukjungnik	24
Figure 4.C10	Elders' Centre, Arviat, Nunavut	24
Figure 4.C11	Silas Illungiyok	25
Figure 4.C12	John Arnaludjuak High School, Arviat, Nunavut	25
Figure 4.C13	Arviat Imngitingit	26
Figure 4.C14	Ollie Illungiyok	26
Figure 4.C15	Ollie Illungiyok	27
Figure 5.C16	St. Francis "New" Anglican Church, Arviat, Nunavut	27
Figure 5.C17	St. Francis "Old" Anglican Church, Arviat, Nunavut	28
Figure 5.C18	Sandy Okatsiak	28
Figure 5.C19	Rev. Joe Manik	29
Figure 5.C20	Rev. Jimmy Gibbons	29
Figure 5.C21	Rev. Jimmy Muckpah	30
Figure 5.C22	Eva Okatsiak	30
Figure 6.C23	St. Therese Catholic Church Arviat, Nunavut	31
Figure 6.C24	Matilda Sulurayok	31
Figure 6.C25	Winnie Malla and Matilda Sulurayok	32
Figure 6.C26	The Mamgark Family	32
Figure 6.C27	Gara Mamgark and Katlyn Sulurayok	33

Chapter 1: “*Inulariuyunga; imngirnik quvigiyaaqtunga!*”—I’m a real *Inuk*; I love to sing!

Introduction: Interactions between music, *inummariit*, and belief in an Inuit community since resettlement

“*Inulariuyunga; imngirnik quvigiyaaqtunga!*”—I’m a real *Inuk*; ² I love to sing! (Gara Mamgark, 2006). What does it mean to be a “real Inuk” today and why is it important? This doctoral research examines the ways music, *inummariit*,³ and belief interact in the Inuit⁴ community of Arviat⁵ (formerly Eskimo Point), Nunavut⁶ (Figure 1.B1).⁷

There are many different genres of music present in Arviat. Inuit listen to Christian gospel music, hymns, traditional Inuit music, rock, pop, dance, reggae, hip-hop, country and western, classical, and any other genre of music found on television, satellite, internet, and radio. Media today makes these styles readily available for consumption. The genres of music Inuit perform in Arviat are also quite diverse. Billy Kuksuk is a rhythm and blues singer/songwriter, Susan Aglukark is a Canadian pop star, and many

² *Inuk* is the singular form of Inuit i.e. “an Inuk.”

³ *Inummariit*—real Inuit. Also spelled *inummariit*; *inumariit*. *Inummariik*—real Inuk.

⁴ The word *Inuit* means “the people” and is the term by which Inuit refer to themselves.

⁵ *Arviat* means “bowhead whale” in Inuktitut. The community got its name from the shape of the peninsula on which is it located.

⁶ *Nunavut*, which means “Our Land” in Inuktitut, officially became the third territory of Canada on April 1, 1999. It was formerly part of the eastern Northwest Territories. It is one of the first self-governing indigenous territory in North America (the Shishalh First Nation was the first self-governing indigenous territory (1986) in Canada). A 19-member legislative council governs this territory. Nunavut covers one-fifth of Canada’s land area but at 22,000 people, includes less than one percent of its population. Eighty-five percent of Nunavut’s residents are indigenous Inuit. Along with self-rule and control over their institutions, the Inuit of Nunavut are combating suicide, reversing assimilation, and articulating what it means to be Inuit.

⁷ Maps are located in Appendix B on pages 14-18.

Inuit youth perform cover tunes from their favourite rock/heavy metal musicians. As diverse as the musical styles are, however, the most common types of music listened to and performed in Arviat are Christian hymns and “gospel songs.” To Inuit living in Arviat, there are three types of Christian songs. First, there are the “traditional” Anglican, Catholic, and Pentecostal hymns which have been translated from English into Inuktitut and are found in the churches’ hymnals. Although these hymns have their roots in Western European Church music, they are considered to be “traditional Inuit hymns.” Second, there are originally composed Christian Inuktitut songs by local Inuit and Inuit from the rest of Nunavut; while these are not considered to be “traditional” they are thought to be specifically “Inuit” and are a core part of contemporary Inuit culture. These songs are commonly referred to as “gospel songs” by people living in Arviat. Finally, there are contemporary Christian songs from the ever-growing American Christian music market, many of which have also been translated into Inuktitut. These are considered neither “traditional” nor specifically “Inuit” but are Christian and therefore deemed worthy of singing by many Inuit because they are capable of commanding the presence of the “Holy Spirit.” They are also referred to as “gospel songs.” How do these contemporary Christian repertoires differ or relate to the drum dance songs that expressed social, environmental and spiritual values in pre-Christian eras and still today for some traditionalists?

In this dissertation, I examine how Inuit belief systems – and their attendant musical repertoires and practices – have changed and developed in response to resettlement and colonialism. I use music as a portal to understand personal negotiations

and transitions. By belief systems, I am referring to institutionalized religious and vernacular belief, which as Primiano argues (1995), cannot be separated.

In an effort to do justice to studying belief and lived experience, folklorist Leonard Primiano (1995) has put forth the concept of “vernacular religion” which specifically addresses the “personal” and “private” (p. 43):

Vernacular religion is, by definition, religion as it is lived: as human beings encounter, understand, interpret, and practice it. Since religion inherently involves interpretation, it is impossible for the religion of an individual not to be vernacular. Vernacular religious theory involves an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the religious lives of individuals with special attention to the process of religious belief, the verbal, behavioral, and material expressions of religious belief, and the ultimate object of religious belief. A vernacular religious viewpoint shows that designations of institutionalized religion as “official” are inaccurate. (Primiano 1995: 44)

He argues that many scholars have created a “two-tiered model” of religion whereby folk or popular religion is measured against official religion:

...two-tiered model employed by historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and religious studies scholars which creates distinct categories separating the “folk” or “popular” religion of the faithful from “official” or institutional religion administered by hierarchical elites through revealed or inspired oral and written texts. (Primiano 1995: 39)

He goes on to explain that this model does not do justice to the study of the religious lives of all religious believers. Furthermore, it promotes the continuation of the Western reductionist conceptualization that organized religious institutions are authentic and are “exemplar of human religiosity” (Primiano 1995: 39).

Primiano advocates that an “inductive approach” to the study of religion, “does more than simply extrapolate general principles from particular data. It generates a theory of and method for the study of religion based on criteria of religious validity established by the inner experience and perception of the believer” (Primiano 1995: 40). Such an approach, he contends, cannot be objective and thus must consider the many possible analytical vantage points. The researcher must be reflexive and consider his/her own beliefs, perceptions, and interpretations when studying religion as it is lived.⁸

Vernacular religion as an approach is beneficial for the present study because it can be used to understand religion as it has been lived in the past and is lived today in Arviat. It emphasizes the study of the belief systems of Inuit past and present. This means a consideration of the contents and motivations of the actual beliefs of people.

My argument is that the concept of *inummariit*, which literally translates as “real Inuit” or the Inuit way of life,⁹ is actually a vernacular belief system which manifests itself in ideas about spirituality, lifeways, and Christian religion. The concept of *inummariit* for individuals living in Arviat is diverse and complex. It can mean anything from good hunting skills, adhering to elders’ regulations and laws, or living the ‘traditional’ Inuit way of life on the land, preferring specific music genres or performance aesthetics, acquiring traditional Inuit knowledge, and living a good Christian life. Traditional Inuit drum dancing, for example, is an expressive form associated with the way Inuit conceive their relationship to the land, the animals they hunt, and the social

⁸ See Chapter Three.

⁹ The literal Inuktitut word for “true Inuit way of life” is *inuktuluavik*. However, Inuit in Arviat mostly use the term *inummariit* to describe the “true way of life” as well as the “real Inuit” who strive to live it.

relations needed to sustain those ways of life. These are arguably vernacular beliefs but are closely tied to present-day attitudes about Christianity in Arviat.

This dissertation specifically examines how *inummariit* manifests itself in the musical choices and performances of individuals from three Inuit families. I explore continuity and change in belief systems and how ethnicity and indigenous identity are negotiated and constructed by examining the song traditions of three musically oriented families in Arviat: the Mamgarks (*Tariuqmiut*),¹⁰ the Okatsiaks (*Padlirmiut*), and the Illungiyoks (*Ahiarmiut/Padlirmiut* intermarriage). These families are recognized as important culture bearers from the three bands who resettled in Arviat.¹¹ By studying historical documents and oral history about performance, as well as analyzing performance itself, I contrast the musical activities and repertoires of four different generations: 1) Deceased elders whose musical traditions are extant in the collections of Pelinski (1979); 2) Current elders of the three Inuit families who are primarily in the age range of 55-80 and maintain *Inuktitut*¹² as their primary language; 3) Bilingual family members aged 30-55; 4) English-speaking family members under the age of 30. Intergenerational, gender, and band-related contrasts among these three families index a range of responses to culture contact, language preference, and lifestyle. Two chapters focus on Christian contexts because these were the belief systems of colonizers and

¹⁰ *Ahiarmiut* (people out of the way) were inlanders living along the upper Kazan River near Ennadai Lake. Also spelled *Assiarmiut*; *Tariuqmiut* (salt-water people) were coastal Caribou Inuit that lived near Eskimo Point (now Arviat); *Padlirmiut* (people of the willow thicket) were inlanders who were nomadic and spent their springs and summers in the community of Eskimo Point with the *Tariuqmiut*. These groups are now living together in Arviat (*Arviarmiut*), but some members still recognize their ancestral names in contemporary living.

¹¹ Please see maps of Arviat and surrounding areas on pages 14-18 in Appendix B.

¹² *Inuktitut*—the Inuit language.

because they are music-rich events in the present-day community. This study goes on to answer questions such as: How does Inuit choice of repertoire and song performance enact or mirror the concepts of *inummariit* and thus represent core cultural beliefs and themes? How have certain concepts of *inummariit* been replaced by Christian concepts and practices? What are some of the ways Inuit in Arviat have adapted them to have some of the same and some different functions?

In Chapter Four, I look at how the traditional Inuit drum dance has shaped the everyday culture of Inuit living in Arviat. Once used in some shamanistic rituals, as entertainment in local gatherings, for healing purposes, or to honour a visitor, Inuit drum dances today still have some of these functions; mostly, however, they are performed to promote Inuit identity locally and globally. In Chapters Five and Six, I examine aspects of Anglican and Catholic religious ceremony, beliefs, and practice that were congruent with Inuit traditional ceremonies and spiritual practice. The specific qualities of ceremony such as music seem to have been important for Inuit acceptance and absorption of Anglicanism and Catholicism. In Inuit music, we can hear the history of interaction.

The residents of Arviat have had to negotiate belief systems and social diversity within the community in response to massive sociocultural changes since three distinctive groups were resettled there in the 1950s. These changes include the loss of their semi-nomadic lifestyle, the enhanced role of colonial institutions in their lives, and political reorganization including the establishment of Nunavut as one of Canada's territories in 1999 (see Chapter Two).

The 2,500 Caribou Inuit in Arviat are an Inuktitut first-language speaking group, comprised of three distinct bands: the Ahiarmiut (Inland Inuit), Padlirmiut (Nomadic

Inuit), and Tariuqmiut (Coastal Inuit) who, prior to the 1950s, lived throughout the Ennadai Lake and Yathkyed Lake, Padlei, and the coastal area between Qamaniq and Siurayuk respectively.¹³ Until this time, the three Inuit bands were semi-nomadic peoples who traveled seasonally to hunt, gather, and occasionally socialize with each other (Boas 1877; Rasmussen 1927). Scottish and American whalers reached areas in the Kivalliq¹⁴ in the 1850s bringing American square dances and Scottish reels to the Inuit throughout the region. In 1913-14, when trading posts were established at Baker Lake and the Kazan River, Inuit began participating in the fur-trade and in cultural exchange with European traders. After the 1920s this exchange expanded to include Catholic and Anglican missionaries, government agents and Hudson's Bay Company employees. Despite these cultural interactions, their lifeways were not radically affected until Arviat was chosen by officials of the Department of Northern Affairs in the 1950s as a resettlement place for Inuit in the surrounding areas. Since this resettlement, Inuit lifeways and culture have undergone rapid change. The three distinct bands, each with their own traditions, Inuktitut dialect, and history were forced to settle in a single community and send their children to residential schools. They have incorporated new patterns for hunting and community sustainability, and have been heavily influenced by Evangelical missionaries

¹³ See maps of the historical movement of sub-groups of Inuit on pages 16-18 in Appendix B. For discussion of the history of the Ahiarmiut, Padlirmiut, and Tariuqmiut including information about their lifeways before resettlement see Chapter Two.

¹⁴ The Kivalliq Region is an administrative region of Nunavut. It consists of the portion of mainland to the west of the Hudson's Bay together with Southampton Island and Coats Island. The regional seat is Rankin Inlet. Before 1999, the Kivalliq Region existed under slightly different boundaries as Keewatin Region, Northwest Territories. The Hamlets in the Kivalliq Region are Arviat, Baker Lake, Chesterfield Inlet, Coral Harbour, Rankin Inlet, Repulse Bay, and Whale Cove. The total population in 2006 was 8, 248 (Statistics Canada, Census 2006).

(Tester and Kulchyski 1994). These changes have had serious consequences for both the maintenance of Inuit social networks and the continuing relevance and use of the Inuktitut language. While some members of the three groups of Inuit still protect customs and practices deeply rooted in their respective cultures, they all struggle with concerns about cultural erosion and practical issues related to drug abuse, youth support, employment, education and community cohesion. Today, Inuit children speak English at school, spend limited time on the land, consume TV shows and movies, and create popular music (please see Chapter Two for a detailed discussion of the history of Arviat).

The Inuit of Arviat are concerned about cultural erosion and community cohesion. This is evident, for example, in new educational policy that focuses on the inclusion of traditional indigenous knowledge¹⁵ in school curricula and the hiring of Inuit in government positions as per the requirement of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.¹⁶

¹⁵ In Inuktitut, traditional indigenous knowledge is known as *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*. “The term Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) encompasses all aspects of traditional Inuit Culture including values, world-view, language, social organization, knowledge, life skills, perceptions and expectations” (Louis Tapardjuk, Report of the Nunavut Tradition Knowledge Conference, 1998). Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) Curriculum Framework Document (2005) provides the philosophy and cultural components of an education system embedded in IQ. It puts into action the priorities and principles set out in the government’s mandate, *Pinasuaqtavut*. It also makes the links to the *Inuuqatigitit* curriculum and other key foundation documents for education in Nunavut such as *Ilitaunnikuliriniq Student Assessment in Nunavut Schools (2006)*, *Inuglugijaittuq: Inclusive Education in Nunavut Schools (2008)* and *Ajiiqatigiingniq: Language of Instruction Report (2000)*.

¹⁶ The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement is the largest Aboriginal land claim settlement in Canadian history. When the Agreement was signed, legislation was also passed leading to the creation of a new territory called Nunavut on April 1, 1999. The new territory has a form of self-government serving both Inuit and non-Inuit. Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) was set up as a private corporation in 1993 to ensure that promises made in the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement are carried out. \$1.2 billion dollars in compensation money passed from the federal government to the people of Nunavut over fourteen years. Some of the more outstanding of its 41 articles include the following: title to approximately 350,000 square kilometres of land, of which about 35,000 square kilometres include mineral rights; equal representation of Inuit with government on a new set of wildlife management, resource management and environmental boards; the right to harvest wildlife on lands and waters throughout the Nunavut settlement area; a share of federal government royalties for Nunavut Inuit from oil, gas and mineral development on Crown lands; government employment for Inuit; a say in the preservation and development of Inuit language and culture.

In the hope of addressing local concerns about cultural erosion and community cohesion, this study focuses on changing spiritual practices, rooted in -- of what it means to be a “real Inuk” -- coupled with understanding generational and cultural diversity through the exploration of music and oral history. It explores the historical relationships and cultural traditions shaping the song repertoire of four generations of the Ahiarmiut, Tariuqmiut, and Padlirmiut living in Arviat. Few studies of indigenous music have yet explored the way musical practices articulate the diverse and complex social networks within a single post-resettlement community. Furthermore, while there has been a great deal of literature about the effects of culture contact and colonization on relocated Aboriginal communities¹⁷ and the emergence of new Indigenous expressive forms through the combining of cultural traditions,¹⁸ Inuit music performance analysis has rarely been used to examine how relocation has been negotiated.¹⁹ An exception to this is Michael Hauser’s (2010) work on the stylistic relationships between songs of Inuit from Southwest Baffin Island who had moved to Thule in Greenland.

This research initially set out to investigate the impact of relocation on the negotiation of ethnicity and Indigenous identity formation. How do Inuit of Arviat

¹⁷ Bussidor (1997), Scudder, Thayer, et al. (1982), Marcus (1995). Please see Chapter Two for a discussion of the effects of relocation on aboriginal communities.

¹⁸ Cavanagh [Diamond] (1987) explored syncretic beliefs in the performance of hymns in Eastern Woodland communities. Similarly, Keillor (1987) demonstrated a blending of features of Christianity with Dogrib traditions. These studies tell much about the fusion of ideologies but do not examine the effects of relocation in the process.

¹⁹ There have been studies of music in relation to forced removal to Oklahoma. John Ehle’s (1988) *Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation*, for example, shows how Cherokee were consciously active in their choices to adopt certain ‘white’ ways, while rejecting others and that the ultimate relocation of the Cherokeees was a process that included choices and decisions made by both groups involved. Ehle depicts Cherokeees and whites in complex ways so that stereotypes of either group, be it dominant oppressor or primitive savage, are contested. Music is one of many cultural aspects discussed.

negotiate sub-band identity? Why is it important to recognize and be a part of a particular sub-band such as the Ahiarmiut, Padlirmiut, or the Tariuqmiut? I found, however, that it was the elders who recognized this distinction; not the younger Inuit. Sub-group identity formation was less prevalent among Inuit younger than 40 years of age and perhaps this is partially the result of the work and influence of Christian missionaries and the education system. The lack of sub-band social diversity amongst young Inuit is significant. Thus, my research focus shifted from attempting to explore how sub-band diversity is negotiated within the community to exploring how spiritual traditions are related to inummariit and manifested in the musical choices of individuals who are musical leaders in the Anglican and Catholic Churches and at community drum dances. Furthermore, this research contests prevailing dominant paradigms of Inuit as being a large and homogeneous aboriginal group with a post-colonial political agenda (Kulchyski 2005; McElroy 2008) and alternatively suggests ways in which Inuit identity may be multiple and based on factors such as gender, band, religious affiliation, family, age, language preference, or relationships with other people.

1.1 Inummariit Problematized

Inummariit is conceptualized in many ways in Arviat and throughout Nunavut. While local and outside definitions all pertain to living a certain way of life, issues relating to inummariit range from hunting skills and belief systems to language use and survival. Inummariit is a common term used in Arviat to describe peoples' actions in diverse circumstances. To identify certain aspects of behaviour or culture as "real Inuit," however, implies that inummariit is an unchanging bundle of traits, when, in fact, it is

much more complex. It can mean marking one's life as something or the other; but it can also be more process-oriented.

Traits are never stable across contexts. Anthropologist Jean Briggs (1997) has shown that traits and emblems are situationally variable. If we look at what *inummariit* means for local Inuit today, some of those variables become evident. For example, some local definitions honour traditional life styles:

“If you are living off the land; hunting and fishing and getting food for your family. That's what *inummariit* means.” (Ee Ulayok, July, 2011)

“Those elders who know how to live the old way. They know the land; they can tell you where the caribou are; they know how to build *iglus*;²⁰ they can show you anything about the old times.” (Ollie Illungiyok, April, 2006)

These next two definitions pertain to contemporary lifeways:

“If you listen to your wife; if you treat your kids well; if you love your family and praise Jesus every day; you are living the good life; that's what *inummariit* means for me.” (Sandy Okatsiak, July, 2011)

“Don't do drugs; don't drink alcohol; don't fight with other Inuit.” (Jamie Okatsiak, May, 2007)

This prevalent definition deals with blood quantum and family ties:

“*Inummariit* [*inummarik*]²¹ means you are a true Inuk. That means that you have two Inuit parents. If one of your parents is *qablunaaq*,²² then you are not a true Inuk.” (Simeonie Mamgark, July, 2011)

²⁰ *iglu*, pl. *igluit*—snow house.

²¹ *Inummarik* translates as “real Inuk.” The plural form is *inummariit*—“real Inuit.”

²² *qablunaaq*, pl. *qablunaat* (also *qallunaaq*, *kabloona*, *kablukaaq*)—white person.

Of particular relevance to the present study are the following definitions pertaining to music. These definitions range from values about honouring elders to performance aesthetics:

“Inummariit means knowing all the songs and being able to sing all the words from memory.” (Gara Mamgark, July, 2011)

“If we sing the traditional Inuit songs of our ancestors; the whole song, not just part of it and not by adding new words; and drum dance in the proper Inuit way, then we are remembering the way our ancestors lived.” (Silas Illungiyok, May 13, 2007)

“True Inuit songs are songs sung in Inuktitut. They can be *pisiit*²³ or they can be gospel songs or they can be songs someone likes to sing. As long as they are sung from the heart, with meaning, they can bring happiness.” (Mariah Illungiyok, July, 2011)

In 1987, local Padlirmiut elder and drum dancer Donald Suluk, was interviewed by *Inuktitut* magazine about his thoughts on inummariit. His recollections about inummariit are more than just memories. They are a window on the collective oral history of Eskimo Point (now Arviat) Inuit during the 1970s and 1980s. They encompass not only his own experiences, but those of his grandparents, great grandparents and other ancestors. His recollections are often in the form of instructions in survival skills. They are not just about skills or events, however, but they are moral guidance, social law, and common sense.

“These people [ancestors] followed the only way of life that they knew, that they had been taught since childhood. The only thing that would keep them home would be if there was socializing planned, or if a death occurred.” (p. 11)

“It is important that the traditional way of our ancestors is understood. In the traditional way of thinking, even if I were very knowledgeable concerning hunting and other things, some part of

²³ *pisiq*, pl. *pisiit* (also *pisia*)—personal song.

my life could be lacking, for example, if I interrogated someone or made someone fear me.” (p. 18)

“Not all causes of death were physical; illness, anger, love and other things were thought to cause a person to get incurably sick. We were also told that some people would not have gotten sick or died if they had heeded the admonitions of their elders.” (p. 18)

“An Inuk becomes a leader of his relatives when he understands the things that his people are saying or perhaps he is the only one available to be the leader. He isn’t voted in—he has already been chosen by the laws since he is the oldest and can do as he pleases, if he is smart.” (p. 74)

These next comments deal with having good hunting skills:

“Perhaps bad luck would come upon them [Inuit hunters] from their misuse of animal meat. For example, someone with bad luck might see a caribou but be unable to catch it...these misfortunes are punishment for misusing wildlife.” (p. 9)

“Real Inuit are very good at searching out animals using binoculars as long as it’s a clear day.” (p. 21)

These comments talk about how people should behave if they were living the “good life.”

While many of these comments have a Christian flavour, only one of them references the

Bible indicating what seems to be syncretism between traditional Inuit ideology and

Christian beliefs (see Chapters Five and Six):

“...wanting too many things and wanting money all the time rather than looking at the way we live makes it hard to stay happy. It’s better to enjoy life by trying your best to live it right, and encouraging others to do the same.” (p. 28)

“We have always heard that a person who strives for happiness, even when it doesn’t seem attainable, will always reach that goal sooner or later. Likewise, a person who gave up would always reap what he sowed.” (p. 31)

“It is said that when an Inuk is living right he doesn’t build himself up in front of people and he’s happiest with people who

are not too proud of themselves. He is easy to talk to, he rejects no one and he treats all people the same way. This is the type of person that other people are happy to have around. He talks about the difficult times he has had and the easy time as well. He is helpful to others and doesn't think of only himself. When he works, he isn't lazy." (p.66)

About music he states:

"The meaning of singing and dancing was explained by our ancestors. Some songs contained information on wildlife and how animals were caught and used for sustenance." (p. 30)

"Our elders always told us that it did not matter whether a person's voice boomed while singing and dancing energetically or was soft and passive. Each of these styles represents Inuit ways of enjoying themselves, as long as the songs are composed correctly and do not cause concern to others." (p. 30)

"Many people got to know each other and learned about each other through song. You could tell whether a person was modest or proud by the way he sang. If he was too proud, his voice would sound stronger and he would hint through his song that he was very good at everything he did. His songs would belittle other people. On the other hand, a modest person would play down his own accomplishments, be overjoyed and thankful for his catch, and would not gossip about his fellow human beings in his songs. This type of person is the kind who followed the advice of his grandparents and parents." (pp. 30-31)

"The way the Inuit sing *pihiit*²⁴ and the way people sing with a guitar should not get mixed together. These ways of singing have different meanings. The Inuit *pihiit* tell of having learned the best way to do things, perhaps about the best ways to catch animals. They record stories that can be told forever before a voice is forgotten. The story should not be told in a low quiet voice, but loud and clear so that everybody hears. If *pihiit* were sung with a guitar, a real Inuk would think he was being made fun of. But when someone really starts singing his *pihiq*, he would be nervous, shaking, and happy at the same time." (p.36)

²⁴ *pihiq*, pl. *pihiit* (also *pihia* or *pihiit*)—personal song; drum dance song.

Non-Inuit, whether they are scholars, researchers, policy makers, or writers, have defined inummariit in a variety of ways as well:

“Inummariit (the free Inuk) refers to a person who has overcome physical, emotional and spiritual barriers.” (Brody 1991:125-45)

“Especially in the eastern Arctic, the grammar and vocabulary of Inuktitut as spoken by the youngsters, though correct, is simpler than the language of the older Inuit or inummariit ‘the genuine Inuit,’ called inummarrittit.” (Brody 1975: 135)

“Some Inummariit, the Inuit who lived in the traditional manner, believed that *Nuna*, the earth, possessed *Inua*, a life force. They perceived the earth as both a place and a living being. The expression *Sarqarittukuurgunga* “I travel through places of vast horizons” is metaphorical. It applies to journeys made to unusual places on the temporal landscape, and to traverses through a metaphysical world.” (Norman Hallendy Lecture 2001)

Without actually using the Inuit term inummariit, anthropologist Jean Briggs (1997) writes about Inuit conceptualizations of being “real Inuit” by examining the lives of three Inuit men and how they use ethnic emblems in their everyday lives. She distinguishes “traits” (unconscious but recognizable life ways) from “emblems” (consciously constructed symbols of identity). Her definition of emblems is, “traits which are used in public statements about cultural identity” (p. 228). She argues that when a group of people is marred with conflict or lives in contact with other cultures, ethnic imagery is fashioned and deployed to mark distinctions. In the case of Inuit living in Canada, many emblems are emotionally charged and used to differentiate themselves from Euro-Canadians. Briggs suggests that traits are ripe for becoming emblems when they are already “charged with value and emotion” (p. 228) because they were the focus

of tension with *qablunaat*²⁵ during contact times. Of particular relevance to the present study, some emblematic actions she discusses are: autonomy, giving, sharing, offering food, and speaking Inuktitut. Visible emblems used to distinguish boundaries between the two cultures include “traditional stories and games; drum dancing; and most interestingly—square dancing” (p. 229). Briggs reasons that while many of these traits are no longer required for life in contemporary Nunavut communities, “as emblems [they are] well suited to strengthening a sense of ethnic rootedness” (p. 229). As emblems—cultural markers, world boundary markers, differentiating traits—it is “necessary that people be able to create chains of association and lines of reasoning that link the behaviours cognitively and emotionally with the half-remembered, half-imagined past” (p. 230).

In a similar vein, in 1972 those Inuit concerned with losing their culture as a result of contact with *qablunaat* formed the Inummarit Cultural Association and began to publish a periodical entitled *Inummarit*.²⁶ Based in Igloolik, the aims of the Inummarit Cultural Association involved gathering and recording information from elders:

A group of Inuit who realized that their way of life and culture was fast changing and tending to disappear have decided to do something about it. They have formed an association so that the present and past way of life which can still be useful, may not fall into oblivion. An important aim of the association is to make the people proud of their ancestry. This can be done by helping people retain their identity with the past, their language, stories and customs. The Inuit Cultural Association will publish a periodical to

²⁵ *qablunaaq*, pl. *qablunaat* (also *qallunaaq*, *kabloona*, *kablukaaq*)—white person.

²⁶ Published in Roman orthography and syllabics, *Inummarit* was published four times a year for five years, 1972-1977.

record the information gathered from the older generation. It will be used for teaching and enjoyment. (*Inuktitut* Winter 1972: 27)

What can be learned from this variety of definitions/conceptualizations of inummariit? Many of the statements in the previous paragraphs look backwards, defining inummariit as “the old ways.” Some Inuit go as far as to say that there should be a return to the traditional way of doing things. And yet, others see inummariit as being resourceful—alert to opportunities, situations, and knowledge which will help Inuit negotiate the future. Thus there are tensions between the definitions of inummariit.

In examining Inuit perceptions of inummariit as looking to the past and/or as identifying the “old ways” as the “true” ones, this dissertation searches for continuity and change in such things as musical structure, song text, performance context, transmission, and so on. For those who see inummariit as resourcefulness, this dissertation examines, for example, how new opportunities are used in different spiritual practices.

In line with Briggs’ (1997) reasoning, many Arviamiut have chosen particular Inuit traits as markers of their Inuit identity. As such, they are “emotionally charged” emblems which distinguish Inuit from qablunaat, Ahiarmiut from Padlirmiut, Arviamiut from Iqalumiut, and so on. This dissertation aims to consider the markers Inuit use to emphasize their identity. Are they pan-Inuit or localized? Are they old or new? Are they visual or aural or neither?

Some concepts in the statements cited above require further explanation. Most Inuit contend that the “search for happiness” is an important aspect of being a true Inuk. The English word “happiness” has many meanings. Likewise, the Inuktitut word “*quvia-*,” which is the base root word for happiness, also has many meanings and

connotations.²⁷ For example, *quvia-* used in its various forms can mean to be happy together, to achieve healing, or even rebirth. Thus, to translate the various versions of *quvia-* as simply “happy” ignores the complexity of this concept. This dissertation examines the various senses of the word *quvia-* in relation to spiritual practices and musical performance. Furthermore, it studies how the Inuktitut language itself manifests as a marker of inummariit.

Some Inuit underscore that inummariit is the knowledge of or association with place. Are these associations with “real” or “imagined” places? Are they places which exist today or in the past? This dissertation intends to trace how religious rites do (or do not) relate to place. For instance, what are the many connotations of *Kuukpaluk*²⁸—the river in the Anglican service? What other place references are there? Is there more of a division now between spirit places and places of everyday life? Is the knowledge of place less important or important in different ways in contemporary Christian belief systems?

Other Inuit accentuate inummariit as balance and reciprocity. The present work aims to examine whether and how balance and reciprocity underpin the practices of belief undertaken by men and women or by different generations. Furthermore, it studies how *quvia-* related to balance and reciprocity. What does it mean to be happy together, to achieve healing, or even rebirth (all connotations of *quvia-* words).

Many Inuit say that inummariit relates to the validating of individual experience. Do contemporary religious practices demonstrate this value (or not) and in what ways?

²⁷ See pages 260-263 for a discussion of the various meanings of *quvia-*.

²⁸ *Kuukpaluk* is an Inuit religious ceremony celebrated at the Anglican Church in Arviat. See Chapter Five for a detailed discussion of this Christian/Inuit religious rite.

The tension between emphases on reciprocity and on individual experience invites examination. Certainly, emphasizing individuality might seem to be in opposition to reciprocity if the latter means being responsible to the community, enabling the spirit of *quvia*- for the whole community. Do some adhere more to one than the other? Or do the same individuals emphasize one in some circumstances and the other in other circumstances? Or is there, in fact, no real tension between them at all?

Becoming a real Inuk is a lifelong process. Inuit who wish to embody the traits of inummariit must develop the proper interactions between people and animals, community and environment. On the periphery, such traits seem to be *things*—but the proper modes of interaction are *processes*. The concept of inummariit is complex and adaptive. It is constantly changing. This can be seen in how Inuit have incorporated outside influences such as Christianity, among others including fox trapping, media, technology, and syllabic reading and writing, into the same body of Inuit traditional knowledge as hunting caribou, oral tradition, and survival on the land. Although some of the descriptions cited imply that the concept of inummariit is an unchanging bundle of traits, it is, in fact, an ongoing negotiation of identity. This dissertation aims to explore how the gendered and generationally differentiated negotiations of inummariit relate to practices of music and belief.

1.2 Relationship to Existing Research and Literature—Inuit Music

Literature on Inuit music is first seen in the work of anthropologists at the turn of the twentieth century. Music is often described in early accounts as a secondary focus (Boas 1964; Rasmussen 1976; Birket-Smith 1976; Balikci 1970), as part of some

shamanistic rituals, as social entertainment, as a means for conflict resolution, or as part of a wife-swapping ceremony. These usually contain no musical transcriptions,²⁹ but recount aspects of Inuit life. Anthropologists such as Boas (1964) and Birket-Smith (1976) applied a structuralist approach to settlement layout, and interpreted Inuit society in terms of a series of age, gender, and status-based divisions, reflecting the trend to value positivism and scientific objectivity. The studies are synchronic in nature; they are concerned with events existing in a limited time period and ignore antecedents. These ethnographies, while rich in description, for the most part are formal, external, and general and ignore the complex array of personal values, attitudes, thoughts, perspectives, and voices of those individuals under study.³⁰

The work of ethnomusicologists³¹ in Inuit communities in the 1960s and 1970s was concerned with comparative musicology, critiquing the concept of acculturation, while continuing to explore stability and change, but many studies were arguably too far removed from the perspectives of the Inuit themselves. Southern government institutions such as churches, schools, hospitals, and RCMP law enforcement establishments were transplanted into Arctic settlements, resulting in the centralization of Inuit society. Researchers, afraid that oral traditions were disappearing under the stress of such change, began to collect and record them. Ethnomusicologists collected primary material to fill in

²⁹ Boas (1964) presented some music transcriptions. Rasmussen (1976) included many song texts.

³⁰ The amount of Inuit perspectives included in early anthropologists' work varied. Rasmussen, for example spoke Inuktitut and had an Inuk mother. His level of understanding was thus far greater than other anthropologists working at that time.

³¹ Precursors to the ethnomusicologists included Balikci 1970, Birket-Smith 1976, Boas 1877, Hauser 1992, Roberts & Jenness 1925.

gaps in knowledge concerning specific genres and Inuit groups. Of particular relevance to my project is the work of Cavanagh [Diamond] (1982) and Lutz (1978 and 1982) who concentrated on socio-musical stability and change in the traditions of the Netsilik, Cumberland Sound, and Labrador Inuit respectively.

Also of importance to the current study is the work of Ramon Pelinski (1979). In collaboration with two Inuit singers, Donald Suluk and Lucy Amarook, Pelinski (1979)³² published transcriptions of “ajajai” (drum dance songs), traditional animal songs, and children’s game songs from Eskimo Point (now Arviat). Pelinski used this material and additional recordings he collected in Rankin Inlet in a multifaceted study entitled *La Musique des Inuit de Caribou: Cinq Perspectives Methodologiques* (1981). The book consists of five chapters, each employing a distinct methodological perspective, including anthropological, ethnomusicological, semiological, linguistic, and technological analyses. Pelinski’s collections provide a basis for comparison between historical and current musical repertoire in Arviat; however, his use of semiotics and computer analysis of the music largely ignores the social nature of music; he did not explore the perspectives of Inuit themselves or the social values that underlie traditional song and vocal games (throat singing).

Jean-Jacques Nattiez (1983), Nicole Beaudry, Claude Charron and other members of the Groupe de Recherches en Semiologie Musicale of the University of Montreal designed an interesting form of musical transcription for Inuit vocal games or *katajjait* (*qiapaq* in Arviat) for the purposes of “cracking the code” of how they were created. The

³² The collection contains 41 songs, of which 34 are drum songs with texts in syllabics and 23 have English translations.

transcription of the games allowed Beaudry and Charron (1978) to examine the form and structure of the music. The notation did not contain new information that other transcriptions ignored, but it was more elegant. This was one of the first steps in transcribing and comparing this genre of music, but their studies lack contextual and historical information and fail to draw on accounts by earlier writers.³³ Paula Conlon (1993), a student of Nattiez, studied the structure of the drum dance songs of the Iglulik Inuit.

In studies of the 70s and 80s, the almost exclusive focus on the ‘music’ as an object to be studied scientifically is evidence of a persistent positivist bias that largely ignores the emotional and favours the rational. Beverley Cavanagh [Diamond] (1982), however, included personal song histories in her study of the Netsilik Inuit which aligns well with my emphasis on individual experience. Many of these studies tended to totalize the music of large regional groups whereas my research looks at musical negotiations within a single community.

Norma Vascotto’s ethnography on *The Transmission of Drum Songs in Pelly Bay, Nunavut, and the Contributions of Composers and Singers to Musical Norms* (2001) is one of the more recent ethnomusicological studies of Inuit music. She investigated the drum song repertoire of one extended family from Pelly Bay (Kugaaruk) looking for a broader social role independent of textual content and public performance. Vascotto investigated issues of distribution, song transmission, and “musical relatedness” within an extended family. She was specifically concerned with the importance of family

³³ Boas (1972:164) reported a description given by Parry in 1888 that the *pitkusiraqpoq*, a kind of throat-game, came very close to the contemporary form.

relationships, including namesakes, to drum dance song composition and transmission. Most Inuit name their children after someone they admire or respect. There is still a strong belief in the “supernatural power of the namegiver to influence, through the name, the course of life of the namesake” (Vascotto 2001: 187). Vascotto found that in 10% of cases, patterns of transmission of music reflected the importance of namesake ties but for the most part, women’s songs moved to daughters and grand-daughters and men’s songs moved through their nuclear families, and then into their sons’ families by way of mothers and wives. This study is useful to the present study because it is concerned with music transmission; however, for the most part Vascotto largely applied a computer program to Beverley Cavanagh’s [Diamond] 1982 fieldwork and ignored the individual voices of Inuit who might explain their particular understanding of the social importance of these transmission patterns. My own research, strongly influenced by Abu-Lughod’s (1993) “ethnography of the particular,” emphasizes personal experience and understanding.

Vascotto and her predecessors focus their research almost exclusively on traditional Inuit music: the drum dance and throat singing. Several researchers mention contemporary Inuit music in their studies (Lutz 1978; Pelinski 1981; Vascotto 2001; Cavanagh [Diamond] 1982), but critical examinations of genres outside the traditional are largely absent.³⁴ For example, Lutz (1978), reports that the results of acculturation are evident in Panguitung. She lists the presence of western musical genres such as hymn singing, square dances, and teen dances, but she does not come to any significant

³⁴ Recent publications have changed this. For example, Bissett Perea’s work in Alaska published in *MUSICultures* 2012.

conclusions in her work as to how and why these genres were adopted, and how the social make-up of the community maintained these and not other styles of music. More recent scholarship on Native American contemporary and popular music addresses personal experience and its relations to identity construction and negotiation (Diamond 2002; Ullestad 2006; Scales 1999) but a comprehensive examination of both traditional and contemporary music making within a single Inuit community has never been done. My research includes the much needed emphasis on historically adopted and contemporary Inuit music and its role in the negotiation of identity, inummariit, and belief within the community of Arviat.

Furthermore, previous research of Inuit music largely omits the performance approach; what is happening in specific musical events? In the 1970s, ethnomusicologists tried to create general rather than specific descriptions of performance. For example, important to the present study is the manner in which Cavanagh [Diamond] 1982 charted regional performance differences. She noted such things as the mood present at drum dances, a description of the songs and dances, where people were seated, etc. Vascotto (2001) attempted a performance examination of drum song and dance lessons organized by the school, but otherwise, actual performance events are not presented in her study. My research focuses on specific musical events such as church services and drum dances to determine how the presentation and enactment of personal roles within each event reflect core Inuit values and social relations. How do individuals interact with other players and/or audience members and within what context are specific roles defined? From a musical performance perspective Seeger (2004) states, “Musical performances are not only sounds but the contexts of which those sounds are a part. Musical performances

are embedded in other events, to which they lend salience and emotional force, and from which they also receive them. Performances cannot be studied without attention to these contexts” (Seeger 2004: 138). Of course, performance studies became much more central within ethnomusicology and indigenous studies in more recent decades (including Native American studies by Frisbie 1980; Levine 1998; Cronk, Diamond and von Rosen 1988; Browner 2002; Samuels 2004, and many others); so too did reflexivity about fieldwork relationships. Beaudry (2008) looks at interpersonal relationships in the field and questions field research methods such as participant observation, translation, and interviewing. She argues that fieldwork is human research and therefore is full of subjectivity, particularity, and interpretation. Her research/living experience “meant a growing awareness of the variety and richness of human behaviours, including my [her] own” (p. 226). Similarly, in an effort to reject the outdated univocal manner of presenting music from cultures other than one’s own, Diamond (2008) calls upon the help of three of her indigenous colleagues Sadie Buck, Karin Kettler, and Stephen Augustine to present a multi-vocal survey of Native American music in eastern North America.

1.3 Relationship to Existing Research and Literature—Christianization and Music

In the last decade there has been a renewed interest in the Christianization process of Inuit, both by researchers and the Inuit themselves. In Alaska, Fienup-Riordan (1990) presents Yup’ik ideology and cosmology past and present. Working collaboratively with modern-day Yup’ik, aboriginal voices reveal how the missionary encounter resulted in “neither total commitment nor total rejection of one by the other. Instead, a subtle internalization of selected cultural categories has taken place” (Fienup-Riordan 1990: 70).

In Labrador, Hans Rollmann (1999, 2002) has studied the interaction of Moravian missionaries and Inuit. Tom Gordon (2007) has studied the musical repertoires that emerged through that interaction, demonstrating (as this dissertation does) the agency of Inuit musicians in changing and adapting hymn repertoires to suit their own aesthetic taste and social needs.

Fletcher and Kirmayer (1997) discuss narratives of spirit-influenced affliction and healing in modern day Nunavik. They argue that different interpretations of spirit interactions can serve to contest conventional responses of social suffering by “providing culturally resonant alternatives which support local authority over illness and healing” (Fletcher and Kirmayer 1997: 190).

By examining documents of “outbursts of religious fanaticism” among the Inuit of Leaf River, Ungava in 1931, Shelagh D. Grant (1997: 159) shows how Inuit religious spiritual traditions and Christian practices were integrated. Frederic Laugrand (1997) describes in detail the rite of *Siggitiq* (the conversion from shamanism to Christianity whereby Inuit consumed tabooed foods). He examines the ways Christian features were selected and integrated into the Inuit religious ideology.

These recent studies show how Inuit conversion to Christianity was not a passive process. Inuit were active in choosing those aspects of Christianity that fit with their existing spiritual ideology. Unlike earlier research, which was generally analyzed in the context of severe cultural loss and deprivation on the part of Inuit, this new research suggests a dynamic process of continuation and regeneration embedded in local and historical contexts. Was the Christianization process in Arviat a total Christian conversion where traditional Inuit belief systems were totally rejected for a newer

Christian one, or was there some form of negotiation of belief systems? Furthermore, if Christian features were selected and integrated into the Inuit religious system, what does this mean for Inuit living in Arviat today? What role does music play in the current Christian-Inuit experience? What role does tradition play in the Christian musical experience?

Questions similar to these have been the impetus for research by ethnomusicologists, anthropologists, folklorists, or others studying music and Christianity. For ethnomusicologists, aboriginal hymns have proven to be a rich area of exploration. Beverley Cavanagh [Diamond] (1987) explores syncretic beliefs in a paper entitled “The Performance of hymns in Eastern Woodland Indian communities.” She argues that there is much evidence for the blending of traditions, “either Christian hymnody in the context of native ritual or Indian music in the context of Christian rites” (p. 46). Through an examination of Iroquois, Micmac, and Naskapi-Montagnais hymns she concludes, “Either Christian hymnody functions in a manner parallel to traditional music of one sort or another, or it replaces traditional songs within an indigenous context. In all cases, not only these contexts, but the hymns themselves are regarded as “Indian” (p. 55).

Similarly, Elaine Keillor (1987) argues that there has been a blending of features of Christianity with Dene traditions in the Northwest Territories. Keillor found that the Dogribs (Dene) sang Western European Christian hymns in the Chipewyan language, probably taught to them by the Catholic Oblates. She states that “there is very little intelligibility between Chipewyan and Dogrib and consequently one wonders how much the Dogribs understood the hymns texts...” (p. 37). As a result, a new form of Christian

music developed: “On their own the Dogribs have developed a small hymnody based on the characteristics and performance practices of their own traditional music” (p. 42).

The Cavanagh [Diamond] (1987) and Keillor (1987) studies are important for the present study because they tell us much about the blending of musical traditions. In recent years, studies have taken a more collaborative approach revealing multiple perspectives on this phenomenon. My own work has been influenced by Lassiter, Ellis, and Kotay (2002), Spinney (2006), and Hamill (2012). Lassiter’s work is especially significant for a number of reasons. First, I have a keen interest in the idea of collaboration. *The Jesus Road* is a collaborative ethnography of Kiowa Christianity and hymn singing written by historian, Clyde Ellis, Kiowa singer and teacher, Ralph Kotay, and anthropologist, Luke Lassiter. In this interdisciplinary and cross-cultural study, the authors challenge past research practices which leaned toward “assimilation, acculturation, and ethnicity models” (p. 116) and characteristically “emphasized broad, sweeping changes and ignore the deeper experiential complexities that have emerged from this multidimensional encounter” (p. 115). The inclusion of Kotay’s personal narration of the value and meaning Kiowa hymns have for him³⁵ gives the reader an understanding of the greater significance of Kiowa hymns and “opens a window into the multifaceted intersection between Christianity and American Indian experience” (p. 117). Lassiter goes on to argue that it is imperative to listen to Aboriginal peoples’ perspective of their own history if we, as researchers and writers, are to understand how and why they

³⁵ Furthermore, current ethnomusicological research has shown how a song foreign to the ‘traditional’ culture of one group has become an icon of musical performance of that group (Nakata and Neuenfeldt 2005; Sarkissian 2000). The research of Nakata and Neuenfeldt and Sarkissian also shows the way traditions are invented and reinvented through performance in post-colonial communities.

“accepted religious practices that were new and, frankly, sometimes at odds with their traditional ways” (p. 116).

Second, Lassiter’s focus on the flow of discourse, in this case the language in Kiowa hymns, illuminates multi-dimensional meanings the hymns have on individual and communal planes. The language of hymns comprises “what the language *in* song explicitly relates and communicates as well as the language *surrounding* song—that is, the voiced stories and sentiments that hymns evoke” (p. 79). Orally transmitted, Kiowa hymns are grounded in personal experiences and social relationships, and “a song’s meaning is not entirely defined by the words in the song; the words are the symbolic foundation on which broader narrative meanings are built” (p. 80). It is this line of reasoning which led me to question the Inuktitut translations of English hymns in the Catholic and Anglican hymnals in Arviat. Are they direct translations or are they newly composed lyrics set to the hymn tunes? Also, I was encouraged to investigate the possibility of multi-layered meanings hymns and hymn singing may have for my own informants.

Finally, Kotay’s emphasis on the preservation of Kiowa language and song resonates with many Inuit living in Arviat. In a time when many Kiowa do not speak their mother tongue, Kotay offers a hymn class where Kiowa can learn the “original” songs which were given to the elders by God through the Holy Spirit. This class, Lassiter argues, “is about preserving not only song or language or story but also that which these expressions sustain: a unique American Indian Christian practice in southwestern Oklahoma” (p. 84). Many Inuit living in Arviat today articulate the erosion of Inuktitut and Inuit culture. How does the singing of hymns contribute to maintaining

the Inuit language, history, and song, if at all? How does this practice maintain a specific relationship with God? And how does the performance of Christian music contribute to “feeling the Holy Spirit”? Furthermore, is there a specific Inuit-Christian belief system at play?

Ann Morrison Spinney (2006) argues that Wabanaki³⁶ Catholicism is a syncretic expression of both native and European ideological systems, “a combination with a unique dynamism—and tension” (p. 58). Furthermore, she maintains that the history of contact and interaction suggests that the practice of Catholicism is a means employed by Wabanaki people to preserve some of their traditions. Spinney’s study examines similarities between musical style, liturgical speech, and treatment of sickness to show how there has been a blending of beliefs. This study is an excellent historical overview of the interaction between the Wabanaki people and the missionaries who were sent to “convert” them. My study goes one step further. I present an extensive ethnographic material about Christian ritual practiced in Arviat today to show how Inuit are performing their multi-faceted identities.

1.4 Theoretical Approaches

Approaching the complexity of the nature of music, inummariit, and belief in a resettled community, my analysis of the musical practices of three families in Arviat utilizes post-colonial theory to illuminate musical responses to resettlement and colonialism. Post-colonial theory is usually defined as an academic discipline containing

³⁶ Wabanaki people are a Confederacy of Native Americans from several First Nations/tribes living in Maine and parts of the Canadian Maritime provinces.

practices of intellectual discourse that respond to, analyze, and describe the cultural legacies of colonialism. One of the main objectives of post-colonial theorists is to provide freedom for multiple voices. This becomes extremely important when those voices have been previously silenced by dominant forces. I am influenced by the work of Said (1978) who was specifically concerned with “orientalism” and by recent indigenous critiques of colonialism (e.g., LaRocque 2010). Said shows how Europeans thought of themselves as “normal” and all others as “different.” This act of “othering,” Said argues (1978: 207), legitimized acts of colonization: confiscation of lands, forced assimilation to the dominant culture and in some cases genocide. Notions about the inferiority of non-Europeans provided a justification for European settlement, trading practices, religious missions, and military activities. Stereotypes perpetuated a sense of difference between self and other that still exists today.

Many scholars posit that colonialism created hegemonic structures and ideologies that placed the dominant white culture at the top of the hierarchy ladder and ‘others’ at the bottom (Said 1978: 3; Fanon 1963: 37). Among some Indigenous peoples, this form of subjugation is known as the “anti-trickster” (Youngblood Henderson 2000: 58). The hegemonic dominance of Western culture has had an enduring legacy of racism and sexism. Post-colonial discourse analysis makes a point of questioning Western hegemonic structures and ideologies that distort Indigenous experiences and realities. Of specific relevance to my study is the fact that colonial power and discourse was possessed entirely by the colonizer and left no room for Aboriginal perspectives (Youngblood Henderson 2000: 57; Battiste 2000: xix). Youngblood Henderson argues that Aboriginal

people were not consulted about their place in history or their conceptualization of culture because:

Anthropologists saw what they wanted to see, and, because they came from the universal European culture, they assumed that their view was an objective one capable of discerning the patterns of another culture. Assigning negative values to Aboriginal differences has been a persistent strategy in slavery and colonization. It is a strategy grounded in ideology rather than empirical knowledge, and even anthropologists' impartial accounts of Aboriginal culture complied with the ideology of colonialism: "The Lone Ethnographer depicted the colonized as members of a harmonious, internally homogeneous, unchanging culture. When so described, the culture appeared to 'need' progress, or economic and moral uplifting. In addition, the 'timeless traditional culture' served as a self-congratulatory reference point against which Western civilization could measure its own progressive historical evolution..." (Rosaldo 1989 as quoted in Youngblood Henderson in Battiste 2000: 68)

Such stratification resulted in the colonizers' acceptance of Western thought as the cultural norm and the consideration of other worldviews as secondary.

Post-colonial theory plays an important role in the ongoing struggle for the political and economic, as well as in the cultural, liberation of Aboriginal people and is a valuable tool in the decolonization process. In addition to exposing the complexities of colonialism and its assumptions, post-colonial critique has led to alternative methods of conducting research in aboriginal communities. The advantage of post-colonial theory is that it focuses on the research initiatives, values, and concepts of Aboriginal people (Mihesuah 1998; Wilson 1998; Fixico 1998; Tuhiwai Te Rina Smith 1999). For example, Nakata and Neuenfeldt (2005) have shown how the multicultural society of Torres Strait Island during colonial times influenced Islanders' cultural expression at the time, "not in the oppressive way that we are used to hearing about, where the dominant culture was

imposed upon the colonized with force, but that there were complex decisions and interactions about what to take and what to leave from the dominant culture. Islanders were marginalized economically and politically but nevertheless were active in asserting and reshaping their cultural and political identities within this context” (Nakata and Neuenfeldt 2005). Nakata and Neuenfeldt’s findings become the impetus for questions relating to research in Arviat such as, why do most Inuit in Arviat continue to solidly embrace Christianity while the interest in and advocacy for maintaining traditional beliefs has also increased? Also, how much have their modes of worship and musical practices been moulded by oppressive colonial influences or by the personal choices of Inuit individuals?

Work by Abu Lughod (1993) focuses on individual experience as an important point of entry into the study of identity, diversity, and expressive culture because it centers on the agency of individuals, a central theme in my own work. I draw on Abu Lughod’s (1993) theory of “writing against culture” which argues that stressing particular life experiences works against making generalizations about communities. Instead of totalizing the music of large regional groups of Inuit (Nattiez 1983; Hauser 1992; Beaudry 1978; Charron 1978), or demonstrating differences between communities, but nevertheless assuming that the “community” is a cultural unit like Lutz (1982) and Cavanagh [Diamond] (1982), I concentrate on the particularity of three specific families’ musical experiences by building a picture of their musical choices, discussions, disagreements, and recollections, as well as the musical practices of individuals. Furthermore, in line with current post-colonial advocacy for the inclusion of aboriginal voices in ethnography, I ensure the collaboration between myself as primary researcher

and my Inuit informants in the design, collection and interpretation of data, and the writing of the ethnography. These roles are clarified in Chapter Three where I share stories about conducting research in a culture other than my own, disclosing research concerns about language, translation, interpretation, and representation.

Exploring how the various definitions of *inumariit* are played out in Inuit music-making contexts, performance theory (particularly work by Kisliuk 2001, Sugarman 1997) is crucial. Performance theory provides a way of looking at how music performance illuminates social behaviour; indeed music is social behaviour. It can reveal ways through which individuals ‘perform’ their identities, thus shedding light on the various means in which social diversity is negotiated within the community of Arviat. When analyzing a performance, early performance theorists such as Turner (1986) and Schechner (1988) encourage attention to be paid to “behaviours, to actions enacted, and of course the complex social, political, ideological, and historical contexts not merely surrounding behaviour, but profoundly interacting with it” (Schechner 2000: 4). In this way, they posit that meaning is revealed from social interactions, from what transpires among performers and between performers and performance contexts. Their interest in ritual process differs to some extent from mine. I ask: How is identity performed? How is social diversity negotiated through musical performance? What are individual musical responses to specific historical, generational, or linguistic contexts? How are musical repertoire and style choices related to these complex social, political, ideological, and historical contexts? Are individuals performing *inumariit* thus revealing core cultural values?

Charlotte Frisbie (1980) argues that an analysis of musical performance must be a comprehensive ethnography which describes and analyses the progression of events prior to, during, and after the performance. She states that the researcher must be cognizant of everything that happens as part of the event. She offers these examples when examining the Navajo Blessing Way ceremony: “who was and who was not present and what explanations were being offered for their absences; the historical events behind this particular ceremonial at this particular time for the person being sung over; the content and order of what was discussed by whom during the evening; and the subject matter and timing of jokes” (Frisbie 1980:83)... “lists of participants, their places of residence, occupations, ages, kinship relations...the human, interactional dynamics involved in and affecting this particular performance...suggestions, non-verbal communication passing among participants which affect content: stretching, head scratching, disinterested staring..., expression of disapproval...” (Frisbie 1980: 84-86). My own approach to performance events in Arviat was strongly influenced by Frisbie. Before attending a musical event, I designed a chart which included headings of the types of information I wanted to collect. Such headings included, but were not limited to: people present, musical roles, occupation, gender, age, body language, songs sung, length of performance, verbal introduction, and personal comments. In addition to capturing this information through observation, I also video recorded every musical event so that I could watch and re-watch it as many times as I needed. It is very easy to miss subtle details at the actual performance and video recordings offered me the opportunity to capture much more information, after the event has taken place.

One of the objectives of my performance analysis is to reveal the ways syncretism between Inuit and Christians systems has worked. Syncretism is one of those words with a variety of meanings and must be problematized. It was Melville J. Herskovits (1948), in his research of Afro-American religions, who made the term “syncretism” popular. In defining syncretism, various scholars emphasize different aspects of the borrowing and blending process.³⁷ Herskovits (1948: 553-54) viewed syncretism as the process whereby old and new meanings and forms are combined in contact situations. According to Edwards (1980: 292), “It is a process which involves the creation of entirely new cultural patterns out of the fragmented pieces of historically separate systems.” Lipson (1980: 102) writes that “the term is more recently being used to describe any combination of elements from diverse sources.” For the present study, syncretism is the integrating or blending of ideology and material cultural from diverse sociocultural traditions, resulting in the creation of new ideology and material culture.

The concept of syncretism is problematic. Culture is not static; it is constantly changing due to personal and societal interactions with other people and cultures. Thus, if all culture is syncretic at some level, then labeling social processes as syncretic does not accomplish much. As an explanation for change and reinterpretation in social processes, syncretism has historically been used to indicate change from that which is traditional; but, current scholarship in the social sciences no longer embraces the notion of “pure” culture.

³⁷ The word syncretism was first applied to music in 1948 by Richard Waterman when he used it to describe the blending of African and European music in America (Waterman 1948). He asserts that when the music of two or more cultures is merged, the outcomes can range from simple borrowings to the development of new forms of music.

While studies of syncretic cultures could potentially mislead by wrongly identifying the everyday reinterpretation that occurs in all cultures, I suggest that the term can still be useful in discussing certain differences and similarities of thought and action. I prefer to think of the notion of syncretism as a means of focusing on the expression of collective or individual ideologies.

In more recent years, performance ethnography has taken on a more reflexive and collaborative approach (Lassiter 1998). Lassiter's work on Kiowa song is particularly useful for the present study because his approach to "experiencing song rather than interpreting song through distanced, academically positioned models" (p. 12) and his ongoing collaboration with his informants is a model which provides a deeper understanding of individuals experiencing and making Kiowa music. Lassiter's work encouraged me to ask questions such as, "How does music make you feel the Holy Spirit?" and "What does this song mean for you?" When writing my ethnography I included the voices of my informants as well as my own so that many perspectives are presented. While no parts of my own ethnography are written by Inuit, several of my informants read and re-read drafts offering suggestions and changes throughout the writing process. When I could not find any historical writings about the Tariaqmiut living in Arviat, I went to elders such as Mark Kalluak and Louis Angalik, and informant Simeonie Mamgark who provided oral recollections.

The work of Jane Sugarman (1997), who investigated gender relations at Prespa Albanian weddings, is useful as well because it affords the opportunity to address how community members actively "constitute, re-inscribe, challenge, or incrementally renegotiate the terms through which they are connected as a community" through musical

means (Sugarman 1997: 3). It is this line of inquiry which tells me much about the negotiation of identity on community as well as individual planes.

Further, I am interested in what Csikszentmihalyi (1975) calls “flow,” what Bauman (1978) describes as “enhancement of experience,” and what Seeger (2004) names “euphoria.” These lines of inquiry, while differing in conception, tell much about the processes of the heightened intensity of the interaction between performers and audience in a performance. In Chapter Five, I examine a specific church service at the Anglican Church in Arviat in relation to concepts of flow and intensification. The concept of heightened intensity addresses such issues as how the desire to create a feeling of a complete “euphoria” within a church service through music and worship influences the choices made about musical leadership roles, repertoire, instrumentation, and timing. Many Inuit at the Anglican Church talk about the presence of the Holy Spirit. I determine how individuals who participate in church services (either as song leaders, accompanists, or congregation members) define Holy Spirit, what it feels like for them to experience the Holy Spirit, and how they think music contributes to this feeling. I also determine how individuals think that the presence of the Holy Spirit can get rid of evil spirits and how this process is accomplished; specifically how music aids in the “exorcism.”

Finally, in the examination of how three generations of Inuit negotiate *inummariit* using music, the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977; 1980; 1984; 1986; 1993), on generational difference is beneficial. According to Bourdieu (1993) members of different generations within the same culture struggle over what should or should not be important to society, both economic and cultural. What one generation fought to achieve and value may be viewed by subsequent generations as unimportant. Consequently,

“many clashes between systems of aspirations formed in different periods [occur]” (Bourdieu 1993: 99). Bourdieu goes on to argue that anti-youth sentiment develops from this “clash of aspirations,” especially among the elderly who perceive their power as being taken away by younger generations. Are there conflicts over economic and cultural resources between generations in Arviat? If so, what are they and how are they played out in music making contexts? Can the tensions or contradictions which exist in the definitions of inummariit be attributed to a difference in generational thought and action? Is there an anti-youth sentiment or not? Is there something about inummariit which allows elders to value youthful aspirations or conversely, is there something about inummariit which allows youth to value the aspirations of elders? When speaking about elders, most Inuit will agree that the knowledge and voice of elders is valued highly by all. Do the actions of youth show this value as well?

Bourdieu regards power as socially and culturally fashioned, and constantly contested or affirmed from one generation to another (Bourdieu 1980: 54-55). The way this occurs is through what he calls “habitus” or socialized norms or tendencies that govern action and thought (Bourdieu 1977: 78). Habitus, Bourdieu argues, is a “product of history” which “produces individual and collective practices - more history - in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences, which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the ‘correctness’ of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms” (Bourdieu 1980: 54). What are the socialized norms or tendencies that govern Inuit behaviour and thought? Are these norms or tendencies similar to or different from what Inuit call inummariit?

How does habitus or inummariit, if indeed they are similar, play out in the process of generational difference and/or social change?

In addition to generational conflict in the fight for power over economic and cultural resources, Bourdieu argues that people experience power differently depending on which context they are in at a given moment. His theory can be used to explain, for example, how Inuit resist authority in one context and express support in another. His theory may be used to explain how young Inuit may value “the old ways” when defending their culture in the midst of qablunaat confrontation, yet may value “resourcefulness” and “progress” when participating in the talks and developments of say, an Arctic university or the protection of Inuit lands/waters near and around the Northwest Passage, both of which are definitions used to describe inummariit.

An understanding of twenty-first century Inuit thought in Arviat requires a better understanding of the distinctive generational units which have shaped its history, politics, and culture. I define the three generations under study as follows:

1. The Elders’ Generation: Those Inuit who lived “on the land” during pre-contact time; who in the 1920s experienced the influence of missionaries, government officials, and explorers; who were relocated to Arviat in the 1950s where southern institutions were established.
2. The “Lost Generation”: Those Inuit who are the children of relocatees; who went to residential or Federal Day Schools; who may have lost their mother tongue; who experienced the creation of the territory of Nunavut; who grapple with living in two worlds.

3. The Youths' Generation: Those Inuit who are the children of the "lost generation"; who go to community schools; who learned Inuktitut; who reap the benefits of living in Nunavut but did not negotiate its creation; who grapple with living in two worlds.

The issues I have mentioned above can be seen as some of the particular embodiments of each generation. What are some other embodiments? Is "traditional" drum dancing an embodiment of the elders' generation? Is contemporary drum dancing an embodiment of the youths' generation? Is there conflict between generational styles of drumming? If not, what gives drum dancers the freedom to be innovative? How do these three generations embody their collective identity?

According to Eyerman and Turner, "A generational cohort survives by maintaining a collective memory of its origins, its historic struggles, its primary historical and political events, and its leading characters and ideologies" (p. 97). What role does the drum dance play in maintaining collective memory for each generation? What role does song selection during the rite of Kuukpaluk (in the Anglican church) play in maintaining collective memory for each generation? What role does song selection play in understanding how generations maintain their collective identity? What role does language selection play? If the youth generation does not have a collective memory about "living on the land" and relocation, how do they conceptualize "traditional" music which originates from that time period?

1.5 Methodology

As stated before, my research methods are strongly influenced by the work of Frisbie (1980), Lassiter (1998; 2002), Kisliuk (2001) and Abu-Lughod (1993). By working collaboratively with my informants, writing reflexively and positioning myself in the field, and focussing on individual experience, I hope to shed light on how three families of Inuit living in Arviat negotiate inummariit and belief through music performance.

This study is an ethnography, a synthesis of processes of “living, studying, reflecting, and storying” (Goodall 2000: 11). After a historical introduction to the community (Chapter Two), in Chapter Three I describe my experiences living, working, and conducting research in the community of Arviat from 2004-2008 revealing research concerns including but not limited to language, translation, interpretation, representation, interviews, cross-cultural understanding and/or misunderstanding, ethics, relationships, and participant observation.

Drawing on participant observation and interviews conducted between 2006 and 2008, I describe cultural and musical events in three contexts to illuminate the manifestation of inummariit in the musical choices and preferences of individuals present. I attended drum dances at the Elders’ Centre organized for healing purposes and drum dances held at the community hall and schools organized for celebrations, contests, and the promotion of Inuit culture and pride. I also attended Anglican and Catholic Church services to determine syncretism between traditional Inuit ideology and Christian beliefs. I was interested in the role music plays in this syncretism.

Some of the methods used in this study to achieve this goal are: 1) to observe and document the major musical traditions maintained by three families (Mamgarks, Illungiyoks, and Okatsiaks), exploring the continuity and discontinuity of musical repertoire from generation to generation and from band to band; 2) to collect musical repertoire as well as narratives concerning its creation and significance from Inuit youth, a group that has received little attention from previous researchers; 3) to explore connections and disjunctures between older musical traditions, contemporary music, and adopted repertoires such as hymns and popular musical forms, including what is heard on the radio, television and the internet; 4) to examine the music performances to identify what is unique to each generation and each band; 5) to explore connections between musical choices, performance practice, and moments of historical significance or particular cultural concern to the Inuit.

As stated before, this study is ethnographic and is based largely on participant-observation and extensive field notes. However, I employ triangulation³⁸ in my research methods and analyses to try to overcome problems of bias and misrepresentation.

First, I conducted empirical surveys of the community of Arviat that elicited quantitative and qualitative data pertaining to instrument ownership, age, computer access, religious affiliation, educational background, etc. I surveyed individual compact disc and songbook collections. I conducted a “music aesthetics” project with Inuit youth which addresses individual music preferences, aesthetics, and styles. I examined all of

³⁸ Triangulation is the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon or construct; a method of establishing the accuracy of information by comparing three or more types of independent points of view on data sources (for example, interviews, observation, and documentation at different times) bearing on the same findings. It is akin to corroboration and is an essential methodological feature of case studies.

the compact discs recorded professionally within the community, noting performers and styles of music. During the winter of 2006, I conducted a survey of the music aired on the local radio station in Arviat, *Arviaqpaluk* (the voice of Arviat), for one week, March 13-18, 2006. There was nothing special about this particular week. I determined that Christian hymns and gospel songs were aired for approximately 62% of the time music was played on local programming. In a small study of local recordings I found that of the fourteen compact discs made in Arviat between the years 2004-2007, twelve of them contained some Christian content, while seven contained solely Christian repertoire. Furthermore, when speaking with my informants, all of them spoke about Christian hymns and gospel songs as being a part of their personal musical experience. As I dug deeper into peoples' personal narratives I soon found that Christianity has helped mould Inuit music, tradition,³⁹ and identity. This revelation led to the research and writing of two chapters devoted entirely to individual perceptions of the Christian musical experience.

Second, I consulted historical/archival materials to determine the contexts in which Inuit music and culture have historically functioned in Arviat and other areas of Nunavut.⁴⁰

³⁹ The term "tradition" is complex. As Sarkissian (2000) has noted, for example, notions of tradition or traditional music may in fact display great diversity, encompassing music that was rediscovered (from variously published sources) and passed on orally, and music that was created anew and passed on in a similar way (89). Through a process of "domestication," the particular pasts of specific songs are conflated and in some ways erased, becoming "part of the larger story residents tell about themselves and, ultimately, contribute in their own small way to the rewriting of history" (Sarkissian 2000, 101-2).

⁴⁰ Such archival documents include the work of anthropologist Knud Rasmussen (1930) who conducted fieldwork with Caribou Inuit as part of the Fifth Thule Expedition (1921-1924); and ethnomusicologist Ramon Pelinski (1979; 1981) who studied traditional music in Arviat in 1977. I examined CBC archival videos and tapes stored in the media centre at the Department of Education in Arviat which dated back to

Third, with consent, I made video and audio recordings and photographed events. These music-making events include church services, weddings, music festivals, school concerts and music programs, private home-based music-making events, funerals, self/community-healing musical functions, square dances, and drum dances at the Elders' Centre, School, and Community Hall. Analysis of this audio-visual material is essential for answering the questions outlined in this study. Analysis of drum dance and Church service excerpts (including speeches, sermons, prayers and musical performance) identify the ways in which inummariit is manifested in contemporary belief systems. Analysis of recordings from these musical contexts allows me to consider the effects of resettlement and colonial contact on auditory results. It also allows me to determine the manner in which these music making contexts assert or contradict commonly held notions of inummariit.

I made prescriptive⁴¹ musical transcriptions of all the songs I heard and had the lyrics written out in Inuktitut with English translations by Gara Mamgark. These are located in Appendices G and H. I created prescriptive transcriptions because the process of deep listening and writing out the music is one method whereby I can come to

1973. I studied videos and audio recordings of music in Arviat from 1961-1978 made by the Inuit Cultural Institute. Most of these were destroyed in a fire in Rankin Inlet; but I was able to examine those housed at the home of Doreen Manik in Arviat. Finally, the *Inuktitut* magazine was instrumental in providing interviews with musicians and historical information about music making in Arviat from 1972 to 1987.

⁴¹ Approaches to musical transcription are the source of theoretical and methodological debate among ethnomusicologists. How can music, a sonic phenomenon, be accurately represented on paper? What do ethnomusicologists aim to convey and to whom, when they alter the mode of musical communication? Charles Seeger is one of the many scholars who grappled with the issue of representation in musical notation. He delineated descriptive and prescriptive transcription. Descriptive transcription denotes a transcription which represents details of a specific performance; prescriptive transcription denotes one which can be used to reproduce a performance. A descriptive transcription includes slight deviations of pitch and rhythm and much more detail may be added, such as body gestures, facial expressions, descriptions of tone and timbre and so on.

understand the music better. The transcriptions may not be useful for those who are adept at learning music orally/aurally, but they may be useful for some. The analyses of transcriptions revealed information, for example, about stability and change in music traditions over time.

Fourth, personal interviews with members of three families were conducted. In many cases these were carried out by Gara Mamgark, my Inuk friend and research assistant who brought a cultural insider's knowledge to the interviewing process. Gara and I formulated a list of questions for the interviews in advance. While all of the questions were asked at some point during each interview, they by no means were the only questions asked. Many times an informant said things which became the impetus for further questioning and discussion. I was present at all interviews and did most of the questioning. Gara did all of the translating and provided encouragement for deeper discussion. The specific viewpoints of informants address the complex nature of culture and inummariit and challenge prevailing dominant paradigms of Inuit identity. Everyone has an individual version of culture and identity and these personal interviews address the tensions that often exist between the shared understandings of culture and identity and the conflicting interpretations of individuals. Furthermore, they address negotiation of diversity and identity construction pertaining to age, gender, religious affiliation, language preference, Inuit sub-group, etc.

Fifth, I have taken the 'participant' part of participant-observation very seriously. "Bi-musicality," coined by Mantle Hood in the 1960s and advocated by many ethnomusicologists and world music educators in recent years, is said to be an excellent method for gaining access to cultural information and understanding (Kisliuk 2001;

Sarkissian 2000; Harnish, Solís, and Witzleben 2004; Rasmussen 2004). Interviewers David Harnish, Ted Solís, and J. Lawrence Witzleben and interviewee Hardja Susilo (2004), a gamelan teacher and performer from Yogyakarta who has been teaching Americans how to play for over forty years, address issues about the emic or insider knowledge about a culture and/or tradition as well as other issues of appropriation, ownership, pedagogy, and diffusion in the teaching and learning of world musics. During the interview, Susilo states that “learning a culture, in this case a music culture, is not just about learning how the natives physically do it, but also how they think about it” (p. 58). Anne K. Rasmussen (2004) advocates the value of performance in her article “Bilateral Negotiations in Bimusicality.” She raises issues of differences in musical aesthetics, “insider-outsider” relations with Middle Eastern music, authenticity, and musical ownership.

Partially for gaining an understanding of Inuit musical styles, but more for the enjoyment of making music socially, I participated in almost all of the music-making events I attended. I was church organist, chorister, square-dancer, throat-singer, drum-dancer, a member of music festival committees, and a musical participant in the music-making activities held in private homes (guitar, keyboard, or vocals). I learned to sing (in Inuktitut) and play almost all the songs I heard from my friends and at community functions; I became an expert square-dancer and participated in competitions; I taught Newfoundland folk songs from my own culture; and I taught other country and western, pop, and folk music that are a part of my own repertoire. While participation in musical performances certainly does not raise my status to cultural insider, it does increase my

chances of learning to understand the performance styles, aesthetics, and musical leadership roles within a culture different from my own.

Sixth, my interest in individual conceptions and frameworks of *inummariit*, and the complex way in which individuals negotiate belief within the community of Arviat led me to approach this research with an eye towards collaboration; collaboration specifically with Gara Mamgark, Mariah Illungiyok, and Sandy Okatsiak as spokespeople for each family involved in the current research. As part of the collaborative process, interview transcriptions were reviewed with each spokesperson with questions to avoid or eliminate misunderstandings and/or misinterpretations. Their interest in the current project both shaped and limited the research. For example, Bernadette and Mariah Illungiyok insisted that I focus on the experiences of the males in the Illungiyok family since they are the “expert drum dancers.” Bernadette refused to sing any of the *pisiit* of her *Padlirmiut* elders insisting that it was her husband and the songs of his *Ahiarmiut* ancestors which mattered. Drafts of the dissertation were reviewed by family members and communication by phone and email was ongoing. This approach has been called dialogic or reciprocal (Titon 1997). Lassiter (1998) prefers to call it “collaborative ethnography” (p. 10). It is hoped that this collaborative approach promotes the Inuit viewpoints, and helps to alleviate cultural mis-understanding and mis-representation. A detailed discussion about how I dealt with disagreements, mis-understandings, and mis-representations is presented in Chapter Three of the current study.

Finally, current ethnographies often position scholars within the cultures they study. Kisliuk suggests the ethnographer attempt to create a reflexive image of

him/herself in order to achieve a better intercultural understanding (Kisliuk 1997: 33).

Current ethnographies usually try to recognize the position of the ethnographer, the collaborative work of ethnographies, and to conceptualize culture less as a static, homogenous product and more of a dynamic process. Keeping in line with current practices, I am writing the present ethnography reflexively, recognizing that my fieldwork in Arviat has been an interaction with living people who have been affected, just as I have been affected, by my presence in the community. I am aware that through my previous employment as a music teacher at Qitiqliq High School for three years, my current research, and my level of participation in musical events in the community I have become a part of the life of Arviat and must situate myself in the field and in my writing. For a detailed discussion of my own presence in the ethnographic field as it intersects with scholarship on reflexive ethnography, please see Chapter Three.

1.6 Outline of Subsequent Chapters

Chapter 2

This chapter presents a historical outline of colonial contact in Arviat. I begin with a brief description of Inuit lifeways before resettlement, cognizant of the unique cultures of the three distinct bands of Inuit who lived in and around Arviat pre-1958. I bring the reader through the series of events which led to resettlement in 1958, and the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, highlighting the Agreement's emphasis on traditional Inuit knowledge. Finally, I present a brief summary of the stability and change in musical culture as it relates to corresponding colonial influences. The historical chapter serves as

a backdrop for examining the ways music, inummariit, and belief interact in present day Arviat.

Chapter 3

This chapter presents a narrative ethnography of my experiences of living, teaching, and conducting ethnomusicological research in an Inuit community. Through reflexive writing, I introduce the people involved in my research, including brief historical, political, ideological, economic, and social (including cultural and musical) contexts, keenly aware of my own personal position in relation to the experience. My narrative about teaching music in an Inuit community and my stories about conducting research reveal delicate cultural, social, pedagogical, and ethical issues, as well as research concerns.

Chapter 4

This chapter studies various ways of understanding inummariit through the performances of three generations of drum dancers. It considers points of contradiction or agreement and determines whether differences are patterned by gender, generation, religious belief, or family sub-group identity. Chapter Four locates the Illungiyok family within the historical, political, economic, ideological, and social (cultural and musical) context of Arviat and introduces three main informants, Silas Illungiyok (father—Ahiarmiut), Ronnie Illungiyok (son), and Ollie Illungiyok (son).

Chapter 5

This chapter takes the reader through oral narratives and music, examining how Inuit and Christian systems of belief are negotiated and constructed through musical performance and repertoire choices of the Okatsiaks, the music leaders at the Anglican Church in Arviat. Personal interviews with Mary Okatsiak (mother), Sandy Okatsiak (son), and Eva Okatsiak (daughter-in-law) and analyses of musical performances at the Anglican Church show how Christianity has helped shape Inuit belief, ritual, and inummariit.

Chapter 6

This chapter explores how the Catholic Church has influenced the lives of three generations of women, represented by Matilda Sulurayok (grandmother), Rosie Mamgark (daughter), and Gara Mamgark (grand-daughter). It examines the musical production of these three generations to reveal aspects of inummariit, either as accepted or contested fields of production. Issues related to music transmission, language preference, and the use of technology are examined.

Chapter 7

The conclusion summarizes data and reviews theoretical interpretations. The results of this research will be beneficial to the Inuit of Nunavut themselves who are interested in preserving their language and culture, and to anthropologists, ethnomusicologists and folklorists who have, for example, an interest in comparing the

music and cultural traditions of the Inuit from Nunavut with those Inuit living in Labrador or Quebec.

Finally, this research began as a collection of Inuit repertoire and narratives for my own personal use in music and social studies classes in Arviat. Since 2007, much of this collection has also been used in classrooms throughout the Kivalliq Region and the city of Iqaluit, where I presently reside and teach music at *Inuksuk*⁴² High School. I have shared many transcriptions, choral arrangements, and narratives with Dr. Lori-Anne Dolloff, of the University of Toronto, who participates annually in the Iqaluit Music Society's Choral Festival and Music Camp. Currently, I am working with Darlene Nuqingaq, Educational Leadership Development Coordinator with the Department of Education in Iqaluit to develop a music education curriculum document for Nunavut schools. I also deliver an elementary music education course rich in Inuit material to NTEP (Nunavut Teacher Education Program) students at the Arctic College in Iqaluit. This academic course is offered through the University of Regina and is used as credit towards a Bachelor of Education. It is my aspiration that this research will enrich the lives of Nunavut students just as it has enriched my own life.

⁴² *inuksuk*, pl. *inuksuit* (also *inukshuk*)—stone marker in the shape of a human being.

Chapter 2: *Arvianit Hunikuit*—History of Arviat

The writing of history is not objective. It is not a presentation of facts to be taken for truth at face value. History is selective and hence value-laden, full of subjectivity and bias; thus how it is written reveals different perspectives and different kinds of information.⁴³ Considering historical events from cross-cultural perspectives reveals profoundly different viewpoints. Included in the writings about the history of the three bands of Inuit presently living in Arviat are oral histories, picture books, government documents, fiction and non-fiction literature, and historical studies each with its own perspective on each particular historical event. The purpose of this chapter is to present a brief history of the hamlet of Arviat,⁴⁴ conscious of how the authors of historical documents acquired information, how they used it, and for what reason. As the history of Arviat and its inhabitants is complex, a discussion of every event is beyond the scope of this chapter. I have chosen to present information about what my informants and I think are the key events which have had the strongest influence on how the Inuit of Arviat negotiate identity and tradition through music.

⁴³ I am influenced here by the writings of Michel de Certeau (1988) who, in his book *The Writing of History*, interprets historical practice as a process which involves three important considerations: time period, subject matter, and place. He goes on to argue that when he conducts an analysis of history “The display of the particularity proper to the location from which I am observing is linked in effect to the subject under study and to the point of view which I must assume in examining it. Three postulates define the subject and the point of view” (p. 20). De Certeau combines principles from the disciplines of religion, history, and psychoanalysis in order to redefine historiography and rethink the categories of history.

⁴⁴ For a timeline of events in Arviat please see page 35 in Appendix D.

2.1 Arviat

Arviat, on the western coast of the Hudson Bay, is an Inuit community where Inuktitut is spoken as a first language and English is spoken as a second. Once a summer camp where two distinct bands of Caribou Inuit—the Padlirmiut and coastal Tariaqmiut—gathered in spring and summer to hunt seal, Arviat has grown into the second largest community in the Kivalliq Region of Nunavut (Figure 2.B2).⁴⁵ The 2006 census states that the population is 2,060. Until June 1, 1989, Arviat was known as Eskimo Point. At that time, Inuit wanted their home to officially be known by its Inuktitut name: Arviat (place of the bowhead whale). According to elders Mark Kalluak and Louis Angalik of the Department of Education, in earlier times, Arviat was Tikirajualaaq (a little long point) and Ittaliuvik (a place where people make tents).

In the 1950s, Arviat was chosen as a resettlement site by the federal government of Canada. At that time, the migration of caribou herds was shifting, the price of fox furs was weak and many Inuit faced starvation. Many members of the Padlirmiut and Tariaqmiut bands had already started to congregate around the site seeking relief and medical help provided by the churches. Famine accompanied by epidemics of tuberculosis and diphtheria also contributed to the movement of families. With media attention due to Farley Mowat's book *People of the Deer* (1952), the government finally

⁴⁵ In their report of field work among the Caribou Eskimos, Birket-Smith (1929) and his colleagues refer to the Caribou Eskimos as being composed of five cultural groups: the Quernermiut, Harvaqtormiut, Hauneqtomiut, the Interior Padlimiut and the Coastal Padlimiut. The first three are represented in the Baker Lake region today. Present day Padlirmiut live in Rankin Inlet, Whale Cove, and Arviat, with the majority of the population living in Arviat. Interior Padlimiut refer to themselves as Padlirmiut and Simeonie Mamgark seems to think that Birket-Smith's "Coastal Padlimiut" are actually Tariaqmiut (Simeonie Mamgark, March 10, 2006). One other group, the Ahiarmiut, are represented in the Arviat population as well.

forced the Ahiarmit, the inland Inuit, and remaining members of the two other bands to relocate to Arviat in 1958. By this time there were already many services established there, making Arviat suitable for resettlement. For example, the Hudson Bay Company set up a trading post at Eskimo Point in 1921; the Roman Catholic and Anglican missions were established in 1924 and 1926 respectively; and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police were active in 1936. After relocation, a community Federal Day School was established in 1959 and a nursing station was built in 1961.

2.2 Ahiarmit (people out of the way—inland people)

The Ahiarmit are the subject of many ethnographies, studies, oral narratives, and fiction.⁴⁶ In their oral histories (Bennett & Rowley 2004: 345-359) Ahiarmit speak of life inland in their territory, where they depended almost entirely on caribou for their food and clothing. According to elder Silas Illungiyok, they rarely travelled to the coast to hunt seals or fish. The early Ahiarmit lived in very small groups scattered over a wide area. When the caribou changed their migration route, the people followed. In the early part of the twentieth century, the land they used extended approximately from Tulimaaligjuaq (Dubawnt Lake) in the north, southeast to Hikuligjuaq (Yathkyed Lake), and south to Aqiggiap Qamangat (Lake Kasba) (Figure 2.B3).

Elder Mary Qahoq [Qahuq] Miki (Illungiyok's mother) remembers a time when Ahiarmit lived in tents made from caribou skins in the spring and summer. She also

⁴⁶ For oral histories of the Ahiarmit see Bennett & Rowley (2004), Mannik (1998) and Laugrand, Oosten & Serkoak (2010), Belsey (1985); for political historical studies see Marcus (1995) and Tester and Kulchyski (1994); for fiction see Mowat (1952, 1959); for early anthropological writings see Rasmussen (1930), Steenhoven (1962, 1968), and Csonka (1995); for missionary accounts see Choque (1992) and Marsh (1987).

recollects that before the missionaries came, her people practiced “taboos” and other traditions associated with shamanism:

We used to sew caribou-skin tents we call *itta*... We sewed them together when the caribou were almost gone... In our land in the interior we truly practiced the old taboos. They literally denied us food while we were busy sewing... When we completed the tent we were finally allowed to eat meat. Inuit traditional practices were really strong then. (Bennett & Rowley 2004: 349)

Elder Elizabeth Nutaraaluk remembers that shamans were very powerful in healing sick people. She also suggests that music aided this process:

When shamans come in after fighting off evil beings their hands would be all bloody as they held them, licking the dripping blood intermittently; it looked so awful... They would go out with nothing in their hands, these shamans. They were powerful. They used to save people who were otherwise destined to die, and they made it look so real... Some good ritual songs also seemed to have some influence in saving sick people. (Bennett & Rowley 2004: 356)

In 1921, Catholic priest Lionel Ducharme visited inland Ahiarmiut camps.

Charles Choque (1992) gives a detailed biography of the life and work of Father Ducharme written from the perspective of the Catholic Church. Choque claims that many Ahiarmiut were “converted” to Catholicism in these early days. In 1924, a Catholic mission was established in Eskimo Point under Ducharme’s direction. In spite of being the first missionary to visit and work with the Ahiarmiut, many members of the group did not remain Catholics. As more missionaries found their way to Ahiarmiut territory, the people fluctuated between the Christian denominations seemingly pledging allegiance to the most charismatic leader (Eric Anoe Jr., email correspondence February 2011). For example, Donald Marsh, an Anglican missionary visited camps in 1926 establishing a mission in Eskimo Point that same year. His work, coupled with his wife’s education of

young Inuit, led to many Anglican “conversions.” Finally, the zeal and flair of the Pentecostal Church attracted many Ahiarmiut living in Eskimo Point, when a church was established there in the 1970s.

Present-day Inuit who recognized themselves as Ahiarmiut are from the following large families: Illungiyok (Catholic), Anowtalik (Anglican), Aulatjut (Anglican), Owljoot (Pentecostal), Nutaraaluk, Mukjungnik (Anglican), Seowee, Amarudjuak, Arloo. These names were originally first names, but church missionaries and government officials found them difficult to pronounce. So English names were given to Inuit and their Inuit names became surnames. Thus Illungiyok became known as Silas Illungiyok. His children were given first names and Illungiyok as their surname (Illungiyok 2004).

2.3 Padlirmiut (people of the willow thicket)

Much less is written about the Padlirmiut. I was forced to delve for interviews, discussions, recollections, anything that would give an idea of how and where the Padlirmiut lived before resettlement. I first turned to interviews with Inuit elders from Arviat conducted by members of the team working with the *Inuktitut* magazine in the 1970s and 1980s. Second, I turned to Padlirmiut Eric Anoe, Jr. and Padlirmiut elders Mark Kalluak and Louis Angalik to answer questions about the seasonal migration of Padlirmiut throughout the Kivalliq region. Finally, Anglican missionary Donald Marsh

(1987) and his wife Winifred Marsh (1983) and Alliance⁴⁷ missionary Gleason Ledyard (1977) give their perspectives in narratives of Padlirmiut life in the 1920s and 1930s.

Winifred Marsh (1983) recollects the hardness of Padlirmiut life and the gendered divisions of labour:

There was no blubber lamp and no heat in a Padlimiut igloo...As soon as the days became warm enough in the spring, the women began to dry out deerskins that had been shot during the winter, before storing them away for use the next winter. Fox furs were suspended from poles and lines to whiten and dry in the sunshine and wind. When the men went off sealing and walrus hunting, a party of women would often go to gather 'wood'. This consisted of mosses intermingled with twigs and dried plants from the previous year's growth. (p. 10)

The Padlirmiut view of the world included a “strong connection with the environment and with the spirit world which controls that environment” (Eric Anoe Jr., February, 2011). In the spring and summer they camped in the coastal areas between Arviat and Whale Cove catching seal, walrus, and Arctic char. During the winter they followed the caribou herds as far north as Tulimaaligjuak (Dubawnt Lake), and south to Hanningajurjuaq (south Henik Lake) (Figure 2.B4). The Padlirmiut migratory path overlapped with that of the Ahirmiut and members of the two groups often visited one

⁴⁷ The Christian and Missionary Alliance is an evangelical Protestant denomination. It was founded in 1887 by Rev. Albert B. Simpson, originally a Presbyterian minister. At the turn of the twentieth century, Simpson was drawn to the growing Pentecostal movement. Thus in the beginning, much of the Alliance Church doctrine and belief was similar to Pentecostal Church. Later, around 1912, there developed a severe division within the Christian and Missionary Alliance over aspects of Pentecostalism such as speaking in tongues and charismatic worship styles. This resulted in the adoption of more ecclesiastical styles. When Simpsons died in 1919, there was a greater movement away from Pentecostalism, rejecting the premise that speaking in tongues is a necessary indicator of being filled with the Holy Spirit. The present day Alliance Church is committed to evangelism around the world. In Canada, there are 440 churches, one of which exists in Arviat, Nunavut. The Alliance Church in Arviat was established by American missionary, Ledyard Gleason in 1961.

another during the winter season which was spent inland (Louis Angalik, February, 2011).

Padlirmiut elder Eric Anoe Sr. remembers a time when Padlirmiut practiced shamanism. In his account of the abilities of shaman he states: “To secure this blessing, the shaman traveled to *Sila*, the divine and dangerous spirit who lived somewhere “up in the air,” hovering over the earth, threatening mankind with the mighty powers of nature—wind and sea, fog, rain and snowstorms” (Webster and Anoe from *Inuktitut* Summer 1986: 43).

Padlirmiut Donald Suluk recalls that drum dance and the accompanying pisiq were used in healing:

Now, if I were to remember my ancestors, what we call the drum dance and especially the song, sometimes it was used for sick people and sometimes it was used to mark a turning point in one’s faith. The song was very serious, it wasn’t a game at all. I think that once any of the songs was set to be playing on the guitar, it would seem to me that there would be more and more mockery of Inuit songs as they were originally composed. (Suluk in *Inuktitut* December 1983: 26)

Suluk goes on to discuss how the meaning of faith today was different from its meaning in traditional times. Suluk equates aspects of shamanism with the avoidance of evil and this could be done through song:

I would like to make it absolutely clear that in some songs, we talk of faith, but it’s not the same as today. When we talk about shamans of the old days who lived on the land, we don’t follow them. Although we are not enemies with them, our ancestors didn’t want evil. Evil was just avoided. So that when we talk about faith, it was not originally an Inuk word. There were cases where one turned from every bad thing that one has ever done through song. (Suluk in *Inuktitut* December 1983: 27)

Similar to the Ahiarmiut, the Padlirmiut were visited by missionaries from Catholic and Anglican denominations in the 1920s. In addition, Gleason Ledyard (1977), an Alliance Church missionary set up a mission and school at the mouth of the Maguse River⁴⁸ in 1946. He worked mostly with the coastal Inuit—Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut—who camped near this area in the spring and summer. In 1961 he closed the mission at the Maguse River and established an Alliance Church in Eskimo Point (Figure 2.C1).⁴⁹ Many Padlirmiut “converted” to Pentecostalism in the 1970s.

Present-day Inuit who self-identify as Padlirmiut are from the following large families: Okatsiak (Anglican), Anoee (Pentecostal), Ulayok, Suluk (Anglican), Otuk (Catholic), Nibgoarsi, Ukutak (Catholic), Muckpah (Anglican).

2.4 Tariuqmiut (salt water people)

I found absolutely nothing in print about the Tariuqmiut. There are no historical accounts of their social and cultural lives. None of the early anthropologists mention their existence. Furthermore, they are missing from maps of Nunavut indicating where sub-bands of Inuit lived and migrated. And yet, they did exist, and in fact still do exist. Oral narratives from Tariuqmiut Simeonie Mamgark, Tariuqmiut elder Matilda Sulurayok, and Padlirmiut elders Mark Kalluak and Louis Angalik have provided detail about this sub-band of Inuit.

⁴⁸ The Maguse River is known as Kapurvik in Inuktitut. The land located near the mouth of the Maguse River is called Palliq or Padlei.

⁴⁹ Photographs are located in Appendix C on pages 20-33.

According to Simeonie Mamgark (March 10, 2006), the early Tariuqmiut lived in the coastal area between Arviat and Siurajuk (Sandy Point—located 72 miles north of Arviat) and in the area extending as far back as Qamaniq (Maguse Lake) (Figure 2:B5). This land, called Qimmiqtalik (the place where the dog is), is an area which is tiny in relation to the size of the territory occupied by the Ahiarmiut and Padlirmiut, and it is located entirely within Padlirmiut territory. Perhaps early researchers thought the Tariuqmiut **were** Padlirmiut seeing as they lived within the same area. Furthermore, according to Sulurayok (April 24, 2006), they spent much time with the Padlirmiut sealing and hunting for walruses in and around Arviat, especially during the spring and summer. Andy Mamgark (Simeonie's father) recalls a time when he learned Inuit culture and traditions about living off the land from his step-mother, Taukijak:

Taukijak taught me how to survive in the winter and the summer months. Even though she was a woman, she knew the land like a man. She could work as hard as any man and she survived. When she took me hunting, she would put me in a caribou skin sleeping bag and tie me down to the *qamutik* (sled). She used to take me out on her trap line. We would remain out for days on end. On these trips, she related stories of Inuit culture and traditions to me. The advice which came from her experience was very important – to be able to survive on my own. If I were out hunting or trapping, there would be nobody to help me should I have an accident and become crippled. I would have to know how to take care of myself. Taukijak taught me that the only way to live happily and provide for one's family was to work hard – to live the Inuit way. (Mumgark [Mamgark] in *Ajurnarmat* 1978: 108)

The Tariuqmiut were also visited by the same Christian missionaries who ministered to the Ahiarmiut and Padlirmiut throughout the early part of the twentieth century and, as mentioned earlier, they also changed allegiance when charismatic leaders arrived. (Eric Anoe Jr., email correspondence February, 2011). Although there is no

connection between sub-group of Inuit and denomination, there is a connection based on family. In other words, an entire band did not convert to one specific denomination, but an entire family did. While there are still strong familial ties to particular denominations, intermarriage between the sub-bands of Inuit and intermarriage with qablunaat has blurred the lines of distinction in recent years. Furthermore, personal conflicts among members within specific churches have sometimes caused individuals to leave one church in favour of another, only sometimes taking their entire family with them.

Present day Inuit who recognize themselves as Tariuqmiut are from the following large families: Mamgark (Catholic), Sulurayok (Catholic), Tagalik (Alliance).

2.5 Contact

Before the time of permanent settlement the various cultural groups in the Kivalliq (Keewatin) Region⁵⁰ were not completely isolated from one another. Not only would the people who inhabited the ‘border’ of one group come into contact with those in the adjacent group, but people from each group would intermingle to trade (Vallee 1967: 22). The Inuit of the Kivalliq Region were in contact with white people as early as the eighteenth century, when some trade occurred between the Inuit and traders in the Hudson Bay region (Birket-Smith 1929). However, this contact was sporadic and limited to only a few Inuit out of the total population. It was not until 1913 when the Hudson’s Bay Company opened a trading post at Baker Lake that many Caribou Inuit entered into sustained contact with white people. In the early 1920s the HBC built another post at Padlei, at the heart of Padlimiut territory; 225 kilometres northeast of Ennadai. A report

⁵⁰ See maps on pages 14-18 in Appendix B.

produced in Ottawa in 1958 suggests that there were trading posts located within Ahiarmiut territory as well; “at one time Révillon Frères had a trading post at Ennadai Lake which was abandoned in the early 1930s. The Hudson Bay also conducted a trading post at Neulltin Lake which they, too, abandoned in 1941.”⁵¹

As previously mentioned, the Catholic and Anglican Churches sent missionaries into the area in the 1920s setting up permanent missions in 1924 and 1926 respectively. The RCMP installed a permanent unit at Eskimo Point in 1936. Thus the 1920s and 1930s was an era of intensive white/southern infiltration and marked the beginning of what was to become the Eskimo Point community.

During the 1920s the economy shifted towards intensive trapping. Competition was intense: the Hudson’s Bay Company forced the Révillon Frères out of business and achieved a monopoly in the Kivalliq Region (Vallee 1967: 25). As the fur trade grew in importance, the Inuit from all over the region turned to Eskimo Point to trade and obtain their supplies.

Southern influence intensified and the white element in the local population more than doubled during the few years immediately following World War II (Vallee 1967: 25). As political power relationships shifted after the War, the Canadian Arctic assumed a new significance defense-wise. A Royal Canadian Signal Corps built a radio/weather station at Ennadai Lake in 1949. In 1954 the Department of Transport took over the station.

⁵¹ NWT Archives, Alex Stevenson Collection, N92-023, ‘Memorandum for the Director, RE: Starvation among the Eskimos in the Winter of 1957-58, [from] R.A.J.P. [Phillips], Ottawa,’ 20 October 1958, p. 1.

More governmental agencies moved into the settlement throughout the 1950s and 1960s. A community federal day school was established in 1959 and a nursing station was built in 1961. Lack of caribou and the onset of starvation and disease epidemics during the 1950s prompted the federal government to forcibly relocate the Ahiarmiut to the settlement of Eskimo Point. While their neighbours, the Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut, were not forced to relocate, most moved into the settlement during that time as well in search of food and medical relief.

2.6 Relocation/Resettlement

Relocation, whether involuntary, economic, or voluntary is reported to have negative effects on individuals and groups (Brice Bennett 2000; Bussidor 1997; Hormuth 1990; Scudder, Thayer, et al. 1982). Much of the literature about relocation covers people of very different cultural backgrounds. In spite of this diversity, and in spite of the wide range of policies carried out by different relocation agencies, the response of relocatees to removal appears to be virtually the same: alcoholism, drug abuse, violence, sexual and physical abuse, low self-esteem, increased mortality rates, increased morbidity rates, dependency upon welfare services, grieving for lost homes, and strong anxiety for the future. Most of the literature indicates a loss of culture and language through assimilation procedures and contact with the dominant society. Much of the literature about the relocation of the Inuit to Arviat⁵² in the 1950s contains similar findings.

⁵² For oral histories of relocation of Inuit see Bennett & Rowley (2004), Mannik (1998) and Laugrand, Oosten & Serkoak (2010); for political historical studies see Marcus (1995) and Tester and Kulchyski (1994).

As noted, much has been written about the Ahiarmiut relocation to Arviat, but very little about the Padlirmiut, and still less about the Tariuqmiut. This is probably due to the fact that the Ahiarmiut were involuntarily relocated to the coast from inland by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs; the Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut were already living in the coastal areas in and around Eskimo Point. The Ahiarmiut were the subject of perhaps the most famous book written about the Inuit living in the Arctic, Farley Mowat's *People of the Deer*, published in 1952. Following its publication there was a public outcry to the Federal Government to help improve the living conditions of Ahiarmiut, a response Mowat was hoping for. He wanted to help the Ahiarmiut, and public awareness of their terrible living conditions spurred action. The government responded by relocating the entire band of Ahiarmiut four times between 1951 and 1958. These relocations were foremost examples of a government policy designed to move Inuit into unoccupied wilderness sites in order to isolate them and minimize external contact. It was assumed by government officials that by taking the Ahiarmiut to unoccupied lands, far away from western civilization, they might return to their traditional way of life and not be tempted to search for government handouts (ironic considering an RCMP report indicated that the Ahiarmiut were "in a good position financially, our only difficulty [is] in getting supplies to them" (Marcus 1995: 138). Six months after the Ahiarmiut were relocated "voluntarily" in 1957, seven had died. Their deaths and those of other Inuit in the Keewatin District (Kivalliq Region) in the winter of 1957-1958 signalled the end to this form of relocation and prompted Mowat (1959) to write a second novel *The Desperate People*.

One of the most comprehensive and thorough examinations of the events of relocation of the Ahiammiut is Alan Marcus' study of Inuit relocation in the Arctic in the 1950s. His book *Relocating Eden: The Images and Politics of Inuit Exile in the Canadian Arctic* (1995) provides many perspectives on relocation, including government documents and interviews with civil servants, RCMP reports and interviews, newspapers, letters, trader reports, Canadian and American military reports, department memos, magazine articles, interviews with Hudson Bay Company managers, missionary reports and interviews, lawyer reports, interviews with Inuit survivors of relocation and their children, and oral histories provided by survivors in the Royal Commission Public Hearing in 1993. This historical document presents differing, contrasting, and sometimes contesting information about the same events.

Marcus' investigation documents two relocation events: the relocation of the Inukjuarmiut Inuit from Inukjuak (Port Harrison) to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in 1953; and the relocation of the Ahiammiut Inuit first from Ennadai Lake to Nueltin Lake in 1950, then to Henik Lake in 1957, and finally to Eskimo Point in 1958. Central to the investigation is the interpretation of the radically contrasting perceptions of the relocation process. Marcus shows, however, that there were serious discrepancies in the findings about the relocation. The question of consensual relocation of Ahiammiut from Ennadai Lake to Nueltin Lake in 1950 is contested. For example, Marcus (1995) demonstrates that in a report given by Rowley, who worked for the Advisory Committee on Northern Development, he states clearly that "the Ahiammiut like the Ennadai region and did not want to leave it." Obviously, his warnings were ignored.

The 1957 resettlement of the Ahiammiut demonstrated the Department's determination to sever the dependency relationship the Inuit had developed with white people. Marcus shows, however, that the image and knowledge that the Department had about Ahiammiut depending on white people for survival and searching for "handouts" from white people was ill informed or worse—contrived. An examination of fur records shows that Ahiammiut provided fox furs in exchange for material goods. Furthermore, Marcus reports that in February 1955 "the Inuit had \$1,658 in fur credits and \$3,570 in family allowance credits" (Marcus 1995: 138). The Ahiammiut were never dependent upon white people, as government officials suggest—with their hands out for freebies. The Ahiammiut were self-sufficient before contact and, as demonstrated in the accounts above, were more than capable to provide for their "handouts."

These examples highlight discrepancies between perceptions of the same events. Marcus argues that the Federal Government (either intended or unintended) misunderstood the importance of Ahiammiut attachments to a specific locale or homeland. He shows how government motivations for social reform of Inuit and sovereignty goals by political leaders led to the relocations of Ahiammiut. The relocations were meant to be beneficial for the Ahiammiut—to help them help themselves, but for the Ahiammiut, these migrations were more like deportations.

Much of what has been written about relocation, especially the relocation of Indigenous peoples, has been written from the perspective of outsiders. Missionaries, government officials, traders, social scientists and other people who have come into contact with relocated individuals all give their perspective of the relocation event and its resulting aftermath. But often, the perspective of those on the outside looking in is very

different from those directly involved in the relocation process. The current interest in re-presenting others' representations marks an increase in the value of oral histories as an articulation of individual and collective experience with the social, political, and cultural worlds of relocation.

Oral histories provide an understanding of a given instance of the human experience; they provide an insider's perspective. In the examples given above, oral histories reveal discrepancies in the oral and written accounts of the history of relocation and they provide critical insights into existing interpretations of aboriginal people by 'outsiders.' The use of oral histories as accounts of historical events has been criticized by those who fear that individuals may mis-remember events or distort their account for personal reasons. However, the use of multiple points of agreement of many different sources, rather than the account of any one person, helps to alleviate discrepancies (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 33-34; Marcus 1995; Bussidor 1997; Brant Castellano 2000). Also, it is argued that it is inappropriate to question the 'validity' of an individual's oral history, since it is the individual's perception of things that is of interest (Chamberlin 2000: 139-140). In any case, it is imperative that researchers explore alternative ways of representing 'others' in their writing such that discrepancies and stereotypes are avoided and personal voices are heard and understood.

In a paper entitled, "The saddest time of my life": relocating the Ahiarmiut from Ennadai Lake (1950-1958), Laugrand, Oosten, and Serkoak (2010) present the results of a workshop conducted with elders and youths in Arviat in May 2006. The workshop focussed on Ahiarmiut perspectives of the three relocations. Comparing archival and oral materials, the paper confronts the strategies, choices, and decisions of the Canadian

federal government with the experiences and views of the Ahiarmiut participants. This is the first time that detailed oral histories were collected from Ahiarmiut elders and published with the specific intention of hearing their voices, recollections, and views on the Ennadai relocations.

Inuit recollections in this article give voice to the special meaning of lost places. When the Ahiarmiut were relocated to Neultin Lake from Ennadai they missed their homeland so much that they went back. Eva Muljungnik recalls:

It was in the fall. We didn't have any dogs. So we dragged everything we had. We walked, we started walking back to Ennadai Lake. It took us about three months from the time we were taken there to go back to Ennadai Lake. It must have been around Christmas time when we got back. We would not have survived, none of us would have survived if we stayed where we were taken too [to]. When we got back to Ennadai Lake, it took us three months. Once we got there, there were plenty of animals again: caribou, fish, so we had plenty to eat once we got back to our homeland. (Eva Muljungnik, 2005 in Laugrand, Oosten, and Serkoak 2010: 118)

It seems that coastal Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut lived in and around the growing settlement during the starvation years. While they were not physically moved to Arviat as the Ahiarmiut had been, members of these two groups eventually drifted to the settlement in search of food and medical help. Through email correspondence with me, Eric Anoe Jr. states:

From some of the things I listened to, perhaps the settlement issue had a timing thing with starvation/sickness in the 50s. Perhaps with hardships, there were options of people getting warm homes and access to welfare, plus nursing stations opening to treat new foreign illnesses like TB or Polio, etc. It may have been either natural or obvious thing to do. During around that time, caribou herds didn't show up and new foreign sickness had started to arrive. (February 18, 2011)

There was an Alliance mission school set up at the mouth of the Maguse River in 1946 and the Community Federal Day School was established in Arviat in 1959. This meant that many students attended primary and elementary schools near their families. However, Inuit who attended high school participated in residential schooling. In the 1960s they went to Chesterfield Inlet to the Roman Catholic mission school; in the 1970s vocational schooling was offered in Churchill, Manitoba; and in the 1980s high school students went to Yellowknife and Rankin Inlet.

Andy Mamgark, a Tariuqmiut, recalls that the government made promises to the Inuit, offering food, education, and other services in exchange for settlement life. He feels, though, that settlement life created dependency upon the government and contributed to the loss of the old ways:

Years ago, when government was established in the Northwest Territories, many promises of a better life were made to Inuit. People were moved into a settlement – the houses were warm – starvation was avoided. I used to think that this would be an ideal lifestyle. The government provided us with everything we needed. Today, as I look back, I see that we were spoiled. Life became too easy, and our traditional way of living slowly began to fade. (Mumgark [Mamgark] in *Ajurnarmat* 1978: 108)

Life in the settlement of Eskimo Point continued as Inuit negotiated the lifeways of the three distinct sub-groups as well as the diversity of missionaries, post managers, government officials, researchers, etc. Through the 1960s and 1970s the settlement grew and new southern institutions took root. New Inuit organizations were created as well. Developed out of a concern for Inuit cultural erosion, the Inuit Cultural Institute was established in Eskimo Point in 1974. Dedicated to the preservation and promotion of Inuit culture, language, and heritage, this institution published a bilingual journal yearly

documenting Inuit lifestyles and beliefs, worked with the Language Commission to present a new writing system to government, and gathered cultural information for the purpose of stimulating a new “culturally appropriate awareness among Inuit” (Kutluk in *Inuktitut* November 1980: 38). In 1971, under the direction of Tagak Curley, the *Inuit Tapirisat* of Canada (ITC)⁵³ was formed to pursue land claims in the Northwest Territories. Several Inuit from Arviat took lead roles in the land claims discussions. Tagak Curley, who is not a member of any of the three sub-groups of Inuit living in Arviat, did in fact live in Arviat at the time the ITC was created. Padlirmiut Thomas Suluk and David Aglukark Sr (from Rankin Inlet area but a resident of Arviat) were all instrumental in negotiating the present-day Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.

2.7 Nunavut Land Claims Agreement

Nunavut became a territory on April 1, 1999. Leading up to 1999, Arviat people had important input. This next section talks about the work done prior to the agreement, the benefits of the agreement, and the articles contained in the agreement which are particularly important to the present study. Most of the information in this section is a summary of information taken from the original *Agreement Between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area and Her Majesty the Queen in right of Canada* published by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Canada, in 1993.

In 1973, Tagak Curley (who lived in Arviat at the time) of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada presented a study entitled *The Inuit Use and Occupancy Study* to the Government of Canada. The study showed where the Inuit live today and where their ancestors lived.

⁵³ The ITC was originally named *Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami* which means “Inuit are united in Canada.”

It also told how the land is, and was, used. Without this proof, the federal government would not begin negotiating a land claim with the Inuit.

Negotiations did not start until 1976. Tagak Curly worked with many Inuit who were committed to talking with and listening to other Inuit throughout the territory to determine what they needed to bring to the bargaining table. Among some of those co-workers were *Arviamiut*⁵⁴ David Aglukark (Pentecostal pastor and politician) and Thomas Suluk (Anglican pastor and politician). “They needed to know the past and the present so they could argue well for the future” (Simeonie Mamgark, March 2006).

Negotiations took place between Inuit and the Government of Canada throughout the 1980s. Inuit were represented by the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut and voted in favour of the Agreement in 1992. Then the Parliament of Canada voted in favour of the Agreement and made it law in 1993.

Curley, Aglukark, Suluk and other key negotiators endeavoured to make Inuit rights and benefits clear. The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement brings many rights and benefits, but it is still a compromise. Inuit lost a lot of land, but they gained recognition of their contributions to Canada’s history, identity, and sovereignty in the Arctic.

⁵⁴ *Arviamiut*—people from Arviat.

The Historic Exchange

The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement is a contract in which Inuit exchanged Aboriginal title to all their traditional land in the area which is now known as Nunavut for the rights and benefits set out in the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. Some of these benefits include: ownership of about 18 per cent of the land in Nunavut, including mineral rights to two per cent of these lands; a cash settlement of \$1.173 billion; and creation of the territory of Nunavut, with an elected government to serve the interests of all *Nunavummiut*⁵⁵ (NLCA 1993).

Benefits of the Agreement

A key goal of the Agreement is to encourage cultural and social well-being of Inuit. The Agreement protects Inuit rights to hunt, fish, and trap and it is intended to ensure more contracts, jobs, and training for Inuit. Inuit also benefit from income and other opportunities from mineral, oil, and gas resources in Nunavut.

While Nunavut is a territory with a public government, it is also the Inuit homeland. The Agreement protects this reality by giving special duties to Inuit organizations like Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated with respect to language, culture, and social policy. These duties might be handled directly through Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated or through working together with Regional Inuit Associations⁵⁶ and government.

⁵⁵ *Nunavummiut*—people from Nunavut.

⁵⁶ There are three Regional Inuit Associations: Kivalliq Inuit Association, Kitikmeot Inuit Association, and Qikiqtani Inuit Association.

The Agreement also created a number of boards, such as the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board, the Nunavut Impact Review Board and the Nunavut Water Board, that allow for joint management of all lands, waters, and wildlife resources. Inuit work on equal basis with government through these boards. There is a joint management of planning and impact review, negotiated benefits agreements, and resource management sharing (NLCA 1993).

Articles of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement

There are forty-two articles in the Nunavut Land Claims, two of which have particular relevance to the current study: Article 23: Government Jobs for Inuit; and Article 32: Nunavut Social Development Council.

Article 23: Government Jobs for Inuit. This article sets up training to increase the number of Inuit working for government. It puts more value on Inuit skills and culture and using Inuit languages in the workplace (NLCA 1993: 191-195).

The most important article for this study is Article 32: Nunavut Social Development Council (NSDC). This article sets out the right of Inuit to have a say in developing the Government's social and cultural policies and programs and how they are delivered to Inuit. The NSDC works with Inuit to find out what they want their culture and society to be and to do. The goal is to help government deliver programs that best help Inuit (NLCA 1993: 223-224).

Through discussions and guidance of elders and local Inuit, the NSDC put forth that traditional Inuit knowledge is the key to Nunavut's future. In Inuktitut, this is known as *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* (IQ). What follows next is 1) a brief history of how Inuit

Qaujimajatuqangit came to be the foundation upon which the Government of Nunavut (GN) attempts to build its policies and programs; and 2) a definition of what Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is as put forth by the Government of Nunavut.

2.8 Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit

As Inuit work within the territory of Nunavut and continue to adapt to the larger contemporary society around them, they are intent on recovering their sense of the past and who they are. Many say that traditional Inuit knowledge will guide them into the future. “Our traditional knowledge, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, is crucial to us as we adapt to change and develop our new society in Nunavut” (Silas Illungiyok, May 13, 2007).

In May 1999, immediately after the establishment of the Government of Nunavut, the Nunavut Social Development Council (NSDC) presented a discussion paper entitled *Toward an Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Policy* for the Premier of Nunavut, Paul Okalik. The discussion paper spoke of the Council’s concerns about the status of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) in Nunavut and recommended the establishment of a task force that would develop IQ policy options and initiatives applicable to all departments, boards and agencies of the Nunavut Government.

The Government of Nunavut (GN) responded to this request in two ways. First it sponsored an Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Workshop in September 1999 to seek counsel from the elders on ways to preserve, promote, and integrate IQ into all GN programs, services, policies, in order to best meet the requirements of the majority of the population by the new government (see *GN Report from the September Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Workshop* 1999). The GN’s second response was to set up a Working Group on IQ in September

2000. The Working Group included two elders, one chosen by the GN and one by the NSDC, and two representatives from each organization.

The importance of IQ is now widely accepted. Its actual application in policy-making and program design has begun but it is still in its early stages. There is a wide diversity of activity in the use of IQ in government and other organizations. Some people are confused as to what IQ is, and many wonder how it can be applied (Tester and Irniq 2008). However, there seems to be a consensus that the incorporation of IQ, when and/or if understood comprehensively, is important in the implementation and development of all Government of Nunavut departments, agencies, and programs.

The Inuit Language

The Inuit language in its various dialects is central to Inuit culture. “If we lose our language, we lose everything. It is the living symbol of our culture and carries our entire way of life” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). Most Inuit that I spoke to believe that they must act immediately and honour the Inuit language and assess its status as the primary language of Nunavut. Since 2000 the GN has made some progress:

1. Inuktitut was established as the working language of the GN in 2003.
2. Inuktitut primary schools with Inuit teachers have been established since 2005.
3. A centre of Inuktitut curriculum materials was established in Rankin Inlet.
4. Public signs are written in Inuktitut.
5. All government departments and agencies are required to use Inuktitut in all communication with the public.

Elders in Inuit Culture

“Inuit culture has been badly damaged by foreign social structures such as settlement living and the influence of government. Formerly elders in our communities were our leaders and we looked to them with respect” (Sandy Okatsiak, April 27, 2007). It is widely believed that making full use of the knowledge of Inuit elders will allow Inuit to live in contemporary society while grounded in the values of the past. Since 2000, elders have been utilized as advisors in municipal and territorial governments; counsellors for families in communities and in the justice system; teachers in training others in traditional methods of social control, the upbringing of young people, and resolving family conflict; and educators for training young people to help them learn first-hand knowledge of Inuit skills in living on the land, hunting, preparing skins, and survival.

Inuit Traditional Knowledge

“Traditional knowledge is embedded in the stories, experience, and knowledge of our elders” (Ronnie Illungiyok, April 19, 2006). Since 2000, the GN has been committed to working with other agencies such as the Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated and the three Regional Inuit Associations to ensure the support of further recording of oral histories from elders and to fund gatherings which bring elders together to rediscover their own knowledge and traditions.

Even after fifteen years, Nunavut still lacks a clear, overall operational framework and policy to assist government, Inuit organizations, and communities to promote IQ and to apply it in their activities, programs, and services. The definition of what IQ means is very general and can be interpreted in any number of ways. Furthermore, the NSDC, the

GN, NTL, and other Inuit organizations are still struggling to meet with elders and with the public to develop a Nunavut –wide IQ policy for incorporating IQ into the fabric of government and society.

The Department of Human Resources/Government of Nunavut website⁵⁷ provides a definition of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. This definition was researched and defined by a team of Inuit elders and education specialists at the Department of Education in Arviat. Thus, although it is displayed on the GN website for the use of all GD departments and programs, it was originally geared toward students and teachers in Nunavut schools. The following eight guiding principles are presented in full in Appendix J on page 179: concept of serving, consensus decision making, concept of skills and knowledge acquisition, concept of being resourceful to solve problems, concept of collaborative or working together for a common purpose, concept of environmental stewardship, concept of respecting others, and concept of being open, welcoming, and inclusive.

The concept of inummariit reflects many different views. While the word inummariit translates as “true Inuit,” the views expressed by Inuit sometimes contradict one another. Regardless of these differences, however, it seems to be almost unanimous that embodying traditional indigenous knowledge or IQ is probably the largest part of what being a true Inuk is. But the personal conceptualizations of IQ are as varied and contested as inummariit. As shown on pages 179-181 of Appendix J, the GN, through discussions with Inuit elders, has offered a definition of IQ. How do the different views

⁵⁷ The definition of IQ presented by the Department of Human Resources with the Government of Nunavut can be found at <http://www.gov.nu.ca/hr/site/beliefsystem.htm>. Accessed July 8, 2011.

of inummariit equate, or not, with the eight pillars of IQ identified as the basis of the Nunavut government?

The eight guiding principles of IQ are very similar to the aspects of living and being a true Inuk. Both concepts value servitude, consensus decision making, being resourceful, being open and welcoming, showing respect and caring, speaking Inuktitut etc. How will these values be played out in performance settings? Will there be consensus decision making in some contexts but not in others, for example?

The IQ principles, however, speak less about living in the past: that is, knowing how to hunt, build an iglu, and survival on the land. IQ stresses having knowledge of these old ways, but not necessarily actually being able to do them. In fact, IQ stresses to carry on the qualities such as resilience, strength, and collaborative work which would have been necessary to live in the past, rather than actually doing these activities. There also seems to be more consideration of the future in the IQ principles: adaptability and flexibility in response to a rapidly changing world and consulting various perspectives and world views. None of my informants ever mentioned the value in consulting and respecting other worldviews when speaking about inummariit. In fact, one informant suggested that the Inuit way is the right way. That is not to say that all Inuit do not value various perspectives; certainly, the negotiation of Christianity and technology are two examples where consideration is evident. Thus, there is some tension between discourse and action.

There is no mention of the value of individuality in the IQ principles. The building of relationships, consensus decision making, being welcoming and inclusive, and stressing the importance of the group over the individual are paramount. Many Inuit

in Arviat described inummariit as all of these; but also said that being autonomous, answering to no one, and having the right to do as one pleased without being questioned were important.

Finally, there is no mention of blood quantum in the IQ principles. Many Inuit contend that to be inummarik—a true Inuk—both parents must be Inuit. Thought of this way, anyone, whether they are Inuit or qablunaat or other, can follow or adopt the IQ principles in government policy, education, or life; but, many believe that only those few Inuit who have the “required” blood quantum can **be** inummariit.

2.9 Arviat Musical History

Listed above are some of the key events in history which have had the strongest influence on musical expression in Arviat. What follows next is a brief history of the stability and change in musical culture as it relates to corresponding colonial influences.

Before resettlement, music in Eskimo Point and the surrounding camps consisted of Inuit drum dances and their accompanying songs, animal songs for children, and throat singing.⁵⁸ American and Scottish whalers reached areas in the Kivalliq in the 1850s bringing American square dances and Scottish reels throughout the region. Inuit acquired button accordions and began to learn the tunes. Dances were organized for local Inuit and

⁵⁸ See Chapter Four for a detailed definition of the traditional Inuit drum dance and its accompanying song. See Chapter One for anthropological and ethnomusicological accounts of traditional music making in Arviat from the late 1800s through to the early 1980s.

the whalers. To this day, square dancing and square dance music is considered to be a traditionally Inuit genre of artistic expression.⁵⁹

When the missionaries started to visit camps in the 1920s they taught the people Christian hymns in English and Inuktitut. These hymns were adapted by the missionaries and Inuit ‘helpers’ in the Inuktitut dialect of the Kivalliq region. When the Catholic and Anglican Church buildings were built in 1924 and 1926 respectively, Christian hymns were accompanied on the church organs. Traditional Inuit drum dancing and singing were generally discouraged by local ministers at this time, but many Inuit continued to perform this style of music in private.⁶⁰

As more colonial institutions were established throughout the 1930s and 1940s, southern people shared their musical preferences with those few Inuit living in and close to the settlement. It is reported that in the early 1930s Winifred Marsh, Rev. Marsh’s wife, taught some Inuit children nursery rhymes and children’s songs in English, at her home at Eskimo Point as a means of teaching the English language (Marsh 1987). But it was not until 1958 when most Inuit were relocated from their seasonal camps to the settlement of Eskimo Point to live a sedentary lifestyle that musical genres and styles were really affected. With the establishment of the Federal Day School in 1959, Inuit children learned English songs from their qablunaat teachers. These included nursery rhymes, children’s songs and games such as “Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star,” “The

⁵⁹ See Sarkissian’s (2000) discussion about the “invention of tradition” (p. 3) for an outline of the complexities of the words tradition and traditional.

⁶⁰ Missionary accounts of their experiences living and working in Arviat give a little detail about how Christian music was introduced to the Inuit. See Donald Marsh (1987), Winifred Marsh (1983), Choque (1992), and Ledyard (1977).

Alphabet Song,” and “Head and Shoulders, Knees and Toes” (Rosie Mamgark, April 4, 2006).

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s many Inuit began to learn to play the guitar and a new kind of musical style began to take form in Eskimo Point. Hudson Bay employees and other southerners introduced Inuit to the sound of Johnny Cash and the early American country and western stars. Inuit living in Eskimo Point such as William Tagoona, Alexis Utatnaq (originally from Baker Lake), and Charlie Panigoniak soon became locally famous for their country and western musical stylings.⁶¹ William Tagoona actually became known throughout the region as the “Johnny Cash of the North” (Simeonie Mamgark, March 10, 2006). Eventually, throughout the 1970s and 1980s these three musicians began to tour the Northwest Territories and other parts of Canada, sharing their own music and learning music from others. Also, they, and other local musicians, became the music leaders at local churches. Thus, in addition to hymns being sung to the accompaniment of the organ, many hymns and gospel songs were soon being sung in a country and western style with the accompaniment of the acoustic guitar.

Verbal distinctions between the genres of music began to develop. David Owingayak, the Traditions and Cultural Affairs Officer for the Cultural Institute, said that there are three different categories of Inuit music: *Pisinnquat* which are songs derived from stories. “They are usually funny stories and fun to listen to” (*Inuktitut* December 1983: 11). *Pisiit* are traditional songs which tell of things that have happened in the past.

⁶¹ *Inuktitut* magazine, Vol. 54, December 1983 is devoted to the theme of music. It gives a thorough picture of the genres of music being performed in the Kivalliq region at that time.

And finally, there is contemporary music, *imngiutit*, the artist writes songs to be sung with a guitar.

In 1975 the Arviaqpaluk—the voice of Arviat, or the local radio station, was established (Figure 2.C2). “It was because of the communications problem we wanted to own our local radio broadcasting station: (Luke Suluk as reported by Soloman Kugak in *Inuktitut* Spring 1984: 34). In the 1970s, each weekday morning the broadcasting program began at eight with a religious program. This program included the airing of religious music such as hymns sung by Canadian choirs and gospel songs by Canadian artists. Also, recordings (by the CBC) of local Inuit singing gospel songs in Inuktitut were a favourite to be heard at this time or anytime throughout the day. CBC national radio news was heard from 11:30 to 12:30. The station broadcasted regular programs on such topics as land claims, and provided air time to community groups such as the housing association, and the *Ikayoktit* (Alcohol and Drug Committee). The elders of Eskimo Point had their own program called *Sivullinuut*.⁶² This program consisted of issues of importance to elders, sharing traditional knowledge, and traditional drum dance songs. On Sundays, each church organization had their respective hours.

It was reported that in the late 1970s, there were two bands in Eskimo Point (*Inuktitut* December 1983: 40). Kaporvik Band (formed in 1978) consisted of Charlie Panigoniak, Paul Irksuk, Arsene Angalik, Billy and John Kuksuk, and Leo Muljungnik. This group performed at the community hall (many of them still do) in a country and western style. Much of their music was instrumental, although Charlie and Paul sang their own songs occasionally. At times, Mary Atuat Thompson joined them with the

⁶² *Sivullinuut*—Elders’ Society.

accordion, especially for square dances. Uniaqtut Band also known as Angalik Sisters (formed 1979) was a musical family consisting of Mary and Pelajie Angalik and their brother Arsene. The two sisters sang songs written and accompanied on the acoustic guitar by their brother.

In the fall of 1982, the Arviaqapluuk radio station acquired the capability to broadcast local television. Thus, in between the local radio broadcasts, movies were shown on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings. With the development of modern technologies and more connection with the south, other styles of music began to take form in Arviat. Inuit pop star Susan Aglukark got her start at the Glad Tidings Pentecostal Church in Arviat where her father, David Aglukark Sr. was a pastor. Her first recording by the CBC contained mostly gospel songs sung in a country and western style. Her subsequent recordings were more in the style of pop music and her lyrics developed contemporary themes such as equality for all people, defying stereotypes, and resisting cultural oppression.

The first Inummariit Music Festival was held in the early 1980s. This four day festival, which still occurs today, brings musicians together from all over the Kivalliq Region including Arviat, Whale Cove, Rankin Inlet, and Chesterfield Inlet. Inummariit, meaning “real Inuit” in Inuktitut, is the perfect title for a music festival with a mandate “to promote Inuit culture and to have fun,” says festival co-ordinator Mark Nanauk (Mark Nanauk, April, 2007).

The festival is recorded each year. In the early years the CBC was responsible for recordings; today local Inuk John Tugak produces them. The music on the 2006 compilation compact disc gives a thorough overview of the genres of music performed in

Arviat today. For example, this compact disc includes twenty-two selections from the Kivalliq region. It is a compilation of Inuit traditional and contemporary music displaying an array of musical styles and genres ranging from traditional Inuit drum dancing from the Arviat Elders' Society to the bluesy musical stylings of David Nanorak from Rankin Inlet. Instruments used include the voice, traditional Inuit drum, electric guitar, bass, drum-set, fiddle, accordion, and electronic keyboard. The genres presented include traditional Inuit drum dancing, traditional Inuit throat singing, contemporary Inuit country and western, gospel, and blues music, and contemporary square dance music reminiscent of traditional Scottish jigs and reels. Arviat is the birthplace of seventeen of the twenty-two musical groups represented.

The musical selections on the *Inummariit Music Festival 2006*⁶³ compact disc demonstrate the prominent trend for contemporary aboriginal musicians, both professional and amateur, to promote their aboriginal identity and culture through music and song. Furthermore, the existence of the festival itself encourages Inuit to reinforce the maintenance of their musical heritage on the one hand, and to explore innovative ways of responding musically to their current diverse social context, on the other.

“*Unualikmaat*” (Every Night), written and performed by Ishmael Naulalik from Rankin Inlet, is a comic song about drinking a 40-ounce bottle of Bacardi Rum every night with his “*Imialuqatitk Suqatik*” which means “drinking buddy.” While the purpose of the song is to be humorous and to entertain, the text clearly illuminates the very serious social problem of alcohol abuse that is present in the daily lives of many Inuit. It is interesting

⁶³ For a complete review of this compact disc see Piercey (2007).

that the melody of this song bears a strong resemblance to the popular song “Bottle of Wine” by Tom Paxton, which has a text with a similar theme.

Almost half of the musical selections on this recording are Christian gospel songs demonstrating the overwhelming Christian spirituality of the people living in this region. “*Naglingnira*” by the Arviq Band, “Spirit of God” by the Ukutak Daughters, “*Uvangalu Attatagalu*” by Paul Jr. Kattau, “*Uqautilagi Jesusimi*” by Thomas Kutluk, “*Qaiquyaunira*” by David & Dorothy Aglukark (relatives of world re-knowned Arviat-born performer Susan Aglukark), “*Jesusimi Maligluta*” by Jane Autut, and two versions of “*Jesusi Piuliyi*” by Kirsten Pameolik and Chelsey Curley are examples of gospel songs sung by Inuit representative of three generations in a country and western style that dominates much of the contemporary Inuit music of Nunavut. It is interesting to note that the three performances by Inuit youth, Ukutak Daughters, Kirsten Pameolik, and Chelsey Curley are sung in Inuktitut and English displaying, for example, how the changes in lifestyle for youth as a result of constant colonial influences have had a serious impact on language preference and the continuing relevance and use of the Inuktitut language, as well as on religious beliefs.

Much like the gospel songs on this recording, the contemporary secular songs are also performed in a country and western style indicating the emergence of new Inuit expressive forms through the combining of cultural traditions. One exception is “*Ukalarli Pangaliku*” (Ukalik is running fast) written and performed by Arviat youths Romeo Ikhakik and Lucien Taleriktok. Utilizing an electronic keyboard for accompaniment, their music is rhythmically active (synthesized drum beats produced by the keyboard) and upbeat sounding much like the popular dance music heard in the

current Canadian dance music scene. The text of their song, sung in punctuated Inuktitut, is about their grandparents, Ukalik and Qumuktuk. This song carries the same melody as “*Unualikmaat*” (Every Night) by Ishmael Naulalik mentioned earlier.

The inclusion of a contemporary Inuit drum dance written by thirty-eight year old Leo Mukyungnik and performed by the youth choir, *Arviat Imngitingit* (Arviat Singers), illuminates how young Inuit are constituting a means of innovating new functions of the traditional drum dance in their current context. For example, the use of the contemporary instrument, the acoustic guitar, played alongside the traditional Inuit drum shows continuity and change over time. Furthermore, the use of the text “*Kingulivut piqusingata maliglavut Inusivut ublumiuliqtuq sangivuuq*” which means, “Let’s follow our culture; Today our life is strong” shows how Inuit youth are responding musically to issues of Inuit identity negotiation and construction in the diverse world they find themselves living today.

Ivory Studio Music was established in Arviat by music producer John Tugak in 2005. Since that time, numerous local musicians have released compact discs. For some Inuit Christian music from Arviat, please see *Jesusiu Piulimanga* (2005) by Paul Irksuk & Sons, *Gospel Songs* (2005) by Jocelyn Malla, *I Believe in Jesus* (2006) by Jane Autut and Jo Ellen Pameolik, *My Child...Take My Hand* (2006) by Lena Alagalak-Flynn, *I Shall Not Be Moved* (2006) by Billy Kuksuk, *Spirit of God* (2007) by the Ukutak Daughters, *Sandy & Eva Okatsiak: Old Rugged Cross* (2007) by Sandy and Eva Okatsiak. For Inuit Blues

music see *Hunting Blues* (2006) by Aupak & Onerk and *Delta Blues* (2006) by Billy Kuksuk.⁶⁴

Finally, I want to mention a new, young Arviamut musician whose music is different from anything I have heard throughout my years living in Arviat. Singer-songwriter Agaaqtoq Abraham Eetak released his debut album entitled *Ublumiuyok* (These Days) on December 7, 2011. About his own music Agaaqtoq states, “Currently all of my songs are written by me, produced by me, and are all written in Inuktitut. It’s a combination of rock, blues, pop, and acoustic. I don’t know what you would call that. In addition to that, most of my songs typically have strong backup vocals, much like The Beach Boys or the Beatles. It will consist of songs related to suicide prevention, our culture, love, peace—life in general” (Agaaqtoq Eetak, email correspondence, August, 2011). His music is different because he veers away from the typical country and western sound and utilizes an old-time rock-n-roll one. Furthermore, his lyrics make little reference to religion and focus more on the present-day social issues of Arviamut youth.

Musical styles and preferences have changed dramatically since pre-resettlement times; however, certain musical forms have survived. The traditional Inuit drum dance, for example, is still performed by the Sivullinuut Society and by local school groups with functions similar to and different from pre-resettlement times. It has been re-contextualized in contemporary Inuit society.⁶⁵ The strong influence of the Christian

⁶⁴All but one of these titles is in English; however, Inuktitut and English are used equally in the songs on most compact discs. One anomaly is *Sandy and Eva: The Old Rugged Cross*: while the title is in English, all ten songs are sung in Inuktitut. It may be that the recording industry is considered to be a part of the qablunaat world and Inuit have chosen English titles for this reason—regardless of the large amount of Inuktitut employed.

⁶⁵ See Chapter Four for a discussion of the re-contextualization of the traditional Inuit drum dance.

faith has had a significant effect on personal musical choices. Finally, the advancement of media and technology has had a tremendous impact on Inuit musical style preference and aesthetics. This brief summary of the stability and change in musical culture as it relates to corresponding colonial influences serves as a backdrop for examining the ways music, inummariit, and belief interact in present-day Arviat. Certainly, the gamut of musical genres which exist in Arviat today may demonstrate that you cannot tie inummariit to a particular musical genre or style. Furthermore, this musical inclusiveness indicates that Inuit are resourceful—one of the traits of inummariit mentioned by some Inuit.

Chapter 3: *Iqauma*—Remembering

Reflecting on Reflexivity: Teaching and Conducting Research in an Inuit Community

This chapter presents a narrative of my experiences of living, teaching, and conducting research in an Inuit community. Like other ethnomusicologists working today, I am searching for an innovative manner in which to research and write ethnography. I am influenced by the insights on methods and Aboriginal voice emerging from postcolonial theory, especially those put forth by Aboriginal researchers themselves,⁶⁶ and I recognize the concerns in Aboriginal studies about the way Aboriginal societies tend to be portrayed. In an effort to challenge past anthropological generalizations, I am guided by the work of Michelle Kisliuk (2001) and Anthony Seeger (2004) and have thus decided to explore my own (non-Indigenous) presence in the ethnographic field—my epistemological stance, my relation to the Inuit culture and people I encountered, and my relationship to my own culture—to better understand my position in Arviat, Nunavut. The chapter is a series of personal narratives and reflections about teaching and researching in an Inuit community, encountering new people, and encountering a new culture. Through reflexive writing, I introduce the people involved in my research, including brief historical, political, ideological, and social (including cultural and musical) contexts, keenly aware of my own personal position in relation to the experience.

Why write in this manner? By telling deeply personal stories about my experiences living, teaching, and researching in an Inuit community, it is my aim to illuminate my relationship to the contexts and individual participants in my research. I

⁶⁶ See Battiste (2000), Youngblood Henderson (2000), Wilson (1998), Mihesuah (1998), Smith (2000), Fixico (1998), and Champagne (1998) for critiques of Eurocentric research methods in Aboriginal communities.

hope that through the narration of this lived experience, the reader will get to know the people I encountered as well as see and understand how my motives, goals, habits of mind, and behaviour have shaped my representation of them. As Elizabeth Chiseri-Strater and Bonnie Stone Sunstein have explained, these are things that are “sometimes taken for granted and unexamined in the research process” (Chiseri-Strater and Sunstein 1997: 57). My story ultimately reveals several important problems and issues pertaining to teaching and conducting research in a culture other than one’s own.

First, my narrative about teaching in an Inuit community takes readers through a series of specific situations and how I handled them (not always in the best manner), revealing delicate cultural, social, pedagogical, and ethical issues.⁶⁷ Second, the stories I share about conducting research in a culture other than my own disclose research concerns including but not limited to language, translation, interpretation, representation, interviews, cross-cultural understanding and/or misunderstanding, ethics, relationships, and participant observation.

3.1 Telling the Story

During my first stay in this small hamlet on the southwest side of the Hudson Bay, a stay of three years, from 2001 to 2004, I was employed as the high school music teacher with a given mandate to “bring traditional Inuit music into the school.” Being from outside the Inuit culture, I was faced with a plethora of cultural, social, pedagogical, and

⁶⁷ For more information on some pedagogical and ethical issues of teaching in an Inuit community, see Piercey, Mary E. 2012. Traditional Indigenous Knowledge: An Ethnographic Study of its Application in the Teaching and Learning of Traditional Inuit Drum Dances in Arviat, Nunavut. *Critical Perspectives in Canadian Music Education*. eds. Carol Beynon and Kari Veblen, 71-87. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

ethical issues, much like some of the issues addressed in Ted Solís's anthology *Performing Ethnomusicology* (2004). For the most part, the students described in Solís' book are white, middle-class Americans who, in some cases, are taught music by someone from within the culture under study and sometimes not. In contrast, my teaching situation differed in the sense that I, an outsider to the Inuit culture, was given the responsibility of teaching traditional Inuit music to Inuit children. Although my situation is different from that of the authors in Solís's anthology, I encountered problems and considerations similar to those faced by university directors of world music ensembles who contributed to the Solís anthology, issues ranging from representation, reflexivity, hegemony, and aesthetically determined interaction to school administration and pedagogy.

I was uncomfortable with the fact that there was no Nunavut music curriculum and very little Inuit music published for use in the "Western-style" music classroom in which I was accustomed to teaching. I quickly implemented an Inuit elder-youth music mentorship program, collected as much Inuit music as possible from community musicians, and began to build my own music curriculum, which I hoped would meet the needs of my new students. After three years of teaching music in this context, I wrote a paper describing some opportunities and challenges involved in applying and adapting traditional Indigenous knowledge about Inuit music in the social environment in which Inuit now find themselves (see Piercey 2012). I tried to present a general analysis of the way contemporary Indigenous youth battle with traditional methods of learning music, with a special focus on tensions between oral and literate educational approaches to the teaching, learning, and performance of the recently revived traditional Inuit drum dances.

However, since I felt that there was much more richness in people's narratives and conversations about music and in their personal musical performances than I had managed to convey in that paper, I was motivated to do further ethnomusicological research.

3.2 Teaching in Arviat

You might wonder how a young music teacher finds herself in the Arctic believing there is no music made among the people living there, considering that there are records dating back to as early as the 1800s of Inuit making music. I knew nothing about the geographers, anthropologists, ethnomusicologists,⁶⁸ or explorers who wrote about their experiences in the Arctic and had done very little to inform myself about the Inuit with whom I would be living prior to my arrival. Relying almost solely on the information provided by my new employer, I headed off to the Great White North naive and bursting with excitement at the thought of an adventure.

My first few days as the new music teacher at Qitqliq High School were difficult. The piano, which the principal had ordered three months prior, still had not arrived. I spent the first two weeks trying to teach choral music, accompanying myself on an old electronic organ that one of the teachers owned and had graciously loaned the school while we awaited the piano's arrival. My biggest challenge was getting the students to sing. Most just sat there and stared at me when I requested their participation. Furthermore, students refused to answer my questions. I initially saw this as a sign of rejection and disrespect, and it saddened me. I felt like a failure. I eventually learned that

⁶⁸ See a bibliography of Inuit music in *Ethnomusicology* 1972.

many were indeed answering my questions, but through facial expressions rather than by speaking. As a point of observation, I found Inuit in Arviat to be very quiet. Most do not like answering questions but will do so when asked. If the question prompts a yes or no answer, this is likely to be delivered by raising the eyebrows for “yes” and crunching the nose for “no.”

I was given full reign over my curriculum. There were only three things required of me by the Arviat District Education Authority: (1) teaching songs in English to encourage better English literary and speaking skills; (2) making music classes “fun” to encourage better overall attendance at the school; and (3) facilitating the teaching and learning of traditional Inuit drum dance songs, a genre that was unfamiliar to most youth at the time.

During the three years I taught music at Qitiqliq High School (Figure 3.C3), these goals were accomplished through a great deal of hard work and dedication. For example, a mentorship program was set up to encourage youth to learn from their elders, and the traditional Inuit drum dance was revived among the youth. I worked closely with the school drama and Inuktitut teachers, Gord Billard and Maggie Mannik respectively, to produce four musicals a year: two at Christmas, one at Easter, and one in the late spring. The musicals were performed in English and Inuktitut: English songs accompanied the English dialogue, and Inuktitut songs accompanied the Inuktitut dialogue. At times, the English text was translated by senior students, and at other times, Inuktitut plays and songs were created by senior students. All of these were well received by the community, and we attracted a “full house” at every performance.

I founded a choir called Arviat Imngitingit (Arviat Singers) (Figure 3.C4). This choir is made up of students from Qitiqliq High School and adults from the community, and it specializes in traditional and contemporary Inuit music originating from the Kivalliq region of Nunavut. The Arviat Imngitingit are known for their expertise in traditional Inuit throat singing, “A-ya-ya” singing, and drum dancing, and they enjoy singing contemporary Inuit songs and gospel songs in Inuktitut as well. Several members of Arviat Imngitingit have travelled to Greenland and Alberta to perform for the opening and closing ceremonies of the Arctic Winter Games, and others travelled to Brandon, Manitoba, to perform with the Brandon University Chorale at Rural Forum 2002. All thirty choristers participated in Festival 500: Sharing the Voices, an international choral festival held in Newfoundland, in 2003. The choir has been highlighted in television programs on Global Television and the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network and in newspapers such as the *National Post*, *Evening Telegram*, *Southern Gazette*, *Kivalliq News*, and *News North*.

My life as a teacher in Arviat was very rewarding. I often felt proud of what we had accomplished, and I enjoyed my job tremendously. But this is not to say that I did not experience self-doubt, anxiety, and even fear. I questioned daily the impact I was having on my students.

3.3 Attending Church

After a very frustrating first week of teaching, I decided to go to the Anglican Church on Sunday morning to try to learn a little more about the culture in which I was living. On 26 August 2001 my journal states:

I went to church this morning; to the Anglican Church, and I was the only white person there. The two-hour service was spoken entirely in Inuktitut and I didn't understand a word. Evidently, you would think that I found the service boring ... on the contrary. The service was so moving that I cried a number of times. Inuit are so spiritual. There were families with babies and small children all singing and praising God. I sat behind Doreen, an Inuk teacher from school. She provided me with a service book that had English translations and I was able to know a little of what was being said. She also gave me a songbook so that I could sing along with the hymns. The music was great! The band led the service ... drums, guitar, bass guitar, electric guitar, and a gospel choir. I knew all of the hymns ... they were oldies that we sing at Fortune United Church [in Newfoundland] ... but they were sung in Inuktitut.

This is nothing new for those scholars who have written about hymnody in Aboriginal communities (Cavanagh [Diamond] 1987, 1988, Keillor 1986), but for me it was a revelation: music in Arviat! I soon discovered, too, that if students enjoyed singing hymns at church, they would also enjoy singing them at school, and that is how the barrier between my students and me was broken down. On 27 August 2001 my journal reads, "My afternoon classes rocked. The students were responsive, they laughed at my jokes. It was like being at camp; everyone was singing and having a good time."

By going to the various churches⁶⁹ every Sunday and by participating in events at the community hall, two activities deemed of high importance by Arviamit, I was soon accepted into Inuit society. At least, from my perspective, I seemed to be more accepted

⁶⁹ Catholic, Anglican, Pentecostal, and Alliance Churches.

than other qablunaat living in the community who chose not to integrate themselves into the society in which they lived.

Later as a researcher in the community, I found myself becoming extremely attentive to which churches people attended, where and how people sat at church services and community functions, and how people greeted members of different subcultural groups. I focused on which musicians played with whom, in which churches they led services, who went to whose homes for music-making sessions, and what music they chose to sing or play. Gradually, I began to observe that a musician's choice of performance and repertoire options went beyond purely musical criteria to include social considerations related to the value of associating with and performing with members of specific sub-groups as well as to age, gender, family, and religious affiliation.

3.4 Reflecting on Reflexivity

As I try to position myself in this particular context of Arviat, I wonder whether my writing is a romanticized account of teaching in an “exotic” place. Is it self-indulgent? What really should or should not be included when translating from field experience into ethnography? How much of myself should I include? How do I determine what experiences to relate to help my audience (and me) to better understand my particular context? Is my particular perspective necessary or even interesting? In trying to answer these questions, I keep coming back to Kisliuk's work. As she points out, “Ethnography, like any creative enterprise, is a re-representation, a re-formation of experience, and we need to develop tools that help us sense when and what to include when re-representing a part of life—of our lives” (Kisliuk 1997: 24-5).

Gradually, over the three years I lived and worked in Arviat, shared experiences and defining moments helped me to situate myself. Reflecting on those beginning days, weeks, and years, remembering the naiveté, at times the closed-mindedness, of my firm belief that my way of doing things was the right way and how I projected my beliefs and opinions onto others, and then writing the ethnography about these early experiences have facilitated a process of identity formation and of personal growth. It is surprising to see how much I have learned, how my ideas and opinions have changed, and how these experiences and relationships have impacted my life, just as the lives of my students and friends have been impacted.

Time and experience played a role in shaping me and the field. The relationship I had with my previous experience as a teacher changed how I thought of things theoretically and intellectually and affected how I took in and interpreted new field experiences as a researcher. For example, although teaching religious songs initially bridged a gap between myself and my students and provided me with a warm welcome into the larger community of Arviat, after reading much of the literature on the effects of colonialism on Aboriginal communities, I now wonder whether I contributed to the ongoing act of colonialism. Knowing what I know now of colonial history, I might have approached Christian music differently. Furthermore, by actively sharing my Christian beliefs, participating in Christian ceremonies, and ultimately teaching Christian songs at the high school, I directly illustrated my support of the Christian faith and perhaps indirectly showed my lack of interest in or respect for shamanism or early Inuit beliefs. Viewed this way, I wonder whether this contributed to people's unwillingness to discuss shamanism with me in interviews and their enthusiasm to discuss religious music.

Alternatively, one could take the view that by actively practising Christianity in the field, I opened new gates for exploration.

The lesson to be learned here is that this ethnography is particularized by time, place, personality, and social circumstance. I hope to situate readers within the fluctuations and particularities of my informants, myself, and each setting. As I looked around my student office in the School of Music at the Memorial University of Newfoundland while writing this chapter, I saw pictures of an Inuit family in Arviat and pictures of my students dressed in traditional *amoutiks*⁷⁰ and headpieces as they performed “traditional” Inuit music at the community hall in Arviat. Are these pictures a nice reminder of my close friends in Arviat or are they an attempt to show off my exotic experience of teaching in an Aboriginal community? Do these pictures display Inuit as romanticized and exotic and as different from my friends and family in Newfoundland? These are the gut-wrenching, self-reflective types of questions that I have been grappling with over the past few years. Even reflecting on my teaching experience in Arviat, I now wonder whether, by bringing a “traditional” Inuit musical performing group to the International Choral Festival in St John’s in 2003, I was (certainly unintentionally) contributing to perpetuating the image of Inuit as different, exotic, and primitive. In the process of acknowledging my own past naiveté, I feel it necessary to acknowledge my

⁷⁰ *Amoutik* is an Inuktitut word for “woman’s coat.” These women’s coats are modelled after traditional Inuit parkas. The woman’s traditional caribou-skin parka differed from the man’s in certain design elements, reflecting her maternal role in Inuit society. Infants were carried for the first two to three years of their lives in the roomy back pouch. The large hood allowed air to circulate to the child, and the wide shoulders permitted the child to be moved to the front for breastfeeding without leaving the parka’s warmth and protection. The women’s contemporary amoutiks show resemblance to the traditional style but are made from a cooler cotton-like material called “commander.” Women in Arviat today still wear amoutiks to carry their children. There are many new and innovative styles.

own personal (positive) reasons for taking a choral group of thirty youth to this international festival: I wanted to give my students new opportunities and new experiences. As I come to terms with perhaps having displayed Eurocentric attitudes and behaviours in the past, I am concerned now with research methods that demonstrate ethical standards by considering Inuit worldviews, allowing Inuit voices to speak for themselves, and foregrounding the privilege that Eurocentric attitudes have enjoyed.

Personal narratives and the examination of music performances (both by the researcher and by informants) address a set of theoretical concerns about representation. I have chosen to write about individual experiences—including verbatim statements as well as my own experiences and thoughts—to examine musical performances from my own perspective, and whenever possible to compare my perspective to Inuit perspectives as I understand them. Collaborative efforts such as these, in research and writing, work against generalizations. Through close collaboration with my informants, I have tried to ward off the troubling aspect of ethnographic description that produces the effects of homogeneity, coherence, and timelessness, which contribute to the creation of “cultures” (Kisliuk 2001). Furthermore, I have tried to recognize my effect on the field context. I address the fact that I affected and was affected by my social relationships with both the community and the individuals with whom I worked by leaving traces of myself throughout.

In my writing, I describe Inuit music making as I saw it and lived it during my stay in Arviat. Instead of attempting to make formal generalizations about Inuit music, I draw on a series of case studies of individual Inuit interacting musically with family members, church congregations, and the general public. As discussed in Chapter One, this

approach is influenced by Lila Abu-Lughod's theory of "writing against culture," which argues that focusing on the particular experiences of individuals works against generalization. Abu-Lughod goes on to argue that "telling stories ... could be a powerful tool for unsettling the culture concept and subverting the process of 'othering' it entails" (Abu-Lughod 1993: 13). Therefore, I have chosen to stress the particularity of individual Inuit experiences with music by building a picture of specific experiences, such as religious worship, from individuals' discussions, recollections, disagreements, and actions.

3.5 Meeting New People

The Illungiyok Family⁷¹ (Ahiarmiut/Padlirmiut)—Chapter 4

Ronnie Qahuq Illungiyok (Figure 3.C5) attended my first Arviat Imngitingit rehearsal. He walked into my classroom, smiled, and sat in the back row of the choir formation I had organized. He said nothing, did nothing, and just sat there detached from the rest of the group. I had noticed that some other Inuit did the same thing in my classes at school, and I began to question my teaching skills and my interpersonal skills.

Perhaps some Inuit felt much trepidation in response to my teaching strategies and manner, but if they did, they never said so. I did learn from Billy Ukutak, the school's Inuit guidance councillor, however, that he believes that in an unfamiliar setting an Inuk will likely react by withdrawal, combined with patient observation, until he or she can figure out what the situation is and how to behave. In many cases, withdrawal and

⁷¹ See a genealogical chart of the Illungiyok family on page 176 in Appendix I.

nonparticipation in my classes during the early days of my teaching are probably attributable to this “traditional” Inuit custom, which still exists in modern Inuit society.

Ronnie is a drum dancer. He learned how to drum dance from his father, and he performs nationally and internationally as well as throughout the community and territory. Unfortunately, he does not know how to sing any of the songs to which he dances. He can talk about them, telling me who composed them, what they are about, and so on. But when it comes to the text and the melody, he is lost. Although the choir and I could not learn traditional songs from Ronnie, his drum dancing skills proved to be an asset. Later, while the girls learned songs from elders Eva Aupak or Elizabeth Nibgoarsi or from me via tape recordings, Ronnie worked with the boys on proper drumming technique.

Ronnie began to stop by my home to visit. Initially, he would sit on the floor in a corner without talking and observe his surroundings. I found this odd at first, and I found the lack of conversation uncomfortable. As Ronnie became more at ease in my home, he engaged me in conversation about the differences between Inuit and qablunaat. He began, “You are not like other qablunaat ... You’re more like us Inuit, not expecting us to talk all the time or asking too many questions.” He said that most qablunaat “talk too much,” are “too bossy,” “don’t understand Inuit ways,” and “don’t share what they have, especially food.” Possessing and respecting these values contributed to the long-lasting friendships I developed with people who later became knowledgeable and eager participants in my research.

The practice of sharing is held to be of the utmost importance in Arviat. Inuit share food, natural resources, labour, and sometimes money. Furthermore, hospitality is

considered an essential trait and is almost never refused. Ronnie said that because I opened my home to visitors, people respected and liked me. He said that people knew that I shared my food, instruments, Honda, Skidoo, gas, and so on and that they appreciated it. He also said that this was why people gave me “country food.”

Silas Illungiyok, father to fifteen children and the “head” of the Illungiyok family, was born on the land in 1945. A proud Ahiarmiut and one of Arviat’s key culture bearers, he is employed by the Arviat District Education Authority to work with students at the schools in order to pass on his traditional Indigenous knowledge, including musical knowledge. He is the vice president of the Sivullinuut (Elders’ Society) and is responsible for organizing and performing traditional Inuit drum dances at the Elders’ Centre, the Mark Kalluak Community Hall, school functions such as graduations and festivals, and community functions. Drum dancing and passing on traditional knowledge are Silas’s trade, for which he receives a comfortable income by teaching at the school and performing for money. Thus, when I phoned his home and asked his daughter, Mariah, about conducting a formal interview with him on the topic of music, he wanted to know how much I would pay him. I told Mariah that I would call her back, and I quickly hung up the phone, a little shocked and somewhat angry that he had requested money in return for the interview. This was the first time anyone had requested anything, and I was under the impression that people did not want anything for their contributions.

I sat in silence for quite some time, first thinking about the audacity of such a request and then wondering whether others were expecting money as well. Silas, a man who works with qablunaat daily at the school, knew that if he wanted me to know that he was expecting payment for his services, he would have to tell me directly. At this point, I

began to worry about whether I had offended other interviewees—people whom I had not paid but who probably expected something in return for sharing their knowledge and experiences. I had probably missed hints given by people who needed money to help feed their children, put gas in their vehicles, and so on. My informants were probably thinking that I was another qablunaaq from the outside who would exploit them by taking what information I needed to write my dissertation and that I would soon make lots of money from what I produced about them. I felt ashamed of myself; although my intentions were certainly not to exploit anyone, my failure to take into consideration the historical backdrop of the relationship between whites and Inuit had led me to do precisely that. Later, in my graduate courses at Memorial University, I learned that monetary contributions were sometimes a normal part of the interview process. I eventually located and applied for research grants which financially aided the payment of my interviewees.

In Arviat interracial relations and assumptions about hierarchy and power have been shaped by the history of the region (see Marcus 1995, Mowat 1959, 1952). Part of this history—which includes forced relocation by the Canadian government in the 1950s (with the help of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and missionaries)—is the infiltration in the 1920s by trading opportunists searching for wealth from fox furs. Methods of acquisition involved low payment to Inuit fox hunters, which, combined with the consequential change in caribou hunting routines, ultimately led to starvation.

As a result of this history (and certainly many other similar historical events), many Inuit tend to assume that anyone coming from the outside will exploit them. Many Inuit with whom I worked believe that all qablunaaq are rich, that they get all the good jobs in the community, and that once they have made their fortune, they will leave Arviat,

never to return. I thought, at first, that by making long-term and heartfelt connections with people, by gradually becoming an active participant in church services, square dances, and community functions, and by learning the Inuktitut language I could escape being categorized as another exploiter. But I soon discovered that because I missed subtle nuances of the culture (i.e., the “little hints”), this would be a constant battle.

The way to oppose the lingering effects of the colonial past, I thought, was to grasp the historically defined relationships imposed upon myself and the Inuit with whom I worked and to consciously struggle against that history, reshaping our relationships to fit our respective values and current situation. Thus I immediately phoned Rosie Mamgark to ask her what her thoughts were on the money situation. Rosie assured me that she did not want any money and that no one in her family expected payment for their time and interviews. She said, “We are friends and we help each other in many ways.” She also informed me that others would indeed expect something in return. She suggested \$50 per interview, and I set out to correct the wrong I had done.

Accepting a monetary offering in exchange for a discussion about music, members of the Illungiyok family agreed to participate in the current project. Interviews with Silas, his wife Bernadette, and many of their children, including Ronnie, Mariah, John Paddy, and Danny, proved to be indispensable. Silas Illungiyok, father and elder in the Illungiyok family, identifies and discusses the role of the Inuit drum in Inuit educational initiatives and healing processes in his interviews. Ronnie Qahuq Illungiyok emphasizes that drum dancing is an important element in the maintenance and communication of Inuit identity, culture, and pride in the multicultural and international contexts in which he performs. A younger son, Danny Ollie Illungiyok, shows the

relation between the use of the Inuit drum in traditional Inuit pisiit (songs) and its employment in newer compositions.

Interviews with the Illungiyok children were all conducted in English. Interviews with Silas, however, were conducted in Inuktitut, with his daughter, Mariah, acting as translator. When information is gathered from informants who speak and understand a language different from the researcher's, there is much room for misunderstanding and misrepresentation. No story can be translated from one language (and thus, inevitably, one culture) to another without some loss of meaning. Many details in the life of Silas are hard to convey in a written text in English. It is not just a matter of what is lost in the transformation from oral to written language, nor is the problem simply that inevitable shifts of meaning occur when one moves between languages that do not have precise equivalents for each other's expressions and whose words have varying connotations. These problems are compounded by the number of voices involved in the interpretation of the words. In this particular situation, Mariah translated my questions into Inuktitut for her parent, who responded in Inuktitut. Later, Gara Mamgark transcribed these interviews in Inuktitut and then translated them into English. My analysis of the interviews is based on three levels of interpretation: first, Mariah's translations of my words; second, Gara's written translation of Silas's oral narratives; and third, my own interpretation of the translation.

Gara stated many times that it was "extremely difficult" to translate Silas's narratives into English in a manner that would convey meaning to me and other English readers. She was, in her own way, translating across cultures-as-defined-by-generations when she was trying to render Silas' Inuktitut into her own Inuktitut before putting it into

English. There are levels of language shift here that go beyond Inuktitut to English which will be addressed in subsequent chapters. Furthermore, my understanding, analysis, and writing based on Gara's translations may or may not contain the "truth" in Silas's words. Given all of these compromises of translation, I have struggled to address the great possibility for misunderstanding and misrepresentation by including my informants in the analysis and writing process as much as possible. For this particular situation, I chose to send Mariah Illungiyok copies of the manuscript and asked her to read (i.e., translate into Inuktitut) to Silas the parts about him so that he could offer comments, changes, and/or explanations that would help me to get his stories right or at least as close as possible to the truth. Mariah and I communicated for months via email and telephone. Finally, we struck several bouts of good luck when Mariah and her throat singing partner, Lois Lock, were chosen to sing at *Toonik Tyme*⁷² in Iqaluit (where I presently live) in April of 2010 and at the *Alianait Arts Festival*⁷³ in Iqaluit in June of 2010. Mariah and I were able to talk face-to-face at these times and we revised and edited my manuscript in efforts to represent her family in a manner everyone agreed upon.

⁷² *Toonik (tuniq*: which means inhabitants of the country before the Inuit) Tyme is Iqaluit's annual spring festival which has been a community tradition since 1965. It is a weeklong celebration of Inuit culture and tradition. It is a way for local residents to celebrate the return of spring as a community and is also an opportunity for visitors to experience the unique culture of the Canadian Arctic. A typical schedule includes traditional Inuit activities such as iglu building, dog team races, Inuit games, seal skinning contests, local music and artistic entertainment. Other activities are snowmobile races, Iqaluit Fear Factor, craft fairs, and scavenger hunts.

⁷³ *Alianait (Let's celebrate) Arts Festival*—Established in 2004, the Alianait Arts festival presents music, film, storytelling, circus, dance, theatre, and visual arts. Hosted in Iqaluit, Nunavut, the festival runs for a week in late June with additional events held throughout the year. Its executive director is Heather Daley.

The Okatsiak Family⁷⁴ (Padlirmiut)—Chapter 5

When I travelled back to Arviat in January 2007 for more field research, I encountered the Okatsiak family. The Okatsiaks are a Padlirmiut family who lead the musical worship at the Anglican Church. In addition to performing songs of a religious nature, many members write their own songs, perform music from a variety of genres at the Mark Kalluak Hall for community functions such as festivals, weddings, and community meetings, and make music in their homes as a popular pastime.

I met Mary Okatsiak, mother and elder of the Okatsiak family, at the Anglican Church during Holy Week, 2007. I attended Sunday morning church on 1 April 2007 and learned that there would be services every night throughout the week leading up to Easter. During the service, Mary, who had been playing the organ, walked to where I was sitting and asked me whether I would like to play. I declined, saying that I did not know the music. She frowned, saying “you know the songs,” and asked whether I would play for the service the next night. I accepted on the condition that I could practice with the band before the service. She said that she would arrange it with her husband and son, who were playing the bass guitar and lead guitar respectively.

The next day, Monday, 2 April, I met the Okatsiak family and a few other musicians at the church at 1:00 p.m. Mary and her husband, Peter, her son Sandy and his wife, Eva, and Joe Aulatjut, Sarah Anowtalik, and I practised the music for the service that was to be held later that evening. After the practice, Sandy (Figure 3.C6) said that he liked my piano playing and asked me whether I would be interested in playing on a CD

⁷⁴ See a genealogical chart of three generations of the Okatsiak family on page 177 in Appendix I.

that he wanted to produce. I agreed, and we planned to get together at my house to practice after Holy Week was over. I told them about my project and asked whether they would like to participate. They were all eager to contribute. I also asked whether I might be permitted to record the church services during Holy Week, and since many people do, they said, “Of course.” They told me that I should speak to Rev. Joe Manik and service leader Martha Nutarsungnik for formal permission. I did so, and permission was granted.

Unlike the other two families who participated in this study, whom I have known since 2001—a total of six years of personal sharing—I spent only two months with the Okatsiak family. I did only one recording session and one formal interview with Mary. Her husband, Peter, who plays the bass in several of my recordings, was unable to do an interview due to his employment as a tour guide for visitors mainly from the United States and Japan. It was Sandy and his wife, Eva, with whom I developed friendships. As we were all the same age, we had many things in common and truly enjoyed spending time together.

For two months, Sandy, Eva, and I played together, recording much of what we played, danced together at square dances and teen dances, played cards and bingo, went on hunting expeditions, and led worship services at the Anglican Church. Although we spent a lot of time together during those two months, we did not develop the close relationship that exists between me and certain members of the Mamgark and Illungiyok families. They revealed much about their perspectives on music and music making but very little about their personal, social, and economic histories.

The Mamgark Family⁷⁵ (Tariuqmiut)—Chapter 6

I first met Gara Siatsiaq Mamgark (Figure 3.C7) in August 2001 when she was a grade 10 student at Qitiqliq High School. She was sixteen years old. I remember one particular day after school during that first week of teaching. It had been one of those frustrating days when no one sang and very few students seemed to respond to my many questions. Gara walked into my classroom and said, “*Huvit*.” I said, “Huh?” She said, “*Huvit* means ‘hello’ or ‘how are you?’ in Inuktitut, and your response is *nauk*, and you have to shake your head while you say it.” I did as I was instructed and she laughed. It was a genuine, lovely laugh, and I laughed with her. This marked the beginning of a wonderful student-teacher relationship—ironically, one in which I was mostly the student and she was the teacher. Gara became the source of information about Inuit culture that I longed to know. During those first few months in Arviat, she explained little nuances of the culture. For example, Gara believes that Inuit do not respond well to outbursts of anger.⁷⁶ She kept me up to date on local community activities, telling me what types of behaviour were considered outrageous in the community and what types of behaviour were acceptable. Gara introduced me to many local musicians. She accompanied me to Catholic Church services and square dances, explained family relations, cooked new foods, sang new songs, and taught me basic Inuktitut phrases; all in all, she was the perfect gatekeeper of a culture I knew nothing about.

⁷⁵ See a genealogical chart of three generations of the Sulurayok/Mamgark family on page 178 in Appendix I.

⁷⁶ For a detailed account of Inuit expressions of anger and other forms of emotion, see *Never in Anger: A Portrait of an Eskimo Family* written by Jean L. Briggs (1970).

During the three years I taught at Qitiqliq High School, she participated in all aspects of the music program: she transcribed and translated many Inuktitut songs and travelled with the school choir on many choir trips. Her help to me and to the program was indispensable. In return, I aided Gara with such basic things as her homework. I became her official mentor for the Nunavut Youth Abroad Program, which provides international and national travel and employment opportunities for Inuit youth. With this program, she travelled to Ontario and Botswana, Africa with other Inuit youth to participate in cultural and employment programs. Successful completion of these programs guarantees a spot in *Nunavut Sivuniksavut*, a college program located in Ottawa that is designed to teach young Inuit about the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and other important political, economic, and social issues related to Inuit.

Gara also became my interpreter during my field research. Language barriers between me and my older informants made communication and documentation difficult. Gara's grandmother, Matilda Sulurayok, age sixty-seven (in 2008), speaks Inuktitut only. Thus our relationship is limited by our dependence on Gara to translate our conversations. Although both of us understand the basics of each other's language, a great deal of detail and feeling is lost when we try to communicate without translation assistance.

I recorded many songs from Matilda. She was passionate about getting the songs on tape so that her children and grandchildren can listen to them after she is gone. She also felt that she was doing the "Creator's work" (*pinguqtitsijiup pilirianga*) or "will of God" (*Gutiup pilirianga*) by recording her favourite religious songs. She believed that sharing her music with others would help to bring the Holy Spirit (*anirniq ipjurnaituq*) into their lives. Her reflections, narratives, and reminiscences were told in Inuktitut. Gara

provided me with a sketchy recapitulation of her words after each session. I had to wait until much later, when the recordings were translated into English, to learn the vivid and intricate details of her words.

Although Matilda's interviews were conducted in Inuktitut, the gathering of information from Gara and her mother, Rosie, was of a different nature. All of their interviews were in English, and most of our correspondence was in English as well. Rosie was eager to share her musical narratives with me, was happy to allow me to video-record her singing, but was unwilling to have a formal interview taped. She said that she was "shy of her English" and did not want to "sound stupid." Thus, immediately after each formal interview, I had to rush away and write every detail down before I forgot it. Not the best method for recording people's words but one I had to accept because that is what Rosie wanted. If I forgot something or needed clarification, I phoned Rosie and asked her again to make sure that I got her story right.

Matilda and Rosie were especially keen to share their thoughts and music because they were both concerned about the erosion of Inuit musical traditions. Matilda said, "There are many distractions for young people in Arviat, and there is great concern that the younger people are not learning enough of their traditions." She felt that by singing and recording her song repertoire, young people would be able to have access to it, and she hoped that the songs would continue to be passed on from one generation to the next. Matilda's grandchildren were always present during our recording sessions, and they expressed interest in learning many of her songs. This made her very happy, as was evident in her favourite comment, "*Quviasuqtunga*" (I am happy).

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter tells the story of how I came to live, work, and do research in an Inuit community. Through reflective research and writing, I have introduced the people involved in the present study, discussed some of the many personal challenges I encountered living and teaching in a culture different from my own, and examined some of the difficulties I faced conducting research in that culture. There were many cultural, social, pedagogical, and ethical issues that arose from my teaching experience that helped to “pave my way” toward conducting better research. The close friendships I developed during those teaching years helped to improve the quality of my work and, more important, made my fieldwork a meaningful experience. Some researchers continue to maintain that, as researchers, we must remain in control of our feelings and emotions at all times in the name of our research objectives. However, it is those feelings and emotions and how we reflect upon them that help us to understand who we are, how we have grown, and how we see the world around us. As Edward Said has explained, “Anthropological representations bear as much on the representer’s world as on who or what is represented” (Said 1989: 224). The academic world from which I come is still battling with the illusions of objectivity in social science inquiry. One aim of reflexive fieldwork and writing is to challenge notions of power and “Othering” that exist in colonial scholarship, and it is my goal to work against these notions by sharing my lived experience and by personally and academically reflecting on this lived experience.

Much of the information about me and my informants in this chapter deals very little with music. My intention has been to present as much historical, economic, and social context as possible so that this background can serve as the backdrop for the

analysis and description of musical practices in the lives of these individuals. By writing myself into the musical and social context of the experience of the Arviamiut, I aim to provide an opportunity for the reader to interpret the social dynamics and social worlds of all involved.

Chapter 4: *Qillauyaqpaluk*—Voices of the Drum
Performing Identity: Issues of Inummariit in the Performance of the
Traditional Inuit Drum Dance

The traditional Inuit drum dance, still performed in contemporary Inuit communities today, has existed for centuries. Once performed during spiritual shamanistic rituals such as *Sakaniq*, traditional drum dancing was also used as a way to welcome guests, celebrate a first hunt, or as entertainment. It was an expressive form tied closely with spiritual belief—both religious and vernacular. Today in Arviat, traditional drum dancing is still associated with the way Inuit conceive their relationship to the land, the animals they hunt, and the social relations needed to sustain those ways of life. These are arguably vernacular beliefs and are closely tied to present-day attitudes about inummariit. Some of the earliest investigations of the drum dance are seen in the work of anthropologists from the turn of the twentieth century on.⁷⁷ What is it about this form of musical expression which has caused it to survive through years of cultural contact and change? What makes the drum dance meaningful for Inuit in contemporary contexts?

This chapter examines the connection between the performance of traditional Inuit drum dances and the concept of inummariit. As discussed in Chapter One, the concept of inummariit is diverse and complex and is indeed a vernacular belief system which manifests itself in ideas about spirituality and lifeways. I argue that the performance of the drum dance and its accompanying song parallels ideas about Inuit social organization and identity negotiation—two very important aspects of inummariit and thus spirituality. Furthermore, the history of interaction between Inuit and their colonizers suggests that the

⁷⁷ See Boas (1964); Rasmussen (1976); Birket-Smith (1976); Balikci (1970).

current practice of drum dancing is one means employed by Inuit to preserve some of their traditions.

Silas Illungiyok speaks...(Figure 4.C8)

In Canada's Arctic, where the Inuit drum is played and displayed, the instrument is known to Inuit as the *qilauti*. The *qilauti* is deeply entrenched in Inuit spiritual and cultural existence. It holds a special place in the presentation of Inuit art, music, dance, history, and culture. Its basic role in Inuit society is to accompany the female singers, serving as a percussion instrument as well as setting time for the rhythm of the dancer. Good *qilauti* players are those who learn from their elders; those who listen to their elders when they are drumming and dancing and take heed when elders are speaking about the drum and its importance in Inuit life and culture.

The *qilauti* comes from our Inuit ancestors and was originally played in sacred shamanistic rituals where the shaman used the drum to summon helping spirits to bring good luck in our lives. It was also played for entertainment or to help settle disputes among the members of our group. For example, the drum accompanied comic songs about a hunter who was not much good at caribou hunting or catching seals. Inuit today understand the *qilauti* has become an Inuit icon and accept that Inuit now use it largely for informal purposes such as enjoyment and the promotion of Inuit culture. We remember that it was once used in sacred ceremonies as well as for enjoyment but we don't believe in shamanism anymore. As Christians, we now serve our Lord Jesus Christ and we almost never mention those shamanistic rituals anymore.

The *qilauti* is a male-oriented instrument. In traditional Inuit society women usually play the drum after the men are finished their dancing. The women usually sit in a semi-circle and sing while an Inuk man is drumming. Today, at the school, we teach drumming to boys and girls. Originally, the *qilauti* rim was made from the willow tree and covered with a caribou skin. The skin was then left to dry for one season. When the skin was dry, it could be tightened for the desired sound. Today, the best sounding *qilauti* are made from hard wood such as cherry wood⁷⁸ and a synthetic material called "Oxford." The hard wood is cut in a long strip; it is then steamed over a boiling pot of water on a Coleman stove. When the wood is soft enough, it is bent into a circle and fastened with a staple gun. Once the handle has been firmly secured with sinew,

⁷⁸ Strips of cherry wood are purchased at the local lumber store: Eskimo Point Lumber. This store also carries a wide variety of sewing materials and furs which Inuit women use to design their family's parkas and other clothing. Synthetic materials used in the making of Inuit drums are also purchased here or at the local Northern or Co-op stores.

the man-made cover is stretched over the frame and fixed in place with more sinew. The cover is then tightened for the desired resonance and sound.

We recognize different Inuit groups' individual rhythmic processes and sounds. In the high Arctic, near Baffin Island, qilauti tend to be larger and therefore the pitch is low. The further west and south we travel, the smaller the qilauti and therefore the higher the pitch. Also, on north Baffin Island, the dancing style is different from southern communities. For example, in the high Arctic, men tend to stand straighter and hit the drum in two places on the rim. Some men in Arviat play this way too; that's because they are from further north. The Ahiarmiut men bend lower and then strike the drum on the rim in a triangular fashion; played in this fashion, the drummer resonates all the different beautiful sounds of the drum.

The qilauti has a serious role to play in Inuit society, but it is also used as a popular instrument that can be played for the enjoyment of men, women, and children. Songs are distinguished between traditional hunting and personal story songs and contemporary songs of sentiment. The hunting and personal story songs are usually songs of our elders. They are more formal and are set to a fixed pattern; they are sung and danced in the traditional way. In this context the qilauti is centered on history and culture. The songs of sentiment are more informal and are centred on important events that affect Inuit lives today and into the future. They are written by contemporary singer/songwriters. These songs are new to Arviat; it has been years since Inuit have written new pisiit.⁷⁹ With the revitalization of the drum dance among the youth, there has been a renewed interest and a need for newer expressions. These pisiit are more informal because they can be drummed by more than one drummer, by a female drummer, or may be accompanied by other instruments.

Inuit have long recognized the healing powers of the qilauti. This stems from the early beliefs that shamen were also healers. Today, the qilauti holds powers in the healing process for different reasons. When Inuit congregate at a drum dance for healing purposes, it is the feeling of community and unity that promotes healing. It makes us happy. Treasure the sound, for it is the sound of happiness. (Silas Illungiyok, May 13, 2007)

⁷⁹ *pisiq*, pl. *pisiit* (also *pisia*)—personal song.

Silas Illungiyok's words⁸⁰ serve to orientate this chapter. He expresses his personal view of the Inuit drum as a drummer himself and as a teacher of drum dancing to the youth of Arviat. His words urge respect for the drum dance's historical context and use and for the dignity of Inuit culture. Illungiyok's words are also marked by their vision in acknowledging the drum dance's rebirth, refashioning, and recontextualization in contemporary Inuit society.

In this chapter I examine how *inumhariit* is manifested in the performances and oral histories of three generations of men from the same family. The men of the Illungiyok family are known in the community of Arviat and abroad for their expertise in drum dancing. Drum dancing is what Inuit call "traditional Inuit music" and is made up of two parts: the drum dance (*qilautikut mumirniq*) and the accompanying song (*pisiq*).⁸¹

This chapter investigates what constitutes traditional music and traditional dancing from different generational perspectives, how the performance of this traditional music contributes to the idea of *inumhariit*, and why this is important. Through interviews with three male Inuit drum performers from the same family, examinations of the use of the drum in social situations and performances, and musical analyses of drum dance songs, I hope this multi-voiced survey will tell us much about stability and change

⁸⁰ Illungiyok's words were spoken in Inuktitut during an interview conducted and then translated by his daughter Mariah Illungiyok at my home in Arviat on Sunday, May 13, 2007.

⁸¹ A quick explanation here about the words "pisiq, pisiit, and pisia" and how the Inuktitut language works will alleviate confusion later in this chapter. Pisiq is the Inuktitut word for personal song; a traditional Inuit a-ya-ya song; one that accompanies a traditional Inuit drum dance. Usually the composer's name becomes the title of a pisiq. For example, if Qumak wrote a personal song, the title would be Qumak's Song. In this instance, in Inuktitut, the word pisia would be used: "*Qumak Pisia*." Pisia is the genitive form of the word.

with this form of traditional music and give insight into why the Illungiyok family, members of the Ahiarmiut sub-group, have chosen to embrace, preserve, and promote it.

The following three oral narratives examine how the drum dance, one of the most iconic musical expressions of the Inuit culture, is conceptualized by three generations. Silas Illungiyok, father and elder in the Illungiyok family identifies and discusses the role of drum dancing in Inuit educational initiatives and healing processes. Ronnie Qahuq Illungiyok, son of Silas and his wife Bernadette Iqumik, emphasizes the manner in which drum dancing is an important element in the maintenance and communication of Inuit identity, culture, and pride in the multi-cultural and international contexts he performs in. And finally, younger son Danny Ollie Illungiyok shows the relation between the traditional use of the qilauti and its employment in newer compositions.

4.1 Silas Illungiyok—Dissemination of Traditional Indigenous Knowledge and History, Social Empowerment and Enjoyment

Illungiyok is a proud Ahiarmiut and one of Arviat's key culture bearers. He is hired by the Arviat District Education Authority⁸² to work with students at the schools to pass on his traditional indigenous knowledge, which includes musical knowledge. Illungiyok's use of the qilauti is a unique aspect of his teaching strategy which blends dissemination of traditional Indigenous knowledge and history, social empowerment, enjoyment, and healing.

⁸² The Arviat District Education Authority is an elected committee of seven community members which deals with the education of all students within the boundaries of the hamlet of Arviat. One of their key roles is to monitor the development and delivery of culture based school programs.

Since 1995 there has been a concerted effort on the part of government and educational agencies across Canada to encourage Aboriginal students to participate in educational curricula geared towards Aboriginal cultural understanding. For example, in 1996 the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples⁸³ recommended the application of Indigenous knowledge and incorporation of tradition in Aboriginal educational policy in Canada (Brant-Castellano 2000). Since then, communities such as Arviat have responded to the commission's challenge of articulating what traditional indigenous knowledge is and formulating new ways of transmitting it to younger generations.

This current trend needs to be appreciated in the historical context of the long-running activities of the Canadian federal and provincial governments to provide an education for Aboriginal students that centered on assimilation into the dominant culture (Battiste 2005; Battiste and Youngblood 2000; Kirkness 1999). One effect of this educational paradigm was low retention rates for Aboriginal students in secondary schools which in 1971 prompted the House of Commons standing committee on Indian affairs to prepare a report on Aboriginal education. The report clearly demonstrated how current education systems had failed. "The absence of a clear philosophy of education with goals and objectives, failure to provide a meaningful program based on Indian reality, a lack of qualified teaching staff and inadequate facilities, and, most important,

⁸³ The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples was established in 1991 to carry out an independent inquiry into the troubled relationship between Aboriginal peoples, the Canadian government, and Canadian society. Its mandate is to propose solutions for these troubles. The commission submitted a five-volume report in 1996 which addressed issues of respect for cultural differences and recognitions of the moral, historical, and legal right of Aboriginal peoples to govern their collective lives in ways they freely determine. The commission recommended the participation of Aboriginal people, the application of indigenous knowledge and incorporation of tradition as the basis for devising policy in political relations and governance, land use and economic development, family rehabilitation and community development, and health and education.

the absence of parental involvement in the education of their children” (Indian Tribes of Manitoba, 1971 from Kirkness 1999: 7).

Influenced by such reports the Department of Education in Nunavut (then Northwest Territories) was mandated in 1995 to write a new curriculum for Inuit youth that incorporated traditional indigenous knowledge. In Inuktitut, this is known as Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit.⁸⁴

As a member of the Arviat District Education Authority, Silas Illungiyok is actively involved in the decision-making process pertaining to IQ as described in Chapter Two. Furthermore, he contributes to the actual teaching and learning of the IQ principles in all three schools in the community of Arviat, sometimes using traditional Inuit music to accomplish this goal. Early 20th-century visitors to the region reported that traditional Inuit a-ya-ya songs (or pisiit) and drum dancing, historically were passed on orally, and played a part in almost every gathering, whether it was a celebration of a birth, a marriage, the changing of the seasons, a successful hunt,⁸⁵ a first kill, a greeting for visitors, to settle a dispute,⁸⁶ to honour someone who had died or in shamanistic spiritual

⁸⁴ Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit (IQ) Curriculum Framework Document (2005) provides the philosophy and cultural components of an education system embedded in IQ. It puts into action the priorities and principles set out in the government’s mandate, *Pinasuaqtavut*. It also makes the links to the *Inuuqatigitit* curriculum and other key foundation documents for education in Nunavut such as *Ilitaunnikiliriniq Student Assessment in Nunavut Schools*, *Inuglugijaituq: Inclusive Education in Nunavut Schools* and *Aajiiqatigiingniq: Language of Instruction Report*.

⁸⁵ “The Coast Padlimiut differentiate between the following kinds of songs: [*pamaut*], a song principally dealing with the fact that the singer is not much good at caribou hunting; [*hamaut*], that he cannot catch seals; [*im’ai*] that he must live on the meat caught by others; [*qanai*], songs about white men. It will be seen that their coquetry also appears in the songs. Normally, only the men have their own songs, to which their wives lead the chorus. Women may only sing songs when called upon by a shaman.” (Birket-Smith 1976: 270).

⁸⁶ About the Caribou Eskimo derision songs, Rasmussen writes, “Also, songs of derision, or satires, mercilessly exposing the faults and vices of the village. Two men thus engaging in a duel of abuse show up

rituals. Thirty years ago, Pelinski (1981) stated that the drum dance and its accompanying pisiit no longer have these functions in contemporary Arviat and Rankin Inlet society. He goes on to report that at the time of his research, Inuit drum dancing in Arviat and Rankin Inlet was a tradition that was dying: with the exception of a few elders in these communities, no one was drum dancing any more. In contrast to Pelinski's findings, I found from my own research and experience that the drum dance and accompanying songs have been recontextualized in contemporary Inuit society.

In descriptions from the 1890s through the twentieth century, there are common features. In the traditional dance,⁸⁷ historically, singers — usually women — sat in a circle.⁸⁸ Sometimes a man would volunteer to be the first dancer; at other times a group of men sitting behind the singers would coax someone to start. If no one came forward, the women would start singing, usually a personal song (pisiq) of a man in attendance, who would then be obligated to dance. Often times, drum dances continued unabated long into the night (Rasmussen 1927; Marsh 1987). It is this historical context and this genre

each other's shortcomings without the least compunction. Acts of cruelty in particular, or infidelity, or immoral conduct, whereby is understood incest or sexual intercourse with animals, are subjects dealt with in the presence of all mutual friends, at times accompanied by a bout of fisticuffs" (Rasmussen 1976: 66).

⁸⁷ For more information on the traditional Inuit pisiq and drum dancing see Boas (1877), Balikci (1970), Rasmussen (1927), Birket-Smith (1976), Pelinski (1979), Pelinski (1981), Cavanagh [Diamond] (1982), Vascotto (2001), and Conlon (1992).

⁸⁸ "As a rule the singer stood upright in the middle of the floor, whilst the chorus knelt on one knee around him" (Rasmussen 1976: 46). "At the song festivals at which we were present there were gathered as many as could find room in the biggest tent in the village. And the one who was to sing—or whose songs were to be sung—would then take up position in the middle of the floor, with closed eyes, and accompanying the song with a swaying of the hips, while the women, who sat bunched together on the sleeping place, joined in every now and then as a chorus, mingling their higher notes with the deep tones of the male singer. The drum was manipulated in the usual manner..." (Rasmussen 1976: 66).

of traditional songs that Silas envisions as part of the IQ program at the local schools in Arviat.

Sitting in the music room on Thursday, February 15, 2001 at Qitiqliq School at a workshop lead by Illungiyok geared toward southern teachers to learn about the IQ principles and values of Inuit, I asked Illungiyok if he would describe his job and what he is trying to do in the classroom. In Inuktitut, he responded:

My job is to teach Inuit ways. The schools are filled with southern teachers who are excellent at doing their job, which is to teach English and math, and science, and social studies. But they don't know Inuit ways and they don't know our language. I teach the students how to play the qilauti in the Ahiarmiut style, and along with elders such as Elizabeth Nibgoarsi we teach the students the old Inuit pisiit. We want to keep our Inuit language and traditions alive. For so long, the youth have been learning about southern ways and in a southern fashion that many of them do not know how Inuit lived before resettlement; they don't know Inuit ways and they are losing their Inuktitut language. We want our Inuit youth to be proud to be Inuit and to learn about their heritage. With this solid foundation, we hope that they will be happy and successful in their lives and contribute to the future of our community and territory. (Silas Illungiyok, Feb. 15, 2001. Translation by Liana Kalluak, student support assistant)

I asked Illungiyok what he thought was important for the students to understand and how the qilauti helps him to achieve that. He responded:

The most important songs are the traditional songs, the ones that are accompanied by the qilauti because we have to keep our tradition, culture, and language alive. I think that Inuit traditions and their pisiit are very important; how they were poor and hungry, or losing their loved ones, or when a wife or husband was killed and how sad they were. Some of the songs have words about how Inuit enjoyed their lives. This is the Inuit traditional way of making pisiit and passing on their stories. The elders understand how it was. We want our young people to understand how it was also. We don't want them to understand their history from books written by non-Inuit who sometimes got the stories wrong or didn't understand the Inuktitut language; we want them to learn about their history from the elders who experienced it and from the songs that tell the true stories. All the students want to play the qilauti. It is not

difficult and they are usually not shy in trying it out. So, I can use this interest in the drum to talk about our history and to discuss with them the importance of knowing who you are and where you come from. I do not advocate a return to the old ways; rather, I emphasize that with this knowledge and pride we can shape our future. We want our people to be happy and proud and for our culture to survive and grow. (Silas Illungiyok, May 13, 2007)

Silas' words address his concern for cultural erosion, language loss, and low self-esteem among the youth of Arviat. It is evident that he sees the qilauti as a means of expression that can serve socio-cultural and political ends by helping articulate crucial issues in Inuit society. He fears that youth do not know their 'true' Inuit history and are hurting because of it. He wishes to teach his students their history, as well as their heritage, culture and language through active engagement with elders and with their ancestors' songs with the hope that they will be "happy" and will contribute positively to Inuit society.

Considering there are three sub-groups of Inuit presently living in Arviat, each with their own historical events, I wondered whose history Silas was taking about and how he selected which details to teach. Through email correspondence with Silas' daughter, Mariah Illungiyok, I learned that Silas presents Inuit history to his students based on his own experiences. He relates information about how he lived on the land as a child growing up at Ennadai. He tells a little about how life was for his mother, Mary Qahuq Miki, from the stories he remembers her telling him and the songs she sang to him. He would never talk about the history of other Inuit, such as the Padlirmiut or the Tariuqmiut, Mariah cautioned stating, "There are elders from those tribes who know the history, you should ask them" (Mariah Illungiyok, February, 2011). Mariah went on to say that her father rarely talks about shamanism or resettlement. She explained that he

never practiced shamanism and therefore never talks about it with his students. As for resettlement, he was very young when he moved to Eskimo Point.

In a telephone interview in 2010, with Mariah Illungiyok interpreting, I asked Silas what the concept of inummariit meant for him and if there was any connection between inummariit and drum dancing:

Of course there is a connection between inummariit and drum dancing. Being a real Inuk means that you know about your heritage, that you can speak in Inuktitut, and that you can show who you are. I show that I am a real Inuk by drum dancing and by teaching drum dancing to the youth. Drum dancing came from our ancestors and we must continue to do it if we are to connect with the past and make good decisions about our future. Anyone who claims to be inummarik should at least know about the importance of drum dancing, know the personal songs and the stories they tell even if they do not drum dance themselves. All Inuit must value the things that came from our ancestors – the true Inuit. (Silas Illungiyok, February, 2011)

How does Silas communicate his idea of inummariit to his students? How does he teach information culturally and appropriately that contains important historical, cultural, and societal information? As part of the traditional knowledge curriculum designed by Silas for the Levi Angmak Elementary School and Qitiqliq Middle School, elders and youth participate each winter in what is known as “The Iglu Project.”⁸⁹ Elders and students spend up to three weeks out on the land building a small community of *igluit*.⁹⁰ They construct three buildings from snow, ice, tent poles, and caribou skins: the largest structure is the female iglu, the medium sized structure is the male iglu, and the smallest one is a lavatory. First as a teacher at Qitiqliq High School for three years and then as a

⁸⁹ For more information about the Iglu project, please visit website <http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/205/301/ic/cdc/arviat/enghome.html>

⁹⁰ *iglu*, pl. *igluit*—snow house.

researcher in the community for two more, I was able to take part in this project for five consecutive years and to see first-hand, how Illungiyok and other elders engage students in active traditional indigenous learning.

This type of cultural education is similar to approaches described by several aboriginal scholars. Mi'kmaq scholar Marie Battiste (2005) who in her book chapter, "Leadership and Aboriginal Education in Contemporary Education: Narratives of Cognitive Imperialism Reconciling with Decolonization," addresses how to decolonize current educational paradigms to achieve effective educational strategies that will meet the needs of Aboriginal students. She argues that we need to unpack the current education system with its "powerful Eurocentric assumptions and its narratives of race, gender and difference in curriculum pedagogy" and try to develop effective theories or strategies that centre indigenous knowledge as a shared education norm so that Aboriginal students, who have been "struggling with perceptions of inferiority, incapacity and dependency that affects their ability to succeed," (Battiste 2005: 154) can dispel their feelings of resignation and despair. Inuit educator, Betsy Annahatak (1994) addresses the same issue and asks the question, "How can we as educators and maybe anthropologists provide the best understanding of what quality education is for us as Inuit today?" (pp. 12-13). She goes on in her (1994) article, *Quality Education for Inuit Today? Cultural Strengths, New Things, and Working out the Unknowns: A Story by an Inuk*, to discuss the history of tensions between two cultures; "tensions related to Inuit values versus institutional values, traditional activities versus current activities, obedience versus originality, Inuit worldview versus mainstream worldview, and modern cultural tools

versus traditional knowledge” (p. 13). She argues that educators must be able to make meaning of these two cultures and to build educational goals from those meanings.

A glimpse at the following case study of a trip to the igluit reveals issues pertaining to Silas’ teaching style, curriculum content choices, and identity. It also reveals issues pertaining to gender, teaching style, transmission, and student comprehension of curriculum:

A trip to the igluit on Thursday, March 30, 2006 is the most memorable because it was on this day that I remember Illungiyok teaching drum dancing as a part of the day’s activities. I recall waking early on that frosty, sunny morning because I was excited about accompanying Nancy and Greg’s grade 6 classes out to the Iglu Project. I met the students and teachers in the foyer of Qitiqliq Middle School just before 9:00 a.m. In previous years we were transported to the igluit by skidoo and kamutik but this year a big yellow school bus pulled into the parking lot at the school and we all piled on. When I stepped onto the bus, four elders were already seated there: Elizabeth Nibgoarsi (Padlirmiut) and Eva Mukyungnik (Ahiarmiut) sat in the front seat and across from them sat Silas Illungiyok (Ahiarmiut) and Mark Kinniksie (Ahiarmiut). They had been picked up at their respective homes before coming to the school. I smiled and said “huvit” as I sat down in the seat behind Elizabeth and Eva. Elizabeth is the mother of one of my former choir students and she visited rehearsals on a number of occasions. She turned around in her seat and asked “*Quviahuqpit*” “are you happy” and I replied “*li quviahuqtunga iglumuraqtunga*” “Yes, I am happy. I am going to the iglu.” She smiled and was pleased that I replied to her question in Inuktitut and we continued our conversation in her mother tongue (albeit confusing due to my limited Inuktitut vocabulary) as noisy students piled onto the bus.

The igluit were located just outside of town near the “old airstrip” and our drive was a short one, about ten minutes or so. When I stepped off the bus, I noticed that there were two igluit built side by side; one was larger than the other. Nearby, there was a third iglu. Upon inquiring about it later Joni Okatsiak (Padlirmiut), one of the students said, “that’s the washroom” and broke off into a fit of giggles accompanied by the joyous laughter of the girls around her. As the kids climbed off the

bus, Silas was instructing them where to go. I followed some boys to the smaller iglu and went inside and made myself comfortable. It was not until later, when I was seated in the smaller iglu with Mark and Silas drinking a cup of tea and talking with the boys that I realized that, as a female, I was in the wrong iglu. No one bothered to tell me of my mistake. When it came to my attention that there were no girls in the iglu I asked Anthony “where are all the girls.” He replied, “*amio*” “I don’t know.” Mark Kinniksie, the elder, understood my question and replied in Inuktitut. Anthony translated, “they are in the female iglu with Eva and Elizabeth learning how to make bannock.” The light bulb went off, I had missed one important lesson already; boys and girls had different things to learn out on the land. Seated on my warm caribou skin which was strategically placed over the ledge made of snow, I smiled, finished my tea and frozen *tuktuk* (raw caribou meat) as Mark continued to tell stories in Inuktitut about living in an iglu 50 years ago when he was a boy (these were translated for me by Anthony). I then quickly found my way to the larger iglu, where I was supposed to be interacting with the girls and learning women’s work and roles from the female elders.

The women’s iglu was the largest of the three. When I first got down on my knees to enter through the little doorway, I found myself in a small space. This first section was a little iglu which served as a sort of porch and was built to keep the drafty wind from entering the larger living space. The entrance into the larger portion of the iglu was covered by a piece of canvas. Upon entering the larger iglu I was surprised to feel the warm air surrounding me. Even though the temperature outside was well below -25 degrees Celsius, inside the iglu was warm and cozy and I was forced to remove some layers of clothing.

The first thing I noticed as I crawled into the iglu was a large hunk of frozen caribou meat lying on the floor to the left of the entrance on an old piece of cardboard. The girls chopped into this meat with a small axe and removed small portions whenever they felt hungry. Located immediately above the caribou meat was a window made from lake ice. While we were unable to see out of this window, it did allow a brilliant sunshine into the iglu that made everything inside bright and cheery. The girls were all sitting on the large snow ledge covered in caribou skins and were chatting and laughing while drinking their hot delicious tea. The atmosphere was lively, merry, and warm.

Also on the left side of the iglu were the two female elders, Eva and Elizabeth. They were sitting on the caribou skins near the Coleman stove and were busy preparing bannock

for our noon time lunch. They were not teaching the girls how to make the bannock from a recipe, nor were they explaining how to make it in a step by step process. Rather, they busied themselves making the bannock slowly, while some girls looked on. This is in accordance with the Inuit way of teaching and learning: watch and learn. By watching many times, the student will soon know how it is done. I noticed that some girls were watching and others were not, reinforcing the Inuit belief that young people will learn when they are ready.⁹¹

When one bannock was ready Elizabeth placed it on the floor of the iglu on a piece of cardboard and continued to make more. As the large, round loaf of fried bread cooled, girls ripped portions off until it was gone. It was soon replaced with another, and then another, and then another. The smell of the delicious fried bannock must have wafted to the men's iglu because the women's iglu filled up quickly as the boys came to visit and to have their share of the tasty bread.

After our appetizing lunch, Eva began scraping a caribou skin with an *ulu* (a traditional women's knife) to make the skin soft and pliable. Several students were watching her. She did not speak or explain what she was doing; again students were to learn by watching. Elizabeth sharpened her knife on a stone and began scraping as well. Shelton Aulatjut (Ahiarmiut), a young boy, sat quietly and watched the elder scrape the skin. His father, Joe Aulatjut (Ahiarmiut), is an artist who makes beautiful soap stone carvings and who spends much time teaching his son about traditional Inuit ways. He seemed keenly interested in this woman's activity. Young girls began to gather around as well and a discussion broke out in Inuktitut. It was not evident to me whether they were talking about the scraping or something entirely different and I wondered whether the students knew why the elders were scraping the skin.

Following this traditional activity, Eva taught us how to play a traditional game called *nugluktak*.⁹² The game was entertaining for all. This was evident in the healthy

⁹¹ For more information about Inuit beliefs pertaining to watching and learning see *Child Rearing Practices* edited by Naqi Ekho and Uqsuralik Ottokie (2000) and *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit (IQ) Curriculum Framework* (2005).

⁹² *Nugluktak* is a traditional Inuit game. One end of a piece of rope is tied to the top of the iglu, the other end is fastened to a stone which is placed on the floor and holds the rope taught. Tied at the centre of the rope is a piece of caribou antler with one hole drilled in its middle. Players hold wooden sticks with metal points. The object of the game is to position the metal point through the hole in the caribou antler. Players stand in a circle surrounding the rope and aim their sticks at the centre hole using a forward/backward motion which continues until one person gets the stick in the hole.

competitiveness displayed by the students and the frequent outbursts of laughter when someone won the game. While boys and girls played this game together, Elizabeth removed a broken qilauti from a cardboard box and began to repair it (Figure 4.C9). One of the students said “qilauti” for my benefit and I repeated the Inuktitut word. I could feel my excitement mount as I hoped that we might hear some music and see a drum dance if the drum was repaired. Elizabeth sat on the ledge made of snow which was covered with a warm caribou skin, with her legs stretched straight outward. She held the drum vertically between her legs such that the drum handle rested between her feet. She was holding the drum skin, the drum, and the sinew for some time and I wondered what she was going to do next. Without encouragement, one of the students walked over to her and began to help her repair the drum. It was as if this silent waiting was an act of communication in and of itself. She was waiting for someone to help. Elder and student fixed the drum by holding the skin firmly over the rim and winding sinew around the rim to hold the skin in place while others looked on. I noticed that the skin was not the customary caribou skin used in covering traditional Inuit drums; rather it was a synthetic material. I also noticed that the rim was made of white plastic and not of wood and I wondered at the kind of sound the plastic rim would produce. Later, when speaking with Silas, he informed me that “hardly any qilauti are made from caribou skins anymore; too stinky” and that “the plastic rim really should not be used because it does not produce a good sound, but I didn’t want to bring the good drum out to the cold iglu because it might get broken.”

It took about fifteen minutes and the work of two elders and one student to repair the drum. All three took their turn tightening the skin of the drum by pulling the ends of the fabric through the sinew. Eventually the nugluktak game was put away and Eva and Elizabeth began to sing a traditional a-ya-ya song or pisiq. There were no boys in the iglu at this time and Eva handed the drum to a little girl, Joni Okatsiak, and she began to drum dance. The elders closed their eyes and rocked back and forth as they sang their pisiq. I did not recognize this pisiq and the elders did not tell the students anything about the song before they started to sing. I was also unable to determine from my informants who composed it or from where it came. The elders sang with unclear diction for a short time. The volume level of their singing was so low that when reviewing the video later, no one was able to discern the words or the melody.

While the elders sang, Joni stood upright in the centre of the iglu and began beating the drum with the *katuk* (drum mallet). The *katuk* hit the drum first on one side of the handle and then on the other. She did not drum dance per se. Her body did not bounce or move in the rhythm of the drum, she did not sway her head from side to side, and she did not shuffle her feet and move in a semi-circular fashion as I have seen many drum dancers from Arviat do. There was laughter. Joni and the girls laughed a lot during the short drum dance; not a disrespectful laughter, it was more like the laughter of fun and perhaps a little embarrassment. Joni and the girls probably felt a little embarrassed to be participating in something they do not usually do in their regular daily lives. Regardless of embarrassment or shyness, it was evident from genuine smiles that everyone was having a good time.

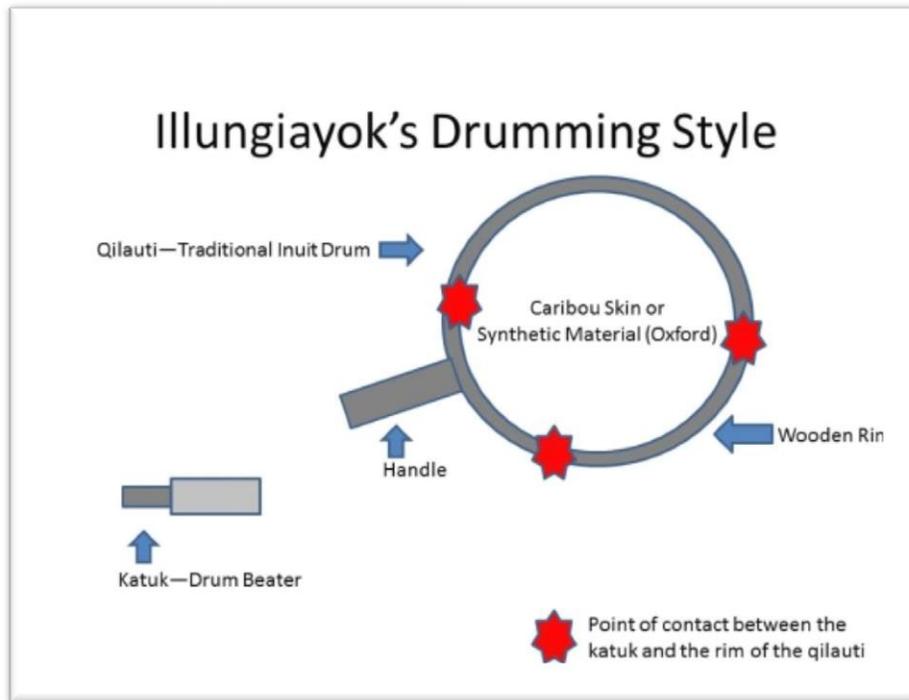
I noticed that the students did not sing along with the elders. Not for this song, nor for two other *pisiit*. There was one exception. Later, after the singing of the third *pisiq*, they started to sing their final song, "*Qumak Pisia*,"⁹³ and many of the girls gladly joined in. This was one of the songs Eva Aupak had taught me and the students in 2004 when I was employed as music teacher at Qitiqliq School. Although, many of these students present here were too young to have been my students at that time, many of them were the siblings of students who were. I was happy to know that the song was passed through families in this manner. I wondered here about modes of transmission. If students were supposed to learn traditional *pisiit* through watching and learning, one day at the iglu was not going to get the job done. More musical interaction between elders and students would be necessary for intense learning to take place. This raises the question, what is the intended outcome of musical learning at the Iglu Project? Is it to learn the songs and the dance for performance purposes? Is it to learn what the text of the songs means? Is it to learn where the songs are from and who composed them and what they meant to their composer or what they mean to the elders present in the iglu today? Or is the outcome to ensure that youth know that traditional Inuit *pisiit* exist and they were once sung in an iglu for enjoyment, just as they were doing right now? Is it to learn a feeling, a sense of belonging, or a sense of relating to the land? And whose history is being re-enacted?

⁹³ See musical transcription on page 46 in Appendix G. For text and translation see pages 116-117 in Appendix H.

During the singing of the second pisiq, Silas Illungiyok's head popped through the entrance of the women's iglu. He emerged, took the drum and said in Inuktitut, "Don't be shy; you don't have to be shy here inside the iglu. Drum dancing was a way of our happiness; our fathers used it many times. Our mothers and fathers, our elders, they used to drum dance to be happy. Like you guys really like teen dances, just like that, that's how we used drum dance to be happy. Don't hit it anywhere on the drum; hit it like this. Like this, not like this (Figure 4.1). Go ahead; shout "oi, oi, oi." This is how it's happiness. Do you guys know any pisiit? Let's go, sing a song that you know. Sing a song, don't be shy, here inside the iglu we don't have to be shy. Yes like that; just hit the drum like that. Yes, like that, that's good, good job. Great!!! Girls, sing along too. Yes! That's good, great job. Your turn. Girls can drum dance too. Did some of our friends go out? Whose turn is it? Girls can drum dance too. Don't be shy. 15 minutes till we go home" (Translation by Gara Mamgark).

I watched in awe as he taught the students the mechanics and aesthetics of drum dancing. For example, he showed the students how to tap the under-rim gently for the "call" or the invitation to the singer to begin their song. He demonstrated where to strike the drum on the rim in a triangular fashion (Figure 4.1) which earlier he identified to me as the Ahiarmiut style. He demonstrated how the drum was to be gently placed on the floor of the iglu, with the drum skin facing up, the rim facing down, and the katuk placed underneath the drum. His teaching style incorporated positive reinforcement and he motivated different students to take part. I noticed that several male students responded with eager participation. These were Charlie Jr. Alareak and David Tassior. No girls joined in the dancing even though they were encouraged to do so by Illungiyok. This may be because after David Tassior finished his drum dance, Eva asked "*nauq angutik*" "which boy is next." It was fairly clear that because the boys were present, the girls did not feel comfortable drum dancing and thus chose not to participate. (Field journal entry March 30, 2006 pp. 48-50)

Figure 4.1



Gender

The transmission of traditional Inuit knowledge includes the knowledge of traditional gender roles. There is an iglu for men, where the boys meet with male elders and hear stories about hunting and hunting practices. They are shown traditional hunting tools and are told how to use them. In the women's iglu, female elders make bannock, scraping caribou skins, and using traditional women's tools such as the ulu, a woman's knife.

Traditionally, the division of labour was a complementary male—female partnership. It was the key for survival (Balikci 1970; Guemple 1995; Spencer 1984; Ager 1980). Men hunted to provide food for communities while women did chores near the camp such as raise children, make clothing, pick berries, and cook food. This division of labour seems remarkably like that of Western culture in the early and mid-

20th century. For the “lost generation,” food prep for girls would have been taught in residential schools. Perhaps the division became more dramatic because of that experience for Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut. Most of the Ahiarmiut, due to their isolation inland, were not subject to residential schooling. In present-day Arviat, it is Ahiarmiut elders who run the Iglu Project. Thus, gender roles are perpetuated through the existence of the Iglu Project itself.

When it comes to the performance of traditional Inuit drum dancing and the accompanying pisiit in the female iglu, there are discrepancies between what Silas says and the events that actually take place. First, Silas announced three times that “girls can drum dance too.” Before resettlement of the Ahiarmiut, drum dancing was an activity usually reserved for men. Men danced to their own pisiq which was sung by the females in the group. Women drum danced, but only when there were no men around to do so, or after a long evening of dancing and the men were tired. Thus, it would seem that the invitation to the girls to drum dance would suggest that this typically male role has changed in modern times. However, not one girl volunteered to dance in the iglu when the boys were present. Furthermore, after two boys danced and the floor was empty, elder Eva Mukyungnik asked “nauq angutik—which boy is next?” indicating her belief that it should be the boys who dance and not the girls at this point. The girls were happy to drum dance when the iglu was filled only with girls. Also, when Silas was explaining about the drum dance and what he thought it meant for his ancestors, he first said, “drum dancing was a way of our happiness; our fathers used it many times.” These examples show that the gendered role of drum dancing has, in fact, not changed at all and both elders and students are aware of the rules. With regards to the singing of the

accompanying pisiit, an activity traditionally reserved for women, Silas invited only the girls to do so. This gendered role has not changed either. Thus, when Silas and students Charlie Jr. Alareak and David Tassior drummed they were, in fact, performing their gendered identities. Similarly when Eva Mukyungnik, Elizabeth Nibgoarsi, and their female students sang the pisiit, they were performing their gendered identities as well.

The composition of pisiit was never limited to men; however, there seems to be many more songs composed by men than by women. It may be that in both traditional and contemporary times men's songs were more apt to be sung at public events, thus receiving more exposure to communities than women's songs. In earlier times, women's songs were reserved for singing to children and doing chores, a more private activity. Qahuq, Silas's mother, composed her own pisiit and most of her children today know how to sing them but refuse to do so in public. When I asked Ronnie to sing one of his grandmother's songs he refused stating that the content of the song was very personal and that he did not wish to share it with me or with others who were not family members. Furthermore, he felt that the content of the songs composed by his grandfather and father was more exciting and thus more audience appropriate. These examples reveal that gender plays an important part in the selection of pisiit for contemporary public performance and student education. Only male-composed pisiit were taught in the Iglu Project. The roles of men and women in the cultural production of the drum dance seem to uphold commonly held notions of gendered participation as a core element of inummariit.

Teaching Style

Silas says that he teaches drumming in the “Ahiarmiut style”; therefore, all of his pupils, regardless of their sub-cultural heritage, learn how to drum dance in this way. I asked Silas if he ever makes a distinction between styles in his teaching and he said, “No, I teach the way I learned; I don’t make distinctions.” However, in an earlier interview, which is presented at the beginning of this chapter, Silas believed it important to point out to me that there are regional differences in drum dancing style. As stated in his monologue at the beginning of this chapter, Illungiyok explains the differences between the drumming styles of people living on north Baffin Island with those of people living in more southern Nunavut communities. Illungiyok’s students are not familiar with particular regional drum dancing styles. In fact, most of my youth informants were more aware of individual rather than regional drumming styles, making comments such as, “He stands up tall when he drums,” “He shouts too much when he drums; it interferes with the song,” “I think he looks funny when he bends down really low like that,” “You’re supposed to bounce more from your knees and sway your head from side to side.” Thus, even though he articulated the regional differences in style to me, he does not talk about them or demonstrate them to his students. Teaching out of his own experience is part of an ethical position; one directly related to the inummariit view of autonomy.

Transmission

When I asked Illungiyok about the songs he said:

Students learn to sing from the female elders at the school. Eva Aupak, when she was alive, talked about growing up in and around Padlei (Padlirmiut) and she taught the students how to sing “*Qumak Pisia*.”

Qumak was from the Ikuligyurmiut; they lived in the Yathkyed Lake area. Elizabeth Nibgoarsi is also from Padlei, so she sings the songs of her family. Eva Mukyungnik is Ahiarmiut, from Ennadai and she sings the songs of her family. When the elders are all together, they sing all the songs from everywhere. Everyone knows where they are from so we don't always talk about it. It is important that the students learn Inuit culture, but we don't always make talk about the different groups. (Silas Illungiyok, May13, 2007)

It is interesting that when I asked Mary Anowtalik, an Ahiarmiut elder who sings traditional pisiit at the Elders' Centre, whose song Elizabeth was singing at the Iglu Project, her daughter Sarah replied, "she [Mary] doesn't recognize the song that Elizabeth and her partner are singing. She said, 'I think the song is from the other side of us, not from Ennadai.' She said she can help you with anything that got to do with Inuit song or drum dancing and stuff, but she said she really sorry she doesn't recognize the song." This is one example which contradicts Silas' conviction that the elders from the various sub-cultures know each other's songs; but it still points to the knowledge of clear distinctions between and among the elders of the various sub-groups. In speaking with other elders I found that they do know the heritage of other elders living in Arviat. Furthermore, it seems evident that they know which region particular songs came from based on which elder is singing them or the language used in the text. This demonstrates that elders, through their knowledge of each other's heritage, make clear distinctions between sub-cultural musics in the community of Arviat. It is evident from both Silas and Mary that traditional pisiit from Arviat are not all simply understood as being Inuit

traditional songs; they are identified as songs from specific times, places, and people.⁹⁴

Whether, their students perceive the distinction is questionable.

Student Comprehension of Curriculum

When I asked Gara where the elder Eva Aupak was from she did not know. She did not know the heritage of Elizabeth Nibgoarsi or Eva Mukyungnik either. I asked, “Do you know any of the pisiit they sing at the Elders’ Centre or at school?” She answered “No, only the ones you taught us.” This was the response I received from many students. Most do not know the heritage of their elders, nor the songs they sing, which contravenes Silas’s conviction that everyone in Arviat knows where everyone else is from. Elders are able to articulate the birth place and sub-Inuit group of other elders and their children, but most youth, with the exception of their own grandparents, cannot. Thus, there is a discrepancy between what Silas thinks he is passing on to his pupils and what they are actually learning. Silas is teaching his students to drum dance in the Ahiarmiut style, but his students are only aware of the dance style as being Inuit; they are unaware that there are distinctive drumming styles for each sub-group. Furthermore, the songs they hear from their female elders are considered traditional Inuit a-ya-ya songs, not the place, time, sub-group, and individual specific conception of the songs the elders have. As a result, for youth, the cultural distinctions between sub-groups have become blurred.

⁹⁴ This aligns well with other researchers such as, Beverley Cavanagh [Diamond] (1982) who found that before singers sang a pisiq, they usually gave a preamble about where the song came from, who wrote it, and what the song was about.

An examination of the interviews conducted with Silas' children⁹⁵ shows that not only are the lines of sub-group and sub-culture blurred, but unlike historically when children learned the songs of their relatives (Vascotto 1991), the Illungiyok children have learned traditional pisiit from outside the family, the community, and the region; in some cases, from people who are not Inuit. For example, when asked if he thought that learning traditional Inuit music was important for youth, Qahuq replied, "My grandma once told me that while you were young, you do it...to keep the traditions and language alive." Yet, in the same breath he affirms that he does not know any of the words to his grandmother's pisiq but that "most of the ladies probably know it." Furthermore, Qahuq drum dances to traditional Inuit pisiit such as "*Alu Pisia*"⁹⁶ (from Chesterfield Inlet), "*Qilaup Pisia*"⁹⁷ (from Chesterfield Inlet), "*Qauloaqtaq*"⁹⁸ (from Rankin Inlet) that I learned from compact discs and taught to the group that Qahuq drums for. When talking about singing traditional songs, Qahuq's sister, Mariah Illungiyok says, "I feel I am very proud of Inuit and my ancestors, so I don't live back 50 years ago, so I want to keep it or I want to preserve it." She wishes to "preserve" her Inuit culture and traditions; yet also affirms that she does not know how to sing any of the pisiit from her father or mother's side of the family. The pisiit she sings to "preserve" her culture come from Silvia

⁹⁵ For a list of some of the traditional pisiit known to the Illungiyok family see chart on page 37 in Appendix E. Also, for music transcriptions see Appendix G. For texts and translations see Appendix H.

⁹⁶ See musical transcription on page 47 in Appendix G. For text and translation see pages 118-119 in Appendix H.

⁹⁷ See musical transcription on page 48 in Appendix G. For text and translation see pages 120-121 in Appendix H.

⁹⁸ See musical transcription on page 49 in Appendix G. For text and translation see page 122 in Appendix H.

Cloutier, an Inuk/French singer/choreographer/throat singer from Fort-Chimo, Quebec, who was hired to teach traditional Inuit drumming and dancing at Nunavut Sivuniqsavut, a college in Ottawa designed to prepare Inuit for university. Their brother Ollie Illungiyok states, “We don’t have to lose our traditional music and cultures things...stuff...[If we do] we’re gonna go crazy or whatever.” To keep from “losing” his “traditional music,” Ollie drum dances to “*Qumak Pisia*”⁹⁹ (from Arviat), “*Quviasuliqpunga Pisia*”¹⁰⁰ (from Tarnirniq Area near Igloolik), “*Angutinasugavit Pisia*”¹⁰¹ (from Northern Quebec), and “*Inusivut Pisia*”¹⁰² (a contemporary Inuit pisiq written by Arviamiut Leo Mukyungnik in 2005). While three of these pisiit originate from the Arviat area, they were all taught to Ollie by Lois Lock (Inuk) and Jeff van den Scott (qablunaaq) at the high school, void of contextual information. Thus he knows nothing about the songs he is singing, other than the fact that they are Inuit pisiit. Who composed the songs? When and where were they written? What are the songs about? Why are the drumming styles ‘traditional’ for some pisiit and ‘different’ for others?

What do we see happening here? When asked how to keep the Inuit culture alive, Ollie responded that he should talk to elders in Arviat or attend drum dances organized by the Sivullinuut Society. Such a response should indicate that musical transmission is

⁹⁹ See musical transcription on page 46 in Appendix G. For text and translation see pages 116-117 in Appendix H.

¹⁰⁰ See musical transcription on page 50 in Appendix G. For text and translation see pages 123-124 in Appendix H.

¹⁰¹ See musical transcription on page 51 in Appendix G. For text and translation see page 125 in Appendix H.

¹⁰² See musical transcription on pages 52-60 in Appendix G. For text and translation see pages 126-127 in Appendix H.

taking place from elders to youth in Arviat. Furthermore, with Silas' teaching at the school and strongly advocating the preservation and promotion of Inuit customs and traditions, why are these young people not learning the words of the pisiit from their elders?¹⁰³ Why are they learning traditional Inuit songs elsewhere? Why do they not know anything about their own family's songs and heritage when they state that it is so important to them? Whose Inuit history and culture are they learning? What does tradition mean for Illungiyok? Is his idea of tradition different from his pupils'? What about identity...how does Illungiyok 'perform' his identity? How do his sons 'perform' their identity? What does inummariit mean for each of them? A closer look at performance events reveals some answers to these questions.

4.2 Silas Illungiyok—Healing

In addition to teaching youth at the schools about Inuit history and culture and encouraging social empowerment through the use of his qilauti, Illungiyok beats his drum at community functions as well. He is the vice-president of the Sivullinuut or the Elders' Society and is responsible for leading traditional Inuit drum dances in the community. Education and social empowerment are not the only functions of the drum dance identified by Illungiyok; drum dancing, he posits, is also used for healing purposes. This next section examines what "healing" means for Silas. Does it imply

¹⁰³ I have written elsewhere about the relationship between elders and youth involved in the teaching and learning of traditional Inuit drum dance songs, exploring tensions between oral and literate educational approaches (see Piercey 2012).

“cure” or does it imply “balance” or does it mean something else in the lives of individuals and the community?

The use of specific instruments, sounds, or vocal techniques in healing practice has been examined by many music researchers (Seeger 2004; Basso 1994; Neuenfeldt 1998). Often these examine how music informs cultural notions of illness and health.¹⁰⁴

The examination of one specific drum dance event and subsequent discussions with Illungiyok focus on how the qilauti is being used in therapy. It examines the practices, explanations, and understandings of Silas Illungiyok, providing insights on how drum dancing is not only being used but also conceptualized in a new context. As well, it examines his perspectives on the benefits for both the drum dancer and the people present receiving the therapy. I was interested in knowing how Illungiyok’s therapeutic practices were informed by personal experiences and other discourses of healing, and more specifically how the qilauti, Inuit culture, inummariit, music, and sound are integrated into the therapy equation.

On the evening of May 9, 2007 I was invited to attend a drum dance at the Elders’ Centre. I was told by my friend, Gara Mamgark, that earlier in the day the radio announcer on Arviaqpaluk broadcast the purpose of this drum dance: to celebrate the life of David Amarudjuak (Ahiarmiut), a youth who had committed suicide¹⁰⁵ two days earlier on Monday, May 7, 2007. I had anticipated that the drum dance would carry a sentiment of sadness, grief, and mourning. But I was wrong. From the onset, Illungiyok proclaimed that this drum dance was a celebration; a celebration of the life of David Amarudjuak and that everyone should dance joyously. He claimed that the beating of the

¹⁰⁴ For more information about how music informs notions of illness and health see Mitchell (1978), Sasamori (1997), Moffitt Cook (1997), and Amir (1997).

¹⁰⁵ The suicide rate among Inuit youth in Nunavut is the highest in Canada. In 2003, 37 Nunavummiut - mostly young people - ended their lives, giving the territory a suicide rate 11 times the national average. In 2004, that toll fell to 27. As of December 2005, it stood at 22. (http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20051217/nunavut_youthsuicide_051217?s_name=&no_ads=).

drum was an integral part of the healing process for everyone present.

I arrived at the Elders' Centre (Figure 4.C10) with my friend Lynn at 7:00 p.m. on Wednesday, May 9, 2007. People had already begun to congregate in the small living space and Kathy Ishalook was busy helping several of the inhabitants of the home to their seats. Seating was sparse and Lynn and I decided that we should sit on the floor and leave the chairs for others. I looked for a position near an electrical outlet because I knew from previous experience that this evening would be a long one and that the battery on my video camera would not survive the night.

The family room of the Elders' Centre was long and narrow with two large windows, one at the west end of the room and one at the east end. The light entering these windows made the room bright and cheery. Three comfy sofas lined the northern wall where most of the elders who live at the centre were seated, and there was an entertainment unit with a large television set to the right of the window on the eastern wall. The southern wall had two large openings which allow access to the adjoining kitchen where coffee and tea was being served by centre employees and from where the smell of cooking caribou and bannock emanated. There were entrances to the room from the east and west; later these were filled with the overflow of people. The few chairs scattered along open spaces of each wall were filled by visitors who had come to participate in the drum dance.

Lynn and I sat on the floor near the entrance to the kitchen on the southern wall. Next to us was Susan Anowtalik (Ahiarmiut) and her little girl who was keenly interested in my digital camera and wanted to take pictures. I gave the camera to her and she was happy. To our immediate right, just at the other side of the kitchen entrance, was Jeff van den Scott, the school music teacher, and his wife Lisa Jo. Jeff had encouraged his choir members to come to the drum dance to engage in musical exchange and conversation with their elders. Sitting on the sofa directly across from me was elder Sabben (Padlirmiut) already dressed in his traditional finery and waiting quietly for the dance to begin. He was wearing a white *atigi*¹⁰⁶ with

¹⁰⁶ Sabben was wearing an *atigi* modeled after a traditional Padlirmiut man's coat. Traditionally, men's caribou-skin clothing was designed to reflect their role as hunters. The parka, for example, had a close-fitting hood which did not interfere with his vision. Broad shoulders allowed him to insert his arms inside the parka for warmth and facilitated arm movement during the hunt. The traditional parka was worn in two layers: an inner layer (*atigi*) in which the fur lay directly against the wearer's body and an outer layer (*qulittaq*) in which the fur faced outward. The layer of air trapped between the two fur layers acts as insulation for the wearer. As well, the bulky design of the parka permitted a free circulation of warm air around the wearer's body. Sabben's contemporary *atigi* showed resemblance to the style of the traditional parka, but was made from a cooler cotton-like material called "commander" and consisted of only one

black trim, and beautiful white fringes lined the bottom portion of this man's traditional coat. On the next sofa, to his left was Miss Siturat, a female elder, who was strategically seated behind the congregating semi-circle of female singers who chose to sit on the floor near the drum dancer, as is customary when singing traditional pisiit. Already positioned in this semi-circle was Annie Seowee (Ahiarmiut) or "Supergran," who was not wearing a traditional amoutik, but donned a flowered scarf¹⁰⁷ commonly worn by elders in the community. To her left was Mary Anowtalik (Ahiarmiut), wearing her traditional dress: a white amoutik with fringes lining the bottom and a flowered scarf on her head. Also seated in the semi-circle were Anita Nutarasungnik (Padlirmiut), Nancy Taleriktok (Ahiarmiut), Angiutinaaq (Kivahikturmiut), Qummuktuq (Ahiarmiut), Martha Paniguq (Ahiarmiut), and youths Dorean Arloo (Ahiarmiut) and Sheena Aulatjut (Ahiarmiut). Lots of children were interspersed all over the room giving a strong sense of life and vitality to the event. Everyone was busy chatting with each other and drinking coffee and tea as we waited for the drum dance to begin. As people continued to arrive, many stopped to ask me who my friend is. I introduced Lynn to Kathy Ishalook, Susan Anowtalik, Agnes Shamee, among others and we talked gaily to those seated around us. People seemed happy that I had a friend in town who was interested in being at the drum dance. I also noticed that the feeling in the room was calm, comfortable, relaxed, homey, and joyous; not the sad, grieving atmosphere that I had expected from a drum dance dedicated to a youth who had committed suicide.

Kathy Ishalook, a young girl who worked at the Elders' Centre, agreed to translate my request for permission from Illungiyok to video record the drum dance, although she indicated that I did not really need it. "No one would care," she said. This comment alleviated some of my trepidations as did the four other video cameras present in the room when the dance began. I did insist, however, on getting permission and Illungiyok was happy to oblige.

At around 8:30 p.m. Illungiyok declared the drum dance was about to begin. Wearing a khaki pair of Dockers and a blue t-shirt with a large *inukshuk*¹⁰⁸ on the back, Illungiyok stood in the centre of

layer. This facilitated easy movement during drum dancing. Also, the cooler material is much more practical in indoor settings such as the drum dance at the Elders' Centre.

¹⁰⁷ Flowered scarves first came to the Inuit from Scottish whalers at the turn of the twentieth century.

¹⁰⁸ *Inukshuk* (singular), meaning "likeness of a person" in Inuktitut is a stone figure made by the Inuit. The plural is *inuksuit*. The Inuit make inuksuit in different forms and for different purposes: to show directions to travelers, to warn of impending danger, to mark a place of respect, or to act as helpers in the hunting of caribou. Similar stone figures were made all over the world in ancient times, but the Arctic is one of the few

the room and began his speech. Next to him stood Lois Lock, a young Inuk woman of about thirty years of age who taught traditional pisiit to young girls at the school. She was wearing a beautiful beaded amoutik¹⁰⁹ of many vivid colours and had the task of translating Illungiyok's words into English for the benefit of the qablunaat in the room. Illungiyok spoke, "I am Illungiyok, vice-president of the Elders' Society. I lead the drum dances, the traditional drum dances. When the elders want to celebrate traditionally, they come here to celebrate. They have to celebrate because...ahhh...being still and not doing anything, not...there's many singers but there's only four here right now. There'll be coffee and tea after the drum dance. There is caribou...We're gonna start the drum dance...and we have a suggestion that ammm... young girls, women, they have to start learning because the elder singers will not be around later on. They have to learn drum dancing as well. Ahhh...if there is any little boys or young men they should start learning from the drum dances because they'll be the ones replacing the drum dancers here, the older ones. There's gonna be lots of discussion. There'll be lots of fun. Tonight we celebrate" (Translation Lois Lock).

Mary Anowtalik invited me to sing with the women because she said that I know the songs. In reality I only know a few traditional pisiit, but was happy to join in. Jeff van den Scott was invited to be the first drum dancer. Illungiyok gave him a brief drumming lesson before he began. Everyone laughed. Mary Anowtalik began singing. There didn't seem to be any discussion of which song to sing, but it was evident that Mary was the leader.

There were sixteen drum dance songs sung on this particular evening with seventeen different drum dancers. Seven of the twenty dancers were female. The women danced towards the end of the night, three of whom danced for the same pisiq. In fact, a single woman never danced for an entire pisiq. Two dancers were white men; one of them danced first. Six dancers danced twice. There were three youth dancers, all members of Arviat Imngitingit: two were

places where they still stand. An inukshuk can be small or large, a single rock, several rocks balanced on each other, round boulders or flat. Inuit tradition forbids the destruction of inuksuit (The Canadian Encyclopedia).

¹⁰⁹ The arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company and European and American whalers, traders, trappers, and explorers in the Canadian Arctic provoked cultural changes that found expression in Inuit clothing. Access to trade goods and technology, such as glass beads, fabric, and steel needles, introduced a variety of decorative material into traditional clothing styles. European trade goods introduced the Inuit seamstress to an exciting world of colour and texture. Glass beads provided a new medium for artistic expression. Today, seamstresses continue to sew garments in traditional styles intricately decorated with multicoloured beads. It was not until the early part of the 20th century that beads became readily available through the Hudson Bay outposts.

female, Dorean Arloo and Sheena Aulatjut, one was male, Ollie Illungiyok. Silas Illungiyok was the final dancer of the evening. He danced after all the other dancers danced, after all the games were played, after the throat singers sang their songs, and before the food was served.

Having changed his clothing from his blue t-shirt and khakis, Silas entered the centre of the women's semi-circle wearing a white atigi trimmed in blue and a pair of seal skin *kamiks*,¹¹⁰ both made by his wife Bernadette (Figure 4.C11). The fringes around the bottom of his atigi swayed as he walked. The people around me settled in and prepared to watch and listen. The constant chatter that existed during other drum dance performances stopped. Sitting on the floor across from me was a little girl wearing a child-sized amoutik. She was looking up at her grand-father who pointed to Silas and said something to her in Inuktitut. He clapped and she imitated him and they both laughed. Her mother arrived, picked her up, placed her on her knee, fixed the little girl's amoutik so that it rested on her shoulders properly, and then also directed the little girl's attention towards Silas.

Silas faced the singers with his drum held parallel to the floor at waist height. He spoke to the singers in Inuktitut, there was a shuffling of positions, and women took their places. When he saw that everyone was ready, Silas smiled. He shouted "oi, oi, oi, oi, oi, oi" while gently tapping the under-rim of his drum with the *katuk* and then he began to sing. He sang the first "A-ya-ya" section (*qimi*) of his song as a solo. The section was repeated by the women and he shouted "oi, oi, oi, oi, oi, oi" while still tapping the under-rim of his drum. Having chosen his song, and inviting the women to sing, Silas began his dance. With energy and enthusiasm not paralleled by any other dancer throughout the night, he beat his drum. He struck the rim of the drum in two places: the upper right side and the lower left. When he struck the upper right side, the drum swayed outward, as the drum swayed inward he struck the lower left side. While doing this, Silas was stepping around an imaginary circle with his left foot leading. He stepped to the side, leading with his left foot followed by his right one in a "step-touch" pattern. He then stopped, planted his feet firmly on the floor in a closed position, and his body bounced from the knees. In this position, Silas' head swayed back and forth. He then danced around his imaginary circle in the opposite direction leading with his right foot first. Then stopped again, planted his feet firmly on the floor in a closed position and bounced his body. He was shouting "oi, oi, oi" at regular intervals accompanied at times by a guttural "ah." About half-way through the song, Silas' began to beat

¹¹⁰ *kamik*; pair, *kamiik*; pl. *kamiit*—boot.

the qilauti in a triangular fashion: first, the upper right portion of the drum rim; the lower left; the lower right. Silas' drumming was quick, energetic, and loud. So loud, that it was difficult to hear the singers. It was evident, though, that his drumming beat was different from the beat of the pisiq and that it was regular; he played at the same pace throughout the entire pisiq, except at the end. Once the singers finished the song, Silas' drumming got slower and softer. Upon completion of the drum dance he set the drum, with the rim-side down, on the floor, placing the katuk underneath. There was a loud applause and the food was prepared.

It was evident from invitations extended to Jeff and I that Illungiyok and Mary wished for qablunaat to participate in their celebration. Either as a sign of acceptance, respect, or friendship, these actions made the event inclusive and contributed to the general sense of community which filled the room. David Amarudjuak was a student of ours, and I thought that it was possible that Illungiyok and Mary were trying to aid in our healing processes by actively involving us in the drum dance. Later, I asked Illungiyok why he invited Jeff to dance. He responded, "we want qablunaat and Inuit to get along together. We want qablunaat to understand our culture and to enjoy participating with us. Jeff is the music teacher at school. He likes drum dancing and he wants to know all about it. Like you, we are happy that he is interested and that he encourages our students to sing and drum traditional Inuit pisiit."

When asked about the drum and its healing capabilities during his interview on May 13, 2007, Illungiyok said, "beating the drum helps get the frustrations out and being together with the people you love at a drum dance provides support for those who are grieving. It is the sense of community, acceptance, and just knowing that someone is there for you in your time of need that the drum dance provides for people. Also, we need to turn to our elders at this time. They are our leaders and we must be with them when bad things happen. They are our stability, our past, and our future. Drum dances ground us all. When someone takes their own life, there is something missing in their life and we need to provide support to their friends and family but we also need to show others who may be considering doing the same thing that there are people they can turn to if they need help.

For me, the act of drumming connects me with the land and with my people. It reminds me of my roots and where I came from. Hearing the sound of the qilauti when I am hurting helps me to forget the bad and to concentrate on the stories of my elders and how they survived when there was little food or how they enjoyed spring because it brought many visitors and celebrations. Drum dancing gets my blood flowing, makes me warm, and gives me life. After a drum

dance I feel revitalized and ready to tackle the new challenges life brings.

For the people present at the drum dance, well, they feel like they belong to the group. I hope they are reminded of their traditions and their elders and I hope they feel pride. It is the sense of belonging and sense of pride of knowing where you come from that heals.

Inuit have long recognized the healing powers of the qilauti. This stems from the early beliefs that *angakkuit*¹¹¹ were also healers. Angakkuit were called to heal sick people, people who were taken over by evil spirits. Today, the qilauti holds powers in the healing process for different reasons. When Inuit congregate at a drum dance for healing purposes, it is the feeling of community and unity that promotes healing. It is not so much to cure the sick, but to keep people healthy. It makes us happy. Treasure the sound, for it is the sound of happiness.” (Field journal entry May 9, 2007, pp. 17-20 and Interview with Silas Illungiyok, May 13, 2007)

Healing

As exhibited in his oral narrative, Illungiyok’s drumming and audiences’ avowed reception, contain elements of healing. What does “healing” mean for Silas in this particular context? Healing happens in a number of ways: first, the kinaesthetic act of beating the drum “gets my blood flowing, makes me warm, and gives me life,” heals the body physically; second, because Illungiyok perceives the sound of the drum as an aid in remembering a connection with the past, there is emotional healing; and third, because it encourages an experience of music with recognition of the socio-cultural and cognitive origin from which it arose, it is social healing for all who hear it.

Thought of this way, healing for Silas is not simply curing an illness. It represents the restoration of balance in individuals and in the community. In the “real Inuit” way, balance is restored through serving one another, acting collaboratively, stressing the

¹¹¹ *angakok*, pl. *angakkuit* (also *angakkuq*)—shaman.

importance of the group over the individual, building strong community relationships, showing respect and caring for others, being welcoming and open. These are considered to be aspects of inummariit and are foundational to Inuit ways of being. They are all performed in various ways at the drum dance on May 9, 2007.

For example, there is a sharing of food. Caribou stew and tea welcomes all guests to the drum dance. As a public event, the drum dance is a venue where people can congregate to support one another during this unbalancing time. As Silas eloquently states, suicide reveals an imbalance in the life of the individual and the lives of the community. This drum dance event shows community concern about suicide and lets others who may be considering suicide know that there are people who care and can help. It allows for those present to feel as though they belong to a group and it is this “feeling of community and unity that promotes healing” (Silas Illungiyok, May 13, 2007).

These examples show that while the context of drum dancing has changed since pre-contact times, certain aspects of inummariit show stability in the performance of the drum dance in contemporary times. “A true Inuk [inummarik] is someone who cares for the people of the community whether they are Inuit or qablunaat. It is my job as the vice-president of the Elders’ Society to ensure that we drum dance happiness for anyone who needs it” (Silas Illungiyok, May 13, 2007).

Connections: Past and Present

A musical instrument offers a special kind of material memory, in its dual capacity as a physical body and a sound. As a cultural product and also a tool to articulate cultural meaning through repeated sound, an instrument becomes a privileged

site for retaining cultural memory (Qureshi 1997: 4). Illungiyok perceives the qilauti and especially the accompanying pisiq as a means to reinforce memory and as an empowered and empowering connection between not only Inuit and non-Inuit, but also between past and present, and the self and the land. He acknowledges the use of the drum in early shamanistic ritual healing and recognizes its recontextualization in contemporary Inuit society.

Clothing can also trigger memory and serve as a connection with the past. Like many of the female elders who sang the traditional pisiit at this event wearing traditional clothing, Illungiyok wore a traditional Inuit man's parka for his performance. Earlier in the evening he donned a t-shirt and khakis, but deemed it necessary to change into his traditional atigi and seal skin kamiks for his performance. He proclaimed:

When you perform traditional Inuit drum dances, it is important to wear the proper clothing. Sometimes younger people drum dance wearing their contemporary clothes, but that is because they do not have an amoutik or an atigi of their own. For me, a good drum dancer pays attention to what our elders want and would have wanted; a good drum dancer wears his atigi and kamiks. This way we are remembering our elders in the proper way. (Silas Illungiyok, May 13, 2007)

Gender

Not only does clothing trigger memory and serve as a connection with the past, it can also be a marker of gendered identity. When drum dancing men wear an atigi, a man's traditional hunting parka and when singing, women wear an amoutik, a woman's traditional nursing parka. Also, women's kamiks are decorated with horizontal bands encircling the leg while men's boots are decorated with parallel vertical lines or vertical triangles. Saladin d'Anglure (1986) argues that there is a gendered iconography utilized

in the fashioning of Inuit clothing. For the men the equation between the penis, the prow of the *kayak*¹¹² and the harpoon parallels the line icon on the kamiks (p. 79). On the other hand, women contain the circle within themselves in the uterus metaphor (p. 29, 38).

Keeping with tradition, all of the singers at this event were female. Men who drum danced sometimes started their own songs and then the women took over the singing while they danced (Sabben and Illungiyok did this). Seven of the twenty drum dancers were female who, again according to tradition, danced later in the evening after most men were tired. This indicates that although the larger performance context has changed in modern times, there are connections between present day performance contexts and traditional contexts. At this particular drum dance “traditional” gender roles are observed in the production of the drum dance. This can be seen to endorse and perhaps advocate commonly held ideas about gendered participation.

Drumming Style

My description of Illungiyok’s drum dance style on pages 148-149, is what he describes as being “traditionally Ahiarmiut”; but notice too, as in the proceeding examples, that family affiliation is just as important, or perhaps more important, than Inuit sub-group affiliation:

I drum dance like my father and his father before him. My father taught me how to drum dance just as his father had taught him. Our style is traditional because it came from our ancestors. Maybe not all Ahiarmiut danced exactly the same way, but they all did it in the triangular fashion. That is what distinguishes us from other Inuit drum dancers. I have taught my sons to dance in this manner so the tradition will continue on. (Silas Illungiyok via Mariah Illungiyok, February, 2011)

¹¹² *kayak* (also *qayaq*)—boat.

Padlirmiut Mary Okatsiak disagrees that there are regional styles of drum dancing. Like many of the youth I spoke with, she believes that style is based on individual aesthetics, not regional styles. Tariuqmiut, Simeonie Mamgark, said, “I don’t know if there are regional differences. I am not a drum dancer myself so I cannot comment on that.”

When Padlirmiut elder Sabben drum danced at the Elders’ Centre on the evening of May 9, 2007, I noticed that he did not beat the drum in a “triangular fashion” nor did Padlirmiut Terrance Iblauk; Ahiarmiut youth Ollie Illungiyok and Sheena Aulatjut did. Therefore, the “triangular fashion” (Figure 4.1) may indeed be a trade-mark of the Ahiarmiut drum dancing style. When asked if there was a Padlirmiut style of drum dancing Sabben said, “Yes, Padlirmiut dance differently from Ahiarmiut, but mostly it depends on the drummer.” Terrance Iblauk, who is much younger than his elder said “I don’t know if there is a Padlirmiut style or not. I learned to dance from my grand-father, so I guess I dance a little like him.”

When I analyzed archival footage I noticed that there are indeed apparent regional differences, at least between the Ahiarmiut and the Padlirmiut. I was unable to locate an archival Tariuqmiut dance. I watched twelve different drummers drum dance in a variety of contexts. Seven of them were Ahiarmiut and five of them were Padlirmiut. All of the Ahiarmiut drummers hit the drum in a “triangular fashion” similar to Silas.’ The Padlirmiut drummer hit only two sections of the drum. I noticed other stylistic dimensions such as drumming posture, jumping patterns, the use of vocal incantations,

head direction, foot patterns, and use of space but was unable to determine if these factors contributed to particular sub-group style due to irregularities.

Together, the comments mentioned above suggest that drumming styles, whether or not they are considered to be regional or individual, are passed on from fathers to sons or from grandfathers to grandsons.

Sub-group Representation

The leaders of the drum dance and the accompanying pisiit were Silas Illungiyok and Mary Anowtalik, both Ahiarmiut. While there were several Padlirmiut elders present at the drum dance, most elders were Ahiarmiut. When it comes to the public performance or teaching of traditional Inuit culture, it is mainly the Ahiarmiut elders who participate. Padlirmiut elders such as Mark Kalluak and Louis Angalik are active in transmitting traditional Inuit knowledge as well. They will discuss hunting practices, or historical events; but usually they do not drum dance or talk about it. This may be understood from a historical perspective. Missionaries arrived in Eskimo Point and surrounding areas in the 1920s. They interacted with Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut on a regular basis because geographically these groups were close to the settlement and were accessible. The Ahiarmiut lived inland at this time and were not visited by early missionaries on a regular basis. Many of the missionaries discouraged drum dancing and conceived it as demonic. Although it continued as an expressive form with the Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut throughout the 1920s and 1930s, many Inuit were influenced by teachings of the missionaries and many of the songs were forgotten by that generation. The Ahiarmiut, on the other hand, were less influenced by missionaries throughout the 1920s and 1930s and

the drum dance continued unaffected until resettlement times in the 1950s. Thus, the Ahiarmiut had thirty more years to maintain and develop this expressive form. This leads to my conclusion that the Ahiarmiut elders living in Arviat today know more songs from their sub-group heritage than the Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut. Also, fewer Ahiarmiut went to residential schools because they stayed on the land longer (Eric Anoe Jr. and Simeonie Mamgark email correspondence February 21, 2013). Knowledgeable Padlirmiut elders of the 1970s and 1980s, such as Donald Suluk and Alice Suluk have since passed on. The subsequent generation is less knowledgeable of the drum dance because they became more active in Christianity and settlement life.

This has implications for students who are involved in the revitalization of the drum dance. Because their mentors are Ahiarmiut, it is the Ahiarmiut knowledge and experience which is passed on to students regardless of their own Inuit sub-group heritage.

4.3 Ronnie Qahuq Illungiyok—Uses his Qilauti to Promote Inuit Culture and Identity

Wearing a white atigi and seal skin kamiks made by his mother, Bernadette Illungiyok, Qahuq walks majestically down the aisle of St. Mary's Church in St. John's, Newfoundland proudly carrying a wooden inukshuk that bears the names of choir members from Arviat Imngitingit. With the choir, he is singing "*Qiugaviit Pisia*,"¹¹³ a 'traditional' Inuit pisiq that has been professionally

¹¹³ "*Qiugaviit*" has been recorded by Inuit artists such as Tudjaat, Tagaq, and Sikumiut and tells a sad story of a man trapped on the land in the cold winter. He is cold and is searching for a warm place to go. He is walking on the snow and exhaustion sets in; he falls; his face is against the ground; he knows that he will fall asleep; he desires sleep because he is so cold and tired; as sleep takes over he knows that he is finally heading towards the warmth (translation from Gara Mamgark). See musical transcription on page 61 in Appendix G.

recorded by Inuit artists Tudjaat¹¹⁴ and Tagaq.¹¹⁵ Audience members are standing and have turned to face the choir to catch a glimpse of the singers as they process up the aisle. Flashes from cameras abound. There is a sense of awe and grandeur inside the sanctuary; this is accomplished by the building's high ceilings and the adornment of large, colourful and very beautiful stained glass windows.

As the choir approaches the front of the church, audience members sit down. When the singers sing the last notes of “*Qiugaviit Pisia*,” and the final beat of the qilauti has been sounded, there is a loud, long, appreciative applause. Smiles from choir members reveal a sense of pride and satisfaction among them. A long, reverent silence follows as Qahuq slowly leaves his position in the centre of the second row of the choir to walk over to the pulpit. All eyes are fixed upon him. He is still carrying the wooden inukshuk, an icon that is a stereotype of Inuit tradition, culture, and identity. The body of the inukshuk is almost the same size as Qahuq's and he holds it in his arms, like he is embracing a real person; a friend. Gently and gracefully, Qahuq lifts the inukshuk high above his head and gently rests it on the preacher's pulpit. Once in position, the inukshuk stands tall, strong, and proud; a beacon to all who see it.

This marks the beginning of Qahuq's performance at a concert held on July 1, 2003 during *Festival 500: Sharing the Voices*. Festival 500: Sharing the Voices is a “celebrated international non-competitive festival of choral music...[it] bring[s] together singers, conductors and scholars from cultures worldwide.”¹¹⁶ The audience is international with people in attendance from South Africa, Romania, Estonia, Australia,

¹¹⁴ Tudjaat, singing duo Madeleine Allakariallak and Phoebe Atagotaaluk from Pond Inlet, Nunavut are famous for their song “*Kajusita*,” a song which tells the story of eighty-six Inuit who were relocated in 1953 and 1955 from Inukjuak in northern Quebec over a distance of 2,000 kilometres to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in the High Arctic. Tudjaat also sing the traditional pisiq “*Qiugaviit*.” They do so in a traditional manner with the addition of electric guitar and synthesizer.

¹¹⁵ Tanya Tagaq Gillis is a contemporary Inuit throat singer from Cambridge Bay (Ikaluktuutiak), Nunavut. Tagaq has performed her innovative form of Inuit throat singing at folk festivals all over Canada. She has most notably performed with Bjork and has been featured on the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network. In 2005, her CD entitled *Sinaa* was nominated for five awards at the Canadian Aboriginal Music Awards. Tagaq sings “*Qiugaviit*” not to the sound of the traditional Inuit drum but to a deep djembe drum beat in free rhythm. Her breathy voice, the free rhythm of the African drum, and the ambiguity of a tonal centre takes this traditional Inuit song far from its Inuit roots. For more information about the music of Tagaq, please see Piercey (2006).

¹¹⁶ (<http://www.festival500.com/about.asp>).

Angola, Netherlands, United States, and Canada and thus contributes greatly to the promotion of Inuit traditions and identity in an international context.

At the concert on the evening of the first of July, the first ‘traditional’ pisiq accompanied by Qahuq’s drum dancing is “*Alu Pisia*,”¹¹⁷ a song from Theresa Kimmaliarjuk in Chesterfield Inlet. Wearing their traditional amoutiks, seal skin kamiks, and beaded headpieces, the 16 girls in Arviat Imngitingit form a semi-circle and kneel down, the traditional fashion for singing pisiit in Arviat. Qahuq enters the centre of the semi-circle from the side of the sanctuary, quietly beating the under rim of the drum. This is the call, the invitation to the female singers to begin their song. He stands facing the left side of the church and gradually beats the drum louder, indicating that he would like the singers to start. The singers close their eyes and begin to rock back and forth, and from side to side¹¹⁸ as they commence. Qahuq begins to dance. He starts slowly at first, keeping his feet planted in the same position as when he first entered the semi-circle. His body flows up and down, his head sways from side to side. His katuk, or mallet, intersects with the drum in three locations: first, the top-right part of the drum rim; second, the bottom-left part of the drum rim; and third, the bottom-right part of the drum rim—creating an imaginary outline of a triangle. When the katuk intersects with the right side of the drum, Qahuq’s head faces left; when his katuk intersects with the left side of the drum, his head faces right. Qahuq shouts “oi, oi, oi”¹¹⁹ and hops to his right, thus facing the audience, where he continues dancing with his feet, once again, planted firmly on the floor. At the closing of the second verse and a-ya-ya chorus (second *tainiq* and *qimi*), Qahuq shouts “oi, oi, oi” twice and his feet move more quickly. His feet shuffle and he hops in a semi-circle, all the while beating the drum in a triangular fashion and swaying his head from side to side. The beat of the drum gets louder and faster as he continues his movement first around a semi-circle clock-wise and then counter clock-wise always stopping at

¹¹⁷ For a musical transcription see page 47 in Appendix G. For text and translation see pages 118-119 in Appendix H.

¹¹⁸ I was told by Dorothy Gibbons, a senior member of the choir, that the female movement emulates rocking a baby to sleep. Traditionally, and in contemporary Inuit society, amoutiks are worn to transport and feed babies. Babies are carried in the hood of the amoutik. In traditional times, babies were rocked to sleep to the singing of pisiit; thus in this performance of a traditional song, the girls rock their imaginary babies while they sing.

¹¹⁹ Qahuq says that he like to shout “oi, oi, oi” when he wants the girls to sing louder or when he feels the music and the dance building in intensity.

the left, centre, and right; never displaying his back to the audience. The beat of the drum reflects Qahuq's dance movements and his heightened level of intensity; never does the beat of the drum fall in line with the beat of the song the girls are singing. The girls end with the final qimi, allowing the last word "ya" to die away gradually. Qahuq's drumming slows down and gets softer. After the final drum beat, the girls open their eyes, and Qahuq faces the audience and, with the qilauti and katuk held close to his body, he smiles and takes a bow. (Personal reflection written on Sept. 5, 2007 after viewing the July 1, 2003 concert video)

Ronnie Qahuq is Silas Illungiyok and Bernadette Iquumik's third child of fifteen children in the Illungiyok family. Presently, he is 38 years old and the proud father of one beautiful daughter. By virtue of his drum dancing skills and international travel, Qahuq has been one of the key figures in the promotion of Inuit culture and pride locally and globally. He has also been able to export his expertise and enthusiasm successfully for some high profile individuals. For example, Qahuq played his drum for the Pope in Rome in 2000 and then again for him in Toronto in 2002 at World Youth Day celebrations. In Ottawa, he played for the Prime Minister of Canada for the Canada Day celebration in 2001. He has performed in the Canadian cities of Montreal (2001), Brandon (2002), Fort McMurray (2004), St. John's (2003), and Iqaluit and has visited many rural hamlets and towns in Nunavut and Quebec sharing the sound of his drum.

The previous field note extract reveals that his style of drum dancing reflects that of his father. Qahuq affirms that he dances in the "traditional Ahiarmiut" manner beating in the same trade-marked triangular pattern discussed and demonstrated by his father. Thus, Qahuq is performing his Ahiarmiut identity. The accompanying pisiit, however, do not originate from the Ahiarmiut territory and for this, we can surmise that he is performing the larger sense of Inuit identity.

When asked to elaborate on the drum and the importance of it in his own personal life, Qahuq responded:

The drum has always played an important role in my life because my grandma told me to do it to keep our traditional spirit going; to pass it on. She said ‘You are Inuit. Be proud of who you are. You have many gifts to offer.’ She is my dad’s mother, my *abaq*¹²⁰—Qahuq—I was named after her. So, I learned how to drum dance from my father and now I teach the young boys in our family and community how to play. For me, the drum is a symbol of who I am; I am Inuit and I want everyone to know where I am from. When I travel around the world and play my drum, the drum helps me to promote Inuit culture and traditions. Like, when I played in Rome for the Pope in 2000, that was a very monumental time in my life and the lives of Inuit because, when the Catholic missionaries came to Eskimo Point in the 1920s, they told my ancestors not to play the drum and here I was drumming for the Pope in Rome!! Showing off my culture and showing the world that I am Inuit. That’s not to say that I am not a Christian because I am. I am a Catholic and I go to church every Sunday. The drum has encouraged me to explore my roots and to realize that I can play the drum and be a Catholic at the same time.

Inuit are making progress with our new territory; we have built new schools and hospitals and there are Inuit working as teachers and nurses. Many Inuit from our territory speak out on our behalf and are showing the rest of Canada that we have a distinct and wonderful culture here in the Arctic. Nancy Karetak-Lindell for example is our MLA and she promotes Inuit culture in the House of Commons in Ottawa and there is Paul Okalik, our Premier, who helped our people gain their land through the Nunavut Land Claims agreement. These people are working together to encourage self-reliance and to protect the rights and benefits of the Inuit of Nunavut. As we move forward, our spokespeople will continue to work with our land claims partners. Through open communications Inuit will reach our goal: improving the lives of all Nunavummiut by strengthening our culture and expanding our economy. For me, the drum is just another powerful voice that will help achieve this goal and will be heard for many more years. (Qahuq Illungiyok, April 19, 2007)

Qahuq’s passionate words address the power of music to promote and enhance the strength of identity. Rapid political and social change in Arviat (see Chapter Two) since the turn of the twentieth century has been a catalyst for the assertion of Inuit identity. In

¹²⁰ *abaq* (also *aqti*, pl. *atiit*)—person with same name; namesake.

this context, the use of the qilauti and traditional Inuit music can be considered an assertion of essential elements of Inuit identity in the definition of change; a means to protect and promote Inuit customs, traditions, and language in a time of drastic change. By Inuit custom, traditions, and language, Qahuq is referring to all Inuit. In the public presentation of traditional arts, Qahuq views it less important to consider “ethnic” differences and more important to present a homogeneous Inuit identity. He recognizes there are differences in his affirmation that he drum dances in the “traditional Ahiarmiut” style. But he is happy to promote this dancing as strictly Inuit. Furthermore, when he performs internationally, an Inuk becomes a symbol of Canada. This is a really big contrast in comparison with identity as his father describes it.

This current trend needs to be appreciated in the historical context of colonialism, and more recently, Inuit land claims struggles. Thus since the establishment of Nunavut as a territory, in contrast to the existing Western style institutions, Inuit institutions in Arviat have been organized in accordance with Inuit ideologies and perspective. For example, the Inuit Elders’ Society has an important voice in decision making for the community. The Inuit Community Justice Committee makes legal decisions regarding first time offenders of the law. *Arviat Pilirigatigit*¹²¹ designs programs that teach traditional cultural knowledge to youth. These institutions are organized and designed with Inuit beliefs and values at the forefront: traditional cultural knowledge, respect for Elders and their teachings, vitality of youth, apprenticeship style education, and community sharing.

¹²¹ *Arviat Pilirigatigit*—Arviat working group.

While Qahuq is too young to have been a participant in residential schooling, its long-lasting effects are still present in the oral narratives he hears from elders today. As a result of his own schooling, his Inuktitut reading and writing skills are limited and his spoken vocabulary and grammar are inferior to his parents.’ He speaks largely English at the Northern Store where he is employed as a stock boy. He recalls stories his father told him about the relocation from Ennadai to Arviat in the 1950s, “Like when they were running out of food or anything, the federal government sent them there and they felt strange living in a new place.” Born in 1976, Qahuq cannot recall the preliminary work of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada in the discussions concerning the creation of Nunavut, but he can remember talks about the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in the 1990s. Furthermore, he remembers the excitement and joy he felt on April 1, 1999 when Nunavut was created: “My friend, Eric Okatsiak went to Iqaluit to be a page in the meetings. And I remember the games and square dance they held at the hall here in Arviat to celebrate the new territory. We were told that changes were going to be made, that the new territorial government would give us all money, that more would be done to present and protect our Inuktitut language, and that programs would be set up to promote our Inuit culture” (Qahuq Illungiyok, April 19, 2007).

Arviat has undergone rapid change since the turn of the twentieth century. More important, there has been considerable political and social change in the community during Qahuq’s own lifetime. In times of change, times of confrontation at the levels of politics and religion—times of extreme uneven economic development—cultural transformation and exchange arise. His assertion to promote traditional Inuit culture and tradition as he performs his Inuit identity due to past and on-going colonial experiences,

points to the importance of musical expression as an accessible tool of communication and identity construction. These changes have produced new social relations, as will be seen in the concluding discussion of this chapter.

4.4 Danny Ollie Illungiyok—Stability and Change; Continuation and Innovation

Wearing a seal skin vest, black pants, and a white shirt, Ollie stands at the left side of the John Arnaludjuak High School theatre waiting to begin drumming for the newly composed pisiq “*Inusivut*.” Facing him are six girls wearing traditional amoutiks, headpieces, and kamiks. To his left sits music teacher Jeff van den Scott holding a guitar. Two girls standing on the right side of the theatre begin throat singing. Ollie waits, listening to the throat sounds they are making. Then he begins to drum strongly and rhythmically: strong-weak-strong-weak- strong-weak-strong-weak. After eight beats of the drum, Jeff begins playing the guitar to the strong beat which Ollie has established. Jeff plays a four bar guitar introduction and the girls begin to sing.

This marks the beginning of a fund raising concert which Jeff, Ollie, and the six girls have organized to help raise funds for their upcoming trip to New Mexico.

Ollie’s katuk strikes the bottom left part of the drum and then the bottom right part on either side of his handle. His feet take sure rhythmical steps as he walks in time with the beat of the drum from one side of a semi-circle to the other side where he stops, plants his feet firmly, and begins bouncing up and down. He does this twice more and is back where he started when the song is completed. (Personal description written on October 23, 2012 after viewing the January 29, 2006 concert video)

Ollie is the tenth child in the Illungiyok family. At the time of this study, he is nineteen years old and is in grade 11 at John Arnaludjuak High School (Figure 4.C12) in Arviat. He is a member of Arviat Imngitingit (Figure 4.C13), a community music group that performs both traditional and contemporary Inuit pisiit. Unlike his father, Silas, and

brother, Qahuq, who choose to play the qilauti to accompany what they call “traditional” pisiit and in the “traditional Ahiarmiut” manner exclusively, Ollie (Figure 4.C14) also enjoys playing the drum for newer compositions and is willing to play it in an unconventional manner. Through an examination of one contemporary Ahiarmiut pisiq Ollie performs with Arviat Imngitingit and comparing this with a “traditional” Ahiarmiut pisiq performed by his brother, it is possible to see similarities and differences in the qilauti’s uses and to see the drum dance and the accompanying pisiit as sites of continuation and innovation of musical and cultural practices. Previous research and historical documents will also be examined to help situate these two pisiit musically in contemporary times.

The purpose of this examination is to define the musical, textual, and contextual characteristics of two pisiit that originate from the Ahiarmiut and are currently performed by youth in Arviat to determine shifting or continuing discourses of inummariit in this genre of music over the past eighty years or so. I make comparisons between them with reference to musical structure, drumming style, imagery and structure of text, routes of transmission, and performance context. “*Arnaraujak Pisia*”¹²² is considered “traditional” and was probably composed in the 1940s, pre-resettlement times. “*Inusivut Pisia*”¹²³ is considered a contemporary pisiq and was composed in 2005 by Leo Mukyungnik. It is important to note that this is the first pisiq to be composed “in years” and Illungiyok

¹²² A musical transcription can be found on pages 62-63 in Appendix G.

¹²³ A musical transcription can be found on pages 52-60 in Appendix G.

2. A-ja-sa-ji-sa-ja... The bearded one is not arriving
A-ja-ja... In the summer it is fun

Sa-mai-ja ja-ja-ja sa-ja-ja-ma-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ji-ja-ja

3. A-ja-sa-ji-sa-ji-ja-sa mai-ja-ji-sa mai-ja-j...do you want to look around?...sa-ja-ja
On the land, do you want to look around?

Pung-ma-ja ja-ja-ja sa-ja-ja-ma-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ji-ja-ja

4. A-ja-sa-ji-a-ja... The bull caribous are roaming ...a-ja-ja
On the land, do you want to look around?

Pung-ma-ja ja-ja-ja sa-ja-ja-ma-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ji-ja-ja

A-ja-sa-ji-a-ja... The bull caribou

Imagery and Structure of Text

Like many Inuit traditional pisiit from the central Canadian Arctic, the basic source of imagery in “*Arnaraujak Pisia*” is the land.¹²⁶ “On the land, do you want to look around?” is referring to the vast land upon which Inuit once subsisted. The second source of imagery is the animal that was, and for some Inuit still is, the main food source: the caribou. “The bulls are roaming” symbolizes the bull caribou—the search for food. This pisiq also refers to sea animals as sustenance, “The sea is calm. In the summer time, it is fun. The bearded one is not arriving.” The “bearded one,” the bearded seal (typically described rather than named),¹²⁷ is a common source of food for coastal Inuit during the

¹²⁶ Cavanagh [Diamond] (1973) observed that the basic source of imagery in pisiit from the Central Arctic was the animals and the land upon which the Inuit subsisted. The Netsilik songs often describe hunting journeys.

¹²⁷ Some Inuit thought/think that to name an animal outright might anger its spirit. To anger the spirit might make hunting for this type of animal less prosperous in the future.

summer months. The fact that the “bearded one is not arriving” indicates the lack of seal—of food, and therefore hardship.

It is important to note that although the Ahiarmiut were reported to be mainly inland people, they did visit the coast periodically in the summer in search for food. The fact that Arnaraujak sings of hunting seal at the coast in the summer proves this fact. Illungiyok states that “Ahiarmiut usually stayed inland. But during the 1950s the caribou were scarce. Before people were brought to Eskimo Point to live, some hunters travelled to the coast by dog team to search for food.”

Pathway of Transmission

“*Arnaraujak Pisia*” is a “traditional” pisiq to which Qahuq enjoys drum dancing. The pathways of transmission are twofold: transmission of the pisiq and transmission of the drum dancing style. As described above, Qahuq learned to drum dance from his father in the “Ahiarmiut” style. He learned about the pisiq from Eva Mukyungnik, an elder hired to teach pisiit at Qitiqliq High School (Eva learned the song from Ahiarmiut elder Cathy Howmik). I say “learned about” because as a male, Qahuq was not encouraged to sing the pisiq; he was encouraged to dance for it. He did, in fact, try to learn to sing this pisiq but was deterred by his inability to process the oral manner in which his elders were teaching it. Furthermore, when asked to translate this particular pisiq, Qahuq exhibited frustration. He was able to identify that the song was generally about hunting in the summertime; but there were some expressions of sentiment that he was unable to convey as eloquently as his father.

It could be said that the transmission of drum dancing style and technique reflect the importance of kin relationships in the Illungiyok family. Silas Illungiyok and his sons are known throughout the community to be excellent drum dancers, and they all have a similar drum dancing style. But the transmission pattern of the pisiq, the song itself, bears no connection to family ties. Eva Mukyungnik and Arnaraujak (composer) are not relatives of Qahuq or Ollie. Eva passed on “*Arnaraujak Pisia*” to a diverse group of Inuit students at the school as part of the traditional knowledge program. As stated earlier, the transmission of pisiq from older generations to younger ones is almost non-existent outside of the school realm. Even Qahuq, an expert drummer admits that he does not know the songs of his grandparents. Thus, patterns of transmission have completely changed in this contemporary context. Transmission of the song and dance differ from one another.

Drumming Style

Qahuq’s drum dancing was described earlier (see pp. 156-157).

Performance Context

I have observed Qahuq drum dance many times, but three separate performances are noteworthy here. First, Qahuq drum danced for “*Arnaraujak Pisia*” at the Mark Kalluak Community Hall when the commissioner of Nunavut visited Arviat in 2004. Second, he danced at the cultural component of the Arctic Winter Games held in Fort McMurray, Alberta in 2004. Third, Qahuq drum danced at the Elders’ Centre during the healing drum dance held in honour of Moses Kinniksie and Lilian Otuk on February 20,

2006. These three performance contexts reveal stability and change, reflecting the tensions which exist in the various definitions of inummariit for those living in Arviat. For example, the first and last performances, although they were recent, have similar purposes to that of the historical drum dance: healing and honouring or celebrating a visitor. Thus, for those who think of inummariit as valuing the ways of the past or building community pride, these performances accomplished just that.

The second performance was reconstructed for a general audience, with the primary purpose of educating outsiders about Inuit traditions. For those Inuit who emphasize change as a process of inummariit, this performance showed how Inuit are being resourceful or alert to ways in which teaching outsiders about Inuit ways will help them to negotiate their futures in Canada and the world.

Inusivut Pisia

Second, we will examine “*Inusivut Pisia*,” a contemporary Ahiarmiut pisia, composed by Ahiarmiut Leo Mukyungnik in 2005 for the choir, Arviat Imngitingit. Ollie Illungiyok is the drummer. The text is as follows:

Inusivut Pisia

By Leo Mukyungnik
 Music Transcribed by Mary Piercey
 Translation by Gara Mamgark

Δ.ο.ρ.ᶑᶜ (Syllabics)

◁▷▷▷ ▷▷▷▷ ▷▷▷
 Δ.ο.ρ.ᶑᶜ ▷◁▷▷▷▷◁ᶑᶜ ᶑᶑᶑᶑᶑᶑ
 Δ.ο.ρ.ᶑᶜ ▷◁▷▷▷▷◁ᶑᶜ ᶑᶑᶑᶑᶑᶑ
 Δ.ο.ρ.ᶑᶜ ▷◁▷▷▷▷◁ᶑᶜ ᶑᶑᶑᶑᶑᶑ

◁▷▷▷ ▷▷▷▷ ▷▷▷

ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ
ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ
ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ

ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ
ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ
ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ

Inusivut Pisia (Roman Orthography)

Ayaya ayayaya ayaya
Inusivut ublumiuliquuq sangivuuq
Inusivut ublumiuliquuq sangivuuq
Inusivut ublumiuliquuq sangivuuq

Ayayaya ayayaya ayaya
Kingulivut piqusingata maliglavut
Kingulivut piqusingata maliglavut
Inusivut ublumiuliquuq sangivuuq

Ayayaya ayayaya ayaya
Ayayaya ayayaya ayaya
Ayayaya ayayaya ayaya

Our Life (English Translation)

Ayayaya ayayaya ayaya
Today our life is strong
Today our life is strong
Today our life is strong

Ayayaya ayayaya ayaya
Let's follow our culture
Let's follow our culture
Today our life is strong

Ayayaya ayayaya ayaya
Ayayaya ayayaya ayaya
Ayayaya ayayaya ayaya

Imagery and Structure of Text

Promoting Inuit culture and identity is the basic source of imagery in “*Inusivut Pisia*.” “Today our life is strong; Let’s follow our culture” symbolizes the current trend to assert a pan-Inuit identity. There is no use of the metaphor in this text; no ambiguities. In fact there is no narrative. The song consists of one statement—general and unlocatable. “*Inusivut Pisia*” contains stanzas that are all the same length. There is exact repetition from one stanza to another. For example, note the exact repetition of “*Inusivut ublumiuliqtuq sangivuq*” and “*Kingulivut piqusingata maliglavut*.” The phrases are symmetrical.

Pathway of Transmission

Leo Mukyungnik, a thirty-eight year old Ahiarmiut musician from Arviat, composed this pisiq in 2005 for the choir, Arviat Imngitingit. Leo is a drum-kit player at most square dances and he plays piano keyboard and guitar; however, he never plays the qilauti. His daughter Angela is a member of the choir. He attended choir rehearsals at the John Arnaludjuak High School that were organized by music teacher, Jeff van den Scott, and taught his song to the students. Ollie learned to drum dance from his father. However, his drum dancing style for this particular pisiq is unlike his brother’s or his father’s. Thus, Ollie has modified the “traditional” technique and has created one innovatively and uniquely his own.

Drumming Style

Ollie's drumming style contrasts in several ways with Qahuq's. Wearing non-traditional clothing (a seal skin vest, black pants, and a white shirt), Ollie begins drumming strongly and rhythmically. His katuk strikes the bottom left part of the drum and then the bottom right part: the two places on the rim of the drum located on either side of his handle. Ollie does not strike the drum anywhere else. His feet are planted firmly on the floor, his knees are slightly bent and he bounces slightly up and down and from side to side. He does not turn his head from side to side, nor does he shuffle his feet and hop like a "traditional" Inuit drum dancer. Rather, his feet take sure rhythmical steps as he walks in time with the drum from one side of the semi-circle to the other side where he stops, plants his feet firmly, and begins bouncing once again. He does this twice more and is back where he started when the song is completed.

Performance Context

Ollie has played the qilauti for this pisia at school concerts, the Arctic Winter Games in Whitehorse, Yukon in 2006, a music festival in Santa Fe, New Mexico in 2005 and the Festival 500: Sharing the Voices International Choral Festival in St. John's, Newfoundland, 2007. He has never performed this pisia at the Elders' Centre.

Analysis and Interpretation of the two Pisiit

A number of factors in the performance of "*Arnaraujak Pisia*" demonstrate the traditional Inuit drum dance and its accompanying pisiq as a site of stability and continuation. First, Qahuq's drumming style is like that of his father's, a style he labels

as “traditional.” In fact, Qahuq drum dances in the “traditional” manner to all of the pisiit in his dancing repertoire. Qahuq learned to drum dance from his father, supporting the importance of kinship relationships in transmission patterns put forth by Vascotto (2001). While Vascotto did not study the transmission patterns of drum dance styles (she studied the transmission of the pisiit themselves), the idea of transmission patterns reflecting the importance of kin relationships is an important one here. The Illungiyok family is known in the community, and certainly throughout the territory, as a family of excellent drum dancers. While there are other elders who drum dance at community functions, it is rare that other youth will publicly participate. Youth will try drum dancing in their traditional music classes at school (taught by Silas), but at community functions or performances, it is the Illungiyok sons who drum dance. This indicates that the community perceives the family line of transmission to be the “correct” one. This line of thinking is supported by various comments I received in response to my question to several students, “Do you drum dance?” I heard, “No, I’m not a drum dancer.” “My father wasn’t a drum dancer so I don’t drum dance.” “I don’t know how to drum dance properly.”

A second factor which demonstrates the drum dance and its accompanying pisiq as a site of stability and continuation is that musically, the mode of “*Arnaraujak Pisia*” is anhematonic pentatonic, a common mode of traditional Inuit songs all across the Arctic (Vascotto 2001; Cavanagh [Diamond] 1989). It begins and ends on the fifth degree of the scale and is sung in free rhythm. Furthermore, the formal structure of the pisiq is strophic with intermediate refrains: i.e. stanzaic texts which contain the meaningful text (tainiq) followed by a refrain consisting of vocables “Aya-ya-ya” (qimi).

Third, the imagery and structure of the text of *“Arnaraujak Pisia”* reflects the imagery and structure of texts of most traditional pisiit from the central Canadian Arctic. The basic source of imagery in *“Arnaraujak Pisia”* is the caribou and the land; what Cavanagh [Diamond] (1973: 2) says is “hardly surprising” considering that it is “the animals and the land upon which the people subsist.”

These factors show surprising relative stability of Ahiarmiut pisiit in the midst of rampant social change in Arviat. Inevitably, there are also a number of factors in *“Arnaraujak Pisia”* that demonstrate the concept of the drum dance and accompany pisiq as a site of change. First, the performance context and/or social function in which Qahuq beats his qilauti for *“Arnaraujak Pisia”* has changed drastically from pre-resettlement times (1920s-1950s). About Inuit pisiit, Birket-Smith (1976) reports that when a man is drum dancing, his wife will sing his particular song and other women will join in. In this particular context, Qahuq is the drum dancer, but he did not compose *“Arnaraujak Pisia”* (Arnaraujak did!). Furthermore, his wife does not lead the singing because Qahuq is not married. It is usually Eva Mukyungnik, a relative of Arnaraujak who leads the pisiq. Rasmussen (1976) describes various functions of the drum dances and drum dance songs of the Caribou Inuit. Some of these include entertainment, to expose faults and vices of members of the group (for satirical purposes), to settle conflicts, or to heal the sick. In discussions with Eva Mukyungnik (teacher), she described singing this pisiq for entertainment in an iglu or a tent out on the land. For entertainment, but also for healing purposes, Qahuq drum danced to this pisiq at the Elders’ Centre during a healing drum dance held in honour of Moses Kinniksie and Lilian Otuk. The most strikingly different function of the drum dance in this contemporary context is the celebration and promotion

of a generalized Inuit culture and identity. Qahuq beat his drum for this pisiq at the cultural component of the Arctic Winter Games held in Fort McMurray, Alberta in 2004. In this instance, he was drum dancing on a stage before a large audience for the purpose of educating outsiders and maintaining and communicating Inuit identity, culture, and pride.

Second, the lines of transmission of the drum dance song do not reflect the importance of kin or fictive kin relationships. Eva Mukyungnik was hired by the Arviat District Education Authority to teach traditional Inuit music to youth at Qitiqliq High School. Eva is related to several girls in the choir (Angela Mukyungnik is her granddaughter) but the rest of her students are not related to her.

It is interesting to compare “*Arnaraujak Pisia*” with “*Inusivut Pisia*.” “*Inusivut Pisia*” (which means “Our Life” in Inuktitut), composed by Aharmiut Leo Mukyungnik (Eva’s grandson) uses the qilauti alongside an acoustic guitar. This contravenes Silas’ comment that in traditional Inuit music, i.e. music performed by our ancestors “there are never any other instruments accompanying the drum.” Furthermore, the mode of this song is major with several semi-tones, which contravenes what Vascotto (2001) and Cavanagh [Diamond] (1982) noticed: that most traditional pisiq (including “*Arnaraujak Pisia*”) are of the anhematonic pentatonic mode. In fact, the guitar plays a repeated pattern of tonic, sub-dominant, and dominant chords which shows that it has been strongly influenced by Western pop music.

Comparison of the drum dancing style of Ollie and his brother, Qahuq, shows continuation of traditional style alongside an innovative one. The strong, even beat

accomplished by Ollie's drum playing differs from the generally slow and free rhythm drumming of traditional players (Vascotto 2001: 54).

Interpretation of the drum dance and accompanying pisiq as a symbol of Inuit identity is reinforced by the lyrics of "*Inusivut Pisia.*" The use of the text "*Kingulivut piqusingata maliglavut Inusivut ublumiuliqtuq sangivuq*" which means "Let's follow our culture; today our life is strong" shows how Inuit are innovatively responding musically to issues of Inuit identity negotiation and construction in the diverse world they find themselves living today. In comparison to traditional Inuit pisiit this contemporary one has no narrative; it is very short—it is one statement, nor do the lyrics draw connections to the land upon which Inuit subsisted.

4.5 Conclusion: Inummariit as Constructed by Different Generations

This chapter offers a narrative across three generations of drummers from the same family. The patriarch, Silas Illungiyok, is a relocatee from the Ahiarmiut territory. His older (Qahuq) and younger (Ollie) sons have grown up entirely in Arviat and articulate and represent different—perhaps transitional—understandings of their culture in general and of drumming specifically. Working from observations of performances and interviews from all three, I construct generational comparisons that reveal varying understandings of the meaning of drumming and consequently varying understandings of inummariit.

Pelinski (1981) observed a lack of involvement of youth with drumming in the 1970s whereas I saw considerable engagement during my stay in Arviat. In other words, there is no linear progression toward cultural decline, but the processes of revitalization

are also not uniform. There are a number of complex factors which contribute to departures from and returns to drumming by the younger generation thirty years after Pelinski. Some of these factors include: the education system which contributed to language loss and alternative teaching/learning styles; community living, which contributed to a different understanding of environment; the political climate which led to the establishment of Nunavut and resulted in the development of cultural revitalization projects, which (in addition to the education system, community living and other colonial factors) contributed to the homogenized notion of being Inuit which is emerging among the younger people.

Silas' generation was relocated from the land into the community in the 1950s. His generation holds the collective memory of living on the land, speaking in Inuktitut only, and feeling the sense of estrangement and loss as a result of relocation. Qahuq's generation has the collective memory of living in the community, attending community schools, using English at school, feeling a sense of loss of the Inuktitut language and the understanding of surviving on the land, and participating in the revitalization of language and culture. Ollie's generation has the collective memory of living in communities, attending community schools, and participating in revitalization activities.

When there has been a traumatic event such as relocation whereby a dominant culture sets up Western institutions and ideas, cultural mentors (such as Silas) stand in an adversarial relation to the dominant culture and articulate the traumatic event. As Briggs (1997) suggests, this generation then sets out to identify those aspects of culture which sets them apart from the dominant one in order to establish a sense of identity. For Silas, these markers are localized. They are old emblems (in this case, old songs—*piisit*) which

create connections with the past—real or imagined. For Silas, there has been a disconnection from nature and the local environment. He has come to understand the repercussions of relocation (for example, his son Qahuq has a limited understanding of Inuktitut) and is taking action to protect and support his community and culture through educating young people about his understandings of inummariit and traditional indigenous knowledge.

Unfortunately, Silas is unaware that his students do not recognize or understand the regional differences in drumming style, composer, and song text content. He does understand that students' level of Inuktitut is lesser than his own but cannot see that due to this lack of understanding of metaphor used in the text and the inability to truly understand what it was like living on the land, his students' concept of inummariit is very different from his own.

For Qahuq, the shift in language use as a result of schooling has caused him to have a limited understanding of the metaphor used in pisiit. Furthermore, his lived experience is so different from his father's that he does not understand living on the land in the same manner. These generational differences have contributed to the homogenized notion of being Inuit rather than identifying with any particular Inuit sub-group. In much of the literature about generational theory, it is suggested that there is conflict over cultural resources. Bourdieu suggests that what one generation has struggled to achieve is regarded by subsequent generations as irrelevant and important; this results in "many clashes between systems of aspirations form in different periods" (Bourdieu 1993: 99). This is not entirely the case here. Qahuq and other members of his generation feel a sense of loss. He feels as though he has been cheated by the education system, which taught

him more English than Inuktitut and more about southern culture than his own. As a result, instead of thinking that the songs and traditions of his father are “old-fashioned” he values them and wishes to know more about them. Inummariit for Qahuq, in this case, is looking back—“the old ways.” He understands that drum dancing and the accompanying pisiit are markers of Inuit identity. For his father they are markers of localized Inuit identity; but for Qahuq, they are markers of pan-Inuit identity. They are emblems which symbolize a psychologically or socially or politically significant difference between two worlds or two contexts.

The education system in Arviat has greatly influenced the attitudes and conceptualization of young people, especially understandings about inummariit. Another such example is the emphasis many Inuit place on the value of oral tradition. However, in terms of learning traditional pisiit orally at the school, Arviat youth, such as Qahuq and Ollie (and Gara) experienced difficulty.¹²⁸ Walter Ong (1988) discusses the differences between oral cultures and writing cultures and examines the fundamental dissimilarities in the thought processes of the two types of culture. In the present study, both Inuit elders and youths are from the same “culture,” but the elders have participated in an oral tradition and youth have been exposed to and have adopted a literate one. The “thought processes” of the two generations are different.

Elders, such as Silas, Mary, and Elizabeth, have attempted to teach their literate students traditional pisiit through oral transmission because many Inuit believe this is how

¹²⁸ See Piercey, Mary E. 2012. Traditional Indigenous Knowledge: An Ethnographic Study of its Application in the Teaching and Learning of Traditional Inuit Drum Dances in Arviat, Nunavut. *Critical Perspectives in Canadian Music Education*. eds. Carol Beynon and Kari Veblen, 71-87. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

“real Inuit” learn Inuit songs. However, problems arose when this oral based pedagogical style was reintroduced into the modern educational context.

The classroom setting is a literate one and, in my Arviat experience, students expected lyrics sheets when learning pisiit; without them they became frustrated. Oral transmission, an aspect of inummariit and an element of traditional indigenous knowledge, did not work in this type of situation and other teaching/learning strategies had to be employed. Recognizing the classroom setting was different from the elders’ own experience of learning traditional pisiit, they changed their method of teaching to one that matched the students’ learning styles and after much negotiation elders and the students achieved some success.

Elders debated their understandings of inummariit and traditional indigenous knowledge, especially the oral aspect of it and were prepared to make changes in their teaching styles to meet the needs of their students. The reconstruction of the elders’ and youth’s arguments about, justifications for, and interpretations of what they and others were doing in the classroom allowed a clearer understanding of how social life proceeds in this particular context. Inummariit are resourceful in solving problems and they value community cohesion. These two aspects of inummariit were performed in this particular context. Inuit culture is neither static, nor homogeneous; individuals are responding to the shifting powers of negotiation that go on in culture and constituting their futures in the dynamic world in which they live.

The present study’s findings contrasts drumming as an expression of sub-group identity (for Silas and other elders) as opposed to a homogenized conception of being Inuit for (Ollie) with Qahuq somewhat inbetween. For Silas, pisiit and the drum dance are

highly nuanced symbols of the individual identities of specific sub-groups. For Qahuq, the actual meaning of the symbol is somewhat immaterial. That it symbolizes a homogenous Inuit collectivity is what is important. For Ollie, the drum is a symbol that can be abstracted from its context and exported into other contexts. He no longer strikes the drum in the manner of the local community, for instance, but in the manner of Inuit from other communities. What other factors have led to this notion of a homogenous Inuit identity among Arviat youth?

Since discussions about the creation of Nunavut in the 1970s, the government of Canada has begun to recognize more fully the rights of Inuit. In Nunavut, Inuit claims for forms of self-determination revolve around struggles to maintain distinct cultural identities. Consequently, self-determination and empowerment have come to represent contested and often fragile spaces, as generations of Inuit negotiate formalized notions of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit and attempt to assert local sovereignties, identities, and expressions. As was seen, due to the education system and language loss, the younger generations have a very different understanding of what IQ and inummariit is compared to their elders. Young people do not understand the texts of traditional songs as their elders do, nor do they understand the places that these songs talk about in the same manner. What has resulted is an understanding which values the “old ways” of “real Inuit” but, due to completely different life experiences, conceptualize them differently from the older generation.

Since the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement of 1999, communities such as Arviat have been struggling with ways to promote Inuit culture in the midst of southern influences. For people like Silas, this means singing traditional songs and drumming. He

feels the need to assert his right to distinct status and identity. Ronnie defines his identity in part by the way he is viewed by the outsiders he has had the opportunity to perform for. Silas' sons also feel the need to assert their identities; however, due to thirty plus years of southern education they understand their identity in a more homogenous manner than their father. For the younger generation, the sub-group diversity has been all but erased, with linguistic and cultural differences homogenized within one Inuit image. In today's political climate, where Inuit interests are at stake, constructions of a unified Inuit identity often align in starkly different ways with contemporary political movements, critiques of Inuit national identity, and a range of current issues. Cultural performances are part of a unified front to the government of Canada in the face of fighting for land and resource rights.

Chapter 5: *Qanuq Ukpiqtunguqmangamata*—How We Became Christians
Total Christian Conversion or Negotiation of Belief Systems?
The Anglican Church in Arviat

During the period of missionization, 1920s and 1930s, missionaries from the Anglican, Catholic, and Alliance denominations visited Inuit camps in and around Arviat and “converted” many Inuit. As indicated earlier, my research shows that while subgroup affiliation is not connected to religious affiliation, family is. This chapter is about the Okaksiak family, members of which are the music leaders at the Anglican Church in Arviat. They are the direct descendants of the first group of Inuit to inhabit Eskimo Point, the Padlirmiut. My research has shown that not all Padlirmiut are Anglicans; some are Catholics; others attend the Alliance and Pentecostal churches. Similarly not all Ahiarmiut are Catholics; some are Anglicans; while others profess their faith to the Alliance and Pentecostal churches.

The Okaksiaks were “converted” by the first Anglican missionary to visit them in 1926, Rev. Donald Marsh, and they have remained Anglicans. I examine the ways their concepts of music and *inummariit* are negotiated in the performance of religious rites. How was Christianity perceived and practiced by the Padlirmiut during pre-resettlement times and today? I explore how members of the Okaksiak family perceive Christianity and ask whether their musical performance reinforces memory and continuity, or provides a means of innovating or resisting the norms of the community, or both? How does being a Christian contribute to *inummariit*?

5.1 The Inuit-missionary Encounter

Inuit encounters with Christianity have been insufficiently recorded in the Canadian Arctic and religious conversion has often been described as a one-sided affair. The missionary encounter is sometimes presented in terms of relative failure or success (Ledyard 1977; Choque 1992) and depicts Christian conversion as a process in which the Inuit culture is left totally transformed. Many who are descendants of that encounter, however, maintain that Christian features were selected and integrated into the Inuit religious system (Laugrand 1997). As described in Chapter One, scholars have documented the meshing of ideologies in other Inuit and Yup'ik regions of northern Canada and Alaska (Saladin d'Anglure 1997; Fienup-Riordan 1990; Fletcher and Kirmayer 1997; Trott 1997; Grant 1997) and in other parts of Native America (Spinney 2006, Lassiter et al 2002) .

Tom Gordon's (2007) work on Inuit music in Labrador does not deal specifically with the blending of ideologies—traditional Inuit ideology and Christianity; but rather, it focuses on the development of Christian musical aesthetics of Inuit living in Labrador for the past 200 years. The results of his research are important for the present study because he shows how the Labrador Inuit were not passive participants in the learning and performing of Western art music; rather they were active in choosing and transforming this genre of music to suit their own pragmatic and stylistic preferences. The Inuit of Labrador were introduced to Western art music by Moravian missionaries in the late 1700s. Through the examination of hand-written copies of manuscripts of Christian musical repertoire from several communities in Labrador, Gordon shows how Inuit transformed received scores to document their performance practice, reflecting their own

needs and personal aesthetics. Some of the specific Inuit musical preferences Gordon discovered were, "...blended harmonic sonorities, neutral rhythmic activity, and an almost complete banishment of ornament or decoration" (p. 305). While his study is not an ethnography of how the Inuit of Labrador negotiated Christian missionization, nor is it an ethnography of Inuit-voiced musical preferences, Gordon uses standard techniques of manuscript studies drawn from historical musicology to focus on the changes Inuit made to introduced musical repertoire. He undoubtedly provides new insight into how Inuit negotiated aspects of Christianity and the missionaries who introduced it to them.

Between 1920 and 1950 missionaries were one of the primary forces of change in the areas surrounding Arviat. As described in Chapter Two, the Padlirmiut were visited, and some "converted" to Catholicism, by Lionel Ducharme, a priest who first went to the Arctic in 1921 and established a Catholic mission in 1924. Anglican missionary, Donald Marsh visited the Padlirmiut and Ahiarmiut in 1926 establishing an Anglican Church mission in Eskimo Point that same year. This chapter deals with the Anglican Church and its influence in the changing and developing belief systems of Padlirmiut.

To provide historical context for my ethnography of contemporary Anglican worship, I critique the first Anglican missionary encounter. An outline of early anthropological writings and Arviarmiut oral narratives about Inuit cosmology and shamanism located in Chapter Four also provides the basis for comparison between old and new spiritual systems. I will examine contemporary oral narratives and music in Anglican worship, looking at how Inuit and Christian systems of belief are negotiated and constructed through musical performance and repertoire choices. Through personal interviews with Mary Okatsiak, her son, Sandy Okatsiak and his wife Eva, and by

analyses of musical performances during Holy Week at the Anglican Church in Arviat the interaction of Christian and Inuit beliefs is revealed.

In 1926, when Donald Ben Marsh—a twenty-three year old Englishman fresh from the seminary in Saskatoon—went to do Anglican missionary work with the Padlirmiut in Eskimo Point and surrounding areas, he found a people deeply connected with the land on which they lived. Their notions of history, society, and afterlife were grounded in a worldview fundamentally different from that of Marsh and his wife Winifred. The distinctiveness of the Padlirmiut world view is evident in their “strong connection with the environment, with the spirit world that controls that environment, and with others living in that same environment” (Eric Anoe Jr., February, 2011). It is hard to understand this world view from the accounts of outsiders such as Marsh.

Like much of the literature written about the Christianization process in the Arctic, Marsh (1987) wrote an account told almost entirely from his point of view. His observations, which are more about his Arctic adventures than about the spirituality of the people he meets, inform us more about his spirituality and attitudes than those of the Padlirmiut.

Marsh, believing that acculturation would soon “massively” change the culture of the Padlirmiut, set out to record the old ways. He recorded such practical things as Arctic survival skills but, surprisingly for a missionary, never really explains his perception (or that of the Inuit) of the existing spirituality of the Inuit he encountered in those early days in 1926. In a brief description of the role of the shaman and the use of taboos, he calls shamen “conjurers” and taboos “superstitions” and states his firm belief that for most, these are no longer important in Inuit lives now that they know God: “The people also

seemed to lack strong religious ideas. Some of their superstitions persisted, although for many the superstitions and taboos had nearly disappeared in the sense of their being unimportant in their lives, and for them the result appeared to be apathy” (Marsh 1987: 28).

This statement is troubling for a number of reasons. First, the fact that Marsh believed that shamans and their taboos disappeared due to his teachings of the Gospel shows that he could not, or refused to, see that they actually did persist. We know this to be true because as late as 1950, twenty-five years after Marsh began Christian teachings with the Padlirmiut, Richard Harrington, an explorer and photographer who visited camps near Padlei when the Padlirmiut were disheartened and starving, records that Kookeyuk “is a good medicine man [*angakok*]”¹²⁹ (Harrington 2000: 37). Harrington notes that Kookeyuk’s influence is strong and that he enforces taboos. Marsh probably believed that the Padlirmiut had discarded their old ways and had accepted Jesus because when he asked them directly if they believed in Jesus they agreed. However, for Inuit, verbal assent did not (does not) necessarily mean agreement; verbal assent can be a sign of respect or it can be an act of exercising the Inuit right to live as an individual, free from the interference of others.

The second reason this statement is troubling is that Marsh seems to have mistaken “apathy” in speaking about shamanism for belief in Christianity. He misunderstood that when Inuit “seemed to lack strong religious ideas” (p. 28) and they showed no interest or enthusiasm in talking about shamanism, they probably were not

¹²⁹ *angakok*, pl. *angakuit* (also *angakkuq*)—shaman.

advertising their acceptance of Christianity but were exercising the Inuit right to be silent; to not have to explain themselves to others.

Although the Padlirmiut possessed a worldview fundamentally different from Donald and Winifred Marsh in the early 1920s, the interchange of ideologies presented many similarities that were probably critical for the direction that Christian practice was to take in Arviat. I am suggesting, like many scholars (Fienup-Riordan 1990; Fletcher & Kirmayer 1997; Trott 1997; Grant 1997; Laugrand 1997), that there are certain parallels between the two ideologies that subtly aided and abetted the conversion process. I would be very hesitant to draw a parallel between shamanism and Christianity had some of my modern-day Inuit informants not drawn the parallel themselves. Many emphasized the fact that both shamans and ministers wanted people to live good lives; that there was no evil involved, only the action of doing good: “When we talk about shamans of the old days who lived on the land, we don’t follow them. Although we are not enemies with them, our ancestors didn’t want evil. Evil was just avoided... Looking back, our ancestors, although they had never heard of God, they were taught to always do what was good” (Suluk in *Inuktitut* December 1983: 27). Mary Okatsiak, organist at the Anglican Church in Arviat, said, “Shamen were healers and they helped the Inuit find food. Some of them listened to people’s wrongdoings and helped them to get better. God heals us and he helps us when we pray. These are the some of the things that are the same” (Interview with Mary Okatsiak, May 9, 2007).

There is, then, syncretism¹³⁰ between traditional Inuit ideology and Christianity. Similar features between the two belief systems may have led to a blending of practices and beliefs. The parallels lie in several different areas:

1. Both ideologies thrive in the presence of a dynamic leader. Donald Marsh was an avid story teller. He visited Padlirmiut camps and told miraculous stories and parables from the Bible, bringing Christian teachings to people “who had never heard the Christian gospel” (Marsh 1987: 13). He loved music and often sang hymns while Inuit babies “bounced up and down to the tune” (Marsh 87: 26). He healed the sick with medicines he brought from the south and fed many during the hardships of starvation with the provisions he had delivered each year by ship. This brief self-description of Donald Marsh shows the possibility that his early “converts” probably thought he was like a shaman (perhaps they even thought he WAS a shaman). He possessed many traits of a shaman: he was a leader, he healed the sick, and he spoke of the many miracles of Jesus. The fact that Donald Marsh had food to eat and share during periods of starvation probably caused Inuit to question the decision of the spirits to punish them with starvation while rewarding Marsh with the good fortune of having food. It is possible that they thought he was favoured by the spirits. Thus, perhaps to prevent the risk of further misfortune, they heeded some of his advice and teachings. Mary Okatsiak remembers her mother saying that “Rev. Marsh was a good man. He gave them tea and biscuits and he taught them the Gospel. His wife taught the little children how to read the Bible and she sang songs to them” (Mary Okatsiak, May 9, 2007).

¹³⁰ See pages 36-37 for a fleshing out of the definition of syncretism.

2. Both ideologies are based on the central theme of death and rebirth. The Padlirmiut Marsh encountered in 1926 believed that all living things had souls and that these souls were born and reborn in a continuous cycle. Furthermore, Rasmussen (1931) has shown that to become a shaman one had to go through a death/rebirth experience. While Marsh's sermons were often about the "folly of spitting on the floor, about the ravages of tuberculosis or influenza and the ways in which both diseases spread" (Marsh 1987: 31), he no doubt, talked about Jesus dying on the cross for our sins and arising from the dead three days later to sit at the right hand of God and to have eternal life: "Hearing of a God who loves them and who gave His Son for them means much..." (Marsh 1987: 67). While it is difficult to reconstruct the precise content of Donald Marsh's preaching, he must have focused on the central message of Christianity: the death and resurrection of Jesus. Each believer must replicate this passage by being "born again" through the death of the old self and the birth of the new in Jesus. The parallel of the death/rebirth of an individual in both shamanic and Christian ideologies provides a fertile ground for a synthesis between the two.
3. Both ideologies emphasize the presence of unseen "spirits" and in some contexts "possession" by a spirit. In a comparison with Yup'ik cosmology and Christianity, Fienup-Riordan (1990) states that "Inuit and Christians placed a high value on personal encounter with an unseen power through prayer" (Fienup-Riordan 1990: 79). For Padlirmiut in the 1920s this unseen power took the form of "spirits." For example, Anoe mentioned "Sila, the divine and dangerous spirit who lived somewhere up in the air, hovering over the earth" (Anoe in *Inuktitut*

Summer 1986: 43). He also mentions “*Takanakapsaluk*, the spirit of the sea, the mother of marine animals” (p. 43). The Padlirmiut prayed to these spirits to bring them good fortune in hunting. Marsh’s teachings about the enduring presence and “story of love” of the Holy Spirit (Marsh 1987: 26) fit with Padlirmiut cosmology and belief. Marsh taught Inuit to pray to God; to do so meant that they would be constantly surrounded by the Holy Spirit and would feel the enduring love of God. Even today in Arviat, a favourite song to sing at the Anglican Church is “Create in Me a Clean Heart, O God” because the lyrics are based on a scripture taken from the Bible: “Do not cast me from your presence or take your Holy Spirit from me” (Psalm 51:11). The significant resemblance of the presence of an unseen power in both shamanic and Christian ideologies paved the way for syncretism. It is further supported by the ability of shamans to exorcise evil demons from those who are ill (see Anooe in *Inuktitut* Summer 1986: 43-44). Within the Christian tradition the book of Matthew often speaks of Jesus’ ability to “drive out demons”: “Many will say to me on that day, “Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in your name, and in your name drive out demons and perform many miracles?” (Matthew 7: 22).

Although the differences between the Padlirmiut and Western views of the world were profound, Donald Marsh’s Christian ideology proved to be a powerful intermediary in the process of religious conversion, which was also a process of cultural translation and transformation.

While Marsh stayed and preached and taught at the Mission in Eskimo Point from 1926 to 1944, Joseph Yarley, an Inuk from southern Baffin Island, visited and shared the

gospel with the Padlirmiut at their camps inland during the winter months. According to Marsh, Joseph Yarley was a Christian man, but how Yarley interpreted the gospel is unknown. When Donald and his wife moved to Aklavik in the western Arctic in the spring of 1944, the Anglican community was left to develop under local Inuit leadership before the arrival of Marsh's predecessor, John Marlow. The practice that developed was meant to be carefully focused on the Anglican *Portions of the Book of Common Prayer, together with Hymns and Addresses in Eskimo* written/translated by Edmund J. Peck (Peck 1900). However, there seems to be both a break with the past and a continuity of traditional and Christian ideologies woven together.

5.2 Holy Week and Easter: An Inuit Transformation of an Anglican Tradition

I attended several Holy Week and Easter services at the Anglican Church in Arviat throughout my years living there. This discussion, however, and the interviews with informants about religious and musical practices deal specifically with Holy Week 2007 when I attended every Church service and band practice from Palm Sunday, April 1 to Easter Sunday, April 8. I participated in most games—*pingualuqi*¹³¹ played at the Mark Kalluak Hall—*pinguarvik* and “down at the ice”¹³²—*tupamit/sigjamit*, and I attended the feast—*niivigjuaq* and square dance—*muminguaq* held on Saturday, April 7. Interviews with the Okatsiaks, the musical leaders at the Anglican Church, were held

¹³¹ In pre-contact times, games were common during feasting and visiting times. These games played during Easter show how syncretism exists in more ways than music and ritual; it exists in the social activities of feasting and gaming as well.

¹³² “Down at the ice” is an English colloquialism which refers to the sea ice of the Hudson Bay located just beyond the dock in Arviat. Many community activities happen “down at the ice” such as skidoo races, ice fishing, ski races, and other such winter games.

shortly after Holy Week to determine their specific views on “feeling the Holy Spirit”—*aktuqtauniq anirnirmut*, “hindering the Holy Spirit”—*ijiqsimajuq/qaujimatitsingtuq anirnirmit*, and “driving out spirits”—*anirnirmit piungitumit anitirijug*. I was particularly observant of what role music and inummariit plays in this type of religious experience.

Holy Week and Easter at the Anglican Church in Arviat is a Christian tradition but one with secular elements as well. Schools are closed during this week and many Inuit take time off work to participate in all of the celebrations. It is a celebration of the death and resurrection of Christ through prayer and song. Like Anglicans everywhere, church services are held every night during Holy Week; however in Arviat, more emphasis is placed on the service on Saturday, the Easter Vigil, rather than Good Friday, the day Jesus was crucified.¹³³ Easter Sunday, the day Jesus arose from the dead is still considered the most important day of Holy Week; however morning service is not usually well attended.

The celebration of Easter always begins on Palm Sunday at 11:00 a.m. On that day and everyday throughout the week following, most Anglicans attend church.¹³⁴ Preceding these services games are held throughout the day, sometimes down at the ice, and other times at the Mark Kalluak Community Hall. On the Saturday before Easter Sunday there is a large community feast held at the hall, followed by a service at the Anglican Church, and then a square dance back at the hall.

¹³³ Easter Vigil is regarded in both the Anglican and Catholic churches as one of the most important liturgies. It forms part of the Easter Sunday celebrations—not Holy Saturday (in spite of beginning on Saturday).

¹³⁴ Throughout the week, services are held in the evening, beginning at 7:00 p.m. and ending any time after 10:00 p.m.

The Anglicans of Arviat had been preparing for Easter since Christmas. Martha Nutarasungnik (Padlirmiut), a lay reader and service leader, contacted two men from Churchill, Manitoba whose lives had been “touched by the Holy Spirit”—*anirniq ipjurnaitup atturninga* – and invited them to share their testimonies with the Anglican congregation in Arviat during the Easter Week. Funds for their flights were procured through donations to the Anglican Church and vigorous fund raising by the youth of the church. Country food for the feast, such as *ujuq*—boiled caribou, *maktak*—beluga whale blubber, *nipku*—dried caribou, and *iqalukpik*—Arctic char were collected from various hunters in the community by members of the “feast committees” from all four Christian denominations in the community (Catholic—*Iksirajuaq*,¹³⁵ Anglican—*Ajurqituijit*,¹³⁶ Glad Tidings—*Tuksiavitnaaq*,¹³⁷ and Alliance—*Tuksiavitnaaq*). The feast held at the community hall was a collaborative effort by all churches for the entire community. Games held throughout the week and the square dance held were also planned collaboratively.

In early March, the Anglican Church band and song leaders began regular practice for Easter. Song leaders made handwritten copies of the songs they intended to sing. Each song leader has his or her hand-made songbook and a communal homemade songbook (Figure 5:1 and Figure 5:2) was left at the church for all to use. Favourite hymns were chosen from the Anglican Church Hymnbook, published in Inuktitut and

¹³⁵ *Iksirajuaq* literally mean place of long speeches.

¹³⁶ *Ajurqituijit* also means place of long speeches.

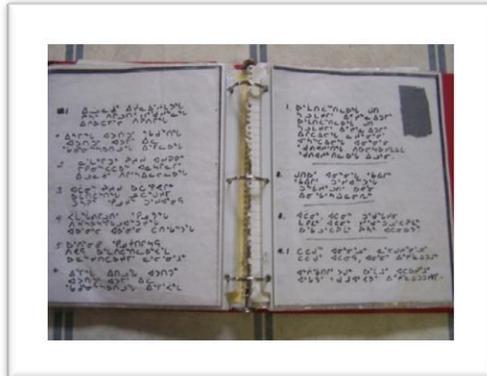
¹³⁷ *Tuksiavitnaaq* literally means little church.

English by CHC Publications in Rankin Inlet and from a hand-made songbook entitled *Umajuq Niriungniq*—Living Hope put together by Inuk minister Rev. Joe Manik.

Figure 5.1



Figure 5.2



The new Anglican Church¹³⁸ (see Figures 5.C16 and 5.C17) —*Ajurqituijit* is a simple, rectangular building divided into three parts: the narthex, which is where congregation members enter the church and where the church office is located; the sanctuary, where congregation members sit and worship and where musicians and song leaders make music for worship; and the chancel, which is located behind a small railing and where the altar is located. This is the most holy part of the church from where Holy Communion is administered by clergy and where congregation members kneel to be blessed by the “laying on of hands” or by “anointing oil” and to receive the Holy Spirit. Hanging on the wall directly above the altar is a wooden cross—*sanningajulik*.¹³⁹ the most iconic image of Christians everywhere.

¹³⁸ The St. Francis Anglican Church in Arviat, otherwise known to Inuit as “the Muckpah Church” named after a charismatic and respected Padlirmiut minister, Rev. Jimmy Muckpah Sr., is a new building, built in 2006 on the same grounds as the old church building.

¹³⁹ *Sanningajulik* literally means two sticks crossing each other.

On the evening of Monday, March 26, Martha Nutarasungnik (Padlirmiut), Eva Okatsiak (Padlirmiut), Mary Okatsiak (Padlirmiut), Mary Anowtalik (Ahiarmiut), Sarah Anowtalik (Ahiarmiut), and Delilah Anowtalik (Ahiarmiut) came together at the church to clean the building and to decorate it with banners, Powerpoint printouts of serene landscapes and well-known scripture readings, streamers, and ribbons. One banner read in English, “Welcome Guests to this Special Event.” This sign was to welcome the two visitors from Churchill who were of Cree and Dene descent, and who did not speak Inuktitut. Thus, the common language was English. On the opposite side of the church the banner read: “*Tungasugitsi tujumiu tusiarkataujusi irkaumanirkatiluta*”—Welcome Guests to this Special Event.

Easter Week opened with a two-hour service held at the church on Palm Sunday morning on April 1 and was attended by some ninety men, women, and children. This service was punctuated with hymns sung in Inuktitut, scripture readings—*ipjujunit uqalimarniq*, and a long sermon—*ikajurqti* delivered in Inuktitut by the Padlirmiut minister—*iksirarjuaq*, Rev. Joe Manik. During the service the band—*titaktit* was located on either side of the church just in front of the first pews: Joe Aulatjut (Ahiarmiut) played the drum set which was located against the wall on the right side of the church just below the pulpit. Seated next to him in the first pew was Sandy Okatsiak (Padlirmiut) (Figure 5.C18), playing an electric guitar much like a synthesizer (this guitar had many different functions and sounds—Sandy usually chose the acoustic guitar sound). Next to Sandy, located between him and the drum set, was the sound board. Sandy controlled all the sound from there: acoustic guitars, bass guitar, and microphones. Seated on Sandy’s left was Paul K. Irksak (Padlirmiut), who played the electric guitar. Next to him, seated

on the floor between the two first pews was Paul’s wife, Rita Irksak who enjoyed playing the tambourine or the traditional Inuit drum—*qilauti* during the singing of gospel songs—*ukpiqtuqsiutit imngiutit* and hymns—*imngiutit*. On the other side of the church, seated in the first pew, were two song leaders, Martha Nutarasungnik and Eva Okatsiak. Next to Eva was her father-in-law, Kuuku Mikeeuneak (Padlirmiut), playing the bass guitar. The electronic piano was situated near the wall on the left side of the church near Kuuku and the song leaders. This is where Mary Okatsiak sat and joined in playing gospel songs, hymns, and “spiritual music”—*anirniq piuliji pilirialik titaktinit* choosing a “church organ”—*tuksiarviup naqिताutingit* sound from the hundreds of options provided by the electronic piano. (On other evenings throughout the week, Henry Ethluangat (Padlirmiut) played the fiddle, Thomas Ulimaumi played the mandolin, and one visitor from Churchill played his acoustic guitar). Gospel songs and hymns were delivered alternately in Inuktitut and English. At the end of the service people dispersed to their homes to eat lunch and to prepare for the “float parade”—*malikturau* that was to mark the beginning of the Easter Spring Festival week.

The float parade began at 3:00 p.m. and consisted of a parade of decorated *qamutiks*¹⁴⁰ led by the local fire truck. The parade ended at the Mark Kalluak Hall where prizes were given to the “best-decorated qamutik.” After the opening remarks and the singing of “*Atanira Guti*”¹⁴¹—“How Great Thou Art” by Paul K. Irksak, Sandy Okatsiak, and Paul’s sons more games were played. They were: “Most colourful home-made

¹⁴⁰ *qamutik* (also *komitik*)—dog sled.

¹⁴¹ See musical transcription on page 66 in Appendix G. See Inuktitut text and English translation on pages 141-143 in appendix H.

costume”—I was asked to be the judge and Maggie Manik won; “Elders elastic band competition”¹⁴²; and the “messiest hair competition for children between the ages of eleven and fifteen.” Following the games there was a square dance. These games were organized by members of the four churches: Elizabeth Copland (Mayor of Arviat), Doreen Manik (Anglican Rev. Joe Manik’s daughter), Doreen Ikakhik, Leanna Kalluak, and Johnny Mamgark.

The next day at 1:00 p.m. there were activities at the ice. For the men there was “back to back race,” for the women, “circle ten rounds and race back to team.” Co-ed games included “cod or sculpin fishing” (men chiseled the ice to make a hole and women fished) and the “five-legged race.” Children participated in a “home-made kite” contest. At 7:00 p.m. Gara Mamgark and I went to the service together.¹⁴³ Other games, feasts and dance were scheduled in the course of the week. On Saturday, April 7, 2007, activities down at the ice at 12:00 noon included: “Marathon of hope”—this was a race across the ice from the dock to the cross located on the point. There was a \$5 entry fee with all proceeds going to the graduating class 2007. There was a “Tea and bannock making contest,” a “Harpoon throwing contest,” and a “Skipping contest.” At 5:00 p.m. there was a feast at the Mark Kalluak Hall. This included country food, salads, and

¹⁴² Seven elders wrapped large elastic bands around their faces to pull back their noses and to hold their mouths in comedic poses. Audience members found this hilarious. The elder who looked the funniest and who paraded around in the most comedic fashion was the winner of this outrageous competition.

¹⁴³ I did not audio record this service because I had not asked permission yet. After the service I asked the musicians (Sandy, Eva, and Mary Okatsiak and Paul K. Irksak) and *sivuliqti*—worship leader (Martha Nutarasungnik) if I could audio and video record the Holy Week services for preservation and research purposes; permission was enthusiastically granted. There was one stipulation: I was to make personal copies of what I recorded for those who wanted them.

dessert. After the feast, people dispersed to their respective churches for worship service at 7:00 p.m. and then came back to the hall between 10:00 p.m. and 11:00 p.m. for more games and a square dance. The games included an “Elders/youth translation game,” a “Dice elimination game,” and a “Bottle sucking contest.” Once the games were completed, the band, led by accordion player Rosie Gibbons started playing and men began to form their squares for the lively dance that was to take place. The hall usually closes at 11:45, but on this most festive evening the hall remained open and the dancing continued until 2:00 a.m.

The evening services were usually not attended by clergy and were led by a lay worship leader—*sivuliqti* and are called “Young Life” services. The *Anglican Book of Common Prayer* (worship book), which is used on Sunday mornings, was not used during these services and Inuit followed an order of worship considered “traditional”—*piqqusiq*. According to Martha Nutarasungnik, “it has always been done this way for “Young Life” services and especially during Holy Week.” Most evening services throughout the week followed this format except for the services held on Tuesday and Wednesday evening and on Easter Sunday morning. These three services were led by Inuit ministers, Rev. Joe Manik (Figure 5.C19) and Rev. Jimmy Gibbons (Figure 5.C20) (from Coral Harbour) and thus included a lengthy sermon. Most notably, the part of the service called “The River” did not take place when the ministers are present. Martha Nutarasungnik said after the service on Tuesday that “the reverends were hindering the Holy Spirit”—*ijiqsimajuq/qaujimatitsingtuq anirnirmit* and Sandy Okatsiak said that “we don’t do the River when the reverends are there.” I will contrast one of the Young Life services with one led by the clergy.

The worship service at the Anglican Church on Saturday evening is one that I will discuss in detail because it tells much about the processes of heightened intensity of the interaction between performers and congregation members involved in the Easter worship. The Anglican Padlirmiut of Arviat consider this “spiritual type” of service — *tuksiarniq anirniq piuliji taimauthuni* as “traditional”—*piqqusiq*; that is, having to do with the unique history of Padlirmiut. As is the case with their traditional songs and stories—*unipkarniq piqqusinik*, church lay leaders have passed this worship format down from their Padlirmiut ancestors.

First, this church service is examined in relation to what Seeger (2004) names “euphoria.”¹⁴⁴ The concept of “euphoria” or heightened intensity addresses such issues as how the desire to create a feeling of complete “euphoria” within a church service through music influences the choices made about leadership roles, repertoire, instrumentation, and timing. In speaking about this heightened intensity with members of the Okatsiak family and others involved in the service, I learned what it “feels” like to experience “the Holy Spirit” and what it means for specific individuals to make music in church. I determined how individuals who participate in church services (either as song leaders, accompanists, or congregation members) define “Holy Spirit,” what it feels like

¹⁴⁴ In his musical anthropology *Why Suyá Sing*, Seeger defines euphoria or *kin* among the Suyá as a desirable state of happiness and sense of community felt among the people during ceremonial rituals: “The Village is in that desirable state of collective euphoria, or *kin* (both as adjective and noun), that should be part of any ceremony. When people feel euphoric, they are happy and want to sing. Singing makes them happy. Kin is a desirable state...everyone is *kin-kumeni* (the suffix *-kumeni* indicates emphasis) or ‘really euphoric’” (Seeger 2004, p.17). For the Suyá, when people are acting correctly, when ceremonial food has been distributed, and when songs are being sung, people are euphoric and are feeling the desirable state of happiness and community.

for them to experience the “Holy Spirit,” and how they think music contributes to this feeling. I also determine what contributes to the “hindering of the Holy Spirit.”¹⁴⁵

Second, this service is examined for its Inuit “traditional” qualities. Through interviews with members of the Okatsiak family, I determine what makes this “spiritual type”—*tuksiarniq anirniq piuliji taimauthuni* service “traditional”—*piqqusiq* in comparison to the “non-traditional”—*piqqusiungituq* services led by clergy where the *Anglican Book of Common Prayer—Ijuqituijit Uqalimagait* is used as a format guide, the hymnbook is used for the choice of hymns, *Kuukpaluk—The River* (described in Part III of this chapter) is not enacted, and people sense that the Holy Spirit is not present.

5.3 Easter Vigil—*Makitaugvik* —Saturday, April 7, 2007

The Easter Vigil service, which is considered a “traditional”—*piqqusiq* service because of its spiritual aspects, is divided into four parts. Sandy Okatsiak labeled these parts: *Tungasugitsi Niqtuinirmut—Welcome to Worship*, *Qaqialirniq—Sharing Testimonies*, *Kuukpaluk—The River*, and *Sivutmuttitaujuq—Sending Forth*. The worship service is designed for maximum spiritual experience for everyone present. Each of the four parts of the service plays a specific role in preparing the congregation for the “coming of the Holy Spirit”—*tappanituq anirniq ipjurnaituq* and music contributes to heightening the intensity of the experience. According to Mary Okatsiak, “the service wouldn’t feel right if there was no music...the Holy Spirit would not be present” (Mary

¹⁴⁵ I also wanted to determine how individuals think that the presence of the “Holy Spirit” can get rid of evil spirits—*piungituq anirniq* and how this process is accomplished; specifically how music aids in the “exorcism”—*anirnirmit piungitumit anitirijuq* but was unable to write about my findings due to request.

Okatsiak, May 9, 2007). Sandy, her son, indicated that “it is our voices, our singing, and our music that brings the Holy Spirit. When we sing with our hearts to God, not for ourselves, not for other people, but for God...and when everyone around is singing to God together, He hears our voices, He feels our love, and He comes to us because He loves us. We can feel His love in our bodies and all around us and all the bad things we are thinking about go away” (Sandy Okatsiak, April 27, 2007).

For Mary Okatsiak, music provides the medium for communicating with God and with the Holy Spirit and helps her to think about the wrongdoings she has committed so that her sense of guilt will be removed. The idea of confession¹⁴⁶ is an important one here. Almost all of my informants indicated that the heightened sense of community, of feeling the Holy Spirit was a result of either confession of wrong doings publicly or thinking about them while singing. These confessions enabled the Holy Spirit to arrive and to be a part of the worship service both in the souls of individuals and in the space around them.

As musical leaders at the Anglican Church, members of the Okatsiak family chose repertoire for the Easter Vigil which was suitable for use in each of the four parts of the service. Some of the music was chosen before the service began, but much of it was chosen “in the moment.” As the song leader, Sandy must be able to “read” the congregation; he must be able to “feel” the level of intensity of emotion of congregation

¹⁴⁶ Seddon (1996) explains that in the Anglican Church, confession and absolution, sometimes called the Sacrament of Reconciliation, is the rite or sacrament by which one is restored to God when one’s relationship with God has been broken by sin. Confession and absolution is normally done corporately. Individuals, however, can and do also participate in aural confession, privately meeting with a priest to confess his or her sins, during which time the priest can provide both counselling, urge reconciliation with parties that have been sinned against, and suggest certain spiritual disciplines (penance).

members in the Church; he must know when “the Holy Spirit is present”—*tappanituq anirniq ipjurnaituq*—and he must choose music that reflects these moments. When I asked Sandy how he knows when to sing a specific hymn or gospel song, he said, “It just comes to me. I don’t know how it happens; I just know what to sing. I think I am guided by the Holy Spirit” (Sandy Okatsiak, April 27, 2007). A closer look at the different parts of the Easter Vigil service and the music used in each of these parts reveals how music contributes to the heightened intensity necessary for the “coming of the Holy Spirit”—*tappanituq anirniq ipjurnaituq*.

Part I: *Tungasugitsi Niqtuinirmut*—Welcome to Worship

The Easter Vigil Service began at 7:00 p.m. with music. No ordained ministers were present. Sandy Okatsiak, song leader and lead guitar player, was accompanied on the bass guitar by his brother, Chris Okatsiak, and by his sister-in-law, Oopik Okatsiak. His wife, Eva Okatsiak, arrived at 8:00 p.m. and also offered her voice in praise. Henry Ethluangat played his fiddle. Sandy’s mother and father, Mary and Kuuku, did not play for this service, but had played organ and bass guitar respectively for other services throughout Holy Week. The opening song was “*Katilirivugut*,” sung in Inuktitut and English. The Inuktitut text is a direct translation of the well-known American Christian gospel song “We’re Together Again” written by Gordon Jensen and Wayne Hilton in 1975 and reflects the welcoming theme of the first part of the service. The melody is the same as the original English version.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ For a musical transcription see page 67 of Appendix G.

ᑲᑎᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ—Inuktitut

ᑲᑎᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ
ᑲᑎᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ ᑲᑎᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ
ᑲᑎᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ ᑲᑎᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ
ᑲᑎᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ ᑲᑎᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ
ᑲᑎᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ ᑲᑎᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ

Katilirivugut—Roman Orthography

Katiligivugut niqtuiluta
Ataniptini atausiugapta
Pijualungmi pijuqaniarpuq
Pijualumi piniaqpugut
Katilirmigata niqtuiluta

We're Together Again—English¹⁴⁸

We're together again just praising the Lord
We're together again in one accord
Something good is going to happen
Something good is on its way
We're together again just praising the Lord

Sandy learned the English version of this song from “an old gospel music tape someone gave to me years ago.” He learned the Inuktitut version from Paul K. Irksak, also a singer and song leader at the Anglican Church. The lyrics can be found in the hand-made red communal songbook #103 left at the church for all to use but, as with most songs sung at this service, almost everyone sang it from memory.

There were not many present at the church at 7:00 p.m. This may have been because people needed time to get from the feast held at the Mark Kalluak Hall earlier in the evening. In any case, Sandy Okatsiak and his family led the congregation through a series of choruses and songs well known to all present for about an hour. By 8:00 p.m.

¹⁴⁸ Gordon Jensen and Wayne Hilton's original English version (1975).

the church was full. Later in an interview, Sandy said that this part of the service is to welcome everyone present and to “prepare them for the coming of the Holy Spirit.” I asked where he thought the Holy Spirit was before the service began. He said, “the Holy Spirit is in Heaven; it is also all around us every day; but in order for us to feel the Holy Spirit as people and as a community we must do things to prepare ourselves; we must think about our sins and ask for forgiveness; we must ask it to come into our lives so that we can be re-born as new and better people.” He said that he sings “*Katilirivugut*” at the beginning of every “spiritual service” because the words tell of “something good that is going to happen”—*sunakiaq piujuq* and that “something good” is the “Holy Spirit.” He said that “the Holy Spirit will come after we have been cleansed of our sins.”

After singing several slow tempo gospel songs, Sandy gave a welcome speech:

Tungasugitsi. Ublutsiathujuarmit Gutiup tunimmimatigut ublusiathujuarmit.
 Mumiqtuluaqthuta suli mannamut tikithugu mumiqtuluarapta.
 Nagligusuktuqaqpakthuni ikpigusuktuqaqpakthunilu mannamut tikitlugu.
 Isumakkaitumiaqtaituq nagligijaujutit nagligijaujunga.
 Gutiup nutaranaarimatigut tunirutigigumamut Guti niqturlavut.
 Tungasuglutit iluikamit Guti niqtuqsjarlugu.
 Aupaluktunit immngiqatigilauqta 215 “*Sivunirijait*.”

Welcome. God is giving us a new beautiful day again.
 Right until now we still can dance.
 Someone out there is loving their loved ones and/or others.
 And we still have all kinds of feelings.
 There is no one out there not caring for you.
 You are loved and I am loved. We are God’s children.
 Let’s praise God; welcome and praise God.
 Let’s sing together, Red songbook page 215 “*Sivunirijait*”—“I Don’t Know Your Future.”¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ See Appendix H on page 132 for Inuktitut text and English translation.

Following this hymn, and without a break in the music, Sandy started to sing the words “*Qaigit ipjurnaituq...Qaigit ipjurnaituq tukiaqtaqtunga.*” This text refers to inviting the Holy Spirit to come, which is part of the preparation process: “Come Holy Spirit; Come Holy Spirit, I pray; Come in your power; Come in your own gentle way. You are God. Come Holy Spirit my God, come, I pray, you are my God. I want my soul with you.” Then Sandy sang “*Qaigit Ipjurnaituq*”—“Come Holy Spirit.”¹⁵⁰

Following this song the worship leader, Martha Nutarasungnik, also welcomed everyone to the service and she introduced the first guest to give a testimony. This marks the beginning of the second part of the worship service: *Qaqialirniq*—Sharing Testimonies.

Part II: *Qaqialirniq*—Sharing Testimonies

According to Sandy Okatsiak, *Qaqialirniq* is a time for Inuit to share with the community. Usually there are two chosen speakers for each service, but anyone is free to give a testimony if they are “moved by the Holy Spirit” to do so. *Qaqialirniq* provides an opportunity for Inuit to share their joys and concerns with the community: both human and spiritual communities, and when these communities are “one with each other, healing and love can grow.” Eva Okatsiak believes that “when people share their sadness—*quviasunginiq*¹⁵¹ with the community, we can all feel their pain. It is through this sharing that people can get beyond what they have done, be forgiven, and move on with their lives. We need to feel the Holy Spirit and be re-born so that we can move on.” Mary

¹⁵⁰ See Appendix H on pages 132-133 for Inuktitut text and English translation.

¹⁵¹ *Quviasunginiq*-lack of happiness; *Qiviasungni*-happiness.

Okatsiak said that “during Qaqialirniq people share their happiness—*quviasungni* with everyone so that we all can be happy together. God loves us and He is happy when we are happy. Qaqialirniq helps everyone to be happy together. When we are all feeling strongly, the Holy Spirit can come.”

The first guest to give a testimony on Easter Vigil was a man probably in his early 50s. His name is Hugh Natelaa from Baker Lake. He began his speech with an enthusiastic “Halleluiah.” Alternating between Inuktitut and English, he said:

Uvagutauq qaujisariaqalirapta tamani on earth. Halleluiah.
Praise God. Tamna piniagara qaplunatut. We are cherished by the Father.
Kinguarijavunguq cherished-nguniragaugangata taima piquitluktanguq.
Piniaraptigit sunaluktangit imma ii. We are joined there with the Father.
Amalu, kinguvaqutigijavuguq. We are joined there with the son.
Anirnijuarmut Jesus Christ, we are joined there. Halleluiah.
We are children of thee now.....Manittukuraluaqthuta.
Iitarijaujugut ukpiqtugupta Jisusimut. We are children of thee now.
We are family. Ukpiqtuqanigit ilagiktungut.
We are one. Atausiujugut atausirmit taqniqarapta.
Joined in Jesus Christ. Halleluiah.

“We are cherished by the Father; we are joined there with the son; Halleluiah. We are the children of thee now...” *Everyone claps in acknowledgement...* “We are a family; we are one joined in Jesus Christ.” Accompanying himself on the electric guitar, the man began to sing. He sang an English song containing the lyrics above. The chorus of the song had the words, “We are comforted through this life with the love of Jesus Christ.” Martha Nutarasungnik clapped enthusiastically throughout the singing of this song and many congregation members were moved to tears, including Eva and Chris Okatsiak. Later in an interview I asked Eva what brought tears to her eyes and she said, “I could tell he was singing from his heart. He was singing to God and I could feel his emotion. His words

reminded me that God loves me no matter what and that I can be forgiven for what I have done. I was feeling that the Holy Spirit was near and it made me cry.”

After Natelaa’s testimony, worship leader, Martha Nutarasungnik stood with a harpoon and a Bible in her hand. She lifted the harpoon high above her head and read the Bible passage John 19: 33-35 in Inuktitut: “But when they came to Jesus and found that he was already dead, they did not break his legs. Instead, one of the soldiers pierced Jesus’ side with a spear, bringing a sudden flow of blood and water. The man who saw it has given testimony, and his testimony is true. He knows that he tells the truth, and he testifies so that you also may believe.” It can be said that in this case, Jesus is like the seal. In traditional and contemporary Inuit society, when seals are harpooned the hunters give thanks (to Sedna; to God depending on the individual) so that more seals and food will be provided in the future. Similarly, Jesus is speared in the side and Christians everywhere give thanks for the forgiveness of sins. Then Martha instructed everyone to turn to Hymn 110 in the Red hymnbook (Hymn #57 in the Blue hymnbook) so that all could sing the famous Christian hymn written by George Bennard, in 1913, “*Sanningayuq*”—“The Old Rugged Cross.”¹⁵² This hymn was sung in Inuktitut only.

I asked Martha why she chose to read John 19: 33-35 and she said, “At Easter Jesus died on the cross and then arose from the dead three days later. We know that he was dead on the cross because the soldier pierced him with the spear. It was true, Jesus was dead. At Easter we celebrate his resurrection. Through the love of the Holy Spirit he comes back to life...Last night we were re-born in Jesus. The love of the Holy Spirit came to us and we were made new too.” When I asked her why she chose the hymn “The

¹⁵² See Appendix H on pages 133-134 for Inuktitut text and English translation.

Old Rugged Cross” and how it contributed to her spiritual experience, she said, “Singing comes from the heart; it comes from our soul; we use our voices to speak to God; when we all make beautiful music together, the Holy Spirit comes around us and we can feel it...the words of the hymn “The Old Rugged Cross” are important at Easter because they remind us that Jesus died on the cross and that he felt so much pain so that we might be re-born in love and happiness just like he was. Through the Holy Spirit, God can see everything. He knows everything. He knows our sins. Jesus died on the cross for our sins. So we should not sin and when we do we must confess to God so that we can be re-born and be happy.”

Martha introduced the second speaker, a woman probably in her late 40s, and together they sang the song “*Niq̄tupagit*”¹⁵³ before the woman gave her testimony. Many Inuit believe that singing before a testimony prepares the speaker for what they are about to say. It helps them to feel the Holy Spirit and it gives them courage to speak to the community.

The woman faced the large wooden cross mounted on the back wall of the church, closed her eyes, and lifted her outstretched arms as if to receive the Holy Spirit. After several minutes she turned around to face the congregation and began her testimony. She said that she had done wrong in her life, asked God for forgiveness and told the story of how she accepted Jesus into her heart. Many members of the congregation were crying and were deeply moved by her words. When she was finished, her family accompanied

¹⁵³ See Appendix H on page 135 for Inuktitut text and English translation.

her at the front of the church and they sang “*Jesus*,”¹⁵⁴ a gospel song sung in Inuktitut with lyrics about the love of Jesus. After church I asked her why she chose this song to sing after her testimony and she said that she identified with the words “Jesus you took away my shyness.” She said that she felt too shy to speak in front of the community, but that Jesus, through the Holy Spirit gave her courage to speak. She believed that by singing this gospel song after her testimony, the Holy Spirit would appreciate her voice and the voices of her family, and would spread love around to all. She said that she hoped “God forgive me my wrongdoings and allow me to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven when my time comes.”

At 8:25 p.m. the testimonies were completed and Sandy began to sing a series of uplifting, quick, rhythmically punctuated, gospel songs. Martha Nutarasungnik danced in the chancel area waving a golden flag, while Eva Okatsiak played the tambourine. People shouted exclamations of “Halleluiah,” “*Atanagit Jesus*”—Father Jesus, “*Matna Jesusi*”—Thank you, Jesus, “*Niqtuqrniq Jisusimit*”—Praise Jesus, and “*Qaigit Ipjurnaituq*”—Come Holy Spirit as many danced in the aisles and in the chancel area. According to Sandy, two of the most important songs to sing during this time of preparation for the coming of the Holy Spirit are: “*Qilangmi Paani*” and “*Anirniup Iqumangatalu*” because “*Qilangmi Paani*” speaks of the beautiful place in heaven where the Holy Spirit resides with his Inuit ancestors and “*Anirniup Iqumangatalu*” tells about how the Holy Spirit leaves this beautiful place in heaven to visit the Inuit on earth. The lyrics talk about the presence of the Holy Spirit within the body, bubbling like fire and

¹⁵⁴ See Appendix H on pages 135-136 for Inuktitut text and English translation. See musical transcription on page 68 in Appendix G.

Naglingmatigut angijumik
Quviasuquniarmatigut—they will tell us to be happy

In the Sweet By and By—English¹⁵⁵

There's a land that is fairer than day
And by faith we can see it afar
For the Father waits over the way
To prepare us a dwelling place there

** In the sweet by and by
We shall meet on that beautiful shore
In the sweet by and by
We shall meet on that beautiful shore

We shall sing on that beautiful shore
The melodious song of the blest
And our spirits shall sorrow no more
Not a sigh for the blessing of rest

To our bountiful Father above
We will offer our tribute of praise
For the glorious gift of His love
And the blessings that hallow our days

“*Qilangmi Paani*” was sung in Inuktitut only. Sandy’s explanation of the text reveals that it is a very loose translation of the original:

Nunaksaqaqpugut qilangmi—We will go home to Heaven
Quviananrniqpaangujumik—The happiest place
Ukpinrniptingnut takuvaut—They see us with our faith
Gositpta utaqivaatigut—Our God is waiting for us

** Qilangmi paani—Up there in Heaven
Katimalirumaarivugut—We will gather
Qilangmi paani—Up there in Heaven
Katimalirumaarivugut—We will gather

¹⁵⁵ The original English version of “In the Sweet By and By” was written by Sandford F. Bennett (words) and Joseph P. Webster (music) in 1868. The Inuktitut translation “*Qilangmi Paani*” can be found in the Anglican Hymnbook #268.

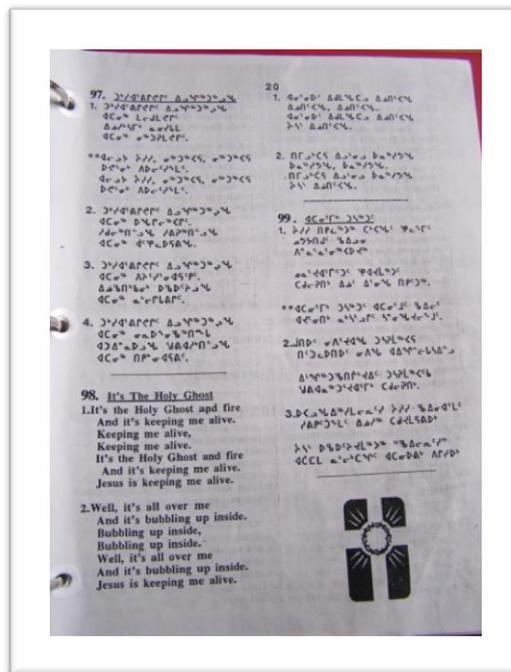
This localized text references several core components of inummariit: connection to the land (*nuna*) and/or place and the pursuit of happiness (*quvia*). While the references to land and happiness indicate a blending of traditional Inuit beliefs and Christianity, it is more than syncretism—local translations of Christian hymns communicate the deeper meaning of Inuit hymns in Arviat. There is a distinctive and multifaceted juncture between Anglicanism, specific Padlirmiut history, and individuals that is clarified by the localized language of hymns. First, connection to/with the land or a specific place is an integral part of being Inuit. Padlirmiut elders such as Mary Okatsiak, Louis Angalik, and Mark Kalluak repeatedly talked about Palliq, a traditional Padlirmiut camping area near the mouth of the Maguse River in recollections about the history of the Padlirmiut. Sentiments of love, joy, nostalgia, and regret in leaving this place to live a sedentary lifestyle in Arviat were reiterated in many conversations I had with these elders over the past five years. As was stated in Chapter One, inummariit are individuals who live off the land; who know how to hunt and fish and provide for their families; who know how to navigate the land using traditional knowledge as opposed to a GPS (Global Positioning System). Inummariit are people who identify with specific places which bring happiness and joy because there is sustenance available there—such as Palliq. This specific location is known for its abundance of Arctic char, fresh drinking water, and caribou; thus, Inuit identify it as a place where food is available, where social gatherings and feasts take place, where people are rejuvenated—where happiness is achieved.

The localized text of the gospel song “*Qilangmi Paani*,” communicates a similar place: a happy place where people gather—a place in the Inuit Anglican context known as “Heaven.” Thus, the sung performance of this localized Inuktitut gospel song enacts a

shared community experience with God and Christianity and an experiential relationship echoed in inummariit. The expression, “going home to Heaven, the happiest place...[where] we will gather” then emerges from a very particular manifestation of inummariit in individual conceptualizations of Anglicanism. For those like Mary and Sandy Okatsiak, the localized text of this hymn carries meanings which simultaneously reference Christianity and inummariit: a joyous relationship with God and those ancestors gathered in Heaven and a deep connection with the past.

“*Anirniup Iqumangatalu*,”¹⁵⁶ which was sung in Inuktitut and English, has no known composer but the English version “It’s the Holy Ghost” can be found on most Pentecostal music lyrics websites. The English and Inuktitut lyrics can be found in the hand-made red communal songbook at the Anglican Church #98 (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3 *Anirniup Iqumangatalu*



¹⁵⁶ For a musical transcription see page 69 in Appendix G.

people feel excited—*quviasurjuaqtuq*; and it encourages the Holy Spirit to enter the worship space and the bodies of individuals. One of the major purposes of these spiritual services is to achieve happiness so that the Holy Spirit can enter the body of individuals. This ritual process enables individuals to be reborn, ready to live a happy life. Sandy's choice of repertoire—lively songs which help happiness to be achieved—manifests the recurring inummariit theme of “the pursuit of happiness.” Notice, too, the significance of the Inuktitut language used to describe desired emotional states such as a “high energy level”—*quviasuluamut misiktaramiaqtuq*; it “makes people feel happy—*quviasuktuq*; it makes people feel good—*namaktumit ikpigijuq*; it makes people feel excited—*quviasurjuaqtuq*.

Most of these words have the same root—“*quvia-*.” There is even a word for “Heaven”—“*quvianartuvik*” which carries the same root. *Quvianartuvik* literally translates as “a place of great joy and happiness” but the nuances are complex and polysemous as described in Chapter One.

During the singing of “*Anirniup Iqumangatalu*” worship leader, Martha Nutarasungnik, testimony givers, and community leaders Mark and Angie Eetak made their way to the altar in the chancel area. This movement of leaders to the altar marks the beginning of the “most spiritual” part of the service: *Kuukpaluk*—The River.

Part III: *Kuukpaluk*—The River

According to Sandy, *Kuukpaluk*—The River, is the most spiritual part of the Easter worship service. It is at this time that the emotional intensity is at its highest and people “feel the presence of the Holy Spirit.” *Kuukpaluk* is a ritual whereby Inuit pass

from their old lives to new and better lives. This ritual enables Inuit to be re-born in the love of Jesus Christ with the help of the Holy Spirit by walking through an imaginary river. Its enactment reestablishes certain relationships between individuals and other human beings, between individuals and the Holy Spirit, and between individuals and spirits of dead ancestors. Individuals are re-born every time Kuukpaluk happens. This may occur weekly, depending on whenever the ordained ministers are absent from worship.

Before the imaginary river was constructed, worship leaders Martha Nutarasungnik, testimony givers, and Mark and Angie Eetak blessed each other at the altar by the “laying on of hands” and by anointing each other with oil. During this time, Sandy led the congregation through a series of gospel songs intended to create a feeling of serenity and love among Inuit and a sense of community with the Holy Spirit. With the vocal help of Dorean Arloo, Eva Okatsiak, and Oopik Okatsiak, Sandy sang: “*Imaillunga*”—“Just As I Am,”¹⁵⁷ “*Jesusimut Tunivatka*”—“All for Jesus,”¹⁵⁸ “*Isagit Aktulauruk Jisas Pisuktu*”—“Reach Out and Touch the Lord as He Walks By,”¹⁵⁹ and “*Atanira Guti*”¹⁶⁰—“How Great Thou Art.” Some congregation members went to the front of the church to be blessed by the worship leaders who were gathered there. There was much shouting at this time, and many people were “*tuksiaqtuq uqakut*”—speaking in

¹⁵⁷ See Appendix H on pages 137-139 for Inuktitut text and English translation.

¹⁵⁸ 172 in Hymnbook, #26 in Living Hope hand-made songbook. See Appendix H on page 139 for Inuktitut text and English translation.

¹⁵⁹ Sandy’s own songbook. See Appendix H on page 140 for a figure of Sandy’s songbook.

¹⁶⁰ #84 in Hymnbook, #113 in Red communal songbook. See musical transcription on page 66 in Appendix G. Text and translation can be found in Appendix H on pages 141-143.

tongues. Sandy believes that when people speak in tongues they are confessing their sins to God and asking the Holy Spirit to come into their souls.

While singing “*Atanira Guti*”¹⁶¹—“How Great Thou Art” most people who were at the altar to be blessed went back to their seats. The worship leaders formed a circle around the woman who gave the testimony earlier and she said, “The Holy Spirit is coming...maybe it’s gonna happen today.” She read Acts 2: 1-4 from the Bible in Inuktitut. This is the scripture about the coming of the Holy Spirit. She then read the same scripture passage in English.¹⁶²

By the time she had finished reading, the woman was crying. She said “*Quvianaqtu*”—I am happy and proceeded to give another testimony about a healing miracle which was granted to her husband by the Holy Spirit. Following her testimony she sang “*Nunamitugut*”¹⁶³ with vocal help from her family and Eva Okatsiak. After the service, I asked her why she chose to sing “*Nunamitugut*”¹⁶⁴ and she said, “Jesus comes to us through the Holy Spirit. This song reminds me that He will take away the evil things in my life. When I sang this song in church I told God that I believe and that I

¹⁶¹ “How Great Thou Art” is a Christian hymn based on a Swedish poem written by Carl Gustav Boberg (1859–1940) in Sweden in 1885. The melody is a Swedish folk tune. It was translated into English by British missionary Stuart K. Hine, who also added two original verses of his own composition.

¹⁶² When the Day of Pentecost had fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled the whole house where they were sitting. Then there appeared to them divided tongues, as of fire, and one sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit...(The New King James Version, Acts 2: 1-4).

¹⁶³ Also known as “*Tusaumaliqtunga*.” See musical transcription on pages 70-71 in Appendix G.

¹⁶⁴ “*Nunamitugut*” is found on a number of gospel compact discs produced by local musicians in Arviat. It is Track #9 On Jo Ellen Pameolik’s compact disc entitled *I Believe in Jesus* put out in 2006 and it is Track #1 on Jocelyn Malla’s compact disc called *Gospel Songs*. In Arviat, it is sung in Inuktitut only; however there is an English original version...I was unable to determine the original songwriter. See musical transcription in Appendix H on page 70.

And this life won't even be a memory.
We're here today, we'll be gone tomorrow,
Where we'll praise the Lord throughout eternity.

2. Today we're getting ready for the final journey,
And I'm making plans to live in my new home,
Soon those eastern skies will glow the clouds of glory,
And the sounding of the trumpets will gone.

Nunamitugut—Mary Okatsiaks's Localized Translation

1. Tusaumaliqtunga tikilaqtumii—I heard he will come
Jisusi tikilamat qilangmit—Jesus will come from Heaven
Kiasanaqtut taikani nunguniaqtut—There will be no more sorrow
Ijivu allaktiniamagit—He will dry our tears
- ** Nunamitugut aijaulatugut—We are here today; He will come and get us
Inusirijavut iqaumanalangila—Our lives; we will forget about it all
Nunamitugut aijaulatugut—We are here today; He will come and get us
Atanik najutsainainialilugu—We will praise our Lord
2. Atanik nagminilu uqagpaurma—The Lord told us all
Nipijuamut qaigalilamagu—He will sound
Gutiulu tiktulautinga nibliluni—With his trumpet
Tuqungajut sivuliutitaulatut—Dead/deceased people will be first

Mary Okatsiak's translation of the Inuktitut version of this gospel song shows that the meaning of the localized text of the first verse is quite similar to the original English version. The second verse, however, is a very loose translation and together with the chorus it reveals Inuit ideas about connecting with dead ancestors through spiritual experience; a part of both traditional Inuit ideology and contemporary Christianity which may have helped pave the way for missionization in the early 1920s. Like the shaman, Jesus is able to move between the two worlds: the shaman travels to *Sila* and *Takanakapsaluk* while Jesus was able to physically be in the spiritual world up in Heaven and the material world here in earth. In early Inuit shamanism, however, the actual physical body of the shaman did not travel between the two worlds; his spirit did. His

spirit flew to the spiritual world for many reasons. He/she may have spoken to deceased Inuit ancestors to find out truths about the actions of Inuit living on earth in an effort to heal their physical bodies or he/she may have spoken to Sedna, the goddess of the sea, to request a successful hunting seasons. In Christianity, Jesus' physical body is thought to travel between earth and heaven. Christians know this because of the Easter story where the people rolled back the tombstone and Jesus's dead body was gone. The ability of spiritual leaders to travel to spiritual words and the idea of communicating with deceased ancestors show syncretism between the two ideologies and show how inummarit manifests itself in the songs and thinking of present-day Anglicans in Arviat.

After the singing of this song, the woman's mother, one of the oldest elders living in Arviat said, "We're here today with the presence of the Holy Spirit. We will become one with Jesus Christ. We can confess our sins and follow the one true way of the ones who went before us. Praise God. Come to us now Holy Spirit. I want to feel you in my heart. Cleanse me, cleanse all of us. Help us to live the right life, like our fathers and mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers. They knew the right way. Holy Spirit, come into us now and lead us to the happiness." While she is speaking Sandy began to play a D+ pedal point on the guitar. Chris Okatsiak followed suit and played the open D string on the bass guitar. Joe Aulatjut started to improvise on the drum set. The three musicians played quietly and slowly at first but as the elder's words quickened, as she spoke louder and with much enthusiasm, they started playing the D+ pedal point louder and faster. Martha Nutarasungnik picked up the traditional Inuit drum and started to beat it, all the while shouting "*Halleluiah, Atanagit Jesus!*"

The traditional Inuit drum, or qilauti, was banned by Christian clergy during the 1920s (Marsh 1987; Choque 1992; Ledyard 1977); it was certainly never permitted to be used during a Christian service at that time. Many Inuit in Arviat today believe that it is “bad luck” to play the qilauti in church (Gara Mamgark 2001) and yet, during the calling of the Holy Spirit on this particular day, Martha Nutarasungnik, picked up the qilauti and beat it with enthusiasm. What was the purpose of beating the drum? Was it merely to keep the beat or to be a musical participant in the D+ pedal point? Or was there a spiritual meaning at play? The very sound of the pedal point and drum might be a gesture with spiritual meaning.

While in some First Nations cultures, the drum itself has spiritual meaning,¹⁶⁵ no such attributes are given to the Inuit drum. In much of the early anthropological literature about Inuit music, there is no mention of the drum being used as a portal to the spirit world. The qilauti was mainly used by Inuit during a drum dance to accompany songs or pisiit. These songs have been recorded to be used for healing, for clearing space, for dance, for honouring the land, or to honour a guest.

In a telephone conversation with Martha on Tuesday, August 7, 2012, Martha said that she believed that in traditional times, the Inuit shaman used the qilauti for journeying in the otherworld, getting into a trance, calling spirits, getting messages from spirits, and

¹⁶⁵ In Innu traditional culture, for instance, the drum was/is considered to be a direct link to the dream world. This world has the particularity of allowing the spirit to travel through all the different worlds that make up the universe. According to Jean-Baptiste Bellefleur, “This world has the particularity of allowing the spirit to travel through all the different worlds that make up the universe. Through the drum and dreams, we can reach the animal world, including Papakassik, master of the caribou” (<http://www.nametauinu.ca/en/culture/tool/detail/43/42#>).

many other purposes. She said that when she beats the qilauti at church, she is calling the Holy Spirit; when she drum dances at church, she can feel the Holy Spirit.

When the elder completed her enthusiastic speech, Sandy broke from the pedal point into the hymn “Sitting at the Feet of Jesus” again. Martha continued to beat the traditional Inuit drum and congregation members shouted what I would define as vocables such as, “ba,ba,ba...do, do, do...etc.” This is what is known as “speaking in tongues.” The Inuit at the Anglican Church in Arviat call it “*tuksiaqtuq uqakut.*”

Speaking in tongues, or glossolalia, or euphoric vocalization in the form of incoherent sounds has long been the interest of scholars of anthropology, religious studies, cultural studies, and medical psychology. Cutten (1927) and Lombard (1910) analyze Christian glossolalia in both psychological and historical perspectives but provide only brief treatment of its nature in other religions. May (1956) shows that glossolalia and similar speech-phenomena also occur in various forms during shamanistic rites. Many of these early studies of glossolalia speak about the “instability” of the individual who is experiencing some sort of “ecstasy or emotional exaltation” which is probably associated with “hypnotism, catalepsy or hysteria” (May 1956: 76), terms which all carry negative connotations. In more recent years, psychologists such as Brian Grady and Kate Loewenthal (1997) suggest that there may be two types of glossolalia: one performed during regular, daily, private activity, usually accompanying mundane activities, as a special form of prayer associated with calm, pleasant emotions; the other performed as an

exceptional activity, usually occurring in the religious group, and associated with excitement.¹⁶⁶

Karla O. Poewe's (1994) book, *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture* talks about the rise in popularity of the Charismatic Christian movement in the 1960s where speaking in tongues was a "gift of the Holy Spirit...available to Christians who have surrendered their lives to Christ" (Poewe 1994: xi). Her explanations and descriptions are closely related to the way the Inuit of Arviat describe the experience of feeling the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues.

What follows next is a definition of speaking in tongues provided in an email by Sandy Okatsiak on August 6, 2012. While this definition is very individualized, I have found in my discussions with others at the Anglican Church in Arviat, it is representative of most of the congregation:

Speaking in tongues is a gift from the Holy Spirit. This is described in Romans 12: 6-8 and in 1 Corinthians 12: 8-10. We all need a spiritual charge. All of us at times feel spiritually drained. One of God's ways to charge our spirit is through speaking in tongues. Speaking in tongues is the most intelligent, perfect language; it is God's language. It is what is spoken in heaven. Jesus says that those who believe in Him will speak in new tongues (Mark 16:17). It is right that new tongues should be spoken by those of the new birth. We are born again from above, therefore we should speak the language from above—that language is called new tongues. The first time I felt the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues was the day that my wife felt it. Without notice, something invisible hit Eva, and down she went on the floor. Almost immediately, something hit me too. Down I went, flat on the ground. I began to weep uncontrollably. God's presence was all over me. This went on for several minutes. I

¹⁶⁶ Grady and Loewenthal argue that glossolalia is likely to be associated with psychopathology. In most of the literature, descriptions of individuals who speak in tongues involve an experience of some sort of rapture. In recent years, however, descriptions are usually not associated with mental sickness and are more cross-cultural.

thought if I'm filled with the Holy Spirit, then I'll speak in other tongues. Right then, I began speaking in tongues. (Sandy Okatsiak, email correspondence, August 6, 2012)

Speaking in tongues is the main distinctive feature of the Pentecostal Church. Pentecostal missionaries visited Eskimo Point in 1969 and the Glad Tidings Pentecostal Church was established there in 1975. A discussion about the influence of Pentecostalism is presented in the conclusion of this chapter.

Next in the service, Sandy sang “The River is Here”¹⁶⁷ in English. This hymn marked the time for the creation of the imaginary river. During the singing of this song, worship leader Martha Nutarasungnik, testimony givers, the woman’s mother and sister, Mark and Angie Eetak (Padlirmiut), respected Inuk teacher Annie Ollie (Padlirmiut), and two others formed two lines of people facing each other. These two lines of people represented the banks of a river. “The River”—Kuukpaluk was located at the front of the church in between the sanctuary and the chancel. Mark Eetak invited the congregation to walk up through the aisle of the church to pass through the river, to be touched by the people who were standing in the lines, and to “*aktuqtauniq anirnirmut*”—feel the Holy Spirit. Most people left their pews and formed a line down through the aisle of the church and waited to pass through the river. While they waited, they sang Andy Park’s “The River is Here”¹⁶⁸ with Sandy, Eva and Dorean. Many danced around with hands held high, others shouted “hallelujah” and Martha continued to beat the traditional Inuit drum.

¹⁶⁷ For a musical transcription see page 72 of Appendix G.

¹⁶⁸ Andy Park is an American singer, songwriter, and worship leader who moved to British Columbia in the 1980s at which time he began producing gospel music albums. “The River is Here” was recorded on *Vineyard Music’s Live Worship: The River is Here* in 2002 and on *WOW Worship Blue* in 1999.

The River is Here

Down the mountain the river flows
And it brings refreshing wherever it goes
Through the valleys and over the fields
The river is rushing and the river is here

The river of God
Sets our feet to dancing
The river of God
Fills our hearts with cheer
The river of God
Fills our mouths with laughter
And we rejoice for the river is here

The river of God is teaming with life
And all who touch it can be revived
And all who linger on this river's shore
Will come back thirsting
For more of the Lord

(Repeat chorus)

Up to the mountain we love to go
To find the presence of the Lord
Along the banks of the river we run
We dance with laughter
Giving praise to the Son

(Repeat chorus)

Sandy Okatsiak learned this song by listening to the *WOW Worship Blue* album.

He stated that he “loves Andy Park’s music and words” and that he would “love to meet Andy Park and play guitar with him and his band.” Sandy indicated that “The River is Here” is an excellent song to sing for Kuukpaluk because “it is all about the river of life; God’s river that quenches our thirst and nourishes our soul.”

It is interesting to note that there is a river close to Arviat which many Inuit talk about as being a place where many fish are caught, the water is fresh to drink, and

traditional Inuit camped during spring and summer. The Maguse River (Kapurvik) runs through Palliq (also known as Padliq), “the old hunting grounds and traditional settlement of the Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut” (Louis Angalik, Padlirmiut Elder). Palliq¹⁶⁹ is located at the mouth of the Maguse River on the coast of the Hudson’s Bay and is a “place where traditional Inuit carried on their old traditions. It is a very spiritual place for many Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut because it was where camp leaders spoke to Sedna and asked her for many seals and fish. Today, many people go there because there are still lots of Arctic char in the river. Also, there used to be a church and a church school at Palliq. In the 1940s Rev. Gleason Ledyard set up a church and a school at the camp near the mouth of the Maguse River; so many Inuit who lived there remember his preachings and the love of Jesus Christ” (email correspondence September 17, 2011 with Louis Angalik, Padlirmiut elder). Sandy Okatsiak states:

All Inuit have been to the Maguse River. It is a sacred place made by God. God provides for us by giving us fresh fish to eat and clean water to drink. When we do Kuukpaluk we see the Maguse River; we see the rocks on the banks and we see the flat land around it. It is a very special place because our ancestors used that place to live during the summer. They fished for Arctic char in the same places where we fish today. When we do Kuukpaluk we are remembering them; we are remembering the generosity of God; we are thankful for the things He gives us; we can be cleaned in the water of the river and become new people, forgiven of our sins and prepared to live a life of happiness with other Inuit. (Telephone interview with Sandy Okatsiak, September 18, 2011)

Recent research and scholarship in ethnomusicology indicates that there are definite associations between music, place, and identity. It is evident from the numerous recent publications on the topic of ‘music and place’ that it has become an important focus of research (Solomon 2006; Gibson and Dunbar-Hall 2006). In the analysis of

¹⁶⁹ See map on page 17 in Appendix B.

Aboriginal music, the relationship between place and identity becomes especially relevant due to the massive amount of scholarship that indicates the importance of place in the Aboriginal way of thinking (Duran and Duran 2000; Battiste 2000; Youngblood Henderson 2000; Basso 1996). Duran and Duran (2000) for example articulate that the “Native American thinking conceptualizes history in a spatial fashion. Spatial thinking views events as a function of space or where the event actually took place (Western thought conceptualizes history in a lineal temporal sequence)...The native American worldview is a systematic approach to being in the world that can best be categorized as process thinking, as opposed to the content thinking found in the Western worldview” (p. 91). Furthermore, it is argued that ancestral lands give face and form to traditions and cultural unity that are very important to Aboriginal people. Scudder (1982) argues that “They are sites of birthrights, livelihood, proper social relationships—with humans and spiritual beings, and they are places where religious offerings are made to maintain the correct relationship with the supernatural” (Scudder 1982: 33). Seeing as place is an important aspect of the Aboriginal worldview, it is no wonder that so many Aboriginal artists write and sing about place, the land, or the environment as a means of negotiating identity in relation to the “memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, preferences, meanings, and conceptions of behaviour and experience which relate to the variety and complexity of physical settings that define the day to day existence of every human being” (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff 1983: 59).

From the information presented in the oral narratives above, it is evident that Arviatmiut identify with an actual geographic reference point when they engage in the Inuit-Anglican rite of Kuukpaluk. The mouth of the Maguse River, a place known as

Palliq, is a place where traditional Inuit beliefs were practiced in pre-contact times. It is also a location where an Alliance Church was established in 1946 and was in operation for fifteen years before it was moved to Arviat in 1961. Thus, this place is important in the spiritual and cultural lives of Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut. Furthermore, it can be said that the present-day enactment of Kuukpaluk is a performance of Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut identity because it references a connection and a communication with Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut ancestors.

Sandy indicated that he does not always sing this particular song for Kuukpaluk. Sometimes he sings “*Kungmik Piqaqpuq*”—“There is a River” (#250 in the Red Song leader’s book), “To the River I am Going,” and “*Qaitinga Kumut*”—“Cause Me to Come to Thy River, O Lord.”¹⁷⁰

When the song “The River is Here” ended, Sandy broke into another D+ pedal point. This time, many members of the congregation joined with their voices, humming and “ahhhhing” pitches of the D+ chord. The sounding of the D+ pedal served as a gesture—a musical cue for something religious to happen. There is synchronization between sound and action—hearing the sound of that particular chord and feeling the Holy Spirit. As people passed through the river to be touched by worship leaders, many were sobbing, others were shouting “halleluiah” and others were jumping around in ecstasy. Once through the river, people climbed the two steps leading to the chancel area where many continued to shout and dance. Many people were *tuksiaqtuq uqakut*—speaking in tongues. There is no one way to describe the style or mode of comportment of each individual as they feel the Holy Spirit at this time. It seems as though the

¹⁷⁰ Lyrics and translations of these three songs can be found in Appendix H on pages 143-144.

Welcome Holy Spirit—English¹⁷²

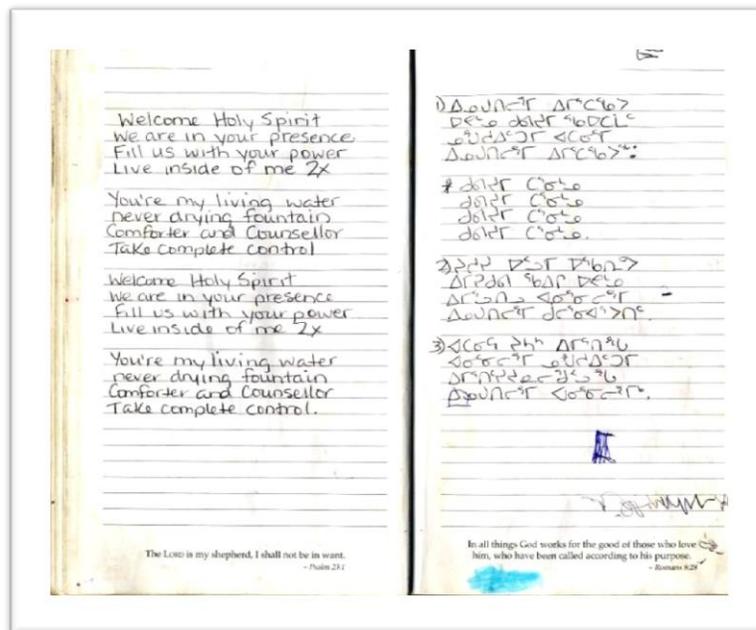
Welcome Holy Spirit
We are in your presence
Fill us with your power
Live inside of me

You're my living water
Never dying fountain
Comforter and Councilor
Take complete control

“Welcome Holy Spirit” is written and performed by worship singer and songwriter Israel Houghton. The song is on his album entitled *At the Altar*. Sandy does not own this album, but he has heard Houghton and the New Breed sing it many times on YouTube. Several Inuit artists have recorded the song in Inuktitut and English including Arviat's favourite Inuit gospel singer Sandy Saviarjuk and it is aired on the local radio station, Arviaqpaluk, several times a day. Sandy learned the song by recording it from the radio and listening to it until he knew it well. Sandy has included this song in his own personal songbook (Figure 5.4).

¹⁷² Israel Houghton's original English version.

Figure 5.4 Welcome Holy Spirit



Because individuals were calling the Holy Spirit to enter their bodies at this time, Sandy chose to sing gospel songs which included lyrics that invited the presence of the Holy Spirit. Sandy led the congregation through a series of “spiritual songs”—*anirniq piuliji pilirialik titaktinit* that he indicated were meant to call upon the Holy Spirit. These included: “*Ummatitaqtilaangi Guti*”¹⁷³—“Create in Me a Clean Heart,”¹⁷⁴ “*Sapilinak*”¹⁷⁵—“Don’t Give Up,” and “*Jesusi Piulijit*”¹⁷⁶—“Father of Light.”

¹⁷³ Sandy Okatsiak learned the English and Inuktitut versions of “*Ummatitaqtilaangi Guti*” from hearing Inuit gospel singer Sandy Saviarjuk’s recording of the song on the radio. The English and Inuktitut lyrics can be found in the hand-made songbook located in the Anglican Church, song #119. See Appendix H on pages 144-145 for Inuktitut text and English translation. See musical transcription on pages 75-76 in Appendix G.

¹⁷⁴ The original English version of “Create in Me a Clean Heart, O God” was written by Keith Gordon Green, an American gospel singer, songwriter, musician, and Contemporary Christian Music artist

Sandy stated that “*Sapilinak*” is an Inuktitut gospel song written and recorded by Looee Nowdlak Arreak. “*Jesusi Piuliji*” is a translation of CADET’s “Father of Light,” a song the American Christian-rock band first recorded on their compact disc entitled *Any Given Day 2 - Earth To Heaven* (Track 11) in 2001. Sandy has never heard CADET sing “Father of Light;” he learned the entire song, the original English version and the Inuktitut version from Jo Ellen Pameolik’s compact disc entitled *I Believe in Jesus*¹⁷⁷ (Track 12). The Inuktitut version of “*Jesusi Piuliji*” was written by James Arreak.

Sandy stated that he sings these “spiritual songs”—*anirniq piuliji pilirialik titaktinit* so that people can “*aktuqtauniq anirnirmut*”—feel the Holy Spirit. He said that these songs have the ability to bring the Holy Spirit into the Church and into the bodies of Inuit, if they are sung from the heart and from the soul. When the intensity of emotion is at its highest point on Easter Vigil, Sandy said that he always sings “*Qilalimat*.”¹⁷⁸ He indicated that “*Qilalimat*” is a song composed by Looee Nowdlak Arreak, an Inuk from Pangnirtung, Nunavut and he learned it by listening to her compact

originally from Sheepshead Bay, New York. He first recorded the song in 1984 on his album entitled *Jesus Commands Us to Go*. The song was recorded again by Martin Smith in 2002 on the tribute to Keith Green album *Your Love Broke Through*. See Appendix H on page 144-145 for Inuktitut text and English translation. See musical transcription on page 75 in Appendix G.

¹⁷⁵ See Appendix H on page 145-146 for Inuktitut text and English translation. See musical transcription on page 77 in Appendix G.

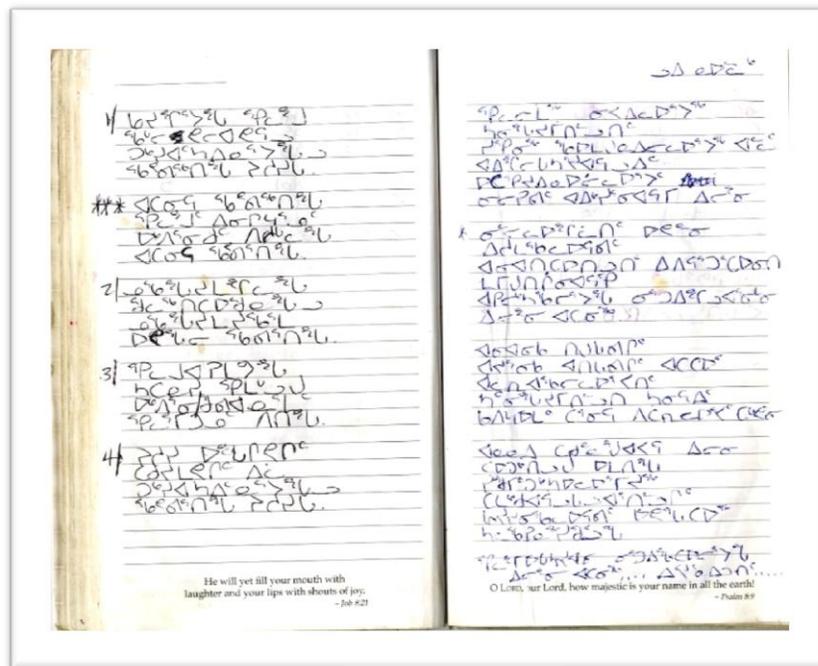
¹⁷⁶ See Appendix H on page 146-147 for Inuktitut text and English translation. See musical transcription on page 78 in Appendix G.

¹⁷⁷ “Father of Life” is track 12 on Jo Ellen Pameolik’s compact disc entitled *I Believe in Jesus*. This compact disc was produced in 2006. Jo Ellen is a singer song writer originally from Arviat and who now lives in Rankin Inlet. Her compact disc is played frequently by the local radio station, Arviaqpaluk. This song has also been recorded by other local musicians in Arviat: Jocelyn Malla recorded it on her album called *Gospel Songs* (Track 11), Kristen Pameolik and Chelsey Curley have their versions recorded on the *Inummariit Music Festival 2006* album (Tracks 21 & 22 respectively). It is unknown who wrote the Inuktitut translation for this song.

¹⁷⁸ For a musical transcription see page 79 in Appendix G.

disc many times. He said that when it is sung properly, “it can really move the Holy Spirit” and people can “feel renewed in Christ.” The text of the song speaks about the pain and suffering Jesus experienced when he was crucified on the cross. The text goes on to say that Jesus died on the cross so that the pain of people on earth could be taken away. The final words tell of the spirits of the dead praising Jesus together with humans living on earth, indicating that the spiritual world communicates with the human world in this act of praise which is enabled through the power of the Holy Spirit at Easter time: “*Qilangmiugasarjuarni niqtuiqatauliqpunga ilingnit Ataaniq*”—From all the Heaven people I am praising with them for you my Lord. This song is not in the hymnbook, nor is it in the communal red songbook at the church. “*Qilalimat*” is the third song in Sandy and Eva’s personal songbook (Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5 *Qilalimat*



Qilalimat—Sandy’s English Translation

1. People in heaven were all quiet when you were on the cross
The sun could not even shine; The angels were waiting for you
Call them so that they can go get you when you call

CH: You did not say a word because you were thinking of me
When you were all in pain; All that pain is going to be mine to heal
Now I have to pay for not praising for you, my Lord

2. All my pain you took away from me; You took all of my weakness
Your Father had to wipe you; When you were on the cross
The side of your ribs got poked with a sharp object; Then my soul was all yours

3. I was day-dreaming seeing your mother
Watching you and her all heart-broken
Even though everything was going on you kept on going; Also you want us to win over
From all the heaven people I am praising with them for you, my Lord

At the most spiritually intense moment of the Easter Vigil service, Sandy sang “*Qilalimat*” with his wife Eva, and their friends Sarah and Delilah Anowtalik. There was much shouting and dancing from congregation members as they passed through the river and were feeling the Holy Spirit. After this song, Sandy eased into another D+ pedal point. This time, the band played it slower and quieter as if to bring calmness to the people. Many people returned to their seats at this time, knowing that the time for “feeling the Holy Spirit” was coming to an end. As more and more people left the chancel area to return to their seats, Sandy invited Paul K. Irksak to sing the song “*Jesus Qaimat Umatimnut*”—“Jesus Came into My Heart.”¹⁷⁹ The text speaks about becoming

¹⁷⁹ For Inuktitut text and English translation, see Appendix H on pages 147-148.

healed and happy since “Jesus Came into My Heart,”¹⁸⁰ indicating an emotional change in those people who felt the Holy Spirit after passing through the river. This song marks the end of this part of the worship service. What follows is the closing: *Sivutmuttitaujuq*—
Sending Forth.

***Sivutmuttitaujuq*—Sending Forth**

Sandy spoke in Inuktitut:

We are renewed again. Through the power of the Holy Spirit we have been changed. Our sins have been forgotten and we can enter the community with happiness. We can try to live our lives the way Christ taught us; the way our ancestors taught us. Our lives have been changed by the Holy Spirit and now we can live like true Inuit: caring for each other, listening to our elders, singing, dancing, and living a happy life. Through our beautiful music: the songs given to us from our forefathers and directed through the Holy Spirit, we invited the Holy Spirit into this place to be with us and to help us to live better lives. The Holy Spirit speaks to us; the Holy Spirit moves us; the Holy Spirit is with us tonight; Jesus loves us; we can live as happy people.

In English he said, “Jesus is here. God is here. The Holy Spirit is here. Jesus loves us. *Atanagi Jesus.*” Martha Nutarasungnik, in a very tired, raspy voice from shouting and praising throughout the service, said in English, “Lord always helps us when we ask for help...you always help us...*matna Jesusi.*” She began reciting the Lord’s Prayer and the congregation followed suit. Everyone left the church re-born in Jesus through the Holy Spirit. Many went back to the Mark Kalluak Hall for more games and a square dance.

¹⁸⁰ The original English version of “Since Jesus Came into My Heart” was written by Rufus H. McDaniel in 1914. The Inuktitut version can be found in the hymnbook #322. The tune is different than the original composed by McDaniel.

5.4 Easter Sunday Service—Sunday, April 8, 2007

The Easter Sunday morning service is considered non-traditional—*piqqusiungituq*—because it follows the order of worship enforced by the Anglican Church of Canada: the *Anglican Book of Common Prayer* is used as a guide for readings and responses, the hymnbook is used for musical selections, and a lengthy sermon is delivered by one of the Inuit ordained ministers. Sandy reported, “Spiritual things do not happen because *Kuukpaluk* does not happen.” I noticed that for the Easter Sunday service, and for any other service led by the ordained ministers of the Church, people did not experience the happiness and expressive freedom that they did for the “spiritual” Young Life services. Hymns from the hymnbook were sung instead of gospel songs, there were no individual testimonies given, people did not dance around or “speak in tongues.” In general, Easter Sunday morning seemed to lack the spiritual exuberance that existed in other services. In fact, Martha Nutarasungnik claims that the ordained ministers “hinder the Holy Spirit”—*ijiqsimajuq/qaujimatitsingtuq anirnirmit*.

I was surprised by the difference in worship styles at the same church with the same congregation. These incongruities lead me to these questions: What hinders the Holy Spirit? Why is *Kuukpaluk* not enacted whenever the ordained ministers are present? Why is the Young Life service with its increased spiritual intensity considered a tradition, whereas the service led by the ordained ministers is not? How is the choice of repertoire different/same for each service? How is the song leaders’ choice of repertoire influenced by the type of service? Does the choice of musical repertoire have any correlation to the level of spiritual intensity experienced? Is attendance at church determined by the style of worship? A closer examination of the Easter Sunday morning

service and the interviews afterward reveals that there are indeed two completely different styles of worship at the Anglican Church in Arviat during Easter, and that it is the presence of ordained ministers which determines which style is used.

When I arrived at the Anglican Church at 10:40 on Easter Sunday morning there were no musicians present. I sat at the piano and played a number of Christian hymns that I knew from memory while I waited for Sandy and Eva and the rest of the Okatsiak family to arrive. There were very few people in the congregation when the service began at 11:05. Joe Aulatjut, who usually plays the drum set, decided to play the electric lead guitar for this service because no other musician was yet in attendance. Elder Margaret Pubak Hanauk was the song leader. She asked me to play for the service. She decided to open the service with a song that I had learned from Gara Mamgark, “*Qaigit*”—“Come, Now is the Time to Worship.” The few people present sang along. When the song was finished there was a long silence, as if people were wondering what to do next. Mary Muljungnik (Padlirmiut) arrived and I asked someone to invite her to play for the rest of the service. While I waited for her to walk to the front of the church where the piano is located, I played “*Nunamitutgut*”—“We’re Here Today.” Half-way through this song, Pugut arrived and started to play the drum set. As we played this gospel song, the clergy, three men, Rev. Mike Gibbons, Rev. Joe Manik, and worship leader James Kigusuitnar (Padlirmiut), processed through the aisle of the church to the chancel area wearing their white robes. They seated themselves in the pews to the left and right of the chancel area and waited for the prelude music to finish.

When I finished playing this song, Rev. Joe Manik walked to the pulpit on the left side of the church and commenced the service by saying “*Tungasugitsi*—Welcome and

Happy Easter.” He invited everyone to turn to #103 in the Red hymnbook (#140 in *Voices of Worship* 2008)¹⁸¹ and the band, without a leader, tried to get things going. Mary Muljungnik took her position at the keyboard and tried to find a suitable key for the hymn. She played a number of lines of the hymn and the Elder, Margaret Pubak Hanauk lead the congregation through the hymn “*Piulijigi Aunaaqputit*”—“Alas, and Did my Saviour Bleed?”¹⁸²

Rev. Mike Gibbons took the pulpit following this hymn and said in English, “Good Morning. Happy Easter.” He then invited everyone to turn to page #77 in the *Anglican Book of Common Prayer*. All repeated the response in unison. There was a lack of energy or happiness in his voice and in the voices of the congregation members. People recited the many prayers and convocations without enthusiasm or conviction. This service began with a lot of talking by Rev. Gibbons, whereas the other “spiritual” services began with an hour of singing.

The next hymn was announced as #198. It was then changed to hymn #400 at the request of Elder Margaret Pubak Hanauk. Before it was sung, James Kigusuitnar read more from the *Anglican Book of Common Prayer* followed by an unenthusiastic response from the congregation. The hymn was forgotten; a scripture reading was read next in Inuktitut by James Kigusuitnar. Following the scripture reading, Rev. Gibbons asked people to turn to page 82 in the *Anglican Book of Common Prayer*. Everyone recited the Easter convocation without enthusiasm once again. *Silence*. Then he said “Praise God”

¹⁸¹ *Voices of Worship* (2008) was given to me by Rev. Michael Gardner as a gift for playing the organ at Sunday worship services 2008-present at St. Jude’s Cathedral, Iqaluit, Nunavut. It was produced with the assistance of a grant from the New England Company.

¹⁸² The Inuktitut text and English translation can be found on page 151 of Appendix H.

and announced hymn #322. Rev. Gibbons recited the text of the first verse before the music began “*Jesus Qaimat Umatimnut*”—“Since Jesus Came Into My Heart.” Mary Muljungnik played several chords on the organ and proceeded to “find” the tune. She then rested on a D+ chord and waited for Margaret Pubak Hanauk to start singing the hymn. Fortunately, Sandy Okatsiak arrived at the church and the band waited for him to pick up his guitar and take his place as song leader at the microphone (approx. 11:20 a.m.). He began the hymn with confidence and led the congregation who participated with enthusiastic singing and clapping. After the hymn, Rev. Jimmy Muckpah led a song, singing a cappella. Rev. Muckpah (Figure 5.C21) is a retired ordained minister; however, he often gets invited to preach on special occasions. He gave his lengthy sermon in which there was no reference to any supernatural happenings in his life, nor invitation to the Holy Spirit. Instead he told the Easter story, stressed how Jesus died for our sins, and talked of the everlasting love of Jesus. He spoke with conviction, but his manner was very conservative compared to the speakers at the “spiritual” services: he did not jump around,¹⁸³ he did not shout acclamations of “halleluiah,” he did not invite congregation members to come to the altar to be anointed or touched, and there was no enactment of Kuukpaluk.

James Kigusuitnar said “Praise God” and announced hymn #20. He read the first verse before the music started. Sandy tuned his guitar, played a D+ chord, then set the tempo with his strumming. Jo Aulatjut sensed his tempo and started playing the drum set. Sandy began with hymn with confidence and the congregation followed. There was enthusiasm in the singing, but there was no shouting “halleluiah,” there was no dancing in

¹⁸³ Please see pages 228-229 for a description of movement styles.

the aisles, people did not sob or “speak in tongues,” nor did they raise their hands to Jesus and walk to the altar to “feel the Holy Spirit.” *Silence*.

All the ordained ministers made their way behind the altar during this hymn and began to prepare the communion table. After the hymn was over, Rev. Joe Manik invited people to come to the altar. Sandy led the congregation through a series of slow hymns as they went to receive communion. This was the only time throughout the service he was given full reign over the musical selections, all the other hymns were chosen in advance by the clergy and posted on the hymn board. He chose common communion hymns from the hymnbook, such as “*Imaillunga Piqanrnanga*”—“Just as I Am,” “*Jesusimut Tunivakka*”—“All for Jesus,” “*Gutivut Angijjuq*”—“How Great is Our God” (Inuktitut and English), “*Ataniq*”—“He is Lord”¹⁸⁴ (Inuktitut and English). Rev. Manik prayed after communion for five minutes.

Rev. Gibbons led the congregation in the reciting of the Apostles’ Creed in Inuktitut. Most congregation members knew this creed from memory. Rev. Manik recited from the *Anglican Book of Common Prayer*. He led the congregation in a responsive reading.

James Kigusuitnar said to turn to page 95 of the *Anglican Book of Common Prayer* and he proceeded to read what was written there. *Silence*. The band tuned up again. No one announced any hymns. Sandy then sang the hymn “*Jesusimiq*”—“I Can’t Do What Others Do.”¹⁸⁵ After this hymn James Kigusuitnar led the congregation in a

¹⁸⁴ The text and translation of these hymns can be found on pages 154-158 in Appendix H.

¹⁸⁵ Hymn #457 in the Red hymnbook. The Inuktitut text and English translation can be found on page 158 of Appendix H.

unison reading from the *Anglican Book of Common Prayer*. Then Rev. Manik gave the announcements. At this point in the service people shared the week's happenings: joys and concerns. Then James Kigusuitnar announced the closing hymn #106 "*Jesusi Makisimavuq*"—"Jesus Christ is Risen Today."¹⁸⁶ Following this hymn, the Lord's Prayer was recited; then Sandy sang a quick, lively hymn, "*Upluqaqpunga Quvianaqtunik*"—"Heaven Came Down"¹⁸⁷ as the clergy recessed out of the church. As soon as the clergy had left, Sandy sang the Pentecostal hymns "*Anirniup Iqumangatalu*"—"It's the Holy Ghost and Fire" and the chorus of the hymn "*Piyunnarnniqaqpuq Aamilaak*"—"There is Power in the Blood."¹⁸⁸ The service ended with Elder Margaret Pubak Hanauk leading the unison response of the Trilogy. The total length of the service was 1 hour and 15 minutes, much shorter than the "spiritual" services; about half the length.

The above paragraph shows that at this particular church service there are discrepant musical agendas present: the ordained ministers musical agenda versus that of the song leader. The ordained ministers are adamant about singing hymns from the Anglican Church hymnbook: good, solid, time-tested, church-approved hymns which help to stabilize the congregation; the song-leader Sandy chooses songs which derive from the Pentecostal tradition and are used to invite the Holy Spirit.

¹⁸⁶ The Inuktitut text and English translation can be found on page 159 of Appendix H.

¹⁸⁷ The Inuktitut text and English translation can be found on pages 160-161 of Appendix H.

¹⁸⁸ The Inuktitut text and English translation can be found on pages 162-163 of Appendix H.

“Music wars,” similar to this one, have been troubling North American churches for the past decade, so much so, that the journal *Liturgy* has devoted an entire issue to the topic, offering different perspectives on the dialogue about music in worship. Several of the issues in the articles align with what is happening with music in worship at the Anglican Church in Arviat. For example, Karen Tucker argues that music wars are not new to the church and that conversations and debates about what music should be performed will continue. She provides a historical perspective taking the reader back to the fourth century. Today, just as years ago, there are debates about what congregations should sing: “stately chorale tunes of Bach or the syncopated rhythms of rap?” (Tucker 2009: 3). She observes that over the centuries, “the text that is sung, no matter the musical style conveying it or the instruments accompanying it, is to be an accurate expression of the faith that Christians profess. Many of the reforms of Christian song practice have occurred in order to ensure that what is believed is appropriately preserved and presented in lyrical form” (Tucker 2009: 8). Tucker does not address the friction between clergy and musicians (as is the case in Arviat); however, she does talk a little about how song has changed to reflect the changing attitudes of the people.

Kenneth Hull addresses the fact that Canadian Anglican parishioners are at odds with each other in their opinions about what he calls “traditional hymn styles” and “worship songs.” He states that “these styles can evoke responses ranging from indifference to hostility from proponents of the opposing style” (Hull 2009: 24). He offers up a number of reasons as to why there is such opposition ranging from generational issues, to matters of taste; however, he believes that the reasons “passions can run so high about the issue of musical style is that people intuitively understand that a

great deal is at stake” (Hull 2009: 24). The bulk of his article calls on neuroscience and self psychology to help us understand why some favour traditional hymn styles while others favour worship songs.

Through empirical studies, “insights into how emotion and music are processed neurologically in the brain suggest that the worship song is aimed primarily at the (re-) creation of particular moods” (Hull 2009: 27). These results are based on the assumption that the performance of worship song is usually a mimic creation of a recording. In contrast, the performance of hymnody, which can be adapted in tempo, instrumentation, harmony can carry a variety of meanings. He concludes that “While worship songs are intended to create very particular experiences of mood through their music, hymns seem to be concerned more with conveying the ideas expressed by a text, which may evoke a variety of emotional experienced in the listener or singer” (Hull 2009:27).

At one of the highly spiritual parts of Kuukpaluk, Sandy chose to sing Andy Park’s “The River is Here.” Sandy’s rendition of this song is much like Andy Park’s recording: key, tempo, instrumentation, timbre, harmony, and even vocal inflection are similar. Thus, this song fits Hull’s definition of a “worship song.” Furthermore, the accompanying music is marked by features which might suggest feelings of “intimacy, familiarity, and reassurance” thus creating a desired “mood.” The process of Kuukpaluk reminds Inuit about a sacred place and people in Inuit history: the Maguse River. The mood set by Andy Parks’s “The River is Here” may be considered as an aid to achieving this memory and/or connection. Other songs during the worship service such as “*Anirnik Ibyurnaituq*”— “Welcome Holy Spirit,” “*Guti Umami Ibjurnaitumi*”— “Create in Me a Clean Heart,” and “O Father of Life” may also serve this function. Sandy does not like to

sing traditional hymns during these spiritual moments because, “They [hymns from the hymnbook] do not create the intense emotion needed to bring the Holy Spirit” (Sandy Okatsiak, August 6, 2012).

Under the auspice of self psychology, Hull examines what is known by psychoanalysts as “self object needs” to describe the passionate attachment many people have to worship songs. He states that “idealizing needs” which “deal with our need to merge with, or be close to someone who we believe will make us safe, comfortable, and calm” are met through the performance of worship songs because the accompanying music for worship songs, he maintains, are marked by features that suggest personal feelings of intimacy, familiarity, and reassurance. A worship event dominated by the worship song “may be placing the subjective needs and desires of the worshiper at the centre of worship and shaping a view of God to meet these needs and desires” (Hull 2009: 30). Whereas, a worship event dominated by traditional hymnody places “God at the centre and invites us to understand ourselves and our lives in relation to that centre” (Hull 2009: 30).

At the most intensely emotional point of the service on Easter Eve, Sandy always sings “*Qilalimat*,” a song composed by Inuk Looee Nowdlak Arreak. Again, this song can be considered what Hull describes as a worship song because it was learned from a compact disc and the music seems to create a mood of intimacy with God and the Holy Spirit. The ordained ministers would never choose this song because it is not a part of the Anglican Church hymnbook. Perhaps the singing of this song meets the parishioners’ “idealizing needs” and they are able to feel “safe, comfortable, and calm” but whether

they put themselves at the centre of worship or whether God is placed at the centre is highly subjective.

In Arviat, the ordained ministers obviously believe that the *Anglican Book of Common Prayer* and the published hymnbook should hold the authoritative voices in worship at the church in Arviat. This is probably because the ordained ministers value the written word and because these books have been sanctioned by the Anglican Church of Canada. The ordained ministers have been instructed by the bishop of the Diocese of the Arctic to ward off the enactment of Kuukpaluk and Pentecostal influences such as the singing of Pentecostal hymns and speaking in tongues. Their behaviour during services and their choice of worship material certainly indicate as much. Pentecostal hymns and certainly worship songs found in Sandy's personal songbook are not part of the Anglican Church's official canon and thus are not chosen or recommended by the ordained ministers.

Sandy, on the other hand, is a proponent of Kuukpaluk and is eager to engage in his role of inviting the Holy Spirit into his body and soul and the body and souls of others whenever he can. His behaviour and actions during worship services shows that traditional hymns may be part of the canon for the parishioners of Arviat; but so are the Pentecostal hymns and worship songs they all love to sing during Kuukpaluk. These songs hold meaning for memory and connection with Inuit places and ancestors. Sandy is often late for services led by the ordained ministers and he waits until they have left the church to begin playing and singing the more "spiritual" songs.

When I asked Sandy why he was late for the Easter Sunday morning service he indicated that he did not feel like getting out of bed to play for a service that he knew

would be lacking the Holy Spirit. For services led by the ordained ministers he is not permitted to sing the songs he feels would bring the Holy Spirit into the church. He said that he likes the old hymns from the hymnbook but that something just seems to be missing. When I asked him if the Holy Spirit remained absent because of the ministers he replied, “*amio*—I don’t know,” which in my experience, means that he did not wish to incriminate anyone in particular. He refused to “gossip.” It is interesting to note that Sandy’s wife, Eva and his parents did not attend church that morning, nor did his brother or sister-in-law. Furthermore, general attendance for the service was very low, probably about half the people who go to the “spiritual” services. Was Martha Nutarasungnik’s comment true? Do the ordained ministers hinder the Holy Spirit? What is it about the ordained ministers and the conservative style of the Anglican Church worship that causes people to stay away? Why is it considered a not-traditional type of service? What is it about the “spiritual” style service that makes it traditional? How did these two types of worship evolve and how did contemporary Inuit arrive at their current understandings about worship?

Since its introduction at the seasonal camp of Eskimo Point more than eighty years ago, Easter celebration have undergone many changes and will likely undergo many more in the years to come. In the springtime of the 1920s when the population of Eskimo Point was less than two hundred because Padlirmiut were scattered throughout the Kivalliq region in smaller camps hunting and trapping, Easter was celebrated at the Anglican Mission House with Donald Marsh. This included games and feasting (Marsh 1987, p. 39), stories of the gospel, the singing of hymns, and worship (Marsh 1987, p. 102).

When Eskimo Point became a permanent home for many Inuit in the 1950s, the settlement was much larger and Easter was celebrated in the new, larger Anglican Church, built in 1958 under the direction of missionary John Marlow. Mary Okatsiak said that she remembers playing games down at the ice and feasting at the Anglican Church Mission House with the minister in the 1960s. She said that there was no band at the church; hymns were accompanied on the church organ and were sung from the hymnbook or from memory. She recalled that her mother played the church organ and that is why she, herself, knows so many hymns. Her mother taught her to play the hymns on the organ at the church. She stated that she never saw Inuit “feeling the Holy Spirit” at the church when the minister was leading the Easter service there, but that sometimes when people got together in their homes to pray and to read from the Bible at Easter time, they would be overcome with the Holy Spirit and would dance around and shake. She does not recall exactly when people started doing this at the Anglican Church, but that when she attended the Glad Tidings Pentecostal services, it was a common occurrence. The Pentecostal missionaries arrived in Arviat in 1969 bringing evangelists who invited Inuit to “be born again” (Owingayak 1998). It was reported that many Inuit “came forward and confessed and cried” (Owingayak 1998).

Mary recalled that the Anglican minister was displeased with the Pentecostal evangelists when they arrived in Arviat. She stated that he did not approve of their “ways of worship.” She thinks that this is probably why people experienced the Holy Spirit in private. In the mid-60s, however, the Anglican minister and his family moved to Pangnirtung and the Anglican congregation was left to develop under local Inuit leadership. Eric Anooe Sr. took over as worship leader and the style of worship was

modified to meet the ideals of the congregation. Exactly how the “spiritual” type of Holy Week service evolved at the Anglican Church is unknown, but it is known that Anglicans were influenced by early Inuit ideology and Pentecostal evangelists. Some members of the Okatsiak family in Arviat today see “feeling the Holy Spirit” through Bible readings, confessional testimonies, Kuukpaluk, and singing as indispensable ingredients to their “traditional” Anglican Easter celebration. Many Contemporary Inuit in Arviat hold similar beliefs while others value both types of worship.

5.5 Conclusion

I have sought here to present a detailed performance ethnography of the Easter week services and to examine oral narratives from members of the Okatsiak family which focused on the differing conceptions of the role of music in ritual at the Anglican Church in Arviat. The purpose is to identify how inummariit is expressed in their musical choices and performance. Mary Okatsiak, who plays the organ for worship services, discussed the role of music in inviting the Holy Spirit to services and into the bodies of those present, “the service wouldn’t feel right if there was no music...the Holy Spirit would not be present.” Her son, Sandy Okatsiak, the song leader, reiterated the role of music in communicating with the Holy Spirit “it is our voices, our singing, and our music that brings the Holy Spirit. When we sing with our hearts to God, not for ourselves, not for other people, but for God...and when everyone around is singing to God together, He hears our voices, He feels our love, and He comes to us because He loves us. We can feel His love in our bodies and all around us and all the bad things we are thinking about go away” (Sandy Okatsiak, April 27, 2007). Sandy went on to argue that Kuukpaluk, an

Inuit ritual requiring music for proper communication with the spirits, was a symbol of the passage from the old to the new self and that when people passed through an imaginary river and reached the Holy chancel area they were being re-born through the presence of the Holy Spirit. These comments from members of the Okatsiak family tell us that music, from their understanding, is privileged as a conduit to God.

Thus, it is not surprising that many Inuit at the Anglican Church in Arviat believe that music can be used to communicate with God and to invite the presence of the Holy Spirit. Many Inuit will testify that there is power in the Holy Spirit which can be released through music. “Singing and worship are both a cause and a result of the Spirit’s filling. As we sing we are filled, and as we are filled we will sing” (Martha Nutarasungnik, August, 2012). Here Martha is paraphrasing the Bible verses (Ephesians 5:18-19) “... be filled with the Spirit, speaking to one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord...”

Using music to communicate with the spirits is not only a tradition of the past; it is a living practice at the Anglican Church in present times. As such, it can be considered to be living properly—or inummariit and can serve as helping people to live closer to their ancestors.

Eva Okatsiak (Figure 5.C22), singer, discussed the role of music in aiding public confession. She contends that music helps an individual to confess their wrong doings so that the pain can be taken away by the Holy Spirit. The idea of public confession is not a new one. Saladin d’Anglure (2001: 223) reports that in early Inuit ideology, shamen were responsible for healing the physical body and the souls of individuals. When healing someone, the shaman used his/her tuurngaq to find out the sick persons’ wrongdoings, for

it was thought that the breach of taboo was usually the cause of sickness. If the sick person confessed their wrongdoings, they would be healed. The *tuurngait*, who were acting through the shaman would know and see all, and thus be able to determine if the sick person was telling the truth. If the truth was told, that person would become well, if not, they would die. Once again, music helps present-day Inuit to maintain connections with their past; it helps to serve as a guide for living properly as Inuit—inummariit.

5.5.1 Syncretism

The preceding ethnographies reveal that there is clearly syncretism between traditional Inuit ideology and Christianity. Anglican ideas concerning the importance of the death and resurrection of Jesus and Anglican worship reenacting the rebirth of each individual by passing through the river have contributed essential parts to the celebration of Easter in Arviat. Nineteenth-century Padlirmiut ideas about how the world works are also entrenched in the specific ways in which this particular Christian occasion has been conceptualized.

The earliest definitions of musical syncretism have been challenged by the present findings. For instance, when Merriam (1964) stated that African American musics were far more syncretic than Native American ones, he was looking only at musical style. If the scales or concepts of phrase and rhythm were sufficiently similar in different musics, he suggested, a syncretic music was more likely to emerge. In the present study, the styles are actually not syncretised very much but it is more often the interpretation that reveals aspects of two or more cultural influences.

Historically, at springtime, Inuit played games when they got together with their neighbours after months of separation. According to Donald Marsh, games among the Padlirmiut included gambling games which involved hiding an object in one hand behind the back, string games such as cat's cradle, card games, *nugluktak*, *ajagaq*,¹⁸⁹ and "all sorts of gymnastics" (Marsh 1987: 164). Today, as noted earlier, games are held at the Mark Kalluak Hall and down at the ice are held throughout Holy Week. While some of the games have changed, others have remained. The Spring Festival, which includes games and square dancing, is a part of the Easter celebrations in Arviat today and provides continuity with the games tradition.

Feasting was also common among the Padlirmiut at Easter time. Feasting today at Easter is a communal event held at the Mark Kalluak Hall and involves the preparations of people from all four churches. It is a time for the entire community to gather and share, not just among Anglicans. Feasts were historically held in a large iglu or tent when Inuit from dispersed camps came together at springtime. Easter today, a spring event, provides continuity with the feasting tradition.

There is a striking syncretism which exists between contemporary and traditional Padlirmiut ideology in the importance given to the idea of rebirth. The Padlirmiut Marsh encountered in 1926 believed that all living things had souls and that these souls were born and reborn in a continuous cycle. This was especially evident in traditional naming practices. Children were named after deceased relatives whose souls and personalities were then 'reborn' in the new child. Many contemporary Inuit still follow this practice.

¹⁸⁹ *Ajagaq* is a traditional Inuit game in which a hollowed-out caribou bone is impaled upon a stick. According to Padlirmiut elder Louis Angalik, the point of the game is to assist the returning sun in spring to achieve strength and height.

Furthermore, Rasmussen (1931) has shown that to become a shaman one had to go through a death/rebirth experience. Similarly, Christian ideology is centred on the death and resurrection of Jesus. The contemporary ritual of Kuukpaluk, practiced at Easter enables Inuit to be re-born in the love of Jesus Christ with the help of the Holy Spirit by walking through an imaginary river.

In shamanic tradition Sakaniq, shamen, with the aid of their helping spirits were omniscient; they knew things about people which no one else knew. With this knowledge, they were able to coax ill people to confess their wrongdoings. Once all wrongdoings were made public, the individual's sickness would disappear. When the missionaries first arrived at Arviat, Inuit thought that the ministers also had this omniscient power. Thus, when Inuit were asked to confess their sins to God, they identified with a preexisting shamanic ideology. In contrast, the contemporary Easter service, with its public confessional testimony is still about healing, but it is more about the healing of the sin-sick soul than the physical body. Furthermore, Inuit no longer believe in the all-seeing power of the minister, but they do believe in the omniscience of God. Thus, confessing wrong doings, either through public testimony or through private prayer, to the Holy Spirit is a vital component in worship, for it allows individuals to confess to God and to be re-born, healthy emotionally and spiritually.

The traditional shamanic ritual *Nakkaajuq* and Kuukpaluk have many similarities. Individuals are personally affected by unseen powers. The drumming and singing performed in the iglu during *Nakkaajuq* brought forth the shaman's personal helping animal spirits so that he could travel to the underworld—Takanakapsaluk (Saladin d'Anglure 2001: 88). Similarly, the Kuukpaluk singing of specific gospel songs relating

to the Holy Spirit, glorifies God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit and invites the Holy Spirit into the bodies and souls of individuals in the congregation. The Christian Holy Spirit is called upon to help individuals to be re-born and to seek good living through accepting Jesus Christ as a personal saviour. Thus Kuukpaluk is performed for the glory of an omnipotent God, but it is also performed to elicit help from God so that Inuit can live better lives.

There is some continuity in the meaning of the traditional shamanic ritual of *Tupilanniq*—or the killing of evil spirits by the shaman and the contemporary ritual of Kuukpaluk practiced at Easter. Not much is understood about the contemporary practice of exorcism of evil spirits in Arviat and although I did see an exorcism take place at the Anglican Church during Kuukpaluk, I was asked not to discuss it beyond mere mentioning. Furthermore, in all interviews, people refused to talk about it.

Many who perform Kuukpaluk today understand it as an important part of their own history, which is different and kept separate from conventional Anglican worship with clergy present. Conventional worship is thought by some (Martha Nutarasungnik, Eva and Sandy Okatsiak and many others of the community) to be an imposed style of worship from outside the community, whereas, Kuukpaluk is thought to be specifically an Inuit “tradition” passed down from ancestors. While clergy at the Anglican Church in Arviat today are not “outsiders” they are thought to be influenced by southern expectations and values because they were trained in Winnipeg at the seminary. Thus, they are considered, by some, to “hinder the Holy Spirit” because they do not follow the traditional ways.

That the experience of Kuukpaluk is far removed from Anglican dogma is indisputable. That the state of euphoria or happiness is akin to shamanistic conjuring, as presented here, is convincing. That the surrounding liturgies that adhere to the service orders found in the *Anglican Book of Common Prayer* fall far short of this level of inspiration is made clear. However, there may be other factors which come into play in the evolution of the Kuukpaluk experience.

The structure of Kuukpaluk and a great deal of its imagery and music can trace some lineage to the Pentecostal Church. For example, the speaking in tongues and experiencing the Holy Spirit are very much Pentecostal traditions. Hymns such as “Holy Ghost and Fire” and “Welcome Holy Spirit” are Pentecostal hymns.

Pentecostal missionaries visited Arviat in 1969 and the Glad Tidings Pentecostal Church was established there in 1975. Then, and now, members of the various churches attend services throughout the community. Thus, members of the Anglican Church would have been influenced by the charisma of the Pentecostal tradition by attending services at the Pentecostal Church. In present-day Arviat, there is one church service every night of the week. All Inuit who wish to attend church will go to these services regardless of the denomination. Furthermore, musicians often play at ALL of the services, again, regardless of their religious affiliation. This example alone shows how music and worship styles can become intermingled.

Almost twenty years before the Pentecostals arrived in Arviat, Gleason Ledyard established an Alliance Mission and School at Palliq—the mouth of the Maguse River in 1946. As seen in Chapter Two, Padlirmiut used Palliq as their summer camp; thus, they would have experienced Ledyard’s teachings and their children would have attended the

church school. The Alliance Church building was built in Arviat in 1961 where it still stands and is used for worship today. The Alliance Church is an evangelical protestant religion which, prior to 1912, had connections with the Pentecostal tradition.

According to some missionaries, when Inuit were asked if they believed in Christianity, they responded with silence; never verbally committing to the type of religion the missionaries offered and never denying or rejecting shamanism (Choque 1992; Ledyard 1977). Most missionaries chose to believe that the Inuit made full conversions; understanding Christianity as the missionaries had presented it. This “silence” between Inuit and missionaries is a key tool to understanding the nature of syncretism between Christianity and Inuit spirituality. The tacit assent to Christianity has a meaning similar to verbal assent in my questions about, for example, shamanism or the clergy’s inhibiting the arrival of the Holy Spirit, speaks to the same thing.

Members of the Okatsiak family, and many other Inuit identify Easter with their past, both Anglican and Inuit. But, it not only includes a pre-Christian tradition but is a dynamic event practiced today in the community of Arviat; an event that has evolved and changed over the decades since its introduction eighty years ago.

5.5.2 Sub-Group Affiliation

The data emerging from this study shows that there is not a direct link between sub-group affiliation and religious denomination. As stated before, in present day Arviat, Padlirmiut are Catholics, Anglicans, Pentecostals, and Alliance Church members. During missionization, families moved around the different denominations following the leader of their choice. The Okatsiak family is unique in the sense that ancestors from this family

were among the first Padlirmiut to be ‘converted’ to Anglicanism in the 1920s by Rev. Donald Marsh. Not only have they remained faithful to the same denomination for the past eighty years or so, but they have also become the musical leaders who enable Kuukpaluk to happen.

It is interesting to note that while the Anglican congregation is filled with Padlirmiut, Ahiarmiut, Tariuqmiut, and Inuit from other areas of Nunavut, the leaders of worship services are almost entirely Padlirmiut.¹⁹⁰ This seems to indicate that sub-group affiliation is important in determining leadership roles at the Anglican Church in Arviat. This raises this question for further research: Does sub-group affiliation determine leadership roles in other aspects of Inuit culture in Arviat? Ahiarmiut and the drum dance for example.

5.5.3 The Role of Media and Transmission

As was seen in the previous ethnographies, as well as in Chapter Two under the sub-heading *Arviat Musical History*, the media played a large role in providing new musical sounds and information to Arviarmiut from around the world. Sandy Okatsiak began learning church music in a family and religious community context but uses multiple technologies to access and learn new styles.

In spite of the continued popularity of country and western, Sandy’s preferred style comes from the commercial Christian repertoire of pop-rock. For example, as

¹⁹⁰ In addition to the present-day Okatsiak family, Padlirmiut leaders at the Anglican Church today include: Retired minister Rev. Muckpah (whom after the church is named), Rev. Joe Manik, Service Leader James Kigusuitnar, Service Leader Martha Nutarasungnik, Organist Mary Muljungnik, Guitarist Paul K. Irksak, Kuukpaluk elders Mark and Angie Eetak, and Annie Ollie.

discussed earlier, Sandy chose to sing Andy Park's "The River is Here" during the Inuit Christian ritual of Kuukpaluk at the Easter Vigil on Saturday, April 7, 2007. In his performance of this song, Sandy Okatsiak imitates a pop-rock fashion, veering away from "tradition" in the Inuit-Anglican musical style of worship. There are other examples of this shift in musical style. For example, when performing "*Jesusi Piuliji*," a translation of CADET's "Father of Light," Sandy imitates the American Christian rock band's rock-n-roll style. Sandy explains that he likes performing in the "normal country and western style" but he also enjoys playing "what's new out there in the music scene today." Sandy's musical style can be heard on a compact disc that he and Eva recorded in 2007 for the "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit" entitled *Sandy & Eva Okatsiak: Old Rugged Cross*.¹⁹¹ Sandy can be seen as performing his Padlirmiut identity when he adheres to the country and western "tradition" and as exercising his right to individuality and innovation when performing in a pop or rock style.

Easy access to media has not only affected musical style at the Anglican Church in Arviat but access to religious television programs with evangelists such as Billy Graham, Jim and Tammy Bakker, and Jimmy Swaggart have played a role in introducing, or perhaps reinforcing, charismatic and fundamentalist ideas. Sandy stated that he watched all three of the evangelists above at some point in his childhood. He remembers watching the *PTL Club*,¹⁹² hosted by Jim and Tammy Bakker, with his mother when he was a child and he recalls viewing the evangelical preaching of Billy Graham on

¹⁹¹ For a review of *Sandy and Eva Okatsiak: The Old Rugged Cross*, see Piercey (2008).

¹⁹² The *PTL Club*, also known as the *Praise the Lord Club* or the *People that Love Club* was a Christian show hosted by Jim and Tammy Bakker from 1974-1988.

television on Sunday afternoons. The fact that Inuit viewed these American evangelists in the 1970s and 1980s has ramifications for how they presently perceive charismatic leaders at the Anglican Church versus how they perceive the actual ordained Anglican ministers. In pre-contact times, as described earlier, Padlirmiut were attracted to shamens who were charismatic in their leadership. Like these star performers, lay Inuit who lead Kuukpaluk at the spiritual services in Arviat at Easter-time have become more powerful than the ordained ministers.

Recordings in the Anglican Church are used in different ways to achieve local goals. For example, Sandy Okatsiak, who regularly draws upon recordings for new repertoire, often translates into Inuktitut these songs of diverse origins for performance by his family during worship services. This localization through language gives meaning for those who sing and hear the songs.

These examples reveal discrepancies between discursive practices about modes of transmission and actual practices. First, there is a stronger preference for the written word contradicting commonly held notions of the value of oral transmission. Second, recording technology was used as a didactic tool and as a source for new repertoire contradicting the commonly held notion that elders are the “true” source for knowledge. I am not saying that Inuit do not value oral transmission or that they no longer value the knowledge of elders; I am stating that the data shows that ideas about these two values have changed in some contexts.

5.5.4 Language

Language reveals much about the way in which a group of people view the world. There is much deep significance that depends on use and context.

Of relevance to this study is the Inuktitut descriptive base root word “*quvia-*.” In Arviat, the base root word *quvia-* was used in some form or fashion to describe happiness, excitement, moral character, Christian religious places (i.e.) heaven, etc. In this chapter alone, the base root word *quvia-* was utilized many times either in song, speech, prayer, oral narrative, or discussion. Because the pursuit of happiness is a core component of becoming *inummariit* (see section *Inummariit Problematized* in Chapter One), an examination of this base root word¹⁹³ and its uses in Christian religious ritual in Arviat shed further light on the concept.

In the appendix of her book *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family*, Jean Briggs (1970) systematically describes kinds of behaviour that are classified under the various emotional terms. Of great importance to the current study are the observations she made about happiness:

The last emotion to be considered in this complex of highly valued feelings is happiness (*quvia*). Happy feelings are not only pleasanter to entertain than are unhappy ones, they are also a moral good in a sense that, I think, is not true for us. I shall elaborate on this point below.

I did not obtain a verbal definition for the term *quvia* but have glossed it as “happiness”; it occurs as a translation for this word in the Eskimo religious literature. The term occurs frequently in spontaneous speech, both as an

¹⁹³ Inuktitut is a polysynthetic language. The base root word *quvia-* is never used alone because as such it does not make sense. However, to make this root mean “one who is happy, the affix *-tajuq* would be added: *quviattajuq*. To make this root mean “I am happy,” the affix *-suqpunga* would be added: *quviasuqpunga*. To make this root mean “The happiest place,” several affixes would be added: *quviananrniqpaangujumik*.

expression of a person's own feeling and as a judgement on other people's behaviour. People who laugh, smile, joke, and enjoy telling stories are judged to feel *quvia*, and they are said to rouse *quvia* feelings in others. Enjoyable experiences as diverse as listening to music, dancing, playing, fishing, chasing lemmings or stoning ptarmigans, traveling (under good conditions), visiting with pleasant company or being with a loved person, being physically warm, and eating are all described as "making one feel happy (*quvianaqtuq*)." (pp. 327-328)

Among the Padlirmiut of Arviat the base root word *quvia-* is used in similar contexts mentioned by Briggs above; however, I found several more uses—especially those ones used in Christian spiritual ritual:

quviasungni—happiness; alternately, *quviasunginiq*—sadness
quviananrniqpaangujumik—the happiest place
quviasuinnalirluta—We will always be happy
quviasuquniarmatigut—They will tell us to be happy
quviasuluamut misiktaramiaqtuq—high energy level
quviasuktuq—makes people feel happy
quviasurjuaqtuq—it makes people feel excited
quvianartuvik—Heaven; translates as "a place of great joy and happiness" or "a place where happiness endures"
quviasukvik—Christmas
quviasuusiq—gift received during time of celebration; Christmas gift
quviasukviarusiq—smaller or secondary celebration (such as New Year's)
quviattatuk—he jumps about suddenly in happiness or good spirits
quviasulaaqpungai—I will be happy
quvianaqtu—I am happy
quviasuqtinga—Let me be happy
quviasuqtilaunga—Let me be happy
quviasukpunga—I am happy
quviasukpuq—It is happy
quvianartuvitsaluititsaq—merit for heaven
quviagivaa—he has it as agreeable, a cause of joy, pleasant
quvianartuq—what causes joy; alternately, *quviasugiikkuti*—to prevent happiness
quviasuttuq—happy, joyful, pleased, he rejoices
quviasuutilippaa—give him a gift in order to please him, make him joyful
quviattajuq—who is always joyful; alternately *quviattaituq*—one who is never joyful
quvigiyaaqtunga—I love to sing

In Chapter One, the Inuit concept of *inumariit* is conceptualized. One of the main points of *inumariit* discussed by local Inuit is the pursuit of happiness. Padlirmiut elder Donald Suluk states, “We have always heard that a person who strives for happiness, even when it doesn’t seem attainable, will always reach that goal sooner or later. Likewise, a person who gave up would always reap what he sowed” (*Inuktitut* Winter 1987: 31). In the traditional Padlirmiut worldview many forms of happiness were considered desirable. Inuit valued those around them who made them happy by singing songs, dancing, hunting, feasting, and visiting. Thus, it seems natural that Inuit have so many ways to describe this emotion in Inuktitut. What is interesting is that after the missionaries arrived in the 1920s, Inuktitut words associated with happiness found their way into the description of religious places and rituals. As seen above, Heaven is a newly developed word in Inuktitut—*quvianartuvik*, which literally means as “a place of great joy and happiness.” Similarly, the new Inuktitut word for Christmas is *quviasukvik*. Furthermore, during the Inuit Christian ritual of *Kuukpaluk*, where Inuit pass through an imaginary river so that they can be metaphorically cleansed and renewed, the pursuit and achievement of happiness is the most desired outcome. Thus, it is interesting that not only do participants describe this process using Inuktitut words containing the root *quvia-*; but many of the hymns and gospel songs sung during this time also reference some form of *quvia-*. The language in ritual and music, then, enacts a larger, shared community experience with God and Anglicanism and a traditional Inuit worldview. The Inuktitut language carries meaning which simultaneously encompasses the multiplicity of

individual interpretations, stories, and specific histories: a long established relationship with God as expressed and felt in ritual and song and a deep connection with the past.

In Nunavut, the Inuktitut language is mobilized as a marker of Inuit identity and it is a core component of inummariit. In the Anglican Church in Arviat, however, there are some contradictions between discourse about the use of Inuktitut and practice. For example, Sandy maintains that singing and praying in Inuktitut is the best way to communicate with God and with his ancestors, “We must sing and pray in Inuktitut. It is the language of our ancestors—the true Inuit. They will understand us better” (Sandy Okatsiak, April 27, 2007). Sandy and his family do, in fact, sing the majority of their religious repertoire in Inuktitut for Anglican Services. However, at the most spiritually heightened point of the Easter Vigil Service on Saturday, April 7, 2007 Sandy chose to sing Andy Park’s “The River is Here” not in the preferred Inuktitut language of his dead ancestors with whom he was interacting at that moment; but in English, the language of his colonizers. Thus, this performance reveals that inummariit takes on a new synchronicity; combining new and old elements simultaneously to reach localized goals.

5.5.4 Individual/Group Dynamics

Performance of Christian music at the Anglican Church in Arviat by one family shows how power relations are established and contested revealing some important contemporary issues of inummariit for those involved.

The Okatsiak family seems like a cohesive performance group where all musicians are equal and contribute to a unified whole. Even family members articulate that everyone is equally important in the group, “We all contribute to the music. I sing,

Kuuku plays bass, Mary plays the organ, Sandy plays the guitar and sings back-up harmony. We all have our part. Everyone is important” (Eva Okatsiak, April 27, 2007). Musically, each instrument contributes its part; working together to form a whole. Musically and socially the Okatsiak family performance group seems like an egalitarian entity. But a closer look at the structure of the group reveals something different.

Sandy is the leader of the group. He is identified as the leader by members of the Okatsiak family and by members of the Anglican congregation, “Sandy is the siviliqti. He is the song leader. He chooses the music for the services” (Martha Nutarasungnik, April 6, 2007). But, not only does Sandy decide what music to sing for the services, he decides when to begin the D+ pedal point which marks the coming of the Holy Spirit. Thus, Sandy in fact, can (and does) exert power over his own world and the spiritual world. Sandy’s leadership and power is contested by the ordained ministers of the Anglican Church in Arviat, who seem to be actively discouraging performance of Kuukpaluk—the River during worship services because it does not fit with typical Anglican practices. In response, Sandy shows up late (or not at all) to worship services led by the ordained ministers and he only performs Kuukpaluk at services where the ordained ministers are absent. Sandy’s musical actions and behaviours can be seen as reinventing and resisting southern Anglican cultural norms.

5.5.5 Song Texts

When the published English texts of hymns are contrasted with local Inuit translations, it is evident that some meaning has shifted to reflect present-day conceptualizations of inummariit. For example, the English text of “*Sanningayuq*”—

“The Old Rugged Cross” is metaphoric in that it speaks about the cross as a symbol of suffering and shame. The local Inuktitut translation is much more literal: “a cross that is from the tree; a piece of wood from the tree that I saw.” There is no mention of suffering or of shame, literally or as word play. This is surprising since many elders talk about how the Inuktitut language is metaphorical and that when elders composed traditional Inuit songs, metaphors were used often. Elders contend that metaphor was used to avoid saying things outright for fear of retaliation or bad luck. For example, the use of the word “*nanuk*”—“polar bear” was avoided in song by using the words “the big white one.” This ensured that the polar bear would not be agitated and take retaliation or revenge on Inuit. This shift to the literal in Christian hymns and gospel songs may indicate that the value of storytelling through song using metaphor has changed in this Christian context.

In “*Qilangmi Paani*”—“In the Sweet By and By,” the published English version states that if “we” have faith, “we” will be able to see heaven. The hymn implies that it is God who decides who is faithful enough to enter the kingdom of heaven. The Inuktitut version states that all “will go home to heaven” and that when there “*they* see us with our faith.” Therefore, it is no longer only God who sees and judges the faithful. “*They*,” dead ancestors who reside in heaven and who are called upon during Kuukpaluk, also play this role. The Inuktitut version of “*Nunamitugut*”—“Here Today; Gone Tomorrow,” as discussed in detail on pages 219-222, also deals with connecting with dead ancestors through spiritual experiences and shows how ideas of inummariit are manifested in the songs and thinking of present-day Anglicans in Arviat.

As was seen in Chapter Four, traditionally song texts were regarded by Inuit to be more important than the music. The personal narrative contained within songs carries

deep meaning for those who compose and hear them. Imagery of traditional songs tended to be about the animals and land upon which Inuit subsisted. Sometimes songs were used in shamanistic rituals to heal individuals through exorcisms. It is possible to see elements of this historical Inuit way of thinking about music in the performance of Christian music at the Anglican Church in Arviat. In other words, it is possible to see elements of inummariit manifested in contemporary Christian ritual. For example, in terms of references to land or space, Sandy contends that two of the most important songs to sing during the time of preparation for the coming of the Holy Spirit are “*Qilangmi Paani*” — “In the Sweet By and By” and “*Anirniup Iqumangatalu*” — “Welcome Holy Spirit” because the text of “*Qilangmi Paani*” speaks of the beautiful place in heaven where the Holy Spirit resides with his Inuit ancestors and “*Anirniut Iqumangatalu*” tells about how the Holy Spirit leaves this beautiful place in heaven to visit the Inuit on earth. At the most spiritual time of the Easter Vigil service on April 7, 2007, Sandy sang “The River is Here,” an English gospel song which references a river that is “teaming with life.” Historically and in present day Arviat, Inuit fish the Maguse River and other rivers near the community for Arctic char, grayling, and other species suitable for eating. Also, many Inuit travel to the Maguse River for their drinking water, claiming that water from the taps in town is not as refreshing. During Kuukpaluk, a ritual whereby Inuit pass from their old lives to new and better ones Inuit are metaphorically identifying with a river which provides sustenance and “refreshment” and “all who touch it can be revived.” These are just two of the many examples of the blending of traditions—the selection of hymns with traditional Inuit themes for use in the context of Inuit-developed Christian

ritual. This can be seen as upholding commonly held attitudes regarding the connection between the land and the expression of Inuit identity.

This chapter has shown that music performance at the Anglican Church in Arviat reinforces memory and continuity **and** provides a means of innovating or resisting norms of the community simultaneously. This statement indeed reflects the very nature of inummariit itself.

Chapter 6: *Imngiutikut Unipkausiit Mamgarkut Arnagit*—Musical Stories of the Mamgark Women

The Catholic Church in Arviat and
its influence on the lives of three generations of women

This chapter portrays how inummariit manifests itself in the musical choices and performance practices of three Inuit women at the Catholic Church in Arviat. The musical stories of a grandmother, daughter, and grand-daughter reveal valuable insights into music, belief, and life. I focus on this family's musical experiences to explore the specific ideas these three women have about their songs in relation to their spiritual beliefs and related ideas about what it means to be a "real Inuk": matters of meaning, musical process, and musical perception.

First I examine the details of performance and the meaning of repertoire used at a Mass held at the Roman Catholic Church (Figure 6.C23) in Arviat on Sunday, April 23, 2006. I examine this Mass with the purpose of determining the ways in which music, identity, and tradition are negotiated in the performance of religious rites. Then I analyze the oral narratives about music and Catholicism of Matilda Sulurayok, Rosie Mamgark, and Gara Mamgark to obtain and compare their intergenerational views about the personal embodiment of inummariit through performance. Matilda Sulurayok (Figure 6.C24) is a song leader at the Catholic Church in Arviat. Matilda, Rosie, and Gara's songs and oral narratives are used to compare and contrast generational attitudes. By building a picture of the musical aesthetics and repertoire choices of all three women from discussions, recollections, and musical actions, I bring to light some of the functions and meanings their song choices have for them; I interpret their stories of

several specific musical selections that illuminate their concepts of inummariit as manifested in religious belief and music.

From the analysis of the musical choices and performances of three generations of women I gain insight into the cultural behaviour of individuals and of the community: How is identity performed in a Roman Catholic family? How is social diversity negotiated through musical performance? What are individual musical responses to specific historical, generational, or linguistical contexts? How are musical repertoire and style choices related to these complex social, political, ideological, and historical contexts?

Early Catholic missionaries were mostly successful in “converting” Inuit; however, the results were a syncretic blending of traditional Inuit culture with the new European Catholicism. Despite an entire century of Christian influence, contemporary Inuit still have their own unique style of Catholic practice and relate it to being “real Inuit.”

6.1 Matilda and the Inuit-missionary Encounter

Matilda Sulurayok was born in Igluligaarjuk (Chesterfield Inlet) in 1941. Her mother, Elizabeth Quvaqat Issakiark was originally from “around Arviat” and her father, Atanasi Issakiark was from Ukkuliksalik. “We are Tariuqmiut which means coastal people” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). Matilda’s mother moved to Chesterfield Inlet when she was a child because her parents died. Matilda states, “I don’t know much about my grandparents, but I think they died of starvation when there was no food near

Arviat” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). Matilda’s mother grew up in Chesterfield Inlet where she met her husband and began a family.

Like her mother, Matilda grew up in Chesterfield Inlet, far from the Tariaumiut of Arviat. In 1959 she met and married Albert (Bernie) Siatsiaq Sulurayok Nauya, another Tariaumiut living in Chesterfield Inlet. Eventually, Albert Jr. was born, then Rosie, Judy, and Brian. Later Matilda and Sulurayok adopted Sarah, Suzanne, and Patrick, making a total of seven children.

After their first child Albert Jr. was born, Matilda and Sulurayok moved to Rankin Inlet in search of work trapping white fox. Rosie, Judy, and Brian were all born in Rankin Inlet. It was not until 1968 that the family finally moved to Arviat, the original home of Matilda and Sulurayok’s parents and grandparents. Here they stayed until Sulurayok’s death in 2006. After her husband’s death, Matilda traveled back and forth between Whale Cove and Arviat working as a tradition-bearer in local schools.

Interwoven with Matilda’s remembrances are details of the Christianization process in Chesterfield Inlet and later her involvement with the Catholic Church in Arviat. Matilda remembers the first priest Father Ducharme¹⁹⁴ with fondness, “When I was a little girl in Chesterfield Inlet I would go to church. The nuns taught us to read from the Bible in Inuktitut. We had prayer books and songbooks, and we sang lots of hymns in Inuktitut. I was told these were written [translated] by Mikilar [Father

¹⁹⁴ Father Lionel Ducharme, a young Catholic priest from Quebec, set up the first Catholic mission in Chesterfield Inlet in 1921 and he remained there until 1941 spreading the Gospel to local Inuit. For a year, from August 1924 to July 1925, Ducharme moved to Arviat to set up a mission there. He returned to Arviat in 1954 where he remained for twenty years.

Ducharme].¹⁹⁵ The nuns talked about Mikilar but I never met him until I moved to Arviat...we moved to Arviat sometime around 1968 and Mikilar was at the Church” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006).

In fact, in 1968 Father Ducharme had been in Arviat for a total of fifteen years and was responsible for the baptism of over 200 Inuit in the Keewatin region. In August 1924, when Father Lionel Ducharme arrived at Arviat to set up a Catholic mission there, he encountered Reverend Ferris, an Anglican minister who, “by strange coincidence had come to consider the possibility of founding a mission of his faith at Eskimo Point” (Choque 1992: 51). Although the Anglican mission was not set up in Arviat until Donald Marsh moved there in 1926, Inuit had been exposed to an Anglican Church service held at the Hudson’s Bay store in the summer of 1924 and Rev. Ferris distributed Bibles before he took his leave for Churchill (Choque 1992). But it was Father Lionel Ducharme who paved the road to Christian conversion in the Arviat area. He learned to speak Inuktitut fluently during his Catholic missionary work in Chesterfield Inlet and Baker Lake from 1921-1924, so that when he reached the Inuit of Arviat in 1924, he was able to preach the gospel in the Inuit mother tongue.

Like many of his predecessors and immediate successors, Father Ducharme’s recollections and writings about Christianization are told from his point of view. A biography, *Mikilar: Lionel Ducharme, Apostle of the Inuit* (1992), written by his friend

¹⁹⁵ Mikilar, which means “small man” in Inuktitut, is the name most Inuit used for Father Ducharme. Father Ducharme translated the Catholic Prayer Book in Inuktitut syllabics in 1934. Most Christian hymns were translated into Inuktitut by Inuk Anglican Minister Reverend Armand Tagoona. Tagoona was ordained in 1960. His first charge was Rankin Inlet. In 1964 he was the Anglican minister at the Arviat Anglican mission. An Anglican Hymnbook with hymns translated into Inuktitut by Tagoona was first published by the Christian Arctic Fellowship in 1980.

and colleague Charles Choque, O.M.I., is largely about Ducharme's experiences in the Arctic, omitting Inuit voices or experiences. The result is a fascinating story of Arctic adventure and survival, and the procurement of many successful Catholic "converts." Father Ducharme's story does give valuable insight into which early Inuit groups identified with Catholicism and how Father Ducharme viewed the lifestyle, culture, and religious practices of his "flock."

For example, it is interesting that the Inuit men who aided Father Ducharme in the construction of the actual mission building in Arviat were Padlirmiut—Okkutak [Ukutak], Akpakuluk, and Ailitaq [Aliktiluk]. Although Ahiarmiut were sometimes present in Arviat during the time of Ducharme and others checked out Masses held at the mission St. Theresa of the Child Jesus, according to Ducharme, it was mainly the Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut who became the first Catholics. Quoting Ducharme, Choque states, "Generally the Assiarmiut [Ahiarmiut] had very little contact with the missionaries and preferred being labeled followers of the Anglican or Evangelical ministers" (Choque 1992: 167). It is true that many Ahiarmiut first became Anglicans and then later some converted to Catholicism and Pentecostalism. But, while some Tariuqmiut and Padlirmiut became Catholics, as Ducharme suggests, others chose to "convert" to Anglicanism in the beginning. Many of them remained Anglicans, while others converted to Catholicism and later Pentecostalism.

There may be many reasons why different bands of Inuit initially became converted by the differing denominations of the Christian faith. One of the reasons in the 1920s and 1930s was demographics. Father Ducharme made his residence in Arviat and traveled little to the land. Therefore, his main contact was with the Padlirmiut and

Tariuqmiut who frequented Arviat in the spring. The Ahiarmiut, who stayed inland most of the year, had little contact with the Catholic missionary. Ahiarmiut camps were visited often by the Anglican missionary Reverend Donald Marsh. By the 1940s and 1950s, however, things changed. Reverend Ledyard Gleason, an American Evangelical Missionary, set up a mission in buildings left by traders at the mouth of the Maguse River (Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut visited this place in the spring); Alliance¹⁹⁶ minister Reverend Bernard Fredlund set up camp at Padlei (this was the winter camping area for the Padlirmiut); Anglican minister Reverend Marsh made the decision to visit the Padlei Post as well. During this time, some Inuit remained staunchly faithful towards their original denomination, while others converted to the denomination of their choice. How and why these choices were made remains unknown; however, many attest to the fact that they followed the most charismatic leader—not the teachings of a particular denomination. This shows that there is a strong parallel between the hold that charismatic Christian leaders had over the people and the position of the shaman in pre-contact times.

Matilda experienced the division of the denominational rivalry that existed between Catholics and Protestants¹⁹⁷ that occurred throughout most of Nunavut in the 1950s. She remembers going to Mass and being told to stay away from the Anglicans

¹⁹⁶ The Christian and Missionary Alliance is an evangelical Protestant denomination. It was founded in 1887 by Rev. Albert B. Simpson, originally a Presbyterian minister. At the turn of the twentieth century, Simpson was drawn to the growing Pentecostal movement. Thus in the beginning, much of the Alliance Church doctrine and belief was similar to Pentecostal Church. Later, around 1912, there developed a severe division within the Christian and Missionary Alliance over aspects of Pentecostalism such as speaking in tongues and charismatic worship styles. This resulted in the adoption of more ecclesiastical styles. When Simpson died in 1919, there was a greater movement away from Pentecostalism, rejecting the premise that speaking in tongues is a necessary indicator of being filled with the Holy Spirit. The present day Alliance Church is committed to evangelism around the world.

¹⁹⁷ For more information about the rivalry between Catholics and Protestants in Nunavut see Choque (1992), Tungilik and Uyarasuk (1999), and Laugrand, Oosten and Kakkik (2003).

because they were pagan followers of the Protestant ministers who would not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. Choque states, “Father Ducharme imbued with his strict and austere pre-conciliar training, condemned, a priori, all non-Catholic denominations and judged severely all the Inuit lured ‘into the trap of a free-for-all and superficial Protestantism and presented the Bible as a powerful magical charm, a talisman, but demanded nothing more, afraid to disturb the conscience of the Inuit’” (Choque 1992: 153). This attitude, no doubt, found its way into his sermons.

Despite the ‘rules’ imposed on her by the priest, Matilda maintained friendships with her fellow Anglicans. She remembers that sometimes, if someone did something they were not supposed to do, people would blame their “bad” actions on the fact that they were Anglican or Ahiarmiut. But, according to Matilda the divisions among the Inuit themselves were not that strong and Matilda, who loved to sing, often went to whatever church was having a service to sing hymns of praise, to worship God, and to see her friends, “When Inuit got together, there were people who followed both religions. Some were Anglican and some were Catholic. They talked and compared the rules they were supposed to follow. People just tried to do the right thing. When we went to church, we went to whatever church was having a service and we sang both Anglican and Catholic hymns” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006).

Today in Arviat, there are Ahiarmiut who are Catholics (Illungiyok), Padlirmiut who are Anglicans (Okatsiaks), Ahiarmiut who are Anglicans (Anowtaliks), Padlirmiut who are Catholics (Iquumiks), Ahiarmiut who are Glad Tidings Evangelists (Owlijoots), Tariuqmiut who are Catholics (Sulurayoks and Mamgarks) and Tariuqmiut who are Anglicans (Muckpahs). Matilda explains, “The Anglican and Catholic missionaries were

the only priests in Nunavut for a very long time. In the 1960s, I think, others began to arrive. The new priests said that the preaching of the Catholics and the Anglicans was wrong, and that they were not saved. Inuit got divided because some got saved and others did not. There were many Catholic and Anglicans who left their religion and began to follow the teachings of the new religion. *Qiajut*¹⁹⁸—the ones who cry—they were of the Glad Tidings religion. The Catholic and Anglican ministers got mad at each other and blamed each other for the loss of members. When Glad Tidings came many Anglicans and Catholics joined them, but some came back to their churches...usually whole families converted, I think. Everyone in my family stayed with the Catholic religion” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006).

6.2 Roman Catholic Mass—*Ikirayuaq Tuksiarniq*—April 23, 2006

This next section is an ethnography of the performance of music at the Roman Catholic Church in Arviat. Personal interviews with Matilda Sulurayok, Rosie Mamgark, and Gara Mamgark and analyses of musical performances during a Catholic Mass held on Sunday, April 23, 2006, reveal valuable insights into perceptions of belief and ritual.¹⁹⁹ Specifically, I examine the Mass in Arviat in relation to the Mass of the Catholic Church:

¹⁹⁸ In Arviat, members of the Glad Tidings Pentecostal Church are known as *qiajut*—the ones who cry. I am told by Pelagie Owljoot that this title is a description of members who literally cry or “cry out” in ecstasy when they are filled with the Holy Spirit.

¹⁹⁹ I have attended many Catholic Church services in Arviat throughout my years living there. This discussion, however, and the interviews with Matilda about religious and musical practices deal specifically with the Mass held on Sunday, April 23, 2006. The idea of attending, video recording, and analyzing one specific Mass came out of discussions with Matilda. In our talks about music, she constantly referred to her role as song leader at the Catholic Church. So I asked her would she mind if I video recorded a service; she was delighted.

What is the effect of context on the choice of hymns? Are hymnbooks and prayer books used? Who leads the worship? Who leads the music? Are there gender-related roles? What vocal style constitutes a “good” song leader? Is the order of Mass strictly adhered to, or are there variations that are specifically Inuit? Who attends Mass? Who participates? What is the meaning of music-making during Mass for individuals?

The Mass is the Eucharistic celebration of the Roman Catholic Church. The meaning, for Matilda, is “mainly about the suffering of Jesus. He died for us on the cross for our sins. We remember his sacrifice by doing the Eucharist...taking the bread and the wine” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). The Roman Catholic Church sees the Mass as the ideal manner to offer adoration to God. It is also the Catholic belief that the bread and wine are converted into Christ’s body and blood in the sacrament of the Eucharist. “When we eat the bread, we are eating the body of Jesus; this is how we show our love and appreciation to God” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). Matilda’s comment above reflects beliefs of the Catholic Church; further examination of her performance and oral narratives show, however, that there is a syncretism of traditional Inuit beliefs and Catholicism.

Most Catholic Churches around the world use the Roman Missal (1970)²⁰⁰ for the order of service. The Catholic Church in Arviat uses Inuktitut translations of the Mass in a publication of the Churchill-Hudson Bay Dioceses, *Naalagak Nirtuqlavut* (Lorand 1992). Much of the translation is attributed to Mikilar (Father Ducharme). This text is

²⁰⁰ The Roman Missal (1970) contains the prayers, antiphons, and rubrics of the Mass. In Canada, the English translation of the Roman Missal is called the Sacramentary. It is a book for the priest celebrant, containing the words spoken or sung by him. The Lectionary presents passages from the Bible arranged in order for reading at each day’s Mass. A Book of Gospels, also called the Evangeliary, is sometimes used for the reading from the Gospels.

provided in the pews at the church and many congregation members use it on Sunday mornings. The Sacramentary, (called Blue book in Inuktitut), is owned by the celebrant, Ubluriak,²⁰¹ and the song leaders, Matilda Sulurayok and Winnie Malla. The Lectionary rests on the lectern at the church. I did not see an Evangeliary; all Bible readings seemed to come from the Lectionary.

The Catholic Mass held at Saint Theresa of Child Jesus in Arviat is divided into five parts. Matilda Sulurayok labeled these parts: *Sanningajuliuqtuq*—Introductory Rites (which includes: *Manigusuutiksait*—Penitential Rites, *Naalagak Nikasugit*—Lord, Have Mercy, *Niqtuqtauli*—Gloria), *Uqalimagaksat*—Liturgy of the Word, *Jisusip Tunigrusianguqpuq*—Liturgy of the Eucharist, *Tamuasuaniksiutiit*—Communion Rite (this includes *Ataataavut*—the Lord’s Prayer and *Tamuasugiaqsiutiit*—communion), and *Tuksiaqataujut Saimmaqtilugit Tavvaavusirlugillu*—Blessing or Concluding Rite. The worship service follows the Ordinary²⁰² form of the Catholic Mass. Each of the five parts plays a specific role in preparing the congregation for the ritual of communion—Tamuasugiaqsiutiit and music contributes to the experience.

On Sunday, April 23 there were approximately one hundred and fifty people present. All were Inuit with the exception of Richard Arcand, a qablunaaq teacher at Qitiqliq School, and me. Most Inuit sat in family groups: at the front on the right the Illungiyok family; behind them the Ukutaks; on the left at the front the Mamgarks and the Mallas. Members of these families are considered to be leaders in the community.

²⁰¹ His full name is Thomas Ubluriak Anaruhuuk. He is known to everyone as Ubluriak.

²⁰² The Ordinary Mass contains fixed texts as compared to the Proper of the Mass which has variable texts.

Ubluriak then sat in the front pew on the right and waited while the organist played “Amazing Grace.” Before she finished, Winnie Malla, Matilda’s friend and co-song leader, left her pew and walked to the cordless microphone sitting on the microphone stand next to Matilda. She took the microphone, proceeded to the centre aisle and began to speak. In Inuktitut, she welcomed everyone and thanked them for coming. The organist played an introduction to hymn 219.

Standing in the front pew on the left side of the church, Matilda began to sing hymn 219 from *Naalagak Nirtuqlavut* (Lorand 1992), entitled “*Inuluktaat Naglingnirmut*”—“What a Friend We Have in Jesus.”²⁰⁵

Δᓄᓗᑦᑕᑦ ᓇᑦᑕᓴᑦᑕᑦ—Syllabics



219 Δᓄᓗᑦᑕᑦ ᓇᑦᑕᓴᑦᑕᑦ

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. Δᓄᓗᑦᑕᑦ ᓇᑦᑕᓴᑦᑕᑦ
 ᓴᓴᓴᑦ ᐱᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 Δᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 Δᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ ᓄᓇᑕᓴᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑦᑕᓴᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑦᑕᓴᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑦᑕᓴᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ</p> | <p>3. ᑕᑦᑕᓴᑦᑕᑦ ᐱᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑦᑕᓴᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᓴᓴᓴᑦᑕᑦ ᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑦᑕᓴᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 Δᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 Δᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 Δᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ</p> |
| <p>2. ᓇᑦᑕᓴᑦᑕᑦ ᓴᓴᓴᑦ
 ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦ ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ</p> | <p>4. ᓴᓴᓴᑦᑕᑦ ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 Δᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 Δᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
 ᑕᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ</p> |

²⁰⁵ For a musical transcription see page 85 of Appendix G.

Inuluktaat Naglingnirmut—Roman Orthography

Inuluktaat naglingnirmut
Jisusip piulivait
Ikajuqtaujumavuq
Ilinniaqtiminut
Tilivaillu nunalingnut
Ajuqiturlugit
Uqausirijaminik
Tusarniqtuluktaarnik

Naalakkamik Jisusimik
Tamarmik aullaqput
Quviasullutik aglaat
Aksurunaqtuqaqpat
Uppitsiarniup miksaanut
Kajusiinnarlutik
Nunalingnit ninalingnut
Ingirrarinnarlutik

Anirnimik Piujumik
Aulatitsijiaqtut
Ajuqituinirmigut
Jisusimik maliktut
Amisunguqpalliavut
Ilinniaqtiviniit
Ijjuarumagattigit
Ikajuqtigilavut

Jiusitullu ilangit
Tuqutauniaqput
Misiarumannginamik
Ippigilluarlutik
Inuusirminik naglimmut
Annirusunngislutik
Sivullirijavut makkua
Tuksiaqtigilavut

What a Friend We Have in Jesus—Original English Version

What a Friend we have in Jesus,
All our sins and griefs to bear
What a privilege to carry
Everything to God in prayer!
O what peace we often forfeit,

O what needless pain we bear,
All because we do not carry
Everything to God in prayer.

Have we trials and temptations?
Is there trouble anywhere?
We should never be discouraged;
Take it to the Lord in prayer.
Can we find a friend so faithful,
Who will all our sorrows share?
Jesus knows our every weakness;
Take it to the Lord in prayer.

Are we weak and heavy-laden,
Cumbered with a load of care?
Precious Saviour, still our refuge
Take it to the Lord in prayer;
Do thy friends despise, forsake thee?
Take it to the Lord in prayer;
In his arms he'll take and shield thee;
Thou wilt find a solace there.

Inuluktaat Naglingnirmut—Matilda/Gara's Localized Translation

Inuluktaat naglingnirmut - All the people are
Jisusip piulivait - Blessed with love by Jesus
Ikajuqtaujumavuuq - He asked for help
Ilinniaqtiminut - From his Disciples
Tilivaillu nunalingnut - He asked them to go to a different city
Ajuqiturlugit - To preach
Uqausirijaminik - And talk about
Tusarniqtuluktaarnik - His wonderful words

Naalakkamik Jisusimik - All of his disciples listened to Jesus
Tamarmik aullaqput - All of them left to go to a different city
Quviasullutik aglaat - They are still happy
Aksurunaqtuqaqpat - Even when there are hard times
Uppitsiarniup miksaanut - Teaching/preaching about faith
Kajusiinnarlutik - And they did not give up
Nunalingnit nalingnut - From one city to another
Ingirrarinnarlutik - They did not give up

Anirnimik Piujumik - Holy Spirit is
Aulatitsijiaqtut - Helping his disciples
Ajuqituinirmigut - Because they are
Jisusimik maliktut - Following his words
Amisunguqpalliavut - There are more believers
Ilinniaqtiviniit - To learn from those
Ijjuarumagattigit - Who are preaching/teaching
Ikajuqtigilavut – Let us help each other

Jiusitullu ilangit - Even some will be
Tuqutauniaqput - Killed like Jesus
Misiarumanninamik - Because they are
Ippigilluarlutik - Following him
Inuusirminik naglimmut - Because of love
Annirusungislutik - They are not scared to face death
Sivullirijavut makkua – Let us pray for
Tuksiaqtigilavut - Our future people/leaders

Matilda held her songbook, but rarely looked at it. Her eyes were focused on the large crucifix hanging on the wall directly behind the altar, as if she was singing to Jesus himself. Her voice was strong and commanding; she sang with her chest voice using no vibrato. In her effort to lead the congregation, Matilda sang loudly pushing the higher notes sharp.

It is this loud, strong, elderly voice quality which is considered by many to be the “best” for song leading at the Catholic Church in Arviat. Rosie stated in an interview after the service, “My mom is the song leader because she sings good. Everyone thinks that she is a good singer. People call her to sing at weddings, funerals, and baptisms because she knows all the songs and her voice is strong”²⁰⁶ (Rosie Mamgark, April 4, 2006).

²⁰⁶ During the singing of the first hymn, Rosie and the rest of her family still had not arrived at the church.

Matilda chose “*Inuluktaat Naglingnirmut*”—“What a Friend We Have in Jesus” based on the Scripture reading of the day: 1 John 5: 4-10, “for everyone born of God overcomes the world...” She explained that the words of the hymn reflect this teaching. For example, Matilda stated, “The second verse tells us that there are bad things in the world that will happen, but if we speak to the Lord through prayer and singing, we will overcome them and be happy” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). The original English version of “What a Friend We Have in Jesus” was written as a poem in 1855 by Joseph M. Scriven.²⁰⁷ The English text of the second verse which Matilda referenced is: Have we trials and temptations? Is there trouble anywhere? We should never be discouraged; take it to the Lord in prayer.” The literal translation of the Inuktitut text however, reveals a localized meaning which is slightly different than the original English version:

Naalakkamik - because they listened
Jesusimik - to Jesus
Tamarmik - all of them
Aullaqput - they left/went away
Quviasullutik aglaat - even they are happy
Aksururnaqtuqaqpat - when there are hard times

This localized text (and Matilda’s comments about it) reference a core component of inummariit: happiness; the pursuit of happiness even in times of hardship—especially in times of hardship. Not only is there a sense of more emphasis on resilience in the local translation, there is also more importance given to the reciprocity of communal living: the local translation calls on people to “help each other” and to “pray for our future people

²⁰⁷ “What a Friend We Have in Jesus” was later put to music by Charles C. Converse in 1868. It is not a Catholic hymn. The Inuktitut translation can be found in most hymnbooks in Arviat. Although no musical notation is provided in the Inuktitut hymnbook, the English and Inuktitut tunes are the same. Charles C. Converse composed the music in F+, Matilda, however, sang the hymn in the key of C+, five semi-tones lower, to “fit” her lower voice quality.

and leaders.” In contrast, the English text highlights the importance of relying only on Jesus for help. The reference to “happiness” indicates a blending of traditional Inuit beliefs and Christianity. The unique and complex intersection between Christianity, specific Inuit history, and individuals is clarified by the language of hymns, which includes both what the language in song explicitly relates and communicates as well as the language surrounding song—that is the voiced stories and sentiments that hymns invoke. Taken together, the language in and surrounding song provides an important window into the deeper meaning of Inuit hymns at the Catholic Church in Arviat. The localized text of this hymn, “*Inuluktaat Naglingnirmut,*” obviously communicates a positive experience in which Jesus turned sadness into joy when the people listened to him. But the song, as sung in the communicative context of knowledgeable listeners, also references more than this. Rosie says of this hymn:

I heard this song many times. My mother sings it all the time. It reminds me of going to Mass with my family on Sundays. One time, I remember coming home from Mass around twelve or one o'clock in the afternoon and my brother, Albert, and I wanted to go geese hunting because it was spring and there were a lot of geese. But my mother said that we weren't allowed to hunt on Sundays because we were supposed to rest. After that I was afraid to do anything on Sundays except go to Mass...today we don't even go to church on Sundays. If Simeonie wants to go fishing, we go fishing. I don't know what happened, or why we don't follow that rule anymore. No one around here seems to think about it anymore. Sometimes my mother reminds me, but I am not scared to hunt on Sundays anymore. Maybe I should be, Amio-I don't know. When I sing this hymn it reminds me of the rules from years ago and it reminds me that perhaps we should be following those same rules today...maybe if we went to church more, there wouldn't be addictions in my family. (Rosie Mangark, April, 2006)

While the language in this hymn generally communicates a relationship between Jesus and an individual, the language surrounding this song extends the relationship further and situates it between Rosie and her brother, between Rosie and contemporary Inuit society, and between Rosie and Jesus. Rosie's oral narrative shows that some Catholic historic rules are no longer practiced in contemporary Inuit society; yet, there is an underlying belief that perhaps the old rules should still be followed. This underlying belief points to a cause and effect relationship between actions and consequences which is similar to traditional Inuit ideology.²⁰⁸ For example, in pre-contact times Inuit believed that positive actions and behavior brought good luck usually in the form of food and good weather. Conversely, negative actions and behavior brought bad luck. Similarly, Rosie's line of thinking indicates that she believes that if she and her family were to adhere to traditional Catholic rules; then "there wouldn't be any addictions in my family." But that which this song references is not limited to Rosie's story. This (and every) song summons many layers of spoken interpretations, narratives, and individual sentiments. Therefore, a song's meaning is not entirely defined by the words in the song; the words are the symbolic foundation on which broader narrative meanings are built.

Given this, Matilda, and others explain that there is much more to the significance and meaning of hymns in their community, especially in regard to the significance of language itself. In Arviat, all Inuit speak Inuktitut in everyday conversation, but Inuktitut vocabulary, comprehension, and literacy is reduced in some generations. Rosie, for example cannot read Inuktitut syllabics and she has some difficulty in understanding

²⁰⁸ Of course there are other rational ideologies (certainly many denominations of Christianity) that believe the same thing.

everything in the Roman Catholic Mass. Gara, on the other hand, is fluent in speaking, reading, and writing Inuktitut but has difficulty understanding metaphors used in some hymns. Inuktitut continues to command a central place in public events in Arviat. Thus, Inuktitut fulfills a symbolic function in addition to its obvious communicative role, especially since not everyone gathered at the Catholic Church fully understands the text.

The language in hymns, then, provides not only referents for individual stories; for many people—especially but not limited to elders such as Matilda—the sung performance of localized Inuktitut hymns also enacts a larger, shared community experience with God and Christianity and an experiential relationship echoed in many songs. Expressions in localized hymn translations such as “even they are happy when there are hard times” are regularly heard in Inuit hymns and oral narratives, but they are not as ambiguous as they sound. For many Inuit, this seemingly vague statement actually emerges from a very particular manifestation of *inumariit* in localized conceptualizations of Catholicism of specific individuals. Matilda explains, “During times of starvation, before we moved to Eskimo Point, there were no caribou. The hunters left their families; they went away in search for food. When they found it they were happy. Their families were happy too. Because the hunters listened to Jesus, they found food for their families” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006).²⁰⁹ For those like Matilda, the localized text of hymns carries meanings which simultaneously encompass the multiplicity of individual interpretations, stories, and specific histories: a long

²⁰⁹ Although Matilda never said so outright, many Inuit believed (still believe today) that if a hunter fails to procure food it is due to some sort of infraction against God by the hunter him/herself or by a member of their family. This is directly related to traditional Inuit ideology whereby people were scared to displease the spirits for fear of some form of punishment usually related to hunger or starvation.

established relationship with Jesus as expressed and felt in song and a deep connection with the past.

Although this hymn is found in the Catholic hymnal *Naalagak Nirtuqlavut* (Lorand 1992) it is not a Catholic hymn. In fact, it stems from an evangelical tradition and probably entered the Arviat repertoire through the Alliance or Pentecostal missionaries. As discussed in Chapter Five, Alliance missionary Gleason Ledyard established a mission and school at Palliq in 1946 and Pentecostal missionaries visited Arviat throughout the 1960s having a strong influence on Anglicans with its pragmatic gospel which seeks to address practical needs like sickness and poverty. Matilda's choice of this hymn (and others) reflects an intersection of evangelical Christianity or Pentecostalism and some memories of shamanistic practice. As discussed in Chapter Five, the role of the shaman was to travel to see Sedna, the goddess of the sea, to pay homage and to request good sealing and fishing seasons. A good relationship with Sedna meant food, good health, and wealth for Inuit. These are all very practical needs; indeed the same needs addressed by Christianity. While Matilda does not remember a time before Christianity, these shamanistic practices were recent memories for many Inuit living around her and have become welded with her Christian ideology.

After the first hymn was over, Ubluriak walked to the lectern and said, "*Ataatauluu, Irniullu, Anirniullu Piujup atingannut*"—In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The congregation responded with "Amen." Then Ubluriak said, "*Jesusi Naalagaqput saimmaqsaiji Ataatangalu nagliugusuktuq, Anirningalu ilagiiktitsiji ilitsininginnarli*"—the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all. The congregation responded,

“*Ilingniilunilu*”—and also with you. These are the Introductory Rites—
Sanningajuliuqtuq and are standard responses in Catholic Churches everywhere. What
followed next was Manigusuutiksait—Penitential rite.

Ubluriak said, “*Ilagiiktutigut, ijurnaittuliriniaratta, isumavut aarqigiarlavut, piunnginivut mamiagilugit*”—My brothers and sisters, to prepare ourselves to celebrate the sacred mysteries, let us call to mind our sins. The people responded, “*Piunngiitulinimnik angiaqarumannginama Nunaliuqtimut ajugaqanngitumut, ilitsingnullu, qatangutigijatsi...ikajuqtauqulunga Nunaliuqtimut*”—I confess to the almighty God, and to you, my brothers and sisters, that I have sinned through my own fault, in my thoughts and in my words, in what I have done, and in what I have failed to do; and I ask blessed Mary, ever virgin, all the angels and saints, and you, my brothers and sisters, to pray for me to the Lord our God.

Matilda, Winnie, Ubluriak, and five other elders repeated their responses with strength and enthusiasm. The rest of the congregation, however, mumbled through the words. Many young people did not look at their Missals, nor did they repeat the words of the Mass; they listened only. I asked all three Mamgark women why they thought many of the younger Inuit did not recite the Mass. Matilda replied, “Maybe they don’t know all the words.” Rosie said, “Many people my age can’t read syllabics. I can’t read them good.” Gara responded, “Those words are for the elders in the church; only they know the responses.”

Rosie’s comment above references language loss among members of her generation. Her song selections and oral narratives about music and belief also reveal a

shift in language use. For example, Matilda’s song repertoire²¹⁰ contains Inuktitut songs only. Matilda is unilingual: she speaks and reads Inuktitut fluently. Rosie’s repertoire²¹¹ contains English and Inuktitut songs. She is bilingual: she speaks English and Inuktitut; however, she cannot read Inuktitut syllabics and she finds reading Roman orthography confusing. Due in part to the fact that Rosie cannot read the responses of the Mass, nor does she understand all of the vocabulary she hears; she has a comprehension of the Catholic Mass which is entirely individualized and localized. For example, there are several “older” Inuktitut words used in the responses of the Penitential rite listed above which Rosie does not comprehend. Matilda explained that the word, “*piunngiitulinimnik*” means “you must tell God and the people about the things you have done wrong”—i.e. confession. Rosie said, “I don’t know what that old Inuktitut word means but I think that when the elders are saying that part of the Mass they are praying to the spirit to take care of us. They are asking the spirit to love us and to prepare us. When I hear those words I think about how God and the Holy Spirit are way up there with my [deceased] dad looking down on me and my family and watching over us. The elders are praying to them to give us food and whatever we need. When we pray to them, it helps us find happiness” (Rosie Mamgark, April, 2006).

The Penitential rite is about confession. Matilda understands this portion of the service to be about confessing her sins to God. Rosie, on the other hand, who does not fully comprehend the Inuktitut responses, has developed an individualized understanding

²¹⁰ See page 39 in Appendix F for a list of Matilda’s repertoire.

²¹¹ See page 40 in Appendix F for a list of Rosie’s repertoire.

of this part of the service. For her, the Penitential rite is about communication with God, the spirit, and her deceased ancestors.

Immediately after Ubluriak's words, "*Nunaliuqtip ajugaqanngitup nikagilitigut, piunnginivullu piilaurqaarlugit tasiurlitigut inuusirmut nungusuittumut*"—May almighty God have mercy on us, forgive us our sins, and bring us to everlasting life, Matilda stood up and began to sing a cappella, "*Naalagak nikasugit*"—Lord have mercy; "*Qistusi nikasugit*"—Christ have mercy; "*Naalagak nikasugit*"—Lord have mercy."²¹²

Although the text for the Kyrie is written at the bottom of page 2 of *Naalagak Nirtuqlavut* (Lorand 1992), Matilda does not look at it. She sings from memory. Many of the elders join her with strong voices, while the younger Inuit stand and listen. I asked Rosie and Gara why younger Inuit such as themselves do not sing the antiphons of the Catholic Mass. Rosie said that as a child, she went to Mass with her parents and, therefore, she knows many Christian hymns. She is unfamiliar, however, with the singing of the scriptures and the Lord's Prayer in the Gregorian chant style. She blames this on the fact that she cannot read the Inuktitut words in the Missal and on her low attendance at Mass as an adult. Gara responded that she does not like the slow hymns sung at the Catholic Church. She prefers to attend services at the Anglican Church where they sing upbeat gospel songs accompanied by a band.

There is no musical notation for the Kyrie written in the hymnbook. There are many musical settings of the Kyrie. Thus, I was curious how Matilda knew which tune to

²¹² This is the Kyrie Eleison (Lord have mercy). In the Ordinary of the Roman Catholic Mass, "after the Act of Penitence, the Kyrie Eleison is always begun, unless it has already been included as part of the Act of Penitence. Since it is a chant by which the faithful acclaim the Lord and implore his mercy, it is ordinarily done by all, that is, by the people and with the choir or cantor having a part in it" (GIRM 1975: 52). For a musical transcription see page 86 of Appendix G.

sing. She informed me that the music for the Kyrie is always the same every Sunday. She learned it by hearing it when she attended Mass when she was young.

Sung in the key of E flat +, in triple metre, this particular setting has four phrases, (unlike its orthodox Catholic counterpart which only has three): “*Naalagak Nikasugit*”—Lord, have mercy is repeated four times (once for each of the four musical phrases), each time beginning a tone higher in a terraced-like fashion. The organ joined the congregation on the second verse: “*Qistusi Nikasugit*”—Christ, have mercy playing the melody and this chord pattern: I-V-I-IV-V-I (E flat-B flat-E flat-A flat-B flat-E flat). The third and final verse was a repeat of verse one, “*Naalagak Nikasugit.*” In orthodox Catholic liturgy the Kyrie has a three-by-three repetition pattern that is invariable (three times “Lord have mercy”; three times “Christ have mercy”; three times “Lord have mercy” again).

For Matilda, the Kyrie is one of the most important parts of the Mass because she believes that it helps individuals to cleanse themselves of their sins before they continue to worship. She feels that by singing the Kyrie instead of speaking it, God will hear her request for mercy better.

I could not find a source for the tune of “*Naalagak Nikasugit.*” Originally, one of my intentions was to try and make a comparison of the performance observed in this Catholic Mass with the source material; however, this was not possible because for many of the antiphons and chants, such as this one, I was unable to trace the source. I sent transcriptions of selections to Catholic music scholars and clergy, who were able to identify only two of the tunes. Dr. Joseph Santo and Dr. Kevin O’Brien from The Benjamin T. Rome School of Music, The Catholic University of America and Dr. Lori-

Anne Dolloff, from the Faculty of Music, University of Toronto identified #260 as the Lourdes Hymn “Immaculate Mary” found in the Catholic Book of Worship. They also identified the “Alleluia” as the “Celtic Alleluia” written by Fintan O’Carroll and Christopher Walker in 1985. This is published by Oregon Catholic Press Publications. Father Robert Lechat O.M.I states, “All the traditional hymns in our prayer book come from the French missionaries who used the tunes they were singing in France at their time” (email correspondence October 11, 2013). These particular scholars and clergy surmise that all other chants and antiphons seem to be newly composed for the Inuktitut language.

Immediately after singing the Kyrie, Matilda began singing the Gloria—
“*Niqtuqtauli.*”²¹³ Each section of the Gloria was divided into two parts: First, Matilda and the congregation chanted the Gloria antiphonally in a responsorial style. After each chanted section sung in free rhythm, Matilda and the congregation sang a pentatonic refrain in strict 12/8 time. This refrain was sung to the words, “*Niqtuqtauli Jesusi*”—
Glory to Jesus. All of this was done unaccompanied.

Niqtuqtauli—Roman Orthography

Leader: Niqtuqtauli anirniaaluk lammi qutsiniqpaami

Congregation: Nunamilu sammalirtiit inuit nagliktankit

Refrain: Niqtuqtauli Jesusi

Leader: Niqtuqpattigit qujanaqturivattigit tusiavigivattigit

Congregation: Piujuaalugivattigit qujagivatigit piktaunialungnit

Leader: Naalagak anirniaaluk isumatajjuangujuti qilammi

Congregation: Anirniaaluk Ataatak ajugaqanngituti

²¹³ For a musical transcription see pages 87-90 in Appendix G.

Leader: Naalagak anirnialuk irnituangujutit Jesusi Christusi
Congregation: Naalagak anirnialuk “Angnusi” qutaujutit anirnialummut irniujutit
Atatarmut

Leader: Silarjuap piunngininga piijarangni nikagitigut
Congregation: Silarjuap piunngininga piijarangni tuksiarnivut naammaktigut

Leader: Kisivajutit Ataataq taliqpiani nikagitigut
Congregation: Kisivit ilaak ijurnaittuujutit

Leader: Kisivit naalagangujutit
Congregation: Kisivit sunauniqpanngujutit Jesusi Christusi

Leader: Anirniq piujuq ilagilugu
Congregation: Anirnialup Ataataq kajjaanarninganit amin

Gloria—English Translation from the Roman Catholic Order of Mass

Glory to God in the highest,
and peace to his people on earth.
Lord God, heavenly King, almighty God and Father,
we worship you, we give you thanks, we praise you for your glory.
Lord Jesus Christ, only Son of the Father,
Lord God, Lamb of God,
you take away the sin of the world: have mercy on us;
you are seated at the right hand of the Father: receive our prayer.
For you alone are the Holy One, you alone are the Lord,
You alone are the Most High, Jesus Christ,
with the Holy Spirit, in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

When compared with traditional Inuit pisiit, this antiphon shows similarities and differences. Three examples of similarities are: 1) the free rhythm chanted sections (mm. 1-4; 7-10; 13-16; 19-24; 27-30) resemble the free rhythm of pisiit; 2) the repeated refrain section that all sing resembles the a-ya-ya chorus; and 3) most of the recitation of the text is done on one of the four tones, Mi or D \sharp ; this is called the “reciting” tone. Similarly, traditional pisiit tend to declaim much of the text on a single tone. Examples of change include: 1) the Gloria contains four tones, unlike the typical five tones usually found in

pisiit; 2) the Gloria is not pentatonic like the mode of most pisiit. Although there are differences between the musical structure of the Gloria and traditional pisiit, the musical similarities may have aided in the acceptance of Catholicism among the Inuit of Arviat in the early 1920s.

After the congregation chants their response to Matilda's lead in exactly the same musical fashion, everyone sings the five-toned refrain in strict triple time to the text "*Niqtuqtauli Jesusi*" —Glory to Jesus. The refrain begins on Sol (F#), goes up a tone to La (G#), back down to Sol (F#), then Fa (E) and Mi (D#), ending with the cadence Fa, Sol, Mi (E, F#, D#).

There were eight separate call and response sections followed by refrains in the Gloria. All of these were performed in unison, until after the sixth response Ubluriak began the refrain a third lower (see mm. 39-40).²¹⁴ I was surprised to hear this harmony since it is done so rarely in Arviat. It did not happen again in the singing of the rest of the Gloria. In the 1970s Ramon Pelinski (1981) noted the use of harmony in the singing of traditional pisiit. Instead of hearing harmony in thirds, however, he heard parallel fourths and fifths.

The Introductory Rites—Sanningajuliuqtuq section of the Mass concludes with Ubluriak reciting a prayer—*Tuksiarniq*.

²¹⁴ See page 89 of Appendix G

present in early Inuit songs and rituals and is still present in the music of contemporary Inuit Catholicism. Again, the repeated refrain resembles the a-ya-ya refrain section of traditional Inuit pisiit.

Next, an elder wearing a red parka walked to the lectern to read the Epistle reading 1 John: 5-10. Ubluriak blessed her with the sign of the cross. At this point in the service Rosie arrived with her sister, Sarah, and her son, Lou. After the service, I asked Rosie why she was late for Mass. Rather than give me a reason for her tardiness, she replied that she does not attend Mass often. She went on to say that if she attended Mass more, perhaps some of her family members would not have drug addictions today:

I can't remember when some of the people in my house started smoking marijuana. It was long after Yvon, Gara, and Germaine were big. My husband came home from Churchill and couldn't find a permanent job. He worked odd jobs around the community but found nothing that he liked. It was soon after that when marijuana came into our house. Now there are family members who smoke every day and it costs a lot of money. Maybe if we went to church more, there wouldn't be the addictions. That's what my mother says anyways. (Rosie Mamgark, April 4, 2006)

Drug and alcohol addictions are something Rosie deals with on a regular basis. She has a relative living in Churchill, Manitoba who is an alcoholic. There were many evenings when I was visiting at the Mamgark household when her relative phoned asking for money or for a flight back to Arviat. She was always inebriated when she called. This hurt Rosie because she wanted to see her relative, she wanted to send her the money

Gregorian chant brought to the Inuit by French missionaries. They may have been well received because the preferred aesthetic existed already in the early pisiit. It would be interesting to compare and contrast the chant performance practice in Arviat against a standard of this highly ritualized music; however, such a comparison is beyond the scope of the present study.

for the flight, but she knew, from previous experience, that it would be spent on more alcohol. These are some of the life concerns Rosie thinks about when she is singing hymns. The sound of hymns reinforces an idealized memory of a Christian life she feels she and her family (as *inummariit*) should be leading, compared to the life they are actually living. Unlike definitions presented earlier, here *inummariit* references a moral ideal to which people aspire.

Immediately after the elder finished reading the Epistle, Matilda stood up and began to sing a jovial “*Aliluja*”²¹⁷ in a lilting waltz metre. The tune has four short phrases, each accompanied by the word “*Aliluja*.” After Matilda sang the first phrase, the congregation stood up and some joined in the singing.

This marked the beginning of the reading of the Gospel. When the “*Aliluja*” refrain was finished, Ubluriak said, “*Naalagap ilagilisi*”—the Lord be with you. In response, the congregation said, “*Ilagilutillu*”—and also with you. Ubluriak continued with, “*Uqausiit tusarniqitut Jisusip Qistusip miksaanut titirarqtangit tamajja...*”—A reading from the holy gospel according to St. John. The congregation responded, “*Naalagap niqtuqtaulirit*”—Glory to you, Lord.” And with this introduction, Ubluriak began reading the Gospel John 20:19-31. After the reading of each verse, Matilda led the congregation in the singing of the “*Aliluja*” refrain. After the final read verse and sung refrain, Ubluriak said, “*Tamajja Naalagap tusarniqtuqutingit*”—this is the gospel of the Lord. The people responded, “*Qujannamik Naalagak Jesusi*”—thanks be to Lord Jesus” and everyone sat down.

²¹⁷ For a musical transcription see page 92 of Appendix G. This is the “Celtic Alleluia” 1985 by Fintan O’Carroll and Christopher Walker, published by Oregon Catholic Press Publications.

Ubluriak then gave a homily or sermon. This is arguably one of the most syncretic parts of the service. Usually the homily draws upon the reading or liturgy of the day. This sermon, however, was about a miraculous event in Ubluriak's life:

I was walking out at the Point²¹⁸ last week with my son. Some of the snow is gone from the rocks on the beach area but the bay is still covered in ice. We were looking for polar bears because they like to come to the Point on their way to the dump looking for food. We were looking hard over the ice to see if we could see a polar bear and I was walking while I was looking out at the ice. Then my foot got caught between some hard snow and the rocks and it snapped. My foot was broken, I am sure of it. I broke it at the ankle area. My son said that I should sit down and that he would go into town and get someone to come and help. He said that we needed someone to come and carry me home by skidoo and sled. He said that I could not walk on a broken foot and that I needed help. I said to him that, yes, I needed help; I needed help from Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. If I just believe in Him, He will heal my foot or my ankle. I said to my son that I do; I really do believe in Jesus Christ. I have accepted him into my heart. I have committed to living a Christian life without drugs or alcohol. I believe, I believe, I believe. And, my ankle was healed! I got up and walked back home. Where once my ankle was dangling because it was broken, it was now fully healed and I felt no pain. I believed in the Lord Jesus Christ and he healed my broken ankle. Praise Jesus. Thank you for listening to my story.

In traditional Inuit ideology the shaman was a healer. Wrongdoings were considered to make a person sick; if there was a confession of evil, that person would become well. Ubluriak does not publicly confess any specific wrongdoings (such as drinking or doing drugs); however, he does imply a confession. At the instant he proclaimed that would lead a Christian life, "without drugs or alcohol" his foot was healed. The ideas that belief in Jesus Christ, confession (whether public or private), and being "committed to living a Christian life" can affect physical healing are definitely

²¹⁸ "The Point" is the furthest tip of Arviat which juts out into the Hudon's Bay. Inuit walk along the rocky beaches around the entire point in search of country food such as eggs, beluga whales, seals, and polar bears.

concepts in which Ubluriak believes strongly. This sermon shows how aspects of the core traditional Inuit culture are maintained and practiced in contemporary Inuit Catholic ideology.

The narrative-testimonial style of Ubluriak's sermon and the miraculous healing described therein also seem to be rooted in exposure to Pentecostal practice. The Pentecostal features of worship: oral liturgy, narrative theology and witness, reconciliatory and participant community, the inclusion of visions and dreams in worship, and understanding the relationship between body and mind revealed in healing prayer (Hollenweger 1999: 36-39) are also predominantly traditional Inuit cultural features— aspects of *inummariit*—which continue to exist in modern Christian worship at the Anglican Church in Arviat. Ubluriak's narrative sermon with stories of supernatural healing powers is definitely outside the realm of orthodox Catholic preaching; thus revealing how Catholic Inuit, too, have chosen aspects of Christianity (based on multi-denominational missionary influence) which fit best with the Inuit way of thinking and knowing rather than on the strict practice of Catholic dogma.

With this, Matilda asked people to turn to #289 in *Naalagak Nirtuqlavut* (Lorand 1992). Entitled "*Uppiqpugut*," it is a close translation of The Apostles' Creed. In the Ordinary of the Mass on Sundays, Catholics profess their Christian faith by reciting or singing the Nicene Creed/the Credo. On Sundays from Easter to Pentecost, the Apostles' Creed is recited. Matilda reported, however, that she always sings "*Uppiqpugut*"—the Apostles' Creed²¹⁹ after the homily every Sunday of the liturgical year.²²⁰

²¹⁹ For a musical transcription see page 93 of Appendix G.

“*Uppiqpugut*” was not sung antiphonally. Instead, everyone sang in unison. I noticed that older people sang from memory even if they were holding songbooks, and young people did not sing at all. Most young people did not refer to their songbooks or Missals either. Matilda sang the entire Apostles’ Creed from memory.

The Apostles’ Creed—English Translation from the Roman Catholic Order of Mass

I believe in God, the Father almighty,
creator of heaven and earth.

I believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord.
He was conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit
and born of the Virgin Mary.
He suffered under Pontius Pilate,
was crucified, died, and was buried.
He descended to the dead.
On the third day he rose again.
He ascended into heaven,
and is seated at the right hand of the Father.
He will come to judge the living and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Spirit,
the holy catholic Church,
the communion of saints,
the forgiveness of sins,
the resurrection of the body,
and the life everlasting.

Amen.

The Apostles’ Creed—Matilda/Gara’s Localized Translation

Uppiqpugut - We believe in you
Nunaliuqtimut - The one who created this world
Pinguptitsijimut - Creator

²²⁰ There are other creeds, such as the Nicene Creed, which are recited at certain times of the liturgical year. Matilda does not know the Nicene Creed. Also, there are many musical settings of the English version of the Apostles’ Creed (and other languages as well); however, I have found only one musical setting of the Inuktitut version and this is the only tune Matilda knows. Therefore, it is this creed set to this tune which is sung at every Mass held in Arviat.

Nunamillu - In this world
Qilammillu - And in Heaven
Uppi qpugut - We believe in you
Silarjuarmiut - People who are here on earth
Aulatisijiingannut - Who is controlling the world
Uppirmmarippugut - We believe in you

Musically, “*Uppi qpugut*”—“We Believe” exhibits both stability and change. The melody contains five tones, but it is a major, not anhemitonic pentatonic, tonality. The recitative begins on Doh (D) and the reciting tone is Mi (F#). The words of the first phrase are sung quickly in free rhythm on Mi (F#). Then the beat slows down as the music cadences with a descending step-wise movement from Sol (A) to Re (E). The text at the first cadence is “*uppi qpugut*”—we believe. The text of the second phrase is sung quickly in free rhythm on Re (E). At the word “*uppirmmarippugut*” the music slows down and a final closed cadence is established using these pitches: Mi (F#), Fa (G), Mi (F#), Re (E), Doh (D). The same melody and format is used for all seven verses. At each of the two cadences for each verse, the same text is repeated: “*Uppi qpugit*” and “*uppirmmarippugut*” respectively. We see here once again that free rhythm and the use of a reciting tone are preferred musical elements.

After the Apostles’ Creed, people remained standing as Matilda walked to the lectern, invited people to turn to #73 in *Naalagak Nirtuqlavut* (Lorand 1992), and read the litanies as the congregation read their responses. Before Matilda read the last written prayer from the Missal, she gave a personal prayer. She prayed for her family, especially for her dead husband and parents; she thanked God for her good health and happiness, she expressed her joy and happiness to be able to come to church and worship every week. The Liturgy of the Word—Uqalimagaksat ended with these prayers.

Jisusi Tunigrusianguqpuq—Liturgy of the Eucharist

When Matilda went back to her place in the front pew of the church, Winnie Malla joined her (Figure 6.C25). They both turned to #260 in their hymnbooks and began to sing, in unison at first, and then at the beginning of the refrain, in harmony. The harmony was maintained throughout the end of the hymn. I was surprised to hear this harmony for the second time this morning because it is so rarely done in Arviat. Like Ubluriak, Winnie added harmony in thirds. In the Gloria—“*Niqtuqtauli*,” Ubluriak added his thirds below the melody, whereas in this hymn Winnie added a descant above the melody Matilda was singing.

Inuugutiksamnik—Matilda/Gara’s English Translation

Inuugutiksamnik tunilaurminga - Give me more reason to live
Nunamittillinga pirlirqunanga - While I am here on Earth, do not let me starve
Jisu qaigit - Come Jesus
Najulaurminga - Take care of me
Jesus qaigit - Come Jesus
Najularuminga - Take care of me
Ajurnialukka mamiagitvakka - I am sorry for my sins
Ilingnut saallunga – I will keep an eye on you
Nagligigakkit - Because I love you
Jesus qaigit- Jesus come
Najulaurminga - Take care of me

Although this was meant to be a hymn for all to sing, no one joined them. All sat and listened to the beautiful harmonies and watched as Ubluriak prepared the communion table. Hymn #269, entitled “*Inuugutiksamnik*”—“A Reason to Live,”²²¹ has been set to the Lourdes Hymn, “Immaculate Mary,” with a lilting triple metre and repeated musical

²²¹ For a musical transcription see pages 94-95 in Appendix G. This tune is the Lourdes Hymn, “Immaculate Mary” found in the Catholic Book of Worship.

phrases. It is the beautiful melody and the harmony that Winnie adds which makes this hymn one of Matilda's favourites to sing at church.

"I love this hymn. The melody is beautiful...I think that when me and Winnie sing this hymn together, God can really hear us...I chose this hymn to be sung at blessing of the bread because it is important think about what Jesus has done for us...we must remember him, we must ask for forgiveness for our sins" (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). This is the first time Matilda has commented on the music rather than the lyrics as a reason for preference. In other instances, Matilda has commented on the texts as they reflect personal or liturgical meaning.

When Matilda and Winnie completed singing the hymn, Ubluriak began the Preparation of the Gifts—*Jisusip timiksanga*. He said, "*Nualiuqti, qujanamiungujutit, naglimuut...nungusiuttumik*"—Blessed are you, Lord, God of all creation...It will become for us the bread of life. The people responded, "*Nunaliuqti qujanamiqtauli, maannalu qakuguluktaarlu*"—Blessed by God forever. Everyone stood up and Ubluriak invited them to pray. The Eucharistic prayer—*Qukalligusijjuaq*, which is, according to the Roman Catholic Faith, the "centre and summit of the entire celebration" (GIRM 1975: 78) began with a dialogue between Ubluriak and the people, "*Naalagap ilagilisi*"—the Lord be with you, and the people responded, "*Ilagilutillu*"—and also with you. Ubluriak stated, "*Paunga saatiliqta*"—Lift up your hearts, and the people replied, "*Naalagarmiut saatippugut*"—We lift them up to the Lord. Ubluriak led the people in the reading of The Eucharistic Prayer #16 on page 28 of *Naalagak Nirtuqlavut* (Lorand 1992). During this most holiest of prayers, Matilda participated with enthusiasm and commitment. Her daughter Rosie and her grand-children Gara, Lou, and Dorkus were not follow along in

their Missals, they did not read the prayer or say it from memory; they were looking around the church and chatting together.

After the prayer, the people recited the Sanctus: “*Piijuulluaqtuq, Piijuulluaqtuq, Piijuulluaqtuq. Naalagak, silarjuarmiut Anirnialuquatingat... Hosanna tappaanimiutajjuarmut*”—Holy, holy, holy Lord, God of power and might...Hosanna in the highest. Then Ubluriak began the *Qujalligusijjuallaktaq*—Invocation of the Holy Spirit. This led directly into the recalling of the words and actions of Jesus at his Last Supper, which he told his disciples to do in remembrance of him: “*Tigusuliritsi, niriliritsilu tavvangat, tamatsi: timiga una, tunijjutauniaqtuq pillusi*”—Take this, all of you, and eat it: this is my body which will be given up for you. “*Taimannaillilusi irqatuutiksariniaratsiuk uvamnik*”—Do this in memory of me. This part of the service ended with the Acclamation—*Uppirniqput uqausirilavut: “Qistusi tuqtaujuq, Qistusi makisimajuq, Qistusi tikitsumaarivuuq*”—Christ has died, Christ is risen, Christ will come again.

Tamuasuaniksiutiit—Communion Rite

Ubluriak began this portion of the service by inviting everyone to turn to form #17 on page 29 of *Naalagak Nirtuqlavut* (Lorand 1992). He spoke, “*Maaanna, Jisusip tuksiarninga atutsiarlavut, isumavut aarqigiarlugu*”—Let us pray with confidence to the Father in the words our Saviour gave us. Matilda and Winnie stood up and the rest of the congregation followed suit. Winnie took the microphone from the microphone stand as Matilda raised her arms with her palms up, closed her eyes, and began to sing “*Ataatavut*

*Qilammiittutit*²²²—“The Lord’s Prayer”²²³ from memory. Winnie and the other elders joined her, but many of the younger people did not sing.

The Lord’s Prayer—English Translation from Roman Catholic Order of Mass

Ataavut qilammiittutit²²⁴ - Our Father, which art in heaven,
Atiit isumagitsiaqtauli - Hallowed be thy Name.
Naalagaunitt qailaurli - Thy Kingdom come.
Pijumajait piniaqtauli - Thy will be done on earth,
Ninami suurlu qilammi - As it is in heaven.
Ullumi niqisattingnik - Give us this day our daily bread.
Tunilaurmitigut piunnginivut - And forgive us our trespasses,
Isumagitjungnaikkittaimattauq - As we forgive them that trespass against us.
Uvattingnut piunngituliut - And lead us not into temptation,
Isumagitjungnairgattigi uuktumanaqtumut - But deliver us from evil.
Pitinnata piulitigulli - For thine is the kingdom,
Piuungitumit - The power, and the glory, For ever and ever.

The form of the music for “*Ataavut Qilammiittutit*” is asymmetrical. The meter is consistent; a strict triple time, but, there are fourteen short phrases of varying lengths which correspond to the differing phrases of the text. Most musical phrases are 6 measures (5 phrases), others 5 measures (4 phrases), 4 (4 phrases), or 7 measures (1 phrase). There are three main motifs, each with variations and two completely different motifs. The mode is major with modulations to the dominant in the third motif. The prayer begins and ends on the tonic. The final note is preceded with strong dominant-tonic movement, giving a sure sense of finality.

Matilda maintains that singing “The Lord’s Prayer” is “better than reading it” because singing is a “better way to talk with God” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006).

²²² The Inuktitut text, without musical notation, is printed as #281 in *Naalagak Nirtuqlavut* (Lorand 1992).

²²³ For a musical transcription see pages 96-97 in Appendix G.

²²⁴ *Qilammiittutit* literally means “you are in heaven.” In the Anglican Church the Inuktitut word *quvianartuvik* is used more often.

It is interesting that many hymns are sung in all five churches in Arviat²²⁵ and many local recordings including hymns are in circulation, but the Lord's Prayer and the a cappella antiphons are only heard at the Catholic Church. Furthermore, for the most part, these are sung only by the elders who attend church. Matilda learned these musical parts of the Catholic Mass by hearing them at services when she was little girl. She is worried that they will not be remembered by the young people who do not go to church regularly. "How will Inuit continue the celebration of the Eucharist if they cannot remember the Kyrie of the Gloria or the Lord's Prayer?" (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). "Rosie cannot sing the Lord's Prayer and Gara doesn't attend morning Mass...even my own family are losing their traditions" (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). Rosie, too, is concerned about losing her traditions; but she is more concerned about losing Inuit traditions from pre-contact time rather than Catholic antiphons and hymns:

My mother knows a lot about Inuit culture. She doesn't talk about it, but she knows how to sew, she knows how to prepare seal skins, she can prepare caribou meat and cook caribou heads. All my life, I have been trying to live like the qablunaat live. I don't cook very often; we eat at the Quickstop or Kentucky Fried Chicken. It's my husband, Simeonie who makes caribou stew, I don't even know how to use the slow cooker. Lately, I have been wanting to learn more about our traditional Inuit culture. Maybe it's because you're asking me all of these questions and I don't know the answers. Lately, my mother has been teaching me how to prepare and sew with skins, mostly caribou skins. Last week she taught me how to cut the fox fur and sew it properly so that I can put it on my kids' parkas. I am not saying that I want to live like the traditional Inuit, in a tent on the land...but I want to know about Inuit things. I want my family to be happy. I want them to stop using drugs and drinking alcohol. I want my kids to graduate high school knowing Inuktitut and

²²⁵ Some examples of hymns and gospel songs known to all five congregations in Arviat are: "*Tatannamik Saimmarninga*"—"Amazing Grace," "*Atanira*"—"How Great Thou Art," "*Qaigit*"—"Come Now is the Time to Worship," "*Uqautijauvunga Iniksaqarmat*"—"The Unclouded Day", "*Guti Umami Ibjurnaitumi*"—"Create in Me a Clean Heart, oh God."

Uqautijauvunga—Roman Orthography

341 Uqautijauvunga

Melody: (Traditional Pentecostal Hymn)

1. Uqautijauvunga iniksaqarmat
Nunaksaqaratta-guuq qilammi
Quvianaqtuvimmi nungusuittumik
Taaqtuqanngitumik qaumajumik.

**Qaumajuq nunaksavut
Jisusip inigijangani
Nunaksaqaratta-guuq qilammi paani
Piullijitta inigijangani**

2. Uqautijauvunga ilavinikka
Nunaqalirmatta-guuq qilammik
Quviasulirmatta nungusuittumik
Tusugivakka ungagivakka.
3. Uqautijauvunga Jisusi paani
Takujumarakku-guuq ijimnut
Ataniuvingani qaumajumi
Iglugaksani gultiujumi.
4. Uqautijauvunga inuqtini
Jisu quviasuqatigivait
Quvviurniannqilaq allaqtimmagit
Nunaksattingni quvianaqtumi.

The Unclouded Day—Original English Version

1. O they tell me of a home far beyond the skies,
O they tell me of a home far away;
O they tell me of a home where no storm clouds rise,
O they tell me of an unclouded day.

** O the land of the cloudless day,
O the land of an unclouded sky;

O they tell me of a home where no storm clouds rise,
O they tell me of an unclouded day.

2. O they tell me of a home where my friends have gone,
O they tell me of a land far away;
Where the tree of life in eternal bloom,
Sheds its fragrance through the unclouded day.
3. O they tell me of the King in His beauty there,
And they tell me that mine eyes shall behold;
Where He sits on the throne that is whiter than snow,
In the city that is made of gold.
4. O they tell me that He smiles on His children there,
And His smile drives their sorrows all away;
And they tell me that no tears ever come again,
In that lovely land of unclouded day

The original English version of “An Unclouded Day” was written by United Brethren minister Josiah Alwood in 1885. The Inuktitut translation is attributed to Inuk Anglican Minister Armand Tagoona. It can be found published in almost all Inuktitut hymnals in Arviat. This quick and jovial hymn is heard often in all four churches in Arviat; furthermore, it is often recorded on local compact discs. Usually, the hymn is sung in a country and western style, accompanied by electric bass, guitar, drums, harmonica, and fiddle. Matilda and Winnie are not accompanied by a band, but the organ accompaniment and their singing style reflect the typical Arviamut country and western style.

Matilda said that she chose this hymn because it reflects the teachings of the Gospel of John. She elaborated saying, “When we take communion and we are cleansed of our sins, God loves us. He promises that we will be with him in heaven.” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). Also, she indicated that this is a favourite hymn of the

congregation. Certainly, this may be true, but most congregation members did not sing this hymn during communion. It is noteworthy that outside of the Catholic liturgical music for the Ordinary of the Mass, Matilda's preferred hymn selections are not Catholic hymns. "*Uqautijauvunga Iniksaqarmat*"—"An Unclouded Day" is a traditional Pentecostal hymn,²²⁷ like many of Matilda's preferred hymns. Furthermore, much of Matilda's oral narrative about hymns and scripture reflects not orthodox Catholic interpretation of the scripture but evangelical ideology.

Rosie, Sarah, and Dorkus received communion; Rosie's younger children joined the children's line after communion to receive a blessing and the sign of the cross from Ubluriak. Sarah joined this line carrying her newborn baby so that the baby could be blessed too. When the line was completed and all were blessed, Matilda and Winnie finished singing the hymn. Ubluriak had already placed the left-over consecrated bread back in the ornately decorated tabernacle located in the right hand corner of the church.

Tuksiaqataujut Saimmaqtilugit Tavvaavusirlugillu—Blessing or Concluding Rite

After communion, Ubluriak invited Winnie to lead the congregation in the Prayer after Communion. She read the prayer from her Sacramentary and announced hymn #361 in *Naalagak Nirtuqlavut* (Lorand 1992).

Hymn #361—"Guti Pisuqatigilauga"—"I Walk with God"²²⁸ is not found in any other hymnbook in Arviat. I have never heard it sung at the Anglican, Pentecostal, or Alliance Churches. It also carries a tune that has not been identified. This leads me to

²²⁷ This hymn is sung at the Pentecostal Church in Arviat. In fact, it is sung at all five churches.

²²⁸ For a musical transcription see pages 99-100 in Appendix G.

Anirnirmik arqatitsimat - A holy spirit came down
Uvamnitsainnaqulugulu - Be with me
Ikajuqtiginiarakku-guuq - He is going to be my helper
Tasiuqtigilirakkulu - He is holding my hand now

Matilda chose this hymn as the closing hymn because the text refers to walking with God. She stated, “At the end of the Mass we feel happy, we are with God—like we are walking with him as we leave the church. We will try to walk with him as we live our lives” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006).

During the singing of this hymn, Ubluriak tidied the lectern by closing books used in the service, walked down the centre aisle, and stood at the back of the church. Many people prepared to leave. When the music stopped Ubluriak said, “*Naalagap ilagilisi*”—The Lord be with you. Members of the congregation responded with, “*Ilagilutillu*”—Also with you. Ubluriak continued, “*Nualiuqtip ajugaqanngituup Ataataullu irniullu, Anirniullu Piuqup pilluriktilaurli*”—May almighty God bless you, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.” The people responded, “Amen.” Finally, Ubluriak ended the Mass with the words, “*Ailiritsi Qistusimi naammaksilusi*”—go in the peace of Christ, and the people said, “*Nunaliuqti qujarilavut*”—thanks be to God! The entire service lasted approximately one hour and forty minutes.

6.3 Inummariit as Constructed by Different Generations

The contrasts between Matilda, Rosie, and Gara’s reflections on music in the Catholic liturgy offer some insights into post-colonial²²⁹ attitudes toward inummariit.

²²⁹ Labelling their thought post-colonial may be stretching it a little because colonialism is ongoing in Arviat and the rest of Nunavut.

Matilda's concern that the loss of the knowledge of the sung parts of the Ordinary of the Mass would constitute a loss of Inuit heritage is striking in comparison with Rosie's expressed concern about the loss of what she understands to be her mother's traditional knowledge. Gara, who is retrieving some elements of traditional knowledge—language (if not the cultural resonance of Inuktitut metaphor)—does not share her grandmother's attachment to Catholic liturgical music as an Inuit expression (even though it was imported/imposed from outside), but holds firmly to another kind of music that has been imported/imposed from outside. These generational differences, when examined closely, illuminate the central theme of inummariit as constructed by different generations.

Although this chapter discusses the influence of the Catholic Church on the lives of three generations of Inuit women, the Catholic faith as a religion is not the main focus of the chapter—belief systems are the focus. As such, belief systems can be religious and/or vernacular. As Primiano (1995) argues, these two cannot be separated. Using music (whether sacred or secular) as a portal to understand personal negotiations and transitions of Inuit belief systems i.e. inummariit means that for Inuit like Rosie and Gara, who do not attend Mass on a regular basis, examining their personal musical preferences, sometimes shaped by school and popular music, is essential.

Matilda Kimaliarjuk (Issakiark) Sulurayok

Matilda was brought up in Chesterfield Inlet after Christianity had already arrived there. She recollects, “I don't remember when there was no Christianity. I was not born then. As I grew up, I only knew about how to be a Christian” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). She remembers that her adoptive parents were scared of shamen, “The priests

and nuns told us that the old practices were bad, that the taboos of the shamen were superstition. My parents didn't talk about the shamen and we were not allowed to drum dance or sing the old songs." Her parents had their own pisiit but she did not learn them because she did not hear them often enough, "Yes, they both have pisiit, but I know them only a little bit." When talking about her experiences with music as a child, she states, "When I was growing up my parents used to go to church. I would follow and listen to people singing at the church. No one taught me the songs from the church. I learned how to sing [them] by myself." Inummariit, for Matilda, does not include traditional Inuit pisiit. In fact, she adamantly refuses to sing any of her family's pisiit because she feels she will bring "bad luck" onto herself and her family. "Real" Inuit music includes the many religious songs she knows and sings. This reveals that within the generation of elders there is an intense belief that the Catholic liturgical music is one of their "traditional" musics. On the other hand, the belief of younger generations (especially those under the age of 30—Gara, for example) that drumming and throat singing is the real traditional music.

The absence in Matilda's repertoire of Inuit traditional pisiit is noteworthy for another reason. It seemingly reflects Matilda's view of the incompatibility of the relationship between the old Inuit ideology and the new Catholic dogma and Matilda's commitment to the former; however, results from my research indicate something different. As was seen in the performance ethnography of the Catholic Mass held on April 23, 2006, although Matilda speaks about a break with old beliefs, some of her discourse indicates a combining of elements from both ideologies.

Matilda's gospel repertoire is vast. My recordings do not come close to encompassing the complete repertoire of a rich lifetime of singing. Religious songs from the Inuktitut Catholic Hymnal *Naalagak Nirtuqlavut Tuksiarluta Ingirlutalu* (Churchill-Hudson Bay Diocese, 1992) form the bulk of her repertoire (she knows approximately 200 of the 271 hymns found in this hymnal). As mentioned before, she learned these hymns by hearing and singing them at church when she was little, and by referring to them in the 1992 publication. Matilda is also very familiar with many of the gospel songs from the Anglican Church Hymnals *Hymns of Christian Arctic Fellowship* (Baker Lake 1980) and *The Order for Morning Prayer and A Hymnal in Inuktitut and English* (CHC Publications, Rankin Inlet, 1995). My sample of the 12 gospel songs she chose to sing for me and the 10 others she sang in her role as song leader at Catholic Mass on the 23rd of April, 2006, is quite small compared to the number of songs she knows. However, this sample is a good representation of the type of songs Matilda sings and her discussions about them reveal her particular understanding of inummariit.

Although Matilda talks about the “blues” songs that Billy Kuksuk sings, non-religious songs remain beyond the pale of her musical life. Furthermore, although Matilda offered to sing the chorus of a familiar gospel song “How Great Thou Art” in English, non-Inuktitut music is generally outside of her musical experience.

What is most noteworthy about Matilda's songs and her discourse about them is the evidence that her beliefs are shaped by past and present-day ideologies. A closer look at three hymns reveals this syncretism—“*Nunaksaqaqpugut Qilangmi*”—“Sweet By and

By,” “*Katijumaaqpugut Paani*”—“Shall We Gather at the River?”²³⁰ and
“*Uqautijauvunga Iniksaqarmat*”—“The Unclouded Day.”²³¹

“When I was young I lived in Chesterfield Inlet. My husband did a lot of hunting back then. If he was away hunting for caribou I would sing “*Nunaksaqaqpugut Qilangmi*”²³² because it would let Jesus know that we wanted a caribou” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). Matilda frequently explains that singing hymns is a means of communication with God.

The text of this hymn describes a “land that is fairer than day,” figuratively referring to heaven as a beautiful resting place for the dead. Matilda’s understanding is much more literal. She says, “this hymn is about the land that God created. He made the land and the animals and everything that lives on it so that we can live too. When I sing this song God will provide food for us” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). In his chapter “Religion as a cultural system” in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Clifford Geertz (1965; reprint 1993) makes the distinction between “models of” and “models for” living (pp. 93-95). The text as I see it is a “model of” heaven, but Matilda describes the hymn as a “model for” living. That is to say, that the hymn is instrumental in causing life to unfold as it should.

²³⁰ Text and translations of these two hymns can be found on pages 164-167 in Appendix H.

²³¹ See page 98 in Appendix G for a musical transcription. See pages 308-309 for Inuktitut texts and English translation.

²³² Also known as “*Qilangmi Paani*.” The original English words and music of the hymn “Sweet By and By” were written by S. Filmore Bennett and Joseph P. Webster respectively. It was first published by Lyon & Healy Sheet Music in 1868. Inuktitut versions can be found in the Anglican Hymnal but not the Roman Catholic one.

Matilda maintains that the singing of this particular hymn is influential in actually affecting the success of her husband's hunting expeditions. This function in performance is similar in many ways to the traditional Inuit drum dance song repertoire. It is widely known that one of the functions of the singing of pisiit is to ask for hunting success (Boas 1877; Rasmussen 1927; Balikci 1970; Birket-Smith 1976; Cavanagh [Diamond] 1987).

The Tariaumiut and Padlirmiut spiritual ideology at the turn of the twentieth century were very similar due to the fact that they lived within the same region and intermingled often (Eric Anoe Jr., July, 2011). Inuit from the coastal region of Eskimo Point lived off the land and relied on the weather and wildlife for their sustenance. It was the shaman who communicated with the spirits of animals and humans to bring good luck in hunting, good health, and survival. Often the hunter would sing songs and drum dance to ensure a successful hunt. Matilda's reason for singing the hymn "*Nunaksaqaqpugut Qilangmi*"—"Sweet By and By" closely parallels this traditional ideology in function.²³³

"Years ago, when I was younger and could travel long distances on the land, we would go as far as the mouth of the Maguse River to fish for Arctic char. Today, I can go inland for only an hour or so to Lake Anitaurjuak and the fishing isn't as good close to town. You can't really get good Arctic char near Arviat; you have to go further north, like up to Maguse River. When I fished at Maguse River with my husband and kids I

²³³ Hymn singing associated with hunting success has been recorded by Beverley Cavanagh [Diamond] (1987) in her analysis of hymnody among the Naskapi-Montagnais. She says, "One singer said that he would 'command Jesus to help me' with this hymn. It described the hardships of country living—hunger, cold, fatigue of traveling on foot. Thought to be very powerful in actually effecting hunting success, its form in performance is similar in many ways to the traditional 'dream' song repertoire which it parallels in function" (Cavanagh [Diamond] 1987: 53).

would always sing “*Katijumaaqputut Paani*”²³⁴—“Shall We Gather at the River.” When I sang this hymn I always got a lot of fish. I think God was happy with me; maybe he liked my voice. But I always got the most of fish when I sang that hymn” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). Matilda’s thoughts suggest that there is a cause and effect relationship which exists between her actions and the reciprocity of God. This idea parallels traditional Inuit ideology.

The idea that proper action and thought affects the relationship between an individual and animals was an important aspect of Tariaqmiut and Padlirmiut cosmology at the turn of the century (Suluk in *Inuktitut* Winter 1987: 62). Inuk elder Francois Quassa suggests that living “the real Inuit way”—having a strong work ethic and contributing to family and camp work—is rewarded by the spirits with a gift of food (Quassa in *Inuktitut* Summer 1995: 12).

The original “Shall We Gather at the River?” was written by American poet and gospel music composer Robert Lowry in 1864. Rev. Armand Tagoona did the Inuktitut translation. His translation can be found as #352 in *Christian Arctic Fellowship* 1980. Although Matilda likes to sing this hymn from memory she admits that sometimes it fails her. When she cannot remember the words of all the verses she likes to use the 1980 publication *Christian Arctic Fellowship* #352. She states that the dialect used in this hymnbook is closest to her own.

Verse 1 of #269 in *The Order for Morning Prayer and a Hymnal in Inuktitut and English* (1995) reads:

²³⁴ For musical transcriptions see pages 113 and 114 in Appendix G. For song texts and translations see pages 165-167 in Appendix H.

Katijumaaqpugut paani—we will gather
Angelliit nangirvinganni—where angels are
Alikkutut imalingmi—river
Godip Ataniumingani—praise God

Verse 1 of #352 in *Christian Arctic Fellowship* reads:

Katisimagupta paani—if we gather
Timirkarlut nutaamik—and my body
Annuriiqtitalutalu—will get new clothes
Kakuqtanik ipjurnitunik—holy white clothes

According to Matilda, who can understand both dialects, these two translations mean different things. The lyrics of the first version closely resemble the sentiment of the original English text. The lyrics in the second version, however, have been modified to fit local contexts. For Inuit who went through extreme starvation prior to resettlement time in the 1950s, receiving new clothes from Jesus (or any other source) would have been very important. Caribou, which were/are the main source of food for Inuit, were also the source of skins to make warm clothing. Without new caribou skins, Inuit could not make new clothes. In a cold climate, the lack of clothing could mean death. Thus, the promise of new clothes meant the promise of new life. The significance of “white clothes” is two-fold. Caribou skin, when the hair has been newly removed, is white. This represents new beginnings, unmarked by dirt and toil. In the Christian tradition, the colour “white” represents purity. Thus, “white clothes” represents the promise of a new “pure” life—one which has been cleansed of past discretions and sins. The localization of the texts of hymns was a common occurrence.

Interwoven with Matilda’s non-Christian use of the hymn “*Katijumaaqputut Paani*”—“Shall We Gather at the River” is her Christian understanding of the hymn’s theology. “*Katijumaaqputut Paani*” is from 1 Thessalonians 4:16 and John 5:28” she

states as she points to scripture numbers she has written in her hymnbook. “These verses tell us that Jesus will come down from heaven and take all the dead Christians back with him...this means that if we live our lives according to God’s Word, we will enter into the Kingdom of Heaven” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). By living her life “according to God’s Word” she means “not smoking or drinking or doing drugs...by going to church, helping others, and singing gospel songs.” This comment shows how the definition of *inummariit* has evolved to reflect present-day life concerns. It also suggests Pentecostal influences.

Very few of Matilda’s preferred hymns are actually Catholic hymns.

“*Katijumaaqpugut Paani*”—“Shall We Gather at the River” is yet another case in point. This hymn stems from the Pentecostal tradition and its imagery—so like the powerful imagery of the *Kuukpaluk* liturgy of the Anglican Church—points to a strong influence from the Pentecostal religion. As stated before, the multi-denominational influence of Christian missionaries in the early 1900s helped in contributing to the syncretism of the Catholic Church in Arviat.

“There is one hymn I would sing whenever I wanted good weather for hunting. Or if my husband was out on the land and a storm came, I would sing this hymn to ask Jesus to bring good weather...the hymn is called “*Uqautijauvunga Iniksaqarmat*”²³⁵—“The Unclouded Day” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). This hymn, too then, when performed outside of the church context, has a non-Christian function. Having said this, there are many Christians who, in their prayers, often pray for things, whether goods they

²³⁵ See pages 307-309 for the English and Inuktitut texts of “*Uqautijauvunga Iniksaqarmat*.”

wish to obtain or events they hope will happen. Furthermore, in my own experience, Catholic priests and Protestant ministers alike frequently pray for the safe return of traveling congregation members. Thus, it is not surprising that Matilda believes that singing this hymn, especially since she maintains that singing hymns is direct communication with God, will help to bring about good weather.

Matilda sings “*Nunaksaqaqpugut Qilangmi*”—“In the Sweet By and By,” “*Katijumaaqpugut Paani*”—“Shall We Gather at the River,” and “*Uqautijauvunga Iniksaqarmat*”—“The Unclouded Day” to affect good hunting expeditions, the relationship between an individual and animals, and good weather conditions respectively.²³⁶ I am not saying that Matilda does, in fact, believe in shamanism; the analysis of her discourse simply points to a connection with past Inuit ideology. By singing these hymns she is performing many of the elements of *inumariit*: the ability to live off the land; to live a traditional Inuit way of life; to have successful hunting expeditions. Thought of this way, the practice of Christianity, or at least the practice of singing of hymns (whether they be Catholic or Pentecostal ones) may be a means employed by Matilda and other Inuit to preserve some of their traditions such as sustaining life on the land.

Other examples of syncretism in Matilda’s repertoire are less obvious. For example, she indicates that the hymn “*Tatannamik Saimmarninga*”—“Amazing

²³⁶ There are parallels in Diamond’s (1982) anthology. See #48 (song to summon animals), #81 (women’s song to bring hunting success to her sons), and #94 (song containing a story about a shaman who summoned a spirit to turn around the direction of an ice floe).

Grace”²³⁷ is based on a scripture where Jesus heals a sick man. In that same scripture Jesus says to the sick man that if he no longer sins, he will remain well. In traditional Inuit ideology the shaman was a healer. Wrongdoings were considered to make a person sick; if there was a confession of evil, that person would become well. Matilda truly believes that singing “*Tatannamik Saimmarninga*” from the heart while confessing sin, will heal an individual, both emotionally and physically.

The idea that belief in Jesus Christ can affect physical healing was reiterated by the preacher, Ubluriak in his sermon at Mass on April 23, 2006. He maintained that his foot was broken and was miraculously healed through the divine power of Jesus Christ. These examples show how aspects of the core traditional Inuit culture are maintained and practiced in contemporary Inuit ideology as well as Pentecostal narrative and charismatic worship styles.

Another example of syncretism found in Matilda’s repertoire has to do with her belief in the omnipotence of God and the fear which results because of it. Matilda stated that the lyrics of the hymn “*Atanria*”—“How Great Thou Art”²³⁸ is based on the scripture Rev. 14: 7 which reads, “Fear God and give him glory, because the hour of his judgment has come.” In traditional Inuit ideology many of the spirits of the spirit world were feared. Sedna, the goddess of the sea, for example, was feared because if she was tormented or angry, she would not provide seals, a main source of sustenance for coastal Inuit. For Matilda and contemporary Inuit living in Arviat, God is feared because he has

²³⁷ See pages 167-168 in Appendix H for the texts of “*Tatannamik Saimmarninga*.” A musical transcription is on page 101 in Appendix G.

²³⁸ See pages 141-143 in Appendix H for the text of “*Atanira*.” A musical transcription is on page 66 in Appendix G.

the ability to bring bad luck; to inflict disease and bad health. I have heard many times that so and so got hurt while hunting because God was mad with him; or so and so got cancer because she was not leading a good Christian life. This cause and effect relationship stems back to traditional Inuit ideology. It shows how Inuit continue to believe that the true Inuit way of life involves adhering to specific rules and by obeying these rules, one will be rewarded. Conversely, not obeying the rules will bring bad luck.

Rosie Issakiark Mamgark (Sulurayok)

Rosie Mamgark (Sulurayok) is Matilda's second child and first daughter. She was born in Rankin Inlet on December 6, 1963, when Matilda was twenty-two years old. At the time that I recorded her songs Rosie was forty-three. Born during the Advent season in the community of Rankin Inlet, she was named after Issakiark, her grandfather who died on the land near Arviat when her mother was still a child. Rosie spent the first part of her life living in the community of Rankin Inlet. When she was five years old her family moved to Arviat where she attended the community federal day school which opened there in 1959. Not speaking any English when she began, she participated in an English curriculum from grades kindergarten through to grade 8.

Rosie went to school every year, not always on a regular basis, until she was fifteen years old. At the age of 16 she met her husband, Simeonie, an Inuk from Whale Cove, and began working at a job and raising a family. She and Simeonie lived with her parents for the first years of married life, and then moved into a house of their own.

Rosie has seven children: Yvon, Gara, Ivan, Germaine, Dorkus, Sergei, and Lou. She has

worked at a number of jobs in the community, from store clerk to janitor at the Department of Education, from teacher's assistant to secretary at Qitiqliq High School.

Rosie's stories pertaining to music are unlike her mother's because they deal much less with the Catholic Church and more about motherhood and the challenges of adapting to qablunaat life. While Matilda's testimonies about music and her role at the Catholic Church are eloquent and elaborate, recollecting a very positive outlook on Christianity and community living, Rosie is forthright and candid in her discussions. Her narratives are direct and to the point, and yet they evoke powerful images: a fearful mother witnessing her son's first epileptic seizure, a thankful wife happy for the safe return of her husband after his encounter with a polar bear, an overworked middle-aged woman tending to a full-time job, household chores, children, and certain drug-addicted family members.

Rosie experienced first-hand the politics of assimilation that shaped the 1960s Canadian Arctic policies. Her stories often return to her experience at the qablunaat school.²³⁹ She omits descriptions of "traditional" Inuit culture and often speaks to her own displaced generation of Inuit, describing her encounters with teachers, priests, nurses, doctors, researchers and other outsiders. She relates her feelings about being born into one cultural milieu and compelled to train and work in/for another.

At the time of our interviews together, Rosie was my neighbour, living in her four-bedroom house with her husband, six of her seven children, and her sister's family of

²³⁹ Rosie attended the Community Day School in Arviat until Grade 8. She did not attend high school because she did not want to go away to the residential school in Chesterfield Inlet. The residential schools Arviamiut attended were located in Rankin Inlet, Yellowknife, and Chesterfield Inlet. These schools were a part of the Indian Residential School system for which the Government of Canada apologized in 2008.

four. She spent much of her time tending to her family’s needs and trying to find a part-time job. Much of her time was spent dealing with the social, economic, and physical issues of drug addiction. She was also spending her scarce free time learning from her mother how to sew caribou and seal skin clothing. She declared one Saturday evening as we were chatting after our weekly radio bingo game, “I know very little about our traditional Inuit music and culture; I don’t think that I have much to offer your project” (Rosie Mamgark, April, 2006).

The song sample I recorded from Rosie is small (Figure 6.1); much smaller than the number of songs she actually knows and sings, but the comments she makes about these songs undoubtedly give valuable insight into meaning, musical process, transmission, language, culture, history, and inummariit.

Figure 6.1

Song Break-down	No. of Songs
English/Inuktitut	6
English Only	2
Inuktitut Only	14
Christian	17
Secular	5
Traditional	0
Mode of Transmission	No. of Songs
Church	11
School	4
Compact Disc	7

As a child, Rosie went to Mass with her parents; therefore, she knows many Christian hymns. She is unfamiliar, however, with the singing of the scriptures and the Lord’s Prayer in the Gregorian Chant style. She blames this on the fact that she cannot read the Inuktitut words in the Missal and on her low attendance at Mass as an adult.

Unlike her mother's song sample, Rosie's repertoire includes non-Christian songs and English songs. Five of the sixteen songs are secular, three of them composed by local Inuit singer/songwriters Jo Ellen Pameolik, Paul K. Irksak, and Susan Aglukark. Rosie's songs and stories show some continuity with those of her mother, but ultimately they reveal great change. Rosie is a non-public performer who sings in private at home.

The absence in Rosie's repertoire of Inuit traditional music is significant as well. Unlike her mother, who chooses not to sing traditional Inuit pisiit, Rosie does not sing pisiit because she does not know any. Rosie was not taught any traditional Inuit drum dance songs by her mother or any other family members. This is typical of Tariaqmiut who were visited regularly by missionaries of several denominations. The missionaries discouraged drum dancing and although many Inuit continued to do it in private, this discouragement by religious leaders did have an effect. The Ahiarmiut, in contrast, were visited less by missionaries in the early days because their camps were so far away from the settlement. Thus, they were able to maintain their musical expressions a little longer. Rosie did not learn any pisiit at school nor does she attend drum dances at the Elders' Centre today. She has seen drum dancing and has heard singing, but not enough to know the songs. For this she feels a sense of loss. She has often commented that she is grateful that her daughter, Gara, has been learning about traditional Inuit music and culture at school and she wishes that she had the opportunity to learn songs when she was younger.

I was very surprised that Rosie chose "*Tatannamik Saimmarninga*"²⁴⁰—
"Amazing Grace" as her first song ever to sing for me considering she rarely goes to

²⁴⁰ See page 101 in Appendix G for a musical transcription. See pages 167-168 in Appendix H for song text and translation.

Mass, “...only sometimes” she said. I was even more surprised when she started to cry after she had gotten about half-way through the third verse. She chose to sing this song first because it is one of her mother’s favourite hymns and she dearly loves her mother. She said that she remembers going to Mass with her mother and singing this hymn. She knows it from memory. For Rosie, it is the relationships that the songs embody, not necessarily the message of the lyrics. This is an important aspect of inummariit—the need to maintain identity through right relationships with family and with the community.

Rosie often talked about church and how she should attend Mass more often. She said that after she got married and moved away from her parents’ house, she and her husband stopped going to church. Sometimes, she attended the Anglican Church on a Sunday evening to hear the “good music” played there. As stated before, she wonders if she went to church more, would some of her family members have drug addictions today.

Rosie’s “all-time favourite” song is “*Anaanaga*”²⁴¹—“My Mother” by Susan Aglukark because it “reminds me of my mother” (Rosie Mamgark, April 2006). In this instance it is the message of the song, which is about activities Inuit mothers do with their daughters such as sewing and cooking, and the song itself which represents the right relationship between Rosie and her mother.

Like other members of her generation, Rosie articulated concern for the erosion of Inuit culture and language. When talking about Inuit culture she referenced traditional Inuit values and customs, music and culture, not the Christian values and customs, music and culture her mother expressed concern about. But at the same time, Rosie expressed

²⁴¹ See pages 104-105 in Appendix G for a musical transcription. See pages 170-171 in Appendix H for song text and translation.

nostalgia for Christian values and ideology; emphasizing her belief that if she and her family went to Mass more often, there would be less drug addiction among family members and more happiness. Here is the cause and effect relationship again. Embedded in Rosie's knowledge of the accepted Inuit lifeways in Arviat is a belief that if her family lived more like "inumhariit," bad luck (in the form of drug addiction) would not be prevalent in their lives. Her discussions about living like "real Inuit" are full of contradiction: she does not see Christianity as part of Inuit identity and yet she thinks that religious devotion (such as her mother's) is important.

Rosie's songs and narratives reveal a shift in language use. Matilda's song repertoire contains Inuktitut songs only. Matilda is unilingual: she speaks and reads Inuktitut fluently. Rosie's repertoire contains English and Inuktitut songs. She is bilingual: she speaks English and Inuktitut; however, she cannot read Inuktitut syllabics and she finds reading Roman orthography confusing.

Finally, Rosie's narratives about music and contemporary Inuit life show that Rosie believes that her role as a woman/mother has changed from that of traditional Inuit women, "I have been trying to live like the qablunaat live;" meaning that she cannot prepare seal skins, or cook caribou heads. Rosie yearns to know more about traditional Inuit culture and has recently begun to learn traditional female roles from her mother. All of these examples show that concepts of inumhariit or the true Inuit way of life, while not always the same as her mother's conceptualizations, are interwoven throughout Rosie's discourse about her songs.

Gara Siatsiaq Mamgark

Gara Siatsiaq Mamgark is Rosie's second child and first daughter. She was born in Churchill, Manitoba on January 12, 1987 to Lucy Eetak, a woman of no relation to her family. She was adopted by Rosie and Simeonie a short time later; Rosie was twenty-four years old at the time. When I recorded her songs, Gara was nineteen years old. She was named after Rosie's father, Bernie Siatsiaq. Raised in the Hamlet of Arviat her whole life, she attended school from grades kindergarten to grade twelve, graduating in 2005; she was the first in her family to do so.

During her high school years she was actively involved in the musical community. As a member of Arviat Pilirigatigit, she hosted a radio request show on Tuesday evenings; she sang in my community choir, Arviat Imngitingit; she traveled with the choir to Alberta to perform for the opening and closing ceremonies of the Arctic Winter Games; she went to Brandon, Manitoba to perform with the Brandon University Chorale at Rural Forum 2002 and participated in Festival 500: Sharing the Voices, international choral festival in St. John's, Newfoundland in 2003; she played the guitar at the Mikilauq Centre during sing-a-long gatherings for children and regularly attended the teen and square dances held on weekends. When speaking about music, Gara proudly declares, "*Inulariuyunga; imngirnik quvigiyaaqtunga*"—"I'm a real Inuk; I love to sing!" When asked to explain this statement, Gara reported that all Inuit are inherently musical or at least they enjoy music. Thus, for Gara, she contends that part of being a real Inuk means loving to sing. Unlike her mother and grandmother, Gara is completely fluent in Inuktitut and English: she is capable of reading, writing, and speaking in both languages.

In her stories about life and music Gara described problems faced by women her age who try to juggle the values and demands of Inuit and qablunaat cultures.²⁴² She talks about her childhood, the pressures of school and looking for work, and the heartache of personal relationships. Her stories reflect upon hunting, chewing tobacco, drugs, sexually transmitted diseases, religion, relationships, suicide, and her trips to southern Canada, the United States, and South Africa. Gara's music and the stories she tells about her musical experiences provide insight into the perspectives and challenges faced by young women in contemporary Inuit communities.

Gara spends much less time at the Roman Catholic Church than her grandmother. In fact, usually on Sunday mornings, Gara is still in bed fast asleep. Presently, she is more inclined to attend the Anglican Church on Sunday or Monday evenings with her friends, if at all. However, because Christianity is interwoven into her young life, thirteen of the thirty-four songs she sang for me are either Christian hymns or gospel songs. Much like her grandmother, Gara perceives singing gospel songs as a means of communication with God. While Gara is almost completely unfamiliar with Biblical verses and the liturgical year, her stories about these songs, nevertheless, are deeply personal.

Also included in Gara's sample are contemporary songs, none of which however are popular songs that can be found on Much Music or in other Canadian popular music scenes, except for those from Inuit recordings artists Susan Aglukark and Lucie Idlout. Gara's sample includes songs in Inuktitut and English: twenty-two Inuktitut songs and

²⁴² I have written elsewhere about Gara and her struggles as an "Inuk" teenager. See Piercey (2008).

only four English songs. Five songs she sings in English and Inuktitut. Interestingly, most of the songs Gara sings in English are songs written by Inuit artists.

Surprisingly, Gara is the only member of her family who sings traditional Inuit pisiit. Contrary to recent research on the topic, Gara did not learn these traditional songs through any sort of familial/consanguinal ties. She learned all the songs through the music program I directed at her school.

Figure 6.2

Song Break-down	No. of Songs
English/Inuktitut	5
English Only	4
Inuktitut Only	22
Christian	12
Secular	12
Traditional	8
Mode of Transmission	No. of Songs
Church	7
School	11
Compact Disc	14

Gara’s song repertoire (Figure 6.2) is vast and the discussion of every song is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Presented here are songs that Gara talked about with precision and clarity; each one revealing deeply personal information and shedding light on the joys and challenges of the life of a young Inuit woman living in the twenty-first century. Her own conceptualization of inummariit, which is at times in direct opposition to that of her grandmother’s, is revealed.

Her repertoire is divided into three major categories: Christian, secular, and traditional. This section examines each category examining how inummariit is conceptualized and embodied. Issues pertaining to personal, historical, and cultural contexts, language preference, mode of transmission, and musical aesthetics are revealed.

Christian Songs

Twelve of the thirty-two songs in Gara's sample²⁴³ are Christian songs. She learned many at the Roman Catholic Church where she sometimes attends Mass with her family and others by attending Young Life services at the Anglican Church. Christian songs surround Gara daily: her grandmother and mother sing them at home and the local radio station plays gospel music recorded by local Inuit artists regularly.

Christian songs are interwoven into the fabric of Gara's life but many in her repertoire differ from her grandmother's. For example, Gara does not know the Gregorian chant style antiphons which accompany the Roman Catholic Mass. Nor does she sing many of the "older-type" hymns that are accompanied by the organ. Gara prefers, and sings, the gospel songs she hears from her friends, the Okatsiaks, at the Anglican Church, "Mass on Sunday mornings at the Catholic Church is a little boring. The music is too slow and I don't really like it when there is no band...I really enjoy going to the Young Life services at the Anglican Church because the music is more fun. They sing fast songs and slow songs and the band plays; sometimes people even dance" (Gara Mamgark, April 24, 2006).

²⁴³ See pages 41-42 in Appendix F for a chart of Gara's song repertoire.

Gara's Christian repertoire includes "*Qaigit*"²⁴⁴ — "Come, Now is the Time to Worship" and "*Jesusi Piulijit*"²⁴⁵ — "Father of Light." Both of these are sung regularly at the Young Life services at the Anglican Church and they can be heard frequently in English and Inuktitut on the local radio station.

"*Qaigit*" is a translation of Brian Doerksen's²⁴⁶ "Come, Now is the Time to Worship." "Come, Now is the Time to Worship" (Track 9 on Disk 2) has been recorded on the *WOW Worship Blue*²⁴⁷ Series (1999). I have seen this compact disc and others from the same series in many homes throughout Arviat. The Inuktitut version was made popular by Sandy Saviarjuk from Rankin Inlet.

The recording of Brian Doerksen's "Come, Now is the Time to Worship" is pop music: instrumentation includes drum-kit, bass guitar, electric guitar, synthesizer, and vocals. The beat is regular with a quick tempo. Sometimes Gara sings "*Qaigit*" at the Anglican Church where she is accompanied by adult Sandy Okatsiak on the electric guitar and youths Delilah Anowtalik on drum-kit, Paul Jr. on bass, and Kenny Pingushat on guitar. But more frequently, she sings it at home accompanying herself with the guitar while her younger brother, Ivan, plays the synthesizer.

²⁴⁴ See pages 106-107 in Appendix G for a musical transcription and a translation of the text.

²⁴⁵ See musical transcription on page 108 in Appendix G. See pages 146-147 of Appendix H for English and Inuktitut texts.

²⁴⁶ Brian Doerksen is a Canadian Christian singer-songwriter and worship leader from Abbotsford, British Columbia.

²⁴⁷ *WOW Worship-Blue* 1999 (Today's 30 Most Powerful Worship Songs. From Integrity Music, Vineyard Music, Maranatha Music, and Worship Together).

“*Jesusi Piuliji*” is a translation of CADET’s “Father of Light,” a song the American Christian-rock band first recorded on their compact disc entitled *Any Given Day 2 - Earth To Heaven* (Track 11) in 2001. An Inuktitut version is found on Jo Ellen Pameolik’s compact disc (2006) entitled *I Believe in Jesus* (Track 12). Jo Ellen is a singer/song-writer originally from Arviat and who now lives in Iqaluit. Her compact disc is played frequently by the local radio station, Arviaqpaluk. This song has also been recorded by other local musicians in Arviat: Jocelyn Malla on her album called *Gospel Songs* (Track 11), Kristen Pameolik and Chelsey Curley on the *Inummariit Music Festival 2006* album (Tracks 21 & 22 respectively). The Inuktitut translation was written by James Arreak.

From the information provided above, it is evident that Gara learns many songs via compact disc and radio. Her grandmother, Matilda is not convinced that this is the best method for the transmission of traditional hymns, “Young people should go to church and learn the hymns the way we did; the way our elders did” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). She dislikes many of the gospel songs she hears on the radio but acknowledges some of the benefits of technology in the transmission of traditional hymns, “If CDs include traditional hymns and if they are sung reverently; then I don’t mind them. Young people today must learn our Inuit hymns. It is the “real Inuit” way. If listening to CDs helps them to learn the hymns; then it’s O.K” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006).

Gara’s discussion about these songs is less about the Christian message they deliver, and more about the music. For example, she stated, “I like how the drum beat is constant, more like a pop song than a hymn.” She also commented on the enjoyment she

gets out of making music with other young people, “I think that singing in the band with my friends is way more fun than singing hymns with the organ at the Roman Catholic Church...sometimes, they don’t even have an organist and everyone sings without music, ehh” (Gara Mamgark, April 24, 2006). This statement reveals, in part, that Gara attends church more for social and entertainment reasons rather than spiritual ones. Like her mother, it is the relationships that the songs embody, not necessarily the message of the lyrics which is important. As stated before, this is a significant aspect of inummariit—the need to maintain identity through right relationships with family and with the community.

Secular Songs

Suicide. Often thought about. Attempted several times. Even Gara, who from my perspective, has led a successful teenage life—graduated high school, traveled extensively, participated in youth programs—has not escaped the horrifying social problem of suicide. During her teenage years, four of her schoolmates, one of whom was a dear friend, committed suicide. In the darkest times of her own depression, Gara has thought of it as a way out. During one of our more meaningful discussions, Gara said that singing often “made her feel better” when she is “thinking that way.”

There are several songs that she likes to sing when she is feeling really down, “*Sapiliqtailigit*”²⁴⁸—“Don’t Give Up” and “*Isumagivattatiit*”²⁴⁹—“You Are Not Alone” are two songs that help you to stop thinking about suicide. I like to sing

²⁴⁸ See page 109 in Appendix G for a musical transcription. See page 171 in Appendix H for text and translation.

²⁴⁹ See page 110 in Appendix G for a musical transcription. See page 171-172 in Appendix H for text and translation.

“*Sapiliqtailigit*”—“Don’t Give Up” when I a feeling low because it helps to remind me that I should not give up, that things will get better” (Gara Mamgark, April 24, 2006). This statement, when contrasted with her thoughts about sacred songs, shows that the message of the lyrics of these secular songs is just as important to Gara as the relationship the songs embody. By choosing these songs to help her to “get better,” Gara demonstrates very important aspects of *inummariit*—*quvia*-which here means the search for happiness and the achievement of healing.

“*Sapilitailigit*”—“Don’t Give Up” was written by Looee Nowdlak and can be found on her compact disc of the same title. Originally from Iqaluit, Nowdlak travels around the territory of Nunavut as a motivational speaker to Inuit youth and addresses issues of suicide and self-esteem. The suicide rate among Inuit youth in Nunavut is the highest in Canada. In 2003, thirty-seven Nunavummiut - mostly young people - ended their lives, giving the territory a suicide rate eleven times the national average. In 2004, that toll fell to twenty-seven. As of December 2005, it stood at twenty-two.²⁵⁰ The lyrics of “*Sapilitailigit*”—“Don’t Give Up” speak directly to the social problem of suicide.

Looee Nowdlak, a Christian and social activist, released the song “*Sapilitailigit*”—“Don’t Give Up” when she was nineteen years old. As part of the suicide prevention program in Nunavut, she provides self-esteem workshops for Inuit youth which focus on confidence issues and works to re-awaken this confidence and self-esteem within them. In an interview she states “This song is a favorite for many people young and old in the North. The song “Don’t Give Up” has been a very powerful song

²⁵⁰ http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20051217/nunavut_youthsuicide_051217?sname=&no_ads=

that touched many people. I created this song to encourage young people to keep going in life and that there is a hope.”²⁵¹ Media present Looee as “an inspiration to many young people through her songs and through her caring and nurturing personality. She has touched many lives through her songs and through speaking to young people about life and hope for the future.”²⁵²

Gara saw Looee Nowdlak speak once and was very moved by the experience, “Looee was an inspiration. When she was talking, it felt like she was talking to me, like she completely understood what I was going through. And when she sang “*Isumagivattatiit*”—“You Are Not Alone” I realized that I am never alone, that all I have to do is think of someone who cares and then go and talk to them” (Gara Mamgark, April 24, 2006).

It was at this motivational concert with Looee Nowdlak that Gara purchased Looee’s compact disc. Gara said that she listened to the CD “all day for a very long time” after she met and heard Looee speak and sing. Shortly afterwards, Gara began to sing “*Sapilitailigit*”²⁵³—“Don’t Give Up” and “*Isumagivattatiit*”—“You Are Not Alone” while accompanying herself on the guitar. Looee Nowdlak’s music can also be heard regularly on the local radio station Arviaqpaluk. During my stay in Arviat, I heard her music performed by at least three other local musicians. Gara’s choice of these particular

²⁵¹ This statement was taken from an interview Nowdlak did with CBC.

²⁵² http://www.ahf.ca/assets/commemoration/pdf/ahf_book1.qxd.pdf

²⁵³ See page 109 of Appendix G for a musical transcription. See page 171 of Appendix H for Inuktitut text and English translation.

songs reveal her need for personal and community healing, community cohesiveness, and proper relationships with others, all very important aspects of inummariit.

During Gara’s grade eleven and grade twelve years at Qitiqliq High School, Jo Ellen Pameolik²⁵⁴ was hired there as a student support assistant. She often sang her songs at the school during high school assemblies and school functions. Many of her songs permeated the song repertoire of the entire youth population at the school. Gara sings two of them: “*Anaanaga*”²⁵⁵—“My Mother” and “Never Failing.”²⁵⁶

Discussions with Gara about her music, both formal and informal, often lead us into very personal territory; topics and issues were discussed that, although she gave me permission to write about them, I am uncomfortable with reporting. “Never Failing” is a song that brought forth one such discussion. After singing this song on the evening of March 6, 2006, Gara started to tell me about an incident where she was raped by someone she knew. She explained that a series of horrifying events resulted: she was plagued with the thought that she might be pregnant; several months after the incident, just as she was happy about not becoming pregnant, symptoms of a sexually transmitted infection appeared; and she was constantly tortured by reoccurring thoughts about what had happened to her. Dealing with this situation alone sometimes caused her to consider

²⁵⁴ Local Inuit singer-song writer Jo Ellen Pameolik recorded her songs at a small, amateur, locally-owned recording studio in Rankin Inlet. After selling her home-made compact discs throughout Arviat, her songs soon became popular within the community, especially since they were aired daily on the local radio station. Jo Ellen Pameolik and Jane Autut recorded a professional compact disc in 2006 entitled *I Believe in Jesus*. It was produced by John Tugak, Ivory Studio Music in Arviat, Nunavut. “*Anaanaga*” and “*Never Failing*” are two numbers recorded on this compact disc.

²⁵⁵ See pages 172-173 of Appendix H for text and translation.

²⁵⁶ See page 112 of Appendix G for a musical transcription. See pages 173 of Appendix H for lyrics.

suicide. Gara explained that it was Jo Ellen's song "Never Failing" that got her through that rough time in her life.

Some songs in Gara's repertoire reveal how her conceptualization of inummariit is closely linked with how she feels outsiders perceive or should perceive Inuit. In 1999, when Nunavut became a territory, Gara was in grade seven at Qitiqliq School. She says that she does not remember much about what happened on April 1st of that year, perhaps because she was too young at the time. But, she did learn about the history and content of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and the process of Nunavut becoming a territory in her Northern Studies course three years later in grade 10. In our discussions, Gara said that this course, taught by teacher Charlene Sutton, sparked her political interest and she eventually wanted to know more:

When I was younger and in high school and I didn't really care about politics or how Nunavut became a territory...things didn't really seem to change much for me or my friends after the signing of the agreement...I learned about Nunavut in my course at high school, so I decided to go to Ottawa for the Nunavut Youth Abroad Program. In Ottawa, we learned all about the history of the Land Claims Agreement, they taught us stuff about our culture, they told us about jobs we could get in the government...they played a song for us, "Nunavut Song"²⁵⁷ and we talked about how important it was for young people like us to learn about our language and culture and to be proud to be Inuit....I really liked the song. I got a recording of the song and I listened to it over and over. Then I started to sing it. (Gara Mamgark, April 24, 2006)

²⁵⁷ This song was written for the celebration of the creation of Nunavut. It was recorded by CBC radio and distributed to local radio stations.

Lucie Idlout, an Inuk rock singer from Iqaluit, Nunavut, wrote “Nunavut Song”²⁵⁸ during the talks for the creation of Nunavut as the newest territory of Canada in 1999. The lyrics indicate the discussions and negotiations of what a new Inuit governed territory will be like, “Wondering all about Nunavut, our future, and the way it’s gonna be.” In the second verse she speaks to the young people of Nunavut telling them that they “have the power” to make Nunavut a territory that can give “all the beautiful...things in life.” In light of recent colonial oppression and the present decolonization process ongoing in Nunavut today to heal all the hurts that have been done, this statement, “all the beautiful...things in life” refers to the Inuit worldview that Inuit are actively demanding recognition of and respect for. In the third verse, she ceremoniously and powerfully requests Inuit to promote their culture and to be proud to be Inuit, referencing the Elders as a source of motivation to “come out and shine.” Gara’s choice of this particular song and her discourse about it shows how her sense of “real Inuit” identity, like that of many young Inuit, is largely dependent on what outsiders think.

Traditional Songs

Qiaqpaq—Throat Singing.²⁵⁹ Gara’s sense of inummariit is secular to a much greater extent than her grandmother’s and focuses here on the Inuit traditions (throat

²⁵⁸ See page 111 in Appendix G for a musical transcription. See pages 173-174 in Appendix H for the text of the song.

²⁵⁹ Throat singing (*qiaqpaq* as Inuit from Arviat call it; *katajjait* as it is known in the Qikiqtani Region of Nunavut and Northern Quebec) is a well-known form of Inuit music that is usually performed by two women. The singers stand face to face. Each singer repeats a different sound in a fast rhythm. Some throat songs represent sounds made by different birds and animals. Sometimes, throat singing can be a contest to see who can sing the longest. Some women are able to throat sing by themselves, using a large bowl or kettle held near the singer’s mouth to give resonance. This method is common in the Arviat area.

singing and drum dancing) that have become pan-Inuit identity symbols. Gara began learning to throat sing in 2001 at a drumming circle program organized by the Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth. She said that two young women, Walla Kuksuk and Jackie Evaluajuak were her first teachers. There were elders involved in this program: they taught the a-ya-ya songs and the drum dancing and some of the throat singing. This initiation to throat singing invoked a lot of interest in this style of singing and Gara practiced every day, “I used to practice with my little sisters at home when I was babysitting them. I also tried throat singing with my friends Joy and Frieda Nibgoarsi. We would try it when we were getting ready to go to the teen dances” (Gara Mamgark, April 24, 2006).

Gara learned the history of the throat singing tradition from her cultural classes with elders at Qitiqliq High School. She mentioned several times that she particularly enjoyed the social aspect of throat singing with female members of Arviat Imngitingit. It was a time of female bonding and camaraderie with a little teasing from the boys. In her words,

There were no boys. Only girls are allowed to throat sing so we didn't let the boys come. I think that they were jealous that we had this little group all to ourselves. So our music teacher set up a drum dancing group with Silas Illungiyok, an Inuk elder, for the boys. After that, they didn't seem jealous of us. But they would come to the music room on their break from drumming and try to throat sing with us. It was really funny. The best part was being in the room with 20 girls or so with one part sitting on one side and the other part on the other and

Ethnomusicologists suggest that throat singing should be viewed as vocal games or breathing games (Beaudry (1978); Charron (1978); Nattiez (1983). Traditionally, they are games the women employed during the long winter nights to entertain the children, while the men are away hunting (sometimes for up to a month or more).

hearing all those people throat sing at the same time. Wow. That's how we learned, see, we would all throat sing together with Karen Panigoniak as our leader. I really loved that. Then I would go home and practice my new throat songs with my little sisters. They always looked forward to learning the new throat songs too. (Gara Mamgark, April 24, 2006)

Gara throat sang publicly at the Community Hall in Arviat, Qitiqliq High School in Arviat, St. Mary's Church in St. John's, the arena in Brandon, and at the Conference Centre in Ottawa. She says that she feels "thrilled" to throat sing for a large audience especially if the audience is qablunaat and she says, "I love sharing my heritage and culture with others. I think that it is important to know where you come from and to be proud to be Inuit. I want everyone to know that I am Inuit and that I can throat sing" (Gara Mamgark, April 24, 2006).

While Gara is not paid monetarily to throat sing at musical functions, her ability to throat sing well provides her with opportunities to travel nationally and internationally; opportunities that would be unavailable to her if she were not an expert throat singer. For example, she went to Alaska, the Yukon, Newfoundland, and New Mexico to promote Inuit culture through throat singing.

Gara sings nine traditional Inuit pisiit: "*Quviasuliqpunga*," "*Alu Pisia*," "*Qumak Pisia*,"²⁶⁰ "*Qilaup Pisia*,"²⁶¹ "*Qauloaqtaq*,"²⁶² "*Angutinasugavit*,"²⁶³ "*Inusivut*,"²⁶⁴

²⁶⁰ For a musical transcription, see page 46 in Appendix G. For text and translation see pages 116-117 in Appendix H.

²⁶¹ For a musical transcription, see page 48 in Appendix G. For text and translation see pages 120-121 in Appendix H.

²⁶² For a musical transcription, see page 49 in Appendix G. For text and translation see page 122 in Appendix H.

“*Qiugaviit*,”²⁶⁵ and “*Arnaraujak Pisia*”²⁶⁶ all of which she learned through the music program at Qitiqliq High School. What follows here is a discussion of Gara’s thoughts and opinions about singing traditional Inuit pisiit. I also include a description of her performance style, some background information about the songs, and some of the challenges Gara faced when learning traditional pisiit as they relate to her conceptualization of inummariit.

Gara has the unique role of female drum dancer when she performs “*Quviasuliqpunga*”²⁶⁷ with her school choir, Arviat Imngitingit. Drum dancing in Kivalliq region, traditionally and for the most part even today, is an activity reserved for men. As discussed earlier, women are usually required to sing the song that accompanies the male drummer. Gara expressed that she “loves to drum dance.” She does not believe that drum dancing is an activity reserved only for boys:

Drum dancing is for everyone. Women sometimes drum dance at the Mark Kalluak Hall just for fun. They dance around and everyone has a great time; laughing and singing and all joking together. (Gara Mamgark, April 24, 2006)

²⁶³ For a musical transcription, see page 51 in Appendix G. For text and translation see page 125 in Appendix H.

²⁶⁴ For a musical transcription, see pages 52-60 in Appendix G. For text and translation see pages 126-127 in Appendix H.

²⁶⁵ For a musical transcription, see page 61 in Appendix G. For text and translation see pages 128-129 in Appendix H.

²⁶⁶ For a musical transcription, see pages 62-63 in Appendix G. For text and translation see pages 130-131 in Appendix H.

²⁶⁷ For a musical transcription, see page 50 in Appendix G. For text and translation see page 123-124 in Appendix H.

Gara perceives this gendered parodying of the male dance as an indication that community members welcome female drum dancers. However, my own experience with audience members after performing the drum dance at the local community hall was the opposite. I received lessons in proper drumming technique from Elders and young people alike, many who said that drum dancing is only for males. Eventually the community came to accept the female dancers and in one instance I overheard an Inuk teacher, in her discussion with a news reporter, praising the choir and the youth for taking an interest in traditional ways and developing their own modern ways of drum dancing. Gara also overheard this conversation and I remember the look of pride on her face when that teacher, obviously someone that she respects, praised her for her efforts in front of a stranger.

Gara learned “*Quviasuliqpunga*”—“I am happy” from me at the school in Arviat. I learned it from a home video given to me by one of my students, Bernice Niakrok, who had videoed a performance of the students from Nunavut Sivuniksavut singing the pisiq in Ottawa. After having the lyrics transcribed by Gara, I set out to teach the song. Teaching the music and the lyrics was easy, but teaching the meaning of the song was definitely not my forte, especially since, at the time, I had no idea what the words meant. As part of the learning process, I decided to ask the girls to translate the song so that we could discuss the meaning of the text together. What was handed in was a series of nonsensical translations: the students were able to translate the words literally, but the metaphorical meaning of the song was lost.

Gara says that she enjoys singing “*Quviasuliqpunga*”—“I am happy” because it shows that she is “promoting Inuit culture.” As Briggs (1997) found in her discussions

with three Inuit men, Gara's "real Inuit" identity is for younger generations about determining what is unique about Inuit and then marking distinctions from other cultures. For Gara, the traditional pisia is an emblem deployed to differentiate herself from Euro-Canadians rather than a reflection of lived experience. Her identity, then, is largely about the recognition that outsiders give. She performed this particular song at Festival 500 in Newfoundland in 2001, at a leadership conference in Ottawa in 2003 for students from across the country, and at Brandon in 2004 when she performed with a small group of students who were chosen to represent Nunavut at the Rural Forum.²⁶⁸ With her music, Gara wants to be "positive" and "promote Inuit culture." "I prefer to wear an amoutik because it shows people that we are Inuit, not just through our music. It adds more to our music. Just to look at us, you can see we're Inuit and our music just adds to that. They're beautiful, too, what our ancestors wore!" (Gara Mamgark, April 24, 2006).

Gara learned far more music by listening to recorded compact discs than either her mother or her grandmother: Gara (15), Rosie (7), and Matilda (0). Thus, technology plays a large role in the transmission of songs among the younger generation; it also impacts the genre and style of music.

The music and narratives of the Mamgark women provide an intergenerational perspective on many aspects of twenty-first century Inuit life. Each woman's respective songs, stories, and changing musical roles tell much about issues of identity construction

²⁶⁸ The Manitoba Rural Forum is held in Brandon, MB annually and hosts activities which focus on northern economic development. There are workshops and seminars, exhibits and networking events, so that delegates and visitors have an opportunity to share information and identify innovative approaches to help strengthen their communities. The Government of Nunavut's Department of Economic Development participates in this forum in effort to promote Nunavut tourism and economy. Four Inuit youth participate in a youth forum which includes marketing challenges, robot workshops, science competitions, and cultural exchanges.

and negotiation and belief. Musically, the three contexts display several differences, particularly in terms of syncretism, song text themes, repertoire genre, modes of transmission, language, gender, and discursive practices. However, in all three women's music and narratives, some similarities emerge in the singing of Christian songs, the use of the Inuktitut language, and concern for the erosion of Inuit traditions and living the "real Inuit" way of life—like inummariit.

6.4 Conclusion

I have sought here to examine music in the context of the Catholic church in Arviat and within one of the families who attend that church. The oral narratives from members of the Mamgark family (Figure 6.C26) which focused on the differing conceptions of the role of music in religious and vernacular belief in Arviat reveal how inummariit is expressed in their musical choices and performances. Matilda Sulurayok, who is the song leader at the Catholic Church, discussed the role of music in communicating with God. Her daughter, Rosie Mamgark indicated that music helps her to remember to try to live a good life by "following these same [traditional Inuit] rules today." Gara Mamgark, Matilda's grand-daughter, contends that she does not like the music at the Catholic Church and prefers to attend Anglican services where the music is more upbeat and she can participate with her friends.

6.4.1 Syncretism

For Matilda, the function of hymn singing depends on a variety of social and religious contexts. In her role as the song leader at the Roman Catholic Church, Matilda

maintains that she chooses hymns based on the daily scripture readings or by personal or communal preference. But the evidence presented suggests that they are almost exclusively based on personal preference, that preference sometimes being influenced by highly personal interpretations of the scripture. She believes that singing hymns to God is a better way to communicate with him than by speaking. In the same manner, singing hymns outside of the church context is also considered communication with God, whether she sings the hymns on the land while she is fishing or if she sings them at her home while cleaning the house.

Research debates the relationship between indigenous and Euro-Canadian religious ideologies and practice and the emerging results point to a new indigenous Christianity (Laugrand 1997; Saladin d'Anglure 1997; Fienup-Riordan 2000; Fletcher and Kirmayer 1997; Trott 1997; Grant 1997). There is much evidence which supports the idea that indigenous peoples are, in fact, rethinking and re-inventing pre-Christian customs and beliefs in the light of post-contact experience. Many researchers say that the “traditions” that have emerged in the process of incorporating past ritual acts into the present Catholic Mass are not the same as their predecessors. This process is what Fienup-Riordan (2000) calls “metaphoric incorporation—bringing unlike things together, recognizing their “sameness,” and using this relation as grounds for incorporation of one into the other” (Fienup-Riordan 2000: 111). As was seen in my previous chapter about the musical experiences of the Okatsiak family at the Anglican Church, this process rings true. In the Anglican Church, where the rituals practiced at Easter are quite different from those practiced in any Anglican Church elsewhere, the ritual of the Mass at the Catholic Church followed the strict outline of service practiced in any Catholic Church.

It is the attitudes and ideas about belief and faith which are unique in the Arviat context.

The close examination of the Mass performed at the Roman Catholic Church in Arviat on Sunday, April 23, 2006 and the subsequent interviews with Matilda Sulurayok also shows some similarities.

On Sunday, April 23, 2006 (and all other Catholic services I attended over a five-year period), the order of the Mass as put forth by the Roman Missal (1970) was strictly followed. The Inuktitut translation of the missal was utilized faithfully. All hymns and antiphons were taken from the Roman Catholic Hymnal, *Naalagak Nirtuqlavut* (Lorand 1992). The music for some of the Inuktitut antiphons was performed in Gregorian chant style reminiscent of Western plainchant that accompanied the celebration of the Mass and other ritual services as early as the ninth century. The structure of the Mass and the music performed did not deviate from the form of the Catholic Mass utilized in Arviat by the Catholic missionaries in the early 1960s.²⁶⁹ It was Ubluriak's sermon and the Mamgark women's discourse about their music and beliefs which reveal that a merging of beliefs or "metaphoric incorporation" has taken place.

6.4.2 Song Text Themes

Songs for the Mamgark women, whether sacred or secular, serve as a discursive medium for expressing the many meanings of inummariit. It reveals, in many ways, how inummariit can be conceptualized differently. The most significant finding is that there are stark contrasts in generational understandings of the most basic issues of inummariit

²⁶⁹ I say 1960s here rather than 1920s when the first Catholic missionaries arrived in Arviat because in the 1920s, Catholic liturgy and liturgical music would have been still conducted in Latin. It was not until after Vatican II (1962-1965) that the switch to local vernacular languages was sanctioned.

and identity. The transcription, translation, and analysis of song texts offer insights into the referential messages about “real” Inuit life conveyed by song texts.

As an older woman—an elder in the community—Matilda serves simultaneously as an authoritative exemplar and as an outdated model against which Gara, as a young woman, stakes her generational particularity. For Matilda, it is the songs of the Catholic Church, which convey the “real” Inuit way of life. However, the songs do not actually reference the way that she lives, rather they are a nostalgic reference to the past. As in many communities, the influence of the Catholic Church on young people such as Gara is diminishing. The importance of Catholic dogma has given way to themes of dealing with drug addictions and suicide. The life experiences of Matilda’s generation are so different from the life experiences of Gara’s generation that it seems almost impossible for one generation to comprehend the other. Gara does not attend Mass, she finds the music at the Catholic Church boring, she does not identify with the liturgy of Catholic hymns, nor does she identify with the syncretic blending of two ideologies because she did not experience life on the land and relocation like her grandmother did. Rosie is caught in the middle: she does not know any traditional pisiit and for this she feels great loss; she also does not know any of the Catholic liturgical music and she feels loss for this also. For Rosie, the hymn repertoire she does know has become a means of strengthening the relationship to her mother (and perhaps others). Her definition of “real Inuit” is about strong relationships, not activities as such—although she is learning some of those activities as well.

Conceptualizations of inummariit have certainly changed over time; however, they have also stayed the same. For example, in the examination of the oral narratives

from all three women, the idea of healing remains an important aspect of Inuit life.

Matilda experiences this through the personal and communal participation at Mass. Gara experiences it through identifying with the texts of songs written by contemporary Inuit singer/songwriters and by practicing and performing with Arviat Imngitingtit.

Enforcing moral codes and ethical behaviour is a task largely delegated to elders. Certainly, even the eloquently articulated Inuit Qajimajatuqangit by the Government of Nunavut specifies value of the knowledge of elders above all else. In everyday practice, however, the knowledge of elders is not always given the value we are led to believe. Youth in Arviat, as in most communities, have different experiences, aspirations, and values than their elders. For the moment, Rosie and Gara and others from their generations are more concerned about daily, immediate matters than questions of Catholic liturgy and moral codes. Gara's musical selections explore themes of friendship, love, pain, suffering, displacement, social conflict, and determination. For Matilda, in contrast to the younger women, the thematic focus is broader. There is more concern with maintaining communal harmony. In contrast to Matilda's focus on community, goodwill, and Christianity, Gara sings about friendship and the pain of suffering.

Many songs appear to index the Mamgark women's generational membership. The Mamgark women also perceive each generation's song repertoire as fundamentally distinct. Gara hears her grandmother singing and has learned many hymns and gospel songs, but she selects to listen to and perform only the song texts considered fashionable by her age cohort. Matilda recognizes that she is transmitting few hymns and gospel songs to the younger generation. Gara has explained that she considers many of the antiphons and other liturgical music appropriate only for old people, "old fashioned"—

“*qanahaaq*” one might say. For Matilda, laziness explains young women’s reluctance to learn liturgical music. But, what makes the present generation of young people more prone to laziness or followers of “fashion” than earlier generations may have been? More to the point, is there something new about the ways Gara and her generation conceptualize youth and *inummariit* that departs from the categories used by earlier generations of Inuit?

In many societies the all-encompassing experience of schooling tends to intensify solidarity among young people at the expense of intergenerational connection. Schooling increases the possibilities for young women, like Gara, to display particular images of themselves through dress and through musical preferences. Furthermore, mass media has familiarized young people with tastes and skills which, in earlier generations, were not available. Such social changes cause young people to constantly compare practices which they may regard as “old fashioned”—“*qangahaaq*,” meaning characteristics of older people and thus not valued, with practices that they call “modern”—“*ublumiuliqtuq*,” new, hip, and appealing to other young people. For Gara, the “old fashioned” traditions of her grandmother are respectfully recognized but rejected; however, the traditions of her earlier ancestors (such as throat singing and drum dancing) are beloved. This is a post-colonial attitude which is paralleled in other aboriginal communities (Gordon, personal communication; Keillor 1995).

6.4.3 Repertoire

All three women sing Christian songs; however, the style of music these songs are set to varies. For example, Matilda sings Gregorian chant style antiphons which

accompany the Roman Catholic Mass, however, neither Rosie nor Gara sing these. Also, Matilda sings hymns accompanied by the church organ, often played in a slow, meditative manner. Gara, however, prefers to sing gospel songs accompanied by drum-kit, guitars, and synthesizer. Many of the gospel songs she sings were made popular by Christian rock and pop stars such as Andy Park, CADET, and Brian Doerksen.

The shift in musical style from older generation to younger generation may also indicate a shift in social values. Gara attends Mass much less than her elders. As a result, Gara's understanding of the Inuit/Catholic ideology is not as 'deep' as that of her grandmother. Furthermore, Gara contends that she does not like the Catholic Church and does "not believe in a lot of the things they say and do there." If she does go to church, she prefers to attend one of the other churches in the community where the music is upbeat and there is a band. This reveals that Gara attends church for social and entertainment reasons rather than spiritual ones. Furthermore, Gara expresses preference for the musical line over the texts of the gospel songs. Thus, Gara's shifting focus from worship to entertainment may be seen as a method of resisting Catholic norms.

6.4.4 Modes of Transmission

The musical experiences of Matilda, Rosie, and Gara highlight several modes of transmission, some of which, at times, are at odds with each other. Matilda learned the Christian songs she sings both through oral transmission at the Roman Catholic Church and consulting written songbooks, never utilizing audio or visual technology as an aid. Rosie, who cannot read syllabics, learned the songs she knows also through oral transmission. She learned songs at the Roman Catholic Church and by hearing them sung

on the radio or compact disc. Gara, learned her Christian repertoire through oral transmission, the written word, and through the use of compact discs and the radio. While Matilda asserted that learning hymns through oral tradition by attending Mass regularly is “traditional” she recognized the compact disc and radio route as a necessary means of preserving Christian songs, provided the music was recorded “reverently”—emphasizing the right process, not the sound.

In Chapter Five, there were discrepancies between discursive practices about modes of transmission and actual practices. As an example, there was a stronger preference for the written word in the transmission of music contradicting commonly held notions of the value of oral transmission. In this chapter, however, oral transmission emerged as the preferred method of passing on musical selections. In both chapters, recording technology was used as a didactic tool and as a source for new repertoire contradicting the commonly held notion that elders are the “true” source for knowledge. I am not saying that Inuit no longer value the knowledge of elders; I am stating that the data shows that ideas about this value have changed in some contexts.

As was seen in Chapter Four, the pathways of transmission of traditional pisiit are twofold: transmission of the pisiq and transmission of the drum dancing style. Gara learned to drum dance from Silas and Ronnie in the “Ahiarmiut” style. She learned to sing five pisiit from me via recordings and she learned one pisiq from Eva Aupak, an elder hired to teach pisiit at Qitiqliq High School. As stated earlier, the transmission of pisiit from older generations to younger ones is almost non-existent outside of the school realm. Thus, patterns of transmission have completely changed in this contemporary context.

6.4.5 Language

The language use in the song repertoire of each of the three Mamgark women shows both continuity and change. Matilda sang all of her songs in Inuktitut. In fact, Matilda reads, writes, and speaks Inuktitut fluently. She does not know any English (or very little).

Rosie sang twenty songs in Inuktitut and eight songs in English, reflecting a shift in language use in the community. Rosie cannot read or write Inuktitut syllabics because she was not taught Inuktitut very well at school. She can read, write, and speak in English. Mass at the Catholic Church in Arviat is conducted in Inuktitut. Due in part to the fact that Rosie cannot read the responses of the Mass in Inuktitut, nor does she understand all the vocabulary she hears, she has a comprehension of the Catholic Mass which is entirely individualized.

Gara (Figure 6.C27) is the only one of the three women who is completely bilingual. Unlike her mother, Gara participated in an all Inuktitut program from K-3, with half an hour of English as a Second Language instruction each day. Throughout the rest of her school life, Inuktitut language instruction was an integral part of every day.²⁷⁰ Gara's overall repertoire, with nine English songs and twenty-seven Inuktitut ones, reflects her bicultural/bilingual experience. The fact that there are triple the amount of Inuktitut songs reveals a strong preference for her mother-tongue.

²⁷⁰ K-3: Inuktitut all day; ½ hour of ESL instruction a day; 4: ½ day Inuktitut; ½ day English; 5: English all day; ½ hour of Inuktitut instruction a day; 6-7: English all day; 1 hour of Inuktitut instruction a day; 8-12: English all day; 1 hour of Inuktitut instruction a day.

The miscomprehension of language in some songs (hymns and pisiit) by Gara is noteworthy. The language of many hymns is localized and written metaphorically. Most pisiit are written metaphorically. Gara had difficulty with the meaning of several songs she sings because her literal understanding of the words made the song incomprehensible. Furthermore, Gara stated that even after the metaphors were explained, she still had difficulty understanding the meaning. This is due in part to the fact that Gara cannot identify with metaphors about living on the land because she has never done so. Gara grew up in town and has never known hunger, the prolonged feeling of being cold, or the extreme exhaustion due to the search for food and travel. Furthermore, as Doreen Manik, Inuk principal of Qitiqlik School, has pointed out, the metaphoric vocabulary of elders is diminished among young Inuit students. As seen in Chapter Four, language loss contributed to a notion of a homogenized pan-Inuit identity.

In Nunavut, the Inuktitut language is mobilized as a marker of Inuit identity and it is a core component of inummariit. The use of the Inuktitut language, however modified or understood in present-day Arviat, is still highly valued. It can be said that through the mobilization of the Inuktitut language all three Mamgark women are performing their Inuit identity.

6.4.6 Gender

Music leadership at the Catholic Church in Arviat is led entirely by females. This is not the case in other churches. As was seen in in Chapter Four, drum dancing is taught by a man to the boys but traditional skills are also taught to girls, and in Chapter Five, musical leadership at the Anglican Church is led by one man, Sandy Okatsiak with

several other male and female participants. How is music leadership at the Catholic Church a gendered activity? How do individuals within the Catholic Church come to regard themselves as gendered beings, and to appraise certain qualities and activities in gendered terms? How is power exerted and experienced in gender relations? How are gender relations reproduced from one generation to the next? How is it possible for individuals to challenge or renegotiate the terms of such relations? What role does musical performance play in each of these processes?

The musical experiences and narratives of Matilda, Rosie, and Gara underscore both stability and evolution in gender roles in the community of Arviat. Matilda's musical role at the Catholic Church is definably a female one. As stated above, while other churches in Arviat have male song leaders, it has been customarily a female role at the Catholic Church since the 1920s, when hymn leading was a job for the nuns. Male roles at the Catholic Church include that of worship leader or priest. Matilda states that "it is always a man who reads the gospel." Furthermore, she indicated that men distribute the Holy Communion. As a woman, she believes that her role is to contribute to the worship service through singing and praying and to increase "good" communication with God. Matilda also believes that it is her job to pass on her knowledge of hymns, gospel songs and antiphons to the female members of her family—especially Rosie and Gara. This is one reason why she laments the fact that neither of them knows the traditional Inuit "Gloria," "Kyrie," and "Lord's Prayer" among many other musical selections, nor do they seem interested in learning them. In contrast to previous Catholic traditions, Rosie and Gara will probably not follow their mother/grandmother's role as song leader at the Catholic Church in Arviat. Matilda's co-songleader and relative, Winnie Malla has

several daughters (eldest Lorraine and second-eldest Michelle) who at the time of this research had already begun to sing at the church in preparation for future leadership.²⁷¹

For young Inuit, such as Lorraine and Michelle, three of the hardest aspects of leading musical worship at the Catholic Church are 1) the ability to sing in two-part harmony as their mother and Matilda do for several selections. Inuit at the Catholic Church like to hear women singing in harmony although it is rarely done elsewhere. Thus, Lorraine and Michelle would have been required to refine their two-part singing by the time they take over the musical leadership in order to meet the preferred aesthetic of the congregation; 2) As young singers, these two girls did not have a large enough repertoire to choose songs that are appropriate to the theme of the Mass. For example, at a Mass I attended in the fall of 2005, Lorraine Malla unknowingly sang an Easter hymn during the collection of the offering. Such an oversight would not have been made by Winnie, Matilda, or any older adult song leader; and 3) as young singers, Lorraine and Michelle had high soprano voices—much higher in tessitura than your normal congregational singers. Thus, when leading the hymns they choose keys in which congregation members are uncomfortable singing. At times congregation members let the girls know that the key was “wrong,” stating that “this hymn should be sung lower...it’s too high...etc.” At the Catholic Church in Arviat, high-pitched singing in particular is thought of as shrill. It remains to be seen if Michelle will change her range of singing to match the aesthetics of the congregation or if they will challenge the desired norm and continue to sing in hymns at a higher pitch.

²⁷¹ Unfortunately, Lorraine Malla died of suicide in 2009.

Although song leading at the Catholic Church is an activity usually reserved for women, I have seen men sing solos there as well. Just as Inuit men and women have contrasting roles within family, community, and religious life, men and women are expected to play contrasting roles as singers at the Catholic Church. First, men never lead the congregational hymns. Second, men always perform their solos at the front of the church near the altar area (sometimes, Matilda and Winnie lead musically from their places in the pews where they sit with their families to worship). Thus, distinctions between men and women singers indicate different performance practices. For example, renditions of the same hymn or gospel song will be rendered somewhat differently by men and women. Furthermore, there is usually applause after a man performs, whereas women are rarely acknowledged in this way. This indicates that a man singing at the Catholic Church is out-of-the-ordinary and thus his performance merits appraisal. Liturgical roles in Roman Catholic Churches everywhere are institutionally gendered. What I have observed in Arviat is more a reflection of a universal than a particular.

Rosie's narratives about music and contemporary Inuit life show that Rosie believes that her role as a woman/mother has changed from that of "traditional Inuit" women, "I have been trying to live like the qablunaat live;" meaning that she cannot prepare seal skins, or cook caribou heads. Rosie yearns to know more about "traditional" Inuit culture and has recently begun to learn "traditional" female roles from her mother. When reciting what these "traditional" roles were, Rosie never mentioned learning to be a song leader at the Roman Catholic Church. Her choice of repertoire reinforces the love that she has for her mother.

Gara's role as female drum dancer with the group Arviat Imngitingit has resulted in crossing male-female musical boundaries. The discursive practices about and within the Inuit drum dance are often marked by gender: Baliksi talks about the "training of boys" for Inuit shamanism (Baliksi 1970: 225); Birket-Smith states that "The women dance like the men, but never beat the drum." (Birket-Smith 1976: 271); and Silas Illungiyok maintains, "The qilauti is a male-oriented instrument. In traditional Inuit society women usually play the drum after the men are finished their dancing. The women usually sit in a semi-circle and sing while an Inuk man is drumming." (Silas Illungiyok: personal communication May 13, 2007). Gara's role as female drum dancer for the traditional pisiq "*Quviasuliqpunga*"—"I am happy" best demonstrates her innovation in a typically male role (in the region surrounding Arviat). While this was strongly encouraged by myself, as her qablunaaq music teacher, she and the group she performed with, Arviat Imngitingit, were strongly chided by elders and community members. But her example along with other influences of the time played their part at the beginning stages of female drum dancing among the youth of Arviat.

6.4.7 "Traditional?"—Discursive Practices

The language of tradition or "traditional Inuit culture" is conceptualized differently by the Mamgark woman. Matilda has expressed concern for erosion of Inuit traditions due to non-attendance of young people at Mass, "how will Inuit continue the celebration of the Eucharist if they cannot remember the "Kyrie" or the "Gloria" or the "Lord's Prayer?" While Matilda's daughter and grand-daughter are familiar with many

hymns, they are unable to sing the antiphons that are a part of the Catholic Mass and this upsets her, “Rosie cannot sing the Lord’s Prayer and Gara doesn’t attend morning Mass...even my own family are losing Inuit traditions.”

Matilda’s comment about “losing Inuit traditions” refers to the Catholic Eucharistic Mass rituals not the “traditional” Inuit shamanistic rituals the term “traditional” is often used to describe. Thought of this way, Matilda perceives the Catholic rituals brought in by Missionaries as specifically “Inuit.” Furthermore, she believes that the ancient way of performing Catholic rituals, i.e. the initial way the Inuit were taught by missionaries, is more authentically Inuit than the more innovative forms of worship which have recently been emerging in the region.²⁷² The term “tradition” is indeed ambiguous; it has many meanings for many different people. Most Inuit in Arviat, especially those of Gara’s generation, perceive “tradition” as a term to describe ancient Inuit lifeways: music, culture, language as they were experienced before pre-contact times. But for Matilda, the Catholic Mass performed with strict adherence to the Roman Missal, in Inuktitut, with old hymns and antiphons, is considered a “traditional” Inuit ritual as well.

For Rosie, “traditional Inuit culture” refers to ancient Inuit values, customs, music, language, and culture; the ancient culture many Inuit are trying to revive and preserve through the display of Inuit cultural icons such as the Inuit drum, ulu, kamutik, amoutik, drum dance songs, throat songs and so on. When Rosie states that she wishes to

²⁷² It should be noted that Matilda’s hymn choices were highly unlikely to be part of what was established by Mikilar and the nuns in the 1920s. Prior to 1960 Catholic hymns were Latin and largely from within a plainchant tradition.

know more about her traditional Inuit culture she is not referring to the old hymns and antiphons of the Catholic Mass which her mother wants her to know.

For Gara, “traditional Inuit culture” is also equated with ancient Inuit customs, but she almost always associates “traditional Inuit culture” with “traditional Inuit music” such as the drum dance and throat singing. She probably makes this connection because her personal experiences involving Inuit cultural revival and promotion have been, almost exclusively, music-making. Even though she may not understand the text of the songs she sings, she nevertheless, feels connected with her past.

Matilda’s deep association with the knowledge of Catholic musical traditions with Inuit tradition is strongly paralleled in other aboriginal communities. Tom Gordon’s work among the Labrador Inuit reveals that within the generation of elders there is an intense belief that the Moravian liturgical music is their traditional music. Similarly, the belief of younger generations that throat singing and drum dancing is the real traditional music is widely held in Labrador (personal communication, December 2011). In her overview of the kinds of music that Canada’s First Peoples have heard and created within the colonial period, Elaine Keillor (1995) states, “...[there is an indication] that Christian hymnody is functioning in a manner parallel to the musics of aboriginal parent cultures. Such music has come to be regarded as ‘Native’ by the people themselves as they have transformed and adapted Euro-American traditions to their own individual needs and contexts” (Keillor 1995: 111).²⁷³

This chapter reveals more dogma in the Christian services at the Catholic Church, as compared to the Anglican Church, but a similar integration of “real Inuit” and

²⁷³ Others such as Lassiter, Ellis, and Kotay (2002) and Hamill (2012) have written about this point as well.

Christian ideologies in the narratives of the three women about the meaning of the music they prefer. It also points to dramatic gender and generational differences.

Chapter 7: *Taima*—Conclusion

Inummariit manifested in Inuit ideas about spirituality, traditional lifeways, and Christianity as exhibited through music performance

In this dissertation, I examined how Inuit belief systems have changed and developed in response to resettlement and colonialism using music as a portal to understand personal negotiations and transitions. To investigate these changes I considered how *inummariit*—the true Inuit way of life exhibits itself in the musical choices and performances of individuals from three Inuit families. My argument was that *inummariit* is actually a belief system which manifests itself in ideas about spirituality, traditional lifeways, and Christianity. Two chapters focused on Christian contexts because these were the belief systems of the colonizers and they are music-rich events in the modern community. One other chapter focused on how the traditional Inuit drum dance has shaped the everyday culture of Inuit living in Arviat. *Inummariit*, which literally translates as “real Inuit,” embodies “real Inuit” identity.

When I began research for this study, I first set out to explore how the Inuit of Arviat use their musical practices to negotiate social diversity within the community in response to sociocultural changes since three distinctive groups were resettled there in the 1950s. The Ahiarmiut were physically relocated to Arviat by airplane by the federal government in 1958. The Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut, who were living in camps near the settlement during that time drifted into Arviat ‘voluntarily’ in search of food and medical supplies from the missions. I was interested in knowing whether or not people in present-day Arviat self-identify as being members of one of these particular Inuit sub-groups and how music aids in the negotiation of identity in the face of diversity.

Initially, based on families I knew early in my residence in Arviat, I was under the assumption that there would be clear-cut, neat distinctions. For example, I expected all Padlirmiut to be Anglicans, all Tariuqmiut to be Catholics, and all Ahiarmiut to be Pentecostals. What resulted, however, was nothing close to clear-cut. In fact, the data and what it revealed was downright messy. Nothing fit into neat little boxes or categories and I struggled for a long time to determine what the conflicting data meant. Furthermore, discussions with my informants took me in directions I had not planned to explore; but there I was, waist deep in chaos trying to create some semblance of order. I was forced to look at the ‘big picture;’ to really engage with the idea that culture is not static, that it is a dynamic living thing; and that individuals never really embody a constant bundle-of-traits; rather there is a continuous sense of on-going identity negotiation.

The data I collected focussed less on diversity and more on spirituality. In my discussions with people, I found that there was an underlying spirituality which guided musical choices, performance practices, human relations, actions, and behaviours. Thus, I changed the ‘big question’ to reflect how Inuit belief systems have changed and developed in response to resettlement and colonialism using music as a portal to understand personal negotiations and transitions.

Most Inuit live by a belief system, or code of ethics, or a value system based on living like a “true Inuk.” As stated in Chapter One, how Inuit conceptualize living the “Inuit way” or inummariit is diverse and complex. The concept of inummariit can refer to practices of the past or the present, to practices that are distinctly Inuit or syncretic mixtures of Inuit and settler culture, or to interpretations of new media-influenced

practices that “localize” them in a variety of meaningful ways. Furthermore, inummariit identity is constantly changing.

The preceding chapters have highlighted various ways in which inummariit is manifested in ideas about spirituality, traditional lifeways, and Christianity using music as a gateway to understanding. I compare the data emerging from these musical contexts with the goal of demonstrating the ways in which inummariit is manifested in the musical choices and performances of specific individuals in relation to different spiritual practices. These practices are inflected by generational difference, group and individual dynamics, as well as attitudes toward gender, language, emotion, kinship, transmission, technology, and healing. In efforts to understand the continuities and challenges which have taken place, the data is divided into two categories: 7.1) Continuities and Synchronicity in Vernacular and Institutional Belief Systems and 7.2) Challenges in Vernacular and Institutional Belief Systems.

7.1 Continuities and Synchronicity in Vernacular and Institutional Belief Systems

The present study showed that there is a great deal of syncretism between traditional Inuit ideology and contemporary Inuit Christian worship. Furthermore, continuities were evident in ideas about social cohesion, language, emotion, and healing.

7.1.1 Complex Relationship between Individuality and Social Cohesion

In all three musical contexts (Chapters Four, Five, and Six), individual and group dynamics in musical performance reveal continuity and change in Inuit social organization. In Chapter Four, I discussed the beliefs that relate to the traditional Inuit

drum dance and its accompanying pisiit. One of the most striking features of traditional Inuit drum dance songs is that the melodic and rhythmic lines of the song are independent of the beat of the drum. Certainly, elder Silas and his oldest son drum dance in this manner. It seems then that between the drum and the song there is an emphasis on the rhythmic individuality of the drum dancer and a refusal to move toward integration for unity. At the same time, a group of women sings the song in unison. The unity of the women is set off as a single line against the single line of the drum. In traditional times it was the wife of the drummer who led the other women in the singing of her husbands' pisiq. Thus traditionally, the relationship of the drum line to the song line is critical for understanding the relationship of the wife of the drummer to the group of women. The music was simultaneously unifying and independent, neither form dominating the other.

At the drum dance held at the Elders' Centre on May 9, 2007 it was not Silas' wife who led his song. Rather he started singing as he began beating the drum. It was his friend and fellow Aharmiut, Mary Anowtalik who then picked up the leadership role in singing his pisiq with the women's group as Silas continued to drum dance. Maybe the roles of husbands and wives have changed in the performance of drum dance songs; but the idea that there is unity and individuality simultaneously present in the performance remains. In traditional and contemporary Inuit society, people value individuality and personal autonomy without the interference of others. In fact, inummariit is a concept that supports each person's right to be an individual while at the same time, living and contributing to the community as a whole, "People are supposed to live their own lives and be separate from other people, just as long as they don't break any of the laws of our Elders. You can be yourself and still be a part of a family, a church, a group of any kind"

(Silas Illungiyok, May 13, 2007). In this case, the structure of the music and the musical performance manifested a core component of inummariit: simultaneous personal autonomy and unity.

Ollie's performance with the school group Arviat Imngitingit contradicts the idea of individuality and unity existing simultaneously in contemporary drum dance songs. When Ollie drum danced for "*Inusivut Pisia*" his drum beat matched the beat of the song. Each individual contributed a complementary part to the overall effect of the song, each person working together to form a whole. This resembles Western music in that essentially, each part absorbs the other to create a whole. This may reflect the fact that the group is associated with the school and is run by a teacher from the south, who may value conformity over individuality. Certainly, the idea that the drum beat should match the beat of the music is a Western concept. However, discourse from young Inuit also showed that they valued the idea that everyone in the group should look the same, i.e. wear the Arviat Imngitingit performance uniform, stand in the same manner, and drum to the beat of the music. In fact, one young female singer said, "I can't sing when Qahuq drums. His drumming confuses my singing and I get lost. He should drum with the music instead of doing whatever he pleases," (Sheena Aulatjut, Aesthetic Project, April 5, 2006). Furthermore, my young informants tended to totalize inummariit qualities into "black and white" categories. For example binaries such as good hunter-bad hunter; truth-lies; no drugs or alcohol-drugs and alcohol; Inuktitut-English; Christianity-faithless; on the land-in the community; sharing-greedy; quiet-loud; passive-aggressive (bossy) were common expressions among the youth to describe inummariit qualities verses non-inummariit qualities. There did not seem to be any grey areas which would allow for

individuality and unity to co-exist. This seems to suggest that members of the younger generation may value group conformity more than individualism. This is reflected in the performance of their music where it is the whole group performance which is valued more than the individual parts.

The idea that the group is valued more than the individual is also seen in the discourse about traditional Inuit throat singing. Throat singing is a vocal game played by two females. Standing close in producing the sound would suggest a unifying feature as the two girls merge together the use of their bodies in the production of sounds. At the same time the two lines produced by the girls remain distinct and do not try to come together ‘in harmony,’ and the competitive aspect of the singing keeps the players as separate and distinct entities. The structure of the music in throat singing can be seen as unifying and individualistic at the same time, reflecting an aspect of *inumariit* which values the individual and the group simultaneously. Gara’s discourse about throat singing, however, focuses on the importance of the group dynamic. She enjoyed the social camaraderie with the female members of *Arviat Imngitingit* stating, “The best part was being in the room with twenty girls or so with one part sitting on one side and the other part on the other and hearing all those people throat sing at the same time. Wow.”

Early anthropologists defined Inuit social life as egalitarian.²⁷⁴ Many observed that the idea of social hierarchy was strongly muted and that social groups were collections of kin who associated themselves with areas of territory but did not claim rights of ownership to that territory. But the Inuit traditional “hunter gatherer” society has been influenced by colonization, missionization, and relocation into larger towns and

²⁷⁴ Birket-Smith (1976), Rasmussen (1927), Boas (1877).

I found these influences have had an impact on the shaping of power relations in the community of Arviat. Changes and power shifts have taken place in religious traditions, as in hunting, political, and even family customs. These changes belie the notion that Inuit live in egalitarian societies.

Performance of Christian music at the Anglican Church in Arviat (see Chapter Five) by one family shows how power relations are established and contested revealing some important contemporary redefinitions of *inummariit* for those involved. On the outside looking in, the Okatsiak family seems like a cohesive performance group where all musicians are equal and contribute to a unified whole. Even family members articulate that everyone is equally important in the group, “We all contribute to the music. I sing, Kuuku plays bass, Mary plays the organ, Sandy plays the guitar and sings back-up harmony. We all have our part. Everyone is important” (Eva Okatsiak, April 27, 2007). Musically, each instrument contributes its part; working together to form a whole. Musically and socially the Okatsiak family performance group seems like an egalitarian entity. But a closer look at the structure of the group reveals something different. Sandy is the leader of the group. He is identified as the leader by members of the Okatsiak family and by members of the Anglican congregation, “Sandy is the *sivuliqti*. He is the song leader. He chooses the music for the services” (Martha Nutarasungnik, April 6, 2007). But, not only does Sandy decide what music to sing for the services, he decides when to begin the D+ pedal point which marks the coming of the Holy Spirit. Thus, Sandy in fact, can (and does) exert power over his own world and the spiritual world. Sandy’s leadership and power is contested by the ordained ministers of the Anglican Church in Arviat, who seem to be actively discouraging performance of *Kuukpaluk*—the

River during worship services because it does not fit with typical Anglican practices. In response, Sandy shows up late (or not at all) to worship services led by the ordained ministers and he only performs Kuukpaluk at services where the ordained ministers are absent. Sandy's musical actions and behaviours can be seen as reinventing and resisting southern Anglican cultural norms. At the same time, his actions and behaviours reinforce the Inuit belief that individuals have a right to assert their individuality: i.e. Sandy is showing that he is living as inummariit do.

As Sugarman (1997) has stated, we must consider “lived experience to encompass what might be termed the ‘social effects’ of musical practices: the ways that music-making participates in the very construction of agency and experience; and the ways that the actions of individuals implicate them in continual renegotiations, not only of their musical practices, but also of the relations of power that organize their society” (p. 27). These three examples reveal how concepts of inummariit are diverse and changing and how music and music performance can be used as a means of making social change.

7.1.2 Spiritual Power of Language

The Inuit language in its various dialects is central to Inuit culture. This is made apparent in the government's 2003 mandate to establish Inuktitut as the working language in all government programs and policies; to have Inuktitut primary schools with Inuit teachers by 2005; to develop Inuktitut curricula for primary, elementary, junior high, and senior schools. Speaking and understanding Inuktitut is a core component of being inummariit. Thus, language is a powerful strategy for marking identity.

In the Catholic Church (Chapter Six) context, the words of hymns may function as markers of Inuit sub-group identity. For example, Matilda knows two translations of the hymn “Shall We Gather at the River.” One is in the dialect of people living in Rankin Inlet and the other is in her own Tariaqmiut dialect. While she understands the localized meaning of both texts, she prefers to sing the hymn in her own dialect because, “The words have more meaning for me and my people” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006); thus she marks her Tariaqmiut identity through musical performance. Furthermore, the localized text of hymns reference real places, events, and themes in Tariaqmiut history and present-day living. These references reveal a complex intersection between Christianity, specific Inuit history, and individual experiences. In alignment with the findings of Lassiter, Ellis, and Kotay (2002) who focus on the language in Kiowa hymns and illuminate the multi-dimensional meanings that hymns have on individual and communal planes, I have found that the localized texts of Inuit hymns in Arviat carry meanings which simultaneously encompass the multiplicity of individual interpretations, stories, and specific histories. As such, recurrent themes such as references to rivers near Arviat and the pursuit of happiness are examples of inummariit which are manifested in localized texts of hymns. This indicates a deep connection with the past and a continued belief in traditional Inuit values.

Also, when the published English texts of hymns in Chapters Five and Six were contrasted with local Inuit translations, it became evident that there has been a shift in Christian concepts to make them locally relevant. For example, in the Anglican context (Chapter Five) the Inuktitut versions of “The Sweet By and By” and “Here Today; Gone Tomorrow” deal with connecting with dead ancestors through spiritual experiences, an

activity not mentioned in the original English lyrics. Communication with dead ancestors is an important aspect of traditional Inuit ideology which has been blended into the Anglican Christian tradition in Arviat. The Christian celebration of Easter has been modified in the Anglican Church in Arviat to include Kuukpaluk, an Inuit-Christian ritual which also involves connecting with Inuit ancestors. The inclusion of this specific Inuit-Christian ritual, coupled with song texts which indicate communication with dead ancestors, are examples of how Christian rituals and concepts have been modified to make them more locally significant.

In the school context (Chapter Four), members of Arviat Imngitingit (youths Gara Mamgark, Qahuq Illungiyok, Ollie Illungiyok, Mariah Illungiyok) sing songs in Inuktitut as markers of identity. In this musical ensemble with diverse heritages and songs borrowed from a variety of Inuit sub-groups, language emerges as a marker of generalized Inuit identity rather than a localized one. This is made evident in the fact that youth grapple with Inuktitut comprehension on a variety of levels and often do not know which dialect they are singing. For example, Ollie (Chapter Four) drum dances to the traditional pisia “*Qumak Pisia*” but does not know what the song is about. This is true for most young Inuit. Gara (Chapter Six) understands Inuktitut but is confused by the metaphors used. Furthermore, students are not aware of the Inuit sub-groups represented by the composers of the music they sing. Both factors point to the performance of a homogenized Inuit identity. So there is a generational shift from local sub-group to pan-Inuit affiliation.

As Szego (2003) has suggested in a Hawaiian context, the sound and use of a traditional indigenous language (in this case, Inuit) is meaningful, even if those singing or

listening do not comprehend its semantic meaning. Songs that have a metaphorical text are meaningful for singers and listeners, even though they may hold no literal meaning. For example, when learning to sing traditional Inuit pisiit Gara has expressed that she does not understand the text. The language of many traditional pisiit is written metaphorically. Gara had difficulty with the meaning of several pisiit she sings because her literal understanding of the words made the song incomprehensible. Gara stated that even after the metaphors were explained, she still had difficulty understanding the meaning due to the lack of context (living on the land during pre-resettlement times). The data emerging from my findings showed that for Gara the meaning of traditional pisiit was found in the process of performance, especially for non-Inuit. Through the performance of these songs, regardless of textual comprehension, Gara was able to validate her sense of “real Inuit” identity. This “identity” is much more about the recognition that outsiders give than actually understanding the content of the song. For Gara, singing these songs is also a means of connecting with her past, whether real or imagined. Finally, she believes that she is building proper relationships with elders and other members of the community.

Inuk teacher/principal, Doreen Manik, said that the Inuktitut vocabulary of Inuit students is diminishing, resulting in reduced reading comprehension (Manik’s personal observation, 2004). For Gara, not understanding the full meaning of the text, however, did not lessen the value in singing traditional Inuit pisiit. Performances of these songs, considered to be traditionally Inuit, are in fact performances of a homogenized Inuit identity, and therefore redefine inummariit as a cultural symbol in the school context.

In the Anglican Church (Chapter Five), singing in Inuktitut as a marker of inummariit is less straightforward because there are contradictions between discourse and practice. For example, Sandy maintains that singing and praying in Inuktitut is necessary for communication with God and with his ancestors, “We must sing and pray in Inuktitut. It is the language of our ancestors—the true Inuit. They will understand us better” (Sandy Okatsiak, April 27, 2007). Sandy and his family do, in fact, sing the majority of their religious repertoire in Inuktitut for Anglican Services. However, at the most spiritually heightened point of the Easter Vigil Service on Saturday, April 7, 2007 Sandy chose to sing Andy Park’s “The River is Here” not in his mother tongue, not in the language of his dead ancestors with whom he was interacting at that moment, but in English, the language of his colonizers. What confounded me even more was that during the performance of this English gospel song, sung in a country and western style, Martha Nutarasungnik beat the qilauti—the traditional Inuit drum with enthusiasm. Thus, this performance reveals that inummariit takes on a new synchronicity; combining new and old elements simultaneously to reach localized goals.

As was seen in the Catholic Church context, there was also localization of hymn texts in the Anglican Church which revealed deep connections between Christianity and traditional Padlirmiut ideology. The important traditional and contemporary inummariit theme of “the pursuit of happiness” was manifested in the Inuit-Christian ritual Kuukpaluk and in the many hymns sung throughout the ritual. An analysis of the Inuktitut base root word “quvia-” showed how the language used in ritual and music enacts a larger, shared community with God, Anglicanism, and traditional Inuit worldview. For example, “the pursuit of happiness” is deeper than it seems in English

and clearly polysemous, referencing the endeavour to achieve good physical health, community cohesion, healthy relationships, religious devotion, and so on. It is a core component of traditional Inuit worldview and happiness is the desired outcome of the contemporary Inuit-Christian ritual Kuukpaluk. Furthermore, the newly developed Inuktitut word for heaven contains the base root word quvia-: quvianartuvik, which literally translates as “a place of great joy and happiness.”

My research shows strong elements of syncretism between Anglicanism and pre-contact spirituality; however, the influence of the Pentecostal Church also played its part in adding ingredients to the syncretic soup. For example, the speaking in tongues and experiencing the Holy Spirit are very much Pentecostal traditions. Hymns such as “Holy Ghost and Fire” and “Welcome Holy Spirit” which are sung to invite the presence of the Holy Spirit are Pentecostal hymns.

7.1.3 “Quvia-”—Happiness

One constant thread that is woven throughout these chapters is an intangible element of music-making—the feeling that is present when performing as a group. The people who engage in music-making from these three families do not see it only as an outlet for cultural expression or a means of engaging with God and the spiritual world. Nor is it solely a means for healing or engaging with the diverse community of Arviat, though all of these are important functions of their participation. Regardless of sub-group heritage, gender, Christian denomination, membership in a choir or a band, members of these families continue to participate in music-making because of the feeling that is present during practices and performances. Good feeling songs are often identified as the

ones which bring “happiness.” The pursuit of happiness is a core component of inummariit, “We have always heard that a person who strives for happiness, even when it doesn’t seem attainable, will always reach that goal sooner or later. Likewise, a person who gave up would always reap what he sowed” (Elder Donald Suluk in *Inuktitut* Winter 1987: 31).

There is much richness in the Inuktitut language. Quvia- (happiness as it is loosely translated in English) has many meanings in Inuktitut. Furthermore, as a core component of inummariit (which is also a very complex Inuit concept), quvia- is sought out and attained in various contexts.

As discussed in Chapter Four, for Silas, happiness through music-making can be achieved in a number of ways. First, the entire pisiq must be sung so that the entire story can be heard; second, the feeling of community at a drum dance “makes us happy.” Thus, on occasions when many diverse members of the community are present, when the singers sing songs they remember from days gone by, and when they sing and dance from the heart, a high energy in the form of happiness is attained; third, when there are young people at a drum dance who sing and drum dance traditional pisiit, happiness results in the people present: “This is the Inuit traditional way of making pisiit and passing on their stories. The elders understand how it was. We want our young people to understand how it was also... We want our people to be happy and proud and for our culture to survive and grow” (Silas Illungiyok, teacher workshop, 2004). When Silas talks about community, he emphasizes that everyone is included no matter what their heritage: Inuit, particular Inuit sub-group, or qablunaat. This was demonstrated in his insistence that qablunaat participate in the drum dance at the Elders’ Centre on May 9, 2007. Thus, the

way in which Silas Illungaiyok talks about community emphasizes social cohesion. The drum dance performance connection is based in “happiness,” rather than an ethnic marked notion of community membership.

As discussed in Chapter Five, at the Anglican Church “happiness” is achieved with the arrival of the Holy Spirit and the cleansing of the soul. The arrival of the Holy Spirit (and thus happiness) can only happen through the performance of “beautiful music” during Kuukpaluk and a personal commitment to “live the right life”—the way of the ancestors. Before Kuukpaluk was to begin on April 7, 2007 i.e. before Sandy began to play the D+ pedal point which enabled people to sing and invite the Holy Spirit into their physical bodies, an Elder compared the Holy Spirit to Inuit ancestors stating, “They knew the right way. Holy Spirit, come into us now and lead us to the happiness” (Inuit Elder immediately before Kuukpaluk, April 7, 2007). The contemporary ritual of Kuukpaluk, practiced at Easter, enabled Inuit to be re-born in the love of Jesus Christ with the help of the Holy Spirit by walking through an imaginary river and singing from the heart. This process enabled people to experience the “happiness” they were striving for.

When this “happiness” or energy is present, worship services may last up to three or four hours. Conversely, when it is not present, services may end well under an hour. When the ordained Anglican ordained ministers are present at worship services, Kuukpaluk does not happen. Hymns from the hymnbooks (chosen by the ordained ministers) are sung instead of gospel songs and Sandy is not permitted to perform music which would enable the Holy Spirit to enter the bodies of those present, and “happiness” is not achieved because there is no personal or collective re-birth or transformation. Is this process similar to Seeger’s (2004: 17) discussion of euphoria among the Suyá of

Mato Grosso, Brazil? Both the Suyá and Inuit talk about the importance of the emotion “happiness” during transformation in ceremony: Seeger describes the Mouse Ceremony whereby singers feel a sense of euphoria during musical performance and eventually undergo a transformation into beings that are both human and animal. During the Inuit-Christian ritual of Kuukpaluk, Inuit also feel a sense of euphoria and they also undergo a transformation. In contrast with the Mouse Ceremony, Inuit do not transform into beings that are animal; rather they are transformed into happier individuals who are part of a more cohesive community, ready to go into the world and live happier lives.

These processes may seem similar; but the “happiness” involved in the euphoria during Kuukpaluk is much, much more than what Seeger describes during the Mouse Ceremony. Taking into consideration the many meanings of the word “happiness” in the Inuktitut language, Inuit may be experiencing one or many emotions during Kuukpaluk. For Inuit, “happy” emotions are highly complex and may be connected to matters of morality, behaviour, laughter, good weather, enjoyable experiences, good company, being warm, eating, and many more.²⁷⁵ Furthermore, “being happy” is a desirable trait for inummariit because it encompasses many of the traditional concepts of being a good person. “Happiness” then carries meaning which simultaneously comprises the multiplicity of interpretations and specific histories: a long established relationship with God and a deep connection with the past.

As discussed in Chapter Five, in pre-missionization times (pre-1926), Inuit believed that all living things had souls and that these souls were born and reborn in a continuous cycle. This was especially evident in traditional naming practices. Children

²⁷⁵ See discussion of “happiness” on pages 260-263.

were named after deceased relatives whose souls and personalities were then ‘reborn’ in the new child. Furthermore, Rasmussen (1931) has shown that to become a shaman one had to go through a death/rebirth experience. Similarly, Christian ideology is centred on the death and resurrection of Jesus. The contemporary ritual of Kuukpaluk, practiced at Easter enables Inuit to be re-born in the love of Jesus Christ with the help of the Holy Spirit by walking through an imaginary river. This synchronizing of beliefs reveals how concepts of inummariit, such as re-birth and the pursuit of “happiness,” have been absorbed in contemporary Christian contexts. This aligns well with the research of Laugrand (1997) who showed how Inuit religions, spiritual traditions, and Christian practices were integrated. While my research found themes of re-birth and the pursuit of happiness to be among two of those most obvious synchronic features, Laugrand discovered the blending rituals relating to eating tabooed foods with the consumption of Christian communion (i.e. wine and bread/blood and body of Jesus).

In Chapter Six, happiness or lack thereof was conceptualized in a cause and effect relationship. For example, Rosie, who claims not to be particularly religious, i.e. she rarely attends Mass and does not pray on a regular basis, expressed nostalgia for Christian values and ideology, emphasizing her belief that if she and her family went to Mass more often, there would be less drug addiction among family members and more happiness. Embedded in Rosie’s knowledge of the accepted Inuit lifeways in Arviat is a belief that if her family lived more like inummariit, bad luck (in the form of drug addiction) would not be prevalent in their lives.

7.1.4 Healing

The healing properties of music are underscored in most musical contexts discussed in this dissertation. The relationship between healing, belief, and music nuance an element of inummariit which has been adapted in newer contexts. For example, before missionization, inummariit believed that if a sick person confessed their wrongdoings to the shaman (or healer), they would become healed (see Chapter Five for a discussion about this process). Sometimes, music and/or drum dancing aided this process, “They [shamen] used to save people who were otherwise destined to die, and they made it look so real...Some good ritual songs seemed to have some influence in saving sick people” (Ahiarmiut elder Eva Nutaraaluk in Bennett & Rowley 2004: 356). In present-day Anglicanism and Catholicism, when Inuit are asked to confess their sins to God, they are identifying with a pre-existing ideology. In contrast with earlier ideology where the physical and/or the mental body were healed, the contemporary Easter service at the Anglican Church, with its public confessional testimony is more about the healing of the sin-sick soul. That is not to say that some Inuit do not believe that God can heal the physical body. On the contrary, the idea that confession to Jesus Christ can affect physical healing was reiterated by preacher Ubluriak in his sermon at the Catholic Mass on April 23, 2006. He maintained that his foot was broken and was miraculously healed through the divine power of Jesus Christ. These examples show how aspects of older Inuit worldviews are adapted and practiced in contemporary Inuit Christian ideology. The use of music to attain personal healing, then, is a performance of both Christian and Inuit identity at once. Individuals are implicitly performing particular local history of

contact and the negotiation of new religious practices. Such simultaneity is at the heart of identity as expressed through the musical performances described in this dissertation.

In the Mamgark family, discursive practices about the healing nature of music deal less with Christian faith and more about identifying with the lyrics of contemporary songs. For example, Gara, who has often contemplated suicide due to some horrifying events in her life, talks about the emotionally healing message in local singer/songwriter Jo Ellen Pameolik's song "Never Failing." This can be said to align well with the inummariit belief that "In the Inuit way of listening to songs, you don't really listen to the tune but to what is being said...it can be the source of happiness" (Padlirmiut elder, Donald Suluk in *Inuktitut* December 1983: 29).

In Chapter Four, on the other hand, Silas Illungiyok recognizes the healing power of the qilauti—the traditional Inuit drum. His comments deal more with community healing, emotionally and socially, and less with individual healing:

Inuit have long recognized the healing powers of the qilauti. This stems from the early beliefs that shamen were also healers. Today, the qilauti holds powers in the healing process for different reasons. When Inuit congregate at a drum dance for healing purposes, it is the feeling of community and unity that promotes healing. It makes us happy. Treasure the sound, for it is the sound of happiness. (Silas Illungiyok, May 13, 2007)

Silas concedes that healing can only happen with the help of the community. As part of the community, everyone is responsible for contributing to the wellness of individuals, which in turn, contributes to the wellness of the community. "A true Inuk [inummarik] is someone who cares for the people of the community whether they are Inuit or qablunaat. It is my job as the vice-president of the Elders' Society to ensure that we drum dance happiness for anyone who needs it" (Silas Illungiyok, May 13, 2007).

The purpose of this discussion was not to construct comparisons among unequals. For example, Silas' understanding of the healing capability of the drum is certainly far removed from Gara's use of it as a refuge from personal challenges. Rather, these examples show the various contexts in which healing (as a core component of inummariit) is achieved in present-day Arviat.

7.2 Challenges to Vernacular and Institutionalized Belief Systems

Changes in world view, transmission, and use of technology are evident in any culture. Most challenges to Inuit belief systems are a result of generational differences.

7.2.1 Inummariit as Constructed by Different Generations

It is clear that the generational differences of those Inuit relocated from the land to Arviat and those who have lived in the community their entire lives have been profoundly significant in shaping individual and communal conceptualizations of inummariit. These were shaped by relocation, Western institutions such as schools and churches, the advent and development of communication technologies, and the creation of Nunavut as a territory. In present-day Arviat, there is a definite sense of generational uniqueness and specificity.

A theory of generations produces a range of notions such as generational conflict, generational mobility, and generational ideologies (Bourdieu 1977). A generation involves the organization of collective memory. Considering the collective memory of

individuals living in Arviat, I defined the three generations²⁷⁶ represented in this study as: The Elders' Generation, The "Lost Generation," and The Youths' Generation. It is evident from the data presented in this dissertation that generational cultures become embodied in their cultural dispositions (dress, language, and emblems) and the postures of individuals (dance and song preferences). I attempted to approach these embodiments of culture by the adoption of Pierre Bourdieu's notion of habitus (Bourdieu 1977).

I can illustrate a more general account of generational habitus and generational identity formation by discussing some of each cohort's lived experience. The elder generation is the cohort born before/during relocation in a time when anxiety concerning starvation and health co-existed with the introduction of Western institutions such as schools, churches, and hospitals. The "Lost Generation," which came immediately after the relocated one, did not necessarily feel the need to break with a past identified with older members of the population; but at the same time, its members clearly divided youth from elders in terms of outlook and experience as a result of the influence of colonial institutions and community living. This divide helped create a self-conscious cohort whose collective identity was itself contained in the idea of culture and language loss.

This colonial influence and feeling of loss created the need for cultural preservation. Post-relocation generational awareness led to the decolonizing acts of the creation of Nunavut, the articulation of Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit, and the implementation of cultural and linguistic revitalization projects.

A defining characteristic of the following generation—the youths' generation—and the grounds of its distinction in Bourdieu's theory were the consumer items made

²⁷⁶ See pages 40-41 for a definition of these three generations.

available through mass media and mass production. A central aspect of the habitus of this generation-in-formation was the habit of regular consumption of the commodities of popular culture. Popular music provides an example. Recorded mass-produced and distributed music has been an essential element in Arviat since the 1970s. In Arviat, where radio (Arviaqpaluk), television, and records became available at this time, a specific youth culture was beginning to form. Country-and-western style music provided the significant influence. For youth such as Gara and Sandy, Inuit gospel songs and newly composed music in the country-and-western style served to represent youth and the modern, against the traditional music of the elders, marking the new generation as distinct from the old.

With the influence of mass media, popular music, and alternative teaching/learning styles at the schools there has been a shift in transmission practice of music from one generation to another (from oral to digital with, apparently, no intermediate literate phase). This also relates directly to the shift from localized/individualized to homogenous constructions of Inuit identity among Arviat youth.

There were other meanings and effects of youth culture on post-relocation society. Young people formed their own particular frames of reference and identity, their own generational habitus. With money to spend and age-specialized consumer items becoming more available, regular visits to the Co-op store, Northern store, Kentucky Fried Chicken, and Arcade produced an outward generational style and an inward framework of evaluation. But Arviat youth did not make a clean break with the elder generation. Youth such as Qahuq and Ollie are negotiating living in two worlds:

respecting the values and traditions of their elders and participating in modern youth culture simultaneously.

Bourdieu (1993) treats generations as phenomena which are socially constructed by the conflict over resources (both economic and cultural) within a given field; each social field has its own specific laws. What one generation has struggled to achieve may be regarded by subsequent generations as irrelevant and unimportant; this results in “many clashes between systems of aspirations formed in different periods” (Bourdieu 1993: 99). While the data arising from Chapter Six of this dissertation concurs with this aspect of Bourdieu’s theory, the data from Chapter Four and Five concurs and rejects it simultaneously. For example, the elders’ generation described in Chapter Four fought for the creation of Nunavut as its own territory, struggled to define traditional indigenous knowledge so that it could be the foundation of government policy and programs, promoted those aspects of Inuit tradition and culture which set Inuit apart from other Canadians, ensured that Inuktitut be used in government policy and programs and taught in Nunavut schools. The youth generation has taken up this torch and also articulate the importance of preserving/maintaining traditional Inuit knowledge, language, and culture in contemporary Inuit life. What the results of this dissertation have found, however, is that the youth concept of traditional indigenous knowledge and inummariit is quite different from that of their elders. So, while youth articulate a value for what their elders have struggled to achieve, their particular lived experience in communities, attending community schools, exposure to mass media, and so on reveals that they do not understand inummariit in the same way as their elders.

Bourdieu maintains that each generation shares a common collective culture. I found, however, that there were differences about what “real Inuit music” was even within the same generation. For example, in Chapter Four Silas Illungiyok, from the elder generation, values traditional Inuit music (pisiit and drum dancing) above all other music. It is this genre of music which holds the “real Inuit” stories: morals, values, and “real Inuit” way of life. In Chapter Six, however, Matilda Sulurayok, from the same elder generation, values Catholic/Christian liturgical music above all genres. It is the Christian messages and scriptures within these songs which carry messages of the “real Inuit” way of living. Why? One reason may be attributed to the manner in which these two individuals came to be relocated in Arviat. Silas was among the many Ahiarmiut who were physically and forcibly relocated from Ennadai Lake to Arviat whereas Matilda’s family “moved” there. While Matilda’s relocation experience was no less disturbing, it was less forceful. Her transition from land to community was smoother because her family “chose” to move to Arviat when they were ready to make that change. Her life experiences were so different from Silas’ that her ideologies, beliefs, and conceptualizations of inummariit are different as well.

Bourdieu (1977: 32) states that individuals within generations may typically reproduce themselves through marriage and the creation of families and moral issues of exchange emerge through notions of justice in terms of intergenerational relationships. This was seen in Chapter Four where Silas’ sons Qahuq and Ollie continue to carry on the tradition of drum dancing, albeit in different contexts and performance practices. The value for traditional Inuit culture, at least a homogenized Inuit culture as opposed to the very locally specific one Silas understands, has been passed on to the youth generation.

While there is agreement between the generations in the value of traditional music and culture, conflict lies in its conceptualization. The evidence presented in this study consistently points to generational barriers in the expression of generalized versus localized Inuit identity. Language facility is a major determinant in this barrier. We can extrapolate then that language facility is a major determinant in the differing conceptualizations of inummariit among the generations as well.

In Chapter Six there is cultural and moral conflict between Matilda, Rosie, and Gara. Gara does not value Christian liturgical music and Catholic teachings as her grandmother does, nor does she ever wish to become a song leader at the Catholic Church in Arviat. Furthermore, she finds the music of her grandmother to be “old fashioned” and the song text content to be irrelevant in her present-day world.

The elder generation, arising in a period of colonial influences after relocation, has experienced very high levels of change. By contrast young generations have been acclimatized into the modern technological world from a very young age. As a result, one might think that the quest to hold onto traditional knowledge and language might lessen with this younger generation. The opposite is true. While their generational music preferences can be radically different, young people, such as Gara, Qahuq, and Ollie are passionate about performing traditional music, articulating what inummariit is for them, and promoting it to people inside and outside the territory. Recognition by outsiders is integral to their sense of inummariit. The struggle to create a distinct identity began with the elder generation and has been carried through each generation, although each generation has its own conceptualizations about what inummariit is due to the extreme differences in the lived experiences of each cohort.

The varying conceptualizations of inummariit and traditional knowledge among the generations has revealed an important element of intergenerational conflict whereby the elder generation seeks to maintain control over cultural resources and ideologies which are either not valued or not understood by the younger generation. There has been a struggle for national identity, and various forms of cultural capital. The evidence presented in Chapter Four and Chapter Six shows that it is unanimous among the younger generation that traditional Inuit drum dancing and throat singing are among these cultural icons; however there is conflict between the generations about the context, understanding, language, and performance practices within this genre of music. In Chapter Five, Anglican Inuit describe Kuukpaluk as a traditional Inuit practice. The development of this ritual, however, has been strongly influenced by “inside” **and** “outside” forces: traditional Inuit cosmology, Anglicanism, and Pentecostalism throughout the timeline of the three generations. Chapter Six shows conflict between the elder and youth generation in terms of music genre, language, textual understanding, and belief.

7.2.2 Music, Spirituality and Gender

The performance of and discursive practices about Inuit music are often marked by gender. First, there are marked gender continuities and challenges in attitudes and behaviours about spirituality as shown through music performance. Second, there have been shifts in power relations within some performance contexts which parallel changes in gender roles within the society of Arviat.

Spirituality has been defined partly as developing a greater connectedness to self and others through relationships and community. One of the most important aspects of

inumhariit is also fostering and maintaining proper relationships. The data emerging from the present study, however, showed that these “relationships” were defined differently by some men and women. For Catholic men such as Ubluriak and Simeonie, spirituality was linked with their relationship with God; they were more attuned to God’s power and judgement. For women such as Matilda and Eva, while some of the focus was on the power of God, the main focus was on the personal connections forged with a loving God and with members of their religious communities. These differences may be attributed to continuity in Inuit gendered ways of knowing which has been around for centuries or perhaps they are attributed to the influence of Western patriarchal thinking associated with organized religion. My findings point to the latter for a number of reasons.

At the Anglican Church in Arviat, where Kuukpaluk is performed during Easter, Anglican dogma is challenged and Inuit conceptions of spirituality, faith, and belief are asserted. These conceptions are linked with early Inuit ideology that stresses the importance of loving relationships with dead ancestors and living community members. For men such as Sandy and women such as Eva, singing at Kuukpaluk provided friendships, a sense of community, and a way of contributing to the welfare of others. The Western patriarchal structures of the Anglican Church have been abandoned for a more Inuit conception of spirituality, which some western scholars would perhaps call feminine. Anglican Inuit do not seem to distinguish it this way. They call it living like inumhariit.

Worship at the Catholic Church in Arviat is uniquely Inuit; however, members have not been permitted to develop a ritual such as the Anglican Kuukpaluk. Thus, it

seems as though some Western patriarchal thinking has influenced Catholic spirituality for many people there. For Gara, who has rejected the Catholic faith and its patriarchal structures altogether, her musical spirituality—like her Anglican friends—is a way to find solace, healing, and direction—the “true Inuit” way of life.

Much of the data about gender in music performance contexts showed a shift in power relations. As was seen in Chapter Four, Silas announced three times that “girls can drum dance too” but in practice he gave only the boys an opportunity to drum dance that day in the iglu. This line of thinking supports traditional Arviamiut ideas about gender roles within the Inuit drum dance. Drumming was typically reserved for men while the singing of the accompanying pisiq was reserved for the women. Musically and socially, it is a complementary process; one depends upon the other and neither of them dominates the other. This aligns well with the historic practices of division of labour in Inuit camps.

Traditionally, the division of labour was a complementary male/female partnership. It was the key for survival (Balikci 1970; Guemple 1995; Spencer 1984; Ager 1980). The time and effort hunters put into each hunt precluded them from doing other necessary chores. Without the waterproof, warm clothing made by the women, the men could not have survived a winter hunt. Women also secured the homes and prepared food for hunters who had no energy left when they returned. Additionally, child care that was essential to the continuance of the society was firmly in the women’s hands. While women could not have survived without the products of men’s labour, men likewise could not have continued to concentrate on hunting without the products of women’s labour.

Gara expressed that she “loves to drum dance.” She does not believe that drum dancing is an activity reserved only for boys.²⁷⁷ She says:

Drum dancing is for everyone. My grandma and my mom sometimes drum dance at the Mark Kalluak Hall just for fun. They dance around and everyone has a great time; laughing and singing and all joking together. (Gara Mamgark, January, 2004)

Michelle Kisliuk (2000) focused on gender relations during performance of the BaAka women’s dances to show how BaAka negotiate power within dynamic circumstances. She concluded the gender tensions revealed through performance of the women’s dances illuminates that the BaAka of the Bagandou region are responding to changes in economic and political conditions of the society in which they live, making choices about their future, and determining who they wish to become. Kisliuk’s research parallels my own in that the Inuit traditional “hunter gatherer” society has been influenced by colonization, missionization, and relocation into larger towns. It is interesting that these influences have had a similar impact on the shaping of gender identity in Arviat. For example, Gara perceives the gendered parodying of the male dance mentioned above as an indication that community members welcome female drum dancers. However, my own experience with audience members after the performance of “*Quviasuliqpunga*” at the local community hall was the opposite. Elders and young men expressed openly that drum dancing is only for males. I could tell that some men were genuinely upset that three of the dancers were female. I asked Ronnie if he ever co-drum

²⁷⁷ For a detailed discussion about gender relations in the performance of is particular drum dance please see Piercey, Mary. 2005. “Gender Relations in Inuit Drum Dance.” *Canadian Journal for Traditional Music* 39: 4-27.

danced for “*Quviasuliqpunga*,” and he said “no,” stating that the kind of drumming for this song “was not his style” indicating that he, too, was not a supporter of women drum dancing.

We might understand these comments from the men as representative of their jealous feelings towards women. Considering the shift in Inuit gender roles in Arviat in recent years, the roots of this jealousy become visible. For example, my former neighbours and best friends Rosie and Simeonie Mamgark are a typical middle-aged Inuit couple with a large family. Historically, the male was the hunter and provider of food for the family and certainly Simeonie, at times, fills this gender role. But Rosie has often called me to hunt with her on a Sunday morning and the two of us, two females, head out onto the tundra in search of caribou. Rosie is an excellent shot and she always gets her caribou! What is even more striking about this example is the fact that, while Rosie is hunting, Simeonie is at home taking care of their seven children, a task that was historically a strictly female one. Also, it is Rosie who is employed by the Arviat District Education Authority as a teacher’s assistant and who provides a consistent monetary income for the family. This is the case in many families in Arviat; the men stay at home with the children as the women head off to work. It follows that some of these men might find the women drum dancing more threatening than they are in other contexts.

Inuit men, who disagree with women drum dancing, could be understood as expressing the fluctuations and frustrations of their own status in the changing society of Arviat. Changes have taken place in hunting traditions, religious traditions, political traditions, and even family traditions. There were definite gender roles present in a

traditional Inuit society but, these roles have changed over the years. Inuit women historically did not seriously play the drum in Arviat. Today, however, Inuit women are drum dancers, religious leaders, municipal council leaders, school teachers, hunters, gathers, child care givers, elder care givers, and the list continues.²⁷⁸ One might argue that, similar to southern Canadian women, Inuit women are dealing with much more demanding roles now than they were in the past. Alternatively, if the men are acting as care-givers in addition to their existing responsibilities, they are also dealing with much more demanding roles than they were in the past. The performance of gender identity in the drum dance may be an impetus for understanding how Inuit constitute their futures in the dynamic world in which they live.

While I cannot speak to gender relations in the musical leadership at the Catholic Church in Arviat, musicians and singers were all female members of the congregation (Matilda Sulurayok and Winnie Malla as singers, and Jackie Otuk as the church organist). The feminine nature of singing the Gregorian chant antiphons was asserted in discussions with congregation members of the Catholic Church; “the Kyrie and Gloria and the responsorial psalms sound beautiful when the women sing them” (Sarah Voisey, April 4, 2006). Matilda maintains that at the Catholic Church, “it is the women’s job to sing the antiphons; it is Ubluriak’s job to read the scriptures” (Matilda Sulurayok, April 24, 2006). The role of *sivuliqti*—song leader in the context of a church service is one of worship leader. But it can also be considered as one of display—they are always in the “front region” (Goffman 1959: 107). Within the

²⁷⁸ The elected Member of Parliament for the Kivalliq region from 1997-2008 was a woman from Arviat, Nancy Karetak-Lindell. The first Inuk lawyer to graduate from the Nunavut Akitsiraq Law Program in 2009 was Arviamut, Lillian Aglukark. The current Premier of Nunavut is Eva Aariak.

context of the Catholic Mass and the Anglican Church services in Arviat, women always serve in planning and organizational roles, doing the ‘behind the scenes’ work that is essential for conducting a church service. Their contribution to the organization of the service is often muted. Within the Catholic context this information must be interpreted in relation to the institutional policy of the Roman Catholic Church which prohibits women from assuming key leadership roles. And yet, in the Catholic Church context, women also move to the front as song leaders who introduce and lead Inuktitut music, and as speakers who offer up prayers. Thus, the role of women in the cultural production of the Catholic Mass may be seen to uphold commonly held Inuit notions of complementary gendered participation.²⁷⁹

In the musical leadership at the Anglican Church, “traditional” gender roles are observed in the production of Christian music for worship. For example, Eva sings the gospel songs and hymns and the men in her family accompany her on their respective instruments. Just as the wife and women sang the pisiq of a male drummer while he accompanied the song with the drum; Eva, the wife of Sandy, sings the gospel songs and hymns while Sandy and other members of his family accompany her. Furthermore, it is Sandy who chooses the hymns and gospel songs that Eva sings just as it was the husband who historically chose which pisiq to sing.

As has been noted, women do not normally take on leadership roles in the delivery of the scriptures or sermons at any of the churches in Arviat but they do often

²⁷⁹ While an examination of the gendered activities at all other Catholic Churches in Nunavut is beyond the scope of this dissertation, I did examine them at the Catholic Church in the capital city of Iqaluit, where I presently live and work. I found similar results: women lead in worship music and educational programming and men (priests and lay readers) lead in delivering the scripture and sermons.

take on roles as educators, mediators, organizers, and care givers—outside the arena of public display and song leaders and prayer givers—inside the arena of public display. This is not a phenomenon which is specifically Inuit; it is something which is happening in Christian institutions in most of North American. Thus, in all of these cases, we find that vernacular performances of spirituality reveal gender to take multiple forms simultaneously, as Sugarman (1989) has suggested. As much as performance may be delimited by and re-articulate expectations for gender roles, performance may also have the power to refashion such expectations (Sugarman 1989: 206).

7.2.3 Transmission Processes and Technology

In the traditional drum dance contexts (Chapter Four), several modes of transmission were highlighted. Transmission patterns were twofold: transmission of traditional pisiit and transmission of drumming style. Traditionally, Inuit pisiit were passed down through female kin, either blood related, in-law related, or related through naming practices.²⁸⁰ In present day contexts, the pisiit were taught in a school setting by a female elder who may or may not have been related to her female students and by me, via recordings. When Eva Aupak first began teaching pisiit to students, she asserted that oral transmission was the “proper” way, a mode of transmission she refers to as “traditional.” Indeed, she went so far as to suggest that writing the text down was not

²⁸⁰ Vascotto (2001).

“culturally appropriate.”²⁸¹ Over time, however, she came to see that the students, who were accustomed to the literate educational approach and found learning orally difficult, came to see the literate approach as a necessary means of keeping culture alive in some contexts. Furthermore, for Gara and other female members of Arviat Imngitingit who wished to learn more than just the one or two pisiit Eva taught them, teacher-made CDs of repertoire served a didactic purpose and facilitated the learning of many different and diverse pisiit.

The use of recordings nuances the understanding of Inuit sub-group identity matters in Arviat. Sometimes media create a sense of pan-Inuit rather than local identity as in the school when I chose recordings of pisiit from all across Nunavut. Pisiit from Baker Lake, Rankin Inlet, Pond Inlet, Pangnirtung, Chesterfield Inlet and Arviat all with their own distinctive Inuktitut dialect were learned by Gara, Mariah and other members of Arviat Imngitingit for the purpose of performance for local and national audiences. Although contextual information was provided in educational settings, students were less aware of the heritage of the songs and more aware that they were traditionally Inuit. Here traditional Inuit music and CD technology are the vessels which enabled Inuit youth in Arviat to create and perform a homogenized Inuit identity rather than a localized one.

The transmission of drumming style within the Illungiyok family was based on kinship patterns. Silas taught his sons how to drum dance in the “Ahiarmiut” style nuancing the performance of Inuit sub-group identity in this context. As a key cultural

²⁸¹ See Piercey, Mary. 2012. “Traditional Indigenous Knowledge: An Ethnographic Study of Its Application in the Teaching and Learning of Traditional Inuit Drum Dances in Arviat, Nunavut.” In *Critical Perspectives in Canadian Music Education*, ed. K.K. Veblen and C.A. Beynon. Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press.

bearer within the community, Silas also teaches boys and girls (who may or may not be related to him) how to drum dance. As seen in the example above, because his students are unaware of localized drumming styles, they think they are performing a homogenized Inuit identity rather than an Inuit sub-group specific one.

In the Anglican Church context (Chapter Five) oral transmission patterns are not preferred. Members of the congregation do know many hymns and gospel songs from memory, but most people use hymnbooks or personal songbooks (text only) as didactic and performance tools. Members of the Okatsiak family use songbooks for almost every worship service nuancing a preference for the written word in this context.

Recordings in the Anglican Church are used in different ways to achieve local goals. For example, Sandy Okatsiak, who regularly draws upon recordings for new repertoire, often translates these songs of diverse origins for performance by his family during worship services. This localization through language gives meaning for those who sing and hear the songs. For example, the South African hymn “*Siyahamba Kukhanyenikwenkhos*”²⁸²—“We are Marching in the Light of God” was translated into Inuktitut by Sandy in 2004. He also added two extra verses, one with lyrics that make reference to walking to a river to be cleansed. The original Zulu hymn, which is often sung in four-part harmony in South Africa, is sung in unison with the accompaniment of a country and western band. These changes, especially the localized text, give the hymn new meaning in the Anglican context.

²⁸² See page 84 of Appendix G for a musical transcription. See pages 149-150 of Appendix H for text and translation.

These examples reveal discrepancies between discursive practices about modes of transmission and actual practices. First, in each of these musical contexts there is a stronger preference for the written word contradicting commonly held notions of the value of oral transmission. Second, recording technology was used as a didactic tool and as a source for new repertoire contradicting assertions that elders are the “true” source for knowledge. I am not saying that Inuit do not value oral transmission or that they no longer value the knowledge of elders; I am stating that the data shows that ideas about these two values have changed in some contexts. In contrast to the findings in Chapters Four and Five, in the Catholic Church context (Chapter Six) oral transmission did emerge as the preferred method of passing on musical selections in instances where members of the “Lost Generation,” such as Rosie, are unable to read syllabics.²⁸³

7.3 Inuit Sub-Group Affiliation to Homogenized Inuit Identity

As was seen in Chapter Four, in Arviat (and throughout Nunavut), the traditional drum dance has become an expression and marker of identity. However, which identities the traditional drum dance is capable of expressing and marking requires consideration. For elders in Arviat, drum dancing is sometimes deployed or thought of as a sign of Inuit sub-group identity. However, Inuit sub-group expression is complicated in Arviat by the fact that the youth of Arviat, who often attend and perform at local drum dances, know very little about Inuit sub-group distinctions. For them, drum dancing is utilized or thought of as a sign of being Inuit—a homogenized conceptualization. There has been,

²⁸³ None of my informants read music notation. Thus, when differentiating between oral or literate transmission of songs, I am speaking about song texts. In all contexts, tunes were transmitted aurally.

however, a further shift from place-based to pan-Inuit identity performance. Certainly, the traditional drum dance may also be mobilized by individuals to express other personal identities, such as expert drum dancer, family member, teacher, culture bearer, healer, leader, researcher, friend, tradition activist, and so on.

At drum dances in Arviat, a performance by Silas Illungiyok is certainly expressive of his Ahiarmiut identity, and he conceives it in this manner. Those elders present, who are aware of his personal experience of living on the land in and around Ennadai Lake during pre-resettlement times and who recognize his drum dancing style as specifically Ahiarmiut, will also understand the expression as Ahiarmiut. Some younger people present may see his performance as a marker of a homogeneous Inuit identity because they are unaware of specific Ahiarmiut experiences and performance styles. People present at drum dances and even people performing there will have individual conceptualizations depending on their individual experiences and knowledge.

The data emerging from this study shows that there is not a direct link between sub-group affiliation and religious denomination. As stated before, in present day Arviat, Padlirmiut are Catholics, Anglicans, Pentecostals, and Alliance Church members. During missionization, families moved around the different denominations following the leader of their choice. As was seen in Chapter Five, the Okatsiak family is unique in the sense that ancestors from this family were among the first Padlirmiut to be ‘converted’ to Anglicanism in the 1920s by Rev. Donald Marsh. Not only have they remained faithful to the same denomination for the past eighty years or so, but they have also become the musical leaders who enable Kuukpaluk to happen.

It is interesting to note that while the Anglican congregation is filled with Padlirmiut, Ahiarmiut, Tariuqmiut, and Inuit from other areas of Nunavut, the leaders of worship services are almost entirely Padlirmiut. In addition to the Okatsiak family, present day Padlirmiut leaders at the Anglican Church today include: Retired minister Rev. Muckpah (after whom the church is named), Rev. Joe Manik, Service Leader James Kigusuitnar, Service Leader Martha Nutarasungnik, Organist Mary Muljungnik, Guitarist Paul K. Irksak, Kuukpaluk elders Mark and Angie Eetak, and Annie Ollie. This seems to indicate that sub-group affiliation is important in determining leadership roles at the Anglican Church in Arviat. For the Okatsiak family, their role as music leaders expresses their family and Inuit sub-group identities simultaneously. All leaders at the Anglican Church worship service can be seen as performing their Padlirmiut identity.

Similarly, as was seen in Chapter Six, the Catholic Church congregation is diverse; however, the religious leadership is mainly Tariuqmiut. Song leaders, Matilda Sulurayok and Winnie Malla are Tariuqmiut as is worship celebrant, Ubluriak. Again, elders present at church services recognize local identities; but young Inuit do not.

This shift from local to pan-Inuit identity among the younger generation happened because young Inuit of Arviat, regardless of their sub-Inuit affiliation, are now all a part of a new collective community; one which includes sedentary community living, attending school, mass media, and so on. They have taken on a new cultural identity; one which has a different cultural experience than their elders.

7.4 Music and Inuit Rights

Pelinski (1981) reported that there was very little youth involvement with drum dancing in Arviat in the late 1970s. Throughout the 1980s, as Inuit political agendas increased, the need to articulate Inuit cultural differences also increased resulting in the revitalization of traditional Inuit throat singing and drum dancing among the youth throughout the 1990s. This can be most visibly seen in Ollie's performance of "*Inusivut*." Not only are there marked differences in the organization of the music (i.e. the use of the guitar to accompany the drum and the voices and the drum beating to a regular pulse in 4/4 time), but there is a marked difference in the theme of the texts. As said before, there is no narrative present in Inuit youth pisiit. Instead these songs are validating the existence of Inuit culture rather than narrating it. "*Inusivut*" proclaims Inuit identity itself, and presents an agenda of advocating Inuit culture and keeping it alive.

As was seen, drum dancing and the accompanying pisiit are used today by Inuit for a variety of reasons. One important reason, which seems to get discussed time and time again, is in the struggle to consciously perform this symbolic form with aspirations of making Inuit culture visible to the rest of Canada and the world. This becomes increasingly important in the newest political/environmental/social struggle of Inuit to support the Government of Canada's Arctic sovereignty.

The Government of Canada has long made claim to the Arctic and the Northwest Passage; however, until the Russians planted a flag on the ocean floor under the North Pole it has done little to establish its presence in this area. Canada would benefit greatly from the extraction of natural resources present in the Arctic. Furthermore, control of the passage which connects the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans could prove to be economically

and politically viable. The Inuit of Canada, too, are deeply concerned about the environmental and cultural risks which may come about if sovereignty were to be controlled by another nation. So much so, that Mary Simon, past-president of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami,²⁸⁴ conducted a Canada-wide tour in 2007 to engage and inform Canadians on Arctic sovereignty and to gain public support for Inuit involvement in this issue.

In her speech she talks about the need for the Government of Canada to include Inuit in its decisions about the Arctic. She beseeches the government to “be creative in boosting Canada’s Arctic presence” suggesting that there be social and economic initiatives taken which will involve the active participation of Inuit in addition to increased military infrastructure. Furthermore, she requests that the government consider environmental factors important to Inuit. And, she demands the prompt and fair implementation of the modern land claims agreement.

In laying claim to the Arctic, Simon reiterates that the Arctic is known, named, and used by Inuit—Canadian citizens. Inuit can trace their use of this region back thousands of years through Thule, Dorset, and pre-Dorset peoples. This is why she and many other Inuit found Prime Minister Harper’s “use it or lose it” campaign for Arctic sovereignty ironic. Inuit have been living in and using the Arctic for millennia. Furthermore, the Government of Canada itself has been negotiating and implementing governance agreements in the Arctic for the past thirty-five years.

²⁸⁴ Terry Audla was elected president of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami at the annual general meeting on June 6, 2012.

In the Inuit quest to attempt to force the Government of Canada to implement the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, including articles that support Canada's Arctic sovereignty, drum dancing and the accompanying pisiit can become a vital tool. Not only have Inuit used drum dancing in a pan-Inuit way to show their distinct language and culture; but the texts of pisiit can also be used by elders in a region-specific/sub-group manner to trace geographical and social histories. From Silas (and previous research) we learn that the basic source of imagery in traditional Inuit song is the land upon which Inuit once (still do) subsist. Region-specific pisiit trace oral histories of migratory paths, good hunting grounds, fishing holes and other traditional Inuit life activities which prove that Inuit have been living and using the Arctic for years.

7.5 Implications for Future Research

In conclusion, it should be stated that this study of how music, inummariit, and belief interact in the Inuit community of Arviat demonstrates the need for more scholarly examination of Inuit cultural expressions and products. Within the context of music in Arviat, more work remains to be done on matters like the nature of the music industry, the fusion taking place in traditional Inuit music, and the role media and technology play in popular culture. Within the context of Christianity in Arviat, more research needs to be conducted on the role music plays in the negotiation of identity of musicians, clergy, and members of the congregations at the Pentecostal and Alliance Churches. Finally, research needs to be done on gender and the role of women in other Inuit communities. For example, in Iqaluit, the capital city of Nunavut where I presently live and work, there is a female drumming group called Inuksuk Drum Dancers. Membership of the group is

diverse in the sense that there are Inuit girls from all across Nunavut and non-Inuit girls from various parts of Canada and around the world. Given that they live in a diverse urban context, how they construct and experience the various definitions of “realness” will complement the present discussion. Ethnography in the city of Iqaluit, in which many people are of Inuit, French, southern Canadian or other heritages, will further exhibit ways in which Inuit negotiate inummariit in the face of greater social diversity.

List of References

- "General Instruction of the Roman Missal (GIRM 1975)." Web page, [accessed 13 August 2008]. Available at <http://www.ourladywarriors.org/liturgy/girm1975.htm>.
- Missale Romanum*. 1970. Vatican City: Typis polyglottis vaticanis.
- The Order for Morning Prayer and A Hymnal in Inuktitut and English*. 1995. Rankin Inlet: CHC Publications.
- Abu-Lughod, Lila. 1993. *Writing Women's Worlds: Bedouin Stories*. California: University of California Press.
- Ager, Lynn Price. 1980. The Economic Role of Women in Alaskan Society. *A World of Women: Anthropological Studies of Women in the Societies of the World*. ed. Erika Bourguignon, 305-18. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Amir, Dorit. 1997. Understanding the Role of Folksongs in Jewish-Israeli Culture: Implications for Music Therapy. *The World of Music* 39, no. 1: 111-28.
- Anderson, E. Byron. 2009. Music Wars. *Liturgy* 24, no. 4: 1-2.
- Annahatak, Betsy. 1994. Quality Education for Inuit Today? Cultural Strengths, New Things, and Working out the Unknowns: A Story by an Inuit. *Peabody Journal of Education* 69, no. 2: 12-18.
- Balikci, Asen. 1970. *The Netsilik Eskimo*. Garden City, NY: Natural History Press for the American Museum of Natural History.
- . 1963. Shamanistic Behaviours among the Netsilik Eskimo. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 19, no. 4: 380-396.
- Basso, Ellen. 1984. *A Musical View of the Universe: Kalapalo Myth and Ritual Performances*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Basso, Keith H. 1996. *Wisdom Sits in Places: landscape and language among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Battiste, Marie. 2000. Introduction: Unfolding the Lessons of Colonization. *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*. ed. Marie Battiste, xvi-xxx. Vancouver; Toronto: UBC Press.
- . 2005. Leadership and Aboriginal Education in Contemporary Education: Narratives of Cognitive Imperialism Reconciling with Decolonization. *Leadership, Gender and Culture in Education: Male and Female Perspectives*.

- eds. John Collard and Cecilia Reynolds, 150-157. Maidenhead; New York, NY: Open University Press.
- Battiste, Marie and James Youngblood Henderson. 2000. Decolonizing Cognitive Imperialism in Education. *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage*. eds. Marie Battiste and James Youngblood Henderson, 86-96. Saskatoon: Purich Publishing Ltd.
- Bauman, Richard. 1978. *Verbal Art as Performance*. Series in Sociolinguistics. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers.
- Beaudry, Nicole. 1978. Toward Transcription and Analysis of Inuit Throat Games: Macro-Structure. *Ethnomusicology* 22, no. 2: 261-73.
- Beaudry, Nicole. 2008. The Challenges of Human Relations in Ethnographic Inquiry: Examples from Arctic and Subarctic Fieldwork. *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*. eds. Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, 224-45. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Belsey, William. 1985. The Ennadai Project. *Inuktitut Winter*, no. 62: 6-23.
- Bennett, John and Susan Rowley, eds. 2004. *Uqalurait: An oral history of Nunavut*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Berger, Harris M. 2003. Introduction: The politics and aesthetics of language choice and dialect in popular music. *Global Pop, Local Language*. eds. Harris M. Berger and Michael Thomas Carroll, ix-xxvi. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press.
- Bigenho, Michelle. 2002. *Sounding Indigenous: Authenticity in Bolivian Music Performance*. New York: Palgrave.
- Birket-Smith, Kaj. 1929. *The Caribou Eskimos, Material and Social Life and the Cultural Position*. Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-1924, Report 5.
- . 1976. Descriptive Part; Chapter 7: Social Life. *The Caribou Eskimos: Material and Social Life and their Cultural Position*, 257-306. New York: AMS Press.
- Boas, Franz. 1972. *Anthropology in North America*. New York: Kraus Reprint.
- . 1877. *The Central Eskimo*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- . 1964. *The Central Eskimo*. Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press Reprint.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge.
- . 1986. The Forms of Capital. *Handbook of Theory and Research for the*

- Sociology of Capital*. ed. J. G. Richardson, 241-58. New York: Greenwood Press.
- . 1980. *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- . 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Brant Castellano, Marlene. 2000. Updating Aboriginal Traditions of Knowledge. *Indigenous Knowledge in Global Contexts--Multiple Readings of Our World*. eds. G.J. Sefa Dei et al. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Brice-Bennett, Carol. 2000. *Ikkaumajânnik Piusivinnik--Reconciling with Memories: titigattausimajut katiutisimaningit Hebronimi 40 jâret kingungani nottitausimalidlutik--a record of the reunion at Hebron 40 years after relocation*. Nain, Labrador: Labrador Inuit Association.
- Briggs, Jean L. 1997. From Trait to Emblem and Back: Living and representing culture in everyday Inuit life. *Arctic Anthropology* 34, no. 1: 227-35.
- . 1970. *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Brody, Hugh. 1991. *The People's Land: Inuit, Whites and the Eastern Arctic*. Douglas & McIntyre.
- . 1975. *The Peoples' Land*. London: Penguin.
- Browner, Tara. 2002. *Heartbeat of the People: Music and Dance of the Northern Powwow*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Bussidor, Ila. 1997. *Night Spirits: The story of the relocation of the Sayisi Dene*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Cavanagh [Diamond], Beverley. 1988. The Transmission of Algonkian Indian Hymns: Between Orality and Literacy. *Musical Canada: Words and Music Honouring Helmut Kallman*. eds. John Beckwith and Frederick Hall, 3-28 & 325-326. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- . 1987. The Performance of Hymns in Eastern Woodlands Indian Communities. *Sing Out the Glad News: Hymn Tunes in Canada* .
- . 1982. *Music of the Netsilik Eskimo: A Study of Stability and Change*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.
- . 1979. Annotated Bibliography: Eskimo Music. *Ethnomusicology* 16, no. 3: 479-87.

- . 1973. Imagery and Structure in Eskimo Song Texts. *Canadian Journal for Traditional Music* 1: bn.
- Chamberlin, J. Edward. 2000. From Hand to Mouth: The Postcolonial Politics of Oral and Written Traditions. *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*. ed. Marie Battiste, 124-41. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Champagne, Duane. 1998. American Indian Studies is for Everyone. *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians*. ed. Devon A. Mihesuah, 181-89. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Charron, Claude. 1978. Toward Transcription and Analysis of Inuit Throat Games: Micro-Structure. *Ethnomusicology* 22, no. 2: 245-60.
- Chiseri-Strater, E. and B. S. Sunstein. 1997. *Fieldworking: Reading and Writing Research*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Blair Press/Prentice Hall.
- Choque, Charles. 1992. *Mikilar: Lionel Ducharme, Apostle of the Inuit*. Manitoba: R.C. Episcopal Corporation of Hudson Bay.
- Cohen, Anthony P. 1993. Culture as Identity: An Anthropologist's View. *New Literary History* 24, no. 1, Culture and Everyday Life: 195-209.
- Conlon, Paula. 2009. Iglulik Inuit Drum-Dance Songs. *Music of the First Nations: Tradition and Innovation in Native North America*. ed. Tara Browner, 7-20. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- . 1993. "Drum-Dance Songs of the Iglulik Inuit in the Northern Baffin Island Area: A Study of their Structures." University of Montreal.
- Cox, Harvey. 1996. *Fire from Heaven: The rise of Pentecostal spirituality and the reshaping of religion in the twenty-first century*. London: Cassell Publishing.
- Cronk, Michael Sam, Beverley Diamond, and Franziska von Rosen. 1988. "Celebration: Native Events in Eastern Canada." In *Folklife Annual 1987*. eds. Alan Jabbour and James Hardin, 70-85. Washington, D.C: Library of Congress.
- Csikszentmihalyi, Mihalyi. 1975. *Beyond Boredom and Anxiety*. San Francisco/Washington/London: Jossey-Bass.
- Csonka, Yves. 1995. *Les Ahirmiut*. Nauchatel: Editions Victor Attinger.
- CTV News. 2005. "Nunavut Youth Suicide." Web page, [accessed January 2006]. Available at http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20051217/nunavut_youthsuicide_051217?s_name=&no_ads=.

- Cutten, George. 1927. *Speaking with Tongues*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- de Certeau, Michel. 1988. *The Writing of History*. Columbia: Columbia University Press.
- Deloria, Vine Jr. 1992. *God is Red: a native view of religion*. Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing.
- . 1973. *God is Red*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap.
2006. *Ilitaunnikuliriniq Student Assessment in Nunavut Schools*, Department of Education. Government of Nunavut, Nunavut.
2008. *Inuglugijaittuq: Inclusive Education in Nunavut Schools*, Department of Education. Government of Nunavut, Nunavut.
2005. *Inuit Qaujimagayatuqangit Curriculum Framework Document*, Department of Education. Government of Nunavut, Iqaluit, Nunavut.
1996. *Inuuqatigiit: The Curriculum from the Inuit Perspective*, Department of Education. Government of Northwest Territories, Northwest Territories.
- Department of Education, Government of Nunavut. 2003. "Inuit Qaujimagayatuqanginnik Tukimuagutit: IQ Guiding Principles." Web page, [accessed 20 September 2012]. Available at <http://nunavusiutit.wikispaces.com/file/view/IQ+PRINCIPLES-FINAL.pdf>.
- Diamond, Beverley. 1992. Christian Hymns in Eastern Woodlands Communities: Performance Contexts. *Musical Repercussions of 1492: Encounters in Text and Performance*. ed. Carol E. Robertson. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- . 2002. Native American Contemporary Music: The Women. *The World of Music* 44, no. 1: 11-39.
- . 2008. *Native American Music in Eastern North America: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture*. Global Music Series. New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Dunbar-Hall, Peter. 1997. Continuation, Dissemination and Innovation. *The Didjeridu: from Arnhem Land to Internet*. Ed. Karl Neuenfeldt, 69-88. Sidney: John Libby & Company Pty Ltd.
- Edwards, Jay D. 1980. Cultural Syncretism in the Louisiana Creole Cottage. *Louisiana Folklore Miscellany* 3: 9-26.
- Ehle, John. 1988. *Trail of Tears: The rise and fall of the Cherokee nation*. New York: Doubleday.

- Ekho, Naqi and Uqsuralik Ottokie, Eds. 2000. *Interviewing Elders: Child Rearing Practices.*, Vol. Vol. 3. Iqaluit: Language and Culture Program, Nunavut Arctic College.
- Eyerman, Ron & Bryan S. Turner. 1998. Outline of a Theory of Generations. *European Journal of Social Theory* 1, no. 1: 91-106.
- Fanon, Frantz. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.
- Festival 500: Sharing the Voices Media Committee. 2003. "About Festival 500." Web page, [accessed October 2005]. Available at <http://www.festival500.com/about.asp>.
- Fienup-Riordan, Ann. 1990. *Eskimo Essays: Yup'ik lives and how we see them*. New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press.
- . 2000. *Hunting Tradition in a Changing World: Yup'ik Lives in Alaska Today*. New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press.
- Fixico, Donald L. 1998. Ethics and Responsibilities in Writing American Indian History. *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians*. ed. Devon A. Mihesuah, 84-99. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Fletcher, Christopher M. and Laurence J. Kirmayer. 1997. Spirit Work: Nunavummiut experiences of affliction and healing. *Etudes Inuit Studies* 21, no. 1-2: 189-208.
- Frisbie, Charlotte J. 1980. An Approach to the Ethnography of Navajo Ceremonial Performance. *The Ethnography of Musical Performance*. Eds. Norma McLeod and Marcia Herndon, 75-104. Norwood, Pa: Norwood Editions.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1973. Religion as a Cultural System. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected essays*. Clifford Geertz, 87-125. New York: Basic Books.
- Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Anchor.
- Goodall, H. Lloyd. 2000. *Writing the New Ethnography*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.
- Gordon, Tom. 2007. Found in Translation: The Inuit Voice in Moravian Music. *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 22, no. 1: 287-314.
- Government of Nunavut. 2005. "Inuit Qaujimaqatugangit (IQ)." Web page, [accessed 8 July 2011]. Available at <http://www.gov.nu.ca/hr/site/beliefsystem.htm>.
- Government of Nunavut. 1999. Report from the September Inuit Qaujimaqatugangit Workshop. Iqaluit, Nunavut: Department of Culture, Language, Elders, and Youth (CLEY).

- Grady, Brian and Kate Miriam Loewenthal. 1997. Features Associated with Speaking in Tongues (Glossolalia). *British Journal of Medical Psychology* 70, no. 2: 185-91.
- Grant, John Webster. 1984. *Moon of Wintertime: missionaries and the Indians of Canada in encounter since 1534*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Grant, Shelagh D. 1997. Religious Fascination at Leaf River, Ungava 1931. *Etudes Inuit Studies* 21, no. 1-2: 159-88.
- Guemple, Lee. 1995. Gender in Inuit Society. *Women and Power in Native North America*. eds. Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman, 17-27. Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Hallendy, Norman. 2001. Sakka: Observing the Invisible. *McMichael Lecture Series*. Kleinburg, Ontario.
- Hamill, Chad. 2012. *Songs of Power in the Columbia Plateau: the Jesuit, the medicine man, and the Indian hymn singer*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press.
- Harnish, David, Ted Solís and J. Lawrence Witzleben. 2004. A Bridge to Java. *Performing Ethnomusicology: teaching and representation in world music ensembles*. ed. Ted Solís. Berkley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.
- Harrington, Richard. 2000. *Padlei Diary, 1950: An account of the Padleimiut Eskimo in the Keewatin District west of Hudson Bay during the early months of 1950 as witnessed, written & photographed by Richard Harrington*. Lunenburg, Vermont: Rock Foundation: Stinehour Press.
- Hauser, Michael. 2010. *Traditional Inuit Songs from the Thule Area*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- . 1992. Part I: East Greenland. The Ammassalik Area. *Traditional Greenlandic Music.*, 14-73. Sisimuit: ULO.
- Henderson, James Sákj Youngblood. 2000. Postcolonial Ghost Dancing: Diagnosing European Colonialism. *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*. Ed. Marie Battiste, 57-76. Vancouver; Toronto: UBC Press.
- Herskovits, Melville J. 1948. *Man and his Works*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Hollenweger, Walter J. 1999. The Black Roots of Pentecostalism. *Pentecostals after a Century: Global perspectives on a movement in transition*. eds. Allan H. Anderson and Walter J. Hollenweger, 33-44. Sheffield : Sheffield Academic Press.

- . 1999. Crucial Issues for Pentecostals. *Pentecostals after a Century: Global perspectives on a movement in transition*. eds. Allan H. Anderson and Walter J. Hollenweger, 176-91. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- . 1997. *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide*. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers.
- . no date. "Pentecostals." Web page, [accessed 20 September 2012]. Available at http://www.epcra.ch/articles_pdf/Pentecostalism.PDF.
- Hood, Mantle. 1960. The Challenge of "Bi-Musicality". *Ethnomusicology* 4, no. 2: 55-59.
- Hormuth, Stefan E. 1990. Ch. 1: Restructuring the ecology of the self: a framework for self-concept change; Ch. 8: Functions of the physical environment for the self-concept; Ch. 12: Relocation as transition and change in a physical and social context. *The ecology of the self: relocation and self-concept change.*, 1-6; 107-123; 158-168. New York and Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press.
- Hull, Kenneth. 2009. Music Wars, Neuroscience, and Self Psychology. *Liturgy* 24, no. 4: 24-31.
1993. *Agreement Between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area and Her Majesty the Queen in right of Canada*, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.
1973. *The Inuit Use and Occupancy Study*, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC). Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, Nunavut.
- Inuit Uqausingita Taiguusingit. 2000. "The Arviat Iglu Web Site." Web page, [accessed January 2005]. Available at <http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/205/301/ic/cdc/arviat/enghome.html>.
- Keillor, Elaine. 1987. Hymn singing among the Dogrib Indians. ed. John Beckwith, 33-43 Toronto: Institution for Canadian Music.
- . 1986. The Role of Youth in the Continuation of Dogrib Musical Traditions. *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 18: 61-75.
- . 1995. The Emergence of Postcolonial Musical Expressions of Aboriginal Peoples within Canada. *Cultural Studies* 9, no. 1: 106-24.
- Kirkness Verna J. 1999. Aboriginal Education in Canada: A Retrospective and a Prospective. *Journal of American Indian Education* 39, no. 1.
- Kisliuk, Michelle. 2000. Performance and Modernity among BaAka Pygmies: A Closer Look at the Mystique of Egalitarian Foragers in the Rain Forest. *Music and*

- Gender*. Eds. Pirkko Moisala and Beverley Diamond, 25-50. Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- . 2001. *Seize the Dance: BaAka Musical Life and the Ethnography of Performance*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 1997. (Un)doing Fieldwork: Sharing Songs, Sharing Lives. *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*. eds. Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, 23-44. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kugak, Soloman. 1984. Arviaqpaluk--The Sound of Eskimo Point. *Inuktitut* Spring, no. 55: 34-38.
- . 1983. Interview: David Owingayak. *Inuktitut* December, no. 54: 10-15.
- Kulchyski, Peter Keith. 2005. *Like the Sound of a Drum: Aboriginal cultural politics in Denendeh and Nunavut*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Kutluk, Thomas. 1980. The Inuit Cultural Institute. *Inuktitut* November, no. 46: 38-44.
- LaRocque, Emma. 2010. *When the Other is Me. Native Resistance Discourse 1850-1990*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Lassiter, Eric, Clyde Ellis and Ralph Kotay . 2002. *The Jesus Road: Kiowas, Christianity, and Indian Hymns*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Lassiter, Luke. 1998. *The Power of Kiowa Song: A Collaborative Ethnography*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press .
- Laugrand, Frederic. 1997. Le Siqqitiq: renouvellement religieux et premier rituel de conversion chez les Inuit du nord de al Terre de Baffin. *Etudes Inuit Studies* 21, no. 1-2: 101-40.
- Laugrand, Frederic B. and Jarich G. Oosten. 2010. *Inuit Shamanism and Christianity: Transitions and transformations in the twentieth century*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Laugrand, Frederic, Jarich Oosten and David Serkoak. 2010. 'The saddest time of my life': relocating Aharmiut from Ennadai Lake (1950-1958). *Polar Record* 46, no. 237: 113-35.
- Laugrand, Frederic with Jarich Oosten and Maaki Kakkik. 2003. *Memory and History in Nunavut: Keeping the Faith*. Iqaluit, Nunavut: Nunavut Arctic College .
- Ledyard, Gleason H. 1977. *Eskimos: Now the World*. Oregon: Christian Literature International.

- Levin, Michael D. 1993. Introduction. *Ethnicity and Aboriginality: Case studies in ethnonationalism*. ed. Michael D. Levin, 3-8. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Levine, Victoria Lindsay. 1998. "American Indian Musics, Past and Present." In *Cambridge History of American Music*. ed. David Nicholls, 3-29. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis, C. S. 1944. *Mere Christianity*. Collins.
- Lipson, Juliene. 1980. Jews for Jesus: An Illustration of Syncretism. *Anthropological Quarterly* 53, no. 2: 101-10.
- Lombard, Emile. 1910. *De la glossolalie chez les premiers chretiens et des phenomenes similaires*. Lausanne: Bridel.
- Lorand, Father Patrick O. M. I. 1992. *Naalagak Nirtuqlavut: Tuksiarluta ingirlutalu*. Churchill, Manitoba: Churchill-Hudson Bay Diocese.
- Lutz, Maija M. 1978. *The Effects of Acculturation on Eskimo Music of Cumberland Peninsula*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.
- . 1982. *Musical Traditions of the Labrador Coast Inuit*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.
- Mannik, Hattie, ed. 1998. *Inuit Nunamiut: Inland Inuit*. Manitoba: Friesen Corporation.
- Marcus, Alan Rudolph. 1995. *Relocating Eden: The Image and Politics of Inuit Exile in the Canadian Arctic*. New England: University Press of New England.
- Marsh, Donald B. 1987. *Echoes from a Frozen Land*. Edmonton: Hurtiq Publishers.
- Marsh, Winifred. 1983. *People of the Willow*. Toronto: Anglican Church Books.
2000. *Aajiqatigiingniq: Language of Instruction Report*, Ian Martin. Department of Education, Government of Nunavut, Nunavut.
- May, Carlyle L. 1956. A Survey of Glossolalia and Related Phenomena in Non-Christian Religions. *American Anthropologist* 58, no. 1: 75-96.
- McElroy, Ann. 2008. *Nunavut Generations: Change and continuity in Canadian Inuit communities*. Long Grove: Waveland Press.
- Merriam, Allan P. 1964. *The Anthropology of Music*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press.
- Mihesuah, Devon A. 1998. Introduction. *Natives and Academics: Researching and*

- Writing about American Indians*. ed. Devon A. Mihesuah, 1-22. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Mitchell, Frank. 1978. *Navajo Blessingway Singer: the autobiography of Frank Mitchell, 1881-1967*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Moffitt Cook, Pat. 1997. Sacred Music Therapy in North India. *The World of Music* 39, no. 1: 61-84.
- Mowat, Farley. 1959. *The Desperate People*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- . 1952. *People of the Deer*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Mumgark, Andy. 1978. Return to Kuuvik. *Ajurnarmat: The Hunting and Trapping Lifestyle* Autumn: 107-15.
- Nattiez, Jean-Jacques. 1983. Some Aspects of Inuit Vocal Games. *Ethnomusicology* 27, no. 3: 457-75.
- Neuenfeldt, Karl. 1998. Good Vibrations? The "Curious" Cases of the Didjeridu in Spectacle and Therapy in Australia. *The World of Music* 40, no. 2: 29-51.
- Neuenfeldt, Karl and Martin Nakata. 2005. From 'Navajo' to 'Taba Naba': Unravelling the travels and metamorphosis of a popular Torres Strait Islanders song. *Landscapes of indigenous performance : music, song and dance of the Torres Strait and Arnhem Land .*, 12-28. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.
1998. *Report of the Nunavut Traditional Knowledge Conference*, Nunavut Social Development Council. Nunavut Social Development Council, Igloolik, Nunavut.
- Nunavut Social Development Council. 1999. *Toward and Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit Policy*.
- Nunavut Social Development Council. 2000. *On Our Own Terms: The state of Inuit culture and society*. Iqaluit, Nunavut: Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated.
- Okpik, Abraham. 1989. What it Means to Be an Inuk. *Inuktitut* , no. 70: 10-14.
- Ong, Walter J. 1988. *Orality and Literacy: The technologizing of the word*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Oosten, Jarich and Frederick Laugrand. 2002. Qaujimagatuqangit and Social Problems in Modern Inuit Society. An elders workshop on angakkuuniq. *Etudes Inuit Studies* 26, no. 1.
- Peck, Edmund James. 1900. *Portions of the book of the common prayer, together with hymns and addresses in Eskimo*. London: Society for Promoting Christian

Knowledge.

- Pelinski, Ramon. 1979. *Inuit Songs from Eskimo Point*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.
- . 1981. *La Musique des Inuit du Caribou: Cinq Perspectives Methodologiques*. Montreal: University of Montreal Press.
- Piercey, Mary E. 2012. Traditional Indigenous Knowledge: An Ethnographic Study of its Application in the Teaching and Learning of Traditional Inuit Drum Dances in Arviat, Nunavut. *Critical Perspectives in Canadian Music Education*. eds. Carol Beynon and Kari Veblen, 71-87. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- . 2012. Reflecting on Reflexivity: Teaching and Conducting Research in an Inuit Community. *Aboriginal music in contemporary Canada: echoes and exchanges*. eds. Beverley Diamond and Anna Hoefnagels, 150-173. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- . 2008. Sandy & Eva Okatsiak: Old Rugged Cross. *Culture & Tradition* 30.
- . 2008. The Musical Culture of an 'Inuk' Teenager. *International Journal of Community Music* 1, no. 2: 189-201.
- . 2007. Inummariit Music Festival 2006: Arviat, Nunavut. *Culture & Tradition* 29: 161-64.
- . 2006. In Review: The Music of Tagaq. *Culture & Tradition* 28: 174-76.
- . 2005. Gender Relations in the Performance of Inuit Drum Dances in Arviat, Nunavut. *Canadian Folk Music Journal Bulletin* 39, no. 3: 4-27.
- Poewe, Karla O. 1994. *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Primiano, Leonard. 1995. Vernacular Religion and the Search for Method in Religious Folklife. *Western Folklore* 54, no. 1: 37-56.
- Quantz, Don. 2009. Canons in Collision: Hymns and Contemporary Christian Music. *Liturgy* 24, no. 4: 32-39.
- Quassa, Francois. 1995. Taboos, and other Customs from the Past. *Inuktitut Summer*, no. 78: 5-20.
- Qureshi, Regula Burckhardt. 1997. The Indian Sarangi: Sound of Affect, Site of Contest. *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 29: 1-38.
- Rasmussen, Anne K. 2004. *Bilateral Negotiations in Bimusicality*. Performing

- Ethnomusicology: Teaching and Representation in World Music Ensembles. ed. Ted Solís. Berkley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.
- Rasmussen, Knud. 1927. *Across Arctic America: Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- . 1931. The Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition. Knud Rasmussen, 115-22. Copenhagen: Gyldenhandelske Boghandel.
- . 1976. *The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Culture.*, 8, no. 1-2. New York: AMS Press.
- . 1930. *Observations on the Intellectual Culture of the Caribou Eskimos*. New York: AMS Press.
- Roberts, Helen and Diamond Jenness. 1925. "Songs of the Copper Eskimo." Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-1918, F.A. Ackland, Ottawa.
- Said, Edward. 1989. Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors. *Critical Inquiry* 15: 205-25.
- . 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Saladin d'Anglure, Bernard, ed. 2001. *Interviewing Elders: Cosmology and Shamanism*. Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College.
- . 1997. A New Look on Shamanism, Possession and Christianization. *Etudes Inuit Studies* 21, no. 1-2: 5-36.
- . 1986. Du foetus au chamane: la construction d'un "troisieme sexe" inuit. *Etudes Inuit Studies* 10, no. 1-2: 25-114.
- Samuels, David William. 2004. Introduction: The Problem with Identity; Chapter 8: Everyday Ambiguities, Everyday Identities. Putting a Song on Top of it: expression and identity on the San Carlos Apache Reservation. David William Samuels, 3-35; 233-266. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Sarkissian, Margaret. 2000. *D'Albuquerque's Children: Performing Tradition in Malaysia's Portuguese Settlement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sasamori, Takefusa. 1997. Therapeutic Rituals Performed by Itako (Japanese Blind Female Shamans). *The World of Music* 39, no. 1: 85-96.
- Scales, Christopher. 1999. First Nations Popular Music in Canada: Musical Meaning and the Politics of Identity. *Canadian University Music Review* 19, no. 2: 94-101.
- Schechner, Richard. 1988. *Performance Theory*. New York: Routledge.

- . 2007. Post Post-Structuralism? *The Drama Review* 44, no. 3: 4-7.
- Scudder, Thayer David F. Aberle et al. 1982. *No Place to Go: Effects of Compulsory Relocation on Navajos*. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.
- Seddon, Philip. 1996. *Word and Sacrament. Celebrating the Anglican Way*. ed. Ian Bunting. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Seeger, Anthony. 2004. *Why Suyá Sing: A Musical Anthropology of an Amazonian People*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Sepúlveda, Juan. 1999. Indigenous Pentecostalism and the Chilean Experience. *Pentecostals after a Century: Global perspectives on a movement in transition*. eds. Allan H. Anderson and Walter J. Hollenweger, 111-34. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai Te Rina. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- . 2000. *Kaupapa Maori Research. Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*. ed. Marie Battiste, 225-47. Vancouver; Toronto: UBC Press.
- Solís, Ted. 2004. *Performing Ethnomusicology: Teaching and Representation in World Music Ensembles*. Berkley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.
- Spencer, Robert F. 1984. *North Alaska Eskimo: Introduction*. ed. William C. Sturtevant, 278-84. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.
- Spinney, Anne Morrison. 2006. *Medeolinuwok, Music, and Missionaries in Maine. Music in American Religious Experience*. eds. Philip Eith Blumhofer and Maria Chow Bohlman, 57-82. Oxford and Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Sta Maria, Bernard. 1982. *My People, My Country*. Malacca Portuguese Development Centre.
- Statistics Canada. 2007. "2006 Census: Arviat and Nanaimo River 3, British Columbia (Code5921801) (table). Aboriginal Population Profile." Web page, [accessed 6 August 2012]. Available at <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-594/index.cfm?Lang=E>
- Statistics Canada. 2007. "Arviat and Nanaimo River 3, British Columbia (Code5921801) (table). Aboriginal Population Profile." 2006 Census. Ottawa, Ont..
- Statistics Canada. 2007. "Arviat, Nunavut." Web page, [accessed 14 August 2012]. Available at <http://www.city-data.com/canada/Arviat-Hamlet.html>.

- Steenhoven, Geert van den. 1968. Ennadai Lake People 1955. *Beaver* 298, no. Spring: 12-18.
- . 1962. *Leadership and Law Among the Eskimos of the Keewatin District, Northwest Territories*. Rijswijk: Excelsior.
- Sugarman, Jane C. 1997. *Engendering Song: singing and subjectivity at Prespa Albanian weddings*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1989. The Nightingale and the Partridge: Singing and gender among Prespa Albanians. *Ethnomusicology* 33, no. 2: 191-215.
- Suluk, Donald. 1987. Inummariit: An Inuit way of life. *Inuktitut* Winter, no. 65: 4-95.
- . 1983. Some Thoughts on Traditional Inuit Music. *Inuktitut* December, no. 54: 24-30.
- Szego, C. K. 2003. Singing Hawaiian and the Aesthetics of (In)Comprehensibility. *Global Pop, Local Language*. eds. Harris M. Berger and Michael Thomas Carroll, 291-328. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press.
- Tapatai, Louis and Mrs. 1972. Akulak, The Shaman. *Inuktitut* Winter: 7-12.
- Tester, Frank James and Peter Irniq. 2008. *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit: Social History, Politics and the Practice of Resistance*. *Arctic* 61, Supplement 1: Arctic Change and Coastal Communities: 48-61.
- Tester, Frank James and Peter Kulchyski. 1994. Chapter 5: The Ennadai Lake Relocations. *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic 1939-63.*, 205-37. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- The Canadian Encyclopedia. 2004. "Inuksuk." Web page, [accessed March 2004]. Available at <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/inuksuk-inukshuk>.
- The Christian and Missionary Alliance. no date. "The Alliance Stand." Web page, [accessed 20 September 2012]. Available at <http://www.cmalliance.org/about/beliefs/doctrine>.
- Thomas, Owen C. 2009. *Christian Life & Practice: Anglican Essays*. Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers.
- Titon, Jeff Todd. 1997. Knowing Fieldwork. *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*. eds. Gregory Barz and Timothy Cooley. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Trott, Christopher G. 1997. The Rapture and the Rupture: Religious change amongst the

- Inuit of North Baffin Island. *Etudes Inuit Studies* 21, no. 1-2: 209-28.
- Tucker, Karen Westerfield. 2009. Music Wars: A New Conflict? *Liturgy* 24, no. 4: 3-9.
- Tungilik, Victor and Rachel Uyarasuk. 1999. *Inuit Perspectives on the 20th Century: The Transition to Christianity*. eds. Jarich Oosten & Frederic Laugrand. Iqaluit, Nunavut: Nunavut Arctic College .
- Turner, Victor Witter. 1986. *The Anthropology of Performance*. New York: PAH Publications.
- Ullestad, Neal. 2006. Native American Rap and Reggae: Dancing "To the Beat of a Different Drummer". *Ethnomusicology: A Contemporary Reader*. ed. Jennifer C. Post, 331-49. New York; London: Routledge.
- Vallee, F. G. 1967. *Kabloona and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin*. Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology.
- Vascotto, Norma. 2001. "The Transmission of Drum Songs in Pelly Bay, Nunavut and the Contributions of Composers and Singers to Musical Norms." Dissertation University of Toronto.
- Waterman, Richard. 1948. "Hot" Rhythm in Negro Music. *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 1: 24-37.
- Weber, Maximillan. 1947. The Principal Characteristics of Charismatic Authority and its Relation to Forms of Communal Organization. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. Maximillan Weber, 358-63. New York: The Free Press.
- Webster, David Sr. and Eric Anoe Sr. 1986. Shamans and Missionaries. *Inuktitut* Summer, no. 63: 40-46.
- Wilson, Angela Cavender. 1998. American Indian History or Non-Indian Perceptions of American Indian History? *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians*. ed. Devon A. Mihesuah, 23-26. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Discography

- Any Given Day 2—Earth to Heaven.* (2001). CADET. Bec Recordings.
- Arctic Rose.* 1992. Susan Aglukark. EMI Music.
- Delta Blues.* 2006. Billy Kuksuk. Ivory Studio Music (John Tugak, producer).
- Gospel Songs.* 2005. Jocelyn Malla. Ivory Studio Music (John Tugak).
- Hunting Blues.* 2006. Aupak & Onerk. Ivory Studio Music (John Tugak, producer).
- I Believe in Jesus.* 2006. Jane Autut and Jo Ellen Pameolik. Ivory Studio Music (John Tugak).
- I Shall Not Be Moved.* 2006. Billy Kuksuk. Ivory Studio Music (John Tugak).
- Inummariit Music Festival 2006.* 2006. Various Artists. Ivory Studio Music (John Tugak, producer).
- Jesus Commands Us to Go.* (1984). Keith Gordon Green. Pretty Good Records (Bill Maxwell, producer).
- Jesusiu Piulimanga.* 2005. Paul Irksuk & Sons. Ivory Studio Music (John Tugak).
- Music's Live Worship: The River is Here.* (2002). Various Artists. Vineyard Music.
- My Child...Take My Hand.* 2006. Lena Alagalak-Flynn. Ivory Studio Music (John Tugak).
- New Season.* (2001). Israel Houghton and New Breed.
- Sandy & Eva Okatsiak: Old Rugged Cross.* 2007. Sandy and Eva Okatsiak. Ivory Studio Music (John Tugak).
- Sinaa.* 2006. Tanya Tagaq. Jericho Beach Music.
- Spirit of God.* 2007. The Ukutak Daughters. Ivory Studio Music (John Tugak).
- This Child.* 1995. Susan Aglukark. EMI Music.
- Tudjaat.* 1998. Madeleine Allakariallak & Pheobe Atagotaaluk. Sony Music.
- Ublumiuyok.* (2011). Abraham Eetak. Ivory Studio Music (John Tugak, producer).

Unsung Heroes. 1999. Susan Aglukark. EMI Music.

WOW Worship Blue. (1999). Various Artists. Vineyard Music.

Your Love Broke Through: The Worship Songs of Keith Green. (2002). Various Artists.
Sparrow Records.

Interviews Cited

- Angalik, Louis. Email correspondence with the Author. 17 September 2011.
- Anoee, Eric Jr. Email Correspondence with the Author. February 2011.
- Anoee, Eric Jr. Email Correspondence with the Author. July 2011.
- Annoee, Eric Jr. Email Correspondence with the Author. February 21, 2013.
- Aulatjut, Sheena. Interview with the Author. 5 April 2006.
- Illungiyok, Atuat. Interview with the Author. 5 April 2006.
- Illungiyok, Mariah. Interview with the Author. 1 May 2006.
- Illungiyok, Mariah. Telephone Interview with the Author. February 2011.
- Illungiyok, Mariah. Telephone Interview with the Author. July 2011.
- Illungiyok, Ollie. Interview with the Author. 5 April 2006.
- Illungiyok, Qahuq. Interview with the Author. 19 April 2007.
- Illungiyok, Silas. Interview with the Author. 13 May 2007.
- Illungiyok, Silas. Telephone Interview with the Author. February 2011.
- Mamgark, Gara. Personal Communication with the Author. January 2004.
- Mamgark, Gara. Interview with the Author. 30 March 2006.
- Mamgark, Gara. Interview with the Author. 24 April 2006.
- Mamgark, Gara. Telephone Interview with the Author. July 2011
- Mamgark, Rosie. Interview with the Author. 4 April 2006.
- Mamgark, Rosie. Personal communication with the Author. April 2006.
- Mamgark, Simeonie. Interview with the Author. 10 March 2006.
- Mamgark, Simeonie. Telephone Interview with the Author. July 2011.
- Mamgark, Simeonie. Email Correspondence with the Author. February 21, 2013.

Nanauk, Mark. Interview with the Author. April 2007.

Nutarasungnik, Martha. Interview with the Author. 6 April 2007.

Nutarasungnik, Martha. Telephone Interview with the Author. 7 August 2012.

Okatsiak, Eva. Interview with the Author. 27 April 2007.

Okatsiak, Jamie. Interview with the Author. May 2007.

Okatsiak, Mary. Interview with the Author. 9 May 2007.

Okatsiak, Sandy. Interview with the Author. 27 April 2007.

Okatsiak, Sandy. Telephone Interview with the Author. 18 September 2011.

Okatsiak, Sandy. Telephone Interview with the Author. July 2011.

Okatsiak, Sandy. Telephone Interview with the Author. 6 August 2012.

Okatsiak, Sandy. Email Correspondence. 6 August 2012.

Sulurayok, Matilda. Interview with the Author. 24 April 2006.

Ulayok, Ee. Telephone Interview with the Author. 14 October 2004.

“INULARIUYUNGA; IMNGIRNIK QUVIGIYAQAQTUNGA!”—I’M A REAL INUK;

I LOVE TO SING!

INTERACTIONS BETWEEN MUSIC, *INUMMARIIT*, AND BELIEF

IN AN INUIT COMMUNITY SINCE RESETTLEMENT

by

©Mary Elizabeth Piercey-Lewis

APPENDICES

Doctor of Philosophy

School of Music

Memorial University of Newfoundland

May 2015

Appendices
Table of Contents

Table of Contents for Musical Transcriptions—Appendix G	ii
Table of Contents for Song Texts—Appendix H	iv
Appendix A: Inuktitut-English glossary	1
Appendix B: Maps of Arviat, Nunavut and surrounding areas	13
Appendix C: Photographs	19
Appendix D: Arviat history timeline	34
Appendix E: Chart of traditional Inuit music made by the Illungiyok family	36
Appendix F: Charts of styles of music made by the Mamgark family	38
Appendix G: Musical transcriptions	43
Appendix H: Inuktitut song texts and English translations	115
Appendix I: Genealogical Charts	175
Appendix J: Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Definition	179

Appendix G
Musical Transcriptions

Table of Contents

Title	Chapters	Page in Appendix G	Page of Text in Appendix H
Qumak Pisia	4 & 6	46	116-117
Alu Pisia	4 & 6	47	118-119
Qilaup Pisia	4 & 6	48	120-121
Qauloaqtaq	4 & 6	49	122
Quviasuliqpunga	4 & 6	50	123-124
Angutinasugavit	4 & 6	51	125
Inusivut	4 & 6	52-60	126-127
Qiugaviit	4 & 6	61	128-129
Arnaraujak Pisia	4 & 6	62	130-131
Atanira	5 & 6	66	141-143
Katilirivugut	5	67	
Jesus	5	68	135-136
Aninrniup Ikumangatalu	5	69	69
Tusumaliqtunga	5	70-71	Diss. 218-219
The River is Here	5	72	Diss. 225
Welcome Holy Spirit	5	73-74	Diss. 229-230
Create in Me a Clean Heart	5	75-76	144-145
Sapilinak	5	77	145-146
Jesusi Piuliji	5 & 6	78	146-147
Qilalimat	5	79	Diss. 234-235
Nagliniata Iqipanga	5	80-82	
Nipliqpunga	5	83	
Siyahamba	5	84	149-150
Inuluktaat Naglingnirmut	6	85	Diss. 279-282
Naalagak Nikasugit	6	86	86
Niqtuqtauli	6	87-90	Diss. 292-293
Naalagaq Qujanisiaq	6	91	Diss. 295
Aliluja	6	92	92
Uppi qpugut	6	93	Diss. 300-301
Inuugutiksamnik	6	94-95	Diss. 302
Ataataavut Qilammiittutit	6	96-97	Diss. 305
Uqautijauvunga Iniksaqarmat	5 & 6	98	Diss. 307-309
Guti Pisuqatigilaunga	6	99-100	Diss. 311-312

Title	Chapters	Page in Appendix G	Page of Text in Appendix H
Tatannamik Saimmarnginga	6	101	167-168
Niaquq Tuiji	6	102	102
Head and Shoulders, Knees and Toes	6	103	103
Anaanaga	6	104-105	170-171
Qaigit	6	106-107	106-107
Jesusi Piuliji	5 & 6	108	146-147
Sapilitailigit	6	109	171
Isumagivattatiit	6	110	171-172
Nunavut Song	6	111	173-174
Never Failing	6	112	173
Katijumaaqpugut Paani	6	113	165-166
Katijumaaqpugut Paani	6	114	

Appendix H
Inuktitut Song Texts & English Translations

Table of Contents

Title	Chapters	Page in Appendix G	Page of Text in Appendix H
Qumak Pisia	4 & 6	46	116-117
Alu Pisia	4 & 6	47	118-119
Qilaup Pisia	4 & 6	48	120-121
Qauloaqtaq	4 & 6	49	122
Quviasuliqpunga	4 & 6	50	123-124
Angutinasugavit	4 & 6	51	125
Inusivut	4 & 6	52-60	126-127
Qiugaviit	4 & 6	61	128-129
Arnaraujak Pisia	4 & 6	62	130-131
Sivunirijait	5		132
Qaigit Ipjurnaituq	5		132-133
Sanningayuq	5		133-134
Niqgupagit	5		135
Jisas	5		135-136
Imaillunga	5		137-139
Jesusimut Tunivatka	5		139
Isagit Aktulauruk Jisas Pisuktu	5		140
Atanira	5 & 6	66	141-143
Kungmik Piqaqpuq	5		143
To the River I am Going	5		143
Qaitinga Kumut	5		143-144
Ummatitaqtilaangi Guti	5		144-145
Katilirivugut	5	67	
Jesus	5	68	135-136
Aninrniup Ikumangatalu	5	69	69
Tusaumaliqtunga	5	70-71	Diss. 218-219
The River is Here	5	72	Diss. 225
Welcome Holy Spirit	5	73-74	Diss. 229-230
Create in Me a Clean Heart	5	75-76	144-145
Sapilinak	5	77	145-146
Jesusi Piuliji	5 & 6	78	146-147
Quviasukpunga Aqitaulaurama	5		147-149
Qilalimat	5	79	Diss. 234-235
Naglaniata Iqipanga	5	80-82	

Title	Chapters	Page in Appendix G	Page of Text in Appendix H
Nipliqpunga	5	83	
Siyahamba	5	84	149-150
Jesus Qaingmat Uummatimnut	5		151-153
Sivullipta Ukpnrningat	5		153-154
Imaillunga piqanrnanga	5		154-156
Jesusimut Tunivakka	5		156
Gutivut Angijuj	5		157
Ataniq	5		158
Jesusi Makisimavuj	5		159
Upluqaqpunga Quvianaqtumik	5		160-162
Kivgaujungnaiqtitaujumavisi	5		162-163
Qilangmi Paani	6		164-165
Katijumaapugut Paani	6	113	165-166
Tatamnam Saimaniga	6	101	167-168
Inuluktaat Naglingnirmut	6	85	Diss. 279-282
Naalagak Nikasugit	6	86	86
Niqtuqtauli	6	87-90	Diss. 292-293
Naalagaq Qujanisiaq	6	91	Diss. 295
Aliluja	6	92	92
Uppiqaqut	6	93	Diss. 300-301
Inuugutiksamnik	6	94-95	Diss. 302
Ataataavut Qilammiittutit	6	96-97	Diss. 305
Uqautijavunga Iniksaqarmat	5 & 6	98	Diss. 307-309
Guti Pisuatigilaunga	6	99-100	Diss. 311-312
Tatannamik Saimmarnginga	6	101	167-168
Niaquq Tuiji	6	102	102
Head and Shoulders, Knees and Toes	6	103	103
Anaanaga	6	104-105	170-171
Qaigit	6	106-107	106-107
Jesusi Piuliji	5 & 6	108	146-147
Sapilitailigit	6	109	171
Isumagivattatiit	6	110	171-172
Nunavut Song	6	111	173-174
Never Failing	6	112	173

Appendix A
Inuktitut-English Glossary

Glossary of Inuktitut Words

This glossary is intended to facilitate reading. The spelling is not always consistent, as some words come from different regions and/or areas of Nunavut; even Inuit from the various sub-groups living within Arviat spell certain words differently. This is especially evident in the different styles of transcription used by informants and/or translators who participated in the current project. Spelling is further complicated by the introduction of Inuktitut language classes at local schools and the Arctic College taught by Inuit from a variety of regions within Nunavut. In short, there is no standard way of spelling and I chose to use spellings as they were presented by the Inuit involved. For a more elaborate and detailed glossary that gives valuable information on local variations, see Kublu 2004.

- Aagjulirvik*—a star appears; December
aajiiqatigiingniq—consensus–Decision Making
Aajiiqatigiingniq—Language of instruction report
aaniuvak—perpetual snow patch
abaq (also *aqti*, pl. *atiit*)—person with same name; namesake
abbaq, pl. *abbait*—namesake
agiaraut—close to filing; violin
Agiggiaq Qamangat—Kasba Lake
Ahiarmiut (also *Ihiarmiut*, *Assiarmiut*)—people out of the way; traditionally, were inlanders living along the upper Kazan River near Ennadai Lake
aijaaja—songs
ajagaq—game
ajitiurut—camera
ajungittamingnik—with their abilities
Ajurqigtuijit—Anglican Church
akakkunniq—shamanism
Aklavik—meaning “barren ground grizzly place” is a hamlet located in the Inuvik Region of the Northwest Territories
aktuqtauniq anirnirmut—feeling the Holy Spirit
Akullirurvik—back to school; August
Alianait (Let’s celebrate) Arts Festival—Established in 2004, the Alianait Arts festival presents music, film, storytelling, circus, dance, theatre, and visual arts. Hosted in Iqaluit, Nunavut, the festival runs for a week in late June with additional events held throughout the year. Its executive director is Heather Daley
allu—seal breathing hole
alutsiniq—deep snow hollow
Amaruqtalik—Wolf Esker
amio—I do not know
amiou—I don’t know
Amirajarvik—September
amoutik (also *amouti*, or *amout*)—a woman’s parka with a hood designed to hold a baby
anaana aniqunga—mommy, I hurt myself
anaana kaaqtunga—mommy, I am hungry

anaana takku—mommy, look at me
anaanaga—my mother
anaana—mother
anakok—shaman
ananatsiaq—grandmother
angajuk—older sister of a woman or older brother of a man
angakkuuniq—shamanism
angakok, pl. *angakkuit* (also *angakkuq*)—shaman
angakulaurtut—shamanic power
angaluk—shamanic belt
aniartuq—confession, bringing things to the open
Anirniialuk—God (Christian)
anirniq ipjurnaitup atturninga—touched by the Holy Spirit
anirniq ipjurnaituq tappanituq unnuk—the Holy Spirit is here tonight
anirniq ipjurnaituq—Holy Spirit
anirniq ipjurnaituq—Holy Spirit
anirniq piuliji pilirialik titaktinit—spiritual music
anirniq—spirit
anirniq piungitumit anitirijuq—removing evil spirit
anurituq—windy
anuri—wind
apiqsaq, pl. *apiqsait*—helping spirit (Kivalliq)
apusimatiqtuq—snow storming
Aqiggiap Qamangat—Lake Kasba
aqsarniit—northern lights
Arviajjuaq—Centry Island
Arviamiut—people from Arviat
Arviaqpaluk—the voice of Arviat; radio station
Arviat Imngitingit—Arviat singers
Arviat Pilirigatigit—Arviat working group
Arviat—bowhead whale. The community got its name from the shape of the peninsula on which it is located
arvinilit—six
ataata—father
Ataataavut—Lord's Prayer
atairranaqtuq—squeaky snow
Atanagit Jesus—Father Jesus
Atanira—my God; my father
atauhik—one
atigi—inner caribou parka for men
Atiqturniavik—Ennadai Lake
aturlutik—using their musical instruments
auviq/savuujaqtuaq/qulluaqtuq—snow block
Avatimik Kamattiarniq—concept of Environmental Stewardship
Avunnivvik—The seal pups died in their mother's belly because of the cold; February

Guti—God
Gutiup pilirianga—will of God
Guuti—God
hagljutit—you are lying
hamaut—a song dealing with the fact that the singer cannot catch seals
Hanningajurjuaq Kijjiq—South Henik Lake
Hanningajurjuaq—South Henik Lake
Harvaqtuurmiut—a northern group located in the region of Kazan River, Yathkyed Lake, Kunwak River, Beverly Lake, and Dubawnt River. By the early 1980s, most lived at Baker Lake
Hauneqtormiut (also *Hauniqtuurmiut* or *Kangiqliniqmiut*)—“dwellers where bones abound” were a smaller band who lived near the coast, around the Wilson River and Ferguson River. By the 1980s, they were absorbed into subgroups at Whale Cove and Rankin Inlet
Hikuligiuaq—Yathkyed Lake
hunaitna—what is it?
hupjupharut—to blow; harmonica
huvit—hello or how are you
Iblautiit—baby caribou inside growing; May
iglu, pl. *igluit*—snow house
Igluligaarjuk— a place where a bunch of houses are; Chesterfield Inlet
Iglulingmiut—people from Iglulik
iglumuraqtunga—I am going to the *iglu*
igluvijsaq—snow house
ihaatatuq—to stretch something or something you stretch; accordion
Ii quviahuqtunga iglumuraqtunga—Yes, I am happy. I am going to the *iglu*.
ii—yes
ijiqsimajuq/qaujimatitsingtuq anirnirmit—hindering the spirit
Ijuqituijit Uqalimagait—Anglican Book of Common Prayer
ikajuqti—helping spirit
ikajurqti—sermon
Ikayoktit—Alcohol and Drug Committee
ikirayuaq tuksiarniq—Catholic mass
ikpigijara anirniq ipjurnaituq—I can feel the Holy Spirit
Iksirajuaq—Catholic Church
iksirardjuaq—Catholic priest
iksirarjuaq—minister
ila—yes
ilisiinniq—bad medicine or witchcraft
ilisiqsiniq—hexing someone
ilisiq—sorcery, witchcraft
ilisitsut—evil shamen
Ilitaunnikuliriniq—Student assessment in Nunavut schools
illingniarvik—a place to learn; school
illuriik—exchange partners, song partners, cross-cousins

illummiqtaujuq—when a spirit enters a person’s body
immiugainnaatuq—snow water
imngirnik quviqiyaaqtunga—I love to sing
imngiutimingnik—their songs
imngiutit—hymns/hymnbook
imngiutit—songbook
imngiutit—songs to be sung with a guitar
ingillit—angels
ingutaq—grandson
Innuqatigiit—Nunavut curriculum for Inuit students
inua—its person, inhabitant, owner; life force
Inuglugijaittuq—Inclusive education in Nunavut schools
Inuit qaujimajatuqangit—traditional indigenous knowledge; see long definition provided by the Government of Nunavut in Appendix J
Inuit Tapirisat of Canada—the national voice of the Inuit of Canada and addresses issues of vital importance to the preservation of Inuit identity, culture and way of life. The ITC was originally called *Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami* which means “Inuit are united in Canada”
Inuit uqausinginit—I didn’t understand Inuit talking
Inuit, sing. *Inuk*—the people
inukshuk, pl. *inuksuit* (also *inuksuk*)—stone marker in the shape of a human being
Inuktitut uqarungnangitunga—I cannot speak Inuktitut
Inuktitut uqarungnaqtunga—I can speak Inuktitut
Inuktitut—the Inuit language
inuktuluavik—true Inuit way of life
inulariujunga—I’m a real Inuk
inulariuyunga—I’m a real Inuk
inummarit—real Inuit
inummarik, sing. *inummarit*—real Inuk
inummarittitut—language of the older Inuit or the genuine Inuit
inungnut—when I first came to Inuit
Ipjujunit uqalimarniq—scripture reading
Ipjujut—Bible
iqaaqtuu—when a shaman questions someone
iqalukpik—arctic char
iqauma—remembering
iqiqpalut—using dimples; Jew’s harp
irngutaq—grandchild
irnik—son
irniq—son
isumataq—the one with thought, intelligence; camp leader
Ittaliuvik—a place where people make tents
iviutiit—songs that are used to embarrass people
ivrarniq—moderately soft snow
Jisusi—Jesus

Jisusip tunigrusianguaqpuq—liturgy of the eucharist
kamik; pair, *kamiik*; pl. *kamiit*—boot
kanangnaq—snow wind
Kangillirjuaq—North Henik Lake
Kangiqlhliniq—an inlet; Rankin Inlet
Katagaariviik—caribou shedding; November
katajjait—throat songs
katuk—drum mallet
kayak (also *qayaq*)—boat
Kingajualik—Padlei
kisiani—but
Kitikmeot Region
Kivalliq—south; an administrative region of Nunavut which consists of seven hamlets:
 Arviat, Baker Lake, Chesterfield Inlet, Coral Harbour, Rankin Inlet, Repulse Bay,
 and Whale Cove.
kugikpalut—use nail to play; guitar
Kuuk Uhuganarnaat—Maguse River
kuukpaluk—the river
majulajuit—those who want to go to heaven
Makitaugvik—Easter
Makkutunit Tuksiaqatiqarniq—Young Life Service
maktak—beluga whale blubber
malikturau—parade
mamisarnit—healing circle
manigusuutiksait—penitential rites
mannuktuq—melting snow
Manniit—eggs; June
marruq—two
marunik arvinilit—seven
masangnaqsijuq—wet snow
mat'nattiamiaq qaigapsi—thank you so much for coming
matna—thank you
maujaq—deep snow
Miqilauq Centre—youth centre at the Catholic mission in Arviat
muminguaq—square dance
naalagak nikasugit—Lord, have mercy
Naalagak Nirturlavut Tuksiarluta Ingirlutalu—“praise the Lord,” Catholic hymnal
nakkaajuq—descent of a shaman to the sea woman
nalaut—radio
namaktumit ikpigijuq—feeling good
namut?—where?
naqitaut—press fingers on something; piano
nataqqurnaq—sleet
Natisak—seal pups; March
Naujaat—baby seagull; Repulse Bay

nauk—no, I am fine
Nauq anguti?—which boy?
Netsilik—*Netsilingmiut*; live predominantly in the communities of Kugaaruk and Gjoa Haven of the Kitikmeot Region of Nunavut
niivigjuaq—feast
nipilurut—tape recorder
nipku—dried caribou
niqtuqniq Jususimit—praise Jesus
niqtuqtauli—gloria
nugluktuq—game consisting of pointing a stick into a hole
nukaq—younger brother or sister
nukaq—younger sister of a woman or younger brother of a man
nulijjaut—wife sharing
nuna—land; earth
Nunaliit Kivallirmi—south land; Kivalliq Region
Nunaliuqti—God
nunaluiit—evil spirits
nunaptingni—our community
Nunavummiut—people who live in Nunavut
Nunavut Sivuniksavut—a college program located in Ottawa which is designed to teach young Inuit about the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and other important political, economic, and social issues related to Inuit
Nunavut Tunngavik Corporation—a private federal corporation which was established in 1993 to ensure implementation of the 1993 Nunavut Lands Claim Agreement in accordance with the terms of the Agreement
Nunavut—our land
nuvuk—point
Palliq—mouth of the Maguse River
Pallirmiut (also *Padlirmiut*, *Paallirmiut*)—people of the willow thicket; traditionally, were inlanders who were nomadic and spent their springs and summers in the community of Eskimo Point (now Arviat)
pamaut—a song principally dealing with the fact that the singer is not a good caribou hunter
panik—daughter
pialaituq imngiutitsiaq—slow songs with good words
pihiit—traditional drum dance song
Pijitsirarniq—concept of serving
Pilimmaksarniq—concept of Skills and Knowledge Acquisition
Piliriqatigiingniq—concept of Collaborative Relationship or Working Together for a Common Purpose
Pinasuaqtavut—the Nunavut Government mandate to utilize and implement *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit*
pingahuk—three
pingasunik arvinilit—eight
pingualuqi—games

pinguaqtillugit—while they are playing
pinguarvik—community hall
pinguarvik—hall
pinguqtitsijiup pilirianga—creator’s work
piqqusiq—traditional
piqqusiungituq—non-traditional
piqsigtuq—snow blowing/blizzard
piqusit—traditions
pisinnquat—songs which are derived from stories
pisiq, pl. *pisiit* (also *pisia* or *pihiit*)—personal song; drum dance song
piujuq nirniq—good spirit
piungituq anirniq—bad spirit
puijjaat—evil spirits
pukaingajuq—harder but breakable snow
qablunaaq, pl. *qablunaaq* (also *qallunaaq*, *kabloona*, *kablukaaq*)—white person
qablunaaqtitut—English
Qaernermiut (also *Qairnirmiut*, or *Kinipetu*, or *Kenepetu*)—“dwellers of the flat land,” a northern group who were located from the sea coast between Chesterfield Inlet to Rankin Inlet across to their main area around Baker Lake and some even to Beverly Lake. By the early 1980s, most lived at Baker Lake
qaggilutit—gathering in the ceremonial house
qaggiq—big iglu where a feast is held
qaiGIT ipjurnaituq—come Holy Spirit
qaiGIT—come
qainiaqtumit annirniq ipjurnaitumurmit—coming of the Holy Spirit
Qamaniq—Maguse Lake
Qamanituaq—big lake; Baker Lake
qamutiik (also *komitik*)—dog sled
qanai—songs about white men
qangahaaq—old fashioned
qanuq ukpiqtunguqmangamata—how we became Christians
Qanuqtuurungnarniq—concept of Being Resourceful to Solve Problems
qaqialirniq—sharing testimonies
qaqqialiq—confession
qau—light
qaumaniq—shamanic light and vision
qayaq (also *qajaq*)—kayak, canoe
qiajut—the ones who cry
qiapaq—throat singing
qiaqpaarniq—throat singing
Qikiqtani Region
Qikiqtaqiaqtuq—Neultin Lake
qilammittutit—you are in heaven
qilaniq—head lifting
qilaujarutit—drum

qilaujjarusiit—pisiit sung with a drum
qilauta—drum of the sun (i.e. the ring around the sun)
qilauti (also *qilaut*)—drum used in *qilaniq* by the Ahiarmiut
qilauti (also *qilaut*)—traditional Inuit drum
qilautikut mumirniq—drum dancing
qilautinik—using drums for drum dance
qillaujaq—drum dance
qillaujjarniq—drum dancing
qillauyaqpaluk—voices of the drum
qimi—a-ya-ya section or chorus of a *pisiq* (personal song)
Qimmiqtalik—the place where the dog is
qinngaq—pray by shouting words
qinngarniq—shouted prayer
qitiqliq—middle finger
quviattatuk—he jumps about suddenly in happiness or good spirits
qukalligusijuaq—eucharistic prayer
qulingiluartut—nine
qulittaq—outer part of a man’s parka
qulit—ten
qulliq—seal oil lamp
quviagivaa—he has it as agreeable, a cause of joy, pleasant
quviahuqpit—are you happy?
quvianakuni—I’m happy
quviananrniqpaangujumik—the happiest place
quvianaqtu—I am happy
quvianaqtuq—making one feel happy
quvianartuq—what causes joy; alternately, *quviasugiikkuti*—to prevent happiness
quvianartuvik—Heaven; literally translates as “a place of great joy and happiness”
quvianartuvitsaluititsaq—merit for heaven
quviasugitsi—be happy
quviasuinnalirluta—we will always be happy
quviasukpunga—I am happy
quviasukpuq—it is happy
quviasuktuq—feeling happy
quviasuktuq—makes people feel happy
Quviasukviarusiq—smaller or secondary celebration (such as New Year’s)
Quviasukvik—Christmas
quviasulaaqpungai—I will be happy
quviasuluamut misiktalarumiaqtuq—high energy level
quviasunginiq—sad
quviasungni—happiness; alternately, *quviasunginiq*—sadness
quviasungniq—joy/happiness
quviasuqtilaunga—Let me be happy
quviasuqtinga—Let me be happy
quviasuqtunga—I am happy

quviasuquniarmatigut—They will tell us to be happy
quviasurjuaqtuq—feeling excited
quviasurjuaqtuq—it makes people feel excited
quviasuttuq—happy, joyful, pleased, he rejoices
quviasuusiq—gift received during time of celebration; Christmas gift
quviasuutilippaa—give him a gift in order to please him, make him joyful
quviattajuq—one who is happy
quviattajuq—who is always joyful; alternately *quviattaituq*—one who is never joyful
quvigiyaaqtunga—I love to sing
Saggirivvik—July
sakaniq—shamanic practice, when a *tuurngaq* enters the body of the *angakkuq*
sakausiit—songs used by *angakkuq*
sakik—mother or father in law
Salliq—by the sea; Coral Harbour
sanningajulik—cross
sanningajuliuqtuq—introductory rites
Sarqarittukuurgunga—I travel through places of vast horizons
Satanasi—Satan
Sedna (also *Nulijuk*, *Nuliyok*, *Sumna*, *Sanah*, *Sanna*, *Takanakapsaluk*, *Takannaaluk*,
Uinigumasuittuq)—“the one down there,” the sea woman
Siggitiq—the conversion of shamanism to Christianity whereby Inuit consumed tabooed
foods
Sikuvvit—October
sila (also *hila* [Kivalliq])—reason, weather
Sila—the divine and dangerous spirit who lived somewhere above the earth
siqiniq—sun
sitamat—four
Siuraarjuit—Sandy Point
Siurajuk—Sandy Point; located 72 miles north of Arviat
sivuliqti—song leader
sivuliqti—worship leader
Sivullinuut—Elders’ Society
sivullit—ancestors, those who go in front
sivutmuttitaujuq—sending forth
sunakiaq piujuq—something good
taima—the end
tainiq—the verse section of a *pisiq* (personal song); the part which tells the story
Takanakapsaluk—the spirit of the sea also known as Sedna
talimat—five
tamaani—here
tamanilitama—once I have been here long
tamuasugiaqsiutiit—communion rite
tappanituq anirniq ipjurnaituq—presence of the Holy Spirit
tapsi, pl. *tapsiit*—shamanic belt
Taqinnarjuak—long ordinary month; January

tarijaut—T.V.
Tariuqmiut—salt-water people; traditionally, were Caribou Inuit that lived on the coastal area between Qamanirjuk and Siurajuk
tarniq, pl. *tarniit*—miniature image of being contained in a bubble of air, “soul”
tautuktitsitillugit—while they are showing us what they can do; making you look and watch their performance.
Tikiraijuaq—to gather; Whale Cove
Tikirajualaaq—a little long point
Tirigluit—April
titaktit—band
titautinik—musical instruments (modern)
titinama—when I arrived
titiqat—words
tonraq hiqloriquq—evil spirit
Toonik (*tunig*: which means inhabitants of the country before the Inuit) Tyme—Iqaluit’s annual spring festival which has been a community tradition since 1965. It is a weeklong celebration of Inuit culture and tradition. It is a way for local residents to celebrate the return of spring as a community and is also an opportunity for visitors to experience the unique culture of the Canadian Arctic. A typical schedule includes traditional Inuit activities such as iglu building, dog team races, Inuit games, seal skinning contests, local music and artistic entertainment. Other activities are snowmobile races, Iqaluit Fear Factor, craft fairs, and scavenger hunts.
tukisialqungilanga—I didn’t understand
tukisivalikalirama—I can understand
tuksiaqataujut saimmaqtilugit tavvauvusirlugillu—blessing or concluding rite
tuksiaqtuq uqakut—speaking in tongues
tuksiarniq anirniq piuliji taimauthuni—spiritual service
tuksiarniq—prayer
tuksiarvik—a place to pray; church
tuksiarviup naqिताutingit—church organ
Tuksiavitnaaq—Glad Tidings/Alliance Church
tuktuk—caribou
Tulimaaligiuaq—Dubawnt Lake
tungasugitsi niqtuinirmut—welcome to worship
tupamit/sigjamit—down at the ice
tupilaq, pl. *tupilait*—evil spirit. See also *nunaluit*
tupilaq, pl. *tupilait*—evil spirit
tupilattuq—killing an evil spirit
tusarningitumit imngituq—a bad singing voice
tusarniqtuq imngituq—a good singing voice
tuurngaqsimajuq—possession by a spirit
tuurngaq, pl. *tuurngait* (also *torngaq*, *torngak*)—helping spirit. See also *apirsaq*, *ikajuqi*
ublaakut—this morning
ublumi—today
ublumiuliqtuq—modern

ublumiuyok—these days
uilijauti—husband sharing
ujuq—boiled caribou
Ukkuliksalik—near Repulse Bay
ukpiqtuqsiutit imngiutit—gospel songs
ukpirniq—Christian religion
ukpirtuit—Christian people
ukpirtuujuviniq—a religious person
Ukpitqtuqsiutit—The Gospel
ukuaq—daughter-in-law
ulu, pl. *uluit*—woman’s knife
umajuq niriungniq—living hope
unikaat—stories referring to a recent past
unikkaaqtuat—stories referring to a distant past
unipkarniq piqqusinik—traditional stories
unnukpat—tonight
upingamit pinguarniq—spring festival
uppiqpugut—we believe; Apostles’ Creed
uqalimagaksat—liturgy of the Word
Utkkuhikhalingmiut—“people who have cooking pots,” who were located in the Chantrey
Inlet area around the Back River, near Baker Lake
Yup’ik—Alaskan Inuit

Appendix B

Maps

Figure 1.B1: Nunavut



Figure 2.B2: Arviat Kivalliq Region

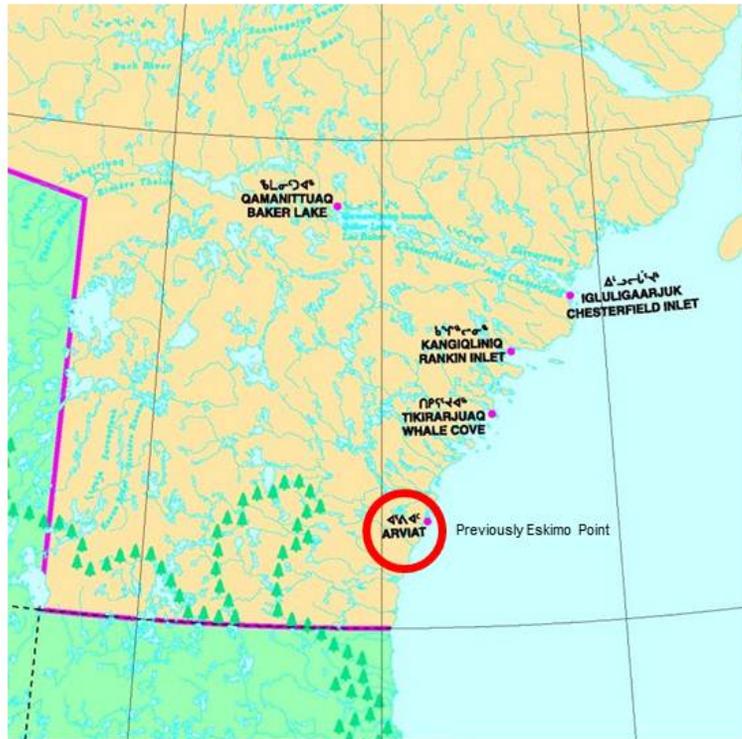


Figure 2.B3: Ahiarmiut Territory



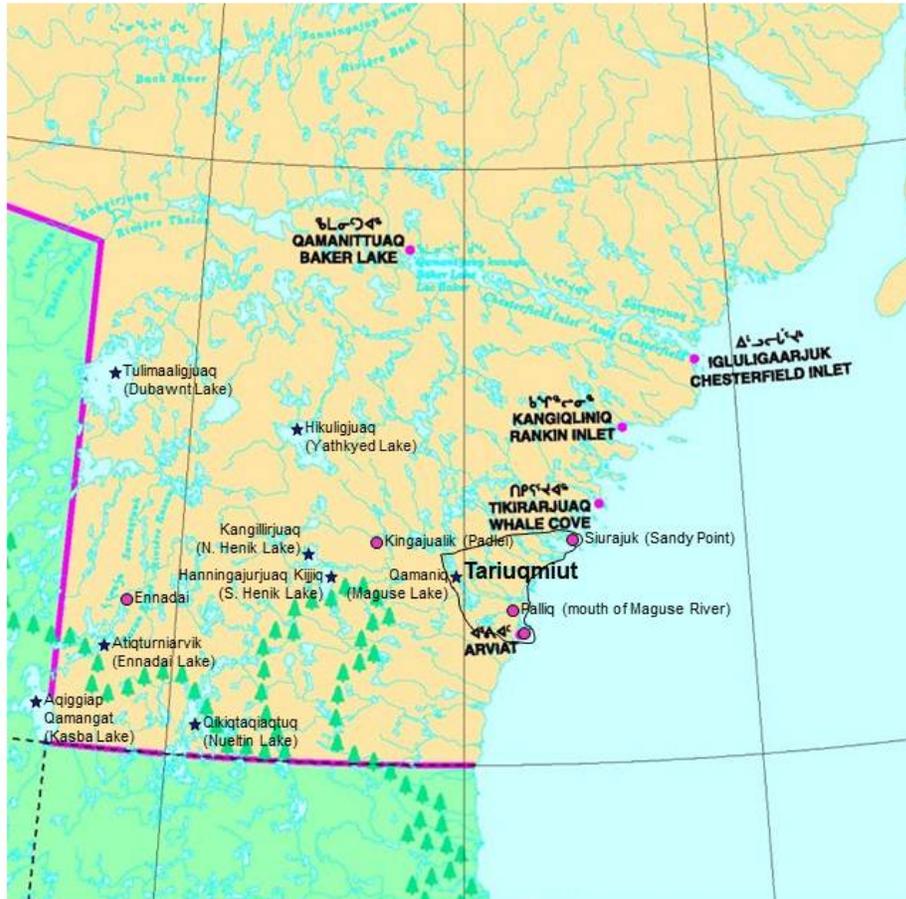
Adaped from Bennett & Rowley (2004: 344)
Csonka (1995)

Figure 2:B4 : Padlirmiut Territory



Map provided by Eric Anoe Jr. Padlirmiut
Information provided by Louis Angalik
Department of Education, Arviat, Nunavut

Figure 2:B5: Tariusmiut Territory



Information about Tariusmiut Territory including the location of Siurajuk (Sandy Point) provided by Simeonie Mamgark

Appendix C

Photographs



Figure 2.C1 Alliance Church, Arviat, Nunavut, 2006.



Figure 2.C2 Arviaqpaluk, Arviat, Nunavut, 2006.



Figure 3.C3 Qitiqliq High School, Arivat, Nunavut, 2001.



Figure 3.C4 Arviat Inngitingit, Performance for the Commissioner, Mark Kalluak Hall, Arviat, Nunavut, 2004.



Figure 3.C5 Qahuq Illungiyok, Performance for the Commissioner, Mark Kalluak Hall, Arviat, Nunavut, 2004.



Figure 3.C6 Sandy Okatsiak and Kuuku Mikeeuneak, Anglican Church, Arviat, Nunavut, 2007.



Figure 3.C7 Gara Mamgark, Arviat, Nunavut, 2006.



Figure 4.C8 Silas Illungiyok, High School Graduation, Arviat, Nunavut, 2004.



Figure 4.C9 Elizabeth Nibgoarsi and Eva Mukjungnik, Iglu Project, 2006.



Figure 4.C10 Elders' Centre, Arviat, Nunavut, 2007.



Figure 4.C11 Silas Illungiyok, Elders' Centre, Arviat, Nunavut, 2007.



Figure 4.C12 John Arnaludjuak High School, Arviat, Nunavut, 2006.



Figure 4.C13 Arviat Imngitingit, Festival 500, St. John's, NL, 2003.



Figure 4.C14 Ollie Illungiyok, Drumming for Inusivut, John Arnaludjak School, Arviat, Nunavut, 2006.



Figure 4.C15 Ollie Illungiyok, Elders' Centre, Arviat, Nunavut, May 9, 2007.



Figure 5.C16 St. Francis "New" Anglican Church, Arviat, Nunavut, 2007.



Figure 5.C17 St. Francis "Old" Anglican Church, Arviat, Nunavut, 2007.



Figure 5.C18 Sandy Okatsiak, Arviat, May, 2007.



Figure 5.C19 Rev. Joe Manik, Anglican Church Minister, Arviat, Nunavut, 2007.

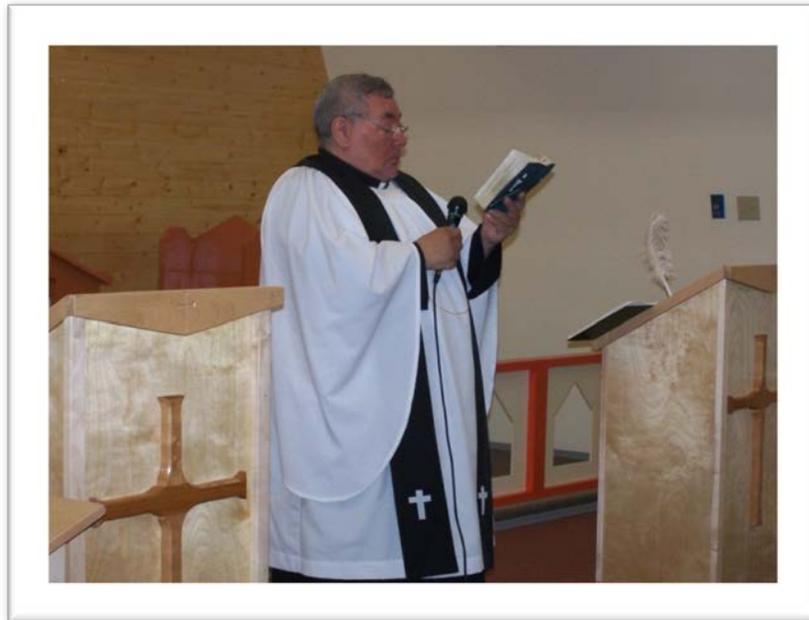


Figure 5.C20 Rev. Jimmy Gibbons, Anglican Church Minister, Arviat, Nunavut, 2007.



Figure 5.C21 Rev. Jimmy Muckpah, Anglican Church Minister, Arviat, Nunavut, 2007.



Figure 5.C22 Eva Okatsiak, Arviat, Nunavut, 2004.



Figure 6.C23 St. Therese Catholic Church, Arviat, Nunavut, 2006.



Figure 6.C24 Matilda Sulurayok, Catholic Church, Arviat, Nunavut,
Sunday, April 23, 2006.



Figure 6.C25 Winnie Malla and Matilda Sulurayok, Catholic Church, Arviat, Nunavut, Sunday, April 23, 2006.



Figure 6.C26 The Mamgark Family, Arviat, Nunavut, 2006.



Figure 6.C27 Gara Mamgark and Katelyn Sulurayok throat singing, Arviat, Nunavut, 2004.

Appendix D
Arviat History Timeline

Early 1920s	Fifth Thule Expedition
1920s	Traders pushed from Eskimo Point to Yathkyed Lake. The post (called Padlei) was built near the headwaters of the Maguse River
1920s	Catholic and Anglican missionaries visit Inuit camps
1921	Hudson Bay Co. at Eskimo Point
1924	Roman Catholic Mission at Eskimo Point
1924	Eskimo Point established as a settlement
1926	Anglican Mission at Eskimo Point
1930s	Trading post of Revillon Freres at Ennadai Lake was abandoned
1936 or 1937	RCMP established at Eskimo Point
1941	HBC trading post at Neultin Lake abandoned
1946	Alliance missionary visited Inuit camps near Eskimo Point. A church school and mission was set up at the mouth of the Maguse River
1949	Canadian Army Signal Corps built a radio station at Ennadai Lake
1950	Ahiarmiut relocated to Neultin Lake
1954	Weather station was taken over from CASC by the Dept. of Transport Air Radio Branch
1956	Officials of the Dept. of Northern Affairs and Dept. of Health and Welfare flew to Ennadai to make an assessment about the welfare of the Ahiarmiut
1957	Ahiarmiut relocated to Henik Lake
1958	Ahiarmiut relocated to Eskimo Point
1958-62	Padlirmiut and Tariuqmiut switched from nomadic to sedentary lifestyle and remained in Eskimo Point
1959	Community Federal Day School at Eskimo Point
1960	Alliance school at Maguse River closed
1961	Nursing Station at Eskimo Point
1961	Alliance Church at Eskimo Point
1969	Pentecostal missionaries visited Eskimo Point
1975-76	Pentecostal Church at Eskimo Point
1971	Co-op established at Eskimo Point
1971	Inuit Tapirisat of Canada established
1972	Inuit Tapirisat of Canada began discussing land claims
1974	Inuit Cultural Institute established at Eskimo Point
1975	Arviaqpaluk—the voice of Arviat was established
1982	Tunnigavik Federation of Nunavut formed
1989	Eskimo Point officially became known as Arviat
1995	Dept. of Ed. Mandated to write a new curriculum for Inuit youth that incorporated IQ
1999	Territory of Nunavut was created
2000	Inuit Qaujimagajatuqangit mandated to be incorporated in the delivery and programs of GN departments

Appendix E

Illungiyok Traditional Music Chart

Illungiyok Traditional Music Chart

Name	Title	Genre	Composer	Place Origin	Singer(s)	Mode	Sing	Dance	Pathway of transmission
Qahuq	Alu Pisia	Pisiq	Alu	Chesterfield Inlet	Arviat Imngitngit	G pentatonic	No	Yes	Mary via tape
	Qilaup Pisia	Pisiq	Qilaup	Chesterfield Inlet	Arviat Imngitngit	C minor ?	No	Yes	Mary via tape
	Qauloqtaq	Pisiq	Unknown	Rankin Inlet	Arviat Imngitngit	D pentatonic	No	Yes	Mary via tape
	Qumak Pisia	Pisiq	Qumak	Arviat	Arviat Imngitngit Sivullinuut	E flat pentatonic	No	Yes	Eva Aupak , who taught in the traditional Inuit knowledge program at the schools
	Qahuq Pisia (grandmother's pisiq)	Pisiq	Qahuq	Arviat	Sivullinuut		No	Yes	Elders at Elders' Centre
	Qiugavitt	Pisiq	Unknown	Baffin Island Area	Arviat Imngitngit	D major	Yes	No	Mary via CD
Mariah	Qaumatilugusuli	Pisiq	Elisapee Ootoova's grandfather	Tununiq area of the High Arctic Pond Inlet	Arviat Imngitngit	G pentatonic	Yes	Yes	Silvia Cloutier from Nunavut Sivuniqsavut
	Qiugavitt	Pisiq	Unknown	Baffin Island Area	Arviat Imngitngit	D major	Yes	Yes	Mary via CD
	Inusivut	Pisiq	Leo Mukyungnik	Arviat	Arviat Imngitngit	C major	Yes	?	Leo Mukyungnik & Jeff van den Scott
	Qaiksugaak	Pisiq							Movie Atananarjuat
	Qaqsaut	Animal Song	Unknown	Arviat	Arviat Imngitngit				Lois Lock & Jeff van den Scott
	A-ja Nikippit	Pisiq	Yaha Amayuinnaq	Arviat	Arviat Imngitngit	A major			Lois Lock & Jeff van den Scott
	Angutinasugavit	Dance game	Unknown	Northern Quebec	Arviat Imngitngit	D flat pentatonic	Yes	?	Jeff van den Scott- Northern Quebec

Atuat	Qaumatilugusuli	Pisiq	Elisapee Ootoova's grandfather	Tununiq area of the High Arctic Pond Inlet	Arviat Imngitngit	G pentatonic	Yes	Yes	Mary via video from Bernice Niakrok
	Qiugavitt	Pisiq	Unknown	Baffin Island Area	Arviat Imngitngit	D major	Yes	Yes	Mary via CD
Ollie	Inusivut	Pisiq	Leo Mukyungnik	Arviat	Arviat Imngitngit	C major	No	Yes	Leo Mukyungnik
	Qaqsaut	Animal Song	Unknown	Arviat	Arviat Imngitngit				Lois Lock & Jeff van den Scott
	A-ja Nikippit	Pisiq	Yaha Amayuinnaq	Arviat	Arviat Imngitngit	A major			Lois Lock & Jeff van den Scott
	Angutinasugavit	Dance game	Unknown	Northern Quebec	Arviat Imngitngit	D flat pentatonic	Yes	?	Jeff van den Scott- Northern Quebec

Appendix F
Mangark Music Chart

Matilda's Song Sample
Total: 16

Song	Christian	Secular	Trad.	Language	Mode of Transmission	Gara	Rosie
Tatannamik Saimmarninga	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Atanira	*			Inuktitut/ English Chorus	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Nunaksaqaqpugut	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Knows but does not sing	Sings
Katijumaaqpugut Paani	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Knows but does not sing	Sings
Uqautijauvunga Iniksaqarmat	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Inuluktaat Naglingnirmiut	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Knows but does not sing	Sings
Naalagak Nikausgi	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Does not know	Knows but does not sing
Niqtuqtauli	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Does not know	Knows but does not sing
Naalagaq Qujanisiaq	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Does not know	Knows but does not sing
Uppiqaqpugut	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Does not know	Knows but does not sing
Inuugutiksamnik	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Does not know	Knows but does not sing
Ataatavut Qilammiittutit	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Does not know	Knows but does not sing
Guti Pisuqatigilaunga	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Sapilinak	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Ubluk Taamna	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Ilingnut Godiga	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings

Rosie's Song Sample
Total: 21

Song	Christian	Secular	Trad.	Language	Mode of Transmission	Matilda	Gara
Tatannamik Saimmarninga	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Atanira	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Nunaksaqaqpugut	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Knows-no sing
Katijumaaqpugut Paani	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Knows-no sing
Uqautijauvunga Iniksaqarmat	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Inuluktaat Naglingnirmiut	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Knows-no sing
Guti Pisuqatigilaunga	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Head and Shoulders, Knees and Toes		*		English/ Inuktitut	Oral—School	Does not know	Knows-does not sing
Anaanaga (Jo Ellen Pameolik)		*		Inuktitut	Oral—CD	Knows-does not sing	Sings
Sapilinak	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Anaanaga (Susan Aglukark)		*		Inuktitut	Oral—CD	Knows-does not sing	Sings
Tusaumaliqtunga	*			Inuktitut	Oral—CD	Sings	Sings
Create in Me a Clean Heart	*			English/ Inuktitut	Oral—CD	Knows-does not sing	Sings
Atanira Gutigalu	*			Inuktitut	Oral—CD	Knows-does not sing	Sings
Quviasugitsi		*		Inuktitut	Oral—CD	Knows-does not sing	Sings
Ubluk Taamna	*			Inuktitut/ English	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Ilingnut Godiga	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Welcome Holy Spirit	*			English/ Inuktitut	Oral—CD	Knows-does not sing	Sings
Kumbaya	*			English	Oral—School	Knows-does not sing	Knows-does not sing
This Land is Your Land		*		English	Oral—School	Does not Know	Knows-does not sing
Come, Now is the Time to Worship	*			English/ Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Knows-does not sing	Sings
Qaumaqutiga	*			Inuktitu/ English	Oral—Church School	Sings	Sings

Gara's Song Sample

Total: 32

Song	Christian	Secular	Trad.	Language	Mode of Transmission	Rosie	Matilda
Tatannamik Saimmarninga	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Atanira	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Guti Pisuqatigilaunga	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Anaanaga (Jo Ellen Pameolik)		*		Inuktitut	Oral—CD	Sings	Knows- does not sing
Sapilinak	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Anaanaga (Susan Aglukark)		*		Inuktitut	Oral—CD	Sings	Knows- does not sing
Tusaumaliqtunga	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Radio	Sings	Sings
Create in Me a Clean Heart	*			English/ Inuktitut	Oral—CD	Sings	Knows- does not sing
Atanira Gutigalu	*			Inuktitut	Oral—CD	Sings	Knows- does not sing
Kajusita		*		Inuktitut/ English	Oral—CD	Does not know	Does not know
Quviasuliqpunga			*	Inuktitut	Oral—School	Does not know	Does not know
Qumak Pisia			*	Inuktitut	Oral—School	Does not know	Does not know
Inusivut		*		Inuktitut	Oral—School	Does not know	Does not know
Alianai	*			Inuktitut	Oral—School	Does not know	Does not know
Anguti			*	Inuktitut	Oral—School	Does not know	Does not know
Arctic Rose		*		English	Oral—CD	Knows- does not sing	Does not know
Sapiliqtailigit		*		Inuktitut	Oral--CD	Knows- does not sing	Does not know

Illingnit	*			Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Sings
Jesusi Piulijit	*			Inuktitut/ English	Oral—Church	Knows- does not sing	Knows- does not sing
Never Failing		*		English	Oral—CD	Knows- does not sing	Does not know
Nunavut Song		*		English	Oral—CD	Does not know	Does not know
Quviasugitsi		*		Inuktitut	Oral—CD	Sings	Knows- does not sing
Rankin Inlet Music Festival		*		Inuktitut	Oral—CD	Knows- does not sing	Knows- does not sing
Isumagivattatiit		*		Inuktitut	Oral—CD	Does not know	Does not know
Alu			*	Inuktitut	Oral—School	Does not know	Does not know
Qauloqtaq			*	Inuktitut	Oral—School	Does not know	Does not know
Qiugaviit			*	Inuktitut	Oral—School	Does not know	Does not know
Qilaup			*	Inuktitut	Oral—School	Does not know	Does not know
Throat Songs			*		Oral—School	Does not know	Does not know
Hina na ho ho hiny		*		English	Oral—CD	Does not know	Does not know
Siyahamba	*			English/ Zulu/ Inuktitut	Oral—School	Does not know	Does not know
Come Now is the Time	*			English/ Inuktitut	Oral—Church	Sings	Knows- does not sing

Appendix G
Musical Transcriptions

Appendix G
Musical Transcriptions

Table of Contents

Title	Chapters	Page in Appendix G	Page of Text in Appendix H
Qumak Pisia	4 & 6	46	116-117
Alu Pisia	4 & 6	47	118-119
Qilaup Pisia	4 & 6	48	120-121
Qauloaqtaq	4 & 6	49	122
Quviasuliqpunga	4 & 6	50	123-124
Angutinasugavit	4 & 6	51	125
Inusivut	4 & 6	52-60	126-127
Qiugaviit	4 & 6	61	128-129
Arnaraujak Pisia	4 & 6	62	130-131
Atanira	5 & 6	66	141-143
Katilirivugut	5	67	
Jesus	5	68	135-136
Aninrniup Ikumangatalu	5	69	69
Tusaumaliqtunga	5	70-71	Diss. 223-224
The River is Here	5	72	Diss. 230
Welcome Holy Spirit	5	73-74	Diss. 234-235
Create in Me a Clean Heart	5	75-76	144-145
Sapilinak	5	77	145-146
Jesusi Piuliji	5 & 6	78	146-147
Qilalimat	5	79	Diss. 239-241
Nagliniata Iqipanga	5	80-82	
Nipliqpunga	5	83	
Siyahamba	5	84	149-150
Inuluktaat Naglingnirmut	6	85	Diss. 284-287
Naalagak Nikasugit	6	86	86
Niqtuqtauli	6	87-90	87-90
Naalagaq Qujanisiaq	6	91	Diss. 298-299
Aliluja	6	92	92
Uppi qpugut	6	93	Diss. 303-304
Inuugutiksamnik	6	94-95	Diss. 305
Ataataavut Qilammiittutit	6	96-97	Diss. 308
Uqautijauvunga Iniksaqarmat	5 & 6	98	Diss. 312-314
Guti Pisuqatigilaunga	6	99-100	Diss. 315-316

Title	Chapters	Page in Appendix G	Page of Text in Appendix H
Tatannamik Saimmarnginga	6	101	167-168
Niaquq Tuiji	6	102	102
Head and Shoulders, Knees and Toes	6	103	103
Anaanaga	6	104-105	170-171
Qaigit	6	106-107	106-107
Jesusi Piuliji	5 & 6	108	146-147
Sapilitailigit	6	109	171
Isumagivattatiit	6	110	171-172
Nunavut Song	6	111	173-174
Never Failing	6	112	173
Katijumaaqpugut Paani	6	113	165-166
Katijumaaqpugut Paani	6	114	

Qumak Pisia

Niqiksaminik Qiniqtuq

Transcribed from Eva Aupak
by Mary Piercey 2003

$\text{♩} = 69$

Voice

A - vap - mut tai - ya pi - hu - lu - liq - tung - a a - vap - mu -

5
miar - li pi - hu - lu - liq - tung - a a - vap - mut ta - i - ya i ya i ya a -

11
vap - mut tai - ya a - vap - mut ta - i - ya ya ya ya

16
a - vaq - na ya ya

Alu Pisia

Transcribed from Alu Theresa Kimmaliarjuk singing on
a tape provided by Walla Kuksuk
by Mary Piercey 2003

♩ = 72

Voice

A ya u-vang-a ya - - - - na-lu-liq-pa -

4
pit u-vang-a - ya ya ya a u-vang-a ya

7
ya u-vang-a - ya ya i ya ya ya i ya ya i ya ya ya ya

Qilaup Pisia

Transcribed from Qilaup, Theresa Kimmaliarjuk's father
singing on a tape provided by Walla Kuksuk
by Mary Piercey 2002

$\text{♩} = 96$

Voice

A ya i ya ya i ya ya ti - ki - ra - ta - pang - a

5
ti - - ki - ra - ta - pa - nga pi - sik - sa - mai - ma u - blaa -

8
kut im - ma si - nik - tar - vi - up i - lu - a - nut a - ma i ya

13
ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya i ya ya i ya ya i ya ya ya ya ya ya

Qauloqtaq

Transcribed from a CD provided by Walla Kuksuk
by Mary Piercey 2003

$\bullet = 60$

Voice

A ya ai a ta la miu na a tu ru ma la jang i la qa lu ra ju ai

4
a ta la miu na a ya ya ai a ta la miu na a ya ya

7
A ya ai a ta la miu na i nu i li tai ma i lang i li tai ma

10
u qau si qa li raq tut img ir li u ru maaq puq ai a ta la miu na a ya

13
ya ai a ta la miu na a ya

Quviasuliqpunga

Iqilaarjuk, Shaman from the Tununiq Area

Transcribed from Bernice Niakrok
and Mariah Illungiyok via Silvia Cloutier
by Mary Piercey 2004

$\bullet = 86$

Voice

Qau-ma - ti - lu - gu - su - li si - ni - lau - ri - vu - gut ul - luq - su - li tau - va i ya

4
ya ya ya a ya i ya ya ya a - li - a - nai - tu - qaq - puq i - nu - nia -

8
li - rang - a ul - luq - su - li tau - va i ya ya ya ya a ya i ya ya ya

12
a - kuk - tu - yuk ang - u - ti - vuq ul - luq - su - li tau - va i ya ya ya ya

16
i ya ya ya a ya i ya ya ya qu - vi - a - su - liq - pung - a i -

20
nu - nia - li - ra - ma ul - luq - su - li tau - va i ya ya ya ya a ya i ya ya ya

Angutinasugavit

Transcribed from Mariah Illungiyok
and Lois Lock by Mary Piercey

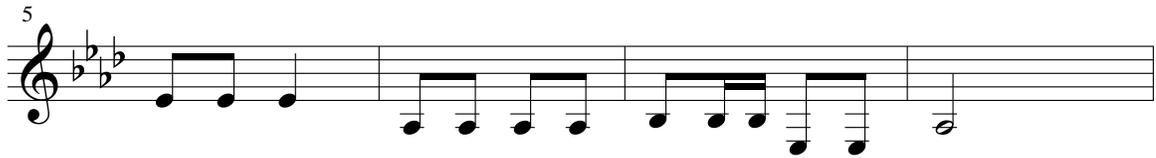
♩ = 120

Voice



Ang - u - ti - na - su - ga - vi qu - ja - nau - ti - qa - ra - vi

5



pi - na - su - ti - qa - ra - vit su - lu - ku - tu - si - aq.

9



Ming - ua - ti - luaq ku - ni - la - gu ku - lu - si ku - ni - la - gu

13



ang - u - ti - na - su - ga - vit su - lu - ku - tu - si - aq

Inusivut

Leo Muljungnik

Transcribed from Mariah and Ollie Illungaiyok
by Mary Piercey 2006

$\text{♩} = 80$
Throat Singing

Voice 1
hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he

Voice 2
hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum -

Qilauti

2

Voice 1
hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he

Voice 2
ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum -

2
Qilauti

3

Voice 1
hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he

Voice 2
ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum -

3
Qilauti

Guitar
4 C

Voice 1
hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he

Voice 2
ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum

4
Qilauti

5 F C F C

Voice 1
A ya ya ya a

Voice 2

5
Qilauti

9 F G F C

Voice 1
 ya ya ya a ya ya A ya ya ya a

Voice 2

9

Voice 1
 ya ya ya a ya ya I - nu - si - vut u -

Voice 2

Qilauti

13 F C F C

13

Voice 1
 blu-miu-liq-tuq sang - i - vuq I - nu - si - vut u -

Voice 2

Qilauti

17 F C F C

17

Qilauti

21 F C F G

Voice 1
 blu-miu-liq-tuq sang-i - vuq I - nu - si-vut u -

Voice 2

Qilauti

25 F C F C

Voice 1
 blu-miu-liq-luq sang-i - vuq - - - - - A ya ya ya a

Voice 2

Qilauti

29 F C F C

Voice 1
 ya ya ya a ya ya A ya ya ya a

Voice 2

Qilauti

33 F C F

Voice 1
 ya ya ya a ya ya hum - ma - he

Voice 2
 hum -

Qilauti

36 C

Voice 1
 hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he

Voice 2
 ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum -

Qilauti

37 F A

Voice 1
 hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ha - he

Voice 2
 ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum

Qilauti

38 C F C F

Voice 1
 ya ya ya a ya ya ya a ya ya A

Voice 2

38

Qilauti

42 C F C F

Voice 1
 ya ya ya a ya ya ya a ya ya King -

Voice 2

42

Qilauti

46 C F C F

Voice 1
 u - li - vut pi - qu - sing - a - ta ma - li - gla - vut King -

Voice 2

46

Qilauti

50 C F C F

Voice 1

u - li - vut pi - qu - sing - a - ta ma - li - gla - vut I -

Voice 2

50

Qilauti

54 G F C F

Voice 1

nu - si - vut u - blu - miu - liq - tuq sang - i - vuq A

Voice 2

54

Qilauti

58 C F C F

Voice 1

ya ya ya a ya ya ya a ya ya A

Voice 2

58

Qilauti

62 C F C F

Voice 1
 ya ya ya a ya ya ya a ya ya A

Voice 2

62

66 C F C F

Voice 1
 ya ya ya a ya ya ya a ya ya hum - ma - he

Voice 2
 hum -

Qilauti

66

70 C

Voice 1
 hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he

Voice 2
 ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum -

Qilauti

71 F C

Voice 1

 hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he

Voice 2

 ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum - ma - he hum

71
 Qilauti

Qiugaviit

Transcribed from Tudjaat CD
by Mary Piercey 2004

♩. = 54

Voice

Qi - u - ja - vit qi - u - ja - vit

5

I - chi - mang - naak qi - u - ja - vit

9

qi - u - ja - vax - ing - na - ri - vit i - ma a ya ya

Arnaraujak Pisia

From Pelinski's collection *Inuit Songs from Eskimo Point #19*

MM. ♩ = ca. 200

The musical score is written on ten systems of two staves each. The first system is marked with a first ending bracket (1.). The second system is marked with a second ending bracket (2.). The third system is marked with a third ending bracket (3.). The fourth system is marked with a fourth ending bracket (4.). The notation includes treble clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The melody is primarily eighth and sixteenth notes, with some triplets. The lyrics are written in a syllabic script below the notes. The score concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Arnaraujak Pisia

Transcribed from Eva Mukjungnik and Mary Anowtalik
by Mary Piercey 2012

♩ = 96

Voice

A-ja - sa-ma-ja - ja — malik - salir - lagu qikua-li-u-na ma - liqsalir-lagu sama-

5

ja a - ja - ja - ja a - ja - sa-ja - sa - ja ta-riu - jur - li qik-

9

lau - mi-lar-mat a-ja - ja u-ping-i-ga-mi-li qu - vi-a-nar-lur-pa sa-mai - ja

13

ja - ja - ja sa - ja-ja-ma - ja - ja - ja - ja-ja-ja - ja - ja-ji-ja - ja

17

A - ja-sa-ji sa - ja u-mi-lik-jir - li ti-git-ji-si-lar-ma a - ja - ja u-ping-i-ga-mi-

21

li qu - vi - a - nar-lur-pa sa - mai - ja ja - ja - ja sa - ja-ja-ma - ja -

25

ja - ja - ja-ja-ja — ja - ja-ji-ja - ja A - ja-sa-ji - sa - ji ja-sa

29



mai-ja-ji-sa mai - ja-ja kinga - lugur - pik sajaja nuna - mu maung kinga - lugu - a

33



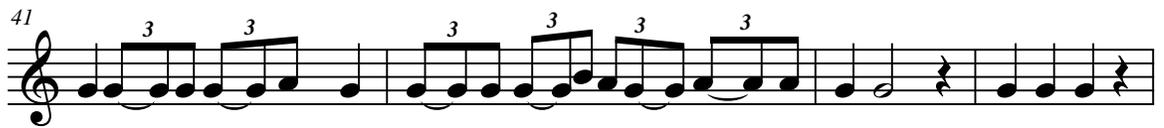
pi pung-a - ja ja - ja - ja sa - ja-ja-ma - ja - ja - ja - ja-ja-ja -

37



ja - ja-ji-ja - ja A - ja-sa-ji a - ja na-ji-lak-jii - li pi-su - lu-lar - ma-ta a-

41



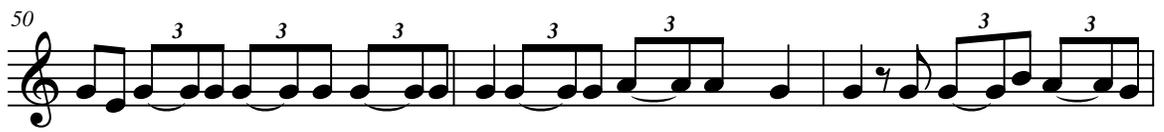
ja-ja nuna - mut maung - a kinga - lugu aq - pik pung - a - ja ja - ja - ja

45



sa - ja-ja-ma - ja - ja - ja - ja-ja-ja - ja - ja-ji-ja - ja A - ja-sa-ji a - ja nak-ji-lak-jii -

50



li i-na - ti-pa - kap-kit a - ja-ja qi-kur - ma maung - a u - lu - ti-tiq - si

53



na - liqtut - punga ja - ja - ja-ja ja-ja-ja sa-ja-ja-ma-ja - ja-ja-ja-ja - ja-ja-ji-ja-ja

Atanira

How Great Thou Art
Swedish Folk Tune
Words Carl Gustav Boberg
and Stuart K. Hine

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

$\text{♩} = 44$

Voice

A - ta - ni - ra Go - di ta - tam - naq - tu - ti sa - na - gang -

3 G D G C
ni si - lar - ju - a - luk - taaq Si - qi - nir - lu taq - qir - lu up - lu - rial - lu ang - i - ga -

7 G D G C G
vit tu - ki - si - tit - si - vut. Imng - ir - lang - a i - ling - nut Go - di - ga ang - i - ga -

11 D G C G
vit ang - i - ga - vit imng - ir - lang - a i - ling - nut Go - di - ga ang - i - ga -

15 D G
vit ang - i - ga - vit.

Katilirivugut

We're Together Again
Written by Gordon Jensen and
Wayne Hilton 1975

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

♩ = 84

Voice

D D7 G

Ka - ti - li - gi - vu - gut niq - tui - lu - ta

5 A D

a - ta - nip - ti - ni a - tau - siu - gap - ta

9 D7

piu - jua - lung - mi pi - ju - qa - niar - puq piu - jua - lu - mi pi - niaq - pu

13 G A D

gut ka - ti - lir - mi - ga - ta niq - tui - lu - ta

Jesus

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

♩ = 66

Voice

D Em

Je - sus a - ti - sia-ri-ni-pau-vu-ti

5 A G D

Je - sus tu - sa - yu - ti qia - ju-ni Oh

9 Bm Em

Je - sus ma - ki - ti - si-ju-naq-tu-ti a - tit -

13 A D

sia - ri - ni - pa - sia - ngu - vu - ti

Aninrniup Ikumangatalu

It's the Holy Ghost and Fire
Pentecostal Hymn

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

$\text{♩} = 112$

Voice

The musical score is written in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a common time signature (C). The tempo is marked as quarter note = 112. The score consists of six lines of music, each with a measure number (1, 3, 6, 9, 12, 15) at the beginning. Chord symbols (A and D) are placed above the staff at various points. The lyrics are written below the staff, aligned with the notes. The lyrics are: "A - ninr-niup i - ku-mang - a - ta - lu i - nuu - tip-paang - a i - nuu - tip - pang - a i - nuu - tip - pang - a a - ninr-niup i - ku-mang - a - ta - lu i - nuu - tip - pang - a Je - sus i - nuu - tip - pang - a It's the Ho - ly Ghost and fi - re and it's keep - ing me a - live keep - ing me a - live keep - ing me a - live it's the Ho - ly Ghost and fi - re and it's keep - ing me a - live - Je - sus is keep - ing me a - live."

A - ninr-niup i - ku-mang - a - ta - lu i - nuu - tip-paang - a

3 i - nuu - tip - pang - a i - nuu - tip - pang - a a - ninr-niup i - ku-mang - a - ta - lu

6 i - nuu - tip - pang - a Je - sus i - nuu - tip - pang - a It's the

9 Ho - ly Ghost and fi - re and it's keep - ing me a - live keep - ing me a - live

12 keep - ing me a - live it's the Ho - ly Ghost and fi - re and it's keep - ing me a - live -

15 Je - sus is keep - ing me a - live.

Nunamitugut

We're Here Today

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

$\text{♩} = 104$

Voice

Tu - sau - ma - liq - tung - a ti - ki - laq - tu - mi

4 Je - su - si ti - ki - la - mat qi - lang - mi

8 Kia - sa - naq - tut tai - ka - ni nung - u - niaq - tut

12 I - ji - vu al - lak - ti - ni - a - ma - git

16 Nu - na - mi - tu - gut ai - jau - la - tu - gut

20 D A

I - nu - si - ri - ja - vut i - qau - ma - na - lang - i - la

24 D G

Nu - na - mi - tu - gut ai - lau - la - tu - gut

28 D A

A - ta - nik na - jut - sai - naing - nia - li - lu - gut.

The River is Here

Andy Park

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

♩ = 116
G

Voice

D A D G D

Down the moun - tain the ri - ver flows and it brings re-fresh - ing where

4 A D G D A D

ev - er it goes. Through the val - leys and o - ver - the fields the

7 G D A D D

ri - ver is rush - ing and the ri - ver is here. The ri - ver of God sets our

10 G D D A D

feet to danc - ing the ri - ver of God fills our hearts with cheer The

13 D G D G D

ri - ver of God fills our mouths with laugh - ter and we re - jice for the

16 A D G D A D

ri - ver is here We re - jice for the ri - ver is here.

Anirnik Ibyurnaituq

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

Welcome Holy Spirit
Israel Houghton

♩ = 60
C

Voice

Wel-come ho - ly spir - - - it, we are in your pres -

6 F C
ence, fill us with your pow - er live in-side of me.

12 C G
Wel-come ho - ly spir - it, we are in your pres -

18 F C
ence, fill us with your pow - er, live in-side of me.

24 F C
You're my liv - ing wat - er, nev - er dry - ing fount -

30 F
tain, com - for - ter and coun - sel - lor, take com - plete con -

35 G C
 trol. A - nir-nik ib - jur - nai - - - tuq na - jur - nir - ni

41 G F
 pu - - - gut ta - ta - ti - lauq - ti - - - gut u - maa - ti - ga - ni -

47 C C G
 git. A - nir-nik ib - jut - nai - - - tuk na - jur - nir - ni pu -

53 F C
 gut ta - ta - ti - lauq - ti - - - gut u - maa - ti - ga - ni - git. I -

59 F C
 mi - ri - va - - - git pa - nir - niang - i - tu - - - ti i -

65 F G
 ka - juq - ti - gi - va - - - git au - la - si - lau - rit

71 C G
 Wel - come ho - ly spir - it, we are in your pres - ence,

77 F C
 fill us with your pow - er live in - side of me.

Ummatitaqtilaangi Guti

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

Create in Me a Clean Heart, Oh God
Keith Gordon Green

♩ = 76

Voice

The musical score is written for voice in the key of D major (two sharps) and common time (C). It consists of six staves of music. The lyrics are: "Cre - ate in me a clean - - - heart, oh God, and re - new the right spir - it with - in me. Cre - ate in me a clean heart, oh God, and re - new the right spir - it with - in me. Cast me not a - way from thy pres - ence, oh Lord, and take not thy hol - y spir - it from me, not from me. Re - store on - to me the". Chord symbols (D, A, G) are placed above the notes. The tempo is marked as ♩ = 76.

Cre - ate in me a clean - - - heart, oh God,

5 and re - new the right spir - it with - in me. Cre - ate in me a

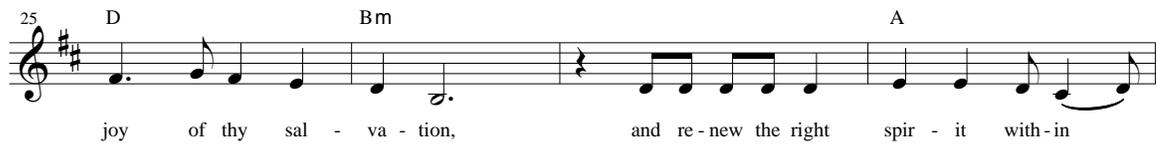
9 clean heart, oh God, and re - new the right

13 spir - it with - in me. Cast me not a - way from thy

17 pres - ence, oh Lord, and take not thy hol - y spir - it from

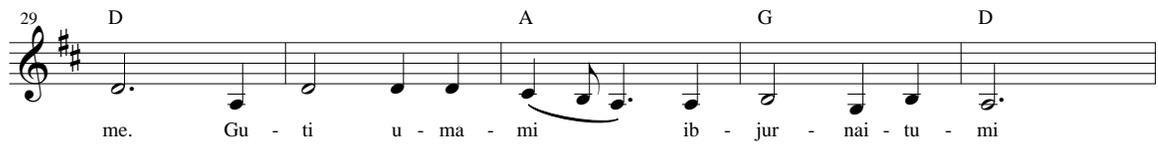
21 me, not from me. Re - store on - to me the

25 D Bm A



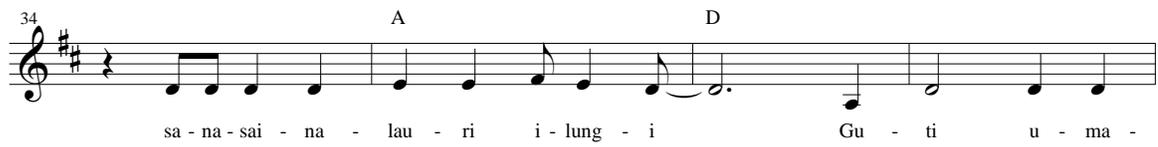
joy of thy sal - va - tion, and re - new the right spir - it with - in

29 D A G D



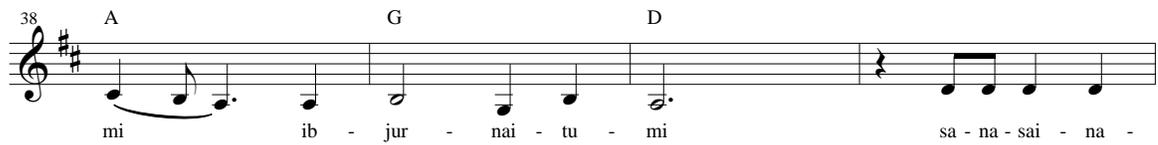
me. Gu - ti u - ma - mi ib - jur - nai - tu - mi

34 A D



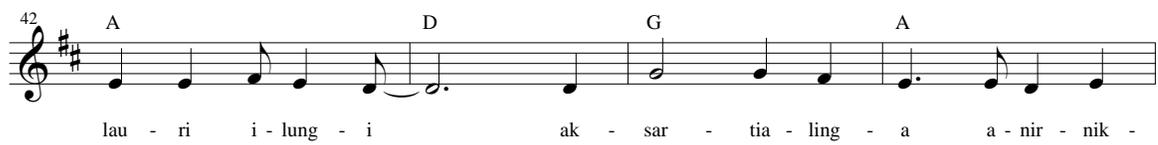
sa - na - sai - na - lau - ri i - lung - i Gu - ti u - ma -

38 A G D



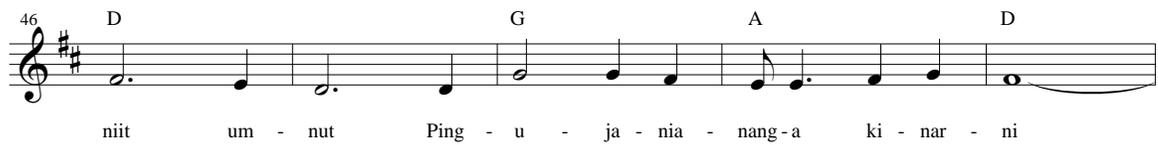
mi ib - jur - nai - tu - mi sa - na - sai - na -

42 A D G A



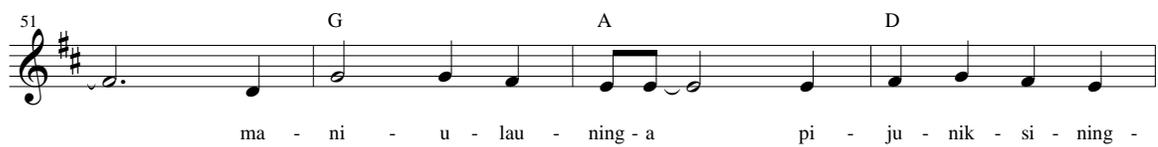
lau - ri i - lung - i ak - sar - tia - ling - a a - nir - nik -

46 D G A D



niit um - nut Ping - u - ja - nia - nang - a ki - nar - ni

51 G A D



ma - ni - u - lau - ning - a pi - ju - nik - si - ning -

55 Bm A D



nuut sa - na - sai - na - lau - ri i - lung - i.

Sapilinak

Looee Nowdlak
Transcribed by Mary Piercey

$\text{♩} = 116$

Voice

D G

Sa - pi - li - nak ta - ta - na - tu - li - ni - aq - mat Sa -

5 A D

pi - li - nak gu - ti au - lat - si - mat Sa - pi - li - nak ta -

10 G A

ta - na - tu - li - ni - aq - mat Uk - pi - ri - gut tam - na a - jung - i -

15 D G

mat Nu - na - mit i - nu - u - ti - lu - ti

20 A D

U - ma - tit si - ku - tiq - tau - lik - pat A - ta -

25 G A

nik tu - nu - tui - na - gi - lu - gu I - ka - ju - ti -

30 D

ri - ju - ma - lu - gu.

Jesusi Piuliji

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

Father of Light
CADET
Inuktitut by James Arreak

♩ = 144

Voice

Je - su - si piu - li - ji niq - tu - lau -

ruk. Je - su - si piu - li - ji

niq - tu - lau - ruk. - - - Ki - su - tui - nai pi - u - juit sa - na - vai.

Ki - su - tui - nai pi - u - juit sa - na - vai.

Ki - su - tui - nai pi - u - juit sa - na - vai.

A - ta - nip - ta.

Qilalimat

Looee Nowdlak
Transcribed by Mary Piercey

♩ = 52

Voice

The musical score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The tempo is marked as ♩ = 52. The score consists of six staves of music, each with a line of lyrics underneath. Chord symbols are placed above the notes. The lyrics are: Qi - la-li-mat ni-pa-i-la-u - puq sa - ni-nga-ju - lingmi-ti-lu - ti si - qi- niq qau-ma - gu-nai-li-lauppuqag - lat ai - ngi-li-ga-sau-jua - ra-lu - i u - ta-qi-jui-nau-lii-lauq - puq ni - li - ru - vi aik-sir - nia-ra-mi - i-ling - ni ni - li-lau-gni - la - ti u-vam - ni i - su-ma-qa-lau-ra - vit a - nia-ti-tau - ti-lu-ti i-pi- raqtuqtau-ni-ti ma - mi-gu - tigitiarap - ki a - kiliksa - kaliq - punga niq - tuingilua - nimni i- ling - - - ni a - ta - niq A

Qi - la-li-mat ni-pa-i-la-u - puq sa - ni-nga-ju - lingmi-ti-lu - ti si - qi-

5 niq qau-ma - gu-nai-li-lauppuqag - lat ai - ngi-li-ga-sau-jua - ra-lu - i u -

10 ta-qi-jui-nau-lii-lauq - puq ni - li - ru - vi aik-sir - nia-ra-mi - i-ling - ni ni -

15 li-lau-gni - la - ti u-vam - ni i - su-ma-qa-lau-ra - vit a - nia-ti-tau - ti-lu-ti i-pi-

20 raqtuqtau-ni-ti ma - mi-gu - tigitiarap - ki a - kiliksa - kaliq - punga niq - tuingilua - nimni i-

25 ling - - - ni a - ta - niq A

15 F
qu - via - na - ru - niq - pur - lu

18 G
sa - pi - naq - si - liq - pur - lu

21 C
Je - su - si - mut sa - pung - a

24
qi - nu - vi - gi - li - pa - ra

27 F
si - lar - jua - ra qau - maq - puq

30 G
na - gli - ni - a - ta - lu

33 C
i - qi - pang - a

35



Na - gli - gi - ta i - qi - pang - - a

38



ki - na - ra ak - tu - ma - gu

F

41



ag - ga - mi - nu - u - qi - na

G

44



i - jing - ni - ta - ku - gap - ki

C

47



qia - ga - ma qu - viuq - pur - li

50



u - va - nu - lu qu - nga - puq

F

53



qu - via - su - ni - qa - lu - ni na - gli - nia -

G

56



ta iqi - mang - - - a

C

Nipliqpunga

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

♩ = 92

Voice

D D7 G

Nip - liq - pung - a im - ni - gu - mu a - tir - nut ki - saq - pung -

6 A D

a tam - na - sai - nau - ga - vit ta - ta - ting - a a -

11 D7 G A

taa - niq Je - su - si qa - ni - ra - nu niq - tur - ni - a - pa -

16 D D7 G

git Im - ngi - vi - gi - la - vu a - li -

21 Em D A D

lu - ja niq - tu - lu - gu a - ting - a Im - ngi - vi - gi -

27 D7 G Em D A D

la - vu a - li - lu - ja niq - tu - lu - gu - a - ting - a

Pisupugut Qaumaninganut

Siyahamba
South African Hymn
We are Marching in the Light of God

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

Voice

$\text{♩} = 100$

D G D

A - li - lu - ja - ni - tu - lau - la - vut A - li -

3 A D D

lu - ja ni - tu - lau - la - vut A - li - lu - ja ni - tu -

6 G D A D

lau - la - vut A - li - lu - ja ni - tu - lau - la - vut A - li -

9 G D A

lu - ja A - li - lu - ja A - li - lu - ja ni - tu - lau - la - vut

12 D G D

A - li - lu - ja A - li - lu - ja A - li -

15 A D

lu - ja ni - tu - laur - la - vut

Inuluktaat Naglingnirmut

Hymn 219
What a Friend We Have in Jesus
Words by Joseph M. Scriven
Music by Charles C. Converse

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

♩ = 76
C F C G

Voice

I - nu - luktaatnaglig - nir - mut Ji - su - sip pi - u - li - vaiit

9 C F C G C

I - ka - juq - ta - u - ju - ma - vuq I - lin - ni - aq - ti - mi - nut

17 G C F C G

Ti - li - lu nu - na - ling - nut a - ju - qiq - tur - qu - lu - git

25 C F C G C

U - qa - u - si - ri - ja - mi - nik tu - sar - niq - tu - luk - taar - nik.

Niqtuqtauli

Gloria
Naalagak Nirtuqlavut p. 3

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

Free rhythm
Leader: Matilda

Voice



Niq-tuq-tau-li a-nir-ni-aa-luk lam - mi qut-si - niq-paa - mi.

3 Congregation



Nu - na - mi - lu sam - ma - lir - tiit i - nu - it na - glik - tang - it.

5 $\text{♩} = 60$ All
Strict time



Niq - tuq - tau - li Ji - su - si

7 Leader: Matilda



Niq-tuq-pat-ti - git qu - ja - naq - tu - ri - vat - ti - git tuk - si - a - vi - gi - vat - ti - git.

9 Congregation



Piu - juaa - lu - gi - vat - tit - git qu - ja - gi - vat - ti - git pik - tau - ni - a - lung - nit.

11 All

Niq - tuq - tau - li Ji - su - si

13 Leader: Matilda

Naa - la-gak a - nir-ni - a - luk i - su - ma-taj-ju - ang-u - ju-ti qi-lam - mi.

15 Congregation

A - nir-ni - aa - luk A - taa-tak a - ju - ga-qanng - i - tu - ti.

17 All

Niq - tuq - tau - li Ji - su - si

19 Leader: Matilda

Naa - la-gak A - nir-ni - a - luk ir - ni - tu-ang-u - ju-tit Ji-su-si Chri-stu - si.

21 Congregation

Naa-la-gak a - nir-ni - a - luk "Ag-nu-si" qu-tau-ju - tit A - nir-ni - a - lum -

23

mut ir - ni - u - ju - tit A - taa - tar - mut.

25 All

Niq - tuq - tau - li Ji - su - si

27 Leader: Matilda

Si - lar - juap pi - unng - i - ning - a pii - ja - rang - ni ni - ka - gi - ti - gut

29 Congregation

Si - lar - juap pi - unng - i - ning - a pii - ja - rang - ni tuk - si - ar - ni - vut naam - mak - ti - gut.

31 All

Niq - tuq - tau - li Ji - su - si

33 Leader: Matilda

Ik - si - va - ju - tit A - taa - tap ta - liq - pi - a - ni ni - ka - gi - ti - gut.

35 Congregation

Ki - si - vit i - laak ij - jur - nait - tuu - ju - tit.

37 All

Niq - tuq - tau - li Ji - su - si

39 Harmony: Ubluriak

Niq - tuq - tau - li Ji - su - si.

41 Leader: Matilda

Ki - si - vit Naa - la - gang - u - ju - tit.

43 Congregation

Ki - si - vit su - nau - niq - panng - u - ju - tit Ji - su - si Chri - stu - si.

45 All

Niq - tuq - tau - li Ji - su - si.

47 Leader: Matilda

A - nir - niq pi - u - juq i - la - gi - lu - gu.

49 Congregation

A - nir - ni - a - lup A - taa - tap kaj - jaa - nar - ning - a - ni A - min.

51

Niq - tuq - tau - li Ji - su - si.

Naalagaq Qujanisiaq

Responsorial Psalm

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

Voice

The musical score is written for voice in G major (one sharp) and 12/8 time. It consists of four lines of music. The first line starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 12/8 time signature. The notes are quarter notes, and the lyrics are 'Naa - la - gaq qu - ja - ni - si - aq pip - tau -'. The second line starts with a '2' above the staff, indicating a second ending. The notes are quarter notes, and the lyrics are 'mat na - gli - ga - su - ning - a qang - i - luk - taq'. The third line starts with a '3' above the staff, indicating a third ending. The notes are quarter notes, and the lyrics are 'su - qu - si - sang - i - ma a - -'. The fourth line starts with a '4' above the staff, indicating a fourth ending. The notes are quarter notes, and the lyrics are 'li - lu - ja a - li - lu - ja.' The score ends with a double bar line.

Naa - la - gaq qu - ja - ni - si - aq pip - tau -

2
mat na - gli - ga - su - ning - a qang - i - luk - taq

3
su - qu - si - sang - i - ma a - -

4
li - lu - ja a - li - lu - ja.

Aliluja

Response to the Gospel Reading
"Celtic Alleluia" 1985 by Fintan O'Carroll and
Christopher Walker

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

♩. = 60

Voice

The musical score is written on three staves in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 6/8 time signature. The tempo is marked as ♩. = 60. The lyrics are: A - li - lu - ja. A - li - lu - ja. A - li - lu - ja.

A - li - lu - ja. A - li -

4
lu - ja. A - li - - lu - ja.

7
A - - - li - - - lu - - - ja.

Uppiqpugut

Apostles' Creed
Naalagak Nirtuqlavut #289

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

Voice



Up - piq - pu - gut nu - na - liuq - ti -

2
mut ping - uq - tit - si - ji - mut nu - ma - mil - lu qi -

3
lam - mil - lu up - piq - pu - gut

4
si - lar - juar - miut au - la - ti - si - jing - an - nut

5
up - pirm - ma - rip - pu - gut.

Inuugutiksamnik

Lourdes Hymn, "Immaculate Mary"
Naalagak Nirtuqlavut Hymn #260

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

♩ = 84

Voice
Matilda

I - nuu - gu - tik - sam - nik tu - ni - laur - ming - a Nu -

Voice
Descant
Winnie

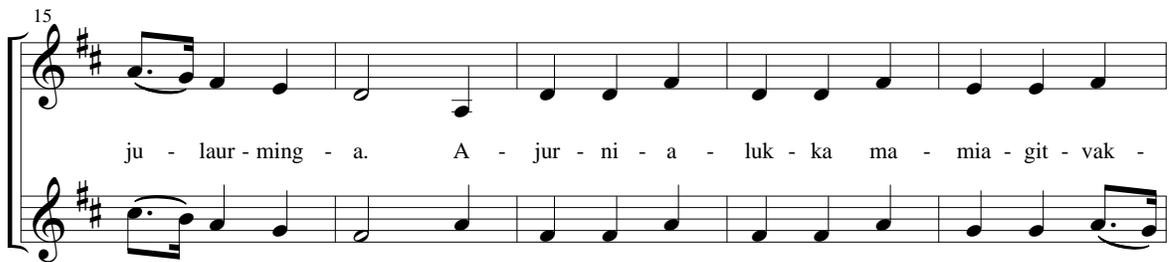
5

na - mit - til - ling - a pir - lir - qu - nang - a Ji - su, qai -

10

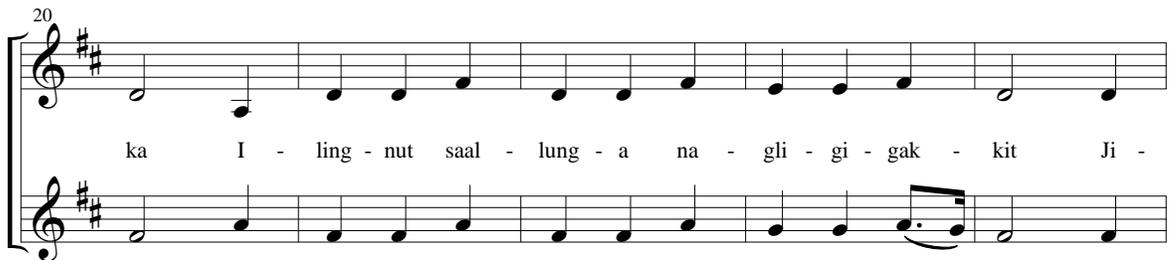
git, na - ju - laur - ming - a Ji - su, qai - git, na -

15



ju - laur - ming - a. A - jur - ni - a - luk - ka ma - mia - git - vak -

20



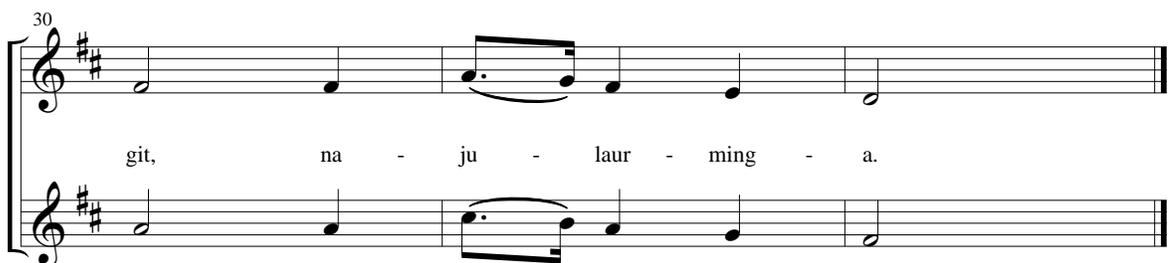
ka I - ling - nut saal - lung - a na - gli - gi - gak - kit Ji -

25



su, qai - git, na - ju - laur - ming - a Ji - su, qai -

30



git, na - ju - laur - ming - a.

Ataavut Qilammiittutit

The Lord's Prayer
Naalagak Nirtuqlavut #281

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

Voice

A - taa - ta - vut qi - lam - mit - tu - tit A - tiit i -

8

su - ma - git - si - aq - tau - li naa - la - gau - niit qa - i - laur -

16

li pi - ju - ma - jait pi - ni - aq - tau - li ni -

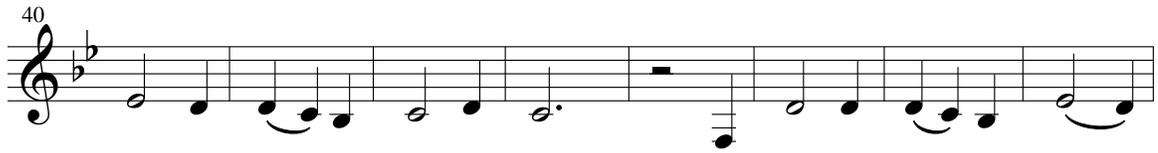
24

na - mi - suur - lu qi - lam - mi ul - lu - mi ni - qi - sat - ting -

32

nik tu - ni - laur - mi - ti - gut pi - unng - i - ni - vut

40



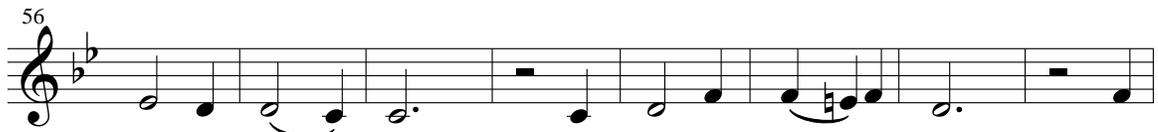
i - su - ma - git - jung-naik - kit tai - mat-tauq u - vat - ting -

48



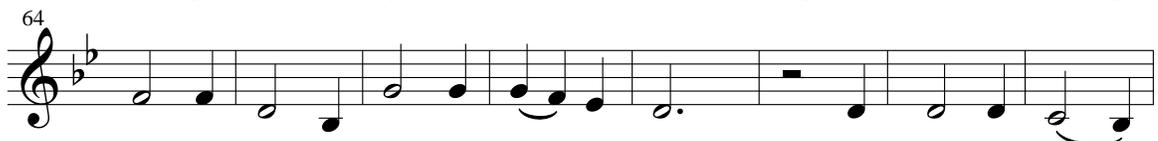
nut pi - unng - i - tu - li - jut i - su - ma - gi - jung -

56



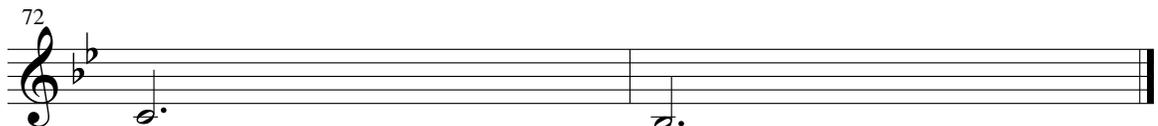
nair - gat - ti - gi uuk - tur - ma - naq - tu - mut pi -

64



tin - na - ta pi - u - li - ti - gul - li pi - unng - i - tu -

72



mit - - - - - .

Uqautijauvunga Iniksaqarmat

The Unclouded Day
Josiah Alwood
Naalagak Nirtuqlavut Hymn #341

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

$\text{♩} = 108$

Voice

The musical score is written in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a common time signature (C). The tempo is marked as quarter note = 108. The score consists of six lines of music, each with a measure number (1, 3, 6, 9, 12, 15) at the beginning. Chord symbols (D, G, A, E) are placed above the notes. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes.

U - qau - ti - jau - vung - a i - nik - sa - qar - mat nu - nak -

3 sa - qa - rat - ta - guuq qi - lam - mi qu - vi - a - naq - tu - vim - mi nung - u -

6 G suit - tu - mik D taaq - tu - qannq - i - tu - mik A qau - ma - ju - mik D

9 D qau - ma - juq nu A nak - sa - vut D Ji - su - sip i - ni -

12 E gi - jang - a - ni A nu - nak - sa - qa - rat - ta - guuq D qi - lam - mi G paa - ni D

15 D pi - u - li - jit - ta A i - ni - gi - jang - a - ni. D

Guti Pisuqatigilaunga

I Walk with God
Naalagak Nirtuqlavut #361

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

$\text{♩} = 100$

Voice

The musical score is written for voice in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). It consists of five staves of music. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 100. The lyrics are: Gu - ti pi - su - ka - ti - gi - laung - a ar - qu - ti - qut - qau - ma - juk - kut Na - ni - lu - nit pi - su - li - ru - ma u - vam - nit - sai - na - laur - mi - git qu - via - sung - ni - qa - liq - pung - a. Chords G, D, and C are indicated above the notes.

Gu - ti pi - su - ka - ti - gi - laung - a

4 ar - qu - ti - qut - qau - ma - juk - kut

8 Na - ni - lu - nit pi - su - li - ru - ma

12 u - vam - nit - sai - na - laur - mi - git

16 qu - via - sung - ni - qa - liq - pung - a

20 C G D
ji - su ta - si - u - lir - mang - a

24 G
qi - ping - u - ni - qan - i - li - ra - ma

28 D
ji - su - si - ma pi - qa - ti - gi - lir - mang -

31 G
a

Tatannamik Saimmarninga

Amazing Grace
John Newton

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

$\text{♩} = 63$

Voice

Ta - tan - na - mik saim - mar - ning -

4 D A
a pi - u - li - laur - maang - a

8 D G
tau - tu - nang - a na - nim - maang -

12 D Bm A D
a maan - na tau - tup - pung - a

Niaquq Tuiji

Head and Shoulders, Knees and Toes

$\text{♩} = 69$

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

Voice

Nia - quq tui - i si - quq pu - tu - guq

3
si - quq pu - tu - guq si - quq pu - tu - guq Nia - quq tui - ji

6
si - quq pu - tu - guq i - jik si - u - tik u - qaq ging - aq.

Head and Shoulders, Knees and Toes

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

$\text{♩} = 69$

Voice



Head and shoul-ders knees and toes, knees and toes, knees and toes.

3



head and shoul - ders knees and toes, eyes, ears, mouth and nose.

Anaanaga

My Mother

Susan Aglukark

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

♩ = 96

Voice

D G

Pi - su - lu - qang - a - ma i -

3 D A

kau - ma - vung - a u - ni - qau - pa - lauk - - - tu -

6 D

mit u - vam - nut u - kau -

9 G

si - ri - vak - tang - i i - qau - ma - va -

12 A7

ka ang - i - rak - si - li - rang - a -

15 D G
ma a - ta - nir tuk -

18 A D G
si - ak - pung - a - - - a - naa - na - ga mi -

22 E A D
a - ni - ri - gut na - gli - gi - ma - ri - gap -

25 G
kut ung - a - ging - ma - liq - thlu - gut a -

28 A7 D
naa - - - na - - - - ga

Qaigit

Come, Now is the Time to Worship
Brian Doerksen

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

♩ = 60

Voice

D G D

Come now is the time to wor - - - ship

5 A Em G

Come now is the time to give your heart

9 D G D

Come just as you are to wor - - - ship

13 A Em G

Come just as you are be - fore your God

17 D G D

Come One day ev-ery-tongue will con-fess you are God

21 G D G Bm

One day ev-ery-knee will bowdown Still the great-est trea-sure re-mains for those who glad-

25 Em A D
 ly chose you now Qai - git

29 G D A
 niq - tu - i - naq si - - - mat Qai - git

33 Em G D
 tu - ni - ju - ti - git - siar - lu - tit Qai - git

37 G D A
 qa - nuit - tu - ga - lua - ru - - - vit Qai - git

41 Em G D
 quu - tip - ta sang - a - nur - lu - tit Qai - git

45 G D G
 guu-tui-niq-nik u-qa-ru-maaq - ma - ta siq-kuq-tu-ru-maaq - ma-ta

49 D G Bm Em
 piu-niq-paang-a-nik taip - kua ni - ruaq - tut i - ling-nit qu - mi - u - va - ti

53 A
 (Musical staff with notes G4, A4, B4 and a whole rest)

Jesusi Piuliji

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

Father of Light
CADET
Inuktitut by James Arreak

♩ = 144

Voice

Je - su - si piu - li - ji niq - tu - lau -

ruk. Je - su - si piu - li - ji

niq - tu - lau - ruk. - - - Ki - su - tui - nai pi - u - juit sa - na - vai.

Ki - su - tui - nai pi - u - juit sa - na - vai.

Ki - su - tui - nai pi - u - juit sa - na - vai.

A - ta - nip - ta.

Sapiliqtailigit

Don't Give Up

Looee Nowdlak
Transcribed by Mary Piercey

♩ = 54

Voice

The musical score is written in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a common time signature (C). The tempo is marked as ♩ = 54. The score consists of six staves of music, each with a measure number at the beginning. The lyrics are written below the notes. Chord symbols (D, G, A, Bm) are placed above the staff lines. The lyrics are: I - nu - siq i - la - ni - kut sa - pi - na - tu - vak - pu ki - su - tui - nai - pi - blu - git tuk - sia - lau - rit sa - pi - liq - tai - li - git na - gli - gi - yau - ga - vit a - ju - na - ni - pang - i - nit - - - gu - tiup ta - siuq - pa - - - tit.

I - nu - siq i - la - ni - kut sa -

4 pi - na - tu - vak - pu ki - su - tui - nai - pi - blu - git

8 tuk - sia - lau - rit sa - pi -

12 liq - tai - li - git na - gli - gi - yau - ga - vit

16 a - ju - na - ni - pang - i - nit - - - gu -

21 tiup ta - siuq - pa - - - tit.

Isumagivattatiit

Looee Nowdlak
Transcribed by Mary Piercey

You Are Not Alone

$\text{♩} = 60$

Voice

I - su - ma - gi - vat - ta - tiit i - pin - nia - gi - ya - tiit

4 I - yiq - si - ma - va - ta - tiit u - maa - ti - niit

8 Qau - ta - ma a - niar - ju - ti - gi - ya - tiit

12 I - su - ma - gi - yu - nai - lauk - kit

16 Na - gli - gi - yau - vu - tiit I - ka - yuk - tau - niaq - pu - ti I -

21 nu - tung - i - la - ti u - qau - qa - ti - qa - rit.

Nunavut Song

Lucie Idlout

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

♩. = 50

Voice

E A B A

Tell me what it takes to make your dreams come a-live

3 E A B A E A B A

They've been talk-'in to me they've been talk-'in to you

6 E A B A E A B A

Wond-er-ing all a-bout Nu-na-vut our fut-ure and the

9 E A B A B

way its go-na be ya ya i-su-mang-au-rit i-li-qu-si-ta piu-

12 E D B E A

jung-ning-a tu-ni jung-na-rap-ti-ru si-vu-lik-sa-vut

15 B A

Never Failing

Jo Ellen Pameolik

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

♩ = 66
D A

Voice

Deep in - side her heart she felt a - lone and the

5 G D

soul in her life fad - ed like a light. And the

9 A

days seemed so long ev - en though she has - n't re - a - lized that the

13 G D G

dark side has told her not to go. But all it takes to bring a heart

17 A G

of life to love is a dream of hope to meet Je - sus -

21 A G D

Christ. And here I am ne - ver fail - ing.

Katijumaaqpugut Paani

Shall We Gather at the River
Verse 1 of #352 in
Christian Arctic Fellowship

Transcribed by Mary Piercey

$\text{♩} = 76$

Voice

The musical score is written for voice in a treble clef, with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 76. The score consists of four lines of music, each with a measure number (1, 5, 9, 13) at the beginning. Chord symbols (D, A, G) are placed above the staff. The lyrics are written below the notes.

1 Ka - ti - si - ma - gut - ta paa ni ti - mir - kar - lit nu - taa - mik

5 an - nu - riiq - ti - tau - lu - ta - lu - ka - kuq - ta - nik - ip - jur - ni - tu - nik

9 ii - laa ka - ti - ju - maaq - pu - gut i - la - gi - lir - lu - gu - lu Je - su - si - vut

13 ib - jur - nait - tul - lu i - la - gi - lu - git Go - dip a - ta - ni - u - ving - a - ni.

Appendix H

Song Texts

A-ya-ya.....niqipsaminigima
Qiniqthlunga ima
Avapmumiarli
Pisululiqtunga
Avapmut taija -i-ya-i-ya- avapmut taija avapmut taija -ya-ya-ya- avaqnga -ya-ya-ya-ya-

A-ya-ya.....unniliuppa
Qagliyunnaqnanga
Nukatugarryuk
Pisugumaiqtuq
Avapmut taija -i-ya-i-ya- avapmut taija avapmut taija -ya-ya-ya- avaqnga -ya-ya-ya-ya-

A-ya-ya.....nunami
Avani
Kivavanimma
Isuakunili
Pisugumaituq
Avapmut taija -i-ya-i-ya- avapmut taija avapmut taija -ya-ya-ya- avaqnga -ya-ya-ya-ya-

Qumak Pisia (English Translation)

Over there
I am walking
Over there
I am still walking
over there i-ya-i-ya over there taija-ya-ya over there ya-ya-ya-ya

A-ya-ya..... Searching for the
Food yes
over there
I am walking
over there i-ya-ya over there taija-ya-ya over there ya-ya-ya

A-ya-ya.... or I am looking
for the food yes
over there
doesn't walk on that hill
over there i-ya-ya over there taija ya-ya over there ya-ya-ya

A-ya-ya.... out on the land
over there
towards the north
on top of the hill
doesn't walk on that hill
over there taija-i-ya over there taija-ya-ya over there ya-ya-ya

Alu (English Translation)

Aya me Aya aaaa Do you get confused?

** Me ayayaya a
me ayaya
me ayaya, iyayaya iyaya iyayayaya
ayayayaya aya

Do you get confused with the path of life?...
Me aya aa Do you remember?...
Do you remember the path?...
Do you remember the hard times?...
There are hard times in our lives...

Qilaup (English Translation)

- 1) It came to me, it came to me
Early in the morning I awoke in my bed
Inside, inside and ayaya....
- 2) This is my own song
It's hard to find a place to stay ayaya....
- 3) ayaa the animal should have said something
Say it in Inuktitut
I sing ayayaa...
- 4) ayaa Inuit do things differently
Sore hands, we hear their voices
We can hear them before winter ayaya...
- 5) ayaa I can hear the winter coming, this reminds me of Chesterfield Inlet
Yes, ayayaa...
- 6) ayaa We are almost there to Chesterfield Inlet
ayayaa...

Quviasuliqpunga (English Translation 1)

There was happiness when I was born
There are more days ahead

Iyayayaya Iyayayaya

Our strong boy
There are more days ahead

Iyayayaya Iyayayaya Iyayayaya

I am happy that I was born
There are more days ahead

Iyayayaya Iyayayaya

Quviasuliqpunga (English Translation 2)

I am happy
Iyayayaya Iyayayaya

I am so glad I'll be alive with the daylight out there
Iyayayaya Iyayayaya

The two with a lot of space have caught up
Iyayayaya Iyayayaya Iyayayaya

I am happy that I will be living
Iyayayaya Iyayayaya

Our Life (English Translation)

Ayayaya ayayaya ayaya
Today our life is strong
Today our life is strong
Today our life is strong

Ayayaya ayayaya ayaya
Let's follow our culture
Let's follow our culture
Today our life is strong

Ayayaya ayayaya ayaya
Ayayaya ayayaya ayaya
Ayayaya ayayaya ayaya

Kuningmullii
Qiugaviit
Uqqulaamut
Qiugaviit
Qiujavaxingnaraviit Maijaja

Qaujiviit
Qaujiviit
Uqqulaarmut
Pijumavit
Qaujivaxingnaqpit Maijaja

Qiugaviit (English Translation)

Qiugaviit	He is feeling cold
Qiugaviit	He is feeling cold
Ittiningnaak	Wet
Qiugaviit	He is feeling cold
Qiujavaxingnariviit ima ijaja	He is heading towards warmth

Qiugaviit	He is feeling cold
Qiugaviit	He is feeling cold
Paallangamuut	Trips or falls
Qiugaviit	He is feeling cold
Qiujavaxingnariviit ima ijaja	He is heading toward warmth

Kuningmullii	His face is against the ground
Qiugaviit	He is feeling cold
Uqqulaamut	Falls asleep
Qiugaviit	He is feeling cold
Qiujavaxingnariviit ima ijaja	He is heading towards warmth

Qaujiviit	He knows
Qaujiviit	He knows
Uqqulaarmut	Falls asleep
Pijumavit	He wants it or desires it
Qaujivaxingnariviit ima ijaja	He knows he is heading towards warmth

3. A-ja-sa-ji-sa-ji-ja-sa mai-ja-ji-sa mai-ja-ja... kingalugurpik ...sa-ja-ja
Nunamumaingar kingaluguapi

Pung-ma-ja ja-ja-ja sa-ja-ja-ma-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ji-ja-ja

4. A-ja-sa-ji-a-ja... najilakjiili pisulularmata ...a-ja-ja
Nunamutmaunga kingaluguaqpik

Pung-ma-ja ja-ja-ja sa-ja-ja-ma-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ji-ja-ja

5. A-ja-sa-ji-a-ja... nakjilakjiili inatipakapkit ...a-ja-ja
Qikurmamaunga ulutitiqsinaliqitut

Pung-ma-ja ja-ja-ja sa-ja-ja-ma-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ji-ja-ja

Arnaraujak Pisia (English Translation)

1. A-ja-sa-ma-ja-ja... Let me follow Qirquat. Let me follow ...sa-ma-ja
A-ja-ja-ja a-ja-sa-ji-sa-ja... The sea is calm
A-ja-ja... In the summer time, it is fun

Sa-mai-ja ja-ja-ja sa-ja-ja-ma-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ji-ja-ja

2. A-ja-sa-ji-sa-ja...The bearded one is not arriving
A-ja-ja... In the summer it is fun

Sa-mai-ja ja-ja-ja sa-ja-ja-ma-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ji-ja-ja

3. A-ja-sa-ji-sa-ji-ja-sa mai-ja-ji-sa mai-ja-j...do you want to look around?...sa-ja-ja
On the land, do you want to look around?

Pung-ma-ja ja-ja-ja sa-ja-ja-ma-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ji-ja-ja

4. A-ja-sa-ji-a-ja...The bull caribous are roaming ...a-ja-ja
On the land, do you want to look around

Pung-ma-ja ja-ja-ja sa-ja-ja-ma-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ja-ji-ja-ja

A-ja-sa-ji-a-ja... The bull caribou

Song Texts
Chapter 5
Good Friday Service—Friday, April 6, 2007

1. “*Sivunirijait*”—“I Don’t Know Your Future”

Sivunirijait—Roman Orthography

1. Sivunirijait naluunaq angilarijara Guti
Tautuktuqaqpuq inugmit angilangujutit Guti

(Ch): Jisas kisimit ikajurniarmatit ukpirilugu piginginingani
Aqutsiulimiut nungutirniarmagu nagligigamitit

2. Kisuttuliruvilu ulirijumanagu tuksiarvigili Guti
Saimaqtiniarmatit

3. Amisuirluta inusiq pijariaqaliruvit
Jisus tasiurniarmatit pisuqatigilutit

I Don’t Know Your Future—Sandy’s English Translation

1. I don’t know your future. You are Holy my God
Somebody is watching. You are Holy my God

(Ch): Only Jesus can help you believe in him
He will remove it because he loves you so

2. When you are alone pray to God
He will comfort you

3. If you have to do that so many times with our lives
Jesus will take your hand and walk with you

2. “*Qaigit Ipjurnaituq*”—“Come Holy Spirit”

Qaigit Ipjurnaituq—Roman Orthography

Anirniq ibjurnaituq aktunga uqsiqtirlunga qilaijanga
Tarnira immiruktuq manivara ilingnut qaigit anirniq aktunga

Anirniq ibjurnaituq aktunga uqsiqtirlunga qilaijanga
Jisas immirukama manivunga ilingnut qaigit anirniq aktunga

Anirniq ibjurnaituq aktunga uqsiqtirlunga qilajanga
Nutamit painimit kuvisigit tarnimnut qaigit anirniq aktunga

Come Holy Spirit—Sandy’s English Translation

Come Holy Spirit pour on me; by your anointing set me free
My soul is trusting; I come to you; Come Holy Spirit pour on me

Come Holy Spirit pour on me; by your anointing set me free
My soul is trusting; I come to you; Come Holy Spirit pour on me

3. “*Sanningayuq*”—“The Old Rugged Cross”

Sanningayuq—Roman Orthography

1. Saningayulingmi napaqtuvinirmit
Napatuvinirmit takuvunga
Jisusi takpani nivingalauqpuq
Silarjuarmiu piplugit

CH: Saningayumit nuqaqpunga
Piunginika manivaka
Nagligimanga angyumit
Jesusi maligumavara

2. Tamna sanningayuq
Napaqtuviniujuq
Inigijaksaungimariktuq
Gutiup irningata
Inigijavinia
Iqsurlugu kavavurimut

3. Tamna saningayuq
Aungani qausiqtuq
Takpani Jisusi
Tuqumat piplunga
Akilirmagit ayurnika

4. Qugviuliqpunga
Iyigitillunga
Umatigalu tigmiliqpuq
Maligumavara inigiyanganut
Ilagitsainarumavara

The Old Rugged Cross—English¹

1. On a hill far away stood an old rugged cross,
The emblem of suffering and shame;
And I love that old cross where the dearest and best
For a world of lost sinners was slain.

Ch. So I'll cherish the old rugged cross,
Till my trophies at last I lay down;
I will cling to the old rugged cross,
And exchange it someday for a crown.

2. O that old rugged cross, so despised by the world,
Has a wondrous attraction for me;
For the dear Lamb of God left His glory above
To bear it to dark Calvary.

3. In that old rugged cross, stained with blood so divine,
A wondrous beauty I see,
For 'twas on that old cross Jesus suffered and died,
To pardon and sanctify me.

4. To the old rugged cross I will ever be true;
Its shame and reproach gladly bear;
Then He'll call me some day to my home far away,
Where His glory forever I'll share.

Sandy Okatsiak's Localized Translation

1. Saningayulingmi napaqtuvinirmit—A cross that is from the tree
Napartuvinirmit takuvunga—A wood from the tree that I saw
Jisusi takpani nivingalauqpuq—Jesus was hanging there
Silarjuarmiu piplugit—Because he loves people in the world

CH: Saningayumit nuqaqpunga—I stopped near the cross
Piunginika manivaka—I give all my sins
Nagligimanga angiyumit—He loves me so much
Jesusi maligumavara—I want to follow Jesus

¹ George Bennard's original English version (1913).

Sangiitturlu ukpirnira
Ilingnuut qaivunga, maana.

4. Imaillunga aarlurlunga
Tautungnanga ajurlunga
Aaqitsiarunnaqparma
Ilingnut qaivunga, maana.

5. Imaillunga qaiquvarma
Piusititsumaplunga
Uqausirnik ukpirama
Ilingnut qaivunga, maana.

6. Imaillunga saalauplunga
Nagligusunirnuit iilaa
Ilingnut piqutaulanga
Ilingnut qaivunga, maana.

Just As I Am—English Translation

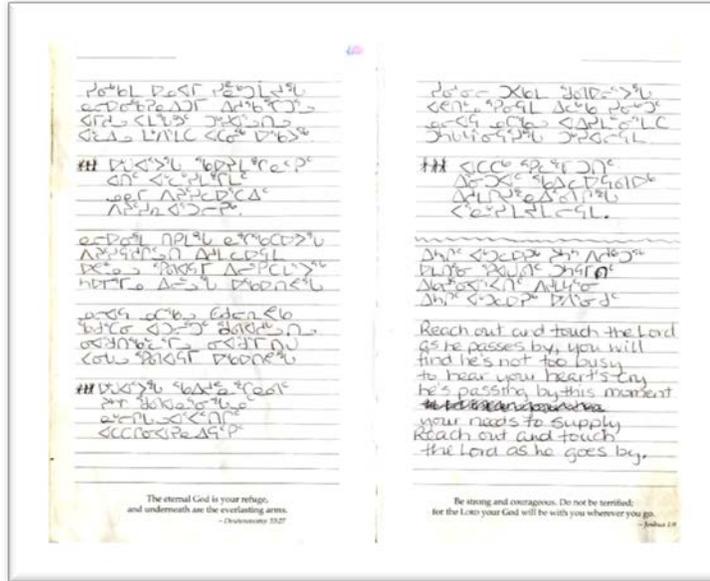
1. Just as I am- without one plea,
But that thy Blood was shed for me,
And that thou bidd'st me come to thee,
Lamb of God, I come.
2. Just as I am- and waiting not
To rid my soul of one dark blot,-
To thee, whose Blood can cleanse each spot,
Lamb of God, I come.
3. Just as I am- though tossed about
With many a conflict, many a doubt,
Fightings and fears within, without-
Lamb of God, I come.
4. Just as I am- poor, wretched, blind;
Sight, riches, healing of the mind,-
Yea, all I need, in thee to find,
Lamb of God, I come.
5. Just as I am- thou wilt receive,
Wilt welcome, pardon, cleanse, relieve,-
Because thy promise I believe.
Lamb of God, I come.

6. Just as I am- thy love unknown
 Has broken every barrier down,-
 Now, to be thine, yea, thine alone,
 Lamb of God, I come.

7. "Jesusimut Tunivatka"—"All for Jesus"

<p>3 There is spring-time in my soul today, For when the Lord is near The dove of peace sings in my heart, The flow'rs of grace appear.</p> <p>4 There is gladness in my soul today, And hope and praise and love, For blessings which He gives me now. For joys "laid up" above.</p> <p>172 <u>All For Jesus</u></p> <p>1 ᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ</p> <p>2 ᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ</p> <p>3 ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ</p> <p>4 ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ</p>	<p>ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ</p> <p>1 Jesusimut tunivatka, Tamanmik sunnisikka, Isumakka uqausikka Uplukka ikarrakka, Uplukka ikarrakkalu, Pigilikkitt Jesusi, Uplukka ikarrakkalu, Pigilikkitt Jesusi.</p> <p>2 Aggakka pilirilaurlit, Itigakka maliklit, Kisivitt ijgilagit, Qaninma niqturilitit, Tamanma pitaarilaunga, Qaninma niqturilitit, Tamanma pitaarilaunga, Qaninma niqturilitit.</p> <p>3 Qivirapku Jesusi, Asingit talitiqput, Nivingapluni sanniaqtuq, Alarunnanginnapku, Tamanma pitaarilaunga, Tuqugavit pilunga, Alaqtallilaurlagit, Nagligillanlaurangma.</p> <p>4 Tatanneppuq Ataniujuq, ataninrut tamainnut, Piginiranmanga waanna, Naliginiranmanga, Mirguisiquungmangalu, Isarunmi ataani, Tamanma pitaaringnanga, Mirguisillipunga.</p> <p>1 All for Jesus, all for Jesus! All my being's ran-somed pow'rs: All my tho'ts and words and doings, All my days and all my hours: All for Jesus, all for Jesus! All my days and all my hours; All for Jesus, all for Jesus! All my days and all my hours.</p>	<p>2 Let my hands perform His bid-ding, Let my feet run in His ways; Let my eyes see Jesus only, Let my lips speak forth His praise: All for Jesus, all for Jesus! Let my lips speak forth His praise; All for Jesus, all for Jesus! Let my lips speak forth His praise.</p> <p>3 Since my eyes were fixed on Jesus, I've lost sight of all beside, So enchained my spir-it's vision, Looking at the crucified: All for Jesus, all for Jesus! Looking at the crucified, All for Jesus, all for Jesus! Looking at the crucified.</p> <p>4 O what wonder! how amazing! Jesus,glorior King of kings, Deigns to call me His beloved, Lets me rest beneath His wings: All for Jesus, all for Jesus! Resting now beneath His wings; All for Jesus, all for Jesus! Resting now beneath His wings.</p> <p>173 <u>Jesus, I Come.</u> <u>Out of My Bondage</u></p> <p>1. ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ, ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃ</p>
---	--	--

8. “Isagit Aktulauruk Jisas Pisuktu” — “Reach Out and Touch the Lord”



Δḡḡḡ ᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁ ᄁᄁᄁ ᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁ—Syllabics

Δḡḡḡ ᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁ ᄁᄁᄁ ᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁ
 ᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁ ᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁ ᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁ
 Δᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁ ᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁ
 Δḡḡḡ ᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁ ᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁᄁ

Isagit Aktulauruk Jisas Pisuktuq—Roman Orthography

Isagit aktulauruk Jisas pisuktuq
 Ummatingni qiaguvit tusaramitit
 Ikayurniaqpatit piyumayaqni
 Isagit aktulauruk ukpirniku

Reach Out and Touch the Lord—English²

Reach out and touch the Lord as he goes by,
 You will find he’s not too busy to hear your heart’s cry
 He’s passing by this moment your needs to supply
 Reach out and touch the Lord as he goes by

² Bill Harmon’s original English version.

nangmagara ilingmagu tuqumut
ajunrikka piinrmagit aungminut.

4. Ailuniga tikiliqpaat christusi
najurlugu quviasulaaqpunga—I will be happy when I am home
uummammullu piujuringittumut
niqturlugu godi atanira

How Great Thou Art—English³

1. O lord my God. When I in awesome wonder
Consider all the works Thy hand hath made,
I see the stars, I hear the mighty thunder,
Thy power throughout the universe displayed.

**Then sings my soul, my saviour God to thee.
How great thou art, how great thou art
Then sings my soul, my saviour God to thee
How great thou art, how great thou art.
2. When through the woods and forest glades I wander
And hear the birds sing sweetly in the trees
When I look down from lofty mountain grandeur
And hear the brook and feel the gentle breeze
3. And when I think that God his son not sparing
Sent him to die I scarce can take it in.
That on the cross my burden gladly bearing
He bled and died to take away my sin.
4. When Christ shall come with shout of acclamation
And take me home what joy shall fill my heart
Then shall I bow in humble adoration
And there proclaim my God, how great thou art

How Great Thou Art—Sandy's Localized Translation

1. Atanira Guti tatamnaqtuti - Our God is awesome
sanagangni silarjualuktaaq - You made the whole world
siqinirilu taqqirlu upluriallu - The sun, moon and stars

³ “How Great Thou Art” is a Christian hymn based on a Swedish poem written by Carl Gustav Boberg (1859–1940) in Sweden in 1885. The melody is a Swedish folk tune. It was translated into English by British missionary Stuart K. Hine, who also added two original verses of his own composition.

Father of Light—English⁵

Father of light
You delight
In your children

Father of light
You delight
In your children

And every good and perfect gift comes from you
And every good and perfect gift comes from you

Father of light

16. “*Quviasukpunga Aqitaulaurama*”—“Jesus Came into my Heart”

ፍገልገልጎፍጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍጋፍ—Syllabics

ፍገልገልጎፍጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍጋፍ
ጎፍጎፍ ፍገልጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍ
ጋፍጋፍ ለፍጎፍጎፍ ፍጋፍጋፍ ፍጎፍጎፍ

ጎፍጎፍ ፍገልጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍ
ጎፍጎፍ ፍገልጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍ
ጋፍጋፍ ፍገልጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍ ለፍጎፍጎፍ

ጋፍጋፍ ለፍጎፍጎፍ ፍጋፍጋፍ
ጎፍጎፍ ፍገልጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍ
ጎፍጎፍ ለፍጎፍጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍ ለፍጎፍጎፍ

ፍጋፍጋፍ ለፍጎፍጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍ
ጎፍጎፍ ፍገልጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍ
ፍጋፍጋፍ ለፍጎፍጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍ ለፍጎፍጎፍ

ፍጎፍጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍ ለፍጎፍጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍ
ጎፍጎፍ ፍገልጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍ
ጋፍጋፍ ለፍጎፍጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍ ለፍጎፍጎፍ

ፍጎፍጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍ ለፍጎፍጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍ
ጎፍጎፍ ፍገልጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍ
ፍጎፍጎፍ ለፍጋፍጋፍ ለፍጎፍጎፍ

⁵ CADET’s original English version.

ᐱᕐᕐᕐ ᕐᕐᕐᕐᕐᕐ ᕐᕐᕐᕐᕐᕐ

Quviasukpunga Aqitaurama—Roman Orthography

Quviasukpunga aqitaurama—I am happy that He found me
Jesus qiamat umatimnut
Tarnimni piqaliqpunga qaumayumik
Jesus qaimat umatimnut

**Jesus qaimat umatimnut
Jesus qaimat umatimnut
Tarnira quviasukpuq ublutamaat—My soul is happy everyday
Jesus qaimat umatimnut

Tamaqsimangilirama qauyinunga
Jesus qaimat umatimnut
Amisuyut ayurnika irmingmagit
Jesus qaimat umatimnut

Qularnangitumik niriuliqpunga
Jesus qaimat umatimnut
Qulaqsaariyut taaqtut sulingimata
Jesus qaimat umatimnut

Qaumayuqapuq maana tuquviksamni
Jesus qaimat umatimnut
Takuvara qilak ukuisimayuq
Jesus qaimat umatimnut

Nalungiliqpunga qilangmuarniarama
Jesus qaimat umatimnut
Quviasukpunga nunamiitilunga—I am happy while I am still here on earth
Jesus qaimat umatimnut

Jesus Came Into My Heart—English⁶

What a wonderful change in my life has been wrought
Since Jesus came into my heart;
I have light in my soul for which long I have sought,
Since Jesus came into my heart.

⁶ Rufus H. McDaniel's original English version (1914).

Since Jesus came into my heart,
Since Jesus came into my heart;
Floods of joy o'er my soul like the sea billows roll,
Since Jesus came into my heart.

I have ceased from my wandering and going astray,
Since Jesus came into my heart;
And my sins which were many are all washed away,
Since Jesus came into my heart.

I'm possessed of a hope that is steadfast and sure,
Since Jesus came into my heart;
And no dark clouds of doubt now my pathway obscure,
Since Jesus came into my heart.

There's a light in the valley of death now for me,
Since Jesus came into my heart;
And the gates of the city beyond I can see,
Since Jesus came into my heart.

I shall go there to dwell in that City I know,
Since Jesus came into my heart;
And I'm happy, so happy as onward I go,
Since Jesus came into my heart.

17. "*Pisupugut Qaumaninganut*"—We Are Marching in the Light of God

Siyahamba—Zulu

Siyahamba kukhanyeni kwenkhos; Siyahamba kukhanyeni kwenkhos 2X
Siyahamba ooh ooh
Siyahamba kukhanyeni kwenkhos

We are Marching in the Light of God—English

We are marching in the Light of God; We are marching in the Light of God 2X
We are marching ooh
We are marching in the light of God

Pisupugut Qaumaninganut—Roman Orthography

Alilujah nitulaulavut; Alilujah nitulaulavut 2X
Alilujah ooh
Alilujah nitulaulavut

Pisupugut qaumaninganut; Pisupugut qaumaninganut 2X
Pisupugut ooh
Pisupugut qaumaninganut

Inuuvugut naglininganut; Inuuvugut naglininganut 2X
Inuuvugut ooo
Inuuvugut naglininganut

3. ΔΔ<αβ Δπ<δ<
 ΔΔ<αβ Δπ<δ<
 ΔΔ<αβ Δπ<δ<
 ΔΔ<αβ Δπ<δ<

4. ΔΔ<αβ Δπ<δ<
 ΔΔ<αβ Δπ<δ<
 ΔΔ<αβ Δπ<δ<
 ΔΔ<αβ Δπ<δ<

5. ΔΔ<αβ Δπ<δ<
 ΔΔ<αβ Δπ<δ<
 ΔΔ<αβ Δπ<δ<
 ΔΔ<αβ Δπ<δ<

6. ΔΔ<αβ Δπ<δ<
 ΔΔ<αβ Δπ<δ<
 ΔΔ<αβ Δπ<δ<
 ΔΔ<αβ Δπ<δ<

1. Imaillunga piqanrnanga
 Pasijaungijjutiksamik
 Igvit sukpit asianik
 Ilingnut qaivunga, maanna.

2. Imaillunga mulunanga
 Nangminiq piusanrnanga
 Aungnut piijaivigilaunga
 Ilingnut qaivunga, maanna.

3. Imaillunga isumapkut
 Uimajaaqtitauplunga
 Sangiitturlu ukpinrnira
 Ilingnut qaivunga, maanna.

4. Imaillunga aarlurlunga
 Tautungnanga ajurlunga
 Aaqitsiarunnaqpanrma
 Ilingnut qaivunga, maanna.

5. Imaillunga qaiquvanrma
 Piusititsumaplunga
 Uqausinrnik ukpirama
 Ilingnut qaivunga, maanna.

6. Imaillunga saaleuplunga
 Nagligusungnirnut illaa
 Ilingnut piqutaulanga
 Ilingnut qaivunga, maanna.

JUST as I am—without one plea,
 But that thy Blood was shed for me,
 And that thou bidd'st me come to thee—
 O Lamb of God, I come.

2 Just as I am—and waiting not
 To rid my soul of one dark blot,—
 To thee, whose Blood can cleanse each spot,
 O Lamb of God, I come.

- 3 Just as I am—though tossed about
With many a conflict, many a doubt,
Fightings and fears within, without—
O Lamb of God, I come.
- 4 Just as I am—poor, wretched, blind;
Sight, riches, healing of the mind,—
Yea, all I need, in thee to find,
O Lamb of God, I come.
- 5 Just as I am—thou wilt receive,
Wilt welcome, pardon, cleanse, relieve,—
Because thy promise I believe,
O Lamb of God, I come.
- 6 Just as I am—thy love unknown
Has broken every barrier down,—
Now, to be thine, yea, thine alone,
O Lamb of God, I come.

5. Hymn #172: "Jesusimut Tunivakka"—"All for Jesus"

<p>3 There is spring-time in my soul today, For when the Lord is near The dove of peace sings in my heart, The flow'rs of grace appear.</p> <p>4 There is gladness in my soul today, And hope and praise and love, For blessings which He gives me now. For joys "laid up" above.</p> <p>172 <u>All For Jesus</u></p> <p>1 ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ</p> <p>2 ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ</p> <p>3 ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ</p> <p>4 ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ</p>	<p>ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ</p> <p>1 Jesusimut tunivakka, Tamanmik sunnisikka, Isumakka uqausikka Uplukka ikarrakka, Uplukka ikarrakkalu, Pigilikkitt Jesusi, Uplukka ikarrakkalu, Pigilikkitt Jesusi.</p> <p>2 Aggakka pilirilaurilit, Itigakka maliklit, Kisivit ijgilagit, Qaninrma niqturlilit, Tamanrma pitaarilaunga, Qaninrma niqturlilit, Tamanrma pitaarilaunga, Qaninrma niqturlilit.</p> <p>3 Qiviarapku Jesusi, Asingit talitiqput, Nivingapiuni sanniaqtuq, Alarunnanginnapku, Tamanrma pitaarilaunga, Tuqugavit pilunga, Alaqtallilaurilagit, Nagligillaaurangma.</p> <p>4 Tatannaqpuq Ataniujuq, ataninrut taminnut, Piginiranmanga naanna, Nakliginiranmanga, Mirguisiquungmangalu, Isarunmi ataani, Tamanrma pitaaringnanga, Mirguisillipunga.</p> <p>1 All for Jesus, all for Jesus! All my being's ran-somed pow'rs: All my tho'ts and words and doings, All my days and all my hours: All for Jesus, all for Jesus! All my days and all my hours: All for Jesus, all for Jesus! All my days and all my hours.</p>	<p>2 Let my hands perform His bid-ding, Let my feet run in His ways; Let my eyes see Jesus only, Let my lips speak forth His praise: All for Jesus, all for Jesus! Let my lips speak forth His praise; All for Jesus, all for Jesus! Let my lips speak forth His praise.</p> <p>3 Since my eyes were fixed on Jesus, I've lost sight of all beside, So enchained my spir-it's vision, Looking at the crucified: All for Jesus, all for Jesus! Looking at the crucified, All for Jesus, all for Jesus! Looking at the crucified.</p> <p>4 O what wonder! how amazing! Jesus,glorior King of kings, Deigns to call me His beloved, Lets me rest beneath His wings: All for Jesus, all for Jesus! Resting now beneath His wings; All for Jesus, all for Jesus! Resting now beneath His wings.</p> <p>173 <u>Jesus, I Come.</u> <u>Out of My Bondage</u></p> <p>1. ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ</p>
--	--	---

1 Upluqaqpunga quvianaqtumik
Puigurunnangitamnik,
Taaqtumi tammaqsimatillu-
Jesusi katigapku, (nga
Nagligingmangalu takugama
Uummatima akuni,
Pijumsjanganik -
Jesus tuningmanga
Qaumajumiilliqpunga.

** Saimaninrmik illumiqtavunga,
Piulijiga tuqungmat piplu-
Ajungnukka piiqpait (nga,
Inrmikpaanga sungminut,
Saimaninrmik illumiqtauvunga
(Saimaninrmik illumiqtauvunga

2 Godip Aninrningata kisimi
Tamanna pititanga,
Godima ukpiqtuqutinginnut
Ilagijautimmanga,
Uvanga piplunga Jesusiga
Calvarimi tuqungmat,
Piungittulinikka piinrmagit-
Niqtuqpara Atinga. (sungminut,

3 Maani inuusira aniguqpat
Sivuniksaqaqpunga,
Paani qilangmi quvianaqtu-
Nunaksarilirapku,
Upluqarama quvianaqtumik
Tammaqsimatillunga,
Jesus naningmanga ukpirvigi-
Piulingmanga tuqumit. (gapku

1 O what a wonderful,
wonderful day-
Day I will never forget;
After I'd wandered in
darkness away,
Jesus my Savior I met.
O what a tender, compas-
sionate friend,
He met the need of my heart;
Shadows dispelling, with
joy I am telling.
He made all the darkness
depart!

** Heaven came down and glory
filled my soul.
When at the cross the
Savior made me whole:
My sins were washed away
And my night was turned
to day-
Heaven came down and
glory filled my soul!
(Heaven came down and
glory filled my soul!)

- 1 Kivgaujungnaiqtitaujumavisi?
Satanasimit, ajunrninrmit?
Jesusimut tagva qailauritsi,
Kivgaujungnaiqtijunnanrmasi.
- ** Pijunna-nrni-qaqpuq
aamilaak,
Jesusip... aunga ...
Pijunna-nrni-qaqpuq
aamilaak,
Piulijipta aunga.
- 2 Kivgaujungnaiqtitaujumavisi?
Pijurinirmit, sitininrmit?
Nunap pinginniklu unganinrmit
Kivgaujungnaiqtijunnanrmasi
- 3 Aputitut qakurumavisi?
Jesusip aunga, pijunnanrmat,
Irruqturlugillu uummatisi,
Nutaamik inuusiqaarlusi.
- 4 Ataninrmut kivgaujumavisi?
Qaiqujauvusi, iluunnasi,
Niqtuqattarlugulu Jesusi,
Qautamaat nunamiitillusi.
- 1 Would you be free from
the burden of sin?
There's pow'r in the blood,
Pow'r in the blood;
Would you o'er evil a
victory win?
There's wonderful pow'r
in the blood.
- ** There is pow'r, pow'r
Wonder-working pow'r
In the blood...
of the Lamb;...
There is pow'r, pow'r
Wonder-working pow'r
In the precious blood
of the Lamb.
- 2 Would you be free from
your passion and pride?
There's pow'r in the blood,
Pow'r in the blood;
Come for cleansing to
Calvary's tide;
There's wonderful pow'r
in the blood.
- 3 Would you be whiter, much
whiter than snow?
There's pow'r in the blood,
pow'r in the blood;
Sin-stains are lost in
its life-giving flow;
There's wonderful pow'r
in the blood.

Shall We Gather at the River—Original English Version

Shall we gather at the river
Where bright angel feet have trod
With its crystal tide forever
Flowing by the throne of God

** Yes, we'll gather at the river
The beautiful, the beautiful river
Gather with the saints at the river
That flows by the throne of God

On the bosom of the river
Where the Saviour-King we own
We shall meet and sorrow never
Neath the glory of the throne

Ere we reach the shining river
Lay we every burden down
Grace our spirits will deliver
And provide a robe and a crown

Soon we'll reach that shining river
Soon our pilgrimage will cease
Soon our happy hearts will quiver
With the melody of peace

3. “Tatamnamī Saimanīngā”—“Amazing Grace”

Amazing Grace—Syllabics

CC^lae^b hΔLσ^u
A^bcc^lΔ^lσ^u
C^bΔ^lσ^u ae^lσ^u
L^{ae} C^bΔ^lσ^u

Δ^lσ^u hΔLσ^u
CC^lae^bσ^u
Δ^lσ^u CC^lσ^u
σ^uΔ^lσ^u

Δ^lσ^uae^lσ^u Δ^lσ^uae^lσ^u
Δ^lσ^uσ^u
σ^uΔ^lσ^u Δ^lσ^uσ^u
σ^uΔ^lσ^u

Δ^lσ^uae^lσ^u Δ^lσ^uae^lσ^u
Δ^lσ^uσ^u

ajunrnikka piinrmagit aungminut.

4. Ailuniga tikiliqpaat christusi
najurlugu quviasulaaqpunga—I will be happy when I am home
uummammullu piujuringittumut
niqturlugu godi atanira

How Great Thou Art—English

1. O lord my God. When I in awesome wonder
Consider all the works Thy hand hath made,
I see the stars, I hear the mighty thunder,
Thy power throughout the universe displayed.

**Then sings my soul, my saviour God to thee.
How great thou art, how great thou art
Then sings my soul, my saviour God to thee
How great thou art, how great thou art.

2. When through the woods and forest glades I wander
And hear the birds sing sweetly in the trees
When I look down from lofty mountain grandeur
And hear the brook and feel the gentle breeze

3. And when I think that God his son not sparing
Sent him to die I scarce can take it in.
That on the cross my burden gladly bearing
He bled and died to take away my sin.

4. When Christ shall come with shout of acclamation
And take me home what joy shall fill my heart
Then shall I bow in humble adoration
And there proclaim my God, how great thou art

5. “Anaanaga”—“My Mother” by Susan Aglukark

Roman Orthography

Pisulukangama
Ikaumavunga
Unikaupalautumi uvamnut
Uqausirivaktangi
Iqaumavaka
Angiraksilirangama

Gara’s English Translation

When I walk around
I remembered
Who used to tell stories to me
The words that she told me
I remember them
When I get home sick

Atanir tuksiakpunga
Anaanaga mianirigut
Nagligmarikgapkut
Ungagingmaliqthlugut
Anaanaga

Lord I pray
Take a good care of my mother
I love her so
I want to be with my mother all the time
My mother

Miksilirangma
Iganilulirangama
Sukupatutusaullirpara
Ilunirluangmialithlunga
Takugumalirangapku
Anaanaga

When I sew something
When I try to cook
I hear a voice of my mother
And inside I am hurt
When I want to see
My Mother

6. “Sapiliqtailigit”—“Don’t Give Up” by Looee Nowdlak

Sapiliqtailigit—Roman Orthography

Inusiq ilanikut sapinatuvakpu
kisutuinait piblugit tuksialaurit

ch. sapiliqtailigit nagligiyaugavit
ajunanipangini gutiup tasiuqpatit

pijunaputiksuli ukpirusukkuvit
ajunatuqangila inusumit

Don’t Give Up—Gara’s English Translation

Sometimes life is tiring
no matter what happens just pray

ch. Don’t give up because somebody love’s you
in the hardest times god is with you

You can do it if you believe
Everything’s not easy in life

7. “Isumagivattatiit”—“You are not Alone” by Looee Nowdlak

Roman Orthography

Isumagivattatiit ipinniagiyatii
Iyiqsimavvatatiit umaatiniit
Qautama aniarjutigiyatii
Isumagiyunailaukkit

Gara’s English Translation

Forget how you think and feel about
What you hide in your heart
Every day that you get tired of
Just forgive/forget them

Nagligiyauvutii Ikayuqtauniaqputi
Inutuungilatii uqauqatiqariit

Somebody loves you and you will get help
You are not alone talk to someone

** Quyannamit tukisigavit
ikautsiaqattaravit
upigusutsiaqattarniaqpunga
nagligivagit

Qautamat inusira angliqpalliyuq
sapiliqtailiblunga
ayulirangama ikayuqtaravit
quvianaluakkannirivuq
anaanagigapkit.

9. Never Failing—English Text by Jo Ellen Pameolik

Deep inside her heart, she felt alone,
and the soul in her life faded like a light
and the days seemed so long, even though she hasn't realized
that the dark side has told her not to go

ch. But all it takes to bring a heart of life to love
is a dream of hope to meet Jesus Christ
and here I am, never failing

All along the way, through the brightest days
life has shown her acceptance to let go.
When the fool rushes in, she'd ask God to guide her
and he always seemed to give her even more

10. Nunavut Song—English Text by Lucie Idlout

Tell me what it takes to make your dreams come alive
They've been talking to you they've talking to me
Wondering all about Nunavut our future and the way it's going a be

Refrain

** Isumanguarit	Gara's Translation
Iliqusita piujungninga	—pretend to think
Tunijungnaraptiru	—our culture, what they can do
Sivuliksavut	—we can give to them
	—our elders or our leaders

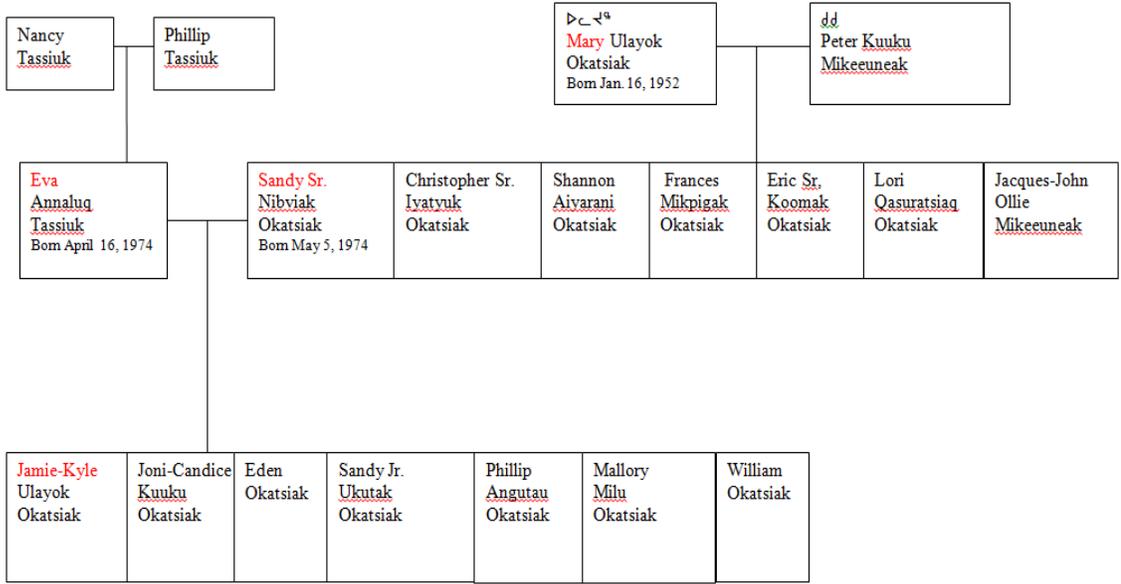
You are young you, you have the vision, we have the power
To take advantage of, to take advantage of
All the beautiful, beautiful, beautiful, beautiful things in life

Close your eyes and reach down deep inside
And say you'll do it for our elders you'll do it out of pride
Come out and shine, come out and shine

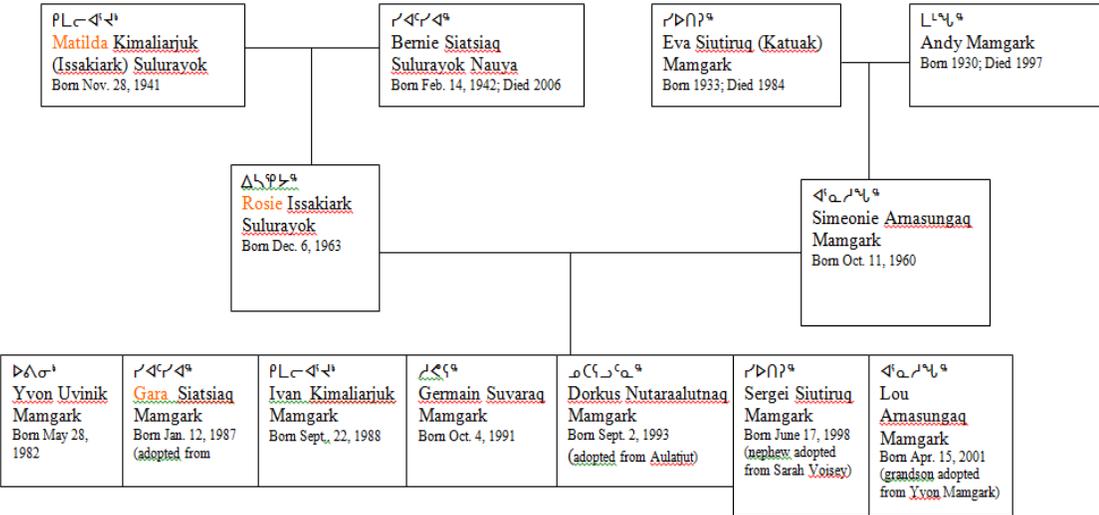
Appendix I
Genealogical Charts

ᐅᑲᑦᑦᑲ The Okatsiak Family

ᐱᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲ Padlirmiut



ᐱᐱᐱᐱ The Mamgark Family
ᑕᐱᐅᐱᑦᑕᑦ Tariuqmiut



Appendix J
Inuit Qaujimajatuqantit

Inuit Qaujimajatuqantit
as defined by the Government of Nunavut

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is traditional Inuit Knowledge.

Inuit societal values are particularly relevant to the way our Government should deliver its programs and services. We need to use these important principles of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. Words of advice have often come from our elders who learned these values from their elders before them. We need to follow these principles in our efforts to make our government, and the programs and services we offer more responsive to the people we serve.

It is the department's mandate to incorporate IQ in the delivery of our programs and services. Our policies and practices must be consistent with the beliefs, customs, values and the language of Inuit. Inuit as a people have a long-standing code of behaviour based on time-honoured values and practices. These values were communicated to younger Inuit at a very early age through stories, songs, direct modeling of behaviour and legends that spoke of the success associated with remembering them.

Today this system and the past methods for communicating these values have been interrupted by outside influences and new institutions. We must find ways to build these beliefs into what we do today so that once again these beliefs become the value system for Nunavut.

Connection Values - sharing, generosity, family, respect, love, listening, equality, significance and trust.

Work Values - volunteer, observe, practice, mastery, teamwork, cooperation, unity, consensus and conservation.

Coping Values - patience, endurance, improvisation, strength, adaptability, resilience, resourcefulness, moving forward, take the long view, survival, interconnectedness and honesty.

These values are based on the eight Guiding Principles as outlined below:

Pijitsirarniq: Concept of serving

The concept of serving is central to the Inuit style of leadership as is the measure of the maturity and wisdom of an Inuk. Key here is the understanding that each person has a contribution to make and is a

valued contributor to his/her community. Students will be expected to demonstrate this kind of leadership and commitment to serving the common good.

Aajiiqatigiingniq: Consensus–Decision Making

The concept of consensus decision-making relies on strong communication skills and a strong belief in shared goals. All students are expected to become contributing members of their community and to participate actively in building the strength of Inuit in Nunavut. Being able to think and act collaboratively, to assist with the development of shared understandings, to resolve conflict in consensus-building ways, and to consult respecting various perspectives and worldviews, are expectations that cross all curriculum areas.

Pilimmaksarniq: Concept of Skills and Knowledge Acquisition

The concept of skills and knowledge acquisition and capacity building is central to the success of Inuit in a harsh environment. Building personal capacity in Inuit ways of knowing and doing are key expectations for students. Demonstrating empowerment to lead a successful and productive life, that is respectful of all, is a powerful end goal of our educational system.

Qanuqtuurungnarniq: Concept of Being Resourceful to Solve Problems

The concept of being resourceful to solve problems, through innovative and creative use of resources and demonstrating adaptability and flexibility in response to a rapidly changing world, are strengths all our students should develop. Resourcefulness should be demonstrated in all learning and also thinking that seeks to improve the context in which Inuit live.

Piliriqatigiingniq: Concept of Collaborative Relationship or Working Together for a Common Purpose

The concept of developing collaborative relationships and working together for a common purpose. The essential Inuit belief that stresses the importance of the group over the individual should pervade all our teaching. Expectations for students will reflect working for the common good, collaboration, shared leadership and volunteerism. Piliriqatigiingniq also sets expectations for supportive behaviour development, strong relationship-building and consensus-building.

Avatimik Kamattiarniq: Concept of Environmental Stewardship

The concept of environmental stewardship stresses the key relationship Inuit have with their environment and with the world in which they live. Students will be expected to articulate respect for this mutually interdependent relationship and to demonstrate responsible behaviours that seek to improve and protect the relationship in ways that meet global challenges to environmental wellness. (<http://www.gov.nu.ca/hr/site/beliefsystem.htm>)

The last two guiding principals are missing from the GN website:

Inuuqatigiitsiarniq: Concept of Respecting Others

The concept of respecting others, building positive relationships and caring for others Inuuqatigiitsiarniq is showing respect and a caring attitude for others. When each person considers their relationships to people and behaves in ways that build this relationship, they build strength both in themselves and in others and together as a community. This is foundational to Inuit ways of being.

Tunnganarniq: Concept of Being Open, Welcoming & Inclusive

The concept of fostering good spirit by being open, welcoming and inclusive Tunnganarniq is being welcoming to others, being open in communications and inclusive in the ways people interact. Demonstrating this attitude is essential in building positive relationships with others.

(<http://nunavusiutit.wikispaces.com/file/view/IQ+PRINCIPLES-FINAL.pdf>)