THE PRACTICE AND PERFORMANCE OF *KATAJJAQ*: CULTURE, IDENTITY AND RESISTANCE

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Abstract

Katajjaq, or vocal games, has a long history among the Inuit of Canada. Practiced almost exclusively by women, *katajjaq* is a playful competition between two or more partners who face each other and exchange sound motifs; one is leading, while the other repeats the same motifs. The first person unable to maintain the rhythm, tempo, or breathing pattern will laugh, indicating that they have lost the game. An oral tradition, *katajjaq* continues to be a popular practice amongst Inuit. In addition, *katajjaq* has recently moved from the realm of game to becoming an integral component of Inuit music. *Katajjaq's* shift from game to music is also accompanied by an increase in male participation. Notably, Nelson Tagoona combines *katajjaq* with beatboxing to create a genre he calls "throat boxing." The primary purpose of this dissertation is to examine *katajjaq*. I explore how it is understood, practiced and sometimes recontextualized by numerous Inuit culture bearers as well as how it has been studied and portrayed by ethnomusicologists. In this way I scrutinize research gaps in ethnomusicological investigations about *katajjaq* and point to how Inuit epistemology and ontology provide culturally appropriate ways of understanding *katajjaq*. For instance, the complexity and significance of the *imaq-nuna-sila* (water-land-sky) relationship in Inuit epistemology as well as *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (IQ), or the guiding principles of Inuit life and ways of knowing and being provide a richer understanding of the role of *katajjaq* in Inuit life. The secondary purpose of this dissertation is to present the musical life and creative choices of Nelson Tagoona and trace how he contributes new meaning to *katajjaq.* Some of my research questions include: What creative and cultural choices are made when a living cultural tradition is combined with a contemporary popular practice? How does Nelson Tagoona negotiate and mediate tradition and innovation? How has the inclusion of hip hop culture with *katajjaq* affected the meaning of throat singing? By focusing on one musician's experience, I highlight how individual experience and agency can point to broader shifts in cultural practices.

For my parents
my husband and
all my Baker Lakers.

I could not have done this without you.

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Story 1: Meeting Place

The first time I saw Nelson was through a small window of a closed door. When he saw me, Nelson swung the door open, greeted me and gestured for me to come in. I was nervous to meet him, but his welcoming and warm personality put me at ease instantly. I expressed my hesitation at interrupting his pre-performance process; he laughed and said, "*tunngahugit*".[1] Explaining that Inuit are a very open and welcoming people, he said I was more than welcome to come inside and sit with him while he finished eating his lunch.

We were in a large practice room in the Department of Music at York. An amp and mic were set up for Nelson to present his vision for his PanAm Games audition. Nelson was going to perform some pieces of music for a small group of people, among them were my husband Leo, the project supervisor Anna and another colleague from MICH. [2] As Nelson finished eating, I asked him if it would be ok for me to film him while he spoke about his vision for PanAm. Since this was our first meeting, I was surprised that he agreed so quickly.

The first piece of music Nelson shared with us was a recording of himself and Inuk singer-songwriter Charles Keelan speaking over instrumental music. [3] We all sat silently, listening intently to the way Nelson's words move from darkness to hope.

Nelson: A lot of people don't say they love each other because they don't have the courage to show it.
Love is a strong word, but sometimes we need it to carry on through life and show we have honest support for each other.
Why didn't I have the strength to show anybody I was so broken?
I don't know, but that's the way life works.
We fall, we break, and we struggle for reasons we don't understand.
But after everything that happens, we start to understand that after we fall, we get back up and we try to make a difference once again.
We move on and we accept everything that has ever happened to us.

[1] *Tunngahugit* means "welcome" in Inuktitut (language of the Inuit). See Appendix A for a glossary of Inuktitut terms that appear in this dissertation.
[2] See Acknowledgements for more about Anna and MICH.
[3] See Appendix B for short biographies of musicians and artists mentioned in this dissertation.

We learn to accept more and more, day by day, life goes on man.
But really, it's up to you to make a positive difference and be the change you want to see.
You gotta get back up, I know you can do this.
I've had times too when I thought all hope was gone but the truth is, it's not the end.
It's a new beginning.
You have support out there, if only you ask for it.
Be who you need man. Be the change we've all been waiting to see.
Be you and do what makes your heart happy, 'cause we're all different
And although we seem the same, different things make our hearts sing and scream.
Why didn't I turn to anybody? Why did I just suffer? Why did I make mistakes?
And why did these things happen to me?
There are things that happened to me in life that I can't just explain.

But there's the point. And I can say this. This is it.
I had enough now. I'm tired and I'm ready to break down.
I'm broken-hearted. So how much further can I take this.
I don't know who to turn to, what to do, where to go.
And all of what the town's about to say.
I don't know. This isn't the end for me.
There's still a whole life out there and others that care for me too much to lose me to suicide.
I need to stay faithful and move forward.
I can't do this to my friends and family.
I might not be thinking of them right now, but if do let go right now, that's it, I'm gone.
And I can't ever turn anything back.

CK: Your life is all you have

Nelson: If you really feel like letting go, and you don't know who to turn to, please, please call 1-800-668-6868.[4]
There are real people that'll do their very best to help you.
There's still hope out there, but you have to believe in yourself.
It hurts too much to lose someone like this.
Give yourself some time to talk to someone, to help you get over these feelings and all that is bothering you.
Give yourself some time to move on and see better days again.
You still have hope.

CK: message in Inuktitut including 1-800-668-6868.
Your life is all you have
message in Inuktitut 1-800-668-6868 and 1-800-265-3333.[5]

[4] The phone number mentioned here is for Kid's Help Phone. A national and bilingual (English and French) organization, their objective is to provide 24/7 support to youth who need counselling for a variety of issues including mental health, suicide, and healthy relationships. For more, see https://kidshelpphone.ca/search/?q=sex&s_page=support&submit=.

[5] The second phone number is for Kamatsiaqtut Nunavut Helpline. A toll-free number for anyone outside of Nunavut, this organization, much like Kid's Help Phone, provides 24/7 support to anyone dealing with issues

Your life is all you have

Reminiscent of spoken word, Nelson's words are crisp and clear. As he talks about his own struggles with mental health and suicide ideation, Nelson's voice changes from fast-paced recitation of his experiences to a slower section that brings hope and the realization that he can move forward and beyond his mental health struggles. In the last section, which emphasizes where to get help, Nelson's voice slows down once again. Juxtaposed against Nelson's voice is the background music that mirrors the tempo of the words being spoken. Mimicking Nelson's voice, the music moves from a fast tempo, emphasizing percussive sounds, to a slower tempo and melody that feature a rolling repetition of bass notes on a piano. In between the last two sections, Charles' voice is heard singing "Your life is all you have." The end of this piece is marked by Charles reiterating Nelson's message twice in Inuktitut, highlighting where someone with mental health issues could go to to get help.

Although this song was recorded for a different project, Nelson describes how the song contributes to his creative vision for his PanAm audition:

> I was going to call it "Suicide Note" […] but I decided suicide was a bit strong so I called it "Broken Window." And it's a metaphor for when your vision is shattered you can't see clearly and I'm talking about life […] it's a little brighter.

He went on to describe the song as a freestyle speech, in that he spoke what he felt and nothing was written down.[6] Building from his vision, he sees this as something that he could develop further for his PanAm audition by including *katajjaq* in a respectful way.

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including, but not limited to depression, anxiety, abusive relationships and substance abuse; however, the support services provided are targeted to northern communities. They also have a local phone number for Nunavut residents: 867-979-3333. See http://nunavuthelpline.ca for more.

[6] Nelson doesn't refer to his lyrics as "lyrics." Instead, he calls them "speeches" because he rarely writes lyrics that are memorized for performances. Often his performances consist of instrumental pieces and his lyrics are semi-improvised for his specific audience. He notes that his speeches change depending on where he is performing.

The second piece Nelson shared with us is called "The Guardian": "I called it 'Guardian Angel' at first 'cause my vision was like taking someone under your wing, and then like, protecting them with all your passion." Although he has lyrics written for this piece, his vision for its performance includes having well-known Inuit musicians like Susan Aglukark or politicians speak their own words so that his audience would know that the song isn't just music, but that there are real people from positions of power who share similar concerns about Inuit communities. He also discussed where he could add *katajjaq* and vocals so that the overall sonic experience is powerful and down to earth.

Nelson went on to share short snippets of two other musical ideas for incomplete pieces. One song combines acoustic guitar, vocals, and percussion with a hip hop influenced chorus, while the other is called "Leviathan's Game." It is based on a vision of:

> a family going out boating, or friends going out boating, and then the boat tips, and he's standing there […] and it's just very calming […] and then once his boat tips, he realizes he's all alone in the middle of the lake […] and he's screaming and screaming and screaming until he doesn't have a voice anymore and his head just disappears in the water […] But it wasn't the current that pulled him down, it was Leviathan that pulled him down.

The fifth piece is called "Alive Again." Written when he was 15 years old, the song combines verses that are sung with others that are rapped. Rooted in multiple aspects of hip hop, Nelson raps over a pre-recorded beat, and the positivity of his lyrics and simple delivery style are reminiscent of "old school" hip hop. Speaking to his lived experiences of anxiety, depression and suicide ideation, the song chronicles how Nelson overcame the low points in his life and found ways to live on the positive side.

The penultimate song Nelson shared with us is called "I Believe." While the chorus is sung with the help of a looper pedal, each verse between the chorus is spoken and ad-libbed. Like previous songs, the chorus evokes positivity as Nelson tells listeners that they can have and

achieve anything if they just believe. Among the few verses shared with us, one described Nelson's familial and personal history. Here, Nelson discussed the suicide of his biological father and some of his closest friends and how this void taught Nelson to use negative energy and turn it into something positive by reaching for his dreams.

The final piece, "My War," is described as being "based on a spiritual warfare, you know the war inside of you but you stay determined […] and you keep pushing forward." Written when Nelson was 13 years old, the song combines rock'n'roll and EDM (electronic dance music). With his electric guitar, Nelson played a few riffs and discussed the possibility of closing the PanAm audition with this song so that listeners aren't left in an emotional void. He'd rather have people leave on a strong, happy note. He went on to demonstrate his throat boxing skills while the backing EDM music continued to play and the last five minutes were spent listening to Nelson improvise with his electric guitar and throat boxing simultaneously.

Figure 1: Picture of Nelson throat boxing while playing electric guitar at York University, June 2014. Photograph by the author.

After this last piece, I had the opportunity to ask Nelson a few questions about the music he had just played. Much of the conversation that followed was about his musical influences. I had observed earlier that his music reminded me of metal bands like Metallica, TOOL and electronic musicians such as Deadmau5. Interestingly, Nelson said he enjoyed listening to all of

these musicians. As our conversation came to a close, I asked Nelson if he'd be willing to talk to me about his music again. He agreed and we set up a more formal interview for the following week. Since he was scheduled to travel until the end of the month, we agreed that the interview would be conducted via email. We exchanged contact information, and I left Nelson to pack his gear, not realizing that this would be the first of many musical encounters.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Katajjaq, or vocal games, has a long history among the Inuit of Canada.[7] Practiced almost exclusively by women, *katajjaq* is a playful competition between two or more partners who face each other and exchange sound motifs. One partner is leading, while the other repeats the same motifs. Motifs can consist of vocables, words, imitations of animals or the sounds of nature. Vocalizations rely on short rhythmic inhalations and exhalations of breath and different timbres are created through voiced and voiceless pitch. The first person unable to maintain the rhythm, tempo, or breathing pattern will laugh, indicating that they have lost the game. *Katajjaq* can be performed anytime and for a variety of reasons including celebrations and entertainment.

An oral tradition, *katajjaq* continues to be a popular practice amongst Inuit. It has also recently moved from the realm of game to becoming an integral component of Inuit music. Amongst others, Inuit musician Tanya Tagaq transforms *katajjaq* from a game to music by performing as a soloist. Her collaborations with musicians like Björk and the Toronto Symphony Orchestra (TSO) showcase how *katajjaq* can be combined with other genres of music. Likewise, musicians like Iva, Riit and Inuit duo *Silla* combine throat singing with popular genres of music. Transformations in *katajjaq's* performance practice and meanings include an increase in male participation. For instance, Geronimo Inutiq includes *katajjaq* in his DJ'ing and electronic and multimedia projects, while Nelson Tagoona combines *katajjaq* and hip hop.

One of the very few male Inuk throat singers, Nelson Tagoona modifies *katajjaq* by combining it with beatboxing, a practice he calls "throat boxing". A self-taught musician, he

[7] Inuit often identify three forms of expression that are meaningful to their culture: *katajjaq* (vocal games), *qilautiqtuq* (drum dancing) and *ajaaja* (personal songs with drums). For a short introduction to *katajjaq*, *qilautiqtuq* and *ajaja*, see Beverley Diamond (2008). For a discussion of drum dance songs, see Beverley Cavanagh (Diamond) (1982a and 1982b); Paula Conlon (1993; 2009). For a discussion of drum dance songs and gender, see Mary Piercey (2005).

began playing guitar at age seven. He started writing music as a young teenager: "I was never interested in sports or Inuit games, as a kid, I was obsessed with many genres of music and live performance, that is where I had adapted by style from. Unfortunately, I refuse to speak of specific artists, but I can tell you that rock 'n' roll, blues, hip hop/rap, heavy metal and electronic music had a big influence on my work" (Interview with the author, February 5, 2015). Speaking about the types of musicians who have influenced him, Nelson says: [8]

> […] there has been many artists that I just resonated with, and their craft. And it was mainly based off of their confidence and the way they stand up for their own art and their own creativity with such confidence and such bravery. I really resonated with that, and it gave me the courage to try and give it a shot on my own and experiment with things that I've never tried before in front of audiences and many, many strange faces. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019)

Figure 2: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

Elaborating further Nelson articulates: [9]

> I have been moved by many different artists like rock and roll groups, hip hop artists, even traditional artists as well. I really have been influenced by many. I don't like to talk about like say names specifically, but the main folks who I am moved by are those who could tap really into their creative senses and create a piece that is picture perfect. I don't know how to describe that. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019)

Figure 3: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

[8] See Figure 2 for a video of Nelson's quote. I have Nelson's permission to include audio and video versions of his quotes for my thesis, publications and/or conference papers for educational purposes. The reproduction and use of these files requires the explicit permission of the author and Nelson Tagoona.
[9] See Figure 3 for a video of Nelson's quote.

Nelson's development of throat boxing is an example of how *katajjaq* has expanded as a practice.

Purpose

The primary purpose of this dissertation is to examine *katajjaq*. I explore how it has been studied and portrayed by ethnomusicologists and how it is understood, practiced and sometimes recontextualized by numerous Inuit culture bearers. In this way I scrutinize research gaps in ethnomusicological investigations about *katajjaq* and point to how Inuit epistemology and ontology provide culturally appropriate ways of understanding *katajjaq*. For instance, the complexity and significance of the *imaq-nuna-sila* (water-land-sky) relationship in Inuit epistemology as well as *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (IQ), or the guiding principles of Inuit life and ways of knowing and being provide a richer understanding of the role of *katajjaq* in Inuit life. The following questions will guide my investigation:

1. What topics are addressed in ethnomusicological studies about *katajjaq?*
2. What topics are addressed by *katajjaq* practitioners?
3. What are the similarities and differences in understandings of *katajjaq* between academic and practitioner accounts?

The secondary purpose of this dissertation is to present the musical life and creative choices of Nelson Tagoona and trace how he contributes new meaning to *katajjaq.* By focusing on one musician's experience, I aim to examine the meanings that *katajjaq* might hold, as well as highlight how individual experience and agency can point to broader shifts in cultural practices. The following questions will guide my work with Nelson:

1. How does Nelson reconceptualize *katajjaq*?

2. What creative and cultural choices are made when a living cultural tradition is combined with a contemporary popular practice?
3. How does Nelson negotiate and mediate tradition and innovation?
4. How does Nelson's practice compare to other Inuit musicians and practitioners of *katajjaq*?
5. How has the inclusion of hip hop culture with *katajjaq* affected the meaning of throat singing?

I also highlight the lives of other Inuit musicians and culture bearers in order to explore broader shifts in *katajjaq* practice. In this way, I consider Dylan Robinson's (Stó:lō) idea of how "Indigenous songs and speech 'do' things beyond their aesthetic function (for contemplation) or communicative function (for conveying information)" (2018, 223). Accordingly, I explain how Nelson's incorporation of *katajjaq* with beatboxing accommodates revitalization and cultural renewal. Therefore, I also address Robinson's query of "what would it mean to understand the function of contemporary Indigenous song not simply as aesthetic, but as doing something or bringing something into being through its performance or utterance?" (2018, 238).

Theoretical Frameworks

Indigenous Modernity

The primary theoretical framework that informs my dissertation is Indigenous modernity (IM). In a special issue of *MUSICultures* [10] (2012), ethnomusicologists Beverley Diamond, Kati

[10] *MUSICultures*, the journal of the Canadian Society for Traditional Music/Société canadienne pour les traditions musicales (CSTM/SCTM) published a volume dedicated to a discussion of Indigenous modernity. Many of the articles in this volume were first presented at the 2011 International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM). In a footnote in the introduction, the editors note that "Diamond recalls that she first heard a discussion about the phrase in a symposium organized by Norwegian Sámi as part of the annual Riddu Riddu Festival in Norway in 2002, but the very fact that such a discussion was scheduled was indicative of the concept's currency by that time" (Diamond, Szego and Sparling 2012, 5). For an extended description of this event, see Diamond (2018). Ethnomusicological

Szego and Heather Sparling point to numerous themes and characteristics of Indigenous modernity. Among them is the notion that:

> The very application of the concept of "modernity" to indigenous cultures is part of a broad movement to decouple the idea of the modern from Euroamerican centrism. Indigenous modernities often differ from the "developmentalist" narratives of "the West" and emphasize the fragmentation, deterritorialization, and struggles for reclamation that are parts of indigenous experience in most parts of the world. Reclamation, recontextualization, and expansions of "traditional" concepts to include new realms of experience are important elements of "modernity." (Diamond, Szego and Sparling 2012, 2)

Australian Art historian Ian Mclean observes that "Indigenous modernism, then, refers not to art that emulates Western modernisms, but to the art that engages with experiences of modernity from an Indigenous perspective – a notion with profound consequences for how modernism is generally conceived and theorized" (2016). In this way, Indigenous modernity challenges preconceived notions about Indigenous peoples engagement with modernity.

Indigenous scholars from varying disciplines describe the way in which IM challenges the tradition/modern binary. Michael Marker (Lummi Nation) notes that there are "tensions between Indigenous knowledge and modernity" and binaries do not "recognize that there are distances between things, and [these distances] are experienced within the politics of Indigenous-settler state relations" (2011, 199). The "tensions" between Indigenous life and modernity are also discussed by Philip Deloria (Standing Rock Sioux Tribe) (2004) as he examines how Indigenous peoples are (and have been) engaged in modernity. By juxtaposing stereotypical

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engagement with the term "modernity" in relation to Indigenous people was also a topic of discussion during a workshop in 2014. Described as a "milestone in the field of ethnomusicology since the number of academics of Indigenous descent has increased dramatically in the past decade," Beverley Diamond summarizes the scope of the meeting: "North American ethnomusicologists of both Indigenous and settler descent met in a workshop (funded by a SSHRC Connection grant) in Indianapolis this fall to consider how best to define the concept of 'modernity' as it relates to First Nation, Inuit, and Métis cultures. They discussed some of the ways Indigenous musicians, composers and communities are modernizing musical practices to express sovereignty, to engage diverse audiences, to participate in global exchange, and to revitalize or reclaim traditions that have been suppressed through colonization" (Diamond 2014, 11).

assumptions about Indigenous people against reality, Deloria challenges embedded power dynamics between colonial subjects and the ways in which the nation state reinforces negative attitudes towards Indigenous peoples. [11]

By embracing IM then, scholars are able to interrogate the ways in which modernity is often regarded as an imposition to Indigeneity and how IM facilitates decolonization. Scott Richard Lyons (Mississippi Ojibwe of Leech Lake and the Mdewakanton Dakota of Lower Sioux) observes:

> I think the decolonization project is actually strengthened and not weakened when indigenous modernity is embraced. To embrace modernity is to usher in other modern concepts (not all of them necessarily, but some of them, and I'd say the ones we want), including the concept of decolonization. It does not require living in the future at the expense of forgetting the past. Rather, an embracement of indigenous modernity requires a different relationship to the past, one that does not seek to go backward but instead attempts to bring the past forward. (Lyons 2011, 305)

Like Lyons, Inupiaq ethnomusicologist Heidi Aklaseaq Senungetuk (2018) makes similar observations about bringing the past forward, noting that Indigenous peoples and perspectives are and have always been modern.

Scholarly examinations about how the past is brought into the future emphasize the way Indigenous worldviews and traditions are flexible and able to be recontextualized. Examples from varying disciplines, including law (Rigney, Bignall & Hemming 2015; Cornell & Kalt 2007), education (Russell 2006) and literature (Moura-Kocoglu 2011), explore recontextualization as a central aspect of modern Indigeneity. Ethnomusicologists Anna Hoefnagels and Beverley Diamond (2012) claim recontextualization as the predominant theme

[11] For a discussion about music and stereotypes, see Deloria's chapter called "The Hills are Alive…With the Sound of Indian" where he discusses how the "sound of Indian" evokes specific images and narratives about Indigenous peoples. This chapter also provides a valuable discussion about Indigenous musicians who challenged stereotypes by combining Indigenous and Western Art Music. See Deborah Doxtator (2011) for a discussion of "Indianness" and the assumptions many people have of "real" Indigenous peoples. See David W. Samuels (2018) for a discussion of how a photograph of Frances Densmore and Piegan sign-language expert Mountain Chief challenges ethnomusicological discussions of Indigenous modernity.

of their edited volume, which addresses Indigenous modernity and the "significant issue of innovating tradition, considering new creative opportunities and challenges that result when new technologies, new audiences, or new contexts emerge" (2012, 5). Indigenous engagement with modernity then challenges Western assumptions about Indigenous peoples and highlights how Indigenous knowledge(s) and modernity co-exist.

The literature above shapes my understanding of Indigenous modernity. Drawing on the broad and varied disciplines and topics, I contend that IM demonstrates how Indigenous peoples have always engaged in modernity. More specifically, IM highlights the diverse and multifaceted experiences of Indigenous peoples and frames their lives within the context of having always been modern and present.[12] In this way, IM enables me to explore how Nelson Tagoona and other throat singers recontextualize *katajjaq* and give it new meaning. More specifically, IM allows me to explore how Nelson and others mediate between tradition and modernity and how the two co-exist, especially in Nelson's practice.

[12] My understanding of IM is also closely connected to what Anishinaabe cultural theorist Gerald Vizenor (1999) calls survivance. Vizenor articulates that survivance is survival and resistance, or the notion that survivance is an active presence and continuation of Indigenous cultural practices. Survivance opposes domination, oppression, and victimry. See also Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) who argues that survivance is an approach that celebrates survival since "non-Indigenous research has been intent on documenting the demise and cultural assimilation of Indigenous peoples" (1999, 146). Moreover, Smith links survivance to identity. Smith posits, "survivance accentuates the degree to which indigenous peoples and communities have retained cultural and spiritual values and authenticity in resisting colonialism. The approach is reflected sometimes in story form, sometimes in popular music and sometimes as an event in which artists and story tellers come together to celebrate collectively a sense of life and diversity and connectedness. Events and accounts which focus on the active resistance are important not just because they speak to our survival, but because they celebrate our being at an ordinary human level and affirm our identities as indigenous women and men" (1999, 146). While IM and survivance share similar ideas about Indigenous presence, I am choosing to use IM as the predominant framework in my dissertation because it is more commonly used in the discipline of ethnomusicology. Survivance has only been used in one article (Przybylski 2015) within the discipline that I am aware of.

Ethnomusicology of the Individual

I situate my discussion of Indigenous modernity at its intersection with the ethnomusicology of the individual. [13] Since the secondary purpose of my dissertation is to highlight how Nelson creates new meanings with *katajjaq*, the ethnomusicology of the individual allows me to address the specificities around his individual choices and agency.

According to ethnomusicologist Jeff Todd Titon, "in order to know music as a human activity, not just a sequence of organized sound, we need to ask what the life of a musician is like in different societies and find answers in life histories and autobiographies" (Titon 2009, xix). In this way, biography and lived experiences inform individual agency and enable a better understanding of musical and cultural practices.

In their analysis of over 100 book length musical ethnographies between 1976-2002, Jesse Ruskin and Timothy Rice (2012) theorize that there are five categories of individual-centered studies. The first examines individuals in relation to narrative structure. Narrative structures can be divided into four subgroups, where, the individual is absent from the narrative, has limited presence, is central to the narrative and individuals who are the sole subject of analysis. The second category examines the types of people in individual-centered studies. They can range from innovators, key figures, average musicians to non-musicians. The third, considers the purpose of individualized studies and the author's role and intent in constructing their narrative. Ruskin and Rice note that "how individuals are treated in musical ethnographies depends to a large extent, we believe, on the author's view of culture" (2012, 306). The fourth category investigates the ethnomusicologist's encounter or relationship with the subject while the

[13] For examples Daniel Neuman (1980), Jeff Todd Titon (1984), James Kippen (1988), Viet Erlmann (1991), Thomas Turino (1993), Timothy Rice (1994), Jonathan Stock (1996) Virginia Danielson (1997) and Ruth Hellier (2013).

fifth reviews narrative strategies, which include "biography, assisted biography,[14] dialogue, polyvocality, and the analysis of performance texts" (Ruskin & Rice 2012, 312).

While Ruskin and Rice are among the few scholars to theorize the ethnomusicology of the individual, their work highlights the various ways in which academics position their discussions.[15] In particular, their findings enable me to analyze and situate my dissertation within specific parameters that mediate between categories and theoretical frameworks. For instance, Nelson is central to my narrative, as is my encounter and relationship with him and his family. In this way, my narrative strategies are directly influenced by our friendship and shared experiences. Furthermore, his position as an innovator allows me to explore aspects of Inuit music and culture from this specific lens. Nelson's innovations allow me to see Inuit culture as both traditional and modern, always shifting to accommodate current experiences, while also recalling and affirming the past.

Literature Review

Indigenous Modernity: Recontextualization and New Creative Opportunities

Ethnomusicological examinations of Indigenous modernity often examine how the recontextualization of tradition accommodates new meanings and experiences so that they are relevant to today's Indigenous peoples (Hoefnagels & Diamond, 2012). Anna Hoefnagels' (2007) discussion of the powwow in southwestern Ontario (an introduced practice) problematizes the concept of tradition as well as internalized colonialism.[16] Noting the

[14] See Joan Erdman (1997) for more on assisted biography.
[15] For a general discussion about the rise of individual-centered studies in ethnomusicology see Jonathan Stock (2001). See Mark Slobin (1993) for more on his hypothesis that individual-centered studies may become a central focus in ethnomusicology.
[16] Anna Hoefnagels acknowledges the influence Eric Hobsbawm's (1983) work on her research. While Hobsbawm does not directly guide this dissertation, I cannot discuss the concept of tradition without recognizing the impact of

subordination and exclusion of women, she argues that discriminatory colonial practices have been incorporated into powwows.[17] What becomes clear is that the concept of tradition in some powwow circuits include new experiences, albeit negative ones experienced through colonialism. The exclusion of women from powwow may be recognized as traditional, but it also points to new contexts and relevant experiences (internal or external; imposed or acquired; good or bad) of Indigenous people.

At the same time, the recontextualization of cultural practices can also be reflective of conscious efforts to decolonize. Byron Dueck's (2018) examination of how powwow is incorporated into public education demonstrates how Indigenous peoples use colonial institutions to decolonize education. By incorporating Indigenous perspectives, cultures, and practices into the dominant narrative, Indigenous peoples ensure that their own presence and power is represented. Complementary to Dueck's text is John-Carlos Perea's (2018) self-reflexive discussion of teaching powwow at an institution of higher learning. Highlighting the negative reception of intertribal powwow singing and dancing in a university setting, Perea demonstrates the complexity of decolonizing academia.

Challenging power dynamics and Western institutions and spaces through the recontextualization of Indigenous culture is a dominant theme in the work of Dylan Robinson (Stó:lō) (2012a). For example, Robinson questions the efficacy of intercultural collaborations in Brent Michael David's *Powwow Symphony.*[18] Noting the way in which a formal, Western space

Hobsbawn's seminal text. See also Dorothy Noyes (2009). For an anthropological discussion of invented tradition, see F. Allan Hanson (1997).

[17] See Anna Hoefnagels (2012) for a detailed discussion of women's limited participation in powwow music. This chapter also highlights how the role of women in powwow is changing, namely the way in which all-female powwow drum groups are performing despite the restrictions placed on them.

[18] See Dylan Robinson (2012a; 2012b; 2020) for further discussion of intercultural collaboration. These texts take a critical approach to intercultural collaborations between First Nations, Inuit, and composers of Western art music in order to examine power dynamics and scrutinize political and creative choices. See Rebecca Draisey-Collishaw (2012) for a self-reflexive discussion of the author's experience in a collaborative project. See also Russell Wallace

gives way to Indigenous presence, Robinson interrogates how the modification of powwow for the concert hall challenges or reinforces power dynamics and intercultural collaborations and the real or perceived impact they have on reconciliation and redress. Like Robinson, Laurel Sercombe (2016) examines the power dynamics of intercultural collaborations in Western Art music; however, Sercombe's text highlights how collaborations can place Indigenous values at the forefront. More specifically, she argues that successful collaborations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous musicians are due in part to communal efforts to control and negotiate cross-cultural exchange in a way that is meaningful and clearly represents and privileges Indigenous values and beliefs. Dawn Ieriho:Kwats Avery (Mohawk) (2012) makes a similar argument in her exploration of how Indigenous composers innovate their traditional cultural and musical worlds in a way that is relevant to their lives and communities. Drawing attention to how Indigenous-centered epistemologies and ontologies provide insight into and inform Indigenous classical music, Avery provides a methodology by which to explore how modified traditions become expressions of Indigenous experiences. Elaborating further in a later publication, Avery (2018) examines the ways that Indigenous classical composers can recontextualize Indigenous worldviews to enact decolonial processes for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous listeners.

The recontextualization of Indigenous forms of expression can also be used to restore or reclaim culture. Nate Renner (2012) investigates how an Ainu ensemble's performance at a cultural festival restores ceremonial heritage. More specifically, Renner asserts that the ensemble's recreation of ceremonial practices by way of synchronizing their choreography

(Lil'wat Nation) (2012) for a reflective discussion about intercultural collaborations. Notably, his chapter provides a personal account of what he considers to be a truly collaborative exchange and successful musical experience between himself and an Islamic musician.

onstage with historical videos projected on a screen allows the group to re-establish and reclaim their heritage and indigeneity.

The recontextualization of tradition also leads to new creative opportunities. Veronique Audet (2012) explores how new forms of Indigenous music employ a myriad of influences and "combine Aboriginal and Euro-American elements, the traditional and the modern, the local and the global" (2012, 372). Simply put, new creative opportunities and contexts arise when Indigenous musicians combine traditional musics and worldviews with Western ideas. Audet posits that this type of engagement fosters the renewal, restoration and revitalization of Indigenous cultural practices and points to concerted efforts to resist the effects of colonization and assert sovereignty. The practice of Indigenous people merging Indigenous and non-Indigenous worldviews also signifies decolonial agendas by way of addressing lived experiences and identity building.

Charity Marsh (2012a) illustrates how Indigenous youth in Saskatchewan address their lived realities by adapting and adopting hip hop.[19] She explores how hip hop is used as a vehicle to critically question aspects of Indigenous life and how "old stories are being retold through innovative and new hybrid forms, and current experiences are being (re)shaped and expressed as new stories ready to be told and to be heard" (Marsh 2012a, 368). Likewise, music scholar Nick Baxter Moore (2000/2001) observes the role of Aboriginal rock as a medium through which to explore, discuss and critique social and political problems faced by Indigenous people.

[19] See Charity Marsh (2012b) for a discussion of a collaborative program between Scott Collegiate, a high school in Regina, and the Interactive Media and Performance (IMP) Labs at the University of Regina. The program geared toward high school students, many of whom are Indigenous youth, aims to support student engagement and retention. Marsh states that the joint venture provides students with "a way to manage and reduce problems associated with regular attendance and with student completing work in the classroom or at home, achieving (and maintaining) passing grades, and acquiring hands-on skills. These projects also aim to assist students in their understandings of self-preservation, self-esteem, and 'positive' life choices" (2012b, 354).

Popular music also enables Indigenous people to address their lived experiences of spirituality and religion. In particular, David S. Walsh (2016) observes how the terminology used in reggae allows Hopi musicians from Northeastern Arizona to rearticulate and express their traditional values and beliefs through a contemporary medium so that they are relevant and meaningful to younger generations. The intersection between popular music and religion is also addressed by T. Christopher Alpin (2012). More specifically, Alpin explores how musicians indigenize hip hop and communicate their relationship to Christianity through rhyme. In both of these examples, traditional belief systems are combined with Western influences to include new realms of experience so that they are applicable to today's Indigenous people.

Veronique Audet (2012) and Charity Marsh (2009) also explore how Indigenous musicians adapt and adopt popular forms of music. Focusing on Innu musicians, Audet asserts that the combination of popular music and Innu worldviews creates a space for cultural expression, identity, and nation building. Marsh (2009) highlights how hip hop culture allows Inuit to negotiate and address the tensions of everyday life and enables them to speak to the effects of colonialism, intergenerational trauma, racism, violence, substance abuse and suicide. Through popular music, both the Innu and Inuit recontextualize and reclaim aspects of their heritage and culture, which, in turn, helps to strengthen identity.

New creative opportunities frequently lead Indigenous musicians to challenge stereotypical assumptions about Indigenous life, music, and culture. Jessica Bissett-Perea (Dena'ina) (2012) positions her discussion of Alaskan band Pamyua around the myriad of ways they confront and defy expectation. Connecting Pamyua's modern sound to their various musical influences and cultural experiences, Bissett-Perea asserts that their lived realities contribute to the multiplicity of traditional and innovative sounds and identities heard in their music. She

notes, “Pamyua members represent what Alaska Native people, according to stereotype, are not supposed to be: modern, educated, urban, and ‘mixed-blood’” (Bissett-Perea 2012, 9). In a later article, Bissett-Perea (2018) makes similar observations in her analysis of an Alaskan Inuit reality television soundtrack. She argues that the diversity of music heard on the soundtrack (which combines Indigenous and non-Indigenous influences) challenges colonial assumptions about how Inuit music should sound. Paula Conlon (2002) also discusses the ways in which diverse musical interests, influences and collaborations affect music making, namely, in the work of flautist R. Carlos Nakai (Ute and Navajo). She notes that Nakai’s musical influences, and the blending of diverse sounds with the Native American flute, challenge assumptions of traditional musical and cultural practices. Notably, Conlon suggests that Nakai’s music innovates, revitalizes and expands what tradition means by including new experiences that are meaningful and relevant to Indigenous peoples. In particular, Conlon points to the ways in which Nakai is influencing and inspiring a whole new generation of Indigenous musicians.

John-Carlos Perea (Mescalero Apache) (2012) situates Indigenous jazz musician Jim Pepper’s diverse musical influences within the context of the unexpected, and more specifically, how Pepper challenged expectations, especially those concerning Indigenous people’s participation in jazz. Likewise, Bill Siegel (2016) explores how Jim Pepper’s music combined traditional and contemporary genres. Examining the success of Pepper’s song “Witchi Tai To,” Siegel suggests that the song’s success is due to Pepper’s ability to expand traditional music to include lived experiences in a meaningful way. By using and merging his experiences and influences, Pepper articulates and affirms his identity, thus enabling others to do the same. Gabriela Raquel Rios’ (2016) text bolsters Siegel’s findings, namely the way in which Pepper influenced other Indigenous musicians and helped them to affirm their identity and sense of

belonging. In particular, Rios argues that Joy Harjo's (Muscogee Creek) cover of "Witchi Tai To" "recalls a movement when American Indians were strongly asserting their sovereignty through the popular music scene" (2016, 119). In this way, Harjo evokes autonomy and reignites a sense of belonging for herself and her audience.

It is within these texts and ideas about Indigenous Modernity that I situate aspects of my dissertation. In particular, I explore how the recontextualization of *katajjaq* adds new meaning to a cultural practice. Moreover, I draw on how Nelson's expansion of *katajjaq* to include new creative opportunities provided by a contemporary music genre such as hip hop makes *katajjaq* relatable to Inuit today. The inclusion of current lived experiences enhances *katajjaq's* relevance because it fosters and sustains identity. In the process of recontextualizing *katajjaq*, Inuit musicians and culture bearers also challenge settler and colonial assumptions of what Inuit music is and how it should sound.

Ethnomusicology of the Individual

Ethnomusicology's concern with the individual is not a new or recent phenomenon. Among the earliest publications about individual agency is Bruno Nettl's "Biography of a Blackfoot Indian Singer" (1968). Continuing into the 1980s and 1990s, ethnomusicologists increasingly concerned themselves with highlighting individual experiences within various musical cultures. The formal usage of the "ethnomusicology of the individual" began in 2001, when Johnathan Stock employed the concept in response to a growing number of individual-centered and biographical studies. He observes that individually focused analyses are "primarily a new of way of writing, a new focus of attention, and not necessarily a new way of working at the data-gathering level" (Stock 2001, 6). Moreover, he notes that the rise of individual studies is

due to "a reconceptualization of 'culture' as a mosaic of individual decisions, evaluations, actions, and interactions; consequently, a desire to draw attention to individual cultural agency" (Stock 2001, 10). The increase in individualized investigations is paralleled by the breadth of topics ethnomusicologists explore. For instance, some scholars use individual experiences to examine broader cultural and musical trends, while others examine how individual stories inform topics like identity and belonging. Within their studies, ethnomusicologists have also explored and scrutinized how individual-centered narratives are constructed and reported.

i. The Individual and Broader Trends

Ethnomusicological attention to how individual stories and experiences inform broader practices and trends have been discussed by Bruno Nettl (1968) and Judith Vander (1988), among others. Bruno Nettl's investigation of the personal, communal, musical, and social life of a Blackfoot musician is among the earliest ethnomusicological portraits of a single performer. In favour of including biography in his analysis, Nettl says his study "is a picture of an Indian singer's personality that does much to explain current attitudes towards traditional Indian music on the Blackfoot Indian reservation" (1968, 200). Likewise, Judith Vander presents the musical biography of five Wind River Shoshone women. Noting that individual stories are smaller fragments of a much larger narrative that is continuously changing and adapting to new circumstances, Vander explores how the diverse viewpoints of five women create "an archaeological slice of Shoshone music making in this century" (Vander 1988, 287).[20] In other words, individual agency and variation within collective practices demonstrates the ways in

[20] Ruth Hellier (2013) imagines these smaller fragments as "frames in a film," or "fragments in a mosaic, and threads in a tapestry, all of which are important and rich in their own right, and yet are embedded in much larger and more complex soundscapes and environments" (10).

which such practices evolve. Charlotte Frisbie and David McAllester (1978) also highlight broader musical and cultural trends and change. However, what sets their work apart is the way in which they attempt to shift authorial power to their musical subject, Frank Mitchell. By chronologically collating his life story (written in the first person) with archival research and fieldnotes, their text highlights larger aspects of Navajo Blessingway ceremonies.

These texts inform my understanding of how Nelson's beatboxing points to broader trends in the practice of *katajjaq*. By focusing on one musician and analyzing what *katajjaq* means to him, I highlight how Nelson's practice is a small aspect of a much larger tradition. Furthermore, my survey of other throat singers in conjunction with Nelson's viewpoints underscore how vocal games do more than provide entertainment. How individual agency and variation demonstrate broader trends in how *katajjaq* is changing and evolving becomes clearer.

ii. The Individual and Belonging

By placing emphasis on the individual, ethnomusicologists Katelyn Barney (2013), Christine Yano (2013) and Louise Wrazen (2013b) draw attention to identity and belonging. For instance, Katelyn Barney discusses how one Indigenous woman connects music to her familial history, identity, and ancestral lands. Barney posits that Lexine Solomon, a Torres Strait Islander who grew up in Australia, addresses a "sense of illegitimacy and unbelonging" because she did not grow up in the islands (Barney 2013, 137); Solomon's music and singing allow her to engage with her place within, and connection to, her ancestral lands, customs, traditions, and culture. Barney proposes that Solomon, as part of the Torres Strait Islander diaspora in Australia, "uses her songs to celebrate and make ties with the Torres Strait and affirm for other mainland Torres Strait Islanders that constructing an Islander identity is possible and can be lived out through

song" (2013, 143). Likewise, Christine Yano (2013) examines the particularities of a female Korean singer whose career is built on singing *enka*, a sentimental Japanese genre. Analyzing an historic performance in 1999, Yano uses the event to demonstrate how individual experience and agency point to broader geo-political histories, as well as the multiplicity of cultures and identities present within a singular performance and performer. Similarly, Louise Wrazen (2013b) demonstrates how one woman uses music to maintain a living cultural tradition in a new home setting. Drawing attention to how a musical practice allows an individual or community to mediate between regional cultural traditions and new surroundings, Wrazen also highlights how current lived experiences inform living traditions.

While these studies focus on identity and belonging in diasporic settings, they help me to locate how *katajjaq* creates and sustains individual and communal identity. As I discuss in chapter five, Nelson uses *katajjaq* to foster identity and belonging in other Inuit. In contrast, throat singers like Tanya Tagaq and Evie Mark use vocal games to create and sustain their own sense of identity and belonging in particular settings. More specifically, Mark uses *katajjaq* to instill (in herself) a sense of belonging to her community and Tagaq uses *katajjaq* to maintain a sense of belonging to her community while away at school. In this way, my analysis of Tagaq and Mark in chapter four contributes to Wrazen's discussion of how cultural practices are negotiated in new surroundings.

iii. Constructing the Individual

While some scholars emphasize how the ethnomusicology of the individual provides insight into broader cultural trends, culture and belonging, others have chosen to interrogate the conscious construction of the individual itself. Namely, scholars have criticized how biographies

reflect specific narrative choices, values, and the positionality of the author(s). Although Charlotte Frisbie and David McAllester (1978) took creative liberty by writing in the first person, others like Jonathan Stock (1996), and Joseph Lam (2001) have examined how musical biographies are written. Of particular interest is Stock's compilation of pre-existing biographical texts about Chinese folk musician Abing. By examining multiple biographies, Stock notes how they have been constructed to suit the authors' objectives. Due to the idealisation of Abing's life, and the ways in which facts were manipulated to suit the story or "plot," Stock expects the reader to sort through fact and fiction. Likewise, Joseph Lam analyzes existing biographies of Jiang Kui.[21] Noting how biographies reflect the specific narrative choices and values of the author, Lam questions the writing process and how biographers choose to privilege specific narratives (e.g., nationalism) over others. For Lam, the act of writing musical biographies must transcend disciplines so that nuanced narratives more accurately describe the life and music of an individual.

Regula Burckhardt Qureshi (2001) positions the life and music of Begum Akhtar within the larger scope of Hindustani music, and inside the undervalued role of female participation in a male-dominated musical world. Like Stock, she presents contested background information about Akhtar's life with the explicit understanding that readers will have to construct their own meaning. However, Qureshi also acknowledges her own role and subject position as a female researcher and her intent as the biographer, noting "the biographically historicized individual is inevitably a collage of unacknowledged subjectivities fashioned in a personal story by the author" (Qureshi 2001, 107).

[21] Similarly, Robert Provine (2000) sorts through existing biographical materials (primary and secondary sources) about Korean theorist and musicologist Pak Yon. Since these documents are intended for a Korean audience, Provine examines government records and Yon's calligraphy among other documents to "recast them for a Western audience, employing the gradually developing concepts of historical ethnomusicology" (2000, 1).

I am drawn to these texts because they inform my understanding of how to construct the individual. Namely, these authors provide excellent examples of how a musical biography can be written and the ethical, political, and academic implications of these choices. This dissertation is the first and only text (at the time of writing) to focus on Nelson Tagoona, and while he has conducted interviews with many media outlets, none will have had constant access to him over a seven-year period as I have. In this way, this dissertation provides a portrait of a musician over a specific time-period and situates Nelson's music and life against the backdrops of broad cultural practices. As I discuss in chapter five, Nelson engages in hip hop culture and uses beatboxing to recontextualize *katajjaq*. Therefore, my construction of Nelson's musical biography is rooted at the intersection of popular music and *katajjaq*. At this intersection also lie issues of ethics and the need to present a story that is culturally appropriate for Nelson and his community. Thus, the studies noted above help me to be reflective and conscious of how I tell Nelson's musical story.

iv. Narrating the Individual

Regula Burckhardt Qureshi's (2001) reflective approach to her musical biography sets her work apart from others, namely the way in which she addresses gender and power dynamics in her working relationships with male musicians. Qureshi's reflexive approach to her work, and awareness of her position as a white scholar and woman, led her to hypothesize about the importance of biography and the ethnomusicology of the individual. Moving beyond individual agency and variation, her observation indicates the potential benefits of including women in individual-centered studies about Hindustani music. Amelia Maciszewski (2001) also makes a distinct narrative choice in her discussion of six female North Indian musicians. Influenced by Judith Vander (1988) and Joan Erdman (1997), Maciszewski aims to present an assisted

biographical vignette. In particular, she presents her analysis in a dialogic format, and privileges the oral narratives and cultural knowledge of the six women.[22] Rather than lead each woman through a series of questions for the purpose of her own master narrative and end goal, Maciszewski's commentaries and questions are omitted or worked into the narratives of the musicians. By emphasizing *their* stories, she is working towards shifting the power structure and imbalance inherently involved in Western-centered ethnography.

I am influenced by these texts because they enable me to construct a narrative about Nelson that privileges multiple points of views and understandings. My experiences with him are presented as stories (like the one that preceded this chapter) that interrupt the standard narrative flow of doctoral dissertations. As each story unfolds, the reader is given an account of my time with Nelson, his family and community. In this chapter, as well as chapters four and five, the reader is able to read and hear Nelson's perspectives in his own words and voice. In combination, this format allows for multiple viewpoints and emphasizes how stories and musical biographies can be told and experienced in different ways.

Of the studies surveyed in this section, it is clear that a focus on individual lived experiences provides a glimpse into musical worlds where individual agency and variation are fragments or mosaics of broader practices. These mosaics provide rich details about the intersections between personal and musical life, identity construction, belonging, and the creative or political choices that inform music making. Despite the fact that these individuals have always constituted musical communities, an increased effort in ethnomusicological research to highlight their presence emphasizes the myriad of intersections between race, gender and continuity and

[22] See Anna Hoefnagels and Beverley Diamond (2012) for examples of dialogic discussions and interviews that highlight individual voices and perspectives.

change. It is here that I situate my work. In particular, I seek to answer a question Louise Wrazen (2013b) raises. She posits that her paper "considers the musical construction of the social persona and revolves around the question 'Who is singing?'" (Wrazen 2013b, 147). Ellen Koskoff takes this question one step further and asks:

> If identities are multiple, then who is the who in "Who is singing?" If we answer that question through carefully detailed and nuanced portraits […] the Who will not only become clear, but also the Why and the What of musical and P/political performances. (2013, 224)

Early ethnomusicological investigations about *katajjaq* provide general descriptions but offer very little detail about the personal and musical lives of the women partaking in its practice. By focusing on Nelson and his agency, while also highlighting aspects of other throat singers' lives, I will expand the scope of work about *katajjaq* and highlight how a singular variation both enlivens a living tradition and simultaneously enriches ethnomusicological understandings of vocal games.

Methodology

Many of the Indigenous-centred methodologies I employ are rooted in and guided by the political and moral principles of Critical Indigenous Pedagogy (CIP). CIP aims to honour "the experiences of indigenous persons" and builds on "these experiences to construct empowering cultures of compassion and care" (Darder et al. 2003, 11). As such, I engage with Indigenous-centered epistemologies and ontologies that are ethical and grounded in Indigenous experience including storytelling, remembering and testimonies, reflexivity, relationality and reciprocity.

Storytelling

Stories or storytelling as a counternarrative is used to disrupt the impact of colonialism on Indigenous knowledges.[23] A powerful decolonial research method, Indigenous scholars use storytelling to articulate a myriad of topics. For instance, Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes that:

> Stories are ways of passing down the beliefs and values of a culture in the hope that the new generations will treasure them and pass the story down further. The story and the story teller both serve to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people and the people with the story. (1999, 145-146)

Like Smith, Margaret Kovach (Cree) (2009) notes that stories are deeply connected to ways of knowing and being and give voice to the marginalized. Kovach (2009) and Russel Bishop (Ngati Pukeko and Tainui tribes of New Zealand) (1996) suggest that stories are a culturally appropriate tool to honour and represent a variety of truths and experiences. In this way, the storyteller has control and ownership of their experience rather than the researcher. Likewise, Jo-ann Archibald (Stó:lō) (2008) observes that stories are a culturally appropriate method because they create a respectful relationship between the storyteller and listener; one that is based on reciprocity that sustains oral cultures.[24]

Stories, as they appear in my dissertation, are related to *katajjaq* and Inuit history. I rely on biography and life stories told to me by Nelson and other Inuit musicians and artists. In addition, I include stories and experiences published in the Truth and Reconciliation report as well as various other publications. Stories told *by* me about my experiences are not intended to

[23] Cree scholar Shawn Wilson (2008) is perhaps the best example of how an Indigenous researcher can use story as method. See also Daniel Taylor (1996), Angela Cavender Wilson (Pezihutazizi Otunwe) (1996), Drew Hayden Taylor (Curve lake First nation) (1996), Carlton Smith (1998), Ines Hernandez-Avilla (Nez Perce) (2002), Karl Kroeber (2004), Joanne Archibald (Stó:lō) (2008) and Margaret Kovach (2009). For an example of how academics have incorporated storytelling in their research, see Heather Harris (2002), Judy Iseke (Métis) and Brennus (2011) and Chi'Xapkaid (Skokomish Nation) (2005). For ethnomusicological examples see Klisala Harrison (2009), Monique Giroux (2005) and Annette Chrétian (Métis) (2012).

[24] Archibald is also known as Q'um Q'um Xiiem.

compete, undermine, or silence Inuit voices. Rather, they are intended to offer another perspective, one that will hopefully provide insight to the multiplicity of meanings, connections, and experiences evident in singular events.

Remembering and Testimony

Other counternarratives used to decolonize research methodologies include remembering and testimonies.[25] Although lengthy, I quote Linda Tuhiwai Smith's explanations of remembering and testimony, as she articulates these terms from an Indigenous perspective; her words, coming out of her own experience and understanding, are significant:

> Remembering: The remembering of a people relates more specifically not so much to an idealized remembering of a golden past but more specifically to the remembering of a painful past, remembering in terms of connecting bodies with place and experience, and, importantly, people's responses to that pain. While collectively indigenous communities can talk through the history of traumatic events, there are frequent silences and intervals in the stories about what happened after the event. Often there is no collective remembering as communities were systematically ripped apart, children were removed for adoption, and extended families separated across different reserves and national boundaries. In these experiences the obliteration of memory was a deliberate strategy of oppression. The aftermath of such pain was borne by individuals or smaller family units, sometimes unconsciously, or consciously obliterated through alcohol, violence and self-destruction. Communities often turned inward and let their suffering give way to a desire to be dead. Violence and family abuse became entrenched in communities which had no hope. White society did not see and did not care. This form of remembering is painful because it involves remembering not just what colonization was about but what being dehumanized meant for our own cultural practices. (1999, 147).
>
> Testimonies: Testimonies intersect with claiming because they are a means through which oral evidence is presented to a particular type of audience. There is a formality to testimonies and a notion that truth is being revealed 'under oath'. Indigenous testimonies are a way of talking about an extremely painful event or series of events. The formality of testimony provides a structure within which events can be related and feelings expressed. A testimony is also a form through which the voice of a 'witness' is accorded space and

[25] Notably, remembering and testimonies were integral to Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. See Dylan Robinson and Keavy Martin's (2016) edited book for examples of how remembering and testimonies are included in academic literature. See chapters (from the previous volume) by Beverley Diamond and Byron Dueck for ethnomusicological examples.

> protection. It can be constructed as a monologue and as a public performance. The structure of testimony — its formality, context and sense of immediacy — appeals to many indigenous participants, particularly elders. It is an approach that translates well to a formal written document. While the listener may ask questions, testimonies structure the responses, silencing certain types of questions and formalizing others. *Testimonio* is more familiar to Latin American contexts as a narrative of collective memory: it has become one of a number of literary methods for making sense of histories, of voices and representation, and of the political narrative of oppression (1999, 145).

Indigenous historian Devon Abbott Mihesuah (Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma) elaborates further, suggesting that "names, dates, and places are only part of the picture" and that remembering, and testimony should be included in history and archival data (2008, 148). Critical of history as a discipline, she suggests that academic gatekeepers do not consider oral stories or histories as worthy of attention. Instead, gate keepers insist that "only 'real Indians' lived in the past and therefore, modern Natives only possess 'mythological' stories" (Mihesuah 2008, 148).[26] As such, remembering and testimony are important counternarratives because they provide an equitable space for Indigenous people to have their voices and experiences heard.

The use of remembering and testimony are widely used in recollecting how historical trauma has affected Indigenous communities. Waziyatawin[27] (Wahpetunwan Dakota) and Michael Yellow Bird (Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara) note that "as Indigenous peoples we can empower ourselves and initiate our own healing processes from historical and contemporary injustices by speaking the truth about those injustices" (Waziyatawin and Bird 2005, 6). In other words, testimony or truth telling fosters and enables individual and communal healing because speaking publicly about injustices committed against Indigenous peoples challenges dominant narratives.

[26] For an example of the type of discussion Mihesuah criticizes, see William Lyon (1994), where he suggests that the Navajo people and other Indigenous nations rely on myth and do not have memory of their past because they are ahistorical.
[27] Waziyatawin is also known as Angela Cavender Wilson. She has published extensively under both names.

Relatively new "methods," remembering and testimony are integral in the ongoing struggle to decolonize research, and in the restoration process of Indigenous sovereignty. Although testimony will not be treated formally (i.e., truth telling under oath) in my dissertation, it will be included in the form of published testimony from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. In addition, I use testimony as a methodology where participants are left to share what they want outside the context of a formal interview, so no questions are asked and the speaker is given the time and opportunity to say what they want. In my experience, this type of testimony has been particularly useful in situations where sensitive or highly emotional life stories or events are discussed.

For example, after a difficult day of rehearsals for the Canada Day concert in Qamani'tuaq, Nelson and I, accompanied by another performer, drove out of town for about fifteen minutes. Earlier in the day, Nelson mentioned the possibility of doing an interview in the evening, so I made sure to take my recording equipment with me. Rehearsal was difficult, not just because we had less than 24 hours to pull everything together, but because we learned just hours earlier one of Nelson's family member's had died by suicide. Unsure, and feeling unequipped to deal with such an emotional, traumatic, and tragic issue in the field, but wanting to support Nelson's need to talk, we conducted a relaxed "interview" where I asked Nelson to share his thoughts and talk about what he wanted to. I didn't ask questions. What transpired next, I suggest, was an informal oral testimony, structured around an immediate need to discuss a painful event. Centered around Nelson's experience of seeing suicide claim the lives of youth in his community and throughout Nunavut, he provided his testimony in the form of a monologue. He let his emotions and experience speak. Nelson's oral testimony speaks to a very specific

event, and to one that plagues the lives of many Inuit youth and adults in various communities. This was the third suicide that year in Qamani'tuaq, and it was only July.

Reflexivity

In addition to the counternarratives I have discussed so far, I will use reflexivity throughout my study to acknowledge the power structures that are embedded in my relationship with Nelson and the various Indigenous musicians and artists consulted in my dissertation. As a researcher, I hold a privileged position over the Indigenous peoples and communities that inform my work. Reflexivity seeks to interrogate power structures through self-reflection or autoethnography. For Margaret Kovach, autoethnography "brings together the study of self (auto) in relation to culture (ethnography)" and "moves beyond field notes to having a more integral positioning within the research process and the construction of knowledge itself (2009, 33).[28] Since self-awareness is central to knowledge production, reflexivity enables researchers to critically examine power and privilege that is embedded in conducting research. Reflexivity, then, is central to decolonizing research because it acknowledges representation and power dynamics. It also helps to identify biases within research and acknowledges how subjectivity may influence the research process. In other words, self-reflexivity can be anti-oppressive if the researcher is able to identify and locate themselves in relation to their work and use their position to address power structures embedded in their research process.

Kathy Absolon (Anishinaabe) and Cam Willett (Cree) suggest that "our ancestors gave us membership into nations and traditions" so self-location "both remembers and 're-members' us

[28] For a discussion of how reflexivity and autoethnography contribute to knowledge construction, see Max Van Manen (2001). Van Manen observes that self-locating reveals the guiding principles that shape our lives and research questions and how we identify and accept knowledge and truth. For an ethnomusicological example of reflexivity, see Mary Piercey (2012).

to those things" (2004, 123). For this reason, self-location is important because it allows us to show the position from which we write and create knowledge and anchors our experiences to our motives when conducting and interpreting research.[29]

In some cases, self-location presents itself as an introduction of the author to the reader, where the author is able to position themselves (i.e., situate themselves to the nation they belong, nation-specific teachings, and belief systems that guide research questions and methodologies, etc.). Examples of how Indigenous scholars use introductions to self-locate include Linda Tuhiwai Smith, who locates herself as Maori and writes "from the vantage point of the colonized," a position that she chooses to privilege (1999, 1). Margaret Kovach locates herself as a Cree woman whose relations are of the Pasqua and Kanese First Nations. Kovach situates her introduction in a prologue so that the reader can "make sense of the story to follow" (2009, 3). For Kovach, the "prologue structures space for introductions while serving a bridging function for non-Indigenous readers" (2009, 3):

> I am introducing myself purposefully in this prologue for it is relational work. In community, I would share this through talk, I would give enough information about my lineage and those who raised me for people to "sess me out". People would nod; I would know if they understand. (2009, 3)

Perhaps the most clever text that explores self-location comes from Shawn Wilson (2008), who introduces himself to the reader through a foreword and conclusion (written as one chapter). He aims to deconstruct dominant western approaches of presenting research by discussing how his position informs his work. Wilson notes that his life stories and experiences help to build a relationship with the reader. In this way, the reciprocal relationship embedded within storytelling allows the listener/reader to locate the storyteller within a broader narrative. Portions of Wilson's text are also written and directed to his sons (presented in letter form, in a distinctly different

[29] See also Edward Said (1994) and William Tierney (2002).

font), adding yet another layer of self-location, so that his sons will be able to situate their father, their Cree culture, heritage and themselves through the stories he tells. Although Wilson addresses his sons throughout the text in various letters to them, he also acknowledges the fact that the letters also help the reader to locate him as an Indigenous man, father, and academic.

Reflexivity or self-location exemplify how self-reflection may allow for a new perspective, where the researcher and reader are able to identify their role in the meaning-making process. Self-location and reflexivity make clear our personal experiences, academic motivations and the scope, purpose and questions that guide our inquiry. As such, the use of this type of method "is a precursory signal to the careful reader that woven throughout the varied forms of our writing – analytical, reflective, expository – there will be story, for our story is who we are" (Kovach 2009, 3-4).

Given the importance of reflexivity in deconstructing power structures, I will also use reflexivity throughout my research process as a way to find balance between my privileged position as an academic, and Nelson as the subject. I will be reflexive by journaling my interactions with Nelson and other participants and using my findings to deconstruct my position as a researcher; I will identify ways that I may be imposing (knowingly or unknowingly) my biases, power and privilege on Nelson or any other musicians or artist I consult. Many aspects of reflexivity (especially those outlined by Wilson and Kovach) and self-location are closely related and transferable to what Fyre Jean Graveline (Métis) terms "self-in-relation" (1998, 52).

Relationality and Reciprocity

Graveline asserts that we learn in relation to others, so using methodologies that promote self-reflexivity allow us to share stories and experiences that simultaneously demonstrate our

relationships with participants, communities, and cultures. Margaret Kovach (2009) observes that self-location or self-in-relation leads to cultural identification. So, Indigenous researchers will "locate" or identify themselves as a member of an Indigenous Nation and articulate the cultural experiences and Indigenous epistemologies that guide their work. What Graveline calls self-in-relation, other Indigenous scholars have termed "relational accountability."[30] One of the most comprehensive explanations of relational accountability comes from Shawn Wilson who says that "all things are related and therefore relevant' (2008, 58). Likewise, Graveline explains, "that which trees exhale, I inhale. That which I exhale, the trees inhale" (1998, 57). In other words, being relationally accountable is to "conduct research in a good way" or to be mindful of and use ethics as a methodology where reciprocity is the starting point (Kovach 2009, 19).

Shawn Wilson (2001) and Evelyn Steinhauer (2002) see relational accountability as a distinguishing factor between a Western research paradigm (which favours individuality) and an Indigenous paradigm that is embedded in relationships. Manulani Aluli Meyer (Mokapu, Kailua, Wailuku, Hilo and Kohala on the islands of Oahu, Maui and Moki O Keawe) (2001) notes that Indigenous knowledge systems are built on relationships between people, places, the environment and the universe. In this way, Indigenous epistemology is knowledge in relationship to worldviews, culture, history, and language. Ultimately, what becomes clear is that relationality is fundamental to working in ethically appropriate ways, especially as it relates to Indigenous peoples and communities.

One way to enact relationality is to identify and name research participants. Shawn Wilson describes how naming participants explains the relational transmission of knowledge:

> I would like to use the real names of everyone I worked with on this research, so that you will know exactly whom I am writing about. This goes against the rules of most university ethical research policies. However, how can I be held accountable to the

[30] For an ethnomusicological example of relational accountability, see Mary Piercey (2012).

> relationships I have with these people if I don't name them? How can they be held accountable to their own teachers if their words and relationships are deprived of names? (Wilson 2008, 63)

Margaret Kovach also articulates that naming Indigenous participants "allows for a form of accountability that is found within oral cultures" (2009, 48-49). She goes on to say that naming participants "matters because our stories are our truth and knowledge" and that "it is about standing behind one's words and recognizing collective protocol, that one's accountable for one's words. It is difficult to honour this cultural tradition if it is disallowed" (2009, 148).

Shawn Wilson explores the relationship between relationality and cultural appropriation. I quote him at length to demonstrate how relationality encompasses cultural transmission and the significance of relational knowledge:

> So the way I see it, gaining knowledge is more like being married to someone—you don't own your spouse or children but you do share a special relationship. It is a relationship that you are accountable to. And therefore it becomes cultural appropriation when someone comes and uses that knowledge out of its context, out of the special relationships that went into forming it. You have to build a relationship with an idea or with knowledge, just like you have to with anything or anyone else. That's why I think that guardianship is probably a better word for the intergenerational relationship that forms between Indigenous people and sacred knowledge and places. Traditional owners or guardians have built up a relationship for generations with the knowledge that they are entitled to. For someone else to come along and use this knowledge in an inappropriate manner is like raping that relationship. You know that sexual exploitation and total denigration of our humanity was a big part of colonialism. Now that is taking place with our ideas and knowledge. Our knowledge is being stripped of its relationships and being used without accountability…I think this is also why it's important to name our Elders or where we are getting our information from. We need to honour the relationships that *they* share with the knowledge *we* are writing down for our research. We don't claim ownership over it then. We need to name that relationship, so that, well, we're not claiming it, but saying where it came from and what those relationships were that went into making it. That way we can be held accountable to those Elders, those relationships. (Wilson 2008, 114-115)

The concept of relational accountability is also aligned to what Linda Tuhiwai Smith calls "connectedness". Smith conceives of connectedness in relation to "connecting people to

their traditional lands through the restoration of specific rituals and practices"; therefore, connectedness realizes the value and relevance of relatedness (1999, 149):

> Connectedness positions individuals in sets of relationships with other people and with the environment. Many indigenous creation stories link people through genealogy to the land, to stars and other places in the universe, to birds and fish, animals, insects and plants. To be connected is to be whole. (Smith 1999, 149)

If relational accountability and connectedness "implies wholeness," then researchers must work ethically and be culpable to all the relationships we build so that our work, too, can be whole. Relationships, in this case, move beyond friendships:

> Identity for Indigenous peoples is grounded in their relationships with the land, with their ancestors who have returned to the land and with future generations who will come into being on the land. Rather than viewing ourselves as being *in* relationship with other people or things, we *are* the relationships that we hold and are part of....
>
> A key to being included is not only the work that you have done in the past but how well you have connected with others in the community during the course of your work. Thus, the strength of your bonds or relationships with the community is an equally valued component of your work (Wilson 2008, 80-81).

Another way of being relationally accountable is to ensure that the people who choose to participate in academic studies are given every opportunity to structure the research process. This includes, but is not limited to, constructing the hypothesis and methodology. In addition, participants must be given the opportunity to assess their contributions, make changes and approve the ways in which their knowledge and teachings are presented and analyzed. This type of shared knowledge production allows Indigenous participants to have some control of the research process including data collection, analyses, and outcomes, thereby shifting some power to the participant; therefore, instead of being a participant in a research protocol that is controlled by an academic, this type of collaboration allows the participant to have a voice in how their teachings are represented and interpreted.

Relational accountability encompassed in my study is multi-layered. First, I identify as a twice displaced colonized woman, person of colour and Indo-Fijian and South Pacific Islander. As such, relationality requires that I be accountable to my family and honour those relations that connect me to my ancestral lands and the traditional epistemologies of the Republic of Fiji. As a fourth-generation Fijian, I grew up with a deep understanding of my lineage and ancestral knowledge. My position, then, requires me to honour the traditions, values and teachings that were taught to me by my parents, grandparents, and home community. Many of these customs are encompassed in respect and reciprocity and underlay how I come to understand the world. These teachings will extend to my research process.

Second, I will hold myself accountable to my family, as well as Nelson and his family, as they have welcomed me into their homes and lives and have offered me uncompromising love, respect, friendship and access to Inuit culture and knowledge. Being accountable and respectful here means that I understand that the knowledge shared with me does not belong to me. Although I will be allowed access to cultural knowledge and allowed to share knowledge imparted to me, the ownership will always belong to Nelson and others who have willingly shared their experiences with me. Accountability here also means that I will be respectful of the knowledge shared with me, and comply if I am asked for names, history, family and life stories, and cultural knowledge to remain private. As such, Nelson and his family have access to my research from its early stages up to its completion, including all interview, audio and visual material of Nelson. Furthermore, a completed hard copy and electronic version of my dissertation (including all audio/visual material) will be given to Nelson Tagoona and his family, as well as the Baker Lake Heritage Center. Being accountable and respectful also means that Nelson will have every opportunity to be involved in my writing process to ensure that he has

access and control over the knowledge he shares with me. He will have input about what is written and how interview material is analyzed, represented, and interpreted. I will rely on Nelson to edit, change, and adjust my writing about him so I may represent his beliefs accurately. In cases where Inuit musicians and artists (in addition to Nelson) are interviewed, data collected will also be shared with them (i.e., if they agree to conduct an in-person interview, they will receive an electronic copy of the recording and a hardcopy of the transcription). Doing so will enable these interviewees to use this data for whatever purpose they see fit.

Third, I will be reciprocal in my research partnership by sharing my cultural knowledge with Nelson and his family so that we may build a relationship based on cultural exchange that allows us to learn and understand the ways in which we express and enact reciprocity that is culturally appropriate and meaningful to both myself and the Tagoona family. In this way, we are building mutual pathways of consideration that allows us to better understand the vantage point from which we come.

Finally, to work towards balancing power structures already embedded in research, and to be reciprocal in how my dissertation is presented and disseminated, all interview material will be published in multiple ways. For face-to-face interviews, I will provide a video-clip and text version of the quote I use. Rather than transcribe the interview and present quotes in written format only, using a video clip where the reader is able to see and hear the interviewee places some power and authority with the speaker, rather than solely with the researcher or the written word. For interviews completed via email, quotes will appear exactly as written by the interviewee. Where possible, interviewees will be asked to recite and record their quote so that an audio file is available along with the written text. In this way, some power will remain with the voice of the speaker rather than the written word. In choosing to provide interview material

in different ways, I am working towards reciprocity in that data is not exclusively presented according to dominant western research paradigms. Rather, my intention as an allied other is to perform a small action toward decolonizing academic research.[31] Moreover, relying on multiple mediums like audio and visual material allows for an important living oral tradition like *katajjaq* and oral culture to remain as close to its intended context as possible. I do not provide musical transcriptions of *katajjaq* for the same reason. Where necessary, I do reproduce transcriptions made by others to illustrate their effectiveness as it relates to prior research conducted on *katajjaq*.

Ethnographies and Interviews

Some of the methodologies I use also encompass ethnomusicological and anthropological practices such as ethnographies and interviews with Nelson and other Inuit musicians and artists. Aspects of two ethnographies appear in this dissertation. My first story details my first meeting with Nelson and the fourth describes his performance with the Toronto Symphony Orchestra (TSO). My ethnographies were initially written with vivid details that described each event. Following each ethnography, I also wrote a separate reflexive account of each experience where I described my observations and included more expressive aspects like how I felt before, during and after the event. This process enabled me to reflect on specific aspects of my ethnographies and interrogate my privileged position as a scholar. By examining my observations and my reactions to those observations I considered how I might be knowingly and unknowingly making assumptions or imposing my biases, power and privilege on Nelson, his community or on

[31] Decolonizing also means that I will use traditional place names. When quoting early scholarly texts that use older place names, I provide the current Inuktitut name in square brackets. For consistency, when I refer to places outside of a direct quote, I use current Inuktitut names. I maintain this practice throughout my dissertation for continuity.

Indigenous peoples overall. By combining ethnographies with self-reflexivity, I am able to present my experiences to the reader in a way that clearly situates my positionality throughout various stages of my dissertation.

A reflexive approach also helped me to develop and define my research questions because I was able to combine observations and emotions and approach Nelson and other interviewees from a more personal perspective. By relating their performance(s) or music to how they made me feel, I was able to facilitate and sustain a more intimate, comfortable, and approachable interview setting.

Personal interviews with the five Inuit musicians (Nelson Tagoona, Christine Tootoo, Charles Keelan, Tanya Tagaq and Kelly Fraser) who inform my dissertation were conducted in several ways.[32] In addition to face-to-face conversations, I relied on email and phone interviews, especially when travel to Nunavut (or elsewhere) was not possible due to the participant travelling and/or touring. Both Charles Keelan and Christine Tootoo preferred email interviews because it gave them time to reflect and write about their individual perspectives on their own time. Charles liked to reflect on interview material over a period of several weeks or months and send me amendments to his earlier thoughts. In some cases, he expanded on his ideas and/or sent me reflective notes or poems; at other times, he compiled a collection of free-flowing written texts to keep me updated about his current thoughts and experiences. In this way, interviews and conversations over email were useful because they allowed Charles to send me his thoughts on his own time, and the restrictions of meeting in the same place or at the same time did not limit

[32] In addition to these five interviewees, I consulted several other Inuit musicians; however, their perspectives are not included in my dissertation. After the sudden passing of Kelly Fraser, many musicians expressed their need to mourn and to reflect on her death. While they did not withdraw consent, I did not complete my interviews and chose to move forward with my dissertation without re-traumatizing them.

our ability to share thoughts and create ideas. This process of sharing ultimately led to phone calls where we could further discuss his ideas and experiences. Tanya Tagaq also preferred email interviews because she had just given birth and couldn't designate a specified amount of time for a phone interview. My first interview with Nelson was also conducted via email because his travel schedule did not give us enough time to conduct a face-to-face interview. In other cases, interviews were conducted over phone calls. For instance, Kelly Fraser preferred to have informal interviews that centered around conversations about various topics that interested us.

I primarily relied on the snowball method to conduct interviews. Interviewees like Charles and Christine were recommended through Nelson, while I approached Tanya and Kelly on my own. Nelson also recommended that I interview Evie Mark, Iva, Riit and Charlotte Qamaniq; however, due to touring schedules and personal issues (i.e., the death of a family member or friend), they were unable to conduct formal interviews. In this case, I use interview material available in the public domain.

Although Charlotte Qamaniq and I did not conduct an interview together, she informed various aspects of this dissertation through informal and personal conversations about *katajjaq* and Inuit life in general. In fact, informal and personal conversations during my field research with various Inuit community members, artists and culture bearers are my primary resources because they helped me to better understand Inuit life and culture, and the role of *katajjaq* in their lives. The insights imparted to me by the people who live in Inuit Nunangaat helped me to situate Inuit life within the parameters of colonial history, politics, and arts practices. These conversations also allowed me to reflect on formal interviews because they put into context how Inuit life, history and culture are experienced and discussed.

Reflecting on discussions with community members was an integral practice during my two field research trips to Qamani'tuaq. These conversations helped me to debrief my experiences in Qamani'tuaq and shaped my understanding of life in a small Inuit hamlet. For example, during my second trip in 2019, I was confronted by the assistant manager of a grocery store for taking pictures of food prices. He approached me from behind and coarsely told me that I wasn't allowed to take pictures inside the store. As soon as I turned around, his demeanor changed, and he was apologetic for his rude behaviour. While I documented this experience in my fieldnotes that evening, it wasn't until I'd had a conversation with Nelson's mom a few days later that I understood what had happened. According to Nelson's mom, Grace, the assistant manager was new to Qamani'tuaq and had a history of being rude to community members. Upon reflection, I realized the complexity of this interaction.

While I was taking pictures of high food prices for a greenhouse project, the assistant manager saw an opportunity to berate someone he interpreted to be a community member. Since he only saw me from the back, he assumed I was Inuk until I turned around. His immediate change in behaviour signaled (to me) the racist and micro-aggressive behaviour many Inuit face at the hands of settler transient workers in the Arctic. Even though I am a woman of colour, this specific interaction made it abundantly clear that I held power and privilege over an Inuit community because I *wasn't* an Inuk. This is one example (of many) of how informal conversations and reflection enable my interpretation and understanding of life in an Inuit community.

In addition to ethnographies and interviews, I also refer to audio and visual materials such as CDs, DVDs, and online platforms such as YouTube and SoundCloud. These diverse forms of media allow me to analyze lyrics to contextualize and situate my ongoing work.

Overview of Chapters

This dissertation is organized into six chapters and five stories. These stories are shaped by my ethnographies and field research. They introduce the reader to Nelson and establish how he and I met seven years ago. As the stories unfold, the reader acquires more information about my work with Nelson and the experiences and knowledges that inform this dissertation. These stories are meant to intentionally interrupt the anticipated narrative flow of my dissertation. In doing so, these stories demonstrate how Indigenous-centered methodologies, such as storytelling, are powerful decolonial tools because they disrupt the effects of colonialism on Indigenous knowledges. At the same time, other Indigenous-centered methodologies like relationality are embedded in the storytelling process.

The first story (Meeting Place) chronicles my initial meeting with Nelson where I provide an overview of his vision for his Pan Am Games audition in 2015. In this story, I describe the music and experiences that inform his creative process as he thinks through his ideas.

Chapter one contextualizes my research topic, purpose, theoretical frameworks, and methodologies. A literature review about Indigenous modernity (IM) outlines the concepts and ideas that guide my work, while a literature review of the ethnomusicology of the individual situates my dissertation among other studies devoted to individual musicians. A detailed discussion of my methodologies and position as a colonized person and "allied other" orients the reader to my subject position and the ways in which these methods influence how this dissertation is presented.

My second story outlines one aspect of my field research experience. In this story I foreshadow how one specific encounter about suicide ideation and mental health in Nunavut becomes a recurring theme throughout this dissertation.

Chapter two provides a historical and cultural account of Qamani'tuaq. Here I highlight when and how Qamani'tuaq was settled, as well as the Inuit cultural groups and subgroups that encompass Qamani'tuaq's population and common cultural practices such as relationality. I also discuss government imposed political and religious ideologies that affect Qamani'tuaq residents and the broader Inuit community. In this way, I provide the reader with the background information about Qamani'tuaq that is addressed implicitly or explicitly in later chapters. For instance, the colonial practices examined in this chapter provide background information to topics such as intergenerational trauma and healing that are addressed in chapters four and five.

The third story focuses on Nelson's Canada Day concert in Qamani'tuaq. In this story I explore another aspect of my field research and discuss my involvement in filming this event for MICH. Furthermore, I explore how death by suicide and mental health affect a community. This story is also crucial to understanding my view of Nelson and how his music enables broader conversations about tradition, modernity, community outreach, trauma, and healing.

Chapters three and four provide complementary discussions about *katajjaq*. More specifically, chapter three surveys existing academic literature about Inuit vocal games. Here, I examine *katajjaq* history, performance practice and gender, sound production, subject matter and repertoire, function, and purpose. In contrast, chapter four explores vocal games outside of the academy and emphasizes the *relationship* Inuit have *with katajjaq,* namely the way in which its practice builds and/or reinforces belonging and identity. I also explore how *katajjaq* allows Inuit such as Nelson (among others) to address communal issues like intergenerational trauma, sovereignty, and environmental degradation. In this way, I build on chapter three and demonstrate how *katajjaq's* trajectory includes current lived experiences and Inuit understandings of the world.

My fourth story is an account of Nelson's premiere performance of *Adizokan* with the Toronto Symphony Orchestra (TSO) in 2017. Commissioned by the TSO as part of Canada 150, *Adizokan* brings orchestral music and Indigenous dance, filmmaking, and music to the concert stage. In partnership with Red Sky Performance, this suite was composed by Eliot Britton (Métis) and features interludes of Nelson throat boxing. Sandra Laronde (Teme-Augama Anishinaabe), the creative director of Red Sky Performance and curator of *Adizokan*, describes the suite:

> *Adizokan*, is about our "multiverse," where humans are a part of its whole albeit limited in time and space. We are not separated, but rather we are part of a multiverse that includes the underworld, earthworld, waterworld, skyworld, starworld, and spiritworld. *Adizokan* is about the need for humans to see the more-than-human world with new eyes, and to free ourselves from a restrictive human-centric way of perceiving the universe by widening our circle of compassion to embrace all living beings in their profound beauty. (Program Notes)

Elaborating further, Sandra and Eliot detail the "multiverse" and the connections or relations between all living things:

> In Anishinaabemowin, *Adizokan* means "a spiritual being that carries wisdom and knowledge." It is not necessarily "the human" who possesses wisdom. For Indigenous peoples, human life is limited and we can experience only a tiny slice of the spiritual experience. There is so much more knowledge and wisdom that resides in animals, rocks, trees, water, and the stars. We respect all life forms and all life forms have a spirit. It is a world view that is critical for a profound renewal of transformation in this era of great upheaval.
>
> Tonight's *Adizokan* is a celebration of connected threads of information that weave across the universe, linking the biological, technological, and cosmological forces through human experience. From the quiet sense of infinity that comes from a star-filled sky, to the sense of wonder that results from looking at one's own DNA sequence on a cellphone. All of these experiences bind across time. Our universe is pulsing with densely packed and expansive seas of information, flowing with messages, stories, meaning, and ways of knowing, whether it be human, hoofed, or winged.
>
> *Adizokan* is divided into seven sections as there are seven layers of the universe for Indigenous peoples. In this music composition, these seven layers trace Indigenous experience of information beginning with our evocative "Origins" and the intensely primal "Fundamental Forces" and culminating in the epic energy of "Future Skies".

> These movements are interspersed with electroacoustic/throat boxing interludes featuring Nelson Tagoona's unique integration of throat singing and beatboxing. Each section relies on computer-assisted compositional techniques to seek out, shape, and emphasize threads of connection between orchestral, vocal, Indigenous, and throat boxing sound worlds. (Program Notes)

Chapter five begins with a discussion about hip hop in Inuit communities and its prevalence in Inuit-produced media as well as its use in community-based projects. As part of this discussion, I focus on Nelson's involvement with one community-based initiative and how it inspired him. I investigate Nelson's hip hop influences and how he combines hip hop and *katajjaq* to form throat boxing. Then, I examine Nelson's practice and explore how throat boxing is an example of Indigenous modernity. I argue that Nelson's recontextualization of *katajjaq* creates new meaning, especially in relation to revitalization, cultural renewal, decolonization, and healing.

Finally, chapter six provides a summary of my findings and explores pathways for further ethnomusicological investigations, as they relate to Indigenous modernity and Inuit musical and cultural practices.

Finally, I conclude with my fifth story and discuss my second and most recent experience conducting fieldwork in Qamani'tuaq in 2019. Ultimately, the crux of this story lies in the relationships that inform my dissertation. Namely, my relationship with Nelson and his family, and the community of Qamani'tuaq.

Story 2: Due North

I first saw the Arctic in June 2015. It took my breath away. The mixture of flat land and pockets of melting ice and snow felt like I was flying over small lakes that were scattered throughout the tundra. I was in awe.

Figure 4: Somewhere between Kangiq&iniq and Igluligaarjuk. June 23, 2015. Photograph by the author.

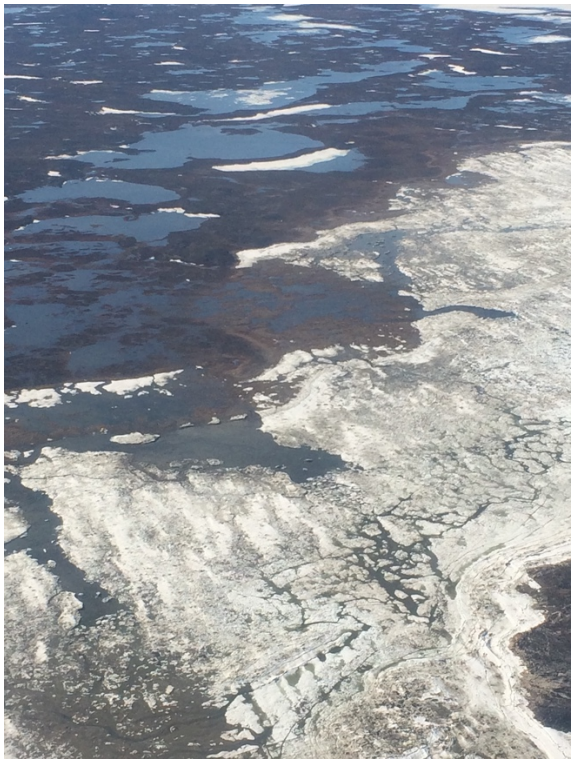

Figure 5: Somewhere between Kangiq&iniq and Igluligaarjuk. June 23, 2015. Photograph by the author.

Prior to my departure, I had spent quite a bit of time preparing for this trip. I had meticulously gone through my recording equipment, made sure I had appropriate attire for a colder climate (even though it was summer) and had prepared myself to experience some culture shock, namely concerning the availability and accessibility to internet services and general cell phone service in the Arctic. The 24-hours of daylight would also require adjustment on my part.

Nelson had even spent time with me, preparing me for the emotional overload I was going to experience. I distinctly remember Nelson telling me to be prepared to face emotions I had never felt before because the likelihood of strangers sharing their experiences with me was going to be high. But nothing could have prepared me for the breadth of intergenerational trauma and mental health issues I was going to witness. While I was aware of how and why Nelson discussed these issues so openly through his music, I wasn't prepared for or ready to handle the truth and reality that so many Inuit deal with on a daily basis.

I landed in Kangiq&iniq just before noon. While I waited to board my flight to Qamani'tuaq, journaling about my trip thus far, I could not help but overhear three young Inuk women sitting at the table next to me openly discussing their experiences with depression, suicide ideation and lack of appropriate mental health care and support from qualified practitioners. Shocked by their openness and willingness to discuss what they were going through within earshot of a complete stranger, I realized that this is what Nelson must have been preparing me for. One of the girls spoke about her thoughts of suicide ideation on a daily basis and how she felt that no one cared for her, what she was going through and that no one wanted to listen to her. She went on to describe how a mental health worker didn't understand her and didn't care enough to provide any type of meaningful support. Unfortunately, this wouldn't be

the first or last time I'd hear Inuit youth speak about the lack of mental health services in Northern communities.[33]

By 5:30pm, Sejal Narsey, a violinist who was going to collaborate with Nelson for the Canada Day performance, joined me. She had flown in from Vancouver and we were set to depart to Qamani'tuaq together. We arrived in Qamani'tuaq around 7:30pm and were happily greeted by Nelson who had arrived home a day earlier from a performance in Ottawa. Nelson took us to our hotel, helped us settle in and then proceeded to drive us around town so we could get familiar with our new surroundings.

After purchasing groceries at Northern (a chain of grocery stores in Nunavut) and the local Co-op store, Nelson took us to Qamani'tuaq's satellite recording dish. Sitting atop a small hill, the observation area surrounding the satellite dish offers the best view of Qamani'tuaq.

[33] A few months after this encounter, I heard a similar story from a male youth in Qamani'tuaq. He told me that many of the mental health workers assigned to work in Northern communities didn't care about patient confidentiality. More specifically, there was one therapist who often shared what patients told them in confidence with other members of the community. As a result, many people didn't feel comfortable seeing this therapist, knowing that they weren't in a safe space and that their health, well-being, and confidential experiences were going to be treated as town gossip. As a result of this appalling behavior and breach of trust, many community members refrain from seeking help, even as other counselors have come and gone through Qamani'tuaq.

Figure 6: A view of Qamani'tuaq. June 23, 2015. Photograph by the author.

On the way back to our hotel, Nelson also took us to see an Inukshuk, a local landmark in Qamani'tuaq.

Figures 7: Inukshuk in Qamani'tuaq. June 23, 2015. Photograph by the author.

Figures 8: Sign behind the Inukshuk in Qamani'tuaq. June 23, 2015. Photographs by the author.

Chapter 2: Situating my Research

This chapter situates my research in Qamani'tuaq within the broader cultural, social, and historical contexts in which *katajjaq* is practiced. Organized in three sections, I begin by summarizing how Nunavut became the third territory in Canada in 1999, and how Qamani'tuaq had been settled nearly fifty years prior in the 1950s. Here, I highlight the historical factors involved in Qamani'tuaq's colonial settlement and the ongoing responses of Inuit to colonization. I emphasize the reflections of Armand Tagoona (1926-1999), the maternal great-grandfather of Nelson Tagoona and a pillar in his community. Armand was the first Inuk to be ordained as an Anglican minister; he was also an artist and writer. While texts including the memories and viewpoints of Inuit elders forced into other communities exist, Armand's perspectives reveal a specific stance, namely his detailed history of Qamani'tuaq. Armand spent the majority of his life in Qamani'tuaq and wrote about the changes he witnessed. As such, his writings provide a unique assessment of Qamani'tuaq and its impact on Inuit, and particularly the lives of his descendants, one of whom is a central figure in this dissertation.

The second section of the chapter explores Inuit cultural groups and subgroups and language in Qamani'tuaq; cultural groups and language demonstrate how relationality is central to how Inuit interact with one another. Specifically, I explore how relationality influences the transmission of knowledge, kinship terminologies and naming practices. By addressing these topics, I provide a non-Inuit reader with the conceptual framework to understand the basic principles of an Inuit worldview.

The chapter's third section summarizes the colonial settlement of Inuit as a violent and assimilative practice impacting Inuit then and now. In particular, I examine how the High Arctic Relocation Program and the residential school system aimed to destroy Inuit and all Indigenous

cultures in Canada. Furthermore, I examine the effects of colonial and neo-colonial ideologies, namely the ways in which they contribute to ongoing forms of intergenerational trauma. This context is necessary to understand the ways that *katajjaq* is practiced today, and particularly in the life of Nelson Tagoona.

Nunavut: A Brief History

Since the early 1970s, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK)[34] – first known as Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), which formed in 1971 – began collecting data about land use and land titles in the Arctic. Using the data collected, ITK proposed (as part of Inuit land claims in the Northwest Territories) the creation of a new territory called Nunavut ("our land"). By the early 1990's, the Nunavut Political Accord was established, and a timeline for the creation of this new territory was set in motion.[35] On April 1, 1999, Nunavut became Canada's third territory. Nunavut is one of four areas occupied and governed by Inuit and constitutes the largest land claims settlement in Canadian history. Collectively, these four areas are called Inuit Nunangat and include (in addition to Nunavut) Nunatsiavut (Northern Labrador), Nunavik (Northern Quebec), and

[34] ITK is an organization that voices Inuit concerns about developments on their ancestral lands, motivated by issues surrounding land ownership and stewardship of resources and development. Focusing on land claims in the 1970s and 1980s, it has grown to represent Inuit and Indigenous rights more generally in Canada. In 2001, the organization was renamed Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami ("Inuit are united in Canada"). According to the ITC, "the name was changed to reflect the settlement of land claims agreements in all Inuit regions following the Labrador Inuit Association's signing of an Agreement-in-Principle for the Labrador land claims agreement" (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami 2019). Unlike First Nations and Métis peoples, Inuit do not refer to Canada as Turtle Island. The term "Kanata" is used instead. For more about the ITK, see their website: https:///www.itc.ca/national-voice-for-communities-in-the-canadian-arctice/. See also chapter three of Robert McPherson's book *New Owners in their Own Land: Minerals and Inuit Land Claims* (2003) for an account of how the ITK was founded. McPherson's book also provides an excellent explanation of resource development and land claims in the Canadian Arctic.

[35] For all documents pertaining to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement from 1976 and onwards, see: https://www.tunngavik.com/publication-categories/nunavut-land-claims-agreement/. See https://www.nunatsiavut.com/labrador-inuit-land-claims-agreement-3 for the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement.

Inuvialuit (Northwest Territories). Inuit Nunangat is home to approximately sixty-five thousand Inuit settled in fifty-one communities.[36]

The Settlement of Qamani'tuaq

Qamani'tuaq ("where the river widens"), is part of the Kivalliq region and is the only inland (non-coastal) Inuit community in Canada.[37] Located at the mouth of the Thelon River, Inuit refer to this geographic area as "where the river widens" because the Thelon and Kazan rivers drain into Baker Lake. Qamani'tuaq's English name, Baker Laker, was given by Captain William Christopher. The first European explorer to reach Qamani'tuaq in 1761, Christopher named the lake after his brother Richard Baker, and Sir William Baker, a Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

While contact between Inuit and European explorers and whalers was common throughout the 19th century, Qamani'tuaq wasn't settled until the 20th century. In the beginning of the 20th century, the Hudson's Bay Company founded the Arctic fur trade and established trading posts in various areas of the Kivalliq region including Qamani'tuaq:

> Qamanittuaq became an active site for the new trading posts. From 1916 to 1926, the Hudson's Bay Company operated a trading post on *Okpiktooyuk* (Big Hips Island) on the south side of the lake near the mouth of the Kazan River; a new Hudson's Bay Company post was established at its present site on the west shore of the lake in 1925. Lamson-Hubbard, a Canadian fur-trading company, ran a post on the narrows at the east end of the lake from 1920 until the company was absorbed by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1922. The Bay's longest-standing competitor - the French company, Révillon Fréres - operated a trading post at *Qamanittuaq* from 1924 until it too was bought out by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1936. (Jackson, Nasby and Noah 1995, 27)

[36] A map of Inuit Nunangat in Appendix C illustrates each of the four regions mentioned here in addition to some of the larger communities in these areas. A more detailed map of Inuit Nunangat in Appendix D illustrates administrative regions as well as all Inuit communities and other defining geographic features. Where relevant, these maps include former and contemporary community names in both English and Inuktitut (language of the Inuit).
[37] Prior to 1999, the Kivalliq region was known as the Keewatin region. "Keewatin" means "the North Wind" in Cree.

In addition to the Hudson's Bay Company, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) established posts between 1915-1918 and 1931-1936. While these were temporary posts, a permanent post was instituted in 1938.[38] The presence of law enforcement increased during the Cold War in 1946, when the Canadian military used Qamani'tuaq as its base for "Operation Muskox." An exercise to test whether a Russian invasion was possible, Operation Muskox assessed Canadian designed snowmobiles by driving long distances in the Arctic. Qamani'tuaq resident Armand Tagoona recalls:

> …I remember the most important thing was when DC3 airplanes started to come to Baker Lake [Qamani'tuaq], in the year 1946. It was early spring when they landed on the Baker Lake [Qamani'tuaq] ice just in front of the settlement. Before that, two big tractors pulling behind them a cabin and fuel drums arrived here from Churchill in the wintertime. To us it was a time of wonder and amazement. The next day these two big machines pushed up a pile of snow on the lake to make a long runway for the airplanes that were to land in the following days. Yes, then airplanes came and went from Churchill, bringing in drums of gas, two or three times a day. We were wondering what was going on, then we heard rumours that war, the big fight, might be started any time by the Russians. It was an exciting time for us all and we were a little scared at the same time. We just wanted to watch all the airplanes landing and taking off. Then in the spring lots of army men came to Baker Lake [Qamani'tuaq] and put up their tents where the land air strip is now. They made a lot of noise, day and night, with the two big machines that came from Churchill during the winter. (1975, 16)[39]

By 1950, Qamani'tuaq had grown to include a nursing station and had its own Northern Affairs Officer in 1956. Furthermore, "a federal day school was established in 1957, and pre-fabricated government subsidized housing was constructed from the mid-1950s onward" (Jackson, Nasby and Noah 1995, 31).

By the late 1950s, Qamani'tuaq had developed exponentially as an Arctic "town". Noting the rapid change, Tagoona says:

> By the end of the 1950s the settlement of Baker Lake [Qamani'tuaq] covered most of the present site and the ground had been scraped with tractors. We used to complain a lot that

[38] See my discussion of the High Arctic Relocation Program for further details about increased government presence in the arctic post-World War II.
[39] The passages and excerpts from *Shadows* by Armand Tagoona are reproduced by permission of Oberon Press.

> where there were growing things scraped off it was like a person skinned. Where the houses are now, the ground has no skin anymore. It's all dead ground, no longer smelling of growing things. Instead there's a smell of stones, a dead smell. (1975, 18)

Elaborating further about the juxtaposition between land/camp life and settlement life that Inuit experienced as Qamani'tuaq developed, he explains:

> I am often asked how the Inuit felt about being brought into settlements. It is not an easy thing to talk about; the Inuk himself is not sure how he feels. I myself have lived in settlements nearly all my life but I tasted a little "out there" in the Inuit camps in winter. I love it "out there.'
>
> In the past, even in the early part of my lifetime, when there was a camp where three to five families lived, they usually put their tents quite a distance apart from each other. In the winter too, they built their iglus, or snow houses, quite a distance from each other, something like one or two hundred yards. You wonder why so far, why not right next door? Because they say they don't want to make trouble for another family, caused by their children or themselves. There are no two who think the same or decide in the same way. What about now? There are from 200 to 1000 Inuit living together in one settlement. Do they get along smoothly and nicely? Gymnasiums and community halls are built so the Inuit can play games. Is this intended to make us more friendly to each other? I wonder. I think sometimes more jealousy comes out of these things. (Tagoona 1975, 8)

Scrutinizing how Inuit felt about settlement life, Tagoona questions the (im)possibility of returning to the land and to traditional ways. Determining that many Inuit thought they would return to camp life, Tagoona observes: "I don't think the Inuit knew they were going to stay in there for a lifetime. I think they still believed that some day [*sic*] they would be put back where they were before. Now they know that their dreams will not come true. There is no hope of going back to the land" (1975, 20). Evaluating the differences between settlement and camp life, Tagoona suggests that many Inuit long for a happier life away from government encroachment:

> But when you ask an Inuk about the old days compared with today, how he felt about the past and life today in the settlement, he says life is much easier today than in the past. And yet he is not happy; he doesn't know why. He's still looking back to the old days and wishes he had the chance to go back to the land. (1975, 20)

The juxtaposition between settlement and camp life portrayed by Tagoona highlights contrary viewpoints about communal existence. For instance, Western ideas about communal life places emphasis on localisation, where people inhabit an area in close proximity to which they are identified and attached. In contrast, the Inuit concept of community living on the land emphasizes respect. Respect is given by granting families access to their own space and distance, to live freely as they choose across Inuit Nunangat.

Despite these conflicting perspectives, Qamani'tuaq continued to grow and to envelope Inuit living in close proximity as a result of forced settlement by the Canadian government. Many of the structures erected during the 1950s are still usable spaces. While a few buildings, like the elderly care home, have been condemned recently due to asbestos, others like schools, housing units, hotels and governments buildings are still functioning and a reminder of the enduring history of colonization for Inuit. Newer structures like the community hall have also been added to accommodate a growing but still predominantly Inuit population.

Inuit Cultural Groups and Subgroups

In Inuit Nunangat, there are eight different cultural groups, including Labrador Inuit, Ungava Inuit, Baffin Island Inuit, Caribou Inuit, Netsilik Inuit, Copper Inuit, Iglulik Inuit and Western Arctic Inuit. These cultural groups can be divided further into subgroups, each identified and named according to their ancestry, dialects, living patterns and customs, and the region(s) they once occupied (or still occupy).

The Inuit population of Qamani'tuaq includes several different cultural groups and subgroups, including (but not limited to) the Aivilingmiut from Naujaat, whose ancestry can be traced back to Iglulik Inuit. The second largest subgroup in Qamani'tuaq has ancestral ties to

Netsilik Inuit and include Iluiliaqmiut from the coastal region of Uqsuqtuuq, Jalingmiut, Uqusiksilingmiut from Back River and Saningayukmiut from Garry Lake. The largest subgroup in Qamani'tuaq can track their ancestry to Caribou Inuit. Among them are:

> (1) Qainigmiut, who originally lived along the Chesterfield Inlet [Igluligaarjuk] as far inland as Qamanittuaq; (2) the Akiliniaqmiut, from Aberdeen Lake west of Qamanittuaq; (3) the Havauqtormiut, who originated in the Lower Kazan River south of Qamanittuaq; (4) the Tariaqmiut, who originally resided along the Hudson Bay coast between Repulse Bay [Naugaat] and Arviat; and (5) a few Padleimiut from the most southerly area of the Upper Kazan River. (Jackson, Nasby and Noah 1995, 31-21)

Inuktitut

Inuktitut (the language of the Inuit), like Inuit cultural groups and subgroups, is diverse;[40] there is no consensus about how many dialects of Inuktitut exist, only that they can be grouped regionally.[41] Although there are variations between the dialects, communities in close proximity to one another may have little trouble communicating, while those geographically distanced will have more difficulty.[42] For example, *south qikiqtalluk* is a dialect spoken in the southern regions of Baffin Iqaluit and Kinngait, while *paallirmiutut* is spoken in Arviat and Tikirarjuaq. To illustrate the difference between these dialects, figure 9 demonstrates how an Inuktitut speaker says "thank you":

[40] Recently Aluki Koteirk has proposed the term "Inuktut" to represent all of the Inuit dialects spoken in Nunavut. In this way Inuktut is recognized as a single language. See: https://tusaalanga.ca/node/2502. For the purpose of my dissertation, I use Inuktitut because that is the term used by the Inuit voices highlighted in my thesis.
[41] Here, I am only considering Inuktitut dialects spoken in Canada. I am not including dialects spoken in Alaska and Greenland. For more about Inuktitut, see Louis-Jacques Dorais (2010) and chapter two of Pamela Stern's (2010) book.
[42] This is not to say that each community has a distinct dialect. In fact, due to migration and re-settlement, a variety of dialects can be found in any given community. There are, from my experience, at least three to five different dialects in use in Qamani'tuaq

Dialect:	Vocabulary: “Thank you”
South Qikiqtaaluk	Nukurmiik
Paallirmiutut	Ma’na

Figure 9: “Thank you” in South Qikiqtaaluk and Paallirmiutut.

Among the differences in dialect is the pronunciation of certain letters. For instance, figure 10 demonstrates how the letter “s” is pronounced as an “h” in western dialects:

Dialect:	Vocabulary: “She thinks”[43]
South Qikiqtaaluk	Isumajuq
Paallirmiutut	Ihumajuq

Figure 10: Pronunciation of “s” and “h” in South Qikiqtaaluk and Paallirmiutut.

Inuktitut can be written in two ways, *qaliujaaqpait* (Roman orthography) and *qaniujaaqpait* (syllabics).[44] Inuktitut written in Roman orthography spells words as they sound (e.g., *qajaq* or “kayak”).[45] Syllabics were developed by missionaries and adapted to Inuktitut as to other Indigenous languages. Inuktitut syllabics has fourteen consonants, each represented by a character. When rotated or reversed, a character represents one of three vowels (i, u and a). While a standardized syllabic writing system has been in use since 1976, differences in dialect pronunciation and non-standardized forms of writing (especially those used by elders) contributes to discrepancies.

[43] Inuktitut is based on roots and affixes. In this example, “*isuma*” means “to think” and “*juq*” (s/he) indicates who is thinking.
[44] In Qamani’tuaq, both writing systems are used for public signs (e.g., airport signs). English is also used and tends to be the predominant form of communication in places like the grocery store and hotels.
[45] The *qajaq* is an Inuit invention. The letter “q” is pronounced as a “k” and “j” is pronounced as a “y.”

I highlight Inuktitut dialects and writing systems here for several reasons. First, this background knowledge of a complex language helps the reader to understand the variety of words used to describe *katajjaq* in chapter three. Early ethnomusicological studies draw attention to the variety of terminology used throughout various Inuit communities, and while these early publications mention terms and the location(s) in which they are used, they do not draw direct relationships to dialects. As such, this brief introduction to Inuktitut prepares the reader and contextualizes the complexity of terms used in chapter three.

Relationality: Elders, Kinship Terminologies and Namesakes

The concept of relationality is also central to my dissertation. In chapter one, I outline in detail how relationality (as a methodology) enables ethically appropriate ways of conducting and disseminating research. As such, naming participants, as this study does is one way to enact relationality because it illustrates the relational transmission of knowledge. In addition to my use of relationality, it is integral to discuss how relationality plays a large role in how Inuit interact with one another. More specifically, it's fundamental to know how relationality informs the relationships between elders and youth, kinship terminologies and namesakes.[46]

The relationship between elders and youth is rooted in respect and oral and aural traditions. Young Inuit learn from their elders through observation and by listening to the lessons that are implicitly or explicitly told through stories and discussions. Scholars Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten note:

> The values and emotions embedded in the knowledge passed on are as important as its contents. Traditionally, transfer of knowledge was a gradual process. Whereas children were sent out when serious things were discussed, young adults would be allowed to sit

[46] Relationality in Inuit culture also extends to the environment. The relationship between Inuit and their environment is complex and while I discuss relationality between *katajjaq* and the environment in chapter four, a deeper analysis is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

> in and listen to what their elders had to say, and when they got older they would be allowed to pose a question or a comment in order to be instructed by their elders. (2009, 121)

Listening to elders is the anchor that sustains Inuit cultural knowledge; however, assimilative practices like residential schools interrupted cultural transmission for a lengthy period and a communicative divide was created between generations. Reflecting on the changes he saw, Armand Tagoona writes:

> Older people are still willing to tell young people, but young people don't have time to listen any more [*sic*]. In the past, older people used to talk to young people because they were ready to listen anytime and do what the older man or women advised. Young people understood that older people's advice proved to be best most of the time. Those [that] did otherwise were sorry afterwards that they didn't obey.
>
> These days, not too many young people want to listen to older people. They don't want to be given advice, they do what they want. That is one of the reasons older people are not giving advice to the young any more [*sic*]. They would, still, if given the time and respect by the young. Today, life is, "I'll live my life the way I want to live it, and you do the same." Please don't misunderstand me. I'm not criticizing young people and I'm not putting them down. I know something makes them live that way and do these things. Sometimes they are not even the way they want to be themselves. Something unseen makes them do things they don't want to do. (Penny Petrone 1988, 213)

Since residential schools physically separated children from their families and communities for months at a time, young Inuit weren't given enough opportunity to listen to and observe their elders. Separation also caused a social divide because young Inuit were caught between two lived realities. One reality emphasized Western ways of developing knowledge through asking questions, while the other valued traditional learning through observation and praxis.

The colonial forces that aimed to disrupt, interfere, and dominate Inuit ways of knowing did not succeed in eliminating Inuit worldviews because relationality is also steeped in naming practices. In particular, kinship terminologies demonstrate the myriad of ways an Inuk is related

to other Inuit, in and outside of their immediate and extended family.[47] Oopah Qaunaq, an Inuk woman from Ausuittuq, explains, "in my generation we children were forbidden to call any adult by name so we'd acknowledge them by using kinship terminologies or we'd acknowledge them as our kin because of our namesakes" (Government of Nunavut 2016). Embedded within kinship terminologies are specific meanings that illustrate how you are related to a person. Elizabeth Tunnuq from Qamani'tuaq recalls the importance of kinship terminologies:

> Yes, I remember some kinship terms but my memory is fading so I have to try and remember who I'm related to at times but we were introduced to people using kinship terminologies and we were taught who our relatives were at an early age. We hardly used names to acknowledge others as long as we were taught these kinship terminologies because these terminologies defined who we were and how we were related to others. I remember when kinship terminologies were commonly used but I tend to forget them now probably because of old age but I never forget who I'm related to. We were brought up to know who our relatives were through these kinship terminologies but these days it seems we've forgotten them probably because the populations grown so much. (Government of Nunavut 2016)

Namesakes are another way Inuit relate to one another and cultivate relationships. For Inuit, names are genderless, so it is very common to find men and women who share the same name. Accordingly, children are often named after ancestors, family members, or prominent community members. In this way, Inuit believe that the living and deceased namesakes live on through the child(ren) that bear the same name. Armand Tagoona explains:

> But Inuit still somehow believe that the person's spirit is around after the person is dead. An Inuk believes that when you name your child after the dead one, then the dead one lives again in the name, and the spirit of the dead one has a body again. Until the name has been given the spirit is without a body. Another belief was that a dead man's spirit went to live in an animal until someone gave the name to an Inuk. When an *angukkuq*, a shaman, died, if this *angakkuq* had a helper while he was living, perhaps a wolf, then his spirit would go to live in the wolf. If his power was a caribou, then his spirit went to live in the caribou, or if his power was a dog, his spirit lived in the dog.
>
> But more often, the dead ones are believed to be living in the Inuit who have their names put upon them. A woman who was pregnant would have a dream in her sleep about a

[47] For more on Inuit social structure and kinship, see chapters one and eleven in Marc G. Stevenson's (1997) book. See also pages 110-124 of Michael J. Kral (2009).

> person who died. To her it meant that the dead one wanted to be named in her baby, and she did give the name to the child when the baby was born. (1975, 20)

The particularities of relationality are important to my dissertation because they highlight several key issues. First, the use of kinship names and namesakes speaks to a point I make later in my third story. During my first trip to Qamani'tuaq, the community mourned the death (by suicide) of a young woman. I note several reasons for not including her name or giving her a pseudonym. While I reference the cultural significance of carefully choosing the name of a child, this section of my current chapter explains the process in more detail. Second, in highlighting the importance of relationality, I am able to demonstrate the impact and disruption colonial practices (to be discussed in the following sections) have had on the relational transmission of knowledge. As I demonstrate in my discussion of *katajjaq* in chapter four, relational transmission of knowledge has given way to other learning processes whereby some throat singers have found different ways of learning. For instance, Tanya Tagaq learned *katajjaq* through tapes while Nelson, a self-taught vocalist, also incorporated one-on-one sessions into his learning process. The disruption caused by colonialism also highlights how younger Inuit mediate between the traditional and modern aspects of their lives. More specifically, as I demonstrate in chapter five, living traditions are expanded to include new meanings. Therefore, tradition is brought forward to the present to include new experiences that demonstrate how contemporary Inuit life negotiates between the past and present.

The High Arctic Relocation Program

The High Arctic Relocation Program is one of the many assimilative practices to impact Inuit life.[48] Beginning in 1953, the High Arctic Relocation Program forcibly relocated Inuit from their home communities to uninhabited areas of what is now known as Nunavut. Relocations occurred in two waves. In the first wave, one group was moved from Inukjuak, while a second group, was moved from Mittimatalik [Pond Inlet]; both were relocated to either Ausuituuq [Grise Fiord] or Qausuittuq [Resolute Bay].[49] In 1955, the second wave of relocations displaced six families: four from Inukjuak and two from Mittimatalik [Pond Inlet]. According to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "one Inukjuak family went to Craig Harbour, while the rest went to Resolute Bay [Qausuittuq]. In 1955, then, there were seven families at Craig Harbour and nine families at Resolute Bay [Qausuittuq], for a total of about 92 people" (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1994, 7).[50]

At the time, the Department of Resources and Development was responsible for all Inuit affairs and they implemented the High Arctic Relocation Program. According to government officials the decision to relocate Inuit was intended to improve access to sustenance and restore Inuit livelihood. They believed that forcing Inuit to rely more on hunting rather than trade would rebuild their self-reliance which had been destabilized by a waning fur trade. In their investigation of the High Arctic Relocation Program, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples[51] notes that the relocation was:

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[48] The High Arctic Relocation Program should not be confused with the Dundas Harbour relocations (1934-1947), the Cumberland Sound evacuations (1962) or relocations that occurred when communities closed due to the government's withdrawal of support services.

[49] Mittimatalik [Pond Inlet] Inuit were relocated to Ausuituuq and Qausuittuq in order to assist Inukjuak Inuit adjust to living in the High Arctic.

[50] Craig Harbour is now an abandoned settlement. Shortly after 1956, Inuit in Craig Harbour were moved to Ausuittuq [Grise Fiord].

[51] The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) was created in 1991. Recognizing the need for reconciliation between Indigenous peoples and Canadian settlers, the Commission's mandate is to investigate,

> …conceived by the Department as a way to place Inuit in areas believed to have adequate game resources and to require them to live largely by hunting, with some opportunity to trap. A small trade store would be established but would carry a limited and basic stock. The RCMP would be responsible for administering the store and, with the limited and basic stock, would be required to ration items from the store to ensure equitable distribution. It would also be the role of the RCMP to "encourage" the Inuit to hunt. (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1994, 138) [52]

While the government at the time cited social and economic concerns as the primary reason for the relocation, many Inuit disagree. Likewise, the Royal Commission highlights Canadian sovereignty as one of the main reasons for the relocation. [53] American presence in the Arctic grew exponentially during the Cold War, especially in regard to joint weather and radar stations (also known as the Distant Early Warning Line or DEW), which caused concern over Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic. According to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples:

> The relocation took place at a time when the government was concerned about *de facto* Canadian sovereignty arising from the presence of the United States in the Arctic. The concern about *de facto* sovereignty involved a concern that Canada would not be seen to be controlling activities in the North so that, over time, Canada's *de jure* sovereignty could be questioned. The weight of the evidence points to sovereignty as a material consideration in the relocation decision, although the primary concerns were social and economic. (1994, 136)

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analyze, report, and make recommendations on any issues pertaining to Indigenous peoples. Their report on the High Arctic Relocation provides detailed historical as well as oral accounts of the relocation and its long and short-term effects on relocated Inuit.

[52] According to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "the Department" refers to "the department that had responsibility for Inuit affairs at the time referred to" (1994, 9). The Department of Resources and Development (1950-1953) was responsible for the High Arctic Relocation Program. Prior to them, the Department of the Interior (1873-1936) and the Department of Mines and Resources (1936-1950) oversaw Inuit affairs. Succeeding the Department of Resources and Development, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (1953-1966) and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (1966-2017) was responsible for Inuit affairs. Currently, Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs is responsible for Inuit affairs.

[53] On August 18, 2010, John Duncan, the previous Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non-Status Indians issued a formal apology to all Inuit who were impacted by the High Arctic Relocation Program. In his address, Duncan acknowledges the failure of the government saying "We would like to express our deepest sorrow for the extreme hardship and suffering caused by the relocation. The families were separated from their home communities and extended families by more than a thousand kilometres. They were not provided with adequate shelter and supplies. They were not properly informed of how far away and how different from Inukjuak their new homes would be, and they were not aware that they would be separated into two communities once they arrived in the High Arctic. Moreover, the Government failed to act on its promise to return anyone that did not wish to stay in the High Arctic to their old homes" (2010). While Duncan acknowledges how the Government of Canada failed relocated Inuit, his apology does not cite sovereignty of the Arctic as a deciding factor of the relocation.

Although the government had their own reasons to advocate for and initiate the relocation, there is no evidence that Inuit were consulted. In fact, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples observes that many were *coerced* into leaving. Inuit from Inukjuak were told that "they were going to a better place where there was an abundance of large land mammals, that they would be looked after, and that they would have the support of the Canadian government" (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1994, 141). Minnie Allakariallak, an Inuk woman from Inukjuak, recalls the way in which the police manipulated her family. She says that the RCMP:

> Started coming and they started being quite insistent that we should agree to relocate to an area that had plenty of wildlife. They never told us the disadvantages. They never told us about the extended periods of darkness. They never told us about the lack of vegetation up in the High Arctic. They only told us there is lots of seals and lots of walrus. (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1994, 29)

Inuit were further blindsided when they were separated again. Inukjuak Inuit were told they would all go to Ausuittuq [Grise Fiord]; however, "there was further disruption when the families were unexpectedly separated onto different ships and sent to different places" (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1994, 31). Some Inukjuak Inuit were sent to Ausuittuq [Grise Fiord] while others were sent to Qausuittuq [Resolute Bay]. Anna Nungaq recalls:

> We thought we were going to be kept together as a group. I thought I was going to be living with Sarah [Amagoalik] and I was crying all the time…We were to be separated again and I was wondering how can I do this, I'm not capable of surviving on my own. We got to a place where there was absolutely nothing, no housing, no medical services... they just left us there and we saw the ship sailing away and we were just dumped in a place where there was absolutely nothing. (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1994, 25)

Furthermore, Inuit were initially told that they could return to their original communities after a few years. In truth, however, they were prohibited from leaving the new communities and many of the relocated Inuit "were told that it would be better for their relatives to join them in

the High Arctic. The police then told their relatives in Inukjuak that the Inuit in the High Arctic wanted them to come up there" (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1994, 30).

Among the unforeseen difficulties of the new communities was intergroup conflict between Inukjuak Inuit and their Mittimatalik [Pond Inlet] counterparts. While both are Inuit, "there are significant differences between the Inukjuak and Pond Inlet [Mittimatalik] dialects, as well as differences in the two peoples' way of living" (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1994, 141). Apart from intergroup conflict, the relocated Inuit families faced a myriad of other issues. First of all, they were physically and geographically isolated from their immediate and extended family, as well as friends and elders who remained in their home community. Secondly, they were isolated from their ancestral lands and subjected to hunting and fishing in an unknown territory and climate. Therefore, knowledge of the land and migration patterns of animals that are passed down through generations of families living in particular places was lost. Finally, communicable diseases like measles and tuberculosis further isolated individuals and broke up families as infected people were taken away for treatment in the south. John Amagoalik, who is originally from Inukjuak, recalls:

> The first ten years in Resolute were the most terrible years of our lives. We spent years without mothers, without fathers, without brothers, without sisters, who were all sick in the hospital; in southern hospitals. I remember the men being out for months...and the women and children were left alone in the community to fend for themselves. I remember my parents always yearning for food. They were crying for fish, berries, game birds, and things that were just not available up there…it is also very important for people to understand the complete and utter isolation that we experienced. We were completely cut off from the world for the first three or four years; no way of communicating with our families and friends back home. (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1994, 31-32).

Problems with hunting in an unfamiliar terrain and climate led to widespread issues with hunger. Inadequate supplies at the local trade store further exacerbated access to food. The combination of insufficient government funding, supply chain issues and the federal

government's desire to force Inuit to rely on hunting led some Inuit to supplement "their diet with food from the dump" (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1994, 104). In other cases, Inuit were forced to find alternatives. For instance, Larry Audlaluk, an Inuk born to relocated parents, recalls:

> I used to listen to my mother in times of despair asking questions to no one in particular: "Where are all the animals that they were promised? Where are the animals? Where are the fish?" She got so tired of eating seal meat. I remember her cooking dead dog, and another time I remember her cooking - we don't usually eat wolf, but I remember her having wolf. (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1994, 31)

Given the nature of the High Arctic Relocation program it is not surprising that the traumas from this period had a negative impact on Inuit. The confusion, anger and grief associated with resettlement was deeply felt by those who were relocated, and the generations that followed. In particular, children born into relocated families share the same sense of loss and resentment as their parents and grandparents. Susan Salluvinik, from Inukjuak explains:

> We are the caretakers of the pains of our parents, of the pains of our mothers and fathers, in the separations of the families in the move to Resolute and Grise Fiord…this is quite a burden to have to carry, with the responsibility to search out relatives. We have to really search out the relatives and figure out our family relationships and roots. (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1994, 34).

The intergenerational impact of the High Arctic Relocation Program is also heard in the music of throat-singing duo Tudjaat. As I discuss in chapter four, Tudjaat's song "When My Ship Comes In" is an example of how colonial policies and programs like the High Arctic Relocation are discussed and criticized by younger Inuit whose families were directly impacted by forced relocations. "When My Ship Comes In" conveys a variety of emotions and experiences of the High Arctic Relocation ranging from hope, optimism, fear, anger, and hopelessness. The intergenerational effect of the relocation is evident in the way Tudjaat captures the sentiments and concerns of their parents and grandparents.

Mission and Residential Schools in the Arctic

In the processes of forced settlement in communities and the High Arctic relocations, Inuit were also subjected to the colonizing and assimilative practice of Western education and Christianization in residential schools. Prior to the 1950s, Roman Catholic and Anglican missionaries assumed control of Inuit education in the Canadian Arctic. Mission-run boarding schools in the Arctic were in operation between 1900-1960 and their operational methods and assimilative goals were the precursor to residential schools. Inuit children as young as six (or sometimes younger) from varying communities often spent years away from their families and communities, separated by great distances. They were also forced to learn and adapt to a new religion, language, customs, and values. Furthermore, indoctrination into Western and colonial education exacerbated separation issues. Returning home, children found themselves at odds with the community and culture they had left behind.

By the mid-1950s, the federal government sought to assert Canadian sovereignty in the North.[54] Fueled by post-Second World War and Cold War military and political goals, as well as a growing interest in natural resources, the federal government established the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources in 1953. Under the guidance of Jean Lesage, the Department of Northern Affairs "was charged with creating a coherent and consciously centralized policy to modernize the North and its people" (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015, 76). As part of this initiative, government-controlled hostels and day schools replaced mission schools. According to scholar Marie-Pierre Gadoua:

> There were various types of Arctic residential schools: missions, hostels, and boarding schools. Most of them, however, were considered "federal day schools" by Northern Affairs. The Inuit students stayed in nearby small or large hostels that could accommodate eight to a hundred children. Although the federal government did not use the term "residential school," the children who attended these institutions and lived in the

[54] See previous section about Canadian sovereignty in Arctic in relation to the High Arctic Relocation Program.

> hostels nearby, far away from their original homes, were considered residential school students. (2010, 169)[55]

Despite the various terms used to classify residential schools in the Arctic, they all shared a specific infrastructure plan. Namely, all schools were required to house Inuit children in hostels or residence buildings. According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "although it [Northern Affairs] spoke of day schools, hostels and vocational training centres, the 1955 policy initiated by Lesage would lead to the creation of two distinct types of residential schooling, the 'large hostel' or 'hall,' and the 'small hostel'" (2015, 82).[56] Small hostels accommodated between eight to twelve children, whereas large hostels accommodated upwards of one-hundred children. While hostels were funded and built by the federal government, these schools were largely operated by the Catholic and Anglican churches, with the exception of smaller institutions, where supervisory positions could be held by Inuit or First Nations people.

While the federal government had a set criterion for choosing students, many Inuit parents say they were persuaded or coerced into sending their children to residential school: [57]

> Norman Attungala recalled that it was a Department of Indian Affairs official who told him to send his son to school. At other times, Survivors have explained, their parents sent them to the schools because the government threatened to withhold family allowance payments if children were not sent away. In many cases children were simply taken to school without any "prior consultation" with parents or the children themselves. In some extreme cases physical force was used. (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015, 105)

In addition, allegations of kidnapping surfaced in an article printed in the *Winnipeg Free Press.* According to The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, an article by Eric Watt

[55] The first residential school for Inuit opened in 1955 in Igluligaarjuk [Chesterfield Inlet]. Other schools opened shortly thereafter, including those in Yellowknife (1958), Inuvik (1959) and Iqaluit [Frobisher Bay] (1971).
[56]Active between 2008-2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada was responsible for witnessing and documenting the experiences of residential school survivors. Their final reports can purchased from Mc-Gill-Queen's University Press and are also available online at https://nctr.ca/records/reports/#trc-reports.
[57] Selection criteria included geographic distance or proximity to residential schools, age, and religious belief. See page 103 of The Truth and Reconciliation report for a full list of criteria.

published in 1959 alleged that children from Old Crow, Yukon had been kidnapped and taken to an Anglican facility in Fort McPhearson.

In between accounts of coercion and kidnapping exist stories that highlight Inuit resistance. In some cases, Inuit parents refused to send their children to residential school. Inuit elder Peter Irniq recalls:

> As scared as he used to get, sometimes, my father got brave and let me miss a year of residential schooling. Father Dedier had said to him: "If you don't let your son go to school, the Government can cut off your family allowance, and the RCMP could put you in jail." In Inuktitut my father responded: "Never mind. Let me go to jail. Cut off the money that I get from the Government. He's my son. I want to teach him about Inuit culture." That summer, we went on the land in search of caribou, as we always do, and no one came to look for us. That entire winter I thought the RCMP was going to come around and come and take my father, just because he took me a hundred miles away from Naujaat, but no one came. And next summer, we were living 10 miles away — my father brought me back to Naujaat, to go to school in Chesterfield Inlet [Igluligaarjuk]. I think he feared that if he didn't let me go, the RCMP was going to come and take me to Chesterfield Inlet [Igluligaarjuk]. (Tester and Irniq 2008, 53)[58]

Despite instances of resistance, what becomes clear is that many Inuit parents lived in fear of RCMP officers and religious leaders. Even though some parents chose to keep their children at home, even for short periods of time, they eventually gave in for fear of reprisals.

In order to "modernize" the North, residential schools implemented an assimilative curriculum. Based on western pedagogy, "the schoolbooks that the students read usually featured issues and examples more appropriate to living in a southern, urban setting" (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015, 89). This irrelevant curriculum not only sought to assimilate Inuit children, but also to undermine Inuit epistemologies and ontologies. Furthermore, they disrupted communal transmission of knowledge and skills, and unsettled bonds to culture and customs.

[58] For more survivor stories of the Inuit experience in residential schools, see The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015), Legacy of Hope (2010) and Michael J. Kral (2009).

In addition to an unfamiliar and irrelevant curriculum, children in residential schools were expected to adhere to a strict, regimented schedule, identified by number and separated from siblings and friends. According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "at the same time the school system was forcing them to conform to a new—and very foreign—type of schedule, it failed to make the children feel loved or cared for" (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015, 108). Rather than using names, children were provided an identification number, increasing their isolation. Residential school survivor Norman Yakeleya recalls:

> I was six years old when I got my number...You had an older boy look after you and they give you a black marking pen and they put a number on your—you got to put all on your clothes, your socks, long johns, shorts, pants, shirt, boots, and they put your number on you, put your number on your clothes and they didn't say, "Norman," they said your number and you got to put your hands up and say, "Here." So, they weren't given a name. You were given a number and that's how you identify yourself. And I thought about this in the bush again. What kind of society does that to people? (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015, 107).

Since residential schools separated children based on gender and age, siblings attending the same institution were often separated and unable to see and speak to one another.

If and when children were allowed to return to their home communities, many children and families experienced confusion, unfamiliarity and isolation. Residential school survivor Peggy Tologanak says, "I remember when we'd land in Cambridge [for the holidays] we'd all be brought to the school and the parents would come up and pick us up. There was a lot of kids that were crying cause they didn't know who their parents were. They forgot about them" (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015, 106). Elaborating further, Tologanak explains how internalized colonialism also impacted returning children, saying, "some…kids didn't want to go with their parents, they said, they're so dirty, and they're so stinking…and they would be crying and had to be forced to be taken home" (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015, 106). Survivor, Marjorie Flowers notes her own internalized colonial thoughts:

> Another thing that I noticed my first day going home, when I actually went home, was the smell was different. There was sealskin. We used to have sealskins on our porch. I was really ashamed of that once I came home from school. I thought that was a wrong thing for my parents to have done and their way of life, the way we used to live, I thought that was the wrong way. I thought that I was a little better than what they were. I didn't realize all that until I started my journey here with the Residential Schools. (Legacy of Hope 2010, 69)

Moreover, broken ties with elders, language and culture proved to be a long-term issue for Inuit who spent long periods of time separated from their homes, families, and communities. Survivor Lillian Elias remembers:

> I remember when I went home a few years down the road, about three years after I had been in the Residential School, I found that we were just like separating, the students and the Elders were separating because these ones were talking too much in English and they couldn't understand them. And we couldn't understand the Elders speaking in their language. That's what I find that changed. Every year there's more. (Legacy of Hope 2010, 55)

In addition to assimilative practices, some Inuit children were severely neglected and subjected to cruel forms of abuse and punishment while in the schools. In particular, the sexual abuse of minors was rampant in some residential schools like Grollier Hall in Inuvik and Turquetil Hall in Igluligaarjuk [Chesterfield Inlet]. Both were Catholic run institutions, and both failed to protect Inuit children. According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "for a twenty-year period from 1959 to 1979, there was at least one sexual predator on staff at Grollier Hall at all times" (2015, 141). Issues of sexual abuse extend to abused victims who became abusers themselves. Survivor Dora Fraser says, "some of the older kids used to take advantage of the younger ones for sexual purposes" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015, 161).

Abusive behaviour was so widespread in residential schools that food (in)security also became an issue for some students. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission reports on one survivor's experience:

> Although not abused in the same way, Carolyne Nivixie explained how her hostel parents failed to provide proper care for children at a hostel in northern Québec. In Nivixie's opinion, her hostel parents used their position to benefit their own family. For instance, instead of using the food supplies to feed hostel children, she remembered, her hostel parents sent away portions of the food rations to relatives in a nearby camp, leaving the hostel children without adequate supplies for their meals. (2015, 160)

A lack of basic supplies was further exacerbated when some schools ran at capacity, or well above their capability. For instance, larger facilities like Stringer Hall in Inuvik often exceeded capacity, making food scarcity and safety an issue.

By the late 1960s, some residential schools began to close when educational control of Inuit children was given to territorial governments. This period, then, marks both the peak and the beginning of the end of residential schools:

> In the Northwest Territories…there were nine large hostels in 1969; by the beginning of 1976, only four were in operation: Grollier Hall in Inuvik, Ukkivik in Iqaluit (Frobisher Bay), Akaitcho Hall in Yellowknife, and Lapointe Hall in Fort Simpson. In 1969 there were two residences and two residential schools for First Nations students from the Yukon; by 1976 only one was still in operation. (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015, 163)

While last residential school in the North, Grollier Hall, closed in 1997, its impact is still being felt by survivors and their descendants.

Although many survivors have shared their experiences through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, others have chosen to remain silent. In my close contact with survivors, I have observed several types of emotional and psychological responses to discussions about residential school. The first is a conscious effort to stay silent. Some abused residential school survivors have faced a myriad of mental, physical, and physiological issues ranging from clinical depression to other serious disorders. Their refusal to discuss their experiences is rooted in self-preservation and the need to protect themselves from re-experiencing trauma as adults. In other cases, silence is related to confusion and trust. As children and youth, many abuse

survivors were harmed by the people they were taught to respect and trust. Therefore, when that trust was broken survivors struggled (and still struggle) with how they interact with authority figures. In one instance, I was told about an Inuk man who, while religious, could not attend church services because he was reminded of his abuse and abuser. This man never spoke openly about his residential school experience, but his family suspects that the church leader of their community was his childhood abuser. In this way, silence can be understood as a concerted effort to protect oneself from re-traumatization.

In contrast, I have also observed overly positive responses to the residential school experience. While some positive experiences and responses do exist, many are rooted in self-preservation and internalized colonialism where survivors have adopted colonial viewpoints as their own.[59] Many older survivors who are now in their 60s remember positive things like being able to learn how to play musical instruments or hearing country music on the radio. In hearing their stories, what becomes clear is that some survivors consciously choose to remember the good moments as a way to camouflage their negative experiences. In this way, survivors are choosing to protect themselves from re-traumatization. In other cases, survivors have internalized colonialism and use oppressive viewpoints to control others. In one instance I heard from a young woman in her mid-twenties about how survivors in her community have embraced conservative Christian viewpoints and use religion as a way to assert control over younger generations who do not prescribe to religion and/or criticize residential schools and colonial policies and practices.

[59] For an example of internalized colonialism see Jose Kusugak (2009). Kusugak's essay demonstrates the fine line between recalling traumatic experiences and internalized colonial beliefs where a survivor does not see how the Anglican and Catholic church's in conjunction with the government used residential schools as a way to assimilate Inuit into dominant society.

In highlighting some of the assimilative practices that affected Inuit (past and present), this section draws attention to trauma (discussed in further detail below) as experienced and discussed by Inuit. In particular, this section outlines the cause(s) of intergenerational trauma and connects to what Inuit musicians like Tudjaat and Nelson Tagoona implicitly and/or explicitly describe and address in their music.

Intergenerational Trauma

Racist and assimilative agendas like the High Arctic Relocation Program and residential schools have had numerous long-term effects on Inuit. In particular, high rates of mental health issues like depression, anxiety, suicidal ideation and death by suicide, as well as high rates of substance abuse, are ubiquitous in many Inuit communities, due in part to intergenerational trauma since "the effects of trauma can be transmitted from parents to their offspring, just as there is intergenerational transmission of knowledge and culture" (Bombay, Matheson and Anisman 2009, 7). According to the Aboriginal Healing Foundation:

> Intergenerational or multi-generational trauma happens when the effects of trauma are not resolved in one generation. When trauma is ignored and there is no support for dealing with it, the trauma will be passed from one generation to the next. What we learn to see as "normal" when we are children, we pass on to our own children. Children who learn that…sexual abuse is "normal", and who have never dealt with the feelings that come from this, may inflict physical and sexual abuse on their own children. The unhealthy ways of behaving that people use to protect themselves can be passed on to children, without them even knowing they are doing so. (Wesley-Esquimaux and Smolewski 2004, 2)

Centered within this transmission process are memories and experiences that are relived and retold regularly. Scholars Bombay, Matheson and Anisman situate this process within what Marianne Hirsch calls "postmemory:"

> Postmemory, most specifically describes the relationship of children of survivors of cultural or collective trauma to the experiences of their parents, experiences that they

> ‘remember’ only as the narratives and images with which they grew up, but that are so powerful, so monumental, as to constitute memories in their own right. (Hirsch 2001, 9)

These memories then become lived experiences for generations following the initial victimization and contribute to how Inuit continue to confront trauma.

Intergenerational trauma is also compounded by the fact that assimilative practices disrupted Inuit parenting. This disruption has affected how Inuit were, and in some cases are still, unable to live a life beyond trauma. While the suffering of the children in schools is well documented, there has been less public attention drawn to the pain experienced by the parents whose children were removed: “parents were beset by feelings of powerlessness, guilt and shame, for not saving their children from being taken. There were also feelings of no longer being needed by their children” (Bombay, Matheson and Anisman 2009, 14).

Additionally, the children of residential schools lost role models of *how* to parent. Peter Irniq describes the impact of being separated from parents:

> So in terms of relating to my adult life I missed out a great deal about parenting skills. I am not as good as my parents were. I am not as good as my parents were in terms of bringing up my own children, for example. So we lost a great deal in terms of the most important aspect of our life and that is parenting skills.
>
> My parents had a difficult time. They lost their children. They lost their child that they were bringing up to believe that he was going to grow like a true Inuk with abilities to hunt, abilities to speak, ability to know the land, the environment that I walk on. They were going to bring me up exactly the same way as we have always been brought up, like the traditional way of life from 10,000 years ago in Nunavut, or within Inuit homelands. But they missed out on that. They no longer knew anything about me after I had been to a Residential School.
>
> As a matter of fact, my life changed drastically after I had been to a Residential School and their life changed drastically also. I was going to be their helper growing up in Naujaat to become a good family provider, a good husband, a good Caribou hunter, a good seal hunter. They missed out on that after I was brought to Residential School. So they missed out on a lot as well in terms of bringing me up to be a good member of the Inuit community, as a good hunter and as a productive member of the society. (Legacy of Hope 2010, 105-106)

As such, the irreparable damage caused by residential schools was felt across generations and many Inuit are unable to mend or restore relationships. In one instance while working in Qamani'tuaq, I was offered a personal explanation to how generations were lost. In particular, an Inuk woman explained her family dynamic. Rather than a parent-child relationship with her mother (a residential school survivor) she experienced a "sisterly" relationship. Since her mother was primarily raised in residential school, healthy models of parenting were absent. As such, motherhood was a struggle. While the Inuk woman who shared this story with me is not a residential school survivor, the postmemory of her mother's experience affects her own parenting. Since she didn't have a good parenting role model, especially one that was able to share Inuit specific approaches, parenting was that much more difficult.

In order to deal with the myriad of issues caused by assimilative practices, or to avoid them altogether, many Inuit turn to alcohol as a form of self-medication. This is not surprising since people (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) who have experienced sexual and physical abuse and violence are traumatized and have higher rates of substance abuse disorders. Lillian Elias, a residential school survivor, draws similar connections between trauma and substance abuse:

> I drank a lot…not knowing who to turn to and not knowing who to talk to because a lot of people that I tried to talk to wouldn't understand me. They wouldn't ever understand the situation that I went through. (Legacy of Hope 2010, 53)

Elaborating further she says:

> Another thing that I see is how the young people start turning to booze and to drugs is because of the Residential School. The parents suffered enough so they start drinking and everything and that's how come the young people start doing those kinds of things too. Because the parents don't know how to talk to them, I guess. (Legacy of Hope 2010, 56)

The link between trauma and substance abuse is paralleled by the correlation between trauma and high suicide rates. This is especially true in Indigenous communities throughout Canada where "the general suicide rate among Aboriginal peoples across Canada is more than

two times higher than that for the general Canadian population" (Taylor and de la Sablonniére 2014, 58). In Inuit communities, suicide rates are even higher. In fact, the Inuit suicide rate in Canada "is a full eleven times higher than the rate in the rest of the country" and is among the highest in the world (Taylor and Sablonniére 2014, 58).

As part of his analysis on Inuit suicide, public policy scholar Camilius Egeni reports that many of his interviewees connect assimilative practices and culture loss to suicide:

> All the participants identified cultural assimilation as a key problem leading to high suicide rates. According to the interviewees, many young Inuit do not speak or understand any of the Inuit languages. Inuit children and adolescents are caught between Inuit culture and modern culture. Inuit culture reinforces respecting the land and the environment, whereas modern culture relegates such considerations to the wage economy. Traditionally, living on the land meant hunting, gathering, and fishing, skills that are being lost by the younger generation. Young people want to be educated and have paying jobs, but few are able to achieve these goals. (2011, 85)

In this way, Inuit are caught or lost in between two cultures and two lived realities. The differences between these realities also affects intimate relationships, namely the way their failure leads to death by suicide. Egeni notes:

> Young people, who have been influenced by modern notions of dating and courting, are ill-prepared for the trauma of a failed relationship. The loss of a girlfriend or boyfriend can seem like the end of the world, and parents are unable to provide counsel because they did not court their spouse before marriage. Most older Inuit had arranged marriages. (2011, 86)

The contrast between two lived realities highlights the myriad of consequences many Inuit face. Unable to reconcile between the two, some Inuit have difficulty coping with hardships and turn to suicide as a way to manage their problems. The juxtaposition between traditional life and customs and life after assimilation that is steeped in colonial trauma also emphasizes the way in which Inuit life has changed rapidly, especially in relation to unfamiliar experiences like suicide. The contradictory nature of these lived realities is realized by Egeni as he summarizes his findings, saying that two of his interviewees "claimed that Inuit did not know suicide until

integration and colonization, noting the Inuktitut language does not have a word for suicide" (2011, 92).

Abusive experiences are also linked to an increase in mental health issues like depression and anxiety. Since many Inuit do not have consistent access to mental health support and care, Inuit suicide rates are further exacerbated. While Inuit are willing to seek support, they prefer to be treated by Inuit healthcare workers who understand the issues their communities face. Unfortunately, the lack of Inuit healthcare workers limits where and how Inuit are given treatment. In Egeni's study, one interviewee pointed out that:

> …the mental professionals only see the Inuit clients as [a] source of revenue instead of people they are there to assist. They see the Inuit going through critical or rough times as people to bill per hour. She advised that when she worked in a psychiatrist office and dental office, the doctors will continue making appointments without due regards to what help they can provide to the patient. (2011, 189)

Compounded by the relationship between mental health issues and suicide ideation and death by suicide, is the fact that many suicides occur in clusters. Taylor and Sablonniére observe:

> The tendency for suicides to occur in clusters is particularly problematic. Given the small, tight-knit nature of Aboriginal communities, this causes a devastating "ripple effect" whereby the suicide of one is likely to negatively affect the entire community and potentially contribute to the suicidal and self-destructive tendencies of others. (2014, 58)

The inability to access mental health care is worsened by experiences of isolation, abuse and trauma and for some, the death by suicide of one community member intensifies suicidal ideation in those already at risk. Since Inuit communities, like other Aboriginal communities are relationally bound, "the choice of methods, time, and place for the suicide may be strongly influenced by exposure to previous suicides. In a sense, suicidal behaviour results from the spread of an idea, but the idea must be internalized and acted on" (Kirmayer, Brass, Holton, Paul, Simpson and Tait 2007, 30).

Furthermore, relationality affects the way in which some Inuit view suicide as being able to reconnect with their loved ones. In his work on Inuit suicide in Igloolik, Michael Kral notes:

> I heard a number of young Inuit tell me that suicide is a way of joining their relatives and friends who have died by suicide. One young woman told me that she would literally be with her dead friend if she killed herself just as she was sitting beside me, and that her dead friend was now with his uncle who had killed himself the year before. I also heard quite a few stories from Inuit who had been suicidal that they were visited during this difficult time by their dead relatives or friends who were asking these Inuit to join them. These visits were typically in the form of a presence at the foot of their bed, in a doorway, or beside them in a chair. (2009, 245)

While such descriptions of seeing dead relatives could be attributed to mental health conditions, they nonetheless point to the ways in which the strong relationality in Inuit communities affects suicide. Whether suicide ideation or death by suicide occur in clusters, or are influenced by visions of the dead, they are connected to how Inuit are affected by the confluence of issues.

At the intersecting realities between assimilation, abuse, and mental health also lie issues of unemployment and the cost of living. For instance, Nunavut's high suicide rate is paralleled by the fact that they also have the highest unemployment rate in Canada. Drawing connections between the two, Egeni notes that unemployment and high suicide rates are directly related to the extremely high cost of living in the North. In particular, Egeni says that the high cost of living and unemployment makes many male Inuit feel "ashamed that they are unable to be providers in their families" (2011, 83). In such cases, where food (in)security becomes an issue, many Inuit adults and children rely on community support. In any case, the shame associated with not being able to house, feed and/or clothe your family can contribute to or worsen mental health issues, thus intensifying suicide ideation and death by suicide.

In the previous sections of this chapter, I discussed assimilative practices like the High Arctic Relocation Program and residential schools. I indicated that these colonial policies caused intergenerational trauma and by examining trauma more specifically here, I highlight how

trauma presents itself in different ways. From parenting to substance abuse and suicide, trauma affects the daily lived experiences of several generations at once. However, within the intergenerational experiences of trauma are cycle breakers or Inuit musicians and culture bearers who make a concerted effort to resist and combat trauma for themselves and future generations. For instance, musicians like Nelson Tagoona and throat singers more broadly (as I discuss in chapter four) are determined to work through intergenerational trauma and develop practices that engage with cultural resilience. Their artistic response through performance aims to create and sustain a strong Inuit culture that is embedded in healing and well-being.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I provide a short overview of the creation of Nunavut and more specifically, the settlement of Qamani'tuaq. By highlighting the historical and political events that lead to the development of Qamani'tuaq, I provide an account of the community that influences and inspires Nelson Tagoona and this dissertation. Crucial to this narrative is Armand Tagoona, the maternal great-grandfather of Nelson. Armand's writings help to locate Nelson's place within Qamani'tuaq's rich history and enables me to draw connections (in later chapters) between the past and present against the backdrop of one Inuit community. In addition, I examine how relationality, as evidenced though kinship terms and naming practices, is fundamental to Inuit culture. In this way, the reader is able to explicitly and implicitly situate later discussions within the context of how Inuit interact with one another. Finally, I discuss assimilative practices and their ongoing impact on Inuit communities. By drawing attention to how government interventions sought to interrupt and destroy cultural practices, and Inuit responses to these practices, I provide the reader with the foundational knowledge that is necessary to understand why and how these policies impact Inuit life today. Accordingly, this

chapter also provides the reader with the basic fundamental knowledge to situate themes explored in later chapters.

Story 3: Due North: Canada Day in Qamani'tuaq

A few days after I arrived in Qamani'tuaq, Mike Stevens, a well-known harmonica player joined us. He too would collaborate with Nelson and Sejal for Qamani'tuaq's annual Canada Day concert. With one week of rehearsals before the concert, our mornings and afternoons were spent in rehearsals where I filmed as much as I could for MICH, while our evenings were spent walking or driving around town. Short daily outings would become the norm for the duration of our stay.

After four days of rehearsals, we were given the opportunity to see the concert space. Normally used for social events like square dances and gatherings, the community hall was set aside for our use. Brightly lit, the beige coloured hall is adjacent to the new recreation center. Lined with chairs along the perimeter, a black stage with black curtains as the backdrop demands your attention immediately. Lined along the perimeter of all four walls are hand-drawn portraits of local elders. These portraits, drawn by pencil artist Gerald Kuehl present the rich history of elders in Qamani'tuaq, past and present. Kuehl started drawing elders and documenting their stories throughout the North in the early 2000s. Having travelled to Qamani'tuaq several times since then, many of the portraits in his published book *Portraits of The Far North* (2019) feature Qamani'tuaq elders. [60] For me, these portraits are imprinted in my memory and are the distinguishing feature of this space.

Having had some time to see the hall, we resumed rehearsal in the afternoon, only to return to the hall around 10pm. The hall from this point on would be closed to the public. This was our opportunity to hang the Canada Day banner that MICH had commissioned for the

[60] For more about the release of Gerald Kuehl's book and the 106 portraits contained in its pages, see the following article published in Nunavut News: https://nunavutnews.com/nunavut-news/nunavut-day-book-launch-special-evening-in-baker/. The article chronicles Kuehl's book launch and reception in Qamani'tuaq.

concert. Unfolding and unpacking the banner was exciting, and the banner itself a joyous sight! Although Nelson and I had seen mock-ups and proofs of what the banner would look like, nothing compared to seeing it unfolded and flat on the floor. Measuring 15 feet by 15 feet, the design was inspired by Nelson. With the help of Nelson's mom Grace and stepdad EJ as well as a few community members, the banner was hung prominently behind the stage. Despite its size, weight, and concerns about how we would secure it, the banner was in place by 2:00 am. In the days that followed, rehearsals and all filming for MICH were conducted in the hall.

Figure 11: Nelson posing with the banner. June 28, 2015. Photograph by the author.

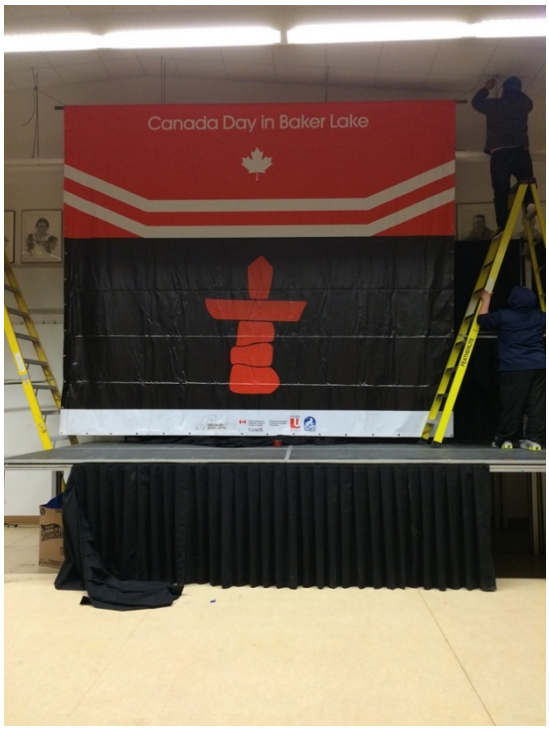

Figure 12: Nelson's stepdad, Eric John Tapatai hanging the banner. June 28, 2015. Photograph by the author.

With a few days left before the concert, rehearsal and filming continued as usual during the day and our evenings were spent working through final details. In our downtime, we had the opportunity to go to a youth only bonfire. This was the first opportunity we had to meet Qamani'tuaq's youth. Many were in high school or preparing to attend university the following year. An eventful evening of games and socializing ended with an impromptu performance by Nelson and Mike. Having given the youth a glimpse of the performance that was to come, we left the bonfire energized and excited.

Unfortunately, this feeling wouldn't last more than a day. During our final afternoon of rehearsal, we received news of a death in the community. A young woman had taken her life. She would be the community's third suicide of the year and it was only June. Although the entire

community would mourn her death, this was especially difficult for the Tagoona-Tapatai family since the young woman was a close relative.[61]

Among the many haunting moments I had in Qamani'tuaq occurred when I offered my condolences to Nelson. He responded with a blank look and said "It's okay. I'm used to it." What struck me the most about this response was the way in which he seemed to brush the news off like it was nothing, just another day. In that moment, I wondered if this is how Inuit communities dealt with suicide. At a time where suicide in Inuit communities was (and still is) at an all-time high, I wondered how Inuit communities coped and if they were becoming desensitized.

Unsure of what to do, and unequipped to handle this type of news, we (the non-Inuit of the group) chose to end rehearsal. Even in our inexperience, we knew we had to take our cues from the Tagoona-Tapatai family and let things unfold in a way that was appropriate to the community. Later in the evening, after dinner, Nelson, Mike, and I went for a drive because Nelson wanted to conduct an interview out on the land. Again, unequipped to deal with this type of trauma in the field, I did not conduct a formal interview or ask questions. Instead, I suggested that Nelson tell "us" or the viewer of the "interview" where we were and what was on his mind.[62] And he did. He spoke of (among other things) his deep affection for his hometown, the

[61] I have chosen to not disclose her name. While I have spoken to Nelson and his family openly and in great detail about this tragedy, I never had the chance to meet this young woman. By including this incident in my story, I highlight the severity of suicide, suicidal ideation and mental health issues in Inuit communities, which was also addressed in my second story, in chapter two and will necessarily be highlighted throughout the rest of my dissertation. I also refrain from using a pseudonym. Naming practices in Inuit communities, as discussed in chapter two are part of a living tradition. Great care is given to the process of naming a child. With respect to this practice, and in an effort to not undermine or erase the cultural significance and meaningful bond between namesakes, I do not use an alias.

[62] I am thankful and indebted to Mike Stevens for guiding me through this process. Unsure of how to proceed, what to say or what to do, Mike suggested that I do nothing and let Nelson do all the talking. Mike's extensive work with and in Indigenous communities provided me with invaluable insight about how to work with Indigenous communities where you are guided by their voices and experiences rather than your own biases and interests. While my methods and processes are not always perfect, this death and being a witness to the community mourning the loss of their youth has greatly impacted my personal and academic life.

peace it brings him, and the need to continuously move forward. After speaking for approximately forty minutes, we finished filming. On our way back into town, Nelson informed us that we had full permission from the family to move forward with the concert as planned.

The Canada Day concert was scheduled to begin early in the evening on July 1. After a brief greeting in both English and Inuktitut, Qamani'tuaq's MLA (Member of the Legislative Assembly) and MC for the concert Simeon Mikkungwak invited elder Winnie Tapatai (Nelson's step-grandmother) to lead the community in prayer. Preceding the prayer, the community observed a moment of silence. Acknowledging the death, Simeon respectfully invited family members to the stage so that everyone could mourn together. The prayer that followed was meant for both the family and the community. When Simeon finished, everyone stood up to pay their respects. Men and children took off their hats. The room was silent, with the exception of a baby crying somewhere. This would mark another haunting moment for me. Off to the left of the stage, behind a curtained wall that was meant to function as a "green room," were the family members of the deceased. Before anyone could take their respective positions on stage, a woman wept loudly. Her wail, coming from the "green room," echoed throughout the hall. She sounded as though she was crying and running out of breath simultaneously. Her pain and grief were so clear. I couldn't see her behind the curtain or on stage, but to this day, I can vividly recall the sound of her heartache and sorrow.

Following the prayer, Winnie sang "Happy Birthday" to Canada as well as the national anthem. Sung both in English and Inuktitut, Winnie invited all of Qamani'tuaq's children to help her sing. Although I had seen and met some of the community's children in town or at the bonfire, and earlier in the day, this particular gathering demonstrated just how much I had missed. I was stunned to see all the young children crowd the front of the stage, eager to see the

concert, and most importantly, their local celebrity, Nelson Tagoona. There must have been between fifty to sixty young children in attendance and I wondered where they had been this entire time! After giving thanks to the many supporters who made the event possible, the concert began. [63]

The first part of the concert featured separate performances by musicians from Qamani'tuaq including Hugh and Ruth Tulurialik, Alexis Utatnaaq, Jason Shingoose, and Rachel and Christian Tagoona.[64] The second part, preceded by a short intermission, featured Nelson, Mike and Sejal under the moniker "Leader's Triumph." Although they were the main act, some songs were supported by other musicians on acoustic guitar, bass, *qilautik* (Inuit frame drum used in drum dance songs) and *katajjaq* (Inuit throat singing). Of the thirteen songs performed, two were Christian hymns: "Nearer, My God, to Thee," and "How Great Through Art." Nelson wanted to include these hymns to purposefully unify the audience. While they were part of the set-list from the beginning, given the circumstances, the inclusion of these hymns was the perfect choice, long before we knew it would be. In between each hymn, Nelson addressed the audience directly by saying, "I feel we just needed to add a gospel section in honour of all of us and those we lost." Although we expected people to sing-along, no one expected the communal singing to last as long as it did. The community sang "How Great Though Art" repeatedly for approximately eight minutes.

Nelson's only solo performance, "I Miss You," was a reworked version of a song introduced in my first story called "I Believe." On stage with his guitar, Nelson told his

[63] Among the people thanked were Simeon, Winnie, volunteers who helped to set up the hall, the Hamlet of Qamani'tuaq Recreation Department, ACL (Arctic Co-Ops Limited) and local Qamani'tuaq staff, INNS North and Iglu Hotel, Anna Hudson and MICH, all performers (with special thanks to Mike) and attendees.
[64] Hugh and Ruth are husband and wife and often perform together. For a video of Hugh and Ruth singing together for Takuyaksat (a television program produced by Inuit Broadcasting Corporation), see http://www.isuma.tv/es/ibc/bl-48-baker-lake-band-part-2-hugh-and-ruth-tulurialik. Rachel and Christian are Nelson's younger siblings and performed a cover version of Wiz Khalifa and Charlie Puth's song "See you Again."

audience, “I want you guys to see this song as believing in yourself.” The song makes use of a call-and-response structure, where the audience is told to scream “I believe” every time Nelson nods his head. Framed as a “jam session,” this call-and-response structure allowed Nelson to interact with his youngest fans in a positive and meaningful way. The audience was also invited to sing the chorus:

> If you stand up, you touch the sky
> If you believe in yourself, you can try
> You can have anything if you believe
> You can have anything, you will achieve

In the final verse, Nelson spoke directly to his audience:

> I want you guys to believe in yourself
> I want you guys to see yourself, one day doing something great
> I want you guys to have courage
> What is courage?
> Courage is basically believing in yourself, in being strong
> It’s good to be courageous because we move on

Joined by the audience, Nelson sang the chorus two more times before moving into a transitional interlude. Again, the audience was engaged in a “jam session” with Nelson through a call-and-response structure. Only this time, the audience was instructed to scream “I believe” when Nelson raised his right hand and to scream “hey!” when he pointed to them. This interaction led to an improvised throat boxing performance.

After three more songs with Mike and Sejal, the concert ended. While most people left, many, especially those with young children hung around to take pictures with Nelson, Mike and Sejal. A few people even asked for autographs. While a community concert may not garner this much attention and appreciation in Southern Canada, I was struck by how much this event meant to the community. At one point, while I waited for everyone to finish, I was approached by a mother of four. She asked if her children could take pictures with me and if I could sign a

Canadian flag for them. The flag had already been signed by Nelson, Mike and Sejal. Confused as to why anyone would want my autograph and a picture, I did what was asked of us. Oddly enough, this wouldn't be the last time a stranger would ask to take pictures with me. While visiting a gift shop at a local hotel, the manager, upon realizing I was involved with the concert also asked to take pictures. So, I did.

The following day would be our last in Qamani'tuaq. As an act of appreciation and affection, Nelson's family took Mike, Sejal and I out of town for a picnic. We spent the better part of our final day on the land at a popular picnic spot. Referred to as "the bridge," we spent our time fishing, cooking, eating, and laughing. Nelson and I also conducted an interview for MICH. Again, given the timing and circumstance, this was not a formal interview and Nelson spent most of our time speaking his mind. We headed back into town around 10pm, although Nelson and I continued to film in town until the early hours of the morning.

Figure 13: View of our picnic area from The Bridge. July 2, 2015. Photograph by the author.

Chapter 3: Katajjaq and Early Scholarship

Katajjaq (pl. *Katajjait)*, or vocal/laughing game, is a living tradition, practiced throughout various Inuit communities in Canada. Sometimes called Inuit throat singing, *katajjaq* is an integral component of cultural heritage and "belong[s] to the larger family of *ulapqusiit* (traditional games) and more precisely identified as *nipaquhiit* ('game of sounds and noises')" (Nattiez 1999, 403).[65] Traditionally played by Inuit women, *katajjaq* is a competitive game between partners who face each other and exchange sound motifs; one leads while the other tries to repeat the same motif, so that "the two voices follow each other at a distance of a half-beat" and the sounds project "perfect harmony between the singers and such uniformity of sound that the audience is not able to discern exactly who does what" (Nattiez 2006). The first person who is unable to maintain the pace or rhythm, or runs out of breath, will stop or laugh, signaling their loss. Vocalizations rely on rhythmic inhalations and exhalations of breath and different tones are created through voiced and voiceless pitch. The sound motifs can consist of words, syllables or vocables based on objects, names of ancestors, animal cries or the sounds of nature. *Katajjaq* can be played anytime and for a variety of reasons including entertainment, to accompany celebrations, and to lull babies and children to sleep.

The purpose of this chapter is to review and analyze scholarship on Inuit vocal games by asking: How do scholars understand and write about *katajjaq?* In doing so, this chapter also serves as an introduction to *katajjaq.* In my analysis, I investigate early ethnomusicological scholarship[66] from the 1970s and the 1980s; in particular, I examine seminal texts by Beverley

[65] According to scholar Jean-Jacques Nattiez (1999), these Inuktitut terms are used amongst Netsilik Inuit. A more thorough discussion of terminology is provided later in this chapter.

[66] While ethnomusicological investigations of *katajjaq* began in the 1970s and 1980s, anthropologists were referencing the practice in the early1900s. One of the earliest written references to *katajjaq* is found in anthropologist E. W. Hawkes' book *Labrador Eskimo* (1916). Although Hawkes references throat singing among Alaskan Inuit, his description is one of the earliest documented texts that details *katajjaq* performance practice. Anthropologist Franz Boas (1972) provides a description too, but his is based on William E. Parry's (1824)

Diamond,[67] and the *Groupe de Recherches en Semiologie Musical* at the University of Montreal.[68] I focus on these scholars because their findings lay the foundation for all subsequent ethnomusicological research on *katajjaq*. In addition, these scholars paid considerable attention to their analytical frameworks and processes of examining, evaluating, and disseminating their data. I do not use anthropological collections or recordings prior to the 1970s[69] as primary sources. Nor do I cite primary sources of early anthropological publications by Knud Rassmussen or Franz Boas or those published during the 1970s or 1980s by the anthropological Inuksiutit team at Laval University, since many of their works have been examined in detail by Diamond and the Groupe.[70]

I begin this chapter by exploring the origins of and terminology used to describe *katajjaq*. Following a discussion of common performance practice, sound production and transcription, the next two sections examine subject matter and repertoire and transmission. In the penultimate section, I provide a detailed explanation of *katajjaq's* purpose and function. Finally, I offer a short overview of recent scholarship and conclude with a summary of my findings.

description. Parry, an English explorer, led two North American Arctic expeditions between 1821-22 and 1822-23 in search of the Northwest Passage. Parry was among the first explorers to spend an extended amount of time with Canadian Inuit. The first publicly available sound recording of *katajjaq*, performed by Caribou Inuit children, is on ethnomusicologist Laura Boulton's *The Eskimos of Hudson Bay and Alaska* (1955); the recording is available on Folkway records.

[67] Beverley Diamond has also published under the name of Beverley Cavanagh. For clarity, when I reference her earlier work using this name, I add her current name (Diamond) in brackets.

[68] The Groupe de Recherches en Sémiologie Musicale at the University of Montreal collected, recorded, and analyzed *katajjaq.* Lead by Jean-Jacques Nattiez between 1974 and 1980, notable members include Claude Charron and Nicole Beaudry.

[69] Anthropologists producing these works include, for example, Jean Gabus, Geert Van den Steenhoven, Gilles LeFebvre, Asen Balikci, David Damas, and Bernard Saladin d'Anglure.

[70] Members of this anthropological team include Bernard Saladin d'Anglure, Carmen Montpetit and Celine Veillet. For more about their contributions, see d'Anglure (1978), Montpetit and Veillet (1977; 1984).

Locating Katajjaq

The most comprehensive details about *katajjaq*'s history among Canadian Inuit are written by scholar Jean-Jacques Nattiez. According to Nattiez, "the exact year and location when and where Inuit vocal games began is unknown because the Inuit did not keep written records. However, some records of explorers and missionaries document vocal games in Alaska and the Canadian Arctic in the 19th century" (Nattiez 2006). While written records by Inuit may not exist, ethnomusicologists have hypothesized multiple points of origin. Based on their work with Inuit over several years, and many trips to the North, some ethnomusicologists have based their understanding on the changes encountered during field research.

For instance, Beverley Cavanagh (Diamond) refers to geography and specific communities as being useful points of reference in discussing the possible birthplace of *katajjaq*. During a research trip in 1972 in the Taloyoak and Kitikmeot regions, she learned that vocal games "were commonly performed in the more easterly settlements of Spence Bay [Taloyoak/Talurjuaq] and Pelly Bay [Kugaaruk/Kuugaaruk]," and were still practiced in 1975 (1976, 43). Elaborating further she adds:

> An eastern origin seems likely since the games are widespread in Northern Quebec, Baffin Island, and the more easterly Caribou and Netsilik Eskimo [Taloyoak, Kitikmeot and Kivalliq] regions. It is not surprising to find more throat games in Spence Bay [Taloyoak/Talurjuaq] and Pelly Bay [Kugaaruk/Kuugaaruk], for in other respects these two communities are also more closely aligned with eastern practices while Gjoa Haven [Uqsuqtuuq] has assimilated more western elements. Most of the Gjoa Haven [Uqsuqtuuq] performers have moved west from the communities of Back River and Baker Lake [Qamani'tuaq]. Thus it seems that, at least in recent years, diffusion of the songs has been occurring from east to west. (1976, 44) [71]

Cavanagh's (Diamond) observations were verified by her personal experience; she notes that by 1975, during a research trip to Gjoa Haven [Uqsuqtuuq], the games were "no longer an active

[71] See page 163 of volume one of Cavanagh's (Diamond) (1982a) text where she makes the same observation.

repertoire as in Spence Bay [Taloyoak/Talurjuaq] and Pelly Bay [Kugaaruk/Kuugaaruk]" (1976, 43).[72]

Cavanagh's (Diamond) approach to *katajjaq* history and possible origins examines movement and transmission among Canadian Inuit. Similarly, Nattiez provides a diffusionist explanation, writing that he has been "able to ascertain that the Netsilik throat-games have been brought to the Iglulik [Igloolik] Inuit in Northern Baffin Land [Baffin Island][73] by Rose Iqalliut, a woman who had learned them from her Netsilik mother, but who settled in the Aglulik area" (Nattiez 1999, 411).[74]

Drawing on comparative and historical linguistics, as well as archaeology and genetic data, Nattiez also establishes a connection between migration and the similar cultural practices of Inuit vocal games in Canada, Ainu *rekutkar* in Japan, and Chukchi *pic eynen* in Russia (Nattiez 1999).[75] In particular, Nattiez says "it is known today that the Inuit have emigrated from Asia to the American continent, during the last of the three migration streams, through what is known today as the Bering Strait" (Nattiez 1999, 411).[76] Nattiez then examines the similar features of *kattajaq*, *rekutkar* and *pic eynen*. Noting that they all use voiced and voiceless pitch, the imitation of animals and intonation contours, Nattiez says:

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[72] See also Beverley Cavanagh (Diamond) (1982a) where she makes the same observation.
[73] Baffin Land was often used in early scholarly discussions to refer to Baffin Island. Baffin Land should not be confused with Baffinland, a Canadian mining company that mines iron ore in Mary River. Mary River is on Baffin Island.
[74] See also Jean-Jacques Nattiez (1982).
[75] Ethnomusicologist Raymond Ammann (1993) also provides a short discussion of *katajjaq, rekkukara,* and *pic-eine-rkin*, albeit his primary focus is throat singing of Chukchi and Siberian Yupik women of the Chukchi Peninsula. For an earlier comparative discussion of Inuit vocal games and the Ainu *rekkukara* in Japan, see Jean-Jacques Nattiez (1983a). In this article, Nattiez details a research trip to Japan (June and July 1978) and outlines a collaborative research project between the International Institute for Comparative Music Studies and Documentation in Berlin, the Hokkaido Kyoiku University, and the University of Montreal. Expanding on the idea of "circumboreal music" (originally proposed by musicologist William Malm [1977]), Nattiez provides a detailed comparison between the Ainu *rekkukara* of Hokkaido, Japan and *katajjaq*; he highlights how both "can be considered as two manifestations of the same circumpolar music culture" (1983a, 33).
[76] This particular view of Inuit migration from Asia has been contested. See T. Max Friesen and Charles D. Arnold (2008) for a discussion of Inuit migration from Alaska.

> I believe that some kind of protoforms of the drum dances, drum dance songs, throat-games and throat-songs of the Inuit, the Ainu, and the various Siberian peoples, have spread in the northern part of the two continents at the time of the third migration, 4000 to 5000 years ago, and have given birth to the different genres we are able to witness and compare today. (1999, 413)

By connecting their similar qualities, Nattiez suggests that *katajjaq*, *rekutkar* and *pic eynen* have a shared origin. While diffusionist explanations may lead to a generalized origin story that connects different cultures from different continents, emphasizing local histories and transmission processes (as Cavanagh (Diamond) and Nattiez do) gives voice to the various places and communities where *katajjaq* is practiced, and highlights locally specific terms used to describe this living tradition.

The most detailed survey of terminology used for vocal games is also provided by Cavanagh (Diamond) and Nattiez. Both report similar findings around and along the coastal communities of Nunavik. Cavanagh (Diamond) (1976) references linguist and missionary Lucien Schneider's (1970) and former politician and broadcaster Claude Charron's (1974)[77] use of "*katadzaq*" as a common term in Richmond Gulf and Sanaikuluag [Sanikiluaq][78] and Kenneth Peacock's (1969) use of "*kataktatoq*" in Povungnituq [Puvirnituq].[79] Comparably, Nattiez suggests that "*katajjaq*" is used (despite the difference in spelling) "around the coast of Arctic Quebec, in the Belcher Islands [Sanikiluaq], south of Baffin Island and, in a rather scattered fashion, in the rest of Baffin Island (where it might be called *pirkusirtuk* [or *pirqusirtuq*; *pirqusirartqq*])" (2006).[80] In contrast, Inuit from Kinngait [Cape Dorset] define vocal games as a

[77] Paper presentation at the Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM) conference 1974.
[78] Richmond Gulf is an inland bay located on the east side of Hudson Bay, in Nunavik (Northern Quebec). The closest Inuit settlement is Umiujaq. Sanikiluaq is the southernmost community in Nunavut.
[79] According to Cavanagh (Diamond), Peacock's uses of "*kataktatoq*" is in reference "to tapes in the collection of the National Museum of Man" (1982a, 161).
[80] Claude Charron (1978) also identifies the use of *katajjaq* as the generic term for vocal games in Nunavik (Northern Quebec).

pileojartuq, or "a game performed by two persons" (Nattiez 1999, 403). The variability of terms used to describe vocal games thus demonstrates regional differences.

Distinguishing between terms in Uqsuqtuuq, Cavanagh (Diamond) is among the first ethnomusicologists to postulate that vocal games are collectively described as "games where you make noises with your throats," and each individual game has its own separate name (Cavanagh 1976, 43).[81] So, terms like *katajjaq* and *qattipaaqtuq* are somewhat general, and really "refer to one game only," rather than an entire practice (Cavanagh 1976, 43). Moreover, each separate name "is, in fact, the initial word of each of their texts" (Cavanagh 1976, 43-44).[82] Similarly, Nattiez uses *nipaquhiit* as the term to denote "games done with sounds or noises" (Nattiez 2006). Again, these differences highlight the regional specificity of terminology used to describe vocal games.

While these numerous terms can be confusing, their variability emphasizes the extent of ethnomusicological research conducted in the 1970s and 1980s. In particular, the range of terminology reveals several difficulties in studying *katajjaq* in the early years. First, the variety of terms documented illustrates the difficulty in communicating with Inuit when a standardized word didn't exist. Additionally, these variations demonstrate the difficulty of trying to understand, describe and write about the complex use of such terminology. While early *katajjaq* scholars do not directly connect various uses of terminology to Inuit sub-cultural groups or differences in dialect, the scope of vocabulary discussed may be attributed to different dialects, although more investigation would be necessary to be conclusive. Comparatively, more recent

[81] See also page 20 of volume one of Cavanagh's (Diamond) (198a2) text where she makes the same observation.
[82] Examples collected by Cavanagh (Diamond) from the Netsilik region include "1. *Qiarraq* (*qiarpaliktuq*), 2. *Umaqtug*, 3. *Iluquma*, 4. *Qattipaaqtuq* (*haqalaqtuq*?), 5. *Immpijuqtuq*, 6. *Hiqnaqtuq*, 7. *Aqittuq*, 8. *Niaquqtuq* (*niaquingnaq*), 9. *Mamaqtuq* and a combination of 1 and 2" (Cavanagh 1976, 43-44). See page 16 of volume one of Cavanagh's (Diamond) (1982a) text where she makes the same observation.

(and current) investigations use *katajjaq* as the preeminent word to describe and discuss vocal games. However, Mary Piercey (2015), a former student of Diamond, notes in her dissertation that *qiaqpaq* is the word used to describe throat singing in Arviat, Nunavut.

The Game

Among ethnomusicological descriptions of *katajjaq,* Nattiez provides the most comprehensive discussion about traditional performance practice, or the relationship between sound and context.[83] Nattiez notes that *katajjaq,* a competitive game, is "played most of the time by women who face each other at close quarters," exchange sound motifs, and sometimes "hold each other's shoulders" or the arms of their partner (1983b, 457). Between the partners, one is leading, while the other responds with careful imitations of the leader. At any point during the game, one of the two women may change the motif, and the other must follow without missing a beat. The game ends when one of the participants runs out of breath, or is no longer in sync, and laughs to signal their loss. Like Nattiez, Beverley Diamond (2008) acknowledges the competitive nature of *katajjaq,* adding that the goal is to see who can last the longest. Claude Charron's (1978) description is perhaps the most technical, in that he provides specific details about performance practice:

> To perform katajjaq, the two players face each other at a range of one inch to about two feet, although six inches or less is the usual performing distance. Performance practice involves any one of several types of alternations of musical material. In some of them, the lead woman selects a syllabic-rhythmic context in which pitch and respiration patterns are alternated by each performer; in others, rhythmic contexts are created exclusively by certain breathing patterns set to vocables. Structural organization of this material is based on three types of alternation: the lead woman alternates a single, repeated motif with her partner; the lead woman performs motif A in alternation with the other woman who performs motif B; or there is a series in which the women alternate in

[83] Here, I distinguish "traditional" (or common) performance practice from some contemporary performance practice in which *katajjaq* moves from the realm of competitive game between partners to an amplified musical performance with an audience. I will discuss this change in performance practice in the next chapter.

> performing motif A, then motif B, then motif C, and so forth. A characteristic of this motif alternation is a style of dephased phrasing in which the strong accent of one woman's motif continuously coincides with the weak accent of the other woman's motif. (Charron 1978, 246)

Noting discrepancies in performance practice between communities, Nattiez explains that in Kinngait [Cape Dorset], "the game could be played in teams: women who belong to different camps, for instance, assembled to play the game, and the winning group was the one that forced the opposing team to make use of all its women. The game is played in pairs, but nevertheless four or more can play at the same time (in multiples of two)" (Nattiez 2006).

From the descriptions provided, it is clear that *katajjaq* is a female dominated tradition. Charron articulates that "participants may include anyone [who] is physically able to play the game, but in actual practice, it seems that performance is mostly an activity of women and some children" (1978, 246). Nattiez makes a similar point, saying that "this is mainly a female game. Men do not perform it today. They learn it when they are young kids, but as soon as they begin hunting with their fathers, they cease to perform it" (1999, 403). In contrast, during her fieldwork Diamond knew of one man who practiced *katajjaq.*[84]

While facing each other, *katajjaq* partners may choose to sit, kneel, or stand and sway side to side.[85] If participants choose to sway, following the rhythm of the *katajjaq*, their feet do not leave the ground. In most cases, many prefer to stand. Diamond makes similar general observations about *katajjaq* performance, adding that when two women face each other, they will often grasp "the forearm of their partner" and rock "with the rhythm of the game" (2008, 49). Noticeably, Diamond is the only ethnomusicologist to highlight the compelling relationship

[84] Although Diamond has not published this detail (that I know of), a discussion of gender and *katajjaq* led to her share this information during a formal question and answer period at the 2013 Expanding Ecomusicology: Exploring Sonic Culture and Environmental Change Symposium at Memorial University of Newfoundland's Research Centre for the Study of Music, Media and Place (MMap) and School and Music.

[85] The Inuit of Northern Quebec do not sit; however, sitting is common among Netsilik and Iglulik Inuit. See Jean-Jacques Nattiez (1999) for visual descriptions of posture.

between partners who practice *katajjaq.* She articulates that women "have special partners with whom they prefer to perform the games" (Diamond 2008, 52). Elaborating further, Diamond describes throat singer Karin Kettler's partnership:

> Karin Kettler describes the importance of having a close relationship with your partner and also a voice that matches hers…She performs with her sister, Kathy, as "Nukarriik" (meaning two sisters) and feels their partnership is good because both their voices are well matched and they know each other so well…Their advanced skill level is also well matched. (2008, 52) [86]

While the descriptions provided here highlight the acoustic nature of *katajjaq*, some ethnomusicologists have given attention to the use of resonators. Cavanagh (Diamond) describes the use of resonators in some communities and notes that women in Puvirnituq "pull their parka hoods up to direct the sound streams into one another" to hear each other better, while others use metal buckets (Cavanagh 1976, 43). Cavanagh (Diamond) (1976; 1982a) also observes that in Uqsuqtuuq, women place a bread pan to one side and direct sounds into it. In personal communication with musicologist Ramon Pelinsky, Charron (1978) similarly notes the use of cooking pots as resonators among the women of Eskimo Point [Arviat]. [87] As reported by Charron (1978), Pelinsky has videotaped women performing *katajjaq* with their heads inside a variety of pots. According to Charron, the use of everyday objects to add resonance has not been observed or documented in Baffin Island, the Sanikiluaq or Ungava.[88] Likewise, Nattiez mentions the use of kitchen utensils among Netsilik Inuit (in the Kitikmeot and Qikiqtani regions), adding that "the Inuit women of the Caribou area [in the Kivalliq region] use a kitchen basin into which they stick their heads in order to add resonance" (Nattiez 1999, 407).

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[86] See the following link https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8IqOegVCNKI for a demonstration of *Nukariik* performing *katajjaq*.
[87] See page 340 of Mary Piercey's (2015) dissertation where she makes similar observations about throat singing in Arviat.
[88] Ungava, at its inception, included northern regions of Arctic Quebec and Labrador or what is now known as Nunavik and Nunatsiavut.

Sound Production and Transcription

In addition to resonance, scholars have also discussed *katajjaq* sound production. Nattiez was the first to write about the importance of *katajjaq* sound quality, saying, "one must win, but with merit: certain sounds are considered more difficult to do than others" (2006). Referencing an unpublished paper by Nicole Beaudry, in which she put forth the idea of winning with merit, Nattiez develops the notion that there are degrees of difficulty in sound production. [89] He articulates, "there is a quality of sound to strive for! Virtuosity and aesthetics are not foreign to Inuit throat-games. One must win, but the pair of women must give the feeling of perfect cohesion: people from the audience should not be able to discover who is doing what" (1999, 403).

Claude Charron (1978) and Nicole Beaudry (1978a) both use transcription analyses to examine the ways in which sounds are produced and the problems associated with transcribing non-Western vocalizations. In their respective texts, Charron examines micro-structure while Beaudry investigates macro-structure. Micro-structure, according to Charron, "is concerned with discerning patterns in the articulatory parameters of the sound production itself" (1978, 248). In contrast, Beaudry's macro-structure explores "the more traditional aspects of song traits as we analyze them, i.e., the study of patterns of pitch and rhythm arranged in some sort of formal organization" (1978, 248). So, macro-structure explores and analyzes music to determine form (to be discussed in further detail below) and other characteristics that are specific to a musical tradition. Approaching *katajjaq* from these two perspectives, the authors observe similarities and provide discussions on divergent topics.

[89] See Jean Jacques Nattiez (1999) in which he discusses Nicole Beaudry's unpublished work about sound production.

Charron's study highlights breathing techniques and sound production. Sonograms of vocal games reveal that specific timbres are produced through respiration patterns like the inhalation and exhalation of breath. In other words, Charron's study reveals that "performers are not merely breathing in and out; rather their respiration and expiration is realized at specific intonation levels" (1978, 257). Nattiez (1999) notes the use of inhalations and exhalations of breath to create a "panting style."

Charron's sonogram analysis of vocal games also provides insight about the physiology of the human voice. He draws attention to the specific function of the glottis, or the space between the vocal cords, and notes that "when the glottis is almost closed, the vocal cords are set in vibration and modulate the airstream to produce a voiced sound: when the glottis is sufficiently open, so that the vocal cords are no longer set in motion, a voiceless sound is produced by the airstream" (1978, 251). The only scholar to use detailed scientific data to highlight the relationship between vocal physiology, *katajjaq* sound production and the relationship between inspirated and expirated, voiceless and voiced pitch, Charron summarizes his findings about transcription:

> When the features of inspiration and expiration are combined with either voiced or voiceless pitch, there result four categories of sound from which katajjaq intonation contours are formed. It is the consensus of our research group that these four categories of sound should appear as such in the transcriptions used to study throat game songs from the macro-structural point of view. Ordinary Western European notation can only be used to transcribe one of these types: expirated, voiced pitch. Therefore, in order to properly notate all these four qualities of sound, it is expedient to modify standard convention. To show that a pitch is expirated, a square-shaped note is used; if the pitch is inspirated, the note is in the shape of a triangle. Our convention also shows that a pitch is voiced if the note is white, voiceless if black. (1978, 255) [90]

An example of how *katajjaq* sound qualities are notated according to Charron's modified

[90] See Triinu Ojamaa (2005) for a discussion of transcription in regard to specific vocalizations of the Northern Siberian Nganasan.

transcription method is reproduced in figure 14:

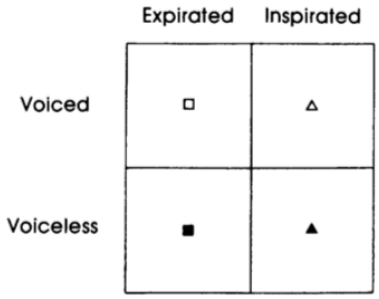

Figure 14: Expirated, inspirated, voiced and voiceless note heads (Nattiez 1983b, 462)

The transcription in figure 15 uses the Groupe's notation system and shows the text, pitch and rhythm of a vocal game with two voices. On close examination, it is clear that this *katajjaq* is characterized by specific intonation contours and an alternating pattern of voiced, voiceless, inspirated and expirated sounds and includes a morpheme ("hamma"). [91]

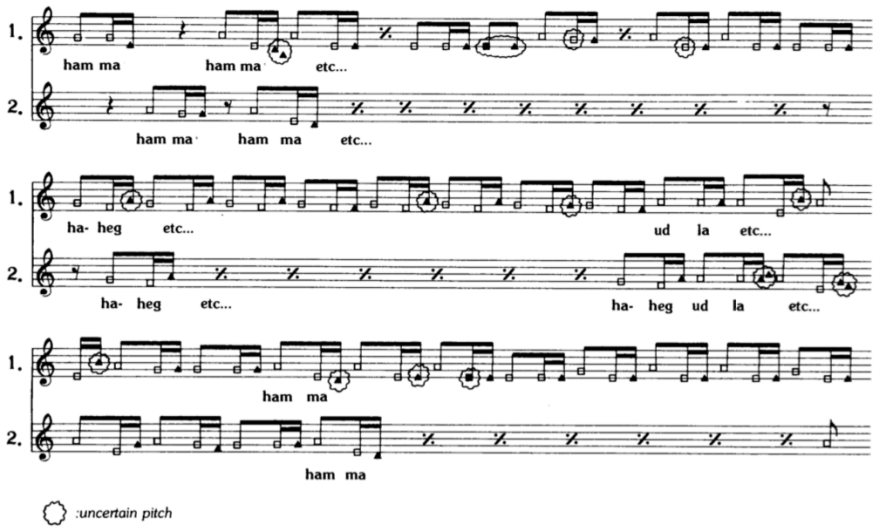

Figure 15: Vocal game transcription with two voices (Nattiez 1983b, 458)

Beaudry proposes an in-depth, multi-level notation process that emphasizes the transcription of sound qualities not perceived the first time (or the first few times) one hears

[91] A morpheme is the smallest, indivisible linguistic unit.

katajjaq. In this way, multiple levels of transcription can lead to multiple levels of perception and a more detailed analysis.[92] That is to say, multiple phases of transcription processes reveal more about *katajjaq* than initially thought or experienced. For example, Beaudry notes how multi-level transcriptions led the Groupe to new frameworks of understanding *katajjaq* vocal production, especially in understanding the role of inspired and voiceless pitch:

> Awareness of the nature of other kinds of sound came only after we could hear the voices separately, and we felt that the transcription ought to show the differences in voicing. However, the first transcriptions do not demonstrate a recognition of properties of intonation with regard to voiceless sounds and inspirated vocables. With regard to the latter, sounds that were produced by voiced inspiration were not considered to be true pitches but merely the by-product of this breathing technique. Nonetheless, the respiration processes constitute the very core of *katajjaq* vocal technique, and the pressing necessity to notate them adequately forced us to establish the voicing dichotomies and relate them to the respiration dichotomies. Having arrived at this point, we are now actually working with timbres because the type of respiration is crucial to their production, and furthermore, many kinds of timbre and voice quality are directly related to the threshold of voiced and voiceless pitch. (Beaudry 1978a, 269)

Beaudry notes that transcriptions allowed her to determine that there are two types of text used in *katajjaq*: vocables and morphemes. This finding contrasts her initial impression that the syllables had no meaning. Although poetry and prose are not used, the fact that textual material includes vocables and morphemes, which "has been verified by having performers write them in their syllabary script," was a revelation to Beaudry and the Groupe (Beaudry 1978a, 269). In his companion article, Claude Charron (1978) reiterates the importance of acknowledging the diverse range of sound production in *katajjaq* and the ways in which developing or modifying western transcription processes can lead to further musical and cross-cultural studies.

While Cavanagh (Diamond) (1982b) provides transcriptions of a few *katajjait*, she is careful to note that they "cannot in any way be considered complete transcriptions," but "serve to

[92] Nicole Beaudry's multi-level process is too lengthy to describe and beyond the scope of my dissertation. For more, see Beaudry (1978a).

show the various aspects of complexity of these games" (166). Writing approximately twenty-six years later, Diamond maintains that many of these transcription techniques allow us to conceptualize breathing patterns, voiced and voiceless pitch, and rhythm, but "tell us little about the timbre or shape of the gestures" (2008, 52). Diamond proposes the use of digital audio software tools such as Praat to demonstrate timbre and sound quality. She notes the program's ability to generate spectrographs that allow us to see pitch contours and "how well matched the two voices are" (Diamond 2008, 53). Although spectrographs are capable of showing differences in pitched voiced tones and provide more detail than Western notation or Beaudry and Charron's methods, Diamond observes that they contain data that is difficult to read and analyze.

Among the ethnomusicologists to discuss *katajjaq* transcription at length, Diamond is perhaps its strongest critic. Noting the limitations of transcriptions and their use, Diamond questions why "we need a visual representation of an oral tradition" (Diamond 2008, 54).[93] While she doesn't answer her own question, the question is significant, especially when we consider whether or not transcriptions of Indigenous oral traditions are valuable to their respective communities. While transcription methods like those provided by Charon and Beaudry are useful as analytical tools and can aid in scholarly understanding of the nuances of Indigenous oral traditions, their role in Indigenous cultures can be an imposition. There are power dynamics at play when we impose Western transcription processes on Indigenous cultures where cultural traditions are steeped in oral and aural history and are often intertwined with other practices like storytelling and dance. The answer is perhaps found in the risk-benefit ratio; while transcriptions are valuable to the academy and enable scholars to understand Indigenous practices, in what reciprocal way do they benefit Indigenous communities? As such, the *need* for

[93] See also Beverley Diamond (2018).

and *use* of transcriptions of Indigenous oral and aural traditions should always be mandated by Indigenous communities.

Among the most intriguing aspects about *katajjaq* is that they do not have a set form. Instead they have formation rules: "a performer (either before or during performance) selects the motifs, number of repetitions of each, and the order of their presentation; he [*sic*] has a fair number of options from which to choose, and he [*sic*] makes his [*sic*] selection according to syntactical rules governing performance improvisation, both at the level of the motif and at the level of the whole *katajjaq*" (Beaudry 1978a, 271-272). While a fascinating point, Beaudry does not provide more detail about how she came to these conclusions.

Fortunately, Claude Charron (1978) addresses formation rules, noting that there are three sections: a preliminary section, the main exchange of motifs, and the closing section. The preliminary section functions as a "warm-up," where participants choose motifs and test vocalization and respiration techniques. Once participants have chosen their motifs, phrasing, and breathing patterns, they begin the game, or what Charron terms the "alteration proper." The closing section "is characterized by acceleration, which increases until a stopping condition is precipitated" (Charron 1978, 247). The stopping condition or endpoint of a *katajjaq* "may be caused by lack of breath or by choking, but may also be a performance error" such as the "loss of phrasing or a mistake in syllable pronunciation" (Charron 1978, 247). Although the reason for stopping does not matter, the end of a *katajjaq* is marked with a laugh or chuckle by both participants.

Working from Charron and Beaudry's findings, Nattiez (1999) explains how the basic traits of *katajjaq* (i.e., intonation contours, morphemes, voiced and voiceless pitches and inhalations and exhalations of breath) can lead to an extraordinary number of vocal

combinations. In fact, Nattiez notes that he and his colleagues never encountered identical *katajjait.* Taking his colleagues' findings one step further, Nattiez (1983b) discusses the compositional process of *katajjaq*, postulating that there are two types of stock patterns. The first consists of intonation contours, rhythms and morphemes, while the second type of stock patterns aim to integrate the first. Based on analyses and observations of transcriptions, his discussion of compositional processes only considers the *katajjaq* recorded for their study.[94] In other words, Nattiez' commentary about compositional processes only considers stylistic descriptions and does not take into account "the active compositional process at work when two women perform the game" (Nattiez 1983b, 468). Much of Nattiez' observations here do not consider or consult Inuit understandings of *katajjaq* since none of the people recorded were asked to comment on or describe their compositional process(es).[95] Nattiez does observe, however, that "no Inuk ever declared that he [*sic*] was choosing from a stock of patterns present in this culture" (1983b, 468).

Textual Material

The earliest ethnomusicological discussions about *katajjaq* text are written by Cavanagh (Diamond) (1976). She proposes that textual material can be words or phrases from songs and

[94] Claude Charron (1978) and Nicole Beaudry's (1978a) complementary articles demonstrate how ethnomusicologists can describe *katajjaq* via phonetics and physiology. Much of their analysis is based on recorded *katajjait*. Almost five hundred examples were collected from four villages in southern Baffin Island and Nunavik. Of these, seventy-four from Kangiqsuk [Payne Bay] were subjected to analysis and extracted data was then applied to the remaining recordings from the other settlements. Jean-Jacques Nattiez (1983b) notes that a large sample was taken to ensure that the Groupe de Rechearches could discover stylistic features from each village, and so that they could compare genres and styles amongst the four villages.

[95] Although Nattiez recognizes the importance of including Inuit-centered understandings and expressions of their own culture, he bolsters his analysis and findings about compositional processes by endorsing the following statement by Beverley Cavanagh (Diamond): "As the Inuit composers [of drum dances] provide few clues to the process of composition in their comments about making songs and their evaluation of works in the present repertoire, insight into the process can only be gained by an intensive analysis of the songs themselves" (Cavanagh 1982a, 86).

legends as well as references to lived experiences.[96] Speaking of her own experience, Cavanagh (Diamond) explains that one of her fieldwork recordings of a vocal game from Uqsuqtuuq consists of fifty words. While Charron (1978) notes that *katajjaq* texts use words or vocables, Nattiez (1999; 2006) proposes the use of long sentences and stories as textual material in the Kivalliq, Kitikmeot and Qikiqtani regions. He observes that the game is an "open-structure":

> Receptive to many diverse and pre-existing sound expressions, including meaningless syllables (or for which meanings are no longer understood), archaic words, names of ancestors or elders, animal names, toponyms (place names), terms designating an object seen while playing the game, animal cries (sometimes but not always geese calls), sounds from nature, the melody borrowed from an *aqausiq* (an affectionate song composed for an infant), the tune of a drum dance song or of a religious hymn. (2006)

Cavanagh (Diamond) found two basic text settings: "the first type includes games with long texts" that are "vaguely enunciated," while the second uses words "for their phonetic potential only," so that syllables or vowels or consonants are used "as the basis for an abstract sound" (1976, 44).[97] She suggests that *katajjaq* textual material among the Netsilik Inuit is only comprehensible when spoken. In other words, the text, when performed, is articulated differently to purposely distort its comprehensibility so that sound quality overshadows the text. Nattiez (2006) makes similar observations, postulating that *katajjaq* text is sometimes unclear and difficult to recognize because breathing patterns distort enunciation so listeners must decipher the transformed text. In this way, *katajjaq* functions as a riddle or teaching tool where Inuit must reconstruct one aspect of their sonic environment. While the textual material for *katajjaq* varies, Diamond (2008), Nattiez (1999) and Charron (1978) note that many *katajjait* texts imitate the

[96] For an introduction to Inuit myths, legends and traditional Inuit creation stories (i.e., the creation of the sun, moon, caribou etc.), see Rachel and Sean Qitsualik-Tinsley's *How Things Came to Be: Inuit Stories of Creation* (2015), and Neil Christopher, Noel McDermott and Louise Flaherty's *Unikkaaqtuat: An Introduction to Traditional Inuit Myths and Legends* (2011). See also Nadia Sammurtok's *The Caterpillar Woman* (2016). Nadia is Nelson Tagoona's maternal aunt. Based on a traditional story, Sammurtok's book captures the loving, accepting, and giving nature of Inuit ways of being.

[97] See page 163 of volume one of Cavanagh's (Diamond) (1982a) text where she makes the same observation.

soundscape of the arctic.

Repertoire and Transmission

Since textual material is so varied, and can include a variety of imitated sounds, it is surprising that early investigations did not give much attention to *katajjaq* repertoire. Although some have discussed specific vocal games by name with details about text, none have explicitly mentioned whether or not a pre-existing repertoire or canon of games exist, or how Inuit know them. Little is known about transmission and the ways *katajjaq* is taught and learned. While Nattiez (1999) has described the transmission process of drum dance songs, he posits that vocal games belong to a separate domain of expression. He writes that vocal games do not have an identifiable composer but does not elaborate further.

Functions of Katajjaq

In a previous section, I noted Cavanagh's (Diamond) and Nattiez' observations of incomprehensible text in *katajjaq*. Vocal games then, are akin to riddles, where the listener needs to decipher one aspect of their sonic environment to understand the meaning of a game. Cavanagh (Diamond) (1976; 1983) notes that games with indiscernible text were meant to develop "*ihuma*," or the imagination and reasoning powers of both children and adults: [98]

> The development of "ihuma" is one of the major psychological functions of games whether they are accompanied by singing, dancing, string figures, or whatever. The throat games fit this function perfectly. There are not only ambiguities in the text once it is understood, but it is a challenge to one's ears and intellect to comprehend the sounds in the first place. It is also considered a challenge to memorize the longer texts. (1976, 47)

[98] According to Cavanagh (Diamond), anthropologist Jean Briggs "defines '*ihuma*' as that which 'makes it possible for a person to respond to his surroundings, physical and social, and to conform to social expectations'" (Cavanagh 1976, 47).

Diamond's point here makes it clear that *katajjaq* functions, in part, as an educational tool. Nattiez (2006) and Charron (1978) also explain that some vocal games act as riddles from which listeners must reconstruct meaning.

Charron further suggests that *katajjaq,* as a recreational activity, can be used for entertainment or to celebrate a successful hunt or to welcome visitors. Nattiez (1983a; 1983b; 1999) highlights the various functions of *katajjaq*, suggesting that its "host structure" facilitates *katajjaq* performance for multiple purposes:

> It is not possible to reduce their function to a performance in some feasts, to a conjunction with northern lights, to the imitation of some particular animal, or any other such isolated event. We know that, in the past, they could be performed by two people, sometimes by three or four, at any moment of the day month or year. Although they were performed most of the time by women, they could also be played by and with men or young boys. Also, they were enjoyed as entertainment, to help keep the baby quiet, or to celebrate the return of the hunters in the big communal igloo. They could also be a team game, played while traveling, inserted within sequences of other games, and so on. They probably also had some relationship with shamanism, but that remains difficult to elucidate…some Inuit have said it was a breathing exercise in preparation for bad weather conditions; others see it as a form of educative riddle. (1983b, 460-461)

Of the scholars highlighted in this chapter, Nattiez is the only one to discuss Inuit shamanism and the shamanistic functions of *katajjaq*.[99] Much of Nattiez' discussion is based on developing earlier anthropological findings by Bernard Saladin d'Anglure (1978). D'Anglure suggests that *katajjaq* was performed during three feasts (spring equinox, and the summer and

[99] "Shamanism," as used by Nattiez, does not refer to a specific person or role, or what an *angakkuq* (shaman) could do to or for their community. Rather, he uses "shamanism" as a way to refer to "the entire set of practices and ritual done by all members of an animistic society" (Nattiez 1999, 405). See chapter seven of Pamela R. Stern's (2010) book for a discussion about Inuit religious life. Stern provides an overview about shamanism in Inuit culture. See pages 83-87 of Peter Collings' book *Becoming Inummarik: Men's Lives in an Inuit Community* (2014) for a discussion of shamanism and how it led to the death (by suicide) of a man in Collings' research community. See also pages 115-119 and 120-125 in Penny Petrone's edited volume *Northern Voices: Inuit Writings in English* (1988). Here, two people, Igjugarjuk and Aua describe how they became shamans. Armand Tagoona (1975) also provides stories and drawings about shamanism. See, in particular, his explanations of Plate 12 and 22. These drawings portray specific stories about shamanism and how a man from Tagoona's mother's generation became a shaman.

winter solstices) of the shamanistic period.[100] He asserts that *katajjaq* performance during the winter celebrated "the reproduction of life in order to hasten the return of the sun, the reproduction of the game and the feast of the hunters celebrating the relationship that unites them" (d'Anglure 1978, 90). He goes on to say that vocal games could be used to influence the return of migratory birds in the beginning of spring and could accompany another significant reproductive cycle, the brooding period of geese.

Nattiez substantiates d'Anglure's findings through his personal field experiences with Inuit communities. In a 1979 interview with Alassie Alasuak, an Inuk woman from Puvirnituq, Nattiez notes, "Alassie was the only Inuk woman, in northern Quebec, to tell me that the *katajjaq* is used in order to hasten their [hunter's] return, to attract animals to be hunted, or to influence the natural elements, such as the air, the wind and the waves, favourably towards the hunters" (1999, 405). Even though Alasuak's insight represents an individual story, a connection could extend to a larger spectrum of shared communal practices (forgotten or otherwise), especially in a culture where knowledge is transmitted, received, and preserved through oral traditions. In fact, this transmission process is made clear when Nattiez notes that Alasuak was sharing what she had learned from her grandparents and parents, from the shamanistic period, or the time before Christian missionization. Nattiez points out that the silence about and unwillingness to discuss shamanism are easily understood since "missionaries have done a nice job between the twenties and the fifties: Inuit people do not talk about it either because they are afraid of it, or because they are no longer aware of the religious overtones with this practice, especially in the younger

[100] Anthropologists Carmen Montpetit and Celine Veillet (1977) assert that there are two time periods of *katajjaq*. The first is before the arrival and subsequent conversions by the Anglican church, and the second period is that which followed.

generation" (1999, 406).[101]

In conjunction with d'Anglure's observations, Nattiez hypothesizes that vocal games, at some point, were related to religious practices and shamanism, but that knowledge of these rituals and ceremonies was lost during missionary efforts to convert Inuit to Christianity. He hypothesizes that "while the husbands were away hunting, the women performed these games not only in order to have fun and to enjoy themselves, but also in order to exert some influence on the spirits of the birds, the sea mammals, the wind, the water, the ancestors, etc., in an attempt to create the most favourable conditions for hunting and fishing" (1999, 405). In other words, Nattiez believes that the domestic performance of *katajjaq* was intended to influence deities and spirits of the natural world to ensure a successful hunt.[102]

If Nattiez' hypothesis is correct, an additional layer of the function of *katajjaq* and gender roles has emerged. If women used *katajjaq* as a way to influence nature and animals to ensure communal sustenance, then a division of labour (real or symbolic) existed. Nattiez argues that if he is correct, then "women have been participating on equal footing with men in the survival of the community" because when "men kill the game, women perform the games in order to influence the spirit" (1999, 405). Nattiez proposes calling *katajjaq* a type of "survival" music. For him, the religious context of *katajjaq* has disappeared "but either the ludic function has survived alone, or it has replaced the religious signified attached to this vocal signifier" (Nattiez

[101] For a more detailed discussion of shamanism and throat singing see Jean-Jacques Nattiez (1999). Nattiez argues that *katajjaq*, the Siberian Chukchi *pic eynen*, and the Ainu *rekutkar* of Japan share many similarities and proposes that a circumpolar approach would mean that the shamanistic function of throat singing among the Chukchi and Ainu are transferable to the Inuit. In his 1983a text, Nattiez also provides a detailed discussion of the *rekkukara* and its animistic similarities to *katajjaq.* See also Richard Keeling (2012) for a discussion that examines animal impersonation songs of North American Indigenous cultures that are connected to Asia and Arctic Europe.

[102] Anthropologists Carmen Montpetit and Celine Veillet (1984) have noted how the common practice of holding a partner's arms while performing *katajjaq* mimics the competition between geese during mating season. Perhaps this is an example of Nattiez's observation, in that the common body position is meant to influence the deities of animals (birds in this case) and ensure a successful hunt.

1999, 415-416). In other words, the signifier (*katajjaq*) remains the same, but the signifieds (functions and meanings) have changed. While Nattiez' ideas are thought-provoking, they have not been pursued by other scholars, and so remain tantalizing insights into possible Inuit practices and belief systems prior to colonization and missionization.

Conclusion

Based on research by Beverley Diamond and the Groupe de Recherches en Semiologie Musicale at the University of Montreal, this chapter provides insight into the topics that interested and informed early scholarship about *katajjaq*. Beginning in the 1970s, these researchers documented and disseminated a substantial amount of information about vocal games. Continuing well into the 1980s, much of this research has focused on collecting and describing *katajjaq* as a means of recovering and preserving a living tradition. Many of the analyses of the 1970s and 1980s about *katajjaq* history, performance practice, sound production, subject matter and function are undoubtedly the baseline for subsequent studies.

Later publications, as I discuss in the following chapter, build on the breadth of knowledge accumulated during the 1970s and 1980s and provide further information about emerging or well-known Inuit musicians who include *katajjaq* in their musical compositions. I situate my next chapter within this body of literature. In particular, the following chapter centers Inuit voices and brings Inuit perspectives about *katajjaq* into the discourse.

Chapter 4: Katajjaq and Contemporary Understandings

While the preceding chapter examined early scholarly discussions about vocal games, this chapter considers contemporary understandings of *katajjaq*, from the perspectives of current scholarship, including my own fieldwork, ethnography, and interviews, as well as from *katajjaq* practitioners through public performance and education.

More recent scholarship, about Inuit arts practices, especially those published in the 2000s, examine the ways in which *katajjaq* has moved from the realm of game to music. Although many of these publications focus on one performer, Tanya Tagaq, they nonetheless highlight complex and changing understandings of *katajjaq*. For instance, ethnomusicologist Jeffrey van den Scott's (2016) dissertation (chapter six specifically) interrogates how Tagaq challenges tradition and contemporary music making by combing *katajjaq* (as a soloist) with experimental music. Musicologist Sophie Stevance (2014) discusses how Tagaq's vocal performances are an expression of Inuit activism. In particular, Stevance analyzes how "Fracking," a song from Tagaq's fourth studio album *Animism* (2014), criticizes hydraulic fracturing.[103] Similarly, musicologist Meredith Boerchers observes how Tagaq inhabits the intersection between decolonization, activism and environmentalism "by sonically evoking Inuit ecology and embodying Inuit ecologically-rooted ontology on stage" (2019, i). Musicologist Vanessa Blais-Tremblay's (2014) paper explores how Western European art music that includes *katajjaq* can reinforce settler-Indigenous power relationships. Specifically, Blais-Tremblay suggests that "by neutralizing the capacity of improvisational interplay between the throat singer and the string ensemble, the composer greatly disempowers Tagaq from any kind of teleological agency in the shaping of the work" (2014, 8). Art historian Nicole

[103] *Animism* won the Polaris Music Prize in 2014, as well as a Juno Award for Aboriginal Album of the Year in 2015.

Dial-Kay (2013) underscores how Tagaq uses everyday lived experiences to define collective and individual identity that belongs to a larger post-national Arctic community. Finally, musicologist Alexa Lauren Woloshyn's dissertation (2002), examines Tagaq's music (among others) and notes the sensuous and social relationships between the body and the voice.

This recent scholarship reveals how academic understandings of *katajjaq* have developed considerably since the 1970s and 1980s. These publications also expose a gap in scholarly attention to *katajjaq.* With the exception of a few texts from the 1990s and the early 2000s that focused on re-evaluating earlier publications and Indigenous settler-relationships, especially those by Beverley Diamond (2008) and Jean-Jacques Nattiez (1999), scholarly interest in *katajjaq* seems to be limited throughout the 1990s. I posit that the rise of scholarly attention again in the 2000s was fueled by the international success of Tanya Tagaq. Her collaboration with Bjork in the early 2000s catapulted Tagaq's career and increased public awareness of *katajjaq* and Inuit culture. Combined with an increased interest in using Indigenous arts practices to generate "Canadian music" and a homogenous national identity, *katajjaq's* place in the academy, as well as public interest grew.[104] Moreover, I argue that Tagaq's performance at the 2010 Winter Olympic Games in Vancouver, British Columbia generated further interest, especially in the academy, since many of the texts cited earlier were published after 2010.

While early scholarship aimed to determine the details of *katajjaq* performance, recent examinations build from this data and highlight how *katajjaq* is much more than a vocal game. More specifically, early *katajjaq* scholars, "afraid that oral traditions were disappearing" due to rapid change, "began to collect and record them" (Piercey 2015, 20). By collecting "primary material to fill in gaps in knowledge concerning specific genres," early *katajjaq* scholarship

[104] See Dylan Robinson 2012b.

tended to overlook Inuit perspectives and the relationship between sound and context (Piercey 2015, 20-21). In contrast, recent studies emphasize Inuit voices and highlight how *katajjaq* is an active presence in the everyday lives of Inuit. In doing so, these analyses consistently underscore Inuit perspectives and personal experiences and stories. It is within this body of literature that I situate my dissertation.

More specifically, I demonstrate how Inuit perspectives highlight practitioners' connection to and *relationship with* vocal games as a living, breathing entity, something that is very much a part of and a presence in Inuit life. This chapter, then, is a mediation of how I understand the relationship between early academic literature on *katajjaq* and current viewpoints expressed by Inuit practitioners. In my own work, the meeting point between early *katajjaq* scholarship and current real-world experiences of Inuit has been at the forefront of my inquiry, implicitly and explicitly. Early on, I struggled with condensing early academic work on *katajjaq* in a way that provided a clear history of the practice. Overwhelmed by the scope of scholarly data and confused by changes in place names, I struggled to piece together a narrative of *katajjaq*, especially one that correlated with Inuit perspectives and my own experiences in the field. Using my experiences as a case study, the purpose of this chapter is to highlight the ways in which scholarly research priorities (including my own) can, and sometimes do, diverge from the priorities of Inuit throat singers. Moreover, I aim to demonstrate how listening to and allowing our studies to be guided by the people we work with diversifies the scope of our work; the more we listen, the more we learn.

My first throat singing interview was with Tanya Tagaq. In preparation for the interview, I read all of the scholarly texts cited in chapter three. From there, I compiled a list of questions to ask. Many were based on topics I had read about: origins and terminology, common practice,

gender, sound production, textual material and repertoire and function. My hope was to corroborate and develop ideas I had read about. While Tagaq answered my questions, validating some ideas, not elaborating on others and giving answers I didn't know what to do with, I moved forward and interviewed more throat singers and Inuit musicians. By my third (Christine Tootoo) and fourth (Charles Keelan) interviews, I realized the ill-informed nature of my questions. By this time, I realized that the types of questions I was asking weren't always related to the types of answers I was receiving. Instead, what I got was a conglomerate of responses that were more personal in nature than I expected. The people I interviewed were sharing life experiences and revealing unique lived experiences and understandings that I didn't know what to do with, ideas that hadn't been fully realized and discussed in early ethnomusicological discussions about *katajjaq.* It was here that I realized that throat singers and Inuit musicians aren't concerned with the same topics as I was. So, I changed the types of questions I was asking by listening to what they were saying, letting them guide my study. I'm grateful that they allowed me the opportunity to reframe my questions and interview them again.

This chapter is organized into three sections; the first investigates Inuit understandings of *katajjaq*. By exploring themes similar to those established by academics in my previous chapter, I examine how Inuit describe their *relationship with katajjaq*; however, this chapter deals with themes more loosely. Instead of providing clear subheadings as I did previously, I weave perspectives and stories as they relate and connect to one another. Sometimes these viewpoints overlap or repeat depending on the speaker. My intent here is twofold. First, I want to point out the similarities and differences in the way Inuit talk about *katajjaq*, especially in comparison to early scholars. Second, I want to emphasize the *relationship* Inuit have *with katajjaq*. To do so, I

intertwine published interviews by various scholars and those available in the public domain with my personal interviews with Inuit throat singers.

The second section mediates academic and Inuit discussions about *katajjaq.* As an academic investigating this cultural practice, I was confronted by two specific perspectives. One, was defined by early scholarly discussions about the intricacies of *katajjaq* practice. The second was characterized by Inuit understandings of *katajjaq* that simultaneously highlighted collective and individual perspectives. By combining ethnography with field observations and self-reflexivity, I explore the ways in which *katajjaq* enables critical engagement with culture, belonging and Inuit epistemology.

In the third section, I investigate how, in the early 21st century, *katajjaq* oscillates between game and music, and the cultural and social conditions that made this transition possible. I illustrate how scholarly work, Inuit perspectives and experiences from the field help to define *katajjaq* and its place in a particular moment.

Katajjaq According to Inuit

Inuit throat singers like Evie Mark emphasize *katajjaq*'s oral tradition when describing its history:

> A lot of non-Inuit people have asked the history of throat-singing, and have asked elders to find out where the throat-singing came from. Our elders always say it came from the Inuit people, way before I was born, and that is the only information that they can provide. I've heard this question so many times and I can never answer it, except that it's very old. We've never had a written history; we have an oral history. All this information has never been written down, except passed on orally from one generation to the next. I do know that it is extremely old. Older than my grandmother, older than my great-grandmother, older than my great-great-grandmother. Because that's what my grandparents have told me, and that's what elders have told reporters and television people. (Deschênes 2002)

Other throat singers highlight *katajjaq's* competitive nature. In lieu of providing a history of the practice, Tanya Tagaq describes it:[105]

> This whole thing started where the noises are emulating the sounds of land or the sounds of animals and traditionally it's two women and the sounds are broken up into two different parts. It's a game, it's like round robin where if one woman's making one sound and the other woman's doing the other, and it goes back and forth like this and it's very regimented. It's a competition but it's, like its [*sic*] not about who's better, it's just fun, I don't think it's something people take seriously at all and I really like that about it, I don't think it needs to be a hyper competitive thing, you know? Traditionally it's a game but people nowadays, like you know, any occasion is good, like when people open meetings and stuff, you know you have to show respect or maybe someone's getting married or a talent show, like it doesn't matter, it's very very informal, it can be anywhere, like I sing at parties with my friends at 3 in the morning, like it's…there's no rules surrounding it. Traditionally though, there'd you know if there's a feast, like if someone came back with a huge bounty of food and they'd make the giant igloos and sometimes they'd be interconnecting, then people would definitely do it but I think that in the winter people got maybe bored sometimes because it was so cold and they'd get stuck inside. (The Open University March 2, 2010) [106]

Similar to Tagaq's "round robin" description, Evie Mark says:

> It goes like this. Two women face each other very closely, and they would throat sing like this. If I would be with my partner right now, I would say A, she would say A, I would say A, she would say A, I say C, she says C. So she repeats after me. It would be a sort of rolling of sounds. And, once that happens, you create a rhythm. And the only way the rhythm would be broken is when one of the two women starts laughing or if one of them stops because she is tired. It's a kind of game. We always say the first person to laugh or the first person to stop is the one to lose. It's nothing serious. Throat singing is a way of having fun. That's the general idea, it's to have fun during gatherings. It is also a way to prove to your friends around you or your family that if you are a good throat singer, you're gonna win the game.
>
> Throat singing is a very accurate technique in a sense that when you are singing fast, the person who is following the leader has to go in every little gap the leader leaves for her to fill in. For instance, if I was to say 1+1+1+1, the ones being what I sing and the pluses the gaps, she would go in-between the ones, singing on the pluses. Then, if I change my rhythm, this woman has to follow that change of rhythm and fill in the gaps of that new rhythm. She has to be very accurate. She has to have a very good ear and she has to follow visually what I am doing. (Deschênes 2002)

[105] The Open University (OU) in the UK offers a selection of modules dedicated to World Music, including a six-part presentation on *katajjaq* by Tanya Tagaq. For more about their World Music series and Tagaq's contribution see: http://www.open.ac.uk/blogs/music/?p=687.

[106] Notably, Beverley Diamond's (1982b) study (volume two specifically) of drum dance songs does include specific information about performers, composers, song histories and social function.

While these descriptions from Mark and Tagaq place women at the center of *katajjaq*, there are stories of men participating as well.[107] Evie Mark says, "I also heard before from elders, so I will just repeat what the elders have said, that men used to throat-sing too" (Deschênes 2002). Mark also acknowledges that the predominantly female presence in *katajjaq* is connected to gender roles:

> Throat-singing is a form of art, in a sense. We don't have a word in Inuktituk for art, but it is an art in a sense because that it is a way of socializing, a way of getting together. For one very typical example is when the husbands would go on hunting trips. The women would gather together when they have nothing to do, no more sewing to do, no more cleaning to do, they would just have fun, and one of the ways of entertaining themselves is throat-singing. (Deschênes 2002)

Throat singer Christine Tootoo provides similar reasons for why men do not participate in *katajjaq*:

> Throat singing was originally used to lull babies to sleep, the deep sounds create vibrations along the back and that's where women carried babies. [108] Then women turned it into a friendly competition to see who could last the longest or adapt to the changes in sounds the quickest. Traditionally, Inuit women and children were the only ones throat singing because men were doing their everyday duties, going out on the land and hunting. Sometimes, they'd be gone for days, leaving women, young children, and elderly at their camps. This is the reason most men don't throat sing. Now it's becoming more popular for some men. I know a few male throat singers. (Interview with the author, February 17, 2015)

Tanya Tagaq also highlights gender roles and the female presence in *katajjaq*:

> The women were so crucial like you, you'd die because they made all your clothing, these ladies, they can sew like waterproof. They can make things waterproof with their fine, fine stitching and stuff like this right, so they'd make the whole tent and they'd make all the clothing and the men would risk their lives to go out in the cold and hunt so I think that women just had more time to be alone together. We used to joke around and call it "uterus singing" because only women do it right? (The Open University March 26, 2010)

[107] A discussion of broader gender roles in Inuit communities is beyond the scope of my study. For more about the position of women in northern Indigenous communities see Lisa Frink, Rita S. Shepard and Gregory A. Reinhardt's edited volume *Many Faces of Gender: Roles and Relationships Through Time in Indigenous Northern Communities* (2002).

[108] During a trip to Qamani'tuaq, Nunavut in 2015 I had a lengthy layover in Rankin Inlet. While waiting for my connecting flight at the airport, I observed a young mother in an *amauti* calm her newborn child by creating the same vocalizations as *katajjaq.*

Tagaq elaborates further saying, *katajjaq* "is 'not 'limited' to women anymore, many men do it. I enjoy utilizing it for feminine purposes because the sounds are not in the Western concept of a 'lady like' sound. Femininity is fierce and strong as well as gentle and nurturing" (Interview with the author, March 20, 2013). Although Tagaq suggests that older practices are giving way to include men, she maintains that *for her* the sounds of *katajjaq* are feminine: "I think that like ugly things can be beautiful to me and I think that these noises can be very feminine to me even though they're sounding very strange to other people" (The Open University March 26, 2010). She develops her idea of *katajjaq* and femininity:

> When you're from a culture where it's cold and like in the past, you'd just be fighting off death all the time because it was so cold and you need a strong partner, you don't need some little thing that goes shopping and has long nails, it's a different idea of femininity. (The Open University March 26, 2010)

Tagaq goes on to explain that *katajjaq* "represents mental and physical fortitude. You have to have open lungs and a quick mind" (Interview with the author, March 20, 2013). Taken together, Tagaq's viewpoints suggest that, for her, the sounds of *katajjaq* are feminine and the game represents several aspects of being an Inuk woman: being in partnership with family and community and contributing to life in ways that are meaningful and beneficial for all.

Although Tagaq is the only one to discuss Western perceptions of gender roles and femininity in *katajjaq*, Inuit throat-boxer Nelson Tagoona hints at a similar perspective. While he acknowledges that "throat singing is female dominated" and "a competition between two women," he challenges expectations with his own presence in *katajjaq*: [109]

> The reason I actually throat-sing and beatbox confidently is because, I am the singing, but I'm also the drum. I am not taking one side as just the female or only the drum as only the man. I could *ajaajaa* my story, which is a unisex version of singing but that isn't what I'm

[109] See Figure 16 for an audio version of Nelson's quote.

> good at. I have my own unique voice and I am thriving with it. Therefore, I am comfortable with all of who I am. (Interview with the author, February 5, 2015)[110]

Figure 16: Audio of Nelson's quote cited above. Recorded by Nelson. (See supplemental files)

While gendered participation is changing, *katajjaq* textual material hasn't changed. Throat singers agree that *katajjaq* sound material emulates nature and the environment.

According to Tanya Tagaq:

> It's not words, it's the sound, like there's even a little song for boiling water, rivers, and songs about mosquitoes and then some that are just there for the sounds, so they're all different. It's the sounds, it's not normally putting words in. (The Open University March 2, 2010)

Christine Tootoo also establishes a connection between *katajjaq* and the environment:

> …the connection to the land is probably one of the main things *katajjaq* thrives on. Most of the songs imitate the sounds of nature, and the environment around us. I think throat singing out on the land would feel so natural, and I'd imagine, make me feel so connected. If you're asking about the environment influencing my throat singing, it can influence which songs I'd like to sing, or help explain the connection between the environment/weather and the song. (Interview with the author, February 17, 2015)

An example of a widely known *katajjaq* influenced by environmental factors is "*Qimmirualapik*." While stories about this particular game differ from region to region, the sound production nonetheless relies on emulating a puppy. One story is told by Tagaq:

> It's about the dog teams, it's about a little puppy that was running and when the sea ice freezes, there'll be patches of snow and then smooth pieces of ice and the puppy because it's so small, it doesn't know yet, it was running and went to the ice and ended up slipping, you know how dogs do that, it's really cute. Ok but this is just one half of it, ok? (she sings) So that's about the little dog slipping but when the two people are doing it together it's like, the rhythm of it, you can almost hear that. (The Open University, March 26, 2010)

[110] To clarify, Nelson is not gendering the *qilaut* (Inuit hand drum used for drum dancing and accompanying singing). Traditionally, Inuit men drum dance while the women sing, so by asserting that he isn't choosing one side or the other, Nelson highlights his comfort in participating in an Inuit (ungendered) art form. Nelson's position also points to how gender roles in drum dancing is changing in some communities. See chapter four of Mary Piercey's (2015) discussion of drum dances in Arviat, NU.

In contrast, Kettler describes other versions:

> In one story, the little puppy hid in the entrance of the iglu and the women in the house imitated its hunger cries. In another version, a little girl wanted the runt of the litter to be the leader of the dogsled pack; she made him this throat song so that he would grow to be strong. (Diamond 2008, 55)

Although these stories differ and reflect regionally specific beliefs, popular games like "*Qimmirualapik*" could point to an existing repertoire since its existence, knowledge and practice are found throughout various communities. At the same time, the presence of similar subject matter throughout a variety of geographical areas can be reasonably explained from an environmental perspective. In a culture where dogsled teams were prevalent, the inclusion of sonic material that imitates dogs and puppies seems likely. Since no two dogs, or their personalities, or stories are the same, the discrepancy between story and subject matter could be explained as similar occurrences in the daily life of members of a larger Inuit community. In our interview, I asked Tagaq if there were a selection of games that Inuit know and learn from. Her response was "unknown" (Interview with the author, March 20, 2013).

While Tagaq does not talk about an existing repertoire of games, she has spoken openly and at length about her learning processes. Tagaq explains how she learned *katajjaq*:

> The way I'm doing it though is because I had to learn from the tapes, I didn't have a partner to teach me, I never had anyone to teach me so I ended up doing it alone and it became more of an expressive thing because traditionally it's quite regimented. [Well] what happened was I left my home when I was 15 to leave to go to school and then I finished the high school and went to Halifax to do my BFA and I was there, I decided not to go home one summer and I was there for a year and a half or whatever and I started getting really sad and really lonely and I missed home so much and my mother, she's so funny, she'd send me these really random packages, like she'd, like there'd be some plastic spoons and Mr. Noodles and some socks and tapes, sometimes tapes of say there'd be tapes of my aunts singing and all this stuff and the throat-singing tapes came and I got interested and just wanted to have a little bit of home in my brain so I started singing. (The Open University, March 26, 2010)

Elaborating further about why she wanted to learn *katajjaq*, she adds "I wanted to learn it because I missed home when I was away at university. I needed to feel Inuk amongst all the cars and pretense" (Interview with the author, March 20, 2013). When I asked her what it was specifically about *katajjaq* that interested her, she said, "I found myself already in it, like I had done it forever" (Interview with the author, March 20, 2013).

The only throat singer to discuss sound production techniques, Tagaq explains that sounds are produced by "flipping your epiglottis back and forth whilst squeezing your inhalation and exhalation through your trachea and nasal passages to produce high or low notes" (Interview with the author, March 20, 213). Tagaq also discusses some of these techniques in The Open University's iTunesU channel about *katajjaq*:

> I should just explain a little about the sounds. There's many, many different ways that you can produce this noise. Some of it is on everything on exhalation, some of it is inhaling for parts and some of it is all inhalation but here I'll just give you some small examples like there's a song that you give the deep part on exhalation and then a high note on the inhalation like (she sings) so when your (*sic*) inhaling you teach your throat how to make a noise. There's other noises that are exhaling for everything and it's a little more difficult because you have to learn how to splice the notes going from high to low in one time (she sings) so your (*sic*) making a noise like high up with your normal talking voice and your nasal cavity and dropping it really quickly into your epiglottis (she sings). And then, and then you can start to play with the inhalations and the exhalations and with your mouth it doesn't just, it doesn't have to be so simple like doing this (she sings).
>
> So your [*sic*] doing essentially the same thing as this (she sings) but your [*sic*] playing only with your mouth. And then there's some, some of the songs only have deep tones and then you teach yourself too [*sic*] inhale very sharply and quickly in between the sounds (she sings) and you can actually make the deep sound going in as really (she sings). So there're all sorts of various ways of doing this type of singing.
>
> Its [*sic*] quite difficult to teach yourself how to do, you probably have to sing for a while, practicing with this. Some of the people that I have tried to teach to throat sing I tell them they have to spend one year trying to sound like their dog first growling. (sings) is the initial thing (sings) and once you get that down then you can start thinking about getting into the more complicated stuff. (The Open University, March 26, 2010)

While Tagaq's descriptions provide great detail about *katajjaq* sound production and technique in relation to breathing patterns, she doesn't feel comfortable teaching others: "since I don't perform traditionally, I don't feel 'qualified' to teach it," adding that you must "put your real self in, not just the sounds" (Interview with the author, March 20, 2013).

In contrast to Tagaq, Evie Mark describes how she learned *katajjaq* one-on-one from her language teacher:

> There were a lot of elders who would throat sing. It would amaze me. How could these two old women create such [a] unique kind of, like out of the world type of sound? How could they create such [a] spiritual sound? How can they do that? I wanna learn too; so it became one of my goals, as a young girl. And one day my Inuktituk teacher in school, a language teacher, was talking about throat singing. I was very scared to ask her if she could teach me, but I decided to ask anyway. I went up to her and I said could you teach me how to throat sing? She said "no problem, come over any time." Right after school, me and my best friend went to her house and she was surprised to see us. She thought we would go there in a month or in a week, but surely not right after school. And she taught us a very well-known song. For the longest time, I kept practicing it on my own and I [would] get an itchy throat or I would start coughing. It was difficult. I couldn't really comprehend what she was trying to teach me. I kept trying to imitate her and I kept trying to sing like her but it never came out like her.
>
> And then one day, it just clicked. It is as if it was like a fishing hook, it's hooked. It's hard to undo and not break it. So, that's what it did, it just clicked. It's as if I was like a fish and I was caught by the fishing hook, and it couldn't come out anymore. It's [*sic*] just came. It's as if it was in my blood. I found what I was searching for. It was there all along. But then, for a long period of time, I didn't practice. Maybe 10 years later, I started singing again and I discovered that I didn't lose it. It was still within me. I couldn't undo it anymore from the day I learned it. And the only thing I had to work on was perfecting it. And the more I throat sing, the more people got interested. It was evolving, developing really fast. I throat sing [*sic*] for the first time in a public place at a multicultural week. And from there my profession just started evolving. And that's how I got into it. (Deschênes 2002)

There are two intriguing aspects to Mark's response. The first concerns her remark about *katajjaq* being a spiritual sound. While scholars have drawn connections between *katajjaq* and religion and spirituality, few throat singers have done the same publicly. In our interview, Tanya Tagaq, did not connect *katajjaq* to spirituality saying only that "it was mostly used for

entertainment or celebration" (Interview with the author, March 20, 2013). Although an interesting point for future inquiry, a discussion linking *katajjaq* to spirituality (real, imagined, known or forgotten) is beyond the scope of my dissertation.

The second aspect of Mark's response has to do with her connection to *katajjaq.* Like Tagaq, she describes the practice as something that was a part of her, "in her blood." Similarly, Christine Tootoo describes her connection to *katajjaq* as something that was always part of her life:

> I was introduced to throat singing at a young age. I'd been hearing it since I can remember, like many children up here. When I was a toddler, I went to the head start program for Inuit children in Ottawa. That's where I started throat singing, playfully (a lot of toddlers make simple throat singing noises like "hamma" to start off with, the actual throat singing begins when one is able to do it with a partner). But, when I was about 8 years old, my cousin, Janine and I heard that there was a new throat singing program for young girls that started up in town, and we started going to these classes, they were usually on weekdays during the evening. These classes were taught by Inukshuk Aksalniq and Stephanie Lachance. (Interview with the author, February 17, 2015)

When I asked her what influenced her decision to learn *katajjaq,* Tootoo said, "I don't know exactly why I wanted to learn how to throat sing, I guess it interested me and I wanted to be able to throat sing. It looked fun and I wanted to be able to do it" (February 17, 2015). Elaborating further about the role *katajjaq* plays in her life, Tootoo adds "throat singing is something I like to do often, and I consider it a big part of my life" (Interview with the author, February 17, 2015). Nelson Tagoona also considers *katajjaq's* connection to culture: [111]

> No one specific person taught me how to do what I do. My inspiration came from many places and I've always known that as an Inuk, I must add more culture into my work so I had decided throat singing would not be the easiest but the most interesting mix in my creative criteria. In the cultural perspective, I've always known throat singing was a female dominated art form, but I also understood the fact that, as time goes on in the new modern world, the origins will die out due to lack of cultural practices, so what I thought was: 'If I add more culture into my shows and I make it as dynamic as possible, I know

[111] See Figure 17 for an audio version of Nelson's quote.

> for a fact that the youth would begin to build interest.' And so far, my judgements were correct. (Interview with the author, February 5, 2015)

Figure 17: Audio of Nelson's quote cited above. Recorded by Nelson. (See supplemental files)

I asked him if he felt it was necessary to add other Inuit cultural expressions or aspects of his heritage to his performances and compositions: [112]

> No, I do not feel 'the need' to add culture and heritage in every piece that I compose. I only allow my culture into my music or performances when it is necessary. It all depends on the audience I am playing for, the spirit of the melody or song, the message in the song, and my overall intention with whatever it is that I am composing. I don't feel the need to add culture into anything that I do, what I do is I allow it to flow naturally and usually culture does fit in naturally… The Inuit culture isn't foreign to me, I grew up with it, it's in my spirit, it's in my blood, it is who we are.
>
> I do feel the need to build my knowledge of my culture, but I do not feel the need to have it in every piece that I compose or every concert that I perform, but I do feel it is necessary to try to add at least a little bit of my culture into every performance within the north. My main focus is simply following the full momentum of my spirit; this way everybody is satisfied, for everybody feels the energy that I send off, be it, awkward or open, I do my best to proceed with an open and enlightening spirit. A healing spirit will never be forgotten. (Interview with the author, February 5, 2015)

Figure 18: Audio of Nelson's quote cited above. Recorded by Nelson. (See supplemental files)

These passages by Nelson illustrate two compelling thought processes. First, Nelson sees the inclusion of *katajjaq* with beat boxing as adding culture to his music. In particular, adding culture (or *katajjaq*) means appealing to Inuit youth and drawing their attention to their heritage. Second, the inclusion of *katajjaq* with beat boxing is not necessarily something he felt the need to do because it happened naturally. As an Inuk musician, Inuit culture is inevitably a part of his

[112] See Figure 18 for an audio version of Nelson's quote.

being and permeates his artistic choices. The inclusion of Inuit culture into his music isn't a need, because it's already a part of who Nelson is as an artist.

Ultimately, what becomes clear is *katajjaq's* connection to culture and Inuit throat singers' *relationship with* a living tradition. Tanya Tagaq, Evie Mark, Christine Tootoo and Nelson Tagoona all speak about their *connection* to *katajjaq*. More specifically, their connection is profoundly linked to culture and belonging. This is particularly true of Tagaq and Mark because they both express ideas about home, belonging and identity.

Culture and Belonging

Tagaq speaks about being a homesick student in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Far away from home and feeling isolated, she identifies the city as being the catalyst for learning *katajjaq.* Tagaq description of her Inuit community is a stark contrast to city life:

> I grew up in a really small town in the north of Canada. We're 300 miles from the magnetic North Pole you get used to the fluctuations of the 24 hour darkness and the 24 hour light. I find it just the years, turn in, it's just one long day, right? And it changes your metabolism, it changes your skin and the cold, I really miss the cold. My culture and the land is carried forever around in my heart, you know, like I wake up and the first thing I think about every morning is being in that vast madness, you know this crazy darkness and the snow and I think about that every day. That's what's coming out in the singing. (The Open University, March 26, 2010)

For Tagaq, learning *katajjaq* by listening to and emulating what she heard on tapes was a means of connecting herself to home. Aside from providing Tagaq with the sense of being connected to a particular place, *katajjaq* also provided her with a coping strategy in order to deal with a chaotic environment.

In contrast, Evie Mark speaks about being an outsider within her own culture, so her reason for learning *katajjaq* was very different:

> I started throat singing when I was maybe 11 years old. I was raised by my grand-father and my grand-mother, my Inuk side, all my life. I was always different from my friends, because I was half white, half Inuk. My father is white and my mother is Inuk. I was always picked on; 'you little white person, you're so clumsy, you're not as good as us,' stuff like that from my friends. I wanted to prove to the society that I was as much Inuk as they were. I needed to find a way to prove to them that I was good, as good as them. I worked so hard at learning the Inuktituk language to prove to them that I was as Inuk as them. But it was never good enough. (Deschênes 2002)

The idea of place is different for Mark than it was for Tagaq. For Mark, place means belonging to a community, not just in relation to a geographical location, but a particular sense of fitting in. In this way, place is directly related to status and how communal approval and recognition affect identity. It's not just about being in the cold and vast landscape, it is about belonging there. For Mark, place is metaphorical and symbolizes her place within her community; *katajjaq* provides her with the reassurance of belonging and being accepted by her community.

Much of what Tanya Tagaq and Evie Mark discuss relates to expressions of cultural and ethnic identity. While both women express the need to feel at home, for Tagaq, it was in the literal sense; she missed home and needed to remember and feel close to it. For Mark, feeling at home means belonging to her community. These women clearly have different experiences that inform their ideas about home and community. Therefore, the difference in their understanding of a relationship between home and identity represents the difference in their identities. Tagaq exhibits the need to express ethnic identity while living in a multi-ethnic city, whereas Mark needs to express cultural identity in order to be accepted as an Inuk by her peers.[113]

[113] Ethnic and cultural identity are not exclusive categories. Depending on the situation, a person can express both identities simultaneously or at different times and these distinctions can overlap and shift. While I focus on two types of identity, there are others. For an in-depth discussion of identity in ethnomusicology, see Timothy Rice (2007). For an analysis of Inuit identities, see Louis-Jacques Dorais and Edmund (Ned) Searles (2001), as well as Edmund (Ned) Searles (2008). See also chapter 10 of Louis-Jacques Dorais' book (2010) for a discussion about language and Inuit identity. See Jean L. Briggs (1997) for an examination of how ethnic identity presents itself in domestic life among Inuit. For a discussion of identity politics and the ways in which it affects Inuit (or those who legally aspire to be Inuit) and Inuit identity, see John C. Kennedy (2015).

Cultural anthropologist, Nobuhiri Kishigami (2002) notes that ethnic identity "is a political tool especially for both urban and arctic Inuit to deal with others in multi-ethnic situations" (183). He goes on to say:

> Although many urban Inuit, except those who come down south as adults, have difficulty sustaining their cultural identity in multi-ethnic situations, they maintain their ethnic identity as an invisible boundary against other ethnicities. The difference between being a "real Inuk" and being a member of the Inuit people is acquired in this context. (Kishigami 2002, 284)

In the case of Tanya Tagaq, learning *katajjaq* was a way for her to identify as an Inuk and relate to her culture. Tagaq did so by using a living cultural tradition to demonstrate her distinctiveness in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Since the urban and multi-ethnic setting of Halifax did not provide Tagaq with a strong social network or the social and communal conditions needed to maintain daily Inuit life, culture, and language, she learned *katajjaq* in order to demonstrate her identity because she needed to feel Inuk. Much of her experience is similar to that of Inuit living in Montreal, as described by Kishigami: [114]

> Montreal Inuit live and interact frequently with non-Inuit populations in this multi-ethnic city and lack conditions for fostering socio-cultural Inuit life-ways. Under these conditions, ethnic identity and ethnic symbols associated with them take precedence over cultural identity and cultural traits. In Montreal, cultural identity and cultural traits are meaningful only when Inuit interact with each other. (2002, 187)

For Tagaq, an ethnic symbol like *katajjaq* became an adaptive tool. She missed home, so she used *katajjaq* to reproduce a socio-cultural practice in order to express her ethnic difference and identity as an Inuk living in the city. Urban Inuit populations "do not always need socio-cultural practices in daily life in order to maintain ethnic identity"; instead, "they only have to show that they are different in some ways from other non-Inuit peoples in Canada" (Kishigami 2004, 88).

[114] For more about the urban Inuit experience see Donna Patrick and Julie-Ann Tomiak's article about Inuit in Ottawa (2008). See also the documentary *Qallunajatut* (Urban Inuk) (2005). The documentary examines "the 'urbanization' of the Inuit psyche" by delving into the friendship between two Inuit men living in Montreal (IsumaTV 2005). *Qallunajatut* is available to stream via http://www.isuma.tv/isuma-productions/qallunajatut-urban-inuk.

The relationship between song and place in Indigenous cultures is strong, as noted by Beverley Diamond who repeats an observation made by Cayuga and Seneca singer Sadie Buck: "vocal timbres can be mapped, generically, on to the different First Nations of North America" and "you can hear the sound of the place in the voices from there" (2008, 29). This connection between song and place could explain why Tagaq was drawn to the *katajjaq* tapes her mother sent her. There were sounds of a place on those tapes, that took Tagaq home, and by imitating them, she could imagine she was back home with her family and community. Learning k*atajjaq* functioned as a way of expressing her ethnic identity and was a means of connecting her with her home. In Tagaq's case, expressing cultural identity in a multi-ethnic city was not as important as expressing her ethnic identity. To show her distinctiveness, Tagaq needed *katajjaq* to help her adapt to and mediate an otherwise isolating experience.

According to Nobuhiro Kishigami, "cultural identity is a tool for an Inuk to live with his fellow Inuit in daily life" (2002, 183). He goes on to say:

> In an arctic village, cultural identity is much more important than ethnic identity for Inuit in daily life. While Inuit living in arctic villages are reproducing their cultural identity through daily socio-cultural practices in Inuit appropriate ways, they usually do not need to express their ethnic identity in their daily life. (2002, 187)

Cultural identity, then, is intertwined with day-to-day social interactions and behavior in communal life. Expressed through the use of language, kinship terminologies, hunting and fishing, customs and values, cultural identity is reproduced through Inuit ways of being. In Evie Mark's case, cultural identity was deeply connected to her individual sense of being Inuk and belonging to her community. So for her, expressing cultural identity is integral. For Mark, cultural identity becomes "a tool for an Inuk to live with his fellow Inuit in daily life" (Kishigami 2002, 187). More specifically, it is her feeling and perception of belonging that needs to be created and sustained through her everyday interactions. Since she was not accepted by her peers

and felt like an outsider, expressing cultural identity is significantly more important than ethnic identity. As Nobuhiro Kishigami observes, "there is a difference between being an Inuk and a member of the Inuit people" (2004, 81). This statement is paralleled in Mark's experience:

> For me, it's about identity, it's about who you are, where your environment is. Throat singing is strengthening my identity. The same thing with the youth. Even though I was raised by grand parents, like a pure Inuk, some people in my community put me down because I was half white. I wanted to prove them wrong. Now I realized I did not have anybody to prove to. But, then, when you're 9 years old, 10 years old, when you are being put down, it's easy to believe in them. (Deschênes 2002)

Elaborating further about the connection between identity and *katajjaq*, Mark says:

> Although I am half white, I consider myself a true Inuk. But my white background allows me to share my culture to non-Inuit societies, like very English societies, French societies. I am able to say we are Inuit people, I am an Inuk person, this is where we come from. So I am able to share knowledge; I am able to say this is who we are. (Deschênes 2002)

Mark's need to feel Inuk was directly related to the way others saw her. She knows she is Inuk, so her identity crisis is in no way related to her ethnicity; rather she needed to feel validated in her social interactions among Inuit, by Inuit. Mark needed to negotiate her place within her community and used *katajjaq* as a tool to interact with her fellow Inuit. In this way *katajjaq* allowed Mark to establish and justify her position and place as an Inuk. Her struggle to express individual identity was interwoven with the need to express cultural identity. For her, place did not represent a physical or geographical location, instead, it was about being a recognizable Inuk living in an Inuit community.[115]

[115] Much of what Evie Mark expresses is also related to being "*innumarik*" (pl. *innumariit*) or being a genuine or "real Inuk."

i. Belonging and Inuit Epistemology

The fact that both women express some form of identity through *katajjaq* illustrates larger cultural understandings. More specifically, Tagaq and Mark's perceptions of home and belonging exhibits how Inuit epistemology and ways of being affect their sense of personhood. Inuit author Rachel A. Qitsualik observes: [116]

> …over *thousands of years*, Inuit have come to respect every aspect of the Land including its *nalunaqtuq* nature. Indeed, despite a reticence to perceive it as a place of boundaries and borders, they have come to love it, referring to the *Nuna* as though it were home beyond home. (2012, 27)

Tagaq and Mark's explanations about their own positions within Inuit culture and community demonstrates the way in which the *Nuna* permeates life itself. Beyond *katajjaq's* imitation of the environment (natural and built) exists a space that recalls and cycles back to the *Nuna* and home. This particular sense of connection to the *Nuna* and home has also been articulated by musicians like Nelson Tagoona: [117]

> It is the nature of my vision that drives me through my projects and sets the target in which I usually aim for. The vision is the influence, it's what I see in my head that brings the nature of my craft into proper fruition. The nature of my vision sets the spirit of my project. To further the perspective, home is where my heart is. As an Inuk from Nunavut, being surrounded by concrete and tall buildings isn't real nature to us. Though the city is convenient, and it surely has its ups, it doesn't fit in with what we are used to, it deprives us and causes depression after a long period of being distanced from our land. Again, I will say, opinions vary, it all depends on the individual and his upbringing. (Interview with the author, February 5, 2015)

Figure 19: Audio of Nelson's quote cited above. Recorded by Nelson. (See supplemental files)

[116] Rachel A. Qitsualik has also published under her married name Rachel A. Qitsualik-Tinsley.
[117] See Figure 19 for an audio version of Nelson's quote.

Similarly, Inuit singer-songwriter Charles Keelan, discusses the centrality of and connection to the *Nuna* in his music:[118]

> My writing seems to depend on what I am thinking about either in the moment or something I have been thinking about for a while. I listen, to my surroundings and mostly look over the horizon to feel what the song is saying, what does the music feel like it's saying. It feels as though it is passing by up in the air, or through my feet. If you don't capture a song, someone else does and you are left with a blank page. So, the land, what you hear in the silent breeze. Going hunting or just being out on the land is what I long for and it stays with me. Growing up with my grandfather or uncles and any hunters bringing me hunting is also a big influence. The gifts the land fills you with. The music speaks for itself, just listen. Interpret what you hear. Everything is alive. It is healing to a point where you can grow and move forward. Knowing what is happening around you. Being aware, educating yourself....I like to look out into the horizon, into the open. Growing up and being near the sea along the shorelines or riding the tundra always brought some sort of hum. That is what mostly speaks to me, the loudness of the calm and silent world. Everything is alive, look closely and how everything grows. Like trees, which are the most fascinating for me, growing straight out of the ground as it holds onto the earth deep underground. And what they have brought to us humans. (Singh 2014a, 12)

When asked if he ever expresses memories of hunting and being on the land, he said, "Yes, it's there, especially in one of my songs called "Qannilirtuq" ("It's Snowing"), thinking of a place near Quaqtaq called "Nuvuk" that the hunters go to for whales in the springtime…but it really is mostly all across the sea edge…when the snowflakes are big and coming down slowly, you see families and children harvesting the meat. It's a beautiful thing to see" (Singh 2014a, 12).

Tagoona and Keelan's reflections about how the *Nuna* permeates their music connects to how Tanya Tagaq and Evie Mark describe their reasons for learning *katajjaq*. For all four musicians, the *Nuna* is central to their understanding of who they are, where they come from and

[118] For more examples of Inuit musicians who write and sing about the *Nuna*, see Alexis Utatnaq's (circa 1970s) "Maqaivvigivalauqtavut" (Our Hunting Grounds); William Tagoona's (1981) "Inuit Nunaanit" (In the Land of the Inuit); Willie Thrasher's (1981) "Forefathers" and "Eskimo Named Johnny." For a general discussion of how Indigenous musicians sing about the environment, see Samantha Hasek and April E. Lindala's chapter "Hearing the Heartbeat: Environmental Cultural Values in the Lyrics of Native Songwriters" (2016).

what grounds them to their being. Noting the complexity and significance of the *imaq-nuna-sila* (water-land-sky) relationship in Inuit epistemology, Qitsualik says:[119]

> The second element (if we were to number them) is the Land itself, the *Nuna*. In classic Inuit thought, the Land is presented as a middle-point of cosmological structure, a partition between the first and third elements …Animals, for example, that typically stride the Land, such as polar bears are seized upon as important symbols of balance and awareness. As human beings also occupy the Land, it is no accident that, in symbolic thought, the Land is typically associated with the aware or "human" essence itself, known as *inua* [alternately, *innua*]. While *inua* is a root used extensively in denoting anything human (hence Inuit, or singular Inuk), it is also a significant factor in Inuit philosophy, being the human potentiality that may manifest or lie latent in all of existence, dependent upon related human awareness directed at a given aspect of that existence. (2012, 29)

In this way, connections to the *Nuna* instigates a specific kind of relational knowledge and understanding of self that further leads a human to reach their full potential. In other words, awareness of the *Nuna* leads to awareness of self and humanity. Elaborating further, Qitsualik states:

> The triune complex of Water-Land-Sky urges, then, is not only accessed by Inuit as a way to view relation between environmental forces, but also psychological and spiritual ones; hence, the complex of Water-Land-Sky is reflected in the human condition as *uumaniq-inua-anirniq* (e.g., life instinct – awareness – higher potential). The balance and interaction between these urges creates what is known as a "person" (actually, these urges are found everywhere in different admixtures, but Inuit focus on how they manifest in the human). The interaction between Water and Land (in the human, *uumaniq* + *inua*), may therefore be said to result in *isuma*: the personal thoughts and feelings unique to an individual. On the other side – though not in conflict, but balance – the interaction between Land and Sky (in the human, *inua* + *anirniq*), may be said to result in *tarniq*: the subtle selfhood or "soul" of an individual. (2012, 30)

Since *katajjaq* imitates and is deeply connected to the environment, I argue that it can be seen as a practice that embodies and personifies the *imaq-nuna-sila* relationship. Given that the *Nuna* is prevalent in how Tagaq and Mark describe their *relationship with katajjaq*, and the

[119] According to Rachel A. Qitsualik (2012), the elements of water, land and sky represent certain aspects of traditional Inuit cosmology and philosophy. Each element is associated with specific characteristics that connect Inuit with the world around them. For instance, *arnirniq* (breath) is related to *sila* (sky); that which we breathe in is returned to the sky, or as Qitsualik puts it, "*arnirniq* is the impersonal and imperishable aspect of life, symbolically, a life-breath that is merely borrowed from the Sky (in concordant symbolism, that Highest of Breaths) for a period of time" (2012, 29).

reason(s) they learned vocal games, it becomes clear that the *imaq-nuna-sila* connection in vocal games led both women to a deeper understanding and development of self. The *imaq-nuna-sila* relationship embodied in *katajjaq* allowed both women to identify how they felt and what they needed in order to "fit in" and feel at home. Furthermore, their realization of self correlates to what Qitsualik describes as the *inummarik*, or the true human. [120] The *inummarik*:

> …is the free human, sovereign over the self, respectful of the self-sovereignty of others. It is the human whose awareness not only renders self-sovereignty possible, but comprehends how self-sovereignties – those of others in society – synergize toward a system of self-perpetuating health. (Qitsualik 2012, 32)

Accordingly, as Tagaq and Mark aim to understand and fully realize their place within their respective communities and ties to their ancestral lands, they participate in the construction and maintenance of a healthy life. Ultimately, what becomes clear is that connections to the *Nuna*, whether they are embodied through cultural practices or present themselves through musical compositions, demonstrates broader Inuit epistemologies. Qitsualik summarizes how the *Nuna* also speaks to autonomy:

> For Inuit, it is the self-maintained right to define themselves, mind and soul: by the Water; on the Land; under the Sky. Inuit, who know the *Nuna* so well, cannot define sovereignty via mastery of their home, but rather of their own hearts. For they never owned the *Nuna* – not in the sense of apportioning or weighting its utility – but were blessed with enjoyment of it; with wisdom gleaned from it; healthful lives modelled from it. It is tragic that we must now speak in terms of mastery, rather than joy or wisdom or healthful existence. The *Nuna* is like a patient teacher, voice never heard amid the squabbles of angry children. (2012, 33)

In this way, *katajjaq*, an embodiment of *imaq-nuna-sila* enables an understanding of self in a way that bolsters independence and acceptance of self and others.

[120] For a list of what the *inummarik* believes see Rachel A. Qitsualik (2012). According to Nelson Graburn, *innumarik* is "someone who lives an *inuttitut* life, not like a white person" (Graburn 2006, 151). In other words, being *innumarik*, or a "real Inuk," means to live in Inuit appropriate ways. See pages 150-152 of Nelson Graburn's chapter for more about being a "real" Inuk. See also Peter Collings ethnographic book *Becoming Inummarik: Men's Lives in an Inuit Community* (2014). Collings' book follows the lives of Inuit men as they transition into adulthood and follow Inuit principles of life and become *innumarik*.

Between Game and Music

Since engagement with the *imaq-nuna-sila* relationship in *katajjaq* leads to "self-perpetuating health," it is not surprising that many Inuit musicians who incorporate vocal games into their musical performances do so in order to address and heal from lived experiences.[121] *Katajjaq's* oscillation between game and music also illustrates several cultural and social changes and speaks to the practice's history in the lives of Inuit. Namely, this development highlights key political and religious ideologies that aimed to disrupt the transmission of cultural knowledge from one generation to the next, and Inuit responses to these challenges. In particular, the High Arctic Relocation Program, as well as mission and Indian Residential Schools deeply impacted cultural transmission. While early scholarly discussions do not mention the impact of these assimilative practices (even though residential schools were in full operation at the time of these published scholarly texts), I highlight the intersections between *katajjaq* performance and assimilative agendas. In this way, I reflect on the latest development of *katajjaq's* trajectory and how Inuit musicians reflect on their past and present through a living tradition.

i. Katajjaq Ban

As I discuss in chapter two, federally funded residential schools in the Arctic were operational between the early 1950s and 1990s. The last residential school, Gordon's Indian Residential School, closed in 1996. Prior to residential schools, day schools run by missionaries

[121] The incorporation of *katajjaq* with other types of genres does not justify non-Inuit participation in *katajjaq*. Although cultural appropriation is not part of my discussion, it is important to acknowledge that Inuit do not believe in or endorse non-Inuit participation in or use of *katajjaq* for personal, professional, or monetary gain. The most recent and public discourse of cultural appropriation and *katajjaq* occurred just before and during the Indigenous Music Awards in 2019. Nehiyaw singer *Cikwes* (also known as Connie LeGrande), was nominated for Best Folk Album in 2019. However, many Inuit and non-Inuit withdrew their nominations in a boycott of the awards and of industry support for *Cikwes*, who throat sings on her album. For more, see the following news articles from CBC (https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/indigenous-music-awards-throat-singing-appropriation-1.5080405) and Nunatsiaq News (https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/should-non-inuit-performers-be-allowed-to-throat-sing/).

assumed educational control of Inuit children. During this period of mission and residential schools, *katajjaq* was banned because it was thought to "perpetuate non-Christian, non-white cultural practices" (Nattiez 2006). Despite the ban, which lasted approximately 100 years, a revitalization began in the 1980s among youth and elders.

The resurgence ultimately led to the first Inuit throat singing conference in September 2001 in Puvirnituq, Nunvik. Organized by the Avataq Cultural Institute, the gathering brought 100 Inuit throat singers from different communities to Puvirnituq and marked the beginning of "a concerted effort to preserve traditional and modern Canadian Inuit throat singing" (Publications Nunavik). The conference, attended by both youth and elders, led to the creation of the Canadian Inuit Throat Singers Association and a studio recording of throat singing produced by conference attendees. The recording, *Throat Singing Conference* (2001), is available for purchase through Publications Nunavik. Throat singer Evie Mark describes the conference:

> What was fascinating for me was that we heard different throat-singing techniques from different parts of Canada. It was amazing for me. Some people were singing as if they were whispering. To me, this singing was like a great boom, a great spirit that was whispering with a very strong voice, even though it sounded like whispering. I was completely mesmerized. (Deschênes 2002)

Elaborating further she adds:

> When I was there, I decided to analyze what was happening around me, rather than being part of the meeting. There were so many throat-singers all around Canada, female singers and there was maybe two or three men singers. They were even a bit shy to make mistakes. Some of them were scared to try because they would not be as good as the other throat singers. Teenagers were listening to the elders and their way of singing. I was a little bit scared too; what if I'm not a good throat-singer, what if I'm not as good as they want me to be? So I was very hesitant to try to do it with them. (Deschênes 2002)

Learning of the ban and subsequent revitalization helped me understand the disconnect caused by colonial and assimilative practices. Specifically, I realized that *katajjaq* is one way that Inuit

musicians address these government-imposed assimilative policies and make music reflective of their lived experiences.

ii. Addressing the High Arctic Relocation Program through Katajjaq

Musicians like the duo Tudjaat are an example of how Inuit musicians incorporate *katajjaq* into composed songs that address and challenge colonial practices like the High Arctic Relocation Program. Founding members of Tudjaat and cousins, Madeleine Allakariallak and Phoebe Atagotaaluk, were deeply affected by the relocation. Their families were separated; Allakariallk's family was relocated to Resolute Bay, while Atagotaaluk's remained in Northern Quebec. Reunited in high school, they began throat singing together. Their only commercially released album *Tudjaat* (1995) presents "traditional Inuit women's throat singing and newly composed songs that blend it with modern singer-songwriter sensibilities" (*Heartbeat 2: More Voices of First Nations Women* Liner Notes).

Their song "When My Ship Comes In" recounts the separation of extended family units and the relocation throughout the Arctic. It provides listeners with a glimpse of what the relocation must have felt like:

> Left our home on Hudson Bay
> On ships that took us far away
> Sailing through the broken ice
> Towards the shores of paradise
> Where they say our new life will begin
> I can't wait until my ship comes in

This stanza clearly expresses hope in finding and settling in a new community. The concept of starting a new life in "paradise" and the excitement of waiting for the ship to carry people to their new home further conveys a sense of desire and optimism.

The second stanza, however, is a blunt contradiction to the first. Any hope, excitement and optimism is met with fear and angst:

> Landing on the edge of Elsmere
> Wondering if we could survive here
> We were told that half would stay
> The rest of us were on our way
> Will I see my family again?

In particular, this stanza highlights government deception, namely, the way in which Inuit didn't know they would be further separated into two groups. Soon, fear and angst turns to anger and hopelessness as the true nature of the resettlement is realized:

> Our final destination reached
> They left us standing on the beach
> Planted there like human plague
> That winter's fury turned to rains
> The hunters showed us empty hands again

The comparison between being Inuit and the plague is an honest explanation of how most Indigenous Canadians feel since they are made to feel less than human or invisible by both the government and settler society. The anger at being removed from society as though they are a disease, "for the peaceful development of the Canadian economy," has been expressed by many First Nations, Metis and Inuit artists and academics (Regan 2010, ix).[122] It is no surprise that Tudjaat, after having experienced the effects of the relocation program, would express similar sentiments. In addition to the reference to the plague, hopelessness is expressed as the song alludes to being left on the beach with few supplies; hunting, surviving and finding sustenance proved to be a problem. Again, hopelessness, frustration and anguish are reinforced further since hunters can only show their empty hands.

[122] Perhaps the most pointed comment about being a burden comes from Gerald Taiaiake Alfred, of Kahnawake Mohawk nation. He proposes that the unsettling relationship between settler and Indigenous people is that "we [Indigenous people] were always in the way. And we still are. It's just that now we do not present a physical obstacle so much as a psychological, or should I say spiritual, barrier" (Regan 2010, ix).

Finally, the last stanza cycles back to feelings of hope:

> So the story carries on
> What's done is done, what's gone is gone
> We must put the past behind
> And set a course for a better time
> When freedom's lost, nobody ever wins
> I can't wait until my ship comes in
> I think I hear voices in the wind
> Telling me my ship will soon come in

The prospects of hope and happiness articulated in this stanza point to a future where the traumas of the High Arctic Relocation Program can be reconciled. As part of the relocation program, many Inuit families were told that they would be able to return to their original communities after a few years; however, these promises by the federal government and local RCMP representatives were never met. Since Inuit are now fee and able to travel without federal obstruction, anyone who wishes to reconnect to or visit their home communities can do so. This is only the first step in healing from past trauma caused by the relocation program.

iii. Addressing Intergenerational Trauma through Katajjaq

Nelson Tagoona uses *katajjaq* to address intergenerational trauma caused by residential schools. Nelson's maternal great-grandparents and grandparents are residential school survivors. His maternal great-grandfather Armand Tagoona openly wrote about the pressures placed on Inuit parents to send their children to residential schools in a 1977 article in *Inuit Today*:

> Recalled being taken by the settlement manager to act as interpreter for a couple whose daughter was on a list to be sent to the Churchill Vocational Centre. The parents objected to her going, as she had reached marriageable age. The official told Tagoona to explain to them, "If you don't let your daughter go, I don't want to see any of you in my office at any time. Even if you no longer have any food, you will not be given welfare…" The mother and father looked at each other as if in agreement, then the mother said, "Okay, let her go." (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 105)

Nelson's mother is among the first generation in her family to not attend residential school, however, the traumatic stories of previous generations are well known to her and her children.

Combining *katajjaq* and beatboxing, Nelson uses his music to reach out to and guide Inuit through their experiences of intergenerational trauma; specifically, he addresses lived experiences such as depression, anxiety and suicide. Nelons is able to relate to these realities because he lost his own father to suicide and has also dealt with depression and anxiety for years. These personal experiences, in addition to dealing with suicides in his community on a regular basis, inspire and motivate Nelons to heal and activate social change. To do so, he uses his music to present and discuss real issues. In an episode of *Nagamowin* (2015), [123] Nelson's tribute song "The Guardian" is highlighted for its hopeful and positive words of engagement:

> You tell your heart that you could pull through even when times get hard
> Life is a, life is a roller coaster, but you have to stand strong upon yourself and
> Stand there for those who don't have the strength
> And although there are times we can't see the sunlight anymore
> Through the darkness, you have a shine within your heart and you have a dream
> So no matter what happens in life,
> You have to believe because in the long run you could succeed
> I'm gonna share a message of hope, because a lot of times people lose hope
> (*Nagamowin* Episode 8)

Through such lyrics, Nelons aims to share his experiences and provide hope to others by showing them that he has survived similar hardships. By publicly discussing difficult issues, he gives Inuit a chance to openly address their personal struggles and anxiety. This is of utmost importance to Nelson since, as he says, "it is not easy to deal with feelings when living in an isolated community" (Singh 2014b, 51). In this way, Nelson offers Inuit a creative outlet of expression. Elaborating further, he says: [124]

[123] *Nagamowin* is a thirteen-episode television show that showcases Aboriginal musicians as they visit an Aboriginal community in Canada. Each episode highlights one artist as they write and perform a song inspired by their experience. *Nagamowin* airs on APTN.
[124] See Figure 20 for an audio version of Nelson's quote.

> Above the fact that I started throat singing to add more culture into my work and support cultural awareness, I actually chose throat singing as a way to teach youth less heavy judgement and to teach the youth how to be more open minded towards the world. When I teach, I teach with kindness and respect and show love and support for one another. I do my best to stay open minded and try to keep everybody looking at the bigger picture in life. It's my goal to help others look abroad into a happy healthy world for the sake of preventing depression, loss-culture, and suicide. Nunavut has one of the highest suicide rates in the world; I need to help clear out critical thoughts. The impact of intergenerational trauma is pretty heavy up north. All we need to do is enlighten the perspective with everything that is awesome and very realistic for the youth. What we need to do is give the youth a positive door out of the darkness in life. The youth need an outlet. (Interview with the author, February 5, 2015)

Figure 20: Audio of Nelson's quote cited above. Recorded by Nelson. (See supplemental files)

Throughout Nunavut, youth and adults alike face numerous social issues like drug and alcohol abuse, violence, poverty, depression, and suicide. A direct result of colonialism, assimilative practices and intergenerational trauma, these lived experiences are expressed openly by Nelson as a way to reach out to other Inuit and create communal dialogues and support systems that they can use to help and guide each other through difficult, emotionally exhausting and traumatic events.

iv. Addressing Inuit Sovereignty and Environmental Degradation through Katajjaq

While Tudjaat and Tagoona reflect on past experiences and how to heal from assimilative practices, Tanya Tagaq interrogates colonialism, Inuit sovereignty and environmental degradation. More specifically, she addresses what it means to be an Inuk living in the present day. Candid and outspoken about Inuit culture and sovereignty, one of Tagaq's most controversial moments was when she posted a picture of her infant daughter next to a dead seal. The caption of the photo posted to Facebook was in direct opposition to the "selfie" movement.

Rather than use the word "selfie," Tagaq opted to use "sealfie." Her intention was to highlight how the Inuit seal hunt provides a healthy source of sustenance, especially when many Inuit face food insecurity.[125] In addition, she drew attention to how protesting and criticizing Inuit culture and food sources exposes the power dynamics between Inuit and non-Inuit. In other words, the criticism and online abuse Tagaq received from non-Inuit highlights how Indigenous cultures are unfairly judged and criticized for their food sources and lifeways. These criticisms highlight the ways in which non-Inuit believe they have a right to dictate, enforce and control Indigenous sustenance.[126]

Tagaq's observations about the contradictory nature of humanity extends to her music. In particular, her albums *Animism* (2015) and *Retribution* (2016) are excellent examples of how she interprets the world around her. Both albums incorporate *katajjaq* with electronic music, make sonic and literal references to the natural world and animals (again, highlighting the equality between humans and animals), and criticize the effects of global warming and climate change, particularly on the lifeways of Inuit. Her song "Cold" (*Retribution*) offers a harsh criticism of the effects of climate change in the Arctic, saying, "human civilization as we know it will no longer exist" (Tanya Tagaq 2016).

In particular, "Fracking" (*Animism*) demonstrates how Tagaq weaves social commentary, environmentalism, and criticism into her music. In an interview with *Nunatsiaq News*, Tagaq describes "Fracking," saying "basically, I wanted a song to be unlistenable, so ugly and disgusting, so I imagined my whole body was the Earth and that someone was doing fracking on

[125] For more about the Inuit seal hunt, see George Wenzel's *Animal Rights, Human Rights Ecology, Economy and Ideology in the Canadian Arctic* (1991). While much of Wenzel's discussion is centered on the Inuit community of Clyde River, his book provides a detailed discussion of the Inuit seal hunt, including the cultural and economic impact of the seal hunt protest.

[126] This particular form of control of Inuit food sources is not a new issue. See Armand Tagoona's (1975) reflections on how the RCMP enforced strict hunting rules in Qamani'tuaq.

me" (Rogers 2014). [127] Elaborating further, she says, "I wanted to sonically shove that in people's faces" (Rogers 2014). By sonically embodying the Earth into her own being, Tagaq establishes the equality between the Earth and humans, as two living beings, and challenges the listener to reconcile contradictory viewpoints. By sonically interpreting the wound that fracking would cause to the earth, Tagaq requires the listener to critically engage with ecology and the environment, and their place within it. Simply put, if her sonic interpretation of fracking doesn't cause a visceral reaction, then how does the listener empathize with the Earth and understand their relationship to their environment? If a visceral reaction is achieved, then in what way can the listener engage in meaningful ways that ensures environmental protection? It's the "in between" space of empathy (or lack thereof) and meaningful engagement with the world around us that she interrogates. Tagaq notes that her "album is trying to reach a balance, by pointing out the deficiency of humanity" (Rogers 2014). By causing a reaction (or not) to her sonic interpretation of fracking, Tagaq also highlights power imbalances between the Earth and humans. While some listeners, unmoved by what they hear, will remain bystanders to environmental degradation, others will be compelled to take action for environmental conservation and protection. In any case, these contradictory positions emphasize power structures and the way in which humans engage with the living world around them.

Conclusion

Complementing the preceding chapter, this one presents contemporary understandings of *katajjaq*. In particular, this chapter focuses on Inuit understandings and voices, and highlights their *relationship with katajjaq.* I explore the relationships between various sources, including

[127] *Nunatsiaq News* is the newspaper of Nunavut and Nunavik. Published since 1975, *Nunatsiaq News* is published (in print) every Friday in both Inuktitut and English. Their website (nunatisaq.com) publishes stories every day.

contemporary scholarship, my own fieldwork with Inuit musicians, and public education provided by *katajjaq* performers. For instance, both academics as well as throat singers seem interested in issues such as performance practice, gender roles and *katajjaq* texts. At the same time, throat singers emphasize how *katajjaq* connects them to Inuit culture and identity, a topic not addressed in early academic publications. In this way, I address and highlight research gaps between early scholarly understandings of *katajjaq* and later scholarship, including my own observations from the field. In particular, I illustrate *katajjaq*'s role within Inuit culture, identity and epistemology. Furthermore, I explore how scholarship, when guided by Inuit voices, can reveal new pathways of investigation and understanding. In doing so, I also establish how the incorporation of *katajjaq* with music allows Inuit to address topics that are important and relevant to them. While throat singing duo Tudjaat sing about healing from the effects of the High Arctic Relocation Program, musicians like Nelson Tagoona reach out to Inuit to discuss and heal from intergenerational trauma. In contrast, Tanya Tagaq uses *katajjaq* as a form of activism to draw attention to Inuit sovereignty and environmental justice and conservation. In exploring the relationship Inuit have *with* vocal games, I define *katajjaq's* history as a living tradition.

In the following chapter, I expand my discussion of *katajjaq* and explore how Nelson Tagoona uses throat singing and hip hop to create a new genre called throat boxing. By providing a detailed study of Nelson and throat boxing, I demonstrate how a living tradition is expanded to include new experiences.

Story 4: Indigenous Presence in Western Spaces

My husband, Leo and I attended the premiere of Nelson's performance in *Adizokan*.[128] In anticipation, I must have read the program notes over and over again while we waited for the performance to begin. Leo and I were excited, but most of all, we were proud of our friend. Over the last three years, we watched Nelson grow as a person and musician. We knew how hard he worked to get here, his ups and downs, and the stresses he endured on his journey to this very moment. As we watched him walk on stage with the conductor, we were beyond thrilled for Nelson.

Figure 21: Nelson performing *Adizokan* with the Toronto Symphony Orchestra. October 7, 2017. Photograph by the author.

[128] The premiere was recorded live by the TSO. To see the recording, visit https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vmmC9KBAypY.

Figure 22: Nelson performing *Adizokan* with the Toronto Symphony Orchestra. October 7, 2017. Photograph by the author.

With his signature red dress shirt and black sealskin tie, Nelson stood out against the orchestra members who wore black. For the first several sections, the stage was lit with lights that gradually shifted from red, purple, blue, teal, green, yellow, and orange. Projected on two screens behind the orchestra were two large eye shaped figures. They mirrored the colours on stage and depicted the sky. Eventually, the sky grew and lightening developed. These images were accompanied by loud, crashing sounds as the orchestra mimicked the sound of lightening. While parts of the orchestra held long sustained notes, trills are heard in the woodwinds and percussion section. A pre-recorded female voice was heard singing syllabics as the sun emerges from behind the sky.

The throat boxing interlude following this section is marked by Nelson's exhalation of breath. As the on-screen images defragment, Nelson's throat boxing is accentuated by the percussion section. They reinforce (in staccato) Nelson's clear rhythmic breaks. This can be heard particularly in the beginning and end of the interlude. Visually rich, this interlude is also accompanied by mirror images of a dancer on-screen. While the dancer appears against a dark backdrop resembling the sky, the fringe of their regalia is highlighted in a neon yellow-orange

colour. The image of the on-screen dancer is met with a real-life dancer that moves from stage right to left.

In the third and fourth interludes, Nelson's signature sounds are heard. With the use of his looper pedal, Nelson creates a layered hum. His long-sustained notes are accompanied by electroacoustic sounds. The image of a buffalo projected on the screen eventually morphs into the face of a dancer from Red Sky. The dancer's face is projected against an image of the northern lights. This slow-moving section is soon interrupted by an irregular beat section with jarring rhythms. These punctuated rhythms remind me of breakdancing, as though the sounds heard here are sonic representations of a break-dancer's body movements. The four dancers on stage at this time follow the rhythms of the orchestra through their movements. A transitional section between the third and fourth interludes makes use of electronically produced animal sounds. Somewhere between a growl and breaking bones, the electroacoustic sounds here can only be described as extraterrestrial. Eventually, the electronic sounds give way to Nelson's rhythm heavy throat boxing. Accompanied by percussion, the string section mimics Nelson's rhythm. Highly visual, this section makes use of multiple dancers on-stage (anywhere from four to six) and projected images. The most distinct image was that of a woman gesturing repetitively with her hands. Eventually, the image of the woman was replaced by Senator Murray Sinclair. He too gestured in the same fashion. These interludes end in the same way they began. Nelson repeats the same layered hum, only this time he includes sounds produced when his mouth is closed. The mic is positioned close to his throat, and while audible, Nelson's throat boxing is muted.

The final sections of *Adizokan* are marked by rumbling and crashing sounds as Nelson maintains a regular exhalation of breath. Juxtaposed by projected images of lava, the emergence

of a male dancer and later a jingle dress dancer, these sections swell from sustained long notes of the orchestra, Nelson's inhalation and exhalation of breath and electroacoustic sounds to an extended throat boxing section with percussive accompaniment. Accompanied in various parts by his own pre-recorded voice, this is the longest section that showcases Nelson's throat boxing. As *Azidokan* comes to a close, we see the return of the dancer with highlighted regalia and the pre-recorded female voice. The most distinguishing feature of this section is the degree to which Nelson's throat boxing is reminiscent of a well-known throat song called "Love Song."

Chapter 5: Katajjaq: Extending the Practice

In the previous chapter, I examined how *katajjaq* has moved onto the concert stage and is performed for Inuit and non-Inuit audiences alike. At the same time, *katajjaq* maintains its role in the lives of contemporary Inuit as a means of expressing identity and concerns. In this chapter, I examine a further development of *katajjaq* by discussing the combining of *katajjaq* with hip hop to create a new genre of performance called throat boxing.

I begin the chapter by looking at why hip hop has made such an impact in Inuit communities and how it is used by Inuit youth in much the same way that *katajjaq* continues to be used to express themselves, to explore their identity, and to critique society. I examine the role of hip hop particularly in the musical expression of Nelson Tagoona. Then I explore the practice of merging hip hop with *katajjaq* and work with Nelson to consider how throat boxing is able to communicate ideas to Inuit youth. Finally, I examine throat boxing as an example of Indigenous modernity (IM) in praxis. Using the literature on IM, I consider the ways that Nelson's combining of *katajjaq* with a contemporary popular genre, demonstrates the ways in which Inuit (and Indigenous peoples) have been and continue to engage in modernity. In particular, I investigate how the recontextualization of *katajjaq* enables cultural renewal, decolonization and healing.

Hip Hop in Inuit Communities

Hip hop is arguably the fastest growing musical genre within Inuit communities. [129] Its popularity is not surprising given that it serves much the same purpose as it did to the

[129] There are numerous publications that examine hip hop in other Indigenous communities. See Tony Mitchell (2006) and Chiara Minestrelli (2017) for an in-depth discussion of Indigenous hip hop in Australia. See Karen M. Fox, Gabrielle Riches and Michael Dubnewick (2011) for a comparative discussion about Canadian urban Aboriginal hip hop and heavy metal scenes in relation to leisure studies. Negotiating tradition in modern contexts has been explored in the works of Tony Mitchell (2001b), T. Christopher Alpin (2012) and Charity Marsh (2012a). For discussions about decolonization and challenging assumptions, see Kyle T. Mays (2018; 2019), T. Christopher

communities of its inception. Developed in the 1970s within African American and Latinx (namely Puerto Rican) communities in the Bronx and Harlem, New York, [130] hip hop culture was used by people in the margins to negotiate their lived experiences and challenge the status quo.[131] Hip hop (and rap music in particular) enables people to address issues of inequality, inequity, race, class, and the political policies and procedures and systemic issues that keep oppressing the oppressed.[132] Hip hop's ability to empower people also allows them to speak to their experiences and position in life in ways that are uniquely reflective of their individual, local, and communal circumstances.[133] The fact that hip hop, born through hardship and struggle, came to represent and voice individual and communal concerns all the while achieving critical and commercial success, speaks to the genre's ability to connect with diverse audiences. Hip hop's social power and ability to comment on, and criticize political and power structures, in North America, and abroad also exemplifies the genre's ability to be a voice for the people. As such, the widespread popularity, production, and consumption of hip hop is both a local and global phenomenon. [134]

Alpin (2018), Liz Przybylski (2018) and Liza Wallman (2014). See Marcos Del Hierro (2016) and Christina Leza (2018) for analyses of how hip hop is used as a tool for activism. For texts that examine Indigenous hip hop, heritage, indigeneity and belonging see Lauren Jessica Amsterdam (2013), Gail A. MacKay (2016), Liz Pryzbylski's (2015) and Charlotte Fillmore-Handlon (2020).

[130] See sociologist Tricia Rose's (1994) seminal text for one of the earliest critical examinations of hip hop culture. For a history of hip hop see Jeff Chang (2005). See Jeffrey O. G. Obgar (2007) for a socio-political discussion about the development of hip hop.

[131] For musical examples see Grandmaster Flash and The Furious Five's "The Message" (1982); Run-DMC's "Proud to be Black" (1986); Public Enemy's "Fight the Power" (1990); NWA's "---- Tha Police" (1988); Boogie Down Productions "Who Protects Us From You?" (1989) and L. L. Cool J.'s "Illegal Search" (1990).

[132] See Murray Forman (2002) for a discussion of how race, space, place, culture, and identity inform rap music and one another. For examples of how hip hop can be used to mobilize and instigate sociopolitical change see Cristina Moreno Almeida (2007) and Charity Marsh and Sheila Petty (2011).

[133] See Gregory Stephens (1991), Ian Maxwell (2003), Kate Galloway (2007), Tony Mitchell (2008) and Elisabeth Betz (2014) for discussions about the role hip hop plays in identity and belonging. See Thomas Solomon (2013) for a discussion about how rap gives people a voice to express themselves and their lived experiences. In his extensive discussions Murray Forman (2004a; 2004b) observes how space and place inform the production and consumption of rap music. See also Andy Bennet (2004) for a discussion of how two local hip hop scenes (one in Newcastle, UK and the other in Main, Germany) appropriate rap as a form of expressing local and national sensibilities. See Tricia Rose (1994) for a discussion of how space and place affect rap video production. See Charity Marsh (2011) for a discussion of how place affects rap music production in Regina, Saskatchewan.

[134] See Marcyliena Morgan and Dionne Bennett (2011) and Tony Mitchell's (2001a) edited volume for examples of the extensive global impact of hip hop. For Canadian specific discussions, see Roger Chamberland (2001); Charity Marsh and Mark V. Campbell's (2020) edited volume, and Michael B. MacDonald and Andre Hamilton (2014).

Hip hop's power to connect with people is embodied in how Inuit hip hoppers use rap to address the issues they face.

The popularity of hip hop in Inuit communities is largely seen and heard at communal gatherings and performances and virtual spaces. Communal performances tend to occur during celebratory events such as the Qamani'tuaq Canada Day concert described in my third story. Other times, Inuit hip hop artists are invited to perform or tour various communities for special events or workshops held by individual Hamlet's in Nunavut. Annual arts festivals such as *Alainait* also bring together and showcase Inuit musicians and performers of hip hop. Various streaming platforms such as Soundcloud, SoundClick and YouTube are the "go to" virtual spaces to release music for many prominent Inuit hip hoppers including YBI, Hyper-T, FxckMr, 666God and Shauna Seeteenak. Within the last two years, these hip hop musicians have also released commercially available recordings through streaming services such as Apple Music.[135]

i. Inuit Produced Media: The Grizzlies

While most Inuit made hip hop continues to be experienced live, in communal settings and virtual spaces, Inuit produced media, such as *The Grizzlies* (2018) exemplifies the extent to which hip hop permeates Inuit life. Based on a true story, *The Grizzlies* follows a group of high school students who, led by their teacher, form a lacrosse team to combat youth suicide in Kugluktuk, Nunavut. Affected by the recent death by suicide of a classmate (the second in one month), the film juxtaposes the realities faced by Inuit youth and their communities against those of a naïve teacher (Russ) from Southern Canada who is unaware of the complexity of life in the

[135] YBI's album *Young Black Inuk* was released in 2021. It is currently available through Apple Music. Shauna Seeteenak's debut album *Therapy Sessions* (2021) is also available through Apple Music.

Arctic. Topically, visually and sonically, *The Grizzlies* demonstrates how community, sport, hip hop, culture and customs intersect and represent the innumerable life experiences of Inuit.

As the film progresses and Russ becomes more and more familiar with Inuit culture, other themes are highlighted, namely the realities of suicide, trauma, intergenerational trauma, physical abuse in relationships and within families, mental health, Inuit humour, alcoholism, and substance abuse. Suicide is the dominant theme that threads and connects each character to the plot. On multiple occasions, the viewer is introduced and emotionally drawn into how suicide impacts a community. Perhaps the most astute commentary comes from Russ' co-worker Mike, who classifies the suicide rate in Inuit communities as a pandemic, and an issue that he didn't think he would have to worry about. The emotional impact of suicide culminates in a scene where students sit in a gym to discuss how they feel. Rather than drinking or smoking, they decide to have a conversation, instead of turning to negative means of dealing with trauma, sadness and grief.

Sonically, *The Grizzlies* soundtrack introduces the listener to Inuit rock music (English and Inuktitut), Inuit hip hop (English and Inuktitut), Inuit soul and *katajjaq*. [136] Notably, the song "Trials" by 666God, Hyper-T and DJ Shub combines "powwow step" with Inuit hip hop.[137] Driven by a robust rhythm section (drums, cymbals and clapping), "Trials" combines an energetic melodic line carried by a high pitched First Nations singer with 666God's clear and measured lyrics:

> Another night out with the cold
> I could have worked till my neck is all froze
> My team really with it

[136] A soundtrack for *The Grizzlies* is currently unavailable for commercial purchase. However, some songs included in the film are available through individual artists. For example, "Tuniit Rock" by Silla and Rise is available on their debut album *Silla+Rise* (2016). Watching the film is the only way to hear excerpts of the soundtrack.
[137] Nelson Tagoona is also featured on *The Grizzlies* soundtrack. At this time, a recording is not available for analysis. "Trials" can be heard at the 41:44 mark.

Get hit it, get with it
No limit when I get back onto the road
No finished no
Know we just made it to heaven
Turned up to another level wherever I go
We're destined for greatness
You already know
So I'm back with the climb
We get back on the road
Like woah, in the zone

The positive nature of these lyrics is complemented onscreen as the lacrosse team runs drills to improve their skills individually and collectively. This scene, and "Trials" in particular, foreshadow themes of strength, teamwork and hope that bind the latter half of the film.

The positive and uplifting "don't give up" attitude of "Trials" is a stark contrast to the typical content found in most 666God songs. A high school poetry assignment influenced 666God to write music based on his lived experiences. Addressing the difficult content of his songs, 666God says, "I talk about suicide, talk about…drug abuse, alcoholism and like…I don't know, just my experience from what I've seen and what I've experienced growing up here" (Strong 2019). His song "Northside Suicide" exemplifies how lived realities impact 666God's music. Based on the experience of losing a friend to suicide 666God says writing "Northside Suicide" helped him cope. Elaborating further, he says, "mostly, I just want to be myself and express myself in a healthy way. It really helps me with that" (Strong 2019).

FXCKMR, a rapper, and former schoolmate of 666God, was also influenced by the same poetry assignment. Featured on *The Grizzlies* soundtrack, FXCKMR, makes similar observations

about how lived experiences influence his music.[138] Speaking about suicide and how it affects his life and music, FXCKMR says: [139]

> I try not to talk about suicide too much in my music, but it comes out all the time, whether a lyric about harming myself or about people I know who are going through things. Some months there's three or four people I know who have committed suicide. It's important to speak about real things going on, not just rapping about fancy cars and women. But my music isn't all sad. Sometimes I just want to have fun. (Barth 2019)

These commentaries about suicide exemplify Margaret Robinson's observations about Indigenous hip hop. A First Nations scholar, Robinson suggests that "Indigenous hip hop, as an art medium, can support mental health and wellness of its participants and fans by offering Indigenous identities and cultural expressions that are appropriate and meaningful in a contemporary urban environment" (2020, 183). While her discussion is largely based on Indigenous hip hop in an urban setting, many of her ideas are transferable to an Inuit context. In particular, Robinson observes how "hip hop stories of want, loss, violence, and pain, while grim, may contribute positively to young people's mental health by reducing their sense of isolation and alienation" (2020, 190-191). The fact that 666God and FXCKMR use hip hop to deal with suicide makes the interconnections between lived experience, mental health, and hip hop that much clearer.

[138] FXCKMR is Mister Lee Cloutier-Ellsworth. He, and 666God went to high school together. They were asked to write a poem for a class, which was later used as the basis for a rap song they performed at a school talent show.
[139] 666God and FXCKMR aren't the only Inuit musicians to address suicide. Since suicide rates are significantly higher amongst Inuit than any other population in Canada, many musicians address this topic. Speaking about what influences her, Inuit musician Riit says, "a couple days ago, a friend committed suicide. I've gone through a lot of that. It's pretty ------ up that I've been to more funerals than I have weddings. Inuktitut is also almost a lost language in Nunavut. Those are the types of things I like to sing about" (Williams 2019). Elaborating further about how suicide had impacted her music, Riit says, "it's a very hard topic. I don't really like to talk about things personally, because it's such a trigger to so many people. Music is just one of those ways I can talk about how I feel in hopes of reaching the people who feel the same way as me or don't know how to express their feelings" (Williams 2019).

ii. BluePrintForLife

While some Inuit are encouraged to participate in hip hop through school assignments, others are deeply impacted and influenced by community-based hip hop projects. [140] Created by social worker and hip hop dancer, Stephen "Buddha" Leafloor, BluePrintForLife's outreach programs aim to empower youth and build communities of practice that nurture hope and positivity.[141] Leafloor's sister is married to an Inuk man. Through his sister and three nieces Leafloor became aware of the issues many Inuit face. He notes, it was "out of concern for their future when they would become teenagers that I wanted to reach out and do something for the youth up North" (Leafloor 2011, 132). Hyperaware of the social issues Inuit face, Leafloor sourced funding and created a week-long workshop to promote healing through hip hop culture. By 2018, BluePrintForLife "has reached over 6000 youth, through 120 programs in over 45 communities" (BluePrintForLife 2018).[142]

Organized as a workshop, BluePrintForLife's diverse team of artists begin by taking over the high school curriculum for one week. They delve into aspects of hip hop culture like dance, choreography, graffiti and music. Working from 9am-5pm each day, Leafloor describes this process as "hip hop bootcamp." The week-long workshop ends with a final showcase, where youth share what they have learned with their community.

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[140] For a discussion of community-based hip hop projects see Raphael Travis Jr. (2016). Chapters 9-11 of his book discuss hip hop projects that are geared toward specific outcomes (i.e., physical and mental health, education etc.). While these projects aren't designed specifically for Indigenous youth, they provide valuable examples of how hip hop empowers people and transcends the boundaries of mainstream entertainment and popular music. See also Charity Marsh (2012b) and Carolyn M. Brooks, Mitch Douglas Daschuk, Jennifer Poudrier and Nicole Almond (2014) for more examples.

[141] Stephen Leafloor holds a Master's Degree in social work. He was a social worker in Iqaluit, NU in the mid-2000s. He currently resides in Ottawa, ON. For more about his involvement in hip hop and experience in social work, see his article "Therapeutic Outreach through Bboying (Break Dancing) in Canada's Arctic and First Nations Communities: Social Work through Hip Hop" (2011).

[142] Although originally conceived as a program for Inuit communities, BluePrintForLife's community outreach programs are also held in First Nation's communities, as well as maximum security prisons.

Interspersed throughout the workshop are discussions about trauma, bullying, suicide and abuse, among a myriad of issues affecting Inuit youth. Likening the workshop to a cypher (dance circle) mixed with cognitive therapy, Leafloor describes the process used as a way of creating a bully-free zone where youth recognize their collective strength. I quote Leafloor's description at length to emphasize the intricacies of how the workshop connects to youth:

> Let's say it's early in the week and I have just taught the youth a backspin. We now form a dance circle, and I suggest that we are all going to take turns getting down in the middle one by one and try out this new backspin technique. You can imagine the anxiety of the youth. Everyone is terrified and doesn't want to go into the circle. Well, in cognitive therapy terms the thought process is "Oh shit, Buddha's looking at me, oh shit, he's going to pick me!" The idea that they will be picked leads to real terror and anxiety that the youth all immediately feel. Some may even have a physical reaction as is often the case in anxiety—self-talk, sweating, trembling, and so on. I help ease the anxiety by stating a rule in Hip-Hop and a rule of the cypher. I explain to everyone that no matter what goes down we will all hoop and holla and clap in support of the efforts of each of us as we enter the circle. Well, the bullies are even thinking they better hoop and holla and cheer for everyone, even though they usually tease and bully, since they also want everyone to do the same for them. It's a great equalizer that everyone buys into. One by one, even the most shy youth enter the circle (sometimes with one of us if they are really terrified). Let's say that the backspin doesn't work out, that it turns into some sort of bum spin instead with a contorted body on the floor; it doesn't matter. Everyone would cheer and support them anyway. Their internal talk of fear and of being laughed at was belied by the group's response. It didn't roll out like that. In fact, the opposite happened and they felt supported and good inside. Many not only feel good inside, but ecstatic with the energy and support they just felt. We get them hooked on the therapy of the cypher, and every time they go in the dance circle it becomes easier to do and no longer a place of fear, but one of excitement. This is the same buzz that all us Hip-Hop heads experience sometime early in the game. Positive risk taking builds the confidence to try again, to engage life again, to take bigger risks next time. (2011, 138)

At the end of a cypher, Leafloor may pause to discuss how each participant felt. As the week progresses, Leafloor encourages conversations about more difficult topics. Noting that by this time, the youth have become more and more comfortable with their hip hop mentors, Leafloor says:

> In keeping with the importance of building honest personal relationships with youth, we progressively get into the more difficult topics as we progress through our 5-day program. It would not make sense to talk about sexual abuse and suicide on the first day,

> so instead we talk about it on day 5, as the relationships we now have with the young people are what I call "thick." (2011, 139)

The relationships formed within the cypher and workshop also extend to the community. BluePrintForLife encourages all members of the community to participate including, but not limited to, elders, local RCMP officers, GN (Government of Nunavut) employees and public health workers.[143] For Leafloor, community participation "opens up communication between adults and breaks down the perceived and often real barriers of power and control" that "works both ways with adults and youth seeing each other from a different perspective" (2011, 141).

Breaking barriers between youth and traditional practices is also a priority. Encouraged to incorporate cultural practices like *katajjaq*, Leafloor says, "we explore throat singing with all the youth, and we also explore freestyling it with beat boxing. The youth love it as it's something unique to Hip-Hop from their culture. We call it *throat boxing*" (2011, 143). Elaborating further about incorporating other kinds of traditional Inuit songs, dances and games with hip hop, Leafloor explains how it helps to create a sense of pride and confidence:

> We use these culturally specific games to "flip the script" as they are the experts. We have great fun as the Blueprint staff humble themselves before their culture and they get to teach us. We see ourselves as sharing human moments of laughter together as we fumble through something in terms of which we are inexperienced. Such experiences help to break down the barriers that can occur when we are seen as the "Hip-Hop superstars." (2011, 143)

Overall, Leafloor's goal with BluePrintForLife is to foster an individual sense of belonging and communal support. Oftentimes, the impact of such workshops isn't felt or understood until much later. Reflecting on how a BluePrintForLife workshop affected youth from Mittimatalik [Pond Inlet], Leafloor shares a story. Again, I quote him at length to

[143] See BluePrintForLife's *Arctic Hip Hop* (2014), a book of pictures and personal reflections from different Inuit communities that have participated in BluePrintForLife's workshops. See also Stephen Leafloor's *Arctic Hip Hop* (2008), a documentary that follows Stephen Leafloor and BluePrintForLife as they travel to Cambridge Bay, NU for a workshop.

emphasize how a week-long, community-based workshop can change how youth react to loss and use hip hop as a coping mechanism:

> A local teenage girl who attended the Hip-Hop club had passed away. That night at Hip-Hop practice all the youth were crying and hugging each other with support over missing their friend. According to this one teacher, this in itself was amazing because before this there was no formalized gathering for youth to grieve or support each other and this was often done in isolation. A discussion started among the youth that they should think of some way of honoring their friend. A creative idea was suggested that they should go out around the town (all 50 of them) and do "frost graffiti."
>
> In Pond Inlet [Mittimatalik], under certain conditions, it is so cold that a thick frost forms on the outside of all the buildings. With the warmth of their fingers, having removed their sealskin mitts, they were able to trace and melt positive messages about missing their friend. It was like graffiti tagging without causing any vandalism or damage to anyone's property. These kids went out around the whole town all night, feeling like they were accomplishing something positive and powerful together. When the sun came out and the town woke up, everyone was talking about it and walking around town to read all the powerful messages celebrating life and saying things about missing their friend. The whole town was covered in art and messages! (Leafloor 2011, 150)

While BluePrintForLife's community-based workshops are effective in helping youth heal, build confidence, connect to their community, and discover healthy pathways for dealing with a breadth of social issues, program sustainability is difficult. Oftentimes localized hip hop clubs that run beyond a workshop operate on a volunteer basis. In a report assessing the effectiveness of BluePrintForLife's hip hop programs, Tanya Forneris notes that many community members:[144]

> Recognized that some of the youth involved in the Hip Hop club have taken on leadership roles and are doing a great job in those roles but that they need a community member, preferably someone who is Inuit and a young adult to be their [*sic*] to mentor and guide the youth. The youth talked about a leader from another community who is Inuit and leads the Hip Hop group in her community. They discussed that this person was a role model to them and how they hoped that they could have someone like her in their

[144] Tanya Forneris' (2009) report evaluates two hip hop projects facilitated by BluePrintForLife. The first workshop, "Hip Hop You Don't Stop" was held in Ikpiarjuk [Arctic Bay], NU and Mittimatalik [Pond Inlet], NU. The second workshop, "Leadership Youth Hip Hop Summit" was held in Pangnirtung, NU. Forneris compares the goals and objectives of each project and examines their overall impact. Through focus groups, questionnaires and interviews, Forneris concludes that hip hop enables Inuit youth to create safe spaces for their physical and mental wellbeing. Furthermore, she provides communal responses that address sustainability and ways to bolster and strengthen programming so that hip hop remains an integral part of community outreach.

> own community. In the communities most of the program organization is being facilitated by non-Inuit community members. (2009, 13)

Limited funding doesn't allow mentors to fly into communities for extended periods of time, nor does it offer enough resources for independent, localized hip hop clubs to buy necessary equipment like a stereo system. Other operational issues include open access to safe spaces for youth to gather and practice hip hop dance and music. Despite these issues of long-term sustainability, the benefit of community-based hip hop projects on Inuit youth outweigh the challenges.

iii. Nelson Tagoona and BluePrintForLife

Nelson Tagoona is among the youth to have benefited from BluePrintForLife's programming. Describing the impact BluePrintForLife had on his life, Nelson says:[145]

> I always liked rap music growing up, but it wasn't until I started working with BluePrintForLife that I realized the true impact of and the true roots of hip hop because I was really into hip hop dancing. I didn't realize that hip hop dance as a subculture could have such an impact on so many people all over the world from the rich places to the poorest of them all. They all had some type of impact by that genre of music. I really like that, it's so positive. It's such a positive, positive outlet. There's so many elements to hip hop and beat boxing caught on and it impacted my life. It really, really impacted my life. In some ways, I could comfortably say that it saved my life because it was there for me when nobody else was. And I just love the music, it's a good vibe, it's very uplifting and it's cool. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019) [146]

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[145] See Figure 23 for a video of Nelson's quote.

[146] Grandmaster Flash is known to have introduced the beat box to hip hop. "Beat box" refers to drum machines that were used in hip hop in the 1970s and 1980s. In particular, beat box refers to the popular Roland brand drum machines (models CR-78 and TR-55 in the 1970s which were later replaced by the TR-808 model in the 1980s). According to journalist and filmmaker Nelson George, the beat box "turned DJs from beat mixers to beat makers" (2004, 45-46). In an interview, Flash notes the difference between the beat box and beatboxing: "For some reason the world seems to think the beat box is something you do with your mouth. The beat box was an attempt to come up with something other than the techniques I created on the turntables to please the crowd. There was this drummer who lived in the Jackson projects who had this manually operated drum box he used to practice his fingering. I begged him to sell it to me. Then I found a way to wire it into my system and called it the beat box. The drummer taught me how to use it. When my partner Disco Bee would shut the music off, I would segue into it, so you couldn't tell where the music stopped and I started" (George 2004, 49). "Beatboxing" is a specific type of vocal percussion. Using their mouths as an instrument, beatboxers imitate the sound of a drum set or other types of percussive instruments. Pioneered by Doug E. Fresh, Rahzel and Biz Markie, beatboxing is often referred to as the

Figure 23: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

Elaborating further, Nelson adds:[147]

> As a kid I had ADHD and I was all over the place and I couldn't shut up. I was an annoying little kid. And so beat boxing was just so perfect for me. If I didn't have music playing in my ears at least I could create the music and that's kind of where I started off. I'd have a rhythm in my head (sings) then I heard some other beat boxing from like films, and online, and some friends would try it so I gave it a shot and it just came natural to me. I really enjoyed it and I really, really started growing really fast with it and I stayed inspired. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019)

Figure 24: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

Curious to know more, I asked Nelson how he learned to beatbox: [148]

> With many, many, many, many, many, many, many hours of practice. Beatboxing is tricky in the beginning because you need to work on those muscles in your mouth and get a feel for certain sounds. In the beginning it was very basic, but to me, I didn't know much about it so even the simple beats I found very, very interesting and I just didn't stop. I would practice, and practice and practice and the times changed, the feelings changed about it and the genres that I listened to changed and all that influences my craft, so I just continue growing and I change realms of music from time to time and all of that is just part of my journey through life with music. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019)

Figure 25: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

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fifth element of hip hop. See Ajay Kapur, Manj Benning and George Tzanetakis (2004) and Elliot Sinyor, Cory McKay, Rebecca Fiebrink, Daniel McEnnis and Ichiro Fujinaga (2005) for more.

[147] See Figure 24 for a video of Nelson's quote.

[148] See Figure 25 for a video of Nelson's quote.

Noting the specific influence beat boxing had on his music and creative process, he explains:

> I can't simply describe how I came about with throat boxing the way that I did but I could tell you that BluePrintForLife had a big role in it. Before I knew of the crew or became a member of the crew, I was already mixing throat singing, beat boxing and guitar rhythms in one go, but it is the crew that came up with the term "Throat boxing" and they started off with having a member of the crew beatbox while an Inuk woman would throat sing. Although I was already beatboxing and adding splashes of throat singing to areas of my freestyle, none of it was public. BluePrintForLife shared the true essence of Hip Hop and by sharing their knowledge and positive attitude, they gave me a clear vision to what Hip Hop truly was, and that was when I lost all fear of performing things no one had seen before. (Interview with the author, February 5, 2015) [149]

Figure 26: Audio of Nelson's quote cited above. Recorded by Nelson. (See supplemental files)

A YouTube video on Stephen Leafloor's channel, filmed approximately eight years ago provides a glimpse into Nelson's participation with BluePrintForLife. [150] In particular, this video exemplifies the community-centered approach BluePrintForLife uses. Filmed on the final day of a workshop, Nelson (now a mentor with BluePrintForLife) connects with the community of Kugaaruk, Nunavut by demonstrating throat boxing and directly linking his musical practice to the positivity associated with hip hop. Four minutes into the video, Nelson reflects on the week's workshop and how participants were able to discuss their feelings and emotional struggles in a safe communal setting. Segueing into how he has dealt with his own struggles with mental health, depression and suicide ideation, Nelson performs a song called "Alive Again." The song is comprised of a sung chorus and rapped verses that exemplify Nelson's positive messaging.

Empowered by his experience with BluePrintForLife, Nelson is able to share the positivity imparted to him through hip hop. With lyrics like "Be happy to be happy/Make the best of our lives/Don't stop now, you're only in your early steps/There are many days ahead of

[149] See Figure 26 for audio of Nelson's quote.
[150] The video can be found here: https://youtu.be/rmP6OKCs09o.

you, don't do what you'll regret," Nelson is able to show Inuit that they too can survive any hardship exactly as he did. However, Nelson does not attribute the positivity of his music only to the uplifting nature of hip hop: [151]

> No. No. I'm not limited to a genre. My music is very uplifting because it's just the way that I let my spirit sing and I let it take me away. And I get a high, it's like a high when I'm playing and it's so uplifting. I don't know how to describe it. I have to show you instead of describing it to you, it's so uplifting and it's motivating to hear, it really changes my perspective on things once I really get into the groove and I could feel the atmosphere completely shift when I start, when I really start getting into it. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019)

Figure 27: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

While Nelson's music and messaging now is very uplifting, much of his early career was spent dealing with and openly discussing difficult issues like bullying, depression, anxiety, suicide ideation and intergenerational trauma. Throughout Nunavut, youth and adults alike face numerous traumas and social issues such as substance abuse, violence, and poverty. A direct result of colonialism and residential schools, the negative impact of assimilative practices is multi-generational since "the effects of trauma experiences are often transmitted across generations affecting the children and grandchildren of those that were initially victimized" (Bombay, Matheson and Anisman 2009, 6). Nelson is not immune to the traumas he often discusses in his music. Nelson's maternal great-grandparents and grandparents are residential school survivors and he lost his biological father to suicide when he was just a toddler. Faced with first-hand traumas of his own, Nelson has also brought his struggles with mental health to

[151] See Figure 27 for a video of Nelson's quote.

the forefront of his music. Unafraid to draw on his own experiences and struggles, Nelson uses hip hop to express, discuss and share the various aspects of his lived realities.

Nelson Tagoona: Combining Katajjaq and Beatboxing

In addition to sharing the positive impact of hip hop, Nelson is open about the impact *katajjaq* has had on his life. His choice to include *katajjaq* with beat boxing was not a difficult decision: [152]

> I've known of throat singing my whole entire life, like going to school, even out in public. I mean, throat singing is just part of our culture, so I wasn't really introduced to it, I was raised into it. I'm from here. But, it's not common for a man to try it. So, for me, I performed this one time at a talent show and I got second place. They wanted to give me first, but I had no culture[153] mixed into that show, so that's when I realized that it may be cool if I actually mixed throat singing with what I'm doing with vocal percussion as well. And that's when I gave it a shot. And once I actually started off with throat boxing it kind of exploded and I started travelling all over the place. Once I started really mixing my roots with my craft, and that's where my horizon broadened, and things really started to build momentum. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019)

Figure 28: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

A video of Nelson performing for his community at the talent show he describes above is uploaded to a channel called *Alooqo* (owned by Freddie Oovayuk, a resident of Qamani'tuaq).[154] The video provides examples of Nelson's diverse musical taste as he skillfully combines excerpts of Snoop Dogg's "Drop it Like it's Hot," Ben E. King's "Stand by Me," Ginuwine's "Pony," Michael Jackson's "Billie Jean," and Salt 'n' Pepa's "Push It," with beatboxing. Transitioning to a section where he combines beatboxing over the electric guitar melody of Guns

[152] See Figure 28 for a video of Nelson's quote.
[153] Nelson's performance at this talent show did not include *katajjaq* or throat boxing.
[154] The video can be found here: https://youtu.be/RfW4RGchnlo.

N' Roses' "Sweet Child O'Mine," followed by a guitar solo and more beatboxing, this video captures Nelson's early sound without *katajjaq*.

There are two reasons Nelson chose to add *katajjaq* to his musical practice. The first is reflective of the criticism he received from the talent show. The second is the ease with which both practices can be combined: [155]

> I'm a vocal percussionist. As a vocal percussionist, it just makes sense because I'm already playing guitar and I'm beatboxing and then mixing, sometimes I'd mix harmonica in with stuff like that. But I mean with throat singing it just makes sense to me, like if you hear throat singing it's like (sings) and I thought it was cool to manipulate and create my own versions where it sounds like (sings) something like that. It just makes sense for me to mix that stuff in with my craft. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019)

Figure 29: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

Elaborating further, Nelson adds: [156]

> Actually, when I first started learning how to throat sing I was really shy about it because no guys, you know boys would ever try that out. And I just took my leap of faith and I was recognized by many people for it and many companies and a lot of hiring organizations got in touch with me and brought me to their events because they like the mix of contemporary music with traditional music entwined. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019)

Figure 30: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

Interested in his learning process, I asked Nelson what it was like to learn *katajjaq*: [157]

> Learning how to throat sing, I just basically, I just did whatever I could remember and I would listen to the very basics. And I would try, it was really weird for me at first. Like really, really, weird. And I just kept at it. When I started to realized how it was accepted it actually is for me to do throat boxing that's when I became more confident about it and

[155] See Figure 29 for a video of Nelson's quote.
[156] See Figure 30 for a video of Nelson's quote.
[157] See Figure 31 for a video of Nelson's quote.

> started asking other throat singers how they do it. They would teach me certain songs and I would go off from there and create my own twists and create my own versions of the song and then creating songs in general, like completely gutting out old songs and turning them into my own thing completely. (Interview with the author, June 30, 3019)

Figure 31 Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

Intrigued about how he learned prior to learning from other throat singers, I asked Nelson if he listened to CDs and emulated the sounds he heard. He told me: [158]

> No, I just went off of what I already knew and I had my own idea of how it should sound and I had my own idea of how throat singing sounds so I went off of what I already knew about throat singing. And I mixed it as much as I could so it sounds more masculine. I was really insecure about creating such a feminine sound as a man, but I created my own mixes, some are very feminine and some are masculine. I'm not going to judge. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019)

Figure 32: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

The ease of combining *katajjaq* and beatboxing highlights the way in which both practices rely on specific aspects of vocal performance. *Katajjaq* involves the vocal imitation of specific environmental (natural and built) sounds, while beatboxing, or the art of vocal percussion, "involves the vocal imitation of drum machines as well as drums and other percussion, and typically also the simultaneous imitation of basslines, melodies, and vocals, to create an illusion of polyphonic music" (Stowell and Plumbley 2008, 1). *Katajjaq* sound production relies on vocal cohesion, so that the audience cannot distinguish which of the two performers is creating which sound. Like *katajjaq*, the goal of beatboxing is to produce a

[158] See Figure 32 for a video of Nelson's quote.

uniform sound, with one caveat, to "disguise the vocal origin of the sounds," (Stowell and Plumbley 2008, 1). Another similarity to *katajjaq* is beatboxing's use of inhalation and exhalation. While inhalation and exhalation can be used to produce a variety of sounds, Dan Stowell and Mark D. Plumbley observe:

> A notable characteristic of beatboxing is the widespread use of inhaled sounds. We propose that this has two main motivations. Firstly it enables a continuous flow of sounds, which both allows for continuous drum patterns and also helps maintain the auditory illusion of the sounds being imitated (since the sound and the pause associated with an ordinary intake of breath are avoided). Secondly it allows for the production of certain sounds which cannot be produced equally well during exhaling. (2008, 2)

In the following videos Nelson demonstrates the sounds of *katajjaq*, beat boxing and throat boxing. These videos provide a sonic representation of how *katajjaq* and beat boxing can be combined with ease.

Figure 33: Video of Nelson demonstrating *katajjaq.* Qamani'tuaq, July 2, 2015. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

Figure 34: Video of Nelson demonstrating beatboxing. Qamani'tuaq, July 2, 2015. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

Figure 35: Video of Nelson demonstrating throat boxing. Qamani'tuaq, July 2, 2015. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

Beatboxing can be performed with or without amplification. If amplification is used, beatboxers "adopt a 'close-mic' technique" and "use a standard dynamic vocal mic but positioned around one or two centimeters from the mouth" (Stowell and Plumbley 2008, 3). Furthermore, some beatboxers:

> …may also cup the microphone with one or both hands to modulate the acoustic response. For some sound qualities or effects the microphone may be positioned against the throat or the nose. Against the throat, a muffled "low-pass filter" effect can be produced. Close-mic techniques alter the role of the microphone, from being a "transparent" tool for capturing sound to being a part of the "instrument". (Stowell and Plumbley 2008, 3)

Like most beatboxers, Nelson uses a close-mic technique, as well as a vocal loop pedal. The pedal allows a vocalist to record a short section of music (like a melody or beat) and plays it back on a continuous loop. The looper pedal is also capable of overdubbing so numerous levels of sound can be built and layered. In many performances, Nelson begins by recording short rhythmic snippets of beatboxing, throat boxing, or *katajjaq*. He will then overdub, layering multiple sounds until he is satisfied with the rhythmic and melodic quality. With a beat, provided by the vocal loop pedal, Nelson is free to improvise with his throat boxing.

Nelson Tagoona: Community Response

The combination of *katajjaq* and beatboxing to form throat boxing is specific to Nelson's musical output. When I asked how his music has been received by his community he said:[159]

> In the beginning people would giggle about [it] and people would make fun of me but I put a deaf ear to those who put me down and I just keep doing what I'm doing. I'm not going to let someone stop my dreams, I am going to keep going and going and going and keep pushing. And I'm not going to let someone else's input put me down. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019)

Figure 36: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

[159] See Figure 36 for a video of Nelson's quote.

I was curious to know if he felt obligated to express facets of his identity and heritage in his performances in order to illicit specific responses from community members. I wondered if portraying a more "Inuit" identity or image would lead to more communal support and respect. I was also interested to know if identity, heritage, and culture were factors in his performances for non-Inuit audiences: [160]

> I don't feel like it's my job. I don't feel like I have to. I don't have to express my culture, it's not my job, but I express what I do just naturally and there's culture mixed in because it's just who I am and where I'm from. I don't do things a certain way because someone tells me to or say that's the way it has to be done. I like to break some of those rules and make it my own and with throat boxing, it's so interesting. And then, sometimes I'll mix drum dancers in and more throat singers and it's all about celebrating the arts and sharing tradition and culture and creating your own mixes and it's just the way I tell my story. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019)

Figure 37: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

Delving further, Nelson describes how his music has been received outside of his community:[161]

> I've had standing ovations all over the country. Standing ovations with audiences of thousands of people. Like really, really, really, really good turn outs. And very interesting collaborations, and actually, not just around Canada, but around the world actually and it's been very good to me. It's very, very interesting and it's so dynamic. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019)

Figure 38: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

[160] See Figure 37 for a video of Nelson's quote.
[161] See Figure 38 for a video of Nelson's quote.

Among the standing ovations I've witnessed Nelson receive was his performance with the Toronto Symphony Orchestra.[162] Nelson explains how he got involved: [163]

> Actually, Sandra Laronde, God bless Sandra Laronde, she contacted me with her company Red Sky Performance and they're a fantastic company. They have Indigenous contemporary dancers and a lot of it is, well it's both contemporary and they add a lot of tradition inside of their shows. It's very interesting and they travel the world […] so Sandra contacted me, and originally she wanted me to open for Buffy Sainte Marie at the Banff Centre, but that didn't pull through so she contacted me about, I think a year later or so and she asked me if I'm interested in doing a concert with the Toronto Symphony Orchestra and I'd be placed as the soloist on the stage. And, I'm so honored to have that opportunity, to have played between six, seven or eight shows. I can't remember exactly. And we played two different versions of it, it's called *Adizokan*. And we originally played a forty-five minute piece and we cut it down to a suite which is now approximately twenty, twenty five minutes and we still have a lot of my beatboxing, throat boxing incorporated in the show and working with the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, it was very tricky for me at first because I wasn't sure, because they're such a tight system, I wasn't sure how I should approach it. So, what I decided to do is I'm just going to be myself and have a sense of humour and not pretend I'm something I'm not. I'm just going to go on stage and be myself, and it turned out great. It was fantastic. The composer of the piece, his name is Eliot Britton. He's a professor at the University of Toronto and he's so smart. When we were working together, we were bouncing files back and forth and he'd basically create a sample pack of my beatboxing and then he created this beautiful soundscape which plays behind the orchestra, they have screens on stage as well with the video and they have contemporary dancers and me right by the conductor. So, sending files back and forth, it scared me a little bit, but it turned out so well, I'm very, very impressed with the outcome of the show and I would really like to have shows like again. It was so inspiring to play in front of such huge audiences at the Roy Thomson Hall. It's a beautiful venue. And with Red Sky Performance, we flew down to Mexico as well and we played with the Caribbean Symphony and that was very, very interesting as well. Those guys play with a lot of soul. It felt so good to be onstage with those guys, it was so much fun. I love travelling for this type of art. It is so interesting. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019)

Figure 39: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

[162] To view Nelson's performance with the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, see their YouTube channel: https://youtu.be/vmmC9KBAypY.
[163] See Figure 39 for a video of Nelson's quote.

Nelson elaborates further on the process of remote collaboration: [164]

> So, well, it was about a year that we spent sending, just shy of a year. So, it was kind of confusing for me so what I did was I would just record a whole bunch of samples and then I'd send them off to him [Eliot]. And then he would send me a, like a draft of what he's putting together to help guide me, and I would create more samples and then I would send those off to him and that's kind of how we bounced off each other and when I had performances in Toronto, I would take some time away and go to the studio with him and then we would record together in the studio. But my time in Toronto is usually very limited, so we made do the best we can with what we had. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019)

Figure 40: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

Curious about remote collaboration, I wondered if the process would have been different if Nelson and Eliot were able to work in a closer setting: [165]

> If I was in Toronto and we were working together I think, I don't know how it would have turned out because I wanted to give him the creative space as well because I trust him because he's a genius. I'm happy with the way it worked out and I don't know how it would have turned out if I was there. Who knows, it could have turned out the exact same way. But, I know there's a lot of potential for work in the future if the opportunity arises because Eliot is a very creative individual and he's very, very knowledgeable and easy to talk to and he's just generally a great guy to be around. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019)

Figure 41: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

Comparing his performances in Inuit communities to those in southern Canada and abroad, I wondered if there were perceived differences: [166]

> When it comes to performing on different stages, every audience has a bit of an impact on what I do right now because I really, really get the crowd involved in my shows so it always depends on the numbers. So, I prefer playing for larger audiences, because you

[164] See Figure 40 for a video of Nelson's quote.
[165] See Figure 41 for a video of Nelson's quote.
[166] See Figure 42 for a video of Nelson's quote.

> get this energy, and you resonate with that energy that you feel from audiences. I played a show with about 20,000 plus people and I resonated with that audience so much. It's such a great feeling when you throw your hand in the air and thousands of people are, it's so amazing, I can't describe how privileged I am as an artist to be able to experience this. I wish everybody could have an experience like that because the best high I've ever had is the high you get is when you're on stage and you're killin' it. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019)

Figure 42: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

Throat boxing as Indigenous Modernity

Nelson's success with throat boxing demonstrates the way in which contemporary Indigenous life challenges the tradition/modern binary. Scholars Michael Marker (Lummi Nation) (2011), Philip Deloria (Standing Rock Sioux Tribe) (2004) and Celine Germond-Duret (2016) argue that the simplicity of the tradition/modern binary ignores the complex reality of Indigenous peoples. Since Indigenous peoples redefine themselves and adapt to the political, environmental, and social circumstances surrounding them, binaries do not accurately depict everyday life. Noting how modernity is often regarded as an imposition to Indigeneity, Scott Richard Lyons (Mississippi Ojibwe of Leech Lake and the Mdewakanton Dakota of Lower Sioux) (2011) posits that Indigenous modernity enables new opportunities to accurately discuss how Indigenous nations participate in modern life. Like Lyons, Inupiaq ethnomusicologist Heidi Aklaseaq Senungetuk highlights how Indigenous peoples and perspectives are always modern, she states:

> We don't see ourselves as old-fashioned; rather, we exist in the present while invoking past and future generations. Bringing ideas from the past into the present is a way of "Indigenizing" just about anything, including popular and classical musics by Native

> composers and singer-songwriters. New music challenges listeners to rethink static images of Indigeneity through expressive media that are at once forward-looking and of the present and that embrace the past. (Senungetuk 2018, xiv) [167]

Likewise, Dawn Ieriho:Kwats Avery (2018) notes the cyclical process of tradition and modernity saying, "traditions of the past are brought into the present to be acted out in the future, continually constructing history as it unfolds in a recursive contour" (2018, 198). Elaborating further she says, "bringing the time back or bringing it forward to now, is indicative of a worldview in which the nows of the past and future are always experienced as part of the present" (2018, 198). Positioning tradition as the past and modernity and innovation as the present and future, Avery posits that tradition and modernity function in a cyclical relationship, where the present and future is dependent on the past. In this way, "musical modernity has always been Indigenous, and Indigenous musicians have always been modern" (Levine 2018, 11).

The authors mentioned thus far make clear that the tradition/modern binary oversimplifies the complex real-world experiences of Indigenous peoples. Binaries usually exist as a hierarchy, where modernity is valued more than tradition, or vise-versa, depending on who is deciding. Binaries also neglect in-between spaces where diversity and multiplicity reign and a continuum where tradition and modernity exist simultaneously and speak to an array of multifaceted knowledges, experiences, and practices. The concept of Indigenous modernity can draw attention to and develop our understanding of "in-between" spaces.

[167] In anthropology, "indigenization," or the idea to make something more Indigenous, or to recontextualize and reclaim something in order to make it more applicable, useful or suitable to Indigenous peoples has been used to refer to Indigenous modernity. That is to say, both terms challenge the tradition/modern dichotomy and examine the diverse ways in which Indigenous peoples alter or conceive new and contemporary ways of articulating Indigenous ways of knowing and being. See also the introduction to Jeff Berglund, Jan Johnson and Kimberli Lee's (2016) edited volume.

Within the "in between" spaces are the various ways in which the past is brought forward through the recontextualization of Indigenous worldviews and traditions. Anna Hoefnagels and Beverley Diamond add that "musicians and culture bearers choose to modify traditional cultural expressions so that they become particularly meaningful and relevant to Aboriginal people today, as well as to new audiences" (2012, 5).

Indigenous modernity demonstrates how Indigenous peoples have engaged in and with modernity, and for what purposes; it illuminates the multiplicity and multilayered experiences of Indigenous peoples and frames their lives and experiences within the context of having always been modern and present. It is within this understanding of Indigenous modernity that I situate my discussion of Nelson and argue that throat boxing is a way of performing Indigenous modernity. Throat boxing exemplifies how a living tradition can be recontextualized and made more meaningful and relevant for Inuit today. As *katajjaq* is expanded to include new meanings, it demonstrates how tradition and modernity co-exist. In this way, a tradition is brought forward to include new realms of experience that are reflective of current circumstances.

In my own experience working with and interviewing Indigenous musicians, the concept of Indigenous modernity (or indigenizing modernity) was not a topic that interested many people. In fact, only one Inuit musician I spoke to was interested in pursuing the topic. When I contacted Kelly Fraser about my work, she responded immediately and asked to arrange a phone call to get acquainted. A few days later we spoke on the phone. I was in Toronto, Ontario and she was in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Within minutes, she asked me to explain what I meant by Indigenous modernity. After explaining my understanding, she frankly told me that she was put off, and yet simultaneously interested in two things. One, she was interested in the terminology and two, she was interested in my work and conducting interviews. Her interest in the

terminology, however, was unrelated to my work. It stemmed from an interview she had participated in with an anthropologist. Put off and offended by the types of questions and the manner in which they were being asked, Kelly was left with a distaste for anthropology. Further, she was uninterested in the concept of indigenization, saying that she was being herself and creating music that speaks to her experiences.

Curious to know if any other musician I worked with had had similar experiences, I asked Nelson if he had heard of Indigenous modernity or the indigenization of modernity. He had not. After discussing my understanding of Indigenous modernity, I asked Nelson if, in his experience this was the right term to use and if not, how he would change it. His response to me was, "I think it's a proper term, just depends on your angle. But, to me, it's a good term" (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019). Elaborating further, Nelson said: [168]

> For me, I'm not trying to play a role in getting culture twisted. Like through the years, my role more is focused on having the kids want to learn more about throat singing because of what I do and there are many who didn't have any interest in throat singing and who actually started studying and learning a lot and who got pretty good at it because of what they saw on stage when I'm performing. So, I do create my own contemporary twist in the arts, but I'm not trying to have any negative impact on the generations to come. (Interview with the author, June 30, 2019).

Figure 43: Video of Nelson's quote cited above. Qamani'tuaq, June 2019. Video by the author. (See supplemental files)

The way in which Nelson describes his intention and role as a musician parallels Indigenous modernity, especially how he recontextualizes *katajjaq*.

[168] See Figure 43 for a video of Nelson's quote.

i. Nelson Tagoona: Recontextualizing Katajjaq

Nelson's decision to pursue *katajjaq* as his performance medium of choice is evidence of his engagement with and participation in both tradition and modernity. Instead of embracing traditional performance practice and adhering to standard gender roles, Nelson challenges the status quo by recontextualizing what *katajjaq* can be. While he still participates in a living tradition, *katajjaq* is no longer left in the realm of women because men can participate too. Noting that *katajjaq* is a female dominated practice, Nelson says, "throat boxing is a whole new thing. It's a cultural twist with positive results" (Interview with the author, February 5, 2015). The "positive results" here reveal an important fact, namely, the way in which throat boxing creates an inclusive space where all Inuit are welcome, regardless of gender.

In addition to challenging gender roles and expectations, Nelson expands *katajjaq* and uses throat boxing as a means to mediate between traditional and contemporary life. Since Nelson has been open about his intent to influence and draw Inuit to *katajjaq*, this mediation also extends to his audience. Inuit life has changed quickly in recent years, and that mediation has become a necessity. Tanya Tagaq reflects on the rapid change:[169]

> The town I'm from is a really strange fluctuation, like my mother, literally grew up in an igloo, like she didn't walk into a house until she was 12 years old and now she has this university degree from Magill (*sic*) in Montreal – very strong, quick change in the culture and I think that's part of what my singing represents. (The Open University, 2010)

Likewise, Evie Mark observes the changes that have impacted Inuit life in just three generations:

> Inuit people have lost so much. In a very little time. What we lost, we really lost it. We lost it to religion, we lost it to development, we lost to settling down the Western way. And the youth like me never saw those changes, but my grandmother saw those changes, my mother saw those changes. I was already born when those changes were already

[169] See Louis-Jacques Dorais' book *Quaqtaq: Modernity and Identity in an Inuit Community* (1997) for an ethnographic study that examines the ways in which rapid change has affected Inuit identity. More specifically, Dorais' study (based on thirty years of ethnographic experience) highlights how modernity has affected language, kinship and religion in the small community of Quaqtaq.

> there, so for me it was normal. What is pretty sad is that they also lost a lot of things that we don't know about. (Deschênes 2002)

Expanding on the types of changes Inuit have dealt with, Mark says:

> When there is a change, there is always a stir, there is always an impact from that change. So, the impact we're going through right now is horrendous. We have diabetes, cancer, suicide, abuse. This is the impact of all the changes that were brought about by religion, food, sugar…And it was brought to us in so very little time, and a lot of it was forced upon my grandparents. (Deschênes 2002)

The notion of balancing tradition, modernity, and change is also iterated by Inuit singer-songwriter Charles Keelan:

> Innovation...how quick our culture has had to adapt to the changes forced upon us has left a lot of negative holes in us. But like every human being, we are adaptable, we adjust. We can be lost for a while, but if we don't fall into the sea of the speed of change, we will be left with nothing. The strength is there, there are enough great people around us to help carry a community and keep it moving forward. Identity may be hard to recognize and the feeling of being lost in who you are or want to become is difficult, especially with today's social media. Where everyone thinks they need to be a certain way to be accepted. With time…if you can hang on, you will find your place in this world. It can be beautiful and peaceful as being a part of your small community, sometimes it can feel so enclosed and "boring." Everyone is so judgmental; everyone likes to talk about others behind their backs. I'm still growing and trying to understand all of that yet. But the best place to where yourself comes right back inside you and fills you up with stability is out on the land. It is vast, and you need to be aware, which makes you feel alive again. A simple walk to the other side of the hill or mountain away from your community can do wonders. Feel the water, go in the water if you must. We are people of the shoreline. So my music, coming from both worlds, is just trying to keep it together as one. (Interview with the author, July 10, 2019)

Since Inuit life has changed dramatically, due mainly to external sources, many younger Inuit grapple with two worlds. One belongs to elders, traditional teachings, and ways of being in the world, while the other is dominated by technology and media consumption. [170] Somewhere, in between these worlds, Inuit youth face challenges in their daily lives because there is a disconnect between them and adults such as their parents and their elders. Having grown up in

[170] Here, I rely on Pelagie Owlijoot's description of elders. Owlijoot notes, "the identification of 'elders' as culture-bearers is not simply a matter of chronological age, but a function of the respect accorded to individuals in each community who exemplify the values and lifestyles of the local culture" (2008, 4).

two distinct ways and time periods, either removed from their families during the residential school era or in their community post-residential school, the older and younger generations are somewhat isolated in their understanding of one another.

This disconnect manifests itself in a variety of ways. Among the most deeply felt disjuncture is language and culture loss. While elders learned throat singing and other traditions through close family members, younger generations are learning from a variety of sources, including but not limited to one-on-one instruction, and sound and visual recordings. While learning can occur face-to-face with a peer, many elders have passed away, taking with them the stories about other singers and songs. Much of this culture loss is a direct impact of residential schools, however, the recent resurgence of *katajjaq* among musicians like Nelson is changing this history. By combining *katajjaq* with beatboxing, Nelson is creating a new realm of experience for himself and others like him. Not only is he mediating between both aspects of his life (tradition and modernity), Nelson is also expanding a female-dominated practice to include any and every Inuk.[171] In this way, Nelson's recontextualization of *katajjaq* creates new contexts.

ii. Nelson Tagoona: New Contexts, Revitalization and Cultural Renewal

Nelson's recontextualization strengthens *katajjaq's* place as a living cultural tradition, and creates new contexts, mainly in the way it fosters cultural revitalization and renewal that is meaningful and relevant to Inuit. The melding of contemporary cultural expression (hip hop culture) with a long-established practice (*katajjaq*) allows Inuit youth and adults to reclaim and reconnect to a culture and heritage that was once stolen from them. This particular point has also been reiterated by Evie Mark:

[171] See Charity Marsh (2009;2012a).

> It was in September 2001 in Puvernituk in Nunavik. It was the first Throat Singing Conference that ever happened on Inuit throat singing. It was very successful. There were throat singers from all ages, young people to the elders. There was a lot of exchanges between everyone. A lot of the elders were able to tell the younger singers "Don't add contemporary music to throat singing." The youth replied "no we've got to follow the change of life, while keeping our traditional throat singing". The elders were much encouraged and pleased because young people showed that they want to learn from them and they were encouraged to keep going. (Deschênes 2002)

Elaborating further about Inuit and tradition, she says:

> But throat singing is such a strong tradition that it probably didn't want to die. It's probably not us who brought it to life again. I think it was so strong that it didn't want to die so, I think it is coming back to us. We are not going back to it. I don't think it ever left us, I think we left it. And since it's so unique, so strong, it never died.
>
> Young people are very interested in it because we are sort of going, to me, through an identity crisis. I'm going through an identity crisis. I don't really know who I am in a sense. In the North, physically, you have so much space to move around, but your mind has very little space. In the south, you have very little space to move around physically, but your mind has so much space. Because you live in the north and it's so tight, the way of thinking is one way. The kids see, specially through television, that there is not just one way, there is so many ways to live life. That situation brings a lot of crisis to the youth, which is the reason why we have the highest suicide rate in Canada. So, when they are introduced to something that will make their characters stronger, they go for it, like throat singing. They grab it, they're hungry for it. And I guess I can say I was one of them. It's like craving for something that will make your identity stronger. It brought my attention to who I am, to my identity, to my culture. (Deschênes 2002)

Similarly, throat singer Christine Tootoo links *katajjaq*, modernity and identity to her own self-development:

> I guess I can say that I'm trying to show something that is such an important part of Inuit culture, I'm trying to show a tradition that has been going on for thousands of years. But I'm also trying to show the modern side of *katajjaq* and how it has grown, like how we are incorporating beat boxing, or a jaw harp. I'm also trying to show what it means to me, and how it is a part of my identity. (Interview with the author, February 17, 2015)

While Nelson has had a deep and meaningful impact on the lives of many Inuit children, youth and young adults, there are others who have also influenced the revitalization of *katajjaq*. Among them is Tanya Tagaq. She, like Nelson, mediates between tradition and modernity. Observing the growth of youth participation in *katajjaq*, she says:

> When I was growing up in my part of the town, no one ever did it [*katajjaq*], and now, you know, all the kids are starting to do it again just because it had to be changed I think, or else it was going to be lost, in my town anyway. (The Open University, 2010)

Although Nelson has travelled and performed extensively in Nunavut, his influence moves beyond the stage and live performances. Nunavut, the largest Canadian territory with the lowest population and growing infrastructure remains geographically isolated.[172] Communities are fly-in only; high airfare costs and varying weather conditions in this northernmost territory can make travel very difficult throughout various parts of the year. High winds, blizzards and snowstorms during the winter, and strong winds, rain, flooding, and low visibility fog can inhibit travel to and from many key travel hub communities. However, broadband technology (no matter how slow and ineffective) allows people from different northern communities to connect with one another locally and globally. It is in this space that Nelson's music and work continues when he isn't travelling and performing.

The widespread use of Facebook as the main form of social media communication to catch up on and spread local news updates, call out real or perceived challenges of everyday life, express frustration or to gossip about other members of the Inuit community has become an "online territory" where communities of practice are formed. [173] Similarly, other forums like YouTube provide Inuit with a place where they can observe, construct and share their creative output and personal life with others.[174] Here, in creative online spaces, Nelson's videos (many

[172] While geographically isolated, the Inuit I have worked with do not describe their lives as isolated. Rather, the vast geographic landscape is freeing for many Inuit. In contrast, southern or city life is isolating for many Inuit. Throat singer Riit, who is originally from Pangnirtung, Nunavut, describes her experience living in Ottawa while attending school: "It was my first time living outside of Nunavut. I'd travelled down south quite a bit but it was my first time staying there for that long. It was a culture shock. I always tell people I discovered myself being claustrophobic for the first time, from being surrounded by tall buildings – being from Nunavut and literally being able to look across a fjord anywhere I go, to living down south and being surrounded by buildings. That was one of the weirdest experiences for me" (Williams, 2019). My point in describing Inuit communities as "isolated" is strictly in reference to geography and the difficulties involved in travel (both for people and for the transportation of goods).
[173] See Charity Marsh (2009).
[174] See Nancy Wachowich and Willow Scobie (2010) for a discussion of how Inuit use open access media (specifically YouTube) as a space to connect with one another. The authors argue that uploading video clips of

recorded by audience members) offer Inuit the opportunity to re-watch and re-live performances. Other videos posted by television or news programs, and organizations like BluePrintForLife who work with Inuit youth, also help to maintain this space – a space where anyone can look up videos when they need it the most. [175]

While my dissertation primarily focuses on Nelson's live performances and concerts, I cannot overlook the digital spaces and multi-purpose platforms that allow people to connect virtually to each other locally and globally. This is particularly significant since "the Internet can be seen as inspiring a new and creative form of technological practice through which Inuit can mobilize themselves and engage different material and immaterial worlds" (Wachowich and Scobie 2010, 84). In this way, both physical and virtual spaces allow for connection. Connections to and with Nelson, as well as Inuit culture that occur in-person during live performances, are maintained digitally. In either case, they both provide Inuit the opportunity to (re)connect to and (re)visit aspects of culture and community.

In particular, Nelson's reconceptualization of *katajjaq* in his music (live and digital) enables Inuit to do the same. It gives Inuit the opportunity to reclaim a traditional cultural expression and include new realms of lived experience in the process. Through Nelson's music, Inuit can understand, reclaim, and reconcile their relationship to the past and recognize where they are now. Nelson allows the present to inform past traditions (and vice-versa) and expands it to accommodate new meanings and experiences that are relevant to Inuit across Northern

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everyday life (framed as "digital autobiographies") contributes to "the recent trajectory of Inuit storytelling" (Wachowich and Scobie 2010, 81). Furthermore they say, "self-produced videos posted online are more multivalent, dialogical, and proactive expressions of Inuit selfhood than those texts that may have circulated in the past. While the internet has been celebrated for its global reach, many of the social relationships and dialogues seemingly fostered by this technology are intimate and localised. Inuit youth and young adults use video-sharing technology to creatively mediate pasts, presents, and futures in the creation of new social worlds" (Wachowich and Scobie 2010, 81).

[175] See for example the *Nagamowin* episode about Nelson I cited in an earlier chapter about *katajjaq*.

Canada. As a result, Nelson helps Inuit to mediate between a living cultural tradition and a contemporary popular practice. In this way, Inuit are able to combine, express and explore both aspects of their past and present identity. Doing so also gives Inuit the freedom to create their own meaning and context.

iii. Nelson Tagoona: Decolonization

In addition to recontextualizing *katajjaq*, Nelson's use of hip hop demonstrates the genre's ability to engage with lived realities. Raphael Travis Jr. notes hip hop's appeal, saying, "everyday individuals, marginalized groups, and communities rely on Hip Hop in all its forms to speak truth to power" (2016, 37). Afro-Indigenous scholar Kyle T. Mays makes similar observations between hip hop and communal as well as self-expression. However, Mays also connects hip hop to Indigenous modernity and decolonization:

> We have a lot of work to do in order to decolonize both our societies and our communities if we want to truly embrace Indigenous modernity. Hip Hop can be one avenue through which we do this. Decolonizing ourselves means the putting into practice of the complex and diverse ways that we embody and live out our Indigenous selves beyond the "traditional" or colonial identity politics such as "full-blooded". Practices of Indigenous Hip Hop allow us to embrace these complexities and forge decolonial modernities that embrace every person in our communities. If we don't come to terms with how we understand our relationship to the past, recognize where we're at now, and creatively reimagine what it might mean to be Indigenous in the future, we will perpetuate the same forms of colonization that the white man placed on us long ago: that we are relics of the past, incapable of being modern. Let's decolonize ourselves and put into practice how all Native lives matter – not just the "traditional" or the "full-blooded" ones. (2015)

While Nelson engages with the relationship between tradition and modernity, he doesn't frame his work within an explicit decolonial agenda; however, by addressing the multi-generational effects of assimilative practices, his words function as a form of storytelling and

truth-telling and are clearly acts of decolonization. Raphael Travel Jr. connects storytelling to hip hop and notes how hip hop enables people to share their individual and communal stories:

> Telling your story or hearing someone else's story that resonates with you can be useful. It is an expression of your individual reality, including all of the challenges, stressors, triumphs, and growth. Across Hip Hop's narratives of resilience, we can embrace the many adverse and empowering contexts that shape identities. Hip Hop allows authentic and complex stories to be told in accessible and innovative ways. By either creating or identifying with these narratives, individuals have shown that Hip Hop provides ways to cope with adversity. (2016, 89)

According to Russel Bishop (1996) (Ngati Pukekeo and Tainui tribes of Aotearoa-New Zealand), storytelling for Indigenous peoples can be used as a culturally appropriate tool to represent a variety of truths and experiences. Likewise, Margaret Kovach (Cree) (2009) argues that story honours multiple experiences and truths. By telling stories through hip hop, Nelson's audience become active participants and witnesses to the stories he shares about himself, his friends and family and community. In this way, multiple stories and truths are acknowledged and mutually shared in a safe space.

Moreover, Nelson's storytelling embodies aspects of remembering and testimony. Both are used as decolonial tools in recollecting how colonial trauma have affected Indigenous communities. Indigenous scholars Waziyatawin (Wahpetunwan Dakota) and Michael Yellow Bird (Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara) observe that speaking truthfully about historical and contemporary injustices initiates healing. This is of great importance since "publicly telling long-suppressed stories about human injustices" fosters and enables "individual and collective healing, in part because these stories directly challenged the colonial status quo and served as an empowering catalyst" (Waziyatawin and Bird 2005, 6-7). Since "the truth about injustices perpetrated against Indigenous peoples has been largely denied", they are an integral component in rectifying the mistakes of the past in an any process of decolonization (Waziyatawin and Bird

2005, 7).[176] So, remembering and testimony are instrumental in the ongoing struggle to decolonize everyday life (as well as academic research) and restore Indigenous sovereignty.

Nelson's use of hip hop enables him to speak to his experiences. By publicly discussing and addressing difficult issues, Nelson gives Inuit youth and young adults a chance to openly address their personal struggles and deal with their anxiety since "it is not easy to deal with feelings when living in an isolated community" (Singh 2014, 51). Nelson offers hope and a creative outlet of expression to other Inuit by showing them that he has survived and continues to overcome hardships that are similar to the ones they are experiencing. It is through this process and practice of addressing his lived realities and remembering the collective trauma that affect his community that his words and music function as a form of storytelling. And, as he shares his life on stage through story and truth-telling, his audience becomes the witness to his testimony. According to Stó:lō scholar Jo-Ann Archibald (2008), storytelling creates a respectful relationship between the storyteller and listener. This relationship is one based on reciprocity that sustains oral cultures. In this process of mutual exchange and reciprocity, both Nelson and his audience engage in a decolonial act.

[176] See Devon Abbott Mihesuah (2008) (Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma) for a discussion of remembering and testimony as it relates to history and archival data. She writes that "names, dates, and places are only part of the picture" and that both methodologies should be included in historical accounts (Mihesuah 2008, 148). For her, a concise history of any event must include remembering and testimony because they so are important. Critical of history as a discipline, she explains that academic gatekeepers have not considered oral stories or histories to be worthy of attention. Instead, gatekeepers insist that "only 'real Indians' lived in the past and therefore modern Natives only possess 'mythological' stories" (Mihesuah 2008, 148).

iv. Nelson Tagoona and Healing

In addition to engaging with decolonization through story, truth-telling, remembering, and testimony, Nelson promotes and emboldens individual and communal healing processes.[177] Ethnomusicologist and hip hop scholar Charity Marsh observes:

> Hip hop culture in Nunavut enables a re-working of contemporary Inuit identity. As part of this re-working, Inuit youth mediate representations of themselves and their current lived experiences through mobile technologies and local networks, challenging common stereotypes and reified identities that continue to circulate in political, cultural, and national discourses. (2009, 112)[178]

This re-working of identity, I argue, enables healing processes whereby Inuit youth and young adults can (re)connect to cultural traditions while participating in a global art form. In this way, identity and belonging (both local and global) are directly connected to a multifaceted present that simultaneously recalls the past through tradition and connects to contemporary experience. That is to say, hip hop enables continuity with the past, and strengthens notions of belonging to a present. First Nations scholar Margaret Robinson reminds us that hip hop for Indigenous peoples "maintain[s] our sense of cultural and personal continuity, enabling us to construct a comprehensible and livable Indigenous identity in the present, and to imagine a viable future" (2020, 183). In Nelson's case, a "viable future" also means (re)connecting to his community through *katajjaq*. More specifically, *katajjaq* provides a point of (re)connection with elders and older Inuit who can use this entry point to instigate inter-generational dialogue about vocal games. As a result, inter-generational barriers are broken as Nelson uses throat boxing to simultaneously connect Inuit youth, adults, and elders. Therefore, this connection between

[177] For a discussion about religion, music, and healing in a Mi'kmaw community see Gordon E. Smith's interview with Walter Denny Jr. (2012). While the interview covers an array of topics, Denny Jr.'s discussion of how "music can be a powerful means to enact processes of healing and to sustain and enhance traditional values" is relevant to this discussion because it highlights the prevalence of suicide amongst First nations people (Denny Jr. and Smith 2012, 283). See also Byron Dueck (2012) for a discussion of how Ojibwe Métis playwright and singer Chris Beach addresses Aboriginal suicide through his music and plays.
[178] See also Charity Marsh (2012).

generations contributes to individual and communal healing and well-being as young Inuit feel connected to their elders, and elders observe the growth and transmission of cultural practices.

Healing and well-being are also sustained as Nelson presents his lived realities by drawing on traditional and contemporary practices. This enables him to reach out to other Inuit and address relevant issues openly and in a meaningful way. By using two relatable practices Nelson can address real issues like depression, suicide and intergenerational trauma in a way that is relevant to the lived experiences of many in his own community. The fact that Nelson mediates between two distinct artistic practices demonstrates the ways in which he relates to both. *Katajjaq* reinforces an individual and communal connection to his heritage and identity, while hip hop connects him to his contemporary life in Nunavut as well as to a wider global hip hop network. This connection to two different practices also demonstrates how Nelson mediates between tradition and modernity and speaks to how others like him are drawn to both practices as a way to reconcile their lived realities.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I highlighted how hip hop culture permeates the lives of Inuit youth and young adults. By exploring Inuit produced media like the film *The Grizzlies,* and *BluePrintForLife's* community-based hip hop project I demonstrate hip hop's power to empower and inspire people. More specifically, a focused discussion of how Nelson combines beat boxing and *katajjaq*, to form throat boxing, exemplifies how hip hop culture can be modified to suit local sensibilities. By extending *katajjaq* to musical practice, and combining it with hip hop, Nelson is able to accommodate individual, locally specific and communal sensibilities in several ways. First, the recontextualization of *katajjaq* allows Nelson, and his Inuit audience to express and explore aspects of their past and present. In other words, throat boxing allows Nelson and

other Inuit to meaningfully engage with and mediate between two lived realities; one that is steeped in tradition and the other in modernity. Second, Nelson's throat boxing also instigates decolonization and healing by giving voice to and validating the lived experiences of Inuit. Through hip hop, Nelson's music enables a form of truth-telling and remembering that promotes healing on both an individual and communal platform. Furthermore, *katajjaq* allows Nelson and his Inuit audience to (re)connect to their past and engage in identity building. Since Nelson's recontextualization of *katajjaq* also leads to revitalization and cultural renewal, throat boxing, then, is a sonic representation of Indigenous modernity, demonstrating one aspect of how Inuit have always engaged in modernity.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

Study Achievements: Ethnomusicology of the Individual

In this dissertation, I used the ethnomusicology of the individual to explore how one musician's individual agency and variation has impacted *katajjaq*. Commonly practiced by women, Nelson's incorporation of *katajjaq* with hip hop, to form a practice he calls throat boxing, recontextualizes and expands a living tradition to include new realms of experience. In this way, I examine one of the many trajectories of *katajjaq*, namely how the practice has changed and developed, and what it means to some Inuit practitioners today.

For Nelson, hip hop's ability to empower youth and provide an outlet with which to express themselves and challenge the status quo emboldened his goal to instigate healing. Combined with *katajjaq*, and his experience with community-based hip hop projects that aim to empower, strengthen, and nurture, Nelson is able to engage with lived realities, self-expression and healing. Nelson's storytelling through hip hop embodies aspects of remembering and testimony and gives voice to the injustices inflicted upon Inuit, thereby empowering and activating healing by challenging the colonial status quo. This inevitably leads to decolonization as Nelson addresses multi-generational trauma and demonstrates one pathway to dealing with and overcoming colonial pain and suffering. According to cultural anthropologist, Marie-Pierre Gadoua, "communal sharing and recognition of suffering, as well as community support, are crucial for personal healing processes" (2010, 171). Healing can occur at the individual, as well as communal level when "reconciliation is made with one's (traumatic) past, one's relatives and community, and one's culture, traditions, and ancestors" (2010, 171)

Since throat boxing also engages with *katajjaq* and aims to increase communal awareness of and participation in an Inuit tradition, Nelson bolsters his commitment to healing

because he demonstrates how everyday actions are therapeutic. In this way, Nelson illustrates how Inuit health and well-being is embedded in everyday life:

> For the Inuit, healing is synonymous with living a good life in the community, in close relation to the land. Many practices facilitate healing, and are related to traditional Inuit culture: living, working and sharing with family members and the community, speaking Inuktitut, travelling across the land, hunting, eating country food, and making traditional tools, clothing, handcrafts, and art. (Gadoua 2010, 173)

Additionally, Nelson's inclusion of *katajjaq* with hip hop is a testament to how remembering enables cultural continuity and vitality. In other words, by recontextualizing *katajjaq*, Nelson supports cultural awareness, growth, resilience, and well-being. According to Gadoua, remembering the past, by way of tradition "implies a certain degree of personal transformation because these traditions have to be learned and integrated into one's (modern) life – a process not necessarily natural or straightforward, especially in urban settings or for younger generations" (2010, 174). So, as Nelson combines *katajjaq* with hip hop, he engages with individual and communal healing in multiple ways.

While Nelson uses throat boxing to address and heal from trauma, others use *katajjaq* to talk about Inuit sovereignty and environmental degradation. By using an individualized approach, broader trends also become visible. For instance, *katajjaq's* connection to culture and ability to create, strengthen and sustain individual and communal identity and belonging is referenced by many Inuit throat singers. Additionally, *katajjaq's* primary function as a game seems to be yielding since many Inuit artists are including throat singing in their music.

Despite some changes and developments, what remains clear is the way in which *katajjaq* continues to embody relational knowledge. In particular, *katajjaq*, epitomizes the *imaq-nuna-sila* triune and demonstrates how Inuit knowledge continues to permeate everyday life. In spite of

assimilative practices and language and culture loss, Inuit continue to rely on traditional knowledge to navigate their lives.

Study Achievements: Indigenous Modernity, New Contexts and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit

Consequently, the relationship between traditional Inuit knowledge and cultural practices can be further explained through the concept of Indigenous modernity. For instance, the reconceptualization of *katajjaq* to include a contemporary genre sonically demonstrates one aspect of Inuit life in the present context, as well as in relation to the past. In particular, throat boxing sonically demonstrates how cultural influences and musical preferences interact and merge. In this way, the past is brought forward to reflect current needs, influences, experiences, and circumstances. However, the guiding principles of Inuit life and ways of knowing and being remain the same. Much of this is exemplified through Nelson's engagement with *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (IQ), a concept meaning "that which Inuit have always known to be true" (Tagalik 2009/2010). Socio-cultural anthropologist Pamela Stern provides a linguistic evaluation of IQ, saying:

> *Qaujima* is a verb, meaning "to know." Adding the suffix *-jaq* turns it into a noun, meaning "that which is known." The addition of the suffix *-tuqaq*, an adjective meaning "has existed for a while" – makes *qaujimajatuqaq*. It denotes "something that has been known for a long time.' The final suffix *-ngit* is a third-person plural possessive. Thus, *Inuit Qaujimajatuqaq* means literally "The things that Inuit have known for a long time" – in other words, specifically Inuit ways of thinking, acting, and being. (2010, 33)

IQ, defined by Rebecca Mike as "traditional Inuit knowledge," was noted during the Nunavut Social Development Council in 1998 (Tester and Irniq 2008, 48). The meeting was meant to "examine how a new Nunavut government would deal with Inuit culture in its operations" (Tester and Irniq 2008, 48). The definition of IQ recorded during the meeting states that IQ refers to "all aspects of traditional Inuit culture including values, world-view, language,

social organization, knowledge, life skills, perceptions, and expectations" (Anonymous 1998, 1). Within these broad definitions the inter-connectedness of all aspects of life is highlighted, so much so that some scholars define IQ as "the Inuit way of doing things, and includes the past, present and future knowledge of Inuit society" (Bell 2002, 3). Passed from one generation to the next through oral traditions and customs:

> *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* means knowing the land, names, locations and their history. It also means knowledge of Arctic environments, snow, ice, water, weather and the environment around us. It also means being in harmony with people, land, living things and respecting them. There are life skills, alertness, the ability to train others, the strong healthy life, knowledge of language, culture and traditional beliefs and world view. (Quoted in Owlijoot 2008, 7)

Broken down into principles, IQ places emphasis on culture and demonstrates the ethical and relational nature of Inuit interactions. According to the Government of Nunavut, they are: [179]

> (1) *Inuuqatigiitsiarniq* (respecting others, relationships and caring for people);
> (2) *Tunnganarniq* (fostering good spirit by being open, welcoming and inclusive);
> (3) *Pijitsirniq* (serving and providing for family or community, or both);
> (4) *Aajiiqatigiinniq* (decision making through discussion and consensus);
> (5) *Pilimmaksarniq* or *Pijariuqsarniq* (development of skills through practice, effort and action);
> (6) *Piliriqatigiinniq* or *Ikajuqtigiinniq* (working together for a common cause);
> (7) *Qanuqtuurniq* (being innovative and resourceful); and
> (8) *Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq* (respect and care for the land, animals and the environment). (Government of Nunavut 2013, 4)

In the process of creating new contexts for *katajjaq*, Nelson uses the guiding principles of IQ to facilitate communal healing and cultural renewal. In fact, his music and message not only exemplify aspects of IQ, but coupled with his actions professionally and personally, Nelson becomes the living embodiment of IQ. Consequently, Nelson also exemplifies Indigenous modernity since every aspect of his artistry and personal reflections about his music are

[179] For a more about IQ, see Pelagie Owlijoot (2008). See Frank James Tester and Peter Irniq (2008) for a critical discussion of IQ and the problems Inuit may face in implementing these principles in their governance. See also Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten's (2009) analysis of the problems associated with incorporating IQ in education.

embedded within IQ. So, when he recontextualizes *katajjaq*, he engages with the past and brings it forward, to the present. Along with *katajjaq*, traditional ways of knowing and being are also brought forward and made meaningful and relatable in the present.

In my work with Nelson, I have observed the ways in which he exemplifies each of these IQ principles. Nelson's reconceptualization of *katajjaq* and innovation demonstrate his engagement with IQ, mainly with respect to *pilimmaksarniq* (development of skills through practice) and *qanuqtuurniq* (being innovative and resourceful). Nelson learned *katajjaq* on his own through dedicated effort and practice. This is also true of his experience with beatboxing. In order to be innovative enough to combine both art forms, Nelson had to develop his skills physically and mentally. This meant that he had to acquire the necessary physical techniques to produce sounds specific to each practice, and the mental acumen required to combine them flawlessly. Nelson's aim to reignite interest in *katajjaq* through innovation further demonstrates his engagement with *qanuqtuurniq* because his ingenuity exemplifies how being resourceful enables problem solving. In other words, "through innovation and creative use of resources" he is able to illustrate "adaptability and flexibility in response to a rapidly changing world" (Owlijoot 2008, 10). As such, Nelson epitomizes Pelagie Owlijoot's observation of *qanuqtuurniq* and how "resourcefulness should be demonstrated in all learning and also thinking that seeks to improve the context in which Inuit live" (2008, 10).

Nelson's engagement with *aajiiqatigiinniq* (decision making through discussion and consensus), is demonstrated through the naming process of throat boxing. Nelson has been clear about the use of the term, giving full credit to BluePrintForLife for coining the practice. Nelson's subsequent acceptance and use of the term to define what he does is a testament to his ability to receive and accept feedback through discussion and implement the necessary changes or

suggestions. This is also true of why and how he incorporated *katajjaq* with hip hop. Accused of not having enough culture in his performance, Nelson received and openly accepted the constructive criticism given to him and changed how he made music, further validating his ability to integrate *aajiiqatigiinniq* in his life.

T*unnganarniq* (fostering good spirit by being open, welcoming and inclusive) is perhaps the principle that applies to Nelson the most. From the moment I met Nelson (when he welcomed me into a practice room at York University) to his performances, Nelson embodies a welcoming spirit. He is always warm, welcoming, and inclusive, and much of his personality filters through to his performances. The fact that he creates a welcoming, inclusive, and supportive space by openly discussing his lived realities reinforces Nelson's engagement with t*unnganarniq*.

His welcoming spirit also leads to another principle, *inuuqatigiitsiarniq* (respecting others, relationships and caring for people). Nelson's inclusive, open, and accepting perspective, attitude and approach illustrates how much he respects and cares for his community. His openness to discussing and engaging with intergenerational trauma, depression, anxiety, and suicide indicates his willingness to reach out and show others in his community that he cares.

The fact that Nelson cares and creates a safe space to deal with the myriad of issues affecting Inuit life, shows his dedication to *pijitsirniq* (serving and providing for family or community, or both). In particular, Nelson exemplifies *pitijitsirniq* because he spends a considerable amount of time and effort facilitating essential conversations that aim to heal. His determination personifies *pijitsirniq* because the "concept of serving is central to the Inuit style of leadership and as such is the measure of the maturity and wisdom of an Inuk. The key here is

the understanding that each person has a contribution to make and is a valued contributor to his/her community" (Owlijoot 2008, 9).

Additionally, his goal to generate more interest in a living tradition emphasizes his commitment to *piliriqatigiinniq* (working together for a common cause). Namely, Nelson aims to instigate and facilitate communal cultural renewal. By combining *katajjaq* and hip hop Nelson reclaims, recontextualizes and revitalizes a traditional Inuit expression. He simultaneously uses hip hop's ability to address lived experiences to promote healing. In this way, Nelson expands *katajjaq* to include new meanings and lived experiences through hip hop and provides Inuit with the opportunity to understand and reconcile their relationship to the past and recognize where they are now. Nelson allows the present to inform the past and broadens *katajjaq* so that it is relevant to Inuit today. In doing so, Nelson contributes "the essential Inuit belief that stresses the importance of the group over the individual" (Owlijoot 2008, 10).

While these qualities are obvious through Nelson's work, his engagement with *avatittinnik kamatsiarniq* (respect and care for the land, animals and the environment) may only be visible to those who know him personally. So, here I offer my own observations of Nelson. During my first trip to *Qamani'tuaq* Nelson and his family took Mike, Sejal, Erin and I out for a picnic. Referred to as "the bridge," this picnic spot is a popular place to hang out. While there, Nelson couldn't help but pick up trash that was scattered about. In fact, his entire family spent quite a bit of time cleaning up after themselves and others who hadn't bothered to do the same. This wouldn't be the first or last time I'd witness Nelson clean up areas around his community. Although this seems like a small gesture, it's a noticeable one. It's certainly an action that has imprinted itself in my mind because it exemplifies Pelagie Owlijoot's observation that "the concept of environmental stewardship stresses the key relationships Inuit have with their

environment and with the world in which they live" (2008, 10). Elaborating further, Owlijoot notes, "respecting and caring for the land and others means respecting oneself" (2008, 11).

Taken together, Nelson's actions contribute to Inuit well-being in several ways. According to educational consultant, Shirley Tagalik:

> Inuit believe that when a person lives in obedience to these laws and principles, there is balance and harmony. This state significantly contributes to the wellbeing of an individual and to society by providing a purpose and direction in life. This notion of cultural health is considered to be a significant contributing factor to the sustainability of Inuit in the Arctic. Being grounded in *IQ* ensures cultural continuity, stability and wellbeing. (2009/2010)

By combining *katajjaq* with beatboxing to reflect new lived realities, Nelson is not only creating a space for his own well-being by following the principles of IQ, but he is also doing the same for his community. Moreover, Nelson's leadership and demonstration of these values provides other Inuit with an example to follow. This in turn cycles back to the process by which IQ benefits everyone in Inuit society. Nelson's sense of purpose not only strengthens his cultural identity, health, wellness, and sense of belonging, it also enables and facilitates a communal sense of wellbeing.

Although Nelson's engagement with IQ occurs on an individual level, his interactions with Inuit communities throughout Nunavut also allows him to demonstrate these principles first-hand, especially to younger Inuit. In this way, his actions have a larger impact beyond his immediate communal setting. According to an elder, "confirming the value of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* will restore Inuit pride and increase individual self-esteem. By increasing self-esteem of young Inuit, some of today's social problems such as substance abuse and even suicide will be eliminated" (cited in Owlijoot 2008, 7).

Study Limitations and Recommendations

i. Gender

While Nelson uses throat boxing to instigate individual and communal healing and well-being, his contribution to *katajjaq* is one fragment of a larger mosaic and demonstrates one of the many trajectories of a living tradition. As Nelson participates in a female dominated art form, he blurs the lines between traditional gender roles. Pelagie Owlijoot observes that "Inuit males and females had clearly defined roles in the past," so does Nelson's involvement in *katajjaq* reflect changing gender norms in Inuit society (2008 6)? If so, is it due to culture loss and an attempt to revitalize traditional practices? Can a correlation be made? How has *katajjaq* remained the same (or not) for women? To answer these questions, further analysis is required, perhaps one that focuses on several individualized studies that examines how different Inuit musicians combine *katajjaq* with their musical practices. Additionally, analyses at a community level could lead to further understandings about how Inuit communities feel about the commercial success of some Inuit musicians as opposed to others. Is there a difference? If so, why?

ii. Repertoire and Transmission

By using the ethnomusicology of the individual to assess how Nelson's musical, cultural choices, and influences impact *katajjaq*, this study has contributed to a deeper understanding of how vocal games have changed. However, there are aspects of *katajjaq* that need further investigation. Among them is a discussion of how *katajjaq* is learned and taught amongst Inuit. Early scholarly texts do not describe *katajjaq* repertoire and transmission, and in my own work with Inuit, I noticed that many practitioners do not discuss their learning and teaching processes.

The only time I heard about *katajjaq* transmission was during a very informal setting meant to introduce non-Inuit to Inuit culture.

In a *katajjaq* workshop given by Nukariik on July 22, 2017 at the Harbourfront Centre (as part of the Northern Passages festival), Kathy Kettler and Kendra Tagoona taught the basics of vocal games to an audience of approximately thirty people. They performed a thirty-minute set at the Stage in the Round, a small, circular structure resembling a gazebo in the middle of the green, directly across from the centre's main building. Their thirty-minute workshop followed at 4:00pm in the Boulevard Tent. Since many of the attendees were present during their performance and were aware of some *katajjaq* performance practice, *Nukariik* began by splitting the group in half. Kathy instructed the audience; one half (group two) would follow her, while the other half (group one) would follow Kendra. I was in group one. For the first game, we used "*ham-ma*" as the text. Kathy instructed the second group to follow her as Kendra and the first group lead. Group two was told to wait until they heard the "*ham*" before beginning, so that when they join, the timing will be consistent. Much of this teaching and learning process was dependent on listening and being able to hear and time the repetition of motifs so that the sonic result is rhythmically coherent. No special vocal techniques or instructions were given, except that we should breathe out on the "*ham*" and in on the "*-ma.*" We were also told that we may feel a scratch in our throats and to have water in case we needed it. The tempo was slow and did not change since the workshop was meant to introduce non-Inuit participants to an Inuit practice.

In another *katajjaq* workshop given by Iva on the following day of the same festival, a similar set of instructions were given to the non-Inuit audience, and again, few details about specific techniques were provided. Assisted by Riit, they too separated the audience so that one half followed Iva and the second half followed Riit. However, Iva, in an impromptu

demonstration, asked fellow throat singers Riit and Charlotte Qamaniq to join her on stage. Prior to performing as a trio, Iva gave a brief description of her learning process. She noted that Charlotte taught her *katajjaq* after they met at school in Ottawa. On their way home on the bus, Iva would practice motifs. She recalled the length of time it took to produce the sounds of one motif, and how Charlotte would not even toy with the idea of playing the game until the motif and timing were perfect.

These interactions provide a peek into teaching and learning *katajjaq*; however, they are not detailed enough, nor in the right context, to provide an in-depth discussion of the transmission of *katajjaq*. The instructions given to a non-Inuit audience are lacking in detail; in part, these details don't exist since *katajjaq* is an oral tradition, and learners must actively listen to their instructor for proper sound production. The teacher-student relationship between Iva and Charlotte may provide some details about transmission amongst Inuit, especially since Iva suggests that Charlotte was listening for a specific sound and rhythm before moving on. In any case, the lack of published material about *katajjaq* transmission processes highlights an area of inquiry that could be explored further. While further investigation could inform ethnomusicological understandings of *katajjaq*, they could, more importantly provide young Inuit learners with details about how to teach and learn vocal games.

Since assimilative practices disrupted knowledge transmission, an informative investigation into how *katajjaq* is taught and learned could help overcome this disruption. In his report for the Nunavut Literacy Council, consultant Mike Bell demonstrates how knowledge is transferred in Inuit society:

> When Inuit lived on the land, the land itself, the family, and the small extended family or camp were the source of learning – they were "the classroom." The teachers were the parents and elders. Wisdom and experience was passed on from generation to generation. Pedagogy was strongly based upon modeling, observation and practice. (Bell 2002, 3)

Emphasizing the teaching and learning relationship between Inuit youth and their elder(s), Pelagie Owlijoot reminds us that:

> Our elders are the ones with the most knowledge – knowledge that they have gained over the course of their lifetimes. Traditionally Inuit had elders who had gifts of traditional words of advice – *uqaujjuusiat* – that were available when they were needed. It is Inuit custom that younger people not ask too many questions to an older person but this has changed for the younger generation, although some still respect these values. (2008, 5)

Given that Inuit society has had to adapt to how knowledge is transferred from one generation to the next, an analysis of *katajjaq* transmission could explain these changes and how Inuit have adapted to them. Since relationality is central to knowledge transfer, how have assimilative practices affected ways of knowing, teaching, and learning? How do Inuit youth relate to their elders and communities and foster relational understandings of themselves and Inuit society when their connections to these relationships have been disrupted? In what ways can further study of *katajjaq* knowledge transfer and strengthen relational bonds?

iii. Ethics

In addition to gender, and repertoire and transmission, other topics of interest for future examination have been made clear to me throughout my investigative process. Among them are discrepancies between early scholarly work on *katajjaq* and the more recent movement in academia to work in ethically and culturally appropriate ways. In my quest to further my understanding of *katajjaq*, I noticed that early scholarly works did not name, include or consider the personal reflections and stories of or by Inuit participants who shared their cultural knowledge with researchers. Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith reminds us that "the word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it

raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful" (1999, 1). Elaborating further, she notes that scholars in the past have taken what they wanted from Indigenous communities without concern for the very people who helped them understand aspects of Indigenous cultures. I quote Smith at length to highlight the power and position of her words as they relate to research on and about (rather than with) Indigenous peoples:

> It galls us that Western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that it is possible to know of us, on the basis of their brief encounters with some of us. It appalls us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and own nations. It angers us when practices linked to the last century, and the centuries before that, are still employed to deny the validity of indigenous peoples' claim to existence, to land and territories, to the right of self-determination, to the survival of our languages and forms of cultural knowledge, to our natural resources and systems for living within our environments.
>
> This collective memory of imperialism has been perpetuated through the ways in which knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified and then represented in various ways back to the West, and then, through the eyes of the West, back to those who have been colonized. (Smith 1999, 1).

As I came to terms with my own dissertation topic, methodology and ways of presenting my analysis, I struggled with how to work ethically and in culturally appropriate ways, while simultaneously meeting academic goals, standards and requirements set by my university. It was in the "in-between" spaces of working from two different perspectives that enabled me to truly come to terms with the discipline from which I write and the reality of working with an Indigenous community. In one respect, I tried to adhere to scholarly standards of collecting and analyzing data. On the other, I aimed to work ethically, so that I, as an allied other, and an immigrant or settler on Indigenous lands didn't repeat mistakes of the past. This delicate balance required me to critically engage with Indigenous methodologies and work in ways that favoured

relational accountability and reflexivity, feelings, and emotions. Within this process, I also learned to critically examine how early scholarly works, while useful in foundational understandings, can be reconciled. One way would be to repatriate field recordings back to the communities from which they were once collected. While the people who were recorded and/or filmed may have passed on, their families and communities could benefit from hearing and seeing field recordings. Scholars such as Gage Averill (2019) and Holly Wissler (2019; 2018; 2012; 2009) exemplify how researchers can work ethically and repatriate recordings.[180] While Wissler's experience is about the ethics involved in filming and producing a documentary, as well as issues pertaining to communal ownership, her reflexive account exemplifies how ethnomusicologists can return the documents we collect back to the communities with which we work.

Since colonization and assimilative practices aimed to remove Inuit from their cultural practices, returning field recordings could reinvigorate *katajjaq* and allow practitioners to learn songs that may be forgotten, or otherwise unknown. Repatriating field recordings would also allow surviving family members and namesakes to hear and/or see the person recorded, thereby, reconnecting them to their family and elders who are no longer with them. This type of (re)connection could instigate a sense of renewal and healing, especially since the impact of residential schools and other assimilative practices are still being felt.

Comparatively, how do we move forward in our discipline in ways that embolden ethical research with Indigenous peoples? Here, I return to a specific aspect of Smith's earlier quote: "It angers us when practices linked to the last century, and the centuries before that, are still employed to deny the validity of indigenous peoples'" (1999, 1). So, if we are to move forward

[180] Holly Wissler's documentary *From Grief and Joy We Sing* was first released on DVD in 2007. In 2019, the version cited here was uploaded to YouTube.

ethically, how do we change our practices and methods? The use of Indigenous centered methodologies such as those used in this dissertation are a start, but how do we move beyond sharing knowledge on paper, where academic gatekeepers limit how our work is presented and disseminated and at what cost? How does this type of knowledge sharing, constrained to academia, benefit Indigenous communities? In what way can we (de)construct publications to include media such as audio and visual recordings? Ultimately, the crux of my questions lies in this reality: why do we spend time recording people in interview settings to only transcribe their words on to paper? Why can't we embed audio and visual material in all aspects of our inquiry so that the power of Indigenous people's viewpoints and knowledge remains with them rather than the written word? How can publications broaden their methods of dissemination and distribution to include material beyond an essay? Finally, and most importantly, how can we ensure that scholarly work, that is dependent on Indigenous knowledge is accessible to those beyond academia?

Final Thoughts

This dissertation has explored the intersection between Indigenous modernity and the ethnomusicology of the individual, as it relates to the musical output of Nelson Tagoona. By examining one musician, I have chronicled how a living cultural tradition has evolved to reflect today's experiences. In doing so, I have also highlighted broader trends and established how *katajjaq* is used by Inuit musicians for different purposes. Embedded within Nelson's musical practice is a deep desire to heal himself and his community. By combining *katajjaq* with beat boxing, Nelson is able to incite well-being in a way that brings Inuit closer to their culture and tradition. This is not to say that tradition is relegated to the past, rather, tradition is brought

forward and made meaningful to today's circumstances. In this way, tradition and modernity co-exist on a continuum whereby Inuit relate the past to the present, and the present to the past.

Story 5: Due North: A Return

I returned to Qamani'tuaq in the summer of 2019 to continue filming for MICH. I arrived on June 24 ready to start filming for MICH over the next three days which would leave four days for my own research before my departure on the morning of July 3. Unfortunately, I couldn't film or conduct interviews with Nelson until June 30. Having performed in Ottawa on June 22, he was stuck in Iqaluit until June 29. Rain, fog, and low ceiling in Qamani'tuaq and Kangiq&iniq created travel havoc for all inbound and outbound flights.

Although this was unexpected, I am grateful for the time I had with Nelson's family in his absence. In particular, I am grateful for the time I had with his mom, Grace. She became my guide and taught me a lot about the land, local histories and geography, and stories about Qamani'tuaq. My first full day with Grace was spent riding around town on the family's Honda.[181] We went grocery shopping, visited the Jessie Oonark Centre and spent some time on the lakeshore. Although it was early summer, the temperature hadn't been warm enough to melt all the snow and ice. Parts of the lake were still ice covered, not thick or hard enough for ice fishing, and not thin enough for boating. Strong winds helped to break and shift the ice just enough that when it approached the shoreline, it formed a large mound.

[181] Unlike southerners, when Inuit refer to their "Honda," they are not referring to the manufacturer of a vehicle. Rather they use the term "Honda" to refer to ATVs. In the summer months, ATVs are the most common form of transportation.

Figure 44: Ice rising above the shoreline forming a mound. June 25, 2019. Photograph by the author.

Figure 45: Close up of ice mound. June 25, 2019. Photograph by the author.

The days that followed were cold, wet and foggy. On my fourth day, the weather changed. It was a warm and sunny day. Eager to take advantage of the shift in weather, Grace took me to the family's cabin in Prince River. An hour away from Qamani'tuaq, much of the ride was spent in conversation. Grace pointed out geographical features, their traditional place names, and the stories behind their naming process. When we passed through areas with visible wildlife, Grace stopped to teach me about specific birdcalls, how to interpret birdcalls to gauge where

young chicks were about hatch and how to tell whether or not we were close to or passing through the path of muskox. Most importantly, she taught me how to distinguish between caribou trails and "trails" or paths created by melting snow and ice. Being able to tell the difference helped me see caribou migration patterns first-hand, and the ways in which Meadowbank, the local gold mine, has interfered with caribou migration and Inuit sustenance. We reached camp around 5:00 pm and after a quick stop for tea, Grace took me further away from camp to visit Kinnga'tuaq, an historic Thule site. Sitting on top of a hill, Kinnga'tuaq is inconspicuous in nature. Much of the site blends in with its surroundings, although some ancient structures like a fox trap and food depository are still clearly visible.

Figures 46: Fox trap in Kinnga'tuaq. June 28, 2019. Photograph by the author.

Figures 47: Food depository in Kinnga'tuaq. June 28, 2019. Photograph by the author.

A few days later, with good weather on our side, Grace took me to Anaqtalik. A hill, overlooking the Thelon River, Anaqtalik is a popular picnic spot (although, at this time, a family raising sled dogs had set up a summer camp at the base). From there, we went to Blueberry Hill. Known as a good blueberry harvest point, Blueberry Hill is also home to Jessie Oonark's gravesite. After visiting her gravesite, Grace took me to Qamani'tuaq's community graveyard. Although this seems like a very solemn thing to do, the community graveyard speaks to the local, communal and colonial history of Inuit in Qamani'tuaq. For instance, there is a noticeable separation between Catholic and Anglican graves. Reflective of the effects of missionaries and residential schools, each religion has its own space in the graveyard. Also scattered throughout are graves of babies and children who died of tuberculosis. When I saw their graves, all my readings about the government's barbarous and inhumane treatment of Indigenous people came alive for me.

During this visit, Grace also took me to visit the gravesites of her family members. Over the past four years, I had been told many stories about immediate and extended family members ranging from Grace's grandfather Armand Tagoona to her grandmother Mary and her first husband, Nelson's biological father. While there, I couldn't help but feel honoured to have finally "met" them. My visit here is also when my journey came full circle. On my first trip to Qamani'tuaq (as I discussed in my third story), the death of Nelson's family member had had a profound impact on me. Much of that experience had informed the scope of my dissertation and the themes and subjects I wanted to explore. At the graveyard with Grace, I had the opportunity to visit with this family member. Although we had never met in-person, I was grateful for the opportunity to pay my respect to a young woman who had so deeply affected the trajectory of my academic life. While I had considered myself a third-party and outsider to the events that had occurred four years earlier, I realized at the gravesite that that experience had been much more. It took me four years to process the grief I had witnessed the community experience. It was a cathartic moment.

My last three days in Qamani'tuaq were spent filming with Nelson. We spent our mornings and afternoons filming and conducting interviews for both MICH and my dissertation, and our evenings sharing meals and watching TV at Grace's home with the whole family. Filming and interviews occurred in various locations in Qamani'tuaq from the Heritage Center to the Jessie Oonark Centre. While my time with Nelson was shorter than expected, there was a noticeable change in how he conducted himself. Compared to four years ago, Nelson exuded self-confidence. At ease with his journey so far, and in control of his future, I had never seen, Nelson so comfortable in his surroundings. I am grateful for my time with Nelson, his family and

the community of Qamani'tuaq and look forward to seeing how Nelson's artistic and personal life grow and unfold. Matna to all my Baker Lakers.

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Appendix A: Glossary of Inuktitut Terms

Aajiiqatigiinniq – "decision making through discussion and consensus"

Ajaajaa/Ajaaja – personal songs that are accompanied by the *qilaut*. These songs capture significant events or specific lived experiences that are meaningful to an individual.

Amauti - women's parka with an extended back and enlarged hood that is used to carry a baby; distinguishable from men's parkas by the "U" shape in the front

Angakkuq – shaman

Anirniq – breath

Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq – "respect and care for the land, animals and the environment"

Ihuma/Isuma – literal translation means "thinking." However, it's best described as knowledge or wisdom.

Ihumajuq – "she thinks" in Paallimiutut dialect

Isumajuq – "she thinks" in South Qikiqtaaluk dialect

Imaq – water

Inua/Innua – humanness/spirit; the relational concept that all living things, including plants, water and mountains etc. have a spirit or life essence. In this way, hunting and fishing etc. is rooted in reciprocity and respect.

Inuit Nunangat – Inuit homeland in Canada, which includes land water and ice.

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami – Inuit are unified in Canada

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit – "traditional Inuit knowledge," "that which Inuit have always known to be true," "the things that Inuit have known for a long time"

Inuktitut – language of the Inuit

Inuuqatigiitsiarniq – "respecting others, relationships and caring for people"

Kanata – Canada

Katajjaq (pl. katajjait) – vocal/laughing game

Matna/Ma'na – thank you in Paallirmiutut dialect

Nukurmiik – thank you in South Qikiqtaaluk dialect

Nalunaqtuq – something that causes confusion/it's confusing

Nipaquhiit – game of sound and noises

Nuna – land

Nunavut – our land

Pijitsirniq – "serving and providing for family or community, or both"

Pilimmaksarniq or *Pijariuqsarniq* – "development of skills through practice, effort and action"

Piliriqatigiinniq or *Ikajuqtigiinniq* – "working together for a common cause"

Qamani'tuaq/Qamanittuaq – where the river widens

Qanuqtuurniq – "being innovative and resourceful"

Qilaut – Inuit hand drum made of wood and caribou skin. Round in shape, the *qilaut* is held in one hand while the other hand strikes the wooden rim (not the skin) with a drumstick. What sets the *qilaut* apart from other hand drums is that it is played with a swaying motion.

Sila – sky

Tarniq – soul

Tunngahugit – "welcome"

Tunnganarniq – "fostering good spirit by being open, welcoming and inclusive"

Ulapqusiit – traditional games

Uqaujjuusiat – "gifts of traditional words of advice"

Uumaniq – to live; or the relational idea of the concept/principle of life/life force ("*uuma*" means "to live," and the addition of the affix "*niq*" means "the principle of," so taken together, *uumaniq* can mean the concept/principle of life/life force)

Appendix B: Biographies

Alexis Utatnaaq

From Qamani'tuaq, Alexis Utatnaaq's first commercial recording was produced sometime in the early 1970s through CBC Northern Service (exact date is unknown). His most well-known recording "Maqaivvigivalauqtavut," can be found on the compilation album Native *North America (Vol. 1): Aboriginal Folk, Rock, and Country 1966-1985* (2014). Currently, Utatnaq works as an interpreter with the Government of Nunavut.

Armand Tagoona

Born in 1926 to an Inuk mother and German father, Armand was an artist, former RCMP officer, and the first Inuk to be ordained into priesthood with the Anglican church. The only surviving child of his parents, Armand's namesake was his maternal grandmother Tagungrnaaq. In 1959, he was ordained as a deacon, and in 1960, he was ordained into priesthood. Armand founded the Arctic Christian Fellowship. His book, *Shadows* (1975) includes reproductions of his artwork with commentary about his drawings and life. Armand passed away in Qamanittuaq in 1991.

666God

666God is 23-year-old Thomas Lambe. From Grise Fiord, Lambe currently resides in Iqaluit, Nuvavut. Recognized for his musical contribution to *The Grizzlies*, Lambe, along with Hyper-T and DJ Shub won Best Original Song at the Academy of Canadian Cinema and Television Screen Awards in 2019.

Charles Keelan

Born in 1975, Charles Keelan was raised in Killiniq (until its closure) and Kangirsualujjuaq. A singer/songwriter and multi-instrumentalist, he plays guitar, harmonica, drums and keyboard. Charles started his career as a musician in the 1990s as the drummer for Beatrice Deer. He has performed under the moniker's "Chucky" and "Saali." His first album "*Chucky*" was released in 2006. Charles currently resides in Montreal, Quebec. Influenced by Janis Joplin, and Buddy Holly, he learned to play guitar at 23 and is currently the lead singer of Saali and the Ravenhearts/The Ravenhearts. Their single "Sapiqangitunga" was released in 2014. In 2018, Saali and the Raventhearts released their debut album of the same name. Saali also released a self-titled EP in June 2019.

Christine Tootoo

Born on December 25, 1989, Christine is from Rankin Inlet. A throat singer and button accordion player, Tootoo recently performed in a theatre production of *Kiviuq Returns: An Inuit Epic*. Produced by Qaqqiavuut!, a performing arts society dedicated to promoting and advocating for Inuit artists, *Kiviuq Returns* toured extensively throughout 2017-2019. Tootoo also appeared in the film *Iqaluit* (2016).

DJ Shub

DJ Shub is Dan General (Mohawk and Six Nations of the Grand River). A DJ and producer, General is a former member and co-founder of Indigenous electronic group The Halluci Nation (formerly known as A Tribe Called Red).

Eliot Britton
A member of the Manitoba Metis Federation, Eliot combines instrumental and electronic music. An independent composer, Britton is also a faculty member at the University of Toronto.

Evie Mark
Born on May 23, 1985 and raised in Ivujivik, Nunavik. She has performed with the Montreal Symphony Orchestra and travels extensively for throat singing performances. She also teaches Inuktitut at Nunavik Sivunitsavut in Montreal, Quebec. Her documentary film *Ullumi* ("Today") was released in 2007. *Ullumi* "examines the changes that had occurred within Inuit communities in Nunavik and Nunavut as a result of the internet and globalization as told through the perspective of four young Inuit" (Gray 2008).

FXCKMR
FXCKMR is 23-year-old rapper, MisterLee Cloutier-Ellsworth. Born and raised in Iqaluit, Nunavut, Mister is named after his aunt, Missy, who died by suicide. Influenced by rappers like Mac Miller, FXCKMR's debut album *1997* (2019) can be found on all streaming platforms.

Hugh and Ruth Tulurialik
Hugh and Ruth are husband and wife and often perform together. Hugh is a well-known musician and songwriter. Ruth is a celebrated artist who is known for her coloured pencil drawings and wall hangings.

Hyper-T
Hyper-T is the stage name for Adam Tanuyak. From Chesterfield Inlet, the 33-year-old raps about his lived experiences. In particular, his song "*Asiujunga*" (I'm Lost) discusses suicide. Recognized for his musical contribution to *The Grizzlies*, Tanuyak, along with 666God and DJ Shub won Best Original Song at the Academy of Canadian Cinema and Television Screen Awards in 2019.

Jessie Oonark
Jessie Oonark was a well-known Inuit artist from Qamani'tuaq. The Jessie Oonark centre opened in 1992 and offers local artists a place to create and sell their carvings, jewelry, prints, wall hangings etc. Run by Cheryl Cook and David Ford, the centre also hosts workshops.

Mike Stevens
Mike Stevens is a well-known harmonica player, songwriter and composer. He has toured extensively and has performed at the Grand Ole Opry numerous times. The founder of Artscan Circle, Mike travels, performs, and facilitates creative workshops for Indigenous youth throughout various Indigenous communities in Canada.

Nukariik/Karin and Kathy Kettler/Kendra Tagoona
Karin Kettler and her sister Kathy Kettler are the founding members of throat singing duo, *Nukariik.* From Kangiqsualujjuaq, Quebec, Kathy and Karin often perform and conduct workshops together. Kathy has more recently been performing with Inuit throat singer Kendra Tagoona under the same group name. Kendra Tagoona and Nelson Tagoona are cousins.

Nelson Tagoona
Born on December 19, 1993 in Price River, Nunavut and raised in Baker Lake, Tagoona comes from a musical family. His grand uncle is William Tagoona. A former CBC radio broadcaster, William is an influential musician. He was a member of The Harpoons, a rock cover band founded in 1965. The Harpoons would go on to influence Inuit rock bands like Sugluk and Sikumiut. William Tagoona released three commercial records and owns and operates his own recording studio called Qimik Music Limited. The recording company is now operated by his sons Willis Tagoona and Derek Tagoona. Willis and Derek are members of the Inuit rock band Ungava.

Rachel Tagoona-Tapatai and Christian Tagoona-Tapatai
Rachel and Christian are Nelson's younger siblings. Christian is a rapper and often travels throughout Canada to perform. Rachel and Christian performed a cover version of Wiz Khalifa and Charlie Puth's song "See you Again" for Qamani'tuaq's Canada Day concert.

Red Sky Performance and Sandra Laronde
Founded in 2000, Red Sky Performance is dedicated to promoting Indigenous arts and culture through music, dance, and theatre. Founded by Sandra Laronde, Red Sky showcases contemporary Indigenous performance by producing original content that highlights topics and themes that are important to Indigenous peoples. Sandra Laronde is the former Director of Indigenous Arts at the Banff Centre for Arts and Creativity. After serving as Director for ten years, Sandra started Red Sky where she is also the Artistic Director.

Riit
Riit is the stage name of Rita Claire Mike-Murphy. From Pangnirtung, Nunavut, the 25-year-old musician and performer combines *katajjaq* with what she describes as electro-pop music. Singing primarily in Inuktitut, *Riit* released a self-titled EP in 2017. Her debut album, *Ataataga* was released in 2019. *Riit* is also the host of *Anaana's Tent*, an Inuit children's television show that airs of APTN (Aboriginal Peoples Television Network).

Shauna Seeteenak
Shauna Seeteenak is one of the very few female rappers in Nunavut. Originally from Baker Lake, NU, Shauna currently resides in Iqaluit. Her debut album *Therapy Sessions* will be released on August 27, 2021. Shauna and Nelson Tagoona are cousins.

Silla/Silla+Rise
Silla are Charlotte Qamaniq and Cynthia Pitsiulak. Together, with music producer and percussionist Eric Vani (stage name Rise Ashen), Charlotte and Cynthia perform under the moniker *Silla+Rise*. Blending *katajjaq* with contemporary dance music, *Silla+Rise's* self-titled debut album was released in 2016. Their second album, *Galactic Gala* was released in 2019.

Tanya Tagaq
Born on May 5, 1975 and raised in Cambridge Bay Iqaluktuttiaq, Nunavut. She has released five studio albums and has won multiple Juno Awards. Other notable accomplishments include performing at the 2010 Winter Olympic Games in Vancouver, Canada, winning the Polaris Music Prize in 2014 and being named a Member of the Order of Canada in 2016.

Tudjaat

Tudjaat was founded by Madeleine Allakariallak (b. 1965) and Phoebe Atagotaaluk in 1994. They're cousins whose families were separated by the High Arctic Relocation Program. Madeleine Allakariallak is a journalist. She has spent time reporting for APTN News and CBC North. She is the former host of *Qulliq*, a morning show on CBC North's Nunavut Radio One in Iqaluit. Currently, Allakariallak is the host of *Igalaaq*, an Inuktitut language news program that airs every day in Nunavut and the Northwest Territories at 6:00pm ET on CBC.

Young Black Inuk (YBI)

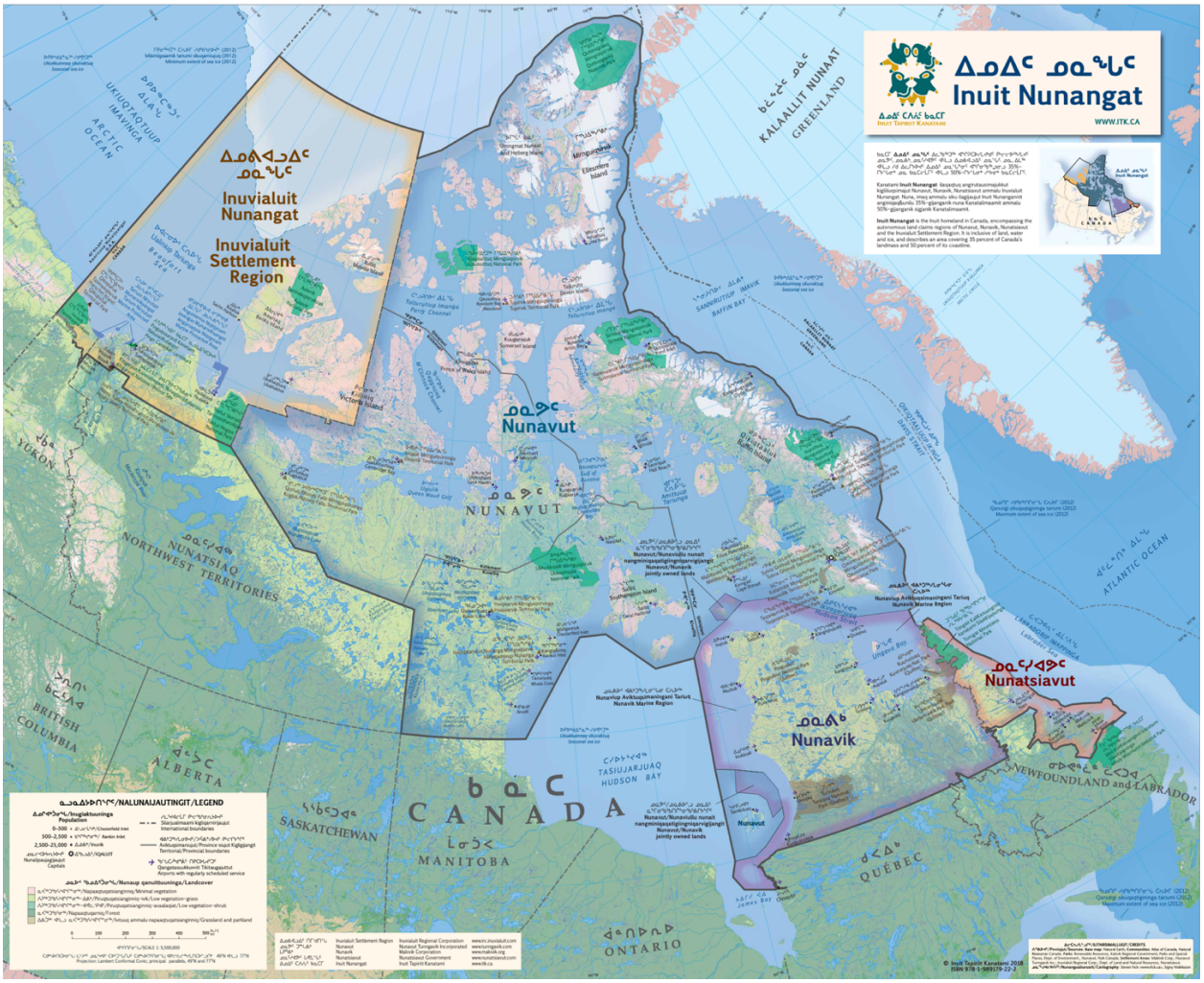
YBI is Qalingu Napartuk. Born and raised in Umiujaq, Quebec (Nunavik), YBI has been making hip hop music for over 15 years. He released his first album in September 2009 through Qimuk Music Incorporated. Many of his songs are available for streaming through SoundClick.

Appendix C: Map of Four Regions of Inuit Nunangat

(Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2019).[182]

[182]The Inuit Nunangat maps in Appendix C and D are reproduced with the permission of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK). These maps are the property of ITK and permission was granted for this dissertation only. Permission is granted by the ITK on a "one-time use" basis. Should the reader wish to use these maps for a publication, presentation, exhibition, etc. please seek direct permission from the ITK.

Appendix D: Detailed Map of Inuit Nunangat



(Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2019).