SINGING, LAUGHING AND PLAYING: THREE EXAMPLES FROM THE INUIT, DENE AND YUPIK TRADITIONS

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ABSTRACT/RESUME

The author reviews three instances of musical performance as cases in which one can easily see critical interrelationships among singing, laughing and playing. She then sets out some relevant questions for further research.

L'auteur examine trois exemples d'interprétation musicale comme des cas où l'on peut facilement voir des rapports cruciaux entre le chant, le rire et le jeu. Ensuite elle propose des questions pertinentes comme objet de plus amples études.
While researching Inuit traditional music and games I encountered an old Inuit saying in a famous Arctic explorer’s report which says that “those who know how to play can easily leap over the adversities of life. And one who can sing and laugh never brews mischief” (Rasmussen, 1929:250).1

In spite of the chronological distance between Rasmussen’s time and my own, the saying struck me as being particularly relevant to the Inuit context and to the game of katajjaq of the Northern Quebec Inuit women. Later on, as I came in contact with other cultural settings, I remained attentive to the relationships among behaviors such as singing, laughing and playing, behaviors so often dismissed as easily defined and of secondary importance. In this article I will discuss three examples from the Inuit, Dene and Yupik cultures illustrating the relevance of singing, laughing and playing to each other, as well as the different ways in which each of these behaviors relates to the other.

Katajjaq, a game in which sound is an essential element, has many complex “musical” attributes and yet is termed “play” rather than “music” by most Inuit. We will see how laughter in this game, while expressing enjoyment and fun, also serves, socially, as a measure of one’s ability to cope with the vicissitudes of winning and losing, in real life as well as during the game. Udzi, a Dene hand game, presents the characteristics of games as summarized from a large body of literature by Roberts, Arth and Bush. According to them, a game has “organized play, competition, two or more sides, criteria for determining the winner, and agreed-upon rules” (1959:597). And yet, udzi makes extensive use of singing and drumming. Again, as in katajjaq, the importance of “winning” or “losing” is relative. Here, it is excitement and the expression of excitement that are the essential components of a successful game. The drum dance of the Yupik of southwest Alaska is definitely not a game, but laughter is incorporated into the structure of the performance event itself and becomes something to strive for and achieve. Laughter is an indicator of the success of the dance for the performers as well as for the spectators.

Choosing to discuss three examples in the same article rather than one, of necessity results in each being discussed in less depth. However, it takes more than one example to demonstrate (1) that “music” in many contexts encompasses much more than sound; (2) that “laughter” and “playing” are not just all “fun and games”; (3) that there are different types of music/game relationships (i.e., in katajjaq, the sound is the game whereas in udzi, sound is a component of the game); and (4) that it is important to study these things in their proper contexts, giving as much attention to the observer/listener relationship as to the performance.

In this article, reflecting on singing, laughing and playing are derived primarily from field observations and experience and not from a theoretical framework. These issues are infrequently discussed from an ethnographic point of view and when they are, they
rarely apply satisfactorily to the cultural settings with which one is dealing. The efforts required to fit the traditions of one culture into the categories of another can be channelled into an attempt to comprehend that which is inherent in each culture. This is why I have not tried here to equate these examples with the Euro-American conceptualization of games, as implied in the definitions proposed by J. Huizinga (1950), R. Caillois (1958) and later by Sutton-Smith and Avedon (1971) or by E. Norbeck (1974) and others. Furthermore, I do not wish to compare these three examples but merely to demonstrate three different ways in which singing, laughing and playing relate to each other, and thus to reinforce the idea that these human activities take many forms and meanings and that each should be carefully studied within its own cultural context.

Katajjaq

Katajjartuq or “playing katajjaq” is a vocal game played most frequently by northern Quebec Inuit women. The exact meaning of the word is not known and it apparently has no exact English or French equivalent, although it is often presented to the public as “throat singing”. This translation is somewhat inaccurate given the Inuit emphasis on its playful dimensions and the fact that all parts of the vocal system (and not just the throat) are involved in producing the sounds. More importantly for us is the way in which each round ends in laughter. However, an explanation of how the sounds are produced will show that, in this game, playing with sound is rather complex and not just incidental. (Recorded example #1 is a typical version of the game.)

In this game, two women face each other, in close proximity, sometimes holding each other’s shoulders. Once they both agree on the sound motif they will use, the idea is to repeat the motif indefinitely until one of the two is exhausted, begins to laugh or makes a mistake. Generally, the basic sound motif is fairly simple: short, apparently meaningless words, are repeated, using a simple rhythmic pattern. It is the great variety of vocal treatments, however, that results in the complexity and the interest value of the game. Some of these are illustrated in the following four recorded examples.

Each utterance of the motif makes use of breathing sounds — exhalation and inhalation (recorded example #2). Voiced sounds, that is those making use of the vocal chords, alternate with voiceless ones. Many of the intermediary sounds between those two extremes are used as well (recorded example #3). The shape of the mouth opening is purposely modified to color the vowel sounds utilized or, as in the next recorded example, the mouth is alternately opened and closed (recorded example #4). Sounds are produced from different body areas in alternating patterns: chest, throat, mouth, nose and this, in part, conditions the shift between registers. These can change rapidly and cover as much as two or three octaves
The partners may use different motifs, or one of them might decide to change motifs in the course of the game. If this should happen, her partner must follow suit without breaking the rhythmic continuity because this would cause the game to stop.

These variations and others not discussed here render the original word (underlying the motif) barely recognizable. The sound becomes all the more complex because the partners do not vocalize their motifs simultaneously. The players treat the succession of motifs like a canon, that is, with one starting and the other following at a precise point in time. The strong accent (beat) of one voice thus coincides with the weak accent (off-beat) of the other and vice-versa. The listener then hears two very distinct lines, one seemingly composed of the succession of strong accents (beats) and the other composed of the off-beats. One then has the impression that the two voices are producing two different series of sounds, when in fact both women are creating each of the sounds heard (recorded example #6). The stronger the illusion of two different voices with two different lines, the more successful is the game.

It is difficult for the listener to tell which sounds are produced by whom even when one understands how the game is played. This probably explains why it is so important for the women to stand very close to each other while playing and to play with a partner whose voice is similar in range and quality. In a way, the players are not only playing with each other but they are also playing with whomever is listening by using sounds that are hardly recognizable as words and by consciously concealing who is doing what. In areas west of Hudson’s Bay, a similar (but nonetheless distinct) game is played. There, the players place their heads inside or under some sort of container that acts as a resonator but also, more importantly, further disguises the exact source of each voice.

Words are not the only basis for katajjaq motifs. Goose calls or even real melodies may also be used and transformed in the game. In fact, there are many words, sounds and melodies that meet the requirements of the game. What is fundamental however, is to maintain the illusion that all the sounds are produced by a single source.

Katajjaq is a game that is both amusing and difficult. It is difficult because skill is required to produce rapid, regular sounds. It also requires healthy lungs, good breath control and a mastery of the kinds of sounds produced. It is challenging because it is easy to run out of breath, make a mistake or break the rhythmic continuity and coordination of the two voices and it is easy to yield to the build-up of nervous tension and burst out laughing. It is apparently amusing because it always ends in laughter. However, does laughter always imply that people are amused?

A study of eastern and central Arctic Inuit games (Beaudry, 1977; 1978b) and many conversations with Inuit women suggested that laughter can have a variety of meanings. I came to understand this
game with regard to the choice of partners, the importance of competitiveness in Inuit culture and, the necessity of engaging in social interaction.

Choice of partners:

In view of the difficulty of the game, it is important to choose a partner as much for her ability to produce good sounds and for her coordinating skills as for the similarity in her vocal range and texture. The apparent competitive nature of the game might suggest that it would be a good thing to win the game; winning against a weak opponent however, would hardly be considered a victory and would not be pleasurable.

In katajjaq, as in other Inuit games, partners choose each other according to some unspoken rules of friendship and of kinship. It also constitutes a challenge. At the same time, a partner of equal force will prevent someone from winning too frequently and from gaining a special status. Although the frequency of winning is rarely emphasized, other qualities of participation are. One might hear that “she makes beautiful sounds” or “they last for a long time” or that “the two are good together”. It is interesting to note that in inuktitut a single word illuq simultaneously designates the notions of partner and opponent.

In the traditional setting, when teams were playing, two opponents faced each other and the “loser” by another member of the loser’s team. In the end, it was the team that was considered to have lost rather than the individual and because teams shifted and changed at will, there was no possibility of forming strong and dominant groups.

Games and competitiveness in Inuit culture

Most Inuit games require the partnership/opposition (the illuq relationship) of two people or two teams and many games test endurance, a highly valued quality in the traditional way of life. However, in none of the so-called competitive games are points counted. Universal participation in all games at all times is encouraged rather than personal achievement. Participation in any activity is always possible and even expected, independent of the age, the sex or the degree of competence of the participant. Losing should not, therefore discourage someone from playing.

The necessity for social interaction

As we have just said, Inuit never refuse anyone’s participation. Conversely, participation in social activities be they work tasks, games or just visiting should not be neglected. Non-participation is suspect because it might implicitly reveal a reluctance to join in with the community. It might also indicate that someone has behaved
inappropriately and is consequently not being allowed into the community's approved circle. Participation in a way symbolizes the individual's acceptance of the group's norms and its desire for cohesion. Someone who is too serious, that is, who never laughs, or never gets socially involved is somebody unwell or sad (Briggs, 1964) and perhaps "brewing mischief" as the proverb said.

Some meanings of laughter

In general, most Inuit games end with laughter, bringing us to wonder about the possible meanings of laughter. In playing katajjaq, is the laughter the result of the fun of playing or of feeling good while producing beautiful and adequate sounds? Is it the result of tension build-up in the course of the game? Is it a mark of appreciation of the other's performance? It is probably all of these at the same time.

But if we probe a little deeper and examine some of the attitudes during social interaction, acceptable for the Inuit, we see that laughter also constitutes proof that a person is capable of controlling her reactions and emotions and of maintaining dignity no matter what the outcome of any situation. This is a culture in which laughing at each other is also used to express disapproval of inappropriate behavior. If light teasing serves to measure another person's response, it can also adopt an accusatory tone. The laughter of others then implies that one is being ridiculed and thus constitutes the severest of punishments — exclusion from social interaction with the rest of the community and, consequently, exclusion from sharing circles. In the traditional setting, especially during difficult times, this must have been a very harsh punishment indeed as sharing was so essential to survival.

Laughter, in the context of the Inuit game of katajjaq, expresses pleasure, good feelings, or appreciation for the qualities of a partner's performance and cooperative interaction. But it is also, in general, a remarkably powerful tool for measuring and maintaining a balance between potentially opposite social forces.

In conclusion, katajjait players aim at a successful game, a game that creates good sounds and the proper illusion. But while playing with sound, they are laughing, thereby acknowledging the reassurance and comfort found in togetherness, their pleasure in playing and their insouciance of winning or losing.

Udzi

The name of the northern Athapaskan game udzi (or idzi), like the word katajjaq, is difficult to translate. It is either described as a "hand-game", a "stick-game", or a "gambling game", depending upon whether the observer stresses the fact that an object is hidden in the hand, that points are counted with sticks or that a lot of betting activity precedes the game.5

Udzi is a game played only by men; women often watch and
follow the excitement. The group is divided into two teams and the number of players on each team varies according to the number of men available.

The men, in teams, form two lines, kneeling or sitting on their heels across from each other in relatively straight rows. Each of the men on one of the teams holds a penny or a similar small object. Bending over, they put their hands beneath a blanket or a jacket and hide the object in either fist before straightening up and facing the other team. One man from the opposing team, chosen as the “guesser”, attempts to guess in which hand each of the men is holding his object. One of the difficulties of the northern Athapaskan version lies in the fact that the guesser must deal with several men at once.

While hunched over, and later on during the guessing, the men who are hiding the tokens bounce lightly up and down with their upper body, with arms crossed and fists closed. The bouncing is in rhythm with the drums beating loudly all around them. As soon as players are eliminated, they become one of the drummers. Some make funny faces in order to confuse the guesser or distract him thus interfering with his concentration. The guesser tries to eliminate the whole line of opponents. Then, depending on the number of counting sticks that are won by both teams, another round is played either with the same roles maintained or with the teams switching roles. A whole game lasts several rounds.

Musically, two different things happen. Firstly, before anything starts, the teams line up (sitting on their heels) in front of each other and, without drums, sing one or more “challenge” songs in unison. Like most Dene songs, these are short and simple, with very few meaningful words, and are continually repeated until the other team is ready to take up the singing with a song or two of their own. Sometimes, later on in the game, the guesser seeks additional guessing power by singing the team song to himself. The singing is not as complex as the manipulation of sound in katajjaq and it is perhaps sufficient to say that the melodies are specific to the game, that is, they are different from drum dance songs, prayer songs, pleasure songs, etc. Recorded example #7 presents a fragment of the beginning of a game. One team begins its song in the midst of crowd noises, laughter, betting challenges, claps in imitation of the guesser’s gestures, and people moving around to choose their places. As the first team’s song fades, the second team begins.

These songs appear to operate as a signal, that is, a cue for regrouping forces before the game. This period of organization is used to determine who is playing, who is guessing, who is kneeling where, and who is drumming. The vigor of the singing is itself a statement of determination on the part of the players.

Secondly, as the game goes on, the intensity of the event is enhanced by the loud beating of the drums played by other members of team one in what can best be described as a rhythmical unison
and very loud vocal pulsation. Many Dene people describe this as “humming” and one man used the expression “vocalizing” (recorded example #8). Articulations are sounded on a single note (sometimes changing to another) and are done on a “non-syllable”, that is, the mouth is open in a rather indefinite shape to produce as loud a sound as possible. The strong accents of the pulsations are syncopated against the beats of the drums. The guesser must express his guesses through gestures rather than vocalization, presumably because of the volume of the drums. (At least I assume that this is one reason for the gestures.)

As mentioned earlier, it is not so much the laughter as the excitement that is involved. The energy and concentration of the players, intensified by the loud drums, are projected onto the crowd around them and the whole event is extremely vibrant. When recalled within the context of an interview, people always smile, laugh and show excitement when describing a game of udzi. They relate how much fun it is and what a “good game” the last one was, etc.

Playing this game undoubtedly causes pleasure. It lasts for hours and as soon as one game is over, another starts. Looking at people’s faces and hearing them talk about it later indicates that what is remembered is the intensity, not who won or lost. Then there is the excitement. What is it that causes so much excitement? Is it the noise? Is it the prospect of winning? Does it have to do with being watched? Does it have to do with being part of a team? If this is a competition, then who is competing and for what?

The teams can be composed of men from one community or from different communities, because udzi is always played when communities visit one another; it is almost an obligation, whether the visitors are friends or potential enemies. It is easy to imagine then, that the function of the game is ambiguous. Could it not have been, as in the Inuit drum duels, one of the subtle ways of dominating another group and thus, hopefully, settling disputes?

Apart from the rare occasions when teams seek to win an argument, we might think that money is the object of the competition. A lot of betting activity goes on before any game starts, as is typical of many Amerindian games. Individuals on opposing teams bet on the outcome of the game or on how many rounds it will take to be eliminated. Each individual has several bets going on at once and yet, surprisingly, the winnings are modest. Even losing all of your bets would represent a loss of just a few dollars. Material gain is therefore probably not the motive for this betting.

Are the men then competing for prestige? It seems to me that only the guesser derives prestige from his ability. A “good guesser” is one who can observe his opponents’ attitudes and read into their intentions. He must have a good memory of former games and of each man’s former strategies. Some guessers are even said to have special powers for accuracy in “seeing”.

Players are never totally eliminated from the game; they just switch roles and become drummers. Therefore, more noise and
excitement are generated as more players become drummers. A player remains an important element of his team throughout the whole game, no matter what the outcome.

In conclusion, in the game of udzi as in katajjaq, competition or opposition of forces is the organizational basis for the game but the outcome of the competition is only relevant in the ambiguous contexts. Unlike katajjaq, sound, in the form of singing, drumming, shouts and laughter, is added to the udzi game to reinforce team spirit and group cohesiveness. A description of the game which left out these dimensions would entirely miss its meaningful aspects. In the same way, a simple description of the songs and drumming, even if the words were translatable, would mean little if the way in which they merge with the game was ignored.

The Yupik Drum Dance

The drum dance of the Yupik people of southwest Alaska is definitely not a game. In this case though, singing, dancing and drumming aim at entertaining and provoking laughter. The questions then are why, when and who laughs.

Formerly, as well as today, drum dancing in southwest Alaska was part of the annual ritual cycle which never lost its recreational flavor and which involved human as well as supernatural participants. It was based upon a principle of exchange and reciprocity between hosts and guests, whether they were from the same band or community or from elsewhere.

Traditionally, the semi-nomadic communities of this area contracted and consolidated alliances with other groups. Because of the varied ecological contexts, they needed to obtain, through exchange, products otherwise difficult to find. In this context, isolation could mean being defeated by enemies or doing without material goods that were important.

In addition, agreements were concluded with the spirits of dead relatives and the souls of the animal species they hunted. Respecting the souls of the dead assured them of a peaceful and comfortable after-life. In return, the dead left the living in peace throughout their lives. Moreover, showing respect to animal spirits assured humans of an ever abundant source of food, as animals would only allow themselves to be harvested by respectful hunters.

As in many hunting cultures these agreements were concretized in feasts and ceremonies during which people sang, danced, ate, received and offered gifts, and paid tribute to the spirits who also attended the feasts. Variations among the feasts consisted primarily of shifts in the objectives emphasized. These are not detailed here because it appears that the drum dancing followed the same arrangement, no matter what context. One factor particularly relevant to the present discussion is that laughter always punctuated drum dances.
In the Yupik context, the expression “drum dance” only refers to a portion of a total event which was the feast that one group gave for another. A drum dance simultaneously designates the even drum beats of several drums, the singing of the drummers and the dancing of men and women, while the others (those not drumming, dancing or singing) participate actively with utterances, applause and laughter. In fact, it is only in the interaction between performer and non-performer that the role of laughter can be properly understood.

For an evening of drum dancing, people gather in the community hall, which today replaces the traditional kazigi, or in the school gymnasium. Drummers are seated in a row and sing in unison while they beat their drums, also in unison. Some men do the drumming and singing while other men and women do the dancing. Dancers remain stationary and make their dance movements with the upper body. Several dances make up an evening of drum dancing.

Because it reveals the importance of the performer/non-performer relationship, a brief explanation of the structure of a dance is in order. Each presentation of a drum dance follows the same steps:

1) First, there is what I call an introductory stage during which the leader taps a few quiet beats on his drum and begins to sing slowly and softly.

2) Then follows what I call the installation stage. After the leader has sung the first verse, the other men join in the singing and drumming. They repeat the first verse and without interruption, go on to the second verse and then perhaps to a third. During these verses, the volume and tempo gradually and systematically increase. At the same time, dancers gradually join in without apparently following any order. Their movements, in time to the beats of the drums, portray the content of the song texts. The intensity of their movements increases proportionally to the increase in tempo and volume of the drums. At this stage, a “caller” comes in, calling out the words, one sentence at a time, either for the singers, for the dancers or for both.

3) The next stage is what I call the performance per se, that is, all the drummers/singers are in place and coordinated. At this point, a new section is added between verses, in the form of a refrain. It is identical from one verse to another and it consists of drum beats and dance movements but no singing. The tempo and volume have again increased and the intensity of the performance is enhanced by the cries of the “caller” that become louder and louder. By the end of this stage, all the verses of the song will have been sung. It is at this point that the audience begins to react with applause and laughter and cries out for more (recorded example #9 – fragment of a drum dance song).

4) The fourth stage, which I have called the interaction stage, now begins. At this point, two things might happen: if there is little or no reaction from the spectators, the drummers and dancers simply stop and wait for the next dance. Interaction does not
really happen. If the host-group really wants an audience reaction, the leader or the caller encourages the drums to keep beating and calls out himself for a repeat. One or the other of the previous verses is repeated, louder and faster. If the audience still hardly reacts, the dance simply stops. But most of the time, the audience accepts the challenge and the interaction phase really begins.

The spectators manifest their acceptance of interaction by calling out for more, laughing and applauding at the end of verses. From this point on, the performers will continue performing as long as the guests ask for it and the length of a dance is thus determined by the intensity of the audience reactions rather than by simply completing all the verses.

The delimitation of four stages in the performance of a drum dance emphasizes the shift in emphasis between the hosts and the guests. For example, the installation stage allows for the synchronisation of drum beats and dancers. Drummers/singers and dancers act in unison, thus reinforcing the group's cohesion. With the increase in volume of the drums, details of the words and melodies are blurred and the gestures of the dancers take over. All the attention gradually shifts from details to group performance and only once the group is firmly secured is it ready for interaction with its guests.

It is interesting to notice how laughter and applause are contained within a very limited sphere. Firstly, all the laughing is done by the spectators. Dancers and drummers wear rather bland facial expressions and do not manifest any emotion or amusement. They seem intent on what they are doing. Secondly, spectators get involved only when the verses have all been sung and danced. Laughter then, cannot result from the song texts which have been heard since the beginning of the dance. Instead, laughter seems to result from dancers' gestures which, towards the end of the verses tend to be more and more exaggerated, no doubt as an attempt to provoke laughter.

The need for performers to provoke laughter and applause is demonstrated by situations in which the host-group, once all the verses have been delivered, keeps on repeating verses until the guest-group reacts. An occasional dance may not achieve this aim but most dances do. One can hardly imagine a whole evening without any reaction from the audience. This would signify a refusal to interact with the hosts and potentially express hostility. Conversely, a reaction confirms the acceptance of interaction and that is why performers are so intent on achieving this. Furthermore, performers must continue to perform as long as the audience asks. Not to comply with their requests would constitute an affront. However, guests must not take advantage of the hosts' sense of humor and make too many requests. The boundaries among showing approval, teasing, and hostility are very narrow.
In the views of some early ethnographers, it seemed to be a matter of competing as to who would laugh first. Hawkes, for example, noted that “if, during the day’s dances, the home tribe could succeed in making the visitors laugh, they could ask of them anything they wanted” (1913:12). The situation has changed today but the desire to provoke laughter is still very much alive.

In the Yupik context, the ambivalence of laughter is more obvious. In itself, laughter constitutes one of the signals that indicate a social interaction. And yet, it is incorporated into the structure of a “musical” event. The song texts and melodies, even though they carry their own stories and meanings, cannot be fully understood without taking the audience and its laughter into account. Here again is an example of how “musical” or “playful” activities contribute to the creation and maintenance of social balance.

In this paper I have chiefly focussed on the fact that the different elements of an event, whether musical or otherwise delimited, are truly interdependent, a common assumption for anthropologists. The ethnomusicologist on the other hand, who by and large relates musical behavior with expressive activities of the same nature — postural, graphic, etc. — or with ritual, magical or spiritual contexts, might profit from the examination of the relationships of “music” to different kinds of activities and responses, that is, play and laughter. Whereas recent research in the cross-cultural examination of play, games, sports, laughter and humour is gathering strength, it seems that the connection with musical activity is either ignored or misunderstood. More examples of the kinds presented here are needed to enable us to formulate interpretations of a broader scope.

Furthermore, after examining three examples of culturally different settings, one perhaps feels the need to raise questions regarding the wide-ranging significance of human activities such as singing, laughing and playing. While it was not the purpose of the present article to answer these questions, it is nevertheless important to recognize that to assign meaning to them, the examples must be seen as part of a more comprehensive paradigm, that which relentlessly seeks to understand why humans behave one way or the other. Thus, in this paper, we are left with questions about the nature of humor, play and music-making. For instance, is humor a universal human activity? And if so, how different can we expect it to be cross-culturally? Is laughter always a response to a humorous or pleasurable occasion? If not, what might we not discover about the meanings of laughter? In what way do play and music-making participate in the socialization and enculturation processes? Many more questions will no doubt occur as more research is done in this direction.
NOTES

1. Research for this article was done in three different contexts. First, work on the Inuit katajjait and on the Inuit traditional games was done while working as a research assistant for the Groupe de recherches en sémiologie musicale de l'Université de Montréal (1974-1980) and fieldwork was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC). Then, fieldwork in southwest Alaska (1981) formed the basis for my Ph.D dissertation, and was funded by a SSHRC doctoral scholarship and by a grant from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (Ottawa). Lastly, fieldwork and research into Dene traditional music and games was made possible by a Canada Research Fellowship (SSHRC) and a Standard Research Grant (SSHRC).

I would like to thank my colleague, Connie Izenberg-Grzedzka, who, most obligingly, spent several hours going over the english version of this text.

2. The expression “meaningless words” might seem contradictory. “Word” here designates a conglomerate of syllables but different people disagree as to whether the “words” used for the game of katajjaq have meaning or not. Indeed, in this game, “words” have no narrative or communicative settings and therefore no reference contexts.

3. Those who wish to hear more examples of northern Quebec katajjait can consult the following recordings: Inuit Games and Songs, UNESCO collection, MUSICAL SOURCES, GREM 1036; Inuit Throat and Harp Songs, Canadian Music Heritage Collection, MH001.; Inuit Traditional Songs and Games, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Northern Quebec Service, SQN 108.

Further technical details are contained in the articles by Beaudry (1978a) and Charron (1978).

4. M.-F. Guédon in her study of preferred women relationships in a Northern Quebec village speaks mainly of aunt-niece, sister-sister and cousin-cousin relationships as the ones privileged. However, mutual affection is essential to reinforce these relationships (Guédon, 1967).
5. Information about udzi is compiled, on the one hand, from Helm and Lurie's excellent study (1966) and, on the other hand, from my own observations of the game and from conversations and interviews with Dene people from the Sahtu area in 1988 and 1989. The fieldnotes are as yet unpublished.

6. The Yupik drum dance was the object of my dissertation (Beaudry, 1986) which was also based upon several months of fieldwork.

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APPENDIX

Recorded Examples

(Examples 1 to 6 were recorded by N. Beaudry in 1974 and 1975 and are now available on record: Inuit Games and Songs, Unesco Collection MUSICAL SOURCES, GREM, G 1036 — Side A — 12.)

#1 A typical and lengthy version of a game of katajjaq.

#2 Example of the use of respiration — expiration and inhalation (Id. – Side A – 6a).

#3 Example of alternated voiced and voiceless sounds (Id. – Side A – 7a).

#4 Example of the alternation of open and closed mouths (Id. – Side A – 3).

#5 Example of rapid alternation of registers by a single woman (Id. – Side B – 18).
Example of a *katajjag* in which the melody creates the illusion of a different distribution of the two voices (Id. – Side B – 14a).

Excerpt from a game of *udzi* in which the repeated song of team one is heard with crowd noises, laughter, hand claps, etc. Then the second team’s song takes over, while the drums are being prepared for the next stage (Beaudry, N., field recording #39, Fort Norman, 1988).

Excerpt from a game of *udzi*. Loud drumming and vocal pulsation heard during the “guessing” period (Beaudry, N., field recording #39, Fort Norman, 1988).

Excerpt from a Yupik drum dance song during a “potlatch” or drum dance (Beaudry, N., field recording #18, Alakanuk, 1981).