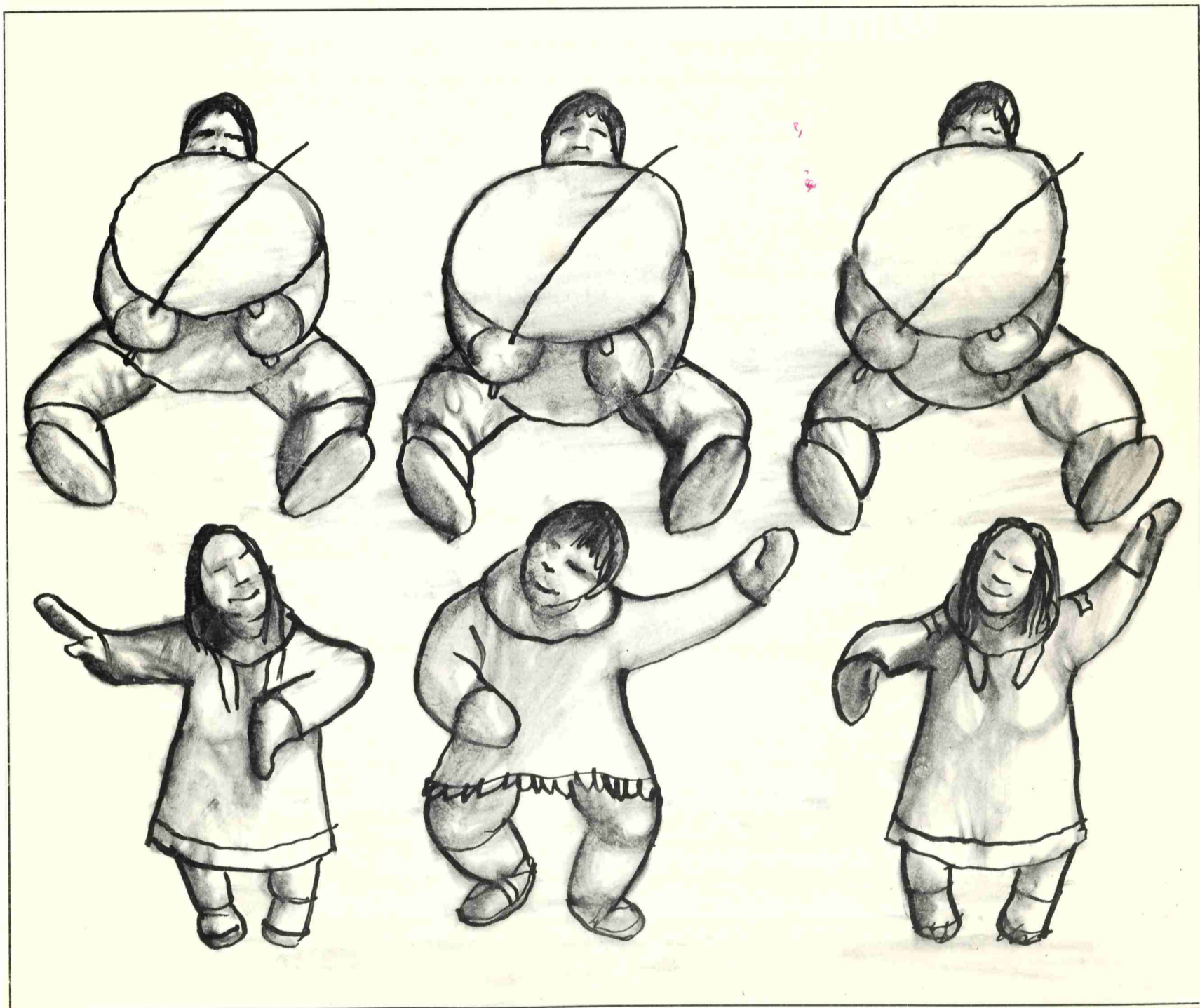


ALASKAN ESKIMO SONGS AND STORIES

Lorraine Donoghue Koranda with illustrations by Robert Mayokok



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Lorraine Donoghue Koranda

With illustrations by Robert Mayokok

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This book is dedicated to all those Eskimo performers who contributed to the project, and to the Eskimo youth of Alaska, with the hope that they will derive pleasure from its pages and a sense of pride in their heritage.

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Preface

The songs and stories in this publication were selected from the taped collection of Alaskan Eskimo traditional music that I began in 1950 while teaching music at the University of Alaska and continued through 1964. My purpose has been to preserve, document, and transcribe such material, which surely cannot long survive acculturation and the passing of those elderly informants who still recall the rituals and musical practices of the past.

The Eskimo informants who contributed to the project share with me a common interest and purpose, the preservation of their musical culture through recording and disseminating their knowledge. All but seven of them were born before 1900, and most were able to recall the ceremonies held during the period of their childhood and youth. All are acknowledged leaders in their communities in the special fields of singing, dancing, or storytelling. My admiration for them, for their patience, integrity, and generosity in sharing their knowledge and their talents, is boundless.

The ceremonial songs and dances discussed here are rarely performed today except as entertainments at Thanksgiving, Christmas, or on some special occasion. Tourists to Alaskan Eskimo villages may attend group performances that include remnants of the traditional or ceremonial songs and dances, as well as contemporary song and dance creations; but there has long been a need for a documented representative collection of the Alaskan Eskimos' musical art. Much has been written about the importance and the function of music in Eskimo life, but very little of the music itself has been available to the general public, anthropologists, and ethnomusicologists.

To facilitate the transcription of the melodic lines and drum accompaniment into notation, solo singers or very limited groups were recorded; large group performances, recorded under less than ideal circumstances, were found to impair the quality and clarity of melody and text.

It must be remembered in analyzing texts, as well as melodic lines, that a singer may distort, repeat, or prolong vocal sounds, spinning them out to accommodate the duration or repetition of pitch. Add to this the probability that the Eskimo song text is often fragmentary, that the singer may have forgotten a phrase, that archaic words or meaningless syllables have been interpolated, and the problem of text transcription is magnified. Similarly, there is a tendency for the unaccompanied singer to sing "out of tune." These departures from "fixed pitch" are rather obvious to the listener, and no special comment upon them was considered essential to this study.

The language of the songs from Unalakleet, St. Michael, and St. Lawrence Island southward is Yupik. The songs from Norton Sound northward are in Inupiaq. It is significant that informants from the lower Yukon generally could not easily interpret song texts and stories from Point Barrow,

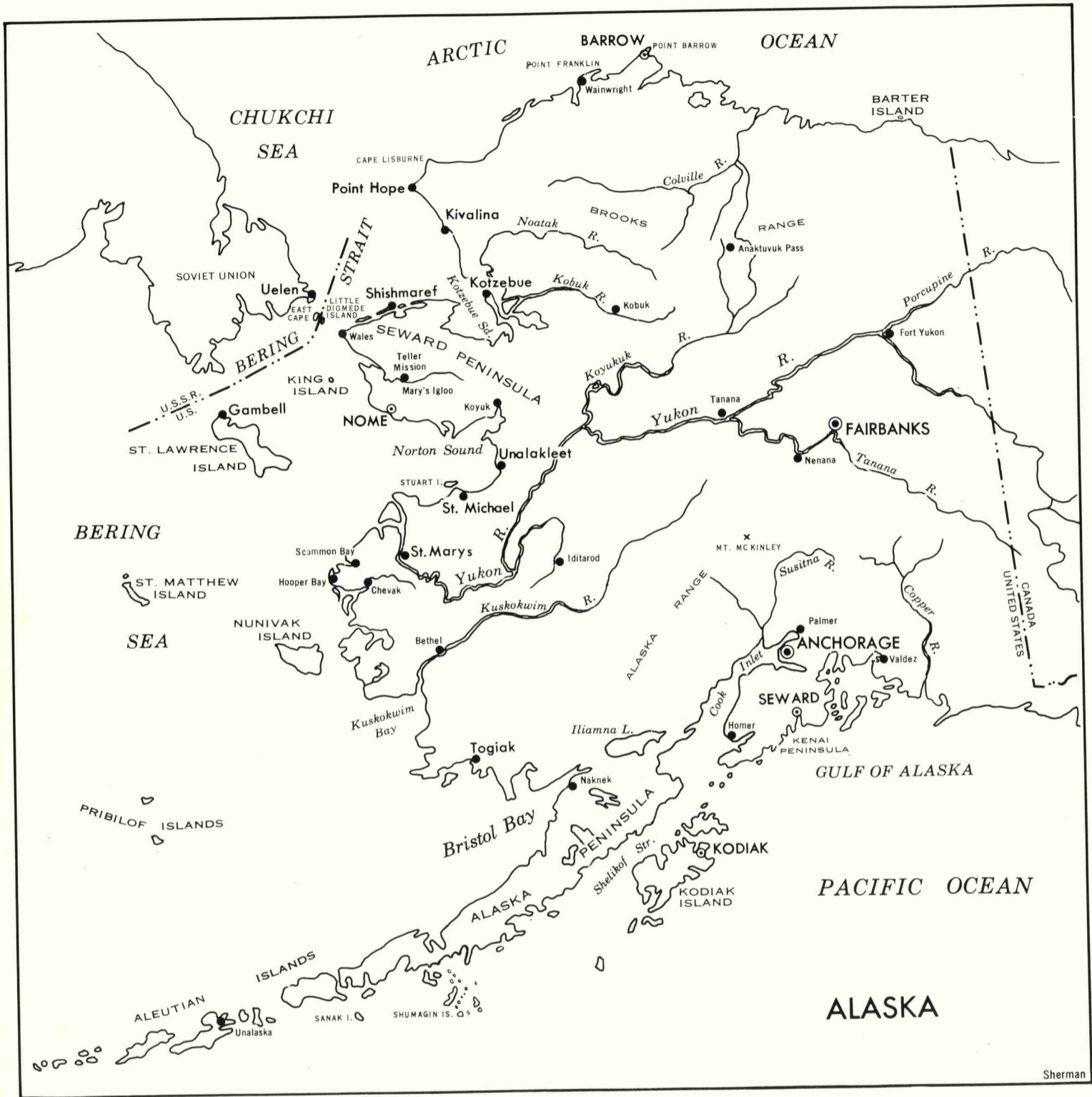
Wainwright, or Point Hope. And although Point Barrow and Wainwright are only about one hundred miles apart, there are dialectical differences in the speech. The Eskimo informants gave their own interpretation of the text and meaning of the songs they performed, after which several outstanding interpreters from various areas reviewed the tapes and verified text and meaning.

Many of the informants have contributed knowledge of their culture to investigators in several fields. Thus it was relatively easy to establish contact with the best informants in each area, and their kindly interest in this project was generally evident. At times a recorded message from an informant in one village to a friend or relative in another was a means of my becoming acquainted with performers.

The greatest difficulty encountered was in finding a suitable place for recording sessions. Some of the performances were recorded in warehouses, storerooms, or schoolrooms. Curious children, barking dogs, or the noise of an occasional motorcycle accompanied some of the songs. On one occasion I had to record while surrounded by the still-dripping laundry in an Alaskan Communications System washroom—the only source of electrical power available. It did not seem strange, after this, that several extremely shy Eskimo women should insist upon recording in a totally soundproof room, the University of Alaska seismographic laboratory, because the song they planned to sing was somewhat bawdy, and modesty forbade their performing it "in public." I have also had the pleasure of recording sessions in Eskimo homes at Unalakleet, Bethel, Hooper Bay, Wainwright, and Nome.

The information that accompanies each song is largely derived from the comments of Eskimo informants. References to information obtained by several other contemporary investigators are included to point out cultural differences and varied musico-dramatic practices.

It was difficult for me to make the selection of songs and stories to be included here. A wealth of fascinating materials was necessarily eliminated, and it is my hope that all of these outstanding performances will soon be made available, encouraging further studies of this folk art form.



Sherman

Acknowledgments

The publication of *Alaskan Eskimo Songs and Stories* is made possible by the generosity of several organizations and the assistance of many persons, whose interest and encouragement are here gratefully acknowledged.

I am indebted to Dr. Margaret Lantis, whose studies on Eskimo ceremonialism gave impetus to the search for traditional songs, and to Dr. Erna Gunther for her continuing interest in the project and her guidance at many points in the preparation of the materials. It was my good fortune to enjoy a warm personal friendship with the Amouak and Goodwin families, excellent informants who were residing in the Fairbanks area during the 1950s, and who were interested in the preservation of their own folk arts. Charles Lucier, University of Alaska anthropology student, contributed during 1950-51 valuable field notes from Kotzebue, Deering, and Shishmareff.

Through the efforts of Mrs. Mary Hale, former director of the Alaska Festival of Music and chairman of the Alaska State Council on the Arts, I received generous financial support for field work from the Z. J. Loussac Foundation, administered by the Alaska Festival of Music, an affiliate of Anchorage Community College of the University of Alaska.

The encouragement and enthusiasm of Mu Phi Epsilon, international professional music sorority, for this project has been an extremely important source of inspiration to me. In addition, their financial support for travel, tape duplication, and my participation in Mu Phi Epsilon and Alaska Festival of Music programs has been of tremendous help.

Dr. Mantle Hood, director of the Institution of Ethnomusicology at Los Angeles reviewed some of the recorded materials and advised me in the preliminary stages of the study. Dr. Alan Lomax, folklorist and codirector of Cantometrics, has analyzed several of the selections, using the Cantometric system for comparing ethnomusic.

The work done by Professor Irene Reed, director of the Eskimo Language Workshops at the University of Alaska, on the transliteration and translation of the Eskimo texts, was an invaluable contribution to the publication.

Robert Mayokok, noted Eskimo artist, has provided a variety of illustrations. His art is eminently suited to the subject it delineates. Succinct and evocative of the stark beauty of the Arctic, yet fluid and good-humored, it expresses a great deal with an economy of means—just as does the music of the area. The photograph of John Kakaruk is by John J. Koranda; the drawing of the box drum is by John R. Koranda.

Many Eskimo informants recorded their vocal art for this project. I wish to acknowledge all who assisted me: Lena Ahnahquatookuk (Shishmareff, Nome), Nita Ahnupkhana (Anaktuvuk Pass, Point Barrow), Olive Akhivigiyak (Point Barrow), Otis Akhivigiyak (Point Barrow), Olga Amouak (St. Michaels, Fairbanks), Oliver Amouak (Unalakleet, Fairbanks), Dick Bolt (Point Hope, Point Barrow), Wesley Ekak (Wain-

wright), Charlie Goodwin (Kotzebue), Freda Goodwin (Kobuk, Kotzebue), Paul-Green (Kotzebue, Nome), Agnes Hately (Bethel), Charley Jensen (Kivalina, Kotzebue), Lucy Jensen (Point Hope, Kotzebue), Thora Kachatag (Unalakleet), Nanny Kagak (Wainwright), John Kakaruk (Mary's Igloo, Anchorage), Owen Keeruk (Barter Island, Point Barrow), Jimmy Killigivuk (Point Hope), Phoebe Kippi (Point Barrow), Sarah Kunaknana (Colville River, Point Barrow), Frances Lee (Scammon Bay), Abraham Lincoln (Kotzebue), Blanche Lincoln (Point Barrow, Kotzebue), Maggie Lind (Bethel), Martha Luke (Bethel), Mike Milligrok (Diomedede Island, Nome), Phillip Nanooruk (Wales, Nome), Rose Ann Negovanna (Wainwright), John Nesh (Chevak), John Oalanna (King Island, Nome), Hazel Omwari (St. Lawrence Island), Molly Ooyahkak (Wales, Nome), William Oquilluk (Mary's Igloo), Rosie Paneak (Wales, Unalakleet), Simon Paneak (Anaktuvuk Pass), William Penn (Point Franklin, Wainwright), Aloysius Pikonganna (King Island, Nome), Neva Rivers (Hooper Bay), Joe Seton (Hooper Bay), Chester Sevek (Kotzebue), Helen Sevek (Point Hope, Kotzebue), Joseph Sikvaoyungak (Point Barrow), Nellie Sikvaoyungak (Point Barrow), Mary Statuk (East Cape, Nome), Theodore Statuk (Wales, Nome).

I wish to express my gratitude to Emily Ivanoff Brown, Paul Green, Oliver and Olga Amouak, and Fred Goodwin for their assistance as interpreters; and to thank Mrs. Oliver Anurok, Pansy Omwari, August Seton, Peter Kenug, and the Reverend Fred Nimmo for aid in translations. I extend my appreciation also to the Bureau of Indian Affairs teachers at Point Barrow and Wainwright for their hospitality.

I am deeply appreciative of the generous grant given to the Alaska Festival of Music by B P Alaska Incorporated for the publication of this material.

Lorraine D. Koranda

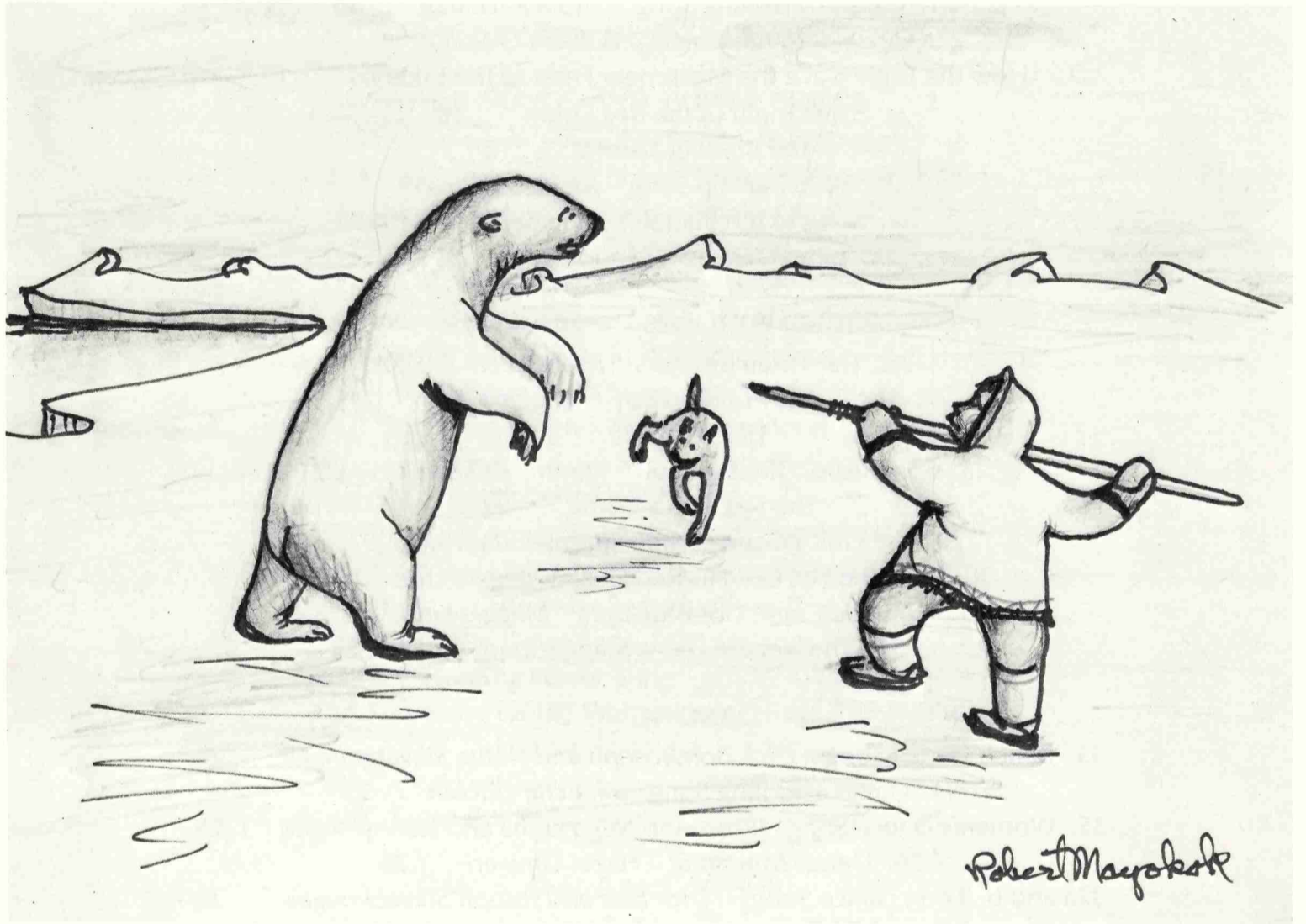
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Characteristics of Eskimo Music

All music, no matter what its origins, shares several elements: pitch, rhythm, duration, and intensity of tone. Through the particular selection and arrangement of these elements, a quality associated with Eskimo musical practice is imparted to the songs that appear in this collection. Some of these Eskimo musical characteristics are easily discernible by ear and eye. Others are more subtle, and only by the study of a large number of Eskimo folk songs do these typically Eskimo qualities become apparent.

Style in performance is one quality that should not be ignored, for it is through performance only that this music lives.

The Eskimos usually sing more than one stanza of a song in public performance. If the song has no text except neutral syllables, or if it has only one stanza, the song is heard twice. If there are several stanzas, the song is usually sung once with neutral syllables to acquaint the audience with the selection; then the various stanzas are sung. The lead singer may intone one or two pitches before starting the song. These are to help him find the appropriate range for the song. This intonation is customarily heard only at the beginning of the song, but "Lady Shaman's Spear Song" (No. 4), "Rock with a Hole in It" (No. 5), and "Polar Bear Song" (No. 9) illustrate the King Island practice of intoning between stanzas as well as at the beginning.

Although many Eskimos can sing church hymns in four-part harmony, and play instruments such as organ, guitar, or violin, they do not harmonize their folk songs, but sing in unison at the octave. "Welcome Song" (No. 18) is an example of this.

The vocal tone quality in public performance tends to be strident, nasal, and harsh. Individual voices may be sweet and resonant, but in public performance a "piercing" tone quality is preferred.¹ Both tone quality and rhythm are affected by a rather pronounced glottal shake or "stoppage" noted in the performances of several of the singers.

There is little or no difference in dynamics or levels of volume, except as it applies to the accent of important words, or the accent that coincides with a strong dance motion for which the song is an accompaniment. There is no use of *crescendo* and *decrescendo*.

The song texts are quite often fragmentary. This is probably because the songs have been passed along orally over a long period of time. Words or phrases have been forgotten. In some instances the language is archaic or distorted and cannot be translated. The song may contain meaningful phrases, meaningless syllables, or a combination of both. It is well to know the story and the function of the song in order to understand what was intended by the composer.

1. An analysis of materials from this collection undertaken by Cantometrics under the direction of Drs. Alan Lomax and Conrad Arensberg rates nasality and raspiness as great to extreme.

Eskimo song texts include comments on every facet of life, but the majority are related to the most important Eskimo activity, the hunt. There are many songs about sea and land mammals and birds; fewer songs relate to fishing activities; there are some about rodents. In many of the songs the animal speaks; often the animal takes human form. There are also instances of man becoming animal. Especially important in the hunting song category are the power songs intended to affect weather or animal behavior.

Songs commemorate important events, such as the first sight of a white man, the first electric light in the social hall, or a family tragedy. Long ago song was used as an instrument in the rendering of justice or settling of disputes. An Eskimo offender might almost literally be "drummed out of town" if his accuser subjected him to sufficient ridicule through the medium of song. Ridicule was also used in a good-humored manner between joking partners selected for an exchange of songs.

There are no Eskimo "lullabies," as one usually interprets the term, but there are many songs to be sung to children at bedtime or when they are "noising too much." The text of one such song reads:

Why do my grandchildren
Always ask me to sing
When it is time to sleep?
I will see what kind of weather
Tomorrow brings.

War songs are extremely rare. Only one, a King Island challenge song to the Siberians, was known by the informants who contributed to this collection. Stories of warlike conflict were known, but no songs relating to these historical events were recalled. Love songs were scarce, but not totally unknown, with one from Kobuk, several from Unalakleet, and a number of courtship stories from Kotzebue, Unalakleet, Point Barrow, and Point Hope.

Drum accompaniment is traditional for all public performance. The only drums used are large, hand-held tambourine-type drums, or *tchayuk* (Yupik). For the ritual Wolf Dances a box drum was used. The drummers of King Island and Point Hope are recognized as outstanding musicians. An unusual characteristic of Point Hope drumming is that the drummer concludes before the singer does. The "Loon Dance Songs" (Nos. 37a and b), which were recorded at Point Barrow but performed by an informant from Point Hope, illustrate this.

The range of the majority of these songs is comparatively narrow, limited to an octave or less. There are exceptions to this, of course. "Welcome Song" (No. 18) has a range of an octave plus a perfect fifth. The number of pitches is also limited. It will be noted how often only five or fewer pitches are used. For example, "Ptarmigan's Weather Song" (No. 1) uses only four pitches. The "Song for Unwinding String" (No. 16b) uses five, while "Kahnokseeoogee's Song" (No.

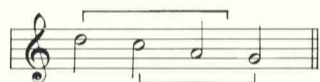
2) employs only three. The "Bench Dance Song" (No. 33) is essentially four pitches, but it includes a fifth pitch for just one beat.

The ways in which these pitches are organized into a scale vary. The following examples of four- and five-note scale patterns will serve to illustrate this:



The cadences of these songs are usually repeated tones, sometimes several measures in duration. "Farewell to the Chiefs" (No. 22) and "Wild Parsnip Song" (No. 23) illustrate this. Repeated notes may also mark the end of a section or phrase. See "Reindeer Herder's Song" (No. 8) and "Kay-lukuk Song" (No. 20). The cadence note invariably lies low in the scale. In the scale examples above, the darkened notes are the cadence notes. Often the second note of the scale is the cadence note. This is best illustrated by the cadences of "Farewell to the Chiefs" (No. 22), "Lady Shaman's Spear Song" (No. 4), and "Rock with a Hole in It" (No. 5).

A melodic figure found so frequently that it may be called an Eskimo theme is this descending pattern:



It sometimes appears as a four-note pattern, or it may be limited to three notes, as indicated by the brackets. It is interesting to observe that it does not appear ascending. The "Bench Dance Song" (No. 33) and the song for "The Three Brothers" (No. 27) are good illustrations of this melodic feature. The melodic line is sometimes embellished with grace notes.

Often the meter alternates, as in "String Game Song" (No. 15) and "Loon Dance Song" (No. 37a). The meter may be greatly varied or irregular, as in "Shaman's Power Song for Food" (No. 7).

Formally, there is repetition of tonal patterns and rhythmic figures. Repetition of an entire phrase is rare in all but the game songs and children's songs. There is no apparent attempt to create the classical AB or ABA designs that one

might expect to have influenced the Eskimo through his contact with hymnology and other types of non-Eskimo music. Exceptions to this are "Dance Mitt Song" (No. 36) and "Wild Parsnip Song" (No. 23).

The fact that Eskimo folk songs do not progress as one has learned to expect of harmonically based Western music is part of their charm. Paradoxically, what appear to be limitations in musical materials (few tones, lack of harmony, lack of formally balanced phrase structure) are in reality those elements which free the folk singer. Within the limits he has imposed upon his musical art, the Eskimo has shown a high degree of ability to organize material and to impart a distinctive flavor to his music.

Weather Songs and Power Songs

The Eskimos composed songs for nearly every activity of their lives. Among the most important were the weather and power songs. Successful hunting trips, safe voyage and return, and the abundance of game might depend upon the weather. The weather songs, called "*seelyahtsun*," were composed either by a shaman (*angatok*) or by someone else with unusual powers and influence. Many of them invoked the name of Sila, the spirit of air, weather, and the universe, explained as a "power that can be taken possession of by men, a power personified in Sila Inua, the Lord of Power, or, literally, 'he who possesses power.'"¹

Weather power songs could be purchased, but had to be used with discretion so that their power would not be abused. Many Eskimos have testified to their efficacy, and there are many who believe that weather can be controlled or affected by the singing of these songs, because they know that this has happened in the past.

Here is a story about a ptarmigan who owned a weather power song and taught it to an Eskimo, as told and sung by Paul Green of Kotzebue and Nome.

1. The Ptarmigan's Weather Song

Once upon a time there was a ptarmigan who was going around and around, flying up the creek and down. Pretty soon he got into a storm. So he ducked into the snow and stayed there; he stayed covered up under the snow. He put a little hole on top of his little snow house, and looked out to see how the weather was. But it kept storming.

And then the ptarmigan felt kind of hungry. He was

1. Andreas Lommel, *Shamanism*, p. 29. See also Margaret Lantis, *Alaskan Eskimo Ceremonialism*, pp. 26 and 37.

getting hungry, and there was no place to eat there where he was. So he thought he might sing for the weather to become good.

He sang:

I am displeased with this bad weather.
 I am real hungry.
 I am real thirsty.
 I pray for good weather to come tomorrow.

The ptarmigan went to sleep after he sang the song. The next morning when he woke up, the weather was nice—sunny and warm. So he went out and started feeding himself.

1. Ptarmigan's Weather Song



* Second time, measures 2, 4, and 8 are 3/4 meter.

This story and song were meant to entertain the children, but most of the weather songs have the serious purpose of helping the Eskimo in his fight to survive the harsh environment in which he lives. The following story and song are told and sung by Jimmy Killigivuk of Point Hope.

Kahnokseeyoogee's Song

Long ago, an Eskimo named Kahnokseeyoogee was caught in a severe storm while he was out fishing. He could not walk against the wind; he could not build himself a shelter; he had no food and was close to starving. Suddenly through the storm Kahnokseeyoogee saw a mysterious snow-shrouded figure. It appeared to be a man with a shovel and an ax. Kahnokseeyoogee sneaked up behind the figure, stole his ax, and with it was able to cut blocks for a snow shelter for himself.

The stranger followed and found Kahnokseeyoogee. He sang through the skylight: "Kahnokseeyoogee, give me my big ax! Give me my ax, and tomorrow you'll see bright sunshine, green grass, and sparrows."

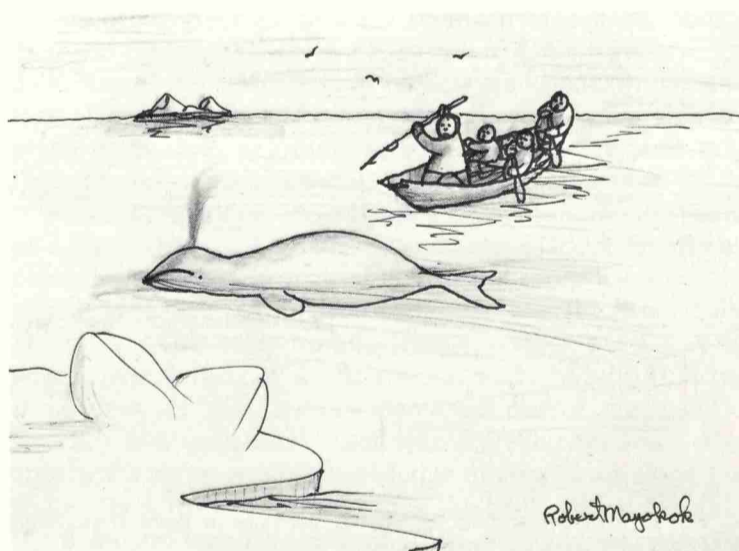
Kahnokseeyoogee threw the ax out. Next day he awoke to the spring beauty his mysterious visitor had promised.

Later, the stranger's song was sung again to stop a storm, and it did.

2. Kahnokseeyoogee's Song



Before the boats were launched for a whaling expedition, many rites were observed and special songs were sung for



the safeguarding of the men and the success of the hunt. Whaling was, and still is, a dangerous occupation, and it was necessary to call upon supernatural powers to keep the men safe, bring the whale into range for the hunt, and ensure the successful harpooning of the huge animal.²

Jimmy Killigivuk also sings a well-remembered ancient shaman's song from Point Hope which is still considered a good omen for the sea hunt. When the boats, the harpoon guns, and the lines were ready, and the men were prepared to start on their dangerous mission, an old shaman sat down on the ice, put on his mukluks and gut parka, and sang:

I want all these animals.
I want the white fox,
I want the red fox,
I want the seal,
 the oogruk,
 the walrus,
and I want the whale!

3. Shaman's Hunting Song

The musical score consists of six staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 4/4 time signature. The melody starts with a dotted quarter note, followed by an eighth note, a quarter note, and a half note. A double bar line with repeat dots follows. Below the first staff, the word "Drum" is written, followed by a series of rhythmic symbols: a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, and a quarter note. The subsequent staves continue the melody and drum accompaniment. The melody is written in a simple, folk-like style with various note values and rests. The drum accompaniment consists of rhythmic patterns of quarter and eighth notes, often with rests. The score ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

2. For an excellent account of whaling activities at Point Hope, see James W. VanStone, *Point Hope*, pp. 30, 38-58.

The Shaman and His Songs

The shaman, or medicine man (*angatkok*), no longer practices his magic art among Alaskan Eskimos, but in the past he was a person greatly to be respected, admired, or feared. The shaman was quite often a person of wealth, for he received many gifts and exacted many fees for curing illness, controlling weather and hunting, or driving out some evil spirit. But the shaman was also feared for his power to cast an evil spell or bring misfortune upon an enemy. Therefore, his position in the community was not always an enviable one. In some ways, the shaman's life was one of danger. He could be accused by a rival shaman of having caused the illness or misfortune of a villager. Thus he might become an object of revenge. Threats upon a shaman's life were not uncommon. For this reason, a shaman might come to his calling or profession somewhat reluctantly.

Why or how did a man or woman become a shaman?¹ Some shamans had a handicap or disability that set them apart from the community. If a young boy was unable to hunt, the most important activity for a male, he might become isolated and withdrawn from others, taking refuge in a dream world. Having unusual dreams and visions was an indication of shamanistic qualities. If a young person had a relative who was a shaman, and seemed to possess unusual talent for inducing dreamlike or trance states, he would be considered a likely successor to the older shaman and would become apprenticed to him.

Very important to the shamans were the drum songs that they composed for rituals, for good fortune in the hunt, and for curing. Drumming and singing seem to have been a part of every shamanistic performance. As one shaman told an investigator: "The shaman's drum represented the world. By means of this drum, he traveled all over the world. . . ."² As he performed, the shaman entered a self-induced hypnotic or trancelike state, and his songs were likely to affect his audience similarly. The shaman would tremble and speak to the spirits. Sometimes the audience could hear the spirits answering the shaman. If they did, it was likely that the shaman was using ventriloquism.

In the darkened *kazigi*³ the shaman performed sleight-of-hand, such as escaping from binding sinews or thongs, or transporting himself from one part of the *kazigi* to another after he had been tied up.

One very old Eskimo told of an especially powerful shaman who drummed, sang, and then proved his magic power by stabbing himself in the abdomen, with much blood flowing to prove the severity of the wound. Then, before the eyes of his astounded audience, the shaman completely

1. An informant from King Island maintained that women shamans did not rank as high as men.

2. Margaret Lantis, *Eskimo Childhood and Interpersonal Relationships*, p. 121.

3. The *kashim*, or *kazigi*, is the men's social hall. On the north coast it is called *karigi*.

healed the wound by calling on the spirits. No scar was visible.

John Oalanna of King Island tells of a famous woman shaman who, during a ritual dance in the *kazigi*, grabbed a spear from a dancer, stabbed herself, and fell to the floor with blood pouring from the wound. She got up, staggered toward the entrance, and fell dead in the entry way. The people were terrified; they wanted her to come back. So they sang her own song, and she returned to life.

4. Lady Shaman's Spear Song

Musical score for "Lady Shaman's Spear Song". It consists of five staves of music. The first staff is a vocal line in 5/4 time, starting with a triplet of eighth notes marked "(intones)". The second staff is a drum line with rhythmic patterns of eighth and sixteenth notes. The third staff is a vocal line in 6/4 time, also starting with a triplet. The fourth and fifth staves are vocal lines in 4/4 and 5/4 time, respectively, continuing the melody.

Shamans often used archaic words or made up their own special language, and the text of this song is vague. It is interpreted as meaning: "How is it—what have I here? A sharp implement, a spear. I stab myself!" That this song had great magic power is proven by that fact that the "dead" shamaness "returned" to life when the spectators sang it to her.

The shaman's songs and drumming were of great importance in his performance, but he also relied upon the magic power of charms or amulets. Almost any object—a carved animal image, a bone, a feather, a shell, an unusual rock, or anything the shaman chose—might become an amulet. A song or charm could be sold (or given) by the shaman and could be inherited from the one who possessed it. Unless the buyer paid the price agreed upon, the song or amulet

would lose its power, or the song would be forgotten. This happened a number of times, according to an informant from Kotzebue. The informant did not explain whether he had been buyer or seller in such a transaction.

The shaman's charms aided him in effecting cures and performing magic feats. A very old shaman song from King Island, sung by John Oalanna, describes the special charm that brings the shaman his power. It is the rock with the hole in it, which he wears on a string around his neck.

5. Rock with a Hole in It

Musical score for "Rock with a Hole in It". It consists of five staves of music. The first staff is a vocal line in 6/8 time, starting with a triplet of eighth notes marked "(intones)". The second staff is a drum line with rhythmic patterns of eighth and sixteenth notes. The third and fourth staves are vocal lines in 9/8 and 6/8 time, respectively, continuing the melody. The fifth staff is a vocal line in 9/8 time, ending with a double bar line.

One of the cleverest of the shaman's tricks was his ability to travel under the ocean ice, to return later with tales of the villages or mythical world he had seen beneath the surface. There can be no doubt that shamans were able to place themselves or others safely under the ice, and that their disappearance and return were witnessed.

One elderly Eskimo woman from Bethel told me this story of a great shaman's ice act: "When the Bladder Feast was over, the *angatok* brought a boy to the shore ice and told us that he would put the boy under that ice. The boy would come back, he said, from a journey under the ice. The *angatok* put that boy under the ice. I saw him do it. After three days we saw the boy come up out of the ice. He was dry and unharmed. That was a great *angatok*." The *angatok's* secret was his knowledge of conditions along the shore. Thick ice had formed along the bank, and at low tide there was no water beneath it. Thus, it would be perfectly

safe to use such an ice cave in the performance of his "magic."

Marriage to a shaman, or to a shaman's close relative, was considered unwise. Therefore, a young girl who had shamanistic powers might wish to be rid of them in order to attract a young man of her choice. Joe Seton of Hooper Bay sings a song composed by a shaman girl to help rid herself of her shamanistic power so that she would not frighten away her betrothed. It must have been quite effective, for she subsequently married the young man and gave up her practice of magic. The words, as in many shaman songs, are without specific meaning.

6. Shaman Girl's Song

The musical score consists of seven staves of music in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The time signature changes from 3/4 to 2/4 and back to 3/4. The melody is simple and rhythmic, typical of traditional folk songs.

When the Christian missionaries came to Eskimo villages, they largely opposed the shaman's practices and claims to supernatural power. As the Eskimos were converted to Christianity, their faith and belief in the *angatkok* diminished. One might believe that in the past the shaman had performed these magic feats and had had powerful contact with the spirit world, but for most Eskimos shamanism was no longer acceptable as a source of supernatural power. As contact with non-Eskimos increased, the Eskimos found it less and less important to ask the shaman's help in curing. The missionaries brought medical aid. The shaman's influ-

ence in the hunt was less effective than were modern firearms. Finally, the shaman retained his importance only as an authority on the old rituals and taboos, a few of which still survive. But the old Eskimos who recall the performance of an *angatkok* are still convinced that he performed his magic through the mysterious powers that he possessed. Typical of the stories that are told about a shaman of long ago is one that Paul Green tells about his great grandfather, Ikinik.

The Shaman Who Went to the Moon

Ikinik was a medicine man in Kotzebue. He had some special kind of power, and he did all kinds of tricks by his powers. One time while he was up on the Noatak River he saw the new moon come out. Ikinik wished to go to the moon, so he did it by his "doctoring," or power.

He was acting inside the house. They saw his body moving, but he wouldn't speak any more. They couldn't hear or understand what he said. So in this way his spirit left his body and went to the moon.

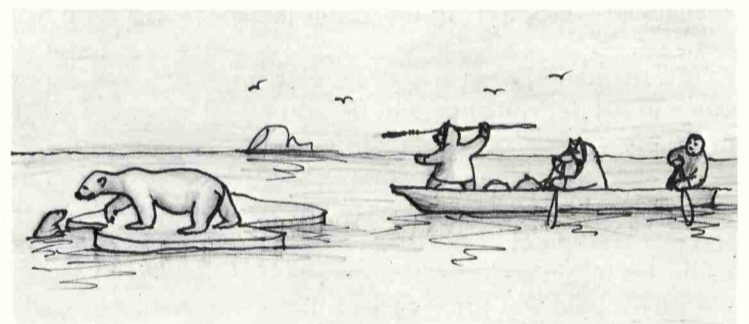
When his spirit came back to his body again, Ikinik told the people what he had seen. He said that he saw another medicine man up there in the moon. They met and talked. It was the *angatkok* Ahsuchuk from Point Hope.

Ikinik's grandchildren didn't believe him. His nephew didn't believe him. They thought he was just acting funny and trying to make believe he had been to the moon.

One of Ikinik's grandsons, Nusuk, waited until the Point Hope people came to visit Kotzebue in the spring-time, then had his wife invite the Point Hopers to his tent for a big meal. (The Point Hopers had brought *muktuk* to Nusuk.) After they had finished eating, Nusuk asked, "Did anybody from Point Hope go up to the moon when the moon was new? Did one of your medicine men go up to the moon?"

One of the old men from Point Hope answered, "Yes. There was a fellow from Point Hope went up to the moon at that time. When he came back he told us he had seen Ikinik up there in the moon. They met together."

So the moon was explored by the two medicine men in early days ago. They went up by their doctoring, by their power.



Hunting Songs

The first evidence of a boy's hunting skill was a matter of such importance that his parents celebrated the occasion by giving away the meat, by preparing special foods for the Bladder Festival, by giving presents, or perhaps by making up a new song. At Hooper Bay the bladder of the animal was hung up in the house and saved until it could be properly honored at the Bladder Festival.¹ An informant at Unalakleet recalled the honoring of his first catch, a bird, which was skinned and prepared for him by his mother. Then the skin was honored at the Bladder Festival, and his mother prepared special food for that ceremony. Taboos of fasting, avoiding certain foods for a stated period of time, or wearing particular items of clothing might be imposed upon the young hunter. His body might be decorated with charcoal marks. Any or all of these rites might be observed by the family when the boy first proved his hunting ability, for careful observance of the old traditional rites was essential to guarantee future hunting success for the boy.

It was most important that a young man become a successful hunter. Survival in the Arctic demanded it, and being a great hunter was synonymous with being wealthy. The title bestowed upon such a person was *umealik*, or "the owner of the boat." The furs, the whale baleen, the walrus tusk ivory, and the food he provided were the sources of the *umealik's* position of wealth and prestige in his village.

Hunting was a year-round activity for the men and boys. To ensure success, power songs were employed. Often the shaman was asked to sing a special song, such as the following one, sung by Joe Seton of Hooper Bay, which had the power to bring food to the people.

7. Shaman's Power Song for Food

The musical notation consists of six staves of bass clef music. The first staff is in 7/4 time. The second staff is in 3/4 time. The third staff is in 3/4, 2/4, 3/4, and 6/4 time signatures. The fourth staff is in 6/4, 7/4, and 3/4 time signatures. The fifth staff is in 3/4, 3/4, and 2/4 time signatures. The sixth staff is in 2/4, 3/4, 7/4, and 2/4 time signatures. The music is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat).

By singing this song, the shaman brought good luck to the hunters. The song is at least "four grandfathers old," but it is still sung as a hunting fortune song. The hypnotic effect of this song as it is repeated several times may have helped the shaman cast a musical spell over himself, the hunters, and, perhaps, the spirits of the animals that were about to allow themselves to be caught.

Although there are reindeer in Alaska, they are not native to the area but were brought from Siberia during the period 1892-1902 for the purpose of giving the Eskimos a good source of food and a sled animal well suited to the Alaskan terrain. Dr. Sheldon Jackson, Presbyterian missionary and teacher, convinced the United States government that the Eskimos could be taught to herd and break the animals to harness if they had help. As a result, 1,280 head of reindeer were brought from Siberia, and Lapp herders were brought to the village of Unalakleet and other coastal villages to teach the Eskimos to herd the animals.

Because the reindeer is well adapted to the tundra environment and is easily trained to lead and drive, the reindeer industry was expected to be a great success. It did not prove to be as profitable, however, as the government had hoped. Some Eskimos had difficulty adjusting to the demands of their new industry. They were primarily fishermen and hunters of sea mammals—walrus, whale, spotted seal, and *oogruk* (bearded seal). Some Eskimos became excellent herders, but others disliked having to round up the strays and the necessity of being away from their homes for long periods of time. An Eskimo who is out herding cannot provide the sea animal food that his family desires. These are some of the reasons (there may have been others) that the Eskimos did not wholeheartedly accept the reindeer industry.

One of the reindeer herders from Unalakleet composed the following song about his own problem—hunger. The chief herder would not allow him to kill a reindeer to eat. The government controlled the butchering of animals, and the herder had to wait for his supper until he returned to camp. The song dates from about 1900 and is sung by Thora Kachatag of Unalakleet. The words of the "Reindeer Herder's Song," freely translated, are:

Here I am, holding my stomach.
It is empty, and I am hungry.
There is food here, walking all around me.
Walking in front of me, reindeer.
My friend is hungry, too.
Is he going to give me something to eat?
If I ask for some reindeer meat,
He will stand before me with a long face.
Well, I'll try to make the best of it.

1. Bladder Festival ceremonies of west central Alaska are thoroughly reviewed by Margaret Lantis in *Alaskan Eskimo Ceremonialism*, pp. 52-60.

8. Reindeer Herder's Song

The musical score consists of ten staves of music in treble clef. The first staff is in 2/4 time. The second staff changes to 3/4 time. The third staff changes to 2/4 time. The fourth staff changes to 3/4 time. The fifth staff changes to 2/4 time. The sixth staff changes to 3/4 time. The seventh staff changes to 2/4 time. The eighth staff changes to 3/4 time. The ninth staff changes to 2/4 time. The tenth staff ends with a double bar line and a fermata, with the instruction "(spoken)" written below it.

Long ago polar bears were hunted with bow and arrow, stone- and iron-tipped lances, or spears. Today the Eskimos use high-powered rifles. Even with modern weapons, however, the polar bear hunt is still considered dangerous, though it is also exciting and economically rewarding. The polar bear is a good source of food, and its skin, which may be from eight to ten feet long, brings about ten dollars per foot at the village store.

Eskimos frequently encounter the polar bear while both man and beast are looking for food. The bear roams the winter ice looking for a fat seal. The hunter must be very alert to ice and wind conditions, for he may find himself marooned if the ice breaks loose from the pack. This happens often enough to be considered the greatest hazard of the hunt.

The following story and song, which tell of the outstanding bravery and daring of a young King Island hunter, have become a tradition in that isolated island village.

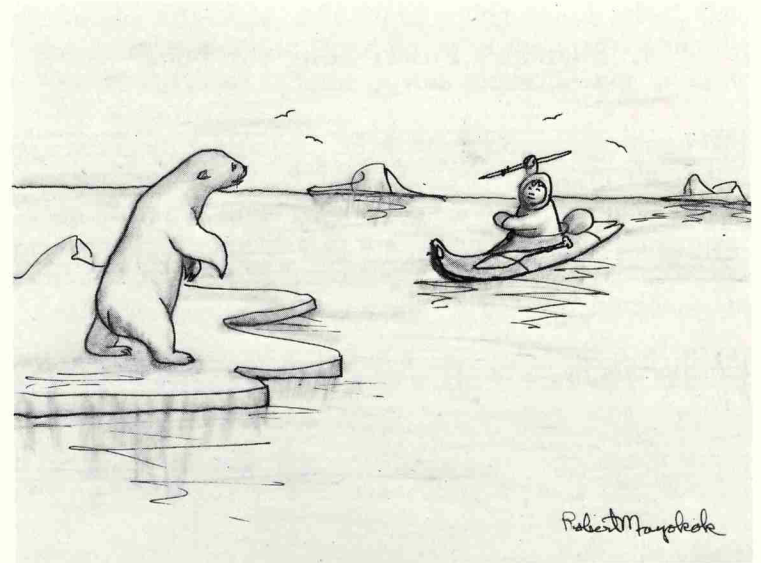
The Polar Bear Hunt

This is the true story of a polar bear hunt on King Island. Long ago a great King Island hunter went out hunting on an especially fine day. He was happy to be out, and happy when he saw a huge polar bear lying asleep on the ice. He sneaked over to the big bear and struck it with his spear, but the blow did not kill it. The wounded bear arose in pain and anger and ran from the hunter. The fearless hunter followed, but could not catch the bear. Unhappily, the hunter returned to the village and went to the *kazigi* where the King Islanders were assembled. He told them how he had sighted and wounded the bear, but had failed to kill it.²

The men did not believe the hunter. If he had really seen the bear lying on the ice, they reasoned, he would have killed it. If he had only wounded the bear, it would probably have killed the hunter. Therefore, they decided, the hunter's story was untrue. The hunter tried to explain, but they would not believe him.

The next day was another fine day for hunting. This time the hunter went out with a friend. When they got out on the ice they saw another bear. Carefully they sneaked up to the bear, and the hunter's friend threw his spear and hit the animal, but failed to kill it. The wounded bear ran from the men. The hunter's friend said, "If we go home and tell the other King Islanders that we didn't get the polar bear, they'll never believe us. This time we've got to get that bear!" So they started off after the polar bear.

As they came upon the wounded bear, the hunter dropped his spear and ran after the animal. He caught up



2. A belief held by residents of Point Barrow, St. Lawrence Island, and probably—as indicated by this story—at King Island is that a wounded polar bear must not be allowed to escape, but must be killed and its head cut off to release its spirit. Otherwise the spirit would bring the hunter ill fortune.

to it and, pulling out a short knife which he always carried, jumped onto the bear's back, grabbed the fur at the back of the bear's neck, and knifed the bear on the side of the head. The bear wheeled and threw the hunter off its back, but the man pursued the animal, jumped on its back, and stabbed the bear again and again, finally killing it.

The hunters returned to the village and told their story, which is commemorated in "Polar Bear Song," as sung by John Oalanna. The words, in free translation, are:

Thankful I am for the privilege of hunting.
 Thankful I am to come close to this polar bear.
 I see him now.
 I spear him now.
 Thankful I am that I killed that bear.

The song is sung to honor a hunter who kills a polar bear.

9. Polar Bear Song

The musical score for "Polar Bear Song" consists of five staves of music in treble clef. The first staff begins with a key signature of one flat and a 5/4 time signature, followed by a 4/4 time signature. It includes a section labeled "(intones)" and a drum part labeled "Drum vague". The subsequent staves continue the melody with various time signatures (5/4, 3/4, 4/4, 5/4) and include triplets and other musical notations.

Seal Hunting

Seal hunting is a winter-long activity for the coastal Eskimos. The seal is a most important source of food,³ fuel, oil, dog food, and clothing, and the furs can be sold. There is a variety of seals available along the coast—*oogruk* or *mukluk* (adult bearded seal), hair seal, spotted seal, and ring seal. It must mentioned again how important to the

hunter is a knowledge of ice and weather conditions, for the seal hunt demands that he venture far out on the arctic ice in extremely severe weather.

In an earlier day, the seals were harpooned at their breathing holes in the ice. This required much patience and long hours of tedious waiting for the seal to appear, and it was easy to lose the animal when hunting by this method. In the past, nets under the ice have also been used. This system is not so common today. Now the hunter is likely to hunt the seals at an open water lead, using a modern rifle.⁴ Fortunately, the seal, because of its thick layer of fat, usually floats after it is shot.

A boy's first seal kill was marked by several rites and taboos. It was not impossible that his first seal would be given away, for this would ensure his success as an adult seal-hunter. Another way of securing success in the seal hunt was to sing a seal hunting power song, such as the following from Point Hope, sung by Jimmy Killigivuk. The song was composed by the singer's great-great-grandfather, Shuyuk, who was an *angatkok*. His seal hunting nets had at each end a carved amulet figure, one in the likeness of a man's face and the other of a woman's face. The song was intended to draw the seal near to the hunter's camp on the ice.

10. Seal Hunting Power Song

The musical score for "Seal Hunting Power Song" is written in bass clef and includes a drum part. It starts with a key signature of one flat and a 2/4 time signature. The score includes a section labeled "(intones)" and a drum part with rhythmic notation. The melody is composed of several lines of music, with first and second endings indicated by numbers 1 and 2 above the staves.

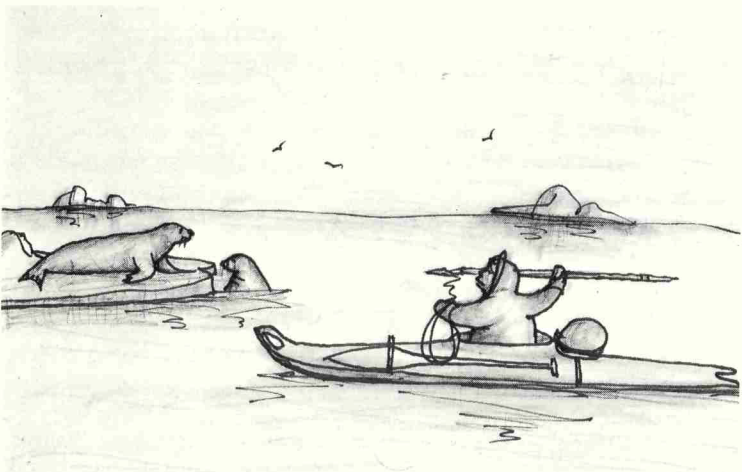
3. See Robert F. Spencer, *The North Alaskan Eskimo*, pp. 373-74; Van-Stone, *Point Hope*, pp. 31-33 and 58-60.

4. Charles Campbell Hughes gives an excellent account of the changes in hunting patterns from ancient to modern times at St. Lawrence Island in *An Eskimo Village in the Modern World*, pp. 107-11.



The most exciting and important hunting event along Alaska's north coast is the whale hunt, which takes place in late spring. A good whaling season can mean full caches—underground ice boxes dug out of permanently frozen ground—and full stomachs for several months to come. Walrus appear at about the same time as whales, but are considerably easier to take, since they are usually shot while they are sleeping on the ice. The walrus is an important food source for both the Eskimos and their dog teams. Its tough hide has many uses. It provides the covering material for the *umiak*, or skin boat, and the blanket for the *nelukataun*, or skin toss. The tusks provide ivory for carvers, and even the whiskers were used as needles by the women in the old days.

As many as twenty walrus may be shot in one week. Hunters may have to go many miles by boat to find them. The animals are butchered where they are shot, and the meat, hide, and tusks are brought back to the village. The *umiak* "Paddling Song" performed by Rose Ann Negovanna and Nanny Kagak is still sung at Wainwright. The short spoken phrase at the end of the song is meant to imitate the breathy puffing sound of the walrus.



11. Paddling Song for the Walrus Hunt



When the whales arrive in the north Alaska waters, all else is forgotten. This is what the hunters have waited for all year. Preparation for whaling is of vast importance, for a weak stitch in a skin boat or inadequately prepared equipment can mean death to the whalers.

The preparations begin in March, when the members of the whaling crew and their wives start repairing the equipment, cleaning the dart guns, covering the *umiak*, and making sealskin floats. An excellent description of the darting gun is given by James VanStone.⁵ Howard Rock, well-known Eskimo author and editor of the *Tundra Times*, has described the making of the sealskin floats: "Women skin seals, taking the entire flesh and bone out of them using only the neck opening to operate through, and leaving only the last knuckle bones in the flippers. These are made into sealskin floats, a great necessity, because a whale when killed sinks to the bottom. It has to be kept afloat with the use of the inflated seal skins."⁶

The women are responsible, also, for sewing the skins whenever the *umiak* needs to be re-covered. The side of the skin that is exposed to the water is sewn with "waterproof" stitches (that is, the needle is not allowed to penetrate the skin completely). The men stretch and fasten the covering to the *umiak's* frame. A special power song accompanies this work. Amulets or charms are often sewn into the skin covering. While this is being done, hunting power songs are sung. Great sewing skill and extreme care are necessary in all these operations because an absolutely seaworthy craft is essential to the whale hunt.

In fact, skill and care are essential to every facet of the whale hunt. As one Eskimo said, "There is little room for mistakes." These hunters are after a sea mammal that weighs from thirty to forty tons, or even more, and may be three times the length of the boat that pursues it.

The *umealik* (*umelik* or *umealiq*), or captain, supervises the preparations and is responsible for feeding the crew

5. *Point Hope*, pp. 39-40.

6. Howard Rock, "Arctic Survival," p. 6.

while they are in his employ.⁷ He profits from the experiences of old retired whaling captains, whose advice is freely given. The *umealik* has six or seven crew members, each with an assigned position in the boat and a particular duty to perform. The helmsman, whose job it is to place the *umiak* properly for the strike, and the harpooner, who thrusts the harpoon home for the kill, have perhaps the most exciting and demanding positions; but each man must know his job and do it expertly.

During the preparations for the whale hunt many rites are performed, some of them accompanied by songs. In addition, the shaman or the captain may sing a fortune song for supernatural aid in the hunt. Such is the following song from the whaling village of Point Hope, in which the captain tells his inexperienced young crew that he is watching and waiting and will not give up. When the whale comes up, he will strike it. Think of it—right over the back is good thick blubber. Then, "Don't get lost. Hang on!" The song is sung by Jimmy Killigivuk.

12. Captain's Whaling Song

The musical score for '12. Captain's Whaling Song' is written in treble clef and consists of six staves. The first staff begins with a whole note followed by a double bar line and the word '(intones)' in parentheses. The subsequent staves contain a series of eighth and quarter notes with various rests, and the piece concludes with a double bar line.

Second time, song ends at measure 18.

The whaling crews camp on the ice until the whale is sighted; then swiftly they go into action. The *umiak* is put into the water, and the chase is on. The boat must be paddled silently, for the whale has exceptionally keen hearing

7. See Spencer, *The North Alaskan Eskimo*, pp. 151-55, concerning the *umealiq*, his skills, wealth, and position in the community. Hughes, *An Eskimo Village in the Modern World*, pp. 256-61, provides further commentary on the responsibilities of the whaling captain and his crew at St. Lawrence Island.

and must not be frightened away by the sound of the paddle hitting the *umiak* frame.

When the helmsman has placed the boat in an advantageous position for the strike, the harpooner, using a whale gun, strikes the whale just behind the eye, on the temple, where the bone is thin. In the old days, when the harpooner used only a long lance, the animal was struck in the kidneys to cause internal bleeding. The heart was avoided as a target because a strike in that vital organ made the animal react with great violence.

Several crews participate in the kill and help to secure the animal. In great jubilation the huge mammal is towed to shore, held fast by walrus line, and there the butchering begins.⁸

The people come joyously to the butchering to receive a share of the meat and the greatly prized delicacy, *muktuk*, which is the skin and blubber of the whale. At the conclusion of the whaling season, the *nelukatuk*, a victory celebration, is held.

Linking modern whaling to the past, and the Alaskan coastal Eskimos to the Eskimos of Siberia, is an ancient shaman song from Point Hope, sung here by Charley Jensen, which was used as a ritual song for success in the whale hunt. This song is doubtless related to the ancient boat-launching ceremonies held near the end of May or beginning of June and called *atigak* by the Siberian Eskimos. The sea mammal hunt would not begin until appropriate ceremonies had been observed, among them the singing of a power song by the shaman (or possibly the whaling captain) attired in a gut parka. The text, freely translated, says, "My parka, my parka—I'll put it on and go out (set forth)." The song was difficult to transcribe, but a power song of such historical and ritual significance is so rarely heard that even this version is priceless and conveys a sense of mystery and awe.

13. Shaman's Parka Song

Freely

The musical score for '13. Shaman's Parka Song' is written in bass clef and consists of three staves. The first staff begins with a 6/8 time signature and a series of eighth notes. The second staff continues the melody with some notes marked with a sharp sign. The third staff concludes the piece with a double bar line.

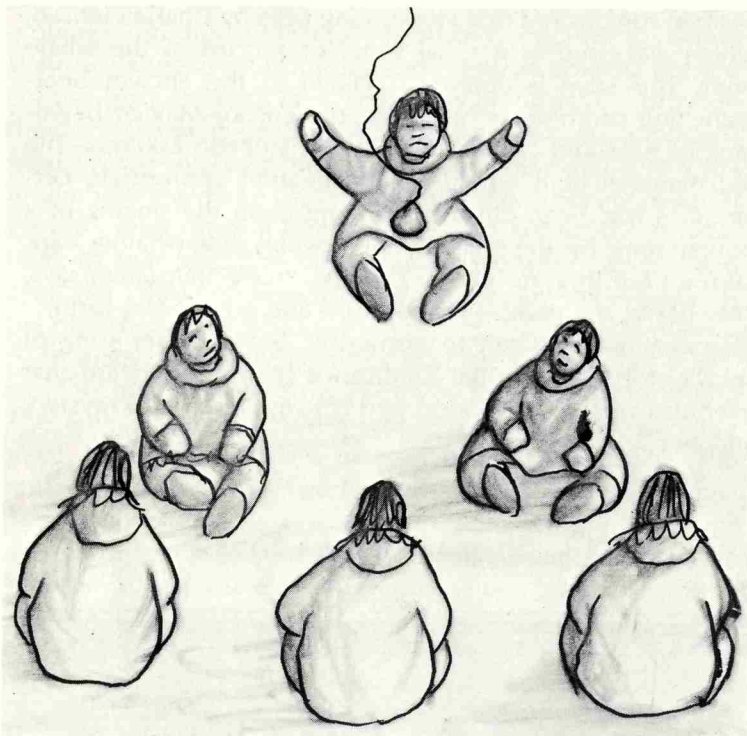
Transposed whole step up.

8. An informative description of the butchering of the whale and the division of the meat, which is strictly regulated by village council rules, is found in VanStone, *Point Hope*, pp. 49-53. The distribution of the whale in the village of Wainwright is detailed in Milan, *Observations on the Contemporary Eskimo of Wainwright, Alaska*, pp. 32-34.

Games and Game Songs

The Eskimos have many games and sports, including story-telling competitions, song contests, jumping, wrestling, kicking, and racing. Eskimo children particularly favor a game of teeter-totter played by placing a board across a low fulcrum and jumping on the ends of it. Basketball is popular both indoors and outdoors. Team games, such as throwing clods of loose tundra, and just stomping in the spring thaw mud are typical of the creative play of contemporary young Eskimos.

The Eskimo high kick is an exciting jumping contest depending only on skill and available materials. A leather ball, firmly packed with caribou hair, is suspended by a rope from a high framework or rafter. The contestant must jump with both feet together off the ground and touch the ball with both feet. The ball is elevated higher and higher until it can no longer be touched. A skilled jumper can touch a ball hung higher than his own head.



Song contests often take the form of ridiculing one's "joking partner." The joking partners are frequently cousins or distant relatives residing in different villages, or partners selected from one's own village for gift exchanges and other manifestations of friendship. Two of the singers who contributed to this collection of folk music, Mike Milligrok of Little Diomedes Island and Jimmy Killigivuk of Point Hope, were joking partners for many years. The partnership resulted in some amusing songs, in one of which Killigivuk named

his reindeer "Milligrok." Another round of joking songs with several other Diomedes partners ended in some unpleasantness for Killigivuk. He recited in song the charms of the girls from Kivalina, Noatak, Kobuk, and Selawik, but claimed that the Little Diomedes girls are "without eyebrows, without chins, and have big mustaches." His joking partners became angry at this slur on Little Diomedes femininity.

Ridicule in song sometimes served the much more serious purpose of settling disputes. Judgment in civil grievances was often rendered through a contest of insults in song engaged in by the disputants. The winner was considered the innocent party. Another form of ridicule song, intended solely for amusement, is the juggling song, sung only by women. Juggling songs, which accompany the game of juggling beach rocks, are widely known along the coast of Alaska from Saint Michael north and occur in many variants.¹ The text includes phrases and words that are difficult to translate, possibly because they are archaic or nonsensical. The song refers to a woman's lack of physical attraction for her husband and concludes with crude remarks about their relationship. Because of the nature of its text, the juggling song is considered indelicate, if not immoral, by contemporary Eskimo women who have been influenced by the Christian concept of morality. As one informant said, "I have shame for this song." Therefore, the women are somewhat reluctant to perform the song in public, or even to admit that they know it. John Murdoch, who observed a performance of this song in 1887, wrote: "I never succeeded in catching the words of this chant, which are uttered with considerable rapidity, and do not appear to be ordinary words. . . . Some of the words are certainly indelicate to judge from the unequivocal gestures by which I once saw them accompanied."²

Of the many versions of the "Marble Juggling Song," the following one, sung by Thora Kachatag and recorded at Unalakleet, is one of the best.

14. Women's Juggling Song



1. Women in the Bethel area professed to know the "marble game" but not a song to accompany it.

2. John Murdoch, *Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition*, p. 384.



Another type of game for which there are accompanying songs is the string figure or "cat's cradle." The Eskimos are very clever at making string figures that can be moved by



drawing the strings taut and then releasing them. Most of these figures have an accompanying story and song. Some are merely amusing—for example, the fox chasing and catching the rabbit. Others are intended to teach manners or morals to the children. One of the latter, sung by Hazel Omwari of Saint Lawrence Island, is a reminder to children

to obey their parents. The string figure shows a young girl who refuses to obey when her mother asks her to prepare the evening meal. She also refuses to obey her father when he asks her to obey her mother; but when Grandpa speaks, she jumps to do his bidding.

15. String Game Song



Transposed up 1/2 step.

Two interesting songs, sung by Wesley Ekak, accompany a Wainwright string game. While the songs are being sung, the player twists—in time to the music—a long sinew string which is looped around his foot. The string must be completely twisted by the time he finishes the first song. It is then untwisted in time to the second song. Considerable skill is required to twist and untwist the sinew in exact time to the songs. The game and the songs are very old.

16a. Song for Winding String



16b. Song for Unwinding String

Musical score for 'Song for Unwinding String' in 2/4 time. The score consists of five staves of music. The first staff is a single melodic line. The second staff has a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature, with a triplet of eighth notes. The third staff has a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The fourth staff has a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature, with a section marked '(spoken ...)'. The fifth staff has a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature.

At the successful conclusion of the whale hunt, an important traditional celebration, the *nelukatuk*, is held. The Eskimos used to believe that the whale's spirit should be appeased by a special ceremony in its honor, and for many Eskimos the appeasement of the sea mammal's soul is still an important rite. The *nelukatuk* is also given as a victory celebration in honor of the whale and the whaling crews.

The whale is cut up and distributed first to the crew of hunters who helped the *umealik*, then to members of other boat crews who had assisted in the kill, and finally to the rest of the people of the village. After a day or two of feasting, races, games, and dancing, the festival ends with a very special event, the blanket toss, which, in the old days, was always accompanied by a drum song, the *nelukataun*.

A very large blanket made of walrus or bearded seal skins, with rope handles along the edge, is pulled taut to toss a contestant high in the air. The contestant tries to land on his feet on the blanket each time he is tossed. While he is on the blanket his friends make humorous remarks and sing ridicule songs, trying to make him laugh or embarrass him so much that he will lose his balance and the contest.

Following is a very old *nelukataun* that was composed for the *nelukatuk* by the shaman. It is sung by Paul Green of Kotzebue and Nome. Note the melodic pattern of measures 6 through 8, which suggests the flight of the contestant as he is tossed twenty or more feet in the air. The words of this *nelukataun* are, "Why is that crow (raven) hollering on the river bank?" The singer is reminding the contestant that he should look out across the horizon for the "hollering raven." If he looks out, he may keep his balance; if he looks down, he will surely fall.

According to legend from Point Hope and Kotzebue, where this *nelukataun* originated, it was the raven that



gave the Eskimos the *nelukatuk*, and the raven is mentioned in several of the traditional blanket toss songs.

17. Nelukataun (Blanket Toss Song)

Musical score for 'Nelukataun (Blanket Toss Song)' in 2/4 time. The score includes a vocal line and a drum line. The drum line uses 'x' for drum beats and 'T' for rim taps. The vocal line has a melodic pattern in measures 6-8 that suggests flight. The score includes first and second endings. A '5' is written above measure 8 of the vocal line.

x = drum beat
T = tap rim of drum

Ending adjusted to accommodate shift in meter. See measure 7.

Rituals

Two of the most important Eskimo ceremonials were the Messenger Feast and the Bladder Festival, both related to hunting activities. These required elaborate preparations for the rituals, which lasted several days and involved almost everyone in the Eskimo community.

The Messenger Feast was known almost everywhere in Eskimo Alaska. Its principal features were the invitation sent by messenger to the invited guests; the welcoming ceremonies; special games, contests, and ceremonial dances; feasting and the exchange of gifts. Elaborate Wolf Dances with box drum accompaniment were the outstanding event of the Messenger Feast, which was usually held in winter.

The Bladder Festival was concentrated in west central Alaska.¹ Its purpose was to honor the bladders of animals taken in the preceding hunting season, for these bladders contained the animals' souls which would be returned to the sea.² During the course of the festival, both bladders and hunters would be purified in preparation for the next hunting season.

Neither the Messenger Feast nor the Bladder Festival is celebrated now, but there are still some elderly Eskimos who recall participating in, or witnessing, the festivals. The Messenger Feast, more generally known, is described here as informants recalled the ceremonies of the past.

The Messenger Feast

This celebration, the most important Eskimo festival, was usually held in December, when the hours of daylight are very short and the great hunting activity of the fall months has tapered off. This is the time to gather together for song, dances, and stories; to give thanks to the animal spirits if the hunting has been very good; and to enjoy a feast in celebration of success.

The headman (*umealik*) of the village organized the Messenger Feast, sending runners, or messengers, to invite the chosen guests, who might include the headman of another village or an important whaling boat captain. Others in the guest's village might attend the feast, but the runners were sent only to selected persons. The runners might carry an "inviting-in stick" ornamented with leather or fur.³ These sticks were both ornamental and useful, for they served to aid the runner's memory when he sang his invitation song to the chosen guest, listing the presents that had been requested by the *umealik* who was giving the feast.

Much planning and preparation of food and gifts were necessary, for the host had to provide gifts for his guests

and an abundance of food for all who came. In return, he was privileged to ask his guests to bring certain articles of which he had need, for example, ammunition or caribou skins, for which he would exchange articles of like value. The items the *umealik* wanted were named by the messenger who sang the invitation song.

When the guests arrived for the festival they were sometimes met outside the village and escorted to the *kazigi* where the festival was to take place. The greeters frequently welcomed the guests by singing a special song. "Welcome Song," sung by Charley and Lucy Jensen, originated at Point Hope, but is known at Wainwright and Point Barrow. The text, freely translated, says, "It is a happy time—a very happy time—when ducks are flying. As they return to the tundra in the spring, they greet each other."

18. Welcome Song

Drum

x = drum beat
T = tap rim of drum

Many games and contests were held at the Messenger Feast. One of the most important was a foot race between the best runners of each village. The winning village was permitted to present the first dances in the *kazigi*, or it might elect to be entertained by the losers. It was a great honor to win this race.

The "Messenger Feast Song" sung by William Oquilluk was composed many years ago for a Messenger Feast given

1. Lantis, *Alaskan Eskimo Ceremonialism*, p. 53.

2. Lantis, *ibid.*, p. 46, records the honoring of a polar bear for five successive celebrations of the Bladder Festival at Nunivak.

3. This was a lower Yukon practice. A version of the inviting-in stick was also described at Kotzebue and Wainwright.

at Mary's Igloo, a small village on the Seward Peninsula. This song was sung as an invitation to the guests to join in a "common dance" (all might dance as they pleased). It has the added significance of being a proprietary song belonging to the singer's old uncle.

19. Messenger Feast Song

Gracefully



* Final ending after second stanza.

An elaborate dramatic program of dances, songs, and pantomime called the "Wolf Dances" was presented at the Messenger Feast. Not many Eskimos now recall the old ceremonies, for they have not been given very often in recent years. Preparations for the Wolf Dances were guided by the shaman; special songs were composed, masks were carved, and pageantry was planned under his direction.

A special drum, the *box drum* (*natukuk* or, more commonly, *kaylukuk*) was used for the ceremonial Wolf Dances. A drummer was selected for the honor of beating the box drum, which was suspended from the ceiling or from a tripod. For the first dance, he beat the drum with rapid strokes to represent the heartbeat of the eagle, the bird that, according to legend, gave the Messenger Feast to the Eskimos. The drummer wore a headdress made of king loon feathers and a loon head with a beak.

The "Kaylukuk Song," performed by Rose Ann Negovanna and Nanny Kagak, was sung as the people left the *kazigi* at Wainwright at the conclusion of the Messenger Feast.⁴ This song is sung now as a part of the Wainwright Christmas celebration.

20. Kaylukuk Song



4. Milan, *Observations*, pp. 25-28, describes the Wainwright Messenger Festival ceremonies.



The people of Wainwright celebrated the Messenger Feast in the same way as those at Kotzebue, including the sending of messengers, the use of a wand or stick as a reminder of gifts requested, the foot race to determine who should be guests at the festival for the coming year, and the use of the box drum for special ceremonial dances. But, according to Wesley Ekak, the dances done to the box drum accompaniment were not known as "Wolf Dances."

The Wolf Dances were done somewhat differently in the various Eskimo villages. As described for the Kotzebue area, the first dance was done by four women who held over their shoulders long wands decorated with eagle feathers. These dancers swayed gracefully while two men with loon- or eagle-feather headdresses and long gauntlet gloves danced the pantomime actions depicting a wish to "go out into the clear weather." The dance gloves were decorated with amulets of bone, bird beaks, or bits of metal which jiggled rhythmically, adding a percussive effect.

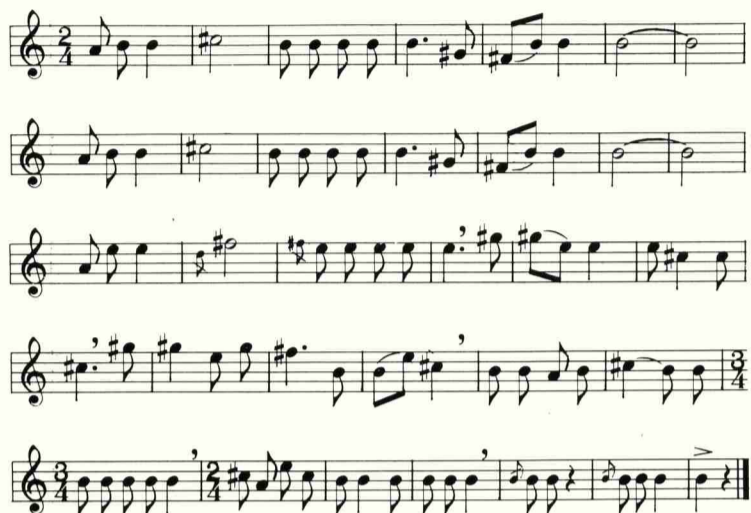
Later a dancer wearing a wolf mask and gauntlet gloves danced the wolf character. Meanwhile four (some informants say six) dancers, all wearing wolf headskin masks and long gauntlet mittens, presented a pantomime at the "wolf den," represented by a screen or false wall with equally spaced holes cut in it. Each hole was just large enough to permit the dancer to squeeze his body through.

As the performance began, skin curtains were rolled up, exposing only the flexed right arms and shoulders of the four men. The dancers did some contortions assisted by unseen helpers before they emerged as wolves. The wolves danced and carried presents in their mouths to guests in the audience, as directed by their owners. Then each dancer leaped backward through the small hole from which he had emerged. The holes were so small that the dancer's mittens and mask were peeled from his body and fell in a heap as he vanished. To be caught in the wolf's hole was an omen of bad luck, and the Eskimos believed that a dancer to whom this happened would not have long to live. At Kotzebue, informants stated that it used to be the custom for pregnant women of the village to walk among the wolf dancers to bring good fortune to the impending birth.

Among the many dances performed by both the host village and the guests were story dances depicting hunting

scenes. These were called "Acting Dances" at Point Barrow and Wainwright and "Motion Dances" from Point Hope south. The following "Caribou Hunting Song" was composed by the mother of the singer, Thora Kachatag of Unalakleet, to accompany a dance given at Unalakleet during the Messenger Feast celebration about sixty years ago. The hunter sights the caribou and stalks it. Then he shoots the animal, skins it, ties it, and carries it home to the feast.

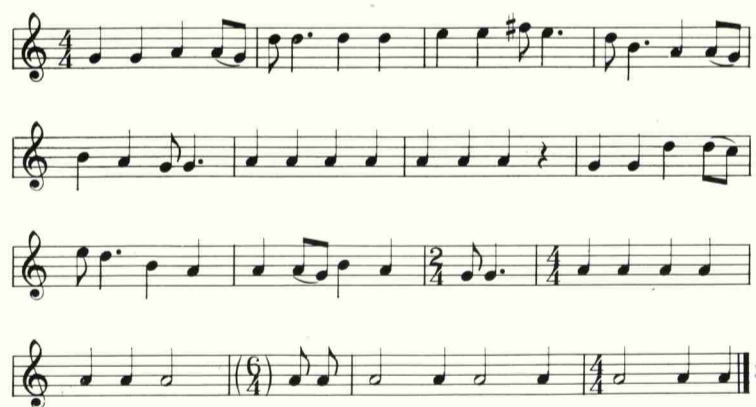
21. Caribou Hunting Song



Transposed down 1/2 step.

When the dancing and games were over, the gifts had been exchanged, and the food had been eaten, the Messenger Feast came to an end. But before the guests returned to their village, there was a farewell ceremony for the chiefs who had attended. This song, "Farewell to the

22. Farewell to the Chiefs



Chiefs," which is performed by William Oquilluk of Mary's Igloo, was sung four times to honor the four chiefs who attended the feast. As each left the *kazigi*, the song was sung while two boys performed a motion dance. According to the singer, the words say only, "Let us go out into the darkness."

Both the wolf and the eagle were important figures in the Messenger Feast. The wolf was regarded as a clever and dangerous animal with supernatural powers. But it was the eagle, according to the legend, that gave the Messenger Feast to the Eskimos. This is the story told by Oliver Amouak, who was born at Unalakleet, of the origin of this wonderful celebration.

How the Eagle Gave the Messenger Feast to the Eskimos

This is a very old story. It is true.

The family always hunted on the hills and knolls. One morning the boy went out to hunt caribou. He saw a very large shadow on the snow. He didn't know what it was at first. He saw the shadow a second time. The boy looked up and saw an eagle swooping down on him.

The boy lay on the ground on his back. As the eagle swooped over him, it missed him. The boy shot the eagle in the back with his bow and arrow.

The great eagle circled and flew down again. This time the boy shot him in the throat and killed him.

The boy skinned the eagle very carefully and took one wing feather. It was so large that he made buckets from the ends. (This eagle had come from a huge nest—big as a room—located about ninety miles from Saint Michael on the Clearwater Ichilynok River.)

A few days later the boy went out hunting again and saw the same thing—a big shadow on the ground. This time he knew what it was. But this eagle didn't attack him. Instead, she flew down, lay on the ground, and touched her head to it. When she got up, she pushed back her hood to reveal a human face.⁵ It was the dead eagle's mother.

The eagle mother told the hunter how she could get her son back.

"Get together some of every kind of game. After this is done, invite people from other villages to come. Then you are to have a big feast and songs and dances. You must make a drum that sounds like my heartbeats. This is the only way my son will come back to me."

The boy tried all kinds of drums. He made a *keylowtik* (tambourine drum), and he tried a box drum. None sounded like the eagle's heart. So he took a large wooden tub and put water in it and a caribou fawn skin over it. Then he beat it with a stick that had a soft ball-shaped end made of skin filled with caribou hair.

5. When animals spoke to Eskimos, as they frequently did, they sometimes pushed back their face skin to reveal a human face.

When he had tested his drum, he invited people from other villages to the feast. These people had never seen such a celebration before, or such dances. They couldn't believe their eyes. One man pinched himself to see if he were still alive or with the spirits.

The festival lasted for days, and the eagle son returned to his mother. This was the beginning of the Messenger Feast.

Here is another Eskimo legend pertaining to the Messenger Feast, as told by Paul Green of Kotzebue.

The Origin of the Box Drum

In early days ago there were hunters from Kotzebue camped at Shasholik, ten miles across the sound from Kotzebue. One hunter paddled his kayak out to an ice flow and silently stalked an *oogruk*. While he did this, his kayak floated away.

His kayak was lost. He couldn't do anything. He would have to stay on that ice. He drifted way out. Soon he couldn't see land. His ice chunk was getting smaller and smaller. As it moved near larger pieces, the hunter jumped from one to the other. But soon there was no more ice left, only the small piece on which he stood. And it began to roll over and over. He had to balance himself on it—he could not sleep—his *oogruk* was gone, and he was hungry.

Early one morning he saw something on the horizon. This object was moving—part of it stuck out from the water. It came closer to him all the time and finally floated alongside him.

From inside the object, which looked like a box with points on top, came a voice: "Jump in on me so I can take you back to your land."

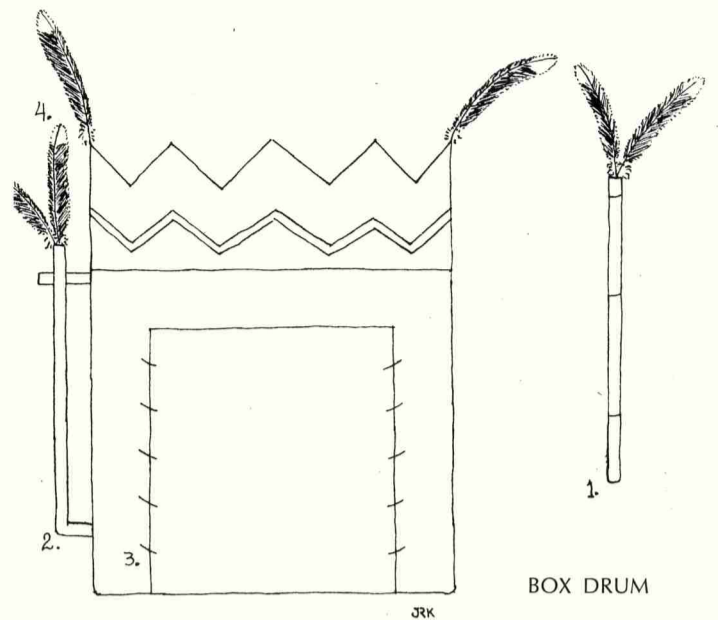
The hunter hesitated. He didn't believe what was being said to him from inside that box. The voice repeated: "Jump in. I'll take you back." So the man jumped in from his ice cake.

The object floated off, and the voice from inside said: "I'm the one who made you suffer for a long time this summer. You know the reason why I let your kayak drift away? Because I wanted you to see me, and make a copy of me, and use me in the Wolf Dances."

The box floated to shore; the hunter landed about forty-five miles from Kotzebue near some cliffs. The box rolled over on the beach so that the hunter could examine it.

The box said: "When you get back to Shasholik, make a copy of me and use it in the Wolf Dance. Look up on top of that mountain—there's where you will find what you need."

So the hunter looked up on top of the big mountain. There he saw a big eagle. "Use those eagle feathers on each corner," said the box, "and on the end of the



1. Beater
2. Striking post
3. Eagle claws or baleen lacing
4. Eagle feathers

women's dance sticks and on the drum beater. Make a copy of me. When you have finished the drum, go down to the salt water, get a little, and pour it on top of me. This is for my shade (*inua*, or spirit). I came from the salt water."

The hunter went back to his camp. Everyone was surprised to see him, for they all had thought he was lost. When he told them of his strange experience with the mysterious box, his friends said: "We are pleased that this thing would bring you safely to land. If he wants us to use him in the Wolf Dances, we must make a copy of him as you tell us."

The old people collected driftwood and set about making the Wolf Dance box drum. They hung it from the tent pole, and when it was struck the people at Kotzebue, ten miles away, could clearly hear the Wolf Dance drum, the *natukuk*.

From that time on, the box drum was used for the Wolf Dances at the Messenger Feast.

The Bladder Festival

Another important celebration was the Bladder Festival, held each year to honor and appease the spirits (*inua*) of all the animals taken in the hunt during the past season. The Eskimos believed that the spirits in the bladders would enter animals of their own kind, be reborn, and return again, bringing continued success to the hunter.⁶ The festival was held over a period of several weeks, starting usually in late November and concluding about a month later. During the course of this festival the bladders of the first animals taken

6. Ernest William Hawkes, *The Dance Festivals of the Alaskan Eskimos*, p. 26.

by the young boys were honored. While there were apparently several minor differences in the rites performed by various villages in their local Bladder Festival, the Eskimos of Hooper Bay (where the last celebration took place in about 1927), from whom this information was obtained, carried out their ceremonies in the following manner.

The animal bladders were saved, then dampened and inflated. There was a special song performed while the bladders were blown up. Then they were fastened to harpoons and hung in the *kazigi*. When the time for the Bladder Festival arrived, the members of the two rival *kazigis* (called *kazzim* at Hooper Bay) began practicing, in complete darkness, three new songs for the celebration. These new songs were later used at festivals and celebrations throughout the year until new ones were composed.⁷ The same songs were used "until the days got long." The first team to master three new songs signaled the rival team and the village by beating loudly three times on the floor. At this signal, lamps were lighted in the *kazigi* and in the village.

The women then brought the men's plates to the *kazigi* and waited nearby. Four times a howling "dog sound" was made. Then the men formed a long line and circled the village about five times with their plates, asking at various homes for food, which they took to the *kazigi* and ate, first pretending to toss bits of food to the bladders to appease the spirits.

Essential to the celebration were stalks of wild parsnip or celery, which were gathered by several young men⁸ and later were burned to purify both the bladders and the people. A very significant song was sung on the evening before the men went out for the plants. The words, "Go toward

the land where there is parsnip," were accompanied by an extremely tiring dance performed by the five young men while holding their arms high over their heads. This "Wild Parsnip Song" is sung by Joe Seton of Hooper Bay.

When the stalks of wild parsnip were in place, the traditional dances were performed. Among the first was the Dance to the Bladders. A young boy in a gut rain parka danced this while the bladders, tied to the harpoons, were held low before him. The accompanying song is sung by Joe Seton.

24. Song to the Bladders



* Measures 4, 5, and 6 are repeated in second stanza.

Another tradition of the festival was the Jump Dance, a lively dance performed by a young man who jumped repeatedly, holding both feet together, while acting in pantomime the hunting scene described by the song, sung by Joe Seton: "He is hunting the caribou. He is hunting a fawn. So swift is his arrow that it cannot be seen in flight."

23. Wild Parsnip Song



25. Jump Dance Song



7. At Hooper Bay some of the songs for the Bladder Festival were repeated at the Festival for the Dead.

8. Hawkes stated that four men, a number significant in Eskimo belief, gathered the wild parsnip or celery (*Dance Festivals*, p. 27). Hooper Bay informants and those at Nunivak Island specified five participants.

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After several days of festivities it was time to return the bladders to the sea.⁹ "The bladders want to go back to the sea. They must not be kept too long," warned one old hunter, "or the spirits will become angry and bring sickness and death to the people." To prepare for this rite, the dried parsnip stalks were burned in the *kazigi* to purify the bladders. Then the bladders were removed from the *kazigi*, the burning parsnips were taken to the river bank, and the bladders were passed through the smoke. The hunters also walked through the smoke. Then the bladders were pierced to release the air, and both the bladders and the burned parsnip were placed in the water.¹⁰ Thus, the spirits of the animals were honored.

Stories

Among the older generation of Eskimos there are numerous highly skilled storytellers, and their art is greatly revered. The stories they tell have been recounted for generations, and they are mainly concerned with supernatural events. The Eskimos believed them to be true, or were willing to "suspend disbelief," and this attitude seems still to prevail among the older Eskimos. Some of the common themes in these stories are the orphaned boy who achieves success; the human being who becomes an animal; the animal that takes human form; and superhuman feats. Many of the stories are known widely. "The Three Brothers," for example, was known from the Seward Peninsula north to Point Barrow. "The Greedy Eskimo Boy" was told by informants from Bethel, St. Lawrence Island, Kotzebue, and Point Hope. Other stories, such as "The Blind Boy and the Loon,"¹¹ have equally wide distribution.

Many of the stories include songs sung by the principal human characters or an animal. It is this type that has been included in this collection. Paul Green tells the story of three brothers who performed a most unusual feat by singing a magic song.

26. The Three Brothers

Once upon a time there was a family living near the river; and they were three brothers. (They had no sisters living around.) Finally they had some kind of a sickness

9. At the conclusion of a Bladder Festival held at Bethel, a shaman placed a young boy into the water with the bladders. "You will return from the water," promised the shaman. Three days later the boy returned safely.

10. Oliver Amouak stated that a hunter who had not hunted that year, or had hunted unsuccessfully, would carve an amulet shaped like a sea mammal and place it with the bladders. In the spring the hunter would catch an animal with the amulet in it. "It brought the animal back."

11. See Spencer, *North Alaskan Eskimo*, p. 396 and footnote.

there at their village. They were the only family living, and their parents were dead.

The three brothers were thinking about becoming some kind of an animal so they could get away from their place, because both of their parents had died. There was nobody left behind. So the older brother was wishing he would become a wolf. He starts singing a song, ending with a wolf call. (b) (b)

So this young man who wished to become a wolf went out from the cabin and became a wolf.

And then the second brother was wishing that he would become a red fox. So he starts singing the same tune of the song, ending with a red fox call.

The second brother went out as a red fox. The two brothers waited for their younger brother. Then the younger brother thought about wishing what he should be. And he thought about the raven, so he wished to become a raven. He starts singing the same tune, ending with a raven call.

The third brother went out as a crow [raven]. (b)

The three brothers started out. And the first brother who became a wolf and the second brother who became a fox were running. Raven, the youngest brother, was flying over them, watching.

Finally they saw a bunch of caribou. (Raven pointed these out to his brothers.) And Wolf, the older brother, went after them and caught one caribou. He didn't have to go very far. He chased that caribou and caught it. After he killed it, the three brothers got together, and the older brother said: "What are we going to do with this caribou? If we skin the caribou, when the human finds it, he will use that skin for something—for the use of his family."

And Red Fox, the second brother, acting the same, said: "It would be nice if we skinned this caribou so the people can use it."

Finally the youngest brother, who had become a raven, said: "If we skin this caribou and lay the skin there at the side after we skin it, and eat the meat, when the humans find it they will be just using the skin for nothing. And then what do we get? We get nothing. We'd better just eat that caribou; just tear up the skin and eat it."

So they did.

Song from "The Three Brothers"



And they say that if that youngest brother, Raven, had said "Yes" that time to the wolf and the red fox when they first caught a caribou, the people would have found a skin stretched out by those animals. And then it would be useful for the natives. But the youngest brother told his brothers not to do like that; they should just tear up the skin so nobody could use it for anything. So that's the end of the story.

The story of "The Greedy Eskimo Boy," or "The Little Boy Who Swallowed Animals," is rather widely known. This is the version told by Maggie Lind of Bethel.

27. The Greedy Eskimo Boy

One time there was an old lady and her grandson, and they lived all by themselves. So when they had nothing to eat for supper, that old grandma says: "Grandson, you'd better go out and hunt something for our supper because we have nothing to eat."

So the little boy walks along, and he goes down by the beach by the ocean, and he sees a little whitefish. And he jumps around the little fish and sings a song.

And he takes the little fish and he swallows it up, didn't even chew it.

And after a while he goes along and finds a bigger whitefish, and he sings the same little song as before.

And he takes the bigger whitefish, and he swallows it whole.

After a while he goes along and he finds a king salmon. So he walks around and sings the same little old song that he was singing, and he swallows up the whole king salmon.

And after a while he goes along and he finds a young seal, and he sings the same little song as before.

And he swallows up the whole seal.

After a while he goes again. He finds a big seal, a *mukluk*, and he says the same words over and over again. He eats up the whole thing again.

When he is through he goes real far away, and he finds a big whale. And he goes around singing the same little song.

And he swallows up the whole whale.

While he was walking he got thirsty. So he stoops down to the ocean, and he drinks up all the water in the ocean.

After he drank up all the water, then he starts for home. And when he was going into his grandma's house, he says, "Grandma, where can I go into the house?"

And Grandma says, "Through the door."

"But I can't." He says, "Grandma, where can I go into the house?"

And Grandma says, "Through the eye of my needle!" And he went through the eye of the needle.

And when he got into the house the grandma had a

fire in the house, right in the middle of the house. And Grandma says, "Don't get too near the fire." And the little boy goes a little closer to the fire.

Grandma says, "You must go closer to the fire." When she says, "Go closer to the fire," he goes farther away. And when he moved too much, he busted up. And there was fish, and beluga, and whales, and ships.

And the grandma got into one of the ships, and she went outside. And that was the end of the little boy.²

Song from "The Greedy Eskimo Boy"



The storyteller omitted the detail of the ships having been swallowed by the boy. Other versions of this story include his swallowing a dog team and a whole boat full of whale hunters. In these versions, from Point Hope and St. Lawrence Island, it was so hot inside the boy's stomach that the dogs and hunters came out hairless! In another version (Kotzebue) the grandmother saves herself by paddling out of the house in a large bowl.

The following story, illustrating the Eskimo belief in the magical powers of both animals and men, was told at Point Hope.

The Sea Gull

Once, long ago, there was a sea gull who had the power to turn himself into a man. He lived in a far country and was very lonely. He thought of the beautiful land he had come from and wished he could show it to someone. Flying over the seashore, he saw a young girl whom he then decided to invite to see his country. He changed himself into a man and strolled along the shore until they met. "Please come with me to see my country," he asked her.

"No," she replied. "I am afraid to go to a strange place."

"If you will only come, I shall bring you home right away," the gull-man promised.

The girl thought about this for a moment, then agreed to go and see the new country if the gull-man would return with her immediately.

"Shut your eyes," the gull-man commanded. "Get on my back and hold on to my neck." The girl shut her eyes,

² Three informants, Hazel Omwari of St. Lawrence Island, Freda Goodwin of Kotzebue, and Maggie Lind of Bethel told this story with essentially the same details.

and the man changed himself into a sea gull. With the girl holding firmly to his neck, the sea gull took flight. "Do not open your eyes until we have landed safely," he warned. "If you do, we shall die!" The girl obeyed the bird's commands.

When the gull had landed safely, the girl opened her eyes. What a beautiful land she saw! There was no snow, no ice, no wind. Only sunshine, flowers, and beautiful weather. She was happy to see this marvelous sight.

"I must leave you here for a little while," said the gull. "But I shall come back soon."

The girl was not displeased. Everything was so beautiful that she wished to enjoy it a little longer before returning to her land.

The sea gull flew away.

Hours passed. Days, weeks, months, and a whole year. Each day she expected the sea gull to return, but he did not.

She began to worry. She became sorry for herself. What could have happened to the sea gull? Would he never return?

She began to sing and to cry. It was a song of great sorrow. "The sea gull has left me along in a strange country. I shall never see my home again. I am alone."

Jimmy Killigivuk, who told "The Sea Gull" story, sings the girl's song of loneliness and sorrow.

28. Song from "The Sea Gull"

Sadly

The musical notation for 'Song from The Sea Gull' is written on five staves. The first staff is in treble clef with a 4/4 time signature and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is marked 'Sadly'. The subsequent staves continue the melody with various rhythmic patterns and rests.

Another Point Hope sea gull story, this one intended to amuse children, was told by Jimmy Killigivuk, who also sings the gull's song.

The Sea Gull's Game

A young sea gull was sitting on the river bank watching the Eskimo children playing a game. "I should make up a

game," he said to himself. "What shall I do? Those Eskimo children are playing with rocks. I'll make up a rock game."

So he tied a small stone around his neck and flew across the river.

"That was fun," he said. "But I can carry a larger stone." So he found a larger stone, tied it around his neck, and flew back across the river.

"I am very strong," he boasted, "and this is a fine game. Now I shall find a rock still larger than the others." This he did. He tied a large rock around his neck and flew across the river again. He was now so heavy that his feet touched the water as he skimmed across the river.

"Oh, how strong I am, and what an exciting game this is!" He tied a very large rock around his neck and started back across the river.

Plop! Into the water he fell.

Now he was very frightened. He looked down into the water. "Ah," he consoled himself, "there are two big kayaks coming. They will rescue me."

The bird was fooled. The kayaks were not kayaks at all, but his own two feet.

The poor sea gull drowned.

This is the sea gull's game song.

29. Sea Gull's Game Song

The musical notation for 'Sea Gull's Game Song' is written on seven staves. The first staff is in bass clef with a 3/4 time signature and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The subsequent staves continue the melody with various rhythmic patterns and rests.

The Eskimos have a high regard for the cunning and intelligence of the red fox, which in the north is called *kayaktuq*. It is said that the red fox can come very close to people without allowing himself to be seen, that he very cleverly avoids traps set for him, and that an Eskimo must be

a very good hunter to catch him. Because the red fox frequently outwits the Eskimo hunter, the Eskimos like to tell a story about how the red fox was once outwitted by a goose. This ancient story is told by Maggie Lind of Bethel.

30. How the Fox Got His Red Coat

One time the fox was going along a lake looking for something to eat, and after a while he sees a goose walking along. And that's the time when the geese are changing their feathers, and they cannot fly. So he sings a song that means, "I'll have a great big lick and I'll never get full on it."

The goose didn't go very fast, so the fox closed his eyes again and started singing. This time he says he's going to eat a big bite.

And he opened his eyes and still the goose wasn't far away. It was taking its time. So the fox closed his eyes again, and he sings that he's going to eat the head this time and never get full on it. So he closed his eyes and he sings.

Then he opened his eyes, and no goose!

He looked in the middle of the lake, and there was the goose, swimming away.

The fox felt so ashamed he got all red; and he went down to the water and looked at himself. He was just red. He thought: "This will never do. I should find some way to change my coat into different colors."

So he walks along, just downhearted, feeling blue. After a while he comes to a place where somebody had made a fire. So he takes some ashes and rubs some ashes on his belly and at the tip of his tail, and put charcoal at the tip of his ears, and on his feet. And ever since, the fox is like that.

Fox's Song



Maggie Lind tells another story that explains animal coloration.

31. How the Crane Got Blue Eyes

One time the crane was walking along. He was going to eat some berries, so he took his eyes off and put them on a stump. And he said, "If someone comes along, you

must holler to me and tell me that somebody's coming."

So he went out and started eating berries; and after a while, while he was eating berries, the eyes said, "Master, somebody's coming, and they are going to take us away!"

So the crane quickly ran down to the river and put on his eyes and looked; and it was only a piece of wood drifting along. So he put them back on the stump again and said, "Don't you tell me any more stories after this."

So the crane went back and ate some more berries; but after a while the eyes called again, "Master, somebody's going to take us away." And they got farther and farther away. So after a while he went down and looked for his eyes, and somebody had taken them away.

The crane went back into the tundra and he found cranberries and put them in for his eyes. But everything was too red.

And he took blackberries and put them for his eyes. And everything was too dark.

So he found blueberries, and he put them on. And everything was just nice.

And ever since, the crane has blue eyes.

Maggie Lind next tells "The Needle Fish Story" as it is told at Bethel.

32. The Needle Fish Story

There were two little old women that lived in a house by themselves. They cooked some fish, and when it was cooked they both wanted to have the most, and they started fighting over their fish. They were fighting and fighting, and after a while, when they got tired, they quit. They looked at the floor, and it was all white. They thought it was snow, but when they looked close, it was their hair! They were pulling out their hair!

And one of them went out. It was toward evening when she went out. She heard something singing from above their place.

"There are two little old ladies over by the bend of the river. I'm going to cut them in half and eat them," sang the fish.

And she got scared. She quickly ran into the house and told the other little old woman to come out and listen to that singing. So she went out, and they sat very still. And afterward they heard that singing again.

And they got very scared. So they went into their house, and they gathered up all their things and went out and got their little old birch-bark canoe. And they took some birch pitch, and they started mending their canoe in the cracks. And when it was all done, they carried their house and put it in the canoe, and all their paths where they go for berries and wood and wild spinach, and they folded them up and put them in their canoe. And one of the old women sat at the bow of the boat, and the other one sat at the end.

While they were paddling away they heard that same voice singing right under their boat. And one of the old women looks down, and she sees a little needle fish singing away with his eyes closed and his mouth wide open. And she says, "Oh, this is the fellow that's been scaring us." So she told the other old woman to give her her Eskimo dipper, and she scooped out the little fish.

And she said, "Give me my bread board and my Eskimo knife (*ulu*)."

So she lays the little fish on the board, and she cuts it in half, and she eats the head, and she gives the tail to the other little old woman. So that was the end of the needle fish.

But they went home and put all their things back, and put back their house and their canoe, and spread all their paths.

And they lived happily ever after.

Needle Fish Song

Musical score for Needle Fish Song, consisting of five staves of music in treble clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The melody is simple and repetitive, with some rests and a final double bar line.

The "Needle Fish Story" is told at Hooper Bay, also, but the characters in the Hooper Bay story are a grandmother and her orphaned grandson.

Dancing

Eskimo dancers, even when they are dancing together, never hold hands or touch each other. Each dancer dances alone. The women's motions are very graceful, and the movement of the body is usually limited to a very small space. The

knees are slightly bent, and the body moves in swaying and dipping motions in a most flowing and graceful style. The dancer takes very short, shuffling steps and does not move far during the course of the dance. Women generally keep their eyes modestly cast down in deference to the men who are performing.

The men dance with great vigor and strength, shifting their weight from one foot to the other and stamping in time to the music. Bold arm movements are used to underline the rhythm of the accompaniment or tell the story of the song. They hold their heads up, and the expressions on their faces as the dance mounts in excitement convey a sense of great masculine beauty and freedom. Often, if the music or story suggests it, a keen sense of humor is reflected on the dancer's face and those of the accompanying singers.

In addition to the Acting Dances, or Motion Dances, previously mentioned, there are Common Dances, or those in which anyone who wishes may dance, using any pattern of movement he desires. This type of dancing is also called a Muscle Dance, though the term may once have referred to an actual rippling of the muscles—a dance style mentioned in earlier days but now seen infrequently.

A very unusual kind of dancing originated at Diomed Island, became popular at Wales, and has been copied elsewhere on the mainland. This is the Bench Dance, in which the performers, usually women, are seated on a bench and move their arms and upper torsos in unison. Special songs are composed for the Bench Dances. The following "Bench Dance Song" from Point Barrow, sung by Joseph and Nellie Sikvaoyungak and Dick Bolt, was made in imitation of one from Wales. It was composed about a century ago by an old grandmother who sang it to amuse and instruct her grandchildren.

33. Bench Dance Song

Musical score for Bench Dance Song, consisting of four staves. The top staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 2/4. Below the melody are three staves of drum accompaniment, indicated by 'x' marks. The drum part is simple and rhythmic, following the melody. The score ends with a double bar line.

* Second stanza ends at measure 16. Drum stops at first count of measure 16.

The next Bench Dance song, sung by Blanche Lincoln of Kotzebue, is performed as an *umiak* paddling song with appropriate motions by the seated dancers.

34. Umiak Paddling Song



Next is a song for a women's Motion Dance, sung by Rose Ann Negovanna and Nanny Kagak of Wainwright. The text consists of neutral syllables and does not tell a story.

35. Women's Dance Song



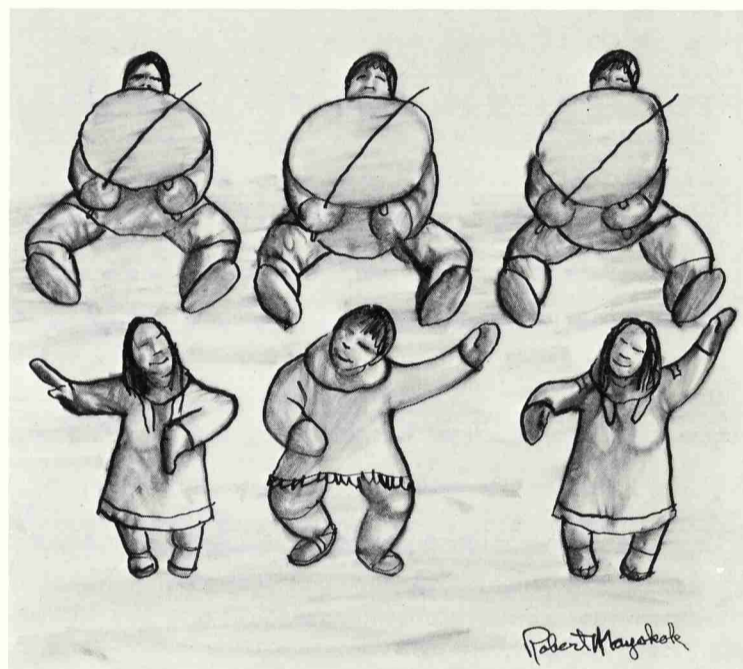
Transposed up P4.

The dances usually take place in the *kazigi*, which in the days long ago was the center of activity for all hunting rituals, ceremonies, storytelling, singing and dancing, and the training of young boys. At that time it was a haven for the men and boys of the village. The women entered only to bring food, to prepare the hall for rituals, or occasionally

to participate in them. Today the social hall is a community center no longer restricted primarily to men's activities.

It was quite common for the village to have two or more competitive men's societies, each with its own *kazigi*. This situation is rarely found today, although there are still two active groups at Point Hope, the Kahmektook and the Ongnaseekseekah.

In the social hall, the drummers sit on the floor in a line, the singers gather behind them, and the dancers take the center. At the height of the performance the throbbing drums and the strident, nasal voices of the singers produce an almost terrifying effect. The non-Eskimo listener may at first be overwhelmed by the combined sounds, but is likely soon to be carried along the pulsating wave of sound and finally to have the impulse to join the performers. Visitors to the dance program are usually invited to join in the dancing.



A conspicuous element of the Eskimo's dancing costume is gloves.¹ These may be highly ornamental gauntlet gloves, specially designed dance gloves with feathers on each fingertip, or just ordinary winter mittens or canvas work gloves. Anything will do as long as the hands are covered, although occasionally the gloves are held rather than worn. The Eskimos traditionally cover their hands when they dance, but they are uncertain as to the reason for this. One possible explanation they suggest is that the hands were covered as a gesture of respect to the spirits controlling weather, hunting, and animals, in whose honor the dances were originally performed. Another is that the gloves were a protection against contact with evil spirits.

1. A dancer might remove most of his clothing in the warm *kazigi*, but would not remove the gloves.

A special song from St. Lawrence Island honors the dance gloves. The father of the singer, Hazel Omwari, composed this song for a dancer friend as a gift that accompanied unusually handsome dancing gloves with amulets adorning them. The dancer was extremely proud of these mittens, which became a pattern for other St. Lawrence dance gloves.

36. Dance Mitt Song

Musical score for 'Dance Mitt Song' consisting of ten staves of music in treble clef. The piece features a variety of time signatures: 3/4, 4/4, 3/4, 2/4, 4/4, 3/4, 2/4, 3/4, 2/4, and 5/4. The melody is composed of eighth and quarter notes, with some rests and accidentals.

Transposed a major third.

Ornamental dance gloves often had amulets made of bird beaks, ivory, or bone attached to them. These were good luck charms and also added a pleasant percussive sound as the dancer moved his hands. Such ornaments as empty shell cases were also sometimes used on the gloves for their tinkling metallic sounds.

A favorite adornment was the loon headdress. On a band fitting snugly around the dancer's head was fastened a dried loon head with beak. Loon feathers decorated the flaps which fell over the dancer's ears. This headdress was used in the Messenger Feast ceremonial dances and in the colorful Loon Dances of the north coast, in which the dancer used birdlike motions to imitate with great humor the proud movements of one of the most elegant of the world's birds, the Pacific (or Arctic) loon.

Two very ancient Loon Dance tunes from Point Barrow are sung by Joseph and Nellie Sikvaoyungak and Dick Bolt.

It is not known if there was a text for the songs. In any case, the words are no longer remembered, and the syllables are only for convenience in singing.

37a. Loon Dance Song #1

Musical score for 'Loon Dance Song #1' featuring a vocal line and a drum accompaniment. The vocal line is in treble clef and includes the instruction '(intones)'. The drum part is shown as a series of 'x' marks on a staff. The score consists of six staves of music with various time signatures: 3/4, 4/4, 3/4, 4/4, 3/4, and 4/4.

Transposed 1/2 step down.

37b. Loon Dance Song #2

Musical score for 'Loon Dance Song #2' featuring a vocal line and a drum accompaniment. The vocal line is in bass clef and includes the instruction '(intones)'. The drum part is shown as a series of 'x' marks on a staff. The score consists of four staves of music with various time signatures: 2/4, 3/4, 2/4, and 3/4.

From King Island comes a very ancient "King Loon Song," sung by John Oalanna. A hunter has seen the beautiful, but raucous-voiced, bird. The text says: "What is this that I see? It is an animal or a bird? It is a King Loon. I wish I were able to sing just like that bird."

38. King Loon Song

(intones)

Drum vague here

The musical score for 'King Loon Song' consists of five staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a 3/4 time signature. It features a melodic line with a triplet of eighth notes and a drum part with a 'vague' pattern. The subsequent staves continue the melody and drum accompaniment, with various rhythmic patterns and triplet markings.

The wolf head mask was an important part of the costume worn in the Wolf Dances for the Messenger Feast ritual.² Other masked dances were performed for this festival and the Bladder Festival. The shaman, or someone directed by him, carved the masks, and because tradition demanded that they be destroyed after the ceremony, very few of them can be found now. Nevertheless, some have been preserved in museum collections, and copies of the old masks have been made by contemporary artists for sale to tourists.

The masks were highly creative, even surrealistic, representing animal heads, birds such as the loon, or comic human faces. Many were adorned with feathers, fur, or carved representations of animal or human parts. Some human face masks showed no ears, or lacked noses. Others had an ivory labret embedded in the cheek. In keeping with the theme of a man changing to an animal or an animal assuming human form, there were many masks representing a face half human and half animal. Some of the masks were actually worn, but many were too large and heavy and were therefore suspended from the ceiling or held before the dancer's face by means of a handle attached at the bottom.

Many years ago ("four grandfathers ago") a shaman composed the following melody, sung by John Oalanna of King Island, for a humorous masked dance. The song and dance

2. A photograph and description of the wolf mask are to be found in Ray, *Eskimo Masks*, plate 14 and pp. 189-91.

are part of a dramatic performance that depicts the battle of a good and an evil shaman who have come down from the clouds. The evil shaman wins, but sings this song to bring the good shaman back to life.³

39. Masked Dance Song

(intones)

(spoken)

Drumstick "bounced" on each beat.

The musical score for 'Masked Dance Song' consists of seven staves. It begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a 2/4 time signature. The melody is characterized by a steady eighth-note rhythm. The drum part consists of a consistent 'bounced' pattern on each beat. The score includes a section marked '(spoken)' and ends with a double bar line.

In the lower Yukon River region the women's graceful dancing is enhanced by the flowing movement of their finger mask fans, called "deyoomiet." These consist of a carved wooden handle that fits over two fingers like an ornate double ring and holds a fan made of the beautiful feathers of a white owl or an egret. A dance that employs both these fans and dance masks is performed to the following song, composed in 1929 by Oliver Amouak in imitation of the lower Yukon festival dances. It is sung by Oliver and Olga Amouak.

In the old days these dances were sometimes accompanied by rattles made of wood and filled with small pebbles. Such rattles are now extremely rare, and they may never have been widely used, but the rattling effect of ornamented dance gloves was common. Except for the box drums used originally for the Messenger Feast ceremonial dances, the only instrument used to accompany the songs and dances is the *tchayuk*,⁴ a drum constructed much like a tambourine with a short handle.

3. The good and evil shaman masks are shown in plates 48 and 49 in Ray, *ibid.*, with notes relative to their use on pages 209-11.

4. *Tchayuk* is the Yupik name for the drum. In the northern dialects the drum is known as *keylowtik* or *keylaun*.

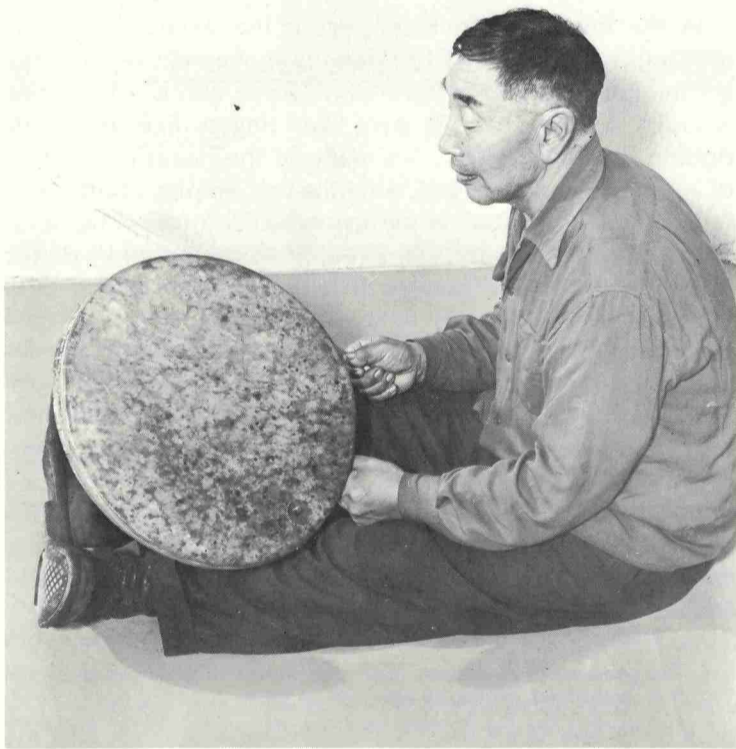
40. Spirit Dance Song

Drum

The musical notation consists of four staves. The top staff is a melody line in 2/4 time. The second staff is a drum accompaniment line with asterisks indicating rhythmic patterns. The third staff continues the melody with some changes in time signature (3/4, 2/4). The fourth staff concludes the piece with a final chord.

The *tchayuk* is a hoop of hardwood (spruce) about two feet in diameter, covered on one side with the membrane from a whale or walrus stomach or liver stretched tautly and securely tied with sinew. To this is attached a bone or wooden handle, sometimes ornately carved. The drum, which is held at about the height of the drummer's face, is

John Kakaruk playing the *tchayuk*



beaten with a slender spruce or willow wand. Both the rim and the drum head may be touched simultaneously by this wand, producing a combination of tap and resonant vibration of the membrane. The tapping and beating may also be alternated. On the north coast of Alaska the drum is struck from underneath, but in the area near the mouth of the Yukon and Kuskokwim rivers it is generally struck on the upper surface, especially for ceremonial dances. The drum is generally played by men, but women are not excluded from playing it.

The drums are not tuned, but before a performance starts the drummer dampens the drum head with water, causing it to become more resilient and making it less likely to break. This process also affects the tone and is sometimes referred to as "tuning."

One of the most amusing songs is a drum tuning song composed to honor a missionary in a north coast village who had taught some of the Eskimos the "do, re, mi" syllables. The song uses these syllables as a text, but with no reference to their original musical function. The "Tuning of the Drum" is sung by Rose Ann Negovanna and Nanny Kagak of Wainwright.

41. Tuning of the Drum

The musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is a melody line in 3/4 time. The second staff is a drum accompaniment line with asterisks indicating rhythmic patterns. The third staff continues the melody with triplets indicated by a '3' over the notes.

Dancing skill is greatly appreciated among the Eskimos, and dancing is a highly competitive art form. Dance contests are held to determine the best dancer in the village. The names of the outstanding singers and dancers are well known along the coast. The Eskimos hold an annual summer dance and game festival which they call the "Eskimo Olympic Games." One of the most sought-after honors is that of being considered the best dancer at this contest.

Among the people of the Seward Peninsula and Kotzebue Sound area can be heard great praise for the Kobuk women dancers. The Kobuk women dance so gracefully that they remind one of "the willows bending in the current of the stream," said one admirer. They hold their dance mitts and shake them like leaves on the willow trees. Kobuk dancing, once seen, is impossible to forget. The following is one of the Kobuk songs for the women's dance. It is sung by Paul Green of Kotzebue.

42. Kobuk Women's Dance Song

I can't find water
The weather, etc., ai!

2. KAHNOKSEEYOOGEE'S SONG

Qanuq sayuuki
Qanuq sayuuki
Siktağauna kairuŋ
Siktağauna kairuŋ
Silamunli nak(ru)amun
Tingmiaguit qalguanun
Aninasukputiin
Give me my pickax
Give me my pickax
So I may go outside to nice weather
And to the singing birds
Do you wish to go outside?

3. SHAMAN'S HUNTING SONG

Suuluŋatuq
Nuilana
Pisukkaaguluŋa
Suuluŋatuq
Nuilana
Kayuqtuuluŋa
Suuluŋatuq
Nuilana
Natchiuluŋa

I wonder what I will be
When I come into view
[I hope?] I'll be a white fox
I wonder what I will be
When I come into view
I'll be a red fox
I wonder what I will be
When I come into view
I'll be a seal

8. REINDEER HERDER'S SONG

Uvani-qaa-aatani
Naimiq-pa-chukiga
Uvaŋa-qaa aġyaġuġaa
Niġiksaġuva manna
Iniqtu-aviruaq
Uvaŋa chiuqamni-qaa
Uvaŋa aipaġalu
Naaġa attagum aiguma
Kina una taksugaam
Nigipitiuqtuuq
Uvaŋa ciuqamni-qaa
Quyachuktuagaptitni
Chulagaluanerituuq
Uvaŋa aipaġalu
Kituu! Ui! Ui! Ui! Ui!
Here I am again
I'm tolerating it

Appendix

Eskimo Song Texts and Translations

The following sixteen song texts in the Yupik and Inupiaq languages were selected from the transcriptions made by Professor Irene Reed, director of the Eskimo Language Workshop of the University of Alaska, and her staff. Because of the fragmentary nature of many of the texts, the inclusion of archaic words, or the distortions of sound, transcribing is a difficult task. As Professor Reed comments in her notes on these songs, "Frequently they are highly symbolic and quite laconic in style." Wherever there is a question of exact meaning, the ambiguity has been noted.

1. PTARMIGAN'S WEATHER SONG

Sila sila sila
Sila sila sila
Uugituŋa
Niġivik naluvlugu
Sila sila sila
Sila sila sila
Uugituŋa
Imaq naluvlugu
Sila sila sila ai?
The weather, etc.
It displeases me
I can't find a place to eat
The weather, etc.
It displeases me

While I'm yearning for [good] food
 There's lots of food around here
 Always passing by
 In front of me here
 My partner and I
 When I get home
 I see someone with a long face
 Standing there
 In front of me
 Instead of being happy
 We're sad
 My partner and I
 Oh!

9. POLAR BEAR SONG

Nanuqtuni quyasuun.
Tainaliugigā aqilikpan.
Taiñigukiḡa!

Quyasuun atuḡigali
Maūchuvlu . . . amali
Tamaḡalu paḡichiyuḡa
Nuuruqturamiik-aḡa

A song of thanks for catching a polar bear.
 I'll sing it for you [?].
 I'll put words to it!
 Let me sing a song of thanks
 [?Not clear]
 At last I've found something
 Crawling [toward me?]

12. CAPTAIN'S WHALING SONG

Nukatpiayai qiniḡtu . . .
Qimiḡaruum tuḡaanun
Puuyaaqtuḡamun-qaa
Uvuuna kapitchagmigiga
Pikuluaḡut-qaa
Uḡruqtuḡuakun

Young hunters spotting game [looking around]
 Looking toward the hill [wave]
 Waiting for it to come up over ridge [wave]
 I will spear it right here
 On the hump on its back
 Where there is lots of fat

13. SHAMAN'S PARKA SONG

Atigaa, atigaa
Atigaa, atigaa
Atigichianarūḡa
Sisuuram amianek

My parka, my parka
 I'm wearing a new parka
 Made of beluga skin

14. WOMEN'S JUGGLING SONG

Iglukitamiyuma naruyamiyuma
Akulikutamiyuma naruyamiyuma

Amiirtalegni qilriirtalegni
Qikertat nunalraitni, nunalraitni
Čingiterni qaviyaartalegni
Mamčatkugtalegni
Ikitaar-raanga Ikitaar-raanga
Řayaa-ya-camaa, Řayaa-ya-camaa
Řayaa-ya-camaa, Řayaa-ya-camaa
Paninaara paninaara
Paninaara paninaara
Paninaqutanuna uingāhuna
Qaḡtaatūugaaq pegeskaunriqii
Ikitaar arnaqataaq
Arnaqataaq maqataaq
Maqataartainaq

I'm juggling like a sea gull
 Parallel-juggling like a sea gull
 Going faster like a hawk flies
 On the island where the birds nest
 On a sandy point of the island
 On a place with loose sand
 Ikitaar [name of young bride]
 [Special kind of chanting,
 indicates "something special"]
 My favorite daughter
 My favorite daughter
 Her husband is demanding a mating
 She won't let go of the old pail
 Ikitaar is now a woman
 Now a woman, all sandy
 Nothing but sand

17. NELUKATAUN (BLANKET TOSS SONG)

Suva pamna tulugaaq pamna?

What is that raven doing up there?

22. FAREWELL TO THE CHIEFS

Anili taumna.

Let him go out, that one.

25. JUMP DANCE SONG

Tuntussuleriim (agiyaa)
Qurraa-kiyin tangeneritaqa
Massiinaam-qaa ačianun-qaa
(Agiyaa, etc.)
Nurarculeriim (agiyaa)
Qurraa-kiyin tangeneritaqa
Qaliriim-qaa ačianun-qaa
(Agiyaa, etc.)

The caribou hunter
 His arrow, I do not see it
 Underneath the machine
 The fawn hunter
 His arrow, I do not see it
 Underneath the tarpaulin [?]

26. SONG FROM "THE THREE BROTHERS"

Suulunatuuq anilaḡatuuq
 Suulunatuuq anilaḡatuuq
 Amaguulunatuuq anilaḡatuuq
 Suulunatuuq anilaḡatuuq
 Suulunatuuq anilaḡatuuq
 Kayuqtuulunatuuq anilaḡatuuq
 Suulunatuuq anilaḡatuuq
 Suulunatuuq anilaḡatuuq
 Tuluugaulunatuuq anilaḡatuuq

What will I be, when I come out?
 What will I be, when I come out?
 I'll be a wolf when I come out.
 What will I be, when I come out?
 What will I be, when I come out?
 I'll be a red fox when I come out.
 What will I be, when I come out?
 What will I be, when I come out?
 I'll be a raven when I come out.

27. SONG FROM "THE GREEDY ESKIMO BOY"

Ilutacimtun aqsaqitacimtun
 Neqastatika eleqem!
 [repeated several times]
 As much as my stomach will hold
 That's how much I'll eat!

30. FOX'S SONG

Čaturenaulliunga
 Irurpagturaulliunga
 Čamiqsaunii
 Čaturenaulliunga
 Qategpagturaulliunga
 Čamiqsaunii
 Čaturenaulliunga
 Qamiqvagturaulliunga
 Čamiqsaunii

I wonder what I'll eat
 I think I'll eat a big leg
 I'll never get my fill
 I wonder what I'll eat
 I'll eat a big [goose] breast
 I'll never get my fill
 I wonder what I'll eat
 I think I'll eat a big [goose] head
 I'll never get my fill

32. NEEDLE FISH SONG

Agčiučilingaa piniriluku
 Pinircaareluku ingum-tuqaa
 Cingiggaaraam-qaa
 Amatiini-qaa
 Arenarkaureluuk
 Nerelakaktuuk

Qassarelakaktuuk
 Qukagenegun kep'arluki
 Aarrurrayaa

I'm making an oar, making it strong
 Making it very strong
 At the river's bend
 On its other side
 The poor old women
 I'll eat them
 Uncooked
 Cutting them in half
 Aah!

40. SPIRIT DANCE SONG

Yugiyama ullagamken
 . . . qiguirpagemek
 My spirit-person I go to you
 . . . from a big squirrel

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