

What is in a Name? The Predicament of Ethnonyms in the Sugpiaq-Alutiiq Region of Alaska

Author(s): Medeia Csoba DeHass

Source: *Arctic Anthropology*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (2012), pp. 3-17

Published by: University of Wisconsin Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24475834>

Accessed: 04-10-2018 19:26 UTC

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



University of Wisconsin Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Arctic Anthropology*

What is in a Name? The Predicament of Ethnonyms in the Sugpiaq-Alutiiq Region of Alaska

Medeia Csoba DeHass

Abstract. “Aleut,” “Alutiiq,” “Sugpiaq,” “Russian,” “Pacific Eskimo,” “Unegkuhmiut,” and “Chugach Eskimo” are all different names that have been used to identify the group of Native people living on the Lower Kenai Peninsula of Alaska. While most of these ethnonyms are partially based on particular characteristics, they also carry specific social-political agendas that are embedded in the names themselves. Names are a powerful medium in communicating meaning about historical context and the actors who move within specific historical events. In this paper I draw on historical and ethnographic information to shed light on the different nomenclature used in the past, as well as currently in this region. By organizing names into a schema through an historical overview, I highlight the significance of the relationship between historical legacies and contemporary articulations of ethnonyms. Furthermore, after exploring the origins of ethnonyms and analyzing the different implications that are closely associated with them, the paper concludes with a better approach for understanding agency in the politics of ethnic identity construction.

Introduction

In Alaskan anthropology and Alaska Native¹ studies there has been an ongoing, yet unexplored, ambiguity about the appropriate name used in conjunction with the Native people occupying the central Gulf of Alaska (Fig. 1.). In the past fifteen years both popular and erudite usage have tended to favor the term “Alutiiq” (Alaska Federation of Natives website; Alutiiq Museum website; Black 2004; Clifford 2004:7; Crowell, Steffian, and Pullar 2001; Leer 2003; Luehrmann 2008; Mason 1995; Mulcahy 2001; Partnow 2001; Pullar 1994; Pullar and Knecht 2004; etc.). The collective ethnonym “Alutiiq [pl. Alutiit]” is often applied to the people of this cultural area, but many Native peo-

ple prefer to use the ethnonym “Sugpiaq [pl. Sugpiat],” a term that has also been gaining popularity in scholarly discourse during the past few years (Haakanson and Steffian 2009; Pullar 2005:117, 2007:109, 2010:149; Znamenski 2003).

The corresponding Native language² is most often called “Alutiiq” (as in “the Alutiiq language”) in the Kodiak region, but cited as “Sugt’sun”³ on the Lower Kenai Peninsula and Prince William Sound. In the past, other names were also created and used in academia, such as “Pacific Eskimo” (Birket-Smith 1953; Clark 1984, 1988; Crowell and Fitzhugh 1988; Davis 1970, 1984; Townsend 1980, etc.), making the situation even more convoluted. Reflecting an older usage, Sugpiaq-Alutiiq regions are occasionally combined with that of the

*Medeia Csoba DeHass, Dartmouth College, 37 North Main Street
The Sherman House, Hanover, New Hampshire 03755*

ARCTIC ANTHROPOLOGY, Vol. 49, No. 1, pp. 3–17, 2012 ISSN 0066-6939

© 2012 by the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System

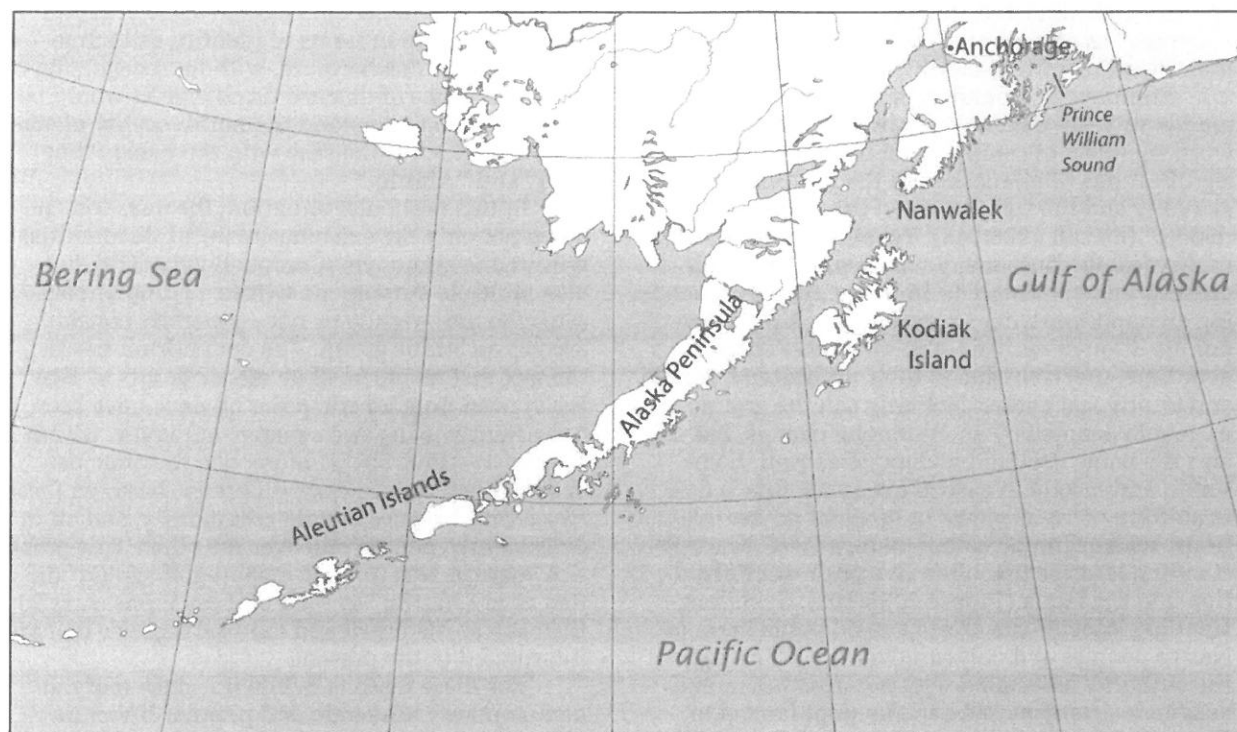


Figure 1. Map of the Sugpiaq-Alutiiq region.

Unangax of the Aleutian Chain, sometimes under the general label of “Aleut” (e.g., Alaska Native Heritage Center and Alaska Native Knowledge Network).

While the term “Pacific Eskimo” is an exonym imposed upon the people through an academic taxonomy, both the words “Sugpiaq” and “Alutiiq” can be regarded as autonyms. The former is most often acknowledged by Native people as their original autonym meaning “a real person,” and the latter is a newly adopted autonym with exonymic origins in the Russian colonial era. In Sugt’sstun, the language of the Sugpiaq-Alutiiq, nouns often end with a suffix, in this singular case “iq,” thus the pronunciation of “Aleut” in Sugt’sstun became “Alutiiq” (Leer 2001:31). During the colonial time, when people declared their “Aleutness” in their own language, they used the word “Alutiiq.”

Change over time in the usage of ethnonyms has been discussed in several studies (e.g., Goddard 1984; Larson 1996; Mailhot 1986; Proschan 1997; Tapper 2008; Willis 1992, etc.). Yet, in this particular case it is not the question whether an exonym can become an autonym; rather what is the significance of the relationship between different autonyms used within a cultural group? After all, Tapper’s (2008:101) remark on ethnic identity

also applies to the use of ethnonyms: “if there is a reality to identity, ethnic or otherwise, then the first say in what it is must be that of the subjects themselves.” Currently, the preference amongst the Native people of the Sugpiaq-Alutiiq cultural area is varied based on differing cultural, historical, political, geographical, and local factors, despite the fact that many aspects of their living cultural traditions are shared and connected.

The Sugpiat-Alutiit live in the south-central region of Alaska occupying the coasts of Prince William Sound, the southern tip of the Kenai Peninsula, a part of the Alaska Peninsula, and the Kodiak Archipelago. They are predominantly maritime people, traditionally residing in small communities that are often accessible only by boat or by small aircraft. Scholars view the villages of these four distinct regions as one cultural area, based on historical, ethnic, and linguistic attributes (de Laguna 1975:218). During my long-term ethnographic work with one particular community, Nanwalek, one of two Sugpiaq villages located on the Kenai Peninsula, it became apparent there are clear divisions amongst communities in terms of preference for the names “Alutiiq” and “Sugpiaq” (Csoba DeHass 2009). While the Native people of Kodiak Island often-times refer to themselves as “Alutiiq,” the people

of Nanwalek almost exclusively use the name "Sugpiaq" as an autonym and decisively decline identification with the term "Alutiiq."

Ethnonyms, grounded in the concept of ethnic identity, are flexible and situational "as single-word signifiers of complex and heterogeneous significations [that] mask both the multidimensionality and the very nature of the identities they denote" (Larson 1996:545). Yet ethnonyms are also multivocal, because many voices play into their creation and continuation in usage, thereby creating an opportunity for expressing multiple viewpoints. Ethnonyms can—and often do—change over time, precisely due to their multidimensional and multivocal nature. Not only can the group of people denoted by an ethnonym change, but also the name itself often changes as well. Sometimes, and mostly in case of exonyms, this is due to shifting political views in unequal power relations, such as (post-) colonialism, as well as long standing legacies that often live on in administration and academia (Tapper 2008:102). Such long-standing legacies can create considerable harm to Native peoples and cultures over time. Through the authority associated with administration and academia, exonyms can become popularized to the point of permanency, creating non-negotiable discrepancies between people's own understanding of their identity and the identity "created for them" through misguided exonymic principles. It is difficult to break this cycle due to the inconsistency embedded in unequal power relations between a group's ethnic identity and the interpretation of that identity in bureaucratic taxonomies. Moreover, the popularization of an exonym through authoritative venues tends to rapidly spread to other spheres of society, for instance policy making, resulting in the questioning, or even negation, of the legitimacy of autonyms over exonyms.

To avoid creating labels based on biased taxonomies, it is imperative to examine the root of ongoing discrepancies between the names Native peoples of the Sugpiaq-Alutiiq region use and those present in scholarly and popular literature. Furthermore, it is also important to examine the differences in preference within Sugpiaq-Alutiiq communities. Tapper (2008:102) points out that "it has become PC—both post-colonial and politically correct—to adopt . . . autonyms" as an ameliorative action offering restitution for past damages. Alas, this approach often makes the situation even more complex. When an autonym is substituted for an exonym and popularized as the authentic and legitimate ethnonym for a particular group of people, the authority that achieves these changes often justifies the newly emerged ethnonym by evoking views of the autonym as devoid of diachronic change. Denying the flexibility of

autonyms also denies the human agency within the ethnic group in terms of identity and ethnonym creation. Furthermore, without recognizing the significance of diachronic change, it would be impossible to understand the multivocality of ethnonyms, which is the case with the names "Sugpiaq" and "Alutiiq."

In this particular situation, the question concerns not only the existence of multiple identities within one ethnonym (Campbell 2001:539), but also multiple ethnonyms within a group of people, who are—rightly or not—generally considered as an ethnic group. The conundrum lies in the fact that members of an ethnic group, as they are viewed from an etic point of view, have been consistently using two separate autonyms within their own ethnic space. Moreover, the emic perspective perceives a clear difference between these two terms, because people consciously, and often consistently, choose one over the other. This practice suggests that in emic meaning "Sugpiaq" differs from "Alutiiq" as each of these terms carry in themselves historical and cultural legacies that are interpreted in the present.

For these reasons, while it is customary in contemporary academic and popular literature alike, to refer to this cultural region as Alutiiq, in this article I chose to diverge from this practice and use the term "Sugpiaq-Alutiiq" when describing the villages and the people of the cultural area as a whole, including all four, previously listed, regions. This alternate usage is justified by people's preferences on the Lower Kenai Peninsula, and formulated with the intention of using a name that acknowledges the self-designation of all Native peoples of this particular region of Alaska. While it is tempting, and might be considered legitimate, to only use the autonymic ethnonym "Sugpiaq" in describing the Native population of the region, it would be just as incomplete as the currently widespread usage of "Alutiiq." In the villages of the Kodiak Archipelago and the Alaska Peninsula people do ascribe to the self-designation "Alutiiq." The official representation through a variety of Native governed bodies, such as the Alutiiq Museum, Kodiak Inc., Native Village of Afognak, Ouzinkie Native Corporation, Old Harbor Native Corporation, etc. also consistently adheres to this practice. According to the guidelines adopted by the Board of Directors of the Alutiiq Museum the institution decided to use the term "Alutiiq" in its name, "as it is a popular self-designator among Kodiak's Native people" (Alutiiq Museum Interpretive Plan Section 1E p. 2.). The document explains that Elders from the Kodiak Archipelago prefer the name "Alutiiq," while the younger generation often uses the name "Sugpiaq." At the same time, even some Native people of Kodiak acknowledge the term "Sugpiaq" on occasions. The following excerpt by

the late Kodiak Sugpiaq-Alutiiq artist Helen Simeonoff is quoted on the "Coming Home: The Return of the Alutiiq Masks" website:

When the Russians came, they called everybody in Alaska 'Aleuts,' and that's a name for indigenous people in Siberia. And so, since we looked like the people in Siberia, dark skin, dark hair, most everybody here in Alaska ended up with the name Aleut. And from that word came the word Alutiiq, and the elders decided we were going to stay with the name Aleut, and so there was a division of what we should call ourselves, so they settled on Alutiiq. But our real name is Sugpiaq, and it means the real people. (Simeonoff 2008)

Additionally, the flexibility of ethnonyms and changes over time in their usage are also represented by Gordon Pullar, an Alaska Native of Kodiak, the current president of the Woody Island Tribal Council, a member of the Steering Committee at the Arctic Studies Center of the Smithsonian Institution, a member of the board of directors of the Alutiiq Museum, and an assistant professor and director of the Department of Alaska Native Studies and Rural Development at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. In his discussion of the term Aleut in the *Encyclopedia of North American Indians* he quotes Nina Olsen from the Native village of Afognak in the Kodiak region:

When I was growing up in Afognak, I don't remember that we used the terms *Aleut* or *Alutiiq* to describe ourselves. We said *Sugpiaq*. Sugpiaq—'a real person.' I think we should go back to calling ourselves Sugpiaq. It has so much more meaning. (Olsen in Pullar 1996, emphasis in the original text)

To complicate matters further, the Prince William Sound area and the communities located on the Alaska Peninsula also have their own preferences. On the Alaska Peninsula people seem to alternate between Sugpiaq and Alutiiq (Morseth 2003:xi, Partnow 2001:69), while the people living in the Prince William Sound region often use "Chugach Alutiiq" (or Chugach people) (Johnson 1999) in collective representations.⁴ Such practice does not prevent Native people in various communities to also use the term "Sugpiaq" as an ethnonym, as they often seem to alternate between these terms as equally meaningful.

The separation of Sugpiaq-Alutiiq communities and their residents into four distinct regional corporations—Koniag Inc. Chugah Alaska Corporation, Cook Inlet Region Inc, and Bristol Bay Native Corporation, respectively—in 1971 through the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) is often cited as one of the reasons for the dividedness amongst the Native people of the region (Clifford 2004:7; Pullar 2005:113). Yet the multitude and inconsistent use of ethnonyms (both exonyms

and autonyms) prior to ANCSA suggest that it is advisable to go further back in history, while infusing the discussion with current ethnographic information in order to explore the perplexities of the present situation.

Most of the historical information available on the Sugpiaq-Alutiiq region pertains to the Alutii of Kodiak, as the archipelago played a major role in the colonial government of Russian America. The first permanent Russian settlement was established on Kodiak in 1784 and the island continued to be the center of Russia's American colony until 1799 (Black 2004:107, 155). Due to close proximity and everyday interaction, the Native culture was more accessible than the other three Sugpiaq-Alutiiq regions to Europeans; hence it was also better documented. In contrast, the ethnographic information used in this paper predominantly pertains to the community of Nanwalek, with which I have been collaborating on various cultural projects in the past seven years. Additionally, as an understanding of the predicament posed by ethnonyms developed from my work with Nanwalek, I draw on this particular community's situation and perspective to highlight and analyze questions of ethnonym creation, usage, and maintenance as they correspond with peoples' experiences of ethnic identity.

For these reasons, I chose to arrange information about Sugpiaq-Alutiiq past not in a strict chronological order, but rather based on a schema of nomenclature. Looking at Sugpiaq history in general, and the cultural past of the people living in and around the Lower Kenai villages in particular, through the various names that were used to identify them, a certain pattern emerges. This pattern or schema (Ortner 1990:90–91) makes it possible to grasp the Sugpiaq-Alutiiq agency within the historical account. It also provides some insight into the lived cultural experience and the significance of ethnonyms as multivocal mediums expressing strategies of cultural adaptation to social change.

Unegkuhmiut

Prior to Russian colonization, Sugpiaq-Alutiiq people had local names for themselves to differentiate villages and settlements from one another. Today these names are used on rare occasions, mostly between various Sugpiaq-Alutiiq groups in specific cultural contexts (Pullar 1992:184–185). Scholars generally distinguish three major groups of Sugpiaq-Alutiiq: the Chugachmiut on the Prince William Sound, the Unegkuhmiut [also spelled as Unegkurmiut and Unikhkurmiut] on the Lower-Kenai Peninsula, and the Qikertarmiut on Kodiak Island (Birket-Smith 1953:99; Pullar 1994:30). For the Prince William Sound region,

eight local names and corresponding geographical territories are recorded (Birket-Smith 1953:20–21; de Laguna 1956:11). The names of these villages often referred to a main settlement or pointed out some distinct characteristics of the location. In other cases however, certain groups might have been called by a particular name by their neighbors, thus names often reflect geographical location or direction not strictly from a local point of view. Although it is probably the least known and used, “Unegkuhmiut” is a name that refers to the specific location of the Lower-Kenai Peninsula villages, meaning “people out that way,” and it is a description given from a point of view of someone who is standing on the shores of Prince William Sound (Davis 1984:199; de Laguna 1956:34).

The Native people of Prince William Sound are largely considered to be the closest relations of the Kenai area Sugpiat based on a linguistic relation that assigns both languages as sub-dialects of Chugach Sugt’sun. Additionally, archeological evidence shows frequent exchanges and high mobility between the two areas that were, prior to Russian colonization, connected by a string of villages along the outer coast of the Kenai Peninsula. These villages are now uninhabited, but in the past they varied in size and population.⁵

It is believed that Kachemak Bay could have been occupied about 10,000 years ago, and the Ocean Bay II tradition (approximately 2500 B.C.) clearly exhibits signs of a fully maritime culture (Steffian 2001:106–110). The middle era of Sugpiaq-Alutiiq pre-history, named after Kachemak Bay, where sites of this time period were first described (De Laguna 1975), appears to have supported an enlarged population with an increase in the size and numbers of settlements compared to the earlier period.

The most interesting transformation of the cultures occupying the Sugpiaq-Alutiiq region transpired in the late Pre-contact era, roughly between A.D. 1100 and 1760 (Steffian 2001:120), when a large Yup’ik-speaking population appeared in the Sugpiaq-Alutiiq region (Clark 1988; Dumond 1987; Knecht 1995). The era directly preceding the time of Russian contact is characterized by wars between villages, by the accumulation of wealth, and by a hierarchically ranked society with specialized social roles and occupations (Saltonstall and Steffian 2005; Steffian 2001). While the population growth continued in most parts of the Sugpiaq-Alutiiq region, the Kachemak tradition was overtaken by the influx of a Dena’ina population, who migrated south along the inner coasts of the Kenai Peninsula. As a result, Sugpiaq-Alutiiq settlements disappeared from the inner Kenai coast down to the area of modern day Seldovia (de Laguna 1956:35; Workman 1998:152; Workman and Workman 2010). The reasons for

this population movement are not clear, although there seem to be no signs of a violent clash between the Sugpiat and the Dena’ina (de Laguna 1956), which suggests that the latter overtook the villages after the former had abandoned them. Nonetheless, Sugpiaq presence did not completely disappear from the Kenai Coast; rather, it diminished in size and numbers.

Altogether, the population currently referred to as Sugpiaq-Alutiiq has been influenced by many Native cultures of Alaska, due to population movement, intermarriage, war, and trade. These interactions are partially due to the geographical location of the region; the Gulf of Alaska being not only a central, but also a high traffic area, where migration routes repeatedly crossed and joined during the past 10,000 years. Concurrently, the Sugpiaq-Alutiiq population “seems to have been a product of its own independent development in the Gulf of Alaska,” (Crowell and Lührmann 2001: 29) therefore some Sugpiat Alutiit are quite opposed to the classification of their culture as purely “Eskimo.” To understand the underlying reasons for this opposition, it is necessary to further examine the nomenclature used in connection with this specific cultural group.

Pacific Eskimo

When some Sugpiaq-Alutiiq people refuse to conform to the term “Eskimo,” they do not necessarily deny an otherwise linguistically and anthropologically established connection to other Eskimo-speaking peoples. Rather, they express their indignance toward a term created by academics, mainly for taxonomical use, with no regard to local sentiments.⁶ “Pacific Eskimo” was created and used as a consequence of a scientific idea of classification, most likely emerging from a linguistic approach.⁷

In the first half of the twentieth century, the Sugpiaq people of the Lower Kenai Peninsula were not well known. A letter written by Fredericka Martin, editor of an Aleut dictionary, in 1947 to Kenneth Cohen, schoolmaster for the Sugpiaq village of Port Graham on the Kenai Peninsula, provides a glimpse as to the paucity of information and the general lack of awareness regarding Sugpiat and their language. Martin contacted Cohen to ask assistance in collecting local linguistic samples. Based on their correspondence Martin concluded that the Native language of Port Graham “. . . is not related with Kodiak—which probably means it is not Eskimoid [sic] but Indian in derivation” (Kenneth S. Cohen Collection, Box 9, Folder 174). The same letter also contains Martin’s erroneous conclusions: the Port Graham “non-Aleuts” do *not* belong to the Russian Orthodox Church based on Cohen’s reference to people by their “native” name versus their “church name.”⁸

In the first half of the twentieth century in the study of Alaska Native languages a rigid taxonomical system was brought to life which classified people based on linguistic characteristics. Using linguistics as the only legitimate scientific way to separate all Native people into neat groups with clear-cut boundaries was an approach that directly contributed to today's predicaments. It is exactly this practice that some Sugpiaq-Alutiiq oppose when rejecting the nomenclature "Pacific Eskimo." True, the Alutiiq region is located in the Pacific Gulf, and true, Sugt'stun does belong to the Eskimo language family. These two features are arbitrarily chosen, however, based on an etic scientific approach and they do not reflect all the other important elements that Sugpiaq-Alutiiq people would choose in describing their own identity. Quite a few Sugpiaq-Alutiiq people contemplate the question: "If Yup'ik people can use the ethnonym Yup'ik, meaning a 'real person,' and Iñupiaq people can do the same (Alaska Native Language Center website), why should not the Sugpiaq-Alutiiq be allowed to do likewise?" Considering that external naming (Jenkins 1997:219) is always created on the basis of a specific viewpoint, often with the involvement of unequal power relations, it inherently encapsulates a complete history of the interactions between the naming and the named. The Sugpiaq-Alutiiq resent the name "Pacific Eskimo" because of their desire to be viewed and acknowledged as a legitimately independent Alaskan Native cultural group and not as a subdivision of other indigenous cultural groups.

In the early 1850s Heinrich Johan Holmberg, Finnish mining specialist, provided his own classificatory system of the "known tribes of Alaska." In this collection he listed all Yup'ik people and even some Iñupiat, as "Koniags," meaning the Alutiiq people of Kodiak Island (Holmberg 1985:6–7), which reflected the high level of subjectivity involved in any kind of taxonomical endeavor. Naturally, this example not only shows the extent of Holmberg's travel, which indeed was mostly conducted on Kodiak Island and the Kenai Peninsula, but also the serious problems created by the adoption of ethnonyms into scholarly usage without applying close scrutiny to the various implications and perspectives associated with the particular term.

Incidentally, Holmberg was also the first to report that the Native people of Kodiak Island especially "... the younger generation have started to call themselves Aleuts (in their dialect, Alutik) [and] only the aged still report that in their days of freedom and independence [from the Russians] they called themselves Koniags" (Holmberg 1985:35). Although Alutiiq is one of the most accepted and preferred terms in some parts of the Sugpiaq-Alutiiq region, its origin, and conse-

quently its connotations, are deeply embedded in the Russian colonial history of Alaska.

Aleut, Russian, Creole

When the Russians arrived in Alaska in 1741, they first met Unangan people living on the islands of the Aleutian Chain and called them "Aleut" (Black and Liapunova 1988:52). After reaching Kodiak Island in the second half of the eighteenth century they met Koniag people living on the coast and also called them Aleut, a term derived from an indigenous Siberian language meaning "coastal dweller" (Haakanson and Steffian 2009:205). The logic behind the Russians extension of an already used name to these newly encountered people was probably influenced by the perceived resemblance in the two groups' cultural practices and physical appearance (Crowell 2004:18). As the Russians met more and more of the Native population in the region, they referred to many of them as "Aleut," regardless of the fact that they were well aware of the linguistic difference between these various groups of peoples. In contrast to the academic approach, the constant Russian struggle to find adequate and multiple interpreters in order to communicate with all these different kinds of "Aleuts" shows that their main concern did not lie in taxonomical identification. Rather, the Russian colonial practice of calling many of the Native peoples Aleut was due to a combination of social and economic factors, thus creating a social and not an ethnic class.

Eventually, the 1844 charter of the Russian American Company (RAC) divided Native people of the colony into three categories, wherein Aleuts encompassed the tribes dependent upon the Russian colonial administration "professing the Christian belief" (Sec. 248). Other Native people residing within the boundaries of the Russian colony were described as "not wholly dependent" (Sec. 280), while the colonial administration's major concern with "independent" tribes lay in the "exchange [of goods for fur] by mutual consent" (Sec. 285) (Gsovski 1950).

The structure of Russian society in the eighteenth and nineteenth century was feudal-hierarchical despite the influx of ideas from European Enlightenment in the eighteenth century. The various social classes were still evidently discernable, but there was a possibility for social movement between them (Riasanovsky 1969:387). The bourgeoisie still constituted only a slim percentage of the population compared to the enormous number of serfs, yet the emerging idea of entrepreneurship propelled the various trading companies toward Russian America with the aim of acquiring fur from the Natives and selling them on the Chinese fur market at Kiakhta.

During the same time period, the Russian Orthodox Church experienced a renewal of missionary work. Translation of the liturgical books to different languages of the Russian Empire, training of missionaries, and later, the training of Native clergy were all part of the missionary movement that played a key role in the conversion of the Native people of Russian America to the Orthodox faith. The most well known saints of Alaska, St. Innocent (Ioann Veniaminov), St. Iakov of Alaska, St. Herman, and St. Peter the Aleut, were all part of this missionary revival, although each of them had very different mentalities, and emphasized different aspects of the Orthodox faith through their lives and legacies. As key figures in the history of Russian America, they carried out the Church's agenda towards the "Americans," as the Russians referred to the Natives of Russian America. On the one hand they helped facilitate Russia's colonial expansion, while on the other, they provided some protection to Native Alaskans from the Russian American Company's abuse of power.

It is safe to say that colonies not only take on unmistakable characteristics of their colonizers, but they also internalize foreign elements to some extent, to the point where such elements no longer carry the exact same meanings in the new context as they did in the cultural framework in which they originated. To some extent, this was the case in Alaska as well. Due to the internal stratification of nineteenth century Russia, it was not possible to export a large number of willing settlers to the new colony, as this would have caused shortages in serf labor with consequent economic losses in the Motherland (Okun 1951:172). Therefore, RAC workers were initially allowed to sign on for a seven year contract only, although the Company often failed to transport them back to the Russia after their term was over. As a result, a lot of ex-RAC men settled in Alaska, took a local wife, and raised their new families with the implicit consent of the Company (Arndt 1993). Even with the permanent influx of these Russian *promyshlenniki* (fur traders) the Russian presence in the colony did not rise above 900 people at a time (Lydia Black, personal communication 2001; Fedorova 1975:8). Therefore, it soon became clear for the Russians that keeping and maintaining the American colony would largely depend on the nature of their relationships with local people. Consequently, the fur traders living on the colony "by default," became an important factor in the life of the RAC by actively participating in the creation of a new social class, the Creoles.

The term "Creole" is often used to describe a population with Native and non-Native parentage. In the case of Alaska, this situation is frequently assumed to be a Russian father and a Native mother, with the children automatically being

categorized into a new ethnic class. While this interpretation was probably correct at the beginning of the Russian colonial period, soon the term "Creole" took on a different meaning, and was no longer regarded as an ethnic, but rather as a social marker (Black 1980). Children born to mixed Russian and Native marriages were brought up to be members of the Russian Orthodox Church and in the spirit of loyalty towards the Russian crown and the RAC (Pullar 2010:159). They were also educated in a school run by the RAC, in addition to receiving education about their mothers' Native culture while speaking both Russian and a Native language. Some of these children were sent to the Motherland, at the expense of their godparents, parents, or the RAC, to receive higher education as navigators, map makers, military personnel, and priests. Upon their return to Alaska, sometimes with their Russian brides, they automatically became employees of the Russian American Company.

By the mid-1800s, the term Creole did not necessarily, and could not, refer to the children of mixed marriages; rather, it described a person who spoke Russian and an Alaska Native language, was Russian Orthodox, had a Russian last name, had received elementary and/or advanced education, and was an employee of the Company (Oleksa 1992:150). The shift in the social status and class categories also meant increased social mobility and permeability. Creoles came to hold important key positions in the Russian American Company with the possibility of advancement to the lower noble classes (Black 1980:xxv).⁹ After finishing active service, Creoles had the option to become colonial citizens, which meant that they were allowed to legally settle down in the colony for the rest of their lives (Black 2004:217).

For these reasons, the interaction between Russians and Native People did not result in a replacement of one culture with another and it was not simply cultural blending either. Rather, it was a process of internalization of Russian cultural elements by Alaska Native people through their own way of life and worldviews. The RAC had clear expectations towards Creoles: they should speak Russian and a Native language, be Russian Orthodox, and work for the Company. Beyond these stipulations, however, other aspects of life were negotiated on a day-to-day basis. The rules governing social behavior in Alaska Native communities during the Russian colonial era undoubtedly changed to some extent as a result of the prolonged cross-cultural interaction; yet it was not an automatic change. It was a change initiated and realized by people living through the particular historical period, as well as being based on people's perceptions of Russians and their colonial institutions. The transformation of Creoles from an eth-

nic to a social class simultaneously highlights the hierarchical nature of the colonial system and the flexibility of a system that placed social advancement within the reach of Native people.

Within this colonial social order some of the Native people realized, exercised, and used the power they gained through their social status to their advantage. While Aleuts and Creoles were paid servants conscripted to work for the Company for a set period of time, they were also major beneficiaries of the imperial government that regulated RAC social policies, providing education, medical service, pensions, and other forms of social care, often through the Russian Orthodox Church. In addition, attachment to the colonial system was also emotional. People accepted the designation "Aleut" not on a conditional, but on a permanent basis. Natives of various ethnic origins all took on the name "Aleut" and assumed the consequent identification with the term because it carried a specific meaning for them, a meaning embedded in the Russian colonial system.¹⁰ Concurrently, being an Aleut also invested people with special rights and offered further possibilities for advancement through the social structure of the colony. Undeniably, the peak of the social system was occupied by Russians, but not out of reach of the ordinary people. After all, many Alaska Native people had Russian fathers, mothers, husbands, wives, godparents or, in the later generation, grandparents. It is important to keep in mind that the number of Russians in the colony was extremely low; therefore individual personalities, characteristics, and behavior became very decisive in the nature of the contact various Native groups and communities experienced. Not every single Russian was kind and pleasant, in fact the available archival material discloses many of the social problems caused by company employees (Khlebnikov 1994; Pierce 1984; Tikhmenev 1979); moreover, not all the priests and missionaries were exceptional and good-natured. Nonetheless, the ones who were extraordinary, both in clergy and in bureaucracy, influenced many lives as they were directly involved with local people for a lengthy period of time.

When people in villages still identify themselves as "Aleut" or "Russian," they are probably reflecting the historical implications of these terms as they have been passed down to them through several generations. In Sugpiaq-Alutiiq regions, it is mostly the older generation who cite Aleut and Russian as their ethnic identity. For them, the connection is not only based on descent, but also on the meaning these terms held for their ancestors. An Elder of Nanwalek once told me that she was "part Russian, part Aleut, and part Spanish," with the latter referring to her ancestors living in the most southern Russian settlement, Fort Ross, in California. Her self-identification as such was

not only factually correct, but also expressed ideas that were major influences throughout the history and ethnohistory of the Lower Kenai Sugpiaq.

Sugpiaq and Alutiiq

The embeddedness of the term "Aleut" in colonial Russian America provides insight into the usage of the newly emerged name and identity marker: Alutiiq. As previously mentioned, the name Alutiiq was in use during the colonial period (Holmberg 1985), although the meaning of the term at that specific time was very different from current meaning and usage. The Native people of the Kodiak Archipelago, as many other Native people of the Russian American colony, adopted the name Aleut into their vocabulary and identity when they started to use the word in their own language as "Alutiiq."

When these changes transpired at the end of the nineteenth century, "Alutiiq" still could not be fully considered an ethnonym, as it denoted groups of Native people who were aware of cultural practices and traditions that distinguished them from those of their "Aleut" neighbors. Yet, the fact that people acknowledged the experience of "being an Aleut" as an intrinsic part of their identity paved the way for the current interpretation of Alutiiq, which, in this sense, became an autonym.

The current usage of "Alutiiq" greatly differs from the nineteenth century one. In the popular, and to a certain extent, in the academic literature as well, it came to describe a specific cultural group, and the term "Alutiiq" came to replace most of the previously used ethnonyms and dated nomenclature. Today, when the term Alutiiq is used in scholarly literature, it refers to the Native inhabitants of the Kodiak Archipelago, Alaska Peninsula, Prince William Sound, and Lower Kenai Peninsula. In contrast, the Native usage is very different; it is predominantly the inhabitants or descendants of the Native people of the Kodiak region and the Alaska Peninsula which actually use the word Alutiiq to describe their own identity, while the Lower-Kenai and Prince William Sound people usually use the ethnonym Sugpiaq.¹¹

The term "Sugpiaq" was probably used as a general ethnonym meaning a "real person" or in plural Sugpiat "the real people," while the language was called Sugt'stun meaning "speaking like a person" (Clark 1984:196; Leer 2001:31). As previously discussed, people living in the various villages or regions had specific names based on their geographical origin that they used with other groups within the same cultural area.¹² Therefore, it is possible that the self-defining term Sugpiaq was actually a term used in relation to outsiders (Native and non-Native alike), as it probably was a general self-identification.

The dualism of the nomenclature shows individual preference of identification as various ideas are articulated by these names. Although it is possible to develop a sense of belonging to two different discrete groups or to alternate between various aspects of one's heritage when emphasizing questions of identity depending on momentary circumstances (Barth 1969), in this case the situation is quite different. It is essentially one group of people that the name Alutiiq refers to, including those within the cultural group who do not share the preference for this specific name. For people in Nanwalek using Sugpiaq was a clear-cut decision, while for the people of Kodiak the preference between "Alutiiq" and "Sugpiaq" changed over time. In general, it is safe to assume that the closer certain terms seem to be to each other in meaning and implications for the outside viewer, the more unanimous people on the inside are going to be about incongruity between the terms. Furthermore, people within a group often passionately insist that the actual diversities are so significant—which they are from their vantage point—that they must be acknowledged. Naturally, the same differences, viewed from the emic perspective as unbridgeable, are very likely unperceivable for those on the etic outside (Cohen 1985:44). Consequently, in order to understand the importance of these two distinct terms it is necessary to follow their formulation from an historical perspective.

The term "Aleut" lost its previous collective meaning during the early American period of Alaska, due to the term's unavoidable rupture from the Russian colonial context. For the following decades, Alaska Native people's responses when citing and claiming the acknowledgment of their Aleut identity has been repeatedly questioned or negated by various government bureaucracies. Additionally, scholars claimed to "know better" and assumed authority over the interpretation of Sugpiat-Alutiit heritage (Haakanson 2010:117). Therefore, it is understandable that the name Aleut slowly faded out of use as an identifier for the Sugpiat-Alutiit, and various other terms started to gain popularity. Although there is no certain reference and proof in this matter, the close association between the term "Alutiiq" and Kodiak region was probably influenced by the Kodiak's central role in the Russian colony. Three Saints Bay and Pavlovskaya Harbor were centers of the colony for decades, and Spruce Island, known for being the home of St. Herman, maintained its religious importance until today. Therefore it is not a surprise that Native people in the area held on to their "Aleutness" for a longer period of time than others. The re-interpretation of this idea through the new term "Alutiiq" (Clifford 2004:16) has been quite ingenious, and took place in a sequence of historical events.

The name Alutiiq started to re-appear and

gain ground in a wider sense in the late 1960s and early 1970s. After 1971 the widespread effects of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) soon started to generate a change in Sugpiaq-Alutiiq identity with the revitalization of the former and the creation of the latter term. These political events "atavistically generated" (Cohen 1985:46) traditional forms of identification, which local people applied to their modern circumstances. Due to the stress caused by rapid changes in their cultural surroundings, people turned towards their most ancient heritage. Alutiiq people started to re-claim not only certain rights, but also certain aspects of their cultural heritage, including the association with the term "Aleut," which was previously contested in scholarly use (Pullar 1992:183). In this sense, people ceased to refer themselves as Aleut, and started to say that they were Alutiiq. It was a new concept at the time in scholarly discourse; consequently nobody could really contest it. With the creation of the Alutiiq Museum and Archeological Repository in 1995 the name became popular at a variety of forums. These events caused a major turnaround in the predicament of this previously contested group of people. With support from the Museum and its advocates, the idea of a new term "Alutiiq," endorsed and selected by a Native governed cultural institution, became widely accepted in academia and popular usage—but not in all villages of the Sugpiaq-Alutiiq region.

In contrast, Nanwalek and the Lower Kenai area had a smaller population and was not a Russian colonial center, despite its early contacts and involvement as Russian outpost. In this sense, people living on the Lower Kenai coast had more independence in terms of colonial relations, as well as in navigating amongst different expressions of identity. Population movement and travel has been documented throughout the region, and local oral histories mention intermarriages, wars, raids, and alliances between communities. It seems, however, due to the more secluded location of the Lower Kenai Coast compared to Kodiak, that the local cultural milieu was more focused on the Sugpiaq heritage than on the Aleut one. Hence, the villages of the Kenai Coast have managed to better preserve their language and many aspects of their pre-contact culture in a way that is transmitted to children today as a living cultural tradition.¹³ Therefore, people living on the Kenai Coast prefer to use "Sugpiaq" as their self-designation and ethnonym, because the term "Alutiiq" does not carry the same meaning for them as for the Native people of the Kodiak region.

Crowell (2004:18) remarks that "for some people today, self-identification as 'Aleut' or 'Alutiiq' acknowledges the Russian aspect of the region's heritage including the acceptance of Orthodoxy." While this statement describes the peo-

ple of the Kodiak Archipelago, it does not fully explain people's choice in Nanwalek of using "Sugpiaq" as an autonym and as a corresponding ethnic identity. After all, Nanwalek is a single-denominational Sugpiaq village, where all members of the community with at least one local parent are baptized in the Russian Orthodox faith. Moreover, the people of Nanwalek collectively oppose any kind of non-Orthodox religious missionary work in the village and declare Russian Orthodoxy as "their own" religion. People are aware and generally proud of their Russian ancestry. Consequently, the question arises: when taking the prevalence of Russian Orthodoxy and Russian heritage into account, how is it possible to suggest that people in Nanwalek chose Sugpiaq over Alutiiq when expressing their own ethnic identity?

The Lower Kenai Sugpiaq communities, being more removed from the Russian colonial social structure than people on Kodiak, due to their geographical location, most likely had less exposure to the status and class differences associated with the terms "Aleut" and "Creole." Naturally, such markers did carry specific meanings for the Lower Kenai Sugpiaq people as well, yet they did not have such an overarching influence on people's everyday lives as they did for those who lived in close proximity to a colonial center. While Fort Aleksandrovsk, the second permanent Russian settlement in Russian America, was erected at the site of modern day Nanwalek in 1786, it soon lost its significance and was reduced to an *odinochka*, a one-person post (Katherine L. Arndt, personal communication 2004). Moreover, taking on Russian Orthodoxy was not a simple act of "borrowing" from the Russians, but a process of internalization, which resulted in Sugpiaq Russian Orthodoxy, a central element of contemporary Sugpiaq identity (Csoba DeHass 2009). For these reasons, the people in the Lower Kenai region were able to continue many of their Sugpiaq traditions without overwhelming social pressure to abandon their Sugpiaq ethnic identity in order to belong to the Aleut social class. "Aleut," as previously described, became a social marker, rather an ethnic one in the Russian colonial area, and as such it was not in contrast to a Sugpiaq ethnic identity. "Alutiiq," however, became an ethnic marker, when people started to use it as an autonym, and as such, Sugpiaq people in Nanwalek declined to identify with it.

What is in a Name?

The current perplexities concerning ethnonyms in the South-central region of Alaska is not merely a relic of Sugpiaq-Alutiiq peoples' colonial past. The fact that the name "Aleut" appealed enough to people to become the inspiration behind one of the most popularized autonoms, calls

attention to the agency embedded in the articulation of autonoms. The politics of naming evokes questions of power relations, legitimacy, and identity, which are all connected to people and entities in the creation and use of a name. To examine such issues one needs to explore the human agency in the naming process, which is inescapably rooted in history. But ethnonyms, whether autonoms or exonyms, also carry the potential of future interpretations, thus creating long-lasting legacies. Such legacies can be negative, as the case of "Pacific Eskimo," or positive, as in the example of the term "Sugpiaq." Exonyms have a tendency of falling out of usage because they do not carry in themselves an intrinsic meaning that the people they denote recognize as part of their own identity. Due to global sociopolitical changes, including the rise of an indigenous agency, during the past few decades the use of such exonyms has declined, giving way to autonoms that are often widely popularized with the intention of establishing legitimacy.

Clifford (2004:19), in his review of a traveling museum exhibition and accompanying book, *Looking Both Ways: Heritage and Identity of the Alutiiq People*, produced in collaboration with the Alutiiq Museum and the Smithsonian Institution's Arctic Studies Center in 2001, remarks that "one is left with the impression that the political label 'Alutiiq,' although it is becoming institutionally entrenched (with the help of projects like *Looking Both Ways*), cannot be a definitive 'tribal' or 'national' name." It is perhaps true that emerging autonoms often rely on "institutionally entrenched" popularization; however, it should not automatically bring into question their legitimacy as a name. After all, "ethnonyms . . . in their socially situated linguistic use, can offer insight into indigenous conceptions of the sociocultural universe" (Proschan 1997:91), which also encapsulates contemporary interpretation, past formulation, and future legacies.

It is undeniable that the ethnonym "Alutiiq" did not achieve a unanimous popularity in all Sugpiaq-Alutiiq regions. In a sense, the name Alutiiq intended to establish legitimacy by replacing all previously used ethnonyms through establishing cultural boundaries by exclusion. Use of the term "Alutiiq" helped to clarify the differences between Sugpiat Alutiit and "other" Aleuts with a Russian colonial past, but its use failed to acknowledge the differences the term created with the Sugpiaq people of the Lower Kenai area, whom the promoters of the term "Alutiiq" originally intended to represent (Crowell 2001:4). Again, it was the agency of the Sugpiaq people living in Nanwalek that engendered their conscious and consistent choice to refer of themselves as Sugpiaq. Their decisions were influenced by the meaning "Sugpiaq" holds for them; summing up their past through the

ethnic-identity they inherited from their ancestors, their present through their own interpretation of a Sugpiaq community, and their future as they raise the next generation to embrace Sugpiaq identity.

Alutiiq and Sugpiaq are ethnonyms and concepts of ethnic identity that can be very different from the vantage points of those living through a specific time period. Moreover, they are also different from the viewpoint of descendants to whom it is passed down and by whom it is constantly interpreted and reinterpreted. The differences Sugpiaq people perceive between their own ethnic identity and that of the Alutiiq are clearly pointed out in their dedicated resolve to an ethnonym at the local level at a time when the popularization of the ethnonym "Alutiiq" resulted in a constant pressure to conform.

The previously cited examples suggest that the most current trend in the Sugpiaq-Alutiiq region might see the fading away of the term "Alutiiq." The rediscovery of "Sugpiaq" as an autonym both by scholars and by the local people in the Kodiak region might point towards the re-evaluation of previously used ethnonyms, as well as a re-orientation of their perception of their past in order to express the emic interpretations of their ethnic identity in the present. Perhaps the name "Alutiiq" will remain in use only on the institutional level, while the changes in Alaska Native preferences will slowly transform bureaucratic and academic usage. And again, perhaps it will not. The idea compelling people in the Kodiak region, where the preference for "Alutiiq" has been represented as ubiquitous, to entertain the idea of using "Sugpiaq" as their primary ethnic identification and autonym is embedded in the history of their ancestors. They turn towards the name "Sugpiaq" because it has a meaning for them, which they can rely on in shaping their contemporary ethnic identity.

Ethnonyms, both autonoms and exonyms, change over time. They can be replaced, re-interpreted, applied to denote various groups of people, or changed to heighten their inclusivity or exclusivity. In the end, it is up to the people to decide which ethnonym expresses their ethnic identity to the fullest degree amidst rapidly changing sociopolitical dynamics, embodying self-determination in the process, through their agency that shapes collective representation.

Acknowledgments. I would like to thank the Nanwalek IRA Council and the people of Nanwalek for their collaboration and for hosting my research, as well as the National Science Foundation's Dissertation Improvement Fellowship (ARC# 0528564), the Otto William Geist Award, The Henry B. Collins Fellowship, and the University of Alaska Fairbanks Graduate School's Indigenous Studies Fellowship

for their generous support. I would also like to thank Sergei Kan for his comments on an earlier version of this paper, the anonymous reviewers at *Arctic Anthropology* for their helpful suggestions, Emilie Swenning at the Nanwalek Library for her assistance in locating sources, and the Alutiiq Museum & Archaeological Repository for providing me with a copy of their Interpretive Plan.

Endnotes

1. The widely used term "Inuit" instead of the previously used "Eskimo" does not hold any specific meaning in Alaska, where there are Yupik, Inupiaq, and Sugpiaq (or Alutiiq) people who all belong to the Eskimo language family, and sometimes are referred to as such. Referring to them as "Inuit" is not only incorrect, but also ill received by local people (Kaplan 1999).
2. The Alutiiq language has two main dialects, the Koniag and the Chugach. While Koniag is spoken on the Alaska Peninsula and the Kodiak Archipelago, Chugach is used on Prince William Sound and the lower Kenai Peninsula. The dialect spoken on the Kenai Peninsula is considered a sub-dialect, since the Chugach dialect has been influenced by the Koniag to the extent that it has formed its own version of Alutiiq (or Sugt'stun), representing a transition between the two main dialects (Leer 2001: 31).
3. "Sugt'stun" reflects the spelling currently used in Nanwalek, which was preceded by "Sugtestun." The same word is spelled *Sugcestun* in the neighboring community of Port Graham.
4. According to Johnson (1999), the name "Chugach" comes from the word *chu-ga* [hurry!], which was the word hunters used to urge one another when they saw the mountains of Prince William Sound emerging from the retreating ice sheet.
5. Cook and Norris (1998:27) list several of these previously occupied settlements ("an unnamed settlement in Aialik Bay; Yalik Village in Nuka Bay; Nuna'tunaq in Rocky Bay; Kogiu-xtolik in Dogfish or Koyuktolik Bay; Axu'layik at Port Chatham; Chrome, or 'To'qakvik' at the entrance of Port Chatham") (based on conversation with Pat Norman, Port Graham Village President in 1992).
6. The term "Chugach Eskimo" was once prevalent in academia without much contestation from the Sugpiat-Alutiiq of Prince William Sound and the Kenai Peninsula. Currently, it is not a term that people would use as a self-identification and it is considered quite dated.
7. For instance, Anthony Woodbury classifies Sugt'stun speakers as "Pacific Yupik" in his

study *Eskimo and Aleut Languages* (Woodbury 1984:53).

8. While the people living in Port Graham now are divided between Orthodoxy and a non-denominational church, in 1947 Orthodoxy was still the main religion of the community. In the neighboring community of Nanwalek, Russian Orthodoxy is still the only religion.

9. Creoles "... enjoyed exemption from taxations and obligatory state services, including military service, had a right to education at company expenses, and opportunity for social mobility and freedom of choice not open to Russians of lower ranks" (Black 2004:218).

10. Today many Native people, especially the older generation, still identify with the term "Aleut." However, not all of these people are Sugpiaq-Alutiiq, as for example many Yup'ik speaking people in the Bristol Bay area also refer to themselves as Aleut (Oleksa 1990:251).

11. Patricia Partnow's systematic usage of the term "Alutiiq" in connection with the Alaska Peninsula villages and people may suggest that it is the preferred identifying term in that region (Partnow 2001:17).

12. These names are formulated with the addition of "-miut" to the stem of the word (Koniagmiut, Nanwalegmiut, Paluwigmiut, etc.)

13. Nanwalek is often referred to as the most traditional village, due to its success in preserving pre-contact cultural elements and language usage (Davis 1984).

References Cited

- Alaska Federation of Natives
2002– <http://www.nativefederation.org/about/regions.php> (accessed 25 January, 2011).
- Alaska Native Heritage Center
2008 http://www.alaskanative.net/en/main_nav/education/culture_alaska/unangax/ (accessed 26 January, 2011).
- Alaska Native Knowledge Network
n.d. <http://ankn.uaf.edu/> (accessed 26 January, 2011).
- Alaska Native Language Center
2007 <http://www.uaf.edu/anlc/languages/> (accessed 26 January, 2011).
- Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository
n.d. alutiiqmuseum.org/ (accessed 25 January, 2011).
- 2009 Alutiiq Museum Interpretive Plan. On file, Alutiiq Museum, Kodiak.
- Arndt, Katherine L.
1993 "Released to Reside Forever in the Colonies": Founding of a Russian-American Company Retirement Settlement at Ninilchik, Alaska. In *Agrafena's Children*. Wayne Leman, ed. Pp. 31–46. Ninilchik: Lulu Press.
- Barth, Fredrik
1969 *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.
- Birket-Smith, Kaj
1953 *The Chugach Eskimo*. Copenhagen: Nationalmuseets Publikationsfor, Ethnographic Raekke, 6.
- Black, Lydia
1980 *The Journals of Iakov Netsvetov*. Kingston: The Limestone Press.
2004 *Russians in Alaska 1732–1867*. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.
- Black, Lydia and Rosa G. Liapunova
1988 Aleut: Islanders of the North Pacific. In *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska*. W. W. Fitzhugh and A. L. Crowell, eds. Pp. 52–57. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Campbell, Gregory R.
2001 The Lemhi Shoshoni: Ethnogenesis, Sociological Transformation, and the Construction of a Tribal Nation. *American Indian Quarterly* 25(4):539–578.
- Clark, Donald W.
1984 Pacific Eskimo: Historical Ethnography. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 5, Arctic. David Damas, ed. Pp. 185–197. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- 1988 Pacific Eskimo Encoded Precontact History. In *Late Prehistoric Development of Alaska's Native People*. R. D. Shaw, R. K. Harritt, D. E. Dumond, eds. Pp. 211–223. Aurora Monograph of the Alaska Anthropological Association, 4. Anchorage: Alaska Anthropological Association.
- Clifford, James
2004 Looking Several Ways: Anthropology and Native Heritage in Alaska. *Current Anthropology* 45(1):5–30.
- Cohen, Anthony P.
1985 *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. New York: E. Horwood.
- Cohen, Kenneth S.
n.d. Kenneth S. Cohen Collection. Arctic and Polar Regions Archive, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.
- Cook, Linda and Frank Norris
1998 *A Stern and Rock-Bound Coast*. Anchorage: National Park Service.

- Crowell, Aron L.
 2001 Looking Both Ways. In *Looking Both Ways: Heritage and Identity of the Alutiiq People*. Aron Crowell, Amy Steffian, and Gordon Pullar, eds. Pp. 3–19. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.
- 2004 Terms of Engagement: The Collaborative Representation of Alutiiq Identity. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 28(1):9–35.
- Crowell, Aron L. and William W. Fitzhugh (eds.)
 1988 Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Crowell, Aron L. and Sonja Lührmann
 2001 Alutiiq Culture: Views from Archeology, Anthropology, and History. In *Looking Both Ways: Heritage and Identity of the Alutiiq People*. Aron L. Crowell, Amy Steffian, and Gordon Pullar, eds. Pp. 21–71. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.
- Crowell, Aron L., Amy F. Steffian, and Gordon L. Pullar, (eds.)
 2001 Looking Both Ways: Heritage and Identity of the Alutiiq People. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.
- Csoba DeHass, Medeia
 2009 Sugpiaq Russian Orthodoxy—Conceptual Analogy in Religious Syncretism in Nanwalek Alaska. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska Fairbanks.
- Davis, Nancy Yaw
 1970 The Role of the Russian Orthodox Church in Five Pacific Eskimo Villages as Revealed by the Earthquake. In *The Great Alaska Earthquake of 1964. Human Ecology Volume*. Eugene Hass and Robert W. Kates, eds. Pp. 125–145. Washington, D.C.: National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences.
- 1984 Contemporary Pacific Eskimo. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 5, Arctic. David Damas, ed. Pp. 198–204. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- de Laguna, Frederica
 1956 Chugach Prehistory: The Archaeology of Prince William Sound, Alaska. Seattle: University of Washington Publications in Anthropology.
- 1975 The Archeology of Cook Inlet, Alaska. New York: AMS.
- Dumond, D. E.
 1987 The Eskimos and Aleuts. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Fedorova, Svetlana G.
 1975 Ethnic Processes in Russian America. Historical and Fine Arts Museum Occasional Paper, 1. Anchorage Historical and Fine Art Museum.
- Goddard, Ives
 1984 The Study of Native North American Ethnonymy. In *Naming Systems*. Elizabeth Tooker, ed. Pp. 95–107. Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society, 1980.
- Gsovski, V.
 1950 Russian Administration of Alaska and the Status of the Alaska Natives. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Haakanson, Sven Jr.
 2010 Written Voices become History. In *Being and Becoming Indigenous Archaeologists*. George Nicholas, ed. Pp. 116–120. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Haakanson, Sven Jr. and Amy F. Steffian
 2009 Giinaquq Like a Face: Sugpiaq Masks of the Kodiak Archipelago. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.
- Holmberg, Heinrich J.
 1985 Holmberg's Ethnographic Sketches. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.
- Jenkins, Richard
 1997 Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations. London: Thousand Oaks.
- Johnson, John F. C.
 1999 Origin of the Name. Chugach Alaska Corporation website. www.chugach-ak.com/whowear/cultural/Pages/OriginoftheName.aspx (accessed 24 January, 2011).
- Kaplan, Lawrence
 1999 Inuit or Eskimo: Which Names to Use? Fairbanks, Alaska: Alaska Native Language Center. www.uaf.edu/anlc/inuitoresimo.html (accessed 25 January, 2011).
- Khlebnikov, K. T.
 1994 Notes on Russian America. Kingston and Fairbanks: Limestone Press.
- Knecht, R. A.
 1995 The Late Prehistory of the Alutiiq People: Culture Change in the Kodiak Archipelago from 1200–1750 AD. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Bryn Mawr College.
- Koniag Inc.
 2011 www.koniag.com/our-culture/ (accessed 26 January, 2011).
- Larson, Pier M.
 1996 Desperately Seeking 'the Merina' (Central Madagascar): Reading Ethnonyms and Their Semantic Fields in African Identity Histories. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22(4):541–560.
- Leer, Jeff
 2001 The Alutiiq Language. In *Looking Both Ways: Heritage and Identity of the Alutiiq People*. Aron L. Crowell, Amy F. Steffian, and Gordon Pullar, eds. P. 31. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.

- 2003 Nanwalegmiut Paluwigmiut-Illu Nupugnerit. *Conversational Alutiiq Dictionary*, Kenai Peninsula Alutiiq. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska Fairbanks.
- Luehrmann, Sonja
2008 *Alutiiq Villages Under Russian and US Rule*. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.
- Mailhot, José
1986 Beyond Everyone's Horizon Stand the Naskapi. *Ethnohistory* 33(4):384–418.
- Mason, Rachel
1995 *Alutiiq Ethnographic Bibliography*. Alaska Native Knowledge Network. www.ankn.uaf.edu/ANCR/Alutiiq/RachelMason/index.html (accessed 26 January, 2011).
- Morseth, Michele
2003 Puyulek Pu'irtuq! The People of the Volcanoes. Anchorage: National Park Service and Alaska Natural History Association.
- Mulcahy, Joanne
2001 *Birth and Rebirth on an Alaskan Island: The Life of an Alutiiq Healer*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Native Village of Afognak
n.d. www.afognak.org/html/who-we-are.php (accessed 26 January, 2011).
- Okun, S. B.
1951 *The Russian-American Company*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Old Harbor Native Corporation
n.d. oldharbornativecorp.com/ (accessed 26 January, 2011).
- Oleksa, Michael
1990 Orthodoxy and the Evolution of Aleut Culture. In *The Legacy of St. Vladimir: Byzantium, Russia, America*. John Breck, John Meyendorff, and Eleana Silk, eds. Pp. 243–258. Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.
- 1992 *Orthodox Alaska. A Theology of Mission*. Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.
- Ortner, Sherry
1990 Patterns of History: Cultural Schemas in the Foundings of Sherpa Religious Institutions. In *Culture Through Time: Anthropological Approaches*. E. Ohnuki-Tierney, ed. Pp. 57–93. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Ouzinkie Native Corporaion
n.d. www.ouzinkienativecorporation.com/profile.php (accessed 26 January, 2011).
- Partnow, Patricia
2001 *Making History: Alutiiq/Sugpiaq Life on the Alaska Peninsula*. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.
- Pierce, Richard
1984 *The Russian American Company: Correspondence of the Governors, Communications Sent 1818*. Kingston: Limestone Press.
- Proschan, Frank
1997 "We Are All Kmhmu, Just the Same": Ethnonyms, Ethnic Identities, and Ethnic Groups. *American Ethnologist* 24(1):91–113.
- Pullar, Gordon
1992 Ethnic Identity, Cultural Pride and Generations of Baggage: A Personal Experience. *Arctic Anthropology* 29(2):182–209.
- 1994 Alutiiq. In *Native America in the Twentieth Century: An Encyclopedia*. Mary B. Davis, ed. Pp. 29–31. New York: Garland Publishing.
- 1996 Aleut. In *Encyclopedia of North American Indian*. Frederick E. Hoxie, ed. Houghton Mifflin Company. www.college.cengage.com/history/readerscomp/naind/html/na_001300_aleut.htm (accessed 22 January, 2011).
- 2005 Indigenous Self-Government and Political Institutions in Alaska. In *An Indigenous Parliament? Realities and Perspectives in Russia and the Circumpolar North*. Kathrin Wessendorf, ed. Pp. 98–117. Copenhagen: IWGIA and RAIPON.
- 2007 Repatriation, Cultural Revitalization and Indigenous Healing in Alaska. In *Utmut: Past Heritage—Future Partnerships—Discussions on Repatriation in the 21st Century*. Mille Gabriel and Jens Dahl, eds. Pp. 108–115. Copenhagen: IWGIA and the Greenland National Museum and Archives.
- 2010 Sugpiaq. In *Living Our Cultures, Sharing Our Heritage: The First Peoples of Alaska*. Aron Crowell, Rosita Worl, Paul C. Ongtooguk, and Dawn Biddison, eds. Pp. 148–173. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Pullar, Gordon L. and Richard A. Knecht
2004 Alutiiq. Arctic Studies Center. www.mnh.si.edu/arctic/features/croads/modaleut.html (accessed 24 January, 2011).
- Riasanovsky, Nicholas V.
1969 *A History of Russia*. New York, London, and Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Saltonstall, Patrick and Amy F. Steffian
2005 *Stories from Stone: the Archeology of Horseshoe Cove*. Kodiak: Alutiiq Museum and Archeological Repository.
- Simeonoff, Helen
2008 *History. Coming Home: The Return of Alutiiq Masks*. Koahnic Broadcast Corporation. dmaeroberts.com/cominghome/ (accessed 24 January, 2011).
- Steffian, Amy F.
2001 Cummillallret—Ancestors. In *Looking Both Ways: Heritage and Identity of the Alutiiq Peo-*

- ple. Aron Crowell, Amy Steffian, and Gordon Pullar, eds. Pp. 99–135. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.
- Tapper, Richard
2008 Who are the Kuchi? Nomad Self-Identities in Afghanistan. *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute* (N.S.) 14:97–116.
- Tikhmenev, P. A.
1979 A History of the Russian American Company. Kingston: Limestone Press.
- Townsend, Joan
1980 Ranked Societies of the Alaska Pacific Rim. In *Alaska Native Culture and History*. Y. Kotani and W. Workman, eds. Pp. 123–156. Senri: National Museum of Ethnology.
- Willis, Justin
1992 The Makings of a Tribe: Bondei Identities and Histories. *The Journal of African History* 33(2):191–208.
- Woodbury, Anthony C.
1984 Eskimo and Aleut Languages. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 5, Arctic. David Damas, ed. Pp. 49–63. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Workman, William B.
1998 Archaeology of the Southern Kenai Peninsula. *Arctic Anthropology* 35(1):146–159.
- Workman, William B. and Karen Wood Workman
2010 The End of the Kachemak Tradition on the Kenai Peninsula, Southcentral Alaska. *Arctic Anthropology* 47(2):90–96.
- Znamenski, Andrei A.
2003 Through Orthodox Eyes. Russian Missionary Narratives of Travels to Dena'ina and Athna, 1850s–1930s. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.