CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND ON THE ORAL HISTORY ACCOUNTS OF UICIMAALLEQ (WALTER KELLY)

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The Anthropology and Historic Preservation—Cooperative Park Studies Unit (AHP-CPSU), a research branch of the National Park Service (NPS), was tasked with fulfilling the NPS regulatory responsibilities relative to implementation of Section 14(h)(1) of the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA). Specifically, NPS was responsible for providing technical assistance to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) with respect to archaeological, historical, and ethnographic research on the ANCSA 14(h)(1) project (e.g., see Pratt 2004, 2009a). The AHP-CPSU filled that role from the mid-1970s through the spring of 1983.

One way AHP-CPSU provided the required assistance was by helping ANCSA-created Native Regional Corporations to gather the baseline data necessary to generate their ANCSA 14(h)(1) historical place and cemetery site applications. Nearly all of the Native Regional Corporations that ultimately filed ANCSA 14(h)(1) claims received assistance from AHP-CPSU research staff during the application process. For some regions in which that work occurred, the collected data were subsequently compiled and published by AHP-CPSU (e.g., Andrews 1977; Koutsky 1981, 1982; Reckord 1983).

In the case of the Calista corporate region, Susan Hansen was the lead AHP-CPSU researcher for the lower Yukon River area. The interviews she conducted in 1976 with *Uicimaalleq* (Walter Kelly [Fig. 1])—a Yup'ik Eskimo resident of Pilot Station, Alaska—were part of the initial ANCSA 14(h)(1) site information-gathering process. *Uicimaalleq* was a monolingual Yup'ik speaker, so his accounts were interpreted into English during the interview sessions by other Pilot Station residents—most notably Noel Polty (*Kumkaq*, 1919–1991 [Fig. 2]), to whom Walter was a role model. Noel clearly was not comfortable in the role of interpreter, probably because Yup'ik was his first language and also the language he much preferred to speak. This is reflected in part by the fact that details

of *Uicimaalleq*'s accounts were clarified or expanded upon in separate interviews in 1976 with Noel, each of which was conducted with a Yup'ik interpreter. Noel provided further details relevant to those accounts in 1982, when ANCSA researchers field-investigated several of the sites discussed by *Uicimaalleq* in 1976.

Uicimaalleq was born in ca. 1898 (Kelly 1976:2) at the old fishing site of *Kangi'ir* (Kelly, Polty, and Greene 1976; Kelly, Polty, and Polty 1976)—sometimes called "Old Pilot Station"—and died at Pilot Station in 1982.¹ His father was *Petgeralria* (also *Petgerpiar* [Kelly, Polty, and Greene 1976:30] and "Bobby" [Kelly 1976]) and his

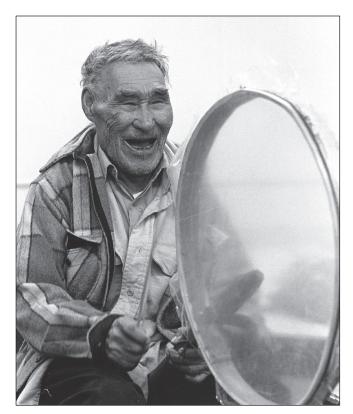


Figure 1. Uicimaalleq (Walter Kelly), 1977. Courtesy James H. Barker.



Figure 2. Noel Polty (left) and Dan Greene at a dance performance in Stebbins, Alaska, 1984. Courtesy James H. Barker.

mother, who was evidently Russian (Polty 1982b:39), was *Penguq*. Revered as a kind and compassionate person (e.g., Polty 1982a, 1982b), *Uicimaalleq* was very knowledgeable about the Native history of the lower Yukon River region.

Uicimaalleq was the maternal uncle of Noel's father (Polty 1982a:1, 36): that is, Noel's father's mother was Uicimaalleq's older sister. But Noel referred to Uicimaalleq as his grandfather (e.g., Polty and Greene 1976:2). When Noel's father, Yugissaq (Jacob Tunucuk),² "became an orphan" at a young age, Uicimaalleq's mother Penguq adopted him, so Uicimalleq and Noel's father "grew up together" (Polty 1982a:2). Their bonds with one another probably explain Noel's Yup'ik name, Kumkaq. That is, Uicimaalleq's Yup'ik name was Kumkaq until the death of his older brother, after which his name was changed to Uicimaalleq (Polty 1982a:3–6; see also Kelly 1976).

The accounts presented in the translation that follows are based on a series of oral history interviews conducted with *Uicimalleq* that were supplemented by testimony from Noel Polty. The first account concerns the personal history of *Uicimaaleq*. It provides insights into early-twentieth-century Yup'ik life in the lower Yukon River

area and also reveals the significant impacts of erosional processes on former Yup'ik settlements along the Yukon's northern bank. The second account is a traditional story centered on caribou hunting (snaring in particular) in the southern Nulato Hills; however, it also offers clues about Yup'ik social behavior and social control and Yup'ik–Deg Hit'an intergroup relations, territoriality, and land tenure practices.³

Comparatively speaking, there has probably been less material presented about Yup'ik cultural history in the lower Yukon area than in any other subarea of the Yup'ik region. Publication of the *Uicimaalleq* narratives helps chip away at that imbalance.

NOTES

 Estimates regarding *Uicimaalleq*'s date of birth range from ca. 1884 to 1898, and his birthplace has also been reported as the former village of *Kuigpalleq* (i.e., Polty 1982a:35; Pratt 2009b:145, 149). But the birth date and place indicated herein are considered the most likely.

- 2. For three years, Jacob assisted a dog-team mail carrier named Aata Polty with his mail runs, and that was the genesis of Noel's father being given the surname Polty. As Noel (Polty 1982a:2–3) explained, "That's when [the mail carrier] gave him his name, Polty, since there was nobody else with that name [in Pilot Station]."
- 3. Together, the *Uicimaalleq* narratives hint at the rich information that can be found in the oral history component of the BIA ANCSA 14(h)(1) collection.

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TWO ORAL HISTORY NARRATIVES BY *UICIMAALLEQ* (WALTER KELLY): PILOT STATION, ALASKA

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ELMINEK QANEMCIKLUNI PERSONAL HISTORY OF UICIMAALLEQ

Tua taugken murilkengama, tua-i nutaan imutun tupalriatun qavarraarlua tupalriatun. Taima-llu nani-kiq taima palagg'uutarmek tangercia. Tua palagg'uutacuarmek uvaagurluni. Taima-llu ipcan cellaka cali nalluyaulluku. Nutaan uumi qavallemnek tuar tupalrianga. Nutaan tupaumalua. Murilkelluku ayuquciqa nutaan.

< After I became observant, it was as if I woke up from sleeping. I don't remember where I first saw a steamboat. It was a small steamboat that rocked from side to side [as it moves on the river]. I don't remember what happened after it disappeared around the bend in the channel. Finally, it seems as if I awoke from sleeping recently. Finally, I was staying awake [fully observant]. I finally was able to observe how I was. >

Tua-i-am tuar nutaan tua murilkengama murilkellua Cingigmi uani. Im'um Goose Island kiatiini. Tuakenam nutaan cali taugken nutaan ikavet Kuigpallermun cunawa. Aanama-wa taum. Tua kiagan cali kiavet cunawa Kangi'irmun. Nutaan uksuan itrarluni qamavet taukunun Anqercagmiunun. Waniwa nenglengatarluku cunawa.

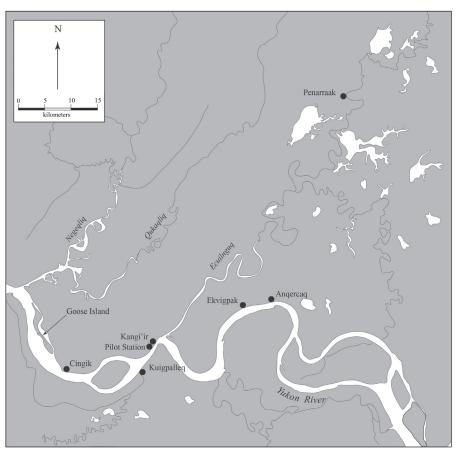
< Then when I became observant I realized we were downstream at *Cingik*. It is upstream from Goose Island. Later I realized that we had moved [from *Cingik*] to *Kuigpalleq*. Well, it was my mother. I realized later that that summer we had moved to *Kangi'ir*. That winter we moved inland [upriver] to the village of *Angercaq* [also *Angercak*]. I discovered it was just before the cold weather sets in. >

Enaarauluni tamana carraq culurrluni. Cunawa usserqeksuarallermini tuani tua. Kiituani imkut nunat imkut tua. Keluqvani-wa pamani qasgi ima-llu-qaa mikluni. Kiituani uksurtuq, usserqengan tua unilluku. Mamteranun kell'iita tekiteqanrakun, unilluku. Ikavet-am nutaan Kuigpallermun tua-i anelraurlurluta ataam.

< We had docked at a small beach. I found out later that the riverbank [at Anqercaq] was eroding ever so slightly at that time. As time went by that village [had to move out]. Far in the back of the village was a men's communal house [qasgiq] and it wasn't a small one. Soon it was winter, and we left the village because of the eroding riverbank. When the erosion reached the area in front of the caches, we left the place. We sadly returned to Kuigpalleq. >

Nutaan ullanqigtevkenaku tauna Anqercak userqengan, nunat imkut piirucata. Anqialan-am, uksuqataan tamakut piciatun cuut tua piluteng mamteriluteng tua. Kiagiluteng. Tuavet-am nutaan uksuqataan kuicuartangqertuq tauna ingrirraam ketii kiugna. Anglii itrumanarqaqluki.

< We never went back to Angercaq because of the erosion, and the village was gone. Regrettably, winter was advancing so the people moved to wherever they could and made caches. They survived the winter. Just before winter [we made our home at] a creek in front of a mountain upstream. We had to travel a fairly long way into the channel [before reaching the place]. >



Ekvigpak, Ekvigpagmek acirluku. Katurrluteng qasgililuteng-llu tuaten. Nutaan, nunaurrluteng. Kangitmun tamana waten wani neng'uluni. Kiavet! Nutaan tuani itrarraarluteng anelranqigcami mom-aurluqa nutaan ikegkun pektenqigtevkenani. Kuigpallermiungurrluni taqlirluni.

< Ekvigpak, they named it Ekvigpak. They came together [at that place] and built a men's communal house. Finally, it became a village. There were houses all the way to the headwaters. To upstream! After my beloved mother moved downstream from upstream [Anqercaq], she didn't move again from that place across there [across from Pilot Station]. Kuigpalleq became her permanent home. >

Table 1. Places mentioned in the text or shown on the accompanying map (above).

Yup'ik Name	Translation	Variant Name(s)	Feature Type
Cingik	"point, tip"		Summer camp
Kuigpalleq	"former big river [Kuigpak]"	Starikvikhpak (Nelson 1899); Starry (old) Kwikhpak (Dall 1870)	Village
Anqercaq	"way to go out (quick)"	Ankachagmyut/Razboynichniy (Zagoskin 1967); Razboinik (Nelson 1899)	Village
Ekvigpak	"big bank"		Village
Penarraak	"just a little bluff"		Village, summer/fall camp
Ecuilnguq	"clear water"	Chuilnak River/Atchuelinguk River (Orth 1967)	River
Kangi'ir	"corner" (?)	Old Pilot Station	Village
Tuntutulit	"ones (hills) with many caribou"	Nulato Hills (e.g., Polty et al. 1982)	Mountain range
Tuutalgaq	"one with labrets"	Pilot Station	Modern village
Utngucegnaq	"one resembling a wart" (?)		Hill
Utngucegnaq	"one resembling a wart" (?)		Slough
Kangiqaq	"corral"		Caribou corral
Aqaaleq	?		Mountain
Negeqliq	"north one"	Konnekova River (Raymond 1869); Andreafsky River (Orth 1967)	River
Qukaqliq	"middle one"	East Fork Andreafsky River (Orth 1967)	River
		Goose Island (Orth 1967)	Island in Yukon River

Uavet-am uksuiyaaqluteng neqlegnun.
[Katurrlainarmek] unisceci-llu tauna. Tuqullrani-llu unisturluun tauna, atavut-wa, Bobby, qamuqtarturluku. Cangerlagpak pim pian tuani kiagan neqlilriit taqeq'anratgun. Suirluku kiugna. Qamuqtarturluku watua wani tailluku. Ellakautetcuaqerluku taugaam. Camek qanikciurutmek-llu piitellemteni, tamaani. Tua agiyarrarnek taugaam muragnek waten tegg'arnek teguyararluku. Taukunek tua ikwaqtarluku tuaten.

< They made a fall camp downstream where the fish were. Our² fathers [were always together]. At the time of your beloved parent's [*Yugissaq*'s] death, our father, Bobby,³ [put his body in a sled and] pulled [the sled to his burial place]. An epidemic had occurred just after the summer salmon-fishing season was over. Most of the people died at that place upstream. He immediately [brought his body in a sled]. [When he buried his friend's body,] he only dug a little into the ground. At that time, we didn't have any shovels and hardly much else. We only had small wedges that had handles made of hardwood. That's what they used to shovel the earth. >

Taum kinguani tua cangerlagpak pinrituq. Qesalriit makut kingunrurtellriit ellaitgun qesalaryukluki. Cunawa cugnek qunuyugluteng pilarsaaqellinilriit. Qesa nagcesciigatuq cakneq. Callemnek tua-i waniwa, usviklemnek-qaa waniw' qanresqellua piatnga?

< No more epidemics occurred after that. I thought that the descendents [of the deceased] who cried did that for no reason. I found out they evidently did that because they were grieving for the people who had died. Grieving does not hold fast. The things I did, do they [the interviewers] want me to tell of the things I remember? >

Tua-i-wa waniwa murilkellemni tua tuani murilkellemni. Ikegken calligtaurlunrituq momaurluqa anelraami. Usserqengan, calligtaallrunrituq. Kiavet kiagaqan Kangi'irmun piaqluta qalullerrarmun neqsullrarmun. Pelacinagnek-llu qiminainateng imkut.

< I am telling you of the times I observed [remember]. My beloved mother didn't move again from that place [Kuigpalleq] across there when she went downstream. Because it had begun to erode, she didn't move again. We would go to the fish-processing place at Kangi'ir in the summers where we fished with dip nets. At that time, we had no twine [for making fishnets]. >

Canek taugaam makunek melqulegglainarnek aturluta qerrulliinata-llu. Tua-i makunek taugaam canek

makunek qerrullikcararangqerraqluta qumignek-wa tuntut qumiitńek. Tuntut qumiitńek taugaam. Cali iluprunata tulvaamek watpik tangerrnaunata tangegsaunata.

< We only wore fur clothing and we had no pants [made of fabric]. We only had some sort of pants made from the skins of the caribou fetuses. Only the skins of caribou fetuses [were used]. We also had no underwear made of fabric and we didn't see anyone wearing them ever. >

Tua mom, mom-aurlumta-wa mingquyaaqluni tuallu tamakunek. Cali uksurqan, neqet qeltaitnek makut amirauriluta. Aliimaterluta tuatńaurluta-llu amiragnek. Neqa qeviinganrituq tamaani.

< Our beloved mother sewed our clothing. Also in the winter, we took the scales off from the fish skins. These scaled skins were used to make mittens. Fish was [not neglected, and was very useful] during those times. >

Cayaqlirluni nutaan kass'anek qanerluteng. Tamaaniwa kass'angnaciallrulriit. Cat kass'at nurnalriit. Wii-llu tamana kass'angnaciallrat anguluku.

< Finally, one day they start to speak of the foreigners. Well, it was a long time before the foreigners came. The different types of foreigners were not seen much. I saw those times when there was none. >4

TUNTUSSURYAURRLUTENG THE MEN BEGIN TO SNARE CARIBOU

Tauna-wa Allauguaq tauna. Tua tuaken. Tua kiugkut tua taukuk tauna cali anngaqelriik suugqaarlutek ayallinilriik tuavet Ecuilngurmun nalaqaarluku taun' tan'gurraq uumiklertek. Natmun ayagvigkailamek unani-llu ayakunek unavet nalaciiqngatek unkut anguyagnivtevkenaku.

< Yes, well, that story is *Allauguaq*.⁵ I'm going to begin with that. The story is about two brothers who evidently went to *Ecuilnguq*⁶ after they killed a boy they hated. They had nowhere else to go; even if they went down to the coast they would be killed regardless that they were not at war. >

Tua taugken tuani Ecuilngurkun mayullinilutek piunairutellranun kiavet tua qimalriik taukuk. Nutaanam, kuicuarmi, enemek tekitellinilutek napairutellrani pakmani nacviim-llu quliini. Napaqetaarangqengermi, kakivkunritellratni.

< So, the two evidently escaped up into *Ecuilnguq* until they could go no farther. Finally, at a creek, they came upon a house that was on a clearing [or a meadow] above

a lookout point. Although there were trees in some places, they were not dense. >

Tua nulirqelriignek camek ilaunatek. Arenqiallutek taukuk, itrinarlukek imkuk nulirqelriik taukuk ena tauna. Maaten itliuk, nulirqelriik angutngurteklagluni tauna uinga. Tauna cali arnangiar. Pamsurpek'natek. Qansurpek'natek. Ayuarpek'natek. Qanrucaaqelliak. Aipani tangllia nuliani tangllia camek im' surivqurluni. Aanqiatuk niitenritnilutek. Surivvlutek qanerlutek, Ingqiliitun.

< They came upon a couple who were living alone. Since the two were in a desperate situation, they did not even offer the couple a gift for coming into their house. Upon entering the house, they saw the couple and noticed the husband was an old man. The woman was old also. The two didn't respond. The two didn't talk. The two didn't ayuaq.⁷ The two told the couple [why they were there]. The couple only looked at each other, and said something the two did not understand. The two indicated they did not understand. The couple spoke in another language, in Inggiliq [Deg Hit'an]. >8

Pivkenaku imna arenqialamek. Qayuwa picirkailamek, taukuk tuntumek nerevkallinilukek elluciraarlukek. Elluciraarluteng taugaam pilliniluteng. Taqiturtuk imkuk. Tua ilaliurlukek cakneq. Tua uitallinilutek elkek-llu allakarmek enelilutek tuaten.

< The two [brothers] stopped [trying to communicate] since it was frustrating. Since they had nothing else to do, the couple evidently offered them caribou to eat, signaling with their hands. They evidently could only communicate with hand signals. The two [assisted the couple]. The two were very friendly with the couple. So the two evidently stayed and they even built a house for themselves. >

Negaararturlulliniami tauna uinga tauna. Tuaten malikurlutek [piaqlutek]. Taum wani qemiiluugtaqan tua arnaq tauna unilluku uinganek taugem malilirlutek tua-i. Tua nutaan elkek-llu egluut tuntut egluutnek qip'iluki pirriluki. Negaliluteng tuntussuutnek. Nutaan negaqengaqlutek. Kiituani elkek-llu tuntunek tua pissurlutek pitgaqulutek paminqeggaamek. Tua ciringluteng.

< It seems the husband could only set snares. The couple would leave together [to set snares]. When the husband went up to the ridges, leaving [his wife] behind, the two would go with her husband. The two men also worked with sinew, twisting and braiding caribou sinew. They made snares to catch caribou. They finally started to snare</p>

caribou. Soon the two [brothers] hunted for caribou, and since they were healthy and strong, they used their bows and arrows. Soon they had plenty [of food and skins]. >

Uksurpak uitaluteng. Imkuk-llu kingunicungraagnek qunuklukek imkuk Anqercagmiuk taukuk qunuklukek. Uitaurluteng katurmeng. Arenqialagnek kusguklukek. Tua nunaseklu tauna yaaraarauluku qamani. Tuaterpak-llu qasgiq. Qasgigmek, Qasgimek aterpaggluku. Qasgimiut-wa qamkut imna qamani.

< They stayed there all that winter. Although the two from *Angercaq* wanted to return home, the couple didn't want them to leave. They all stayed together in that place. The men pitied the couple [because they were in need of assistance]. They made the place comfortable to live in. They did the same to a *qasgi*. They named that place *Qasgiq*. Well, it's that village of *Qasgiq* inland. >9

Pellugitevkenani-gguq qaingani tuani cali qanermilutek taukuk. Asgurlutek tamaaggun tua tevsarakun carvakun cali pirraarlutek. [Ugqaarlutek] piunairutaqan tua elgutellrek tamana tev'aru'ulluku cali carvamun maavet kanaumalriamun Ecuilngurmun. An'aqlutek tamaavet tua-i.

< The two also said it did not pass on top of that while they were there [sentence is unclear]. The two would head upstream following the stream before they went through the portage. [After they climbed up,] when they couldn't go any farther they carried their canoe over the portage to the stream that goes to *Ecuilnguq*. That is how they came out into that area. >

Tua uksurpak uitalliniluteng tua [katurmeng]. Taukuk-llu qunuklukek. Cam iliini uksuumainanrani erenret takliluki pengegtullinilukek malruulutek nallunrilamek-llu taukuk enecuaraak. Taukugnek taugem alingsaaqlutek. Nutaan aipaa qantulliniluni tua makumiutun. Aipaa taugem niicuunani surivvluni taugaam.

< So they evidently [lived together] that winter. The couple didn't want the two to leave. Then one winter day after the daylight lengthened, two men evidently came to check on the couple since they knew where the small cabin was. That was the only time the two [brothers] became fearful of the two men. Now, one of the men who had just arrived evidently knew how to speak our language. The other one didn't understand and only spoke [in his] language [Deg Hit'an]. >

Nutaan ayuqucimegnetun qanemcilluku tauna angun qantulria, tauna egvirkartek. Utercungraagnek qunuk'linilukek caknek. Tunralleqlukek uksugpak uitanilutek. Waniwa ilangekagnek kingunekegnek atrakagnek taugken ayagciqnilutek kingunermeggnun. Tagngaitniluteng. [Break in recording.].

< That was when they were finally able to tell their story to the one who understood their language and who would act as the interpreter. He told him that although they wanted to return home, the couple did not want them to leave. With much embarrassment at having to impose on the old couple, they had stayed with them that winter. That when the old couple had someone from their home village to stay with them they would leave to return home. They would not come back up. [Break in recording.] >

...tauna. Nutaan-am atraamek kingunicaamek malrugnek tuani allrakurteqerlutek paqcugluku kingunetek. Tungelqungqermiamek-wa tamaani. Tua-i nutaan qanraarlutek ayuqucirqamegnek, waniwa suugtartek imna tua uigtuayugluku. Qangvarpak negarturkaitnek anernertek cimirniluku, cimirciqniluku. Qatmurtauciarluki taukut kingunetek. Tua pissurnarqelriit makut tua tamaani cayaqlirluteng taugaam pitgaqutullratńi pitell'ata.

<...that one. The two [brothers] finally returned home [to *Angercaq*] after staying away for two years, to see how their home was. Well, they had relatives in the village. After speaking about how their lives might be, they wanted to try to make amends for killing a person. In exchange for their lives, they wanted to give them a place where they may set snares for as long as they can. They wanted to see whether they would be forgiven by the people from their home village. During the time when they used the bows and arrows, they hardly ever caught [caribou]. >10

Aanqialagnek qunukngailamegneki-llu taukut asiignek taima. Pinarian-am tua negarturnariqataan nutaan Anqercagmun pilutek cakmavet. Nutaan-llu piukacestek-llu tuaten anernertek tua-i. Ellmegni-wa [anerteqerkaunriryuklutek], piukatki-wa pisqelluki. Akingnaqesqevkenaku. Qessaluni kinguqlini tauna. Akiungnaqesqevkenaki. Ellmeggnek qevlutek.

< When the unfortunate pair left, no one cared. When it was time to set the snares, the two came downstream to Angercaq. They were willing to be killed if it came to that. They thought [they would be killed], but they were willing to die. [The older brother] did not want to fight back. The younger one [didn't want to return]. [The older one told</p>

the younger one] not to fight back. The two [quickly went to the village]. >

Nutaan qasgimi, tua neqrarmek tua pirraarlukek iqemkarcestaalukek. Nutaan teggenra tauna anngii qanlliniluni, "Aarrakiika-wa imumi suurqaarlunuk ayalriakuk. Tua-i taugken ayiimnuk, Ecuilngumun pakmavet napairutellranun. Tua qavcini napani taugaam tua pilunuk. Tua tamaani nunakarcuallemegni, Ingqilinek tekillunuk nulirqellriignek. Ayagsuarpek'natek. Tauna-llu [uinga] tan'gurauvkenani tauna. Teggenruluni. Tamarmek teggenrulutek. Negarturturlallinilria tuntut tumsaraatńi.

< At the men's communal home, they were given a bit of food to eat. Then the older brother finally spoke up, saying, "It is true that after we killed a person we left this place. When we left, we went to *Ecuilnguq* to a place where there were no trees. We only saw several trees. As we were looking for a place to stay, we came upon an Indian man and his wife. They both were not young. The [husband] was not a young man. He was an elder. They were both elders. He snared for caribou along the animal trail. >

Arenqialami, aipaa qanyuunani wangkucicestun. Qanyuunatek tamarmek Ingqilitun taugaam. Maa-i uksuaq kingunkegnek yuaralriik tekitaitkut. Cali tan'guraak malruk paqlukek elkek. Erenret taklirikata, aqvaciqnilukek. Cali qangkun anernertek, tua pikesqelluku taumek nunakitaitkuk pissumallerkamek. Waniwa negartungvailgata, qakmaken taingvailgata anernerpuk cimiqataarpuk waniwa negartullerkarpecessnek qangvarpak suungqertacirpeciutgun.

< Regrettably, [they] did not speak as we do. The two did not speak in our language, only in *Ingqiliq*. In fall two men came looking for them. The young men had come to make sure the couple was okay; that when the days get longer, they were to take them back [to their village]. In exchange for saving their lives, they had given us their land so we may hunt there.¹¹ Now, before it's time to snare caribou, before they come down from out there, we are going to exchange our lives for this gift of land to you, where you may hunt caribou for as long as you shall live. >

Maani nunakaq pagna amllertuq qiimi Penarraak nelkarrluku. Tamaani sirciqerci. Piulriit tamaani nunaniluki piciqut. Tauna tuntut pakmaken taiyaraat tua negirciqerci tua negarkalegni. Kitaki watua. Waniwa unuaqu ayagciqukuk tuavet ataam. Piulriit tan'guraat maligniaraitkuk tauna cuungsarturluku." Nutaan-am, unuaquan nutaan maligglukek. Qavcipiit-llu malikenka qanrutkellrunritagket.

< There is much land north of us extending to *Penarraak*. You will occupy all that land. Those that desire to live in that land will do so. Those that have snares will set them along the caribou trail. Please [let's make an agreement] now. We two will return to that place again tomorrow. We ask if the young men are willing to come with us to occupy that place. Therefore, the next day the other young men left with the two. They didn't say how many went with them. >

Nutaan tekitelliuk, qer'aak imarluni tuntunek aminek kemegmek avuluni. Nutaan tamakut-llu negarturlallertek tamana tua-am curvircelluku. Kinguniskata qamencikesqelluki. "Tauna curviqerciu. Piulria taisqelluku negartunggatarrnilunuk waniwa." Ilaliisqellutek.

< When the two [brothers] came to the place, they saw that the rack was filled with caribou skins and [dried] meat. They invited the young men to examine the place where they had set snares. They wanted them to tell the others when they return. [He said,] "Study that place. Whoever wants to come may do so, for we two will set snares soon." They invited others to join them. >

Tua-i utertelliniluteng. Nutaan, qayutun-kiq taima erenret pitariqanratgun, nutaan tekiqluteng tamalkuurluteng tekitaqluteng. Amllerpakanritutgguq ciuqliit negartursartut. Allrakuaqan-am amllerikaniiqluteng kiituani Anqercagmiut tamqaupiarmeng tagsaurtut. Tua tuani tuaten pitauq tauna.

< The young men evidently returned home. Finally, after some days passed, all the young men who had come to see the place returned with their family members. The first ones who came to snare caribou were not many. Every year other people would come with them until everyone in *Angercaq* made it their [annual seasonal place]. That is how long the story is. >

EPILOGUE: THE HUNTING AND SNARING OF CARIBOU

Eh, melqurarnek napam ciungani uskurarluni. Tauna tungcartaqaku, kiniisunateng kangi'iqaq tauna negartullrat. Tua tua-q' piciatńek mat'um pinritaaqa una eggaanermek pivkenani. Cali kellutellria ikani ikna kialirnera Penarraam melqurritellruuq-gguq. Tamaani ilapaunani watpik!

< The fur piece¹² would be hung at one end of the pole attached with a string. When the fur piece is hung, no

cooking was done around the corral where the snares were set. I'm not going to tell of how they would go on without someone cooking. The elders say that the one who was watching from the other side upstream from *Penarraak* had no fur piece. He had [no one] with him at all in that area! >13

Qasgicuarartun. Tangvagluki imkut tuntut alairturallratńi. Nutaan-am waten cali atkugmek qatellriamek qayukegglinek anuqesucirluni. Tuntut taigaqan, tua tauna angalataqluku. Amllertaciit-llu tauggukun qanrutquraaqluku atkugkun tauggun. Kass'aungermeng maa-i maani [anuqessuliinaurtuq] qantulriit.

< It resembled a small qasgi. He watched the caribou appear. He had an Arctic hare—skin parka that he would use to see which way the wind was blowing. As the caribou came, he would wave [his white parka]. He would also signal the number of caribous with the parka. They say that today even the foreigners use [windsocks when they want to know which way the wind is blowing]. >

Nalluvkenaku imna atkuk qiiqluku. Tuntut [an'aqata] kenret nipluki tamaita. Tua eggangrata, tua niptevkarluki. Nutaan upluteng imkut kep'iarkat kinguraatnungguq kep'iarkat. Atauciuneruluteng waten ungulriatun tuaten taimiata-gguq. Nutaan pitalqeggiaqata, ciumek uqilauralria ciuqliuluni cali tungii akula kep'ilria. Tuathaurtut tuaten. Tuavet unguluki imkut neganun. Piciatun tuaten. Neganek taugaam tua uqviuciqerlukekgguq waten wani tua. Kiituani-gguq atauciunerurtuq tamarrmeng. Man'a-m-am negarcirluku tua-i kangiqam ilua. Kangiqamek aterpagtengluku.

< They knew about the white parka [and kept an eye on it]. When the caribou [came], all the fires would be put out. Even while someone was cooking, the men would have him put the fire out. The butchers would prepare to butcher after [the killing]. They would come in one group as if the herd was being driven. When there were enough of them, the fastest one would be the first, followed by the butcher. That's what they would do. The men would drive the caribou to the snares. It was chaotic. Each snare was attached to the willows like this. Soon all of them would [gather in a group]. The caribou snares were placed inside the corral. Then they began to call that place *Kangiqaq*.

Tamakut taugken petuinat nutem petuinat ellagluteng. Tua uitaluteng ilait taugken waten kepuranek cali naparrluku taugaam. Taumek augarlaraami. Taumun kangi'ir tauna taum wani cuqlurtartaqani, ingna nalalluku. Utqiartaqami, tuntui nalalluku.

< All the loose caribou would gather [around the snared caribou]. [The men] would stay, but some would only stand by the poles. Those poles would be pulled out. When a snare on the pole in the corral was pulled, it would kill a [snared] caribou. When it springs back, the caribou would die. >

Alngangqerrluteng tamarmeng negat alngaucimeggnek. Ilii tuntum cetamanek-llu ulvegartangqerrlartuq Aqaallermi Ingrimi. Aqaaller-gguq tauna iluqliuluni. Cali iruissaalria napterllainarpek'nateng pilalliniut. Irussaalria-am tauna irumikun pilria negat amllengraata tauna taugaam irussaalria tua pikevkarluku negalegmun imumun. Cali iluqlikacaar qamna cali negat amllengrata alngaucimegcetun waten wani alngararluteng tamarmeng. Alngauciteng liitaqluki tua-i. Negat tamakut teguaqluki tua-i.

< All the snares would be marked with the family emblem. Sometimes a caribou would have four arrows at the Aqaalleq Mountain. Aqaalleq is farther in the river. Some caribou were snared by their legs, but evidently a caribou was not always caught in this manner. Those that were snared only by their legs belonged to the one who snared them, although more than one snare would be on it. The inner snare that was on the caribou (although there would be many [snares]) was marked with the hunter's emblem [meaning it belonged to him] and all the snares had emblems. The men would recognize their emblem. The snares were taken [by their owners]. >

Tua-i taugken una itriaqamek, tallimatellria-gguq una qesanglegluni tua-i uternaurtuq pitenritńiluni. Qayutun-kiq taugaam pitlarta taima pitellria tuntutellria ataucikun negaqengaqami. Tua-i-gguq taugken enrit-llu tua kaugturluki, eggaluki, suuggluki, puuggluki tuaten. Enret qamkut patrirluki. Tua-i maani, akutanek kauganek qanerlartut. Angulaqenka-llu wii. Kaugauniluku una tamakut pugtat.

< Then when a hunter *itriaq*,¹⁵ the one who caught five caribou would be disappointed, saying he didn't catch any. I wonder how many caribous a hunter would catch all at once with his snares? Even the bones would be chopped, cooked, jelled, and the tallow rendered. The marrow in the bones was taken out. In this village, the [women] would say they made a mixture of berries and tallow. I caught those times when they did that. They would call the cooked tallow *kaugaq*. >

NOTES

- 1. These narrative accounts were transmitted in the Middle Yukon dialect of Central Alaskan Yup'ik (CAY) and later translated by Monica Shelden, who speaks the Yukon Delta dialect of CAY. Notes meant to supplement or clarify the narratives follow the text. Those created by the translator are indicated by the bracketed initials "MS." All other notes are by Pratt, who also compiled Table 1. Places mentioned in the text or accompanying notes are shown on the associated map (Fig. 1). We thank Robert Drozda for review comments he provided on earlier versions of this translation.
- 2. Here, *Uicimaalleq* uses the possessive in reference to *Kumkaq* (Noel Polty) [MS].
- 3. "Bobby" was the English name of *Uicimaalleq*'s father, *Petgeralria* (Kelly 1976).
- 4. European contact with Yup'ik residents of the Yukon River occurred long before the birth of *Uicimaalleq*, so this comment should be understood to mean that the incidence of such contacts was still relatively low during his childhood.
- 5. The term "Allauguaq" essentially refers to something that is "different," but Pilot Station elders used it in a categorical sense that encompassed at least two locally significant traditional stories, including the one recounted here. Both stories specifically identified as being in this category revolve around individuals from the former village of Angercaq whose behavior violated Yup'ik norms and caused the deaths of other people (e.g., see Kelly, Polty, and Greene 1976; Kelly, Polty, and Polty 1976).
- Ecuilnguq is the Yup'ik name for the watercourse identified on United States Geological Survey (USGS) maps as the Chuilnak River and/or Atchuelinguk River.
- 7. Meaning unknown, but possibly "greet them" or "acknowledge them" [MS].
- 8. The couple was said to be from Anvik (Kelly and Greene 1976). This underscores statements from past Pilot Station elders (e.g., Kelly, Polty, and Greene 1976:9–10) that *Penarraak* was originally a Deg Hit'an settlement.
- 9. The dwelling the two brothers built (or perhaps rebuilt) and lived in at *Penarraak* was, in effect, a Yup'ik men's house—hence its designation "*Qasgiq*." The narrative's reference to *Qasgiq* as a village suggests it was a separate site, but that is not the case. It is possible,

- however, that some Pilot Station residents recognized "Qasgiq" as a variant name for Penarraak.
- 10. The implication here is that Yup'ik people of the lower Yukon River learned how to both make caribou snares and snare caribou from the Deg Hit'an.
- 11. In other words, traditional rights to *Penarraak*—located in the southern Nulato Hills (*Tuntutulit* [Polty et al. 1982])—were passed from the Deg Hit'an of Anvik to the two brothers and, by extension, to the Yup'ik people of the *Angercag* area.
- 12. This was most likely the skin of a comparatively small animal, like a rabbit or fox.
- 13. The watcher's position was evidently on a hill named *Utngucegnaq*, immediately northwest of *Penarraak*. The corral is believed to have been located near the southwestern base of the hill and adjacent to a slough (unnamed on USGS maps) that also is designated *Utngucegnaq* in Yup'ik (Pratt 1983).
- 14. This type of "deer snare" was described and illustrated by Edward Nelson (1899:119–120 [Figs. 34 and 35]).
- 15. Meaning unknown, but it sounds as if it might refer to when the men are done hunting caribou [MS].

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