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"Strange Things Happen to Non-Christian People": Human-Animal Transformation among the Iñupiat of Arctic Alaska

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Inuit myths, folklore, and material culture are filled with examples of people who turn into animals.[1] Margaret Lantis, a well-known Eskimologist of the mid-twentieth century, once commented that human-animal transformation in Inuit mythology had an "immediacy and a reality" that was unknown in other parts of the world.[2] It is hard to discern from more contemporary ethnography, however, whether transformation still occupies a meaningful place in Inuit life.

This article examines present-day Iñupiaq understandings of, and experiences with, human-animal transformation. I offer conventional wisdom on this topic, how such metamorphosis is accomplished, and the cosmological forces that still are believed to operate behind the scenes. This article departs from the customary preoccupation with shamanistic practices and instead focuses on how everyday Iñupiat explain the social and moral significance of turning into an animal.[3] Through this discursive lens, I argue, one may appreciate how different generations of Iñupiat have integrated Christian cosmology and deities into their interpretations of both animals and human-animal hybridity.

Attention to animality in the context of transformation, rather than during the hunt (the context in which the majority of theories on Inuit-nature relations are generated), provides a unique perspective on how missionization has shaped Iñupiaq conceptions of human-animal relations. This research allows one to consider how today's "Christianized" animals contrast with the "nonhuman persons" that populate anthropological literature and joins a broader anthropological concern with how indigenous religious practice coexists with world religions.[4]

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Dominant anthropological portrayals emphasize the respect, conviviality, and harmony between Inuit and animals. For instance, the notion of animals as "gifts" that willingly and consciously give themselves to hunters who respect them is a resilient characterization of human-animal relations in the Arctic and subarctic.[5] Notions of "collaborative reciprocity," "harmonious" unity, or "ideological connectivity" between humans and animals, however, often gloss over how nearly two hundred years of Christian presence in the North has influenced the spiritual ties and practical relations between humans and animals.[6]

"Why do people turn into animals?" I once asked an elderly informant (whom I will refer to as Clara) during her recollection of a relative who turned into a bear. "Strange things happen to non-Christian people," she replied. For Clara, her cousin's embodiment of a bear was a spiritual dead-end, the absolute conclusion of a life possessed by Satan.[7] Clara's offhand remark that linked heathens with hybridity was one of many that provided insight into how the Christian enterprise, which dates back to the mid-1800s in this region, influenced present-day understandings of the cosmologic ordering of the world.

But her fellow villagers did not necessarily share Clara's perspective as a self-described "strong" Christian devoted to saving her relatives' souls. My younger informants bristled at the interpretation of people becoming animals as retribution from Satan. As an accomplished hunter some fifty years younger than Clara commented, "Some crafty old people know how to control a young person; they're not using their knowledge right. You have to watch out. Some of these old people didn't get wise, they just got old."[8]

If one accepts the assertion that nature is "constructed by reference to the human domain," it stands to reason that more than one hundred years of Christianity in Arctic Alaska has had a significant influence on Iñupiaq understandings of their physical surroundings.[9] More complex than a class of entities (for example, nonhuman persons, animal persons, "gifts" to hunters) that endure unchanged despite cataclysmic social changes, animals are also historical subjects. Therefore, Christianity has not turned animal-subjects into "objects"; rather it has turned animals into different kinds of "subjects." This is not to say that life in the Far North today is any less spiritually constituted, or more "rationalized," than in the past. It is to suggest, however, that Christianity has affected how Iñupiat imbue nature with meaning.

STUDYING TRANSFORMATION

This foray into transformation occurred unexpectedly, as my original research in the Arctic dealt with cancer and contagion in the wake of the 1992 discovery of an abandoned federal radioactive waste dump in northwest Alaska.[10] Between 1993 and 1996, I conducted thirty months of fieldwork in Alaska on cancer and environmental pollution, including seventeen months in Kotzebue, a regional hub of roughly three thousand Iñupiat, and eight months at remote hunting and fishing camps with one Iñupiaq family.[11] In

addition, I made short trips (three to twenty days) to Point Hope, Ambler, Shungnak, and Shesaulik to interview local healers and villagers.[12]

During my fieldwork, and without my prompting, Iñupiat with whom I most closely associated spoke to me about fellow villagers who "took animal form."[13] While I relaxed at camp, for instance, children and teenagers would share stories about eerie "happenings" in the land. Stories circulated about various sightings in town, including a man with "six tits," a man whose nails grew out to a point "like a dog," and a woman whose face grew tufts of hair in a streak. "There are a lot of people around here that are animal-like," an adolescent boy once remarked, and judging from these and other comments, it occurred to me that being animal-like may not be an especially enviable position in the Iñupiaq social order.[14]

I took extensive notes throughout my fieldwork and initiated conversations with two of my closest informants about why some people willingly, or inadvertently, turned into seals, bears, caribou, walrus, and wolves. This article highlights these two key informants' perspectives, whom I refer to as Ray (twenty-one years old in 1993) and the aforementioned Clara (early eighties in 1993), and draws on numerous impromptu conversations with Iñupiat about their various experiences with animals.

While in Alaska, I coded my field journal and all my field notes, interviews, and life histories with key terms (for example, *transformation*, *soul loss*, *spirit travel*, *animal identity spirit*, and *Christianity*). When I began to write this article in 2006, I compiled all my coded data on transformation (including twenty-one separate accounts), drafted extensive memos, and analyzed these and other field notes related to this topic. In addition, I immersed myself in the folkloric record that dates back to 1881 in order to identify themes in folktales that include zoomorphosis.[15] Although far from some protohistoric "baseline," folktales and myths are rich with cultural significance and, following anthropologist Peter Nabokov, may serve as a "conveyor for contemplations of historical experience."[16] Lastly, I called Ray in spring 2007 and asked him to clarify certain accounts and provide feedback on some of my main observations about transformation.

BECOMING AN ANIMAL

A great deal of ethnographic work has been done on transformation and "shape shifting" in, for instance, Africa, Japan, China, Native North America, Western Europe, and Siberia.[17] Cross-culturally, transformation is often associated with witchcraft, trickery, or the expression of interspecies antagonisms and provides a liminal space for the assertion of power. In the Arctic and subarctic, however, crossing and recrossing ontologic boundaries was a "fact of nature" and seminal to transspecies communication.[18] Stories about such encounters served as an "intellectual bridge" between daily life and the metaphysical world and allowed insights into the sensibilities, preferences, and power of animals.[19] Contrary to received wisdom about the unproblematic fluidity between human and nonhuman persons in the Arctic, folktales often underscore the personal and social costs of joining the animal kingdom,

especially if people transform while enraged, insulted, or defiant. Re-entry from animality to humanity is problematized, and in the end, sojourns into animality often exacerbate disharmony in human life.[20]

In practical terms, transformation is accomplished through the movement of souls. Nearly all entities, animate and inanimate, contain an *inua*, translated as "owner" or "soul."[21] Loosely associated with a form or entity, whether dirt, snow machines, wolves, or people, *inua* may leave one form and move into another. Although shamans were once renowned for their soul-traveling abilities, anyone could move about, especially while dreaming, and adopt the "perspectivity" of another form.[22]

Reflecting on his experience of being stranded on an ice flow in late April after his snow machine broke through "rotten" ice, Ray explained:

> Your spirit can leave your body and wander, travel around. Sometimes another could try to take over. I believe I can turn into other things, become other things. Sometimes I feel it. My dad's grandfather, when he'd have to go on a long walk some place, he'd start out walking and then turn into a wolf and run the entire way. Before he'd get there, he'd turn into a person again. That's why I didn't think I would die on the ice [that night]. If it melted, I would swim and turn into something else.[23]

In addition to soul travel, transformation may also be achieved through spirit possession, and shamans were able to "metamorphose into the shape of their animal protector."[24] They could also move *inua* into other forms, such as curing infertility by "inseminating" barren women with animal spirits. The downside for the spirit-child, however, was acquiring the animal's social attributes, as Andrew Skin, an Iñupiaq healer, explained back in May 1986:

> My grandmother told me that in olden times the Iñupiat really like to have families. When they were unable to conceive, then through shaman power they were able to take offspring from the animal world, and through the magic of shamanism, implant an impregnation to a woman who would give birth to a child from the animal spirit world. So the forefathers from the animal kingdom know the posterity of such people, and the animal spirit begins to visit the human posterity with the idea of possessing that person. If that person doesn't talk about it, then after a while, that person starts exhibiting the characteristics of the animal that his forefathers have taken to have children. Depending on the kind of animal that they were taken from, then that person becomes a vicious person and the other people become afraid of him.[25]

Hazel Snyder, another local Iñupiaq healer, implored the younger generation to learn how to help others who show signs of possession because "these things are becoming frequent and evil deeds and occurrences are becoming

stronger and stronger."[26] There was consensus in this interview that to grab a possessed person by the top of the hair and hit the shoulders and back would drive the animal spirit from the body. Although I did not personally hear of this technique in the mid-1990s, my informants mentioned other strategies such as to splash urine on the animal-person and encourage the afflicted to talk about their feelings and bodily experiences. To keep to one's self while possessed, I was told, could make one *kinnaq* (crazy) or even suicidal.

ZOOMORPHOSIS IN DAILY LIFE

The received wisdom among Iñupiat on transformation in the mid-1990s may be briefly summarized as follows. First, transformation is more closely tied to the "bush," including the tundra or ocean, rather than the town or village. Footprints that turned into paw prints in the snow served as living proof of the dual identity of certain villagers, and hunters were susceptible to the "vapors" or distinct smells of wild animals while they hunted and harvested game. Retribution from animal spirits that were offended by the disrespectful actions of hunters may result in the hunters inadvertently taking animal form, and I occasionally heard about folks who acquired "beaver fever" or suffered from accidents such as near-drownings after tormenting animals in the bush. Second, the capacity to transform was considered part of the endowment of humanity or personhood, rather than acquired through ritualistic activity or learned through practice.[27] Iñupiat did not speak, for instance, of invoking the power of songs, spirit helpers, and amulets to transform, all methods widely recounted in folktales.[28] Nor was mention made of pulling back a "hood" or "beak" to reveal a human face or sewing on a hide to become a bear.[29]

In contrast, my informants emphasized the importance of beliefs and feelings.[30] Ray explained, "We were raised with these things. If we needed to turn into something, we could. It was just part of our lives. It was never odd to us. If you feel you could do it, and you believe it, then it's possible."[31] Likewise, after she recounted a story that included a bear that was "brought back" to humanity by splashing urine on him, Clara remarked, "This is what the Eskimos believe, and if white people stay around long enough, they start to believe that way too."[32]

Lastly, transformation provided insight into spiritual matters, and sightings of hybrids around the village often elicited contentious discussions about morality, animality, and Christian doctrine. Conversations about why a person transformed often invoked diverging beliefs about the cosmologic orderings of the world, with my elderly informants occupied with concerns of retribution, salvation, and divine judgment.[33] Others rejected such tight associations of animality with "sin," revealing generational differences in the social meanings ascribed to human-animal flux, as discussed in greater detail below.

It is important to clarify that from my experience in the mid-1990s, soul travel was not morally suspect, and virtually everyone I knew spoke at one time or another of "traveling around" (while dreaming). "Visiting" was a meaningful social activity that allowed one to maintain relations with ancestor spirits, hunt, and gain insight into other realms such as heaven and hell. In

contrast, spirit possession was often considered an affliction, and mental illness was commonly associated with spiritual cohabitation. Suspicions of spirit possession in neighbors elicited a moral commentary, especially among the elderly, about what went wrong and why the spirits were "bothering."

Significantly, I eventually realized that Iñupiat did not always agree about whether someone turned into an animal willingly or inadvertently or had his or her own sense or animal sense while in animal form. The longer I lived in the Arctic, the more appreciation I gained for the syncretic cosmological pictures that informed interpretations of spiritual intentionality and human-animal hybridity. How may one explain why the elders with whom I spoke were preoccupied with the devil's assertion in human and animal affairs, while it seemed that the youth afforded him far less gravity and autonomy in daily life? The answer to this question may be found, at least in part, in the social and religious history of the region.

MISSIONIZATION IN NORTHWEST ALASKA

Although explorers and whaling crews had a presence in the Bering Strait region in the early 1800s—a German explorer with the Russian Navy was credited with "discovering" the peninsula in 1816—it was not until the mid-1800s that an unprecedented number of whalers, explorers, and military and government officials arrived in northwest Alaska.[34] Between 1848 and 1885, roughly ninety thousand men aboard three thousand ships passed through the Bering Strait and hunted an estimated ten thousand whales and one hundred thousand walrus.[35] The whaling crews fueled a burgeoning commerce of firearms, whiskey, and furs, and by the 1880s the trade industry left many Iñupiaq families ravaged by infectious diseases and decimated by starvation.[36]

The US purchase of this Russian territory in 1867 ushered in a new era of economic, education, and mission initiatives, and the Religious Society of Friends Church of California (commonly known as Quakers) received a federal concession in 1897 to establish a mission on the Kotzebue peninsula.[37] Although initially met with ambivalence and antagonism, the Quaker missionary couple, Robert and Carrie Samms, established an enduring presence in the region. As ethnohistorian Ernest S. Burch Jr. noted, "In 1890 there probably was not a single Christian Iñupiaq Eskimo. Twenty years later, there was scarcely an Iñupiaq who was not a Christian."[38] A number of social, material, and ideological factors are credited with the Quaker stronghold in the region, including procurements of both medicine and the gospel that were provided during the Great Sickness of 1900, a time in which it is estimated that three-fourths of the Iñupiaq population died from infectious diseases.[39]

Iñupiat proselytized and served as evangelists, and conversion was facilitated by the efforts of Uyaraq, an Iñupiaq man who traveled from settlement to settlement and broke the most feared taboos of the shamans with a Bible in hand.[40] Uyaraq's message that the Bible "represented a spirit far more powerful than anything in the entire Iñupiaq pantheon, and that this powerful spirit is what protected him" was consistent with the strategy of

conversion utilized by the Samms: "Instead of denying the existence of the multitude of spirits in the Iñupiaq world, [the Samms] simply declared them to be agents of the Devil. This made them evil, but also vulnerable to Christian attack. Given this interpretation, it was possible to become Christian without abandoning or even modifying their traditional worldview. . . . To become Christian, it was necessary to reject these evil spirits and to allow the Holy Ghost to possess one's body instead."[41]

The Quaker missionaries preached against smoking, dancing, drinking alcohol, and gambling. In addition, they held weekly services, condemned polygyny, challenged the shamans, and encouraged Iñupiat to have their marriages solemnized by the mission when in Kotzebue.[42] They did not deny that shamans could travel to other realms or gain assistance from animal identity spirits to transform. Rather, they ascribed these happenings to the work of the devil, making transformation highly charged, morally suspect, and spiritually problematic.

This era in which missionaries first established themselves in the Kotzebue region is considered to be one of the most devastating times in Iñupiaq history. Infectious diseases were rampant and mortality rates were staggering; the bowhead whale and walrus populations were greatly diminished; the caribou were entirely depleted; people became sedentarized near mission schools; and starvation was a grinding reality.[43] Children of this generation experienced unfathomable suffering and watched their elders contend with social, political, and spiritual disarray. Clara described her early years as "terrifying" and recounted stories of feared shamans who appeared in church to spit out their "rock," or amulet that gave them power, only to "backslide" (return to shamanism) when the measles epidemic arrived.

Throughout the twentieth century, Iñupiat experienced staggering political, economic, and social changes as they were drawn into an increasingly globalized world. They became entwined in state and federal policies, such as the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, that have left them with far too little sovereignty or economic independence. Children attend local schools (which some Iñupiat critique for instilling a heightened sense of American individualism in their children) and have access to an array of "outside" goods that are flown into the region daily, but many families are fractured and suffer from a host of ills, including poverty, domestic violence, and substance abuse.

Religiously speaking, Iñupiat today have a complex syncretic cosmology that has integrated Christian doctrine, deities, and symbols into a pre-Christian animistic worldview.[44] Devoted followers of Christ have enlisted the pantheon of Iñupiaq spirits, from ancestor to animal, in the contentious cosmic interplay between God and the devil. Prayer, the Bible, and the recitation of Christian hymns are used as protection from an earth that is "alive." Although nine different denominations are now established in the regional hub of Kotzebue, including the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Catholic churches, the Quaker Church is the most widely attended in the region. Biweekly services facilitated by preachers who preach in Iñupiaq may draw between thirty and three hundred members, and Iñupiat are encouraged to share testimonies of

their personal experiences, dreams, or visions of Jesus. Shamanism was not openly practiced, or spoken of fondly, and old-timer shamans were blamed for perpetuating atrocities in their communities, such as "owning" people with their power and enforcing self-serving taboos to amass wealth and prestige.[45]

Although most Iñupiat consider themselves Christian, there is great diversity within families and between generations regarding devotion to Jesus, compliance with Christian terms of living (for example, abstinence from smoking, drinking, and gambling), and sensibilities about how God and the devil assert themselves in daily life.[46] These differences run deep and have a profound effect on familial and community dynamics. For instance, Blanch Jones Criss in her essay in *Authentic Alaska: Voices of Its Native Writers* pointedly described her loneliness in being caught in a "vigorous transition period" in which her parents of great faith enforced rules of Christian living, including forbidding her and her siblings to attend local dances or movies, listen to pop music, play cards, or read comic books.[47] "My mother," she wrote, "following her leaders and condemning my actions [at boarding schools], made me feel hate and rebellion toward our new religion."[48] Although her brother challenged these sorts of rules, he felt he received inadequate answers as to why they were forbidden to Eskimo dance or read comics.[49]

Far too little work has focused on how missionization has shaped elders' sensibilities about human-nature relations, how the youth responded to the revised cosmologic pictures of their parents and grandparents, and the politics involved in the everyday negotiations of these realities. In part because of the persistent portrayal in academia of elders as the repositories of "traditional knowledge," as well as the relative absence of studies on youth culture, the nature of the intergenerational social interactions that generate meaning and negotiate reality are largely unappreciated.

Because Clara was born between 1910 and 1920, and personally experienced the intense missionization process formally by the Church and informally in her own family, she has a much deeper imprint of the eternal stakes involved in leading a "non-Christian" life. She survived an era in which shamans were active but struggling members of community life and accepted missionary claims that these "types" and their spirit helpers worked for the devil. Clara's generation was on the forefront of re-encoding their origin myths, folktales, and cosmologies with Christian significance. Life did not become less animistic, but the ultimate source of spiritual intentionality and beneficence became more dualistic. Animals not only worked for the devil, incidentally, but also for God. For instance, Clara once told me that birds could talk in Iñupiaq and remind hunters to bring their knives. "Was that the devil talking?" I wondered. "No, no," she clarified, "That was God talking." Similarly, I once overheard a four-year-old boy ask Ray's grandmother why dogs couldn't talk. "Because they're dogs," she answered and then added, "Well, they can talk if they need to. God can make them talk."

The youth I knew identified with some of these "old-timer" sensibilities but rejected others. Some expressed pride that they did not take centuries to recognize love or accept Jesus as their savior. Iñupiat did not, I was once reminded by Ray, convert to Christianity after losing a war. "In one shot," he added, "we knew

there was a stronger power over the superstition and bull shit that was ruling our lives." Others expressed gratitude that "outsiders" brought God and love and made it easier to solve conflicts without resorting to violence or murder.

Simultaneously, however, elders were criticized for their religious conservatism and occasionally resented for being the community arbiters of moral and ethical living, especially when they lived "un-Christian" lives before they became old. Transformation became a divisive issue because it ultimately dealt with the mechanics and significance of human-nature relations, issues that were inextricably tied to belonging, history, and self-identity.

Morality, Intentionality, and Animality

An elderly man named Uyaana accompanied his children upriver and disappeared from their camp. After the family carefully searched the area, they placed a call to the local search and rescue. Throughout the search, a caribou that was too aged to shoot kept hanging around camp, and days later, Uyaana's body was found in the same area that people had searched many times. He was found half-man, half-caribou and "good, honest, praying people" saw the body.

Interpretations of Uyaana's disappearance and eventual recovery in part-caribou form exposed diverging sensibilities about the moral significance of transformation. Ray was renowned in the region for being a highly skilled hunter and was raised at camp nearly his whole life. Although Ray believed in God but did not attend church like a couple of his older siblings, he thought that linking the devil with transformation was a "big confusion" created by Christianity. In this respect, this twenty-one-year-old, who was an avid drinker and smoker at the time, held a more "traditional" view of transformation than Clara, an elder stateswoman who attended the Episcopalian Church in Kotzebue.

For Ray, there was nothing out of the ordinary about Uyaana's embodiment of caribou form. Nor was there any reason to judge it. Ray maintained that Uyaana willingly took caribou form to "move on." Acting in the best interests of his family, he "traveled" to hasten his death and release his family from the burden of his care. Transformation was a means to die, and the caribou was a willing party. There was no moral judgment, nor was Uyaana "evil," victimized, or possessed; he was simply "doing what Eskimos did long ago."[50]

Drawing on a different set of cosmologies and experiences, Clara saw it differently. Far from choosing caribou form, according to Clara, Uyaana was possessed by an "evil" spirit. His metamorphosis into a caribou was a sign of his family's spiritual problems, ones that came to light at his death. Stuck between forms when he died, his hybridity was a public index of God's displeasure with his family's religious impropriety:

> The mother of a man who turned into a caribou when he died used to make a habit of getting on the CB radio and talking with sharp words about the devil. The mother had an open mouth, a big mouth and she used sharp words. My husband never heard anyone talk like

> that. The woman used to talk about the devil, and the Episcopals said that it wasn't good to talk about the devil because when he hears his name, he comes and hugs you. So this guy was lost in the woods and Search and Rescue went looking for him. When they found him, he had antlers on his head. You are evil possessed if you make a pattern out of being evil to other people.[51]

For Clara, human-animal transformation was a sign of God's displeasure with immoral living, and Clara used reports of transformation to preach to her friends and family the ultimate stakes in living an un-Christian life—possession by Satan and an eternity in hell.[52] Among my younger informants with whom I discussed animal behavior, however, I rarely heard animals referred to as conduits of the devil. Rather, animals were afforded "their own ways" with social circles, inner motivations, and preferences of their own. Transformation may offer a moral commentary on a lived life, but the commentary was more from the animal's point-of-view than from God's or the devil's.

Consider another incident told to me in the winter of 1995 by Ray's hunting partner, Levi, who came from a prominent political family in Kotzebue. In this account, an Iñupiaq man in his thirties found himself surrounded by a wolf pack that was nearly forty in number.

> John panicked when he realized he was surrounded on all sides. He shot thirteen before it was over. I'm sure the others [wolves] were wondering where their relatives and friends were. On his way home, his sled got too heavy and he had to throw three off the back. When he got home and started to work on those wolves, he became wolf-like. He started howling like a wolf. His family took him to the hospital, and he was sent down to API [Alaska Psychiatric Institute] for a half-year. When he returned, he was good. He's a real straight-talker now, and he tells the kids not to hunt too many. He never hunts wolf anymore though.[53]

After sharing a joke that "we would have gotten all forty," Levi and Ray both agreed that the wolves' vapors, a vehicle for the spirit of the wolf, entered John because of how he treated the wolves and their families.[54] The wolves' retribution exposed John's transgression of mishandling the wolves' carcasses to the community and reinforced the wolves' reputation as strong and powerful beings in their own right.[55] For these Iñupiaq men, transformation resulted from an interpersonal exchange between a particular hunter and wolves, in contrast to Clara's interpretation that John's sojourn into wolfness was about a hunter and Satan. As she explained in more general terms, Iñupiat turn into animals because they believe it is possible, because the old-timers did, and because the "earth is alive" with devil-spirits that work on their people.

ANIMALITY IN THE BEGINNING

For Inuit, the mobility of souls is as old as time. Origin myths describe an era before the world took its present state in which entities were only loosely differentiated and traveled around with ease.[56] Referred to as "time out of mind" and similar to what Karl Luckert called "pre-human flux" among American Indians, Inuit origin tales contain a mythologic charter for an original state of nondifferentiation between humans and animals.[57] Lowenstein recorded an account of Raven-man's emergence into being during a time that looked like this:

> Things were upside-down then.
> People were animals.
> Animals were people.
> People walked on their hands.
> Snow was seal oil.
> Seal oil was caribou fat.[58]

Unlike these tales that chronicle an original state of flux between people and animals, several of my elderly Iñupiaq informants located the etiology of flux between God and his "angels." It was God's helpers who originally coexisted without spiritual distinction or separation, but through defying God and stepping out on their own, the condition of the world as we know it came into being. This condition was described either as an earth full of evil or an inescapable tension between fear and love, good and evil, or God and the devil. The following is an excerpt from Clara's account of the ethnogenesis of evil spirits in the earth, saturated with historical reference about the present condition of humanity and animality:

> The earth isn't itself now. The earth isn't what you see in front of your eyes. Fallen angels go into it from the sky. In the beginning, before the world began, there was three—Lucifer, God, and Jesus. No, Lucifer, spirit, and God. That Lucifer was one of God's pure angels in heaven, but he wanted to be bigger than God. He was jealous of all God's love. You know how a lieutenant has a pack of men, well, Lucifer had a pack of angels, little angels. What happened is that Jesus tell him to leave heaven because he wouldn't listen, and they all fell to the earth. He fell off heaven and scattered all over the land, in things like the little mink and animals—those that want to come after you, real mean. Anything. That's the devil, and they can take any form, in human form or animal form. . . . There is evil spirit in the earth, want to tempt you, whisper on your shoulder. The Tempter is walking around, looking at people. Like with drink. And now days with suicide, dope, whiskey. He tempt people. We need Bible for protection. It is so powerful, that evil can't get on you.[59]

In Clara's account of the earth's malaise, there once was a time that Lucifer's angels, like God, were pure. Spiritual dualism was nonexistent but

that ended when Lucifer defied God and was kicked out of heaven. Evil scattered everywhere, even into the animals, and this created the potential for them to be possessed by the spirit of Satan. In her explanation of why animals may be antagonistic and unsavory toward others, Clara's animals, if you will, have original sin and are strikingly similar to her vision of humanity's spiritual constitution.

Ray seemed to resist these types of truth claims made by the elders and, to the best of my knowledge, didn't experience or interpret the land as saturated with devil-spirit. He also did not have origin tales that traced how animals (and people) became contaminated by sin or evil, which may begin to explain why his interpretations of animal behavior were absent of such notions. When Ray critiqued the vested interests of elders who use God-talk to "get their way," he shared his thoughts on the stakes involved in "hard-core" Christian understandings of their own religious history:

> Christianity, it's pretty confused stuff. I don't think about it too much. To me God is love and caring and honesty and forgiveness. It's about making right choices. It's the opposite of making bad choices. There's no payback [from God]. My sister says "God is jealous and he will damn you." In Christianity, you are scared. In Christianity, 2,000 years ago people were formed from Adam and Eve. But what I think, God has always been [here].
>
> And science and religion, those two have been fighting over this-and-that. Science says humans came from monkey. But that's not true. Monkeys are monkeys, elephants are elephants. Humans were their own species. They were adapted from their climate. . . . All these old-timers have beliefs, say you can't talk about animals or they will hear you. They have all these rules to scare you. I don't use them. If you spend enough time out there, use your sense, you know which to believe and not to believe. Some of it is just junk.[60]

CONCLUSION

This article provides evidence to suggest that human-animal transformation is indeed still part of conversation and experience among the Iñupiat who live in Arctic Alaska. My informants spoke of relatives and neighbors who made sojourns into animality, intentionally and unexpectedly, and also recounted sighting strangers with animal characteristics who made appearances around town. Although transformation was considered part of humanity and a fact of life, my informants diverged in their interpretations of what it meant, morally and spiritually, to transform.

Christianity has had a profound influence on personhood and bodily experience in the Far North and continues to be integral to conversations about animal beneficence and intentionality. There is a great deal of variation, within families and between generations, regarding how people understand the moral significance of transformation, but these variations are not merely

personal or cognitive. They are embedded in broader community dynamics and involve political claims on the past and the future. For Clara, animals may work on behalf of God and the devil, but transformation was ultimately a public display of immoral living. Noting the black streaks that emerged on the face of a neighbor who stole fish from others' nets, she commented, "Like a werewolf, she was so evil she turned into an animal inside, like the devil inside her." In contrast, Ray and his hunting partner resisted these sorts of syncretic cosmologic reworkings of their elders and talked instead about animals with inner lives, preferences, and habits of their own. Transformation was not the devil talking, although it could be retribution by an animal spirit for mistreatment, and in this way also indicates a personal or familial problem.

It may be enticing to conclude that today's youth reject their parents' and grandparents' cosmologic reworkings and, instead, invoke idealized pre-Christian cosmologies of human-animal equivalence in their understandings of animality. In practice, Ray and Levi often challenged old-timer wisdom on respecting animals by killing a great deal of game (according to some villagers) and speaking freely about their success in the backcountry. "They will still give themselves up to me," Ray once boasted, citing his strong hunting record as proof.

In considering the relationship between cosmology and practice, once again a historical grounding is necessary. Far from a cosmologic cultural revival predicated simply on youth idealism, conceptions of nonhuman personhood today are reactions to, and deeply embedded within, a complex colonial and religious history. Ray's outlook, I suspect, was not necessarily "representative" of the younger generation but did reveal shared concerns and critiques about moral and historical truth claims in contemporary Iñupiaq life. By contesting the relegation of transformation to the devil, Ray challenged portrayals of Christianized animals made by his elders and insisted on animals that had sense and intuition in their own right. For Ray and Clara, animals were like people (or like themselves), but "who they were" was differently positioned in history, morality, and religious self-identity.

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NOTES

1. *Inuit* refers to the general population of Natives, once known as "Eskimos," who reside across the northern periphery of Siberia, Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. *Iñupiaq,* translated as the "real people," is the specific Native word used by people in

north and northwest Alaska to refer to themselves. *Iñupiaq* is singular, and *Iñupiat* is plural. For a discussion of the nuances of the evolution of the linguistic designation of *Inuit* and *Eskimo* see David Damas, introduction to *Handbook of North American Indians: The Arctic*, ed. David Damas (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1984), 5–7.

For the most exhaustive collection of folktales recorded from northwest Alaska, including an index of folktales that include transformation, see Edwin S. Hall Jr., *The Eskimo Storyteller* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975), 299–300. Nearly half of the 190 folktales contain some form of exchange (human to animal, animal to human, human to stones, shells, feathers, stars, plants, and dirt), with the majority (seventy-eight out of eighty-three) being from human to animal.

For a history of the folkloric collections in northwest Alaska that date back to 1881, see Wanni W. Anderson, *Dahl Sheep Dinner Guest: Iñupiaq Narratives of Northwest Alaska* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2005), 3–6.

Lela Oman, *Eskimo Legends* (Nome, AK: Nome Publishing, 1959), 58–63; Ernest S. Burch Jr., *The Eskimos* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 54; William W. Fitzhugh, "Art of the North Pacific Rim," in *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska*, ed. William W. Fitzhugh and Aron Crowell (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 306; Ann Fienup-Riordan, "Eye of the Dance: Spiritual Life of the Bering Sea Eskimo," in Fitzhugh and Crowell, *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska*, 258–59; William W. Fitzhugh, "Hunters of the Frozen Coasts," in Fitzhugh and Crowell, *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska*, 47; Harold Seidelman and James Turner, *The Inuit Imagination* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 58, 61, 75, 93; Howard Norman, *Northern Tales: Traditional Stories of Eskimo and Indian Peoples* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990), 65.

2. Margaret Lantis, "Nunivak Eskimo Personality as Revealed in the Mythology," *Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska* 2 (1953): 108–74.

3. Tom Lowenstein, *The Things That Were Said of Them: Shaman Stories and Oral Histories of the Tikigaq People* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 92–93. For shamanic transformation to walrus, see Seidelman and Turner, *The Inuit Imagination,* 59. For shamanic transformation to polar bear, see Froelich G. Rainey, "The Whale Hunters of Tigara," *Anthropological Papers of the Museum of Natural History* 41, no. 2 (1947): 249.

4. As anthropologist Nurit Bird-David states in her influential paper, "Rethinking Animism": "This sort of relational framing [animism] is articulated with other epistemologies in complex, variable, and shifting ways that deserve study." In "Animism Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology," *Current Anthropology* 40 (1999): S78.

5. Paul Nadasdy, "The Gift in the Animal: The Ontology of Hunting and Human-Animal Sociality," *American Ethnologist* 34, no. 1 (2007): 25–43; David M. Smith, "The Flesh and the Word: Stories and Other Gifts of the Animals in Chipewyan Cosmology," *Anthropology and Humanism* 27, no. 1 (2002): 60–79.

6. Ann Fienup-Riordan, *Eskimo Essays: Yup'ik Lives and How We See Them* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 167; Mark Nutall, *Protecting the Arctic: Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Survival* (Australia: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998), 86; George Wenzel, *Animal Rights, Human Rights: Ecology, Economy, and Ideology in the Canadian Arctic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 135.

7. Clara recounted the last days of this "medicine woman's" life to me one afternoon and highlighted the bear-woman's preference for the tundra while in bear form. No one ever saw her turn, but her tracks changed to paw prints in the snow outside of town, and this provided evidence of her dual identity. The night of her death, Clara explained, her daughter-in-law was at her bedside. "Don't be scared of me if you hear any noises from my direction," the medicine woman reassured her terrified relative. Later the relative heard a growl, and the medicine woman died. As family members gathered at her side, they discovered hands that were paws, a turned-up nose, and a mouth "frozen" wide open on her otherwise female body. As if to clarify the moral significance of her bear embodiment, evidenced in her animality and the poor weather, Clara explained, "She was a nice lady alright, but she didn't repent and have Jesus in her heart. Even after she heard the gospel, she didn't let go of her supernature beliefs. It got real stormy the night she died."

8. Ray, personal communication, August 1995.

9. Philippe Descola, "Societies of Nature and the Nature of Society," in *Conceptualizing Society*, ed. Adam Kuper (New York: Routledge, 1992), 111.

10. Joslyn Cassady, "A Tundra of Sickness: The Uneasy Relationship between Toxic Waste, TEK, and Cultural Survival," *Arctic Anthropology* 44, no. 1 (2007): 86–97.

11. Approval to conduct this research on cancer was granted by the Institutional Review Board of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, the Maniilaq Association, Kotzebue IRA, the Elders Council, and all participating individuals.

12. When I returned to the region in August 2007 with my husband and two young children, we went to camp and also to visit a number of my friends and informants, including Clara. I did not pursue follow-up research on this project, however, in part due to the declining health condition of some of my informants.

13. The caribou form was often linked to strangers and appeared to reinforce suspicions of disingenuous "outsiders" who arrived in the village. There was the man who pulled himself up to a bar, back when Kotzebue was "wet," only to realize that the out-of-towner who sat next to him had hoofs. In another account, an Iñupiaq woman met a stranger on the road who remarked, "If you want money, I'll give you money." After looking her over, she was startled to realize that this stranger had caribou hooves instead of feet ("Tribal Doctors Transcript," Elders Council Meeting [28 May 1986], 25 [on file at Kotzebue Courthouse]). "Caribou Man" bothered residents in Point Hope in the mid-1990s and was described as a "hooked man, half man, half woman, like the devil with caribou legs" in Edith Turner, *The Hands Feel It* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996), 9.

14. There is an interesting reference to transformation in Linda Lee, Ruthie Sampson, and Ed Tennant, eds., *Qayaq: The Magic Traveler* (Kotzebue, AK: Northwest Arctic Borough, 1991), xix–xx. The Iñupiaq editors mentioned that elders may observe animal qualities in other villages with "amusement," a sentiment that I did not hear during my fieldwork. "Several of the episodes feature other animals who take on human form: the wolverine man, the woodpecker man, and the dall sheep man. Since none of these personified animals threatens Qayaq, they are not 'evil dragons to be slain,' but point to deep cultural values regarding man's place in the harmonious circle of nature. They also manifest the ancient Eskimo belief that people originated from certain animals. Today, some elders still observe others with amusement as they look for certain animal characteristics in their behavior."

15. Franz Boas, *The Central Eskimo* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1888), 621–22; Edward William Nelson, *The Eskimos about Bering Strait* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899), 467–70.

16. Peter Nabokov, *A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 108.

17. Michael Jackson, *Paths Toward a Clearing: Radical Empiricism and Ethnographic Inquiry* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); Axel Köhler, "Half-man, Half-elephant: Shapeshifting among the Baka of the Congo," in *Natural Enemies: People-Wildlife Conflicts in Anthropological Perspective*, ed. John Knight (New York: Routledge, 2000), 50–77; Morris E. Opler and Robert Seido Hashima, "The Rice Goddess and the Fox in Japanese Religion and Folk Practice," *American Anthropologist* 48, no. 1 (1946): 43–53; R. D. Jameson, "The Chinese Art of Shifting Shape," *Journal of American Folklore* 64, no. 253 (1951): 275–80; Margaret K. Brady, "Narrative Competence: A Navajo Example of Peer Group Example," *The Journal of American Folklore* 90, no. 368 (1980): 158–81; Robert Brightman, *Grateful Prey: Rock Cree Animal-Human Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 51–66; Kirsten C. Erickson, "They will come from the other side of the sea": Prophecy, Ethnogenesis, and Agency in Yaqui Narrative," *Journal of American Folklore* 116, no. 462 (2003): 465–82; Clyde Kluckhohn, *Navaho Witchcraft* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1944); Robin Ridington, "Knowledge, Power, and the Individual in Subarctic Hunting Societies," *American Anthropologist* 90 (1988): 98–110; David M. Smith, "An Athapaskan Way of Knowing: Chipewyan Ontology," *American Ethnologist* 25, no. 3 (1998): 412–32; Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath* (New York: Penguin Books, 1991); Claude Lecouteux, *Witches, Werewolves, and Fairies: Shapeshifters and Astral Doubles in the Middle Ages* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2003); W. Jochelson, *The Koryak Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History* (New York: G. E. Stechert, 1908), 6; Morten A. Pedersen, "Totemism, Animism and North Asian Indigenous Ontologies," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 7, no. 3 (2001): 411–27.

18. Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, "Exchanging Perspectives: The Transformation of Objects into Subjects in Amerindian Ontologies," *Common Knowledge* 10, no. 3 (2004): 463–84.

19. I borrow the language here of Rainey, "Whale Hunters of Tigara," 269, in which he discusses the social function of *unipqok* (ancient tales, true, passed on for centuries) among the Iñupiat in Point Hope, AK; Hall, *Eskimo Storyteller*, 73–77.

20. Invariably this genre of tales begins with a reference to a strained family relationship including an insulted son-in-law, defiant daughter, childless couple, or wifeless man. Feeling desperate or estranged, the protagonist leaves his family and ventures into the country. See Anderson, *Dahl Sheep Dinner Guest,* 92, 221; Hall, *Eskimo Storyteller*, 315; Boas, *The Central Eskimo,* 615–18. The folktales recount the protagonist's trials and tribulations as she attempts to reestablish family life outside of her community. The protagonist may change form to join the animal world or become inadvertently involved with a person who is an animal. In either case, by leaving home she begins the process of reconfiguring her kin networks and entering into relations of aid, protection, and shared economic fate with animals.

21. Boas, *The Central Eskimo*, 591; Margaret Lantis, "The Religion of the Eskimos," in *Forgotten Religions*, ed. Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), 311–339; G. A. Menovscikov, "Conceptions, Religious Beliefs and Rites of

the Asiatic Eskimos," in *Popular Beliefs and Folklore Tradition in Siberia*, ed. V. Dioszegi (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1968), 433–49; Rainey, "Whale Hunters of Tigara," 271; Edith Turner, "From Shamans to Healers: The Survival of an Iñupiaq Eskimo Skill," *Anthropologica* XXXI (1989): 10.

22. Viveiros de Castro, "Exchanging Perspectives," 470; Eduardo Kohn, "How Dogs Dream: Amazonian Natures and the Politics of Transspecies Engagement," *American Ethnologist* 34, no. 1 (2007): 7.

23. Ray, personal communication, April 1996.

24. Lowenstein, *Things That Were Said of Them,* xxxiv.

25. "Tribal Doctors Transcript," 26. For a contemporary analysis of healing arts in this region, as well as a reference on transformation, see Carl Hild, "Engaging *Iñupiaq* Values in Land Management for Health through an Action Research Appreciative Inquiry Process" (PhD diss., Saybrook Graduate School and Research Center, 2007), 249.

26. "Tribal Doctors Transcript," 26.

27. Inuit shamans did undergo an initiation period that included learning to communicate with animal-humans and allow animal spirits to take over their bodies. See J. L. Giddings, *Kobuk River People* (College: Department of Anthropology and Geography, University of Alaska, 1961), 15, 17; Seidelman and Turner, *Inuit Imagination*, 46–70.

28. Norman, *Northern Tales,* 21; Lantis, "Religion of the Eskimos," 326–27.

29. Hall, *Eskimo Storyteller,* 74; Nelson, *Eskimos about Bering Strait,* 453; Fienup-Riordan, *Eskimo Essays*, 169; Lowenstein, *Things That Were Said of Them,* xxxiv.

30. Richard K. Nelson also talks about the "applicability of rules being contingent on belief." See *Make Prayers to the Raven: A Koyukon View of the Northern Forest* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 232.

31. Ray, personal communication, May 2007.

32. Clara, personal communication, August 1995. For Clara, any number of old-timer Eskimos' ways from divination to shamanism could be explained in terms of belief. Years ago, she said, Eskimos could tell the future by picking up a *mukluk* with a stick. Whether the *mukluk* was light or heavy indicated the answer to the question. "But people don't believe that anymore," Clara added, "so people can take any stick and pick up any *mukluk*." So too with shamanism. "If you believe in God, then he's there. But if you believe in shaman, then it will be there. It's what you believe."

33. Some Iñupiat anticipated a rise in human-animal transformation with the approach of Armageddon, as an elderly healer once stated: "I guess those [transformations] are the types of things that are supposed to be happening towards the end of the earth in fulfillment of scripture. In the last days the evil spirits would be working as hard as they can because they don't have very much time and so people are beginning [to] see things and hear things even more than they did in other, earlier times" ("Tribal Doctors Transcript," 25–26).

34. Ernest S. Burch Jr., "Kotzebue Sound Eskimos," in Damas, *Handbook of North American Indians: The Arctic,* 313–14.

35. Don Charles Foote, "American Whalemen in Northwestern Arctic Alaska," in *The Emergent Native Americans: A Reader in Cultural Contact*, ed. Deward Walker (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1972), 305.

36. Robert Fortuine, *Chills and Fever* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1989).

37. Anderson, *Dahl Sheep Dinner Guest*, 16. At the time of the Samms's arrival, three other missions had been established in the Arctic region seven years earlier. A Congregational mission was established in Whales, an Episcopal mission in Point Hope, and a Presbyterian mission in Barrow. After seven years of proselytizing, however, the missions' accomplishments of conversion were sparse: none in Point Hope and Barrow and seventy-five converts in Whales. See Ernest S. Burch Jr., "The Iñupiat and the Christianization of Arctic Alaska," *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 18, no. 1–2 (1994): 81–108.

38. Burch, "Iñupiat and the Christianization of Arctic Alaska," 81.

39. Fortuine, *Chills and Fever*, 225; Robert J. Wolfe, "Alaska's Great Sickness, 1900: An Epidemic of Measles and Influenza in Virgin Soil Population," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 126, no. 2 (1982), 99; Burch, "Kotzebue Sound Eskimos," 316.

40. Burch, "Iñupiat and the Christianization of Arctic Alaska," 81.

41. Ibid., 51, 96. A careful reading of the early explorers' journals in the early twentieth century gives plenty of indication, however, that Inuit experimented with the newly introduced power of God to protect them from a range of physical ills. For instance, Peter Freuchen's entertaining book, *Arctic Adventure: My Life in the Frozen North* (New York: Farrar and Rhinehart, 1935), 423, contains a lively account of a young Iglulik woman's effort in the early 1920s to protect her dogs from the impending arrival of an epidemic at Repulse Bay:

"During the fall the natives turned pagan again. They had been Christian for more than a year and it had done them no good—the dogs had come down with distemper just the same. The Eskimos had even gone so far as to hang tiny crosses about the dogs' necks, but it had not helped. Then a young woman remembered that once as a child she had cured a dog by binding pagan amulets around her neck. She was a cautious, clever girl, so now she took both a cross and a round piece of wood to several dogs' necks, and the animals recovered. Then, by a scientific system of trial and elimination, they set about to determine which had been responsible for the cure. Half of the remaining sick animals were treated with crosses, the rest with the wooden amulets. The dogs wearing the pagan wood recovered. Whereupon the natives returned to the ways of their forefathers, and doubtless remained satisfied until another problem arose."

42. Freuchen, *Arctic Adventure*, 90–91.

43. Burch, "Kotzebue Sound Eskimos," 316; Burch, "Iñupiat and the Christianization of Arctic Alaska," 81.

44. Edith Turner, "The Effect of Contact on the Religion of the Iñupiat Eskimos," in *Circumpolar Religion and Ecology: An Anthropology of the North*, ed. Takashi Irimoto and Yakako Yamada (Japan: University of Tokyo Press, 1993), 143–61.

45. My host father once explained the origin of the shaman's sinister ways in this way: "Two hundred years ago those medicine men, shamans, are powerful. They cure people, take out bullets, take out arrow heads. They have so much power. But they own people from the minute they're born." "How did they own people?" I asked. A look of disappointment washed over his face. "You can read about it in the Bible. We born with sin from Adam and Eve when they ate the apple. That's when things got funny. The weather got bad. Not too many honest people now. They have to go back and get on the right path." Read Jarich Oosten, Frédéric Laugrand, and Cornelius Remie,

"Perceptions of Decline: Inuit Shamanism in the Canadian Arctic," *Ethnohistory* 53, no. 3 (2006), 445–77, for an alternative perspective on contemporary shamanism.

46. In several of the life histories that I recorded from my elderly female informants, however, wives in their eighties expressed irritation that their husbands now attempted to "get good with God" after decades of drinking and running around.

47. Blanch Jones "B. J." Criss, "When People Carrying Bibles Came," in *Authentic Alaska: Voices of Its Native Writers*, ed. Susan B. Andrews and John Creed (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 116–18.

48. Ibid., 118.

49. Ibid.

50. Ray, personal communication, May 2007.

51. Clara, personal communication, July 1995.

52. Read Seth Kanther's fantastic novel, *Ordinary Wolves* (Minneapolis, MN: Milkweed Editions, 2004), for a realistic depiction of bush and village life in Arctic Alaska. In chapter 2, Napolean Skuq Sr. arrives at his family's camp, pulls out a Bible, and "preached about Jesus and sin and a bush that you couldn't put out from burning" (27).

53. Levi, personal communication, December 1995. Spiritual retribution for mistreatment is also discussed in Nelson, *Make Prayers to the Raven,* 230–31.

54. During this conversation, Levi explained that the "vapors" of animals, especially those of strong and powerful animals like wolves, can enter you when you skin them. John wasn't able to treat their carcasses properly, he added, because he had to leave three behind. Ray was annoyed with the direction of the conversation. Although he agreed that wolf vapors are really powerful, he adamantly maintained that John's "craziness" had nothing to do with the wolves. "He went crazy because that's the kind of person he was. He was screwed-up. Spoiled. His whole family was like that. He went crazy because he was passing things on [to other people], and they came back to him."

I wondered how other people in the community came down on the debate about whether John went crazy because he was a jerk to wolves or a jerk to people. In either case, for both these hunters, John's embodiment of wolf form meant that something was gravely wrong in the social order and, more pointedly, in his social order.

55. This state of "pre-human flux" is considered to be nearly universal among American Indian mythologies according to Levi-Strauss, quoted in Viveiros de Castro, "Exchanging Perspectives," 464.

56. Fienup-Riordan, *Eskimo Essays*, 169.

57. Karl Luckert, *The Navaho Hunter Tradition* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975).

58. Tom Lowenstein, *Ancient Land, Sacred Whale: The Inuit Hunt and Its Rituals* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1993), 3.

59. Clara, personal communication, July 1995.

60. Ray, personal communication, May 2007.