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encounter and that continue to exist in current professional ethical dilemmas, in examinations of the arrogance of scholarship—which continues to marginalize and disenfranchise—and in studies of the politics of naming. Seeger's ideas about alternatives, perspectives, and prospects have relevance to all disciplines represented in the volume.

In her epilogue, Robertson notes that no single volume can address the confluence of cultures precipitated by 1492 and that the musical repercussions of 1492 need further consideration in interdisciplinary, multicultural climates that focus on performance as a statement of cultural complexity. She reminds her readers that we, too, are part of the encounter, as we continue to translate beliefs, values, and "facts" in our attempts to understand both the dialogue of cultures and our own ever-changing roles in them.

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Nuvendaltin Quht'ana: The People of Nondalton. By Linda J. Ellanna and Andrew Balluta. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992. 354 pages. \$19.95 paper.

Anthropologists of the late twentieth century wrestle with the question of how best to include the voices of those whom they portray in their writings. With *Nuvendaltin Quht'ana: The People of Nondalton*, anthropologist Linda Ellanna and Andrew Balluta—a nonnative and a Dena'ina Athabaskan, respectively—have given us an ethnohistoric ethnography that rings with the authentic voices of the Dena'ina themselves.

This work arose out of research needs felt by the superintendent of the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve, which encompasses over three million acres of traditional Inland Dena'ina territory, including the current Inland Dena'ina village of Nondalton. *Nuvendaltin Quht'ana* thus has, as its primary, official agenda, to document the cultural history of the Inland Dena'ina Athabaskans, a goal that coincides with Dena'ina interests in transmitting their own culture to their younger generation more effectively. In broader terms, this is a case study of subarctic Athabaskans, of indigenous North Americans, of modern hunting and gathering societies, and the human condition in general as

autochthonous societies have been absorbed into nation-states and the world economy.

For their research, Ellanna undertook eighteen months of ethnographic research over five years; co-author Balluta's experience is, naturally, of a lifetime. In chronicling Inland Dena'ina society over the past century, the authors present a mixture of formal anthropological theory, ethnohistoric detail from written records, and first-person accounts from Dena'ina elders who have lived through and created Dena'ina history from 1890 to 1990. Ellanna, a serious anthropologist very active in the triennial Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies, uses the Inland Dena'ina case as a foil to pierce and deflate (where needed) a number of current anthropological issues in hunter-gatherer studies.

The Dena'ina Athabaskans, the southwesternmost Indians native to Alaska, embody four aboriginal societies. Over the past century-and-a-half of European contact, the Inland Dena'ina have not undergone the classic "demographic transition," where populations initially increase, then drop as the people assume "modern" (read "Western") views on materialism and lifestyle; rather, the authors conclude that because the Dena'ina have their own "culturally defined goals" of survival and lifestyle (p. 54), they have followed a different demographic path.

The Dena'ina instance counters the supposed causal link of population centralization leading to increased sedentism. Centralization (around trading posts) in fact was accompanied by lessened sedentism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as Inland Dena'ina became commercial fur trappers.

The Inland Dena'ina subsistence base (quite broad by subarctic standards, though traditionally centered around red salmon and brown bear) is used to probe the anthropological question, In what way are traditional hunter-gatherers natural conservationists? Is it simply that, with small populations and limited technology, indigenous people heretofore have been *unable* to have a destructive affect on their environments? Ellanna and Balluta argue, rather, that the moral and spiritual unity that the people experience with their environment discourages them from knowingly abusing what others term *resources*.

Ellanna challenges the neoclassical economic theory of the supposedly inexorable destruction of native social structure, as its society is incorporated into market economics. Cultural goals (not just Western commodity accumulation) structure

much of the modern Inland Dena'ina economy, which now requires a balance of local, subsistence-based, and world economic participation.

The authors provide an excellent discussion of early traditional leaders, Russian-American "toyons," twentieth-century "chiefs," and the transition to modern, "traditional councils." Conspicuously absent is an adequate discussion of why the twentieth-century chieftainship devolved into councils with chairs and presidents.

Five chapters, titled "Dena'ina Perspective" and interspersed among the theoretical pieces, truly transform this into a collaborative ethnography of the Inland Dena'ina. The first of these presents creation myths and epic legends, which allow the reader a glimpse of the cosmology so necessary to understanding the place of the Inland Dena'ina in their own universe.

"A Woman's View of Family Life and Marriage," by Agnes Trefon, presents an excellent portrayal of Inland Dena'ina social life from a gyno-historic perspective not often seen in subarctic ethnographies. Andrew Balluta's own chapter, "A Residence History Biography," provides a man's perspective on living through the same period.

In "Memories of a Bristol Bay Fisherman," Pete Koktelash provides a view of how changing racial, linguistic, technological, and legal parameters have affected Inland Dena'ina life as they have played ever-changing roles in the commercial salmon fishery. "The Making of a Chief" yields telling insights into the life story of one of the last twentieth-century chiefs, including his apprenticeship into the status.

A distinctive Inland Dena'ina society and culture survives today, the authors assert, largely because the Dena'ina continue to live on and from their ancestral land. Their traditional cycles of hunting, fishing, and gathering form both a biological/economic and a spiritual basis for their continued existence.

Changes in material culture and the process of the language shift from Dena'ina to English are mentioned but demand more attention in future research. Ethnohistorians also need to remember that the Dena'ina elders of the twenty-first century should be interviewed today, to elicit their contemporaneous perspectives on late twentieth-century life.

Problems with *Nuvendaltin Quht'ana* are relatively few. Errors occur in English spelling, punctuation, and typography (pp. 9, 10, 23, 54, 111, 117, 128, 166, 205, 216, 226, and 320). Dena'ina errors

seem apparent on pages xxi and 140; further, two different spellings occur for the clan name *qqahyi* or *ggahyi* (*ggahyi*, pp. 43, 189, and 331; *qqahyi* on pp. 107 [thrice], 259), and different spellings appear for *nudelvegh* (p. 280) or *nudelvay* (p. 333). An error in German-to-English translation occurs on p. xxi. Contradictory clan/moiety information is given on pages 107, 182, and 189.

Conceptual laxness is quite rare. In examining the cash economy of 1980 to 1990, the authors take inflation into account when examining wages (p. 250) but not prices (p. 252). Elsewhere, Ellanna posits the (highly unlikely) notion that a “[n]ative language lingua franca undoubtedly operated before contact with Euroamericans” (p. 332), without providing any evidence for such.

The eight Dena’ina matrilineal clans apparently each have a corresponding opposite clan from the other moiety. A diagram of how this works in marriage and descent (and perhaps a contrast with Australian eight-section kinship reckoning) would be of interest to anthropological readers. (The Dena’ina ideal system, as described, would seem to divide the society into four endogamous groups!)

Serious reading led pages to loosen in my copy of the book. Despite the higher costs, many users (e.g., libraries, Athabaskan schools, Dena’ina families, and serious researchers) would be better served with a hardcover edition.

Nuvendaltin Quht’ana is, for Ellanna and Balluta, an opportunity to compile a cultural, social, and historical record of the Inland Dena’ina, a compilation that they hope will be of use to future generations of Dena’ina. The reading ability required to really understand this text, in most parts, is college level. The “Dena’ina Perspective” chapters should be accessible to many Dena’ina high schoolers, yet there remains the need for shorter versions of some of this mountain of information, written specifically with Athabaskan children in mind as the audience. A further collaborative effort between the Dena’ina elder and the anthropologist could be extremely valuable in regard to Dena’ina young people in a formal school context.

Ellanna and Balluta partially succeed in countering the pop-culture notion that there is one—and only one—old way of life for a particular native group such as the Inland Dena’ina, rather than recognizing that the traditional lifestyle of the 1930s (which today’s elders experienced as young adults) was different from

the traditional lifestyle of the 1890s, which in turn was different from the traditional lifestyle of the 1830s. All of these, plus the 1990s Inland Dena'ina lifeways, are traditional Dena'ina culture, and all belong to the cultural heritage of modern Inland Dena'ina.

This is an ethnohistory in the best sense of the word. It tells the Inland Dena'ina story using both historical records and the people's own oral tradition. The joint authorship is highly appropriate, Ellanna and Balluta each building upon the strengths of the other to give a fairly rounded picture of Inland Dena'ina lifeways over the past century. The inclusion of first-person, autobiographical accounts by Dena'ina elders provides an excellent counter-tempo to the more theoretical chapters. When an entire chapter is essentially a transcription of one Dena'ina elder's own story, however, it would seem appropriate to give the narrator a "byline" on the chapter title page.

Ellanna and Balluta make use of Dena'ina terms generously and meaningfully, as for Dena'ina concepts not readily translated into English. The glossary of Dena'ina and specialized anthropological terms is an important component; this is generally adequate but would have been more useful had Dena'ina terms also appeared in the index.

Nuvendaltin Quht'ana is an extremely valuable contribution to subarctic ethnology and ethnohistory, and to American Indian and hunter-gatherer studies. Every serious researcher of Athabaskan ethnology or ethnohistory must have this volume. I sincerely hope this tome will inspire more collaborative studies along these lines; this is the way indigenous ethnohistories should be done.

For a detailed, multi-valent view of twentieth-century Dena'ina life, this is a must-read. For instructors of courses in American Indian or Alaska Native studies, or circumpolar ethnology, this is a text worth serious consideration. Because it is readable yet detailed, theoretically rigorous yet not allowing the facts to be subservient to the theory, I look forward to the opportunity to use this book as a text in college courses.

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