Eskimo Place-Names in Bering Strait and Vicinity[1]

DOROTHY JEAN RAY

In Bering Strait, Alaska, naming of places in the Eskimo language stopped almost entirely at the end of the nineteenth century, although Eskimos continued to occupy the land of their ancestors. The Bering Strait Eskimos lived mainly along 1,044 miles of coastline (including offshore islands) between the mouth of the Buckland River and the village of St. Michael, with two tribes living inland away from the sea.[2] The territory of each tribe, except that of islands and several coastal areas, included tributaries and watersheds of one or more large rivers, one or more permanent villages, and many seasonal camps. Almost every feature had a name.

The use of general or modified appellatives like "river," "big river," "mountain," "island," or "little island" for principal topographic features along all of the western Alaskan coast has produced a duplication of names, which suggests that Eskimo nomenclature was very simple and elementary. On the contrary, this was only part of an extensive toponymic system (there was also an abundance of descriptive and specific names) and had considerable cultural significance, for the duplication of names indicated the existence of individual tribal identities along an extensive coastline once thought to be occupied by only one huge "tribe." In other words, the repetition of names was not an indiscriminate, unimaginative naming by a single group, but was the consequence of numerous tribes having organized constellations of place-names within separate boundaries, each with its own "mountain," its own "bay," and particularly, its own "river."

[1] Research in 1968 was supported by a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society.

[2] The Bering Strait of my research covers a much larger area than the narrow Strait itself, and includes the Seward Peninsula and the coastal area, Norton Sound, as far south as Stebbins, an area of about 28,500 square miles with an estimated population of 5,237 in 1967. Cf. *Villages in Alaska and other Places Having a Native Population of 25 or More*, compiled by the Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska (Anchorage, 1967), pp. 23, 24.

Eskimos occupied all of the Seward Peninsula and the eastern shore of Norton Sound to the crest of the mountains; the opposite side of the divide was occupied by Indians. Interpretations and conclusions in this paper pertain principally to nineteenth century political units, which have now been superseded by the sovereignty of the United States. Linguistic groupings today (except for the Nome area) still coincide with dialects of the late nineteenth century.

Place-names and personal names of Bering Strait Eskimos represented spatial and temporal continuities that functioned in different, though not mutually exclusive, spheres of Eskimo life. Personal names with their name-souls were related to the supernatural, but place-names, which had no souls, belonged to the natural world. A personal name assured its user of a secure place in society (the personal naming practices linked past and future generations through re-use of specific names) and often, protection from harm.[3] Place-names systematized territorial features within a tribe, and provided the Eskimo with continuity to the land from time immemorial.

In the old Eskimo religion, every human being had several souls, two of the best defined being a life-soul and a name-soul. After death the life-soul disappeared forever, but the name-soul wandered about until it was again bestowed upon a friend's or a relative's new-born baby, quite often a grandchild. Personal names always left the body of their own volition, but were restored to another human abode through human intervention. Place-names were immobile, and remained at their designations until forgotten.

Whereas human beings and some animals possessed souls, inanimate objects had spirits. However, a place-name that was the same as an object did not contain a spirit, because the object's spirit was a generic one that infused a category of objects, and was not an individual spirit. So far as Eskimos know today, these spirits had no connection with the name of a place. A toponym that referred to animals or birds important in religion or mythology had no magical connotations. The fickle line between reality and folklore wavered indiscriminately between fact and fiction. Though a place might be named for a legendary creature, the name was only a statement of geographical identification within a specific tribal area; yet most narrators of folktales used specific village names to place their stories in as real a context as their everyday world.

Places were not named after human beings, inasmuch as association of a personal name with a place-name was conceptually improper, but a person and a place might coincidentally have the same name. A huge common pool of names was available for both personal and place-names, and considerable overlapping occurred. Most personal names were taken from nature or noteworthy events, and a baby born in an isolated place sometimes received a name from his birthplace if there were no names of

[3] These relationships and other aspects of personal naming among the Bering Strait Eskimos are discussed by Albert H. Heinrich in *Personal Names, Social Structure, and Functional Integration,* Anthropology and Sociology Papers, No. 27 (Montana State University, Missoula, May 1963).

Many Eskimos still receive personal Eskimo names in addition to English ones, but places rarely get a new Eskimo name today.

recently-deceased persons available. The specific place-name then entered the realm of personal names and was not used again as a toponym. However, there was no prohibition against using a similar name for a place if it was taken from another source, but this was rare, for once a place-name was known to have been appropriated for a human being, it was thought unwise to utilize it in a toponymic context because of the name-soul. An Eskimo could have as many as a dozen names, but others knew him by only one at a time, usually his first. A place also had only one name, although various parts of a large village or an island could have additional identifying names.

Place-names, including individual campsites, were considered to be as permanent as the land to which they were attached, and, as far as we know, the majority of Eskimo place-names that I have recorded were in use at the time of first European contact in the 1700s.[4] Informants could recall only a few names that had been applied to places during their lifetime, and documentary evidence supports their statements that most Eskimo place-names were "prehistoric."

During the eighteenth century, Russians in Siberia obtained a few Alaskan names from the Chukchi tribes of northeast Siberia and from Diomede islanders living in the Bering Strait between Siberia and Alaska. Shortly after the Russians arrived in eastern Siberia in 1648 they eagerly set about learning more about a big land said to lie east of Siberia, but the defiant Chukchi kept them more than 500 miles away from the Strait for many years. In 1711 Ivan Lvov, a Cossack from Yakutsk, recorded the first Alaskan name of any kind when he traveled to the Chukchi Peninsula for information about geography and trade. Lvov placed a sausage-shaped island on his map in the position of Alaska on which he inscribed, "The land is big, and people live there who in Chuktosky language are called Kigin Eliat." This Kigin Eliat, which the Chukchi had presumably learned through the island people, is probably none other than *kingigan*, the Eskimo name for Wales.[5]

[4] The date of first white contact depends on a particular area in the Bering Strait. In 1732, Mikhail Gvozdev and Ivan Fedorov were the first Europeans to discover Alaska near what was later named Cape Prince of Wales in 1778. Gvozdev and Fedorov talked to the people of Big Diomede Island. In 1778, Captain James Cook stepped ashore on Sledge Island, Cape Denbigh, and at a place near present day Elim. In 1779 Ivan Kobelev visited both of the Diomedes.

[5] A. V. Efimov, *Iz istorii velikikh russkikh geograficheskikh otkrytii* [From the history of important Russian geographical discoveries] (Moscow, 1949), p. 114. The name Kigin Eliat is taken from Efimov's Russian transliteration of Lvov's handwritten notations on the original map. Lvov's map was discussed, but not illustrated, by Gerhard Müller, Siberia's first historian, in *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, Vol. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1758), p. 53. This volume was translated as *Voyages from Asia to America* (London, 1761). In both editions the name is written "Kitschin Eljat." The Chukchi called the inhabitants of Alaska KI'IMI'It, or "inhabitants," and called the land itself, KI'IMIN according to

In 1765 Nikolai Daurkin, a Chukchi who had been reared as a Cossack in Yakutsk, placed several more Alaskan native place-names on an annotated map. This map and another made by Ivan Kobelev in 1779 are two of the most exceptional maps to be made for any part of Alaska, though both were drawn without first-hand observation of places recorded. Daurkin's map[6] is considerably distorted, but he mentioned four Alaskan names, three for the first time: he called *kingigan* Kigmil, and recorded Tikegan (*tikera*, "finger," present-day Point Hope), Okibyan (*ukivuk* or *uivuk*, King Island), and Kheuveren (*kauwerak*, a famous old village on the Kuzitrin River).

When I began my research, Kobelev's map was the only extensive compilation of Bering Strait native place-names in existence. Other explorers recorded a few names here and there, but none approached Kobelev's feat of locating 69 Seward Peninsula settlements (61 with names) on a map made by Eskimos during a visit to Little Diomede Island.[7] In contrast, Captain James Cook, the first European to chart the

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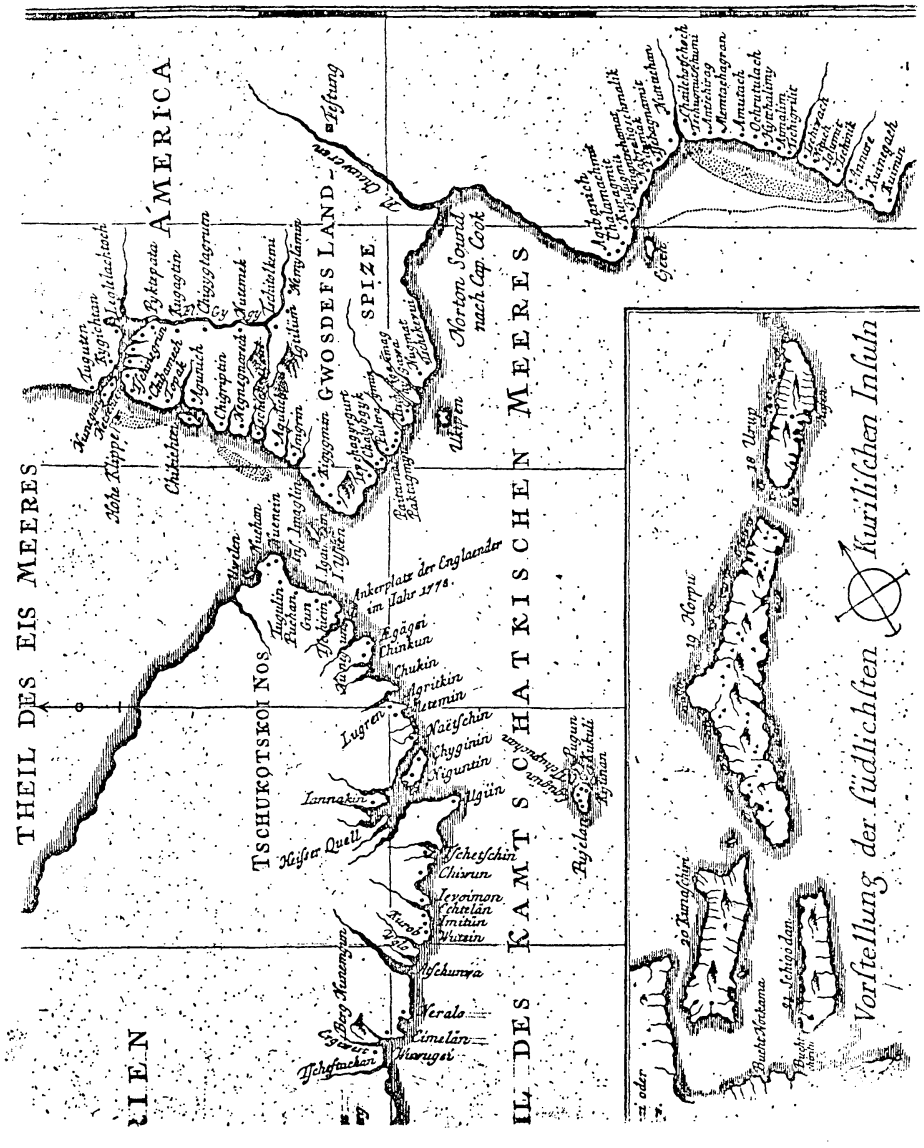
Vladimir G. Bogoras (*The Chukchee*, Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, Part I, 1904, p. 21). This might have been the source for Kigin Eliat, but I think it was derived from the site name for Wales.

Meanings of native names are not given in this introductory discussion because they are explained later under the names themselves.

[6] James R. Masterson and Helen Brower, *Bering's Successors* (Seattle, 1948), p. 27n; Svetlana Fedorova, "K voprosu o rannikh russkikh poseleniiakh na Aliaske" [On early Russian settlements in Alaska], *Letopis Severa* (Moscow, 1964), Vol. 4, p. 97. Masterson's account contains a translation of Daurkin's report as summarized by Peter Simon Pallas in *Neue nordische Beyträge zur physikalischen und geographischen Erd- und Völkerbeschreibung, Naturgeschichte, und Oekonomie* (St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1781), Vol. I. Pallas did not illustrate Daurkin's map, and Fedorova illustrates only a small portion of the Seward Peninsula area. However, it has been published in its entirety by V. I. Grekov in *Ocherki iz istorii russkikh geograficheskikh issledovanii v 1725—1765 gg.* [Essays on the history of Russian geographical investigations in 1725—1765] (Moscow, 1960), p. 209, but the reproduction is so poor that it is difficult to read most of the names even with a magnifying glass.

[7] Kobelev's map was published originally by Peter Simon Pallas in Volume 4 of *Neue nordische Beyträge* (1783), and reprinted by Masterson and Brower. The same map with names in Russian was published in 1784 and reproduced by M. V. Chernenko on page 125 of "Puteshestviia po Chukotskoi zemle i plavanie na Aliasku kazachego sotnika Ivana Kobeleva v 1779 i 1789—1791 gg." [Travels to the Chukchi Peninsula and voyage to Alaska of the Cossack sotnik ("leader of a hundred") Ivan Kobelev in 1779 and 1789 to 1791], *Letopis Severa* (Moscow, 1957), Vol. II, pp. 121—41.

Pallas used Norton Sound to separate Kobelev's villages into two groups, a northern section that appears to cover the entire Seward Peninsula, and a southern section coterminous with the Yukon and Kuskokwim deltas, from 120 to 300 miles south of the first. By comparing names I discovered that all were Seward Peninsula settlements, the two original groups having been divided by Port Clarence, Grantley Harbor, and Imuruk Basin. Pallas had an opportunity to look at Captain Cook's charts, with the newly-discovered Norton Sound, as they traveled by courier across Siberia from Kamchatka to London in 1778—1779. Therefore, his substitution of this body of water for those near the



Ivan Kobelev's Map

west coast of Alaska and to step ashore on the Alaskan mainland north of the Aleutian Islands a year before Kobelev's visit, recorded only one Eskimo place-name, Chaktoole Bay (near the present village of Shaktoolik) on the entire western Alaskan coast.

Kobelev's settlements conform to their actual geographical locations to a remarkable degree, and more than half of the names correspond to those known today. This is an exceptionally high percentage in view of the impediments these names encountered en route toward identification. The words were originally recorded in Cyrillic from Eskimos who did not speak the dialects represented in the village names (Kobelev spoke Chukchi and may have used interpreters). The names were then transcribed (we hope from legible writing) into German orthography, many words retaining Chukchi suffixes *-an* or *-un*, which Kobelev recorded or substituted for Eskimo *-ak* or *-uk*. Eskimo has also changed, as does any language, and students of their own tongue say that words used only a generation ago are sometimes difficult to understand. Informant recall varies from area to area and I have a few areal gaps. For example, of Kobelev's seven settlements on the Goodhope River I am familiar with only one.

The villages on Kobelev's map that can be identified from my records are, north to south:

Tuguten: possibly *tukutat* near Cape Espenberg, although not in the right place.
Kygichtan: *kikiktaruk*, present-day Kotzebue.
Leglelachtoch: *likliknuktuk*, a campsite on Goodhope Bay.
Pyktepata: *pitakpaga*, old village at the mouth of the *pitak*, or Goodhope River.
Tschinegrün: *singyak*, an old village between Cape Espenberg and Shishmaref.
Chibamech: *kividluk* near *singyak*.
Topak: *tapkak*, by which name the entire coast from Cape Espenberg to the vicinity of Wales was known (see discussion of *tapkak*).
Chikichtei: *kikiktuk*, the name of Shishmaref and Sarichev Island.
Agunich: *akunik*, an old village near Shismaref.
Negnegnaroch: *nonatak; ipnorak*? camps on Shishmaref Inlet.
Agulich: *agolik*, an old village, but is misplaced.
Kigygmin: *kingigan* or Wales.
Imaglin: *imaklik*, Big Diomede Island.
Iagilin: *ingalik*, Little Diomede Island.
Tepchagyrgurt: *tapkarak*, south of Wales.
Puleragmin: *palazruk*, south of Wales.
Paitamat: *paituk*, or Baituk River.
Itschigaëmag: *ikpiumizua*, a village on Port Clarence.
Nugmat: *nukmiut* or *nuk*, Teller.
Ukipen: *ukivuk*, King Island.
Tschekevui: *tuksuk*, Tuksuk Channel?
Fl. Cheuweren: *kauwerak*.

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middle of the Peninsula (and which Cook did not see during his explorations), threw Kobelev's map completely out of joint. Kobelev also drew many "undiscovered" bays, islands, and rivers, likewise unnoticed by Cook.

Agibanich: *akavingayak*, a camp on the southern shore of Port Clarence.

Chalamachmit: *kalulingmiut* or *kalulik*, Cape Douglas.

Ejech: *ayak*, Sledge Island.

Tschagnamit: *singiyak*, Cape Woolley, or possibly, *singak*, Sinuk River. Kobelev's spelling is similar to that of Lieutenant L. Zagoskin's for "coastal people," or Chnagmyut in 1844.[8] See also page 14.

Chailchotschoch: *kayalashuak*, Cripple River and small abandoned village north of Nome.

Tschugnutschumi: *sitnasuak*, Snake River and small village.

Antschirag: *ayasayuk*, Cape Nome and large village below the cape.

Memtachagran: *mupturukshuk*, a small old village south of Cape Nome.

Amutach: *angutak* or Solomon.

Achrutulach: *okpiktulik*, Spruce Creek and camp east of Solomon.

Tschiwach: *chiukak*, old village between Spruce Creek and Golovin.

Nituch: *ignituk*, a large old village between *chiukak* and Golovin. The current pronunciation may be slightly different from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries since Zagoskin also recorded this village as Knykhtakgmyut.[9]

Iglumit: *iglu*, Corwin's Cove near Golovin.

Tschinik: *chinik*, Golovin.

Annure: *atnuk* on Cape Darby (it has also been spelled Annuk on later American maps).

Kuinegach: *kuinihak*, Moses Point; possibly, Koyuk.

Kuimin: possibly Koyuk?

Differences in pronunciation of similar place-names along the Alaskan coast reflect the numerous dialects of the two mutually unintelligible Alaskan Eskimo languages, Inupiak and Yupik, also called the northern and southern languages. Both mean "real, or genuine, people," derived from the respective words for "[Eskimo] person," *inuk* and *yuk*. The well-known word Innuit comes from the northern stem and means "mankind of all races." The geographical division between the two languages at the time of first white contact on Seward Peninsula (in 1778) was at Golovnin Bay, 80 miles east of Nome, where Unaluk, a dialect of Yupik, was spoken, but the Inupiak boundaries shifted south during the historical period so that Unalakleet, once an Unaluk-speaking village, became trilingual with the addition of Malemiut and Kauwerak speech.[10] People

[8] Henry N. Michael, ed., *Lieutenant Zagoskin's Travels in Russian America, 1842–1844*, translated by Penelope Rainey (Toronto, 1967), p. 103.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

[10] Unaluk is the singular form of Unalit, the name for people who lived around Norton Sound. Unaluk is used when speaking of the language; Unalit, of the people.

I have been unable to get a meaning for the word Malemiut. It was first recorded both as Maleygmyut and Naleygmyut by Lieutenant L. A. Zagoskin between 1842 and 1844 during his travels in the St. Michael area and on the Yukon and Kuskokwim rivers. Zagoskin said that it meant "people who dwell in blanket-yurts" (Michael, 1967, pp. 103, 124, 291), and applied to those northerners who traveled around the south. This word did not originate in the Norton Sound, apparently. All three dialects in Unalakleet use *palatgak* for tent; at Elim, *kanuk*; and farther north, *tupek*. However, John Hinz, in discussing grammar of the Kuskokwim language, with which I am unfamiliar, lists *nalik* as "a tupee" (*Grammar and Vocabulary of the Eskimo Language*, The Society for Propagating the Gospel, the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pa., 1944, p. 196), and this probably is the ori-

who spoke these language had immigrated south sometime during the early nineteenth century, the Malemiut occasionally traveling as far south as the Kuskokwim River, but they settled permanently only around the coast of Norton Sound in abandoned camps or occupied Unalit villages. However, with few exceptions, these places kept their original Unaluk names, apparently through efforts of local inhabitants. The area around Shaktoolik, which was once an Unalit settlement later known as a "Malemiut village," still retains a large number of original Unaluk place-names, and Malemiut informants eagerly pointed out numerous names that were "real Unaluk words," as noted in the discussion of individual place-names.

Differences in dialect of contiguous tribes speaking the same language are usually prosodic with some phonological changes. Between languages, however, there are syntactical and many lexical differences. A shift of phonemes like the voiceless alveolar spirant and the voiceless alveopalatal spirant in Kauwerak and other northern dialects to the voiceless alveopalatal affricate in Unaluk consistently marks the difference between the two languages in the Norton Sound area, as represented in words like *singik, chinik*; *shaktulik, chaktulik*; or *soiyuk, chauiyak.*

I recorded names and meanings for about 275 places and an additional hundred names without meanings in the course of anthropological inquiry into nineteenth-century political organization, tribal distribution, and settlement and subsistence patterns during the summers of 1961, 1964, and 1968.[11] It is now impossible to get an exhaustive listing of place-names because many names are already beyond recall, and because the time required for a complete recording of all meanings and names of hills, mountains, creeks, rivers, lakes, ponds, bays, localities, villages, and camps would be prohibitive. Yet a large enough sample was obtained to draw conclusions that might apply to other Eskimo areas.

The names were transcribed phonetically from about 50 bilingual (Eskimo and English) speakers who provided meanings in English. Unlike the Yukon-Kuskokwim Eskimos whose principal language is still Yupik, most of the inhabitants of the Bering Strait are bilingual. Exceptions are some older mainland Eskimos and King and Diomede islanders who do not speak English, and many young people who do not speak Eskimo.

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gin of the word Malemiut, written originally as Nalegmiut. Zagoskin did not explain his use of both spellings, so possibly the word could also have been derived from the word, *maliga* ("follow") because the northerners were both traders and caribou hunters. However, Zagoskin's own meaning provides an ultimate source.

[11] Most of the settlement names from my research on Seward Peninsula in 1961 and 1964 were placed on maps and analyzed in terms of subsistence configurations in "Nineteenth Century Settlement and Subsistence Patterns in Bering Strait," *Arctic Anthropology* (Madison, 1964), Vol. II, pp. 61–94.

Because this paper concentrates on Eskimo knowledge of place-names and meanings and their place in Eskimo concepts, and not linguistic analysis, I have used only names and explanations supplied by informants. Many meanings are obviously not literal translations, but are what the words meant to each person. Every meaning applies specifically to one location, and multiple meanings are those given by more than one informant. I have suggested a meaning only when it was unknown, and none has been taken from another printed source except for explanatory notes. Place-names without meanings have been omitted unless an informant said that it was "only a name." Although it is rather easy to guess the meaning for almost any Eskimo place-name, native speakers are reluctant to offer one if it is not in a form that makes sense to them. This caution was apparent everywhere from Kotzebue Sound to St. Michael, in responses from the 50 major informants as well as other persons. Most Eskimos cannot provide meanings for printed Eskimo names if they have been erroneously recorded, are in non-English orthography, or are in an unfamiliar dialect. The fairly large percentage of names with obviously known roots that have "no meanings" indicates semantic caution and comparatively little interest in etymological relationships. On the other hand, there is a fierce pride in preserving their language, even by those with the least interest in its history.

The names are presented in simplified form that could be useful for maps. This scheme, however, omits a number of significant differences in pronunciation; for example, that between the voiceless velar stop and the voiceless uvular stop, both indicated here as *k*, and between the high back vowel and mid-central vowel, both represented by *u*. The *u* in the suffix *-uk* is sometimes pronounced as in the English word, "luck," but the *u* at the beginning or in the middle of a word (*ungalaklik*, *nuk*) is pronounced as in "spook." The *ng* used here is usually pronounced as in "sing," not "linger"; the *a* (*atnuk*, *atuik*, *kukak*), as in "father"; and the *o* (Koyuk, *okpiktulik*), as in "lone." The Eskimo Language Workshop (for the Yupik language) at the University of Alaska has been faced with similar problems of simplifying orthography for published material. They have decided on a *c* to represent the *ts*, *ch*, and *sh* sounds. The *c* would not be appropriate here because the latter two consonants, as we have already seen, often signify a difference in language, not only dialect. Therefore, I have used the diagraphs *ch* and *sh* to differentiate the two.

Names and meanings are discussed under two general classifications, topographic features and settlements, sometimes interchangeably because of a primary organization of etymological relationships, but the names are not always repeated in an alternate category. If the name of a place is spelled phonetically in their map names of today, I have not added my phonetic version.

The Names

Land features

Two terms differentiated Eskimos living on the coast from those who lived inland away from the sea: *tapkakmiut* ("people of the sandy shore-line," *-miut* means people) and *singingmiut* ("people of the coast or watershed"). North of the Bering Strait area, inland people were called *nunamiut* ("people of the land"), but this name did not apply to Seward Peninsula tribes living in the interior on the Kuzitrin and the Fish rivers. The best known *tapkakmiut* pertained to people living on the shore of the Chukchi Sea between the old village of *ikpik* (north of Wales) and Cape Espenberg. The word *tapkak* is also found in other areas of the Bering Strait in a more narrow sense: a small area and old village near Solomon was *tapkak* ("sandy beach") or Topkok on maps, and near Shaktoolik another *tapkak* ("hard tundra along the coast") ended at a campsite known as *tapkamisua* ("end of the coastal tundra"), or the Eskimo name for foothills. However, this name refers to the end of flat ground, not to the beginning of hills as in English. The Foothills Roadhouse was a popular stopping place for dogteams carrying mail in the early part of the twentieth century. This place was first reported as Tor-qua-me-su-a in 1851 by Thomas Bourchier of the parties searching for Sir John Franklin in the Bering Strait area between 1848 and 1854. Taupanika was located on A. Petermann's map, "Wrangel-land" (1869) and the 1880 census said that Tup-hamikva had a population of ten.[12]

A fourth *tapkak* ("sandy beach") is the present Eskimo name of Stebbins, now located on a straight stretch of coast south of the nineteenth century village site of *atuik* ("bent point"), situated at the foot of a bluff. *Tapkarak* ("small tapkak") was a winter village on the coast south of Wales.

Higher land along the coast was often called *ikpik*, a word used mainly in coastal situations. The best known *ikpik* was located at the southern end of the *tapkak* area near Shishmaref, and spelled Ikpek on maps. This word has been translated as "bank along the shore," "high ground," and "foothills." An area on the Unalakleet River is called *ikpiluk*, explained both as "bank" and "a big bank, open, and one can see far off." Two small villages on the coast near Teller were *ikpiumizua* ("end of the tundra" i.e. pertaining to the bank) and *ikpigilauk* ("in the middle [of ikpik]"). Coffee Point in the St. Michael area is known as *ikpakpuk* ("big cliff as it comes down to the lowland").

Related words are *ipmachiuk* ("bluff"), the name for Deering at the mouth of the Inmachuk River on the north coast of Seward Peninsula; *ipnuchauk* ("little bluff"), an old village north of Rocky Point in the Golovin area; and *ipnorak* ("rocky wall"), a camp on Shishmaref Inlet.

Singingmiut or *chiningmiut* (depending on the language) was used to differentiate coastal from inland people between Cape Rodney and Rocky Point, and along portions of eastern Norton Sound. This is Zagoskin's "tribal" word, "Chnagmyut," which he also explained as "coastal people."[13] This word refers specifically to coast or edge along the sea, but also means watershed, as found in the name *singloak*, a Tuksuk campsite that was once

[12] Thomas Bourchier, "Journal of a Journey from Gariska, Russian Fishing Station Norton Sound to ... Grantley Harbour," Great Britain Parliament, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, 1852 Volume 50, No. 1449, enclosure 15; A. Petermann, *Mittheilungen* (1869), Vol. XV, table 2; Ivan Petroff, *Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska* (U.S. Census Office, Tenth Census, 1884), p. 11. All references to the Tenth Census of 1880 hereafter refer to page 11. This settlement was reported as Tapkhamikkhuagmyut by Zagoskin, but he placed it north of Cape Denbigh instead of south (Michael, 1967, p. 125).

[13] Michael, 1967, p. 103.

the site of an old village reported as Choonowuk by William Frederick Beechey in 1831.[14] This name is considered to be "somehow a coastal word put on an inland camp." It is found also in the part of Wales village called *singuarangmiut* ("people of the lagoon," situated near Wales River or *singlurariuk*), once occupied by reindeer herders. In 1968, George Ootenna, 92 years old and one of the first herders, was the only inhabitant of *singuarangmiut.*

The word *singak* or *chinik,* depending on the language, is usually applied to low, well-drained ground, and is the Eskimo name for Brevig Mission, *singak* or *singingmiut* (often spelled Sinramiut, "outlet of the lagoon"), Golovin (*chinik*), and an old village, *singak,* situated at the mouth of the Sinuk River near Nome. In 1867 The Esquimaux said that the latter, Singigungmiut, was nearly deserted in April, the inhabitants having gone to Aiyakh (Sledge Island) to hunt "mukluks" (i.e., oogruk or bearded seals).[15] Golovin or *chinik* ("point" or "spit") is usually spelled Cheenik on maps, and was first reported as Tschinik by Kobelev in 1779 and as Chinik by Vasilii S. Khromchenko in 1822.[16] "Small spit" or *chinikchauk* is the name of South Spit opposite *chinik,* a camping and berry-picking area. "Point" is also the name of Cape Woolley (*singiyak*), Elephant Point (*singyak*), Safety, east of Nome (chingyak), and a few camps like *chinikpuk* ("big point") in the St. Michael area, *chingyak* at the mouth of the Sineak River[17] near Shaktoolik, and *singyak,* a year-round village between Shishmaref and Cape Espenberg. A Malemiut man who now uses a Shaktoolik River camp called *chinikluak,* an Unaluk name, did not know its exact meaning.

Places whose names were derived from *singak* were usually situated on flat ground near sea level. Comparable high places were sometimes called *nuk* or *nuwak,* although low, flat places that were spits of land also bore this name. Two well-known Nooks are at Safety Sound and at Teller, the latter probably the Nugmat of Kobelev's in 1779. The Safety Sound Nook today is a summer camping area of about 30 cabins stretching for several miles along a long, thin spit that separates Safety Sound from Norton Sound, but the original *nuk* was only a camping site for inhabitants of the old village of *ayasayuk* at the base of Cape Nome. In this case, *nuk* meant "the farthest point out [on the spit]," about five miles east of Cape Nome.

Tolstoi Point in the Unalakleet area is *nuwak* ("point"), and Black Point and Hunting Point in the St. Michael area are *nuwak* ("nose") and *nuk* ("spit or headland"), respectively. A village on Cape Denbigh was known as *nuklik* ("high bluff," "farthest out point of bluff"), and mapped by Zagoskin as Nuklit in 1842–1844, but he placed this settlement much farther north on Cape Denbigh than Nukleet, an archeological site occupied from about the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries. However, Zagoskin may have been told about an area once pointed out to me as "Nuklik Point" on the east side of the Reindeer Hills near the head of the Sineak River, north of the coastal Nukleet site. The archeologist J. L. Giddings was also aware of the dual use of this name.[18]

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[14] Frederick William Beechey, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait* (London, 1831), Vol. II, p. 541.

[15] *The Esquimaux* (1867), Vol. I, p. 29. This small newspaper, edited by John L. Harrington, was published in 1866 and 1867 at "Port Clarence, R. A. [Russian America] and Plover Bay, E. S. [Eastern Siberia]" by members of the Western Union Telegraph Expedition stationed at Port Clarence at Nook, across the water from present-day Teller.

[16] V. S. Khromchenko, "Otryvki iz zhurnala plavaniia g Khromchenki v 1822 godu" [Excerpts from the journal of the 1822 voyage of Khromchenko], *Sievernyi Arkhiv* (1824), part 11, p. 244.

[17] The map name Sineak River is in the Malemiut language. The camp name is still known by its Unaluk counterpart, *chinyak.*

[18] Michael, 1967, map; J. L. Giddings, *The Archeology of Cape Denbigh,* Brown University Press (Providence, 1964), pp. 11, 116, 118.

The Kauwerak section of Unalakleet on the river bank was called *nukaluk* ("where is a point"). A winter caribou village on the Kuzitrin River was called "Nook owelek" by Mate William Hobson of the ship Rattlesnake searching for Franklin in 1854,[19] a name derived from *nuk*. Informants said that the name is now unknown, but the settlement may have been located where the river is cutting out a site called *alakasak*.

Similar points and headlands were called a variety of names. Wales was called *kingigan* ("high," "high bluff") because of Cape Mountain; Cape York near Wales and its old village were called *kingauguk* ("nose point"); Point Dexter on Norton Bay is *egrak* or *ekuk* ("end"); Blueberry Point near Unalakleet is called *igvayahak* ("come to see other side"), and Rock Point near St. Michael is *nakinguk* ("[point] on low ground"). A point on Stuart Island at Stephens Pass is called *chiukak* ("in front"). Ptarmigan Point (*ingikut*) on the north shore of Imuruk Basin is "just a name."

Two prominent capes, Point Romanof, south of St. Michael, and Cape Nome, are known by approximately the same name, *azyateyuk* and *ayasayuk* (also given to me as *ayacheruk*). Zagoskin recorded Point Romanof as Cape Azachagyak in 1844,[20] and Kobelev's name for Cape Nome was Antschirag in 1779. The meaning given for Point Romanof was "sheer cliff," and for Cape Nome, variously as "brace," "broke off and did not move from shore," "stopped at edge of water," or "lower cliff than Sledge Island," in other words, a sheer cliff on the mainland. Sledge Island, or *ayak*,[21] means "pushed out" or "comes out to the edge of the water, broke off, went out, and stopped." Kobelev mapped Sledge Island as Ejech. A part of Cape Nome in profile is almost a straight cliff to the sea, as is the higher end of Sledge Island.

Another very old site excavated by Giddings on Cape Denbigh is the site called Ayatayet, also pronounced *ayatayuk*. This name is probably related to *ayasayuk* and *azyatayuk* (Cape Nome and Point Romanof), but there is no explanation for the coincidence of a *nuklik* near *ayatayuk* and a *nuk* near *ayasayuk*.

The names *pingo* and *pingak* are used variously for "mound," "small hill," and "knoll." In the Nome area, *pingo* ("mound") was a camp near Igloo Creek. In the Wales area, *pingu* ("mound") and *pinguzurak* ("poor little knoll") were old villages. Near Golovin, *pingukpuk* ("big mound"), in the vicinity of an old reindeer cold storage plant, was a good black cod fishing spot in April when cracks appeared in the ice. *Pingak* ("knoll") near Koyuk was a place where they marked reindeer in the early 1900s. *Pingak* ("mound") near present-day Stebbins was an old hunting and fishing camp, which was later called Sourdough Village during the gold rush because of successful homebrew operations. This *pingak* was the home of immigrants who came from Nelson Island about 1915, and whose descendants now comprise a substantial part of the population of Stebbins. Related names are *punuk* ("little hill" or "little bluff"), a small hill between Christmas Mountain and the Shaktoolik River where the foothills begin; *pinungulak* ("black cliff," i.e. a "volcano"), a wood-gathering area, and *punut* ("cliffs"), the name of North Point, both on Stuart Island.

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[19] W. R. Hobson, "Orders to and Proceedings of Mr. W. R. Hobson ... between February 9 and March 27, 1854," Great Britain Parliament, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, 1854—1855 Volume 35, No. 1898. Other references to Hobson in this paper are from this publication.

[20] Michael, 1967, p. 89.

[21] *Ayak* has often been recorded erroneously as *aziak*. The normal Sledge Island pronunciation for the *y* in this word is the voiced alveopalatal semivowel with weak friction. In other dialects and languages, including the one around St. Michael where many northern words were first recorded, this semivowel is produced so that it appears to be the voiced alveopalatal spirant. Even Kauwerak speakers (Sledge Island speech was closely related to Kauwerak) sometimes pronounce the *y* with friction, but their lexicon also includes words with a voiced alveopalatal spirant (as in azure). The name for the island *ayak* is often written *aziak* meaning mossberry, but they are two separate words.

Near the mouth of the Kuzitrin River in ancient times lived an aggregation of mythica. malevolent beings called *pingumiut* ("mound people") because they lived in small moundsl Not far away on the north side of Birch Hill lived another equally dangerous group named *itukiamiut* or "hollow people" because they lived in hollows (i.e. *ituka*, "man-made hollow"). These were not Eskimo settlements.

Long ago every hill and mountain had a name. Stuart Mountain near St. Michael is *ingektuk* ("mountain"), but another "mountain," or *ingiktak* near Unlakleet has been described as "a good mountain." The latter is one of the few places known to have been named within memory when a well-known old woman, Mrs. Ivanoff, picking berries many years ago exclaimed about the blueberry-covered mountain: "Ariga! una ingiktak!" In the Golovin area, a mountain that sheltered another group of malevolent beings, the *ingekpumiut*, was called *ingekpuk* ("big mountain"). The McDonald Mountains toward the Yukon River were *ingikpait* or *igikpait* ("big mountains or hill"), where the Malemiut of Unalakleet hunted caribou at the end of the nineteenth century.

Hills and mountains also had descriptive names. Two mountains near Unalakleet are known by Kauwerak names, *iknikuerik* ("sharp, steep mountain") and *kigtuyet* ("highest among several"). A related word is the name of the Kigluaik Mountains (*kigluaik* or *kigluait*, "sharp peak," "sharp peaks"), located in the original home area of the Kauwerak dialect. This name was placed on a map for the first time in 1898 by the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. A sedimentary series was named the Kigluaik series in 1900 by the U.S. Geological Survey.[22]

Also in the Unalakleet area are *chulunguchunat* ("lots of little hills"); *chungegathleye* ("hill, steep, slanting down"); *iguikpuk* ("big hill") or Traeger Hill; *kanayaget* ("perhaps it means edge of the hills where people go down to the flats"), the low hills in front of "air force hill," known as *okpiaktalik* ("willow place"); *neskochungut*, or "little heads" because of various rock formations; and *pitikshuik* ("place of shooting") because caribou were chased up the sides in the old days to be shot with bow and arrow. The mountain at the White Alice site near the Unalakleet River, known both as *putut* ("piled rocks," or "arch where rocks are put") and *putulgit* ("rocks with a hole"), was named in this way: "On Putut years ago people would walk to the highest nose; one man put a rock there, and then another would walk through and put another rock so they know how many had walked through; and young people later, years ago, made it into an arch, and therefore it is called *putut*.[23]

The present village of White Mountain (it was once only a campsite) and hill on which it is located are known as *nutchvik* (in Unaluk) and *nutsvik* (in Malemiut), meaning "place where can look a long way," or "place where can look all around." Crater Mountain in the St. Michael area is also called *nutchvik* (or *nutsivik* by some Malemiut speakers), "where look around [for caribou in the old days]."

Stephens Hill near St. Michael is *chinikthlik* ("sharp point" or "big point"); the Tolukowuk Bluffs east of Klikitarik are called *tulokouk* ("where crows are"); and Tomcod Hill in the Golovin area is *irathluit* or "fish" (it is near the Fish River).

A group of mountains in the Kuzitrin area, located near Noxapaga, is known as *kelulinuk* ("last river back"), and Marys Mountain on the Kuzitrin River is *aviunak* ("black whale") because the mountain looks like a whale. One of my informants said, "If Marys Igloo [an abandoned village that began during the gold rush near the house of a friendly Eskimo

[22] Map, "Territory of Alaska, Northwest Section" (Treasury Department, U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, April 1898). Kigluaik was spelled Kiglowaic; Alfred H. Brooks, *et al., Reconnaissances in the Cape Nome and Norton Bay Regions, Alaska, in 1900*. U.S. Geological Survey (Washington, 1901), pp. 27, 28.

[23] Grand Central Pass (*kigmiu*) in the Kigluaik Mountains had a similar pile of rocks built up by people going between Kauwerak village and Salmon Lake.

woman, Mary, who later married Oquilluk] had an Eskimo name, this would be it." Star Mountain (not located for me) in the Koyuk area was also called "black whale" or *akvugunuk*.

In the Shaktoolik area, a hill that looks like a pot is called *utkusingnak* (a Malemiut word), and Christmas Mountain is *uluksruk* ("stone for ulus") because slate used in making points and knives is found on the mountain. The Eskimo name of Bald Head west of Koyuk is also *uluksak* ("slate") because of the stone found there.

A number of hills and mountains were named after prominences that resembled parts of the human body. A hill in the Unalakleet area is *sunguk* ("forehead"), and mountains behind St. Michael are *uvzait* ("breasts"). *Niuthlyungnauak*, a hill near Rocky Point, *nuthlunak* (The Sisters) near St. Michael, and *nuthluk* (First Portage on the Unalakleet River) refer to "buttocks." The rocks that suggested the name for First Portage have disappeared. A village *nuthlutaligmiut* is discussed in the settlement names.

Islands

Islands were often called simply "island" or *kikiktuk*. This is the name for Whale Island near St. Michael, Besboro Island between Unalakleet and Shaktoolik, and Sarichev Island and its village now called Shishmaref. The latter was recorded first by Kobelev in 1779. Stuart Island or *kikiktapuk* ("big island") was recorded by Khromchenko as Kikh-takhpak in 1822 for the first time.[24] Cape Darby is *kikiktaualik* or *kikiktoaluk* ("like an island" or "has an island" i.e. is a peninsula), and Klikitarik, the map name for an abandoned nineteenth-century village, *kikiktaruk* or *kikiktauk* ("a little island" or "island"). The old village of *kikiktaruk* had a roadhouse for early twentieth-century mail carriers whose pronunciation of this word permanently changed it to Klikitarik with a long *a*, now used by the Eskimos themselves for the old site. Zagoskin reported it as Kikkhtaguk with a population of 28 in 1842–1844.[25] In the Kuzitrin River a little island is called *kikiktaruk* ("small island"), and near St. Michael the name of a seal hunting camp is *kikauuat* ("little islands").

An island that was the home of an autonomous tribe never had a variant name of *kikiktuk*: Sledge Island was *ayak*; Little Diomede Island, *ingalik* ("just a name"); Big Diomede, *imaklik* ("of the sea"); and King Island, *ukivuk* ("just a name"). Island names within tribal territories, however, were not restricted to general appellatives, particularly when there was more than one island. Names of some of these islands are, on the Kuzitrin River, *amituk* ("narrow strip"), which apparently refers to the narrowness between island and beach, and *anguaktusak* ("where was a boat paddle race," i.e. in the nineteenth century, two oomiaks would race upstream to the village of Kauwerak, each starting on opposite sides of the island); near St. Michael, *mit-thak* ("eider duck") or Eider Duck Island,[26]

[24] Khromchenko, 1824, Part 11, p. 178.

[25] Michael, 1967, p. 92. This village is called Kiktaguk on U.S. Geological Survey map E of Alaska, 1954.

[26] The name of Eider Duck Island, first placed on a modern map in 1952 (Donald J. Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names*, Washington, 1967, p. 304), was reported as Mkhat in the 1840s by Zagoskin. It was, he said, one of the "ruins of native summer camps: Mkhat, Chyuplyugpak, Kygali, and Kebyakhlyuk [which] have been abandoned since the dispersion or death of the natives at the time of a smallpox epidemic in 1838" (Michael, 1967, p. 92). In 1968 I hoped to find out where these places were located and whether the names were still in use. I knew only that they were somewhere between St. Michael and Unalakleet. Benjamin Atchak, who died in 1969, was considerably surprised to find that four simple Eskimo names could generate so much interest as we labored over maps in one corner of his huge St. Michael house that had once been a gold rush bakery, but he had

o-ovignak ("pile of [Alaska] cotton") or Beulah Island,[27] and *ungalukamiutkiklaouak* ("south island"), a small island about one and three-fourths miles southwest of the mouth of Stuart Island Canal.

Water

St. Michael Bay was called *tachek* ("bay"), which also was the name of the old village on the northeast point of St. Michael Island, of St. Michael Island, and of St. Michael Mountain. The village was also called *tachekmiut*. Golovnin Bay was also known as *tachek* (first recorded as Tachik by Khromchenko),[28] but Norton Bay was *kungikuchuk* ("big inlet," "end of a big inlet," "end of a big bay"). Apparently this word could also mean "big peninsula." The word *kungik* (as in Unaluk) and *kangik* (Malemiut) means "end of a river," by which name the Buckland River and its principal village were known. *Kangik* was located about 30 miles up the Buckland from Eschscholtz Bay where the estuary begins to widen. However, *kangik* means more than just mouth of a river, and often means "a little harbor" when applied to water, but "reindeer or caribou corral" when applied to land. A locality near Shaktoolik was called *kungiyuk* ("corner") and another near Unalakleet was *kangirak* ("shelter" or "corralling place"). The latter name was also given to good berry grounds behind the corral, which was situated on a slough. Two localities near Unalakleet are *kangirak* ("corner") and *kangiraktovik* ("place of corral" for reindeer or caribou; informant was uncertain as to which one). *Kangiraktovik* is north of the Unalakleet radio towers. *Kangikuk* ("corral corner [for reindeer]") is a fairly recent name near Rock Point Hill in the St. Michael area, and *kangaruk* ("just a name") is an old village and present campsite on the northwest shore of Imuruk Basin.

Often the mouth of a river or a village at its mouth were called "mouth of [river's name]" as in the following examples: *shaktulempaga* ("mouth of Shaktoolik River"); *niukliupaga* ("mouth of the Niukluk River"), a fishing camp in the Fish River area; *kugrupaga* ("mouth of the river"), a campsite in the Wales area; *itkirunpaga* ("Birch Creek mouth"); and *paimiut* ("people of the mouth," Unaluk dialect), the old village name of Moses Point. (I have been told that this place was also called *kuinihak* or *kuinhamiut*, also in the Unaluk dialect.)

The name Chaktoole Bay reported by Captain Cook has subsequently been spelled Shaktoolik in the Malemiut dialect. The original Unaluk word apparently pertained to a large coastal area near the mouth of the Shaktoolik River if the meaning refers to the enormous piles of old and bleached driftlogs cast up along the beach, as some people think. There is no consensus as to the meaning of the word. It is considered by most to be "only a name," but others have ventured the following explanations: "old wood just lying on tundra," "all mixed around" (i.e., because *chaktak* means "spread out"), and "jumbled

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just provided me with Zagoskin's abandoned camp names in the same geographical sequence as listed by Zagoskin: *mit-thak* (Mkhat); *chingikpigat* (Chyuplyugpak), or Wood Point; *kugalik* (Kygali) or Fivemile Point; and *kepathluk* (Kebyakhlyuk), or Eightmile Cove.

[27] The English name of Beulah Island came from a woman who took care of army dogs on the island during gold rush days.

[28] Khromchenko 1824, Part 11, p. 247. Khromchenko also named Golovnin Bay. According to Vasilii Berkh, Khromchenko first named it Muravev Bay "in honor of the Chief Manager of the American region [but] Muravev, out of respect to Captain-Commander V. M. Golovnin, under whom he made a trip around the world, asked Khromchenko to change it to 'Golovnin,' under whose name this bay is presently marked on maps" (*Khronologicheskaia istoriia vsiekh puteshestivii v sievernyia poliarnyia strany* [Chronological history of all travels to the north polar regions], St. Petersburg, 1823, Vol. 2, p. 55).

driftwood." However, another meaning given me by a very old woman was "people moving around; not stay in any place long." No one seems to be satisfied with any of the meanings. It is interesting that Thomas Bourchier of the Franklin search parties reported this name in the Unaluk dialect as Chuk-to-aluk as late as 1851.[29] Apparently the Malemiut pronunciation had not entirely superseded the original one at that time.

Only one river in a tribal area was called merely "river" or "big river." The most famous Alaskan river, the Yukon, was once called Kwikpak or Kwichpak (*kuigpak*, "big river"), which is the Eskimo name for the lower portion occupied by Eskimos. However, the Indian word for the upper part is now applied to the entire river. The Kobuk River (*kowuk* or *kopuk*), north of the area discussed in this paper, also means "big river" in the dialect variously called Kobuk or Malemiut, and may have an etymological relationship to the present name of Koyuk on Norton Sound. The Kiwalik River (*kualuk*) means "big old river." This generic name for stream was also used as Kwik River and its old village of *kuik* ("river") on Norton Sound; for the village of Haycock, *kuarak* ("little creek"), but is "not an old name" (near Koyuk); in *kuinhamiut* ("river people"), an area near Koyuk; and in Poker Creek, *kuik* ("river"), in Powers Creek, *kuihuk* ("creek," "nice creek") and fishing camp at the mouth, and in Kowegok Slough, *kuegvak* ("imitation river") in the Unalakleet area. Beeson Creek near Shaktoolik is *kuiyahak*, said to have been named by people from Nelson Island, north of Kuskokwim Bay, during the early nineteenth century. The name of Beeson Slough is *kuyuksak*. The Chiroskey River's name in Eskimo is *kuikuvloak*, but is considered to be "only a name."

The name Koyuk (village and river) is a puzzling one. It apparently has lost all meaning. It is not only "just a name," but a "queer name." Possibly it is a combination of *kuiyuk* or *kuinihak*, which are Unaluk words, with *kopuk*, a Malemiut word, to produce Koyuk after the village was resettled by immigrants from the Kobuk River sometime after the smallpox epidemic of 1838. It may also have resulted from cartographic mutation. Zagoskin recorded an Unaluk name, Kvynkhakmyut (probably *kuiniukmiut*) on the river Kvynkhak in the position of Koyuk River and village in the 1840s.[30] In 1867 Otto de Bendeleben of the Western Union Telegraph Expedition said that the "deserted village [inhabitants apparently away fishing] of Konyukmute [was] the prettiest part of the country I had yet seen." A map printed at the time of Alaska's purchase in 1867 called this river Koipak apparently from information received from Western Union personnel. Frederick Whymper, artist for the expedition, spelled it Koikpak on his map published in 1869, but W. H. Dall, another expedition member, first used the present spelling Koyuk on a map in 1875.[31]

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[29] Bourchier, 1852.

[30] Michael, 1967, p. 125.

[31] *The Esquimaux* (1867), Vol. I, No. 8, p. 33; "Northwestern America Showing the Territory Ceded by Russia to the United States," U.S. Coast Survey, 1867 (map in the U.S. National Archives, Record Group 59); "Map of the Yukon or Kwich-pak River" in Frederick Whymper, *Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1869), frontispiece; W. H. Dall, "Map Showing the Distribution of the Native Tribes of Alaska and Adjoining Territory," U.S. Coast Survey, 1875.

In all of the published and unpublished material produced by members of the telegraph expedition, only George R. Adams, who celebrated his twenty-first birthday in Alaska, used a spelling close to the present Koyuk. In his diary for July 4, 1867, Adams said that he and a companion, after some navigational difficulties, "found we were at Koyok [possibly spelled Kuyok since his handwriting falters at this point] — the very place we wanted to go" (Diary, October 1, 1866 to October 8, 1867. The E. S. Hubbell Manuscript Collection, University of Washington Library, Seattle). Portions of this diary were published in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 4, 1956, edited by Harold F. Taggart, but this information was omitted.

Descriptive names were also popular for rivers and creeks. The principal river of the Kauwerak area is the Kuzitrin, *kuzikliun* ("new river"), although early Russian-Chukchi sources suggest that this river may have been called *kauwerak* (from the village name) during the eighteenth century. Older Kauwerak people say that their grandparents can remember the new channel starting in the river. A smaller stream in the area still bears the name Kaviruk, as *kauwerak* is pronounced in other dialects. A large river that joins the Kuzitrin is the Kruzgemapa (*kuzgemapa*, "one of two rivers"), now officially known as the Pilgrim River.[32]

Other rivers in the Teller-Kauwerak area are Agiapuk, considered to be "just a name," but an informant thought it might mean "big one opposite [the Kuzitrin]"; a slough called *akluk* ("bear"), so named because a woman once met a bear there and hit him on the head with a root pick; the Bluestone River, *klupaluakluzet* ("lots of maggots"); *erokpik* ("bedroom pot") because the dark water that comes from an island tastes "funny"; Offield Creek and campsite, *kasilinuk* ("bitter" or "burns in the mouth"), a creek which is "sour and limey, and very hard"; Tuksuk Channel, *tuksuk* or *tukshuk* ("narrow canyon wall," "narrow entrance," or "passage [as in a semi-subterranean house]"), first reported by Kobelev as Tschekevui in 1779; and *tuno* ("back"), an unlocated river north of the Agiapuk.

In the northern half of Seward Peninsula are Candle Creek and old camp or village, *musutoak* ("has lots of [Eskimo] potatoes"); the Espenberg River, *enuiknik* ("no more people"); the Goodhope River and village at its mouth, *pitak* ("big bend," "hollow place"), name first reported by Kobelev (1779);[33] the Nugnugaluktuk River ("cape shaped like a goose"), which flows into Goodhope Bay; Kugrapaga River ("river runs down to the sea"); Nuluk River ("just a name"); Upkuarok Creek ("great pathway"); Pinguk River ("knoll"); Baituk River, more correctly pronounced *paituk* ("inheritance"), first reported by Kobelev in 1779; and Kanauguk River ("nose point"). The last four are in the Wales area.

In the southern part of Seward Peninsula, the Eskimo name of Tisuk River was said to be *iukevik* ("wind goes through the valley"); Cripple River and old village are both known as *kayalushuak* ("person who rides kayak"), the Chailchotschoch of Kobelev's; Spruce Creek near Solomon is *okpiktulik* ("place of many willows"), reported by Kobelev as Ochrutulach; and Hastings Creek near Nome is *uvgun* ("cut"). The Tubuktulik River, meaning "where are many whitefish" was also the site of an old village, Tubukhtuligmyut, reported by Zagoskin in 1842–1844. He said that it was "heavily populated."[34] The East Fork of Koyuk River (and a campsite) were named *iluanivit* ("place where smelts run"), and one of its tributaries, *puyulik* ("river with smoke"). The Fish River is *irathluik* in Unaluk dialect and *ikathluik* in Kauwerak ("place where fish are"), because of a rainbow trout spawning area near the nineteenth-century village of *irathluingmiut* above Council. The Niukluk River means "one [river] toward the west," and was first reported by Thomas Bourchier of the Franklin search party as Nu-kluk in 1851.[35] A nearby creek is *ovuknasik* or "creek where many willows grow." A slough, *timauiyaak* ("go over short cut") was named because kayaks could slide easily over the slough from the ocean to the Koyuk River at high tide.

[32] In 1902, Arthur J. Collier said, "From the head of Imuruk Basin to Marys Igloo, a distance of about twenty miles, the Kuzitrin River has no well-defined channel, but flows through a succession of small lakes or sloughs with many low islands between. This part of the river is called Kaviruk by the natives, and is, in fact, the delta portion of the Kuzitrin and Kruzgamepa rivers. Small steamers ascend the river to Marys Igloo, where is the first rapid and the limit of tidal influence" (*A Reconnaissance of the Northwestern Portion of Seward Peninsula, Alaska*, U.S. Geological Survey Professional Paper No. 2, Washington, 1902, p. 60).

[33] Goodhope is now used as an Eskimo surname by a family from this area.

[34] Michael, 1967, p. 125. [35] Bourchier, 1852.

The mouth of the Snake River or *sitnasuak* forms the port of Nome, and the mouth of the Nome River, *uinaktauik*, four miles east of Nome, is the location of a number of summer fishing camps. *Sitnasuak* is another word that has lost its meaning, but one person thought that it could have been derived from *sitnani* ("along the edge" plus the suffix *-suak*, which "makes it not the smallest river"). Kobelev's name was Tschugnutschumi. *Sitnasuak* was also pronounced *chitnikchauk* in Unaluk by a very old man born at Cape Nome, and is a word possibly related to *chinik* or *chiningmiut* ("coastal people"). Another old informant told me that all Nome area people were called *chiningmiut* in early days.

Penny River, the next river west of the Snake is called *sitnasuakak* ("little Snake River," "smaller hunting ground than Nome," "little pet of the Snake River"). I have been unable to learn the meaning of Nome River or *uinaktauik*. The population of Snake River village, "Chitnashuak," was 20 according to the 1880 census, and of Nome River, "Ooinnakhtagowik," ten.

Along the east coast of Norton Sound, the Inglutalik River (*inglutalik* in Unaluk and *iglutalik* in Malemiut) is said to mean "like a house" because "it was named after a hump that looks like a house." Camps at its mouth were also known by this name. The meaning of the Ungalik River and camp, *unguktulik* (also known as Bonanza in English) is uncertain, but it is probably related to *ungalaklik* or Unalakleet, which means either "one river to the south" or "from where the south wind blows." (See further discussion of Unalakleet in list of settlements.) Ungalik is an erroneous rendition of *unguktulik*. "Oonakhtolik" had a population of 15 in 1880. Strawberry Creek and fishing camp near Shaktoolik are *anuketulik* ("always windy"), a "real Unaluk word" in an area later settled by Malemiut. The Egavik River is *igavik* ("place to cook"), a name also applied to a very old Unaluk settlement where people cooked caribou bones in clay pots with hot rocks for tallow.

In the Unalakleet area, the South River is *angmanik* ("open place") and the North River and a camp and old cache site at its mouth is *nigukmuthluk* (also pronounced *nigazmuthluk*), which means "northway." Rabbit Creek is *sagvagiktoak* ("swift water," "swift ripples"); Blueberry Creek and fishing camp at its mouth are both known as *choatulik* ("blueberry place"); and names of two small creeks are *sikseriak* ("where go hunting squirrels") and *kuhahak* ("is in the center," "in between") or Center Creek and camp, recently named by Frank Degnan, mayor of Unalakleet. Auchelik Slough is *tunuuiung* ("short cut to river"), now considerably dried up and no longer used as a short cut. A camp here is *tunuuikchagyak*. The meaning of the creek *aniula*, which supplies water to Unalakleet, was unknown to several informants.

Toward St. Michael, Taket Creek is *tatitak* ("named after the little fishes"); Coal Mine Creek, which has an especially good deposit of clay near its mouth, is *kipiukiovik*, meaning "mixing around clay"; Glacier Creek is *koluktuk* ("water gushing down"); and Poker Creek, *kiku* ("clay").

The name *imaruk* (*imaguk*) meaning "body of water surrounded by land, but smaller than the sea," has found its way on modern maps as Imuruk Basin south of Grantley Harbor and as Imuruk Lake in the interior of Seward Peninsula. Imuruk Basin was first reported by William Frederick Beechey in 1826 as "Imaurook."[36] The ocean around Nome was called *taiukpuk* ("big salt"), but could also be called *imakpuk* ("big body of water"). Many lakes all over the Bering Strait area were called by some form of *imaruk*, but others were known by descriptive names. In the Kauwerak-Teller area there is *narvasiuk* ("narrow long lake") or Kuzitrin Lake and *ikutuk* ("not very deep"), into which caribou were driven between piles of rocks and then speared by men in kayaks.

In the Unalakleet area, Coral Lake is *narvukluk* ("big lake"); and lakes without English names are *alutalik* ("there is hole," "something that never freezes in winter" [there might be some kind of animal that keeps it open]), *ingmanuk* ("big lake half dried"), northeast

[36] Beechey, 1831, Vol. II, p. 291.

of Coral Lake, and *unaksiklelik* ("where few trees grow"). Near Cape Espenberg are *nervakik* ("big fish lake") and *salipuktut* ("lakes of the grayling"), where there are "millions and millions of grayling."

Liebes Cove in the St. Michael area is called *mahak* ("little water") and was once the site of an old village, *mahagmiut,* and later, a trading post. *Mahak* is often used when speaking of wet spongy tundra, which indeed has a "little water" between the millions of soggy tussocks.

Localities

A number of localities and areas had names, and those that I have learned about include varied descriptions. In the Teller-Kauwerak area, *pamnikotut* ("many blackberry bushes") was the name of a berry-picking area near Tuksuk Channel; *itak* ("[red] color"), was the site name on the Tuksuk of the only known pictographs in the Bering Strait area; *kikluk-rakavit* ("place where get rock tool material") was an area where people looked for sharp-edged rocks; and *uksotuk* ("many willows") was a place on the northern shore of Imuruk Basin where Siberians and Seward Peninsula Eskimos were supposed to have fought long ago.

On King Island, an area was called *tununak* ("north [back] side"), and near Shaktoolik, *taguyavik* ("look back to see how rough it is") was applied to a part of the shore, but described in terms of the water which was very rough when windy. In the early twentieth century, *nupaklakpuk* ("long pole") was given to an area where a reindeer herder's platform was erected to look for reindeer near the Shaktoolik River.

On the northern shore of Norton Sound an area around Peterson Creek near Elim is called *kuyuktalik* or "sexual intercourse," a name that commemorates a tragic folktale. Long ago, it is said, Shaktoolik men attacked and killed a Malemiut family that had moved into an Unaluk site, known ever since as *nuviachak* ("young girl" or "virgin"), because here the beautiful young daughter was raped and afterwards tied to four kayaks, which then paddled off in different directions. The 1880 census recorded the village of Nubviakh-chugaluk with a population of 30. This name is translated as "place of the young girl," but I was told that the rape and murder took place at *kuyuktalik,* a few miles to the west. The 1890 census reported the name Kuyuktolik somewhere in this area.[37]

In the Unalakleet area, *akpausouik* ("raceway") was a circular part of the channel on the lower Unalakleet River where foot races took place on the ice; *angzuik* ("where put boats in") was a place where boats were beached on the Unalakleet River to get to berry grounds; *kungikuvik* ("place where you leave your sled") was a small area on the Unalakleet River where Nallagorak, a reindeer herder, left his sled when he went to Eaton Reindeer Station on the Unalakleet River; *manganik* ("kind of a low place") was an area on the upper Chiroskey River where Unalakleet people hunted caribou; *nalroknekpuk* or *nalognunik* ("long stretch," "straight"), was a long straight stretch of water on the Unalakleet River; and *pataukak* (a word that means roughly, "have to go real fast, it's so swift" or "to go upstream in a hurry so fish won't escape"), is an identifying name for part of the Unalakleet River. *Imguyutuk* ("needle and sewing kit") is the name for a huge vertical folded and twisted rock formation that plunges into the ocean near Egavik. According to a folktale, a husband beat his wife, who ran away with her *imguyutuk.* In her anger she threw it against the rocks, which immediately took on the folds and seams of the semicircular fur sewing bag.

Near St. Michael the area at the southern estuary of Stuart Island Canal is known as *kuiupaingaungalulenginuk* ("mouth of river near south island") where people net white-

[37] Robert B. Porter, *Report on Population and Resources of Alaska,* Eleventh Census (Washington, 1890), p. 154.

fish, and a stretch of beach and water on North Bay of Stuart Island is called *magnavigamiut* ("where they fish tomcods"). *Uianskit* ("come up out of hole") is a locality name on the west slope of West Hill on Stuart Island.

Settlements

Settlements, both permanent villages and campsites, had an even more varied spectrum of names than physical features, which also applied to inhabited places. The settlement names complete the place-names from this area, and are given in alphabetical order because of related words. Settlements that have already been discussed are omitted unless material has been added in this section. Kotlik and Pikmiktalik, two villages south of the area of this study, are included because of trading relationships with St. Michael during the nineteenth century and because of the interesting meanings of the names.

agashliuk (said to mean "point where people lived") was remembered as a place very near present St. Michael where Yukon people and Malemiut lived together when they stayed during the winter. Zagoskin said that Agakhkhlyak, meaning a place suitable for a settlement, was also called Tachik.[38] This has already been discussed under the name *tachek*, which is St. Michael's Eskimo name today. I was told that by 1890 there were two different villages, *tachek* and *agashliuk*, but that *agashliuk* was the older.

agianamiut ("opposite"), the south village on the lower slope of Cape Mountain, and *kiatanamiut* ("front"), the north village on the flats, were the two principal parts of the village of *kingigan* or Wales. In 1826 Beechey learned at Kotzebue Sound about two villages at Cape Prince of Wales, "Iden-noo" and "King-a-ghee,"[39] but Eskimos have no explanation for Iden-noo today. It may have referred to *agianamiut*. A third part of *kingigan* is called *singuarangmiut* (see under land features), and a fourth, an archeological site, is *kurigitavik* ("to run aground going up the river"), the river being *singlurarak*, or Wales River. *Singuarangmiut* is on the north side of the river across from *kiatanamiut*.

aktuingnuk, a camp on the Shaktoolik River, now occupied by a Kauwerak man. This is a *real* Unaluk word "with no meaning."

akulesak ("something in the middle" or "two things for one item"), a camp on the Tuksuk Channel.

akulik or *akulit* ("in between"), an ancient camp named this because it was located between *iglutalik* (Inglutalik) and Koyuk. This is the Akulik River.

alianak ("lonesome sad place"), a camp in the Teller area. "This is not as bad as if it would be if *very* lonesome; then it would be *alianakpuktuk*."

alunak ("lonely"), a beluga hunting camp in the Shaktoolik area.

amilrak ("narrow"), an old village on Point Spencer, mentioned by Western Union Telegraph personnel in 1867 as Amilrokmiut.[40] *Amilrak* also pertains to Point Spencer itself.

angakukshrak ("old lady"), a Kauwerak word for a Unalakleet camp. It was established on top of an old camp, and named because an old woman was buried there.

angvanigrak ("used to be open before"), a "real Unaluk word" in the Shaktoolik area; name of a spring seal hunting camp.

aningnugituak, a camp in the Golovin area. The informant did not know whether the name meant "not flowed away" or "not taken from the house."

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[38] Michael, 1967, p. 100.

[39] Beechey, 1831, Vol. I, p. 291.

[40] *The Esquimaux* (1867), Vol. I, No. 7, p. 29.

apachoamnuna ("Apachoak's place"), a recently named cabin in the Unalakleet area.

aparakalik ("belongs to Aparak"), a recent name applied to the cabin of the Eskimo preacher (*aparak*), Jacob Kenick, by Shaktoolik people when he moved to Nunivak Island to preach.

asagorak ("just a name"), a camp on Tuksuk Channel.

atnuk ("big heavy pack strap," sometimes pronounced *utnuk*), a well-known nineteenth-century village on Cape Darby. This was also the name of a small village, *atnuk* ("hunting bag strap") on the upper Kuzitrin River. The Cape Darby *atnuk* was recorded as Atnykg-myut by Zagoskin.[41]

atuik ("bent point"), the old village of Stebbins situated near a cliff, and first reported by Khromchenko as Tauk in 1822.[42]

ayasayuk or *ayacheruk* (for meanings see under capes), an old village on high ground above the beach at the base of Cape Nome. In the 1880 census, Ayacheruk had a population of 60. See also Nome in this section.

chauiyak ("tambourine drum"), a camp on the Unalakleet River named after a drum-shaped slough behind it. The same name in the Kauwerak dialect (*soiyuk*) was used for an old winter caribou village near a drum-shaped lake on the upper Kuzitrin. This village, Show-e-yok, was visited by Mate Hobson during the Franklin search.[43]

chiukak ("in front"), a large nineteenth century village in the Golovin area.

Igloo. This name appears frequently on maps for either Marys Igloo or New Igloo, both on the Kuzitrin River. It is not an Eskimo place-name. The village was established when white miners staked out a townsite around Mary's house in 1901. Marys Igloo never had an Eskimo name, but the word *aviunak* would fit, as we have already seen. New Igloo came into being when dissension between Lutheran missionaries and Catholic priests at Marys Igloo during the early 1920s resulted in the Lutherans pulling their church and school downstream on the snow to a new site.

iglu ("house"), a camp in the Golovin area at Corwin's Cove.

ikitluk ("place where it has been burned"), a camp on the Shaktoolik River, another "real Unaluk word."

ikyulpak ("mouth of hard wood creek"), a small permanent village at mouth of Telephone Creek, a tributary of the Fish River. This is also the name of the creek and refers either to crooked trees from which bows were made, or because "the creek has a lot of trees."

imiengak ("[lake] drained out"), an old village in the Wales area. The Eskimo Bulletin, published in the Wales school, called it Im-ang-nok in 1902.[44] See also a lake, *ingmanuk*.

inuingnuk ("no one there, all gone"), an old site near the lava beds in the Kauwerak area; *iniukthluit* ("group of houses" from *ini* meaning houses), an old site near the Unalakleet air field. (This is in the Kauwerak dialect; in Unaluk, the name would be *nugluthluit*); *inyuktuk* ("where people are gone, have been killed"), a site on the Buckland River; and *inuiknik* ("no more people"), old site on the Espenberg River. Kobelev placed the name Inigrin north of Kigygmin (*kingigan*). No one in the Wales area has heard of such a place. Since one of the names for houses in the Wales dialect is *ini*, it could have referred to a group of houses, or possibly the abandoned segment of Wales called *kurigatavik*. Perhaps Inigrin is Beechey's Iden-noo.

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[41] Michael, 1967, p. 125.

[42] Khromchenko, 1824, Part 11, p. 180. The strongly stressed initial vowel is sometimes elided by speakers, and even when the *a* is clearly pronounced, the *t* is a voiceless alveolar stop with an unusually plosive sound occasioned, in part, by fronting of an ordinarily back vowel, the *u* sliding quickly into the following *i*, which causes a palatization of the *t*.

[43] Hobson, 1854—1855.

[44] *The Eskimo Bulletin* (Wales, Alaska, 1902), p. 3.

isak ("end [of Island]"), a camp located near the end of a spit in the Shishmaref area. Ezooah had three houses in 1892.[45]

iyet ("cook pot"), Serpentine Hot Springs, east of Shishmaref. People camped here to cook in the springs.

kaglik ("where they seine"), a camp on the Unalakleet River, an "Unaluk-Malemiut word."

kailiovik ("where there are always waves"), a camp in the Golovin area.

kalulik ("rocks on the beach"), Cape Douglas and old village. In 1867, The Esquimaux said that Kalulingmiut had one dwelling and 18 inhabitants.[46] This is probably Kobelev's Chalamachmit of 1779.

kangshluk ("lots of milling tomcods"), an old village in the Shaktoolik area. The site is very old and is considered to be the predecessor to Shaktoolik, but *shaktulempaga* is said to be older than *kangshluk*.

kaokpak ("large valley," Kauwerak dialect), a camp on the ocean near Unalakleet.

kasigirat ("spotted seal"), a point at a spring camp in the Teller area; *kasigeyet* ("spotted seal") are camps for berry picking in the Koyuk area.

katinit or *katinyak* ("rivers come together"), an old village in the Kuzitrin area at the confluence of the American and Agiapuk rivers.

kauwerak ("gravel bar"), a large eighteenth and nineteenth century village on the Kuzitrin River. This has heen erroneously reported many times from other dialects as *kaviak*, especially from St. Michael where *kaviak* means "red fox." This place was recorded first as Kheuveren on Daurkin's map of 1765, but Beechey was the first (1827) to record it as it is pronounced, or Kow-ee-ruk. I have not used the more accurate phonetic spelling *kaoeruk* throughout this paper because the easier-to-read Kauwerak has been established in print.[47]

kauingnuk ("red"), a fishing site in the Golovin area.

kazgun ("seine"), a camp at the mouth of the Bluestone River.

kektoashliuk ("place where it breaks"), old village on the Kuzitrin River, two miles above Marys Igloo. This place was inhabited at the time of the Franklin search and was called Kik-to-alik in the reports.

kinat ("resembles a face"), a camp and name of Isaacs Point. See also *ukvignaguk*.

kingigan. See *agianamiut*. The name was reported by Daurkin in 1765 and Kobelev in 1779.

kingmemsieua ("front of the hills" or "end of the low hill"), a camp four miles above the present Kuzitrin River bridge.

kingnugat ("caches in the ground"), a camp on the Tuksuk Channel.

kotlik ("pants"), a village located on the Yukon where the river branches like a pair of trousers. This small Eskimo village in 1868 was also the home of a Russian man when W. H. Dall first reported the name as Kutlik.[48]

kukak ("middle"), a camp in the Golovin area, named after a creek that flows from a hill.

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[45] Sheldon Jackson, *Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska*. Fourth report for 1894, 53 Congress: 3 session, Sen. Ex. Doc. 92 (Washington, 1895), p. 97.

[46] *The Esquimaux* (1867), Vol. I, No. 7, p. 29.

[47] Beechey, 1831, Vol. II, p. 568. For a brief history of this village see D. J. Ray, "Kauwerak, Lost Village of Alaska," *The Beaver* (Winnipeg, 1964), outfit 295, pp. 4–13.

[48] William H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (Boston, 1870), p. 234. This name could not, as Holmer says "be interpreted as meaning either 'the uppermost' or 'the outermost'" (Nils M. Holmer, "The Native Place Names of Arctic America," *Names*, 17: 2 [June, 1969], p. 147). *The Dictionary of Alaska Place Names* gives "breeches" as the meaning of Kotlik River (Orth, 1967, p. 542).

kuksuktopaga ("where there are white hills"), an old village at the mouth of *kuksuktuk* or the Casadepaga River. The name is derived from the hills becoming white from the reflection of early morning sunshine on white rocks at the river mouth.

kupraouik ("whaling net place"), a camp for catching beluga, or white whales, in the Golovin area.

malikfik ("go after seals with spears"), a camping site in the Shaktoolik area. The name is preserved in Malikfik Bay.

mitletavik ("piece of coastland where they get flounders"), a nineteenth century village in the Wales area.

mekliktlik ("place of good water," "good clear water"), a camp near Unalakleet on the ocean, named after a nearby stream.

mitliktogvik ("place where they meet"), a nineteenth century camp or village on the upper Goodhope River.

mizek ("low, swampy place"), a small village in the Teller area.

mizuk ("swampy place"), a camp on the Fish River.

mukluktulik ("where bearded seals are"), a Koyuk fishing site.

muptegagat ("cache") in the Shaktoolik area, a camp for fall seal hunting. An Unaluk word.

mupterukshuk ("cache" or "white man's house"; informant was uncertain of the specific meaning), an old village near Cape Nome, apparently Kobelev's Memtachagran.

musu ("Eskimo potato"), a camp on Tuksuk Channel.

nagaluk ("lower ground"), an abandoned camp, five miles west of Nome.

nagoyatulik ("place where seagull nests"), a camp on Reindeer Cove near Ungalik where people camped to gather seagull eggs. There is also a *nagoyatulik* at Tolstoi Point.

nagoyumkuti, a name that pertains specifically to a sandbar where seagulls congregate in great numbers on the Unalakleet River, but is also the name of a campsite across the river on a bluff of Oliver Hill. A man was named after this place, and he is now called Kuti.

naplathlasit ("where Lapp [herders] were"), site of an old Unaluk fishing camp in the Unalakleet area. The Unaluk name had been forgotten so the Eskimo name for nearby Eaton Reindeer Station was given to this camp about 70 years ago.

niklatulik ("where fish are"), a camp in the Koyuk area.

ningnugarak ("cottonwood"), a camp on the ocean north of Ungalik.

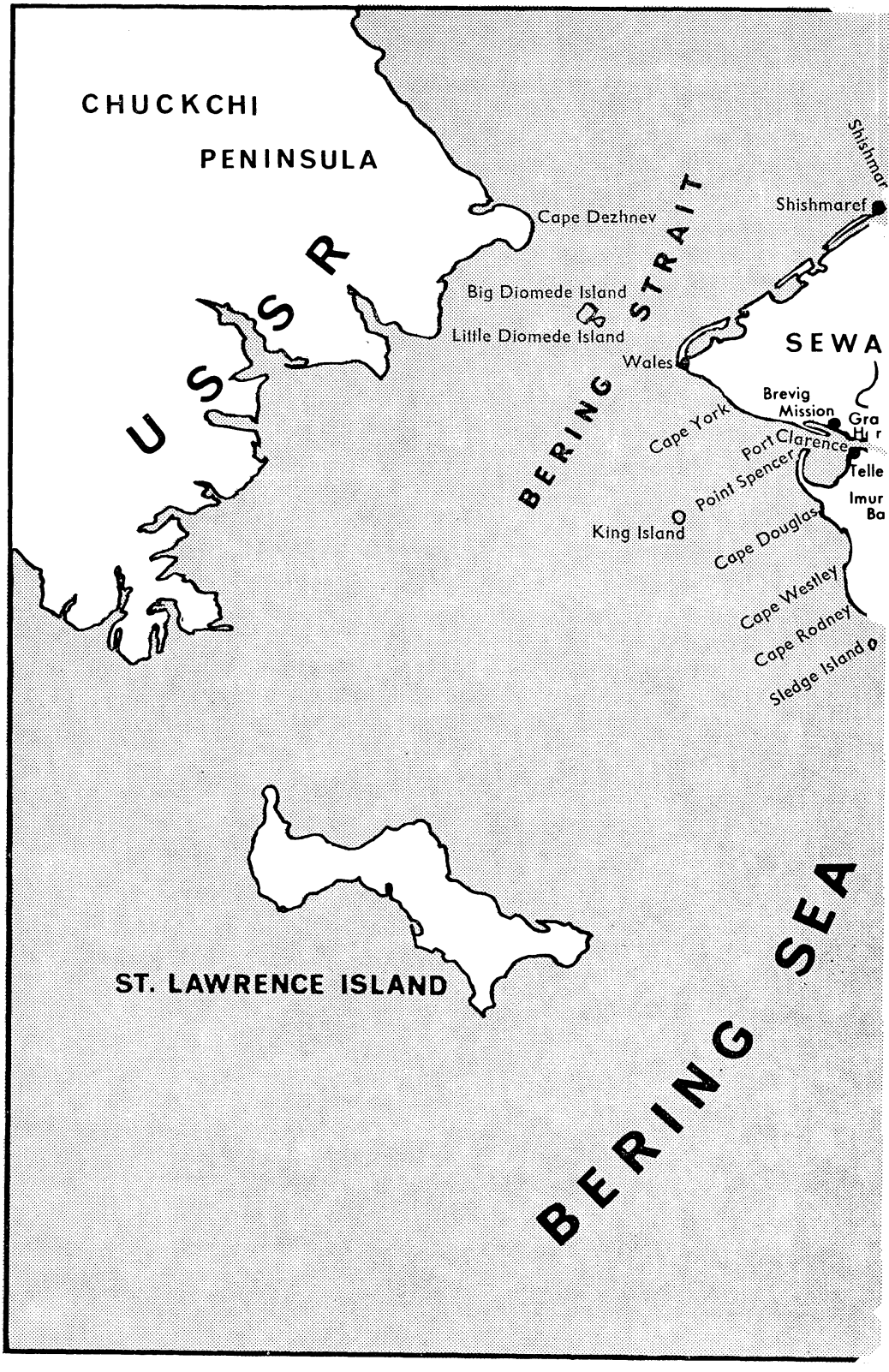
Nome. This is included here because suggestions have been made over the years that the name was derived from an Eskimo word, which it is not. The town of Nome is situated on very flat land ten miles west of Cape Nome, and was named after the cape in 1899. The original name resulted from a query "Name ?" entered on charts of the British Admiralty Office concerning the cape during the search for John Franklin. Inquiries were not about the Eskimo name, but the European "Cape Tolstoi," which had been bestowed by M. B. Tebenkov in 1833. (Today there is another Tolstoi Point south of Unalakleet).

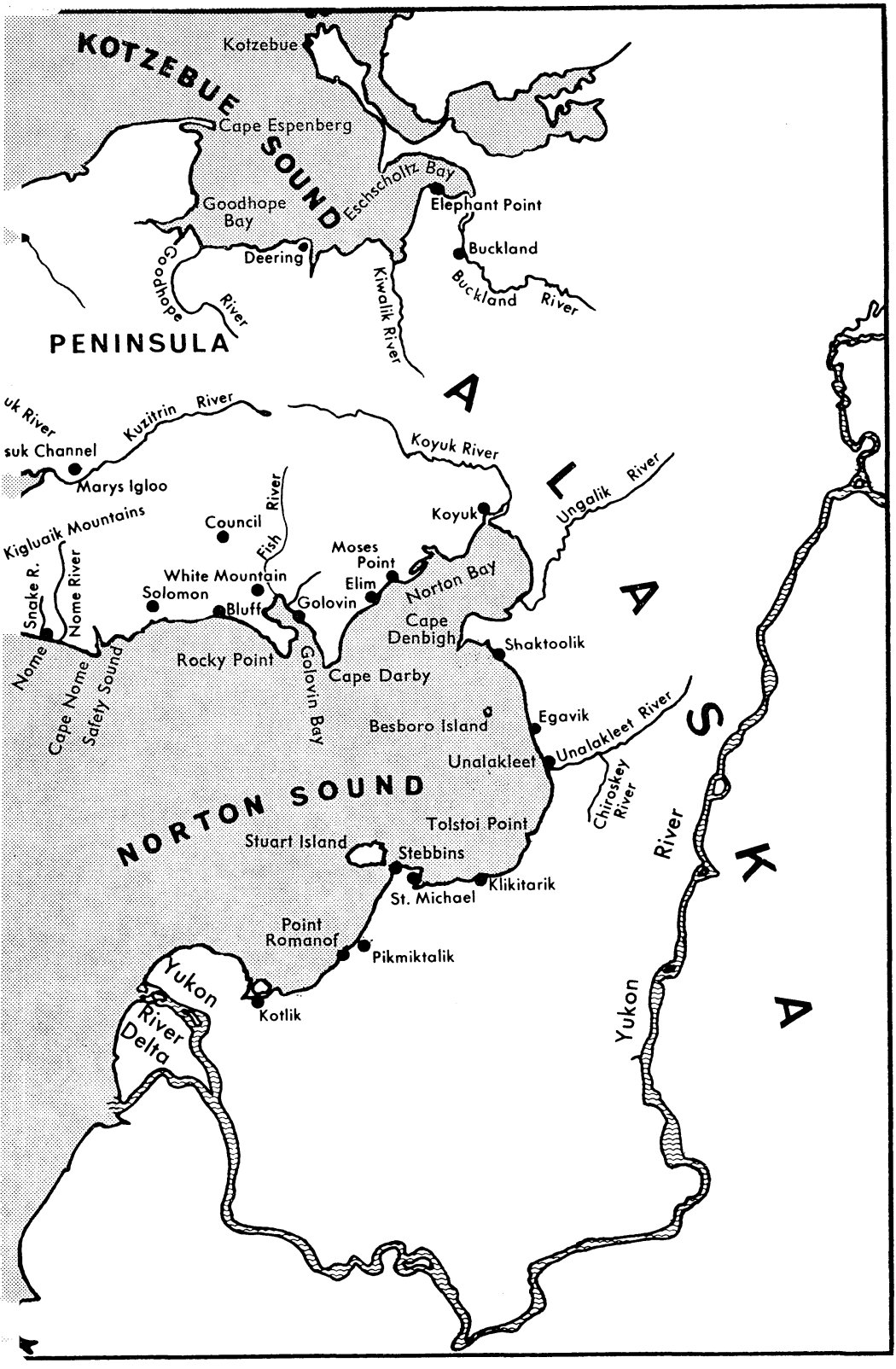
Holmer has conjectured that "Nome ... situated on Cape Nome [which it is not] ... may very well at one time have been named something like 'the port, village or place *of the* headland [or *nuk*].'"[49] Cape Nome and its old village have never been called *nuk*, the name *ayasayuk* (or one of its variant pronunciations) having been used from time beyond memory. Beechey learned at Kotzebue Sound about a place called "I-art-so-rook"; Zagoskin reported in his list of settlements that "Azachagyagmyut near Cape Tolstyy [was] well populated"; and Kobelev's Antschirag of 1779 probably referred to this cape.[50] Cape Tolstoi had appeared on various maps before Cape Nome (Cape Name ?) was readily adopted from British Admiralty Chart 2172 in 1853.[51] Today *ayasayuk* or Cape Nome is

[49] Holmer, 1969, p. 140.

[50] Beechey, 1831, Vol. I, p. 291; Michael, 1967, p. 126.

[51] Orth, 1967, p. 694.


CHUCKCHI
PENINSULA
U S S R
Cape Dezhnev
Big Diomede Island
Little Diomede Island
BERING STRAIT
Shishmaref
SEWA
Wales
Brevig Mission
Cape York
Port Clarence
Point Spencer
King Island
Cape Douglas
Cape Westley
Cape Rodney
Sledge Island
ST. LAWRENCE ISLAND
BERING SEA


KOTZEBUE SOUND
Kotzebue
Cape Espenberg
Goodhope Bay
Eschscholtz Bay
Elephant Point
Buckland
Deering
Goodhope River
Buckland River
Kiwalik River
PENINSULA
A L A S K A
uk River
Kuzitrin River
suk Channel
Marys Igloo
Koyuk River
Koyuk
Ungalik River
Kigluaik Mountains
Council
Fish River
Moses Point
Snake R.
Nome River
White Mountain
Elim
Norton Bay
Solomon
Bluff
Golovin
Cape Denbigh
Shaktoolik
Nome
Cape Nome
Safety Sound
Rocky Point
Golovin Bay
Cape Darby
Egavik
Besboro Island
Unalakleet River
Unalakleet
NORTON SOUND
Chiroskey River
Tolstoi Point
Stuart Island
Stebbins
Klikitarik
St. Michael
Point Romanof
Pikmiktalik
Yukon River Delta
Kotlik
Yukon River

never confused with *nuk* or Nook, by which name the fishing camps on the spit, five miles to the east are still known; nor is *ayasayuk* confused with "Nome's own name, *sitnasuak*."

nunamitkoa ("end of the world"), a Unalakleet River camp of the nineteenth century named because the fishing camps ended there at that time. The name is still used although camps now extend much farther upstream.

nunanuhak ("new place"), a camp near Golovin.

nuskonakamiut ("place where tree stumps are"), a campsite near St. Michael.

nuthlutaligmiut ("floating bottoms up"), an old village near the gold rush boat works of St. Michael. It is said to come from the following folktale: "Once when high water came, long before you or I were born, and all the people went to the hills, one man [apparently the chief] had left his knife in the house and said to the young men, 'I'll give you a wolf skin or a daughter if you'll get my knife.' One of them volunteered, and got to the house just as the wave receded. He made it, and got the knife, but was caught by another wave on the way back, and he was floating face down with his bottoms up when the people returned, and this is what the word *nuthlutaligmiut* means."

nuviachuk (Unaluk), *nuviakiak* (Malemiut), and *nuviachugaluk* ("young lady," "virgin," and "poor young lady") would be the Eskimo name of present-day Elim, which was established in 1914 by missionaries of the Swedish Covenant Church to escape the strong winds at Mission (*tuklaktoik*) on Golovnin Bay. For the complete story see *kuyuktulik*, page 19.

nuviulnuk or *nuviungnuk* ("no point"), a small nineteenth century village near the Russian trading post of Golsovia south of Unalakleet. It is now abandoned, but two or three Kauwerak families lived there at the turn of the twentieth century. The name is preserved today in Nunovulnuk Harbor. Zagoskin reported Cape Nygvylnuk and the Nygvylnuk River.[52]

omailuk is the name of the first mine on Seward Peninsula, developed in the 1880s for lead and silver. It is spelled Omilak on maps. The word *omailuk* means "it is heavy," and refers to heavy chunks of galena once collected by Eskimos as curiosities. A relative of *umilyuk's*, the Eskimo winter watchman for the mine, suggested that his name also might have been the origin of the name.

paikchuk ("give away"), a camp in the St. Michael area. This is erroneously printed as Myoukchouk Point on maps. See also Baituk River.

pikmitalik ("ground is twisting"), the village Pikmiktalik, the name derived from a folktale in which "medicine people" caught foxes, wolves, and wolverines in man-made holes surrounding the village to make "medicine at night." Zagoskin recorded the village as Pikhmikhtalik, its first appearance in print.[53]

puibluk ("high bluff"), an old camp on the Tuksuk Channel near Deadman's Point. In 1903, it was reported that "Dunnak went [in October 1902] in to Bee-o-block to build his father a house."[54]

pupik ("tail of a bird"), a camping spot and good pickerel fishing area near New Igloo east of Teller.

salinuk ("south [below] side of bay"), the real name of Teller, which is often called Nook, a name that rightly belongs to the opposite, or north spit. These spits divide Port Clarence and Grantley Harbor. Beechey reported the name Nooke in 1831.[55]

situk ("white whale," or beluga), a small village near Cape Nome. The *Nome News*, on March 6, 1901, reported that an Eskimo man had murdered his wife at Seatok.

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[52] Michael, 1967, pp. 93, 130.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 281.

[54] Sheldon Jackson, *Twelfth Annual Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska, 1902* (Washington, 1903), p. 106.

[55] Beechey, 1831, Vol. II, p. 543.

siviuloamkuzga ("Siviulak's place"), a Shaktoolik River camp named in the early twentieth century when Siviulak went the wrong way near this place while boating. It is now occupied by another family who has retained the name.

sungiyorat ("little bends"), a winter caribou village on the old channel of the Kuzitrin River. Reported as Shungiowret by Mate Hobson of the Franklin search party.

tɛkikoyaktulik ("many turns [in the river]"), an egg hunting camp near Ungalik.

tingmiakputulik ("place where big eagles live"), a small village (possibly only a camp) at the head of Fish River, named after the mythological Giant Eagle.

tirakpuk ("big sand bar," "long beach"), a Unalakleet River camp. This is a Kauwerak name that has been used for at least 70 years.

titkaok ("eye shade"), a camp on Tuksuk Channel named after a rock shaped like an eye shade across the river from the camp.

tufchaak ("to go over to the other side"), an ancient village site near Shaktoolik.

tugmagluk ("camping place"), a camp in the Deering area.

tuklaktoik ("talk as through a megaphone"), a camp in the Golovin area. This is the Eskimo name for Mission where the Swedish Covenant missionaries settled after the evils of the gold rush precipitated a move in 1902 from their original headquarters in Golovin. In 1914 they left Mission for Elim.

tutlatulik ("loon duck"), a camp for fishing and fall seal hunting in the Shaktoolik area (another "real Unaluk word").

tutupamtuma or *tutupatumpa* (explained as "horseshoe" for the first, "horse's hoof" for the second), a camp on the Unalakleet River.

.uiaalik ("rocky," "there are rocks"), a camp on Little Rocky Point, about three miles south of South Spit on Golovnin Bay.

uksakuknuk ("looks like a stomach"), a camp on the Koyuk River named after a lake that looks like a stomach.

ukivuk or *uivuk* ("only a name"), King Island and its village, first reported as Okibyan by Daurkin in 1765. This island was one of the first places in northwest Alaska to receive an English name (Captain Cook in 1778). The first names obtained from Alaskan Eskimos themselves were Ukipen by Kobelev on Little Diomede Island in 1779, Ookivok by Khromchenko at Golovnin Bay in 1822, and Oo-ghe-a-boak by Beechey in 1826 at Kotzebue Sound, apparently from visiting Wales people.[56] Since then the name has been recorded many times, usually as a variation of Khromchenko's, but sometimes of Beechey's. No meaning, however, has been published, and all but one of my own inquiries brought the response, "it's just a name." The exception was "winter" or "winter place," suggested by a Cape Prince of Wales man. This meaning and a spelling similar to Beechey's has also been noted in a doctoral thesis by Sergei Bogajavlensky: *ugiuvuk*, or "winter home," given by a King Island woman. Apparently no one else on King Island had connected *ugiuvuk* with *ugiuk* ("winter"), but after learning of the relationship, others agreed that this might well be the meaning of the name. As Bernard Katexac, the well-known King Island printmaker wrote me while I was trying to nail down this meaning, "Ugiuk-puk — big winter, may mean big time of winter in that part [he was in Seattle at the time], but actually to us, Ukiuvuk is just a name for the island."[57]

ukvignaguk or "Isaac's village" on the north shore of Norton Sound is "just a name." In the 1880 census, Ogowinagak, the home of Kaleak, an Eskimo trader for the Alaska Commercial Company, had a population of 30, all in one house.

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[56] Khromchenko, 1824, Part 11, p. 300; Beechey, 1831, Vol. I, p. 291.

[57] Sergei Bogojavlensky, "Imaangmiut Eskimo Careers: Skinboats in Bering Strait," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1969), p. 9; and personal communication.

uluksruk ("slate"), a camp on the upper part of the Unalakleet River. This camp is also called Whalebacks in English because of "a man that lived close to Whaleback Mountain [apparently a cripple]."

ungalaklik, Unalakleet, or Unalaklik, as it is usually spelled on early maps. There is no agreement as to the meaning for this old village, which had only 13 survivors after the smallpox epidemic of 1838.[58] In 1880 "Oonalakleet" had 100 inhabitants; it now has about 600. *Ungalaklik* might mean "from where the south wind blows," "the way the [Unalakleet] River flows south to the ocean," or "where the Unalit live." Knud Rasmussen, the Greenland ethnographer said in 1924 that it meant "farthest south."[59]

utukuk ("old," "old point"), a camp in the St. Michael area where many hunters lived together at certain times of the year.

Some Observations

Naming of places in the Eskimo language is a thing of the past in the Bering Strait area despite a limited use of old native place-names, which, too, are slowly succumbing to English. The preponderance of non-native place-names reflects the concentrated explorations during the nineteenth century and the consuming presence of the gold rush at the beginning of the twentieth.

Native names have been used on printed maps less often here than in any other Alaskan Eskimo area, and there are few places that are translations of the Eskimo name, notable examples being Blueberry Creek near Unalakleet, Eider Duck Island near St. Michael, Fish River, and the local use of Sawtooth for the Kigluaik Mountains. Locally, most large geographical features and settlements are now called by their non-native names, and only three villages of 17 with a population of 25 or more have retained an Eskimo name – Koyuk, Shaktoolik, and Unalakleet. In contrast, almost all settlements on the Kuskokwim and Yukon rivers and their deltas have Eskimo names.

The current state of place-names was well expressed by Mrs. Martha Nanouk, a Unalakleet resident. "We don't use Eskimo names now. I'm even getting doubts. They don't say it, period, now. When Grandma [Marion Gonangnan, her mother, 76 years old in 1968] goes, will be hard to remember. Now just using English words. For example, all creeks were named, but many have been forgotten, or else the name is remembered, and creek only heard of and not located."

The name for a place could be taken from any source except a personal name. Those recently named after persons would have been prohibited during the nineteenth century because of the name-soul. Within a tribal boundary, large geographic features were often given generic names, but descriptive or modified generic names were applied to other similar fea-

[58] Michael, 1967, p. 95.

[59] Knud Rasmussen, *Alaskan Eskimo Words*, Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921–24 (Copenhagen, 1941), Vol. III, No. 4, p. 8.

tures to avoid duplication. This was a necessary and practical scheme because Eskimo travel was undertaken from point to point (there were few spatial abstractions) and names had to be explicit if people were to know where they were going and how to communicate directions to others. Therefore, names of cardinal points were rarely used, and usually only when referring to other tribes beyond the local territory, such as Unalit "south wind people," or possibly, "south coastal people"), and not for specific places. Names that employed directional terminology, i.e., "in front," "in front of," "in back of," "opposite," "end of," or "below," were used in conjunction with already known topographic names.

Eskimos of this area did not rely on wind as an ordinary travel aid, with the exception of people sailing to islands, or seal and walrus hunters on the ice and water. They traveled mostly on rivers or hugged the coast instead of striking across, say, Norton Sound or Port Clarence. Even at the height of caribou hunting, these Eskimos did not follow the herds for long distances, but hunted them from permanent inland villages as the herds migrated into their territory. Thus, they had no general need for meteorological abstractions, but relied on names and visual aids, which were augmented in the winter, when snow covered the usual landmarks, by stone or driftwood markers.

A major settlement usually bore the same name as a nearby geographic prominence – river, island, or cape. Smaller settlements and campsites as well as hills, lakes, and rivers had great leeway in descriptive names taken from eventful happenings or natural characteristics. Names of settlements always belonged primarily to the location site, which could encompass a whole island like Sledge Island, a small area like Cape Nome, or a tiny area like a campsite. A village that was considered to be a permanent base home had two name forms, the site name, and the site name plus the suffix *-miut* ("people"). The latter form was the correct name for an inhabited village, such as *chiningmiut* for *chinik* or *katinyamiut* for *katinyuk*. However, with the arrival of English speakers among the western Eskimo, the isolating characteristics of English began to alter the agglutinative nature of Eskimo names so that most villages were reported by the site name. Occasionally, early writers recorded villages in the current, correct usage like "Kaviarazakhmut" (*kauweramiut*), "Erathlicmute" (*irathluingmiut*, Fish River village), and "Aiyakamut" (*ayakmiut*, Sledge Island village),[60] but now, being abandoned, they are rightly called by the site name.

Although any geographic feature could be called after its generic name, coastal features bore this kind of name more often than others. For ex-

[60] *The Esquimaux* (1867), Vol. I, No. 8, pp. 34, 35.

ample, almost all coastal islands were given some form of the word "island," or *kikiktuk*. Exceptions were the descriptive names of islands that constituted the home of a single tribe.

Names of birds, animals, fish, and plants were used less often than descriptive topographic terms, and names of sea mammals and fish were more popular than land animals, which were rather rare except for caribou corral names. These names did not necessarily refer to the use for the site (i.e., "blueberry place" was a fishing camp, not a berry-picking camp), yet the name was usually used relative to the subsistence quest. No names utilized a fur-bearing animal of commercial importance. The commercial fur trade of the Bering Strait (in foxes, land otter, muskrat; the fur seal and sea otter did not live there) began on a large scale only after the Anyui trade market was established by Russians on the Kolyma River in Siberia in 1789. The absence of such names suggests that most Eskimo names known today had been in use before the inauguration of the fur trade, and that these animals had been of little importance in aboriginal economy.

A number of names are still "only a name," even when the derivation seems obvious to a person with limited knowledge of the Eskimo language. It is probably irrelevant to a place – and perhaps to our study of Eskimo cognizance – whether or not a word can be rendered literally, but Eskimos regard place-names in two categories today: those with meanings and those without meanings. Therefore, derivations of names like Koyuk, Shaktoolik, and Unalakleet, which are only names, had not been seriously questioned until my inquiries. These three names, incidentally, are located in territory that has been occupied for more than a century and a half by speakers of a foreign Eskimo language, a probable reason for the loss of meaning.

As European names spread throughout Alaska with its increasing population and industry, the few remaining Eskimo toponyms will undoubtedly be forgotten or replaced by other names. Eskimos constitute almost 80 per cent of the population of Bering Strait, yet superimposition of foreign names, including surnames, seems to be an unavoidable consequence of political and social dominance by another ethnic group. However, many names are still retrievable even if the so-called Eskimo wilderness has been dramatically tamed and systematized through compasses, printed maps, airplanes, a few roads, and numerous electronic devices. And though the names are no longer needed for spatial orientation or even communication, in effect, they once held a tribal territory together, provided mnemonic guides for travel and for utilization of resources, and forged a permanent and identifiable bond with the land.

APPENDIX

Eskimo names for places with English names

Settlements

Bluff, *eksukuchik*
Bonanza (old mining camp), *unguktulik*
Brevig Mission, *singak* (sometimes spelled Sinramiut)
Deering, *ipmachiuk*
Eaton Reindeer Station (in the early 1900s), *naplasthlasit*
Elephant Point, *singyak* (abandoned)
Golovin, *chinik*
Golsovia (nineteenth century post), *nuviungnuk*
Haycock, *kuarak* (not an old name)
Mission (early twentieth century, on Golovnin Bay), *tuklaktoik*
Moses Point, *kuinihak* or *paimiut*
Nome, *sitnasuak*
Safety, *chingyak*
St. Michael, *tachek*
Serpentine Hot Springs, *iyet*
Shishmaref, *kikiktuk*
Solomon, *angutak*
Stebbins, *atuik* in the nineteenth century; *tapkak*, today
Teller, *salinuk*, often called *nuk*
Wales, *kingigan*; but the two separate parts of it are called *agianamiut* (the "south village"), and *kiatanamiut*, "the village on the flats." A third part, north of *kiatanamiut* is *singuarangmiut*, with only one inhabited house today
White Mountain, *nutsvik* or *nutchvik*

Land features

Bald Head, *uluksak*
Black Point (St. Michael area), *nuwak*
Blueberry Point (Unalakleet), *igvayahak*
Cape Darby, *kikiktaualik*
Cape Douglas, *kalulik*
Cape Nome, *ayasayuk*
Cape Mountain (at Wales), *kingigan*
Cape Woolley, *singiyak*
Cape York, *kingauguk*
Christmas Mountain (Shaktoolik area), *uluksruk*
Coffee Point, *ikpakpuk*
Corwin's Cove (near Golovin), *iglu*
Eightmile Cove, *kepathluk*
Elephant Point, *singyak*
First Portage (on Unalakleet River), *nuthluk*
Fivemile Point, *kugalik*
Harris Dome (upper Kuzitrin), *palituk*
Hunting Point (St. Michael area), *nuk*
Island Point on Stuart Island, *igangnak*
Little Rocky Point (Golovin area), *uiaalik*

McDonald Mountains, *ingikpait*
Marys Mountain (Kuzitrin River), *aviunak*
North Point (on Stuart Island), *punut*
Point Dexter, *egrak*
Point Romanof, *azyateyuk*
Point Spencer, *amilrak*
Ptarmigan Point (on Imuruk Basin), *ingikut*
Rock Point (St. Michael area), *nakinguk*
St. Michael Mountain, *tachek*
The Sisters (St. Michael), *nuthlunak*
South Spit (Golovnin Bay), *chinikchauk*
Stephens Hill (St. Michael), *chinikthlik*
Stuart Mountain, *ingektuk*
Tolstoi Point, *nuwak*
Tomcod Hill (Fish River), *irathluit*
Traeger Hill (Unalakleet), *iguikpuk*
White Mountain, *nutsvik* or *nutchvik*
Wood Point, *chingikpigat*

Islands

Besboro Island, *kikiktuk*
Beulah Island, *o-ovignak*
Eider Duck Island, *mit-thak*
King Island, *ukivuk* (or *ukiuvuk*)
Little Diomede, *ingalik*
St. Michael Island, *tachek*
Sarichev Island, *kikiktuk*
Sledge Island, *ayak*
Stuart Island, *kikiktapuk*
Whale Island, *kikiktuk*

Water features, including rivers

Beeson Creek, *kuiyahak* (a Nelson Island name)
Beeson Slough, *kuyuksak*
Bluestone River, *klupaluakluzet*
Candle Creek, *musutoak*
Casadepaga River, *kuksuktopaga*
Chiroskey River, *kuikuvloak*
Coal Mine Creek, *kipiukiovik*
Coral Lake (Unalakleet area), *narvukluk*
Cripple River, *kayalashuak*
East Fork of the Koyuk River, *iluanivit*
Espenberg River, *enuiknik* (I question this)
Fish River, *irathluik* or *ikathluik*
Glacier Creek, *koluktuk*
Goodhope River, *pitak*
Hastings Creek (Nome), *uvgun*
Kuzitrin Lake, *narvasiuk*
Liebes Cove (St. Michael area), *mahak*
Nome River, *uinaktauik*

North River (Unalakleet), *nigakmuthluk*
Norton Bay, *kungikuchuk*
Offield Creek (Teller), *kasilinuk*
Pilgrim River or Kruzgemapa, *kuzgemapa*
Poker Creek (Unalakleet), *kiku*
Powers Creek (Unalakleet), *kuihuk*
St. Michael Bay, *tachek*
Snake River, *sitnasuak*
South River (Unalakleet), *angmanik*
Spruce Creek, *okpiktulik*
Telephone Creek, *ikyulpak* (Fish River area)
Wales River, *singluraruk*

Washington, D. C.

GUDDE RIDGE

Five miles of wooded ridge, with an elevation of 1,763 ft., at Round Top, northeast of Oakland, California, were dedicated to the memory of Erwin G. Gudde (1889–1969) on October 11, 1970.

Ceremonies were conducted at the site in honor of Dr. Gudde, former Professor of German at the University of California at Berkeley, co-founder of the American Name Society, and first editor of *Names*. The ridge named for him is an eastern spur of Round Top Peak, extending through the Rob't Sibley Regional Park off Oakland's Skyline Blvd.; the dedication was under the auspices of the U.S. Dep't of the Interior, the California Board of Geographic Names, the East Bay Regional Park District, and the California State Senate and Assembly.