Gágiwdulàt: Brought Forth to Reconfirm
THE LEGACY OF A TAKU RIVER TLINGIT CLAN

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1993
Elizabeth Nyman was born on April 12, 1915. Shortly thereafter she was given her birth names, Sèdayà and Nèsdèw-Tlâ, both of which she inherited from the mother of Taku Jim. Her firstborn son Jack Williams was given the names Jigê and Xûts, both of which had belonged to Taku Jack, the former clan leader of the Taku River Yanyèdî, and long before him, to the first Jigê, who dissolved the great glacier that had separated the coastal people from the interior people (see the second text in this book). Soon after Jack Williams was born, Elizabeth took the baby to an old man named Gêy, who lived in Juneau and had asked to see him. In commemoration of this event, Gêy gave Elizabeth the name Gâgiwdułât, which is a shortened version of the sentence “gâgi wudułi.ât” meaning ‘they were brought forth.’ As Elizabeth recalls it, Gêy said, “Ha dê dâk âyá at shundayîkh. Axh îk’ Jigê du âdi âwê dâk wudułi.ât. A kâxh âwê kkhwasâ: Gâgiwdułât á.” This translates, ‘Now [Jigê, Taku Jim] is bringing out the possessions [he had when he was alive] to be distributed. My brother Jigê’s things have been brought out. I will give [Sèdayà] a name in honor of this: Gâgiwdułât.’ She explains that after the old Jigê’s death, his posses­sions were brought out in armloads so that they formed a great pile from which his clansmen — his nephews, brothers, and grandsons — could claim what they wanted. This was both literally and figuratively a passing on of the heritage of the Yanyèdî clan to the new generation. Gêy used this event as a metaphor to express his feelings about the birth of the new Jigê. He had been “brought forth” to reconfirm the legacy of the old Jigê, who had in turn inherited his name and legacy from the Jigê before him, and so on back to the beginning of the clan.
On being asked what she wanted to name this book, Elizabeth decided after long deliberation that the name Gágiwðulàt best describes the aim of these stories. This name explicitly symbolizes her role in perpetuating the lineage of her clan. At the same time it implicitly charges her with the responsibility of passing on the knowledge and wisdom that she was taught by her people. The name also represents our hope that this is but the first of a series of texts gathered from Elizabeth Nyman and other elders, the first armload of what will eventually become a great heap of treasures brought forth to enrich the minds and hearts of those who reach out to claim them.

The texts

It has been my good fortune to know and collaborate with Elizabeth Nyman since about 1979. During this time we have recorded more than one hundred hours of taped material. The texts in this book represent only a small fraction of the corpus. Text II was recorded on audiotape in our first session in 1984. Mrs. Nyman wanted foremost to bequeath the Yanyèdi clan history to her descendants in a form they could understand well. Texts IV and V, personal narratives concerning her early years and her marriage with Steve Williams, were taped in 1986 and 1987. In 1987 we began recording as many of her narratives as possible on videotape and audiotape simultaneously; texts I, III, and IV were recorded in this manner in 1987 and 1988. The videotapes thus recorded convey much information that, for want of time and resources, we were unable to include in the written version of the texts. A rich inventory of hand gestures as well as eye and head movements and changes of posture brings the stories to life. We should mention that these gestures are part of the Tlingit linguistic system. Like the language itself, the gestural system is strikingly different from that familiar to English speakers, and conveys much specific information essential to a complete understanding of the narrative.

The texts are presented in a manner that attempts to convey the cadence of the spoken language, and every effort was made to match the English translation to the Tlingit original line by line. Each line that
begins at the left margin represents a "verse," that is, a sentence or part of a sentence that is distinguished from what precedes by the start of a separate intonational pattern, and frequently also a pause or taking of breath. (In cases where pauses did not seem to indicate structure, but to result from stopping to find the appropriate word, I often did not judge a new verse to be justified.) If either the Tlingit verse or its English translation is too long to fit on one printed line, the line continues indented on the following line or lines.

It was sometimes impossible to devise a reasonably fluent English rendition of a short Tlingit verse by itself. In these cases, two or more succeeding verses are placed on the same line with a slash (/) to separate them, and the English translation reflects all the verses so combined.

These verses are then grouped into paragraphs, or "stanzas." It is often difficult to decide on objective grounds just where the division between stanzas should be made. The clearest cases are where the speaker pauses for a relatively long time, or emphasizes the beginning of a sentence by changing the tone of voice or adjusting her posture. In other cases, the decision was made on the basis of phrases that serve to mark a transition, translating for example as "then" or "finally." A new stanza is also begun where there is a clear change in topic or change of scene.

Specialists in ethnopoetics, or the structure of oral literature, recognize other groupings besides those distinguished here. Further analysis will doubtless reveal levels of organization not overtly recognized in these texts. In particular, stanzas may be grouped into "scenes." This was done here in just one case, text II, "The History of the Taku Yanyèdí," which I divided into three scenes. Here the beginning of a new scene is indicated by two blank lines instead of just one; the scenes begin at lines 1, 203, and 357.

In punctuating the Tlingit text I used the comma (,), the period (.), the question mark (?), the dash (—), and quotation marks ("...") or ‘...’). The semicolon (;) does not seem necessary for Tlingit and is not used, so that the English will often have a semicolon where the Tlingit
has a comma. Note also that commas may be used within a line in the Tlingit to clarify the phrasing. The comma here does not imply that there is a break or new intonational pattern (although it may coincide with a slight pause that was not deemed indicative of a line break). It simply indicates my interpretation of the syntactic structure.

Two types of brackets are also used in the texts. Quite common are square brackets ([ ]), which indicate words that were added in the process of editing. In the English text, they indicate English words added to make the meaning clear. In the few cases where I answered Mrs. Nyman or asked her a question, my words are enclosed in braces ( { }).

During the act of speaking, people often find it necessary to revise what they have just said or begun to say, and sometimes they do not finish a word or sentence before going on to something new. In working with the spoken word, it is useful to make policies spelling out precisely how it is to be committed to paper. In transcribing legal proceedings, it is customary to write down every sound the speaker makes, but the result is tiresome reading and tends to make the speaker seem duller or more ignorant than he or she actually came across while speaking. For this reason, in preparing these narrative texts for publication, we have generally omitted inadvertent repetitions and false starts. Repetitions that seemed to serve a purpose, however, were retained. If false starts could not be deciphered, they were ignored; if they were subsequently rephrased, they were either ignored or else omitted from the text but described in a footnote.

If a word or sentence was not completed, but seemed significant or was not subsequently rephrased, I would ask Mrs. Nyman during editing to supply what was missing; these additions are enclosed in square brackets in the texts. Square brackets are also used for words that she decided should be added or changed. If the words were changed, then the original words are replaced by the words in square brackets, usually with a note explaining the change.

Due to the profound differences between the linguistic structures and vocabularies of Tlingit and English, it was often difficult to
render the original Tlingit text with an accurate yet fluent English translation, especially with the constraint that the English line should contain the same information as the corresponding Tlingit line. It was often necessary to add words to the English translations that do not correspond directly with anything in the Tlingit; such words are enclosed in square brackets. Square brackets are also used for amplifications to the text such as English names of people and places. Note that if the English map name for a place does not exist or is not known to us, a translation of the Tlingit name is given. Also, in many cases I have not been able to verify the spellings of English names, so some of these may be incorrect. We ask the reader’s pardon for such errors.

In spite of the liberties I took in adding and rearranging words and phrases, the English translation may still sound choppy in places. This is almost always a result of the mismatch between the linguistic structures of English and Tlingit. Tlingit allows much more latitude than English in ordering phrases within a sentence. Nominal and adverbial phrases may come in virtually any order. The subject may follow the verb, and the object may come before the verb. And in many cases the speaker will specify what she is going to talk about, but go on to remark on something else relevant to the situation before returning to finish the sentence. In such cases, dashes (—) set off the parenthetic remark from the sentence in which it is embedded. Sometimes, too, a dash is necessary in the English translation but not in the Tlingit.

The orthography

Those who are familiar with the Tlingit writing system will note that we have introduced some important orthographic changes in this book. The revised orthography used here has now been adopted by the Interior Tlingit, and it is our hope that it will eventually be used by the Coastal Tlingit as well. Two key goals guided the design of the revised orthography. The first is that changes in the alphabet should never cause confusion by assigning a different value to an already existing alphabetic unit. For this reason, all the revisions involve changing an alphabetic unit in the old orthography to a completely
new form in the revised orthography. The second goal is that words should remain relatively readable even if all the diacritics (accents and other marks above and below the line) are omitted. This is an important consideration if we wish Tlingit names to enter into public use in legal documents, on maps, and in newspapers. It is difficult or impossible to reproduce diacritics in most of these settings.

Tlingit has both velar and uvular consonants. The velar consonants are g, k, and x (x sounds roughly like German ch). The uvular consonants are produced further back in the mouth than the corresponding velar consonants. In the old orthography these are distinguished by underlining the consonant: g, k, and x. The difference between, say, k and k in Tlingit is just as significant or even more significant than the difference between c and ch in English. They are fundamentally different sounds, and the distinction between them is always clearly maintained. Because of the difficulty of reproducing underlined letters in newspapers and other public documents, the revised orthography represents the uvular consonants with distinct combinations of letters: gh, kh, and xh.

In the old orthography, the long vowels are written with special combinations of letters (aa, ei, ee, ou, oo). In the revised orthography, they are written with a single letter (a, e, i, o, u), like the short vowels. Both vowel length and tone are indicated by the accent over the vowel. For example, a represents a short low-tone vowel, á represents a short high-tone vowel, à represents a long low-tone vowel (old aa), and à represents a long high-tone vowel (old áa). These Tlingit vowels are pronounced roughly as they are in most European languages such as Spanish, Italian, and German, and in fact, in most languages that use the Roman alphabet. (Note that the terms “long vowel” and “short vowel” here may be confusing to the English reader. The long vowels of Tlingit are nearly the same in quality as the short vowels, but they are literally longer in duration than the short vowels. Some five hundred years ago the same was true of English vowels, but since that time the vowel system has changed so that the long vowels are now different in quality from the short vowels. For example, long e used to
sound much like the ey in "they," as does the Tlingit long e; but our modern English "long e" is quite another sound.)

The letter l represents a voiceless lateral fricative, which is found also in Welsh, where it is written II. This is a kind of hissing sound produced by air escaping along the side(s) of the tongue, which is set in much the same position as for the English l sound. This sound is quite foreign to English; the Welsh name “Lloyd,” for example, was reinterpreted by the English as “Floyd.” In the old orthography, this sound is represented by the letter l, since the ordinary l-sound does not occur as a distinct sound in Coastal Tlingit. Interior Tlingit, on the other hand, has both sounds, so the hissing l-sound is distinguished by crossing the letter with a “bar” or slanted line. This “barred l” is also used to write the same sound in most Athabaskan languages. For Coastal Tlingit, however, the bar is not necessary, and may be omitted.

The correspondences between the old and the revised orthography are summed up below:

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L-sounds (for Interior Tlingit):

\[ \begin{array}{cc}
1 & 1 \\
1 & 1 
\end{array} \]

As discussed above, in many situations it is difficult or impossible to put accents on the vowels or bars across the letter ı. In these cases the words will remain relatively readable even though these diacritics are left off. The English-speaking reader can produce a fairly acceptable rendition of the word by pronouncing the vowels as in Spanish, pronouncing ı something like thı and x something like the ch in “Bach,” and always pronouncing g as an English “hard g,” that is, like the g in “get” and not in “gesture.”

We should also mention here that Tlingit has a set of consonants called glottalized consonants, which are not found in English or other European languages. These are produced with the vocal cords closed, so that the flow of air from the lungs is cut off. The air trapped between the vocal cords and the mouth is compressed and then released through the mouth, so that these consonants typically have a characteristic “pinched” sound. Glottalization is indicated by an apostrophe following the letter(s): t', tı', ts', ch', k', kh'; ı', s', x', xh'. Tlingit also has a glottal stop made by simply closing the vocal cords and then reopening them. At the beginning of a word, this sound is not written; in the middle of a word, it is represented by a period (.), and at the end of a word, it is represented by an apostrophe ('). This sound occurs also in a few English interjections such as “uh-uh” or “huh-uh” (meaning “no”), where it is represented by the hyphen. When they represent actual sounds, both the apostrophe and the period are treated as letters of the alphabet in Tlingit, and they are an integral part of the word. Care should be taken not to omit them or to leave an extra space after them when copying a word.

Finally, readers who are familiar with the old orthography should keep in mind that all the alphabetic units (that is, letters and special combinations of letters) that they have already learned are pronounced EXACTLY THE SAME in either orthography. They can easily
read the revised orthography by mentally substituting the old equivalents of the changed alphabetic units, for example, substituting old g for revised gh, old aa for revised â, and so forth. A useful exercise would be to convert a few sentences from this book into the old orthography, substituting the old alphabetic units for the revised ones according to the chart of correspondences provided above.

Thanks

I would like to express my appreciation to John Ritter, the Yukon Native Language Centre, and the Council of Yukon Indians for making it possible for me to work with Mrs. Nyman and prepare this book for the benefit of the Tlingit people and enrichment of our common heritage. We hope this book will be one of many to come, and indeed are attempting to document the Tlingit language and culture in such a way that what we do now will provide materials that future generations will be able to reinterpret and weave into new patterns. I would also like to thank Mary Anderson for her help and encouragement and the warm hospitality she has always extended me, as well as the other members of Mrs. Nyman’s family. Finally, I thank Mrs. Nyman for enriching my life with her wisdom and patiently sharing her knowledge, as well as seeking out and encouraging me to seek out other Tlingit elders and working together with them to recover the knowledge of the past. In her I have seen an example of the kind of sharing and cooperation between peoples and nations that, like the blessing of the Tl’anaxîdákhw, will bring riches to future generations.

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April, 1993
Map 1: Text I and Text II
The Battle of the Giants
The History of the Taku Yanyedi
Elizabeth Nyman (1915– ). Photograph by Wayne Towriss for YNLC.
Text I
KHUDZITIYI ÁT KHUŁAGÄWÛ
THE BATTLE OF THE GIANTS
KHUDZITIYI ÁT KHULAGÀWÚ
December 1988

Tle wê / wùch kiká áwé át has datîyin yú.á,
yâdu á wê Łkûdasêts’k,
yâdu á wê Was’as’ê.
Á áwé tle wùch tugêt has xh’awdli.át.
Tle k’adên wùch in has datîyin,1
ch’ä wâ sâyâ has at kâwa.âkhw tle ch’a wùch xh’ayáxh.
Á khu.as giant—
khudzitiyi át yè has ayasâkw.2

Á áwé

tle ch’a yâk’udé áwé ch’u tle khuwdudlihâ.
Tlël tsu wâ sâ utîyin yú.á yâ shàx’w,
ch’u tle dât yâxh sâ daghâtì.
Ayû has khulagàwú áwé yû,
ách áwé yû daghâtì a xhû à áwé yû,
yû,
wê shà.
Á áwé,
“Xhát axh axiyh naxhsatî yâ T’akhû,”
yû áwé wùch has dàyadakhá.
“Tlêk’, de yan xhâ xhwanûk,4

tlël àdé axh ghunayê khwànuGU yé,”
tle yê yàwakhà.
Tle wê kâxh shagaxhdu’ix’ â yû xh’atânk áwé.
A shukât khu.a ch’a wùch has xh’adaxîtt xhâ,
ch’u tle kât has sëx’âkhwch tle,
tle tsu yàx’ áwé ch’u tle a dâ kè has xh’èl.âtch,
wûch has xh’adaxîtt.

De wâ nanî sâwé ch’u tle wûsh’t has at jishùwanê.
Tle áwashât, wê Was’as’êch áwé wûshât yû.á.
Tle khûnåxh tle yâ yàsî tle yàx’ tle axh àwa’l’ix’,
kàxh asèwa’l’ix’.
Tle yû diyâde áwé kè àwaghîx’,

1. Mrs. Nyman starts to say “tle wê good [friends...]” and then decides to rephrase it in Tlingit.

2. In Coastal Tlingit this would be khustin át.

4. Note the enclitic separating preverb from verb word.
THE BATTLE OF THE GIANTS
December 1988

They used to be situated opposite each other, they say: on this side was Lkùdasêts'k, and on this side, Was'as'ê. Then they insulted each other.

[Before that] they had gotten along well together; agreeing on everything they proposed to do. They were giants—khu'dzitiyi'át, they are called.

Then suddenly they got into a fight. These mountains used to be fine; they were nice and neat. But when [those giants] fought [they rolled over them], so some of them are [squashed in places] like that, and like that, those mountains. Then “The Taku should belong to me,” each said to the other. “No, I’m already sitting here; I’m not about to move off,” [Lkùdasêts’k] said.

It was the one who was to be decapitated who was speaking. First they would provoke each other, then they would forget about it, and then they would start up on it again, provoking each other.

One day they got into a fight [over it]. He grabbed him; Was’as’ê grabbed [Lkùdasêts’k], they say. Then he broke his head off right here; he decapitated him. He threw it across [the river, saying],

3. That is, they were regularly formed and spaced. The phrase dàt yálxh sá is hard to translate, having somewhat the flavor of English “as nice as you please.”

5. After “Tlèk” Mrs. Nyman says “ch’u tle ch’as we Was’as’ê.” This seems to be a false start, which she corrects below when she says that it was Lkùdasêts’k, the one who was to be decapitated, who was speaking.
“Lkudasets’k shayixh / naxhsati.”
Áwé ch’u tle yû yati,
àsx’i sâni à yû kawsi.â.

Tle a têxh’i áwé tle âxh kë àwaxhút’,
wé T’àkhú ash jikáxh akawul’khidích áwé.
Yá du têxh’,
“Lkudasets’k têxh’i khu.a T’àkhú Têxh’ixh naxhsatì.”

áwé tle wê yê nàdà tle yê,
tle yât uwaxíx.
Tle yû khà têxh’i yáxh kayaxát.

Yá a lèkachuxh’u khu.a áwé tlaxh yû
yìnde òwayish
áwé tsâ anaxh kë òwayish.

Tle yât yáxh kayaxát wët.
Ch’a dàt yìs sáwé yât às à wsi.à yât,
ha tle yá khà xhikshá yáxh tle yû.
Yât áwé wë a lèkachuxh’unáxh kë àwaxhút’,

tle yât,
tle âxh nàdà tle yû.
“Yá T’àkhú kàdé nghadà yá t’ìx’ kahìni,
ch’a ldakát khà xh’èes,
Lingít xh’èes,” yû.à.

Á áwé
wà sà i tûch tsu gûx’á / tlél katóla’ux’h àdé si.ât’ì yé
wë hín.

Áwé yidát áwé a kàxh has xh’axhawùs’—
wë Chànk’i Ish yê sh kàhnìk
tle a kanaxh yê uwagút wë x’ât’k’atsk’u xhá,
tle k’adên a dà yû akwdlìghìnk yû akanìk.
Ch’u tle té áwé yê yati,
ch’u tle solid rock áwé yê yati yû akanìk.
Ch’u tle yû diyìndáxh áwé yê kwsikàk
wë té.
Well, it could be, you know, wë du [lèkachuxh’u].
Wë ghîlà’ xhàwê yê yati wë Lkudasets’k,
shà,
shà áwé / yê yati.

Á áwé—

6. The word naxhsati is added as an afterthought; the postposition -x is either omitted or not audible.
7. Mrs. Nyman here says, “Tle yá a ëyùwù áwé...” but then decides to talk about the heart before the windpipe.
“Let it become Łkúdasêts’k Shàyi, (Łkúdasêts’k’s head).”
So that is how it is.

There are little trees growing here and there on it.

Then he yanked his heart out, because Łkúdasêts’k had tried to wrest [the Taku] from him. As for his heart, [he said,]
“Let Łkúdasêts’k’s heart become the Heart of the Taku.”
[The Taku] flows like this; it landed here. It looks like a human heart.

The windpipe he pulled down and then yanked it out. It [became a small island that] extends as far as over there. For some reason there are trees growing here, [it is] like a human shoulder, like this. Here he pulled the windpipe out, here, and water flows out there. “Let ice water flow out into the Taku for everyone, for the Tlingit,” they say [he said].

So what do you think: we don’t drink even a cup of it, it is so cold, that water.

Now I have been asking them about it—Harry Carlick says he has walked across that small island and inspected [the waterfall] carefully, he says. It is nothing but rock; it is solid rock, he says. [It starts] from somewhere far below and is very thick, that rock. Well, it could be, you know, his [windpipe]. [After all,] Łkúdasêts’k is a [rock] cliff, a mountain; it is a mountain.

So...
[Wé Was’as’e áktsú?]  
Wé Was’as’e khu.a áwé tle  
du tûn at wùti.  
Hú khu.a,

“Kèshixjix’a kikàdé yè kkhwasgît.”
Á áwé ách áwu á.  
“Tlaxh wà yan tûwajaghu à lingít sàwé  
  axh yàxh sh tû gakghwaltsìn,”  
tle yè yâwakhâ / hú khu.a.

Á áwé wé—  
anaxh yan wutuwakhúxh.  
Áwé axh xhàn à yíyi tlél...  
ó—ch’u ghunâ yatiyi yèdáxh  
  du jidé at gughwaxìx.

Tle yè áwé a yáxh kè wdlìtlét’ wé shà,  
tle yè xhâwé yati.  
Tle yè kínde kè yàwatsákh.  
Yát áwé ch’u tle yú dák uwanugu yè yáxh yati.  
Áwé yát áwé áxh kè uwagüt tle yû,  
tle yû,  
tle wé dák uwanugu yè yáxh yatiyi yè.  
Tle àdé yà gagüt áwé tsá yû.a tle  
wé yìnđe áwé khuxh awdlìghín, tle wé yàkw tlél dutìn.  
“How wà sàyá dës khûxhde kkhwadagût?”

Á áwé ch’a yà áxh kè nagut yè áwé wè kêtladi k’wât’i tle yû  
áxh nali.átk, tle wé a kúdi.  
A kàxh áwé yè awsíni / wé kêtladi k’wât’i.  
Tle tlél du tûch wułchìsh wé—  
wé yû dák uwanugu yè yáxh yatiyi yèt / wugûdí.

How he gonna come back?—  
  he could make it all right.

A ách áwé  
àxh khuxh wudigüt.  
Du k’údas’i tû kwshêwé yè aya.û wé...

sèt akûstán wé / wé kêtladi k’wât’i.  
Dikî áyû, nàlì yû dikí.

Ùn yû xh’adudli.átk,  
“Lìf x’wán khâkhwxh xhat wunikh lìlk’w,” yè  
dàyadukhâ.

Á áwé  
khà xh’aya.áxhch wé át, wé shà tsú.
Was’as’ê too?

Was’as’ê
was upset [by what happened],
He [said],

“I will locate across from Kèshixjix’â.”
Therefore he is there.
“People that are truly self-confident
will gain sustenance from my sides,”
he said.

One time
we went ashore there.
Now my deceased husband was not [daunted by anything];
no matter what kind of place [he had to go to get it,
he would keep on until] he got what he was after.

He climbed up that mountainside;
it was [steep] like this.
He followed [the hillside] upward.
Here there is an outcropping;8
he came up to this place,
like this,
to the outcropping.
When he had made his way there, he said,
he looked back down, and the boat was not visible.
“Now how am I going to get back?”

Now where he was climbing there were seagull eggs
lying here and there, [seagull] nests.
He was gathering the seagull eggs from [the nests].
It looked to him like it would be too risky
[to go out onto] that outcropping [and] walk about on it.

How was he going to come back?—
he could make it all right [but he could see no way back].

So
he turned back there.
I guess he had [the sleeves of] his shirt [knotted together and
inside them]
he had those seagull eggs slung around his neck.

Up high, he was way up high.

They used to speak to [the mountain],
“Don’t let anything bad happen to me, grandfather,” they
would say to it.

And
that mountain could understand human speech too.9

8. Literally, “it is like a place where it sits out.”
9. That is, humans understand speech, and so can the mountain.