Gágiwduł.àt: Brought Forth to Reconfirm THE LEGACY OF A TAKU RIVER TLINGIT CLAN

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by Jeff Leer

The author and title

Elizabeth Nyman was born on April 12, 1915. Shortly thereafter she was given her birth names, Sèdayà and Nèsdêw-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 Yanyèdí, 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 Gágiwduł.àt, which is a shortened version of the sentence "gági wdudli.àt" meaning 'they were brought forth.' As Elizabeth recalls it, Gêy said, "Ha dê dàk áyá at shundayíkh. Axh îk' Jigê du ádi áwé dàk wududli.át. A kàxh áwé kkhwasâ: Gágiwduł.àt 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: Gágiwduł.àt.' 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 Yanyèdí 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 *Gágiwduł.àt* 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 \mathbf{g} , \mathbf{k} , and \mathbf{x} (\mathbf{x} sounds roughly like German \mathbf{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: \mathbf{g} , \mathbf{k} , and \mathbf{x} . The difference between, say, \mathbf{k} and \mathbf{k} in Tlingit is just as significant or even more significant than the difference between \mathbf{c} and \mathbf{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: \mathbf{gh} , \mathbf{kh} , and \mathbf{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, $\hat{\mathbf{a}}$ represents a long low-tone vowel (old \mathbf{aa}), and $\hat{\mathbf{a}}$ 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 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 I 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 I, since the ordinary I-sound does not occur as a distinct sound in Coastal Tlingit. Interior Tlingit, on the other hand, has both sounds, so the hissing I-sound is distinguished by crossing the letter with a "bar" or slanted line. This "barred I" 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:

REVISED ORTHOGRAPHY	OLD ORTHOGRAPHY
Uvular consonants:	
gh	<u>g</u>
kh	<u>k</u>
xh	<u>X</u>
Vowels:	
à	aa
è	ei
ì	ee
ò	ou
ù	00
â	áa
ê	éi
î	ée
ô	óu
û	óo

L-sounds (for Interior Tlingit):

1 1 1 1

As discussed above, in many situations it is difficult or impossible to put accents on the vowels or bars across the letter 1. 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 1 something like th1 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 $following the \ letter(s): t', tl', ts', ch', k', kh'; l', s', x', xh'. \ Tlingit\ also\ has$ 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.

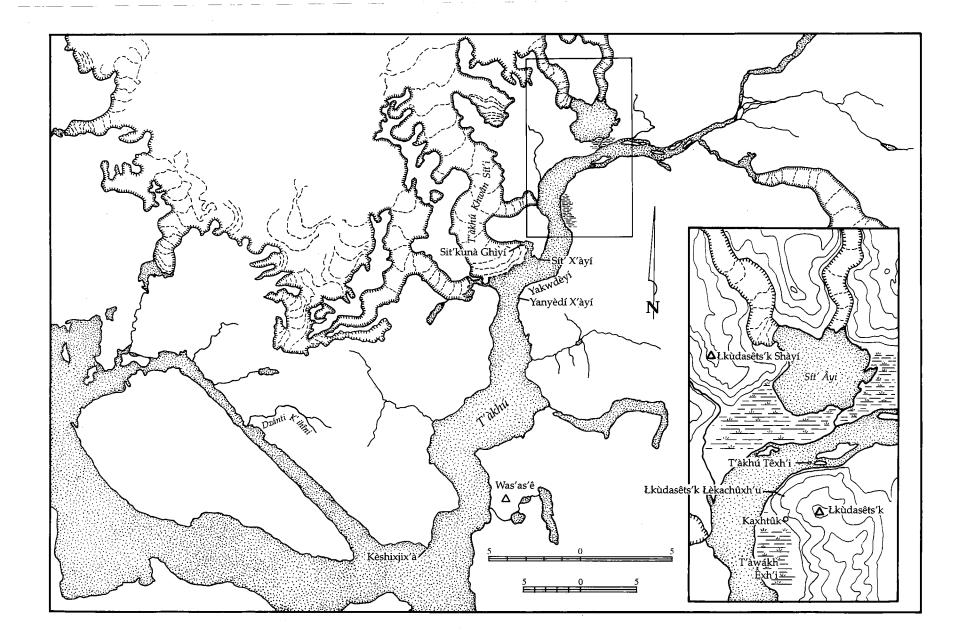
Finally, readers who are familiar with the old orthography should keep in mind that all the alphabetic units (that is, letters and special combinations of letters) that they have already learned are pronounced EXACTLY THE SAME in either orthography. They can easily

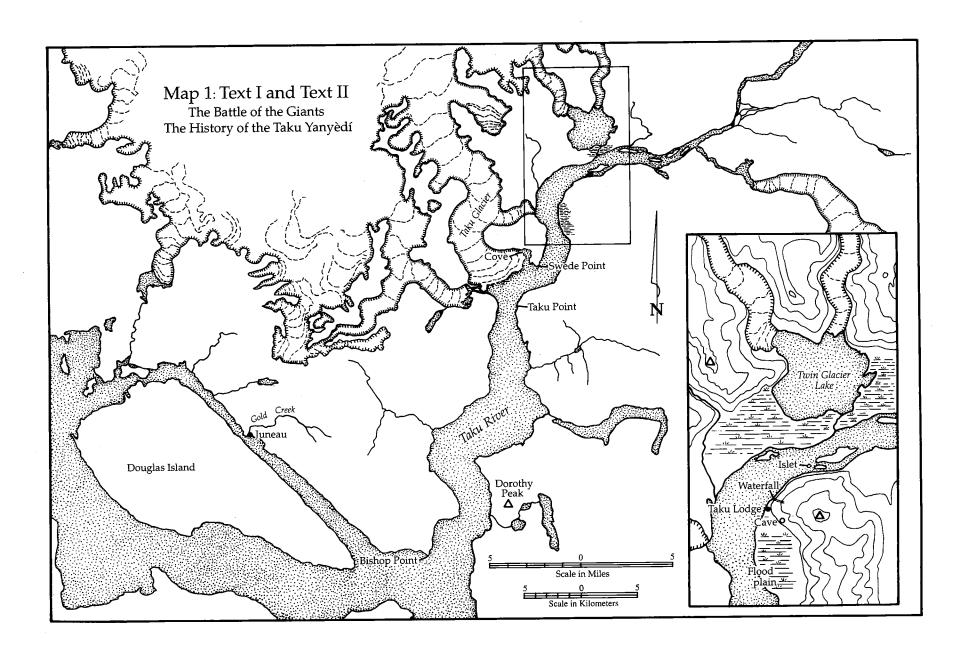
read the revised orthography by mentally substituting the old equivalents of the changed alphabetic units, for example, substituting old $\underline{\mathbf{g}}$ for revised \mathbf{gh} , old \mathbf{aa} for revised $\mathbf{\grave{a}}$, and so forth. A useful exercise would be to convert a few sentences 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.

Alaska Native Language Center University of Alaska Fairbanks April, 1993







Elizabeth Nyman (1915–). Photograph by Wayne Towriss for YNLC.

Text I KHUDZITÌYI ÁT KHUŁAGÀWÚ THE BATTLE OF THE GIANTS



KHUDZITÌYI ÁT KHUŁAGÀWÚ

December 1988

Tle wê / wùch kìká áwé át has datîyin yú.á, yâdu á wé Łkùdasêts'k, yâdu á wé Was'as'ê. Á áwé tle wùch tugêt has xh'awdli.át. Tle k'adên wùch ìn has datîyin,¹ ch'a wâ sáyá has at kàwa.àkhw tle ch'a wùch xh'ayáxh. Á khu.as *giant* khudzitìyi át yê has ayasâkw.²

Á áwé tle ch'a yâk'udé áwé ch'u tle khuwdudlihà. 10 Tléł tsu wâ sá utîyin yú.á yá shàx'w, ch'u tle dàt yáxh sá daghàtì. Ayú has khułagàwú áwé yû, ách áwé yû daghàtì a xhù à áwé yû, yû, 15 wé shà. A áwé, "Xhát axh àyíxh naxhsatì yá T'àkhú," yû áwé wùch has dàyadakhá. "Tlêk', de yan xhá xhwànúk,4 20 tléł adé axh ghunayê khwanugu yé," tle yê yàwakhà. Tle wé kàxh shagaxhduł'ix' à yù xh'atánk áwé. A shukát khu.a ch'a wùch has xh'adaxîtt xhá, ch'u tle kát has sèx'àkhwch tle, 25 tle tsu yâx' áwé ch'u tle a dà kè has xh'èl.àtch,

De wâ nanî sáwé ch'u tle wûsht has at jishùwanê. Tle àwashât, wé Was'as'êch áwé wùshât yú.á. 30 Tle khúnáxh tle yá a shàyí tle yâx' tle àxh àwał'îx', kàxh asèwał'îx'. Tle yú diyâde áwé kè àwaghíx',

wùch has xh'adaxîtt.

^{1.} Mrs. Nyman starts to say " $tle\ we$ 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 Łkùdasêts'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 khudzitìyi át, they are called.

Then

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suddenly they got into a fight. 10 These mountains used to be fine; they were nice and neat.³ But when [those giants] fought [they rolled over them], so some of them are [squashed in places] like that,

and like that, 15 those mountains.

Then

"The Taku should belong to me,"

each said to the other.

"No, I'm already sitting here;⁵ 20 I'm not about to move off,"

[*Łkùdasêts'k*] said.

It was the one who was to be decapitated who was speaking. First they would provoke each other,

25 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 [Łkùdasêts'k], they say.

Then he broke his head off right here; 30 he decapitated him. He threw it across [the river, saying],

^{3.} That is, they were regularly formed and spaced. The phrase dàt yaxh sá is hard to translate, having somewhat the flavor of English "as nice as you please."

^{5.} After "Tlêk'" Mrs. Nyman says "ch'u tle ch'as wé Was'as'ê." This seems to be a false start, which she corrects below when she says that it was Łkùdasêts'k, the one who was to be decapitated, who was speaking.

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"Łkùdasêts'k shàyíxh / naxhsatì."⁶ Áwé ch'u tle yû yatì, àsx'i sâni â yù kawsi.â.⁷

Tle a têxh'i áwé tle àxh kè àwaxhút', wé T'àkhú ash jikáxh akawułkhìdích áwé. Yá du têxh',

"Łkùdasêts'k têxh'i khu.a T'àkhú Têxh'ixh naxhsatì." áwé tle wê yê nàdà tle yê, tle yât uwaxíx.

Tle yú khà têxh'i yáxh kayaxát.

Yá a lèkachûxh'u khu.a áwé tlaxh yû yinde àwayish

áwé tsá anaxh kè àwayísh. Tle yât yáxh kayaxát wêt. Ch'a dàt yís sáwé yât às â wsi.à yât, ha tle yá khà xhikshá yáxh tle yû. Yât áwé wé a łèkachûxh'unáxh kè àwaxhút',

tle yât,
tle áxh nàdà tle yû.
"Yá T'àkhú kàdé nghadà yá t'îx' kahîni,
ch'a ldakát khà xh'ès,
Lingít xh'ès," yú.á.

A áwé wâ sá i tûch tsu gúx'à / tléł katułał'úx'xh àdé si.ât'i yé wé hîn.

Áwé yìdát áwé a káxh has xh'axhawûs' wé Chânk'i Îsh yê sh kałnìk

tle a kanaxh yè uwagút wé x'ât'k'átsk'u xhá, tle k'adên a dà yù akwdłighínk yû akanîk. Ch'u tle té áwé yê yatì, ch'u tle solid rock áwé yê yatì yû akanîk. Ch'u tle yú diyíndáxh áwé yê kwsikàk

wé té.
Well, it could be, you know, wé du [łèkachûxh'u].
Wé ghíl' xhâwé yê yatì wé Łkùdasêts'k,
shà,
shà áwé / yê yatì.

70 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 lèyùwú áwé..." but then decides to talk about the heart before the windpipe.

"Let it become Łkùdasêts'k Shàyí, (Łkùdasêts'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 [*Lkùdasêts'k*] had tried to wrest [the Taku] from him. As for his heart, [he said,]

"Let Lkùdasêts'k's heart become the Heart of the Taku."

40 [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 rain dains and

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].

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,] *Łkùdasêts'k* is a [rock] cliff, a mountain; it is a mountain.

70 So...

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{Wé Was'as'ê áktsú?} Wé Was'as'ê khu.a áwé tle du tûn at wùtì. Hú khu.a,

"Kèshixjix'à kìkàdé yê kkhwasgît."

Á áwé ách áwu á.

"Tlaxh wâ yan tùwajaghu à lingít sáwé
axh yàxh sh tû gakghwaltsìn,"
tle yê yàwakhà / hú khu.a.

80 Á áwé wé—
anaxh yan wutuwakhúxh.
Áwé axh xhán à yîyi tléł...
ô—ch'u ghunâ yatìyi yêdáxh
du jìdé at gughwaxîx.

Tle yê áwé a yáxh kè wdlitlét' wé shà, tle yê xhâwé yatì. Tle yê kínde kè yàwatsákh. Yât áwé ch'u tle yû dàk uwanugu yé yáxh yatì. Áwé yât áwé áxh kè uwagút tle yû,

tle yû,
tle wé dàk uwanugu yé yáxh yatìyi yé.
Tle àdé yà gagût áwé tsá yú.á tle
wé yínde áwé khuxh awdlighín, tle wé yàkw tléł dutìn.
"Ha wâ sáyá dês khúxhde kkhwadagût?"

Á áwé ch'á yá áxh kè nagut yé áwé wé kêtladi k'wát'i tle yû áxh nałi.átk, tle wé a kúdi.
A kàxh áwé yê awsinì / wé kêtladi k'wát'i.
Tle tléł du tûch wułchîsh wé—

wé yû dàk uwanugu yé yáxh yatiyi yêt / wugùdí. How he gonna come back?—

he could make it all right. A ách áwé àxh khuxh wudigút. Du k'ùdas'í tû kwshêwé yê aya.û wé...

sêt akùstán wé / wé kêtladi k'wát'i. Dikî áyú, nàlî yú dikî.

> Ùn yù xh'adudli.átk, "Łíł x'wán khâkhwxh xhat wunìkh lîłk'w," yê dàyadukhá.

110 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'à." 75 Therefore he is there. "People that are truly self-confident will gain sustenance from my sides," he said. One time 80 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; 85 it was [steep] like this. He followed [the hillside] upward. Here there is an outcropping;8 he came up to this place, 90 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 95 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?-100 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. 105 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. 110 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.