NOTES

Basket Bay told by Robert Zuboff

Recorded by Constance Naish and Gillian Story, Angoon, 1960's. Transcribed by Constance Naish and Gillian Story. Translated by Nora Dauenhauer

The transcription dates from the 1960's, and was revised by Naish and Story in the early 1970's. The texts by George Betts and Robert Zuboff transcribed by Naish and Story were to have been published in Tlingit in the mid 1970's as part of the Tlingit Reader series, but lack of time and funding delayed publication. As a set, these narratives now open and close the present volume, beginning with the Tlingit migration to the Coast, and ending with the arrival of the Europeans.

Work on the pair of transcriptions was taken up again in the mid 1980's by the present editors, in consultation with Constance Naish and Gillian Story, who are now working on Northern Athapaskan in the Canadian Northwest Territories, at considerable geographic remove both from Juneau and from their tapes and field notes archived in Denver, and removed almost 15 years in time from their work in Tlingit. Textual questions were minor, and revisions were made as seemed appropriate.

As noted in the dedication, this text was prepared and contributed by Constance Naish and Gillian Story as a memorial and personal tribute to Robert Zuboff, who spent many hours with Naish and Story during their stay in Angoon, helping them immensely in their early study of Tlingit. The system of writing Tlingit used in this book is based on the work of Naish and Story and the help of Robert Zuboff. See also the note and dedication to George Betts' "Coming of the First White Man" for acknowledgement of Betts' contribution to the history of Tlingit literacy and linguistics.

This narrative deals with two themes, the unique life at Basket Bay in particular, and the more general history of how the Tlingit people migrated to and along the coast. The account of the ancestors coming down the Stikine River under the ice is often repeated by Tlingit elders. Anthropological and linguistic evidence and theory support certain aspects of the narrative, and question other parts as told here.

Linguistic evidence suggests and supports a Tlingit migration to the Southern coast, and then northward, as described in the narrative. The exact linguistic relationship of Tlingit to the Athapaskan family on the one hand, and to Haida on the other, remains the subject of much scholarly debate. The structures of Tlingit, Eyak, and Athapaskan are parallel, and some of the morphemes are recognizable, whereas the general vocabularies--especially the noun vocabularies--are not similar at all, and reconstructions a subject of dispute. If Tlingit and Haida are indeed related, the relationship seems very remote and unclear. All of this does suggest that the Tlingit split from an ancestral group in the interior, moved to the coast, and somehow along the way adapted a remarkably new vocabulary, while retaining the older grammatical structure. Perhaps the noun vocabulary comes in part from assimilation of an earlier coastal population. This is not uncommon in linguistic history. English, for example, retains its Germanic grammatical structure while absorbing a rich noun and verb vocabulary from languages around the world.

However, it is probably more likely that the present day Tlingit population of interior British Columbia and Yukon derives not from an original group that stayed behind, but from a coastal group that continued the migration back into the Interior at a much later date. The basis for this theory is primarily linguistic: there is very little difference

between Interior Tlingit and Central Coast Tlingit, whereas if the Interior group had stayed behind since time immemorial, and had not shared in the migration to the coast, we would expect major dialect variation--at least as great as between Northern and Southern Tlingit, and probably even greater than between Tongass Tlingit and all other dialects.

3. Kák'w. Literally "Little Basket." Basket Bay is located on Chichagof Island, on the west side of Chatham Strait 11 miles north of the entrance to Peril Strait.

8. Kasiyéiyi. This is a contracted form, a shortening of the sequence of -i (attributive) followed by yé followed by yáx. The underlying full form is kasiyéiyi yéi yáx. Yé is usually lengthened to yéi before yáx as before suffixed postpositions. Thus this is really a dropping of -y y....

15. "In a grotto" is supplied in translation. The people would use sapwood (resin saturated wood) as torches. Keeping a careful watch, they would hunt at low tide in the grotto, then hurry out when the tide rose.

18. Kaakáakw. The name of the arch of the natural grotto at Basket Bay, from which Robert Zuboff's clan house derives its name.

33. We have inserted the ku.aa in the Tlingit text to reflect his discourse structure more closely. A line in which the story teller corrects himself has been deleted.

40. Gadutéenín. Contingent. Note the pattern of the -ín suffix, the progressive stem, the aspect prefix -ga- and the conjugation prefix, which in this case is "zero." The general translation of the contingent is "whenever."

55, 56. The two -yéi yáx sequences are the same contractions as decribed in the note to line 8: the sequence of -i (attributive) followed by yé followed by yáx.

55. This line presents difficulties in transcription and editing. The stem is possibly -k'ét', -tl'ít', or -ts'ít'. The dictionary forms are -k'eit' (to fall over, like a ladder) -ts'eet' (to fill a container) and -tl'eet' with the same meaning. Ts'eet' seems to make the most sense.

86-90. Migration through the South...down the Stikine River. Many elders recount the prehistoric migration down the Stikine River, under the glacial ice. Many Tlingit place names and clan names document an arrival on the southern coast and gradual migration northward along the coast, arriving most recently in the Yakutat and Copper River areas.

It is a general principle of linguistics that older areas show more dialect variation than more recently settled areas. The southern dialects of Tlingit are more varied than the central and northern. Tongass dialect, now nearly extinct, differs radically from the rest of Tlingit and is a "missing link" between Tlingit, Eyak (nearly extinct), and the Athapaskan languages.

107, 113. In Tlingit, there is grammatical contrast between the verbs. In line 107, the "non-zero" conjugation form woo.aat patterns with kaadéi; in line 113, the "zero" conjugation form uwa.át patterns with kát. Both mean "went on it" or "went over it," but the "zero" conjugation form kát....uwa.át conveys the meaning of starting out.

115-132. The ones who went under the ice went down the Sitkine; those who went over the ice went down the Chilkat. The Deisheetaan and Kak'weidí are historically related, which is why Zuboff refers to himself here as Deisheetaan. The Kak'weidí probably evolved as a house group of the Deisheetaan. The Dakl'aweidí are an Eagle moiety clan. The killer whale is one of its major crests. Robert Zuboff is a Child of Dakl'aweidí--Dakl'aweidí yádi because his father is of that clan.

119. Sit'ká. The name means "on the glacier," from sít' and -ká. This is not to be confused with the place name Sitka, which derives from Sheey at'iká, "On Outer Baranof Island," or "On the Outer Coast of Baranof Island."

136. Xutsnoowú. Tlingit place name for Angoon, meaning "Brown Bear Fort," often spelled Kootznoowoo or Kootznoohoo in English. This Tlingit place name is also used by the Russians in their histories of Russian America (Khlebnikov, for example.)

108, 112, 120, 132. These forms are nice examples of the use of the prefix ku- referring to action by or about people.

108.	kuwlihaash	they (people) floated
112.	wulhaash	"to float"
120.	kuduwasáakw	people are called
132.	kuwtuwashée	we began searching

143, 150. Tlingit. Dáak káx' is slower speech; dakkáx' is also common.

149. Shaadaax' is Robert Zuboff's Tlingit name. See notes to "Mosquito" for more on this.

153. Wusdaagéen. A decessive form, in the main verb (in contrast to the contingent form, which always has a short vowel in the suffix and is always in a subordinate clause.)

154. Nooch. Nooch is a helping , or auxiliary verb in Tlingit. Its stem is nook. Lines 151 and 154 provide a nice contrast of two interesting grammatical forms.

151. a daa yoo tuxatángi áyá
what I'm thinking about
(now; specific time)

154. yéi...a daa yoo tuxatángi nooch
how I think (habitual, general, always, unspecified)

Mosquito told by Robert Zuboff, 79

Recorded by Nora Dauenhauer, Angoon, July 1971. Transcribed by Richard Dauenhauer. Translated by Nora and Richard Dauenhauer

Publication History. The Tlingit text was first published August 1973 by Tlingit Readers, Inc. Copyright (c) 1973 by Tlingit Readers, Inc. Printed at Sheldon Jackson College by Andrew Hope III and Richard Dauenhauer, a production of Alaska Native Language Center. Publication of the original, now rare and out of print edition was a joint activity of Tlingit Readers, Inc., ANLC, and SJC. Typing of the original edition was by JoAnn George, cover artist for the present volume. The transcription was read back to Mr. Zuboff in May 1973, met with his approval, and was verified by him.

Other versions. This story is very popular on the Northwest Coast, and exists in many published versions including the Boas/Shotridge edition of 1917, and Swanton (1909: No. 58.) It is sometimes known as "The Cannibal Giant." The motif of mosquito created from the ashes of a slain monster (Thompson A 2001) is also widespread in world folklore. The most generally available versions are in Keithahn (1963: 142-143) and Barbeau (1964: 378.) Barbeau (1964) also includes Siberian and other Northwest Coast versions. For a detailed study of 12 versions from Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Bella Coola, and Kwakiutl, see Dauenhauer (1975: 103-122.) For an interesting Northern Athabaskan version in Chipewyan and facing English translation, see Li and Scollon (1976: 236-253) Story 9, "The Story of the Man Eater," collected by Fang Kuei Li in 1928.

Robert Zuboff was a popular story teller in Tlingit and English, and "Mosquito" was one of his favorites. This story is "classic Robert Zuboff" in style, characterized by repetition,

terraces, code switching, sparsity of detail, richness of action and dialog and the use of a narrative frame in which he explains how he relates to the story, which deals with his Tlingit name, Shaadaax', and from the time when the Tlingits lived in the Interior.

This is a deceptively simple story, and one not to be used lightly, but treated with respect, because it deals with very powerful subject matter--ultimately the nature of evil. Some Tlingit tradition bearers, such as Mr. A.P. Johnson, view this story allegorically. The Mosquito is the disease of alcoholism, which is sucking the life blood of the Tlingit people.

Shaadaax', on the other hand, insists on the historicity of the story, connecting it with the etymology of his Tlingit name and the present Tlingit speaking communities of the Yukon, Atlin, Teslin, and Carcross. Mr. Zuboff reminds us that God loves the world, and that creation was "good." Humans created and create their own evil. In this story, the mosquito originates from greed and the obsession with revenge.

This story does not appear to be owned in contemporary Tlingit oral tradition, and most versions connect the story somehow with the Interior or Migration. However, over 100 years of published photographs and illustrations from Klukwan such as Krause (1885, 1956) Keithahn (1963) and Barbeau (1964) would seem to connect the story to the Frog House of the Chilkat Gannax̲.ádi of Klukwan, which owns the totem of the Cannibal Giant Gooteel.

1, 6, 10. Áwé. This is an example of the Tlingit word áwé functioning as a phrase marker, as described in the introduction.

9. Shaadaax'. Robert Zuboff's Tlingit name translates as "On the Mountain" or "At Around the Mountain." The analysis:

Shaa- daa- x'
Mt. around at/on.

This would be understood by a Tlingit speaking audience, so it is assumed and not explained by the story teller, although he does often explain this when telling the story in English. The name is important, because this is the main reason the Tlingit Elder Geetwéin tells the story to the young Zuboff, and one important reason for Zuboff's strong personal attachment to the story. His namesake derives from the places and events remembered in the story.

18, 19, 20. Tlingit. Notice how in the original text the story teller switches languages for emphasis. The technical term for this is "code switching," as described in the introduction.

27. Kúnáx. On the tape, this is kóonáx, with emphasis and long vowel. We have standardized the spelling here.

33, 34. For students of Tlingit, there is a nice contrast of wooteex and woot'éex'. Both have the perfective prefix woo-. The first verb is -tee, meaning "to be or live," with the durative suffix -x expressing action over a long period of time. The second stem is -téex', meaning "to be hard."

33. The Interior. The setting of the story is the Interior, in contrast to the Coast; specifically the southern Yukon Territory and very northern tip of British Columbia. Until the Alaska Highway reoriented traffic in the area, it was common for Coast and Interior Tlingits to travel and trade with each other via the pass and river routes from the Chilkat to the Taku. Trade between the Coast Tlingit and Interior Athabaskan was conducted over an even wider area, ranging from the Copper River in the North to the Stikine and Nass Rivers in the South. There are considerable differences in material and social culture between the

Coast and Interior Tlingit, but the language is very similar. See the story by Tom Peters of Teslin for a sample of the Yukon dialect of Tlingit. Lines 32-54 make up a "frame within a frame" within which the background to the story itself is presented.

66, 98. Tlingit. The verbs are sequential mode, indicated by long, high vowel, the "A" form of the classifier (which for the "ya" classifier is "zero" and does not appear at all) and position in the subordinate clause. It means "when" or "as."

98. kei góot when / as he came out

Compare line 65, a negative perfective main verb, and 66, with the sequential. This is also a nice example of terrace repetition.

65. Tléil yeik woogoot.
66. L yeik ugóot

65. He didn't come back.
66. When he didn't come back

76, 138. Examples of rapid speech.

96. He broke. In Tlingit this is imperfective--"he breaks." Such forms are more freely translated into English with past tense, as described in the introduction.

101-104. He struck it (again). In many Native American traditions four is the complete, ideal, or "magic" number, in contrast to the pattern of three in Indo-European and other traditions. The verb is also interesting. The nominal prefix -sha- specifies hitting on the head.

110. Naganeiyít. Purposive. Note the conjugation prefix na- and the aspect prefix -ga- patterning with the suffix -(y)ít. The general meaning of the purposive translates as "in order to."

138. Teslin is a major population center of

Inland Tlingit, located in southern Yukon.

140. Tlingit. Aa Tlein. Literally "Big Lake." Atlin, B.C., an Inland Tlingit community in northernmost British Columbia.

142. Tlingit. Caribou Cross. Now known as Carcross, Yukon. An Inland Tlingit community located at what was traditionally a caribou crossing, later a railroad and now a highway crossing point at the end of Bennet Lake on the routes from Skagway to Whitehorse.

Kaax'achgóok told by A.P. Johnson, 74

Recorded by A. P. Johnson, Sitka, November 1972. Transcribed and translated by Nora Dauenhauer

Publication History. The original transcription was a project of the Alaska Native Language Center. The manuscript of the transcription was approved by Mr. Johnson August 22, 1973. Tlingit text first published by Tlingit Readers, Inc. 1979. Revision of the Tlingit text and translation into English are projects of the Sealaska Heritage Foundation.

Other versions. Swanton (1909: Nos. 67 and 101, pp. 225 and 321 ff. See also the video tape *Kaal.átk'* (Ostyn 1981) featuring Charlie Joseph, produced by the Sitka Native Education Program.

Mr. Johnson recorded this story himself, and gave the tape to Nora Dauenhauer to transcribe. The tape includes a copy of an earlier tape recording of the song, but this was edited out of the transcription at the request of Mr. Johnson, who dictated the alternate ending that appears here. This is one of the many stories of the Kiks.ádi clan, and is about one of their most famous ancestors, Kaax'achgóok, who was blown off course while hunting sea mammals in the Sitka area.

The delivery is generally even and uniformly paced, with no long pauses between sentences. At points of excitement and climax, the phrase boundaries are "run on"--with a change to a new topic and grammatical sentence within the breath and phrase unit. This is noted in the transcription by a long line with a period or semi-colon between the sentences. This "run on" style used here and by other narrators conveys a sense of urgency to the story, an increase of excitement.

1-29. The opening lines of this story present a classic "narrative frame." The story teller introduces himself through the pronoun "us" as a member of the group he is telling about, and continues to give his clan and personal history, including his personal names and those of some ancestors. He may be emphasizing his paternal (Kaagwaantaan) ancestors because his matrilineal identity as Kiks.ádi is more obvious and less in need of introduction. Most Tlingit narratives include a narrative frame, and this is a splendid example.

26. Wasdéik. A. P. Johnson's humor tends to be dry and understated. This is the English word "Mistake" pronounced with a Tlingit accent.

27. Tlaakáak. This is a compound noun. The orthographic convention is to write these as a single word in cases where the tone is "stolen" by one of the words; i.e. tláa káak becomes lexically one word when the high tone is "stolen" from tláa. Other compounds are not often as clear and systematic; for example, we have decided to write kaani yán, keilk'i hás, and shatx'i yán as two words, although they are also probably lexically one.

27-29. Here the story teller capsulizes the narrative frame. This also specifically indicates the traditional Tlingit line of inheritance through the mother and mother's brothers. Here the mother's maternal uncles are his mother's mother's brothers.

30-36. Sitka...Gajaahéen. After summarizing the detailed narrative frame in lines 27-29, the story teller now turns to the setting. He stresses that this did not happen in Sitka, but in the place called "Old Sitka" in English and Gajaahéen in Tlingit, after the river that flows there. It is near the present site of the Sitka ferry terminal.

40. We used to travel around in spring. Reference is to spring subsistence hunting,

fishing, and gathering.

47. Fur seals would drift in on the tide. The spring tides carry the sea mammals closer to land to breed.

Some additional comment may be helpful at this point. One aspect or function of oral literature around the world is that it often contains details on traditional technology and survival skills. People can recall these details from the stories as they are needed. A. P. Johnson's narratives tend to be rich in such detail, and many of the notes will comment on these.

Sea mammals are important in this story, and it may be useful to describe them here. Four species are found in Southeast Alaska:

tsaa	harbor seal; hair seal (*Phoca vitulina*)
x'óon	fur seal (*Collorhinus ursinus*)
yáxwch'	sea otter (*Enhydra lutris*)
taan	sea lion (*Eumetopias jubatus*)

The harbor seal (tsaa) is the only common seal found in Southeast Alaska, and the only hair seal found in Southern Alaska. It ranges from southern California to the Bering Sea to China. It is sometimes also called the spotted seal, but it is not the same as phoca largha, also called spotted seal. Unlike the sea lion or the fur seal, it cannot rotate its hind flippers forward.

The fur seal (x'óon) is extremely rare in Southeast Alaska today, but its range was almost certainly wider in the precontact period. When Nora Dauenhauer's grandmother was a little girl they used to chase fur seals on the outer coast in the spring. The fur seal is primarily associated with the Pribilof Islands, and it is a federally protected species presently covered under international treaties prohibiting pelagic harvesting (hunting on the high seas.) The fur seal can rotate its hind flippers forward. The fur seal is highly

valued for its pelt, and was hunted nearly to extinction in the 19th century.

The sea otter (yáxwch') is also rare in Southeast Alaska, a colony having been re-established near Sitka about ten years ago. It was widely hunted during the Russian period, when the colony's economy was based on the sea otter industry. Sea otters are not popular with fishermen because they consume large quantities of fish and shellfish.

The sea lion (taan) is so named because it resembles a lion. It is also called the Steller's or Northern sea lion. Unlike seals (other than the fur seal) they have external ears and rear flippers that turn forward.

There are many other species of seals found in the Eskimo and Aleut regions of Northern Alaska, but not found in Southeast Alaska. These include the spotted seal, ribbon seal, bearded seal (oogruk) and ringed seal (natchiq). For more information on seals and other species mentioned in the Tlingit narratives, we recommend the *Wildlife Notebook Series* published by the Alaska Department of Fish and Game. The fur seal is a "federal" animal and additional information may be available from appropriate federal agencies.

49. Tire out and kill. It is important in seal hunting to retrieve the animal before it sinks. Therefore the hunting techniques include harpoons with bouys, or, as described here, chasing the seals until they are tired or exhausted, and then spearing them.

50. Spear. The Tlingit term is woosáani, and refers to a particular kind of harpoon with a detachable point.

55. At s'aan.aaxw dzaas. This was a type of spear used when the seal was in a deep place. The thongs were designed to wrap the animal in a bundle, making it easier to retrieve.

57. Thongs that battered the head. The

thong attached to the spear point was rigged with a club that would go into action after the point hit the target, and would club the seal's head as it swam or dived along.

59-62. Two wives. As most men of Tlingit culture of his period, Kaax'achgóok practiced plural marriage, having one older and one younger wife. The older wife was probably older than the husband, and the second wife younger. This arrangement provided a traditional "social security" as well as a system for passing on knowledge and skills.

61. The Tlingit text has yanwát, as pronounced on the tape recording; some speakers pronounce the word yanwáat.

63. The Tlingit verb translated as "hunting" is literally "to tire out."

73. He heard a voice. He heard a voice among the seals warning the crying pup to keep quiet.

78-80. He said to the maternal nephews. Kaax'achgóok realized that the human voice he heard among the seals was a bad omen.

85-87. Took them..broke them..threw them into the sea. He is through with hunting. Throwing his weapons away, Kaax'achgóok rejects being a hunter, thus breaking a societal norm.

86. Tlingit: akal'ix't is a nice example of what might be called a the durative suffix -t, emphasizing that he is breaking them one by one, or that he kept on breaking them, or broke them continually. The grammatical pattern is actually more complicated, as Naish and Story (1973: 360-361) explain, and involves the interaction of invariable stems and suffixes.

a -	ka -	l'ix' -	t
direct object	round thing	breaks	suffix

96ff. Baskets. This is a description of traditional cooking methods, using water-tight baskets and heated stones to bring water to a boil.

99. Boil. Tlingit uses two distinct verb stems here, the underlying or dictionary forms of which are:

shi-ootl	to boil salmon
si-taa	to boil meat (and other food)

The forms in the text are:

adush.utlxi nuch	they would boil salmon
dustéix	meat was boiled

103. "Couldn't you spoon some broth?" The story teller's voice is soft and high here, imitating the woman begging.

104. The woman goes against a societal norm by begging, and is shunned. His wife's begging and the rejection motivate Kaax'achgóok to resume hunting fur seal which his younger wife liked so much.

114. Tlingit: dagaak'éiyi aa; literally "some very nice ones." This is a nice example of the distributive prefix -dagaa-, which most commonly appears as a prefix to the verb stem "to be." Here it is used in an attributive clause. The implication is that the very best spears had been sorted out and were being carried.

dagaa	-	k'éi	-	yi	aa
distribu-		to be		attri-	ones
tive		fine		butive	

118. Fur seals. The noun is supplied in translation.

129. Tup! As he speaks this sound-effect word, the story teller claps his hands sharply once.

132. "Be brave." The story teller's voice here is chant-like, the phrase slightly sung.

167. Kaax'achgóok heard the noises. The name is used in Tlingit. The Tlingit verb

incorporates the noun kayéik (noise.) The abbreviation "cl" used here and elsewhere stands for "classifier," one of the Tlingit and Athabaskan grammatical prefix categories.

kayik -	.u -	wa	- .ax
noise	per-	cl	to hear
	fective		

176. Bamboo. Bamboo does not grow in Alaska. The implication is that the men crossed the Pacific to Hawaii or possibly the Kuril Islands. The voyage of Kaax'achgóok belongs in the annals of small craft navigation such as Captain William Bligh's saving his crew after the mutiny on the Bounty, the voyages of the Vikings, the wanderings of Odysseus, and the traditional chants of Polynesian navigation.

193-194. "Remember to take good care of your boat." These lines are another example of the role of a maternal uncle toward his sisters' sons. The maternal uncle is the teacher and tradition bearer of the clan. From here on, Kaax'achgóok will be instructing his nephews on survival and on preparation for the attempt to return home.

198. Fire rubbing sticks. Sticks used for starting fire by friction. This can be done in a variety of ways.

214-217. Tanning. These lines are interesting because they show some of the uses of the sea mammal pelts. Fur seal is specified and sea otter implied for tanning for furs. Sea lion is used for making raw hide.

218. Cut in a circular motion. This is another reference to traditional technology. By cutting in a continuous circular pattern, one long strip of raw hide can be made, as opposed to cutting many short strips the length of the skin.

234. Kaax'achgóook. The name is supplied in translation.

244ff. The stars. This passage is about knowledge of the stars and planets, and their relative positions as compared to their positions at home. This knowledge allows Kaax'achgóok to navigate home by the stars.

266-267. Perhaps Kaax'achgóok figured it out. From studying the stars he discovered where they were relative to home, and knew where to steer the canoe.

276. Under people's feet. Cushions, pillows, or kneeling pads were made from the bundles of sea lion whiskers.

295. They anchored. This passage describes the use of a sea anchor. See lines 268ff for the making of the sea anchor from bamboo poles and stomachs of fur seal filled with sand. In contrast, he specifies that the sea lion stomachs are used as water containers.

326. This is what they were calling a seagull. This line concludes a passage presenting a very nice image of snow capped Mt. Edgecumbe looking at a distance like a seagull floating on the waves.

327-328. They didn't want to call it by its name. They are avoiding direct reference in favor of indirectness.

341. They pulled some (kelp) on board. To anchor themselves, they grabbed some of the long kelp growing up from the bottom of the sea near land, and pulled them aboard. These can also be wrapped around a paddle then set in the bottom of the canoe or along the gunnel. Sea going Tlingit hunters may have learned this skill from observing sea otters or other marine mammals that anchor themselves in floating kelp when eating or sleeping.

347. Canoe rest. This is a translation of the place name mentioned in the Tlingit text: Yakwkalaséigákw.

359-360. Kaax'achgóok carved a petroglyph which can still be seen today. In line 360 the story teller extends an invitation to go there and see it.

363-370. Near fall...food. In the fall when the salmon are in the streams and rivers, people would smoke and dry them to put up for winter.

372-373. His wife had a husband. In Tlingit tradition the widow was placed with a relative of her husband to replace her deceased mate.

375. Tlingit: galtíshch. This is a nice example of the occasional, indicated by the suffix -ch and the conjugation marker -ga-.

ga	-	l	-	tísh	-	ch
		cl		to miss; be lonely		

378. She had already recovered. The young woman had recovered from her grief.

380ff. The one who sailed away was still lingering on her mind. The older woman is still grieving. The recognition and homecoming passage is very nicely done. It is interesting to study the personalities of the two wives and the story teller's attitude toward the characters. The older wife is a model of spiritual and social maturity.

399-400. It is interesting that she recognizes him by his actions (rather than having to rely on physical features.)

404-405ff. All his mannerisms were still on her mind. The older wife had been mourning for her husband so long she was near mental breakdown, so her in-laws kidded her about it.

445ff. The distribution. Kaax'achgóok handed out the valuable skins to those who gave or might have given at his memorial feast. (Thinking he was dead, his relatives would have already hosted a memorial feast for him.) The sea lion whiskers are also valuable, and are used, among other things, in traditional art such as decoration on dance frontlets.

450ff. He spoke with his sister's son.

This is the nephew that took the bereaved wife to replace his uncle. This brief speech by Kaax'achgóok is a fine example of Tlingit oratory in miniature, using politeness, diplomacy, and metaphor. The young couple is embarrassed (lines 427-430) and it now falls to the uncle to resolve the complex situation. He does this by giving his blessing to the marriage and instructing the young couple to care for each other.

453-454. You wiped the face of your mother's maternal uncle. This is a metaphorical expression thanking the nephew for helping wipe away the tears of grief. The reference to mother's maternal uncle rather than simply "your maternal uncle" implies a greater age and generation difference between the nephew and Kaax'achgóok, who is probably the great uncle of the nephew. It is entirely possible that the "young man" she is placed with (line 377) is younger than she is, so that the "younger wife" in her first marriage will eventually become the "older wife" of her second marriage.

459. You too. Having addressed the nephew, he now addresses the young wife, and instructs her to take good care of her husband.

466. Made up his mind. This is a rhetorical question. He had composed a song about what had happened to them, and is about to sing it in public for the first time. Most Tlingit stories about famous ancestors include songs or have songs connected with them.

477-478. This is the only thing you won't hear. The last five lines of the transcription are an alternate ending dictated by Mr. Johnson August 22, 1973. The tape recording includes the Kaax'achgóok song played by Mr. Johnson from an earlier tape recording. When the draft transcription was read back to him for his approval, he requested that the song text be deleted and not included in the transcription. He then dictated the last five lines as transcribed and translated here as an

alternative ending. The tape and original transcription also include comments on the song, its Kiks.ádi clan ownership, and words of appreciation to the transcriber and reading audience. A very nice rendition of the song by the Gajaa Héen Dancers is included on the video tape (Ostyn 1981) entitled *K'aal.átk'* featuring Mr. Charlie Joseph of Sitka, produced in 1981 by the Sitka Native Education Program. An older version of the song text is included in Swanton (1909: 391, Song 5). As well as artwork, stories and songs are clan owned according to the Tlingit system of oral copyright, but songs are more sensitive than stories, which is why he requested that the text not be included in print.

Naatsilanéi told by Willie Marks, 70

Recorded by Nora Dauenhauer at Marks Trail, Juneau, October 4, 1972. Transcribed and translated by Nora Dauenhauer.

Other versions: Swanton (1909: Nos. 4 and 71, pp 25ff and 230ff) Barbeau (1964: 290) Garfield and Forrest (1961: 81-83, 123-125) Olson (1967: 39-40, 28-29) and Velten (1944). See also the version by J. B. Fawcett in this volume. This story is sometimes called "Kéet" or "The Origin of Killer Whale." A very nice edition for children with an accompanying teacher's guide was published by Henry and Claribel Davis of Kake in 1973, but is now out of print.

The story appears to be very old, and is identified with the southern Tlingit area. Please see notes to the version by J. B. Fawcett for more information on this, and on the clans associated with the story.

The oral delivery is characterized by marked pauses after the end of most sentences (marked with a period in the transcription.) Rather than to note each of these pauses with extra space between lines, we have marked only the extra-long pauses--those lasting approximately 5 seconds or more.

1. The transcription has been edited slightly in this line at the request of the tradition bearer.

2. In addition to the pause between lines 1 and 2, there is some audience discussion, after which the story teller continues.

4-5. He would tell stories....about how well he could use... crampon snowshoes. Naatsilanéi seemes to have been bragging about his ability to climb on rock with his crampon snowshoes. Naatsilanéi's bragging sets the

dramatic action of the story in motion. Perhaps to "get even" his brothers-in-law plot to leave him stranded on a barren reef. The brothers-in-law call his bluff, expecting him to slip on the rocks and drown in the surf, but Naatsilanéi is as good as he claims to be, and does not slip, so they have to abandon him. All versions of the story include the brothers-in-law who are jealous of the hunting abilities and other skills of Naatsilanéi. This version is interesting in that it suggests that perhaps Naatsilanéi was also socially out of line in his boastfulness.

The story of Naatsilanéi is told to remind people that when jealousy enters things can turn really bad. The brothers-in-law are driven by their jealousy to leave their sister's husband on the island, without considering the consequences. This is, of course, in conflict with the demands and traditions of Tlingit social structure. A man's most valued kin is his brother-in-law (his sister's husband.) A man will give gifts to his brother-in-law. Contrary to this, Naatsilanéi's brothers-in-law leave him stranded on the barren rock to die. See also the "Woman Who Married the Bear" for the brother-in-law motif.

10. "...Let's let you...take me out!" Naatsilanéi wanted to show off.

18-19. The waves reached high. The literal translation of the Tlingit is also very "poetic" and is a good illustration of Tlingit grammatical structure.

Kei	ji-	la-	shát-	ch	wé	teet.
up	arm	cl	reach, grab	keep on	the	waves

The waves keep on reaching up snatching or grabbing with their hands or arms.

22. He stuck to the spot. Without slipping, Naatsilanéi was able to stick to the

place where he first landed.

24. Perhaps. Willie Marks uses the words "perhaps" and "probably" (gwál) and "maybe" (gíwé, gíyú) frequently in his story telling. These are common devices in oral literature, and should not suggest to us that the narrator is unsure of his or her material. The device works in at least four ways, creating:

a) limits of experience (he was not actually there in person as an eye witness and does not want to lie about the events)
b) reliability (this is how he heard it; he is not making the story up)
c) aesthetic distance (as a narrator he can remove himself from the events of the story)
d) closeness (at the same time he can create an emotional closeness to the people and events in the story by allowing us to get close to them by asking and wondering what they were really like.)

31. "Bring the boat over now!" In a subdued voice, the story teller imitates a shout here.

51. When he heard that thing. (Literally, "aawa.a<u>x</u>i át áwé" --"the thing that he heard." For greater clarity in translation, the order of the lines is different than in Tlingit. At this point in the story, Naatsilanéi first senses the approach of the spirit helper, described several lines later as a "huge man"-- <u>k</u>áa tlein.

52. "I'm coming to get you." The story teller's voice is raised slightly higher for the dialog.

63. Naatsilanéi asked it. This is a place where we have added the name for greater clarity in translation, where the original relies on the pronoun. Tlingit does not distinguish "he," "she," and "it" in the pronoun (although Tlingit does make other pronoun distinctions not matched in English);

whereas this also gives some clarity in English, it forces the translator to make a choice between "he" and "it" when referring to the helper.

65. Under this rock. Reference is to the entire reef, or sea lion rock.

67. Lifted the edge of the sea like a cloth. This is a very nice verb form in Tlingit using the verb stem -.áax meaning "to handle cloth." "Edge" is conveyed by a nominal prefix.

73. He went there, down there. What follows is an archetypical shaman voyage, an out of life experience to the spirit world, the result of which is a covenant with particular animals and spirit helpers.

95. The Proverb..."he was like the man who had a spear removed." Literally, "he became like one from whom a spear point was removed."

Oo-	dax	kát		
It	from	spear point		
ka-	w-	dzi-	tee-	yi
round thing	per- fect.	cl	take	attributive
yáx	woo-	nei		
like	per- fect.	become		

This proverb can be applied culturally to someone who is feeling better after feeling ill.

98. That big balloon. The balloon was the container for the Southwest wind.

99. A speed boat balloon. The story teller is probably thinking of rubber-raft-type speed boats.

102. "Don't think of this place again." The Sea Lion People are telling Naatsilanéi not to think about the island. This emphasizes the importance in Tlingit traditional spirituality of controlling not only one's physical actions and speech, but one's very thoughts. See also

Tom Peters' story and J.B. Fawcett's "Kaats'" where thoughts are visualized as beams of light, and the point is made that animals have the power to receive human thought. Therefore, it is important to have good thoughts rather than evil or counterproductive ones.

106-109. One, two, three, four. The story teller counted this in Chinese (Cantonese--yet, ngi, sam, si.) Note also that whereas three is the "magic number" in English (and Indo-European and Judeo-Christian tradition) four is complete number in Tlingit (as well as Athabaskan and many other Native American traditions.) He also counts in Chinese in line 165.

110. They tossed it in the air. This is a nice verb in Tlingit, specifiying "to toss a round object":

yóo	áwé	kei	ka-	w-	du-	wa-	gíx'
thus	it was	up	round thing	per- fect.	they	cl	toss

117, 125. Probably it had a zipper.... Probably there was an automatic button.... The tradition bearer said these lines jokingly, in a deliberate anachronism, inserting contemporary technology into the traditional story. In Tlingit there is extra humor due to the code switching.

Gwál zipper áwé a x̲'atóowu á.
Gwál wé automatic button gíwé áwu?

138. "Hey, honey!" Said jokingly. Followed by audience laughter and comment partly overlapping with the next line of the narration.

146. Be sure lotsa rice. Again, jokingly, and with code switching. Despite the surface humor and detachment, the style of Willie Marks shows his closeness to the characters. Lines like "perhaps some food too" show that he is asking himself, and raising the question

for the listener or reader, "what was it like then? What was it like for Naatsilanéi?" The humor also provides a bit of "comic relief" in the midst of serious tragedy.

150. He adzed out those things. Students of the language might be interested in the phonetic contrast between

a<u>x</u>óot'	he adzed it
a <u>x</u>oot	among them

151. Sea lions instructed him. Other story tellers have told this with Naatsilanéi's getting the idea of carving killer whales from seeing killer whale designs on the walls of the ill sea lion's house when he was down under the sea. The idea of creating the killer whale was given to Naatsilanéi as payment for helping the wounded sea lion.

161. When the night turns over.... The night is like a human sleeping. When it rolls over, it is midnight. It is the traditional belief that evil things happen about this time of the night.

181. "The boat will come through here. / I will tell you when to go for them." Naatsilanéi is speaking to his carvings. He is planning to have the Killer Whales kill his brothers-in-law who left him on the reef.

194. Shhhhhh. Sound effects for the noise; could also be translated as "swish" or "woosh", etc.

201, 203. The young boy. Notice the different forms in Tlingit, one of which has a long vowel, and one a short vowel. The long vowel here is caused by the subject marker -ch as a suffix.

át k'átsk'ooch
át k'átsk'u

This is not a phonemic distinction, but is free or predictable variation and could be standardized, and, in fact, is in the process

of being standardized in Tlingit spelling. Both -oo- and -u- are heard with and without the -ch suffix; both are "correct." Technically, "real" lengthening occurs only with stems ending in a short, high vowel.

215. That's why these things don't do any harm to humans. This is the source of the covenant between humans and Killer Whales, and the source of the Killer Whale crest or at.óow.

218. Maybe to wherever he would die. This is a powerful ending. Naatsílanéi gets his revenge, but at the cost of alienation from the community, and perhaps ultimately at the cost of his own life, which, ironically, he loses as a consequence of his own vengeance, rather than through the treachery of his brothers-in-law. Ironically, the theme of his own death closes the story of his fight for life--which he actually won! Naatsílanéi was a successful man, good at whatever he did. The ending is ambiguous: is he "throwing in the towel" and expecting imminent death, or is he leaving the community forever, to live out his life in exile? Also, the "maybe" is typical of the ambiguity of endings in much of Native American oral tradition, where things are often left open ended. On a technical note, the ending is difficult to translate. As in much of translation, the choice involves editorial decision. Of some possible choices, "to find a place to die" is more active, and "to wherever he would die" or "could die" is more passive.

Naatsilanéi told by J.B. Fawcett

Recorded by Nora Dauenhauer, Juneau, October 3, 1972. Transcribed and translated by Nora Dauenhauer.

First transcribed October 3, 1972 as a project of the Alaska Native Language Center; first translated December 6, 1980 as a project of National Endowment for the Arts Grant to Nora Dauenhauer; transcription and translation extensively revised as projects of the Sealaska Heritage Foundation.

Please see the notes to the version by Willie Marks for general commentary on the story and for reference to other published versions.

Most oral literature assumes that the audience is already familiar with the story--that the listener has heard it before. Because of this assumption, J. B. Fawcett's style puts more demands on the new reader. When the story was told, Mr. Fawcett assumed the listener's knowledge of the story, and therefore omitted some details that, while minor, make the story hang together. For example, jealousy is not directly mentioned as the reason the brothers-in-law decide to leave Naatsilanéi stranded to die on the island. Also, many of the transitions are not as clear for a person unfamiliar with the story.

Therefore, we have arranged the version by J. B. Fawcett second in the volume, after Willie Marks, hoping that it will be easier for the new reader to enjoy this version after becoming familiar with the story by having read it once before.

Otherwise, perhaps even still, appreciating the story is like putting a puzzle together: the picture is not complete until the last piece is in place. J. B. Fawcett unfolds his story gradually, a piece at a time, often

through "flashbacks." The story is not told "in order."

J. B. was in poor health when he told the story, and by this time was almost totally deaf. Perhaps for these reasons, the delivery is characterized by stuttering and many false starts. These have been edited out by the transcriber. His style is characterized by rapid delivery of words within the line, but generally clear pauses at phrase ends (marked by line turnings and punctuation as described in the introduction.)

4, 6. Taan...Klawock. On Prince of Wales Island, west of Ketchikan. The narrator identifies the story with the Southern part of Tlingit territory, of more ancient settlement than the north. (See the Basket Bay History for more on migration and settlement.)

14. "Come here and get me, my brothers-in-law." The brothers-in-law violate one of the most traditional and valued relationships in Tlingit social structure. Traditionally, a man's most valued kin is his brother-in-law, his sister's husband. Naatsilanéi appeals to his brothers-in-law to come back for him, but they leave him stranded on the island to die.

17. Our ancestors. The story teller is establishing his relationship to the events and persons in the story.

18. Tsaagweidí. Naatsilanéi was a man of the Tsaagweidí, an Eagle moiety clan.

26. Someone talked to him.... Other tradition bearers tell of how the person who spoke to Naatsilanéi took him down under the sea to see what was making the sea lion prince ill. When he got there he saw the painting of killer whales on the walls of the house they took him to. In this version, Naatsilanéi meets the Spirit Helper, but does not go on the underwater journey.

29. A yát. On the tape, phonetically a "gamma," a sonorant, an "unrounded w." Much

of J. B.'s pronunciation is very conservative.

41. The name Naatsilanéi is supplied in translation, but is not present in the original, which is more literally "he came to him." Tlingit has a "fourth person" pronoun which makes the pronoun object more specific than the English pronoun "him."

44. Get inside this.... Other tradition bearers explain this as the container of the southeast wind.

46, 48. Four times. Finally, on the fourth time. Here again is the pattern of four as the "magic number" or "complete number" in Tlingit culture, in contrast to, but serving the same function as three in Judeo-Christian and Indo-European culture.

50. It was a stomach. This is a large Sealion stomach, one and the same as the southeast wind container.

53. "Don't think back...." He was told to concentrate on his home village, to focus on his goal and not to worry about looking back. Again (as in the version by Willie Marks) the importance of correct thinking is emphasized.

59-74. This passage is unclear in Tlingit as well as in English. The "thing" is not specified by the story teller. We conclude that it is a tube-like object, perhaps kelp or Indian celery, or something similar that the helper gave him through which he would talk. In line 73, the stem -yísh refers to a long object.

80, 81. "Whatever you desire, just name it." The spirit helper is making the offer to Naatsilanéi.

85. These boats. Here Naatsilanéi encounters his second set of spirit helpers, explained more fully in line 119 as Brants. Here the small geese are seen as a fleet of boats, and appear human.

96. They didn't know. This is a transition, or flash, or change of scene to the wives and villagers. Here Naatsilanéi's

wives are introduced. The narrator is telling how the brothers-in-law explained what happened to their sisters, the widows.

103. "We don't know. A wave carried him out...." As in other cultures, lies are unforgivable in Tlingit tradition. It is considered wrong to lie about a human or anything. People could usually tell when a lie is being told. Here the brothers-in-law are telling lies about Naatsílanéi to their sisters, the wives of Naatsílanéi.

108. That man. The spirit helper.

112. "That's your food." Nice use of dialog here on the tape recording. The Spirit Helper speaks in a lower tone of voice than the narrator's voice or Naatsílanéi's.

119. Brant (a small goose.) The Brant appeared to him like a human being, and spoke to him in Tlingit. It is the Spirit coming to help him (finally identified in the narration.)

122. Aagáa áwé in Tlingit. This is a classic line and phrase turning in Tlingit narrative discourse. The sentence ends with falling pitch drop, followed by a very significant pause, and picks up again with the transition "aagáa."

123. Brant. The noun is supplied in translation.

132ff. At one point. This is another transition. The Spirit Helper is restoring Naatsílanéi and his wife to each other. Compare also the mention of midnight, as in Willie Marks' narration.

143-153. This section is unclear. We interpret the "thing" of line 143 to be the tube-like object introduced in lines 59-74. Naatsílanéi's wife is inside the house and he is outside. They are talking through the tube, much as Naatsílanéi and his helper used it to talk through when he was in the bubble. The verb stems -taan and -tsaak in lines 144 and 145 refer to long objects.

149, 151. "It's me." Names of the speakers

are supplied in translation. The Tlingit performance uses different voices for the narration, Naatsilanéi, and his wife. Naatsilanéi's voice is very slow and deliberate. The wife's voice is higher and spoken in more rapid delivery. The speed is reflected in the line turnings for one, and run-on for the other.

154ff. His tools. The point being made is of the great antiquity of Tlingit carving technology.

168. "Let's look over there." A transition. The brothers-in-law decide to go hunting.

171. They were hunting.... "They" are the brothers-in-law.

183. It was there he carved / the Killer Whales. At this point Naatsilanéi carves the killer whales to get even and take revenge on his brothers-in-law.

198. In Tlingit, phonetically, "Shóo<u>x</u> sitee." It's sure, i.e., certain, true. This is "code switching" with the English word "sure," with the r dropped.

200. This is not a story without value. The narrator is emphasizing the value of the story in Tlingit tradition. The story has many values. One is that the Da<u>k</u>l'aweidí and Tsaagweidí clans have names relating to Killer Whale, and their emblem is the Killer Whale. The passage also reiterates a theme common in this collection--that these are true stories, therefore of value. In folklore terms, these are legends, not fictional folktales.

233-234 "...Don't do anything / to the younger one." Naatsilanéi asked the killer whales not to harm the younger brother. This is probably the "man from whose lips this is told" mentioned in the opening lines of the story, the one who lived to tell about it. Again, this version assumes that the listener is familiar with the youngest brother-in-law's compassion for Naatsilanéi, although the

incident is not included in this narration. See next note.

244-245. The younger one had cried for him / on the island. Naatsilanéi knew the younger brother-in-law was innocent and wanted to go back for him.

257. Strands surfaced.... A group stemming from the Tsaagweidí clan surfaced in Taku, the Yanyeidí clan of the Eagle moiety. This story and the Killer Whale crest are also identified with the Dakl'aweidí clan. Because of the recognized antiquity of the story, and because younger clans evolve from parent clans, it is understandable that more than one Eagle moiety clan would have the story and crest in its heritage. J. B. is emphasizing the lesser known information here, probably assuming audience knowledge of the Killer Whale as a Dakl'aweidí at.óow.

258. Song. This is a typical pattern in Tlingit oral literature, where a story, a song, and an artistic design all refer to each other in remembering the acquisition of a shaman spirit by an ancestor. The song is alluded to, but not sung in this narration. Some story tellers sing the songs, others mention them, but do not include them.

262, 265. Tlingit, kuwa.áxch. This is a nice example of the use of the prefix ku- indicating a human object or theme.

276. Their names.... Because of the great antiquity of the story, all of the names are no longer known to the narrator.

278. Our ancestors. The Tlingit text includes one form of the word from which our title derives: haa shagóonx'ich. The suffix -x'- is plural, -i- is a "peg vowel" on which the next suffix hangs, and -ch is a subject marker.

280. Outer container. The term "outer container" (in the text, has du daakeitx'í--their outer containers) is usually applied to a person's grandparents on both sides. The

narrator is explaining now that this is not his story per se, that his clan was not in it, but that his ancestors used to tell it because it happened to "their outer containers"--their grandparents on both sides. This is part of the narrator's indirect "narrative frame."

282. Tlingit, tlaagú. This word indicates a very old or ancient story. In contrast, the word "sh kalneek", used in lines 1 and 276 of the story do not specify the age of the story.

284. Deikee Lunaak.... The narrator is now being even more specific regarding the location of the island near the fort outside of Klawock. Many Tlingit stories are very specific about the places in which they happened. Other published versions of the story identify it with other places.

The end. It is sometimes difficult to determine where a "story" begins and ends. The speaking on the tape begins with some preliminary inquires about whether the tape recorder is on, then the narrator says something like "listen now," after which the transcription picks up. At the end of the story, where the transcription ends, after a slight pause, the narrator continues to expound on related points of concern. In particular, he makes an appeal to document Tlingit history, especially regarding the land. He expresses concern with acculturation and loss of knowledge of traditions, and comments "It's only right that it be put on paper." Thus, the "stories" are often set in a larger narrative context, or may inspire the tradition bearers to continue the narration on other topics.

Strong Man told by Frank Johnson, 77

Recorded by Nora Dauenhauer, Sitka, June 12, 1972. Transcribed and translated by Nora Dauenhauer.

Publication history. The Tlingit text was first transcribed as a production of Alaska Native Language Center and first published March, 1973, by Tlingit Readers, Inc. Copyright (c) by Tlingit Readers, Inc. Publication of this text inaugurated a series of traditional Tlingit texts by various tradition bearers, with covers designed by Tlingit artists. The first edition, now rare and out of print, featured a four color cover designed by Horace Marks. It was printed at Sheldon Jackson College by Andrew Hope III, Ed Schulz, and Richard Dauenhauer. Typing for the original version was by Vesta Dominicks.

Other versions. Swanton 1909: Nos. 31 and 93, pp 145-150, 289-291) Garfield and Forrest (1961: 73-77) De Laguna (1972: 890-892) Keithahn (1963: 143-148) Barbeau 1964: 298ff).

This story is told and written in the southern dialect of Tlingit. Northern Tlingit speakers describe the southern speech as "sing song." Southern Tlingit is characterized by different sentence intonation patterns than Northern Tlingit, but these are not reflected in the transcription system. However, another feature of Southern Tlingit, which is easily reflected in the popular writing system, is the dropping of vowels in classifiers. For example:

Northern	Southern
akawlitéix̲'	akawltéix̲'
k̲usa.áat	k̲us.áat
yawsik̲aa	yawsk̲aa
awusinei	awusnei
awsix'áa	awsx'áa

wusitee	wustee

When the vowels are dropped, some of the remaining consonants are no longer between vowels. Some of these consonants may change.

Northern	Southern
jiwdigút	jiwtgút
wooshdakán	wooshtkán
kudzitee	kutstee
awdligín	awtlgín
ayawdudlitseen	ayawdutltseen
oowdlitsín	oowtltsín
kei wjik'én	kei wchk'én

These changes are very regular, and follow the same pattern as the alternations in noun and verb stems when suffixes are added or dropped.

Si	becomes	s			
li	"	l			
di	"	d	which becomes		t
dzi	"	dz	"	"	ts
dli	"	dl	"	"	tl
ji	"	j	"	"	ch

In this story, Mr. Johnson uses some northern forms as well as the southern forms. For example, where we might expect the southern "kuwtstee" we find the northern "kuwdzitee."

The narration is characterized by many false starts in some places, which have been edited out. Frank Johnson is remembered as a good story teller. He hadn't told this story for some time, but when he finds his pace, the delivery flows smoothly and without false starts.

Note the use of the narrative frame to open and close the story. In these frames, Tlingit story tellers usually identify specific personal, place, and clan names, thus

establishing the social context of the story. They tell who the story belongs to, and what their personal relationship is to the story. Here Mr. Johnson identifies the story as originating in the southernmost and most ancient area of Tlingit settlement, called Henyaa. The story belongs to the Taakw.anneidí clan. At the end of his narration, Mr. Johnson expresses his personal connection to the story through his father's people, the Shangukeidí.

7. People trained for strength. This is a reference to the tradition of the maternal uncle's training his nephews by bathing in the sea in winter. This training was to improve self discipline and physical endurance.

10. Sea lions. Sea lion meat was eaten as subsistence food. The whiskers are used to decorate hats and headdresses.

1-16. Common in Tlingit story telling, the composer is changing rapidly from topic to topic in the opening of his story, thereby introducing a number of main points he will develop later. This technique is something like a table of contents or an abstract in a written presentation. By now we already know that this is an ancient southern Tlingit story that has something to do with ritual bathing and hunting for sea lions, that Galwéit' is the leader of the people, and that he has a nephew who is a misfit despite his birth. Beginning with line 17, he begins to expand on these topics, and work them in to the weave of his narration.

16. Kuwudzitee. This is a northern form, where one might expect the southern form kuwtstee.

18. Before daybreak...to the sea water. In Tlingit tradition, the most important work is to be done before daybreak "before the Raven cries." They are going to the sea to bathe. This is the Tlingit tradition of the maternal

uncle's training his nephews. Part of this training involved strengthening through bathing in the ocean before dawn.

21. Ulk'eiyéech. Whereas we have standardized the spelling of single suffixes short, we have not standardized for a series of suffixes. Whereas single suffixes may be long or short, depending on the speaker, there appears to be automatic lengthing of first suffixes when a second suffix follows.

22. He...went to the sea alone. The young man goes to the sea alone because he is not included in the ritual bathing; instead, he bathes secretly at night while others sleep.

24, 25. Shall I tell it just the way they tell it? This is an "aside" to the collector, who replies, "yes." Here and other places in the story, the narrator is aware of the differing cultural attitudes toward mention of body parts and functions. These are not considered shocking in Tlingit, but may upset some English speakers. Mr. Johnson asks this question just before starting the sequence where the young man emerges chilled from the water and urinates on the warm coals of the fire to create steam for warmth. This incident is important and will be recalled much later in the story when the nephew's name is discussed.

36. One of his mother's brother's wives. Reference is to plural marriage, common in pre-contact and early contact times.

42. He would cry out in pain. This line refers to how the men stayed in the sea, even when the pain from the cold became unbearably strong.

43. Kus.áat. The northern form would be kusa.áat.

47. X'awduwatán. This is a northern form; the expected southern form would be x'awtwatán.

54. Latseen / Strength. This is a spiritual being who comes to help the nephew. There is a strong Tlingit belief that if you stay with something, it will be lucky for you.

From this there is also a proverb, "a káa wdishúch--he bathed to get it." This is used for someone who is really good at something.

61. Here and in subsequent lines, Tlingit uses a pronoun, and we have supplied the noun "Strength" in translation. Where Tlingit uses such phrases as "he told him" we have translated it as "Strength told him." This may convey an allegorical flavor in translation not present in the original, but otherwise the pronouns can be confusing to the English reader.

63-68. This is a technically difficult passage to translate, due to differing concepts of anatomy. S'aak is "bone," and x'áak is "between." Du s'aagix'áak is "his joint" or, literally, the place between his bones. But when the story teller refers to the eight bones, he is presumably talking about the place between the joints. The Spirit Helper is giving the misfit nephew a rubdown.

64. La.ús'kw. This is a northern form, where one might expect the southern la.ís'kw.

65. Yá, etc. This and other demonstratives are pronounced long on the tape, but have been normalized to the short form, following the spelling convention.

66. Eight bones. This is, of course, based on human anatomy, but may also be related to the Tlingit "magic" or "complete" number being 4 or multiples of 4.

68. Al.ís'kw. This is the southern form, in contrast to the northern form used in line 64.

70. Tsu héenx gagú. Go into the water again. This is an imperative form and includes the conjugation prefix -ga-. This form contrasts with the imperative "gu" as in "haa gú" (come here) or "neil gú" (come in.) This form shows how the verb stem ya-goot can mean go or come, indicating motion on foot to or away from the speaker, and that the two Tlingit verbs are in separate conjugation classes. The imperative (or command) form is always the clearest form for determining the conjugation

class of a Tlingit verb, because the conjugation marker (na, ga, g̲a, or "zero") is always present in the imperative.

76. The fourth time. This is another good example of how, in Tlingit tradition, "the fourth time's the charm." The nephew has now gained enough strength to throw or out wrestle his spirit mentor.

82. Tlingit. Yaa anasgúk̲ is a plural stem; singular would be -hash. This is translated as "patches of frost."

93. It is called by another name. The other name is Aas Tl'ílli, meaning "tree penis."

97. Immerse it in water. Other versions, perhaps more conservative and traditional, instruct the young man to urinate on the tree penis and put it back in the tree. Because it is winter, the branch freezes back in place.

99ff. Tlingit. The stem -x'áa, to twist a branch or root, appears in a variety of forms with both the s and y classifier. These may be of interest to students.

99.	gag̲isax'áa	imperative
101.	anasx'éin	progressive indicative
102.	awsx'áa	perfective
111.	anasx'eini	progressive particip.
117.	aawax'áa	perfective (y cl)

After much debate, we decided to translate the verb as "split" rather than "twist." The image is probably of twisting the tree until it split, then twisting it back together again so that it would appear normal.

109. He pulled it out. The uncle's pride does not let him see the truth.

112. But Strength had told the nephew. Nouns are supplied in translation. The Tlingit is an excellent example of the translation problem involved; literally "that man told/had told him." The pronoun "ash" indicates a 3rd party not included in what has just been talked about, not the "he" of the preceding passage

referring to the maternal uncle, but a different "he." This "extra" pronoun in Tlingit gives greater clarity in the Tlingit text than in English, where pronoun antecedents can be notoriously unclear. For clarity in English, we have substituted nouns for pronouns.

113, 115. Tsu and tsú. Tsu (low tone) means "again," and tsú (high tone) means "also." Both words appear in these lines. The distinctions made in Tlingit are difficult to carry over into smooth English translation. More literally, it runs "Put the tree also back the way it was again."

113. Put the tree back the way it was. Strength had instructed the nephew to restore the tree to its original shape after splitting it. This is an important detail, because the maternal uncle, coming to the tree in the dark, wrongly assumes that he has split it himself, and thereby falsely assesses his own strength, which will lead to his death. In actuality, the nephew has already split the tree and pressed it back together so that it froze together again in the cold.

114. North wind. It is extremely cold during the north wind. The narrator does not state explicitly that the tree froze back together (as did the tree branch the nephew had pulled out), but this detail of the north wind lets the listener or reader complete the picture for him or herself.

115-117. The story teller reviews the main point here: because the nephew had put the tree back the way it was, the maternal uncle, because it was still dark, thought that he himself had split it. The maternal uncle is also blinded by his arrogance.

120. Sea Lion Land. Here and for approximately 10 lines the story teller introduces and describes what is called a sea lion "haul out." This is a place where sea lions haul themselves out of the water and sit on rocks. The sea lion (Eumetopias jubatus) is

so named because it resembles a lion. It is also called Steller's or Northern Sea Lion. Unlike seals (other than the fur seal) sea lions have external ears and rear flippers that turn forward. Please see the note to line 47 of the story by A. P. Johnson for a more detailed description of various sea mammals.

The description is nicely "sandwiched" between two phrases in lines 119 and 130--"They began to get ready," and "when people were preparing to go." The story teller first describes where they are preparing to go, and then describes the departure.

132-135. But he...etc. These lines emphasize how pitifully poor the nephew was. He is in rags and tatters during winter.

134. Gíwé...oonasgút. This is a good example of the irrealis used in Tlingit because the narrator is speculating "maybe" rather than making a statement of absolute fact.

136. Yawtwatsák. Northern would be yawduwatsák. This is an interesting verb, especially because it appears with a different form and meaning in the following line. In the first form it is to reject a person, to refuse the company of, to socially push away. In the second form it means to push a boat or canoe along with a pole. The first form is a main verb, the second in a dependent clause. Here are the dictionary forms:

ya-ya-tsaak	(tr)	to reject; refuse company of
li-tsaak	(tr)	to pole a boat; push with pole

The underlying forms in the text are:

ya-	wu-	du-	ya-	tsák
face	per-fect	they	cl	push away

du-	l-	tsaag-	i
they	cl	push away	when

The contractions are too complicated to explain here, but have to do with the number of "allowable" open syllables before the stem. This pair of verbs provides a good illustration of how the Tlingit verb system operates, using a limited number of verb stems arranged with an infinite combination of prefixes and classifiers. Stem tone and vowel length are part of the system.

141. There is a proverb. "To go along as a bailer" is a proverbial expression in Tlingit that can appear in various forms: "I'll go along as a bailer," "he can go along as a bailer," "take me along as a bailer," etc. This phrase is used by, for, or about someone who is about to undertake an important task. The idea is that anyone who bails a boat keeps it from disaster, but there is even more implied in the proverb. Part of the message is not to look down on or overlook the poor, the different, or seemingly low. Even a person performing such a seemingly trivial task as bailing the boat may, in fact, come to the rescue. Here the nephew does not go along as the skipper, mate, or prestige crew, yet, as the story evolves, he "saves the day." So, there is a twofold message here: first, that each person can play his or her part in a task, however seemingly humble, and, second, that things are not always as they seem, and true power may come from places where we overlook or least expect it. As the story unfolds from this point we see the pride and arrogance of the uncle leading to his demise, and the true inner strength of the nephew manifesting itself.

151-152. He was sure he could get the one at the top. This is the uncle's pride and overconfidence.

161-164. That's why...he stood up. Only

now does the nephew stand up to be recognized. It is significant that only now, in line 162, is he identified by name by the story teller. Up to this point he has carefully been referred to by pronouns only.

162. Atkaháas'i. The name refers to someone who smells of urine. The stem is -háas', meaning puke or vomit; possibly this name refers to a smell of urine strong enough to make one gag or vomit. The name is used because of how when he urinated on the ashes the steam of the embers and urine surrounded him and he began to smell like urine. People assumed he was wetting his bed. (The Tlingit term for a bed wetter is sh kadlihéas'i.) This name is considered derogatory, and some tradition bearers object to Swanton's (1909: 289) use of it for a title. He is also referred to as Dukt'ootl', which means "Dark Skin" and refers to the soot. Most masks and carvings depict him in brown or black paint. (See also Swanton 1909: 146.) It is significant that in lines 214 and 215 nobody knows his "real" name, and he assumes his maternal uncle's name, along with his widow and social position.

164. Wudihéan. This is a northern form. The expected southern form would be wthéan.

165. They imitate him saying. The Tlingit verb implies not only the nephew's speech of the moment, but also the entire oral tradition of story telling. This is one of the important scenes relished by generations of tradition bearers.

165-183. This is a marvellous passage in which the nephew stands up, makes a speech taking credit for his hitherto secret training and deeds of strength, walks up through the boat, not stepping over the thwarts but breaking them with his shins, leaps ashore without loosing his footing on the very slippery seaweed, and punches out the young sea lions.

171. Áwé tle yaa nagúdi etc. The Tlingit

line has an exceptionally nice sentence rhythm, playing on repetition of sounds and verb stems. We have tried to convey a sense of this in English.

184-190. The nephew now singles out the large sea lion who killed his maternal uncle, and rips it in half, avenging his uncle. This motif is popular on totem poles, with the "Strong Man" tearing the sea lion in two, upside down, from the flippers downward. The passage is an example of how nephews are expected to come to the aid of their uncles in all aspects of Tlingit social life.

187. Yax̲. Phonetically wax̲ on tape. The y becomes w under influence of the vowel in yóo.

191. Jiwtgút. This is an interesting verb translated as "fighting his way through." The northern form is jiwudigút.

ji-	wu-	di-	gút
hand	prf	cl	stem: go on foot

The whole complex conveys the sense of going along fighting with the hands.

194-201. This one, etc. Reference is to the older wife of the maternal uncle. She was the only one who cared for him, who didn't ostracize him. The moral is that we should always respect a human being no matter what he or she is or does or looks like. The wife had given him an ermine, which he tied to his hair going into battle, much like a medieval lady giving a knight a kerchief. We can imagine the contrast of the ermine and the nephew's rags. This kind of hair decoration is called ch'éen in Tlingit.

202. Soot. In Tlingit tradition, when you are about to undertake a difficult task, you put soot on your face.

206. The nephew married. Noun supplied in translation. The following lines explain the tradition that when a man's maternal uncle dies, one of the nephews is expected to marry

the widow.

213. The young one. This refers to the younger wife. It is interesting to note that here, as in the narrative by A.P. Johnson, the older wife is admired for her compassion and other character traits, perhaps which develop with the maturity that the younger women lack.

215. His mother's brother's name. Following the death of a maternal uncle, the name is passed on to a deserving nephew. Because the "Strong Man" avenged his maternal uncle's death, he was given his uncle's name, Galwéit'.

216-227, 223. Seitéew. Frank Johnson is emphasizing the importance of the name here, and that many people have forgotten the name of the older wife. It was important to his father, because he was Shangukeidí, of the Eagle moiety, and the wife of Galwéit' was also Shangukeidí, therefore a relative and an ancestor of his father and of the story teller himself.

Some discussion (not included in the transcription) follows the story. In this, Frank Johnson identifies the story as belonging to the Taakw.aaneidí of Klawock. His personal connection to the story is not to the clan that owns it, but through his father's clan, the Shangukeidí.

Kaakex'wtí told by Willie Marks, 70

Recorded by Nora Dauenhauer, Juneau, October 5, 1972. Transcribed and translated by Nora Dauenhauer

The manuscript was first transcribed October 1972, as a project of the Alaska Native Language Center; revised and translated as a project of Sealaska Heritage Foundation. The story is sometimes known as "The Happy Wanderer," "The Man Who Killed His Sleep" (Sh yataayí ashawdixichi káa) or "The Origin of Copper."

Other versions: Swanton (1909: Nos. 32 and 104, pp 154 and 326 ff) De Laguna (1972: 270-272) Olson (1967: 27-28).

1. Kaakex'wtí was Chookaneidí, an Eagle moiety clan of the Glacier Bay and Icy Strait area. Because this information was known to his immediate audience in the oral performance, the story teller does not state it explicitly, but assumes the shared knowledge. This assumed and unstated information will become very important later in the story, when Kaakex'wtí returns to his people and is rejected, and sent further down the bay to another Eagle moiety clan, the Kaagwaantaan, who receive him and his wealth. The story is important in the oral literature of the Chookaneidí clan because it is about the exploits of a famous ancestor who brings copper to the people, and also because it reminds the people how they lost this gift through their inability to recognize it when they saw it.

2. Gathéeni. Literally, "Sockeye River." There are two places by this name important in Chookaneidí oral literature. In this story, the narrator continues in his opening frame to describe how this Gathéeni is located on the outer coast near Cape Spencer, where its inaccessibility made it a well protected

village site. This is where the story of Kaakex'wtí begins. The other Gathéeni is near the present day site of Bartlett Cove in Glacier Bay, and is the setting for the events recounted in the "Glacier Bay History".

17. How the...man was related. The question is raised but not answered here. A very common social as well as literary pattern would be for the men to be the brothers-in-law of Kaakex'wtí.

21. Perhaps. Willie Marks uses the words "perhaps" and "probably" (gwál), and "maybe" (gíwé, gíyú) frequently in his story telling. See the note to line 24 of his telling of Naatsilanéi.

24. What was it. The creature that flew to his face was sleep.

28. It dropped. Kaakex'wtí killed sleep when he killed the creature that was flying at his face.

32. I have just been reprimanded recently. This is some self deprecating humor, shared as "in group" humor by those present at the oral performance of the story. After having just used the words "wé bird" the story teller recalls and comments to the audience that he has been reprimanded (by his wife, also present during the story telling) for using English words in his narratives.

34-39. This section describing the men falling over dead is very much like the passage in the story of Tuxstaa by George Davis, forthcoming in this series.

35. Tlingit. This line has two Tlingit "homonyms," and a word that is almost a "homonym."

a	he (special subject pronoun with verb of sitting)
aa	the one
aa	he/she/it sits

The various forms of the words a, á, aa and áa,

differing in vowel length and tone, can be very confusing to students of Tlingit.

a possessive pronoun, 3rd singular, non-focal, inanimate (its)
a object pronoun, 3rd singular, non-focal, inanimate (it)
a object pronoun, 3rd singular, animate, especially human (him/her)
a subject pronoun, 3rd singular, used with verbs of sitting, standing, and motion (he/she/it)

Also, the form á can appear with its high tone "stolen," so that it looks like the low tone a. The following are easy to confuse:

á	there
á	he/she/it (3rd singular with focus)
a	it/its/him/her/he/she (without focus)
aa	one/someone
aa	he/she/it is sitting
aa-	combining form of á, with long vowel and low tone, as in aadéi (to there)
áa	variation of áx' (there)
áa	lake

40. Kujákx. This is an interesting expression in Tlingit, coincidentally moreso in the context of this story. The idiom "to fall asleep" in Tlingit, translated literally into English, is "to be killed by sleep," whereas in English we literally "fall over into sleep," whether we are standing, sitting, or already lying down. In the story, of course, the people are literally being killed by sleep after Kaakex'wtí killed sleep.

táa	- ch	ku -	ják-	x
sleep	sub-	peo-	it	durative suffix
	ject	ple	kills	continuing action

41. Kuwanáakw. This is also interesting

for beginning students of Tlingit language.

ku	- ya	- náa	- kw
peo-	cl	stem	durative
ple		die	

63. Mount Fairweather. In Tlingit, Tsalxaan; the dominant mountain in the Fairweather Range north of Glacier Bay, important in the oral tradition of the Hoonah people. It is an at.óow of the T'akdeintaan.

71. Little deadfalls. Deadfalls are traps made for animals as small as ermine and as large as bear. They are constructed with a large perched or balanced log attached to bait. The log falls when the bait is taken. The trap takes one animal at a time.

75. Hooligan. In Tlingit, saak. Also spelled eulachen; a small fish, similar to smelt, rich in oil and traditionally burned in some places, so also sometimes called candlefish. The point here is that the technology of these people was limited to tiny deadfalls (usually associated with land animals) used to trap tiny hooligan, one at a time. Kaakex'wtí will introduce some fish trap technology as a gesture of friendship. The gesture is appreciated, and he is welcomed into the People.

74, 75. Satáan. This is an example of the "classificatory verb" widely discussed in the linguistic literature on Tlingit and Athabaskan. The combination of stem and classifier expresses the concept here of a long shaped object lying at rest.

76. Dagaatee. A good example of the "distributive" prefix, expressing that the footprints were distributed all around.

77, 78. These are interesting examples of different forms of the verb stem meaning to trap or kill by deadfall. Note the variation in the stem length and tone, and in the prefixes and suffixes.

77. dulxést
du-l-xés-t
are being trapped; they are trapping (imperfective; durative suffix; may be translated as passive voice)

78. yeelxeisí
wu-i-l-xeis-í
if you trap (perfective conditional) Note metathasis (switching) of the subject pronoun and aspect prefix in the 2nd person perfective.

This is a hitherto unattested stem, not listed in the Naish-Story dictionary. The dictionary form is li-xés or li-xeis. The perfective form (he trapped it) would be awdlixés. It seems to be part of the invariable stem verbs that pattern with a durative suffix in the present. Note the contrast of this stem with the verb in 114.

114. akawlixéis'i
a-ka-wu-li-xéis'-i
the dumped things (attributive)

83a. Following line 83, a line has been edited out of the transcription. Willie has been gesturing in reference to the fish trap, which he will name in the next phrase. Referring to the tape recorder, he jokes, "Ax jín ágé atóodei duwateen? -- Can they see my hand in that?"

84. T'éetx á. English 86, a trap, indeed. T'éetx is a sock-like trap made out of spruce branches and spruce roots, woven for strength to hold the fish it has trapped in the water until the fisherman comes to collect. It is made to hook into the place in the stream where the fish congregate. This kind of trap is designed primarily for small fish such as hooligan, but could also be used for larger

fish such as trout and salmon.

90, 92. Shahéek, shaawahík. Compare the verb forms used in the main clause and in the subordinate clause. These are marked in English by syntax (word order) but not by morphology (actual grammatical form.) In Tlingit, the forms are different.

sha-héek	(when) it was full (sequential; sub. clause)
shaa-wa-hík	it was full (perfective; main clause)

The sequential is grammatically marked by its position in the subordinate clause, the long high stem, the "zero" classifier, and the conjugation prefix (in this case also "zero".) The underlying form for the perfective in the main clause is:

sha-wu-ya-hík

100. Weh-weh. The story teller is imitating the sounds of the people talking in a different language.

103. Gunanaa / Athabaskans. Most likely Southern Tuchone.

108-111. Tsu and tsú. Tsu, "again;" with high tone, tsú, "too" or "also," here translated "finally."

114. Tlingit. The verb stem form here looks similar to that in line 78, but is not the same. The underlying form is ka-si-xaa, meaning to pour out, dump out, or empty out in mass by turning over a container. It appears in lines 93 and 94 with the stem form -xéi- and the durative suffix -x, and in line 114 as an attributive perfective with the suffix -s'.

123. Tlingit. Kadukaa. The Tlingit stem here is -kaa, meaning "to imitate," in contrast to the stem -kaa, meaning "to tell, speak, or say." The stem -kaa is not attested in the Tlingit linguistic literature with this

combination of classifier and nominal prefix: ka-ya-kaa.

130. I forgot. The implication is that the story teller has forgotten some detail here from the way the story was told to him.

137. I told it wrong. The story teller is correcting himself here.

145. Lituya Bay. On the outer coast, about half way between Cape Spencer and Yakutat. He presumably came to Lituya Bay on his way home, and continued over to the west shore of Glacier Bay, according to tradition coming down at Berg Bay, Chookan Héeni, "Grassy River," where the village site was, and from which the Chookaneidí clan derives its name. See also Swanton (1908: 413) but keep in mind that the Chookaneidí do not share Swanton's informant's evaluation of the status of their clan. Swanton identifies Kaakex'wtí as being Kadakw.ádi, a part of the Chookaneidí from Glacier Bay.

149-160. Nagootk'í. Little Walker. The place gets its name because the rock looked like a human walking with a pack. Note also the relationship of the story to the land.

152. The song. Kaakex'wtí composed the song that the story teller mentions here. The song commemorates Nagootk'í, the tall rock Kaakex'wtí thought was a man coming toward him. Note also the relationship of song, story, and place. See also Swanton (1909: 390, Song 2) and de Laguna (1972: 1158) for versions of the song. See also de Laguna (1972: 271) where the L'uknax.ádi connection is explained. At that time, the L'uknax.ádi and Lukaax.ádi (two closely related Raven moiety clans were together in the Interior. Kaakex'wtí married a L'uknax.ádi woman named Kunuk' (or K'naak) and the song he composed was given to her.

161. It was given that name then. Kaakex'wtí was the one who named the rock.

166. Wé tináa / those coppers. It is unclear from the story whether Kaakex'wtí brought coppers to the coast in the form in

which they are associated with the Northern Tlingit today, or whether he brought other copper implements, or copper ore. The Southern Tuchone had the easiest access to copper, and may have kept their technology a trade secret, as was evidently the case among the coastal Tlingit. The most common Southern Tuchone copper work seems to have been knives, arrowheads, and ornaments for personal wear. At any rate, he is credited with bringing copper and the technology for working it to the coast, where its most highly developed art form is the "Copper" or tináa, a shield-like design about two or three feet high, and separated in the shape of a T by hammered ridges into three sections, one at the top third, and the bottom two-thirds divided vertically in half. One of the few coppers remaining in clan ownership is the "Daanawaak Tináa" of the Lukaax.ádi Raven House in Haines, in the custodianship of Austin Hammond. Mr. Johnny Frazer, a Southern Tuchone elder from Champaign, Yukon, bore the Tlingit name Tináa S'aatí (Copper Owner) and spoke Tlingit fluently. See also McClellan (1975: 255-256) for more on copper among the Southern Tuchone. The cover art for this book includes a tináa.

174. T'aayx'aa / Dixon Harbor. One of the large bays on the outer coast between Cape Spencer and Lituya Bay.

184. Tl'anaxéedakw. There is a Tlingit tradition that if you see Tl'anaxéedakw, you will become rich. She is a woman who carries an infant on her back. You can usually hear her voice before you see her. The Kaagwaantaan shaman accepts the appearance of Kaakex'wtí as a good sign, thinking it is the spirit of Tl'anaxéedakw. See Swanton (1909: No. 35, pp 173-175, and notes) for a version of the story.

186. Auke Bay. The story of Tl'anaxéedakw is associated with the Auke People, originally from Auke Bay, north of Juneau, and now of the Juneau area.

195-196. "Hard case" Chookaneidí. The story teller uses the English word in Tlingit--Chookaneidí háatkées. Here and elsewhere it is important to remember that the story teller is also Chookaneidí, and is talking about his own people--sometimes jokingly, sometimes seriously.

197-201. The Chookaneidí man calls Kaakex'wtí and his sons Kooshdaa káa--land otter people, who appear in human form to lure people away, after which they also become land otter people. There is a "double insult," because he calls them "little land otter people." He tells the strangers to keep on going down the bay, and that the people who are calling them live down the bay. "People who cut tongues" refers to shaman practice. A person who wanted spirit power would cut the tongue of an animal and fast for the spirits to come. In short--the Chookaneidí do not recognize their clansman, fear him as an evil spirit, and try to trick him into going away. He keeps on going down the bay, where he is received by the Kaagwaantaan clan, whose shaman perceives him as a good spirit.

204,205. A proverb about "sending Athabaskans down the opposite bay" is used for someone who passes up a golden opportunity.

215. The people are the Kaagwaantaan.

The Woman Who Married the Bear
told by Tom Peters, 80

Recorded by Nora Dauenhauer, Teslin,
September 8, 1972 and August 29, 1973.
Transcribed and translated by Nora Dauenhauer.

Publication History. The Tlingit text was first transcribed 1972-73 as a project of the Alaska Native Language Center, and published May 1973, by Tlingit Readers, Inc. The text was first translated in 1980 as a project of an NEH translation grant to Nora Dauenhauer. Text and translation were revised extensively as projects of SHF.

Other versions: Veniaminov (1840, 1984: 413-415) Krause (1885, 1956: 185-186, from Veniaminov) Barbeau (1964: 211ff, Tlingit, and 193, Tsimshian) de Laguna (1972: 880-883) McClellan (1970) Sidney et al. (1977: 62-66). See Emmons (1907: 329-330) for reference to a similar motif. See also the version by Frank Dick included in this volume. The story is also known as "Bear Husband," and "The Girl Who Married the Bear."

"The Woman Who Married the Bear" is one of the most popular stories of the Inland Tlingit. The story is told mainly to remind people of how sensitive animals are, and, like people, are not to be insulted. The woman insults the bear, and later in the story the brothers make fun of their sister because she is different.

Most Coast Tlingit story tellers tell this as an Athabaskan story, or otherwise identify it with the Interior. Although it is associated with the Interior Indians, it is widely known and told on the coast. There is a similar story that originates from the Coast about a man who married a bear. See the story of Kaats' told by J. B. Fawcett. The two stories are often confused.

The most detailed study of this story is

"The Girl Who Married The Bear," by Catharine McClellan (McClellan 1970) in which she compares eleven versions of the story, of which version 2 is by Tom Peters. The monograph covers in detail all eleven versions she collected in Yukon, the lives of the tradition bearers, and the meaning of the story to Tlingit, Athabaskan, and Tagish Indians of the Yukon. It also comments on other versions from Eyak, Athabaskan, Coast Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian oral literatures. Her focus throughout is on the dramatic tension of the story and the cultural context.

She writes, "what probably grips the story teller and the audience most strongly is the dreadful choice of loyalties that the characters have to make, as well as the pervasive underscoring of the delicate and awful balance between animals and humans, which has existed since the world began."

The loyalties are between blood and marriage. Should the woman side with her family or her husband? Should the bear kill his brothers-in-law or allow himself to be killed? The brother-in-law relationship is very important in Tlingit culture. It is a social link between opposite moieties, and in many places the social and economic unit is based on a man and his brothers-in-law. Does the woman's brother side with his sister or his older brothers? Do the nephews kill their maternal uncles?

The story is incredibly rich, with complex and subtle interplay of social and cultural conflict, culminating in the killing of in-laws, siblings, and kinspeople. This is tragedy of the first order, and, as McClellan observes, the girl's "loyalty to the lineage that should have been cherished has been in vain."

This story in particular is of interest for a number of reasons. As a work of oral literary art, each single version is valuable

and to be appreciated on its own merits. The range of versions collected and published offers opportunity for comparative study, and, following the direction of Levi-Strauss, one could study all versions to reconstruct the "total myth." Also, any given version could be approached, following the experiment of Elli Kongas-Maranda (1973), by a combination of critical theories.

The story is also about the relationship of humans and animals, what Dr. McClellan calls "the uneasy balance of harmony between animals and humans." The action begins with the girl's violation of taboo--insulting bears. The story ends with directions for ritual observances for corpses of bears. In traditional societies, animals are considered to give themselves to humans. To insure this relationship it is important to remain on good spiritual terms with animals. Humans receive, but must also return, by proper handling of animal remains and by maintaining a proper attitude of respect for the physical environment and all things in it.

This version by Tom Peters may be understood as being in two parts. In Part One, the girl insults the bear, is met by the bear and taken off. She lives with him as a wife, has children, and is rescued by her brothers who kill her bear husband. This version, collected in Teslin, Yukon September 8, 1972 and published May 1973, ends here. Part Two was told by Tom Peters the following summer, on August 29, 1973, after the booklet version of his telling of Part One was read back to him in Tlingit. It describes the girl's re-entry into human society. This continuation is also extremely powerful, and deals with sibling relationships. On a mythic level, it explores the themes of journey and re-entry into society, and a society's ability to handle differences. In short, "you can't go home again." It is certainly one of the most powerful and compelling stories in the book.

This story is told in the Yukon dialect of Tlingit. The most obvious difference from the coast speech is that Interior Tlingit often has m where coast has w.

amsikóo = awsikóo
máa sá = wáa sá

The m shows up especially in the perfective, which is marked by wu or w on the coast.

yan kamdliyás'
kei mshix̲'íl'
tle mdudzikóo
kamjix̲ín
amsikóo
amli.át
amsinéi
kamdligás'

Interestingly enough, the m never seems to appear in place of the w allomorph of the classifier -ya-. For example:

akaawa.aak̲w
daak̲ aawayísh
x̲'amduwataan

The last form has both the -m- as a perfective aspect prefix and the -wa- as a variant (allomorph) of the -ya- classifier following the vowel u.

The interior Tlingit pronunciation also has nasal vowels in some places. This also gives the effect of m. For example, the word haaw (log) sounds very much like haam, but is phonetically a long "nasal a" followed by "w."

Another feature of Interior Tlingit is the use of yéi where the coast has yáa.

yéi yageeyi = yáa yageeyi
yéi yeedadi = yáa yeedadi

Also, the verb yéi yatee seems to be used where the coast has "-x̲ sitee."

2-7. These lines describe subsistence activity.

8-10. Berries. When a person goes for anything, the practice is that he or she doesn't go for that thing alone, but also has an alternative activity as a "contingency plan." Here the girls discover the berries and get them as well. Subsistence is carried out in this way. The overlap of the moose hunting and the berrying indicate that the setting of the story is fall. In the version by Frank Dick, in which they are gathering Indian Celery, the implied setting is spring, when the stalks of the plant are fresh and tender, before they turn woody.

24. Defecated. In Tlingit, gándei woodoogi yé, the place where he went outside. This is a euphemism similar to "going to the bathroom," and derives from the use of outhouses or simply going to the woods or beach for such activities.

27. What was it she said then. In Tlingit, aag̲áa áwé. This is an important transition in Tlingit, and difficult to translate. It means "that's when" or "Then it was" or "At that point," or "Then." This is also a pivotal point in the story--the moment of insult and the appearance of the bear.

Different story tellers handle this key passage in a variety of ways. It is the most important single passage in the story, because the girl's insult initiates the entire sequence of action that follows. Tom Peters leaves it for the listener or the reader to imagine the insult. Perhaps he is also being polite with a woman collector whom he has just met.

Other story tellers are more explicit, and delight in quoting the girl's insult. One story teller quotes her as saying, "They always shit right where people are going to step--those big ass holes." Frank Dick's

version also has some colorful language. One Southern Tuchone version refers to "farting bears."

According to Tlingit oral tradition, animals of any kind can hear, and brown bear in particular also are called by the euphemism or circumlocution "Big Ears." This is why people respect them. See the film on the Chilkoot Tlingit *Haa Shagoon* (Kawagey 1981) for more on this. Regardless of the precise words used, the important message is that the girl violates taboo by insulting the bear. This point is totally missed by editors who "clean up" such stories for young readers. To delete this scene is to delete the main point of the story. By whatever word or euphemism, the girl steps in excrement and says something. Although an unpleasant experience, there is nothing wrong with stepping in excrement by mistake. But serious wrongs may be committed by lack of self control and failure to control our thoughts and speech.

31. The man. The man is a brown bear who looks like a man to the young woman. He has transformed himself into a nice looking man.

33. Tlingit. Yéi yatee. Interior and Coast usage differ on this verb; coastal Tlingit speakers would tend to omit the verb here.

39. Parents. In Tlingit (39-40) a<u>x</u> éesh hás. Literally "my father plus plural marker." It can mean "my fathers," including all male paternal relatives, or it can mean "my father and them," a conversational construction common both in Tlingit and in Alaska Native English, in which the rest of the group is not defined but understood. Frank Dick, Sr. uses a similar construction in a<u>x</u> tláa hás.

45. Tlingit. Stolen stress on yéi yateeyi yéidei. The word yé is lengthened when it combines with -dei.

49-51; 53-54. In both Tlingit and English there is a nice repetition here, with the

second set of lines paralleling the first set. "Hadn't gone" and "hadn't been going" are translations of Tlingit wu.aadí and u.aatjí. Both are participial forms, the first of which is perfective and the second occasional, contrasting one time action and action longer in duration.

64-65. Don't look up at dawn. The bear-husband doesn't want the girl to see them in their natural state.

69. Why was he saying that. She is beginning to get suspicious of why her husband is telling her not to look.

103. Was...should be. In Tlingit nateech yéi yatee. In Tlingit as in English there are two forms of the verb "to be," one for a shorter, specific instant, and one for a longer duration of time. The Tlingit forms are imperfective and occasional.

109. Then she knew. This is the "give away." She knew from his instructions to pick fallen spruce branches for their bed instead of branches broken from a tree (the way human beings would do.) Also, from the bear's point of view, as we shall soon see, the freshly broken branches would leave a clue for the searchers. Tlingit makes a distinction between tláxwch', fallen spruce branches without needles, and haaw, spruce branches with needles, whether fallen naturally or broken off.

114. She broke them from above. The girl's motives are unclear here. Either she consciously decided to let her family know where she was by breaking branches from a tree instead of picking up windfall from the ground, or she just naturally took branches the way she was accustomed to doing.

129-130. Footprints...that she had walked with him. This is a dramatic clue, and is also important in the story of Kaats'.

150. He knew. The bear knew that his brothers-in-law were watching them.

151. Spring returned. Tlingit kundahéa.

Literally, it came back; more figuratively, the season changed; more idiomatically, spring returned.

154. Medicine leaves. In Tlingit (line 152) kayaanée. Certain leaves are used as medicine for hunting.

159-171. This is partly dialog with the collector on the nature of "medicine." The passage is about using leaves to make medicine to acquire certain things or power. In more modern times, medicine was made to acquire money. In the story, the brothers are making medicine to acquire the spirit power to locate their sister. Tom Peters talks about the leaves being potentially dangerous to someone who works with them. Strict rules of fasting and self discipline are required. He says that if you don't handle the leaves strictly according to the rules you might go crazy. He comments that he doesn't like to bother with this kind of medicine.

174ff. Eight days. The passage refers to the ritual of fasting and discipline that goes along with making medicine.

186-188. Dogs. Dogs were trained with certain medicine to be good at tracking.

187, 188. The Tlingit verbs are interesting here. Both are decessive forms with the "distributive" prefix. Here the actual verb for "making magic" or "making medicine" (héix̲waa) is used, whereas in lines 172 and 173 the actual verb in Tlingit is more like "doing the leaves" or "working on the leaves."

daxk̲ustéeyin	k̲u-da-g̲a- -s-tée- yin
dax̲duhéix̲wayin	da-g̲a-du- -héix̲wa-yin

192-193. Just once. The brothers didn't give up after just one try, but kept on searching for their sister.

235. He already knew. Tlingit ch'u súg̲aa dágáa yóo oowajée.

239. Roll...secretly. "Secretly" is

implied but not explicit in the Tlingit text.

240. After line 240 there is a question and answer set on the tape that is not included in the transcription. Tlingit pronouns do not specify gender. To clarify gender, the collector asked, "Wé du x̲úx̲ at x̲aayí ák.wé?--Was this her husband's food?" and the story teller replies "Aaa"--yes.

244. Animal of the forest. The implication is that wild animals can see and hear everything.

250-271. He couldn't find the den because of his thoughts. This scene in the story stresses the importance of right thinking as well as right speech and right action in relationship to the natural and spirit worlds. Human thoughts can be detected by bears, to whom they appear as beams of light.

254. Beam of light. In Tlingit, s'eenáa, meaning neither daylight, on the one hand, or fire or sunlight on the other, but any other beam, shaft, ray, or flash of light from an artificial source.

308. Ah hah! This is difficult to translate into English with the same meaning, function, and level of style. Other possibilities might be "Oh, no!" or "See?"

312. On the tape, an "aside" follows, that is not transcribed. Tom Peters asks the collector "Yisikóo gé daa sáwé tsaag̲ál?"--Do you know what a tsaag̲ál (bear hunting spear) is?

323, 347. "The bear" is added in translation.

330-341. The passage describes some of the technology of bear hunting. Typically the entrance to a bear den would face downhill, perhaps covered by an overhang or ledge. The best strategy for the hunter, giving him advantage over the bear, would be to approach from the uphill side. To lure the bear out, he tosses something into the den.

339. See. Tlingit a x̲satínch, an occasional form. The underlying form is a-g̲a-sa-tín-ch.

This is a nice image. The hunter only sees the powerful sweep of the paw, knocking his

mitten behind the bear, back inside, deeper into the dark of the den. It seems to be part of Tom Peters' style to focus on a few select visual images as suggestive or representative of the entire action or story--the dramatization of a single vivid detail.

348. Tlingit. The form on the tape, akaawadóok, is not used on the Coast. We assume it corresponds to the Coast akaawlidóotl, to trick, lure, entice, or tempt. As the hunter is trying to lure the bear out, the bear is trying to lure the hunter in.

357. That's why it's still done now. This is a "classic" statement of the relationship between the covenants established in the stories of "ancestors" and correct human action in the present. The oral literature explains the "cosmic significance" of activities in daily human life. In addition, the "story" is connected to song, art, and genealogy--or, to rephrase it, the "story" is told or recalled or remembered in oral narrative, song, art, and kinship.

373-374. Mouth get tired. Tom Peters' voice on the tape imitates a faint and distant calling. This recognition scene is also similar to J. B. Fawcett's dramatic scene in his telling of Kaats', where the long absent human also announces his unseen presence in the den through speaking to the dog.

386ff. The song. Because of language complications in translation of the Tlingit song texts, it was decided to include the song in a note rather than in the narrative. Tom Peters sings two songs with different melodies, though with Nora Dauenhauer in 1972 as with Catharine McClellan in 1952, he refers to the second song as the second "part."

The translation is problematic. The meaning of the words as sung is not entirely clear. It is ironic that McClellan in 1952 did not get a Tlingit text, but did get a translation by Tom Peters of the song he sang in Tlingit, and Nora

Dauenhauer twenty years later in 1972 got a Tlingit text which poses problems in translation. Now, in 1987, fifteen years after the Tlingit collection and 35 years after the English collection, we can put the verses together and hope that they will eventually make sense.

Tom Peters, Song 1. August 1972.

A x̲oox̲ x̲agoot
du shoodeek' ya yei s dixwaa
yanyeidi yaat
i, yaa, aa ee yaa ya
ee yei nei hi yei
ya hei ei, ei.

English translation, Summer 1952 (McClellan 1970: 27).

I went through every one
of those young people
and the last brother,
I know he did the right thing.

Tom Peters, Song 2. August 1972.

X̲oox̲'ei yaanei
ashookanax̲ goodei ei
ee i yaanei
ee lingit'aani yeix̲
aanjoon ee yaa ei.

English translation, Summer 1952

I dreamed about it
that they were going after him (? me?).

Tom Peters comments to McClellan that the songs are sung when killing bears, so that the bear feels good.

391. Part Two. There is a break of about one year between the end of Part One and the beginning of Part Two. Tom Peters' telling of

Part Two was stimulated by Nora Dauenhauer's reading back to him, one year later, the published transcription of Part One. He could hardly believe that someone came back to him and read his own story back to him, in his own words, his own language, his own style. He was excited and enthusiastic, and commented something like "I haven't heard a story like that in a long time!" This comment gives us pause to reflect on how it must feel to BE the older story teller. Who is still alive to tell YOU stories? Excitedly, he said, "Let me tell you the rest of it!"

416-417. Pull on the skin. The image is a literal way of expressing shape shifting and metamorphosis. The woman moves between her human and bear natures, making the change by putting the skin on and off like a cape.

432-434. Mother..we want to play. The young woman must have been difficult for her brothers to take. All of them were master hunters who had made medicine to be great hunters. But she seemed to do just as well with her husband's skin on her back.

445. Her mind and body change when she transforms herself by putting on the bear skin.

508. He killed her. This is interesting when compared with the version by Tom Peters in the McClellan monograph. Here he actually kills her; in McClellan he doesn't kill her, but just hits her, and she goes off into the mountains with the children.

The Woman Who Married the Bear
told by Frank Dick, Sr., 85

Recorded in Juneau, April 3, 1984 by Fred White. Transcribed and translated by Fred White. Edited by N. and R. Dauenhauer.

Other versions: See the version by Tom Peters in this book, and the notes to that text.

The delivery of the performance is well paced. The story teller had recently suffered a minor stroke that affected some of the muscles in his face, but he was generally in good shape both mentally and physically at the time the story was collected. The stroke seems to have affected some of his pronunciation. For example, ch is often replaced with t, and ch' by t'. Thus, in line 422 ach áwé is phonetically at áwé on the tape, and hóoch' in line 425 is phonetically hóot'. These have been standardized. Likewise, there were many false starts and stuttering throughout; these, too, have been edited out by the transcriber.

This version by Frank Dick, Sr. is strikingly different from the version by Tom Peters, and from all the other published versions of the story, especially at the end, where he emphasizes the shunning of the girl, the prohibition against eating brown bear meat, and the introduction of black bear meat as food.

Whether bear can be eaten seems in the final analysis to be a family or even individual matter, and there is wide variation on the subject in Tlingit culture. There seems to be a general preference for black bear meat over brown bear meat, but no universal prohibition against eating bear meat of any kind.

In McClellan's work (1975) one elder comments that people don't eat brown bear because grizzlies eat humans, and a Tagish tradition bearer states that people don't eat

grizzly bear meat because grizzlies are half human.

Otherwise, bear meat may be avoided if a person is under some special personal bear meat taboo for physical, social, or spiritual reasons. But there is no universal Tlingit taboo against eating brown or black bear meat. One coast elder remarked that in time of need even wolves, eagles, and seagulls may be eaten.

1-18. Emphasis in the opening lines is on his retelling the story true to the oldest versions as first or originally told.

53-75. Frank Dick is especially colorful and vivid in the passage regarding the girl's language. Like Susie James in her version of the Glacier Bay History, Frank makes an editorial comment emphasizing the forthcoming disaster wrought by the careless words. This is an important passage in the story, because here the girl violates the Tlingit taboo against speaking badly of people and animals. It is important to note that many bowdlerized "retellings" of such passages in Native American literature omit what one such editor called "physiological functions." This is, of course, the main point of the story, and initiates all the tragedy and dramatic action.

62. Wé. Most of the demonstratives are phonetically long on the tape: wéi. The transcription standardizes short.

66-68. This is a proverb, used when something bad is going to happen.

70, 74. The Tlingit text has the verb for "tying" used in the occasional in line 70, and with the suffix -dáx̲, meaning "after" in 74.

adaa.us.áx̲wch
adaasa.áx̲wdáx̲

74, 75. The Tlingit verb is a sequential in line 74, in the conjunctive mode, and in the

subordinate clause. In line 75 the same stem is perfective, in the indicative mode, the main verb in the sentence, and in the main clause.

74. gunéi góot when she started to go
75. gunéi uwagút she started to go

88ff. The sequence is a nice example of the use of repetition in oral literature. Two refrains are woven together, with slight variation, in the Tlingit text--"she was all right" and "he looked like a human to her." "She was all right" can also mean "there was nothing wrong" or "nothing special or unusual." More literally, we have translated this as "There wasn't anything different" and "she didn't feel any different." Use of the refrain builds up to the recognition scene soon to follow. At the same time, Frank is emphasizing that the girl is not being abused or mistreated by the bear, and that the bear appears in human form. This "shape shifting" is important in this story and other stories of this kind.

89, 90. The word lingít (Tlingit) appears three times in these two lines; we have attempted to reflect its various meanings in different English words.

113. The word "though" (ku.aa in Tlingit) raises a problem in translation and interpretation of the story. Translated as "though," the word implies marriage as punishment or teaching a lesson; if, on the other hand, ku.aa is not translated, but understood as introducing new information, it would give a different meaning to the passage. At any rate, there is an overall pattern in Tlingit oral literature of the need for a human being to share the life of the animal spirits, to experience it, in order to learn compassion and gain some level of insight and wisdom.

122. They met up with the rest of the bear people.

137-140. Wet wood, etc. The pattern in the story is that things seem opposite in the land of the bear. The Frank Dick version is especially rich in detail regarding the lifestyle of the bear people, and how it is really the same as ours, but seems different to us, and that we are not really capable of seeing it at all. For example, they really do smoke fish just like humans, but we perceive them as eating fish raw from the streams.

As for the wet wood, not only in the land of the Bear People, but in "reality" wet wood does, in fact, burn better, once you get it started. It lasts longer and gives nice coals. Dry wood starts faster but also burns faster.

151, 156. In Tlingit, there are nice examples of the verb "shake" in three different forms within six lines:

151. kakḵwakéek (ka-u-ga-g̲a-ya-kéek) future
156. kawdukéegi (ka-wu-du-kéek-i) participial
156. koodukíkch (ka-u-du-kík-ch) occasional

178. The Tlingit verb stem -k'eet' implies leaving, coming, or going as a group. It is interesting to note the use of the prefix ku-, usually referring to humans, in the expression. This line also parallels and repeats line 144, with slight variation.

180, 181. There is a nice phonetic contrast on the tape in the words dux'áan and at x'áan. Dux'áan is phonetically dux'wáan, with automatic labialization of the x' following the vowel u. At x'áan is as reflected in the writing system, without the labialization. Such automatic labialization is frequent in the pronunciation of older and more conservative speakers of Tlingit, and not as common among younger speakers. At any rate, the automatic labialization is predictable, not phonemic, and therefore not reflected in the orthography. The x̲' sounds following the word du in lines 421-

423 are also pronounced with the automatic labialization. The verb stem means to dry fish. The fish are hung either outdoors or in a smokehouse, and smoke is applied as the fish dry.

193, 198. The Tlingit verb in 193 has the distributive prefix--many people were packing up; 198 is without. Both are perfective.

daxwuduwaxoon	(daga-wu-du-ya-xoon)
wuduwaxoon	(wu-du-ya-xoon)

210. There is a contrast in Tlingit between the word in this line, x'éigaa (literally, "for her mouth") and the word x'éigaa, meaning "indeed" or "in truth" or "verily."

226, 228. Compare the two forms of the verb. Both are perfective, but one is a main verb and the other a dependent:

226.	wujixíx	it ran (indicative; main clause)
228.	wushxeexí	when it ran (participial; subordinate clause)

231. Chxánk' is a diminutive form of dachxán used in direct address. The fox is addressing the brown bear as his grandchild. The red fox is found on the mainland and on some islands in Southeast Alaska, but not on all of the islands. The fox is not a culturally significant animal on the Coast--for example, as a totemic figure.

The fox is not a common or widespread character in Tlingit oral literature. Certainly the wise or clever fox and the stupid bear are not stock characters in Tlingit folklore. The fox is listed among the animals created in the Raven cycle, and de Laguna (1972) has two short stories about Fox and Wolverine and Fox and Crab from Yakutat. Fox as a literary character seems more developed in Tagish oral literature as described in

McClellan (1975). Other Coast elders whom we have asked also recall incidents where fox and weasel refer to others by kinship terms.

249-254. This passage has four interesting forms of the verb for calling or naming within six lines:

249.	yéi duwasáagu	du-ya-sáa-kw-u attributive
250.	yéi dusáagun	du- sáa-kw-un decessive
252.	yóo duwasáakw	du-ya-sáa-kw imperfective; habitual
254.	yéi wduwasáa	w-du-ya-sáa perfective

251, 252. Carry a dog. Two different forms of the stem -nook are used:

251.	wu-du-dzi-nook	perfective
252.	ga-du-s -nú́k -ch	occasional

Literally, the stem -nook means "to carry like a baby." The expression "to carry a dog" means figuratively "to go hunting accompanied by a dog" and is a euphemism for hunting, speaking indirectly about the act.

253. Dogs. The nouns are not always marked for plural in the Tlingit text, but the sense is plural, and in line 260 a plural possessive pronoun is used, indicating more than one dog.

253, 255. There are two interesting forms of the stem -.aat:

253.	aawa.aat	they went
255.	woo.aat	they left

This may also be a euphemism or indirect reference to hunting. See the notes to Kaats' for more on this.

257-267. This passage is a Tlingit example of "Homeric simile."

258. On the tape, yux̲ is phonetically wux̲.

See also note to line 302.

259. Eyesight. In this story, the eyesight of people and dogs shines into the den, whereas in the Tom Peters version, it is the thoughts that shine in.

272. This is a nice example of an occasional form. The classifier and nominal prefixes specify sharp objects like stakes or spears.

yakoolg̲eechch ya-ka-u-l-g̲eech-ch

278. To the bear. The Tlingit text uses the word yatseeneit. See the notes to Kaats' for more detail on this euphemism.

288. Tlingit. The possessive suffix, which we would normally expect, is not required in this construction, which functions parallel to the form x̲'awoolt two lines above.

302. In Tlingit, on the tape, du yádi is phonetically du wádi. For many older speakers, y and w are variants under certain conditions, and are the modern sounds for an older Tlingit "gamma"--a sonorant, an unrounded "w." Most younger speakers have y everywhere, but some conservative speakers retain w in the environment of u, and y elsewhere.

ax̲ yéet	my child
du wéet	his/her child

Y and w routinely alternate in the Tlingit classifier and possessive suffix systems.

307. This is an idiom in Tlingit. He wasn't going to see things clearly, or look where he was going; rather, just plunge in carelessly, because he has already decided to let himself be killed.

328. Tlingit. As.áa is an interesting use of the classifier to make a verb causative or transitive, as in the English contrast of sit and set.

áa	he/she/it sits
as.áa	he/she sets him/her/it down; causes it to sit

333. Glove. This motif is usually used in the story of Kaats', where the hunter is tossed into the den by the male bear and the woman bear hides him, telling her husband he only threw the hunter's glove in.

355. Tlingit. Satéen is a "classic" classificatory verb.

358. Tlingit. Tlél ix̲éix̲ik̲. Don't ever eat that. Optative. The underlying stem -x̲aa, to eat, appears here with the progressive stem, the -x̲- suffix for habitual action, and the optative suffix -ik̲. See the opening comments to this set of notes for more on eating bear meat.

364. My clothes. The motif of the girl requesting her clothes is important in comparative study of the story. Within the story, it is important first step toward her re-integration into the life of the family and village.

374. Note, in Tlingit, the contrast:

yiyják̲	(wu-yi-ják̲)	you-all killed it (perfective)
yijáḵ	(yi-ják̲)	kill it (imperative)

381. Tlingit. Du tláa hás. Literally "his mother-plural." More loosely, his mothers, or his mother and them; parents. See also the note to line 39 of Tom Peters.

388. In this version, she leaves her bear children; in other versions she takes them with her to her village.

410. From here to the end, the version by Frank Dick contains several motifs, sequences and events unique to this version. Frank Dick's focus is on the shunning of the girl and the trouble caused by the prohibition against

eating the brown bear meat. The transformations of smoke and the grouse to black bear are unique here. One of the Interior versions in McClellan (1970) has the smoke and tree, but no black bear. It is unclear whether the black bear already existed, and the girl is helping people find it, or whether the story explains the creation of black bear as an acceptable food supply, in contrast to the brown bear which is now a brother-in-law to the people.

414ff. There seems to be rivalry between the girl and her older brother who is the established leader.

Kaats' told by J. B. Fawcett, 83

Recorded by Nora Dauenhauer, Juneau, October 3, 1972. Transcribed and translated by Nora Dauenhauer.

The text was first transcribed November 10, 1972 as a project of the Alaska Native Language Center; first translated November 22, 1980 as project of National Endowment for the Humanities Translation Grant to Nora Dauenhauer; transcription and translation extensively revised as a project of Sealaska Heritage Foundation.

This story is also known as "The Man Who Married the Bear," and is sometimes confused with the "Woman Who Married the Bear." Motifs are sometimes interchanged by some tradition bearers.

Other versions: Swanton (1909: Nos. 19 and 69; p 49ff, pp 228-229) Barbeau (1964: 215ff) Keithahn (1963: 156) de Laguna (1972: 879-880) Garfield and Forrest (1961: 29-37). The story also has analogues in Sugpiaq (Chugach Eskimo) and Central Yupik oral literature. See Nora Dauenhauer et. al. (1986: 39-41).

The story teller's oral delivery is rapid, with few pauses, and with very few false starts (as compared to his performance of Naatsilanéi, for example.) Parts of the story were spoken in a whisper, and some lines are totally inaudible on the tape, so that a few lines have been "restored" by guesswork, and a few lines have been lost. These lines are indicated in the notes.

The rapid delivery presents technical problems in punctuation in addition to those discussed in general in the introduction. The Tlingit and English punctuation differ in many places in the text, especially where the Tlingit has no punctuation at line turnings, and the English has a comma. We have retained use of

the period in Tlingit to mark a sentence end indicated by the end of a grammatical phrase or unit, accompanied by falling pitch drop.

In many places, the narrator pauses long enough for the pause to be indicated by a line turning, but with no falling in pitch, although it is the end of a grammatical unit. Where this happens in mid-line, without a significant pause, we have used the semi-colon to separate the grammatical units. But where it happens at line turnings, the Tlingit is either unmarked, or marked sometimes with a comma. The English is almost always marked with a comma.

By using a comma in English where we would normally expect a period, we have attempted to convey the sense of "pushing on," of a continuing tone of voice. This may give the English language reader the feeling of a sequence of run-on sentences, but we hope with this punctuation to convey the sense of rapid delivery used in long sections of the text--a sense which would be lost through the use of periods. These sections contrast with the sequences of lines that do end with longer pauses and falling pitch drop, as indicated by periods.

In addition to the special use of the comma described above, the comma is also used as normal in English to indicate appositions and other phrases.

This story presents few problems to understanding the basic plot outline. It is an exciting story, well composed and delivered. Most of the cultural notes supply additional background on the relationship to bears in Tlingit culture.

Because so few notes are required for basic understanding of the story, we have devoted far more notes for this story to grammatical forms of interest to beginning and intermediate students of the Tlingit language. Hopefully learners of all ages and cultures will find in these texts wonderful models of traditional

Tlingit literary language, and can use these texts in conjunction with grammars and dictionaries to savor the richness and complexity of the language. Readers not interested in Tlingit language study can skip over these linguistic notes.

Considering all aspects of content and style, this is one of the finest stories in the collection. One is inclined to agree with the excitement and enthusiasm of the story teller in his opening line. This is a magnificent story.

4. Tlingit, al'óon. Many different words are used in this text referring to hunting, and types of hunting. These are:

4. al'óon
5. at gutóot aa wu.aadéen
7. at eenéen (and line 8: at een)
23. at natí

These are significant in Tlingit culture and in the story, and should be noted.

Al'óon conveys a sense of hunting with weapons; it can also mean a technique of stalking, sneaking up on, or spying on animals.

The phrase at gutóot and some form of the stem -.aat means to be walking in the woods. This is the most indirect way of talking about hunting, and is connected with the traditional taboo of making direct statements about one's intentions regarding animals. To make a direct statement, especially about the future, is considered bragging, or pushing your luck. Tlingit tradition also holds that animals have spirits that can hear you, and to talk about them so bluntly might be considered arrogant and drive them away. Thus one talks about going for a walk in the woods or for a boat ride, rather than about hunting or fishing.

The stem -.een means to harvest or gather.

The phrase at natí is very metaphorical,

indirect, and vague; it means "to do something."

This story is about the delicate relationship between bears and humans, and the vocabulary dealing with bears and hunting reflects the delicacy.

20. On the sea. Reference here and in the next line (reversed order in Tlingit and English) refer to subsistance hunting on land and sea.

22. Tlingit. This is a good example of the use of the conjunction ku.aa to change the subject and introduce new information.

25. Tlingit. koowóodáx. From the den. The second suffix, -dáx seems to cause elongation of the first suffix -ú-, normally written short, as in line 53, at koowú its den. This seems to be a phonetic and not a phonemic distinction, and will probably be standardized short in the popular orthography.

26, 27. The Tlingit text is again ambiguous and indirect, and uses the word át, meaning "thing." This is a euphemism for bear. The Tlingit word for brown bear, xóots, first appears in line 38. Later, in line 129 and elsewhere, another common euphemism or circumlocution is used--yatseeneit, meaning "living one," or "living creature." Bears are generally spoken of with considerable circumlocution in Tlingit, and when encountered directly in the forest, are most often addressed by kinship terms, depending on one's genealogical connection to the bear, which is generally either paternal uncle or aunt, or maternal uncle or aunt. In line 193, he refers to them as "noble children"--aan yátx'i.

28. Dogs. Reference is to hunting with trained dogs.

36, 37. Tlingit. Phonetically, on the tape, the pronunciations are ch'u weisú and áyú watee. Phonemically, y and w are allophones of each other, and reflexes of a "gamma" or voiced velar fricative retained in the speech of some older speakers, especially from Yakutat. Most younger speakers now use y

in all places, but older speakers such as J. B. Fawcett regularly have w following u or oo, and y in other places. This is normalized in the popular phomemic spelling as y. See the note to line 302 of Frank Dick's story for more on this, and line 29 of J. B.'s Naatsilanéi, where he retains the "gamma."

40. Ketchikan. The southern origin of the story is also another suggestion as to its antiquity.

43. Yes Bay. Located north of Ketchikan.

60. Private parts. The Tlingit text is also a euphemism.

65. Kaats'. The name is also used in the Tlingit text.

66. Confused. In Tlingit, x'óol' yáx̲, like a whirlpool.

67, 68. Nice example of a "terrace" in the oral style, where the narrator builds his second phrase on the wording of the first.

69, 70. Along with the base form that appears in line 24 and elsewhere in the story, here are some nice examples for beginning students of the range of forms for "dog."

24.	keitl	dog
70.	du keidlí	his dog
69.	du keitlx'í	his dogs.

The plural morpheme is -x'- (but is not always required in suggesting plural); the possessive suffix is -i; and the final aspirated -tl becomes unaspirated -dl- when between two vowels.

73. Tayee. This is a locative construction.

73. The context and meaning of the proverb are not clear to the editors at this time.

74. Tlingit. The line contains a good example of two forms of the same word: yei.ádi, with the single, short suffix, and yei.ádeex̲, with the sequence of two suffixes, the possessive and the predicate nominative.

76. Tlingit. The stem -tsaak̲ is not

attested in any of the published literature on Tlingit with this prefix. Most of the meanings of the stem are with verbs of pushing, poking, or connecting. See the Naish-Story Tlingit Verb Dictionary for a some 16 other meanings of the stem in combination with various classifiers and nominal prefixes. The dictionary form of this use of the verb is:

lu-ya-tsaak̲ (int) to lie with the nose down.

The nominal prefix lu- refers to nose. The image is of an animal lying face down, but on its haunches, with its nose lower than its rump. The verb may also be used of a baby lying face down, but is generally not used of a person lying face down with legs fully extended.

89. She put her paws... She is deceiving her husband. A comparable proverbial phrase in English might be "she pulled the wool over his eyes."

90. She felt something for him. In Tlingit, the nominal prefix tu- , meaning mind, implies that the feeling is spiritual and emotional, and not purely physical. The underlying form is tu-wu-di-tee. Wu is the perfective aspect prefix, and -di- is the classifier. The stem has many meanings in Tlingit, mostly dealing with states of being.

91. Tlingit. Jiwusḵóox'ú. This is another verb hitherto unattested in Tlingit linguistic literature. The underlying text form is:

ji-wu-si-ḵóox'-u

and is a participial perfective, the -u suffix marking the verb in the subordinate clause, and the -wu- marking the perfective aspect. The classifier is -si-. The dictionary form would be:

ji-si-ḵoox' (tr)

The verb has a range of meanings. The stem with the -s-classifier refers to a long object falling. With the nominal prefix ji- it means to touch in passing with the hand, or the hand falling on something in passing. In this case, Kaats' touches the woman's genitals by accident as he falls into the den.

96. Tlingit. Na<u>x</u>wudzigeedi. This is a subjunctive form, the underlying form of which is oo-na-<u>g</u>a-dzi-geet-i.

100. Nothing will happen. The female bear, seeming like a human to him, instructs Kaats', who has little choice but to trust and believe in her. From here on there is no clue as to what happened to the male bear, who disappears from the story. One possibility is that Kaats' and the female bear both killed the male bear.

110. He had an accident. His relatives had no idea where he was, and could only assume that he had a hunting accident. Kaats' was presumed dead.

119. Older brother. This is the older of the remaining brothers, in contrast to the reference in line 121 to Kaats' as the older brother.

120, 121. The phrase is difficult to translate, but is a nagging, taunting, or "put down," implying "why not him?" or "what's wrong with him?" People were using ridicule and social pressure to urge the younger brother into searching.

121. Tlingit. Yandus<u>k</u>éich. This form is occasional, marked by the conjugation prefix (in this verb -na-), and the suffix -ch. The underlying form is:

yéi ya-na-du-s-<u>k</u>aa-ch

The dictionary form is

ya-si-<u>k</u>aa (tr) to tell.

Various forms of this verb, usually in the perfective, with different prefixes and classifiers, are very common in narratives.

122. Tlingit. Kukgwashée. This is a future form. Futures in Tlingit are generally complicated by contractions not immediately obvious to beginning students. The underlying form is ku-oo-ga-ga-shée.

The order of prefixes is: human being, irrealis, conjugation prefix, aspect prefix, zero form of the classifier. As the vowels drop according to the Tlingit rules for open syllables, the g falls next to the g and becomes a k, and the irrealis prefix appears as labialization or rounding of the g.

124. Tlingit. Wududziteen. The text offers beginning students a variety of forms of the verb "see," listed here in their text forms, underlying forms, and translation.

124.	wududziteen	they were seen
183.	iyatéen	do you see?
215.	aa xwsiteen	I saw some
245.	ayaawatín	he recognized him
249.	ash yalatín	he stared at him

124.		wu-du-dzi-	teen
183.		i-ya	-téen
215.	aa	wu-xa-si	-teen
245.	a-ya-wu-		-ya -tín
249.	ash ya-		-la -tín

132. Taken by something. The Tlingit verb stem -neix is difficult to translate in this context. It means generally to help, save, heal, or rescue. Here it also means something like enticed or enchanted, but both of those English words imply a spell of some kind, and none is really cast here. "Taken" is used as a neutral English verb.

143. Sunbeams. In Tlingit "legs of the sun" or "sun legs." At this point we might also

comment on three motifs shared between this story and the story of the Woman Who Married the Bear. In both stories, the younger brother is the successful searcher, footprints play a role in the tracking, and the dogs' thoughts are like sunbeams or beams of light to the bears in their dens. Most tradition bearers have the motif of the mittens used to trick the spouse only in the story of Kaats' or the Man Who Married the Bear, and not in the story of the Woman Who Married the Bear, although in the latter story the mittens are dropped into the den by hunters to entice or aggravate the bear.

145. Tlingit. Koodagánch is an occasional form. Because it is a "zero" conjugation verb, it has the irrealis prefix instead of a conjugation marker. The ka- prefix designates the round shape of the sunbeam streaming into the den. The underlying form is ka-oo-da-gán-ch.

148. Tlingit. Kdahánch is an occasional form. The underlying form is ga-da-hán-ch.

165. The dog's name translates as "Dry Fish Dagger."

162. There is a possible contradiction or confusion here.

170. The voice is very faint here on the tape.

174. The nouns are supplied in translation.

178. To search. As noted earlier, it is common in Tlingit tradition not to mention or directly state intentions of hunting or killing something. Such intentions were stated indirectly, but in a way that people knew what the activities were all about. Tlingit tradition holds that the bears can hear and understand people. Therefore the younger brother keeps his real intentions secret from the bear. His real agenda is not just to search, but to find.

180. The angry men. The brothers of Kaats' are becoming angry and frustrated because they were convinced they could find him. Some

tradition bearers say that they didn't fast properly and abstain from sexual relations as they should have, whereas the younger brother did.

185. Tlingit. The Tlingit verb wakkooká is very interesting. It contains the nominal prefix wak, meaning eye, and a second nominal prefix, -ka- , designating a round object. The verb stem is -kaa, meaning to say or tell. The whole thing put together means "she told him to use or do something with a round object, namely, the eye." Eyes are round objects. In short, she told him "Use your eyes." The underlying form is ash wak-ka-wu-ká.

189. It wasn't slowing down. The bear kept rising to break, grab, or otherwise deflect the sunbeams in order to slow the dogs, but it didn't work.

190. Still doing this. Reaching for the thoughts like sunbeams.

190, 202. Tlingit. Loowagúk is an interesting verb. The dictionary form is

lu-ya-gook (st) run

and means "plural subjects run." The verb used with a singular subject is ji-xeex. It contains the nominal prefix -lu-, meaning nose, and evokes a picture of a pack of things running with their noses outstretched. It is hard to find an English verb that includes the concepts of running and smelling at the same time.

193. Noble children. A euphemism for bear.

203. Tlingit. The dictionary form is ya-di-xoon, to peer or peep; also to point, as a dog pointing with the face or nose extended.

213-226. This passage describes the traditional technology of bows and arrows.

228a. Slap. This is a sound effect. The story teller claps his hands once for effect. Thus, he actually completes his sentence not

with a spoken word, but with a sound effect indicating and emphasizing the shot or the suddenness of the arrival.

230. The kinship term is supplied in translation.

231-239. This passage is an "aside" to the collector.

241. The name Kaats' is supplied in translation.

243. Tlingit. Ix̲'adaxwétlx̲ is an interesting verb. The stem is -xwetl, meaning to tire or be tired. The durative suffix -x̲ implies tiring over a long period of time, and the nominal prefix x̲'a means mouth. Literally, the verb means "your mouth is tired."

247. This line is whispered.

252. There is an inaudible line following on the tape, but the story seems to move well enough without it.

254, 255. Tlingit. Phonetically, on the tape, x̲át is pronounced x̲wát, with automatic labialization of the x̲ after the vowel u.

257. Tlingit. Hóoch. The underlying form is the pronoun hu followed by the subject marking suffix -ch. This word provides a nice contrast to the word hóoch', meaning "no more" or "all gone," as used in line 109.

hóoch	he (subject)	hú - ch
hóoch'	no more	

258. Tlingit. Keeneegéek̲. This is an optative form, as indicated by the optative suffix -eek̲ and the irrealis prefix. It is second person singular. The underlying form is ka-oo-ee-neek-éek̲.

260. Tlingit. Kg̲eegóot. This is a future form, second person singular. The underlying form is oo-ga-g̲a-ee-góot.

267, 268. The story teller's tone of voice changes here, becoming high, musical, and playful, emphasizing the happiness of the dogs.

270. Yo-ho-ho. The hyphens represent glottal stops here. The vowel o is also interesting here because it is "extra-systemic" in Tlingit, appearing only in the word "ho", as here and as in the expression "gunalchéesh, hó hó," where the hó hó means "very much."

277-283. The younger brother told his wife he had found his older brother Kaats'. He didn't want to tell because he found Kaats' living with an animal.

282. Tlingit. Kg̲wagóot. Future, third person singular. The underlying form is oo-ga-g̲a-góot.

283. Tlingit. K̲ukg̲waháa. Future, third person singular. The underlying form is k̲u-oo-ga-g̲a-háa.

284. Messenger. The messenger is a slave.

294. Tlingit. Gax̲took̲óox̲. Future, first person plural. The underlying form is oo-ga-g̲a-too-k̲óox̲.

296. Tlingit. Gug̲agut yé. Future, third person singular, in an attributive construction. Vowel length as well as tone appear to be "stolen" by yé. The underlying form is oo-ga-g̲a-góot.

297. Teik̲weidí. A clan of the Eagle moiety. The story teller now clearly identifies the people who own the story because of what happened to their ancestor.

306. X̲'ax'áan is a Teik̲weidí man's name. It means, literally, "Angry Mouth." X̲'ax'áan hás is literally "the X̲'ax'áan's." The construction is often expressed in everyday Tlingit-English as "X̲'ax'áan and them." This is the particular group of Teik̲weidí to whom the events happened.

308. Their ancestor became a thing of value. Wé shukaadei k̲áa áx' átx̲ wusiteeyi yé áwé. This is probably the single most important cultural concept assumed in all of the stories in this collection. Here, J. B. makes it explicit. The ancestor (shuká) becomes an at.óow. The phrase contains, in a different

grammatical form (literally, "the ancestralized person") the word from which the title of this collection comes. The Tlingit expression "átx̲ sitee" means literally "to be a thing." A thing of value is implied, but the word goes far beyond the literal translation. It is connected to the concept "at.óow," meaning, literally, an owned or purchased thing, as described in more detail in the Introduction. The thing is often purchased with a human life, as in the experience of Kaats'. In short, the "thing" is a clan crest. The story teller is explaining how at this time and place the experience of Kaats' took on this spiritual significance. The pattern is the same for many events in the lives of the ancestors of various clans: 1) an event happens in the life of an ancestor or progenitor; 2) some aspect of the event becomes a "crest" or at.óow--the ancestor, the animal, etc.; 3) the land where it happened is also important in the spiritual life of the people.

314, 320. Tlingit. Du yátx'i. Phonetically du wátx'i on the tape, with w conditioned by the preceding u.

318. Solid rib cage. Solid rib cage bears are those known to have no space between their ribs. The ribs are, or are like one piece of bone. Therefore they are not easily killed. This detail also appears in other stories.

323. "They are bears," supplied in English translation. The Tlingit text leaves the conclusion for the listener to complete.

324. Tlingit. Ugootch. This is a clear example of the occasional, with the -ch suffix and the irrealis prefix u- used with the zero conjugation verb.

326a. A whispered, inaudible line is omitted here.

333-335. Spoken in a very rapid whisper, with excitement, but difficult to hear.

336. In contrast, this line is spoken loud and clear.

339-342. This passage is characterized by stuttering, and false starts, and is partly reconstructed.

349, 351. The repetition here is a nice example of oral style, used for emphasis and as a compositional device, not to be confused with false starts or stuttering.

352. Tlingit. X'eetaanéek. Optative, second person singular. The underlying form is x'a-oo-ee-taan-eek.

359a. The slap or clap here is one of satisfaction by the story teller.

363. Joy, etc. This is an interesting passage. It would seem difficult for a bear to kill a seal. Hence the excitement of the bear children when Kaats' supplies them with the seals. For those interested in structural theories of literature, anthropology, and folklore, this story seems rich in structural polarities discussed by Levi Strauss and other structuralists; for example, land vs. sea, sea vs. shore, shore vs. inland, land mammals vs. marine mammals, etc. It is interesting that Kaats', the human, is a mediator among these polarities, and that since his time bears are part human, thus mediating the polarity of human vs. bear.

367. This line is spoken in a whisper.

374-380. This passage is one of many in the story wherein the narrator meditates on the relationship between humans and bears, and how much the bears understand us, have compassion, and are like us, but that humans historically have been unable to reciprocate. The relationship is now delicate and often ambiguous.

381. Tlingit. Yóo yagútk is phonetically yóo wagútk on the tape. This is an imperfective form with a durative suffix.

382-387. Spoken in a rapid whisper. Line 388 Awé héen / it was water spoken in a strong, loud voice.

393. Kaats' had been missing for some time,

and was presumed lost. Somehow, perhaps through the wife of the younger brother, the wife of Kaats' discovers that he has been living alone in the woods--or worse yet, as rumor and gossip about the footprints would have it, that he has been living with an animal. The phrase u<u>x</u> kéi uwatee has a range of meanings and is difficult to translate. Among the meanings are: trouble, death, an accident, a mechanical breakdown, to get sick, an incident, and an experience.

394-397. The motif of plural marriage is common in the stories, but the general pattern is for the younger wife to make cultural mistakes, not the older.

398-406. A number of cultural things are happening in this comment by the story teller to the collector. First, aware of the different politeness styles in traditional Tlingit and contemporary European-American culture, the Tlingit elder is apologizing, lest he embarrass a younger Tlingit woman who may possibly be influenced by non Tlingit standards. He is preparing her for what the wife of Kaats' says about the bear.

Second, as an older Eagle moiety man, the story teller addresses the younger Raven woman as his daughter. He continues, telling her that although she is Raven (Lukaa<u>x</u>.ádi; child of Chookaneidí), she has genealogical connections to the Tei<u>k</u>weidí clan that owns the story. He states explicitly how good it is that she is asking about it, and implies here and in other references to the Tei<u>k</u>weidí that he encourages verification of the story by Tei<u>k</u>weidí elders.

412. The Tlingit text uses the word yatseeneit, one of the circumlocutions for bear. The narrator is being extremely indirect here, in contrast to the words of the wife he is building up to introduce.

417. Hey there. The story teller's voice is in a very high pitch here, imitating a

woman's voice.

419. The comment by the wife is the turning point of the story. She is being nasty, sarcastic, and "catty" to Kaats', and she is breaking a strong Tlingit cultural taboo by speaking badly of animals. Her actual comment is ambiguous, but is a thinly veiled reference to the genitals of the female bear.

The construction translates more literally as a "tiny faced thing with hair on it" or a "tiny faced haired thing." The insertion of the diminutive -k'- in the verb complex is very rare in Tlingit. The nominal prefix ya- refers to face, and yak' would be "little face." This example suggests that the set of nominal prefixes may be further modified by diminutives. The entire verb is an attributive construction. The underlying form is ya-k'-wu-dzi-x̲aaw-u.

424. This line is whispered.

425. Kaats' now breaks his agreement with the bear wife by speaking to the human wife. This is also an interesting construction. In Tlingit as well as in English, the entire first subordinate phrase is the subject of the sentence. The word yéich derives from the word yé and the subject marker -ch.

427. This is difficult to translate. We have used "you," but the Tlingit text is more literally "this one." It is as if he is talking about her, even though she can hear, saying something like "What has she done now?"

443. The songs. These are the dirges, lamentations, or cries that the bear wife will sing over the body of her husband. Note as elsewhere in these stories the pattern of a story, song, and artistic design all containing and referencing each other.

444. Outer containers. This term may also be translated as "our makers," or "our containers" and refers to grandparents, ancestors, and relatives of past generations. See also the note to line 280 of J. B.'s Naatsílanéi.

449-454. This is a difficult passage in

Tlingit, where both singular and plural forms appear. Two persons are watching: one, a coward; the other, a slave, who is also a messenger.

455. Note the "shape shifting" here, where the bear appears in human form to the witnesses.

460. Reference is to ceremonial face paint.

Glacier Bay History
Told by Susie James, 82

Recorded by Nora Dauenhauer, Sitka, June 1972. Transcribed and translated by Nora Dauenhauer.

Publication History. The text was transcribed as a production of the Alaska Native Language Center. The Tlingit text was first published August 1973 by Tlingit Readers, Inc., copyright (c) 1973 by Tlingit Readers, Inc., printed at Sheldon Jackson College by Andrew Hope III and Richard Dauenhauer. The first edition featured a four color totemic design of the Woman in the Ice by John Marks. Revised and translated as a project of the Sealaska Heritage Foundation.

Other Versions. Boehm (1975: 48) Bohn (1967: 39). See also the version by Amy Marvin in this collection.

The Glacier Bay History told by Susie James is an excellent example of traditional world view--the cosmic significance of human behavior in relationship to "eternal return" of resources. If people live correctly--by right thought, right speech, right action, things will go well. Above all, humans must respect the world of spirits--the spirits of animals and other forms of life and energy in the world. If these spirits are respected, the life in which they are embodied will continue to return to the people, sustaining human life.

A number of literary, social and spiritual themes are presented, including individual and social responsibility within the family and community at large, both at a given point in time and for all future time; blood guilt and redemption; puberty; and the relationship of people, animals, and the land.

The history is a powerful account of the

spiritual significance of Glacier Bay to the Chookaneidí people. The style is very "baroque" in that the composer introduces many themes into her narration immediately--almost one per line or phrase--and then continues to develop and weave them. The story concludes with two of the most sacred Chookaneidí songs--lamentations for the land and houses of Glacier Bay.

Two highly developed narrative traditions exist for the Glacier Bay History. Each is powerful. We do not argue that one is better, more accurate or more correct than the other, or that either is wrong. The versions are simply different. Such differences are common in oral literature. Each has its emphasis and tragic focus and impact. We invite readers to enjoy both.

In version one the grandmother, Shaawatséek' stays behind in place of the young granddaughter, Kaasteen. The woman in the ice is the older woman, Shaawatséek'. Emphasis here is on the sacrifice of the grandmother, on the Tlingit tradition of "standing in," and accepting the responsibility not only for one's own actions, but the actions of others. One's actions impact not only the individual, but his or her entire community, and not only now, but for generations to come. The young woman makes a mistake, but the older woman takes action to redeem her family and people. The grandmother comments specifically that many children will be born of the young woman, and therefore the young woman should survive. The young woman will guarantee the biological survival of the people, but the old woman will guarantee the spiritual and social survival of the people. This is the version told by Susie James. This would seem to be an older version, but this is impossible to prove.

In version two the young woman, Kaasteen, herself stays behind with the houses to redeem her people. The Woman in the Ice is Kaasteen, the younger woman. The tragedy in this version

focuses on the immediate loss not only of the young woman, but the grandchildren never to be born. The young woman accepts responsibility for her actions, and takes appropriate steps to redeem herself, her family, and her people. The sense of sacrifice is extremely powerful because it is the life of a woman of child bearing age. This version is more common in Hoonah today. This narrative tradition is represented in this volume by Amy Marvin.

In this volume, both versions are told by respected tradition bearers of the Chookaneidí clan. The versions differ only in which woman stays behind. The versions agree on the names (Kaasteen the granddaughter, and Shaawatséek' the grandmother). Most important, the versions agree that this is a Chookaneidí story, that the land of Glacier Bay is sacred because it was purchased with the blood of the people, and that the spirit of the woman remains in the ice. They also agree on the songs attached to the history. Throughout each story, we can see and appreciate and enjoy the personal styles of the two elders. Each has her own way of envisioning and recreating the specific details of the story, and relationship of events--for example, the details of the seclusion during the puberty rites, the details of how the little sister relates Kaasteen's calling the glacier, etc.

Susie James is a speaker of a now almost extinct dialect or speaking style of Tlingit associated with the "old timers." It is characterized by replacing "n" with voiced "l", (like the English L) . For example, héen (water) is héel (with a voiced l.) The reverse process sometimes happens in the English of the very "old timers", who sometimes say "hoten" for "hotel", and "model skills" for "marten skins," etc. In the narrative, Susie uses the "standard Tlingit" n, but in the first song, she uses the voiced l throughout--a<u>x</u> aalí for a<u>x</u> aaní (my land). Where the letter l appears

in the vocables, it is always voiced, never voiceless. In texts where the voiced l sound is significantly frequent, we normally write it with an underlined l, to distinguish it from the "regular l," which is voiceless in Tlingit. In texts in which it is rare, as in this volume, we indicate the voiced l in the notes. The voiced and voiceless l never contrast in Tlingit; the voiceless l, where it occurs, is always a variant of n.

Susie James' style is characterized by very rapid delivery within the line, creating an overall impression of speed. She delivers her narrative in a soft, high voice, and has a range of voices for her characters, as indicated in the notes.

Title. A literal translation of the title is "(When) the Glacier Comes Down on the People."

1. Gathéeni. "Sockeye (Red Salmon) River." This is on the site of present day Bartlett Cove.

4. Glacier Bay. The name "Glacier Bay" was not traditionally applied to the area, but its name was S'é Shúyi, "The Edge of the Clay," so named because the entire bay was a valley of clay with grass growing in it. After the glacier came down and had receded, it became Sít' Eeti Geey, "The Bay where the Glacier Was." Then it also became Xaatl Tú, "Among the Icebergs."

1-6. Note how the story teller is presenting many themes one after the other, without developing them. Once the themes are presented, she will begin to tie them together, connecting the land, the salmon, the people, the ice, and various traditions.

11. Houses stood. In English, "stood," but in Tlingit, literally, "sit." Two Tlingit verb stems are used. Here, the plural stem -keen, and, as in line 126, the singular stem -.aa.

14-16. Susie is naming the house groups at Glacier Bay who were part of a then still undivided Chookaneidí clan, but separated into house groups. Subsequent to the events

recorded in the story, the Kaagwaantaan and Wooshkeetaan evolved into separate clans. As far as is known the Eechhittaan did not take on a separate identity as a clan. This is a natural process in the evolution of Tlingit social structure, as a group of people literally outgrows one house and builds another. Eventually the house groups take on status as separate, but closely related clans. Lines 126-136 include two more houses, Naanaa Hít and Xinaa Hít.

At the time when Kaasteen violated the taboo, the Chookaneidí clan consisted of 5 houses: Kaawagaani Hít, Woosh Keek Hít, Eech Hít, Naanaa Hít, and Xinaa Hít. After the events in the story, they evolved into three distinct clans.

The etymology of Kaagwaantaan derives from Kaawagaani Hít Taan, "The House that Burned." There was also a Kaawagaani Hít in Hoonah before the fire of 1944. The name Wooshkeetaan derives possibly from Woosh Kik Hít Taan, "Half of a House." The name Chookaneidí means "People of the Grass" and is related to chookán, "grass." The clan is named after Chookan Héeni, "Grassy River," that flows in Berg Bay in Glacier Bay, on the opposite shore from Gathéeni, Bartlett Cove.

Another group of Chookaneidí not mentioned in the text was also at Glacier Bay, although their relationship to the other groups is not completely understood. The name of this group is Kadakw.ádi, and the name is sometimes heard as an alternative to the name Chookaneidí.

The point emphasized here (both in the text and the note) is that at the time of the story, the Chookaneidí, Kaagwaantaan, and Wooshkeetaan were all house groups of the same clan, and subsequently evolved into three distinct but closely related "brother" or "sister" Eagle moiety clans sharing a common heritage. The three clans are often grandparents of each other. As Ray Nielsen, Susie James' grandson

commented in reference to annotating this story, "Don't forget to mention our brothers, the Kaagwaantaan and Wooshkeetaan."

23. At the start.... The Tlingit term wooweit refers to the time during which biological changes take place and the female child becomes a woman, with her first menstruation. The Tlingit word is related to the word for "enrichment." This is a difficult passage to translate, and could be "At the start of her enrichment," or "At the start of puberty," or "At the start of her puberty rite," or "At the start of her seclusion."

23. She was curtained off. A girl was curtained off or otherwise isolated during this time. This was a strict training period for life skills, adult thinking, and self discipline. There were things she couldn't do, foods she couldn't eat, etc. Training included sewing, arts, crafts, and traditional technology.

25-30. There were very many of us. This line suggests that there aren't as many Tlingits any more, that there are many who were adopted out or otherwise "lost" to the community. It also suggests an important point for the story teller--a cosmic connection between proper training and behavior and the well being of the people, including fertility of the land, animals, and people. This holistic world view is common in traditional societies, where spirituality, wellbeing, and environmental protection are united, and directly connected to human behavior. At the end of this training period and ritual isolation, the young woman would be considered mature, and a marriage would be arranged for her, very often as the junior wife in a plural marriage.

30. Tlingit. The tape has jidusnéiyeen, with the s classifier.

32. Tlingit. The tape has nalé, without the normally expected irrealis prefix u-. This is an accepted grammatical variant.

30-40. This passage links up with the foreshadowing in line 21, "what was she thinking?" The dramatic emphasis here is that the training was almost over, but things are about to go wrong. The salmon and seclusion themes are being worked together. Notice the very long lines from 25 to 37, as the story teller speed increases with the dramatic tension.

42. Extension. A special room extending from the main house was constructed of cedar bark so that Kaasteen could live there alone.

58. Tlingit. The tape has keitl jiyáx̲. The nominal prefix has been edited out.

68-69. The lines between 68 and 90 are delivered in a range of dramatic voices. Beginning with Atlée / Mother! a change is made from the normal narrative voice to the other voices. The little girl speaks in a very soft and high voice.

70. The mother's voice is a conspiratorial whisper.

72. Girls don't bring news from back rooms. This is a proverb, the cultural equivalent of which is probably something like "People shouldn't tell tales out of school."

73-81. Now the young girl speaks in a whisper too, her voice gradually vocalized toward the end of the passage.

82-89. Whispered; again, the mother speaking.

89. Tlingit. The line contains two forms of the stem -k̲aa, an indicative and an optative.

90. Susie James' regular narrative voice resumes here.

91. Tlingit. The verb yanagwéich is interesting. It is an occasional form, with the -ch suffix and the conjugation prefix -na-. It also has the nominal prefix ya-, meaning "face." The verb presents images of the face or head of boats in a fleet going up to the face of the glacier to hunt seals.

93, 96. Tlingit. Kana.éin and akunalséin appear here with their progressive stems.

In some grammatical forms, these verbs look very much alike, although their underlying forms are quite different. The dictionary stems are -sei, "to be near; come close," and -.aa, "to grow; cause to grow."

126-136. In addition to the Kaagwaantaan, Wooshkeetaan, and Eechhittaan mentioned in lines 14-16, two other houses are now mentioned: Naanaa Hít, meaning "House up the River," and Xinaa Hít, meaning "House down the River." The names derive from locative bases meaning "further up" and "further down."

By mentioning Kaaxwaan, Mrs. J. C. Johnson, Susie's contemporary in Hoonah and a paternal aunt of the collector, the story teller is inviting and encouraging verification of the house name. Kaaxwaan was from Naanaa Hít, as is Amy Marvin. Susie James is a descendant of the Xinaa Hít. Both are house groups of the Chookaneidí clan.

137-138. Many other houses. The traditional pattern is that every other generation either rebuilds a clan house, or builds a new one, usually the same house, and of the biological paternal grandfathers. In other cases, people divide into another house group due to the expanding population. For example, Naanaa Hít was rebuilt in Hoonah. The number of houses indicates that the people had been in Glacier Bay for many generations.

139. Row of houses. In addition to the five houses mentioned by name, there was a second row of houses in back of these. It is important to remember that the community would have included houses of Raven moiety groups, although these are not mentioned by name in the story. These Raven clans would have been the marriage partners of the Eagle clans. It is also important to remember that although a house is considered belonging to one clan, it would be occupied by people of both moieties, because a husband and wife would be of different moieties according to the

traditional marriage patterns. One of the Raven moiety clans that would have been part of the community is the T'akdeintaan.

152, 153. "Her mother" here is the mother's mother, Shaawatséek', the grandmother of Kaasteen.

155, 156. Just prepare. These two lines show that Shaawatséek' had already removed herself from the rest of the family and had already made her decision to stay.

163. Uncles' house. Tlingit possession is always difficult to convey in English. Reference is to a singular house possessed by plural maternal uncles. Sometimes the Tlingit noun plurals are ambiguous. She is actually staying with all the houses, even though physically she can only be in one.

168. Children will be born. Shaawatséek' gives the main reason she will stay with the houses, as opposed to Kaasteen's staying. She will save not only the life of her granddaughter, but the unborn children she will bring into the world, who in turn will bring more children into the world. These grandchildren are recognized in two ways: 1) descendants through the female line, grandchildren who are members by birth of the Chookaneidí clan; and 2) descendants through the male line, who are by birth members of Raven moiety clans (following the mother's line) but whose fathers and grandparents are Chookaneidí. The Tlingit term for this is Chookaneidí dachxán--grandchild of Chookaneidí.

173. Tlingit. Tlingit has a range of variations on the stem -kaa, meaning to say, tell, reply, etc. Many of these forms are found between lines 173 and 217:

173. yéi adaayaká
173. x'ayeeká
181. yóo x'ayaká
192. yéi yawakaa
203. yéi ayawsikaa

213. yóo yaawakaa
217. yóo ash yawsikaa

We have translated most of these simply as "he said" or "she said," but the rich combinations of prefixes in Tlingit convey different shades of meaning.

184. Switched. Susie James is emphasizing here that the granddaughter Kaasteen goes aboard the evacuating boats, and does not stay behind. This is the only major point on which the two narrative traditions disagree. On the tape there follow 3 lines which have been edited out, an "aside" within an "aside." The narrator asks the collector, again inviting verification,

Did your paternal aunt
Kaaxwaan
tell it to you?

We i aat
gwál tlél i een yóo akoonikk
wé Kaaxwaan?

185-190. This is the way I know the story.... My maternal grandfathers. Susie James is identifying her line of transmission, who passed the tradition on to her.

191ff. The speed of the story slows at this point, as reflected in the short lines indicating more pauses.

196. The maternal uncle. The great uncle was composing a song to commemorate their evacuation from Glacier Bay.

198-209. Tlingit. Four forms of the verb "to make" or "compose" are contained in these lines.

198. alyéix he is making (indicative)
200. alyéixi (trying) to make (participial)
207. xalayéix I am making (indicative)
209. ilayéxni if you make (conditional)

221, 229, 230. Tlingit. There are three different forms of the stem -chaak, to pack.

221. kaydachák pack (imperative)
229. has kawdichák they packed
230. kducháak they packed (indefinite)

240, 241. Nice example of a "terrace" in oral style.

240. yaa kunanein they were getting ready
main clause, indicative mood, progressive

241. yan kunéi when they were ready; subordinate clause, conjunctive mood, sequential

250. The song from Naanaa Hít. Reference is to the song "Ishaan gushéi," which is used by the Chookaneidí during the cry for the dead. The two songs with which Susie James concludes her narrative are among the most serious and sacred of the Chookaneidí clan. They are sung on very solemn occasions, especially during the feasts for the removal of grief. Susie accompanies herself with a drum. For complete discussion of variant verses, see the notes to the story by Amy Marvin. Song lines are not numbered. Also, since the melody overrides the Tlingit tone system, tone is not marked.

As in most Native American music, the song consists not only of its text, which contains the poetic images and meaning, but sets of vocables or "burden syllables" such as "ee," "aa," "ei," "haa," etc. that have no meaning but serve to establish the melody.

As mentioned in the general discussion at the beginning of these notes, the letter l in the vocables and text of this song indicates a voiced rather than a voiceless l. This voiced l is a variant of n, substituting for n, but never contrasting with it. It is in free variation with n, and in the second song,

Susie James uses the n and not the voiced l.

Between the first and second songs, Susie whispers, "X'eit shután! X'eit shután!" asking the collector to turn off the tape recorder.

Glacier Bay History told by Amy Marvin

Recorded by Nora Dauenhauer, Juneau, May 31, 1984. Transcribed and translated by Nora Dauenhauer.

For other versions, please see the story by Susie James in this collection and the notes to it, which also include details not repeated here on Glacier Bay, world view, and the clans mentioned in the story.

Amy Marvin is one of the eminent Chookaneidí tradition bearers in Hoonah today, and is a direct descendant of the ancestors mentioned in the Glacier Bay History. She was requested to tell this story so that both traditions would be represented in this collection. Her version is very rich in details, and provides historical perspective on many of the cultural institutions of Tlingit heritage, such as feasting for the removal of grief in memory of the departed.

Amy Marvin sets her central narrative of the events at Glacier Bay in the context of a larger history. She begins with the story of the girl who raised the bird at Glacier Bay, then turns to the events that destroyed the idyllic life there. Her history then continues to the founding of Hoonah. The transcription presented here concludes with the very beginning of the last part of Amy's history, with the refugees from Glacier Bay landing at Spasski and having to start over again with almost nothing.

Although the two stories are different in style and detail, with each story teller selecting different features to emphasize and develop, the two stories actually disagree on only one important point. In the tradition represented by Susie James, the older woman, Shaawatséek', stays behind; in the tradition represented by Amy Marvin, the younger woman, Kaasteen, stays behind.

Amy Marvin's delivery in the "narrative frame" or first part of the story is very rapid, with very slight pauses between sentences. When she reaches the "story proper" the speed decreases in general, and there are more pauses. A general pattern is for the phrase or section of lines to begin with a loud, firm voice, then gradually diminish in volume to an almost whispered "yes," and then begin the pattern again. Some examples of this are indicated in the notes.

1-55. Amy Marvin, as Susie James, opens her narrative with a description of life in harmony with nature. The immediate story is set in the context of an earlier story about the girl who raised the bird whose call imitates the name of the clan.

5-7. In Tlingit, the verbs are different and the adverbs the same; because we had to use the same verb in English, we have made the adverbs different.

14. This line is an "aside."

15, 16. Ts'ítskw is the contracted form and is the normal generic term for any small song bird in Northern Tlingit. The longer form, ts'ats'ée, is used in the South.

24. Tlingit. Yéi ayanaskéich. Occasional. The stem is -kaa.

25, 26. Tlingit. Gútgook. Optative. Here, the optative suffix -ook is added to the durative suffix -k-, which becomes -g-. "Do not go repeatedly or habitually."

31. Tlingit. Stuck in the mind, neil yaawdigích (perfective: yaa-w-di-gích) it found a home, went inside a home. The stem ya-da-geech refers to a sharp object entering, going into, or piercing; neil is the nominal or thematic prefix referring to home.

36, 38. Tlingit. The stem -xeet, multiply:

36.	aa-w-dzi-xeet	perfective
38.	yaa ga-s-xít-ch	occasional

41. Choo-kaneidí. The bird is imitating or repeating the clan name, and the story teller is imitating the bird call of the Chickadee.

59, 60. Tlingit uses the same word, yées, as the adjective "young" and the adverb "newly" or "recently."

61. Tlingit. Dus.áa has the s classifier, making the verb causative. They caused her to sit; they had her sitting.

72. Someone in this condition. This is one of the great miracles and mysteries of life, and in many traditional societies women were and are considered to have great power, especially at this time. The power can also be unconscious and dangerous, and many ritual taboos often apply. In traditional societies, the onset of menstruation is also one of the great rites of passage in a woman's life, and in the life of the community.

76, 77, 79. Feast. The Tlingit stem -eex' is used in verb and noun form, and is very important. In English, the event is popularly called "potlatch" or sometimes "party." The Tlingit term is based on the stem -eex', which means "to invite," as to a banquet or feast. Amy Marvin will explain this in detail later in lines 307-330. The main concept is to feast, not with one's "enemies," (as is popular in the anthropological literature on the subject) but in sharing food and gifts with the opposite moiety, and, through them, with the departed. Thus there is no relationship to the spirits of the departed except though sharing with the living. This concept is central in Tlingit tradition, and in this, Tlingit tradition may well differ substantially from the potlatch tradition described for the southern Northwest Coast.

The term is difficult to translate. We have avoided using the word "potlatch," and have used something on the theme of "feast." The stem is used as a verb in lines 76 and 77: the

prefix ku- refers to action involving people, and the subject pronoun -du- is a 4th person pronoun generally translated as "they" or by using the English passive voice.

ku-w-du-wa-.éex'	there was a feast; people were invited; people had been invited; they invited people.

The noun phrase in line 79

ku.éex'-dei to the feast (feast-to)

reduces the components to their simplist form, ku.éex'--"people-invitation." The feast in these lines is not for Kaasteen, but is coincidentally at the same time.

84. Little girl. Presumably the younger sister of Kaasteen.

104. Lifted the edge. The wall was made of bark, and could be lifted in sheets.

131, 132. Witness. In Tlingit, witless, with a voiced l that patterns as a dialect variation of n.

146-161. Emphasis here is that the glacier did not advance along the surface of the land or water, but from underground, upsetting the surface layers of soil and trees, and, of course, the village. A glacier is like a river of ice, and it is not uncommon for soil and vegetation to collect on top of the ice.

177-180. She named the glacier. Here and in lines 180-191 there is reference to the power of names and naming things. She not only called it, but called it by name. There is twofold violation of cultural taboos here; first, proper protocol would be to refer to the ice and the spirits of the ice indirectly, not addressing it directly by name; second, this is violation of the self control expected during her training. Her violation of taboo was not a malicious or evil act, committed in knowledge,

but an accident, committed in ignorance. Even though accidental, the consequences were disastrous.

207. Tlingit. Yándei is phonetically wándei on the tape.

213, 214. Tlingit uses two different forms of the stem sheet'.

ku-ka-na-shít' pushing people along; (with y classifier and ku- prefix; stative verb; to crowd out; progressive)

akanalshít' pushing it along; (with l classifier; transitive verb; to push out; progressive)

217, 219. Tlingit uses two forms of the stem gaas', to move a household with future plans unspecified:

ga-x-la-gáas'-i subjunctive; let's move
ga-x-la-gáas' future; we will move

231. The saying, "They had her sitting as seed." A young woman of child bearing age would be the wealth and seed of the people, their hope and guarantee of the continuing survival of the group.

245. Double quotes. This is ambiguous, but we take the entire line to be gossip or hearsay, within which the girl is quoted.

248. Opposite groups. The clans of the opposite moiety, in this case presumably the T'akdeintaan, who would have been the predominant Raven moiety clan of the area. The Tlingit term is guneitkanaayí, based on the stem naa, group of people, also used in lines 217 and 219. The following lines specify a paternal aunt, in Tlingit, aat, which we have translated variously as paternal aunt and father's sister in lines 249 and 250. Kaasteen as Choonkaneidí and Eagle moiety would have an Eagle mother and a Raven father; the father's

sister would also be Raven moiety.

254. The storm we just had. Amy is referring to a recent storm in SE Alaska.

271. She didn't deny it. This line is spoken emphatically. The dialog following is soft and whispered. The entire passage is delivered very rapidly. Acceptance of blame and even blood guilt is very important in the story. She realizes and repeats in lines 269-274, "What I said will stain my face forever." Her actions have ruined the physical village in the present, and will ruin the reputation of her people forever. She can redeem herself and future generations of her people only by a conscious act of courage to balance the unconscious act of whimsey that brought on the disaster. This version is very powerful because Kaasteen takes the step herself, transforming herself from a dangerous and immature girl to a courageous woman whose act is the redemption of her people. With reference to line 231, "for seed," the choice is a great sacrifice, not only of her own life, but of the lives of children never to be born.

287-288. "Us" refers to the Chookaneidí. "All of them" refers to the women of the Raven moiety clans; "all of us" to the Chookaneidí and Eagle moiety. The entire community is now expressing its support for Kaasteen's decision.

299-303. The rhythm here is of alternating loud and soft voice. The voices in parentheses are softer. The story teller is imitating a person announcing at a feast, and the cry being repeated or echoed by the "naa káani," the in-law serving as a coordinator or "emcee" at the request and direction of the hosts. The two phrases are those used during the distribution of food and material goods at a memorial feast--"x̲'éidei" for food and "kaadéí" for dry goods and money--when these are dedicated to the spirits of the departed, and the names of the departed are called out.

296, 309. In Tlingit the stem jaak̲, to

kill, is used grammatically in two ways:

296.	dujákxi	attributive; whatever was killed
309.	dujákx	main verb; they killed.

Also, the verb is used metaphorically in line 309, where the meaning is to "kill" or "cut off" ownership. This is an expression used for materials set aside for distribution at a feast. The -x is a durative suffix.

306-330. These lines are the most succinct explanation of Tlingit feasting that we have recorded to date by a Tlingit tradition bearer. Here Amy Marvin explains the spiritual purpose of the ritual distribution of food and goods at a memorial feast. As explained in the notes to lines 76, 77, and 79, the Tlingit word for "potlatch" is literally "an invitation." Although domestic and community tensions can and do arise, as with the organizing and sponsoring of any large family or community affair, emphasis from the Tlingit point of view is not on rivalry or hostility as suggested by such titles as "Fighting with Property," or "Feasting With Mine Enemy," but rather on actions and "Words That Heal." (See Kan 1983, 1986.) It is significant here that access to spirits of the departed is through sharing expressions of love with the living. All are members of the same community--hosts and guests, Eagles and Ravens, physical and spiritual, living and departed.

311. Tlingit kuwaakéik is a durative form from ya-kaa; people say (more than once.)

315. Tlingit. Asinéegu. Some speakers use an alternate form with the stem -nook.

319. Tlingit. Kei xtudateeyít is a nice example of the purposive, with the conjugation prefix kei, the aspect prefix -ga- (which becomes -x- according to regular rules for contractions and closed syllables) and the suffix -yít. The purposive means "in order to."

346. Aaa / yes is whispered.

347. "Am I going to bring" / "Yee eetídei." Spoken in a loud voice. This and the following lines emphasize the impact of the story--the sacrifice not of the older woman but of the young woman of child bearing age with her whole life ahead of her. The grandmother is willing to sacrifice her life in place of her granddaughter for the good of the family, clan and community.

349, 350. Gaysagú. Plural imperative.

359. I will not go aboard. Tlél yaax yéi kkwagoot. This line is spoken firmly, with great determination--a very heavily accented, trochaic line. The following line is more relaxed, then line 361 firm again, with extra stress on yáa, equivalent to stress on "here" in English.

372. It measured up. The Tlingit in lines 317 and 372 is difficult to translate. The idea is "there is a saying" and that what was done measured up to or was acceptable or not found wanting or lacking according to expected norms.

376. Mother's people. The Tlingit (tlaa hás) could also be translated "her mothers" or "her parents." Because the lines just before emphasize the paternal aunts and uncles, we take the intent of this line to include those of the mother's clan.

374-382. The lines from 374 (Du aat has / from her paternal aunts) to line 381 (aaa / yes) are spoken diminishing in volume. Line 381 is whispered. Then, line 382 (They didn't paddle / Tléil tle yóot) is in a loud, firm voice. This is a frequent pattern of Amy's delivery. See also the notes to 346 and 347 for example.

393-396. Tlingit. The stem -xeex appears 4 times in these 4 lines, in 3 different forms: wusixíx, wsixíx, and uwaxíx--all perfectives. This is a good example of how Tlingit stems are used with different prefixes and classifiers to express different meanings. With the classifier

s, it refers to the falling or dropping of a large or complex object (such as a house falling over) and with the y classifier, a small object (such as a word) falling or dropping.

399-401, 404, 421. Tlingit. The stem -g̲aax̲ is used in a variety of forms. With the d classifier it means to scream or cry out in pain. With the s classfier the verb is more causative or passive.

399.	ka-da-g̲áax̲ imperfective
400, 401.	ka-w-di-g̲aax̲ perfective
404.	ka-w-dzi-g̲aax̲ perfective
421.	ka-du-s-g̲áax̲ imperfective

For more on the classifier system, see the Grammar Sketch in the Naish-Story Dictionary.

424. The first song follows. Song lines are not numbered. The first song was composed by K̲aanax̲duwóos'. Amy Marvin sings this as a dirge, very, very slowly, compared to Susie James, who sings it considerably faster. Amy accompanies herself on a drum. Songs present different problems of translation. For example, the vocables or burden syllables of the opening lines repeat the last syllable of the text word: ishaan gushei-ei, hidee-ee. The translation could be pity-ee and hou-ou-ouse, extending the text word over 3 syllables. See also the note comparing 3 versions of this song at the end of the notes to this story. 2nd verse: dinak̲ = du nak̲.

425-462. In this passage, Amy explicates the song, beginning with the very powerful comparision of the clan house becoming like a coffin for Kaasteen.

441. Comparision. This is an ambiguous passage, and could mean "joining them together" and / or "comparision." It is unclear whether reference is to joining the two verses together into one song, or making the thematic connection between the loss of the girl on one hand, and the loss of the house and land on the other.

455-457. Everlasting...recording. Amy is concerned with passing the tradition along to coming generations. This has been difficult in an age characterized by extreme generation gaps created in large part by the impact of schools. The 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 20th century have seen widespread abandonment of Tlingit language and world view, combined with the introduction of technology such as radio and television, that seem to be the death knell of oral tradition around the world. Like many other elders, Amy is involved in using the new technology to help keep the memory of old ways and values alive. She is concerned not only that the song survive, but its meaning as well.

458-462. No man. Amy is emphatically repeating that Kaasteen and Kaasteen alone died with the houses. No male was there.

470. Between 469 and 470, there is dialog on the tape that has been edited out.

AM. Ch'a yeisú a<u>x</u> yéetk'ich <u>x</u>aan uwasáa Dleit <u>K</u>áa <u>x</u>'éiná<u>x</u>. Tle akát <u>x</u>at seiwax'á<u>k</u>w.
ND. Pleasant Island.
AM. Aaa. Uh huh. A áwé.

AM. My son just gave me the name in English, but I forgot it.
ND. Pleasant Island.
AM. Yes. Uh huh. That's it.

488. The second song follows. This was composed by Sdayáat.

496-500. Amy is emphasizing that only the Chookaneidí have songs to commemorate this event, even though other clans are part of the history.

500. These men. The Chookaneidí men, because the girl was their close blood relative. She was related in a different sense to the Raven and other Eagle moiety clans.

505-528. After evacuating Glacier Bay, the

people moved eastward along the north shore of Icy Strait. Excursion Inlet is now the site of a cannery and was a camp for German POW's during WW II. Many Hoonah people spend summers at Excursion Inlet. The Grouse Fort / Ground Hog Bay site is farther east along the shore, toward Swanson Harbor and Point Couverden. Amy's group landed on the south shore of Icy Strait, on the north shore of Chichagof Island, at the place called Spasski in English, opposite The Sisters Islands. All of the groups eventually settled in present day Hoonah.

528. The transcription ends with Amy's powerful description of the evacuation of Glacier Bay and how the people started over again with nothing. However, the recording session and narrative continue, and Amy continues on other topics not included here.

Song Versions. As shown in well known studies of European and American ballads and other folk music around the world, personal and local variation are to be expected in most song traditions. Such variation exists in the versions of the Glacier Bay songs with which we are familiar. Most differences are relatively minor. The patterns are the same, but specific words may be in different places. For example, Susie James and Amy Marvin sing the verses to "Ishan gushei" in a different order. Amy has a<u>x</u> hídi first, and a<u>x</u> aaní second; Susie has a<u>x</u> aaní first and a<u>x</u> hídi second. They also use the two verb stems differently. Susie uses the stem -goot, "to go on foot" with land, and the stem -<u>k</u>oo<u>x</u>, "to go by boat" with house. Amy does the reverse, using -goot with house, and -<u>k</u>oo<u>x</u> with land. Also, where Amy Marvin sings the songs in the body of the story, and includes exegesis, Susie sings them at the end of her story, and in a different order, singing "Ishaan gushei" second, where Amy sings it first.

"Ishaan gushei" is sometimes heard with an

additional verse not sung by either Susie James or Amy Marvin. In 1969, at the request of Willie Marks, J. B. Fawcett recorded the song. The order of verses is the same as Susie (land, then house) but he uses the stem -goot with both of these, reserving the stem -koox for the third image--my river. The third verse is:

> Ishaan gushei, ax héeni,
> Ishaan gushei, ax héeni,
> dinak yaa kxakoox.
>
> Pity my river, / pity my river,
> when I leave it by boat.

A version of the song recorded at the memorial feast for Jim Marks in Hoonah, October 1968, sung by the group of Chookaneidí hosts with David McKinley as song leader is same as the version by Amy Marvin.

Susie's version of Sdayáat's song (Ax aaní gushei) raises an interesting problem because it is a fragment. For one reason or another, she does not sing the "third line," ch'al gookateen / will I never see it again. The full pattern is

> Ax aani (ax hidi)
> gushei
> ch'al gookateen?

Susie replaces the text line with vocables. There are 2 explanations. She may have been deliberately abbreviating the song--just "quoting" from it, or alluding to the full text she assumes the collector knows. Or, on the other hand, she may have forgotten the words, or have gotten confused. We will never know.

The performance of a song varies according to the setting or context. A tape recording session is not the same as a memorial feast. In the above comparison we have not examined the vocables at all, because to do so without the music is relatively meaningless. The full

pattern for singing a Tlingit song is:

Vocables twice
First verse twice
Vocables twice
Second verse twice

If the song is sung as a cry at a memorial, the "Hoooo ending" is added, signifying a cry of pain.

As in most Native American music, the song consists not only of its text, which contains the poetic images and meaning, but sets of vocables or "burden syllables" such as "ee, aa, ei, haa, hee, hei," that have no meaning, but serve to establish the melody. Although it is sometimes hard to define a "line," most images and singing patterns are in multiples of two or four.

As a final comment, it is important to emphasize that these are among the most sacred of the Chookaneidí songs. Each clan has its serious and sacred songs, along with many that are more secular or light hearted, often called "love songs." It both angers and grieves Tlingit people to hear their songs recorded and used without permission, most often as background music in inappropriate places such as children's television, commercials, or as in a recent movie where a well known "star" playing an Indian woman walks across the plains to the music of a Tlingit canoe song. In other words, where these songs have been reproduced without permission and consultation it has always been where the text and context are totally out of place for what is being depicted by film makers who want "something Indian" as background. The Glacier Bay songs are an excellent example of how serious songs are in Tlingit tradition, and how they fit into the history, ceremonial life, and oral literature of the Tlingit people.

The First Russians told by Charlie White

Recorded by George Ramos, Yakutat, 1962.
Transcribed and translated by Fred White.
Edited by N. and R. Dauenhauer.

This story may be taken as a prelude to the accounts which follow, or as "Part One" of a "Lituya Bay Trilogy." The following two accounts treat the first encounters with the Russians and French at Lituya Bay. In this account, Charlie White offers a Yakutat tradition about the motives of the Russians for exploration--a wealth of furs that drifted to Russia from a fleet of capsized Tlingit canoes. More detailed historical notes accompany the story by Jenny White which gives the Tlingit account of the arrival of the first Russians. Even though the French arrived at Lituya Bay two years earlier than the Russians, we have grouped the stories by Charlie White and Jenny White together and placed them first, and conclude the volume with the history by George Betts.

1. Age 88. There is some conflict in the data here. De Laguna (1972) has 1879-1964 as the dates for Charlie White. Our sources give 1880-1964. In either case, he would not be 88 at the time of recording, but would have died at the age of 84 or 85. It may also be that both 1879 and 1880 are incorrect birth dates.

15. Laaxaayík. A village site very close to Yakutat.

32. Voyaging back. The implication is that the traders were from Lituya Bay or south of it and had travelled north, perhaps beyond Yakutat and as far as Copper River, had returned as far as Yakutat, and were in the home stretch heading toward or into Lituya Bay when they capsized. See de Laguna (1972: 937, plate 20) for an

areal view of Lituya Bay. Plates 34-39 are of interesting old engravings by Europeans of their experiences at Lituya Bay. Bohn (1967) also has photographs and old engravings.

56, 59. These are interesting verbs in Tlingit.

x̲'eitee	to imitate by mouth; to be a certain way with the mouth
sh wudligá̲k	to imitate a raven (to make the sound "g̲á")

Another similar and interesting verb, not in the text, is

akaawag̲ées	to imitate an eagle (to make the sound "g̲ée")

78. Utée. Note the irrealis prefix expressing uncertainty--"it must have been like...." The irrealis is also used with a definite negdative, as in line 79.

82. Yáxwch'. Pronounced yúxwch' on the tape. Such assimilation is common in Yakutat pronunciation. An a or aa changes to u or oo under the influence of a following labialized velar, in this case the xw.

Raven Boat told by Jenny White, 81

Recorded by Fred White, Juneau, 1984.
Transcribed and translated by Fred White.
Edited by N. and R. Dauenhauer.

Jenny White begins her narrative by emphasizing the dangerous entrance to Lituya Bay, and by reviewing the history of the capsized canoes with their lost furs that lured the Russians to Alaska. She then moves to the actual arrival of the Russians at Lituya Bay.

The first encounters between Europeans and Tlingits at Lituya Bay are interesting because they are recorded both in written and oral traditions.

The more familiar written tradition consists of the log books of La Pérouse published in English in 1799 and a well known article by Lt. G. T. Emmons published in 1911. The lesser known written account is of the log books of Izmailov and Bocharov published in Russian in 1791, but in English translation only in 1981. La Pérouse sailed into Lituya Bay on July 2, 1786; the Russians arrived two years later, almost to the day, on July 3, 1788.

The oral tradition seems received in two general versions--those which specify the Whites as Russians, and those which do not. It is possible that the Tlingit oral accounts record two separate historical meetings--one with the French and one with the Russians, although motifs from the two histories are shared. Both traditions are represented here.

The accounts by Charlie White and Jenny White of Yakutat, whose ancestries are from Lituya Bay and the Lituya Bay area, identify the Europeans as Russians, and emphasize the motif of the capsized canoes and lost furs drifting seaward to entice the Russians to the source. For further discussion of the Yakutat tradition, see de Laguna (1972: 258-259).

The account by George Betts, who also lived at Lituya Bay as a young man, does not specify the Europeans as either Russians or French and does not include the lost fur motif. It is more similar to Emmons (1911) and suggests a southern or Juneau-Sitka tradition.

The account published by Emmons (1911) was collected by him in 1886, one hundred years after La Pérouse, from Cowee, the well known leader of the Auke people living in Juneau (referred to by Emmons by its Tlingit name, Dzantik'i Héeni, which he spells Sinta-ka-heenee.) In the Cowee version, a group of L'uknax̲.ádi men from Grouse Fort (K'ax'noowú, "Kook-noo-ow on Icy Straits") capsize at Lituya Bay enroute to Yakutat. While they camp at Lituya Bay mourning their dead, the Europeans arrive. The Tlingits wonder if this is White Raven (the sails being huge white wings), roll skunk cabbage as telescopes for protection against being turned to stone, send an old man out to make contact, and conclude the encounter with friendly and successful trade. The Cowee version recalls that the Europeans also lost men to drowning in the treacherous entrance to Lituya Bay. A parallel tradition of uncertain origin appears in the *Alaska magazine* (Vol. 1, No. 3, March 1927, 151-153) and is in turn quoted verbatim by Bohn (1967: 24-25).

Because the history of Tlingit contact with Europeans, especially Russians, is not widely known, it may be interesting to review some of the highlights here.

1741. In July 1741 the Russians under command of Chirikov sighted land in Southeast Alaska. In this famous first encounter with the Tlingits near Sitka, Chirikov sent one boat and crew ashore, and they did not return. A second boat was sent, and also did not return. The following day, two Tlingit canoes appeared. From Bancroft's account (1886, 1970: 67-71) it appears that the Tlingits and Russians were mutually astonished, and that the Tlingits

paddled shoreward, shouting "Agai", which may possibly be Tlingit ("ay x̲áa!") for "Paddle!" Chirikov returned to Russia.

1786. July 2, 1786, La Pérouse sails into Lituya Bay and makes peaceful contact with the Tlingit. He describes the great risk entering the Bay, and notes that on July 13, 21 of his men were lost at the mouth of the Bay when their boat capsized. Cenotaph Island in Lituya Bay is named for a monument erected in their memory. He stayed 26 days, recording his interesting observations.

1787. Dixon makes contact.

1788. Douglas makes contact.

1788. July 3, 1788. The first documented Russian contact by Izmailov and Bocharov at Lituya Bay. More information below.

1791. Malaspina makes contact.

1791. Shelikhov's *Voyage to America 1783-1786* is published in Russian. Chapter Three is the voyage of Izmailov and Bocharov.

1796-1805. The Russians establish a fort called Novorossissk near Yakutat, destroyed by the Tlingits in 1805.

1799-1802; 1804. The Russians establish a settlement near Sitka in 1799, which is destroyed by the Tlingits in 1802. In 1804 the Russians return in force, win the Battle of Sitka, and reestablish the settlement on the present townsite of Sitka.

1799. Jean La Pérouse voyage report is translated from French and published in two volumes in London: *La Pérouse voyage around the world performed in the years 1785-1788.* See Vol. 1, pp 364-411.

1911. Lt. G. T. Emmons publishes an article in *American Anthropologist* 13 (1911) 294-298, entitled "An account of the meeting between La Pérouse and the Tlingit," in which he compares a Tlingit oral account by Chief Cowee of 1886 with the events recorded in the La Pérouse logs.

1981. Shelikhov's *Voyage to America 1783-*

1786 published in English translation by Limestone Press, edited by Richard Pierce. It is interesting to note that whereas the La Pérouse report was published in English almost immediately, the Russian report was not published in English for 190 years!

Because the history of Russian exploration of Izmailov and Bocharov in Lituya Bay is less known in the west than the encounter with La Pérouse, one's first reaction may be to assume that the Tlingit oral tradition has simply confused the French and the Russians. Certainly the same motifs (the coming of Raven, the use of plants for binoculars, etc.) appear in both traditions. However, there is no reason to doubt that the Tlingits encountered both French and Russian explorers at Lituya Bay, although it may be difficult or impossible to assign or restrict motifs of oral literature to one encounter or the other. Again, because the Russian historical evidence is less well known, it is interesting to review some of the highlights here.

The galiot "Three Saints" sailed from Three Saints Bay on Kodiak Island on April 30, 1788, with orders to explore the American mainland. Under command of navigators Izmailov and Bocharov, the ship explored Prince William Sound, and reached Icy Bay at the terminus of the Malaspina Glacier on June 4. On June 10 they sighted Yakutat Bay, and were met by Tlingits (whom they refer to as Koliuzh) wearing European clothing the Russians surmise they had traded from foreign vessels.

They anchored in Yakutat Bay June 11, and spent some time meeting and trading with the Tlingit. The journals contain interesting ethnography, describing houses, clothing, customs, and Tlingit names as perceived by the Russians. The Tlingit also describe the lands to the south--Lituya Bay and the Chilkat area.

The Russians received two slaves from the Yakutat Tlingit. One was a young Kodiak boy

who had been captured by the Kenaitze, traded to the Chugach Eskimos, then to the Eyaks, then to the Tlingits. Another boy was from east of Yakutat, identified as Chich'khan (possibly Tsimshian?) Both were valuable as interpreters and guides.

The logs record interesting conversations with the leader (toion) named Ilkhaku (possibly Yéil X̲aagú? a Raven name from Chilkat, where the leader told the Russians he was from.) They gave him a Russian copper amulet, and a portrait of Crown Prince Paul with inscription in Russian and German.

On June 18 they placed a copper possession plate at Yakutat Bay, and on June 21 set sail, exploring the Yakutat area, and listing a number of rivers by their Tlingit names, including Antlin, Kalkho, and Kakan-in. Antlin is Aan Tlein in modern orthography, Ahrnklin on most maps; Kalkho is probably K̲eilx̲wáa, the Italio River, named after Frank Italio, Shangukeidí, maternal grandfather of Emma Marks, widow of Willie Marks; Kakan-in, which the Russians translate as "Muddy Creek," we cannot reconstruct at present, other than the -in, which is héen, meaning river or water. The k's could be any combination of the k, x, or g sounds.

On July 3 they leave Kakan-in and 17 miles south arrive at Lituya Bay. The journals discuss in great detail the complex navigation into the bay. They encounter the Tlingit, but it is too late in the day to trade.

On July 4 the Russians re-anchor. The leader Taik-nukh-takhtuiakh is welcomed on board and into the cabin with two elders. There is detailed description of the conversation and trade encounter.

July 5. One of the translators reports that three summers earlier a large vessel had been there and had left a broken anchor, which the Tlingits had dug out at low tide and carried into the woods. The Russians located it and

traded for it. (1788 would be the third summer, counting 1786, 1787, and 1788, after the arrival of La Pérouse.)

Also on July 5 the Russians bury a copper possession plate. The log contains a detailed description of its location. Again, the journal contains interesting ethnographic observations. The Russians understand Lituya Bay to be a summer camp, and that the people are "subject to" the chief they had met in Yakutat.

On July 9 the Russians sailed out. The major problems were difficulty in finding a good anchorage, and scurvy appearing among the hunters because of an unchanging diet of salted food. (The Russians do catch halibut and pick salmon berries and/or raspberries, according to the log. It is unclear how much of the sea mammal meat they consume.)

Navigating across the gulf of Alaska, the ship reached harbor at Kodiak on July 15. The following year, from April 28 to August 6, 1789, Bocharov sailed back to Okhotsk, where he delivered the maps and journals.

1. Reference is to the entrance of Lituya Bay. It is crucial to catch the tide and currents just right when entering and leaving.

18. Wulis'ées. On tape, the story teller first says wuligáas', then corrects herself, changing to wulis'ées. The stem -gáas' means "to migrate," whereas the stem -s'ées means "to sail," and is related to the word s'ís'aa earlier in the same line, meaning "canvas" or "sail."

19. Ltu.aanáx̲. Literally through, not into, the Bay. Tlingit focus is on sailing through the entrance to the Bay; English focus is on sailing into the Bay.

19. On the tape, there is a brief exchange with the collector here, which is not transcribed. He asks, "Anóoshi?" ("Russian?") and she replies, "Anóoshi yaagú x̲aa," ("a Russian boat indeed") after which the

narrative continues.

25. Raven Boat. The white sails were perceived by the people as wings of the White Raven (from mythical times, before he turned black.)

27, 36. Kuguxsateek. Future durative.

The Coming of the First White Man
told by George Betts

Recorded by Constance Naish and Gillian Story, Angoon, 1960's. Transcribed by Constance Naish and Gillian Story. Translated by Nora Dauenhauer.

As noted in its dedication, this text was prepared and contributed by Constance Naish and Gillian Story as a memorial and personal tribute to George Betts, who spent many hours with Naish and Story during their stay in Angoon, helping them immensely in their early study of Tlingit. As noted elsewhere, the system of writing Tlingit used in this book is based on the work of Naish and Story and the help of George Betts.

The George Betts and Robert Zuboff transcriptions were prepared and contributed as a set by Constance Naish and Gillian Story, and we have tried to arrange them as a set in this volume, opening with the Zuboff account of the migration to the coast, and closing with the Betts account of the arrival of the Europeans. Please see the notes to the Basket Bay story told by Robert Zuboff for background on this text.

Also, please see the notes to the Charlie White and Jenny White narratives for more information on Tlingit and European encounters at Lituya Bay, including a review of other published versions. The most accessible of these is Bohn (1967: 24-25) which has a very detailed account based in turn on Emmons (1911) and which quotes verbatim an article from the *Alaska Magazine* (Vol. 1, No. 3, March 1927 151-153). This latter account is of dubious provenience and has many editorial trappings of Christian piety (such as Raven as the "principal divinity of Tlingit mythology" and the "second coming of Raven.") Such cultural

stereotypes are noticeably absent from the narrative by George Betts, a good stylist and an ordained minister well versed in traditional Tlingit spirituality as well as Christian spirituality.

Title. The Tlingit title, Gus'k'ik̲wáan, means "People from Under the Clouds."

21-28. On the tape, the intonation here suggests the parenthetical nature of the information.

30. Atyátx'i. The story teller actually pronounces the word adátx'i on the tape, but we have used a more standard spelling here and in line 37.

35. K̲ach. This is a nice little particle, and can be translated a variety of ways: "It turned out to be...", "Here it was....", or "Actually it was...."

85. The pronunciation on the tape is x̲'eiyee.

103. Tlingit. Tlax̲. Dax̲-, contracted from dag̲a- is also a possible reading here, with a slight change in meaning: dax̲kasayedéin. "They began to feel strange," as opposed to "...began to feel very strange."

105. Tlingit. The first word is the English Lituya, pronounced with voiced l and the vowel "a".