

NOTES TO THE SPEECHES

Notes to the Speech by A. P. Johnson

Transcribed by Nora Marks Dauenhauer, Sitka, June 1971.

Translated by Nora Marks Dauenhauer.

This speech was collected at the First Tlingit Language Workshop, Sheldon Jackson College, Sitka, June 1971. Mr. Johnson delivered the short, impromptu speech to his fellow workshop participants during a class discussion. A few minutes later, during a break, Nora Dauenhauer re-elicited the speech, and wrote it down in Tlingit from Mr. Johnson's dictation. It was first published in Tlingit in *Doo Goojée Yeenaa-déi / Tlingit Language Workshop Reader* (April 1972). The Tlingit text here is revised and corrected. This is the first publication of the English translation.

This is Tlingit "meta-oratory," or "meta-rhetoric." The speech explains the function of speech; it is a speech about speech, about the importance of using language carefully and accurately. The opening lines show how we literally connect ourselves to the person or people we are talking to. The next lines develop the simile of speech being like a man with a gaff hook: even though a person is at some physical distance, the words have the power to connect, when there is mutual understanding. Although it is not stated directly in the speech,

the correct use of kinship terms is one of the technical skills involved, and when people address each other by kinship terms, they both know they are one.

The speech is a good example of extended (or "Homeric") simile in Tlingit oratory: the comparison is made using "like" or "as," then elaborated on with description, and finally recapitulated.

Because of its style and subject matter, and because it is a good example of careful speech about speech, it seemed an appropriate one with which to begin the book.

Grammatically, the speech is also a good one for students to begin on, containing a range of noun and verb forms: occasional (lines 1, 7, 9, 12) future (2) attributive (4, 6, 8, 11) and contingent (8). The attributive suffix -i does not appear in the form in line 4 (kei nagut káa) because of the classifier used here, the "zero" form of the "A" classifier, called "B extensor" in Story and Naish (1973:357, 369 ff.). The stem "hook" appears as a noun in line 5 (k'éx'aa) a possessed noun in line 7 (du k'éx'ayi) and as a verb in line 8:

a	-	ga	-	k'éx'	-	ín
direct		aspect		stem		suffix for
object		prefix				contingent

Compare English: hook, his hook, he hooks.

In lines 3 and 10, the expected tone on káa is "stolen" by the following words. It is also stolen from the attributive in line 6 by the noun following.

3, 10, 11. We have translated yoo x'atánk as "speech," "oratory," and "public speaking."

11. Tlingit has no indefinite article. This line can be translated "speech" or "a speech," with different poetic nuances.

Notes to the Sitka Speeches from 1899

Collected on wax cylinders in Sitka in 1899 during the Harriman Expedition, these two speeches are the oldest known recordings of the Tlingit language. They were presumably collected in mid June, 1899. The Sitka *Alaskan* for Saturday, June

17, 1899, and Wednesday, June 21, 1899, has articles on the visit of the expedition. One describes a dinner party at Governor Brady's where the visitors were "entertained by a number of well-known Natives, who sang some of their war songs, records of which were taken by a phonograph for future reference." No note is made of recording oratory, but elsewhere the newspaper comments that some visitors "have spent considerable time in the Indian village."

The original recordings of these speeches are in the Harriman Expedition Collection, acquired by the Heye Museum of the American Indian, housed in the Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music. The technical data are: Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music; Cylinder Project; Accession # 83-908-F; North America; United States; Alaska; Eyak and Unknown Indians; Collector uncertain, possibly George Byrd Grinnell or Edward H. Harriman; 1899; A copy of EC 10" #501; Item 1, Cylinder #6038, Strip A. This contains the two speeches transcribed here, and the start of a third speech, but the needle was stuck in the cylinder or record, and the third speech could not be transcribed. Item 2, Cylinder #6039, Strip A, contains another short speech introducing a song, but the speech and song are too damaged to transcribe.

Anthony Seeger of the Smithsonian Institution Office of Folklife Programs brought these wax cylinders to the attention of Dr. Michael Krauss of the Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska-Fairbanks, who received a copy in 1985, identified the language as Tlingit, called them in turn to our attention, and passed on a cassette copy to Nora Dauenhauer, who transcribed and translated the speeches. We are grateful to Anthony Seeger and Michael Krauss for locating and identifying this valuable contribution to the history of Tlingit oral literature.

The speeches present no grammatical problems, but are difficult to annotate with any certainty. They raise many interesting questions that we leave for future researchers to explore. But, based on internal evidence, we can make some observations, and on the basis of other research and contemporary documents, we can make additional suggestions.

The first speaker is a man of the Kaagwaantaan praising the social achievements of his relatives. We do not know who the speaker is, by name, although we can tell from his voice on the

tape that he is a man, and from line 12 that he is a man of the Kaagwaantaan, an Eagle moiety clan of Sitka. But we do not know for sure who the people from Taku are. A contemporary observer, Fr. Anatolii Kamenskii, writing in 1901 cites a local newspaper article referring to "a big potlatch...three years ago...given by the Sitka L'uknaxádi in honor of the Taku Indians." (Kamenskii 1985:117; see also Appendix 9, pp. 117-22.) We do not know if this is the same event or not, and we would prefer not to guess.

The style of the first speech is very straightforward; there are no rhetorical devices such as comparison by simile or metaphor. He speaks very rapidly, with many false starts, and with only the slightest of pauses where we have indicated line turnings.

8, 16. Aankáax'u. Literally "men of the land or town," or "lords," we have translated this as "aristocrats."

8, 19, 33, 42. The Tlingit verb stem used in these lines is *ku-éex'* meaning "to invite to a ceremonial." This, as we note in the introduction, is the Tlingit term for what is popularly called "potlatch" in English. For readers interested in the Tlingit language, this example shows how a given stem appears in the context of different prefixes and suffixes. This is like English: invite, invit-ed, invit-ing, invite-s, invit-ation, un-invited (an uninvited guest), un-invit-ing (an uninviting place), I am inviting, I am invited, etc. The Tlingit forms are: *gaxdu.ix' nóok*, *kudu.éex'*, *kuwdu.éex'i*, and *ku.éex'*. The noun form is *koo.éex'*. Such variations on underlying stems are pointed out in many of the notes in this book, but we do not go into as much detail as in this note.

12. Kaagwaantaan. Sometimes popularly called the "Wolf" or the "Brown Bear" clan, this is one of the Eagle moiety groups in Sitka.

14. Things. (Tlingit, line 13.) The "things of our grandfathers" are the clan crests, or *at.óow*. These are the art treasures of a clan and are brought out for display on ceremonial occasions. See the speeches for the removal of grief from the Jim Marks memorial for some examples.

23, 43. Aan yátx'i. Literally, "children of the land or town." The term "aan yádi" ("child of the town") refers to a person of social standing in the community. We have translated this with such words as noble, nobles, nobility, but these are not adequate.

Again, for those interested in language, the forms of the words differ according to use. Line 23 has the suffix -x because the word is a predicate nominative here. Singular is "aan yádi."

28, 31. Two Tlingit verbs are used here, which we have translated as "was brought out." In line 28, the Tlingit is literally "died" and in 31 "perished" or "was lost." These are important verbs in Tlingit ceremonial life, and are used to describe the money or other items assembled and distributed in memory of a person or an event. The money is said to be "killed." To put out money is to "kill" it.

42. L'uknaxádi. Popularly called in English "Coho," this is one of the Raven clans of Sitka.

The second speech is impossible to annotate with certainty. We presume that his speech refers to the same events as the first speaker, but there is no way we can be certain. The text gives no clues as to the genealogy of the orator. The references to grandparents' things could possibly suggest that he is also Kaagwaantaan, if he is referring to the same "things" as the first speaker, but it is impossible to know for sure. He could be a grandchild of the opposite moiety, and, in fact, his attitude toward the atóow suggests that he is of the opposite moiety; but, we emphasize, it is impossible to know for sure. The second speaker has a good speaking voice, and his delivery is much slower and more evenly paced than the first speaker. Where the tone of the first speech conforms to the stereotype of Northwest Coast pride in rank and display, the second speaker touches on common themes in Tlingit oratory—how the younger generations are always moving into the positions of departed grandparents, and how one gains strength of mind from the display of atóow.

3, 18, 25, 26. The Tlingit verb stem here is *ku-eex'*, "to invite." See also the notes to this stem in the first speech.

4, 37. The plural marker *yán* is phonetically *wán* on the recording, because of the vowel "u" immediately preceding.

6. Opposites. In Tlingit, *yakáawu* (singular; line 4 is plural, with stolen stress). The word can mean the equal, opposite number, or trading partner of a person. Here it also seems to refer to the opposite moiety. If we are correct in guessing that the Kaagwaantaan were invited, this reference further suggests that the speaker is L'uknaxádi.

7, 8. The image of the lights and flagpoles is unclear. Possibly he is poetically emphasizing how hard it was to sleep, as if the flagpoles were bright lights burning. They may have literally hung lanterns on the poles.

17. We never wanted it. This line is unclear to us.

29, 31, 36. On the recording *tlax*, *ayáx*, and *tlax* are *tleix*, *ayéx*, and *tleix*, respectively. We have standardized them here.

32-34. This passage touches on a common theme in Tlingit oratory: how one gains strength through display of *at.óow*.

Notes to Johnny C. Jackson and Jimmie George

The set of speeches by Johnny C. Jackson and Jimmie George was recorded on video tape in performance during the totem raising ceremonies in Kake, Alaska, on September 30, 1971, by the Tlingit and Haida Central Council, who provided an audio cassette copy for Nora Marks Dauenhauer, who transcribed them in Tlingit and translated them into English.

The speech by Johnny C. Jackson was delivered as a welcoming address to the visitors who traveled to Kake to participate in raising the world's tallest totem pole, 136 feet, on September 30, 1971. Johnny C. Jackson was one of the principal hosts and officials, as was his maternal uncle *K'a.oosh*, Tommy C. Jackson. The speech is characteristic of Tlingit oratory in its use of kinship references to bind the community and visitors socially and spiritually. The speaker thanks the guests for helping to uplift community spirits.

Some important concepts of Tlingit social structure underlie the speeches. Johnny C. Jackson is a Raven, and resident of Kake, and he is welcoming members of the Eagle moiety. He is their father, and they are his father. He is speaking to the guests as a whole, and at the same time to Jimmie George in particular, who will speak as a representative of the guests and of the opposite moiety, as a child of the people of Kake, and as a *naa káani*, or brother-in-law to the clan.

Jimmie George and his wife Lydia George of Angoon were invited by the Kake people to assist the hosts in welcoming the guests. Lydia describes how they and other people brought gifts

for the occasion, "scarfs, hankies, and socks, and many other things. When it was being raised, the scarfs, hankies, socks and others fell from it. Anything that fell by you was yours." Because of such gifts, and because of some of the crests or at.óow carved on the pole, many of the guests share an attachment and special sense of ownership to the pole. This relationship to the pole and the Kake community is also created through kinship, as expressed in specific lines of the speech.

5. Naakilaan. This is also one of Johnny C. Jackson's names, a name his clan shares with the L'uknaḡ.ádi.

10; 20-21. Paternal aunt . . . lap. This is a complicated image. The guests are the paternal relatives of the speaker, and the speaker and his people are the paternal relatives of the guests. By extension, the Kake community is compared to a paternal aunt who makes room for all her nieces and nephews, all her relatives of the opposite moiety. This may also be a reference to a Kaach.ádi at.óow of Kake. It remains unclear to us.

23. Hinkwéix'. Maternal uncle of the speaker, and deceased clan leader. A Kaach.ádi name, this was also one of Johnny C. Jackson's names. See also the biography.

27-34. The speaker is using a traditional pattern of invoking at.óow (clan possessions) to give comfort and support. The speaker is naming various clan houses of the Raven moiety. X'áakw Hít (Red River-Salmon or Watermarked Salmon House), Kutis' Hít (Looking House), Kooshdaa Hít (Land Otter House), and Wandaa Hít (Around the Edge House) are all Kaach.ádi Raven moiety houses, houses of the paternal uncles of the guests, who are being welcomed to their "fathers' land."

38. Sad thing. Reference is to the tragic crash of an Alaska Airlines jet on the approach to Juneau on September 4, 1971. The worst disaster in Alaska aviation history, the crash took the lives of 111 people, including four residents of Kake. Finally, the line may be understood more generally, as referring to the cumulative results of a century of contact during which the village of Kake was destroyed by the U.S. military (1869) and the village cut down its totem poles (1912) in a community effort to modernize and westernize in response to pressure from the missionaries. Two generations later, in 1971, they are proudly raising a new pole.

43a. Response. It is common in Tlingit oratory for members of the audience to make responses, most commonly thanking the speaker for kind references to their families, or responding when their names or kinship terms are called. This is the first such response in this book, but many more will follow. In page format, the responses are indented and set in italics, and the speakers are identified in parentheses where known. Responses are not included in the line count.

55-56. In-laws and paternal uncles. These are the relatives of the opposite moiety of the speaker.

60. Turn ceremony over. According to Tlingit protocol, at a given point in any ceremony, the floor is turned over to the guests, who deliver oratory of their own in response to the words of the hosts.

The speech by Jimmie George was delivered in response to Johnny C. Jackson, with Jimmie George speaking on behalf of the guests. He speaks as their son, and as a child of the opposite moiety. Jimmie George and his wife Lydia both expressed their gratitude for the honor of being invited to participate.

6. X'aalkweidí. A Raven moiety clan that relocated from Angoon to Kake, with the result that the communities are related.

16. Warm your hands. To "warm" a visitor's hands is to invite him or her for food—a welcome dinner with oratory following. The speaker is also emphasizing the importance of helping each other out. This is an example of what the elders often refer to as "respect" or "balance."

19-42. Oil and water. In this comparison the speaker marvels at the blending, through reciprocal love, of the opposite moieties as one community, and the many communities as one nation. By extension, the comparsion applies to all the people, regardless of ethnicity, gathered to join in this common effort and event.

The editors thank Mr. Thomas Jackson, Mr. and Mrs. Jimmie George, the Office of the City of Kake, the Tlingit and Haida Central Council, Clarence Jackson, and Gordon Jackson for their help in researching the notes to these speeches.

Notes to the Speech by Thomas Young

Recorded by Nora Marks Dauenhauer, Klukwan, May 5, 1972.

Transcribed and translated by Nora Marks Dauenhauer.

The speech was delivered in Klukwan, May 5, 1972, at ceremonies combining the dedication of the Shangukeidí house "The House Lowered from the Sun," and a memorial feast for the deceased Shangukeidí John Abbot, Tom Jimmie, and Anita Marks. During the ceremonies, hosted by Joe White and his family, new leaders were introduced, young men designated to inherit and pass on the tradition. The young men to whom Joe White transferred the Shangukeidí at.óow were David Katzeek (Juneau), Willie Lee (Klukwan), Frank See (Hoonah), and Tom Abbot (Klukwan). The at.óow included "The House Lowered from the Sun," and all the house posts and art pieces in the Shangukeidí ownership.

In his speech, Thomas Young gives encouragement and advice to the young Shangukeidí men who were to become the stewards of the Shangukeidí at.óow, which he mentions using this term in line 12. This is a very traditional type of Tlingit public speaking. It was very common in the past, but has now become increasingly rare for older relatives to give speeches of instruction, encouragement, and advice to younger men as they advance into positions of greater responsibility. Thomas Young is Shangukeidí yádi—child of Shangukeidí. His father was the maternal uncle of the host Joe White. The "mother's maternal uncles" referred to in the speech include Thomas Young's father.

Thomas uses the parable of the sea lion and the ptarmigan to warn the young Shangukeidí men, the inheritors of ancient tradition, that a sea of foreign culture will try to wash them from their maternal grandfathers' reef (the at.óow). But the speeches of the guests, who are the clan grandfathers and grandmothers of Joe White and the other Shangukeidí hosts, are metaphorically the rocks that were put inside the sea lion by the ptarmigan for ballast. This was to strengthen them to keep their maternal grandfathers' at.óow, lest they sell or otherwise

lose them to the rising sea of foreign culture and conflicting, alien world view.

Of his speech, Thomas commented some fifteen years later, while helping us with the preparation of this book, "The coming of the white man is like a heavy sea, but your grandfathers' words will be your ballast, that you won't sell your at.óow." He commented that the T'akdeintaan clan, also among the grandparents of the young men, had also offered words of encouragement and guidance.

13. My fathers. The speaker is addressing those present. Because the young men are of the speaker's father's clan, they are also his fathers.

20-59. The parable of the sea lion and ptarmigan. The orator tells the parable, and at the end ties everything together: "Their speeches will be / as if they are putting rocks inside you." The guests and their oratory are compared to the ptarmigan, and the sea lion to the hosts. The comparison is further developed in the closing sentence, in which the reef is metaphorically identified with the mind, desire, and/or wishes (the Tlingit word means all three) of the maternal uncles and other ancestors of the clan from whom the young men now inherit position and at.óow.

43. Nouns are also used in the Tlingit original, for extra clarity and emphasis. As noted frequently in *Haa Shuká, Our Ancestors*, pronouns are more common in these positions in Tlingit narrative, and it is often necessary to supply nouns for clarity in translation.

45. Tlingit, latéedi yéeyi. This is a decessive in the dependent clause, indicated with the word yéeyi instead of the suffix -in or -un.

56-57. Grandparents . . . in the back. As guests, the grandparents were sitting at the rear of the clan house.

58. Their speeches. The speeches of the guests.

62. Tlingit wusgeedéek. Optative perfective. Literally, don't let yourself to have fallen.

Notes to the Speech by Tom Peters

This speech was delivered privately in Teslin, Yukon, on September 8, 1972, to Nora Marks Dauenhauer, who recorded, transcribed, and translated it. This is the very first thing Tom Peters wanted to record with Nora. The speech is straightforward, with little rhetorical embellishment. Tom Peters expresses his feelings—his delight at receiving a visit from a Coast Tlingit, namely Nora Marks Dauenhauer, and Richard Dauenhauer. He reaffirms the traditional relationship of the Coast and Inland Tlingit, emphasizing that her language is the same as his, whereas Tlingit is distinct from the speech of his immediate neighbors, who are Athabaskan. He also recalls the traditional contact between the interior and the coast, a pattern which shifted after the construction of the Alaska Highway during World War II. For more on the Yukon Native people, see McClellan et al. (1987). Tom Peters indirectly expresses his sense of personal alienation and isolation, not only because his group is different from its neighbors, but also because of the widening generation gap within his own culture, characterized most dramatically by loss of language and traditional world view.

During this visit, Tom Peters also recorded the story of "The Woman Who Married the Bear," which is featured in *Haa Shuká, Our Ancestors* (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1987). In 1973 we returned to Teslin and read back to Tom Peters the published transcription of his story. He was thrilled to hear it, and his excitement prompted us to think for the first time, "How does it feel to *be* the story teller in a community? Who tells *you* stories?"

1. X'éigaa. Some speakers pronounce the word x'éigaa (with x').

3. Áyá. Phonetically, Tom Peters pronounces this áyéi at certain times, including here.

9. Mtusiteen. This is interior dialect, the most striking characteristic of which is "m" in some positions where coast dialects have "w". See also the notes to his story in *Haa Shuká*.

13, 25. On the tape there is a contrast between the conjunctions aadáx and adax. A more literal translation is "then" or "from this."

15-16. This could also be transcribed as one long line; several false starts have been edited out here, and the line set as two.

20-21. For too long. . . . This sentence could also be translated with a positive phrase: "It's been too long since we've seen anyone."

22-23. This is a difficult passage to translate. Lingít means a person, a human being, an Indian, or a Tlingit in particular. We take his sense in this context here to mean Native people and not strictly Tlingits, because he goes on to emphasize that although they, too, are Native, they have different languages, whereas Tom Peters and Nora Dauenhauer speak the same language, with only minor dialect variation. The lines could also be interpreted, "There are many Tlingits; there are also the Athabaskans." Gunanaa is the Tlingit word for Athabaskan.

23. Daxduwasáakw. The dax- is a distributive prefix, and appears more frequently in Tom Peters' speech than in others. It also appears in the verbs in lines 37, 43, and 59.

33. Like our country (or land). He is referring to the coastal origins of the Inland Tlingit. In the Tlingit text of this line, yú is pronounced long on the tape—yóo.

35. My side. His moiety and clan, the Raven (called "Crow" in Yukon) and Tuk.wei dí, historically part of the Deisheetaan.

37. Yanyeidí. A clan of the Eagle moiety (called "Wolf" in Yukon) and Tom Peters' father's clan. See the biography of Tom Peters in *Haa Shuká* for more detail. See also McClellan et al. (1987) for more on Inland Tlingit clans and social structure.

40-48. South and north. The neighbors of the Inland Tlingit are Athabaskans. To the north and northwest are the Northern Tutchone, Southern Tutchone, and Tagish. To the south and southwest are the Kaska and Tahltan. See McClellan et al. (1987) for more on the Yukon Native languages.

60. On the tape, áyá is pronounced áyéi.

70. Kusteeyí. We have translated this word as "way of life;" it may also be translated as "culture." Notice this stem

also in line 59, where it is an attributive form of the verb. The basic meaning of the stem is "life" or "to live."

75. No more. The ending is ambiguous. Hóoch' áwé can be translated as "There is no more," or "This is the end," or even "All gone." In any case, it is ambiguous whether the phrase refers to the end of his speech or the end of traditional way of life, or both.

Notes to the 1972 Speech by Charlie Joseph

This speech was delivered in early December 1972, at the Forty Day Party for Susie (Susan J.) Paul (July 4, 1882-November 1, 1972) held at the ANB Hall in Sitka. It was recorded in performance by Nora Marks Dauenhauer, who transcribed it in Tlingit and translated it into English. Susie Paul, Náats'i, was the mother of Patrick Paul. Her father was named Kichgaaw. When Susie's mother died, her father married Charlie Joseph's mother, Katsóogu Tláa. This made Susie and Charlie sister and brother, and Charlie and Patrick Paul uncle and nephew. Náats'i had a younger sister named Kaax'ashtuk'áax, not mentioned in the speech.

This is an important kind of speech, and typical of much Tlingit oratory in its concern for explaining kinship ties that might not be immediately apparent. The speaker explains genealogical connections and reaffirms community relationships so important in traditional Tlingit society. On the one hand, the speech is fairly simple and straightforward, with the metaphor of the Christmas tree being its only figure of speech; its purpose is only to explain the kinship relationships. On the other hand, it becomes very difficult because the kinship terms and relationships are complex. Other speeches in this book are far more complex in simile and metaphor, and assume understanding of the kinship ties as the basis for development of figures of speech. This speech is interesting because it makes the kinship ties explicit. It allows readers to sort out some of the complexities of Tlingit social structure without also having to sort out complex metaphors.

1-6. Charlie Joseph, a Kaagwaantaan of the Eagle moiety, is addressing the Ravens according to their fathers' clans.

10. Nephew of mine. Patrick Paul, son of the departed Susie Paul and maternal nephew of Charlie Joseph through the relationship he is about to explain.

12. The little trees. Earlier in the ceremony, Charlie addressed the guests in English. Later, he decided to give his speech again, in Tlingit. Throughout his English speech he apologized for his "poor English," and was frustrated by his inability to express himself. The problem was not Charlie's English, but rather that the kinship terms and concepts are not the same for Tlingit and English. It was not that Charlie didn't know the proper words; rather, the words do not exist in English. The Forty Day Party was held during the Christmas season, and the central image of Charlie's speech in English was the set of tiny Christmas trees used as table decorations. This is a pun in Tlingit, *aas yátx'i* meaning baby trees and children of trees, or tree children. Thus the image works in two senses, as a literal family tree with branches, and a little forest of trees on every table.

12, 16. Tlingit. Language students might be interested in the minimal pair here with *yáanáx* (through here) and *yanax* (put down, or plant).

15-17. Kiks.ádi planted seed. The maternal uncles would be of the opposite moiety of the father's clan. The Raven Kiks.ádi are the father's clan, planting seed for the Eagle Kaagwaantaan. This is an important concept in Tlingit social structure. Although an individual follows his or her mother's line, it is the opposite moiety through the father as well that contributes to the population of a clan. Each moiety is dependent on the opposite moiety for life and continuation of its own line.

19. Come out. In the social setting for such speeches, the people the orator is talking about are generally asked to stand as a group while the orator explains the relationship to the general audience.

20. Kichgaaw. A Kiks.ádi man. When his wife died, he married Charlie Joseph's mother, the stepmother of Susie Paul (the deceased, and mother of Patrick Paul).

21. Ancestor. We have paraphrased here. The Tlingit word "*sákw*" is more literally "ingredients," "raw materials," or "makings for."

25. Standing up to face him. Charlie is thanking the guests who rose to face and thank the hosts, especially Patrick Paul.

29. Child of L'uknaxádi. Charlie is Kaagwaantaan, of the Eagle moiety; his father was L'uknaxádi ("Coho") of the Raven moiety; this makes Charlie L'uknaxádi yádi or child of L'uknaxádi.

30-31. Maternal aunts . . . children of Kiksádi. This is a complicated image. The maternal aunts are Kaagwaantaan, of the Eagle moiety, but their father, Kichgaaw, is Kiksádi and of the Raven moiety. Charlie's father was of a different Raven moiety clan, the L'uknaxádi. Although they are of the same clan (Kaagwaantaan) their fathers are of different Raven clans. This is a recurring theme in the speech.

36-37. Kichgaaw had two wives. His first wife was a woman of the Wolf House Kaagwaantaan (Gooch Hít) and the second was Charlie's mother, Katsóosgu Tláa, also a woman of the Kaagwaantaan.

48-51. Charlie's mother, Katsóosgu Tláa, took the place of her (Susie Paul's) mother, in place of their biological mother, who had died. The recently departed Susie Paul thereby becomes Charlie's stepsister; accordingly, Charlie Joseph becomes the maternal uncle of Patrick Paul, and Charlie's mother becomes the grandmother of Patrick Paul.

53. She adopted her. Susie Paul accepted and adopted Charlie's mother as her mother. Through adoption Charlie's mother becomes Susie Paul's mother. The punctuation is different here between English and Tlingit because we have translated more loosely here. Literally, the Tlingit is, "in place of her mother she called her 'mother.'"

57. Child of her father. This is a complex image. "Her mother" is Eagle; therefore, "her father" is Raven; therefore, the "child of her father" is also Eagle, not Raven. Susie and Charlie are both Kaagwaantaan, but from different houses. Susie is from the Wolf House, and Charlie from the Box House. Susie adopted Charlie as her brother.

59. My brother. The Tlingit term *ax éék'* is used by or of women referring to a brother of any age.

61-64. Even though . . . it made us one. This is a complex image. The ancestors of the children are different, because their fathers are of different clans, Charlie's being L'uknaxádi and

Susie's being Kiks.ádi. Yet they are one by being Kaagwaantaan, and because of the adoption and step-sister-brother relationship.

65. Maternal nieces and nephews. The Tlingit term is kéilk', and could also be translated as "my sister's children." The Tlingit kinship system has two separate terms for nephew and niece. One (kéilk') refers to the son or daughter of a man's sister. The other (káalk'w) refers to the son or daughter of a woman's brother. Both terms cross sex lines, but one term (káalk'w) crosses moiety lines, and the other (kéilk') does not. This is because in Tlingit, the children of a woman's sister or a man's brother are considered sons and daughters, not nieces and nephews. Because of the matrilineal system, a man's children are traditionally never of his own moiety and clan (but they may be his patrilineal uncles and aunts if they are of his father's clan), likewise, a woman is traditionally never the same clan and moiety as her brother's children. This is one example of the different concepts underlying Tlingit and English kinship terms, and suggests why Charlie had difficulties explaining the Tlingit concepts and relationships in English words. Charlie is referring to the Kaagwaantaan hosts.

75-78. "Sitting by someone" in Tlingit, in noun and verb forms, refers to marriage or a spouse. Here, Charlie is talking about his wife and Patrick Paul's wife indirectly, using this phrase, and kinship terms. His wife was literally sitting next to him but the word xán.aa is a spouse. A person's spouse is traditionally of the opposite moiety. In older Tlingit tradition, marriage to one's father's sister's child, or one's father's maternal niece, would be a proper and even a very desirable marriage for a number of social and political reasons. This runs contrary to European tradition, which frowns on first cousin marriages. The relationship need not be biological, but can also be a clan relationship; i.e. a man might marry a woman of his father's clan.

90. Uncle. Patrick Paul called Charlie maternal uncle because his mother considered Charlie her brother.

96. Death . . . did this. Presumably the death of Kichgaaw's first wife. His second marriage created the step-sibling relationship explained in the speech.

97. The Tlingit term aat'asháa refers to people who are married to siblings.

97-108. Such relationships through adoption are common in Tlingit. We do not know precisely who Charlie is referring to in

these lines, but the concept is the same regardless of the specific genealogy. Charlie's point is to clarify this, and emphasize the oneness of the community and extended family. Because Susie Paul adopted Charlie's mother as her mother, Charlie and Susie became siblings, even though their fathers are of different clans (Kiks.ádi and L'uknax.ádi). Although they were already considered brother and sister according to the Tlingit kinship system, the marriage strengthened the relationship. Through this Patrick Paul and Charlie Joseph become one.

Notes to the Speech by Willie Marks

This speech was delivered on October 3, 1976, at Mt. Edgumbe Hospital. Because he was hospitalized and unable to participate in person as a clan leader and orator at a memorial that his clan was hosting in Hoonah, Willie Marks delivered his speech in absentia. It was spoken into a tape recorder operated by his daughter, Nora Marks Dauenhauer, who transcribed and translated the speech, and who later carried the tape to Hoonah, where she played it at the memorial. Because of his illness, he spoke in a weak voice, with very slow delivery. As one of the hosts, Willie Marks is speaking to Raven guests. Willie was a House leader (Hít S'aatí) of the Hoonah Brown Bear House, succeeding his departed elder brother Jim Marks in that position. Because her husband was not able to be physically present, Willie's wife, Emma, distributed gifts in his name: sets of earrings she had beaded for the Raven women.

1-2, 7-8. These lines could also be transcribed as single long lines. There is only a slight pause at the end of each.

1-5. In the opening lines, the Eagle moiety speaker establishes his relationship to the audience, especially his in-laws and grandparents of the Raven moiety.

6. Mother's paternal aunts. These would be Raven women of the T'akdeintaan clan. Willie's mother, Eliza Marks (Ti'oon Tláa) was Chookaneidí, and child of T'akdeintaan; her father was also a deceased steward of the Snail House (Tax' Hít).

7-11. He can't look among their faces because he is in the hospital. Therefore, he is making the tape recording. As he gets into his speech, he gradually shifts this point of view, and begins to address the audience directly, as if he were there.

13-16. Compare . . . wounds . . . rites. He is setting up the extended comparison in his speech, developed in the body of the speech and recapitulated at the end. Survivors are compared to the wounded bear; persons in grief over the death of a loved one are viewed as having been wounded by death. Survivors are left in pain, with open wounds that can be soothed only by the comfort and support of each other.

20-21. Ancestor of mine . . . someone who is to succeed him. The image is of a maternal uncle and a nephew. *Kaa tlagoo kwáanx'i* is the general Tlingit term used for deceased relatives.

24-25. Great ancestor of ours . . . brown bear. The brown bear (*Ursus arctos*) is an *at.óow* (clan crest) of the Chookaneidí. For more on this concept, and for more on bear stories of other clans, see *Haa Shuká, Our Ancestors: Tlingit Oral Narratives*. It is interesting to note that in these lines Willie Marks uses the term *haa shuká*, from which the title of that book derives.

32. Immense uncle of yours. This line is spoken as an aside to the Raven audience, including the collector, establishing their relationship to the bear and the speaker. Also, this is an indirect reference to the brown bear, who is addressed by kinship term.

42. Skunk cabbage. (*Lysichitum americanum*). These grow exceptionally tall in Southeast Alaska, sometimes even overhead, and are common in wet areas of the forest. The leaves are used by people for wrapping and cooking. Here the animal uses it as a compress or medicine.

44. Animal. In Tlingit (line 46) *yatseeneit*. A term reserved for bear only, this is another indirect reference to bear.

54-59. The simile of the bear and the skunk cabbage is recapitulated here. We can safely claim that the simile in lines 52-53 ("you . . . have become like skunk cabbage") is unique in world literature. Culturally, the speaker is saying, "You have become like salve." This is an outstanding example of culture-specific images in Tlingit literature, much the same as Shakespeare's "sun of York" metaphor is bound to English history and culture. The speaker's point here is that the presence of the opposite moiety is soothing to the hosts' open wound of grief. At

the same time as he directly compares the opposite moiety to skunk cabbage, he compares himself indirectly to the wounded bear, using an appropriate clan crest (at.6ow).

57. Your paternal aunts. These would be Eagles, the clan sisters of Willie. They too, as Willie, will draw strength and comfort from the Ravens. As the presence of the Ravens soothes the speaker in his grief, so too will their presence soothe and heal his grieving sisters, the paternal aunts of the guests.

Notes to the Invocation by David Kadashan

This prayer was offered at the opening of the Hoonah Convention of the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) and Alaska Native Sisterhood (ANS) in October 1976. It was recorded in performance, transcribed in Tlingit and translated into English by Nora Marks Dauenhauer. It was to be David Kadashan's last public speech.

Nora Dauenhauer made the following notes in her Journal. "As he was leaving the ANB Hall, he asked me, 'Did you get it?' I answered, 'Yes.' He said, 'Good,' and walked away toward the door. I went to see him two days later to continue working with him, but he wasn't feeling well. So I told his wife, Ida, I'd come back when he felt better. Not even an hour passed when he lost consciousness, and they took him to Mt. Edgumbe Hospital in a plane. He regained consciousness only briefly during the next few days, and then we lost him."

This speech is an example of a contemporary Tlingit table grace. When compared with David's memorial speech in this collection, this prayer illustrates the ease with which he and most of the older generation elders operate in both traditional and Christian contexts, anchored firmly in the spirituality of both worlds. For most of the elders, the conflict is not between Tlingit and Christian spirituality, but between a spiritual world view and a secular world view that denies spiritual reality.

1. We have tried to reflect the power of David's use of both languages by not translating the opening line. Dikee Aankáawu

is the Tlingit word for God, or more precisely, Lord; literally "Man of the Land (or Town) on High."

9-24. Poor in spirit . . . people were fed. David draws his imagery here from the Gospels, taking some of his language from the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:3-12 and Luke 6:20-26), and his central simile from the miracle of the loaves and fishes (Mark 6:30-44, Matt. 14:13-21, Luke 9:10-17, John 6:1-13).

12, 13. The Tlingit grammar is interesting. *Gisakée* in line 12 is sequential; it is characterized by its position in the dependent clause, the "A" form of the classifier, the long, high vowel, and the conjugation prefix (in this case -ga-). In line 13, *yiysikée* is perfective, indicative, and in the main clause. In both forms, the "s" classifier is used to make the verb causative: not "you sat down," but "you seated them" and "as you seated them."

Notes to the Speech by Emma Marks

This speech was delivered in Juneau at the Tlingit and Haida Community Center during Sealaska Heritage Foundation's "Celebration 1982." It was recorded on video tape, and was first transcribed and translated by Paul Marks, *Kinkaduneek*, the son of Emma Marks. Paul's draft was substantially edited and annotated by Nora and Richard Dauenhauer.

Emma was introduced by Paul Henry (*Kawóotk'*), *L'uknaḡ.ádi* of Yakutat, who wanted her to speak and explain the kinship connection between Emma and the Juneau *Lukaax.ádi* on the one hand, and the Yakutat people on the other, both of the *Lukaax.ádi* and *L'uknaḡ.ádi*. This speech is an example of the importance of personal names and genealogy in Tlingit culture, and the role of names as *at.óow*. Paul Henry introduced Emma Marks in the following words:

Gunalchéesh.

Ha áyá

ax t'aakx'í,

yáat'aa, Emma Marks.

Ax tuwáa sigóo ch'a yei yiguwáatl' yee éet x'awutáani hú tsú.

Thank you.

This,

my siblings,

is Emma Marks here.

I would like for her, too, to speak to you for a little while.

1-24. These lines are an expression of Emma's world view. She is witnessing for the Lord. She has dedicated her life to witnessing. As with many elders of her generation, her life is a synthesis of Christian and traditional Tlingit values.

34. Kuchéin. A Shangukeidí, child of L'ukna_x.ádi, he was Emma's grandfather, her mother's father, from the Italio River, called Aakwéi in Tlingit. His English name was Frank Italio. He was one of the elders with whom Frederica de Laguna worked on her Yakutat research, and he is pictured in plate 215 of *Under Mount Saint Elias* (de Laguna 1972:1144-45). Their clan house was the Thunderbird House, which Frank Italio (Kuchéin) and his younger brother George Frances (Naagéi) later built in Yakutat when Emma Marks was a child. The screen from this house is now on display at the Alaska State Museum in Juneau.

52-54. Luka_x.ádi . . . Alsek. The Luka_x.ádi from Alsek are also known as Gunaaxukwáan.

58. Canoe Prow House. Literally "At the Bow House." This was one of three community houses on Cannery Creek near the old cannery site on the north shore of the mouth of the Alsek River at Dry Bay. A second house was called Mt. Fairweather House. Emma does not remember the name of the third house. Canoe Prow House was built between 1915 and 1925 by Seitáan (John Williams), brother of Seigeigéi, the mother of Leetkwéi and grandmother of Emma Marks, whose Tlingit name is also Seigeigéi. The house had a Frog Screen brought there by Kaawus.aa. See also de Laguna (1972:81, 83).

59. Mt. Fairweather Screen. This screen was from the Luka_x.ádi Mt. Fairweather House at Dry Bay, not to be confused with the Shangukeidí Thunderbird Screen from Yakutat, now at the Alaska State Museum.

68, 72, 75. Yaandu.ein . . . Kaawus.aa . . . Kusán. Yaandu.ein is the great or great-great-grandfather of Emma Marks, depending on how one does the genealogy. Yaandu.ein, a man of the Kaagwaantaan, was the father of Kaawus.aa, also known as Kusán and Dry Bay George. Kaawus.aa married Shtulkaalgéis',

a woman of the Shangukeidí, and was the father of Kuchéin and Naagéi. Kuchéin, known in English as Frank Italio, was the father of Leetkwéi, who married Naagéi, her paternal uncle, her father's younger brother. This is an acceptable marriage pattern in Tlingit tradition. Leetkwéi (Katy Dalton) and Naagéi were the parents of Emma Marks. Naagéi also had the Tlingit names Yéil Éesh and Kinaadakeen. His English name was supposed to have been Frances George, but the name was confused on the records and transposed to George Frances. It is a common problem in Tlingit names that missionaries and government officials gave different names to biological brothers, so that while Frank Italio and George Frances are actually brothers, the family names do not reflect the relationship. The name Kaawus.aa was also given by their father to Emma's brother Ernest Frances, following the tradition of a man's giving his father's name to his son. More recently, Emma gave the name Kaawus.aa to her great-grandson Ronaldo Topacio.

76. My grandfather. Reference is to Paul Henry, L'ukna_x.ádi, and one of the traditional leaders of Yakutat, who introduced Emma and asked her to speak. Emma's grandfather Kaawus.aa was also L'ukna_x.ádi, so Emma addresses Paul Henry as her grandfather.

82. Younger brother. Because both are Raven, Emma Marks also refers to Paul Henry as her brother.

85, 88. Brother . . . younger sister. Emma is indicating persons of the Raven moiety in the audience whom we cannot identify at this time.

92. Ganákt'. A man of the Shangukeidí who was Emma's paternal uncle and the nephew of Emma's father. She is explaining how people in the audience, although they may not realize the connection, are related through grandparents in Yakutat.

109. Seigeigéi. The name of Emma Marks and also her maternal grandmother, her mother's mother. Her grandmother was Lukaax.ádi and child of Teikweidí.

112. Leetkwéi. Emma Marks' mother, a woman of the Alsek Lukaax.ádi, also known as Gunaaxukwáan; child of Shangukeidí.

117-122. Father's name, etc. Naagéi, Yéil Éesh, and Kinaadakeen are all Shangukeidí names from the Italio River. The same names appear in Klukwan and other communities.

127. Alsek River. One of the great rivers of North America, the Alsek rises in Yukon and flows through B. C. and Alaska, entering the sea at Dry Bay. The Alsek flows through and in places forms the northern boundary of the Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve areas. This is an area of active glaciation. In general, the glaciers to the south in Glacier Bay are retreating, but in the north, in the Russell Fiord area, they are advancing. In 1986, the Valerie Glacier, a tributary of the Hubbard, advanced at rates of up to 130 feet per day. The Hubbard Glacier advanced one mile, closing off Russell Fiord. The Alsek River cuts through the middle of this massive ice field and sections of the river above the confluence with the Tatsenshini are not navigable, and require helicopter portage. The two major river routes to the interior were the Alsek and the Alsek-Tatsenshini which the editors had the opportunity to float in August 1989. See de Laguna (1972:57-106) for a detailed description of the areas mentioned in Emma's speech.

139. Dance. During Celebration 1988 the Geisán Marks Trail Dancers performed the Alsek River canoe songs and dances Emma is referring to in these lines.

143-144. Daughter . . . grandfather from Chilkat. Reference is to Nora Marks Dauenhauer.

145. Jakwteen. Lukaax.ádi; Father of Emma's husband, Willie Marks; also the name of her son Jim Marks.

148. Grandmother from Hoonah. Reference is to Eliza Marks, Tl'oon Tláa, Chookaneidí, T'akdeintaan yádi, mother of Willie Marks and grandmother of Emma's children.

150. Child of the Snail House. Eliza Marks, a child of T'akdeintaan, was a child of the Snail House, one of the prominent T'akdeintaan community houses in Hoonah.

Notes to the Welcome Speech by Jennie Thlunaut

This speech was delivered by Jennie Thlunaut at Raven House in Haines, Alaska on February 26, 1985, to her apprentice weavers, who had travelled to Haines and gathered for a Chilkat Weaving Workshop (February 26 - March 8, 1985) sponsored by the Institute of Alaska Native Arts, and

coordinated by Jan Steinbright and Julie Folta. The speech (here transcribed and translated by Nora Dauenhauer) was video taped by Suzanne Scollon as part of the documentation of the workshop by her and Nora Dauenhauer, sponsored by Sealaska Heritage Foundation, with the main grant support coming from the Alaska Humanities Forum, and with additional support from Judson Brown. Part of this footage has been edited and is now available on a video tape entitled *In Memory of Jennie Thlunaut* (Dauenhauer and Scollon 1988).

The women who participated in the workshop and are the charter members of the Shax'sáani Kéek' Weavers' Guild (named in honor of Jennie) are, in alphabetical order: Delores Churchill, Nora Dauenhauer, Anna Ehlers, Ernestine Hanlon, Clarissa Hudson, Tanis Hinsley, Edna Jackson, Edith Jaquot, Irene Jimmie, Vesta Johnson, Rachel Dixie Johnson, Geraldine Kennedy, Ida Kadashan, Clara Matson, Maria Miller, Mary Ann Porter, Phoebe Warren.

Maria Miller and Anna Brown Ehlers have many major pieces to their credit. Several others have completed samplers and are at work on larger projects. Ernestine Hanlon (who has also completed a large piece of weaving) and Delores Churchill are primarily known for their basketry. Chilkat weavers are few in number, and two non-Tlingit artists should be noted here: Dorica Jackson, wife of Tlingit artist Nathan Jackson, is an accomplished Chilkat weaver, with many pieces to her credit. She was not involved with the workshop, but Cheryl Samuel, a well-known non-Tlingit weaver and author of a book on the subject did visit the workshop.

Jennie delivered this speech seated on the couch in the living room of Raven House, sitting next to Nora Dauenhauer, who was acting as interpreter. The speech is characterized by a very slow, and sometimes weak delivery—even feeble and fragmented in places. This is reflected in the style of the speech, and we have taken some syntactic liberties in English translation in an effort to make some of Jennie's implied connections more explicit. Where significant, these places are indicated in the notes. The weak and slow delivery of this speech, delivered from the seated position, contrasts dramatically with the speed and energy of her prayer of the following day, delivered standing, also included in this book. Jennie gained strength and enthusiasm during the course of the workshop, in which she delivered many

informal speeches and much personalized instruction as she moved from apprentice to apprentice in the living room of Raven House, which was filled from wall to wall with looms. Her energy was contagious, so much so that one young woman who simply dropped in to see what was going on began to learn the techniques by weaving on a mop head!

In this speech, Jennie touches on two themes: that she is not stingy with her knowledge, but wants to pass it on; and that she is happy the younger generation is taking over. For Jennie, the transmission of her knowledge involves not only the passing on of technique, but the ongoing cultural history of Chilkat weaving. Much of this introductory speech is devoted to how the weaving was brought to the Chilkat area, and how she came to learn it, and to be in the position to pass it on to her apprentices. From the point of view of genre theory, this speech overlaps to a large degree in style and content with narrative and suggests that the boundary between oratory and narrative is vague at times.

The most fascinating aspect of this speech is Jennie's personal history of the art of Chilkat weaving. This history is well documented by outsiders, including Emmons (1907, 1916), Jonaitis (1986), Kaplan and Barsness (1986), Samuel (1982) and others, and in historical photographs by Case and Draper, Winter and Pond, and others; but Jennie was personally connected to all of this, and her life illustrates the all-important cultural context of the art. Her speech is a part of the living tradition in which she and the younger women share. She experienced this history as a child and young woman. She lived the life of Chilkat art as a learner, a master, and a teacher. For her students and apprentices, she was a living connection to the past, and in this speech she invites the younger women to join in this process and relationship.

For more on Jennie see Worl and Smythe (1986) "Jennie Thlunaut: Master Chilkat Blanket Artist" in Suzi Jones (1986) *The Artists Behind the Work*. The article includes maps and many photographs.

1-10. There are some problems with syntax here. The main verb is in line 4, and the dependent clause is completed in line 10. Jennie seemed very weak at this time, and this shows up in this section of the speech, where we have translated more freely.

3. Sisdees. A loan word from English, "sisters," referring to the Alaska Native Sisterhood relationship as well as clan and weaving guild relationships.

11. Weaving. This word is supplied in translation. The Tlingit is literally "this thing."

16-17. Mother . . . Sitka. Jennie's mother was a Kaagwaantaan woman of the Wolf House in Sitka. Thus Jennie's life is connected not only to important events in Klukwan, but in Sitka as well.

20. Paternal aunts. Women of the Raven moiety and Gaanaxteidí clan.

21-25. Father's sister . . . that blanket . . . Deinkul.át. In these lines Jennie introduces a number of themes she will develop later in her speech. "That blanket" refers to the famous history of the Tlingit women learning the technique by unravelling a Tsimshian apron to see how the stitches were done. Deinkul.át was one of Jennie's teachers, so Jennie is also establishing here the line of transmission for her apprentices. Jennie identified the weaver in Winter and Pond photograph 87-197 (Wyatt 1989:130) as her paternal aunt Deinkul.át (Mrs. Benson).

26-30. Stingy, etc. As well as establishing her line of transmission, Jennie emphasizes that she is not stingy with her art, but wants to pass it on to the younger generation.

36-37. God . . . blessing. Jennie emphasizes her belief that her work and talent are gifts of God. This is a very traditional and very conservative expression of faith, recognizing and taking pride in one's personal talent, but also humble in the awareness of its spiritual sources. Lines 36-61 in general emphasize the spiritual aspect of her work.

39-40. This time . . . not by accident. This is a puzzling phrase, and difficult to translate, partly because of the conjunction "ku.aa" and partly because of Jennie's fragmented delivery here. We understand these lines to emphasize Jennie's belief that her talent is not coincidental or accidental, but is part of her upbringing and is and directly connected to her early training by parents who were believers in God. They taught her that if she believed, she would achieve. It is also possible that she is admonishing her apprentices not to weave carelessly. Alternative translations are "not by chance," "not haphazard," "not any old way," or "not carelessly."

42. Chách is a loan word from English "church" and is the common Tlingit word for a Protestant church. Kaneisdi Hít, literally meaning "cross house," is often used for an Orthodox church, "kanéist" being a borrowing of the Russian "krest'."

44. Where my church was. This is a bit awkward in Tlingit as well as in English. Jennie is emphasizing her religious education.

46. Jigatáanch. This is a good example of how Tlingit verbs are constructed. The stem is -tán, generally meaning "to handle an empty container." The stem is surrounded by affixes, including the nominal prefix ji- meaning "hand," and the conjugation prefix -ga- used in combination with the occasional suffix -ch. The direct object is xat. All of this translates into English as "would take me by the hand."

52. Dikaankáawu is a contraction of Dikee Aankáawu, meaning "Lord above," or "God."

55. Teaching her already. This particular reference is to Nora Marks Dauenhauer. Jennie had helped Nora rip back several incorrect rows of weaving the night before, and was already teaching her the proper technique.

62. Tlingit. sh tóogaa and sh tugáa are both heard, and both are correct.

63. My time. This is a transition point in the speech. Jennie recapitulates the idea from lines 6 and 7 that she feels close to death, and is happy to have someone to whom she can pass the tradition on. The rest of her speech explains the history of Chilkat weaving and how she learned it.

66. Ax tláa. This line is possibly a false start which Jennie corrects in the next line. It is difficult to tell for certain, due to the fragmentary delivery here. If this is a false start, and were deleted, the translation would read, "It was my father who paid for it." If the line is left in, the literal translation is something like, "Speaking about my mother—it was my father who paid for her to learn." We have left the line in, and loosely translated "my father paid for my mother's instruction," which is the point she is making here.

68-69. Saantáas' was Jennie's maternal aunt, her mother's sister, a woman of the Kaagwaantaan. Jennie explains (lines 64-78) how her (Raven) father commissioned his sister-in-law (Jennie's maternal aunt) to teach Jennie's mother. Jennie learned by watching them, an interesting example of the method of

learning by observation. Jennie tells about how each time her relatives wove they would make her sit and watch them. This passage also illustrates the tradition of commissioning the opposite moiety for services.

79-81. *Tlél . . . ch'áakw.* In Tlingit, we understand the negative "tlél" to apply to both phrases, and we have translated somewhat freely here to convey Jennie's point.

86. *Kanúkch.* (I would sit.) This is an uncommon form, a first person singular occasional. The underlying form is *ga-xa-núkch*. The subject pronoun *-xa-* and the conjugation prefix *-ga-* contract to *-k-*.

88-93. When Jennie's mother died in 1908, her father gave her the unfinished blanket to complete.

89, 103, 107, 109. The Tlingit text contains some interesting forms of the verb "to weave." (The morphemes are separated by hyphens.)

89. *yan a-ka-w- si-néi* she finished weaving it (perf)

103. *yan ka-x-w-si-néi* I finished weaving it (perf)

107. *a-k-sa-né* he/she weaves it (imperf)

109. *yan néi* when it was finished (sequential).

The verb stem is *-néi*, meaning "to make or do." Combined with the nominal prefix *ka-*, referring to a round object, and the *-s-* classifier, it means "to weave with string-like object." The prefix "yan" means "to completion." The form "yan néi," without the nominal prefix and classifier refers to finishing something in general, as opposed to a weaving.

89-90. That one, black and yellow. The video tape shows Jennie sitting on the couch, pointing to a blanket in progress by Nora Dauenhauer, whose loom was closest at hand. Black and yellow are the traditional colors for Chilkat weaving. The term also indicates progress, the black and yellow rows being the top two rows of border, which must be completed, and the corners turned, before the weaver can begin on the central designs.

94-95. Already knew. Jennie had already learned by sitting behind the weavers and watching them.

96-100. After this . . . my grandmother . . . taught it to me. This passage is unclear to us. Perhaps it refers to her first formal teacher, in contrast to her having looked on as a child and learning by observation. Also, one learns different techniques from different people. Jennie mentioned at one point that she learned the technique of dividing strands from her mother-in-

law. Her paternal grandmother would have been a woman of the Gaanaxteidí.

102. Porcupine. A mining camp about twenty-six miles northwest of Klukwan, where Jennie and her husband spent the summer.

106. Some people. In Tlingit, Jennie uses the word "lingít," meaning a person or a Tlingit.

108. You'll all see. She is addressing her apprentices, emphasizing how difficult and how slow it is to weave. The Tlingit (gaxyisatéen) is second person plural future, relatively uncommon in texts.

110-111. On the video tape, Jennie raised the five fingers of one hand to emphasize her point.

125. Money has a spirit. In Tlingit, the word used for spirit is "á yahaayí." The line could also be translated as "It is said that a spirit exists in money," or "There is a spirit for money." The values Jennie is explaining here are shared by other elders of her generation. Emma Marks also describes how she was taught to keep money for a while "so it gets used to you."

130. Naaxein. This is the Tlingit word for Chilkat Blanket or Chilkat Robe, and, at the suggestion of some weavers, we have tried using it here. The "x" is like the German "ich," the "aa" like English "father," and "xein" rhymes with English "vein."

133. Poor person. This line is the culmination of Jennie's comments on money. Jennie was not "needy" or ever in want, and she attributes her material success to her traditional treatment of God, Church, and Tlingit spiritual things, including money. If a person offends the spirits of natural objects, they can turn against the offender, and cause harm. Therefore, one traditionally takes care to have respect for the spirit world and the spiritual side of the material and physical world. See the introduction and notes to the last set of speeches in this book for more on the treatment of spirits. This is an excellent example of the synthesis of Christian faith and traditional world view.

135. Ax eesh háš. (English, 136, my fathers.) This is possibly a false start, corrected in the next line, but can also be understood as intended, because the art is from her father's moiety, and would include her fathers as well as her paternal aunts.

142. Yan tuytán. Second person plural imperative. The combination of stem (tan) nominal prefix (tu) and directional

prefix (yan) means to place an empty container, namely the mind, in one spot and not move it; i.e., focus, concentrate, or keep your thoughts on something. The form is also interesting because -tan is a singular stem, and one would expect the plural stem with the plural subject pronoun—something like "yan teeyla.á."

147-148. My fathers . . . Gaanaxteidí. A clan of the Raven moiety. They are the keepers of the Frog House in Klukwan. Jennie's father came from this house.

150-154. Tsimshian woman . . . Hayuwáas Tláa. Jennie is alluding here to the history of a Tsimshian woman named Hayuwáas Tláa, who was married to a man of Jennie's father's clan, the Gaanaxteidí. She is credited with bringing the first Chilkat weaving to Klukwan, where the local women learned the technique by unravelling it, and then putting it back together. As she explains in subsequent lines, the style became associated with the Chilkat area, and Klukwan became a center for the art, while it declined among the Tsimshian. Although the term "blanket" is often loosely used as a generic term, the weaving they unravelled was actually a dance apron. This history is also covered in Worl and Smythe (1986:137-140).

160-164. It's still there. The weaving still exists in the community.

166. Only . . . paternal aunts. At first only the Gaanaxteidí women knew the technique.

168. To their sisters-in-law, to us. To the Kaagwaantaan and other women of the Eagle moiety, with whom the Raven moiety, Gaanaxteidí women shared the technique.

169. Yanwaa Sháa. "Navy Women." This is an important group in Tlingit ceremonial life. It seems to have been composed originally of the Kaagwaantaan women, but today Eagle moiety women of other clans also participate. For historical reasons, (but presumably for the taking of a life or for an unpaid debt) the Kaagwaantaan women have for generations claimed the U.S. Navy uniform as a crest, and wear parts of it at memorials. For many years, Jennie was the "Commodore," or ceremonial leader of the Yanwaa Sháa, and therefore ceremonial leader of all the Kaagwaantaan women. See also Worl and Smythe (1986:134) for more on Yanwaa Sháa and photographs.

188. The transcription of Jennie's speech ends here, but the setting was informal, and flowed naturally into a discussion and question and answer session, with Nora Dauenhauer translating.

Two points were clarified. First, Jennie repeated a main point: "Deinkul.át and her side unravelled it. Those who were my paternal aunts were the ones who unravelled it. But the Tsimshian woman was their sister-in-law."

Nora Dauenhauer asked, "What was the name of the Chilkat weaving, the one they unravelled?" Jennie replied, "It is called S'igeidi K'ideit. It's still there now, but it's getting worn out."

Jennie also went on to explain that a few months before the workshop she didn't want to teach because she didn't feel strong enough. She wanted to be excused. But she emphasized her desire to teach, and her gratitude that the younger women are excited about learning.

Notes to the Prayer by Jennie Thlunaut

With this prayer, delivered on February 27, 1985, Jennie Thlunaut opened the second day of the Chilkat Weaving Workshop held at Raven House in Haines, Alaska February 26 - March 8, 1985. The speech was recorded on video tape by Suzanne Scollon as part of the documentation of the workshop, and was transcribed and translated by Nora Marks Dauenhauer. (See the notes to the previous speech for more details.) On the first day, Jennie delivered a welcome speech to her apprentice weavers. The balance of that day and evening was devoted to preparing wool and other materials. Jennie began her actual weaving instruction on the second day, and prior to the instruction, she addressed the workshop. She began with a short speech, delivered standing, in which she commented that she would be ninety-five years old in May. She shared with the women her sense of impending death. The speech culminated in the prayer included here, and lines 1 and 2 actually mark the end of the speech and the beginning of the prayer. Jennie's delivery was very rapid, as is suggested in the long lines.

3. Dikaankáawu is a contraction of Dikee Aankáawu, "Lord above," or "God."

8-9. Sisdees is the English word "sisters." Reference is to other Kaagwaantaan women, and more generally other Eagle women. The term "grandchildren" covers those of the Raven moiety present.

15-16. Keep it to myself . . . learn it. This is a major theme not only in this opening prayer, but in Jennie's welcome speech. She is happy that younger women are taking up the traditional art of Chilkat weaving.

After Jennie's prayer, Austin Hammond, steward of Raven House and host of the Chilkat Weaving Workshop, addressed the apprentices in English. Austin made the point that he also made in the *Haa Shagóon* film (Kawagey 1981) and again on the video tape *In Memory of Jennie Thlunaut* (Dauenhauer and Scollon 1988) that as the Chilkat weavers weave atóow they are also weaving the history of the people: "We wear our history." At one point Austin said, "What you are going to weave now—I have blankets in that box, Chilkat Blankets—that's our history that you are going to start, what you're going to put on it, what kind of design. My grandfather told me, 'Whatever you have, don't sell it.' What they meant was what I got there. 'Don't sell it; it's your history. How are you going to get it back?' "

Notes to the Klukwan Speech by Jennie Thlunaut

On March 6, 1985, toward the end of the Chilkat Weaving Workshop at Raven House, with "two more days to go," as Jennie says in her speech, a banquet for her and the weavers was hosted by the Klukwan Alaska Native Sisterhood at the ANB Hall in Klukwan. After the dinner, Daisy Phillips spoke, introducing members of the Sisterhood and Jennie's relatives and descendants. Gifts of flowers and plants were given to Jennie, after which she moved to the front of the hall and delivered the speech included here.

In many respects, this may be considered Jennie's public farewell speech. There is a strong tone of "unfinished business" in this speech. Although she was to live for another year, Jennie

was preparing to die, and spoke eloquently on this. Feeling herself near death, she thanks those around her and talks about their place in history, as well as her own. There are many poignant lines in this speech. It is also an excellent example of the importance of public expression of gratitude in Tlingit tradition. (For example, there is no single word for "please" in Tlingit, but there is a word for "thank you," and the culture is exquisitely structured around ceremonials and other public occasions for expressing gratitude.) As in other speeches in this book, the importance of *at.óow* and the protocol surrounding their display are emphasized.

Her delivery was in a strong and powerful voice, slow, deliberate, evenly paced (as reflected in the short lines in the transcription and translation) but not weak. A few lines were delivered much more rapidly, and this is reflected in the longer lines. There were a few false starts, and these are indicated in the notes.

3. Klukwan Sisterhood. The Klukwan "Camp" of the Alaska Native Sisterhood.

19. Tlingit. *Ekskóos*; the English word excuse. Elsewhere Jennie mentions that she declined to teach at first due to poor health.

20. White people. Reference is to Jan Steinbright of IANA (Institute of Alaska Native Arts) and Julie Folta, who coordinated the business end of the workshop.

35-38. Dress . . . given to me. Jennie is joking here, and the audience responds with laughter. There are two references here. One is to the "official" T-shirt of the Chilkat Weaving Symposium, designed by Clarissa Lampe Hudson, one of the apprentices. It is beige, with a blue-green Chilkat design. Jennie's daughter Agnes Bellinger was holding the T-shirt up in front of Jennie. Her apprentices also gave her a dress.

37. *Sgóonwaanx'i* is from the English "school man." The *-x'i* is plural possessive. A false start between 36 and 37 has been edited out, and 37 is partially obscured by laughter.

38. *Wuduwa.áx* is a good example of Tlingit verb structure and the use of a classificatory stem. It is perfective (*wu-*) with the 4th person or impersonal pronoun (*du*) usually translated into English as passive voice. The classifier is *-ya-* but appears in its *-wa-* form because it follows the vowel *-u-*. The stem *-áx* means "to

handle cloth." The phrase translates literally as "my hand-to an unspecified person moved cloth."

41. (Tlingit) *Gunxaa Guwakaan* is one of Austin Hammond's Tlingit names. He is on her mind in the present context because he is the host of the Chilkat Weaving Symposium at Raven House, and the steward of Raven House, where Jennie lived when her second husband was steward. Austin is also her son-in-law, his first wife being Jennie's daughter Katherine, who died in 1940.

41a. Austin responds, acknowledging the speaker.

42-43. I will enter the forest with my gratitude for you. This is a magnificent passage, a euphemism for death. She is saying, "I will carry my thanks to you to the grave." The passage could also be translated in different ways. *Daak* is a directional prefix meaning "inland, upland, into the forest," or "inland from the beach"—all in contrast to *daak*, the directional prefix indicating "out to sea," or "seaward from the beach."

43. Stolen stress on *sh tugaa*.

44-46. Because of you. . . . Jennie acknowledges Austin's important role as an organizer and prime mover. "This work" refers to the Weaving Symposium at Raven House.

48-49. Children . . . grandchildren. Biologically or through clan relationship, Jennie is the mother and grandmother of many of the ANS hosts of the banquet.

51. Impose. The passage is difficult to translate. Expressing her gratitude for their hard work, Jennie is apologizing for any imposition arranging the banquet may have caused. Although it is technically a separate sentence, we have combined it in translation with the preceding sentence. The Tlingit, more literally is, "It seems I am imposing on you," or "It seems (to me) as if I am imposing on you." A false start between 50 and 51 has been edited out.

53-54. Joe Hotch, my dear little brother. As a fellow *Kaagwaantaan*, Joe Hotch is Jennie's clan brother, younger in age. Their fathers were both *Gaanaxteidí*. His father was the steward of Whale House until he died.

60. Your village. Klukwan, historical home of Chilkat weaving.

66-68. Feel good . . . won't feel bad . . . if anything happens. Jennie is reaffirming that everything is fine, and that even if she were to die soon, everything is now in order.

73-74. A false start between 73 and 74 has been edited out.

75. That people will see. From here to the end of her speech, Jennie alludes to the video tape being made, and their place in it.

77. Things be brought out here. It would be customary to put the at.óow on Jennie's coffin, and to display them at her memorial. Jennie is confirming her pleasure to be associated with these treasures of her clan while she is still alive, in the presence not only of those assembled for the banquet, but of those who will see the video in the future, even though they were not present in time and place when the speech and display of at.óow happened.

78-84. Even when I die . . . see . . . camera . . . you won't forget me. This is a very poignant passage, in which Jennie again expresses her comfort at the thought of being remembered. We have supplied "camera" in English translation; the Tlingit is literally "that thing."

85-87. How my grandparents' things will be with me here. Pictures will be seen . . . all over the world. Again, Jennie is expressing how happy she feels to be remembered in this total context, along with her ancestors' at.óow.

90-91. Sitka . . . film. The video was actually edited in Haines and Juneau. Some of the footage shot by Suzanne Scollon and Ross Soboleff has been edited and is now available as the video *In Memory of Jennie Thlunaut* (Dauenhauer and Scollon 1988). Other footage is still being edited.

93. Hang it over there. Jennie had hoped to see the original apron of Hayuwáas Tláa included with the other at.óow, and was under the impression that it was present. Unfortunately, the steward was not available during the period of the workshop and banquet, so the weaving was not brought out.

94-96. Because I made it. Jennie is referring here to the Wolf Blanket woven for and worn by her daughter Agnes Bellinger. It is prominent in the video recording.

98. Included. To the at.óow that are Jennie's ancestors' things brought out by Joe Hotch and Richard King, Jennie adds one of her own making. This illustrates a basic concept of folklore—that tradition is both conservative and dynamic; at the same time as a tradition bearer, such as Jennie, follows tradition, she also creates and contributes to it.

Jennie's speech was followed by a presentation by the Kaagwaantaan, who displayed and spoke on their at.óow. The texts of these speeches are not included in this book, but we hope to see them included in a separate publication on Jennie Thlunaut and Chilkat weaving. For now, we will limit ourselves to commentary on some highlights.

After Jennie's speech, Daisy Phillips spoke first, emphasizing the uniqueness of Chilkat weaving, and how it is more complicated and time consuming than other Tlingit art. She also mentioned that Jennie's birthday was coming up ("May 18, she'll be ninety-five years old") and that her birthday was to be officially designated as Yanwaa Sháa Day. (See the biography of Jennie Thlunaut for more on this.) She concluded her speech with introductions of the hosts and Jennie's family. After Daisy Phillips, Jennie's daughter Agnes Bellinger spoke briefly, expressing her thanks.

Joe Hotch spoke next, first in English, then in Tlingit. He welcomed the weavers, expressing how the community was uplifted by their visit. "ANB and ANS will be strengthened by your presence," he said. He then turned to the difficulty of understanding traditional culture because of the erosion of Tlingit language and culture. "English entered our lives and our minds, and is confusing our cultural understanding," he said. He emphasized the importance of each younger generation, including his own, to know the culture and heritage. "Our elders used to say, 'There's going to be a time when we'll be gone from amongst you.'" He stressed the importance of being able to understand and speak publicly about at.óow. With the passing of the elders, this becomes a responsibility of the next generation. The apprentice weavers are the ultimate inheritors of this knowledge, which is as important as the technical skills of weaving. At one point, Joe Hotch addressed Jennie, saying, "What good will it do for me to bring out our at.óow on your coffin, sister? This is why I brought them out here, so that you can see." Reference is to the practice of bringing out at.óow on the coffin of a deceased relative.

After Joe Hotch, Austin Hammond spoke about his fathers' at.óow. These were on the head table at the back of the hall, covered with a cloth. Austin explained the protocol involved in talking about at.óow. Because the Kaagwaantaan at.óow would be presented, it would be important for him to speak of at.óow

from the Lukaax̱ádi side as well, to balance out the spirits. He explained that he would mention Naatúxjayi, a tunic woven by Jennie. Although not physically present, it would be enough just to mention it. (See the notes to the last set of speeches in this book for more on this.)

At this point, the at.óow were unveiled. Joe Hotch spoke briefly about Tom Jimmy, an elder who died in the 1970's, and then Richard King spoke. "All our elders have gone," he began. He expressed the sense of loss with the death of elders, and how, regardless of age, "we are reaching . . . to learn our . . . culture." He then addressed the apprentice weavers, "I am proud to look among you people, and thank you for what you are doing." He compared the situation to flood conditions, and imagined his people standing in the reeds, with water over their feet. "Who will rescue us?" he asked, and continued, with an indirect but implied comparison to the apprentice weavers who are carrying on the tradition, "I'm glad the water is going down, and we can stand on solid ground."

At this point, the Kaagwaantaan displayed and spoke on their at.óow. Among the at.óow were a giant spoon, staff, dagger, hat, dance frontlet (shakee.át), ground squirrel robe and button shirt. Austin Hammond, a child of Kaagwaantaan, spoke with great strength, pride, and joy regarding his father's people's at.óow. Joe Hotch commented "We fight for our fathers' community." Annie Hotch, the mother of Joe Hotch, spoke in Tlingit on the at.óow, and Jennie Thlunaut spoke again, this time on the wolf blanket that she wove and which her daughter Agnes Bellinger was wearing.

These speeches embody the importance of public speaking in conjunction with the display of at.óow, and the importance of display as part of significant cultural events. The speeches over the Kaagwaantaan at.óow show how, for the Tlingit people, the technical skills involved in weaving, as important as they are, are only a small part of Chilkat weaving; the social and spiritual contexts make up the rest, and these, by definition of at.óow as well as tradition, involve more than one generation.

We are reminded here of the Russian poet Boris Pasternak's image (in the poem "Night") of the artist as "hostage of eternity, a prisoner of time." Less poetically stated, we live in a given moment, but we belong to eternity. Or, as the American writer Wendell Berry says, "we live in eternity while we live in

time. It is only by imagination that we know this." (1983: 90). In the Tlingit sense, the artist as "hostage" is also a peacemaker between eternity and time, spiritual reality and the material world. Jennie Thlunaut knew this, and lived this in her weaving and her words.

Notes to Austin Hammond, Fairbanks

This speech was delivered in Fairbanks, on Friday, October 21, 1988, as part of the ceremonies for the raising of the Eagle Kaagwaantaan Totem Pole at the University of Alaska Museum on the campus of University of Alaska-Fairbanks. The speech was recorded on video tape by the University of Alaska Museum, and a copy was made available to Nora Dauenhauer who transcribed and translated it. The raising of the totem pole was the culmination of a series of public programs sponsored jointly by The University of Alaska Museum and the Institute of Alaska Native Arts (IANA) with support from the National Endowment for the Arts. The other events included the actual carving of the pole and panel discussions regarding the process.

The pole was carved by Nathan Jackson, a Tlingit from the Chilkat area now living in Ketchikan, and his apprentice Lee Wallace. At the top is the Eagle looking down; below this is the Wolf with a splinter of bone stuck between its teeth. Below the wolf is a Brown Bear. All of these images are important in Austin Hammond's speech.

The totem pole raising took place just outside the Museum at sunset on a clear early winter subarctic afternoon. The temperature had dropped to -5°F, and the ground was frozen. This was an unusual setting, as most Tlingit totems are raised in Southeast Alaska where it doesn't get this cold in October! The totem raising generated much interest, and approximately 600 people of mixed backgrounds came to observe, including participants of the Alaska Federation of Natives Conference. Several Tlingit clan leaders were invited from villages from Southeast Alaska to officiate in the raising and dedication.

Oratory was first delivered outside. The pole was then carried to the pit by random volunteers from among the observers.

Ropes were tied to the pole and volunteers pulled the pole into the hole with a fanfare of Tlingit drumming. All present could hear and feel its end hit the frozen bottom of the pit. As the pole stood up it came to life. Following the outdoors oratory the splinter of the bone between the teeth of the figure of the wolf was pulled out by Austin Hammond. This action symbolizes the removal by the guests of the pain of grief suffered by the hosts because of the recent death of one of their members.

After the totem was raised everyone went inside the museum for the last half of the ceremony, the dedication. Again, oratory was given by the hosts, guests and observers. In all, three songs were sung, two from the Eagle side and one from the Raven side. The pole was given the name "Everyone's Ancestor" by George Dalton. Gifts were passed to guests and observers at the ceremony by the wives of the Kaagwaantaan men. IANA provided souvenir scarfs for the totem. Food was served, including pizza. It was different to eat pizza at a totem pole dedication, but culturally acceptable, with local businesses contributing to the ceremony. Even though pizza is not a traditional Tlingit ceremonial food, the group dynamics of community involvement followed the tradition of a host community receiving outside guests.

Each clan member who came from Southeast Alaska took part in the raising and dedication. George Dalton, along with fellow Eagle leaders Charlie Joseph and Daniel Johnson, acted as the hosts. Austin Hammond and the other (Raven) Lukaax̄ádi acted as the major guest group along with the rest of the Ravens. Just before the totem was raised, oratory was delivered by leaders of both the host and the guest groups. All of this follows the group dynamics of traditional Tlingit ceremonies, in which clans of the opposite moiety interact with each other.

Among those of the Eagle moiety attending were Kaagwaantaan: George Dalton (Hoonah), Richard King, Alfred Widmark, and Richard Warren (Klukwan); Dakl'aweidí: Judson Brown (Klukwan); Teikweidí: Daniel Johnson, and Charlie Joseph (Angoon); Chookaneidí: Ernest Hillman (Hoonah); Shangukeidí: Rosita Worl and Sandra Samaniego (Juneau), and Carmen Plunkett (Anchorage). Of the Raven moiety were Takdeintaan: Richard Dalton (who served as naa káani, or traditional master of ceremonies) and Jessie Dalton (Hoonah); Lukaax̄ádi: Austin Hammond and Nathan Jackson (Haines),

Nora Dauenhauer and Paul Marks (Juneau), Linda Dugaqua (Fairbanks) and James Jackson (Anchorage); Deisheetaan: Cyril George and Verna Johnson (Angoon); L'uknaxádi: Albert Davis (Sitka).

When an art object is dedicated, songs to fit the occasion are sung by the Eagle and Raven groups. The participants from all over the state helped support their clan leaders. For example, eight members of Geesán Dancers sang for Austin Hammond's portion of the ceremony: Austin Hammond, Sandra Samaniego, Linda Dugaqua, James Jackson, Nathan Jackson, Paul Marks, Nora Dauenhauer and Rosita Worl. Likewise, the Tlingit dance group from Anchorage led by Carmen Plunkett supported Charlie Joseph with his song.

Most of the traditional oratory was delivered in Tlingit, with Walter Soboleff interpreting. Much of it was of extremely high quality, and we are hoping to transcribe and translate these speeches eventually, either in book or video tape format. The event was too late for us to include as much as we would like in this book, not only because of the time involved in transcription and translation, but in researching notes and biographies.

Austin's speech is a good example of traditional Tlingit ceremonial process in a contemporary and innovative setting with non-traditional group dynamics. At one point he addressed the problem of conflict between traditional Tlingit protocol and contemporary western, explaining how traditionally such a pole would be commissioned by a clan, not an organization such as a museum.

As a sample of another speech, we include here a response to Austin's speech given by Charlie Joseph, Teikweidí of Angoon. (This is a different Charlie Joseph than the man from Sitka whose speeches are included in the main body of this book.)

*Speech by Charlie Joseph, Eagle, Teikweidí of Angoon
(translated by Walter Soboleff)*

I will say thank you
to Austin Hammond
for the words he gave us.
They will not lie here.
His speech

will echo to Angoon.
 When a brown bear
 is killed
 this is when
 a person would walk around
 in the direction of the setting sun.
 I am thinking now
 about the words
 of my father's brother
 I say thank you to him.

(Austin Hammond) *Thank you.*

We will not stand
 in the spirit of sadness.
 We will be returning
 with good feelings.
 I say thank you
 to all of them.
 This is all.

*Speech by Charlie Joseph of Angoon
 (Tlingit transcription)*

Gunalchéesh yóo áwé yakkw_uwasakáa
 yá Daanawaak
 aadéi yoo x'atánk haa jeet aawateeyi yé.
 Tlél yaa yándeí kgatee.
 Aangóondei áwé gugwas.áax
 du yoo x'atángi.
 Xóots áyú
 kaa jeet nagatéen,
 aagáa áwé
 gagaan yaa naxíxi yáx áyú du daa yaa agagútch.
 Yáa yeedát áwé yéi a daa ax tuwatee
 du yoo x'atángi
 ax sáni.

Gunalchéesh yóo áwé daayaxaká.

(Daanawaak) *Gunalchéesh.*

Tlél xa toowunéekw teen
 yándeí gaxtoonaa.
 Toowulak'é teen áwé

kúxdei yaa kugaxtudatéen.
 Gunalchéesh yóo has yaxwsikaa
 Idakát háa.
 Yéi áyá.

7. Lyekwudusdéich. Charlie Joseph, a Teikweidí elder from Angoon. He was accompanied by Daniel Johnson, a fellow Teikweidí elder of Angoon. The brown bear is an at.óow of the Teikweidí. They are present because one of their at.óow is depicted on the pole.

14-39. At one time this happens. . . . Austin compares Charlie Joseph to the man in his story. Charlie's relative, a Teikweidí, had just passed away, but Charlie put his grief aside to travel to Fairbanks for the totem pole raising because he felt it was too important an occasion to miss. Austin's story is an extended simile or parable. He recapitulates his point in line 37, "This is how you felt, Lyekwudusdéich," and explains it further in lines 38-39, "When we were to have this ceremony, it was as if you put your mourning aside for this."

36. Village . . . boring. This is a proverb. Austin explained to us that, "People wake up when someone dies." When someone in the community or family dies, awareness is increased, and the survivors' sense of their own mortality is heightened.

40-41. Reason . . . you didn't finish. It is customary to sing only part of a song when there has been a death in the family that has not yet been resolved with a memorial.

48. Shunlihaash. This is a Lukaaxádi song composed by Kul'ootl', a man who was about to be killed in payment for the death of another man. He was going to be killed according to the Tlingit law that a person of equivalent status must pay with his life for the life of a person who was killed, even if he was not necessarily personally responsible for the killing. The song was performed between lines 103 and 104 of Austin's speech, where we have included the text and translation. The words describe how the composer felt at the moment. The second verse refers to a house he was building when it was time to die. Austin and his fellow Ravens are offering this Lukaaxádi song for the removal of Charlie Joseph's grief, and in answer to the display of the bear at.óow on the totem pole. Also in payment of his kinsman's carving the pole. See below.

55. Nephew. Austin interrupts the flow of his explanation to call his nephew to his side. The nephew is Nathan Jackson, Yéil Yádi, a Lukaax.ádi carver who was one of the carvers of the Eagle-Wolf pole being raised.

62-63. Thing. The Tlingit word is ádi, the possessive form of át, meaning "thing," as in the compound noun "at.óow." Reference is to the Eagle as an at.óow of the Eagle moiety clans, and the wolf as an at.óow of the Kaagwaantaan. Both Austin and Nathan are children of Kaagwaantaan.

66-69. Awkward . . . Tlingit . . . commissioned . . . touch . . . thing of this nature. Austin is explaining the complexity of the commissioning of an at.óow according to traditional Tlingit protocol. The present pole was commissioned not by a Tlingit clan of the opposite moiety, but by the University Museum and the Institute of Alaska Native Art. It was traditionally awkward for or embarrassing to the owners of an at.óow for someone other than the clan itself to commission a pole unless it was in payment for some kind of a debt. This is not the case here; no clan debt is involved, but to avoid any misunderstanding, Austin is explaining how different cultural assumptions may be in conflict. His speech attempts to resolve this situation, offering words and song in payment, and addressing the wider contemporary setting. In the lines following, 71-82, Austin addresses this wider setting, with people from all over the state and from different cultures participating in this event. Although the event itself is innovative and not traditional, he and his fellow elders act in traditional ways to "adopt" and adapt to the new situation.

84. Face the people's weapons. Reference is to the "stand-in," the man going to be killed. A group of men from the community would be gathered to share in the execution.

97. Last one. Austin is the last of his generation of clan elders physically residing in Raven House in Haines.

110-111. My grandfather . . . Gunxaa Guwakaan. Reference is to Austin's grandfather Gunxaa Guwakaan, James Klanott, one of the Lukaax.ádi elders, who sang this song in his old age at the memorial for K'eedzáa, Alfred Andrews, in Juneau, about 1956. Other singers were Austin's mother Jennie Marks, Emma Marks, Nellie Willard, Jessie Kasko, Jim Marks, Florence Marks, Peter Marks, and Horace Marks. James Klanott was among the first to be recorded by his family members Horace and John Marks. Other songs were recorded at the same time, and through this

taping, the Marks Trail Dancers also remember and sing the song of K'eedzáa, "Waasa haa kgwatée."

114. I'm going . . . to the other side. To the land of the dead, *Dakankú*.

116. It is me speaking. The voice of *Kul'ootl'* is Austin's.

130. Nephew. Again, reference is to Nathan Jackson.

140. Outside. Austin is referring to the first part of the ceremony, held outdoors, when and where the pole was raised. He is now speaking indoors during the continuation of the event.

149. Hunting. The Tlingit text is literally "walking," an indirect reference to hunting.

150. When he saw the wolf. Reference is to the origin of the *Kaagwaantaan at.óow*, which he will now explain. In the story that follows, Austin explains the significance of the bone splinter that was placed in the teeth of the totem, and which Austin extracted. This action symbolizes the removal by the guests of the pain of grief suffered by the hosts because of the recent death of a clan member.

201. Also my paternal uncle. Reference is to the *Chookaneidí at.óow*. Austin is also a nephew and child of *Chookaneidí*, whose *at.óow* include the brown bear crest. Austin's father, Jim Marks, was of the Brown Bear House.

210. Ask for help. Reference is to the Tlingit tradition of talking to animals in general and mammals in particular, especially brown bears when one is in their territory.

Notes to the Speeches for the Removal of Grief from the Memorial for Jim Marks

This set of speeches was recorded in performance in Hoonah, October 1968, on audio cassette by Rosita Worl. The speeches were transcribed in Tlingit and translated into English by Nora Dauenhauer. This set of speeches is extremely important because it is, as far as we know, the first and only published set of speeches recorded in performance from a Tlingit memorial. It is certainly the first set collected in performance, transcribed, translated, and annotated by a scholar for whom Tlingit is a first language. The Tlingit texts were first published in *Doo Goojée*