X. Conclusion: The Past, Present, and Future of Tlingit Oratory
   A. The Paper Trail: The Written Record of Tlingit Oratory
   B. Tlingit and Other Native American Oratory
   C. The Viability of Tlingit Oratory

Moieties, Clans, and House Groups

All of Tlingit society is organized in two reciprocating divisions called moieties (***moiety***: pronounced moy-uh-tee, meaning "half," or "one of two equal parts," and defined as "one of two basic complementary tribal subdivisions"). Tlingit society is also ***matrilineal***—organized through the mother's line. Although the words are often popularly confused, the term "matrilineal," meaning that a person's blood line is traced primarily through the mother, is not the same as "matriarchal," meaning "ruled by women." Tlingit society is matrilineal, but not matriarchal. A Tlingit individual is born into his or her mother's moiety, clan, and house group.

The two moieties are named Raven and Eagle. Raven is sometimes also known as Crow, and Eagle as Wolf. Crow and Wolf may in fact be older terms. For example, the word "wolf" always appears in songs as the term for that moiety, and women of the Raven moiety are usually referred to as Tsaxweil Sháa, meaning "Crow Women." Crow and Wolf are commonly used by the Inland Tlingit, and Raven and Eagle on the coast. In contrast to clans, moieties as such have no political organization or power, but exist for the purposes of ***exogamy*** (regulation of marriage) and exchange of other ritual services, especially mortuary ones. Traditionally, a person married into the opposite moiety, although this pattern is no longer strictly observed, and marriage within the same moiety and marriage to non-Tlingits are both common and accepted today. The moieties also group the clans for other kinds of reciprocal actions. For example, Ravens not only marry Eagles, but address songs and speeches to them as well, and vice versa. Because most formal speeches are delivered in the context of a host-guest relationship with one moiety hosting the other, oratory also crosses moiety lines. Most

speakers begin by addressing relatives of the opposite moiety, such as fathers, paternal aunts, uncles, grandparents, and in-laws.

Each moiety consists of many ***clans***. Some of the Raven moiety clans mentioned in this book are Lukaax̲.ádi, L'uknax̲.ádi, T'ak̲deintaan, Kiks.ádi, Suk̲tineidí, Tuk̲.weidí, X'atka.aayí, K̲ak'weidí, and Deisheetaan. Among the Eagle (Wolf) moiety clans mentioned in this book are Kaagwaantaan, Wooshkeetaan, Chookaneidí, Shangukeidí, Yanyeidí, Teik̲weidí, Dak̲l'aweidí, and Tsaagweidí. Certain clans, such as the Kiks.ádi and Kaagwaantaan, are fairly well-known in English by these Tlingit names; others are less well-known. Also, some of the Tlingit clan names are more difficult for English speakers to pronounce than others. As a result, many of the clans now also have popular English names, usually derived from a major crest. Among these are:

Eagle Moiety

Shangukeidí	-	Thunderbird
Dak̲l'aweidí	-	Killer Whale
Teik̲weidí	-	Brown Bear

Raven Moiety

Deisheetaan	-	Beaver
L'uknax̲.ádi	-	Coho [Silver Salmon]
Lukaax̲.ádi	-	Sockeye [Red Salmon]
L'eineidí	-	Dog Salmon

Thus, when speaking Tlingit, a person might use the term Dak̲l'aweidí, but when speaking English he or she might say "Killer Whale," or "Killer Whale People." The English name is not a translation of the Tlingit name, but is based on the crest.

Most clans are dispersed though a number of communities, but in any given commmunity certain clans predominate for historical reasons. For example, the Kiks.ádi, Kaagwaantaan and L'uknax̲.ádi (Coho) are strong in Sitka; Deisheetaan and Teik̲weidí in Angoon; Chookaneidí and T'ak̲deintaan in Hoonah; Lukaax̲.ádi in the Chilkoot area, etc. Political organization rests at the clan level; clans own heraldic crests, personal names and other property. The Tlingit term for this property is at.óow, and it will be explained in detail below. Each clan has traditional leaders, but there is no single leader for all the Ravens or Eagles. The Tlingit terms for leaders include hít s'aatí

(house master or house leader), naa shuháni (one who stands at the head of his clan), káa sháadei háni (leader; one who stands at the head of men). Lingít tlein (big person) was also used for respected elders. A military leader or warrior was called x'eigaa káa. The term "chief" is a European and American innovation. The Russians used the term "toion" for a Tlingit leader.

House Group, sometimes called "lineage" in anthropological literature, is a difficult concept because it applies both to kinship and residence, and these do not completely overlap. Most simply stated, the house was where people lived or once lived and this was part of their identity. Readers interested in more detail should consult works by de Laguna, Kan, McClellan, and others listed in the reference section of this book. For purposes of this introduction it is best to understand house groups as a kinship term, realizing that not all members of a house group physically reside in the ancestral house, that not all residents of a clan house are members of that house, and that most of the original houses are no longer standing. Various house groups are mentioned in the speeches, annotations, and biographies.

The easiest way to approach the term is to understand it as historically referring to both residence and kinship, but now used only as a term of kinship. Due to marriage and living patterns, not all residents of a house were members of the house group. Spouses, for example, were of the opposite moiety. In technical terms, Tlingit tradition was avuncilocal: a newly married couple would theoretically reside in the clan house of the husband's uncle, often because the nephew was already living there before his marriage. Also, not all members of a particular group were physical residents of the house, but might live in other houses or other villages. Women and their children, for example, would be genealogically of one house group but reside in another. As the population expanded, residents separated and new houses would be built. As houses grew in population and stature, they sometimes took on the status of independent clans, closely related to the parent clan. Thus, many contemporary clans began as house groups of an older clan and therefore share some of the original crests and personal names of their common ancestry. Many clan names (such as Kaagwaantaan and Deisheetaan) derive historically from house names.

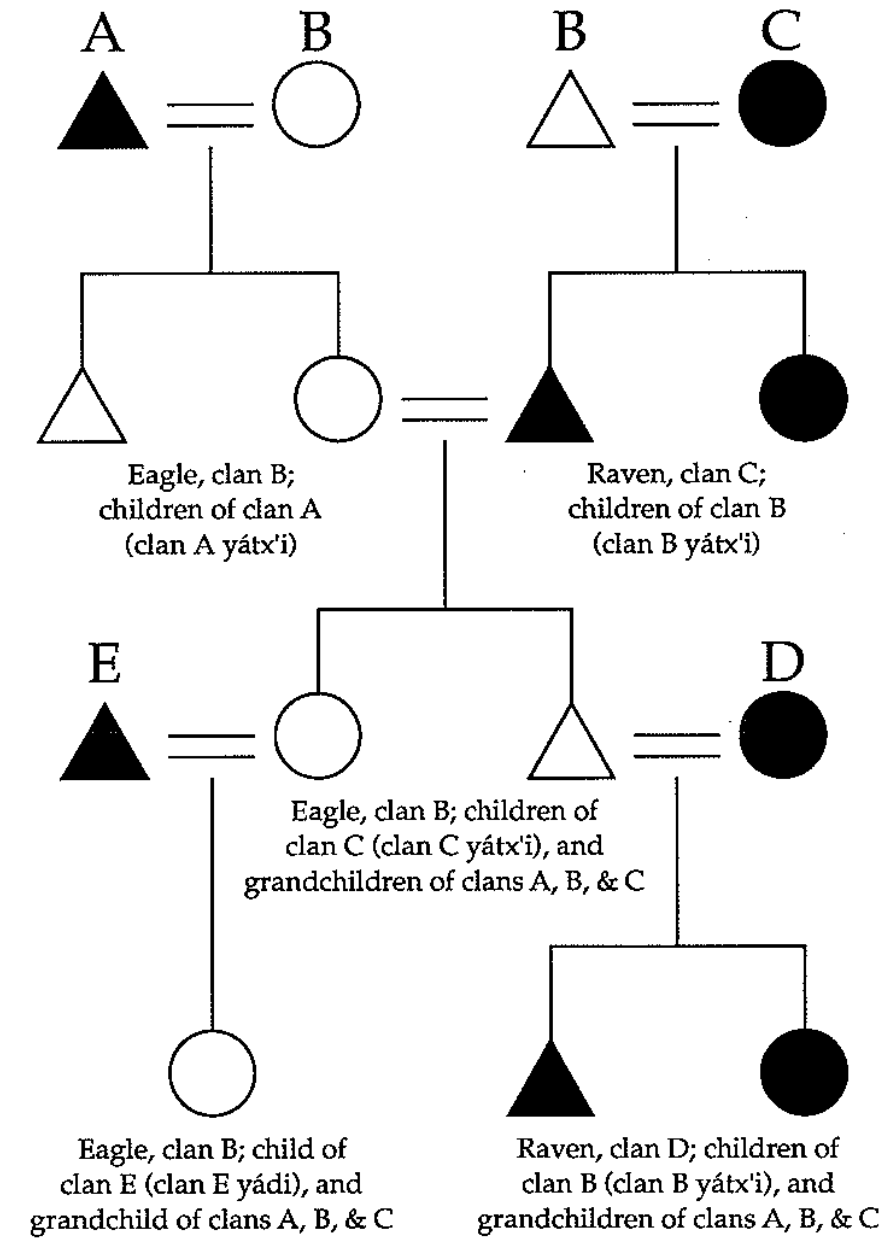
Each clan traditionally included many house groups, although this genealogical awareness has been largely lost in recent generations due to changes in physical housing arrangements brought about by Protestant missionary and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) pressure. Other social changes in the twentieth century also contributed to the rise of single-family dwellings and led to the demise of traditional community houses. Changes in marriage practices were encouraged by the missionaries, and changes in the rules for inheritance were sanctioned by American law.

Finding English terms always presents a problem when discussing non-English concepts. For example, there is no single, generic term in Tlingit to cover what we call "clan" in this book, and what is sometimes referred to in anthropological literature as "sib." Likewise, there is no single Tlingit term for "moiety." The Tlingit word "naa" is used for both concepts and appears in Tlingit in various combinations: yéil naa, ch'áak' naa, naa káani, and naa yádi, meaning raven moiety, eagle moiety, an in-law of the moiety, and child of the moiety. Also, the word is used in such phrases as "Kaagwaantaan naa," which translates as Kaagwaantaan clan. The Tlingit term for "opposite moiety or clan" is g̲uneit kanaayí. Borrowed by linguists, this is also the origin of the "na" part of the linguistic term Na-Dene, referring to the greater Tlingit-Athapaskan-Eyak language family. Likewise, there is a Tlingit term for house group or lineage, "taan," a combining form that does not appear alone, but always in conjunction with the word for house, hít; for example, Xóots Hít Taan, People of the Brown Bear House, or Brown Bear House Group. The word also appears in many clan names, reflecting, as noted above, the origin of the clan as an earlier house group; for example, Deisheetaan, from Deishú Hít Taan, People of the House at the End of the Road, and Kaagwaantaan, from Kaawagaani Hít Taan, People of the Burned House. The English words "tribe" and "nation" are also heard in popular speech, and the meaning varies from speaker to speaker, ranging from a designation for all the Tlingit (Haida or Tsimshian) people, to moiety, or clan. In addition to the clan names as listed above, many appear in variant forms for women, such as Chookan sháa, L'ukna̲x sháa, and Shanguka sháa. The ending -sháa (meaning "women") is exclusively for women; -eidí and -ádi may be used for men or women or for a mixed group; it means "people of."

The father's clan of an individual is just as significant as that of the mother, but it functions and is recognized in a different way from that of the mother's clan. To be a socially recognized person in the traditional way requires actions by and references to both the mother's and the father's clans. Because the traditional social pattern called for marriage into the opposite moiety, a man's children were traditionally never of his own but of his wife's moiety and clan, because individuals follow not their father's but their mother's line. This is a very important concept in Tlingit social structure, visual art, and oral literature, especially songs and oratory. While a person is of his or her mother's clan, he or she is also known as a "child of" the father's clan. The Tlingit term for "child of" is yádi; the plural is yátx'i. For example, a man or woman may be Raven moiety, Kiks.ádi, and Kaagwaantaan yádi. The term Kaagwaantaan yádi or child of Kaagwaantaan does not mean that a person is of that clan, but that his or her father is of that clan.

This concept is basic to any serious understanding of the Tlingit culture in general, and of its oral literature in particular. Most songs, especially love songs, are addressed to members of the opposite moiety, who are identified according to their fathers' clan rather than their mothers' and their own. For example, if the Eagle Kaagwaantaan were singing to the Raven Kiks.ádi, the words of a song might be "Where are you, children of Kaagwaantaan." The song would never open with a phrase such as "Where are you, Kiks.ádis?" The father's clan is most often the clan of the composer as well; such a song would be owned by the clan directing it to their children (of the opposite moiety).

Not only the father's, but the paternal grandfather's clan is also very important in Tlingit oratory and social structure, especially where ceremonials for the departed are involved. The paternal grandfather and his grandchildren are ideally of the same clan, and always of the same moiety. The Tlingit term for this relationship is chushgadach<u>x</u>án, meaning "grandchildren of each other." The paternal grandparent relationship is especially important in ceremonial settings and will be discussed in detail in Sections IV and VII of this introduction.
Another concept of kinship basic to the oratory is reference to mothers and fathers in the plural. For example, all men of the father's clan, and, by extension, even all men of the entire opposite moiety may be considered tribal or clan fathers,



Female

Male

Raven Moiety

Eagle Moiety

Marriage

A, B, C, D, and E signify clans.

Sample Genealogy Chart

Children are born into the mother's clan, are children of the father's clan, and grandchildren of other clans.

Figure 1.

depending on the circumstances. The same kinship term is used for all of these relationships. This is likewise true for mothers: maternal aunts and by extension all women of the mother's clan may be referred to as clan mothers. Although a person has only one biological father and mother, according to the Tlingit kinship system an individual usually has more than one person who can be considered his or her father or mother. This can be confusing in English translation and transcription of oral records partly because the Tlingit use of terms is culturally different from English, partly because the English morpheme -s marks both plural and possession, and partly because of spelling conventions involving the apostrophe to mark possession. For example:

mother	—	singular
mothers	—	plural
mother's	—	singular, possessive
mothers'	—	plural, possessive.

At first glance, some of the plural possessives may seem to be typographical errors, but the speakers are in fact referring to something owned collectively by several women, all of whom are tribally considered to be a person's mother. This use of terms also extends to grandparents. A person need not be a biological ancestor to be considered a grandparent, if he or she is of the grandparent clan or house group.

The Tlingit term léelk'w, meaning grandparent, is used both biologically and ceremonially. Biologically it refers to a person of either sex and of either moiety. There are no separate Tlingit terms for grandmother and grandfather, or for maternal and paternal grandparents. Ceremonially, because of the pattern of exchange of gifts, songs, and speeches across moiety lines, the term usually refers to paternal grandparents, who use their at.óow to give help and support to their children and grandchildren in time of grief and spiritual need. The central example in this book is the memorial for Jim Marks, where speeches for the removal of grief are given to the mourning Eagles by the parent (Lukaax̲.ádi) and grandparent (T'ak̲deintaan) clans of the Raven moiety. Figure 1 is a simplified genealogy chart that summarizes the basic concepts of Tlingit social structure.

Ownership and Reciprocity

Two main features characterize Tlingit culture and oral tradition—ownership and reciprocity (popularly called "balance"). Songs, stories, artistic designs, personal names, land, and other elements of Tlingit life are considered either real or incorporated property of a particular clan. The Tlingit term for this concept of both tangible and intangible property is *at.óow*, and the following section of this introduction is devoted entirely to this important concept. The use of at.óow, including the form, content, and immediate setting of oral tradition, operates in a larger context of reciprocity or "balance." The form and content of verbal and visual art or iconography are congruent with each other and with social structure. Stated simply, the patterns of the visual art and oral literature follow and reinforce the patterns of social structure.

The two moieties, Eagle and Raven, balance each other. Members of one moiety select marriage partners from the other, and they direct love songs and most formal oratory to each other. In host-guest relationships at ceremonials, they share in each others' joy and they work to remove each others' grief. This balancing is reflected in the oral literature itself. For example, the exchange of speeches follows the pattern of exchange of marriage, goods, and services, and the images in the songs and speeches are built around references of relationship to the opposite moiety. There are many examples of the principle of balance in this book. Raven guests address Eagle hosts in the "Speeches for the Removal of Grief" from the memorial for Jim Marks. The speeches for Charlie Joseph and the Ḵajaa Héen Dancers from the Sealaska Elders Conference demonstrate how a song or speech by a host must be answered by a guest—not in rivalry or competition, but so that the words of the speaker or singer may be received formally or somehow supported rather than "wandering aimlessly," or "lying unattended." Within the speeches themselves, information and images may be balanced artistically and emotionally: images of the physical and spiritual, the living and departed, humans and animals, living creatures and the land.

The art of public speaking is highly valued in traditional and contemporary Tlingit society. Tlingit oratory tends to be complex in style and content. As the examples in this collection

show, a speaker must be the master of several areas of knowledge: genealogy—the family trees of everybody involved; kinship—the Tlingit clan and house group system; visual art or iconography—the Tlingit clan crests as portrayed in totems, masks, hats, dance headdresses, Chilkat robes, button blankets, tunics, and similar regalia; songs, histories, legends, and other narratives; traditional spirituality and concepts of the afterlife; and protocol—rules of order.

The speaker must know these in isolation and must also know how to connect them poetically, using simile, metaphor, and other rhetorical devices. The speaker must also be sensitive to human emotional needs. He or she must have a bearing of poise and dignity, and must know how to use his or her words to give comfort, encouragement, and strength to people in times of grief or at other rites of passage and times of crisis. A Tlingit public speaker must know how to build appropriate bridges between individuals, families, clans, and communities, and between the material and spiritual worlds. The speeches presented here provide an excellent introduction to Tlingit society because they illustrate how all aspects of Tlingit language and culture are interconnected.

II. AT.ÓOW

Most of the poetic images in Tlingit oratory are based on ***at.óow.*** This concept is discussed at length in the introduction to *Haa Shuká,* the first book in this series (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1987, hereafter referred to as *Haa Shuká*) but a review is useful here. At.óow is the single most important spiritual and cultural concept introduced through the narratives published in *Haa Shuká.* This fundamental concept underlies all dimensions of Tlingit social structure, oral literature, iconography, and ceremonial life. It is the spiritual, social, and rhetorical anchor for the oratory in this book.[2] The word at.óow means, literally, "an owned or purchased thing." The concepts of "thing" on the one hand, and "owned," or "purchased," on the other, are equally important.

The "thing" may be land (geographic features such as a mountain, a landmark, an historical site, a place such as Glacier Bay) a heavenly body (the sun, the dipper, the milky way) a

spirit, a personal name, an artistic design, or a range of other "things." It can be an image from oral literature such as an episode from the Raven cycle on a tunic, hat, robe or blanket; it can be a story or song about an event in the life of an ancestor. Ancestors introduced in *Haa Shuká* can themselves be at.óow—Kaasteen, Kaats', Duktootl' and the others. These are the "léelk'w hás," the grandparents of a clan. At.óow can also be spirits of various kinds: shaman spirits and spirits of animals. These spiritual beings as at.óow are discussed at length at the end of this introduction.

The speeches in this book are rich in examples of at.óow. For example, Naatúxjayi mentioned by Austin Hammond is an at.óow, both the immediate physical woven Chilkat tunic, and the ancestral spirit it depicts. Jessie Dalton identifies the shirt named after the event in the Raven cycle, where Raven goes down to the bottom of the sea on bull kelp—Geesh Daax Woogoodi Yéil K'oodás'. Matthew Lawrence uses images of Tsalxaan (Mt. Fairweather) and William Johnson mentions Gaanaxáa. These are at.óow of the Hoonah T'akdeintaan—not only the geographical places, but their representation on hats and other visual art, and the spiritual places and conditions the iconography represents. Jessie Dalton describes the Frog and Mountain Tribe Dog Hats; David Kadashan refers to the Sun Mask. These are all at.óow. The speeches by Charlie Joseph and those delivered in reply to him at the 1980 Sealaska Elders Conference are also based entirely on the concept of at.óow and their use.

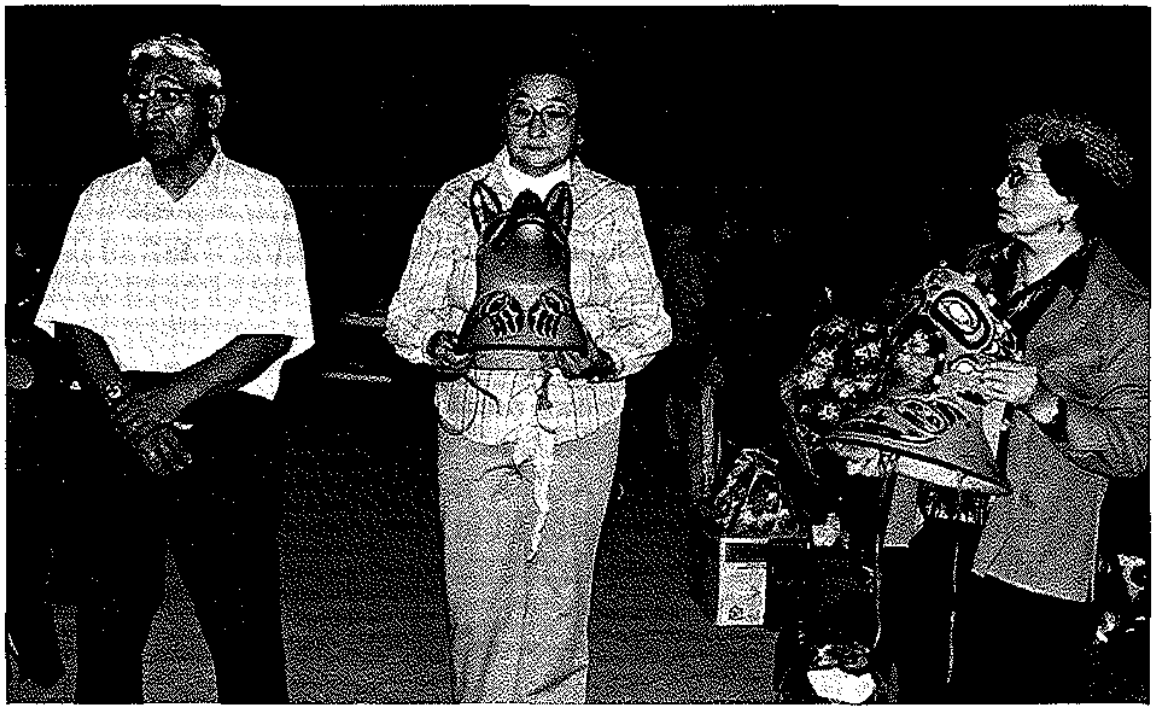
Through ***purchase*** by an ancestor, a "thing" becomes ***owned*** by his or her descendants. The purchase and subsequent ownership may come through money, trade, or peacemaking, as collateral on an unpaid debt, or through personal action, usually involving loss of life. The at.óow central to the speeches in this collection recall the actions of ancestors whose deeds purchased them and the at.óow are therefore precious to the Tlingit people. Most often, and most seriously, the purchase is through human life—giving one's life for the image. In Tlingit tradition, the law is that a person pays for a life he or she has taken. Payment may be with one's own life, with someone else's life as a substitute, or with something of great value. Hence, if an animal (or natural object or force) takes the life of a person, its image may be taken by relatives in payment, and the descendants

then own this image taken in payment. For example, in the "Glacier Bay History" by Amy Marvin in *Haa Shuká* all of the following are the "property" or at.óow of the Chookaneidí clan: the name Kaasteen, the land of Glacier Bay, the glacier itself, the story and the songs, the visual image of the Woman in the Ice, and the physical and now spiritual ancestor herself. All these at.óow were purchased with the life of a Chookaneidí ancestor. The clan histories and other stories recall how such an event happens in the life of an ancestor or progenitor and various aspects of the event become the clan's at.óow. The ancestor, the design, the spirit of the animal, the song, the story, and the land where it happened are all important in the spiritual, social, and ceremonial life of the people. The pattern is the same for most of the stories in *Haa Shuká*, for all of the at.óow mentioned in speeches in this book, and for all of Tlingit culture and oral literature.

An event, person, place or art object doesn't automatically receive instant status as at.óow. The design is usually executed initially as a mere piece of art. An individual or clan traditionally commissions an artist of the opposite moiety to create it, although it is becoming increasingly common for members of a clan to produce their own art work. The art object will always feature an at.óow of the clan, such as a frog or bear, a mountain, or a person such as Strong Man tearing the sea lion in half. These images don't "tell a story," but allude to or make reference to stories already known, in much the same way as a cross does not "tell" the Christmas or Easter "story," but alludes to the entire spiritual tradition. Once created, the art object is then brought out during a ceremonial and given a name. Speeches are made and the art is paid for by the person who commissioned it and his or her relatives. It was not the traditional practice to set or negotiate a fee in advance. Usually many members of the clan or house group joined to help pay for it and provide gifts to the artist, and in some cases contribute to the cost of materials.

When the individual owner dies, the at.óow is referred to by a special term: *l s'aatí át*—a "masterless thing," an object with no owner. The object may then go to the stewardship of the next of kin in the same clan, or to a person who has contributed toward funeral expenses, or who in other ways gave moral, spiritual, or financial support to the owner. In most cases this support comes from a clan leader who then inherits the estate of

the deceased. If there is no one to take it, then the l s'aatí át goes into communal ownership as part of the clan collection held by a steward. When there is no one to claim them individually as a steward, these at.óow are sometimes displayed on a table during ceremonials. They are worn or held in hand during the Widow's Cry. Under certain conditions, newly made at.óow may be added to the collection of l s'aatí át, as when Emma Marks included her new sets of beadwork and gave the beaded porpoises to the Chookaneidí women as part of the distribution of her deceased husband Willie's property.



William Johnson speaking on the T'akdeintaan at.óow during the Widow's Cry of the memorial for Willie Marks, Hoonah, October 1981. Hilda See holds the Mt. Tribe's Dog Hat (Shaatukwáan Keidlí) and Elizabeth Govina holds the Mt. Fairweather Hat (Tsalxáantu Sháawu S'áaxw). Elizabeth Govina, T'akdeintaan, is the niece of Willie Marks. The Tsalxáantu Sháawu and Shaatukwáan Keidlí spirits were visions of her Grandmother, Shkík, a shaman of the T'akdeintaan. This is the kind of setting in which William and his fellow orators delivered the speeches during the 1968 memorial for Jim Marks which are featured in this book. Photo by R. Dauenhauer.

In other situations, members of a clan may join in commissioning at.óow to be made for one of its leaders. In the event that the owner dies, this at.óow will become community-owned with a steward designated to care for it. For example, the Lukaax̲.ádi Raven House collection is a consolidation of at.óow from many house groups and deceased individuals now kept as a single collection with one steward.

In other words, while newly made art objects may depict already existing clan heraldic designs that are at.óow, the new objects themselves are not automatically at.óow, but may eventually become so through ceremonial use and dedication. For example, vests of felt or moosehide, hats and headbands and felt button blankets depicting at.óow are common in Tlingit communities. They are frequently worn for Indian dancing and at Forty Day Parties and memorials, both of which will be described in detail below. These are called ash koolyát kanaa.ádi—"play clothes." Once an owner of such a piece decides it is important enough, he or she will bring it out in memory of a deceased relative at a ceremonial and give it a name. It is then usually put on the owner by an appropriate member of the opposite moiety according to genealogy. Once this is done, the piece itself becomes an at.óow in its own right. It has been "purchased" or "paid for," as the at.óow it depicts was paid for in ancestral times. At.óow may also increase in value. Money brought out in a ceremonial in the name of an at.óow in memory of its owner increases the value of the at.óow, both monetarily and spiritually.

"Play clothes" may also be worn in formal settings that are not strictly Tlingit. For example, serving as eucharistic ministers at the January 1990 funeral mass at the Juneau Catholic Cathedral of the Nativity, Blessed Virgin Mary, for Kathy Isturis, a young woman of the L'uknax̲.ádi and Raven moiety, Barbara Nelson (Teik̲weidí of the Eagle moiety) wore her brown bear vest, and Carmela Ransom (Lukaax̲.ádi of the Raven moiety) wore her raven and sockeye vest. Both were beaded by Emma Marks. Carlos Cadiente (Teik̲weidí, Eagle moiety), who read the scriptures, wore the brown bear tunic passed to him by Eddie Jack, Teik̲weidí elder of Angoon. The use of the contemporary vests and the tunic gave strong Tlingit identity to the mass, and also increased the stature of the new regalia through the liturgical use in memory of a departed friend. In

Tlingit tradition, members of the opposite moiety joined in supporting the clan of the departed in their time of grief.

Two other terms are now ready for introduction: ***shagóon*** and ***shuká***, both of which mean "ancestor," but with slightly differing ranges of meaning. Shagóon can be an immediate parent and also human ancestors. Shuká, which is used in the title of the first book in this series, also means "ancestor," but in a more general way. The concept is pivotal because it is ambiguous and faces two directions. It means, most literally, "ahead," or "before." It refers to that which is before us or has gone before us in time—predecessors, "one before," "one who has gone before," those born ahead of us who are now behind us, as well as those unborn who wait ahead of us. Thus, the term refers to the past and also to the future—to that which lies ahead. There is a common expression in Tlingit, "we don't know our 'shuká'—our 'future.'" The term shuká includes both at.óow and shagóon. It includes all types of at.óow as well as all human ancestors who are not at.óow. Therefore, the term "shuká" embraces the narratives published in *Haa Shuká* themselves, the at.óow and ancestors within them, and the ancestors who told them.

These concepts are difficult to define, partly because the terms overlap but are not synonymous. In general, "shuká" is most often used for the images or heraldic designs, and at.óow for the material thing or object made with the design. L s'aatí át refers to at.óow left behind by a deceased ancestor or relative. The terms are sometimes used more loosely, sometimes even more precisely. For example, an at.óow owned by an ancestor (shagóon) may also be called shagóon, especially if it is the grandparents', the father's father's emblem.

A few examples may be helpful. The Raven design is a shuká of all Raven moiety clans. If a wooden Raven hat is made by a specific person or clan, brought out at a ceremonial and paid for, it becomes at.óow. In the "Glacier Bay History," the woman who remains behind and is killed by the advancing glacier is a shagóon of the Chookaneidí clan. She is also shuká and at.óow on specific art objects. Moreover, Glacier Bay, the glacier, and the icebergs are also at.óow because the woman paid for them with her life. In fact, icebergs are called Chookan sháa ("Chookaneidí women") for this reason. The songs and story are the property or at.óow of the Chookaneidí clan.

Likewise, Kaats' paid for the bear design with his life, and it is an emblem of the Teikweidí. Kaats' is also shuká, and he is shagóon to the grandchildren of Teikweidí. In the same way, Kaax'achgóok is a shuká of the Kiks.ádi; he is biological shagóon of the grandchildren of the clan. The song and story are at.óow of the Kiks.ádi, and the at.óow may be referred to as shagóon by the grandchildren of the clan.

It is probably not crucial for the general reader to worry too much about the terms; the main point is the general concept of at.óow, and how the concept underlies not only the stories in our first book, but also the oratory in the present volume.

Rules for the use of at.óow are very complex. Members of the owning clan use their own at.óow, although this is also regulated by custom according to the nature of the at.óow and the seriousness of the occasion. For example, beaded pendants or silver jewelry with clan crests are worn more casually in daily dress than Chilkat robes.

Under certain conditions, the at.óow of one clan may be used by members of other clans as well. While people may use the at.óow of another clan, this does not give them the right to claim them as their own, and the users must be careful not to do so. For example, relatives of the opposite moiety may hunt, fish, or pick berries with permission on another clan's land. The right extends to the use of songs and regalia. The most complicated examples of this usually happen in the context of ceremonials, and become important in the images of public speaking.

Such use shows love, courtesy, and mutual respect, especially where a grandparent-grandchild relationship is involved. For example, the songs from the "Glacier Bay History" are sung by the Hoonah Chookaneidí hosts during the cry portion of their memorials. They were sung at the memorial for Jim Marks included in this book, at the memorial for Willie Marks in October 1981, and most recently on October 8, 1988, at a Chookaneidí memorial for three recently departed members. But these Chookaneidí songs of Glacier Bay were also sung during the Cry section of the Kaagwaantaan memorial for Charlie Joseph in Sitka on October 10, 1987. Before he died, Charlie had requested that the songs be sung. Even though Charlie was not Chookaneidí, his people, the Kaagwaantaan, are part of the history of Glacier Bay. Moreover, Charlie lived part of his life in the Glacier Bay area, and had a personal connection with the

land and history. In Sitka, members of the Hoonah Chookaneidí supported the Kaagwaantaan hosts in the ceremonial for Charlie Joseph, just as the Kaagwaantaan and Wooshkeetaan supported the Chookaneidí in the Hoonah memorials for Jim Marks and others. The main point is that the at.óow may be used by another clan with permission, under certain conditions, and according to protocol, but are not to be claimed by the other clan as their own.

One of the most common uses of at.óow by non-owners is use by grandchildren of the owner clan. The ***use of at.óow by grandchildren*** is explicit in the speech by Charlie Joseph and other speakers at the Sealaska Elders Conference. The custom is also followed in other settings. In Tlingit ceremonial life, a very important and prestigious relationship is that of a paternal grandfather—the father of one's father.

With proper permission, any descendant can use any at.óow, both of the maternal and paternal clans. However, a special relationship exists between grandchildren and the father's father's people, especially if they are of the same clan. Likewise, great-grandchildren may be related in special ways, according to the clan system. These special relationships show up in ceremonials most commonly during the Cry, at which time the hosts and guests generally select special people, always of the same moiety, but very often of different clans and usually grandchildren of the clan, to hold, wear, or otherwise use the l s'aatí át. The nearest of kin usually wear the deceased's at.óow. When this is done, the common practice is for persons of the opposite moiety (children of the hosts) to be honored by being asked to place or help place the at.óow on the person selected and honored to wear it. This is also done for newly made pieces being brought out and worn for the first time. For example, a man or woman of the Raven moiety would be asked by the Eagles to place an at.óow on an Eagle grandchild. This practice in general serves to remind all present that the at.óow are made for grandchildren—for those who will come after. It is also a way of strengthening family and community ties.

While such use by grandchildren is allowed, permission is traditionally difficult to obtain. A person must prove himself or herself by knowing the genealogy thoroughly—by knowing who the relatives are, and by assisting whenever help is needed. The most important help is usually in times of ceremonials, assisting

with preparations and with the performing of the ceremony itself. In the memorial for Jim Marks, an example of such help is Naawéiyaa, a man of the Kaagwaantaan, but whose father was child of Chookaneidí, making Naawéiyaa a grandchild of Chookaneidí. Because of this special relationship, he came to the aid of his grandparent clan. It is very important to note that in Tlingit tradition this relationship applies not only to biological grandchildren in the narrowest sense, but to all who are members and grandchildren of the clan. In other words, Naawéiyaa may not have had any true biological grandparents involved, but in Tlingit tradition any member of the Chookaneidí clan, regardless of age, would be considered his grandparent, because his true biological grandparent was of the same clan. In this example he is not wearing or using at.óow, but is helping his grandparent clan. This is an extremely important concept to keep in mind. It underlies much of Tlingit social and ceremonial interaction, but is difficult for non-Tlingits and for many younger Tlingit people to grasp.

Many factors enter into a decision as to ***who inherits at.óow.*** Obviously genealogy is very important in determining one's right to inherit, but there are other conditions as well, the most important of which is education. The inheritor would ideally have spent time with the present stewards and clan leaders, educating himself or herself on the responsibilities and obligations of handling at.óow. He or she would also have participated actively in ceremonies, and so through actual experience would understand the ceremonial use of the at.óow, including regalia and songs. An inheritor would have brought out money on the various at.óow during ceremonies. Finally, the inheritor would be chosen for leadership qualities and ability to work with people.

A person who inherits at.óow does not become the sole owner, but is the custodian or steward of property owned by the clan at large. A general responsibility is to ensure that the at.óow not be lost or sold for personal gain or to resolve personal or clan debt. The at.óow should not be sold, but should remain with the clan in the stewardship of its individuals and families for the life of the at.óow.

The ceremonial responsibility of a steward is to see that the at.óow are brought out at the appropriate time and worn by the appropriate people. In each case, clan elders will hold council to

decide on procedures and protocol, and will select someone from among the elders to speak on the collection once it is brought out. The speeches by Matthew Lawrence, David Kadashan, William Johnson, Jessie Dalton, and Austin Hammond are examples of such speeches from the memorial for Jim Marks.

The patterns of use described here can be complicated further by interchanges among the Haida and Tlingit, where crests are often owned by the opposite moieties. Many crests that are Raven moiety in Tlingit society are Eagle moiety crests in Haida, and vice versa. As a recent example, a young Tlingit dancer of the Raven moiety was given a child-size Wolf Button Blanket as a gift by a Haida woman. The Wolf crest in Tlingit is a crest of Eagle moiety clans, but it is a Raven moiety crest in Haida. Therefore it is appropriate for the young Tlingit Raven dancer to wear the gifted blanket, because it is a Haida Wolf of the Raven moiety, and not a Tlingit Wolf of the Eagle moiety. On the surface it may appear as an inappropriate crest, and would in fact be if it were a Tlingit Wolf, which the young Raven girl would have no traditional right to wear. In other words, the important thing is not the object itself, but the object as contextualized through the kinship system.

The concept of at.óow is difficult for people outside the tradition to grasp, but it is an extremely important dimension of Tlingit social and ceremonial life, and of Tlingit oral literature—especially of oratory, which is inseparable from the ceremonial context in which it is presented. This final context is of at.óow in action, an aspect that will be treated later, in the discussion of "Levels of Mediation in Tlingit Oratory," where the visual art, oral literature, social structure, and ceremonial practice converge.

III. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SETTINGS FOR ORATORY

The speeches in this book were collected in performance in a wide range of social contexts. Only the two speeches recorded on wax cylinder during the Harriman Expedition of 1899 were collected for the sole purpose of collecting. Two other speeches were composed into tape recorders, but for the purpose of posthumous or in-absentia delivery. All other speeches were taped in performance in natural social settings, ranging from informal gatherings to more formal banquets, conventions, and