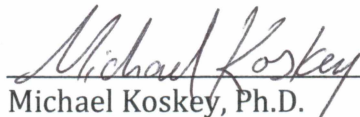ONCE UPON A TIME: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF GWICH'IN STORIES

(MAN IN THE MOON; THE OLD WOMAN AND THE BRUSHMAN)

By

Monika Frey
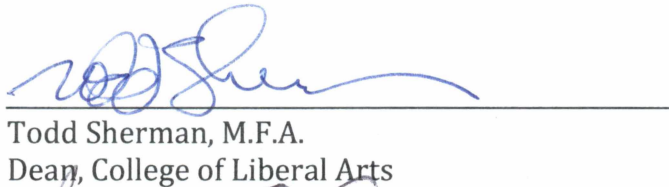
RECOMMENDED: Michael Koskey, Ph.D.
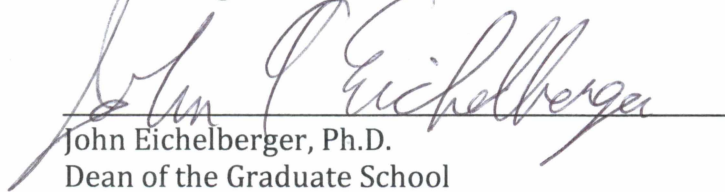
P. Plattet

Patrick Plattet, Ph.D.
Co-Chair, Advisory Committee
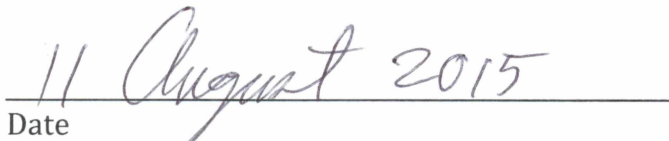
Siri Tuttle, Ph.D.
Co-Chair, Advisory Committee

Ben Potter, Ph.D.
Chair, Department of Anthropology

APPROVED: Todd Sherman, M.F.A.
Dean, College of Liberal Arts

John Eichelberger, Ph.D.
Dean of the Graduate School

11 August 2015

Date

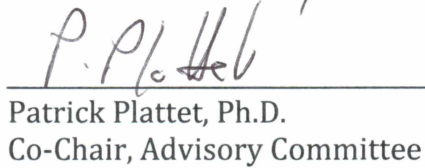ONCE UPON A TIME: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF GWICH'IN STORIES

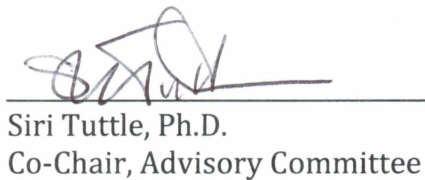(MAN IN THE MOON; THE OLD WOMAN AND THE BRUSHMAN)

A

THESIS

Presented to the Faculty
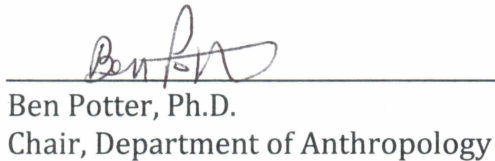
of the University of Alaska Fairbanks

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Monika Frey, B.A.

Fairbanks, Alaska

August 2015

Abstract

This MA thesis research focuses on Gwich'in stories. It seeks to better understand how similar the versions of two stories are when each is parsed into units representing themes within the stories. Drawing in part on Lévi-Strauss's structural study of myth and applying aspects of it to the Gwich'in stories discussed in this research, I will demonstrate that several versions of a story contain identical themes, though levels of detail vary. This occurs when (1) a story is told by the same storyteller at different times, and (2) when a story is told by two or more storytellers. While each version of a particular story may differ in the amount of detail, resulting in shorter and longer versions, my research shows that the main themes of a story are identical even when several storytellers narrate the same story or when the same storyteller tells a story more than once, but several years apart. There is a gap in the academic literature pertaining to Gwich'in stories. Recent projects have been conducted including Gwich'in stories focused on documenting narratives, but no one has investigated whether the content of those tales is actually identical. My research complements these projects by shedding light on a less studied aspect of Gwich'in storytelling.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Appendices

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank all of my Gwich'in contacts, here in Fairbanks and in Beaver, without whom this thesis could not have been written. In particular I would like to thank Hishinlai' Peter, Pete Peter, Paul Williams Sr., Bill Stevens and Irene Roberts for making me feel welcome in and part of the Gwich'in community by inviting me to events and introducing me to other people.

A special thanks goes to my family in Switzerland who has taught me to keep going even though giving up would seem a much more pleasant option. I would also like to thank my friends here and in Switzerland who supported my decision to pursue my master's degree in Alaska and who cheered me on whenever I felt like giving up, especially my friends Ilona Kemp and Job Noordeloos with Jake and Fluff, for being my family away from home; Nicki Robarge, for being an incredible roommate and for lending me an ear and giving me advice when it was most needed, and most importantly for spending much needed writing breaks with me. Kelly, Brian, Nadia and Bindu: thanks for being there whenever I needed one of you!! And thanks to my friends Marina and Melanie for encouraging me to finish sooner rather than later, for listening to my venting and for making me laugh at the right times. A special thanks goes to all my friends back home who stayed in touch with me during all this time and made time and space to accommodate Skype sessions in the middle of the night and agreed to meet at very short notice whenever I was home.

Last but not least, I would also like to show my gratitude to all my teachers and professors who guided me throughout the years and made this thesis possible.

For Franz and Marianne Frey without whom all of this would not be possible.

Merci für alläs

Chapter 1: Introduction

This MA thesis research project focuses on Gwich'in stories. The objective of this thesis is to evaluate (1) the degree of "sameness" between multiple versions of the same story when these versions are told by the *same* storyteller at *different* points in time; and (2) whether *different* versions of the *same* story are *identical* when told by two *different* storytellers. I use the term 'identical' to refer to the emerging themes of the analyzed stories. I consider a story identical when the same themes emerge, and those themes contain the same information. In this thesis, I am looking at stories that are considered part of the repertoire of Gwich'in stories (i.e. ancient Gwich'in stories that may include a moral or educational dimension, which may change according to the audience).

There is a gap in the academic literature pertaining to Gwich'in stories. This gap pertains specifically to (1) comparisons of different versions of the same story by the same storyteller, and (2) comparisons of different versions of the same story narrated by different storytellers regarding their sameness. Recent publications have focused on documenting Gwich'in stories (Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation 2009; Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute 2007; Frank 1995; Rampart House: Stories Told by Our Elders 1993; Christian et al. 1985; McGary 1984; Peter 1976, 1975, 1974) and on "classroom/library storytelling" in a more western understanding of storytelling (Roney 2001; Livo 1986; Breneman 1983; Ross 1980; Baker 1977; Bauer 1977; Pellowski 1977; Tooze 1959; Shedlock 1952) – including how-to guides explaining how to choose a story or how to prepare for different audiences. Some of these publications also include resources for the aspiring storyteller, such as a history of the art of storytelling. My research complements these studies by looking into a less studied aspect of Gwich'in stories and storytelling.

Gwich'in is a Northern Dené language of the Na-Dene family spoken in several villages in Alaska and Canada. This thesis, however, will focus on Alaskan narrators only, since the only suitable recordings for my purposes were all from Alaska.
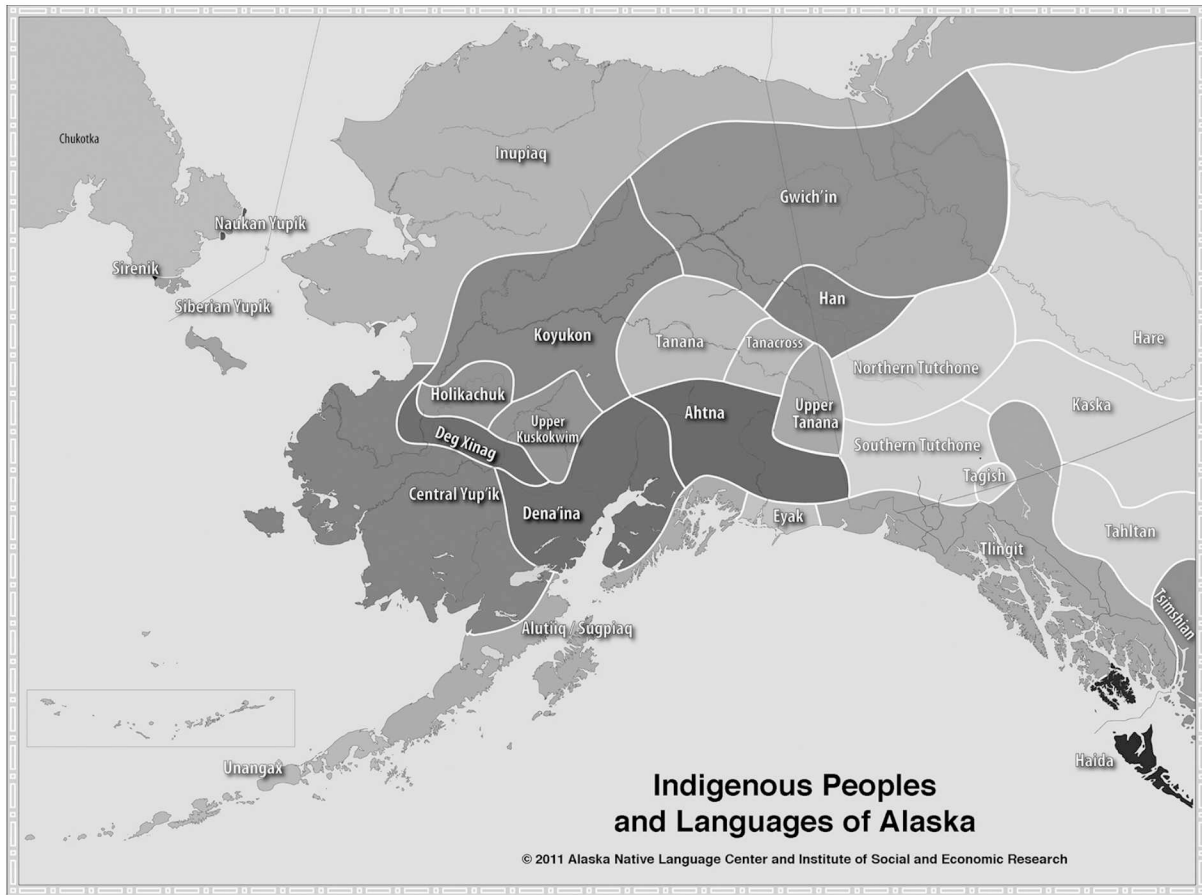
Figure 1: Indigenous Peoples and Languages of Alaska Map.
http://www.uaf.edu/anla/collections/map/IPLA_simple.pdf [retrieved April 2015].

Gwich'in is one of the world's many endangered languages. Over the past century, the number of fluent speakers has steadily decreased due to several factors: the arrival of explorers, missionaries and fur traders, the influence of the Hudson Bay Company, as well as the arrival of incomers during the gold rush in the late 19th century (Gabriel 1993; Mishler 1990; Burch 1979; Krech 1978; Osgood 1936). Today's youth and young adults have at best a passive knowledge of the language; the generation of fluent Gwich'in speakers is already in their sixties or older[1], and even fewer people speak the language, know stories and feel able to pass these stories on the way they heard them from their parents and grandparents. While many people belonging to the older generation heard

---

[1] There are relatively few fluent Gwich'in speakers in the 40-60-year-old generation and even fewer younger than 40 years old.

stories as children, mostly in Gwich'in, few of them passed those stories on to their own descendants (I. Roberts, personal communication, June 2014). Moreover, even when stories were passed on to the next generation, English (rather than Gwich'in) was often used to facilitate cross-generational communication.

The arrival of Europeans brought upon many changes in Gwich'in culture. Because English was implemented as the main language spoken in schools, and especially because using their native tongue often meant punishment, Gwich'in children soon lost the capacity to speak their mother tongue due to isolation from their own people in the boarding schools. The disappearance of the language slowly affects the culture, so that there is not only a slow but steady loss of the language and the number of those who are able to speak it, but also parts of the culture such as stories disappear over the course of time because their meaning can simply no longer be transmitted. Even if stories are documented in writing, or ideally, both in writing and as audio and video recordings, except for Lévi-Strauss (1963) and his followers and Michael Krauss (1982), few people have looked at stories that are available as multiple versions and compared those variations. It is my objective to find out *whether* and *how* similar such stories are by comparing two versions of each story. I will demonstrate that several versions of a story contain identical themes, though levels of detail vary.

For that reason, I have chosen two recordings, each of *Man in the Moon* and *The Old Woman and the Brushman*[2]. Inspired by Lévi-Strauss's *Structural Study of Myth* (1963), I am examining how identical the information contained in the emerging themes of the same story is, when (1) the versions are told by the same storyteller at different points in time, and (2) when the versions are told by two or more different storytellers. I further want to consider the idea that "stories must be told a certain way, and [that] they must not be altered or revised by the teller," a view expressed by Koyukon elder and honorary doctorate degree holder Eliza Jones in an interview with Marjorie DeMartino for *Alaska Today* (DeMartino 1985:51).

While the belief exists that stories should only be told in a certain way and no one should alter them (DeMartino 1985:51), an idea that has not yet been researched with

---

[2] *The Old Woman and the Brushman* will henceforth be referred to as *The Brushman.*

Gwich'in speakers, others (Roney 2001; Cruikshank 1998; Baker 1977) believe that stories can change depending on the storyteller, the situation, and the desired effect a story is supposed to have. It was those conflicting views about storytelling as well as Lévi-Strauss's discovery that similarities between myths may be 'hidden' in their structure that stimulated my research. This project contributes to the anthropological understanding of how stories are narrated by speakers of a native language such as Gwich'in, with a recognition that storytelling traditions do vary between cultures.

In the past, Gwich'in stories were mostly narrated in the circle of the nuclear family (I. Roberts; B. Stevens, personal communication, June 2014). Hearing and telling of such stories was considered an intimate occasion, it happened spontaneously, and was mostly kept within the immediate family. To this day, nothing about the idea of telling stories in the circle of nuclear families seems to have changed. Exceptions may include, but are not limited to, (1) performances in front of researchers, (2) public storytelling events, for example, as part of a conference or meeting and (3) spontaneous storytelling while out hunting or fishing.

The result is a data set encompassing two different stories told by three storytellers. The material used in this research belongs to the oral history collection in the archives of the Rasmuson Library at the University of Alaska Fairbanks recorded by Bridjette March and Craig Mishler in the 1970s, and by Lillian Garnett in the 1980s. Among the four stories discussed in this thesis are two versions of *Man in the Moon*, both told to Bridjette March, once by David Salmon and once by Moses Peters, both times in Chalkyitsik. Sarah Frank narrated *The Brushman* twice; the first time in Venetie, the second time in Arctic Village.

Man in the Moon is a story about a boy who is able to foresee the future and help his people in the search for food. *The Brushman* is a short narrative about a woman who bravely defends herself against a brushman, a feral individual and a widely known figure among many Athabascan peoples[3].

Since I could not locate any transcripts for *Man in the Moon*, I transcribed the English performances of the narrators and worked with those.

Craig Mishler recorded the first version of *The Brushman* in 1979, Lillian Garnett the

---

[3] For a more detailed discussion of the brushman refer to page 50.

second version in 1984. Both versions are part of Craig Mishler's book *Neerihiinjìk* (1995) and the edited Gwich'in transcripts and an English translation by Lillian Garnett are also available in the book. I used the available transcripts in the book to re-transcribe the stories and create my own transcripts for the purpose of my analysis.

All transcripts for this research were created through using ELAN software. ELAN (EUDICO Linguistic Annotator) is a software that enables and helps, inter alia, creating, editing and visualizing multi-media data (Brugman and Russel 2004). It was developed at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, the Netherlands. The use of this software enabled me to create my own transcripts and annotate not only the spoken text, but also a translation and background noise, and display it in a user-friendly manner serving as the basis of my analysis.

In this thesis I am only working with the English performances of David Salmon and Moses Peters and the English translations of Sarah Frank's stories. However, Sarah's Gwich'in recordings were used to listen how she uses her voice to tell the story, for instance, whether she uses pauses or a more quiet voice to dramatize her narration. The similarities and differences noted in the English versions of the texts I am analyzing may not be identical with the similarities and differences of the Gwich'in source texts. However, as Ron and Suzanne Scollon note, a comparison of Athabascan and English versions of a story may display "a striking parallelism," for instance at times the English version may be almost a "line-by-line translation," whereas at other times something marked "morphologically in one language may be marked intonationally in the other" (Scollon 1981:107). Assuming that the performances of Moses Peters and David Salmon work similarly, my findings in the English versions of the stories I am analyzing in this thesis are relevant, but some of the findings might alter slightly from what I may have found had I analyzed the original versions.

1.1. Research Questions

Throughout my time researching the ways in which Gwich'in stories are narrated, the following research questions emerged:

1. *What are the emerging themes in the versions of a story narrated by two different storytellers?*
2. *What are the emerging themes in the versions of a story narrated by the same storyteller at different times?*
3. *How identical are the themes and the information contained in the emerging themes of the same story told by different storytellers or told at different times by the same storyteller?*

Keeping the aforementioned research questions in mind, we will begin our journey into the world of Gwich'in stories. Before I present my analysis of the two different stories and four respective texts though, I will give an overview of the theoretical approaches to narratives in general and I will discuss some key ideas. Further, I will introduce the Gwich'in people, discuss Native American storytelling, address oral tradition, shed some light on the brushman and give an insight into the thoughts and experiences of a linguist who was able to work with, and record narratives firsthand. Likewise, I will discuss transcription, translation and interpreting and their implications on this research. After presenting my analysis I will discuss its repercussions on my research questions and the implications of what I learned.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

In this chapter I will provide a framework for my thesis. My research has been informed by the ideas of several scholars who proposed models and theories to analyze narratives. Those ideas were used to support the analysis of the two versions of *Man in the Moon* and *The Brushman,* respectively. However, none of the methodologies were applied in full; bits and pieces of each idea were used for the analysis of the stories discussed in this research. I will also discuss what made those methodologies interesting and applicable, and how far they informed my own research.

2.1. Claude Lévi-Strauss

French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss almost singlehandedly founded and promoted the field of structural anthropology, which is, according to Barnard (2000:120) a theory focusing on pattern rather than "substance." Structuralists believe that meaning emerges not from understanding things in isolation, but rather from the relationship those elements form to each other (Barnard 2000:120). Structuralism originated in the field of linguistics primarily after Saussure's death but the idea was well known in other disciplines such as anthropology and literary criticism by the middle of the twentieth century (Matthews 2007). Structuralism, as Lévi-Strauss defines the term, "in its widest sense is all about pattern: how things which at first glance appear to be unrelated actually form part of a system of interrelating parts" (Barnard 2000:127). While in structuralist theory the sum of the different parts constitutes a whole, they are not equivalent to the whole. The whole is actually seen as being bigger than the sum of its parts, and those parts form relations to each other, based on binary pairs or opposites, which according to Lévi-Strauss is the basis of structure (ibid 2000:127). Lévi-Strauss was a key figure in developing the theory of structuralism and structural anthropology. French scholars of an earlier generation such as Émile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss guided his ideas. However, he was also influenced by ideas of the "Prague School of structural linguistics" and their interest in studying language synchronically rather than diachronically and the promotion of "the theory that linguistic meaning was built upon contrasts between sounds, or phonemes," which presented Lévi-

Strauss with the idea of "binary contrasts," a very important part of his structuralism (McGee 2008:324).

In *The Structural Study of Myth*, one of the most influential works in structural anthropology, Lévi-Strauss explores the seemingly contradictory situation present in mythology and argues that "myth *is* language: to be known, myth has to be told; it is a part of human speech" (1963:209). He discusses how anthropology should approach the study of myth and explains how it is possible that myths from different cultures all over the world can be at the same time so similar and so different. According to Klages (n.d.), Lévi-Strauss's main argument is that similarities between myths are based on their "structural sameness," while their content, characters and events may vary extensively. As Lévi-Strauss so aptly describes, the student of mythology is confronted with a basic paradox. In the telling of a myth, essentially anything is possible. Lévi-Strauss describes myths as unpredictable and completely arbitrary. On the one hand, anything could happen as a myth unfolds. On the other hand, he points out how astoundingly similar myths from different parts of the world seem to be when looking at their structure (ibid 1963:208).

While myth could be presumed a subdivision of language, Lévi-Strauss understands myth as a language on its own. Not only do we convey myths using language, myth also functions like a language. Explaining this idea, he refers to Saussure's theory of any natural language consisting of both *langue* and *parole*. A language can be seen as a system of signs expressing ideas. This system of signs contains two parts, a part called *parole*, which is concerned with speech, and a part called *langue*, which is concerned with language. While *parole* refers to what comes out of people's mouths, *langue* refers to the basic rules within a speech community.

Lévi-Strauss uses these concepts of *langue* and *parole* in order to explain how myth both resembles and differs from ordinary language. He states that "Saussure's distinction between *langue* and *parole*, one being the structural side of language, the other the statistical aspect of it, language belonging to a revertible time, whereas parole is non-revertible" (Lévi-Strauss 1963:209).

Only when trying to translate a myth does it become clear that myth and poetry really cannot be treated as being the same. While a myth can still be understood even if it is poorly translated, poetry, on the other hand, can only be translated at risk of a serious

loss in translation, and therefore, at a loss in understanding and meaning (Lévi-Strauss 1963:210). Myth is able to maintain its capacities because myths are made up of *"gross constituent units"* or "mythemes," which do not have a value on their own, they only receive their value through relationships they form to other mythemes (ibid 1963:211).

It is those units or mythemes, which are of interest for the scope of this research. Lévi-Strauss parses different versions of the Oedipus myth into mythemes and divides them into a chart, enabling him to represent and study the structure of a myth in different ways along a synchronic and diachronic axis (ibid 1963:212). The first, and for my own interests, most important step, consists of parsing the story "into the shortest possible sentences" (1963:211). Whereas Lévi-Strauss's method for analyzing myths is much more complex than what I describe here, the 'parsing' step is the only part of his methodology I am using for my analysis. In other words, I am trying to analyze *Man in the Moon* and *The Brushman* into their meaningful units. A main difference with Lévi-Strauss, however, is the level at which my own analysis operates. Unlike Lévi-Strauss, I am not trying to identify the mythemes and the 'deep structure' of a myth[4]. What I am looking for are the broader 'themes' that organize *Man in the Moon* and *The Brushman*. Such themes represent not the smallest possible units within a story, but larger meaning-carrying units. They are best revealed in the process of discourse production, through what linguists call "intonation units." Linguist Chafe describes an intonation unit as containing an "initial pause," which is then followed by a period of vocalization (1987:24). Thus, in my analysis, a theme is a unit of meaning made of several intonation units taken together. It is those themes that then build the basis of my analysis and will be compared to the themes in the other version of the same story. Salmon's version of *Man in the Moon* and Peters's version of the same story will both be parsed into themes, which will then be compared to each other. I will do the same with Sarah Frank's two versions of *The Brushman*. This methodology enables me to see whether the emerging themes of Salmon's and Peters's versions and Frank's two versions contain the same information, and are thus identical.

---

[4] See section 2.5 for a discussion of the meaning of myth.

Since only a limited number of recorded Gwich'in stories are available in either English, or in Gwich'in and English, and a limited number of narrators, a dataset consisting of two versions of each story was examined.

2.2. Dennis Tedlock

Dennis Tedlock, McNulty Professor of English and Research Professor of Anthropology, analyzes tape-recorded texts of Zuni and Quiché origin and attempts to give the sounds on the recorded tapes a visible image in the written format. Tedlock (1972) presents narratives from the Zuni as performances. He is not the first to realize the shortcomings in the translations of oral poetics, but he decides to do something about this deficiency so the English translations reflect the characteristics of the voices of the storytellers that were recorded in Zuni. To do so, he uses devices that enable him to convey qualities of spoken Zuni into a printed English format. For instance, Tedlock is able to convey loudness, pitch and pace of the spoken Zuni original into the written English format. Three different type sizes express the level of loudness; the level of pitch is conveyed by the use of superscript and subscript; and a repetition of certain segments of a word, for instance, consonants or dashes, express slowing down. Arranging the performance into verses, lines and spaces directly conveys pauses, and italicized words describe facial expressions, gestures and tone of voice.

Tedlock's contribution to the field of storytelling consists in the way his English translations reflect the vocal characteristics of the people who performed the stories in Zuni. Quick (1999) compares Tedlock's system of representing qualities of the sounds in the recordings to "musical scoring," in which he uses "line breaks for pauses, dots in between lines for pauses of longer duration, capitals for loudness, smaller-than-average type for whispered or softly spoken words. Gestures, facial expressions, and significant audience responses were described in parentheticals and footnotes" (1999:96).

Paralinguistic features play a central role in Tedlock's work with oral poetry and are used to improve the English translations of the oral poetry. Although there is always a considerable loss of meaning when translating from one language into another one, transferring meaning from an oral medium into a written format only adds to that loss.

However, Tedlock's methodology enables him to convey the meaning of those Zuni performances in ways no one could before him.

Tedlock uses tape-recorded texts of Zuni and Quiché narratives, annotating the narrator's paraverbal cues and then translates the narratives into English. He breaks the narratives into different lines wherever a shorter pause warrants such a break. Longer breaks are represented in different strophes, and even longer pauses are represented by even larger spaces than a normal strophe break (Tedlock 1972:xix-xx).

Instead of parsing my stories into different lines and strophes, I use intonation units to divide my stories into units representing how the narrators tell a story. As previously mentioned, an intonation unit consists of an "initial pause," which is then followed by a period of vocalization (Chafe 1987:24). The intonation units discussed in this thesis may range from a single word to almost a whole sentence, depending on the storyteller. For instance, Moses Peters narrated parts of his story very fast, almost completing a whole sentence between breaths, while Sarah sometimes only said a single word in one intonation unit. Listening for pauses and breathing between utterances were my criteria for marking intonation units.

Like Tedlock, I use paraverbal features to describe the voice quality of the speakers, not because I want to represent the English and Gwich'in versions of a story more adequately, but because I use paraverbal cues to guide my analysis as to a speaker's intention.

2.3. Dell Hymes

Linguist, anthropologist and folklorist Dell Hymes analyzes texts that were collected by others before him, for instance, by ethnographer Franz Boas (e.g., 1894), for recurring patterns in native language texts, which signify segments within the analyzed text. Those segments are then displayed in different lines, "and, where warranted by the structural features, separate stanzas" (Ruppert and Bernet 2001:27). Hymes shows how narratives of the Chinookan people are organized into lines, verses, stanzas, scenes and acts. According to Hymes, narratives can be organized into verses by looking for sets of discourse features, while verses can be subdivided into lines through distinct verbs. Verses are usually

organized in groups of three or five; those groups of three or five verses "constitute 'stanzas' and, where elaboration of stanzas is such as to require a distinction, 'scenes'. In extended narratives, scenes themselves are organized in terms of a series of 'acts'" (1977:431). Blommaert states that for Hymes, "the essence of narrative – what makes it poetic – is an implicit level of structure: the fact that stories are structured into lines, verses and stanzas, connected by a 'grammar' of narration (a set of features identifying and connecting parts of the story) and by implicit organizational patterns, pairs, triplets, quartets, etc." (2006:234).

That Chinookan narratives are organized into the aforementioned units is important because it enables us to view such texts as forms of art—orally performed forms of art. Hymes states that "from the point of view of translation, interpretation, appreciation, the analysis gives a degree of control over matters of emphasis, tone, foregrounding, and the like" (Hymes 1977:448). Hymes describes his work in his own words as follows:

> The work is structural in method, poetic in purpose. The structural method is no more than an application of the elementary principle of structural linguistics: look for co-variation in form and meaning. The poetic purpose is to come as close as possible to the intended shape of the text in order to grasp as much as possible of the meanings embodied in this shape. Much will still escape. The gestures, voices, tunes, pauses of the original performances cannot be recovered for most of the materials dealt with here. Still, much of structure persists and can be perceived. [2004:7]

Hymes is using pre-collected texts and analyzes them for the recurrence of certain elements such as particles, prefixes and affixes, which oftentimes go amiss in a translation. Those elements help him group a text into lines, verses, stanzas, scenes and acts. His meticulous analysis then helps him compare performances.

When working with the Gwich'in original performances of Sarah Frank's narrations I find it helpful to look for recurring (formulaic) elements such as *ts'à' t'ee* and *aii ts'à' t'ee* (and then) because those elements seem to connect parts of the story and tend to be said at the beginning of an intonation unit, in between, or at the end of an intonation unit. One of those examples occurs when Sarah says

(1) [5]

Ąįį t'ee   naa'in   t'ii'ìn

And.then   brushman doing

'the brushman was doing that'

    Many intonation units in Sarah Frank's story either begin or end with, or contain one of the terms glossed as 'and then'. However, as mentioned previously, they tend to go astray in translations and may be edited out of a final text.

    Ethnopoetic theory is based on the idea that Native American poetry should be analyzed and represented in its original language and culture instead of in a western format (Quick 1999:95). Scholars such as Dell Hymes and Dennis Tedlock pioneered this field of studies since the middle of the twentieth century. The term "ethnopoetics" was first coined in the 1960s by Jerome Rothenberg who recognized a shortcoming in the translations of oral poetics, primarily in translations of Native American poetics (Quick 1999:95–96). Rothenberg and other scholars realized the inadequacies in the translations of Native American oral traditions and therefore sought a better means to represent the beauty of those poems on the printed page. Quick states that scholars advocating the ethnopoetic tradition would analyze the texts in their original language to better account for the ways in which those individual units function in the original context (1999:95). She further states that problems usually arose because the translators tried to adapt the Native American poems to a more English style, assuming that poetry is the same universally, when it is far from that (Quick 1999:96). The main objective of an ethnopoetic analysis is to represent poetry as it is presented in its original language, assuming that poetics is distinct in every culture (ibid 1999:97). While the translations were able to convey the literal meaning of the poems, they were not, however, able to convey the performance and deeper meanings. The performance is often the ritual associated with the story, which provides more depth of experience/insight.

    Hymes and Tedlock are both working with the same understanding of an ethnopoetic theory that revolves around a translated text, which should represent poetry

---

[5] This example is presented in three-line format; the first line shows the Gwich'in sentence, the second line a translation and the third line an English gloss.

as presented in its original languages; however, the way in which they apply their methods are completely different. While one works with written records, the other uses recordings for his analysis. However, both are able to capture the beauty of the original versions of Native American poetry and transmit them in another language.

Tedlock describes the flaw in Hymes's approach in that the latter never actually hears the original performance, so that Hymes does not see the importance that underlies in determining pause. Quick states for Hymes it is important "to discover the principles behind the organization—in other words, one must consider why pauses are taken at certain intervals, even in tape-recorded texts" (1999:97). Repetitions occurring in a recurring pattern then make for the most important element in Hymes's analysis. It is exactly those features that are most likely to be left out of translations because even if they may make sense in the original language, they may lose their meaning in another language. Moreover, translation is a very personal endeavor and each translator has their own criteria and may or may not translate a feature such as repetition. Further, it is also up to the translator whether they communicate their decisions regarding leaving out or adding certain cultural features, such as repetitions or formulaic notions.

2.4. Anthony Webster

Linguistic anthropologist Anthony Webster analyzes Navajo texts for repetition and heightened affective expressivity. Webster (2008) examines a Navajo Coyote narrative that had been told to Edward Sapir. Webster's aim is to investigate repetition and how it is used rhetorically. He proposes that "while an overt linguistic form such as repetition may exist in differing verbal traditions, we should not expect it to function the same everywhere" (2008:442). In the course of the Coyote narrative, the storyteller uses different forms of repetition to structure his story. Among those forms of repetition are lexical pairings, syntactic pairings and parallelism pairings.

Working with Native American oral tradition may or may not reveal the use of repetition in the original version of the text, depending on the goal of an analysis. However, to see whether repetition really played a role in the narration, it is necessary to consider the original version. This usually involves re-transcribing an oral account because

unfortunately repetition and false starts are often removed from adjusted and printed versions of narratives. This is because in German or English stories aimed at an adult readership, repetition usually puts a bad light onto the narrator because they may not have been able to narrate the story properly due to distracting outside influences such as a recording device or the ethnographer. This is, of course, different when looking at stories addressed at a young readership, where repetition may be used to make a story easier to follow and remember. However, in Athabascan languages it is exactly those devices that might paint an interesting picture for a linguist, because they may reflect a change of thought that was carried out right in that instant, or a deliberate repetition.

Anthony Webster analyzes Navajo texts and looks for lexical pairings, for instance the repetition of one specific word at the beginning of a sentence. Syntactical pairings may refer to the first sentence of a paragraph always being identical, while the rest of a paragraph changes. And finally, parallelism can refer to the choice of "lexical, morphological, and other linguistic devices" (Webster 2008:443).

As with Hymes's method that consists of looking for recurring elements within stories, Webster's method aiming at finding pairings within a text, this method is mostly applicable for my own analysis as long as I am working with the Gwich'in originals. Looking at the English translations reveals different elements playing a similar and important role when looking at recurrence. While in the Gwich'in versions (formulaic) terms such as *aii t'ee*, *ts'à' t'ee*, *aii ts'à'* (and then) and *vàràhnyàa* and *giiyàhnyàa* (they say) stand out, looking at the English texts reveals that most sentences begin either with 'she', referring to the old woman, while the brushman is mostly addressed with 'the brushman'. Similarly, the English equivalents of *vàràhnyàa* and *giiyàhnyàa* (they say) are also used wherever the Gwich'in text displayed the use of one of the abovementioned two terms.

2.5. Rodney Frey

Ethnographer and cultural anthropologist Rodney Frey highlights some of the subtle processes behind the translations of Native American texts to demonstrate the many and important features in an "oral literature" based on the Crow story, "The Couple Befriended by the Moon" (1995:217). The narrative examined is transcribed relatively literally,

staying close to its original narration. Frey follows the basic formatting style used for other narratives in *Stories that Make the World* (1995), marking verses by numbers and scenes with capital letters, each scene containing several verses, "usually three, four, or occasionally five in number" (1995:217). He further marks "recurring series of pairings" such as "parings of scenes, verses, or actions," and as I will do in my analysis, he made some modifications when re-transcribing to better represent certain features (Frey 1995:218). He also chose to use different English equivalents at times than those in the original text (Frey 1995:218).

Frey's analysis of "The Couple Befriended by the Moon" has informed my research insofar as it was helpful to see how other researchers dealt with similar issues such as being presented with an already translated text but recognizing that certain changes were made. However, the similarities between our analyses are also limited because he uses verses and scenes to divide his story into units, while I am using intonation units.

Frey (1995) re-transcribes the story "'The Couple Befriended by the Moon'" in order to show the process behind the transcription and to highlight subtle but significant features of oral accounts, which oftentimes go astray either in the translation of a text, or by bringing an oral account onto paper. He marks verses by numbers and scenes with capital letters, each scene containing several verses. Further, he also marks recurring elements, but also allows for some changes in his re-transcription. He does so wherever he feels such a change would benefit the text.

I am providing my own transcripts of the English version of *Man in the Moon* and I re-transcribe *The Brushman* so that I can see in the case of the latter what modifications have been made between the oral version and the printed version in the book. I further annotate paraverbal features of the narrator's voice to comment upon, for instance, the narrator's intent. I am doing this because I want to find out whether the same story, and more specifically the themes of these stories, narrated by two different storytellers or at different times are identical. I am attempting to create my own translations to see whether the translation in the book and my own translations contain the same information. Finally, instead of using verses and scenes to annotate the text, I am writing the spoken text in intonation units, which, in my opinion, works best for my analysis.

Before providing some background information on the storytelling traditions in Athabascan cultures, I am going to discuss what the term *myth* means to me.

However, before discussing how I understand the term *myth*, I would like to emphasize that the discussion for a definition of myth has been ongoing for a very long time and still, no complete agreement is found. Myth is a complex issue, not only in anthropology, but in general. There are many working definitions, all of which have their limitations and none of them can be applied universally. For this reason, I chose to use an amalgamation that fits my purpose best. I am, however, aware, that depending on what kind of definition is used to define the term *myth*, different genres such as folktale, legend or parable, among others, will necessarily also result in a different definition.

Anthropologist Franz Boas discusses the resemblance of the Bella Coola legends to those of other Northwest Coast tribes as well as traditions of the Athabascan tribes and raises an interesting topic when talking about stories of native people such as the Bella Coola (1974:148). Stories carry a social value and may only be passed on through inheritance. However, what happens when a people such as the Bella Coola move away from their traditional lands and establish themselves in a new environment? Boas mentions that when "the Bella Coola settled on Bella Coola River, and were thrown into contact with the northern Coast tribes, the lack of a well-developed clan tradition must have been felt as a serious drawback," and it was then that they started intermarrying with the Bella Bella and as a result, some of "the peculiar customs of the Coast tribes were first introduced among them" (1974:151). Furthermore, intermarriage with the Bella Bella then also introduced them to their clan traditions, and as a result, their stories. Only then were these stories passed on to the next generation and the Bella Coola were no longer without a clan tradition.

The social value of stories was implied by one of the narrators whose stories I am using for this research. Moses Peters mentions in the interview preceding his narration of *Man in the Moon* that his children may use this story when he has passed away. Even though none of the other storytellers make such a statement, it seems conceivable that the Gwich'in follow a similar system, in which stories may only be used when they were inherited. This then, of course, increases the social value of stories.

The confusion about the definition of myth is not a recent occurrence; it seems to have arisen with the idea of myth itself. There is even a disagreement over how to translate the term myth and whether it is more fitting to translate *muthos* with an equivalent like utterance (Tyrrell 1991), or if "speech" or "word" are better representing the true meaning of the term myth (Levin 1959). However, for my research the distinction between the meanings of the term itself are not so important. What is relevant is what the idea of myth encompasses, which is also a very complex issue.

Polish anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski made a very important contribution to the discussion of myth when he stated,

> Myth as it exists in a savage community, that is, in its living primitive form, is not merely a story told, but a reality lived. It is not of the nature of fiction, such as we read today in a novel, but it is a living reality, believed to have once happened in primeval times, and continuing ever since to influence the world and human destinies. [1948:78]

When working with storytellers, researchers are often told that the story they are about to hear is true. The fact that both Salmon and Peters mention a song that was sung whenever the position of the moon was an indicator for a good year regarding food security shows that even though *Man in the Moon* might be considered a myth, it is not just a story as such, but, as stated above, "a reality lived" (Malinowski 1948:78). Both narrators of *Man in the Moon* mentioned how they would sing that song when they were children, and that they would not sing it whenever the shape of the moon implied that the coming year would be harsh on the people. In that sense, *Man in the Moon* is at least to some extent "a reality lived" (ibid 1948:78).

There are definitions highlighting different kinds of meaning for the term myth. Looking at a book like *Theories of Myth: An Annotated Bibliography* (Sienkewicz 1997) will give a small insight into the many ideas discussed when debating the meaning of myth. Even finding a definition for the myths referring to one region can be problematic because the understanding of the term may have changed over time.

Barnard (1966) states that defining myth seems impossible because myth has an elusive meaning; however, he proposes that the reason behind the elusiveness of myths is

because they are subjective, and therefore, each person interpreting a myth will create their own meaning of the myth. It seems therefore fitting to have different meanings of the term myth available and that everyone trying to come to terms with a meaning can adjust the meaning of 'myth' insofar as it fits their purpose best. While the particulars of myth are culturally specific, so are the application and uses of myth in daily life.

When discussing myths it is important to acknowledge that finding one working definition for 'myth' that will work for each discipline, even just one field, will be impossible. Segal underlines this difficulty when stating,

> Each discipline harbours multiple theories of myth. Strictly, theories of myth are theories of some much larger domain, with myth a mere subset. For example, anthropological theories of myth are theories of culture applied to the case of myth. Psychological theories of myth are theories of the mind. Sociological theories of myth are theories of society. There are no theories of myth itself, for there is no discipline of myth in itself. [2004:2]

Among the multiple definitions of myth are many which include gods as important detail distinguishing myth from other narrative genres, a topic that has been discussed, for instance, by Powell (2015) and Sienkewicz (1997). For example, Kerényi defines "mythology as the movement of tales about gods and heroes in which pictorial, meaningful, and musical aspects are prominent" (Sienkewicz 1997:49). While this idea of mythology or myth seems very prominent, it does either not fit my idea of myth, or, the stories in my dataset cannot be considered myths.

Other theories of myth also include a distinction between myth and other genres such as folktales and legends. For instance Bascom (1965) writes that folktales are considered fiction, while both myths and legends are regarded as truthful accounts. While both legends and myths are regarded as truthful, legends happened in the more recent past than myths (Bascom 1965:4). This definition does somehow cover the story *Man in the Moon*, as both storytellers discuss the existence of a song and a tradition of interpreting the appearance of the moon and the implications of a forward and backward bent moon on the food security of the people, implying the truthfulness of the story.

Fritz Graf (1996) highlights the distinct features of myths: not only do myths have loose relations with a text, but myths are also special in their ability to change and adapt continuously, while they are also extremely culturally relevant. This is another definition that fits my purpose well because it makes reference to the adaptability and cultural relevancy of myths.

Historian of religions Mircea Eliade sees myth as "an explanation, though, strictly, of the origin of a phenomenon and not just of its recurrence" (Segal 2004:54).

The short summaries above showing how certain people understand myth should make it clear that there are many ideas about the understanding of myth. Segal (2004) found a way to work around the problem of the many disciplines, theories and fields working with myths. Myths are perceived and understood differently in fields such as science, philosophy, religion, ritual, literature, psychology, structure and society. Yet, not only do the different disciplines have a different understanding of the idea of myth, but also whether that understanding has changed over the course of time. Even the different centuries have seen splits in opinion about myth. Segal states that in the nineteenth century, myth was all "about the physical world. Myth was assumed to be part of religion, which assumed to be the primitive counterpart to science, which in turn was assumed to be wholly modern" (Segal 2004:137). However, in the twentieth century, "theories have defiantly sought to preserve myth in the face of science" (ibid 2004:137).

Segal proposes that instead of giving myth a very narrow definition, which would ultimately lead to problems considering that so many disciplines and theories have their own ideas what the idea of myth might encompass, he suggests defining "myth as a story," because even if the different disciplines will probably never agree on what kind of story a myth is, it is nonetheless, a story (2004:4). His reasoning is that if people were asked to name a myth, most people would remember "stories about Greek and Roman gods and heroes;" however, that leads to the next question, which would then ponder what the story is about (Segal 2004:5). Again, Segal has a simple answer: he proposes to say that myth is not just a story, but a story about something important (2004:5). He further suggests that when discussing the main actors within a myth, it is important to be open-minded, because otherwise finding a definition that works for several disciplines might be impossible. He proposes "the main figures be personalities – divine, human, or even animal" (2004:5). The

next problem that arises is referring to the function of myth. As before, it would most likely be impossible to get the different traditions to agree on one statement. Segal therefore proposes "that myth accomplishes something significant for adherents" (2004:6). According to Segal, a myth is then a story about something significant that involves personalities—divine, human, or animal—that accomplishes something significant for its adherents (2004)[6].

Finally, Segal also briefly mentions the topic of truth when stating that myths cannot just be grouped together and put into a pot labeled 'fantasy'. He mentions that there are myths that should be taken as truth, while others may leave the listeners to make up their own minds (2004:139). Much of the information in myths is not about 'truth', but about coming to understand the wisdom contained within, which is characterized through the story.

As the discussion in the previous paragraphs has shown, the discussion about a definition for the term myth is far from over. Personally, I like Segal's very broad understanding of myth and understand the term myth to refer to any story, whether unassailably true or fantastic, that has either happened in the distant past or, if not, is at least being told across generations, about something important that may inform future generations about an occurrence, a person, a thing that achieves something for the knowledge of the listeners. In that sense, whether a myth, true or fantastic, the story of *Man in the Moon* has taught the listeners of this story that the moon may affect earthly occurrences such as food security. Similarly, the fact that the brushman is known across vast parts of the Arctic, under different designators, may be an indicator that at some point, brushman, *na'in*, sasquatch, etc. were or are a real thing and have only recently become the material of stories.

Trying to classify the stories discussed in this research in a western system has shown the problems arising when attempting to do so. However, there are other systems that might simplify a categorization. The stories discussed in this research belong to the repertoire of traditional Gwich'in stories, which may be classified into several genres. While there are multiple genres of Gwich'in stories, there is no agreement about the

---

[6] For a more detailed discussion of the different theories and disciplines discussing the problem of defining 'myth' refer to Segal (2004).

number of those genres. Similarly, there is no consensus about which stories belong to which genre. For instance, there are stories about the earliest days, stories about travelers and medicine people, another genre includes stories that discuss encounters with the Slavey or Eskimo, and then another one about stories from the most recent past, which describe the relationship and welcome extended towards the newcomers (Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute 2007:xvi–xvii). McGary (1984) writes that the history of the world can be divided into two parts, one in which human beings and animals were seen as equals, the other one in which they are no longer equal. In her thesis, she classifies stories into those two categories. Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation and Shirleen Smith (2009), on the other hand, mention long-ago stories, which then are divided into several subgenres, as well as first and second generation stories, including travel and the arrival of newcomer stories and finally a category discussing today's oral history. They divide stories of "long ago" into the following categories: the natural world, supernatural exploits, legendary figures, stories of heroic roles and archetypes and long-ago history (Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation 2009:2). In this classification, both *Man in the Moon* and *The Brushman* belong to the "long-ago" stories. *Man in the Moon* is part of the supernatural exploits genre, while *The Brushman* is part of the subcategory dealing with heroic roles and archetypes. However, it seems also possible that *Man in the Moon* could be classified as story about travelers and medicine people, since it includes the idea of the medicine man, which may not be stated openly though.

Regardless of their exact classification, both stories include aspects of supernatural powers and heroic roles, which often include several instances of *they say*, "denoting that they were passed down by generations of people prior to the specific individual from whom the speaker heard the story" (Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation 2009:3). Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation and Shirleen Smith explain them as follows:

> Legendary narratives are generally secular or sacred, occur in the present world, feature human characters, and are often considered factual and historical [...]. Myths are usually sacred narratives that involve non-human characters, occur in an earlier world or a different world, and may be treasured as absolute truth [...]. Folktales are secular, commonly happening outside of any time or place, involve human and non-human characters, and

are regarded as fictional stories with entertainment or educational value [...].

In addition, Gwich'in include some "long-ago history," such as *Tl'oo Thał*

(Grass Pants), the story of first contact with whites, in *yeenoo dài'*

googwandak. These kinds of stories appear to be history that has been

handed down repeatedly, coming to the elder narrating it not from a first-

hand observer or as direct experience but through a chain of tellings, where

the original observer may be far removed. [2009:3-4]

As one can see, there are several categories of traditional Gwich'in stories. However, the exact number and definition of genres is unclear.

Gwich'in stories, however, are not the only Native American stories that can be classified into different genres. McKinley and Kari list five genres to categorize the oral tradition of the Ahtna: (1) *yenida'a* stories, stories of a mythic time when men and animals communicated, (2) major events in Ahtna history including stories about clan-origins, wars and well-known people, (3) stories discussing cultural practices and lifeways, such as houses and boats, (4) stories about songs and (5) stories discussing travel and place names (2010:ix–x). Krauss, on the other hand, names the following four genres for Eyak: legends, stories, history and cultural and personal accounts (Harry and Krauss 1982:18–19).

Lovick (2012) addresses an interesting topic in her essay on the narrative genres in Upper Tanana Athabascan discussing how the boundary between certain genres is not always as clear as it seems at first sight. She mentions that the reasons behind the difficulty of finding a classification system are multiple. Speakers' opinions may differ as to what genre a specific story belongs to; whole groups may classify a traditional story as history, while the same story might be considered a myth in another group (Lovick 2012:1–2). Lovick further mentions distinct styles and explains that the use of rhetorical devices such as repetition may be an indicator for a genre, but a speaker may also use it to dramatize a personal narrative (ibid 2012:2). In my opinion, one of the most important points she makes is that finding indicators for a genre in one cultural group and trying to apply them to another group may lead to a flawed outcome (ibid 2012:2).

For the abovementioned difficulties of classifying stories, I like to think of both stories discussed in this research as true or fantastic stories that happened in the distant

past that have been told across generations, about something important, such as survival in the wilderness, that may inform future generations about an occurrence such as the moon eclipse, a person or a thing such as the brushman, that achieves something for the knowledge of the listeners. However, I do recognize that there are already-existing categories for stories such as the ones I am researching, but because of the aforementioned difficulties in categorizing them clearly, I like to think of them outside of that classification system because this system is of a cultural (western) origin apart from that in which the stories discussed in this thesis were created.

Chapter 3: Background

This chapter provides some background information on the Gwich'in people and storytelling in Athabascan cultures.

3.1. The Gwich'in of North America

The Gwich'in, sometimes also called Kutchin or Loucheux[7] (pejorative: 'cross-eyed'), are an Alaska Native and a Canadian First Nations people who inhabit a large region in northern North America between the Mackenzie Flats and Peel River in the east to the Yukon Flats and Chandalar River in the west. The name *Gwich'in* means "one who dwells" (McKennan 1965:14). They also commonly refer to themselves as *Dinjii Zhuu*, a term that oftentimes refers to all Native Americans. The first people to establish contact with the Gwich'in were explorers, missionaries and fur traders. Specifically, it was the Scottish explorer Sir Alexander Mackenzie who established the first contact with the Canadian Gwich'in in 1789 (Nelson 1986:13). Alexander Hunter Murray established the first contact with Alaskan Gwich'in sometime prior to 1847. However, until the Hudson's Bay Company established posts at Fort Good Hope (1804), Fort McPherson (1840) and Fort Yukon (1847), contact between Gwich'in and Europeans remained scarce (Leechman 1954:5). Ever since the trading posts were established, European and American influence has been steadily increasing (Nelson 1986:13–14).

Missionaries also played an important role in the historical contact between the Gwich'in people and Europeans. However, it was not for many years after the aforementioned forts were built and transportation routes were established that British and French missionaries arrived (Mishler 1990:121). Even though Anglicans and Roman Catholics were competing for the conversion of the Gwich'in, they traveled together on several occasions resulting in "some highly charged and dramatic confrontations" between the missionaries (ibid 1990:121). Mishler states that the Anglicans won the competition for the conversion of the Gwich'in not only because they were the first ones to arrive and because they stayed longer than other missionaries, he also lists that "they were supported

---

[7] Spellings and names vary: Gwich'in, Gwitchin, but also Kutchin or Loucheux.

by the Hudson's Bay Company Protestant infrastructure, which included sympathetic bilingual interpreters and (apparently) a large supply of tobacco" (1990:125). However, another factor contributing to the Anglican and American Episcopalian success is that they "encouraged Native ministry and Native lay readers," a condition that strongly continues to the present (Mishler 1990:125).

Depending on different sources, the Gwich'in are divided into either eight or nine bands. The sources listing eight Gwich'in bands include arctic northern anthropologist Hall (1969), anthropologist Balikci (1963) and curator of anthropology and researcher of Athabascan people of Alaska, Osgood (1934, 1936). Anthropologists Nelson (1986) and Krech (1978), along with ethnographer McKennan (1935) list nine Gwich'in bands. The reason behind this confusion is that the ninth tribe, the Di'haii, have escaped previous mention due to their small number and because they were decimated through warfare with the Iñupiat and subsequently merged with the Neets'aii Gwich'in (McKennan 1935:369). All of the aforementioned sources agree, however, that the Gwich'in can be divided into the following eight bands: (1) Yukon Flats, (2) Birch Creek, (3) Chandalar River, (4) Black River, (5) Crow River, (6) Upper Porcupine River, (7) Peel River and (8) Mackenzie Flats (Nelson 1986; Krech 1978; Hall 1969; Balikci 1963; McKennan 1935; Osgood 1934, 1936). On the Alaskan side, Gwich'in people live in Arctic Village, Beaver, Birch Creek, Chalkyitsik, Circle, Fort Yukon and Venetie. On the Canadian side of the border, Gwich'in people live in Old Crow, Aklavik, Fort McPherson, Inuvik and Tsiigehtchic. However, large parts of the Gwich'in population on both sides of the border have also moved to bigger cities.

In the past, the Gwich'in were organized into three exogamous and matrilineal clans (McKennan 1965; Balikci 1963; Osgood 1936). Osgood writes that in theory, those three clans were exogamous, but marriage within the clans was very frequent (Osgood 1936:107). He further states "descent reckoned through the female line" and that a member of any of the three clans could marry into one of the other two clans (ibid 1936:107). However, most Gwich'in are no longer familiar with the divisions and functions of this system, though many Elders preserve the memory of these clans.

The language of the Gwich'in can be broadly divided into two dialects: an Eastern (Canadian) and a Western (Alaskan) dialect (Krauss and Golla 1981). However, each settlement/band also has its own dialectical variations.

Changes in the life of the Gwich'in people started immediately after the first contact with Europeans: the arrival of incomers brought change in almost every aspect of Gwich'in life. Before and long after the arrival of the newcomers, the Gwich'in were a people who survived off the land. They lived a subsistence lifestyle, made their clothing and housing from materials taken from the land, and had trading relationships with other native peoples. The arrival of the incomers brought change in aspects of Gwich'in life such as diet, materials, money and religion.

While the influx of newcomers may be seen as having many positive effects on the people, there are also changes that have a negative outcome. For instance, alcohol, tobacco and diseases were introduced, which in a wider sense may be held responsible for the loss of language and culture. Schools were opened, which enforced a proper, by US American standards, education. In the past, parents, uncles and grandparents educated children indirectly, through examples derived from everyday activities, and taught them how to live off the land (P. Peter; I. Roberts; B. Stevens, personal communication, June 2014). Knowledge was passed on by means of oral tradition. This knowledge was not taught at the US boarding schools, and so it was rapidly lost, along with language, through overt policies of assimilation. The Gwich'in have a very rich oral tradition that includes stories about almost every aspect of life. Stories that might seem trivial to outsiders may contain important moral and educational lessons for the Gwich'in. In the past, those stories were usually narrated in Gwich'in; however, with the implementation of English as the main language spoken in schools, and especially because using their native language often meant punishment, children soon lost the capacity to speak their own language due to isolation from their own people in the boarding schools.

In the first few years after contact, the Gwich'in language was still maintained and spoken by a large part of the Gwich'in population, but as time passed, fewer people learned the language. Consequently, stories were no longer narrated in Gwich'in and knowledge was often transmitted in English (P. Peter; I. Roberts; B. Stevens, personal communication, June 2014).

3.1.1. Language Revitalization

Having grown up in a society where storytelling, or at least my understanding of storytelling, was limited to children, I found that storytelling has a much more important status in oral societies than in literate ones. For instance, Beth Dementi-Leonard mentions that narrating a story is one of the ways in which "community language learning" takes place, one of the ways in which culture and language may be revitalized (1999:49). Additionally, stories may be used to transmit certain moral or educational values implicitly. William Schneider also mentions that stories may outlive the peoples they belong to because they mean something to a specific group of people and accomplish something for more than just one person (1995:192).

Taking Gwich'in classes and the occasional linguistics course, for example, Athabascan Linguistics with Gary Holton, enabled me to get a deeper understanding of the language situation in Alaska. Reading texts, for instance, by Michael Krauss deepened my understanding of language loss and endangered languages (1997; 1992; 1981; 1980). Further, talking to Gwich'in people like Paul Williams Sr., Bill Stevens, Irene Roberts, Pete Peter and Hishinlai' Peter also made me aware that dealing with the effects of language loss is not a simple undertaking. While most of the indigenous peoples themselves see the need for action if they want their language and culture revitalized, taking even just a first step might lead to difficulties within the community because unfortunately, some people condemn any outsider influence (P. Williams Sr., personal communication, June 2014).

Assimilation of indigenous peoples into the mainstream American culture is an effect of the "English-only" policy implemented shortly after the arrival of explorers, fur traders and missionaries (Reyhner 1999:xii). With the implementation of English as the main language spoken in schools, and especially because using their native language was cause for punishment, Alaska Native children soon lost the capacity to speak their own language due to isolation from their own people in the boarding schools. This marked the beginning of the cultural and linguistic assimilation of the indigenous peoples into mainstream American culture.

As part of this linguistic and cultural assimilation people also gave up aspects of their traditional lifestyles, including their oral tradition. While some people try to pass parts of their knowledge on to the next generation, this can most likely no longer be done in

the native language. For instance, Irene Roberts told me that she tells stories to her children and grandchildren whenever she has the opportunity, but not even her own children are fluent in the language anymore, let alone her grandchildren. As a result, she narrates the story in short sections, first giving the Gwich'in version and then performing an English version of the same sequence, always explaining what she just said.

According to Littlebear, indigenous languages are slowly dying. He emphasizes, "It is the last and only time that *we* will have the opportunity to save them. *We* must continue to promote the successful programs throughout Alaska and Indian Country" (Cantoni-Harvey et al. 1996:xv, emphasis added). This quote nicely stresses the importance of indigenous efforts in the preservation, maintenance and revitalization of indigenous languages. Indeed, it was often non-natives terming the languages in question "*dying* and *moribund,*" and outsiders were also the ones deciding whether the efforts taken were successful or not (Dementi-Leonard and Gilmore 1999:39). However, it was also predominantly non-natives implementing policies that were developed by other non-natives. The influence of incomers on education, religious views of the natives and the introduction of diseases resulted in the need for new policies. As a consequence of the reduction of the natives' belief in their traditional culture, "language, cultural, and spiritual loss" was effectively induced (Dementi-Leonard and Gilmore 1999:39). While in the past, most of the literature pertaining to "language planning, revitalization, and shift was written by non-indigenous scholars," currently there is an increasing number of publications originating from "indigenous scholars" (Leonard 2007:18–19). Among the increasing number of indigenous scholars writing on the topic of language revitalization, language planning and language shift are Sikorski (2008), Leonard (2007), King (2003; 2001), Littlebear (1999), Warner (1999), Wong (1999) and Zepeda (1995)[8]. Some of the non-native scholars writing on the topic include Kealy (2014), Shaul (2014), Mihas (2013), Meek (2010), Henze and Davis (1999), Hinton and Ahlers (1999), Crawford (1997), Fishman (1991) and Cooper (1989).

---

[8] For a more in-depth discussion of language revitalization efforts and storytelling refer to Leonard's dissertation *Deg Xinag Oral Traditions: Reconnecting Indigenous Language and Education through Traditional Narratives* (2007).

3.2. Storytelling

Many authors claim that storytelling is a very old tradition and that it has been practiced as long as humans have walked this world. Among the authors who discussed this topic are Roney (2001), Norman (1990), Breneman (1983), Baker (1977) and Shedlock (1952). For instance, Baker mentions how "storytelling is older than history and is not bounded by one civilization, one continent, or one race" (1977:1). While stories may be different in different parts of the world or at different points in time, they may serve the same causes and basic needs regardless of where they are told (Baker 1977).

Storytelling is a form of art and communication that has existed since long before the beginning of civilization. Regardless of place, ethnicity and time, people have always told stories. Baker explains,

> The first written record of an activity that appears to be storytelling is found in an Egyptian papyrus called the Westcar Papyrus and tells how the sons of Cheops, the great builder of pyramids, entertained their father with stories. Those tales were recorded sometime between 2000 and 1300 B.C. [1977:2]

While stories might be distinctive in different parts of this world and from century to century, no matter where in this world we are, "storytelling has filled the same basic social and individual needs" (ibid 1977:1).

A long time ago, before writing systems were invented, storytelling was used to communicate, and this use of storytelling continued to be an important tool for communicating knowledge long after the invention of writing systems (Tooze 1959:15). The earliest storytellers were most likely curious beings, searching to understand the beginnings and in need of entertainment, and thus storytelling came to be. In ancient times, the storyteller had a very versatile role. The basic human need to communicate introduced the storyteller "as bringer of news, historian, disperser of culture, upholder of religion and morals, as well as entertainer" (Baker 1977:1). For a while, the status of the storyteller stayed the same and the stories became a combination of "legends, mythology, hero tales, and anonymous personal tales" and the status of the storyteller became even more grounded in society (ibid 1977:1). In the absence of a writing system, people had to

rely on oral narration to transmit any kind of information to each other. With the creation of writing systems in ancient and classical times, and the invention of printing following much later in 1450, people began to write stories down, and thus the importance of storytelling and the storyteller changed ever so slightly (Baker 1977:2). And although storytelling[9] continues to be part of every society, its "role and its significance has fluctuated from one period to another" (Breneman 1983:5). While in the beginning storytelling was used as a form of communication to transmit any kind of information, later on certain aspects gained in importance. Among those aspects are, for instance, art, entertainment and business.

3.2.1. Storytelling in Native American Cultures

Explorers, fur traders and missionaries were among the earliest collectors of stories (e.g. Gabriel 1993; Mishler 1990; Burch 1979; Krech 1978; Osgood 1936). Most recently, indigenous storytellers working with linguists have produced an impressive collection of material; some of it is intended for use in classrooms or communities, while some of the material is more publicly available and documents oral literature and oral tradition in written form (Ruppert and Bernet 2001:1).

Storytelling, especially the telling of traditional stories (stories that have been told across generations) has long been practiced and is a well established means of communicating narratives among indigenous peoples. According to Kroeber, storytelling is completely different in Native American cultures than in western societies because Native Americans largely developed their cultures without writing, putting even more emphasis onto storytelling (2004:1). Although writing systems have been developed and illiteracy has disappeared widely, storytelling, as part of their oral tradition, still holds an important value for many Native Americans.

Norman (1990) states that for native people of the arctic and subarctic, folktales were always an important part of their culture. Several authors discuss topics linked to storytelling in Native American cultures. Among those authors are Ruppert and Bernet (2001), Norman (1990), McGary (1984), Harry and Krauss (1982), Rooth (1976) and

---

[9] I acknowledge that storytelling may occur in other forms than in its oral form. However, for the scope of this thesis, I am only discussing oral narrated stories.

Jenness (1924). Among those topics, time, function and audience are mentioned frequently.

On the subject of time, Canadian anthropologist Jenness explains that storytelling occurred whenever several native people met, which was more likely to occur during one of the long winter nights than during the summer (1924:1).

Osgood, curator of anthropology and well known researcher of the Athabascan people of Alaska, also mentions time, listing that stories were mostly told at night, sometimes continuing into the early hours of the following morning (1936:105).

Ethnographer McKennan also collected an impressive amount of stories in his time, listing storytelling as one of the most important leisure time activities, practiced whenever two or more native people met, usually leading to a sort of contest between the men, making the one who could tell the most stories the winner (1965:49–50).

Rooth, a Swedish folklorist, dedicated a chapter in *The Importance of Storytelling* (1976) to time, an unquestionably important factor when discussing storytelling in the context of native cultures. She uses information gained from different native peoples across Alaska to inform readers about the time when stories were most likely narrated. She states that stories were most often told at night; however, fall and wintertime in general were also good times to narrate a story. She further mentions seasonal storytelling, meaning that not only were stories most likely told during the winter, but that certain stories were, for instance, believed to bring good luck in hunting and were told during that season specifically (Rooth 1976).

Linguist Krauss, who has done extensive work on Eyak since the 1960s, presents a small part of Anna Nelson Harry's "storytelling art" in *In Honor of Eyak: The Art of Anna Nelson Harry* (1982:19). Krauss used recordings that were made of Anna Nelson Harry at different points in time. He mentions that comparing versions to one another is very interesting, not for the language used to narrate those stories, but for their content. He states that the content between versions often differs greatly, reflecting "the story of Anna's life and Eyak history" (Harry and Krauss 1982:20). He further writes that especially the versions that were made later in her life included much more "personal meaning, wit, and wisdom that could only be Anna's, and Eyak" (ibid 1982:20).

McGary, a former Alaska Native Language Center editor, who wrote a master's thesis on Gwich'in stories, writes that Katherine Peter, who provided most of the transcriptions and translations McGary based her thesis on, confirmed that storytelling was an undertaking most likely to occur during the winter and that men were the most likely storytellers (1984:49).

Ethnologist, anthropologist and archaeologist De Laguna wrote that storytelling was used to pass time during long, cold winter nights, before lamps and electric light made it possible to work during those hours (De Laguna, Reynolds, and DeArmond 1995:73).

UAF English professors Ruppert and Bernet (2001), who dedicated a book to Athabascan and Eyak stories, state that in the southern and interior parts of Alaska and the Yukon Territory stories were told almost entirely during winter, naming early winter and midwinter specifically good times for distant-time stories (2001:2). However, they also mention how the rest of the year was by no means considered a bad time to tell stories, they state that specific times of the year might be predestined for one genre of story more so than another one. As examples they list that summer would be the time during which so-called mountain stories would exclusively be narrated, whereas personal narratives could be told at anytime (Ruppert and Bernet 2001:2).

The function of Athabascan storytelling is also an important topic because indigenous stories often have more than one function. Several of the abovementioned authors also had something to say on the functions arising in Athabascan storytelling.

Jenness (1924) witnessed storytelling as a favored leisure time activity, practiced whenever several people met. He mentions that in Alaska those stories and traditions were repeated so often in "semi-stereotyped forms" that soon not only aged men were able to recite them, but also younger ones (Jenness 1924:1). He further introduces the idea of real storytellers, calling them "'raconteurs'," describing them as those men who knew the old tales and traditions so well that they were invited into people's homes to perform them; a performance often took several evenings to finish (Jenness 1924:1).

McKennan (1965:53) mentions "moral tales" as an efficient means to teach children correct conduct; stories were often told not just to entertain, but also to educate. These moral tales continued to be told and listened to by adults, reinforcing cultural norms for behavior.

Rooth came to the same conclusion: while stories may have been told for entertainment, storytelling often had other functions as well (1976:25). Rooth uses the name "purposely pedagogical stories" to refer to stories that were used to teach children a lesson, reciting a story from one of her contacts about a moose encounter, properly teaching children how to behave if they encountered a moose and had no means to escape (Rooth 1976:32–33). She goes even further in discussing stories told in connection with enculturation, dividing them into the following three categories: (1) explanatory stories, encompassing stories referring to "how certain features come into being, such as the colors of different animals, the length of the caribou's legs, the bent stems of the cones," (2) elucidating stories, consisting of stories explaining "the origin of the world and its present shape or impart important technical knowledge" and (3) initial stories, explaining "customs and artifacts" (ibid 1976:39–53).

McGary provides a whole list of functions for native stories. Among those functions she mentions: "moral and practical instruction; psychological integration; establishment of a sense of history and social identity; achievement of status for the storyteller; and intellectual entertainment and amusement" (1984:51).

Katherine Peter, Athabascan linguist and tradition bearer, gives a practical explanation stating how growing up hearing stories about hardship taught them to be prepared (McGary 1984:49).

De Laguna highlights the importance of storytelling in a culture without writing, where oral tradition was the only means to preserve the wisdom and knowledge of elders (1995:74). Communicating any knowledge in such a society had to be done orally, best also repeatedly due to the potentially ephemeral quality of a story or any kind of information in general.

And finally, Ruppert and Bernet state that as individual performances, oral narratives "engage cultural conversations, ongoing discourses, and group values" (2001:6). They see the stories in their work belonging in one of the three categories: for instance, a story may be told to entertain. If not, stories might be used to inform people about different topics, and finally, stories may also be told just for the act of telling them, emphasizing the importance and connection between "the human and the spiritual worlds" (Ruppert and Bernet 2001:6).

Audience response is another important factor when discussing Native American storytelling because an audience could have an enormous effect on the way a story is narrated. A story may be adapted and different moral and educational lessons may be pursued with one and the same story, adjusting to each different audience anew. However, there is also often a strict adherence to the particulars of a story to prevent its alteration between tellings and between generations.

Discussing narrative style and audience, Rooth explains that a narrator may change their style, enabling the teller to shorten stories and highlight the most important parts of those stories instead of telling the story in its full length (1976:59).

McGary also dedicated part of her thesis on Gwich'in stories to discuss the audience, emphasizing that by creating an unnatural setting for the recording event, an audience response or the interaction with the audience may be disrupted because either there is no one in the audience who knows the story, or the listeners are hesitant to disturb the recording (1984:72).

De Laguna also briefly discusses the influence of the audience, stressing that an audience does indeed have an effect on the telling. She states that even if the same narrator tells the same story more than once, the versions would still be different because the audience is never the same, even if the same people are technically listening, highlighting both the narrator's and audience's different attitudes (1995:74).

Cruikshank also discusses the audience and their influence on stories, stating that in Native American storytelling, there is a relationship between the storyteller and their audience, and that further, a listener may gain knowledge by hearing stories multiple times, enabling them to think about the meaning of a story differently each time a story is heard (1998:59).

Ruppert and Bernet also discuss the influence of the audience on the storyteller, stating that even if a storyteller's audience may vary greatly, a narrator has to be able to resonate with their audience (2001:13).

Storytelling in Native American cultures is subject to a variety of factors involved that may affect the performance of a narrator, possibly allowing for multiple versions considered the same story even though the story is presented differently each time it is performed. Storytelling, as done by Native Americans may at times be done simply for

entertainment; however, more often than not, stories are told with a lecturing undertone, educating the listeners by telling a story that includes fictitious elements, which demonstrate real life lessons.

3.2.2. Oral Tradition

Elsie Mather, a Yup'ik Elder, once nicely described the brevity of oral tradition: "When stories are written down, they lose a kind of fluidity. Words and phrases become fixed, more like objects. They also become the subjects of more interpretation, acquiring definite meanings through analysis" (1995:15). This quote introduces the problematic aspects of bringing oral traditions onto paper.

Ron and Suzanne Scollon mention several peculiarities in their discussion about stories they collected in Chipewyan. On the one hand, they were unable to record stories simply in the native language, they would always hear stories "in pairs," referring to a Chipewyan and English version (Scollon 1988:26). On the other hand, narrators called storytelling teaching. As bearers of oral tradition, simply saying the words so that they could be first recorded and then in a later step analyzed made no sense at all (ibid 1988:26). They further discuss oral narratives as interaction between a storyteller and their audience, emphasizing the importance of an audience on the narration itself (ibid 1988:27).

Cruikshank cites Angela Sidney, a Tagish storyteller, when writing that oral tradition should be perceived as "social activity," because meaning is created whenever something such as a story is told; the meaning is not part of the story, but of the interaction between the storyteller and the listeners, and therefore can change with each telling (1998:xv).

Former oral cultures, such as the peoples of Native Alaska nowadays, have not only written accounts of stories that were collected when missionaries and fur traders first came to Alaska, they also have their oral tradition, continuing to live on as long as there are people who are able to tell stories the way they learned them from their parents, grandparents and uncles.

However, an issue that has only recently come up, due to the disappearance of illiteracy within the native cultures, and primarily because of the creation of written records of those formerly only orally available stories, is that now these oral traditions are

written down, which may make them more readily available for comparison. While in the past, the same story may or may not have been exactly identical with another version, a written record will compellingly show whether those versions are actually identical.

Leonard discusses how "aspects of documentation, translation, and interpretation or analysis of oral tradition" affect oral tradition (2007:33). If several versions of a story exist, but only one of them is written down, people are inclined to believe that the one written version holds more importance than the other ones. It is also very likely that people unfamiliar with the wealth of stories in native cultures may simply assume that there are no other versions. Additionally, a storyteller may adjust their version depending on a range of factors such as audience, time or place. A different indigenous audience may trigger a storyteller to adjust their performance; however, bringing in a non-native audience, forcing a performer to narrate the story not in its natural language or setting is even more likely to evoke a variation in performance, which might then lead to questions regarding the authenticity of the story.

Creating a written format of an oral story will affect the ways in which that story can be analyzed. It is important to acknowledge the influence of transcribing, translating and interpreting on any text. While in the source language a text was performed orally, the process of transcription may have already changed parts of the text in case the spoken performance and the written duplicate are not exactly identical. Translation will inevitably change even more of the original text, especially if other than the performer of the source text creates the translation. If another person produces the new text, a whole new set of ideas enters the process. Among the authors who have worked in this field and who have dealt with problems as the aforementioned ones, are, for instance, Hymes (2004; 1977) and Tedlock (1999; 1985; 1983).

It is also important to recognize that taking a story from a spoken context and reproducing it in the same or in a different language in a written context will affect its appearance. As Sarris nicely states, it is important to have a holistic view of language and recognize "what might have been lost or gained in the transcription and editing of the speaker's spoken words" (1993:99). In that sense it is important to be aware that for the scope of my thesis, similarities and differences noted in the English versions of the texts I am analyzing may not be identical with the similarities and differences of the Gwich'in

source texts. However, Ron and Suzanne Scollon make an interesting point when they explain that in what they call "translation sets," a narrator would first tell them a story in Athabascan and then would tell them the same story in English, out of concern for the listeners' understanding (1981:107). They further note that a comparison of the Athabascan and the English version of the story display "a striking parallelism," for instance at times the English version may be almost a "line-by-line translation," whereas at other times something that might be marked "morphologically in one language may be marked intonationally in the other" (Scollon 1981:107). Assuming that the performance of Moses Peters and David Salmon work similarly, my findings in the English versions of the stories I am analyzing in this thesis are relevant, but some of the findings might alter slightly from what I may have found had I analyzed the original versions.

Ruppert (1995) explores how storytellers can mediate the way they tell stories, using different styles to perform, sometimes adapting to the language and culture of their audience. He makes a compelling case discussing how narrating a story not in its original language will not, contrary to popular opinion, diminish the quality of the information in the narrative, but rather it allows a narrator to highlight different elements without actually changing the story.

Schneider (1995) also raises an important point discussing his work with Peter John. For Schneider, oral tradition is intricately linked to the storyteller. Without knowing the storyteller, there is no oral tradition because only by getting to know one another a listener really understands what a storyteller is saying. Schneider further states that the relationship between the narrator and their audience will determine the way a story is told (1995:195).

Tedlock refers to the relationship between a text and its interpretation as "dialectical," whereby a storyteller will adapt a text only insofar as is necessary and "both respects the text and revises it" (1983:237). This may allow for minimal deviations between variants of the same story, leaving room for more or less detailed versions and slight alterations in presentation.

3.2.3. Similarities

Storytelling in Athabascan cultures such as in the Gwich'in nation and in western societies, for example in Europe or in the United States[10], have several things in common, while in other aspects storytelling is rather different. Both storytelling traditions began under the same basic conditions. First, Athabascan storytelling tradition is based on a former and partially continuing oral culture. Similarly, before the invention of a writing system, stories, as well as any other kind of information had to be communicated orally in western societies, too. This situation was the norm for the vast majority of people even following the advent of writing due to widespread illiteracy—a situation that persisted into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Second, in Athabascan cultures, storytelling was used as a means to communicate, meaning that much information was transmitted by means of stories. In the same way, storytelling enabled communication of any kind in western societies. Any kind of information, regardless of its content, was transmitted by means of a narrative. Third, both in Athabascan and western storytelling anyone is basically able to narrate a story; however, only very few people are *born* storytellers, people who can delight their audience and capture their attention with their performance. Fourth, in Athabascan cultures there are several different genres of stories that may be counted as traditional stories such as myths, legends, oral histories, folktales, parables, etc. Similarly, western societies have different genres of stories such as fairytales, folktales, myths, legends, etc. Fifth, moral or educational lessons could be part of a narrative in the Athabascan storytelling tradition. In the same way, stories in western societies used to include moral and educational lessons and sometimes still do. Finally, knowledge acquired from ancestors was passed on through stories in the Athabascan tradition. Likewise, oral narratives were used to transmit knowledge from forebears in western societies.

However, the invention of writing and the much later invention of printing in Europe in 1450 AD brought a shift upon the two traditions. Writing systems were invented in many places of the world a long time before Athabascan cultures were even discovered

---

[10] I am aware that storytelling even within Europe cannot be classified as one single tradition. However, for the scope of my thesis I am simply referring to those traditions as the storytelling traditions of western societies.

by Europeans. Thus, the importance of storytelling in western societies decreased and changed shortly after a writing system was introduced, though only among European elites, whereas storytelling and folklore persisted strongly among the long-illiterate commoners who comprised the vast majority of populations. Since Native American cultures were oral cultures much longer than most of the United States and Europe, their oral tradition is much more alive today and has preserved some of its original importance.

Several authors (Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics, De Fina, and Nylund 2010; Kroeber 2004; Livo 1986; Baker 1977; Tooze 1959) discuss how in western societies, storytelling tradition may differ from the way stories are used, for instance, in the Gwich'in culture.

During the Georgetown roundtable on languages and linguistics, stories were described as being the means for human beings to "dream, plan, complain, endorse, entertain, teach, learn, and reminisce," however, narratives are also used to give us "hope, enhance or mitigate disappointments, challenge or support moral order, and test out theories of the world at both personal and communal levels" (2010:1). This quote nicely highlights that narratives may be used for much more than storytelling in itself. Indeed, while those narratives are told in the form of stories, the *content* is the purpose, not the story itself—it's the ideational 'vehicle'.

Kroeber mentions in the introduction of his book on indigenous storytelling that for us, possibly referring to any non-indigenous culture, storytelling is primarily an instrument used in our search for entertainment, a way to amuse ourselves lightheartedly and sometimes to waste time (2004:6).

Livo states that the manner of narrating a story may be different in distinct cultures because storytelling has to agree with the "oral literature traditions of the culture" (1986:8). She lists the ways in which stories are introduced or ended, the amount of narrator and listener interaction, formality, as well as the "use of artifacts and ritual devices" as depending on the oral tradition of a culture (Livo 1986:8). Since storytelling in our European American society has mostly an entertaining function, it is acceptable and even desirable for children to interrupt and ask questions, whereas in other traditions, an interruption in the middle of a narration might be frowned upon.

Baker highlights that after the invention of printing, storytelling changed slightly. Before the invention of writing systems and printing, storytelling was used to transmit any kind of information, later, "the traditional prose tale, the story handed down from generation to generation either in writing or by word of mouth, became the stuff of storytelling" (1977:2). It is mostly these aforementioned prose tales, which may be enjoyed solely for the pleasure of doing so that are associated with storytelling in western societies. Educational or moral values may only play a secondary role in our stories even if those values may technically be transmitted through stories. However, the most important objective of listening to a story in our society is to enjoy a form of entertainment.

Finally, Tooze mentions how after first being introduced as man's earliest means of communication, subsequently storytelling has transformed into a real form of art (1959:v). It is this form of art that nowadays is most important in western societies, while in traditional cultures[11], storytelling may still be used to share traditional knowledge and pass on moral and educational values.

In conclusion, storytelling as understood in Native American cultures and in western societies does have some similar functions, namely that storytelling may be enjoyed as a form of art, a way to entertain ourselves. However, the storytelling traditions also differ from each other insofar as storytelling is used to pass on cultural, educational and moral values in traditional cultures, while this function has been mostly lost in the storytelling tradition of western societies.

---

[11] I consider traditional cultures to be traditional when they retain traditions across more generations than others, relying on older traditions than others.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This research is a *case study*. It does not attempt to be representative of all possible manifestations of the stories I am analyzing, nor does it attempt to be representative of any stories not discussed in this research. The intent of this research is to provide the readers with a view of storytelling that has been little studied in the academic field discussing Gwich'in stories. I explore the idea of how similar two versions of a story are, by comparing the emerging themes of two versions to each other. Two versions of *Man in the Moon* are investigated by looking at the English performances of the two Gwich'in speakers and storytellers David Salmon and Moses Peters. I explore the same idea by looking at two versions of *The Brushman* by Sarah Frank that were recorded five years apart. The versions of these stories are then compared to each other and differences and similarities between individual themes of the two versions of the same story are noted. I anticipate that the two versions of *Man in the Moon* contain less identical themes than Sarah Frank's two versions of *The Brushman.* This assumption is based on the premise that one story, *Man in the Moon*, is narrated by two different storytellers, whereas the same storyteller narrates *The Brushman* five years apart. While the time between the two narrations of Sarah Frank's story should certainly not be de-emphasized, I am assuming that details such as the material of clothing is likely to stay the same when the same storyteller narrates a story at different points in time in contrast to when different storytellers tell the same story. I am making this assumption based on discussions with some of my Gwich'in contacts who mentioned that a story narrated by different people, especially when they are from different villages, may include different detail such as the material of clothing depending on the availability of animals in the closer vicinity of the villages (I. Roberts; B. Stevens, personal communication, June 2014).

The reason why those two specific stories were chosen for this research and not any other stories from the vast collection of stories of the Gwich'in nation is that I wanted to use already existing recordings, or that I would be able to record stories myself. I found that being able to work with already existing material was invaluable for this research. Finding suitable recordings and in some cases even transcriptions and translations has

been of vital importance for this thesis. Craig Mishler guided my research to the two versions of *The Brushman* in his book *Neerihiinjìk* (1995), and a search of the oral history database in the Rasmuson Library revealed two versions of *Man in the Moon*. The oral history database contains many more recordings of Gwich'in stories; yet, for *Man in the Moon* there is not only a Gwich'in version, but also an English one. In addition, finding a story that was available as a recording in both Gwich'in and English, and searching for a story that was moreover performed by more than one person further limited my choice.

Since *The Brushman* had already been transcribed and translated for a book I was able to use those adjusted transcriptions and translations from the book as a basis for my own transcription. In the case of *Man in the Moon,* I could not locate any transcriptions. Therefore, I decided to create a transcript of the English performances of both David Salmon and Moses Peters that would serve as basis for the analysis. The Gwich'in versions of *Man in the Moon* were not used for this research, even though they are available and part of the same recording.

The present thesis is limited by the language investigated, which presently only consists of an analysis of the English performances and translations of the texts. The results therefore only reflect the similarities and differences of the English themes in each story. However, I argue that the results of this thesis are valid, particularly because linguist Scollon mentions a striking parallelism when comparing the English and Chipewyan versions of stories he investigated (Scollon 1981:107). With my method of analyzing two versions of the same story by looking at the information contained in the themes of each story, I am able to show whether several versions of the same story contain identical information. An extension of my study could provide meaningful insight into how similar the same story is when an analysis is also provided of the Gwich'in versions and by comparing more versions to each other.

4.1. Collecting Stories

The interview I conducted with Dr. James Kari, an emeritus professor of linguistics, included semi-structured questions and was open-ended. This approach allowed the interviewee to explore topics from his own perspective, and most importantly allowed him

to guide me towards his own examples, but still enabled me to control the direction of the interview.

I wanted to find out (1) whether he remembers hearing the same story from the same storyteller more than once, (2) whether he heard the same story from different storytellers, (3) whether he thinks it is possible that a storyteller is able to tell a story the same way each time they narrate it, (4) what influence he thinks non-native listeners have on the way a story is narrated, (5) whether he thinks the gender of the storyteller plays a role, (6) whether he has told stories himself, (7) what he thinks would happen if a person would recount a story inaccurately, (8) whether it is even possible to tell a story inaccurately and finally, (9) what role translators have in the process.

Dr. Kari has done extensive linguistic work in several Athabascan languages, making him an interesting interviewee, especially since he also had the chance to work with many different storytellers firsthand. Unfortunately, working with storytellers is getting rare these days, a point Dr. Kari emphasizes. He mentioned that eliciting a story from just any speaker of a language might not get a researcher the results they want. According to Kari (personal communication, November 2014) it is important to work with "real storytellers" when attempting to do comparative work[12]. Picking the right informants might affect the results a researcher can receive. Dr. Kari had the chance to work with some very knowledgeable people like Mary Tyone and Shem Pete, two excellent storytellers in his opinion. Not only was Dr. Kari able to record several versions of the same story by either the same storyteller at different points in time, but also by different storytellers. Each version is as unique as the storyteller who narrates it. However, finding the same motifs or themes is relatively easy when working with real storytellers, a prerequisite, according to Kari. As examples he lists Spider Woman or The Butterfly Story, mentioning that while the motifs are the same, the details may be different, resulting in longer and shorter versions depending on the amount of detail. However, the fact that meetings are usually planned ahead of time also gives the informant, or narrator in case of stories, the advantage of reflecting what and how they want to discuss/narrate a story, event, etc. beforehand.

---

[12] Linguist Jim Kari used the designation "real storyteller." The only times I am using this designation is when referring to this interview. I am not attempting to explain or define who is or is not a real storyteller.

An interesting detail that emerged when discussing variations of the same story concerned the audience on a performance. As an example, Kari tells about working with Shem Pete and receiving the same story twice, once when it was just the two of them, a requirement for a good recording, and another time with several other Dena'ina (formerly Tanaina) speakers in the room. The version narrated in front of the Dena'ina audience was about 50 percent longer because Shem was so energized due to his indigenous audience. Audience responses led him to perform the same story including much more detail that emerged in the version performed when the audience consisted only of James Kari. However, the story was still the same as the one Dr. Kari recorded when it was just the two of them in the room.

Another topic arising in the same context was the influence of non-native listeners on the ways a story is told. According to Kari, stories might be slightly altered depending on the audience. Performing in front of a native audience, a storyteller can be relatively certain that their audience will understand any non-obvious meanings, whereas in front of a non-native audience, any heavily embedded meanings would have to be mentioned and explained. However, whether explanations are given or if a story is narrated without any accompanying explanations also depends on a narrator. As a linguist who has worked with many different storytellers over the years, it is possible that Dr. Kari either already knows certain stories so well that no explanations are given, or that they are expressly given because he pursues a specific objective by recording a specific story.

The influence of gender on how a story is narrated is another interesting topic. Kari had the chance to record spider woman by both Martha Jackson and Fred John, two people with very distinct personalities. He notes that their versions of the story are "pretty strongly similar," indicating that gender may not play such an important role in how a story is told, but maybe more so in what story a person would tell (J. Kari, personal communication, November 2014). It is very likely that the content of a story is the same, even if different narrators tell the story; however, the amount of detail or specific detail such as materials might differ slightly depending on where a narrator is from.

Regarding the topic of an incorrectly narrated story, the emerging answer showed that even an excellent storyteller is always willing to learn more and accept different versions and unique styles of other people, especially since people mostly do not work off

strict memorization, leaving room for distinct interpretations and different detail. Kari discussed the example of Shem Pete, whom he calls an excellent storyteller and one of the greatest narrators he ever worked with. He mentioned that sometimes Shem Pete and Anton Evan would stay at the same place and exchange stories, usually stories they both did not know in full. By the end of their meeting, both narrators had a new story in their collection, each having taken bits and pieces from each other's versions and assembling a mutual version. This topic also led to a brief detour about recordings done in group settings, which Kari mentions may be inhibiting to some people, and also resulting in rather poor recording quality. The presence of people who are familiar with the story or native speakers of the language can result in 'corrections' and also more disciplined awareness of how the story is being told—especially to an outsider. Kari, however, mentioned only instances in which variations of the same story were accepted by either native speakers or other storytellers.

The final topic addressed was translation. Kari explains his approach, which includes accounting for every spoken line and using alternating lines. As an example, we briefly looked at *Ttheek'ädn Ut'iin Yaaniidq' Oonign' – Old-time Stories of the Scottie Creek People* (1996). The book includes stories told by Mary Tyone in Upper Tanana Athabascan, which were transcribed and edited by Dr. Kari. Except for the foreword by James Kari, an appreciation of Mary Tyone by James Ruppert and some information on the Upper Tanana dialects and writing system, the book follows the same structure throughout: titles in Upper Tanana and English are given, reference to recording date and tape are made, which is followed by a short introduction if necessary, and then follows the first sentence in Upper Tanana and English.

Table 1: Dr. Kari's Approach to Translating Upper Tanana Stories

Doodagndįį̀ **How I Learned The Language**
Recorded November 8 and December 5, 1994. Tape 4B.
T'ay t'oot'eey neenaattheh xa ch'ah naxognnign. I am telling the really old-time stories from before our times.
Ay neenaattheh sts'ikeey iin itadulsi' ts'ä' hiixa huushya' xy sts'ikeey iin xa neenaattheh xa naxognnign. I tell these so that my children will read of the old times and so that my children can then gain the wisdom of the old times. [13] [14]

Except for the table format, the reader of Dr. Kari's publications encounters the same format in the aforementioned book. At times, there is an additional line, showing some additional information given by Mary Tyone, prefaced by the initials of the speaker.

Dr. Kari states that some people may prefer a different style, but he has had good experiences with his approach, which includes accounting for each spoken line and using alternating lines to display the Upper Tanana and English text, respectively.

He further emphasizes the importance of repetition and false starts when creating a translation for a story. If a translator decides to omit repetition and false starts, in its own way a form of cultural redaction, for the sake of the storyteller, he may be doing more harm than good by saving the face of a narrator. He may indeed neglect to cover a narrator's intent of repetition. Similarly, deciding that a succession of several syllables may be a mistake on the part of the storyteller and not reflecting it in the final version in the same way may obscure the narrator's change of thought.

Having had the chance to interview someone who was able to work with storytellers firsthand and discuss the abovementioned topics was a great help in consolidating my understanding of not only storytelling, but also what it means to record stories and work with the material gathered in an interview. Dr. Kari was further very helpful in outlining his own techniques and enriching them with examples from his own fieldwork, deepening my own understanding of all the processes involved.

---

[13] For a more detailed impression of Dr. Kari's approach refer to *Ttheek'ädn Ut'iin Yaaniidq' Oonign' – Old-time Stories of the Scottie Creek People* (1996).

[14] *Ttheek'ädn Ut'iin Yaaniidq' Oonign' – Old-time Stories of the Scottie Creek People* (Tyone 1996:1).

4.1.1. Man in the Moon

Man in the Moon is a story about a boy who has the ability to foresee the future, aides his people in times of need by telling them that they would soon catch some caribou, and as a price wants a caribou of his choice. However, that caribou is already claimed, so that the boy's wish is not granted. This leads to tears on the boy's side. At some point the boy announces that he will leave his people and live on the moon, which is naturally met with incomprehension from his parents. Although the boy is watched carefully from that point onwards, he is still able to set off in the middle of the night. He returns to his parents a few more times to tell them how to survive in times of starvation, to inform them on the peculiarities of the shape of the moon, and to console them.

4.1.2. The Old Woman and the Brushman

The Brushman is a tale about an old woman who lives along a river, sustaining herself off the land by snaring, singeing and eating ground squirrels. Her routine is abruptly interrupted when a brushman appears and starts to annoy her. The old woman reciprocates his annoyance by throwing heated intestines at him, effectively killing him in the process.

4.1.2.1. Story Characters

The two stories discussed in this research, *Man in the Moon* and *The Brushman*, revolve around several characters, all of whom I will introduce here very briefly. *Man in the Moon* revolves around a young boy with the ability to see into the future. The story further includes the boy's parents and another man, possibly the boy's uncle. *The Brushman* revolves around an old woman who has a camp along a river. In her attempt to live a peaceful and quiet life, the old woman is interrupted by a brushman, a feral individual who is widely known among Athabascan groups.

49

4.1.2.1.1. Brushmen

The brushman, sometimes also called bushman, and among the Gwich'in known as *na'in*[15], is a being often held in fear, but also greatly respected. Some non-academic authors (Bourne 2003; Wallis 1998; Kaye 1992a, Kaye 1992b) as well as McGary (1984) writing about the brushman all agree that brushmen were ostracized from their groups for disobeying rules. The brushman is a widely known figure among northern Athabascan groups. Whether brushmen are real human beings who have been outcast by their groups for acts of cannibalism or by committing murder, or if they are personified supernatural beings, or humans who have acquired supernatural qualities, that is the question. A question that may receive varying explanations, sometimes even within the same culture and community. McGary describes *na'in* as "semi-human creatures [that] are generally supposed to have originated from ordinary humans who committed some awful crime, usually cannibalism, and became savage, cave-dwelling hermits" (1984:37). Velma Wallis recounts that Jeffrey John, her former husband, encountered a *na'in* when he was hunting above the Chandalar country (1998:24). A similar account is related by John Bernard Bourne of a road trip taken on the ice road near Rae Lakes in the Canadian Northwest Territories. He explains that the sighting occurred during a blizzard when they were stuck in the middle of nowhere on Faber Lake, somewhere between Gameti and Rae-Edzo. The bushman was nothing more than a quick glimpse of something tall and hairy (Bourne 2003:33). Bella Francis tells of *Vi'it gwaatr'al*, "the solitary brushman whose avoidance of human contact became a folk legend" (Kaye 1992b). Bella Francis relates that growing up she and her siblings were warned of different forms of the brushman. *Vi'it gwaatr'al*, supposedly a real *na'in*, was a man whose wife left him for another man. Hurt, he left his group to live in solitary existence; only returning to his people toward the end of his life (Kaye 1992b:H6). While a brushman may just be a lonely man seeking a solitary life in the wilderness, not trying to bother anyone, brushmen are often described as malicious, staying close to camps, and occasionally stealing from the people, kidnapping women and children, and even killing those who venture into the wilderness (Kaye 1992a; Kaye 1992b;

---

[15] Spelling of the Gwich'in term for brushman vary: *na'in, naa'in, na'en*. In this thesis I am spelling the Gwich'in term as follows: *na'in*.

McGary 1984). Furthermore, no agreement could be reached, as Wallis so aptly describes, whether the brushman is "a myth, a monster or a lonely man" (1998:24). Existing in many northern Athabascan cultures, *na'in*, sasquatch, bogeyman, etc., have been an integral part of many myths and legends.

4.2. Transcribing

Transcribing the recorded versions of *Man in the Moon* and *The Brushman* enabled me to analyze the data in ways an analysis of a written account would not have permitted. For example, using recordings of the stories instead of a simple written account enables a scholar to analyze the data for the actual spoken text, any paraverbal features of the storyteller's voice reflecting what they are doing with their voice, such as tone, pitch or pacing, as well as any additional noise that could have affected the narration of the story by, for instance, requiring repetition. Linguist Ladefoged describes tone as "pitch variations that affect the word," and pitch as an "auditory property that enables a listener to place it on a scale going from low to high" (Ladefoged 2011). In a language such as Gwich'in, two distinct words may be written the same, but their pronunciation may differ. Speakers of such a language know which word is meant by listening for tone.

Furthermore, when using a recording of a spoken text, a researcher can annotate anything they consider important, whereas a written account will most likely only display the actual, possibly adjusted, text. Each transcriber has the choice to transcribe the features they consider important and leave out what they deem of little importance. Undeniably, decisions about the extent of a transcription are subject to a multitude of factors involved. Among those factors are, for instance, whether a transcript is further used, what purpose a transcript serves after its creation and who the anticipated addressee of a transcript is. Naturally, those factors change with each transcription and may not only be subject to the transcriber's own opinion, but may depend on the opinion of others as well. It is important to be aware that what appears in a transcript does affect further procedure and establishes the character of a transcript. For instance, representing repetition and false starts may actually show a speaker's intent to repeat certain segments or it could be a sign that the speaker changed their thought right there (J. Kari, personal

communication, November 2014). Yet, repetitions and false starts are often deleted from a final transcript because they may put the speaker in a bad light, and may be erroneously interpreted as speech impediments, while in fact the speaker may have intended to use those devices.

The processes of transcribing the two stories chosen for this research, *Man in the Moon* and *The Brushman,* did not only require general decisions such as determining what to transcribe, for instance whether or not to annotate inhaling and exhaling or background noise, but it also required decisions about the manner of transcribing. Transcribing in intonation units may be the most appropriate approach because it reflects spoken language; yet, for the understanding of the story as a whole it may be more useful to annotate in whole sentences, or at least annotate not only intonation units, but also provide a literary version that may be closer to or further away from the actual spoken text. Linguist Chafe describes an intonation unit as containing an "initial pause," which is then followed by a period of vocalization (1987:24). In any case, transcribing a spoken text requires certain decisions from the transcriber that will affect a potential subsequent analysis. Thus, I decided to transcribe both stories and all four versions myself, even though both of Sarah Frank's versions of *The Brushman* were already transcribed and existed in written form.

4.2.1. The Old Woman and the Brushman

The process of transcribing *The Brushman* involved the peruse of the text in Craig Mishler's book *Neerihiinjìk* (1995). The written Gwich'in version in the book was first and foremost used as a guideline for myself, and secondarily to identify whether the printed text and the actual spoken text were correlates. Moreover, the adjusted transcript in *Neerihiinjìk* (1995) was used to complete the transcript so that the version used to work with is a complete transcript reflecting every spoken word insofar as words could be recognized as such.

While I used the Gwich'in text in *Neerihiinjìk* (1995) as a basis to create my own transcript, in which more of the spoken text is reflected than what appears in the book, the English version in the book was almost fully accepted in its published form. The reason behind this decision was that it might not be possible to create a comprehensible

52

translation. Yet, an attempt was made to create a translation of almost every intonation unit in the ELAN file to see whether the English version roughly reflects the Gwich'in version. To do this, I used both the *Gwich'in to English Dictionary* (Alexander 2008) and the *Gwich'in Junior Dictionary* (Peter 1979). Although dictionaries were used, it was still not possible to create complete and comprehensible translations of intonation units since those two dictionaries have a naturally limited scope and do not include every word a language learner could possibly need. The result is, therefore, a word-for-word translation where possible, and for those instances in which not every Gwich'in word could be accounted for, I provided as many English equivalents as could be found with the help of the two aforementioned dictionaries. Those 'transcriptions' of intonation units in English were then used to examine the version available in *Neerihiinjìk* (1995). Subsequently, some of the English sentences in the book were slightly altered to reflect the written Gwich'in more closely. Those changes include, but are not limited to, word omissions or the exchange of one word for another one. In addition to the already mentioned (1) Gwich'in intonation units, (2) the English translation of intonation units, I also annotated (3) whole Gwich'in sentences, reflecting the version in the book, (4) a literary version in English, containing mostly whole sentences, (5) paraverbal features such as pauses, which may be used to create suspense, (6) background information pertaining mostly to noise coming from the recorder, tape or microphone, (7) additional information such as communication directed towards another person in the room and finally (8) themes emerging in the story.

4.2.2. Man in the Moon

I decided to work only with the English performances of David Salmon and Moses Peters, fully aware that the English performances of the two storytellers were most likely not equivalent to their Gwich'in performances. Therefore, there were almost no language related problems during the creation of the transcripts for *Man in the Moon*; nevertheless, the process came with its own share of problems. Transcribing the English spoken texts of the two storytellers was for the most part an uncomplicated process. Both narrators were able to narrate the story in English. There was one instance in Moses Peters's version of the story where it seems likely that he substituted a Gwich'in word for an English one, which is, as Hymes calls it, code-switching and might be an indicator for a "'breakthrough'

into full performance" (2004:90). However, right after the occurrence of this word Moses switched back to English and narrated the rest of the story in English.

Since *Man in the Moon* was only transcribed in English, there was no need to create translations. Therefore, I annotated the following criteria: (1) Bridjette March's spoken text in intonation units, (2) David Salmon's and Moses Peters's spoken text in intonation units, (3) a literary version for each speaker, the majority of which are represented in whole sentences if possible, (4) background information comprising elements such as the noise coming either from recorder, tape or microphone, or animal related disturbances, (5) additional information such as the speaker mentioning something that was not part of the story, (6) paraverbal features and (7) occurring themes of the story.

4.3. Translating

The translation of Sarah Frank's two versions of *The Brushman* was already provided in *Neerihiinjìk* (1995); nonetheless, even translating a few intonation units was a challenge. Not only had decisions needed to be made pertaining to the choice of a word in case more than one equivalent existed in Alexander's (2008) or Peter's (1979) dictionaries, but also is translation only rarely a simple and straightforward process. Translation has been a debated topic for centuries. Among the scholars working on the discipline of translation are Jakobson (1959), Catford (1965), Toury (1995), Nida (2003) and Pym (2014). While in the past, translation was a prescriptive discipline, more recent approaches are of a descriptive nature. Even the introduction of translation as academic discipline could not end the debate between prescriptivism and descriptivism in the field. More recently even, cultural translation emerged, which emphasizes the importance of adapting culturally important concepts from the originating language and culture into the language and culture of the target language.

Even if the performer of the original performance provides a translation, the translation process will still not be a simple undertaking. Were another person to provide a translation, as in the case of *The Brushman*, there is a whole new set of ideas and in a sense ideologies entering the process. In this specific case this means the reader is not only presented with Sarah Frank's choice of Gwich'in words and meanings, but also Lillian

Garnett's. Furthermore, Sarah Frank provided a spoken text that was transcribed and appears in an almost identical form in *Neerihiinjìk* (1995), with a few modifications and omissions. However, the translation was created as a written medium and was revised and edited before it appeared in a form that is easily intelligible for the English-speaking readership. At times, as my attempted translation of single intonation units has shown, the Gwich'in text and the English version in the book do not appear to be very similar. However, I am in no position, nor do I want to criticize the end product or what may have been changed between the audio-recorded version and the version that was published. I simply want to draw my readers' attention to the fact that more than one person was involved in the creation of the written Gwich'in text and the published English translation. Furthermore, I am pointing out that there is a small discrepancy between the version heard on the audio-recording and the published Gwich'in text in *Neerihiinjìk* (1995).

4.4. Interpreting

Working with a version that is not of the same medium, for example an oral vs. written account, involves a whole new level of interpretation and "is not a simple mechanical reproduction of what can be heard on the tapes, but an expressive and critical interpretation" (Frank 1995:xxiii). Involving another person in the process of interpreting the original text and creating a new text only adds to the complication. Sarah Frank narrated the story *The Brushman,* a story about a woman who courageously defended herself against a stalking brushman, in Gwich'in. Both versions were fortunately transcribed and translated by the same person, Lillian Garnett. Otherwise I would have been not only working with oral and written texts, but also facing the challenge of working with versions that might not be comparable on stylistic grounds because transcribers and translators, just like storytellers, each have a distinct style. However, Lillian Garnett was the only transcriber and translator involved in the creation of all four versions of *The Brushman*. In the process of translating Sarah's words, Lillian Garnett interpreted the Gwich'in oral versions and provided an equivalent in English. According to Mishler, Lillian Garnett's transcriptions are "literary, preserving only the essential words, eliminating false starts and many quotative redundancies," allowing for certain discrepancies between the

recorded version and the one that appears in print (Frank 1995:xxiii). Mishler discusses

the process of transcription and translation in the introduction to *Neerihiinjìk* (1995) and

explains how the transcribers marked the minutes and seconds of the texts at frequent

intervals and that the person providing the translation used identical time marks, which

led to a relatively close correspondence between the original Gwich'in texts and the English

versions (Frank 1995:xxiii).

4.5. Recording Performance

"When stories are written down, they lose a kind of fluidity. Words and phrases

become fixed, more like objects. They also become the subjects of more interpretation,

acquiring definite meanings through analysis" (Mather 1995:15). This quote reflects that

there is a difference between a written account and an oral version of a story. However,

the above quote also nicely summarizes exactly what I am attempting to do in this thesis. I

am taking an oral account, a story performed by different storytellers or at different points

in time, and I am analyzing them, or more precisely their themes, for similarities and

differences to find out whether the same stories are 'identical'.

When people tell each other stories, they seldom do so in a monotone voice. We

often use different voices to impersonate other speakers or we use phrases such as 'he

said', 'she said' to convey that we are talking for someone else. In doing so, we do not just

'tell' a story, we actually perform it. For instance, Bauman discusses the use of the term

'performance' in conjunction with folklore "because it conveyed a dual sense of artistic

action—the doing of folklore—and an artistic *event*—the performance situation, involving

performer, art form, audience, and setting" (1975:290). Some of the scholars working on

performance are Hymes (2004; 1996; 1977), Tedlock (1999; 1983; 1972) and Bauman

(1975).

Probably all of the recordings that were used for this thesis were accomplished by

creating an artificial situation. We know from Mishler's introduction in *Neerihiinjìk* (1995)

that the storytelling events were set up with a specific goal: to collect as many stories as

possible from people who have grown up with a specific storytelling tradition and were

some of the last to live and know that tradition. By setting up such events, a researcher will

necessarily create an artificial situation and a performance may differ from a performance under normal circumstances.

This is probably one of the bigger problems encountered during fieldwork because the presence of the researcher will almost always create an artificial situation, even when the researcher is part of the community under observation or has known the people they work with for a long time. However, in documenting stories, this might just be the price we pay—a contrived event, sometimes even including an interview before the actual story is narrated, probably further adding to the contrived situation.

It seems conceivable that each storyteller discussed in this thesis has most likely different ways of narrating the stories examined here. Telling the stories solely to a researcher who is recording the event may differ from when the same story is performed in front of several people. Stories may also vary when told to a native audience as compared to a non-native audience. When dealing with a native audience, a storyteller can assume that many listeners understand any subtle or even non-obvious meanings of a story. However, is the story performed in front of a non-native audience, messages may have to be communicated openly because non-obvious meanings may otherwise be lost on the listeners. A non-native audience may not be used to understanding non-obvious meanings or moral lessons of a story, whereas native audiences are more likely to pick up those meanings because they may have grown up hearing the same stories over and over again, or they are already aware of the concept of non-obvious meanings embedded in stories.

Chapter 5: Analysis

In this chapter, the analysis of David Salmon's and Moses Peters's versions' of *Man in the Moon* and Sarah Frank's two versions of *The Brushman* are presented. Following this chapter is a discussion on my findings and the implications of what I have learned through this research.

5.1. Man in the Moon

Man in the Moon is a story about a boy who is able to foresee the future and help his people in the search for food[16].

5.1.1. David Salmon

The first narrative that I will present was told by David Salmon, a retired Episcopalian priest, former Chief of Chalkyitsik and the First Traditional Chief of the Interior, on September 26, 1972, in Chalkyitsik[17]. He told the story to Bridjette March in an interview that lasted approximately 26:30min; the first part is an interview in which the interviewer asks him questions (1) about himself such as where he is from and where he grew up, (2) further questions are regarding his function as Episcopalian priest and finally (3) questions concerning the story such as where he learned it and what the function of the story is. David Salmon then narrates the story first in Gwich'in, which lasts approximately 12 minutes, and then gives an English performance of *Man in the Moon*, which is slightly longer than the Gwich'in version.

The quality of the recording is good, although throughout the story, different noises can be overheard. However, they do not reduce the quality of the overall recording or the audibility of David Salmon's voice. If anything, they make the recording more authentic, since most of the noise can be attributed to animal sounds such as the chattering of birds or human noises originating from people speaking in the background. By far the most

---

[16] For a more detailed description of the story refer to page 49.
[17] https://www.tananachiefs.org/about/our-leadership/traditional-chiefs/chief-david-salmon/ [retrieved February 2, 2015].

interruptions can be accredited to the tape recorder and concern either the microphone or tape itself, which might suggest that the microphone was worn on a piece of clothing.

After listening to the story several times, I transcribed the story with the help of ELAN. To simplify the analysis, the following data was transcribed on different levels (tiers) within one and the same file: (1) intonation units Bridjette March, (2) intonation units David Salmon, (3) a literary version, (4) paraverbal features, (5) background sounds, (6) additional information and (7) story elements. The reasons why I chose to annotate the aforementioned information are diverse. The speakers' utterances were transcribed in intonation units to guarantee that no information was missing. A literary version was created to simplify the analysis because working with a version that consists of whole sentences simplifies the analysis incredibly. Paraverbal features were transcribed because they may provide additional information about a speaker's attitude in ways a simple annotation of the spoken words may not. For instance, slower and quicker spoken segments as well as pauses may reflect a speaker's dramatization, while a simple annotation of the spoken words may not communicate this information. Background sounds were annotated in case they would affect the recording, which they did not. However, in all the recordings used for this analysis, background sounds were almost always present. Additional information was annotated in the transcript but is not discussed here. The information contained in those tiers concerns, for instance, change in language or the beginning and ending of a version. Finally, story elements and themes were annotated because they build the skeleton of the story.

A clear advantage of working with ELAN is that the transcription is displayed in an ongoing window within which the transcriber has the option of scrolling back and forth and has so the opportunity to move around the document with relative ease. The display is very user-friendly so that it is easy to see what is occurring at the same time. The transcriber can not only choose what to transcribe, but also in which order to display the information. The utterances of David Salmon and Bridjette March are both displayed in intonation units, since an intonation unit most closely represents the way a person speaks. Additionally, a line was created to display a literary version, in which the data is shown in whole sentences to improve legibility.
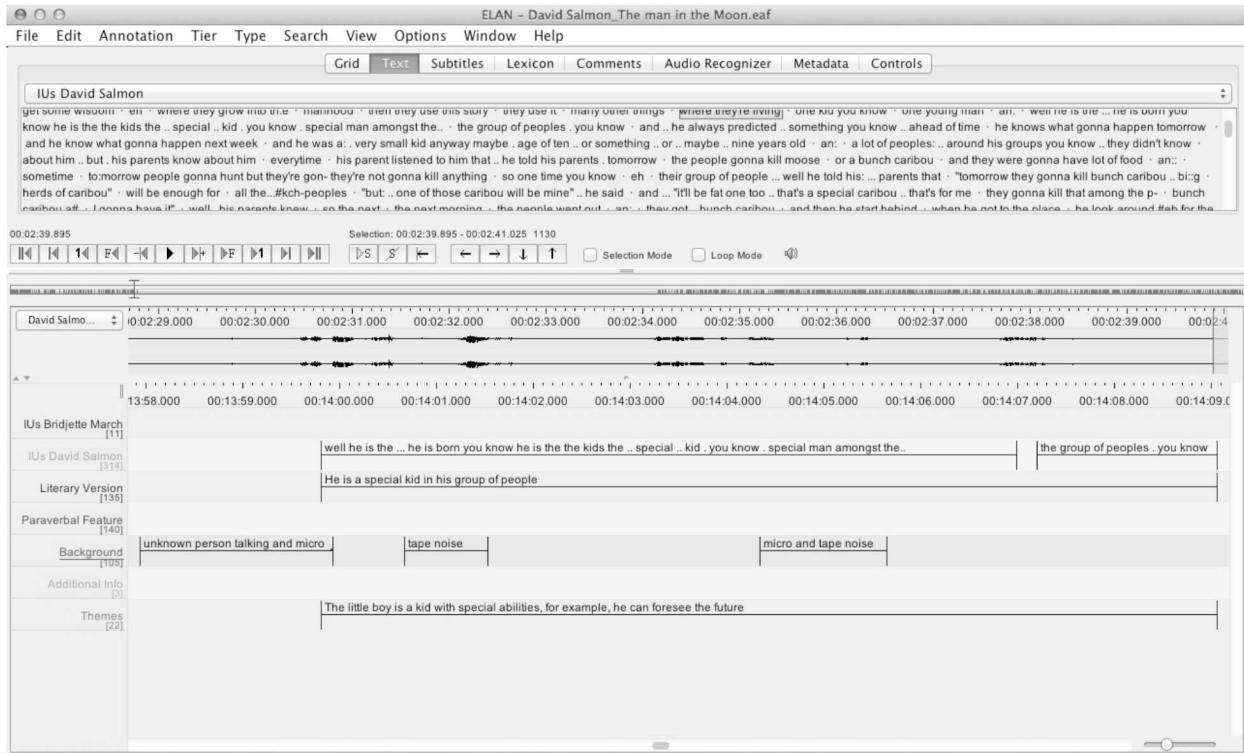
Figure 2: ELAN excerpt (contents not relevant, just for orientation purposes)

5.1.1.1. Intonation Units of Bridjette March

The only time the interviewer can be heard is during the first two minutes of the recording. Bridjette March prompts the interviewee with nine questions.

5.1.1.2. Intonation Units of David Salmon

Following the transcription of the interviewer's questions is the transcription of David Salmon's version of *Man in the Moon*. David Salmon narrated the story, which was transcribed in intonation units, which were then examined for emerging themes and story elements.

5.1.1.3. Literary Version

The main purpose of creating a literary version of both narrators' utterances was to enable a smoother reading and handling of the transcript. The actual recording was almost solely used in the beginning until a transcript was created. During the analysis, the audio recording was only used to verify that the transcript reflected the audio recording. The literary version given in examples 1-9 is my own gloss.

5.1.1.4. Paraverbal Features[18] [19]

Paraverbal features enable a speaker to underline, modify or even negate their message (Linke, Nussbaumer, and Portmann 1991:309). On the level of paraverbal features, David Salmon uses pauses to create suspense, while a more slowly spoken segment may be an indicator for the end of a theme. Listening to his recording shows that David is not just telling *Man in the Moon*, he is actually performing the story. For instance, he uses direct speech when he is talking as the boy (i.e. line 173, 185, 238). The example on line 173 can be seen here:

(2)

well he told his: ... parents that tomorrow they gonna kill bunch caribou .. bi::g herds of caribou

'he told his parents that tomorrow they were going to catch some caribou.'

He signals that he is talking as someone else by using 'he said' or, in this case, 'his uncle said', on line 243:

(3)

An his uncle said .. no this is mine.

'his uncle said no because this was his.'

---

[18] References made to line numbers in this section correspond to the line numbers in appendix A.
[19] Examples are presented in two-line format, showing the transcription of the text as it was narrated in the first line and a gloss. A # sign symbols uncertainty as to whether the word presented is the one used by the storyteller, while a period indicates a pause in speech and a colon a slowly spoken segment.

But not only does David use direct speech in his narration, he also adjusts his voice whenever he uses direct speech. While there is no monotone part anywhere in David's narration, the parts in which he speaks as the boy or someone else stand out more because he adjusts his voice to sound more like, what I imagine, the characters he impersonates.

By far the most noticeable paraverbal device in David Salmon's version of the story is pausing. David uses pauses to create suspense throughout the story and make his listeners anticipate his next words. There are several instances throughout the story in which he keeps the listeners anxiously waiting for his next words. For instance, on line 213, David makes a dramatic pause after he says:

(4)

he look around #eh for the caribou you know because

'he looks around for the caribou because'

He makes a pause before he tells us that the boy is looking around because he realizes that all the caribou are already divided at that point. Shortly after, he does the same on line 221 when he says:

(5)

and when he got to the place you know . he look at the caribou an: .. here and there and he walk around and finally

'when he got to the place he walked around and looked at all the caribou and finally'

What follows is the part in which he tells us that the boy approaches his uncle and realizes that he has claimed the caribou the boy wanted. In both cases the listeners are kept waiting for what is to follow. David creates two of the most dramatic pauses towards the end of the story. One, when he narrates the part of the story when the boy returns to his parents in the bottom of the sled. Starting on line 478, David says:

(6)

his mother was pulling ... sled you know with dogs .. one dog and finally the sled is caught has caught something you know an ... just can't pull it

'his mother was pulling the sled with the help of a dog, but the sled gets caught on something and she can't move it anymore.'

Salmon makes a dramatic pause before he tells us that the boy is the reason why the sled can no longer be moved. The other very dramatic pause occurs when David is about to fill his listeners in on the implications of a forward and backward bent moon. Starting on line 594 he says:

(7)

I gonna leave right now but .. every day you gonna see me in the moon for a:ll the generation for ever but one thing I gonna tell you is #the

'I'm going to leave right now, but you will always be able to see me in the moon, and there's one thing I'm going to tell you right now'

This is followed by lengthy pause before he informs us on the meaning of the moon eclipse and on the implication of a forward and backward bent moon.

While David uses a more quiet voice (e.g., line 252, 270, 299, 331, 366) or slower pace (e.g., line 144, 175, 184, 331, 366, 380, 437, 638) throughout his narration, quietness and slowness are used less in comparison to how he uses pauses to dramatize his narration and create suspense. For instance, when the boy arrives at the scene of the kill and realizes that his uncle claimed the caribou he wanted and informs the uncle that this is his caribou. The uncle responds by telling him that he will not give up that specific caribou, and the boy replies softly on line 252:

(8)

that's mine since yesterday

'that has been mine since yesterday.'

In this example it is possible that Salmon speaks more quietly because he wants to show that the boy shows deference to an older person by using a more quiet voice, while still stating his wish. An example of Salmon speaking more slowly than usually emerges on line 175 when he explains that the boy has a vision and foresees how his people would catch some caribou in the near future and says:

64

(9)

tomorrow they gonna kill bunch caribou .. bi::g herds of caribou will be enough for
all the … #kch-peoples

'tomorrow they were going to catch some caribou, enough for everyone.'

Especially the segment 'big herds of caribou' is spoken more slowly than the rest,
and might be used to underline the size of the caribou herd they were going to catch.

　　　While a slower pace or a more quiet voice may be indicators for the end of a theme,
this is not true for all transitions from one theme to the next one. A reason behind this
might be that the transitions between themes are not very clear-cut. Sometimes, the
transitional period between themes is occurring over several lines and may even include
additional information that is not part of the story, such as Salmon explaining that he
personally saw the fireplace (l. 390) or repetition of information, such as the boy returning
to his parents several times (l. 578). For instance, in the transition from the first theme
(the boy has a special ability) to the second theme (the boy has a vision), Salmon guesses
the boy's age and states that people did not know about the boy's special ability. Between
the second and the third theme (one of the caribou is meant for the boy), he mentions that
the next day the people are going to hunt, but they would not catch anything. However, the
day after, the people were going to catch some caribou. Between the third and fourth
theme (by the time the boy arrives, the caribou are already divided), David gives some
additional information about what would happen the next morning, and between the sixth
(boy cries because the uncle won't give up the caribou) and seventh theme (caribou are
covered by snow), Salmon mentions briefly that they packed some of the meat. In the
transition from theme eight (one caribou comes back to life) to theme nine (boy cries over
the lost caribou), the listeners find out that the escaped caribou did not leave any meat
behind, the only proof that there was a caribou buried in snow are the tracks leading away
from the burial site. In the transition between theme fourteen (parents can see the boy in
the moon, with his dog and a caribou front quarter) and theme fifteen (parents' sled is
stuck; boy is in the bottom of the sled), Salmon explains that the people kept getting
weaker with each passing day even though they went hunting every day but did not catch
anything, before he mentions that the parents find the boy in their sled. In the next

transition, Salmon explains that this was just the beginning of a long famine before the people would catch caribou again, while between theme 21 (forwards bent moon is a sign of starvation) and theme 22 (song), Salmon explains that his mother used to tell him this story when he was a child and that was also when he learned about the song.

To summarize, David uses his voice to dramatize his narration by pausing, slowing down or speaking more quietly throughout his narration of *Man in the Moon*. By adjusting his voice whenever he uses direct speech he makes the characters in his story become alive. He successfully uses his voice so that he is able to keep his listeners' attention.

5.1.1.5. Background

The section background encompasses sounds that may be attributed to (1) tape, recorder, or microphone, (2) animals, (3) other people, (4) household and (5) movement. The reason for annotating those sounds was in case any of them would have affected the narration of the story. However, the noise did not seem to affect the process of recording the story, nor did it disturb the storyteller. Listening to the whole recording has shown that noise seems to be omnipresent, whether it is an animal squeaking, people talking or moving.

5.1.1.6. Story Elements

During the course of this research essential elements building the skeleton of the stories emerged. Those elements either belong to or represent themes themselves presented later in this thesis.

Emerging elements in David Salmon's version of *Man in the Moon* are (1) the boy's special ability, (2) crying, (3) the parents, (4) leaving for the moon, (5) living quarters, (6) caribou, (7) food, (8) moon eclipse, (9) clothing and (10) a song.

Considering only Salmon's version of the story enabled me to find half of the story elements because they recur many times throughout the story. Those story elements are: (2) crying, (3) the parents, (4) leaving for the moon, (6) caribou and (7) food. Those elements emerged because they were mentioned very often, giving the impression that they are important for the plot of the story. The remaining elements, (1) the boy's special

ability, (5) living quarters, (8) moon eclipse, (9) clothing and (10) the song only emerged after analyzing both versions independently and then comparing them. The boy's special ability, the living quarters, the moon eclipse and the song only stand out because they occur in both versions. Considering only one version may not have brought these elements out, but because they exist in both versions, they seem to be important for the story as a whole. Only one element, clothing, emerges because the narrators describe it differently. While in one version the boy is wearing clothes made from caribou hide, the other version depicts him as wearing marten fur clothing, or probably a combination of both caribou and marten skin. However, this is not stated explicitly.

Element 1, for instance, contains information about the boy's ability to foresee the future, which is directly linked to the boy telling his parents that the people will kill a bunch of caribou or moose, and the boy announcing that among those killed animals there is one specific caribou for himself. Listening to Salmon's Gwich'in performance of this story has revealed that he did not explicitly discuss this special ability or give it a Gwich'in name such as the Gwich'in term for medicine or magic (*nagwahtsi'*). According to Hishinlai' Peter[20] (personal communication, May 2015) he explained special ability as 'seeing things that are not real' in Gwich'in, while in English he describes the boy as special and always predicting things ahead of time. I imagine that the reason why Salmon did not discuss the boy's special ability any further in his English performance may be linked to a possible taboo regarding the discussion of certain topics such as magic or medicine with non-native people, while I think that his Gwich'in performance did not include any more detail because it may be assumed that any native audience would know what he was referring to without explicitly stating it (M. Koskey, personal communication, February 2015).

Element 2, crying, emerges whenever the boy is deprived of something he wants. For instance, he starts to cry after the uncle denies him the caribou of his choice, even though the boy had stated initially that he wants one specific caribou for telling his people about the herd of caribou.

Element 3, the parents, is a central element of the story. The parents play such an important role because they know that the boy is able to foresee the future, they more

---

[20] The only time I'm referring to Hishinlai' Peter by her old name, Kathy Sikorski, is when I make a reference to her M.A. thesis in chapter 3.

importantly also believe him when he tells them that the people will kill some caribou soon, and they also know that he is telling the truth when he announces that he will be leaving them soon. The parents keep an eye on the boy after he announces that he is going to live on the moon, although they are aware that they cannot stop him from leaving. Further, the parents wake up in the middle of the night and realize the boy is gone. Additionally, the parents are able to see the boy up on the moon along with his dog and a caribou front quarter. Furthermore, the parents find the boy in the bottom of the sled when the sled stops moving during a journey; and finally, the parents' only food is a caribou front quarter when the people are slowly affected by starvation.

Element 4, leaving for the moon, emerges when the boy announces that he will be leaving for the moon, and the parents start to watch out for him. As a consequence of the boy's announcement, the parents make him sleep between them; and finally, the boy makes his promise come true by leaving for good.

The living quarters of the family, element 5, are only mentioned once. Nevertheless, it deserves a brief mention in this section because it will later be used for the comparison between the two versions. The only time the living quarters of the family are mentioned is when the parents realize that the boy is gone and they are able to see him through the smoke hole in the skin house.

The caribou emerges throughout the story. For instance, the caribou occurs when the boy foresees that his people would catch some caribou or moose. The next encounter with caribou is when the boy tells his parents that among those caribou is a specific one for himself. The third time caribou emerge is when some caribou are killed and divided among the people, resulting in the next occurrence, when the boy's caribou is already claimed. Further, the people have to leave behind caribou because it is too late and too dark to haul all of them back to camp. The next day, when the people arrive at the burial site, one of the caribou comes back to life and runs away, which leads to the final occurrence of the caribou in the story: the boy is crying over the lost caribou.

Element 7, food, is another important part of the story. Food is discussed when the boy tells his parents to store meat in a finely tanned caribou skin bag, underlining the importance of the caribou in the story. Also, the boy tells his parents that of the meat in the caribou skin bag, approximately half can be cooked and eaten, while the rest has to be

stored in the caribou skin bag, which will then replenish itself by the next day. Finally, food manifests itself as an important element because starvation and famine are both mentioned several times.

Element 8, the moon, is a central element of this story. Not only does the moon appear as the prime focus of the story through its title, but also because the significance of the moon is explained when the listeners learn that a forward and backward bent moon is linked to the availability of food. The boy cautions his parents that a forward bent moon in a moon eclipse is a sign for food scarcity. On the other hand, a backward bent moon in a moon eclipse is a sign for food abundance.

The boy's clothing is mentioned here for the same reason the living quarters were briefly discussed. In David Salmon's version of the story the material of the boy's clothing is caribou skin. Caribou, along with moose and beaver are important materials for the manufacture of proper clothing in the subarctic and arctic.

A final element emerging from the story is a song, which is mentioned towards the very end of the story. However, David Salmon either does not sing it for this occasion, or the song is not recorded at this time. Nevertheless, David mentions not only that growing up they learned about a song that was sung when the moon was bent backward, implying there would be plenty of food, but also that the children would carry certain things from house to house because they knew that the next year would be a good one.

5.1.2. Moses Peters

The second narrative that I will present is Moses Peters's version of *Man in the Moon*. He told his version to Bridjette March in Chalkyitsik on September 25, 1972. The interview is approximately 24:13 minutes long; in the first 1:21 minutes the interviewer asks him questions about himself such as where he is from and when he came to Chalkyitsik, before asking him to tell the listeners something about the story he will be narrating. The recording continues with the Gwich'in performance of the story of about 11:50 minutes, which is followed by the English performance, lasting about 11 minutes.

The quality of the recording is good and Moses Peters's voice is mostly clear. Whenever I was not completely certain what was said, I marked it in the transcript with a # sign. Most of the noise pertains to the recorder, tape or microphone. It is possible that the

microphone was worn on a piece of clothing, accounting for many instances of rustling or moving throughout the recording. Likewise, there seems to be an almost constant background noise pertaining to animals in the vicinity.

A transcript was created using ELAN, annotating the same criteria as in David Salmon's version.

5.1.2.1. Intonation Units of Bridjette March

Bridjette March only said a few words at the beginning of the recording. Her role in the interaction was to ask the storyteller for information about his person and some details about the story.

5.1.2.2. Intonation Units of Moses Peters

The transcription of Moses Peters's utterances followed the transcription of the interviewer's utterances. This transcript contains many # signs due to either intelligibility of a word or a whole intonation unit.

5.1.2.3. Literary Version

A literary version was created serving as basis for the following analysis. The literary version given in examples 10-20 is my own gloss.

5.1.2.4. Paraverbal Features[21] [22]

Listening to Moses Peters's narration of *Man in the Moon* reveals that he too, just like David Salmon, did not simply tell the story, he performed it. During his performance of *Man in the Moon*, Moses uses not only strategically placed pauses to his advantage, he also speaks more loudly and more quietly in places to gain his listeners' attention, while at other times he speaks more slowly or more quickly. Further, he also uses direct speech (e.g., line 145, 187, 195, 240, 277, 442) when he is talking as the boy or someone else and

---

[21] References made to line numbers in this section correspond to the line numbers in appendix B.
[22] Examples are presented in two-line format. The first line shows a transcription of the text as it was narrated, the second line a word gloss. A # sign symbols uncertainty as to whether the word presented is the one used by the storyteller, while a period indicates a pause in speech and a colon signals a slower spoken segment.

70

his voice quality changes ever so slightly from the rest of his narration. One of those examples emerges on line 187 when he says:

(10)

I'll do it may I do it

'I will do it, may I?'

However, there are some instances in which Moses really plays the part of the boy and fully uses his voice to convey the meaning (e.g., line 449, 452, 510). One of those examples can be found on line 449, when David says:

(11)

n-no: you can't you #would is in .. how could you .. move when missing you

'No you can't, we would be missing you.'

Not only do the words spoken by the boy's parents communicate their despair, Peters's voice conveys the same exasperation the words carry. All those instances in which Moses uses direct speech are also marked with 'he says'.

Throughout the recording, Moses uses pauses to create suspense. For instance on line 135, when he says:

(12)

so this little boy said

'So the little boy said'

This is followed by a pause during which the audience is kept waiting for what the boy may have said. A bit later we find out that the boy had to convince his father to take him onto the hunt, even though he was not as fast as the rest of the group and had to be carried. One of the most dramatic pauses in Moses's narration occurs when he performs the part of the story in which he mentions that the boy is waiting for a sign. The exclamation on line 474 is not only followed by a pause, the listeners never actually find out what kind of sign Moses is referring to:

(13)

no sign

'no sign.'

Another noticeable moment is when Moses narrates the part about the implications of the moon on line 547 and says:

(14)

I #uh I had lots of #sufficient of

'I had sufficient'

This is followed by a dramatic pause, keeping the listeners waiting for the moment when Moses tells us that he had enough food.

As previously mentioned, Moses not only uses pauses to keep his listeners' attention, he also speaks more quietly in some places (e.g., line 157, 250, 257, 391, 484, 540). One of those examples can be found on line 157, when Moses talks about how the boy wants to go after the caribou with the adults but keeps talking, so the boy's father tells him to be quiet:

(15)

talk and talk and then the father quiet him down

'he talked until the father quieted him down.'

As Moses says 'and quiet him down', he also speaks more softly. At other times he speaks a bit more loudly (e.g., line 165, 359, 452). One of those examples occurs when Peters narrates that part of the story when the people return home after having tried, to no avail, hauling back all the caribou from the scene of the kill, and the boy cries because he did not get the caribou he wanted. Possibly showing the boy's despair, on line 359, Peters says loudly:

(16)

#wouldn't #take #nobody #word

'He wouldn't believe anyone.'

I think this shows the boy's exasperation over the loss of his caribou. Twice during his narration, Moses speeds up dramatically, while the listeners are trying to hold on to every word he is saying. Once, when he talks about hauling caribou back on line 216 and 217:

(17)

and that little boy he started to #walk and he just . going down street down the snow he got to #haul something an he

'the little boy just started to walk down the street.'

Here I imagined the boy increasing his pace just as Moses increases the speed of his narration. The other time he increases the speed of his narration is when Moses tells us on line 402-407 that a caribou came back to life:

(18)

the uncle threw a good and gi- and came back and little child #mattack all the caribou away kill we pack some of em in but is still getting well and get back to life and all run away

'we were able to pack some of the caribou, but one of them came back to life and just ran away.'

In this example it seems as if Moses's increased speed culminates as the storyline culminates with the caribou running away. Both times, the increased pace underlines the dramatization of the part he is narrating.

Beginnings and endings of themes may at times coincide with the use of the word "so;" however, this is not true for all themes. At times, 'so' may signal the start of a new theme (e.g., line 103, 250, 457, 498, 567), for instance on line 103-108, when Moses says:

(19)

so one winter .. people had li:::ttle hard time

'one winter, people had a bit of a hard time.'

At other times 'so' occurs in the middle of a theme (e.g., line 149, 181, 193, 301, 351), for instance on line 192, when Moses says:

(20)

alright .. #te 'what you gonna do' so he said

'what are you going to do?'

This is followed by instructions to catch and bury the caribou.

To conclude, Moses not only uses pauses to dramatize his narration, he also speaks more quietly and more slowly to gain his listeners' attention, and twice he increases the speed of his narration dramatically. He further uses direct speech and adjusts his voice accordingly whenever he speaks as the boy. As a result, he can keep his audience attentive.

5.1.2.5. Background

Under the denominator 'background', noises attributable to recorder, tape and microphone, along with movement, and noise possibly originating from a generator are contained. As in David Salmon's recording, some form of noise is almost always audible.

5.1.2.6. Story Elements

Emerging elements in Moses Peters's version of *Man in the Moon* are (1) past times, (2) caribou, (3) moon, (4) magic craft, (5) food, (6) the boy's clothing, (7) crying, (8) the boy, (9) the parents and (10) a song.

As in David Salmon's narration of *Man in the Moon*, there were certain story elements in Moses Peters's version of the story that seemed to be important parts of the story itself, without which the story would not function properly. Those elements are (2) caribou, (5) food, (7) crying, (8) the boy and (9) the parents. These story elements emerged because they occurred so frequently and are intricately linked with the story itself. *Man in the Moon* would not be the same story if any of the aforementioned elements were missing. The boy and his parents are important elements because they are the main actors within the story. Caribou occur throughout the story as a main source of food; food seems to be the main 'driver' of the story – the people are trying to survive in the harsh climate of the arctic and subarctic and can only do so if they find a source of food. Finally, crying is a recurring element whenever the boy is deprived of something he wants.

However, as in the discussion of Salmon's story elements, Peters also included story elements that only emerged when the versions were compared. The first element, the old times, is the element that led into the story and informed the listeners' of how things were in the past. The moon, an unquestionably important element, is not mentioned very often, but it plays an important role in the food security of the people, and when compared to Salmon's version reveals that the same position of the moon has the same meaning. The magic craft emerges primarily because it occurs in both versions; however, considering each version independently, the ability of the boy does not stand out. And finally, the song also emerges as an important element because it is mentioned in both versions, but neither of the storytellers sings it during their English narration.

The first element emerging from this version of *Man in the Moon* is the past. Moses Peters mentions it when telling us that whenever animals were killed in the past, it was done as a group activity, referring to the whole band, and the obtained meat was then shared among the whole group. The past times are also mentioned in conjunction with hard times, meaning that in the past, people oftentimes had to endure times when they did not know whether and when there would be a next meal.

Caribou, the second element, is a very important element, emerging many times. For instance, caribou are sighted in the mountains and the boy announces that he would like to go hunting with the adults. The second time caribou occur is when the people bury a caribou in a pile of snow because they cannot haul all of them back to their campsite. The caribou is also the center of attention when a presumed dead animal turns out to be alive. Finally, the caribou is mentioned when the boy tells his father that for informing the people about the herd in the mountains he wants a fat caribou as reward.

The moon, an unquestionably important element of the story, arises only a few times. The moon emerges at the end of the story when the boy informs his parents that he would be leaving them to go to the moon; and the moon is discussed in combination with the meaning of a forward and backward bent moon during an eclipse.

The boy's special ability is called magical craft; however, Moses never explains what exactly this magical craft is. In the Gwich'in performance of this same story, I found that magical craft was referred to as *dinjii dazhan,* which translates into magic/medicine or

medicine man. This term was used a few times in the beginning of the story, one of those examples can be seen here:

(21)[23]

dinjii dazhàn ąįį veenjit khehłan neeroiizhìk ts'à' **dinjii dazhàn** ąįį veenjit

tr'oondak ąįį tthak "crazy" yaghà' khaaghaa kwaa gwiizhìk giiya giiyaghan

'They went over to him and we get things for him and all that was just crazy. That

one **medicine man**, he doesn't get scared while they kill.'

In this example we can see how Moses talks about the magic craft, without ever explaining what it really is. He only says that the *dinjii dazhan* always received something from the people for predicting the future.

Food, the fifth element, is mentioned when the boy tells his parents to fill blood into the stomach of a caribou to preserve the only food they had to survive. The boy further states that the caribou stomach should be placed under a blanket, and that the blood would replenish itself by the next day, supplying his parents with food for another day.

The boy's type of clothing is only briefly mentioned here, but it will be discussed later when comparing the two versions. In Moses Peters's version of the story, the boy wears a pair of marten pants along with a marten coat, or probably clothes made of both caribou and marten.

Crying, the seventh element, emerges the first time when someone else wants to take the boy's caribou; later the boy also cries over the loss of that caribou. The boy seems to cry whenever he is deprived of something he wants.

The boy, also a central element of the story, is mentioned when he goes missing one morning and when he is waiting for a sign. And finally, the parents make him sleep between them when he announces that he wants to live on the moon.

The parents, another important element of the story, tell the boy that they would miss him if he actually left. After his announcement, the parents keep an eye on the boy

---

[23] This example is displayed in a two-line format: the first line showing the text narrated by Moses Peters, the second line showing a gloss provided by Hishinlai' Peter (personal communication, May 2015).

because they do not want him to leave, and finally, the boy tells his parents that although they may not be together after he goes to the moon, they could be together in their dreams.

The final element, a song, is mentioned, but not sung in the English version. The discussion about the song emerges in the form of a detour in which Moses discusses the song's existence and that he sang it as a child. However, in the Gwich'in version of the story, Moses sings the song, which tells, according to Hishinlai' Peter (personal communication, May 2015), about having a bad dream and seeing things that are not real. I imagine that the reason why Moses sings the song in his Gwich'in performance but not in English might be the taboo to discuss topics such as medicine men and magic with non-natives. When narrating the story in Gwich'in, Peters could be relatively certain that most of his audience would understand a possible non-obvious meaning behind the song, while an English performance may invite questions and a discussion of a possibly taboo topic. On lines 576 and 577, he even says:

(22)

well it is kind of a foolish business but anyway I used to do when #I'm a kid

'It's kind of a foolish business, but I used to sing it when I was a kid.'

I think this may be an indicator that the song does no longer hold the same importance it held when he was younger, at a time when the Gwich'in were less assimilated into mainstream US American culture and believing into magic and medicine men may have been more acceptable than in the 1970s, when Moses narrated this story.

5.2. The Old Woman and the Brushman

The second story set that I will present is called *The Brushman*, which was narrated by Sarah Frank. *The Brushman* is a short narrative about a woman who bravely defends herself against a brushman, a feral individual and a widely known figure among many Athabascan peoples.[24]

Sarah and her husband Johnny Frank were both tradition bearers and learned an ancient system of storytelling from their elders (Frank 1995:1). Sarah told the story to

---

[24] For a more detailed description of the story refer to page 49.

Craig Mishler in an interview in Venetie, May 14, 1979. She told the *The Brushman* a second time to Lillian Garnett in Arctic Village, in June 1984. Lillian Garnett transcribed and translated both versions, and they both became parts of *Neerihiinjìk* (1995). Both versions are very short, the first version lasting about 3:25 minutes, the second version is approximately 2:30 minutes long. The first 18 seconds of the first version contain a brief introduction by Craig Mishler referring the listeners to the book and where the story can be found. After this brief introduction the story begins immediately and ends about 3 minutes later as suddenly as it began. After Sarah says the last sentence of the story, she laughs briefly and the tape fades out. The second recording is similar; however, there are no introductions, the story begins immediately and ends with Sarah laughing after the last sentence and then the tape fades out.

5.2.1. Sarah Frank 1979

The quality of the first version of *The Brushman* is good. Sarah Frank's voice has a bit of an echoing quality, but her voice is mostly clear except for a few instances in which her voice is indistinct, probably due to the recording quality. After Craig Mishler introduces the recording, his voice can be heard a few more times, giving Sarah feedback in the form of back-channel behavior, such as "mhm" (Linke, Nussbaumer, and Portmann 1991). The voice of at least one other female can be overheard in the background, along with a child that is talking and singing at different points throughout the recording. Further, there is some noise attributable to movement and the opening and closing of a door, but nothing that would have interrupted the session.

A transcription of the Gwich'in audio recording was created using ELAN; and an already existing written text from *Neerihiinjìk* (1995) was used to annotate the data into the following tiers: (1) Craig Mishler's intonation units, (2) Sarah Frank's intonation units, (3) translation intonation units, (4) Gwich'in sentence, (5) literary version, (6) paraverbal features, (7) background sounds and (8) story elements.

5.2.1.1. Intonation Units of Craig Mishler

Mishler introduced the story giving both Gwich'in and English titles and informing the listeners about the whereabouts of the texts in the book. After the introduction, he can only be heard twice more, both times using back-channel behavior in the form of [mhm].

5.2.1.2. Intonation Units of Sarah Frank

I transcribed Sarah Frank's text using the adjusted story in the book. By far the most difficulties arose whenever the audio version and the version in the book did not reflect each other exactly.

5.2.1.3. Translation Intonation Units

After creating a transcript that reflected Sarah's text as much as possible, a very simple translation was attempted using the Alexander (2008) and Peter (1979) dictionaries. However, due to the many words that could not be translated because they did not exist in either of the two dictionaries, or because there were several equivalents – almost forcing a decision from me, being fully aware that an equivalent is highly dependent on the circumstances of use – I decided to translate only as much as possible when perusing the two aforementioned dictionaries. Since I was unsuccessful at translating whole intonation units, the information contained on this tier is not relevant for my thesis.

5.2.1.4. Gwich'in Sentence

Gwich'in sentences resemble the adjusted text in the book. Nothing was changed or added, this version simply exists to present the readers with a complete version.

5.2.1.5. Literary Version

The literary version is a slightly adjusted form of the English text in the book. After attempting to translate individual intonation units and noticing certain inconsistencies, for instance cases where the version in the book contained information that could not be gained from translating the Gwich'in intonation units, a few minor changes were made to

the text appearing in this tier. The literary version given in examples 23 through 26 and 33 through 35 is my own gloss.

5.2.1.6. Paraverbal Features[25] [26]

Listening to Sarah Frank's narration of *The Brushman* reveals that she also uses pauses to create suspense and dramatize her narration. Even though the story is short, Sarah uses paraverbal features to keep her listeners' attention. Pauses may, but do not have to follow the utterance of one of the following words: *aii t'ee*, *ts'à' t'ee*, *aii ts'à'*. Pauses can not only follow the aforementioned terms, they can also precede them. However, they are in general much shorter before one of the aforementioned words occurs. They all roughly have the same meaning, 'and then', and may, according to Hishinlai' Peter (personal communication, May 2015), signal the beginning or end of a theme or intonation unit. It is also possible that they stand completely alone and occur between themes and intonation units. They occur throughout the story; for instance on line 40 and 130 they can be found at the end of an intonation unit. The example on line 130 can be seen here:

(23)
tthaa   vàt   ąįį t'ee
ground.squirrel   stomach   and.then
'and that ground squirrel stomach'

Line 48, 77 and 119 are the only times one of those terms stands completely alone. The example on line 77 can be seen here:
(24)
aii ts'à'   t'ee
and.then   now
'and then'

---

[25] References made to line numbers in this section correspond to the line numbers in appendix C.
[26] Examples are presented in three-line format. The first line shows a transcription of the text as it was narrated in Gwich'in, the second line a word-for-word translation and the third line a word gloss.

On lines 61, 84, 97, 107, 111 and 173 they mark the beginning of a new intonation unit. The example on line 107 can be seen here:

(25)

ąįį #t'ee   naa'in

and.then   brushman

'that brushman'

Another term that stood out is *vàràhnyàa*, which means 'we say of them'. Hishinlai' Peter (personal communication, May 2015) told me that it is normal for traditional stories to be interspersed with this term, because it is a way of signaling that the story narrated has been passed down to the person narrating the story and acknowledges that the story does not belong to the storyteller, but that they heard it from others. *Vàràhnyàa*, or as it is used within *The Brushman*, *vàràh*, occurs a total of six times throughout the story and is always said at the end of an intonation unit. The pauses following 'we say of them' are of varying length. The example on line 222 can be seen here:

(26)

yichì'tsìį ch'ąhkhaa vàràh

his.head hit   we.say.of.them

'they say she hit him.'

Looking at the English translations reveals that instead of words such as 'and', 'and then' and 'and now', pronouns like 'she' (the old woman) and 'he' (the brushman) were used to create parallelisms within the narration. The first sentence introduces the old woman with "this one old woman":

(27)[27]

This one old woman was in the same situation as the other one.

---

[27] Examples 27 through 32 are presented in a one-line format. These examples reflect the English sentences in *Neerihiinjìk* (1995).

After that, seven of the 24 sentences begin with the pronoun 'she'. One of the examples can be seen here:

(28)

She was living alone and snaring ground squirrels.

Twice, the pronoun 'she' is prefaced by "meanwhile," one of those examples can be seen here:

(29)

Meanwhile she was busy singeing the ground squirrel in the fire.

"The brushman" and "that brushman" occur sentence initial once each, those examples can be seen here:

(30)

The brushman was doing that.

(31)

That brushman.

Finally, "they say" is at the beginning of a sentence three times, one of those examples can be seen here:

(32)

They say he was moving very noisily.

While it seems that repetition and parallelism was created with the use of the (formulaic) terms *aii t'ee, ts'à' t'ee, aii ts'à'* in the Gwich'in version, in English the same phenomenon was created with the help of the pronouns 'she', 'he' and 'they'. After the old woman is introduced, seven of the total 24 sentences start with 'she'. 'They say', marks the beginning of three sentences, marking another set of parallelisms. Finally, 'he' is the first word of one sentence, as are 'the brushman' and 'that brushman'. More than half of the sentences in the book start with *aii t'ee, ts'à' t'ee, aii ts'à'* (and then) showing not only parallel beginnings of sentences, but a formulaic use of certain terms within stories.

Hishinlai' Peter (personal communication, May 2015) mentioned that certain terms such as the aforementioned ones frequently occur within stories, but do not add to the meaning of the story itself.

5.2.1.7. Background

Background sounds in this version of Sarah Frank's story can be classified as human, mechanical or part of the family life happening in the background. The human sounds mostly belong to a child speaking and singing in the background, and at one point an unidentified female person says a sentence. The mechanical sounds in this recording are few and far between, originating mostly from the tape recorder. At one point a door can be overheard closing, and there is some clattering originating possibly from the kitchen.

5.2.1.8. Story Elements

During the course of this research essential elements building the skeleton of the stories emerged. Those elements either belong to or represent themes themselves presented later in this thesis. Emerging story elements in Sarah's 1979 narration of *The Brushman* are: (1) the old woman, (2) the brushman, (3) dried willow sticks, (4) ground squirrel guts and (5) time of the day. Those elements emerged because they recurred either so frequently that it became clear that the story would not function properly if even one of those elements were missing, or because they occurred in both versions.

The first element, the old woman, occurs throughout the story. For instance, the old woman lives alone, living off the land by snaring and singeing ground squirrels. Furthermore, according to the translated version in the book, the old woman's camp is on a riverbank, close to a strong current. Also, the old woman uses willow sticks to fend off the intruding brushman and to make a fire to heat up the ground squirrel guts.

The second element, the brushman, first appears in the story when he starts annoying the old woman. He is the target of the contents of intestines thrown not just at him, but into his eyes. Further, the brushman is described to be kneeling down and wearing a fur coat after the old woman starts throwing intestines at him. Finally, he is hit with a stick and eventually killed.

Dried willow sticks, the third element, appear in the story in the form of a poking device, used to poke the brushman, and to light a fire. Consulting the Gwich'in text has shown that Sarah never actually speaks of willow sticks, she first refers to them on line 33 as follows:

(33)

k'il   ninjyàa   aii   oondaa

dried.willows   long   (...)[28]   out.there.on.the.water

'on the water were long dried willows.'

The next time she talks about the willows is on line 92, when she says:

(34)

ooch'iitthàn   k'il   jèiinchy'aa   daatin

down.toward.the.bank   dried.willows   that's.how.it.is   it's.just.laying.there

'dried willows are laying over there, that's how it is'

Again, she does not actually talk about willow sticks, she simply talks about dried willows. She does, however, talk about a stick or a bat on line 215, when she says:

(35)

gwà'àn   gał   òonjìk

around.there   bat   got

'She has a bat.'

Gał is the Gwich'in term for bat or stick; and this is the only time Sarah actually mentions the existence of a stick. It is possible that she does not have to mention the term for stick or bat, it may be understood from the context of the story.

Ground squirrel guts, the fourth element, are mentioned as being the chosen device to be heated up, and then the contents of the guts are thrown into the brushman's eyes.

The last element of the story that stood out is the time of the day: according to the English translation in the book it is *getting dark*.

---

[28] (...) means that there is no gloss for this specific word in this excerpt. The meaning only becomes clear when looking at the bigger context.

5.2.2. Sarah Frank 1984

The last narrative that I will present here is the second version of *The Brushman*. The quality of the second version of *The Brushman* is slightly less intelligible and less clear than the first version. The first version was available as a single recording only consisting the story discussed; the second version is part of a bigger compilation of stories. However, as far as I can tell, there is no official introduction to the session and except for a short intermission between stories, there is no indicator that a new story has begun. Tape and recorder related sounds can be heard throughout the recording. Also, another person can be overheard in the background, possibly Lillian Garnett. Further, sounds coming from the kitchen or living room can be heard throughout the recording; however, those noises are never intrusive nor do they disturb the recording.

Again, a transcript was created based on the version in the book, using ELAN to classify the data into the same categories as in the version presented above.

5.2.2.1. Intonation Units of Lillian Garnett

There is a single occurrence during the 2:23 minute-long recording in which Sarah narrated the second version of *The Brushman* where it is possible that Lillian Garnett was the person saying a word (*izhik*). However, this cannot be verified because this utterance did not appear in the adjusted text in the book. Other than that, Lillian is completely silent.

5.2.2.2. Intonation Units of Sarah Frank

This version of the story is even shorter than the other one, and most of the text appearing in the book was part of the original recording. However, there were a few instances in which there was additional audio text in the recording that was not published in the book. In those instances, I attempted to transcribe the recorded words.

5.2.2.3. Translation Intonation Units

As before, I attempted to create a translation of independent intonation units to compare them to the text that appeared in the book. Since no equivalent could be found for many of the words, a real comparison is not possible at this time.

5.2.2.4. Gwich'in Sentence

As in the first version of this story, Gwich'in sentences resemble the ones appearing in the book.

5.2.2.5. Literary Version

A literary version was created, mostly reflecting the version in the book; however, minor adjustments were made whenever the version in the book and the translation of the intonation units showed significant differences. For example, if a word did not appear in the Gwich'in version but then appeared in the English translation. The literary version given in examples 36 – 37 and 41 – 42 is my own gloss.

5.2.2.6. Paraverbal Features[29] [30]

As did the other two storytellers discussed in this thesis, Sarah uses paraverbal features to enhance her short narration of *The Brushman* in 1984. Pauses are the most prominent feature Sarah uses throughout her telling. They may occur in concordance with *ts'à' it'ee, aii ts'à' it'ee* and *qįįtł'ee it'ee*, all of which mean something along the lines of 'and then'. There are three instances in which one of those terms stands completely alone (line 19, 30 and 73) and occurs after and before pauses. The example on line 19 can be seen here:

(36)
ts'à'   it'ee
and   now
'and then'

As mentioned in the section discussing Sarah's 1979 telling of the same story, all those terms can signal the beginning or end of a theme. They occur intonation unit initial

---

[29] References made to line numbers in this section correspond to the line numbers in appendix D.
[30] Examples are presented in three-line format. The first line shows a transcription of the text as it was narrated in Gwich'in, the second line a word-for-word transcription in English and the third line an English gloss.

in several cases (e.g., line 53, 80, 88, 117 and 146). The example on line 88 can be seen here:

(37)

ąįį ts'à'   it'ee ąįį³¹   tthaa

and.then   now   (...)   ground.squirrel

'and now that ground squirrel'

While the Gwich'in version of the story reveals *ts'à' it'ee*, *aii ts'à' it'ee* and *ąįįtł'ee it'ee* (and then) are prominent features before or after pauses, the English translation shows that again, pronouns are prominent features in this version as well. The first sentence introducing the old woman is as follows:

(38)³²

This one old woman I heard about once killed a brushman.

After the first sentence, five of the total 17 sentences begin with the pronoun "she." One of those examples can be seen here:

(39)

She had a campfire on the edge of a steep riverbank and was singeing ground squirrels.

One sentence begins with the pronoun "he," referring to the brushman. This example can be seen here:

(40)

He was wearing a worn out fur coat and kneeling down rubbing his eyes.

---

³¹ This term, for which there is no gloss, may be spelled both with and without nasals (ąįį), depending on the pronunciation of the speaker. Hishinlai' Peter (personal communication, May 2015) told me that the meaning is the same, regardless of the spelling. She further told me that it is quite common for speakers to pronounce this word interchangeably, both nasalized and a non-nasalized.

³² Examples 38 through 40 and 43 are presented in one-line format. These examples reflect the English sentences in *Neerihiinjìk* (1995).

While in 1979 Sarah interspersed her narration with *vàràhnyàa* (we say of them), 5 years later she did the same with *giiyàhnyàa* (they say of them). Both terms have the same function; they are supposed to show that the story does not belong to the storyteller who is narrating the story, but that they heard the story from someone else and that it has also been told across generations. *Giiyàhnyàa* occurs a total of five times in Sarah's 1984 narration, but unlike *vàràhnyàa* in 1979, which is only pronounced as *vàràh*, *giiyàhnyàa* is always pronounced completely. Four out of five times, *giiyàhnyàa* marks the end of an intonation unit. The example on line 3 can be seen here:

(41)

shyaaghan ch'ìhłak chan naa'in   diłghwąįį giiyàhnyàa
old.woman one   also brushman kill   they.say.of.them
'they say there was once an old woman who killed a brushman.'

The fifth *giiyàhnyàa* is at the very end of the story and is followed by another word: *t'aihnyàa*. The example from line 185 can be seen here:

(42)

chan   yîiłghwąįį giiyàhnyàa   t'aihnyàa
also   kill   they.say.of.them that's.what.I.heard
'they say she killed him that way.'

The pauses following the word *giiyàhnyàa* are of varying length, just as the pauses following *vàràhnyàa*.

Sarah changed her use of *vàràhnyàa* to *giiyàhnyàa* (they say) between her 1979 and her 1984 narration, the English translation of *The Brushman* in 1984 reveals that only two of the 17 sentences are introduced by "they say" reflecting that the story was passed down. One of those examples can be seen here:

(43)

They say he was moving very noisily.

While *ts'à' it'ee*, *aii ts'à' it'ee* and *qįįtł'ee it'ee* (and then) were used repetitively in Sarah's Gwich'in narration, the same effect was created in the English translation with the

pronouns 'she', 'he' and 'they'. The Gwich'in particles *ts'à' it'ee*, *aii ts'à' it'ee* and *q̲i̲i̲t̲ł'ee it'ee* (and then) might occur at the beginning or end of a theme, or between themes. The English pronouns 'he', 'she' and 'they' seem to be used in the English translations in *Neerihiinjìk* (1995) to create parallelism within the story and start multiple sentences with the same word.

5.2.2.7. Background

There is barely any background noise in this version. The only constantly audible sound is the one originating from the tape recorder. Movement can be heard in a few cases as well as clattering, which might also originate from the tape recorder.

5.2.2.8. Story Elements

As in the two versions of *Man in the Moon* and Sarah's 1979 version of *The Brushman*, important elements of the story emerged in this version, too. Those elements either belong to or represent themes themselves presented later in this thesis. Emerging story elements in Sarah's 1984 narration of *The Brushman* are (1) the old woman, (2) the brushman, (3) dried willow sticks, (4) ground squirrel guts and (5) time of the day. Those elements emerged because they recurred so frequently that it became clear that the story would not function properly if even just one of those elements were missing, or, in the case of the fifth element, because it occurred in both versions.

The first and most important element of the story, the old woman, is first mentioned as having a fire next to a river where she is singeing ground squirrels. Also, the old woman uses long dried willow sticks to burn things and starts watching out for the brushman after first seeing him. As a consequence of the brushman's arrival, the old woman starts heating up the ground squirrels' intestines, so that she can use them later to throw in the direction of where the brushman pulls on the willow sticks. The old woman goes as far as throwing the heated intestines into the brushman's eyes, which effectively kills him.

The second element, the brushman, first enters the story as the culprit pulling on dried willow sticks. As a result, the brushman is the target of intestines thrown into his eyes, and while trying to run away, he causes a commotion crashing through the bushes.

When the old woman finds him, he is kneeling down, wearing a worn out fur coat and rubbing his eyes before he is killed.

The dried willow sticks are first mentioned because the brushman is the one pulling on them, and in the process of doing so, he annoys the old woman because she is using the dried willow sticks to burn things. Interestingly, the willows are actually never called willow sticks in Gwich'in, even though that is what they are called in English. Listening to the Gwich'in recording reveals that Sarah is talking about long dried willows (*k'il njyah*) on line 44 and about burning dried willows on line 68 (*ąįį k'il daak'à' ąįį jyàa da'in giiyàhnyàa*). The example on line 68 can be seen here:

(44)

k'il   daak'à' ąįį jyàa   da'in giiyàhnyàa

dried.willows burn   (…)   she's.doing.something.with.it that's.what.it.was.doing they.say.of.them

'they say she burned long dried willows.'

The word stick or bat (*gał*) does not occur in this version of the story. The reason behind this might be that the context of the story might give a listener enough information that they know that Sarah is talking about a willow stick or bat, without her ever mentioning that specific word.

The fourth element, ground squirrel guts, are heated on a fire and are used as ammunition to throw in the general direction of where the old woman can feel the brushman pulling the willow sticks. In the end, the old woman throws the ground squirrel guts into the brushman's eyes, effectively killing him.

The final element of the story, the time of the day, is described in the English translation in *Neerihiinjìk* (1995) as *getting dark*.

In this chapter, I tried to show that each version of both stories is made up of several important elements, which are intricately linked to information contained in those stories. In the next chapter I will discuss how all these elements are part of themes, which form the basic structure of those stories discussed in this thesis.

Chapter 6: Discussion

Throughout my research and work with the two versions of *Man in the Moon* and *The Brushman* I have discovered recurring elements and themes in the different versions of the stories. I will present those here. I will also discuss whether the information contained in the emerging themes of a story told by different storytellers or told at different times by the same storyteller is identical. To reiterate, to find out how similar the stories analyzed in this thesis are, I am comparing the emerging themes of two versions of each story to one another. I use the term identical to refer to the emerging themes of the analyzed stories. In this context, this means those themes contain the same information. Identity does not refer to the specific words used in each story, but the overall content.

6.1. Story Elements and Themes

As I worked with the transcripts of *Man in the Moon* and *The Brushman*, I noticed that contrary to my initial belief, there are quite a few identical elements and themes emerging in both versions of each story. As elements I labeled those parts of the story that have an important place within the stories. They all belong to something bigger, the aforementioned themes. It is those themes, which I will present later in this chapter, which make up the body of a story. A theme is a progression of the storyline, broken down into topics occurring within the story. Those topics emerged when the information contained in several intonation units was put together. It is possible that the themes in different versions of a story emerge at different points within the story; however, they are identical even when two different storytellers narrate the same story. In order to get a better general idea, I created several tables to track the sequence of themes and compare them to each other.

6.1.1. Man in the Moon

As previously mentioned, each story consists of several elements, which in turn are part of the emerging themes. To reiterate, emerging elements of *Man in the Moon*, in David Salmon's version of the story, are (1) special ability, (2) crying, (3) the parents, (4) leaving for the moon, (5) living quarters, (6) caribou, (7) food, (8) moon eclipse, (9) clothing and

(10) a song. On the other hand, elements emerging in Moses Peters's version are (1) past times, (2) caribou, (3) the moon, (4) magic craft, (5) food, (6) clothing, (7) crying, (8) the boy, (9) the parents and (10) a song.

While food is an emerging element in both David Salmon's and Moses Peters's narration of *Man in the Moon*, the emerging themes in the two versions discussing the actual food show that the food is not the same. David Salmon mentions that the parents' remaining food is a caribou front quarter, while Moses Peters's mentions blood. As a consequence of the different foods described, the storytellers necessarily also mention different ways to store the remaining food. In Salmon's version of the story, the food (caribou front quarter) is stored in a finely tanned caribou skin bag, while Peters describes it to be a caribou stomach. This difference is unsurprising, considering that blood is best stored either in a stomach or a bladder, while a skin bag might be the best storage space for a caribou front quarter.

The boy's special ability or magic craft, respectively, are both not described in detail in the English versions, and a consultation with Hishinlai' Peter revealed that David Salmon does not discuss the boy's special ability in any more detail when he narrates the story in Gwich'in. Moses Peters, on the other hand, mentions *dinjii dazhan* in Gwich'in, which translates into magic/medicine or medicine man. However, other than this added detail, he too, does not add further information regarding the magic craft. It is possible that listeners would be assumed to possess knowledge about such a thing called magic craft or special ability in case the listeners are native, or taboo to discuss in front of a non-native audience.

The boy's clothing is another interesting topic that deserves a brief mention here. David Salmon explains that the boy's clothes are made of caribou skin, while Moses Peters mentions marten fur. While it is possible that the boy in Moses's version of the story was wearing clothing partially made of marten, it is rather unlikely that all of it is made of marten, since marten is very expensive, a point he even makes during his narration. However, it is possible that Moses describes the boy's clothes to be made of marten skin because wearing marten fur may also serve as a status symbol.

Crying is another element that emerged in both versions of the story. The boy seems to cry whenever he is deprived of something he wants. Since he tells his people of

the caribou herd in the mountains, he expects a gift in return. Similarly, the boy cries when the people lose a caribou that they thought to be dead.

Finally, the song also warrants to be mentioned here because both storytellers mention it, but only Moses sings it in his Gwich'in performance. According to Hishinlai' Peter (personal communication, May 2015), Moses sings about seeing things that are not real and having bad dreams in the very short (20 seconds) sequence of him singing that song. After this short intermission he returns to his narration and finishes the story.

Table 2: Themes in *Man in the Moon* [33]

David Salmon	Moses Peters
	a. Old times
	b. Animals are killed as group activity
	c. Hard times
	d. Caribou in the mountains
1. Boy has a special ability	e. Boy has a magic craft
2. Boy has a vision	
	g. One of the caribou is alive
3. One of the caribou is meant for the boy	h. Boy wants one fat caribou
4. By the time the boy arrives, the caribou are already divided	
	i. Caribou are killed as a group activity and the meat is shared
5. Uncle receives the caribou meant for the boy	j. Boy cries because the man claims the caribou the boy wanted
6. Boy cries because the uncle won't give up the caribou	
7. Caribou are covered by snow	f. Burying caribou in snow
	k. Rope didn't exist a long time ago
	l. Moving the caribou
8. One caribou comes back to life and escapes	n. One caribou comes back to life
9. Boy cries over the lost caribou	m. Boy cries over the lost caribou
10. Parents are watching over the boy; he sleeps between them	s. Parents are watching over the boy; he even sleeps between them
11. Parents wake up; the boy is gone	
12. Family lives in a house with smoke hole	
	p. Boy is missing one morning
	q. Boy is waiting for a sign

[33] Numbers represent themes in David Salmon's version of *Man in the Moon*; letters serve the same purpose in Moses Peters's version. The following numbers and letters show corresponding themes in the two versions: 1e, 3h, 5j, 6j, 7f, 8n, 9m, 10s, 13r, 16o, 17o, 18o, 20t, 21t, 22u.

Table 2 continued

13. Boy is wearing caribou skin pants	r. Boy is wearing a marten coat and marten pants
14. Parents can see the boy in the moon, with his dog and a caribou front quarter	
15. Parents' sled is stuck; boy is in the bottom of the sled	
16. Parents' only food is a caribou front quarter	o. Filling blood into the stomach of a caribou
17. Meat is stored in a finely tanned caribou skin bag	
18. Half of the meat can be eaten, the other half is stored in the caribou skin bag	
19. Boy announces that he will be leaving for good	
20. Backwards bent moon is a sign for plenty of food	t. Backwards bent moon is a sign for plenty of food; forwards bent moon is a sign for a disaster
21. Forwards bent moon is a sign for starvation	
22. Song	u. Song

In this section I summarize and discuss the emerging themes in the two versions of *Man in the Moon* by David Salmon and Moses Peters. The two versions of *Man in the Moon* have only minor differences, which I find surprising, considering that two different storytellers narrated the stories. However, both narrators lived in Chalkyitsik at the time when the recordings were made and the interviews occurred within a day of each other. Moses Peters narrated the story on September 25, David Salmon's version followed on September 26, 1972. No additional information could be obtained from the audio recording received from the oral history department in the Rasmuson Library, and any additional material such as already existing transcripts or manuscripts belonging to the recordings either never existed or were never given to the oral history department.

The number of themes emerging from the two versions of the story is almost identical[34]. I found 22 themes in David Salmon's story and 21 in Moses Peters's. I find it surprising, however, that Moses Peters's version has fewer themes than David Salmon's, considering that Moses Peters's version of the story is richer in detail.

---

[34] Working with the Gwich'in version may have resulted in a different number of themes or story elements; a future study could address this limitation of my thesis.

The development of the plot of the two versions is slightly different, possibly because Moses's version begins with a short overview of the past times. However, it seems also possible that this is simply the setting for the story. Since he never resolves this issue, we cannot be certain whether the setting for the story is in the old times or whether he actually gives some information about the past to better situate the story. However, shortly after he begins performing the story in English and talks about 'the old times' there is an instance when he mentions that there was *one winter when people were having a hard time*, possibly an indicator that the real story starts at this point.

Contrary to Moses Peters's version of the story, which begins under somehow uncertain terms, David Salmon's version starts with the introduction of the main character, the boy.

There are only three times within the two versions where the detail pertaining to specific themes is clearly different. The first difference emerges when the material of the boy's clothes is addressed. David Salmon describes the boy's clothes to be made of *caribou skin*, while Moses Peters explains the boy's clothes as consisting of, or at least partially containing, *marten fur*. Both caribou skin and marten fur clothing are important for the Gwich'in people and both materials are regarded highly. Marten fur is additionally regarded as a status symbol and might be an indicator for the boy's status within the group. The second difference between the versions can be noted when the remaining food of the boy's parents is discussed. In David Salmon's version, the parents are left with a *caribou front quarter*. In Moses Peters's narration, on the other hand, the only food the parents have left is *blood*. While Moses does not state openly that the blood is from the caribou, this is probably implied. The last difference emerges when the storage place of the remaining food is addressed. David Salmon mentions a *finely tanned caribou skin bag*, while Moses Peters states that the blood has to be stored in the *stomach of a caribou*. It seems possible that the finely tanned caribou skin bag in David Salmon's version is actually made from a caribou stomach. However, while we cannot verify this information, we know that the material is taken from the same animal, the caribou, an important element in both versions. Similarly, Moses Peter explains that the only food the parents have left is caribou blood, warranting the caribou stomach as storage space.

David Salmon mentions themes that are unique to his version. Those elements are the boy's vision, which emerges when the boy tells his parents that the next day they were going to kill some animals. Further, Salmon mentions that the parents see the boy in the moon with his dog and a caribou front quarter, and finally, he also mentions that the boy returns to his parents in the bottom of the sled. Similarly, Moses Peters's narration includes two themes that are unique to his narration. At one point, Moses mentions that the people did not have rope in the past, describing how they had to use animal hide instead, which could be an addition for non-local listeners. This topic arises in the story when the people are attempting to take all the killed caribou back to their camp and to do so, they tie the caribou up to pull them behind them. The second unique theme is a sign. This topic appears in Moses's version shortly before the boy leaves his people, possibly indicating that the boy is expecting a sign for the best time to leave.

The remainder of the story is identical, one version listing more detail where the other one is less specific. However, overall, the versions and their emerging themes are in Jim Kari's words "pretty strongly similar" (Kari, personal communication, November 2014). Both versions contain a main character able to see into the future. Whereas David simply calls this ability a *special ability*, Moses refers to it as *magic craft*. In both versions the boy tells his parents about the presence of a caribou herd in the mountains. As a result, the people travel there and kill some of the caribou, but end up being unable to take all the caribou back to their camp, forcing them to leave some caribou behind, which they bury under piles of snow. When the people return to the place where they killed the caribou, one of the animals comes back to life and escapes. In both versions the boy's family lives in a skin house with a smoke hole. As soon as the boy mentions his desire to leave his people and live on the moon, both storytellers mention that the parents start keeping an eye on the boy and make him sleep between them. As soon as the day arrives when the boy is gone, the parents are sad but carry on with their lives immediately. In both variations, the parents can see the boy on the moon through the smoke hole in their skin tent. According to both storytellers, the boy returns to his people a few more times, each time hidden in the bottom of the parents' sled. Before leaving for good, the boy informs his parents of the implications of a forward and backward bent moon at the annual moon eclipse, and how to handle hard times with shortfalls in food supply.

6.1.2. The Old Woman and the Brushman

As mentioned above, every story consists of certain elements, which have an important place in those stories. Those elements are in turn constituent parts making up the emerging themes of stories. To reiterate, the elements of both of Sarah's versions of *The Brushman* are (1) the old woman, (2) the brushman, (3) dried willow sticks, (4) ground squirrel guts and (5) time of the day.

Table 3: Themes in *The Old Woman and the Brushman* [35]

Sarah Frank, 1979	*Sarah Frank, 1984*
1. There was once an old woman	a. There was once an old woman who killed a brushman
2. The old woman lives alone and snares and singes ground squirrels	b. The old woman has a fire next to a river and is singeing ground squirrels
3. The old woman uses a willow stick as poking device	e. The old woman uses long dried willow sticks to burn things
4. It's getting dark	c. It's getting dark
5. The old woman lives on a river bank, below her runs a strong current	b. The old woman has a fire next to a river and is singeing ground squirrels
	d. Back then, axes didn't exist
6. The brushman starts to annoy the old woman	f. The brushman keeps pulling on the dried willow sticks
	g. The old woman is watching out for the brushman
7. The old woman has a pile of dried willows she lights on fire	
8. The old woman heats up ground squirrel intestines	h. The old woman heats ground squirrel intestines on the fire
9. The brushman is crashing through the bushes	k. The brushman makes a lot of noise crashing through the bushes
	i. The old woman throws the intestines in the direction of where she feels the brushman pulling the sticks
10. The old woman throws the insides of the intestines into the brushman's eyes	j. The old woman throws the intestines into the brushman's eyes
11. The brushman is kneeling down, wearing a fur coat	l. The brushman is kneeling down in his worn out fur coat, rubbing his eyes

---

[35] Numbers represent themes in Sarah's 1979 version; letters serve the same purpose in her 1984 narration. The following numbers and letters show corresponding themes in the two versions: 1a, 2b, 3e, 4c, 5b, 6f, 8h, 9k, 10j, 11l, 13m.

12. The old woman hits the brushman with a stick	
13. The old woman kills the brushman	m. The old woman kills the brushman

In this section I summarize and discuss the emerging themes in the two versions of *The Brushman* by Sarah Frank narrated in 1979 and in 1984. As the two versions of *Man in the Moon*, Sarah's two versions have only minor differences. The two recordings were made five years apart, allowing for certain inconsistencies in the stories, especially considering that Sarah was already about 86 years old when the first recording was made, which would make her 91 years old by the time she was recorded again in 1984.

Both versions of the story are relatively short, the first version lasting about 3.5 minutes, resulting in a total of 13 emerging themes; the second version is about 2.5 minutes long, resulting in 13 themes as well. Overall, both versions contain the same information. Neither version includes a significant amount of additional information that the other version does not include.

There are a few differences between the versions; however, I am referring to a very small number, which mostly pertains to the amount of detail. For instance, in the 1979 version, the old woman uses a willow stick as poking device. Such a device does not emerge from the second version. However, in the 1984 version, the old woman uses long dried willow sticks to burn things, which might be the equivalent to the poking device in Sarah's 1979 version. In 1979, Sarah specifies that the old woman throws the *insides* (i.e., contents) of the intestines into the brushman's eyes, while in 1984, the old woman throws simply the *intestines*. Further, in 1979, Sarah describes the brushman simply as wearing a *fur coat*, whereas in 1984 she is more specific and describes the brushman's fur coat to be *worn out*. Also, in 1979, Sarah relates that 'the brushman *starts to annoy* the old woman', a theme that might be implicitly expressed in the sentence 'the brushman *keeps pulling on the dried willow sticks*' in her 1984 version.

There are only very few themes that are unique to one version. In 1979, Sarah explains that *the old woman lights a pile of dried willows on fire* and that *she hits the brushman with a stick*, both elements are unique to her 1979 version. Similarly, in 1984

Sarah explains that *axes did not exist* a long time ago. She further describes the old woman to be *throwing intestines in the direction of where she can feel the brushman pulling on the sticks* and finally, that *she is watching out* for the brushman. All of this information only emerges in her 1984 narration.

The development of the plot and the information contained in the two versions is, however, identical. Both versions begin with the introduction of the old woman and end with the brushman being killed at the old woman's hands. Both versions describe where the old woman lives and explain what she does to survive. In 1979 and 1984, the plotline continues and the brushman is introduced shortly before he starts annoying the old woman. As a consequence of his annoying the old woman, she heats ground squirrel intestines up and throws them at the brushman to get rid of him. The story culminates in the death of the brushman at the old woman's hands.

Finally, I would like to stress that when comparing the two versions of Sarah Frank's story I am aware that I am working not only with Sarah's spoken words, but possibly I am dealing with the end result of several people's work. Nonetheless, I am impressed with the level of 'identity' of the two versions especially considering that most likely several people were involved in the process that led to the published version in *Neerihiinjìk* (1995).

A final topic that I would like to address is the function of the stories discussed in the previous pages. As stated earlier in this thesis, traditional stories (stories that have been told across generations) may have an additional function besides being told as a form of entertainment (e.g., McKennan 1965). While some of the stories may be told to communicate moral values, David Salmon explains that *Man in the Moon* is used to teach children "how to go out into the woods" along with other, unexplained, things (Salmon and March 1972). However, he does mention that the story is supposed to give wisdom about life in the wilderness and that the main purpose of telling the story is to teach children to survive in the woods, both during winter and summer (Salmon and March 1972).

While Moses Peters does not mention why the story was told in the past, he makes another very interesting statement. He remarks that he has to be correct when telling this story; however, in the next sentence he somehow negates this statement again when he asks the audience not to blame him in case he does make mistakes, since he only knows the version he has been hearing since he was a little kid himself (Peters and March 1972). It

would be interesting to know what exactly he meant when he said "I have to be correct when telling this story" (ibid 1972). It would be fascinating to find out whether his statement is simply meant to convey that the content and overall plotline is supposed to stay the same or whether he actually learned the story a certain way, for instance, word-for-word.

Considering that David Salmon mentions that *Man in the Moon* was used to teach children about going out into the wilderness, I imagine that the story may have been told in slightly different ways, highlighting and adapting parts of the story to the audience's needs. Peters's statement, on the other hand, leads me to think that he believes that the story has to be told in a specific way. The similarity in thematic structure in the two versions of *Man in the Moon* supports the idea that the versions represent the same story, but only, if a story has just those themes.

Since Sarah Frank's two versions of *The Brushman* started without any introduction, the function of her versions of that specific story may forever stay undisclosed. However, Mishler writes in his introduction to *Neerihiinjìk* (Frank 1995:xix) that by the time Sarah narrated the first version for him, she was already a widow and may have intended to demonstrate that women can survive in such a hard climate without the help of men if they have to, or she may have simply wanted to tell a good story.

Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation and Shirleen Smith mention that heroic tales about women often highlight how "old women outwit danger and overcome great obstacles to protect and provide salvation for their people" (2009:41). They further emphasize that "old women, especially widows, were relatively powerless physically and vulnerable members of Gwich'in society. Long-ago stories highlight how they were able to overcome great difficulties in spite of their weakness and limited resources" (ibid 2009:41). While stories might be told differently in different villages even in Alaska, the function of these stories is most likely the same because the function is associated with the story, not with the different versions. The words used to convey a message may change not only between villages, but they may also adapt to individual storytellers. However, the message in itself stays the same.

To end this chapter, I am going to revisit my research questions regarding the two stories discussed in this thesis. To reiterate, my research questions are:

1. *What are the emerging themes in the versions of a story narrated by two different storytellers?*
2. *What are the emerging themes in the versions of a story narrated by the same storyteller at different times?*
3. *How identical are the themes and the information contained in the emerging themes of the same story told by different storytellers or told at different times by the same storyteller?*

Considering the findings presented in my analysis and discussion (the current chapter), I am concluding that the themes and content of the two versions of *Man in the Moon* and the themes and content of the two versions of *The Old Woman and the Brushman* is identical. To reiterate the themes of each story, refer to table 2 on page 93 of this thesis for the emerging themes in both versions of *Man in the Moon*. For the emerging themes of *The Old Woman and the Brushman*, refer to table 3 on page 97 of this thesis. As previously stated, the themes and content of both stories are identical. However, the amount of detail varies in each version. This means that a large number of themes appear in both versions of each story. While the two versions of a story are not the same word-for-word, they are identical on the level of emerging themes and information contained within those themes. Because they are identical on the level of emerging themes and the information contained within those themes, we can talk about identical versions of the same story.

Eliza Jones's statement, that stories can only be told a specific way, and no one can alter or revise them, should probably be taken with a grain of salt. Eliza Jones is Koyukon and not Gwich'in and it is possible that the storytelling traditions of the two Athabascan nations differ in that respect (DeMartino 1985:51). Additionally, we do not really know how far Eliza Jones's idea of telling a story in a certain way goes. For instance, telling a story a certain way may simply refer to the content or overall chronology of the story or the emerging themes, which may have to stay the same. If Eliza Jones's statement refers to content and chronology, the two versions of *Man in the Moon* and *The Brushman* are identical. However, narrating a story a certain way may also refer to a word-for-word equivalent of the story, as it used to be told by the Elders (DeMartino 1985:51). If that is

the meaning of 'a story can only be told a specific way', then the different versions of the stories analyzed in this research are not identical.

Through my research I learned that the themes, or the occurring topics within multiple versions of a story, contain identical information, regardless of how much time passed between the storytelling events or whether the story is narrated by different storytellers. The most valuable lesson I learned was that different storytellers can perform the same story a little differently, for instance, one storyteller uses pauses, while another storyteller uses quickly spoken segments or a more quiet voice to express the same information. The result, the content and maybe less so the words, is overall the same. Even more importantly, I learned to be open to an idea in which identity between versions refers not to a word-for-word correlate between the versions, but to the transmitted content of the story. Since the emerging themes of both sets of stories and the information contained within those themes is the same, I conclude that the two versions of *Man in the Moon* and the two versions of *The Brushman* are identical.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

To conclude, this research project focuses on two Gwich'in stories. It sought to better understand how identical two stories are when they are narrated by two different storytellers or at different times. I found out that the themes and content of a story is identical, even when told by two or more different storytellers, or by the same storyteller, but at different points in time. It is possible that in the past stories were learned word-by-word and had to be told in a certain way, as Eliza Jones, a Koyukon elder, mentioned (DeMartino 1985:51). However, it is also possible that the storytelling traditions in Gwich'in and Koyukon are different and that while the aforementioned statement may apply to Koyukon storytelling, it may no longer hold, or never held true in Gwich'in. Yet, it is also possible that the content (i.e. the moral, ethical, and spiritual aspects of the story) is what has to be 'retold exactly'. By that I mean the *story* may not be the element of concern, but the *contents* of the story are what is held essentially to be 'sacred', just as our physical, spoken voice is the element of concern, but *what is said* is what is really important/meaningful.

My research has demonstrated that with my method of analyzing two versions of a story by looking at the themes and the information contained within those themes, it is possible to find that several versions of a story have identical themes and contain the same information, only very few themes are unique to one version. A story may display identical themes whether the same storyteller narrates it or if two different storytellers tell a story. It is possible that one version includes some detail the other one does not contain and vice versa, but overall, the important parts of the story, the main themes, stay the same and the plot has only minor differences. The analyzed stories are not identical, however, when looking at a word-for-word comparison.

There is a gap in the literature pertaining to how people tell stories, which I acknowledge differs across cultures. I mentioned in the introduction of this thesis that I was able to locate literature concerning storytelling, as it seems prevalent in 'western societies', referring to storytelling enjoyed as a form of entertainment, which is also mostly addressed to children. However, storytelling as practiced in a former oral culture such as

Gwich'in has a different significance than in our traditions. While in the past stories such as the ones researched in this thesis oftentimes included moral or educational lessons, this aspect may have faded more into the background and may hold less importance currently than it used to in the past. For instance, David Salmon even mentions that *Man in the Moon* was supposed to teach children some wisdom about how to survive in the wilderness (Salmon and March 1972). Since the stories used in this research were recorded between 30 and 40 years ago, the functions of those specific stories may have changed and may no longer be equivalent to what they were said to be.

Nowadays, Gwich'in stories may also be told to entertain people. However, it is also important to remember that Gwich'in people may tell those stories to their descendants because they realize that this tradition is slowly dying. While many stories have been documented in one form or another, and sometimes it is even possible to find several versions of the same story, it is becoming increasingly rare and difficult to have a storyteller narrate such a tale. However, even if the tradition is practiced in the family and the narrator is not a storyteller, the tradition may remain intact until the voices of the last generation with that knowledge die and all that remains are the written and recorded stories. It is therefore important that stories are recorded, even if a version already exists.

In this MA thesis I have attempted to answer questions regarding the sameness of two versions of two specific Gwich'in stories. I learned that a story does not have to be significantly more identical just because it is narrated by the same storyteller, even versions of two or more different storytellers can indeed display an astounding identity when a story is parsed into its themes and those themes are compared to one another.

My comparison represents the beginning research that could be developed further, considering further versions of the story by different speakers and done at different times. Furthermore, working with English performances instead of written translations may have changed the outcome of this research. However, even if Sarah's performance of the story in English were different from Lillian Garnett's translations that were used as a basis for part of the data of this thesis, it is still likely that the results would be the same. Since, as Lévi-Strauss stated, "the mythical value of the myth is preserved even through the worst translation" (1963:210). Working with the original Gwich'in narrations may have painted a different picture regarding the emerging themes; for instance, the number of emerging

themes may be different had I worked not only with the English performance, but also with the Gwich'in version. However, I argue that my results are valid, but future research could enrich this research greatly.

7.1. Future Research

For future studies it would be important to examine more versions of a story such as the ones discussed in this research and compare them to each other to solidify the above discussion, that the emerging themes of a story narrated by the same storyteller at different times and the emerging themes of a story narrated by different storytellers are identical, and provide a deeper insight into Gwich'in stories.

Additionally, considering not only the English versions, but also the Gwich'in versions fully would benefit a further study greatly. While I attempted to create very simple translations, I ended up not using them due to their incompleteness. Working with Gwich'in speakers could enrich a further study significantly and could also attract the attention and interest of others in the field.

Furthermore, it would be interesting to talk to Gwich'in elders and find out more about Eliza Jones's statement regarding storytelling in Koyukon and how supposedly children had to learn a story a certain way and they were not allowed to change anything about those stories (DeMartino 1985:51). This could lead to very interesting results considering that Moses Peters made a similar proclamation in the interview with Bridjette March (Peters and March 1972).

Finally, it would also be interesting to talk to the people behind the translations to integrate that knowledge into any future studies if working with the original language is not an option.

References Cited

Alexander, Virginia
    2008   Gwich'in to English Dictionary.

Baker, Augusta
    1977   Storytelling: Art and Technique. New York: Bowker.

Balikci, Asen
    1963   Vunta Kutchin Social Change. A Study of the People of Old Crow, Yukon Territory. Ottawa, Ontario: Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Barnard, Alan
    2000   History and Theory in Anthropology. Cambridge, U.K.: University Press.

Barnard, Mary
    1966   The Mythmakers. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Bascom, William
    1965   The Forms of Folklore: Prose Narratives. The Journal of American Folklore 78(307):3.

Bauer, Caroline Feller
    1977   Handbook for Storytellers. Chicago: American Library Association.

Bauman, Richard
    1975   Verbal Art as Performance. American Anthropologist 77(2):290–311.

Blommaert, Jan
    2006   Ethnopoetics as Functional Reconstruction. Dell Hymes' Narrative View of the World. Functions of Language 13(2):229–249.

Boas, Franz
    1894   Chinook Texts. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 20.
    1974   A Franz Boas Reader: The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883-1911. George W Stocking, ed. Pp. 148-155. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bourne, John Bernard
    2003   Glimpsing the Bushman. Mcleans, March 3:33.

Breneman, Lucille N.
    1983   Once upon a Time: A Storytelling Handbook. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Brugman, H., and A. Russel

    2004   Annotating Multimedia/ Multi-Modal Resources with ELAN. Proceedings of LREC 2004, Fourth International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation. Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, The Language Archive, Nijmegen, The Netherlands. http://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/.

Burch, Ernest S. Jr.

    1979   Indians and Eskimos in North Alaska, 1816-1977: A Study in Changing Ethnic Relations. Arctic Anthropology 16(2):123–151.

Cantoni-Harvey, Gina, Northern Arizona University, Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium, and Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium, eds.

    1996   Stabilizing Indigenous Languages. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University.

Catford, John Cunnison

    1965   A Linguistic Theory of Translation. An Essay in Applied Linguistics. London: Oxford University Press.

Chafe, Wallace

    1987   Cognitive Constraints on Information Flow. *In* Coherence and Grounding in Discourse. Russell S. Tomlin, ed. Pp. 21–51. Typological Studies in Language, 11. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Christian, Jim, Sarah Frank, Lillian Garnett, James Gilbert, and T. Kais

    1985   Gwich'in Stories.

Cooper, Robert Leon

    1989   Language Planning and Social Change. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Crawford, James

    1997   Seven Hypotheses on Language Loss: Causes and Cures. *In* Stabilizing Indigenous Languages. Gina Cantoni, ed. Pp. 51–68. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University.

Cruikshank, Julie

    1998   The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

DeMartino, Marjorie

    1985   Storytelling: The Preservation of an Art. Alaska Today:50–52.

De Laguna, Frederica, Norman Reynolds, and Dale DeArmond, eds.

    1995   Tales from the Dena: Indian Stories from the Tanana, Koyukuk, & Yukon Rivers. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Dementi-Leonard, Beth, and Perry Gilmore
    1999   Language Revitalization and Identity in Social Context: A Community-Based Athabascan Language Preservation Project in Western Interior Alaska. Anthropology & Education Quarterly 30(1):37–55.

Fishman, Joshua A.
    1991   Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages. Multilingual Matters, 76. Clevedon; Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

Frank, Johnny
    1995   Neerihiinjìk: Johnny Sarah Hàa Googwandak = We Traveled from Place to Place: The Gwich'in Stories of Johnny and Sarah Frank. Craig Mishler, ed. Alaska Native Language Center.

Frey, Rodney, ed.
    1995   Stories That Make the World: Oral Literature of the Indian Peoples of the Inland Northwest as Told by Lawrence Aripa, Tom Yellowtail, and Other Elders. The Civilization of the American Indian Series, v. 218. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Gabriel, Moses
    1993   Gwich'in History. The Handed Down, Oral History of Alaska's Gwitch'in People of the Fort Yukon Area.

Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics, Schiffrin, Deborah, Anna De Fina, and Anastasia Nylund
    2010   Telling Stories Language, Narrative, and Social Life. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Graf, Fritz
    1996   Greek Mythology: An Introduction. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute
    2007   Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak: The History and Stories of the Gwichya Gwich'in: As Told by the Elders of Tsiigehtchic. Rev. ed. Tsiigehtchic, N.W.T: Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute.

Hall, Edwin S.
    1969   Speculations on the Late Prehistory of the Kutchin Athapaskans. Ethnohistory 16(4):317–333.

Harry, Anna Nelson, and Michael E. Krauss
    1982   In Honor of Eyak: The Art of Anna Nelson Harry. Fairbanks, AK.: Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska.

Henze, Rosemary, and Kathryn A. Davis

    1999 Authenticity and Identity: Lessons from Indigenous Language Education. Anthropology & Education Quarterly 30(1):3–21.

Hinton, Leanne, and Jocelyn Ahlers

    1999 The Issue of "Authenticity" in California Language Restoration. Anthropology & Education Quarterly 30(1):56–67.

Hymes, Dell

    1977 Discovering Oral Performance and Measured Verse in American Indian Narrative. New Literary History 8(3):431.

    1996 Ethnography, Linguistics, Narrative Inequality: Toward an Understanding of Voice. Critical Perspectives on Literacy and Education. London; PA: Taylor & Francis.

    2004 "In Vain I Tried to Tell You": Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Jakobson, Roman

    1959 On Linguistic Aspects of Translation. *In* On Translation. Reuben Arthur Brower, ed. Pp. 232–239. Harvard University Press.

Jenness, Diamond

    1924 Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-1918, vol. 13: Myths and Traditions from Northern Alaska, the Mackenzie Delta and Coronation Gulf, vol.13. Ottawa: F. A. Acland.

Kaye, Roger

    1992a Vi'it Gwaatr'al - Last Brushman of the Porcupine. Council, March: p. 5.

    1992b Solitary Brushman Inspires Legends. Fairbanks Daily News-Miner, October 25:H6.

Kealy, Kelly

    2014 Praxis and Insider-Outsider Relationships : The Role of Non-Indigenous Teachers in Promoting Indigenous Language and Culture in Educational Spaces. M.A. thesis, Department of Linguistics, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

King, Jeanette

    2001 Te Kohanga Reo: Maori Language. *In* The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice. Leanne Hinton and Ken Hale, eds. Pp. 119–128. San Diego: Academic Press.

    2003 "Whaia Te Reo: Pursuing the Language". How Metaphors Describe Our Relationships with Indigenous Languages. *In* Nurturing Native Languages. Jon Reyhner, Octaviana V. Trujillo, Robert Luis Carrasco, and Louise Lockard, eds. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University.

Klages, Mary

    N.d.   Claude Levi-Strauss "The Structural Study of Myth" and Other Structuralist Ideas. Claude Levi-Strauss "The Structural Study of Myth" and Other Structuralist Ideas. http://www.colorado.edu/English/engl2010mk/levistrauss.2001.htm.

Krauss, Michael E.

    1980   Alaska Native Languages: Past, Present and Future. *In* Alaska Native Language Center Research Papers P. 110. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center.
    1992   Endangered Languages. Language 68(1):4–10.
    1997   The Indigenous Languages of the North: A Report on Their Present State. *In* Senri Ethnological Studies, 44. Pp. 1–34.

Krauss, Michael E., and Victor K. Golla

    1981   Northern Athapaskan Languages. *In* Subarctic. Handbook of North American Indians, 6. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Krech, Shepard

    1978   On the Aboriginal Population of the Kutchin. Arctic Anthropology 15(1):89–104.

Kroeber, Karl, ed.

    2004   Native American Storytelling: A Reader of Myths and Legends. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.

Ladefoged, Peter, and Keith Johnson, eds.

    2011   A Course in Phonetics. 6th edition. Boston, MA: Wadsworth: Cengage Learning.

Leechman, John D.

    1954   The Vanta Kutchin. Anthropological Series, No. 33. Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary.

Leonard, Beth R.

    2007   Deg Xinag Oral Traditions: Reconnecting Indigenous Language and Education through Traditional Narratives. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Levin, Harry

    1959   Some Meanings of Myth. Deadalus 88(2):223-231.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude

    1963   The Structural Study of Myth. *In* Structural Anthropology Pp. 206–231. New York: Basic Books.

Linke, Angelika, Markus Nussbaumer, and Paul R Portmann

    1991   Studienbuch Linguistik. Tübingen: M. Niemeyer.

Littlebear, Richard
    1999   Some Rare and Radical Ideas for Keeping Indigenous Languages Alive. *In* Revitalizing Indigenous Languages. Jon Reyhner, Gina Cantoni, Robert N. St. Clair, and Evangeline Parsons Yazzie, eds. Pp. 1–5. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University.

Livo, Norma J.
    1986   Storytelling: Process and Practice. Littleton, Colo: Libraries Unlimited.

Lovick, Olga
    2012   The Identification of Narrative Genres in Upper Tanana Athabascan: A Preliminary Study. Northwest Journal of Linguistics 6(1):1–29.

Malinowski, Bronislaw
    1948   Myth in Primitive Psychology. *In* Magic, Science, and Religion and Other Essays. Illinois: The Free Press.

Mather, Elsie
    1995   With a Vision beyond Our Immediate Needs: Oral Traditions in an Age of Literacy. *In* When Our Words Return: Writing, Hearing, and Remembering Oral Traditions of Alaska and the Yukon. Phyllis Morrow and William Schneider, eds. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press.

Matthews, P. H.
    2007   The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics. 2nd edition. Oxford Paperback Reference. Oxford [England]: Oxford University Press.

McGary, Mary Jane
    1984   Gwich'in Gwandak. M.A. thesis, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

McGee, R. Jon
    2008   Anthropological Theory: An Introductory History. 4th edition. Boston: McGraw Hill.

McKennan, Robert A.
    1935   Anent the Kutchin Tribes. American Anthropologist 37(2):369–369.
    1965   The Chandalar Kutchin. Arctic Institute of North America.

McKinley, Jim, and James M. Kari, eds.
    2010   Ahtna Travel Narratives: A Demonstration of Shared Geographic Knowledge among Alaska Athabascans. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center.

Meek, Barbra A.
    2010   We Are Our Language: An Ethnography of Language Revitalization in a Northern Athabascan Community. First Peoples, New Directions in Indigenous Studies. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Mihas, Elena, Bernard C. Perley, Gabriel Rei Doval, Kathleen Wheatley, and Michael Noonan, eds.

    2013   Responses to Language Endangerment: In Honor of Mickey Noonan: New Directions in Language Documentation and Language Revitalization. Studies in Language Companion Series, v. 142. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Mishler, Craig

    1990   Missionaries in Collision: Anglicans and Oblates among the Gwich'in, 1861-65. Arctic 43(2):121–126.

Nelson, Richard K.

    1986   Hunters of the Northern Forest: Designs for Survival among the Alaskan Kutchin. 2nd edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Nida, Eugene A.

    2003   Toward a Science of Translating: With Special Reference to Principles and Procedures Involved in Bible Translating. Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Norman, Howard A., ed.

    1990   Northern Tales: Traditional Stories of Eskimo and Indian Peoples. The Pantheon Fairy Tale and Folklore Library. New York: Pantheon Books.

Osgood, Cornelius

    1934   Kutchin Tribal Distribution and Synonymy. American Anthropologist 36:168–179.
    1936   Contributions to the Ethnography of the Kutchin. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, 14. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Pellowski, Anne

    1977   The World of Storytelling. New York: Bowker.

Peter, Katherine

    1974   Dinjii Zhuu Gwandak = Gwich'in Stories.
    1975   Deenadai Gwich'in Gwandak = Traditional Gwich'in Stories, Book One.
    1976   Alaskan Folktalkes: Dinjii Zhuu Gwandak: Gwich'in Stories.
    1979   Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik Nagwan Tr'iłtsąįį. Gwich'in Junior Dictionary.
    1992   Neets'ąįį Gwiindaii = Living in the Chandalar Country. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center.

Peters, Moses, and Bridjette March

    1972   Man in the Moon. September 25.

Powell, Barry B.

    2015   Classical Myth. Eighth edition. Boston: Pearson.

Pym, Anthony
    2014   Exploring Translation Theories. Second Edition. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Quick, Catherine S.
    1999   Ethnopoetics. Folklore Forum 30(1/2):95–105.

Rampart House: Stories Told by Our Elders
    1993.

Reyhner, Jon
    1999   Introduction: Some Basics of Language Revitalization. *In* Revitalizing Indigenous Languages. 2nd Printing. Pp. v–xx. Flagstaff.

Roney, R. Craig
    2001   The Story Performance Handbook. Mahwah, N.J: L. Erlbaum Associates.

Rooth, Anna Birgitta
    1976   The Importance of Storytelling: A Study Based on Field Work in Northern Alaska. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1. Uppsala, Stockholm: Univ.; Almqvist & Wiksell.

Ross, Ramon Royal
    1980   Storyteller. 2nd edition. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill.

Ruppert, James
    1995   A Bright Light Ahead of Us: Belle Deacon's Stories in English and Deg Hit'an. *In* When Our Words Return: Writing, Hearing, and Remembering Oral Traditions of Alaska and the Yukon Pp. 123–135. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press.

Ruppert, James, and John W. Bernet, eds.
    2001   Our Voices: Native Stories of Alaska and the Yukon. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Salmon, David, and Bridjette March
    1972   Man in the Moon. September 26.

Sarris, Greg
    1993   Keeping Slug Woman Alive: A Holistic Approach to American Indian Texts. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schneider, William
    1995   Lessons from Alaska Natives about Oral Tradition and Recordings. *In* When Our Words Return: Writing, Hearing, and Remembering Oral Traditions of Alaska and the Yukon Pp. 185–204. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press.

Scollon, Ronald
    1981   Narrative, Literacy, and Face in Interethnic Communication. Advances in Discourse Processes, v. 7. Norwood, N.J: Ablex Pub. Corp.
    1988   Storytelling, Reading, and the Micropolitics of Literacy. *In* Dialogues in Literacy Research Pp. 15–33. National Reading Conference.

Segal, Robert Alan
    2004   Myth: A Very Short Introduction. Very Short Introductions, 111. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Shaul, David Leedom
    2014   Linguistic Ideologies of Native American Language Revitalization: Doing the Lost Language Ghost Dance.

Shedlock, Marie
    1952   The Art of the Story-Teller. Dover Publications.

Sienkewicz, Thomas J.
    1997   Theories of Myth: An Annotated Bibliography. The Magill Bibliographies. Lanham, Md.: Pasadena, Calif: Scarecrow Press.

Sikorski, Kathy R.
    2008   Classroom Culture and Indigenous Classrooms. M.A. thesis, Department of Education, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Tedlock, Dennis
    1972   Finding the Center. Narrative Poetry of the Zuni Indians. New York: The Dial Press.
    1983   The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation. University of Pennsylvania Publications in Conduct and Communication. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Tedlock, Dennis, ed. and trans.
    1985   Popol Vuh: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings. New York: Simon and Schuster.
    1999   Finding the Center: The Art of the Zuni Storyteller. 2nd edition. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Tooze, Ruth
    1959   Storytelling. Tencie-Hall.

Toury, Gideon
    1995   Descriptive Translation Studies and beyond. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Pub.

Tyone, Mary
   1996   Ttheek'ädn Ut'iin Yaaniidą' Ǫǫnign' = Old-Time Stories of the Scottie Creek
   People: Stories Told in Upper Tanana Athabaskan. Fairbanks: Alaska Native
   Language Center.

Tyrrell, William Blake
   1991   Athenian Myths and Institutions: Words in Action. New York: Oxford University
   Press.

Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation
   2009   People of the Lakes: Stories of Our Van Tat Gwich'in Elders = Googwandak
   Nakhwach'ànjòo Van Tat Gwich'in. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.

Wallis, Velma
   1998   Brushman. Alaska Magazine, September: p. 24.

Warner, Sam L. No'eau
   1999   Kuleana: The Right, Responsibility, and Authority of Indigenous Peoples to Speak
   and Make Decisions for Themselves in Language and Cultural Revitalization.
   Anthropology & Education Quarterly 30(1):68–93.

Webster, Anthony K.
   2008   Running Again, Roasting Again, Touching Again: On Repetition, Heightened
   Affective Expressivity, and the Utility of the Notion of Linguaculture in Navajo and
   Beyond. Journal of American Folklore 121(482):441–472.

Wong, Laiana
   1999   Authenticity and the Revitalization of Hawaiian. Anthropology & Education
   Quarterly 30(1):94–115.

Zepeda, Ofelia
   1995   The Continuum of Literacy in American Indian Communities. The Bilingual
   Research Journal 19(1):5–15.

Appendix A: Man in the Moon, David Salmon

```
1    IUs Bridjette March      And eh where are you from
2    Literary Version                    Where are you from?
3    Background        micro                     micro

4    IUs David Salmon     Chalkyitsik mostly from
5    Literary Version                    Mostly from Chalkyitsik
6    Background                              micro

7    IUs David Salmon      black river
8    Literary Version             From Black River
9    Background                   micro

10   Literary Version     Have you lived here all of your life?

11   IUs Bridjette March   have you lived here all of your life
12   IUs David Salmon                          yes::
13   Literary Version                          Yes
14   Background                          micro

15   Paraverbal Features   slowly
16   Background              micro

17   Literary Version     And you're a referend in what particular church?

18   IUs Bridjette March   ah.. you're you're a referend in what?  particular church

19   IUs David Salmon         episcopal church
20   Background         micro

21   Literary Version     I'm a referend in the Episcopal Church
22   Background                          bird chatter micro

23   IUs Bridjette March   and how long have you done that?

24   Literary Version     How long have you done that?
25   Background                          micro bird chatter

26   IUs David Salmon      e::h .. I was ordained
27   Literary Version                 I was first ordained in 1958

28   IUs David Salmon             I was first ordained in 1958
29   Background         bird chatter                 unknown noise

30   IUs David Salmon     #deacon
31   Literary Version         As deacon
32   Background                 unknown noise
```

33   IUs David Salmon   then the second I was ordained

34   Literary Version   Then the second time I was ordained pre 1962, both times
35   in Fort Yukon

36   IUs David Salmon   pre .. s ... 1962 ... both in Fort Yukon

37   IUs Bridjette March is ah . Chalkyitsik your ah

38   Literary Version   Is Chalkyitsik your group of people? Is this where you
39   hold most of your services? Or have you traveled to other places too?

40   IUs Bridjette March your . group of people is this where .. mostly you hold
41   your services or have you traveled other places too?

42   IUs David Salmon   eeh I travel to other places
43   Background   micro

44   Literary Version   I travel to other places, like the southern United States
45   and Canada

46   IUs David Salmon   like United State and Canada:
47   Paraverbal Features   slowly and high pitch

48   IUs David Salmon   down southern .. United State and . all the way to New
49   York.. this is mostly for . training

50   Literary Version   I'll travel to the southern United States; all the way to
51   New York. This is mostly for training

52   Background   micro

53   IUs Bridjette March now . the story that you're going to tell us today . eh

54   Literary Version   Now, the story that you're going to tell us today, which
55   particular story will you start with? Can you give us the title?

56   IUs Bridjette March which . particular story will you start with.. can you
57   give us the title?

58   IUs David Salmon   well the.. the title of the story
59   Background   micro

60   Literary Version   Well, the title of the story is the Man in the Moon

61   IUs David Salmon   is the .. man in the moon #the
62   Background   recorder

| 63 | IUs David Salmon | o:ld story .. old Indian story |
| 64 | Literary Version | It's an old Indian story |

| 65 | IUs Bridjette March | where did you learn this story |
| 66 | Background | recorder |

| 67 | Literary Version | Where did you learn this story? |
| 68 | Background | movement |

| 69 | IUs David Salmon | well I learned it from my father and other o:ld peoples |

| 70 | Literary Version | Well, I learned it from my father and other old people |
| 71 | | many years ago when I was young |

| 72 | IUs David Salmon | #mmh many years ago when I was young |
| 73 | Background | micro |

| 74 | IUs David Salmon | when was the story generally told |

75	IUs David Salmon	eh:
76	Literary Version	When was the story generally told?
77	Background	micro

| 78 | IUs David Salmon | this story is from the early time before white people |
| 79 | | came into this country |

| 80 | Literary Version | This story is from the early time before white people |
| 81 | | came into this country |

| 82 | IUs Bridjette March | what is the purpose of this particular story? |
| 83 | Background | micro |

| 84 | Literary Version | What is the purpose of this particular story? |
| 85 | Background | micro |

| 86 | IUs David Salmon | well the story   the sum of the story is the |
| 87 | Paraverbal Features | high pitch |

88	Literary Version	The sum of the story is that they use it for young
89		people; they teach their young children how to go into
90		the woods and do a lot of things

| 91 | IUs David Salmon | eh .. they use it for   young people |
| 92 | Background | micro |

93	IUs David Salmon	they teach their young childrens
94	IUs David Salmon	how to go out into the woods:
95	Background	micro

96	IUs David Salmon	and do .. a lot of things:
97	Paraverbal Features	slowly
98	Background	cutlery

| 99 | IUs David Salmon | both summer and winter time |

| 100 | Literary Version | Both for summer and winter time, this story is teaching |
| 101 | | the children some wisdom |

| 102 | IUs David Salmon | this story is teaching or .. get some wisdom |
| 103 | Background | bird chatter |

| 104 | IUs David Salmon | eh   where they grow into th:e |
| 105 | Background | tape |

| 106 | Literary Version | For example, this story is used when boys grow into men |

| 107 | IUs David Salmon | manhood then they use this story they use it |

| 108 | Literary Version | But they also use this story for many other things, for |
| 109 | | example, where they're living |

| 110 | IUs David Salmon | many other things where they're living |
| 111 | Background | clicking |

| 112 | Additional Info | begin of Gwich'in version End of Gwich'in version |

| 113 | IUs David Salmon | one kid you know |
| 114 | Additional Info | Begin of English version |

115	IUs David Salmon	one young man
116	Literary Version	There was once a kid, a young man
117	Background	tape

| 118 | IUs David Salmon | an: |
| 119 | Background | unknown person talking |

| 120 | Background | unknown person talking and micro |

| 121 | IUs David Salmon | well he is the ... he is born you know he is the the kids |
| 122 | | the .. special .. kid . you know . special man amongst the.. |

| 123 | Literary Version | He is a special kid in his group of people |

| 124 | Themes | The little boy is a kid with special abilities, for |
| 125 | | example, he can foresee the future |

| 126 | IUs David Salmon | the group of peoples . you know |

127	Background	tape micro and tape
128	IUs David Salmon	and .. he always predicted .. something you know .. ahead of time
129	Literary Version	He always predicts things ahead of time
130	IUs David Salmon	he knows what gonna happen tomorrow
131	Literary Version	For example, he knows what's going to happen tomorrow and
132		he knows what's going to happen next week
133	IUs David Salmon	and he know what gonna happen next week
134	IUs David Salmon	and he was a: . very small kid anyway maybe . age of ten
135		.. or something .. or .. maybe .. nine years old
136	Literary Version	He is a very young kid, maybe 9 or 10 years old
137	Background	micro
138	IUs David Salmon	an:
139	Paraverbal Features	incompleteness of pronunciation
140	Background	clattering
141	Literary Version	And many people, even of his own group of people, don't
142		know about him and his special abilities
143	Background	micro and tape
144	IUs David Salmon	a lot of peoples: .. around his groups you know .. they didn't know
145	Background	tapping on micro
146	IUs David Salmon	about him .. but . his parents know about him
147	Literary Version	But his parents, of course, they know about him
148	IUs David Salmon	every time
149	Background	tapping on micro
150	Literary Version	Naturally, his parents would listen to him. So when he
151		tells his parents that the people would kill a moose or a
152		bunch of caribou the next day, they believe him
153	Themes	The boy has a vision and foresees that the people will
154		kill a bunch of caribou or moose
155	IUs David Salmon	his parent listened to him that .. he told his parents . tomorrow

156 IUs David Salmon   the people gonna kill moose

157 IUs David Salmon   or a bunch caribou
158 Background   unknown person talking   clattering

159 IUs David Salmon   and they were gonna have lot of food

160 Literary Version   The boy says they're not just going to kill some animals,
161   but they're going to catch a lot

162 IUs David Salmon   an::

163 IUs David Salmon   sometime
164 Paraverbal Features   incompleteness of pronunciation

165 Literary Version   Sometime tomorrow people are going to hunt, but they're
166   not going to kill anything

167 IUs David Salmon   to:morrow people gonna hunt but they're gon- they're not
168   gonna kill anything

169 IUs David Salmon   so one time you know
170 Background   micro and tape

171 Literary Version   One time their group of people was going to kill a bunch of caribou
172 IUs David Salmon   eh
173 IUs David Salmon   their group of people ... well he told his: ... parents that

174 Background   micro

175 IUs David Salmon   "tomorrow they gonna kill bunch caribou .. bi::g

176 Literary Version   He tells his parents that the people are going to kill a
177   big caribou herd

178 IUs David Salmon   herds of caribou"
179 IUs David Salmon   will be enough for
180 Background   micro

181 Literary Version   He says that the herd will be big enough for all the
182   people, but he also tells them that one of those caribou would be his

183 Themes   One of those killed caribou is just for the boy

184 IUs David Salmon   all the...#kch-peoples
185 IUs David Salmon   "but: .. one of those caribou will be mine" .. he said

186 Background   tape

187   IUs David Salmon   and ... "it'll be fat one too .. that's a special caribou .. that's for me

188   Literary Version   That caribou for him will be fat too; a special caribou
189   for the boy

190   IUs David Salmon   they gonna kill that among the p-

191   Literary Version   That caribou is going to be among the caribou they'll
192   kill; the boy is going to have that caribou

193   IUs David Salmon   bunch caribou a
194   IUs David Salmon   # I gonna have it"
195   Background   animal

196   IUs David Salmon   well . his parents knew

197   Literary Version   His parents already knew about the caribou. So the next
198   morning the people go out and they get a bunch of caribou

199   IUs David Salmon   so the next
200   IUs David Salmon   the next morning
201   IUs David Salmon   the people went out
202   IUs David Salmon   an:
203   IUs David Salmon   they got .. bunch caribou
204   IUs David Salmon   and then he start behind

205   Literary Version   The boy leaves after the rest of the group. By the time
206   he gets to the place where the caribou were killed, he looks for the caribou, but
207   can't see the one for him because all the caribou are already divided

208   Themes   By the time the boy gets to the place where the caribou
209   were killed, the caribou are already divided

210   IUs David Salmon   when he got to the place
211   Background   animal

212   IUs David Salmon   he look around #eh for the caribou you know
213   IUs David Salmon   because
214   IUs David Salmon   well

215   IUs David Salmon   all the caribou is . already divided you know

216   IUs David Salmon   maybe
217   Literary Version   There are two or three caribou per person
218   Background   animal

219   IUs David Salmon   two three caribou to each person

220   IUs David Salmon   and when he got to the place you know . he look at the
221   caribou an: .. here and there and he walk around and finally

222   Literary Version   So when he gets to the place he looks at all the caribou
223   and walks around

224   IUs David Salmon   he cames to his #angle
225   Background   animal

226   Literary Version   When he comes to his uncle and looks at that caribou, he
227   decides that this is the caribou he wants

228   Themes   The uncle's caribou was supposed to be the boy's

229   IUs David Salmon   uncle you know
230   IUs David Salmon   sister ... brother
231   Background   animal

232   IUs David Salmon   and he look at that caribou
233   IUs David Salmon   an that's
234   IUs David Salmon   that's the caribou he's talking about
235   IUs David Salmon   that's a his

236   Literary Version   He tells his uncle that he'd known that this caribou
237   would be his since the day before

238   IUs David Salmon   and he told his uncle you know "#this caribou is mine

239   IUs David Salmon   since yesterday you know I know this
240   Background   coughing

241   IUs David Salmon   thus . this caribou is mine"
242   Background   clattering and animal

243   IUs David Salmon   an his uncle said .. "no

244   Literary Version   But his uncle tells him that he can't have this caribou

245   IUs David Salmon   this is
246   IUs David Salmon   mine
247   Background   movement

248   IUs David Salmon   people give it to me

249   Literary Version   The uncle says that people gave him the caribou because
250   he divided them and it was his right to have it

251   IUs David Salmon   #for #I divided the caribou and I have right to have it"

252   IUs David Salmon   an the kid says "that's mine

253   Literary Version   But the boy says that this caribou has been his since the
254   day before

255   IUs David Salmon   since yesterday"
256   IUs David Salmon   #and his uncle #want
257   Background   animal

258   Literary Version   The uncle starts to skin the caribou and the boy starts crying

259   Themes   The boy starts to cry because the uncle doesn't want to
260   give him that specific caribou

261   IUs David Salmon   #skinned this caribou .. you know so
262   IUs David Salmon   he started cry

263   IUs David Salmon   #crier . to walk around the people
264   Background   animal

265   Literary Version   The boy just walks around and cries for that caribou

266   IUs David Salmon   cry for that caribou you know and he came back .. home anyway

267   IUs David Salmon   and in all that night

268   Literary Version   When the boy gets home that night he sees that the people
269   brought back some of the caribou meat

270   IUs David Salmon   crying crying
271   IUs David Salmon   an then they bring back

272   IUs David Salmon   eh
273   Paraverbal Features   incompleteness of pronunciation

274   IUs David Salmon   some of the .. caribou meat anyway

275   IUs David Salmon   #pack
276   Background   micro and tape

277   Literary Version   The boy is wondering how they're going to haul the meat
278   the next day

279   IUs David Salmon   #how they gonna haul it . tomorrow anyway

280   IUs David Salmon   so the next morning

281   Literary Version   The next morning the people go out to haul the caribou

282   IUs David Salmon   the people wen out
283   IUs David Salmon   to see
284   Paraverbal Features   incompleteness of pronunciation

285   IUs David Salmon   to #hold
286   IUs David Salmon   caribou anyway

287   IUs David Salmon   and when they got to the place is all covered with a snow you know

288   Literary Version   When they get to the place where they left the caribou,
289   they find it all covered with snow

290   IUs David Salmon   whole #a
291   Themes   There is a caribou covered in snow

292   IUs David Salmon   caribou
293   Literary Version   The whole caribou is covered in snow

294   IUs David Salmon   came to life and just run away .. that's all they see the track

295   Literary Version   And suddenly, the caribou comes back to life and runs away

296   Themes   The caribou comes back to life, runs away, and leaves tracks

297   IUs David Salmon   that's the only thing they saw

298   Literary Version   All they can see are the tracks it left

299   IUs David Salmon   not even one piece of #meat there

300   Literary Version   There is not even a single piece of meat left

301   IUs David Salmon   an: then
302   Background   micro and tape

303   IUs David Salmon   from that time . you know . every night . he cry for that caribou

304   Literary Version   From that time on the boy would cry for that caribou
305   every night because it was supposed to be his

306   Themes   The boy cries over the caribou

307   IUs David Salmon   "that caribou is supposed to be mine"
308   Background   movement

309   IUs David Salmon   and for that reason you know

310   Literary Version   That is the reason why there would be a famine

311   IUs David Salmon   #there will be a
312   IUs David Salmon   famine you know
313   IUs David Salmon   there'll be a starvation
314   IUs David Salmon   start you know . and it's early in winter too

315   Literary Version   It's early in the winter, so the boy knows that all the
316   people would starve to death

317   IUs David Salmon   so he knows that all the
318   Background   movement and micro

319   IUs David Salmon   peoples
320   IUs David Salmon   will be
321   Background   tape

322   IUs David Salmon   starved to death in that winter
323   IUs David Salmon   but . every night he started cry for that

324   Literary Version   From then on the boy would cry every night for that caribou

325   IUs David Salmon   he cry for that caribou

326   Background   movement and rustling of papers

327   IUs David Salmon   and finally .. he's talking about

328   Literary Version   Finally, the boy starts talking about leaving

329   IUs David Salmon   he gonna leave
330   Background   squeaking   recorder

331   IUs David Salmon   he gonna leave #eh people

332   Literary Version   He says that he would be leaving the people because he is
333   going to the moon

334   IUs David Salmon   something like he's .. going to the moon
335   Background   recorder

336   IUs David Salmon   he's- he told his parents that someday

337   Literary Version   He tells his parents that someday he will go to the moon

338   IUs David Salmon   "some of these night
339   IUs David Salmon   I'll go up to the moon"
340   Background   recorder

341   IUs David Salmon   and then

127

342   Literary Version   From that time on, the parents keep an eye on him

343   Themes   The parents keep an eye on the boy; at night he even
344   sleeps between them

345   IUs David Salmon   every night they keep him
346   Background   recorder

347   IUs David Salmon   they watch him
348   Literary Version   They watch him

349   IUs David Salmon   when they- when they sleep at night

350   Literary Version   When they sleep at night, the boy even sleeps between them

351   IUs David Salmon   they ... the boy sleep between them
352   Background   micro

353   IUs David Salmon   they keep him you know an:

354   Paraverbal Features incompleteness of pronunciation

355   IUs David Salmon   they got a #blanket over you know

356   Literary Version   They cover the boy with a blanket at night

357   IUs David Salmon   so they keep him
358   IUs David Salmon   but one night
359   Background   recorder

360   IUs David Salmon   one day he said

361   Literary Version   One day the boy announces that he will leave the people

362   IUs David Salmon   I think
363   IUs David Salmon   "#this night
364   IUs David Salmon   I'll leave
365   IUs David Salmon   I'll leave #your
366   IUs David Salmon   I'll leave you ... people"
367   Background   recorder

368   IUs David Salmon   and that night . they keep him good

369   Literary Version   That night his parents keep him the same way they always do

370   IUs David Salmon   but they went to sleep both of them they went to sleep

371   Paraverbal Features quickly

372   Literary Version   At some point both of his parents fall asleep and when
373   they wake up, early in the morning around three o'clock, before broad daylight,
374   the boy is gone

375   Themes   The parents wake up in the middle of the night and the boy is gone

376   IUs David Salmon   and early
377   Background   movement   recorder

378   IUs David Salmon   in the morning .. round three o'clock . maybe
379   Background   clattering

380   IUs David Salmon   before broad daylight
381   Background   tapping on micro

382   IUs David Salmon   #while they . wake up .. the boy is gone
383   Background   taping on micro

384   IUs David Salmon   well they remember what he said anyways so they just ..
385   got up and

386   Literary Version   They remember what the boy told them the day before; so
387   they just get up and go about their business

388   IUs David Salmon   got up an:
389   Paraverbal Features   incompleteness of pronunciation

390   IUs David Salmon   I saw the fireplace is still there
391   Background   tapping

392   Literary Version   I saw the fireplace is still there

393   Additional Info   That seems to be additional info, not part of the story itself

394   IUs David Salmon   fire there #an:
395   Paraverbal Features   incompleteness of pronunciation
396   Background   tapping

397   IUs David Salmon   They got hole up there you know and

398   Literary Version   They have a smoke hole in the skin house

399   Themes   They live in a skin house with a smoke hole

400   IUs David Salmon   skin house an:
401   Paraverbal Features   incompleteness of pronunciation

402   IUs David Salmon   where does the smoke go through

403   Background   movement and breathing

404   IUs David Salmon   well they look at-t-t#

405   Literary Version   The parents look everywhere but they can't find the boy

406   IUs David Salmon   all over but
407   IUs David Salmon   they can't find the . dogs too
408   Background   tapping

409   IUs David Salmon   the boy's
410   IUs David Salmon   little dog

411   Literary Version   Neither can they find the dog

412   Paraverbal Features   incompleteness of pronunciation

413   IUs David Salmon   and then they look at the hole up there

414   Literary Version   So when the parents look up at the smoke hole they can
415   see one side of the boy's caribou skin fur pants hanging
416   up there

417   IUs David Salmon   an: sure enough
418   Paraverbal Features   incompleteness of pronunciation

419   IUs David Salmon   the one side of his
420   IUs David Salmon   skin pants . caribou

421   Themes   The boy has caribou skin pants

422   IUs David Salmon   fur pants is .. #hanging up there it's caught you know .
423   it's caught in the stick you know it's just

424   Literary Version   One part of the pants was caught on a stick and torn off

425   IUs David Salmon   torn off ... it's just hanging
426   Background   clinking and movement

427   IUs David Salmon   up there you know
428   Literary Version   So it is just hanging up there
429   Background   animal

430   IUs David Salmon   in a hole
431   IUs David Salmon   so that both
432   Background   animal

433   Literary Version   Both of his parents go out and look at the moon

434	IUs David Salmon	they both went out and
435	IUs David Salmon	they look at the moon #as
436	IUs David Salmon	he's already up there

437	IUs David Salmon	the
438	Literary Version	They see that he is already up there
439	Paraverbal Features	slowly

440 IUs David Salmon   the picture is already up there his dog was there and

441 Literary Version   The picture is already up there, completely with dog and

442 Themes   The parents can see the boy with his dog up on the moon,
443   along with the caribou front quarter

444 IUs David Salmon   #the caribou front quarter .. he hauled you know

445 Literary Version   The caribou front quarter he hauled was on the right side

446	IUs David Salmon	on the right side
447	IUs David Salmon	you hold it like this and #the
448	IUs David Salmon	the bo@@y's

449 Literary Version   The boy is up there with one side of his pants torn

450	IUs David Salmon	up there with ... one side #pants
451	Paraverbal Features	@@
452	Background	unidentified noise

453	IUs David Salmon	#eh and so
454	IUs David Salmon	well
455	IUs David Salmon	they came back an
456	Background	animal

457 Paraverbal Features incompleteness of pronunciation

458 Literary Version   When they come back they are really weak

459 IUs David Salmon   they're really ... #weak you know

| 460 | IUs David Salmon | night after night you know |
| 461 | IUs David Salmon | and then the people |

462 Literary Version   The people go out hunting every day but they don't kill anything

| 463 | IUs David Salmon | they go out hunting everyday and they don't kill nothing |
| 464 | IUs David Salmon | #nd star- starvation #appeared |

465 IUs David Salmon   it started you know
466 Literary Version   So finally people start to starve

467 IUs David Salmon   it was cold weather too
468 Paraverbal Features   quickly

469 Literary Version   On top of that it got cold too

470 IUs David Salmon   and when they were traveling you know they ... these

471 Literary Version   When they were traveling his mother and father would
472   always stay behind

473 IUs David Salmon   his mother and father #was come behind
474 Background   recorder

475 IUs David Salmon   #s fathers go ahead you know . behind the peoples
476 Background   tapping

477 Literary Version   Usually fathers go ahead, in front of the rest of the people

478 IUs David Salmon   his mother was pulling ... sled you know with dogs .. one dog

479 Literary Version   His mother was pulling the sled with the help of the dog

480 IUs David Salmon   and finally

481 Literary Version   At some point the sled gets caught on something and is
482   completely stuck

483 Themes   Sled gets stuck and upon examination, the boy is found

484 IUs David Salmon   the sled is caught
485 Background   movement

486 IUs David Salmon   has caught something you know an ... just can't pull it ahead

487 IUs David Salmon   and then finally . he turned the sled over and
488 Paraverbal Features   quickly

489 Literary Version   The boy's father turns the sled over so he can see the
490   bottom of the sled; that's when he discovers that the boy is in the bottom of the sled

491 IUs David Salmon   he see the bottom the boy is in the bottom of the sled

492 IUs David Salmon   all the sled

493 IUs David Salmon   and he tried to grab him but he said .. "mother you can't touch me

494   Literary Version   The father tries to grab the boy but the boy says he
495   wouldn't be able to touch him because he is not really there

496   IUs David Salmon   because I already left

497   IUs David Salmon   and you just can't touch me anyway just stand there I'll talk to you"

498   IUs David Salmon   well
499   IUs David Salmon   he told her
500   Paraverbal Features   quickly
501   Background   tapping

502   Literary Version   The boy tells them that this is just the beginning of the
503   starvation period and that it would be a long winter before the spring would
504   finally come

505   IUs David Salmon   "the starvation is jus::... now .. start
506   Paraverbal Features   slowly

507   IUs David Salmon   and it'll be a long winter too #yet

508   IUs David Salmon   before the spring
509   IUs David Salmon   be here an

510   Paraverbal Features incompleteness of pronunciation
511   Background   tapping

512   IUs David Salmon   #I'll g- I'll give you what to do anyway

513   Literary Version   So the boy tells them what to do

514   IUs David Salmon   I'm gonna tell you what to do
515   IUs David Salmon   right now you have . eh

516   Literary Version   He says that right now they have only a caribou front quarter

517   Themes   His parents have only a caribou front quarter left for food

518   IUs David Salmon   only . caribou front quarter

519   IUs David Salmon   part of #a caribou front qu-q q-quarter in your sled ..
520   that's only food you got now ... #left

521   Literary Version   The only food they have left is that part of a caribou
522   front quarter they have in their sled

523   IUs David Salmon   so I'll .. give you . the
524   Paraverbal Features slowly

525   Background   tapping

526   IUs David Salmon   direction anyway
527   Literary Version   So he tells them what to do

528   IUs David Salmon   how you can take care of that meat
529   Background   tapping

530   Literary Version   He tells them how they can take care of that meat

531   IUs David Salmon   be sure an
532   Paraverbal Features   incompleteness of pronunciation

533   Literary Version   He tells them to make sure to put the meat in the finely
534   tanned caribou skin

535   Themes   Meat is put into a finely tanned caribou skin bag

536   IUs David Salmon   be sure and put it in the
537   IUs David Salmon   fine
538   IUs David Salmon   tanned
539   IUs David Salmon   caribou skin
540   IUs David Salmon   and rub it
541   Background   recorder

542   Literary Version   And to rub the meat over and keep it that way every day and night

543   IUs David Salmon   over and
544   IUs David Salmon   keep it that way
545   IUs David Salmon   every day
546   Background   micro

547   IUs David Salmon   and every night
548   IUs David Salmon   if you cook you can cut some of it
549   Paraverbal Features   loudly

550   Literary Version   And if they cook, they may cut some of it

551   IUs David Salmon   maybe half of it and you can eat all you want

552   Literary Version   Maybe half of it, and then they can eat all they want

553   Themes   1/2 of the meat can be eaten, the rest is put into the skin bag

554   IUs David Salmon   and then put it back in the
555   Background   recorder

556   Literary Version   But then they have to put it back in the skin

557	Paraverbal Features	high pitch
558	IUs David Salmon	skin
559	IUs David Salmon	and then the
560	Background	movement and micro micro
561	Literary Version	The day after they can open the caribou skin bag and the
562		meat will be the same piece again
563	IUs David Salmon	the day after you can ... open it and eh .. it will be
564		the same piece again
565	IUs David Salmon	you can do that all winter
566	Literary Version	They can do that all winter long; that way they will live
567	IUs David Salmon	and then you can live
568	Background	micro
569	IUs David Salmon	but all these people will be just . died you know
570	Literary Version	But all the other people will die, they will starve.
571		There won't be enough food
572	IUs David Salmon	starvation will be no food"
573	IUs David Salmon	so
574	Background	tapping
575	IUs David Salmon	he disappeared
576	IUs David Salmon	again
577	Literary Version	Then the boy disappears again
578	IUs David Salmon	#or . probably maybe next week
579	Paraverbal Features	low pitch
580	Literary Version	Maybe a week later, the same thing happens
581	IUs David Salmon	same thing happened
582	IUs David Salmon	he come behind
583	Literary Version	The boy would follow the people and when their sled was
584		caught that would be the father's cue to look for the boy under the sled
585	IUs David Salmon	people you know
586	IUs David Salmon	the sled is #caught .. he look for his boy
587	IUs David Salmon	boy is under the sled
588	Background	micro

589	IUs David Salmon	and the boy say "this is the last time I'll visit you

590 Literary Version   However, that time the boy says that this would be the
591   last time he is visiting them before the spring, maybe the last time ever

592 IUs David Salmon   before the spring
593 IUs David Salmon   forever

594 IUs David Salmon   I gonna leave right now

595 Literary Version   He tells them that he would leave right now, but that
596   they would see him in the moon every day

597 Themes   Boy announces that he will be leaving for good

598 IUs David Salmon   but .. every day you gonna see me in the moon

599 IUs David Salmon   for a:ll the generation for ever
600 Literary Version   For always
601 Paraverbal Features   slowly

602 IUs David Salmon   but one thing I gonna tell you is #the
603 Background   tapping

604 Literary Version   However, one thing he tells them is that during the moon
605   eclipse each year they have to pay attention and watch
606   closely

607 Background   tapping

608 IUs David Salmon   when the moons eclip you know .. each year

609 IUs David Salmon   you have to watch
610 IUs David Salmon   this will be the sign

611 Literary Version   Because he would make a sign to the people

612 IUs David Salmon   for the people
613 IUs David Salmon   that I gonna make
614 IUs David Salmon   and every time the sun eclipped you know

615 Literary Version   He tells them that every time a sun eclipse happens, when
616   the moon hides the sun, and the moon is fully backwards
617   this means there will be a lot of food

618 Themes   A backwards moon means there will be plenty of food

619 IUs David Salmon   when it's

620	IUs David Salmon	when that moon you know #they #christen
621	Background	micro

622	IUs David Salmon	t-the moon you know is just full backward like this you know
623	IUs David Salmon	like #mean there'll be lots of food
624	IUs David Salmon	next winter you know
625	Literary Version	He tells them to watch next winter

626	IUs David Salmon	next year
627	IUs David Salmon	so you watch there will be plenty

628	Literary Version	There will be plenty of food for the people

629	IUs David Salmon	food for the people
630	IUs David Salmon	but when the

631	Literary Version	But when the moon is bent over like this, when it almost
632		falls over, then that means there will be a starvation

633	Themes	A forward bent moon means there will be a starvation

634	IUs David Salmon	moon #christened you know #it is just
635	IUs David Salmon	bent over like this you know fall over like this
636	IUs David Salmon	that mean will be
637	IUs David Salmon	starvation
638	IUs David Salmon	so be sure and watch that . each year"
639	Literary Version	He tells them to make sure to watch out for that each year

640	IUs David Salmon	so when I was kid you know when I was kid you know my
641		mother used to tell #this story you know and

642	Literary Version	When I was a kid my mother used to tell this story every
643		time the moon falls back like this

644	Additional Info	He's giving extra info here, not actually telling the story

645	IUs David Salmon	every time
646	IUs David Salmon	every time eh
647	IUs David Salmon	the moons fall back like this you know
648	IUs David Salmon	and eh ... eclipse eh .. they have a song for it .. and I
649	Literary Version	There is a song for it
650	Themes	Mentioning of a song that exists

651	IUs David Salmon	I forgot the song
652	Literary Version	But I forgot the song

653	IUs David Salmon	and they ... carry the pack you know

654 Literary Version So they carry packs of something

655 IUs David Salmon packs of something you know and they just visit around
656   you know visit

657 Literary Version They visit with each other and then they sing this song
658   because they know there'll be plenty of food the next year

659 IUs David Salmon around town like this #then (H)

660 IUs David Salmon they sing and everything because there'll be a plenty you
661   know .. there'll be plenty of food next year

662 IUs David Salmon and I used to sing that when I was kids you know I go
663   around and visit the peoples you know because that's good sign for next year

664 Literary Version I used to sing that song when I was a kid and I'd go
665   around and visit the people because that's a good sign for next year

666 IUs David Salmon   well alright

667 IUs David Salmon another way that

668 Literary Version Another way the moon may fall over means something else

669 IUs David Salmon   the moons fall over like this you know (H)

670 IUs David Salmon   then the people
671 Literary Version   Then the people look sad
672 Background   tapping

673 IUs David Salmon #or look sad you know I myself well I don't say nothing
674   anyway I don't sing or jus:

675 Literary Version In that case I don't say anything or sing, I'm just sad
676   because next year will be tough

677 IUs David Salmon sad you know because .. next year will be tough

678 IUs David Salmon well this- that's the .. that's the whole story of the ..
679   man in the moon

680 Literary Version That is, that's the whole story of the man in the moon

Appendix B: Man in the Moon, Moses Peters

1   Background   micro
2   Literary Version   Can you give me your name please?

3   Background   micro
4   Literary Version   Moses Peters
5   Bridjette March IUs   Can you give me your name please

6   Background   tape
7   Moses Peters IUs   eh Moses Peters

8   Literary Version   Were you born and raised in Chalkyitsik, or when did
9   you come here?

10   Bridjette March IUs   and .. were you born and raised in Chalkyitsik or when
11   did you come here

12   Background   unidentified noise micro

13   Literary Version   I was born way up in the wilderness at a time when
14   there were not very many white people around

15   Moses Peters IUs   I born I b- I born wa::y up in the wilderness and
16   #where's that time was not very much #of .. white people and so I guess now I
17   #leave I born as #childress

18   Background   micro
19   Literary Version   I was born in the year of 1895
20   Moses Peters IUs   the years an::

21   Background   recorder   micro
22   Literary Version   When did you come to Chalkyitsik?

23   Moses Peters IUs   1895

24   Background   micro
25   Bridjette March IUs   and when did you come to Chalkyitsik

26   Literary Version   I was raised in Fort Yukon and came to Chalkyitsik in late 1919

27   Moses Peters IUs   I come to ## raised in Fort Yukon .. (H) and I come
28   to Chalkyitsik in 1919 late

29   Background   micro micro

30   Literary Version   This means you've been here for a long time

31   Bridjette March IUs   so you've been here a long time huh

32   Literary Version   I've been here during all this time. Even when they
33   were trapping. Unfortunately, now I'm getting too helpless to stay home alone

34   Moses Peters IUs   now I've been here all the during the time trapping
35   and everyon- and ### time to raise .. now I'm getting too helpless while stay
36   home

37   Background   micro micro micro

38   Literary Version   Can you tell me a little bit about the story that
39   you'll tell us today?

40   Bridjette March IUs   can you tell me a: little bit about the story that
41   you'll tell us today

42   Literary Version   Yes. I'm going to tell you a story that I got from my children

43   Moses Peters IUs   yes .. I gonna tell you a little story and I got that story (H)

44   Background   micro
45   Literary Version   They may use this story when I passed away

46   Moses Peters IUs   #ki-k#i from my children .. they may use #it #after
47   I'm pass away

48   Literary Version   Whenever I have time I tell them a couple of sentences
49   of the story

50   Moses Peters IUs   so I just keep making the # in the sentence #wherever
51   #to #tunes # stop this is some time if they had chance

52   Background   movement tapping   micro
53   Moses Peters IUs   so

54   Literary Version   I got to be correct in this story. But if I'm wrong,
55   don't blame me, I'm telling you the version I've been hearing since I was a
56   little kid

57   Paraverbal Features   quickly

58   Moses Peters IUs   I got to be correct in this story . but if I'm wrong
59   with this story well then I don't make that story well that's the #version I been
60   hearing since (H) I was a little kid

61   Background   tape

| 62 | Literary Version | I'll give you one story, and the title of that story |
| 63 | | is: the Man in the Moon |

64 Additional Information   the title is slightly different (the man in/on the moon)

65 Moses Peters IUs   #so I'll give you one sto:r::y the man on the moon

66 Background   micro
67 Additional Information   Gwich'in version starts here

68 Background   generator
69 Additional Information   Gwich'in version ends here

70 Additional Information   Moses talks about narrating the story in English

71 Moses Peters IUs   That's the that's eh the end o t-this little story

72 Moses Peters IUs   Now we # less we try ... ehm translate it into Englis

73 Moses Peters IUs   Maybe I'm wrong #but it's alright

74 Background   motor, micro and tapping
75 Paraverbal Features   slowly

76 Moses Peters IUs   Way way back in the old time the people are just ..
77   get together and #are #close when they're

78 Themes   The old times

79 Literary Version   A long time ago the people stay close together, even
80   when they are moving around and roaming the country

81 Background   motor (generator)
82 Moses Peters IUs   moving #around roaming the country

83 Background   micro motor (generator)
84 Moses Peters IUs   an: when they see

85 Literary Version   When they kill a moose, they share it with each other

86 Moses Peters IUs   when they kill a moose ... they share each other with
87   small little pieces

88 Themes   When an animal is killed, the group does it together
89   and then they will share the meat

90 Additional Information   Gwich'in word
91 Moses Peters IUs   #hatsaa there's so #why

| 92 | Literary Version | When they kill a caribou, they surround it first and |
| 93 | | then they kill it |

| 94 | Moses Peters IUs | and when they kill caribou .. when they surround and they kill it |

| 95 | Background | micro |
| 96 | Literary Version | That's the only way to provide food |

| 97 | Moses Peters IUs | and that's the only way.. they don't kill no |

| 98 | Literary Version | If they don't kill anything the children won't have |
| 99 | | any food the next morning |

| 100 | Moses Peters IUs | they don't kill nothing .. no food next morning for the children |

101	Background	micro	motor (generator)
102	Paraverbal Features	loudly
103	Moses Peters IUs	so

| 104 | Moses Peters IUs | one winter .. people had li:::ttle |

| 105 | Literary Version | One winter, people had a bit of a hard time |
| 106 | Themes | Hard times |

| 107 | Paraverbal Features | slowly |
| 108 | Moses Peters IUs | hard time |

| 109 | Moses Peters IUs | when they move around the high mountain they see bunch |

| 110 | Literary Version | While moving around high in the mountains they see a |
| 111 | | bunch of caribou |

112	Moses Peters IUs	caribou
113	Moses Peters IUs	and the young .. pretty two pretty
114	Literary Version	And there's this young, married couple
115	Moses Peters IUs	couple

116	Literary Version	They have a little boy
117	Paraverbal Features	indistinct
118	Moses Peters IUs	married

| 119 | Background | micro |
| 120 | Moses Peters IUs | got one little boy |

| 121 | Moses Peters IUs | and they liked that boy and I'll- m- |

| 122 | Literary Version | They are all really close |
| 123 | Moses Peters IUs | boy .. liked the mother |

| 124 | Background | micro |
| 125 | Moses Peters IUs | #ehm |

126 Moses Peters IUs   that the news come back and somebody's #here

127 Literary Version   Somebody comes back with the news that a big caribou
128   herd was sighted in the mountains

129 Themes   Caribou are sighted in the mountains, the boy wants to
130   go with the grown-ups

131 Background   tapping
132 Moses Peters IUs   big h - caribou (H) caribou in the mountain

133 Background   motor (generator)
134 Paraverbal Features   loudly
135 Moses Peters IUs   so this little boy said

136 Literary Version   The little boy begs his father to bring him to the
137   hunt since there were half a dozen caribou there

138 Background   micro motor (generator)
139 Moses Peters IUs   "my father #packed me

140 Moses Peters IUs   "#half #dozen
141 Moses Peters IUs   (H) "there"

142 Literary Version   The father thells the boy he can't bring him because
143   he would have to run after caribou, but the boy says
144 he would just have to find a way to do it

145 Moses Peters IUs   "I'll have to run after caribou how could I go and
146   pack you" ... I said "just have to do it" he said

147 Background   micro   micro
148 Paraverbal Features   loudly
149 Moses Peters IUs   so . alright
150 Moses Peters IUs   he #pack-ed

151 Background   tape

152 Moses Peters IUs   and he pack me behind and "don't make no noise" and
153   kid would just #ask #small #little ##

154 Literary Version   The father packs his son onto his back and tells him to be
155   quiet and whenever the child talks too much, the father would quiet him down

156 Background   micro clicking

| 157 | Moses Peters IUs | talk and talk and then the father quiet him down |

| 158 | Background | clicking |
| 159 | Moses Peters IUs | and they see the caribou |

| 160 | Literary Version | When they see the caribou, the boy almost loses his magic craft |

| 161 | Background | micro |
| 162 | Themes | The boy's "magic craft" |

163	Additional Information	change in recording quality
164	Paraverbal Features	loudly
165	Moses Peters IUs	a- #lost eh
166	Moses Peters IUs	his

| 167 | Background | micro |
| 168 | Moses Peters IUs | who's a . what you call that magic craft |

| 169 | Paraverbal Features | incompleteness of pronunciation |

| 170 | Literary Version | They make the animal crazy |
| 171 | Moses Peters IUs | and make the animal crazy |

| 172 | Background | tape |
| 173 | Paraverbal Features | incompleteness of pronunciation |

| 174 | Literary Version | They see the moose |
| 175 | Moses Peters IUs | when they see the moose |

| 176 | Paraverbal Features | slowly |
| 177 | Moses Peters IUs | when they #pay medicine |

| 178 | Literary Version | People make medicine to kill the animal |

| 179 | Moses Peters IUs | people make medicine for the #kill them the animal |

| 180 | Background | micro   tapping |
| 181 | Moses Peters IUs | so |

| 182 | Literary Version | So they have to chose a magic craft |

| 183 | Moses Peters IUs | we have the choice #on strong .. (H) magic- magic craft |

| 184 | Background | micro |
| 185 | Moses Peters IUs | so |

| 186 | Literary Version | The little boy says he would do it |

| 187 | Moses Peters IUs | that little boy said . "I'll do it .. may I do it" |

| 188 | Background | tape micro |
| 189 | Moses Peters IUs | well .. this is alright |

| 190 | Literary Version | So the father tells him what he has to do |

191	Background	micro
192	Moses Peters IUs	alright ... #te "#what you gonna do"
193	Moses Peters IUs	so he said

| 194 | Paraverbal Features | slowly |
| 195 | Moses Peters IUs | "gimme |

| 196 | Literary Version | The father tells him to give an arrow to each person |

| 197 | Moses Peters IUs | "each one |
| 198 | Moses Peters IUs | "one arrow to each . ah . person |

| 199 | Literary Version | The boy would get his part later. He packs and ties it up |

| 200 | Moses Peters IUs | "I'll give you a #part #after #a #while" ...(H) and I |
| 201 | | tied it and let me pack it |

202	Background	micro
203	Paraverbal Features	quickly
204	Moses Peters IUs	"and make a bi:::g

| 205 | Literary Version | They make a big snow pile, using the crown, the ribs, |
| 206 | | and they leave everything on it |

| 207 | Themes | Burying a caribou in a pile of snow |

208	Background	clicking
209	Moses Peters IUs	"snow #pole is it
210	Moses Peters IUs	"one from the #crown

| 211 | Background | clicking |
| 212 | Moses Peters IUs | "his #crib an: #price and everything on it |

| 213 | Background | micro |

| 214 | Literary Version | So the little boy starts to walk; he just keeps going, |
| 215 | | along the snow and while he is doing so, he is also hauling something |

| 216 | Moses Peters IUs | (H) and that little boy he started to #walk and he |
| 217 | | just . going down street down the snow he got to #haul something an: he (H) |

218   Background   micro and clicking
219   Paraverbal Features   loudly and quickly

220   Literary Version   And all of a sudden he finds a big horn; but it turns
221   out it's not just a horn, he finds a living caribou

222   Moses Peters IUs   (H) put a little #back #press on he come up with a
223   bi:g horn with a caribou #caribou #eh (H) live caribou

224   Background   movement and micro
225   Themes   One of the caribou is alive

226   Background   clicking clicking and micro micro
227   Moses Peters IUs   and then

228   Background   tapping and clicking

229   Literary Version   He just pushes until the caribou is dead

230   Background   micro
231   Moses Peters IUs   he just pushed it down #or ## and #killed #it

232   Moses Peters IUs   "kill all that

233   Literary Version   He tells him that he has to kill that caribou and that
234   he couldn't tell anyone else about it

235   Moses Peters IUs   "and then don't let don't let not one go kill all that

236   Moses Peters IUs   "but I tell you

237   Literary Version   But he says that he wants one fat caribou

238   Themes   The boy wants one fat caribou in a month

239   Paraverbal Features   slowly
240   Moses Peters IUs   "you are gonna give me on:e .. fat caribou"

241   Background   micro and clicking

242   Literary Version   That he should give him that caribou in a month

243   Background   micro
244   Moses Peters IUs   "in #a #month that caribou .. give it to me"

245   Background   micro
246   Literary Version   So he agrees
247   Moses Peters IUs   #hell what he agree

248 Literary Version   So when they get the chance, they surround a whole
249   herd of caribou and kill all of them, giving a caribou to each family

250 Moses Peters IUs   so they kill #us #or they #surrounding #rounds and
251   they killing the whole caribou (H) and they shared a caribou to each a family

252 Themes   Caribou are killed together and shared among the whole group

253 Background   movement

254 Moses Peters IUs   and his father go around he say the child said "you wanna

255 Literary Version   The father goes around and asks who wants a fat caribou

256 Background   tape
257 Moses Peters IUs   "fat caribou"
258 Moses Peters IUs   and then they said #umm

259 Background   micro movement
260 Moses Peters IUs   nobody #know

261 Background   micro
262 Literary Version   Nobody knows except the boy's uncle

263 Background   micro
264 Paraverbal Features   indistinct
265 Moses Peters IUs   #except his
266 Moses Peters IUs   his uncle his uncle

267 Literary Version   The boy's uncle has one caribou and this man comes and
268   wants one too but it's the little boy's

269 Background   micro
270 Paraverbal Features   indistinct
271 Moses Peters IUs   got one

272 Moses Peters IUs   and this man coming to pack little boy in his # it's
273   caribou "#rest little child #one .. no no"

274 Literary Version   The man says that this caribou is his

275 Background   micro
276 Literary Version   So the boy starts crying
277 Moses Peters IUs   "that's mine" he said

278 Moses Peters IUs   and the baby started crying

279 Themes   The boy cries because the man wants to take his caribou

147

| 280 | Background | movement |
| 281 | Moses Peters IUs | and everybody #leaving that's |

282 Literary Version   Everybody leaves that night before it gets dark

| 283 | Background | clicking | micro |
| 284 | Moses Peters IUs | that night .. before dark |

| 285 | Paraverbal Features | indistinct |
| 286 | Moses Peters IUs | so he-the little boy said #eh |

287 Literary Version   The little boy tells them to haul all the caribou they
288   have

289	Background	micro
290	Paraverbal Features	loudly
291	Moses Peters IUs	"you have to"

292 Moses Peters IUs   "#hauling #it a:ll the caribou you got here"

293 Background   tape

294 Literary Version   But the uncle wonders how he is supposed to do that
295   because it's a heavy caribou

| 296 | Background | tape |
| 297 | Moses Peters IUs | how could I #haul him he's heavy" |

298 Literary Version   The boy says they could haul the caribou tomorrow

299 Moses Peters IUs   "#can #we a #haul him tomorrow" .. I says right away

| 300 | Background | micro |
| 301 | Moses Peters IUs | he say #at #it .. so |

302 Literary Version   The uncle agrees and they tie the skin together

303 Moses Peters IUs   "alright you tie the skin together"

304 Background   micro and movement

305 Literary Version   These days they would cut some rope but back then
306   there was no rope

307 Moses Peters IUs   in those day they those cut some rope but #then#they had no rope

| 308 | Background | clicking |
| 309 | Themes | Rope didn't exist back in the day |

310	Moses Peters IUs	they just (H).. cut the little

311 Literary Version   They just cut a little string from an animal hide

312 Paraverbal Features   indistinct
313 Moses Peters IUs   #sh - #tsh - #tsh
314 Moses Peters IUs   make the string #look - m

315 Background   micro
316 Paraverbal Features   indistinct

317 Literary Version   They would use moose or caribou hide to make rope

318 Moses Peters IUs   animal hide . the moose or caribou hide they using for
319   the rope

320 Literary Version   He gets some hide and they tie it all up

321 Moses Peters IUs   he got that and they tied #and all that and then

322 Background   micro
323 Moses Peters IUs   he #pa and then

324 Literary Version   He starts to pull and walk but he doesn't feel like he
325   is making any progress

326 Moses Peters IUs   he started pull .. but he walk just nothing he don't
327   feel like nothing

328 Background   clicking
329 Themes   Moving the caribou

330 Paraverbal Features   incompleteness of pronunciation

331 Moses Peters IUs   and he walk and he look back and he said (H)

332 Literary Version   So he walks and looks back and tells himself that it
333   is time to go home now

334 Background   micro

335 Moses Peters IUs   #in #his #head he talk to old man and he says "we go home"

336 Background   clicking
337 Moses Peters IUs   "after we go home . and" (H)

338 Background   micro and clicking
339 Literary Version   So they are going home

340	Background	micro
341	Literary Version	The child is crying all night
342	Moses Peters IUs	they went home

| 343 | Moses Peters IUs | and the .. child was cry all night |

| 344 | Background | micro |
| 345 | Themes | The little boy is crying over the caribou |

| 346 | Literary Version | So the man gets up and tries to quiet the little boy |
| 347 | | and tells him he doesn't want to hear him cry anymore |

| 348 | Moses Peters IUs | and this man he . got up I can quiet that little child |
| 349 | | "I don't wanna hear you cry" he said |

| 350 | Background | unidentified noise |
| 351 | Moses Peters IUs | so |

| 352 | Moses Peters IUs | he just got #mads or get mads or |

| 353 | Literary Version | He finally gets mad because he can't stop the boy's crying |

| 354 | Background | tapping |
| 355 | Moses Peters IUs | he just can't stop him |

| 356 | Literary Version | The boy just won't listen to anyone |

357	Background	micro
358	Paraverbal Features	loudly
359	Moses Peters IUs	#wouldn't #take #nobody #word
360	Moses Peters IUs	so

361	Background	tape
362	Paraverbal Features	indistinct
363	Moses Peters IUs	#an:ywa:y

| 364 | Moses Peters IUs | he told his father next morning |

| 365 | Literary Version | The next morning the boy tells his father at least |
| 366 | | they packed all they could |

| 367 | Paraverbal Features | quickly |
| 368 | Moses Peters IUs | "#at #least we packed what" |

| 369 | Background | micro |
| 370 | Moses Peters IUs | "follow ... and #wait inside the house" |

| 371 | Literary Version | The father tells the boy to wait inside the house. The |

372   boy starts crying because he thinks the father is not going to help him

373   Moses Peters IUs   when he started cry "I not gonna help me use it"

374   Background   loud micro
375   Literary Version   Those people are all like a big group

376   Additional Information   This information may not pertain to the story itself

377   Moses Peters IUs   and this people they all like group .. the family is going out

378   Literary Version   The family is hauling a caribou

379   Background   micro
380   Moses Peters IUs   with a sled... #hauling a caribou .. (H) #mid in

381   Literary Version   On their way they hear something
382   Paraverbal Features   loudly
383   Moses Peters IUs   #but #anyway

384   Paraverbal Features   indistinct

385   Moses Peters IUs   #when #they #gone they hear som-some . something we
386   hear something long way

387   Background   tape
388   Literary Version   The child comes home crying
389   Moses Peters IUs   #well but the crying

390   Paraverbal Features   incompleteness of pronunciation
391   Moses Peters IUs   come home crying
392   Moses Peters IUs   an:

393   Literary Version   When they come home the little boy starts crying
394   because their sled is empty

395   Moses Peters IUs   they come home cry there's nothing they .. empty sled

396   Paraverbal Features   indistinct
397   Themes   One of the caribou gets back to life

398   Literary Version   The little boy said he wants a fat caribou

399   Moses Peters IUs   what the little child said he wanted the #fat #caribou #for #this

400   Literary Version   They catch caribou and pack some

401   Paraverbal Features   indistinct and quickly

| 402 | Moses Peters IUs | the uncle threw a good and gi- and came back and |
| 403 | | little child #mattack all the caribou away kill we pack some of em in but is still |

| 404 | Moses Peters IUs | getting well and get back to life and all |

| 405 | Literary Version | One of those caribou gets back to life and runs away |

406	Background	micro	movement and micro
407	Moses Peters IUs	run away
408	Moses Peters IUs	#they #said

| 409 | Moses Peters IUs | so .. after he got through |

| 410 | Literary Version | After he is done taking the wood inside the skin |
| 411 | | shelter, he is sore but happy |

| 412 | Background | micro |
| 413 | Paraverbal Features | slowly |

| 414 | Moses Peters IUs | pulling the wood inside the house . not house but the skin shelter |

415	Moses Peters IUs	he was
416	Moses Peters IUs	he was #sore he not .. he's not really so happy
417	Moses Peters IUs	and he said

| 418 | Literary Version | The boy tells them to fill some blood into the caribou stomach |

| 419 | Themes | Filling blood into the caribou stomach, cooking and |
| 420 | | eating it, and putting it under the blanket, the next morning it will be filled up again |

| 421 | Background | micro |
| 422 | Paraverbal Features | incompleteness of pronunciation |

| 423 | Moses Peters IUs | "#full the little blood with the caribou stomach" |

| 424 | Paraverbal Features | incompleteness of pronunciation |
| 425 | Moses Peters IUs | an:: ... he..t |

426	Background	micro
427	Paraverbal Features	indistinct
428	Moses Peters IUs	he's . making

| 429 | Literary Version | And then he cooks the blood and eats it |

430	Moses Peters IUs	he cook. cooked the blood and e:at it
431	Moses Peters IUs	he had
432	Moses Peters IUs	nothing it's nothing inside the stomach

433 Literary Version   When the stomach is empty they should put it under the
434   blanket and the next morning it will have replenished itself

435 Moses Peters IUs   #they "#put under your blanket next morning we wanna fill up
436 again"

437 Background   micro
438 Moses Peters IUs   "but don't move"

439 Literary Version   The boy also tells them not to go anywhere until all
440   the snow is gone so nobody can see them traveling; only then could they go home

441 Background   micro

442 Moses Peters IUs   "don't move nowhere until all: the snow go out nobody
443   gonna see you were traveling and you could go home"

444 Background   micro

445 Literary Version   The boy tells them that he is going to the moon

446 Moses Peters IUs   and "I'll go to moon" he said

447 Literary Version   But his parents tell him that he can't go because they
448   would be missing him

449 Moses Peters IUs   "n-no: you can't you #would is in .. how could you..
450   move when missing you"

451 Paraverbal Features   indistinct quickly
452 Moses Peters IUs   why - we- why

453 Literary Version   The boy tells them that they would be able to see him every night

454 Moses Peters IUs   "you'll gonna see every night . gonna see me every
455   night"

456 Paraverbal Features   loudly
457 Moses Peters IUs   so he says "alright"

458 Background   movement
459 Moses Peters IUs   they hauling

460 Literary Version   And then, one morning, the little boy is missing

461 Moses Peters IUs   one morning little child was missing

462 Background   micro

463	Themes	One morning, the boy is missing
464	Literary Version	Some people are sent out, but they all starve to death
465	Paraverbal Features	indistinct
466	Moses Peters IUs	while they go out for something they were sent and all
467		that (H) .. well that party was starved to death and forcing to death

468	Background	micro
469	Literary Version	And then he goes out
470	Paraverbal Features	loudly
471	Moses Peters IUs	and then he goes out

| 472 | Background | micro |
| 473 | Literary Version | He is looking for a sign, but there is none |

| 474 | Moses Peters IUs | no sign |
| 475 | Themes | The boy is waiting for a sign |

| 476 | Background | clicking |
| 477 | Literary Version | There is no sign of any kind; it's snowing |

| 478 | Moses Peters IUs | not of .. an::y kind of a sign ... it's snowing |

| 479 | Background | micro |
| 480 | Moses Peters IUs | first snow is over and no sign |

| 481 | Literary Version | When the first snow is over and there is still no |
| 482 | | sign, they all start to cry |

| 483 | Paraverbal Features | slowly |
| 484 | Moses Peters IUs | and they cry and cry and |

| 485 | Literary Version | The boy has a marten coat and marten pants |

| 486 | Moses Peters IUs | he got marten coat and marten pants |

| 487 | Themes | The boy wears a marten coat and marten pants |

| 488 | Paraverbal Features | indistinct indistinct |
| 489 | Moses Peters IUs | ### that's pretty expensive #for |

| 490 | Literary Version | That is expensive fur for clothes in those days |

| 491 | Additional Information | This seems to be additional information, not part of the story |

| 492 | Background | micro |

493   Moses Peters IUs   #fur
494   Moses Peters IUs   for clothes those day

495   Literary Version   But that is what the little boy wants

496   Moses Peters IUs   that's a what the little child #wanted   #haved

497   Paraverbal Features   slowly
498   Moses Peters IUs   so:
499   Moses Peters IUs   finally one ... one night

500   Literary Version   One night, the boy is sleeping in between his mother
501   and father and they are holding him

502   Themes   The boy is sleeping between mother and father; they
503   are keeping an eye on him

504   Background   micro
505   Moses Peters IUs   he's sleeping in between his mother and father

506   Paraverbal Features   loudly
507   Moses Peters IUs   and they wake up and they #holding

508   Literary Version   They wake up and the boy tells them not to hold him
509   because he has to go back

510   Moses Peters IUs   "no you guys stop holding me" he says "I'll go back"

511   Background   micro
512   Literary Version   They stay with him for a little while

513   Moses Peters IUs   and they stay with him ## for a little while and

514   Background   micro   micro
515   Paraverbal Features   slowly
516   Moses Peters IUs   so:

517   Literary Version   He tells them that he really has to go

518   Background   micro
519   Paraverbal Features   loudly
520   Moses Peters IUs   "I'll got to go"

521   Paraverbal Features   loudly
522   Moses Peters IUs   "#where #I #u"
523   Moses Peters IUs   "where I made it"

524   Paraverbal Features   quickly and indistinct

525   Literary Version   The boy says that they will see him in their dreams

526   Moses Peters IUs   I #meant that "you'll see me #we you'll see me"

527   Literary Version   He tells them that they would be all together in his dreams

528   Moses Peters IUs   "#on my dream ... you will see me with me"

529   Moses Peters IUs   so when my dream

530   Background   loud micro
531   Moses Peters IUs   "#when the moon eclip ... is"

532   Literary Version   The boy tells them that when the moon eclipse is
533   forward, there is going to be a bad disaster; they are going to have a hard time
534   for quite a while

535   Themes   A forward moon eclipse means a disaster, a backward
536   moon eclipse means there will be plenty of animals

537   Moses Peters IUs   "forward ... is that mean"
538   Moses Peters IUs   "gonna be ... bad disaster"

539   Background   micro
540   Moses Peters IUs   "hard time for a long time"

541   Moses Peters IUs   "and . when it eclip"
542   Literary Version   However, a backward moon eclipse means that there will
543   be a lot of animals

544   Paraverbal Features   indistinct
545   Moses Peters IUs   "eclip backward"
546   Moses Peters IUs   "that mean"

547   Moses Peters IUs   "I #uh I had lots of "
548   Moses Peters IUs   "#sufficient of"

549   Background   micro
550   Paraverbal Features   incompleteness of pronunciation
551   Moses Peters IUs   "animal an:"

552   Background   micro
553   Moses Peters IUs   "nd I packed bag" #he #saying

554   Literary Version   While he is packing his bag he tells them that they
555   would see him again

556   Moses Peters IUs   "you see me I pack bag and so my #pack is all heavy"

| 557 | Background | micro |
| 558 | Moses Peters IUs | so that the time |

| 559 | Additional Information | This seems to be an additional comment regarding the |
| 560 | | microphone and him wanting to sing |

| 561 | Moses Peters IUs | you put little piece of #crap and I can sing listening |
| 562 | | in English and I guess so I guess they could hear that an: |

| 563 | Paraverbal Features | indistinct |
| 564 | Themes | Mentioning of a song that exists |

565	Background	movement
566	Paraverbal Features	loudly
567	Moses Peters IUs	#other .. so he said
568	Moses Peters IUs	you make this song is it
569	Additional Information	This also seems to be additional info regarding a song
570		that is not included in this recording

| 571 | Moses Peters IUs | he make this song that somebody #could translate it |

| 572 | Moses Peters IUs | to sing .. the same voice .. I hope I do |

573	Background	clicking
574	Paraverbal Features	indistinct
575	Moses Peters IUs	and then I can try it in English
576	Moses Peters IUs	well it is kind of a foolish business but
577	Moses Peters IUs	anyway I used to do when #I'm a kid

| 578 | Paraverbal Features | loudly |
| 579 | Moses Peters IUs | so .. #why I gonna #lift #up #that sing anyway |

| 580 | Paraverbal Features | loudly |
| 581 | Moses Peters IUs | so:: |

| 582 | Additional Information | This seems to be additional information, not part of the story |

| 583 | Paraverbal Features | indistinct |
| 584 | Moses Peters IUs | ## #United #State #government |

585	Background	movement
586	Literary Version	Goes to the moon
587	Moses Peters IUs	goes to the ... to the moon

| 588 | Background | micro |
| 589 | Moses Peters IUs | I heard it . not very long ago ... first time |

590 Additional Information   This information seems to be directed at the interviewer and the
591 audience

592 Literary Version   I'm not sure
593 Paraverbal Features   loudly
594 Moses Peters IUs   and I kinda just .. hold my breath

595 Moses Peters IUs   I'm not for sure

596 Literary Version   when that happened, I don't know how many million
597   years ago we are talking, or when first started
598   talking about this story

599 Moses Peters IUs   that little boy went .. to don't know how many million
600   years ago we talk about this story

601 Background   micro
602 Paraverbal Features   loudly
603 Moses Peters IUs   so::

604 Literary Version   He must have wanted to come back

605 Moses Peters IUs   #he must have found ... wanna come back with som:ething

606 Literary Version   or bring the others in the presents

607 Moses Peters IUs   now or #either bring their either their #presents

608 Background   micro
609 Paraverbal Features   indistinct laughing

610 Literary Version   But the little boy is not there

611 Moses Peters IUs   @ but it is that this little boy #is not there

612 Literary Version   Maybe he is there yet
613 Moses Peters IUs   maybe he's there . (H) yet

614 Literary Version   Or maybe he has moved to another planet. That's the end to this story

615 Moses Peters IUs   or maybe he's moved to another planet ..@@ that's a my
616   end #to this story

617 Background   micro
618 Paraverbal Features   laughing

158

Appendix C: The Old Woman and the Brushman, Sarah Frank 1979

1   Craig Mishler IUs   We will now listen to: . Sarah Frank's .. very short
2   story . shyaaghan naa'in haa

3   Craig Mishler IUs   the old woman and the brush man . the first version

4   Craig Mishler IUs   it begins on page 224 . and ends on page 226:::

5   Sarah Frank IUs   eh shyaaghan ch'ìhłak

6   Literary Version   This one old woman was in the same situation as the other one.

7   Translation IUs   one old woman

8   Gwich'in Sentence   Chan shyaaghan ch'ìhłak aii chan gwik'it t'inchy'àa.

9   Sarah Frank IUs   #chan ts'à' shyaaghan ch'ìhłak #chan

10 Themes   There was once an old woman
11 Background   sound in the background

12 Sarah Frank IUs   aii chan
13 Translation IUs   also like the one old woman   that one also

14 Sarah Frank IUs   aii chan gwik'ìt t'inchy'àa #zhik
15 Translation IUs   also like that one

16 Sarah Frank IUs   ts'à' # tthaa oonilį'
17 Translation IUs   and ground squirrel
18 Paraverbal Features   slowly

19 Themes   The old woman lives alone and snares ground squirrels

20 Gwich'in Sentence   Adąhzrhrįh gwich'įį' ts'à' tthaa oonilį'.

21 Literary Version   She was living alone and snaring ground squirrels.

22 Sarah Frank IUs   #izhik #dhidii
23 Sarah Frank IUs   #gwich'ii #dazhrii
24 Translation IUs   sitting right there

25 Sarah Frank IUs   akhài' chan
26 Translation IUs   live   but then also
27 Background   recorder

28 Sarah Frank IUs   oo'òk tthaa tsal teech'aląį' aii oondaa ikhyàą gwiizhik it'ee

159

29   Translation IUs   she was out there singeing a few ground squirrels

30   Gwich'in Sentence   Oo'òk tthaa tsal teech'aląį' aii oondaa ikhyàą.

31   Literary Version   The few ground squirrels she caught in snares, she was singeing.

32   Themes   She would singe the ground squirrels she caught

33   Sarah Frank IUs   k'il ninjyàa aii oondaa
34   Background   door slamming

35   Translation IUs   a little farther there were long dried willows

36   Gwich'in Sentence   Gwiizhik it'ee k'il ninjyàa, aii oondaa yitsįį gwizhrįh
37   jyàa dìyah'in ts'à' yîiłk'ą'.

38   Literary Version   She was using a long dry willow stick to poke the willows.

39   Themes   She uses a willow stick as poking device

40   Sarah Frank IUs   yitsįį gwizhrįh jyàa dìyah'in ts'à' #t'ee

41   Sarah Frank IUs   yîiłk'à'
42   Sarah Frank IUs   ąįį gwiizhik
43   Translation IUs   she's only doing that   nevertheless

44   Gwich'in Sentence   Ąįį gwiizhik gwintsàl too gòolįį ts'à' t'ee.

45   Literary Version   It was beginning to get dark.
46   Themes   It is getting dark

47   Sarah Frank IUs   gwintsàl too gòolįį
48   Sarah Frank IUs   ts'à' t'ee
49   Translation IUs   it's getting dark   and
50   Background   tape

51   Sarah Frank IUs   Han gwinjik vàh . tąįh
52   Translation IUs   along the river there's a hill

53   Gwich'in Sentence   Han gwinjik vàh tąįh jèiinch'yaa, gweedì' nĭinląįį.

54   Literary Version   She was up on top of the river bank.

55   Themes   She was on top of a river bank, below her a strong current was running

56   Sarah Frank IUs   tąįh jèiinchy'aa
57   Translation IUs   that's how it is
58   Background   clattering

| 59 | Sarah Frank IUs | gweedì' nĭ #nlą̀į̀į̀ |
| 60 | Translation IUs | up the bank |

| 61 | Sarah Frank IUs | aii ts'à' jyàa dĭi'in ts'à' .. #nya |

| 62 | Translation IUs | she's doing that, they say |

| 63 | Gwich'in Sentence | Aii ts'à' jyàa dĭi'in ts'à' yeendàa gwîiłk'ą̀' ts'à' tthaa ikhyàą̀. |

| 64 | Sarah Frank IUs | #anh |
| 65 | Literary Version | Below her the current was running strong. |

| 66 | Sarah Frank IUs | oo'àn #neekhoo |

| 67 | Gwich'in Sentence | Gwiizhik it'ee ooch'iitthàn k'il jèiinch'yaa daatin ą̀į̀į̀ |
| 68 | | noondàk, ą̀į̀į̀ jyàa dăh'in vàràhnyàa. |

| 69 | Literary Version | Meanwhile she was busy singeing the ground squirrel in the fire. |

70	Sarah Frank IUs	#nitth
71	Themes	She is singeing ground squirrels
72	Background	child singing

| 73 | Sarah Frank IUs | #nitsee #yaghahan #nagoo'naa |
| 74 | Paraverbal Features | indistinct echo |

| 75 | Background | movement and unidentified person speaking |

76	Sarah Frank IUs	#mhm
77	Sarah Frank IUs	aii ts'à' t'ee
78	Additional Info	unidentified person speaking

| 79 | Translation IUs | that one and then |
| 80 | Gwich'in Sentence | Ą̀į̀į̀ t'ee naa'in t'ii'ìn. |

| 81 | Literary Version | The brushman was doing that. |
| 82 | Paraverbal Features | quickly |

| 83 | Themes | The brushman starts annoying her |

| 84 | Sarah Frank IUs | aii ts'à' jyàa #dĭi'in yeendàa gwîiłk'ą̀' .. tthaa ikhyàą̀ |

| 85 | Translation IUs | and then she's doing that; later she's singeing ground squirrel |

| 86 | Gwich'in Sentence | Aii gwiizhik tthaa ikhyàą̀. |

| 87 | Literary Version | She kept singeing the ground squirrel. |
| 88 | Background | child speaking |

161

89   Sarah Frank IUs   tthaa ikhyàą gwiizhik it'ee

90   Translation IUs   now she's singeing the ground squirrel
91   Paraverbal Features   indistinct

92   Sarah Frank IUs   #eii .. ooch'iitthàn k'il jèiinchy'aa . daatin ąįį

93   Translation IUs   over there dried willows are piled up, that's how it is

94   Gwich'in Sentence   Jii tthaa vàt ąįį t'ee oondaa kò' kat gwintł'òo yąhkhyàa.

95   Literary Version   She put the ground squirrel's guts on the fire to make them hot.

96   Themes   She has a pile of dried willows and lights them on fire

97   Sarah Frank IUs   aii t'ee #oon noondàk jyàa dăh'in vàràh

98   Translation IUs   they say that's how
99   Paraverbal Features   incompleteness of pronunciation

100   Gwich'in Sentence   Gwintł'òo nindhaa yìłtsąįį tł'ęę t'ee zhik traa noondak
101   izhìk ch'iitthàn gwiky'ăanaii akhài' chan yeechìt gwà'àn chan
102   neetrèegwahaathàk vàràhnyàa.

103   Literary Version   They say she made them really hot and then she took a
104   long willow and threw them down below where the firewood was piled up, they say.

105   Themes   She makes the ground squirrel guts hot
106   Background   child speaking

107   Sarah Frank IUs   ąįį #t'ee naa'in
108   Translation IUs   that one brushman
109   Paraverbal Features   indistinct
110   Craig Mishler IUs   mhm

111   Sarah Frank IUs   ąįį #ts'à' #jyàa #t'ii'ìn
112   Translation IUs   that one, that's how

113   Gwich'in Sentence   Ąįį shyaaghan hàanìgwii'aii t'ii'ìn.

114   Literary Version   The brushman kept annoying the old woman.
115   Background   child speaking

116   Sarah Frank IUs   ąįį shyaaghan hàanìgwii'aii

117   Translation IUs   that one is annoying the old woman
118   Background   child speaking

119   Sarah Frank IUs   aii ts'à' t'ee
120   Translation IUs   and then
121   Background   child speaking

122   Sarah Frank IUs   gwiizhik tthaa ikhyàą #jèiinch'yaa tthaa

123   Translation IUs   that's how it is; in the meantime she's singeing ground squirrels

124   Gwich'in Sentence   Tthaa trìk nindhaa dzat vindèe hee naanąįį t'ii'ìn łèe.

125   Literary Version   The insides of the intestines she threw down got into his eyes.

126   Themes   She throws the insides of the intestines into the brushman's eyes

127   Sarah Frank IUs   #tthaa jii tthaa vàt
128   Translation IUs   ground squirrel
129   Background   child speaking

130   Sarah Frank IUs   tthaa vàt ąįį t'ee
131   Translation IUs   that one fat ground squirrel

132   Background   child speaking

133   Sarah Frank IUs   oondaa kò' kat gwintł'òo yąhkhyàa

134   Translation IUs   make it very hot on the fire

135   Additional Info   last word is either slurred or does not reflect the word in the book

136   Background   child singing and speaking

137   Sarah Frank IUs   gwintł'òo nindhaa yìłtsąįį tł'ee t'ee zhik

138   Translation IUs   make that really hot

139   Sarah Frank IUs   zhik traa noondak #jyàa #t'ii'in izhìk ch'iithàn
140   gwiky'ăanaii akhài'

141   Translation IUs   she picks up that wood right there, but then it fell down

142   Sarah Frank IUs   akhài' chan
143   Translation IUs   also then
144   Paraverbal Features   quickly

145   Sarah Frank IUs   yeechìt ### gwà'àn chan neetrèegwahaathàk vàràh

146   Translation IUs   over there, crashing through the bushes they say

147   Paraverbal Features   quickly, then gradually slower; incompleteness of pronunciation

148	Sarah Frank IUs	akhài'
149	Sarah Frank IUs	akhài' n-
150	Translation IUs	but then but then
151	Background	child speaking

| 152 | Sarah Frank IUs | aii naa'ìn #deetthan t'ii'in łee vàràh |

| 153 | Translation IUs | that one brushman, down the slope they say |

154	Sarah Frank IUs	naa'in
155	Paraverbal Features	incompleteness of pronunciation
156	Background	child speaking
157	Craig Mishler IUs	hm

158	Sarah Frank IUs	#mhm
159	Translation IUs	the brushman
160	Background	recorder child speaking

| 161 | Sarah Frank IUs | naa'in #dee'in #łee #dzat |
| 162 | Translation IUs | the brushman is doing |

163	Sarah Frank IUs	tthaa trìk
164	Translation IUs	the ground squireel intestines
165	Paraverbal Features	indistinct

166   Gwich'in Sentence   Tthaa trìk nindhaa dzat vindèe hee naanąįį t'ii'in łèe.

167   Literary Version   The insides of the intestines she threw down got into his eyes.

168	Sarah Frank IUs	nindhaa
169	Translation IUs	hot
170	Background	child speaking and clattering

| 171 | Sarah Frank IUs | aii dzat vindèe naanąįį łee |
| 172 | Translation IUs | that one fell into his eyes |

173   Sarah Frank IUs   aii ts'à' #jyàa jèiinchy'aa zhyàą

174   Translation IUs   and then, that's how it is

175   Gwich'in Sentence   Aii ts'à' jèiinch'yaa zhyàą yeechìt khàtły'ąh'ee ts'à'
176   jèiinchy'aa vàràhnyàa.

177   Literary Version   They say he was kneeling over there.

178   Themes   The brushman is kneeling
179   Background   child speaking

180	Sarah Frank IUs	yeechìt #ts'à' khàtły'ąh'ee ts'à'#gwa'an jèiinchy'aa vàràh

181	Translation IUs	over there, that's how it is, they say

182	Paraverbal Features	incompleteness of pronunciation
183	Background	child speaking

184	Sarah Frank IUs	aii #gwi- jèiinchy'aa gwiizhik #hee
185	Translation IUs	that's what happened

186	Paraverbal Features	indistinct

187	Gwich'in Sentence	Jèiinch'yaa gwiizhik jidìi t'ii'in yuunyąą eenjit
188		yuukeehàh'yą' akhài' naa'in.

189	Literary Version	While he was over there she wanted to know what happened
190		so she went to see.

191	Sarah Frank IUs	jidìi t'ii'in yuunyąą #eenjit yuukeehàh'yą' akhài'

192	Translation IUs	but then he was thinking something
193	Paraverbal Features	indistinct and quickly

194	Sarah Frank IUs	naa'in
195	Translation IUs	the brushman

196	Sarah Frank IUs	dazhoo . ik naatsùu ts'à' yeechìt dee'àn

197	Translation IUs	over there he was wearing a moose fur coat

198	Gwich'in Sentence	Dazhoo ik naatsùu ts'à' yeechìt dee'àn khàtł'ąh'ee vàràhnyàa.

199	Literary Version	They say he was wearing a fur coat and was kneeling over there.

200	Themes	The brushman is wearing a fur coat
201	Background	child speaking

202	Sarah Frank IUs	khàtły'ąh'ee vàràh
203	Translation IUs	they say

204	Sarah Frank IUs	#jyàa #t'iin'jyaa
205	Paraverbal Features	incompleteness of pronunciation

206	Sarah Frank IUs	#ah gwiizhik t'ee
207	Translation IUs	he's doing that
208	Background	child speaking

209	Translation IUs	in the meantime

210   Paraverbal Features   indistinct

211   Gwich'in Sentence   Gwiizhik t'ee zhik gwà'àn gał òonjìk.

212   Literary Version   Then she went and grabbed a stick to hit the brushman.

213   Themes   She hits the brushman with a stick
214   Background   child speaking

215   Sarah Frank IUs   #yuu gwà'àn gał òonjìk
216   Translation IUs   got a bat
217   Background   child speaking

218   Sarah Frank IUs   aii #ah dząą hee
219   Translation IUs   that one here

220   Gwich'in Sentence   Aii dząą hee yichì'itsįį ch'ąhkhaa vàràhnyàa.

221   Literary Version   They say she hit him with that.

222   Sarah Frank IUs   yichì'tsìį ch'ąhkhaa vàràh
223   Translation IUs   they say she hit

224   Sarah Frank IUs   yîiłkhwąįį
225   Paraverbal Features   incompleteness of pronunciation
226   Background   tape

227   Translation IUs   she killed him
228   Gwich'in Sentence   Yîiłkhwąįį
229   Literary Version   And she killed him.

230   Sarah Frank IUs   @@@
231   Paraverbal Features   laughing
232   Themes   She kills the brushman
233   Background   child speaking

166

Appendix D: The Old Woman and the Brushman, Sarah Frank 1984

1   Translation IUs   one again
2   Sarah Frank IUs   # ch'ìhłak chan

3   Gwich'in Sentence   Shyaaghan ch'ìhłak chan naa'in diłghwąįį giiyàhnyàa.

4   Literary Version   Once again there was this old woman who killed a brushman.

5   Translation IUs   they say that one old woman killed a brushman
6   Background   tape

7   Sarah Frank IUs   Shyaaghan ch'ìhłak chan naa'in diłghwąįį giiyàhnyàa

8   Themes   There was once and old woman who killed a brushman

9   Translation IUs   that one also
10 Sarah Frank IUs   ąįį chan reh

11 Gwich'in Sentence   Ąįį chan reh tł'eedik gwîiłk'ą' ts'à' it'ee izhìk chat tthaa ikhyàą.

12 Literary Version   She had a fire next to a river and was singeing ground squirrels.

13 Translation IUs   bank of land
14 Paraverbal Features indistinct   slowly
15 Sarah Frank IUs   tł'eedik

16 Themes   The old woman has a fire next to a river and is singeing ground squirrels

17 Translation IUs   fire   and now
18 Sarah Frank IUs   gwîiłk'ą'
19 Sarah Frank IUs   ts'à' it'ee

20 Translation IUs   right there she was singeing ground squirrels

21 Translation IUs   a little bit right there
22 Sarah Frank IUs   izhìk chat tthaa ikhyàą

23 Sarah Frank IUs   izhìk chat # it'ee gwintsàl

24 Gwich'in Sentence   Izhìk chat it'ee gwintsàl too neegwiilik ginyàa.

25 Literary Version   It was just getting dark.
26 Themes   It is getting dark

27 Translation IUs   they say it was getting dark at that time
28 Sarah Frank IUs   too neegwiilik ginyàa

29	Translation IUs	now that one
30	Sarah Frank IUs	ąįį ts'à' it'ee

31 Gwich'in Sentence   Ąįį ts'à' it'ee oondaa tthaa ikhyàą ąįį shrilii.

32 Literary Version   And she was singeing ground squirrels.

33 Translation IUs   she was taking care of it, she was singeing the ground
34   squirrels out there

35 Translation IUs   in the meantime
36 Sarah Frank IUs   oondaa tthaa ikhyàą ąįį shrilii ts'à'

37 Translation IUs   at that time, axes didn't exist
38 Sarah Frank IUs   #gwizh'ik #dikhii

39 Gwich'in Sentence   Izhìk dąį' daa'ąįį chan gòolįį kwaa, nàhąą.

40 Literary Version   They had no axes at that time.

41 Sarah Frank IUs   izhìk dàį' daa'ąįį chan goolįį kwaa nàhąą

42 Themes   Axes didn't exist back then

43 Translation IUs   right around there long dried willow sticks

44 Sarah Frank IUs   zhik gwà'àn k'il njyah ąįį

45 Gwich'in Sentence   Zhik gwà'àn k'il njyah ąįį oondàa giitsįį ts'aii
46   chigiiyiitthak ts'à' nihts'a' ts'à' giiyeelee.

47 Literary Version   They used long dry willow sticks to burn things.

48 Themes   She uses long dried willow sticks to burn things

49 Translation IUs   a little farther she put it into something, she's moving it around

50 Sarah Frank IUs   oondàa ... giitsįį ts'aii chigiiyiitthak ts'à' nihts'a' ts'à' giiyeelee

51 Translation IUs   and now that one
52 Paraverbal Features   quickly
53 Sarah Frank IUs   ąįį ts'à' it'ee vitł'eech'iik'ik

54 Gwich'in Sentence   Ąįį ts'à' it'ee vitł'eech'iik'ik aii gwik'it t'iinch'yaa
55   chiinlii ąįį yakha' vashrąį' t'eh gwats'an k'iizhąą ąįį k'il daak'à' ąįį jyàa da'in
56 giiyàhnyàa, naa'ìn.

57 Literary Version   The willow sticks were burning up so she wanted to put

58   more into the fire but the brushman kept pulling on them.

59   Themes   The brushman keeps pulling on the willow sticks

60   Translation IUs   according to that one, put it under water

61   Paraverbal Features   indistinct
62   Sarah Frank IUs   aii gwik'it t'iinch'yaa chiinlii ąįį

63   Translation IUs   over here, alongside under from there

64   Sarah Frank IUs   yakha' vashrąį' t'eh gwats'an k'iizhąą

65   Translation IUs   they say that one burned a long dried willow
66   Paraverbal Features   slowly

67   Translation IUs   the brushman
68   Sarah Frank IUs   ąįį k'il daak'à' ąįį jyàa da'in giiyàhnyàa

69   Additional Info   might be L.Garnett or other unidentified person
70   Sarah Frank IUs   naa'ìn

71   Translation IUs   and then
72   Lillian Garnett IUs   #izhik
73   Sarah Frank IUs   ąįį ts'à'

74   Gwich'in Sentence   Ąįį ts'à' gwiintsàl too gòolįį ts'à' yidik tr'ahshii kwaa, nàhąą.

75   Literary Version   It was getting dark so she didn't look for him at that time.

76   Translation IUs   a little dark; he didn't come over the edge
77   Background   tape

78   Sarah Frank IUs   gwiintsàl too gòolįį ts'à' yidik tr'ahshii kwaa

79   Translation IUs   and that one
80   Sarah Frank IUs   ąįį ts'à' zhyàą

81   Gwich'in Sentence   Ąįį ts'à' zhyàą yeenjit gok'aantii.

82   Literary Version   She was watching out for him though.

83   Translation IUs   for
84   Themes   The old woman is watching out for the brushman

85   Paraverbal Features   quickly, then gradually slower
86   Sarah Frank IUs   yeenjit gok'aantii

169

87 Translation IUs   and then that one ground squirrel

88 Sarah Frank IUs   ąįį ts'à' it'ee ąįį tthaa

89 Gwich'in Sentence   Ąįį ts'à' it'ee ąįį tthaa ts'ik hałlii giiyàhnyàa akhài'
90   vitrik ąįį kwat yeendaa kò' kat vee niinlii ts'à' reh datthak yąh khyàą.

91 Literary Version   She put the intestines of the ground squirrels on the
92   fire to make them hot.

93 Themes   She heats the intestines of the ground squirrels on the fire

94 Translation IUs   they say she took the intestines out

95 Paraverbal Features incompleteness of pronunciation
96 Sarah Frank IUs   ts'ik hałlii giiyàhnyàa

97 Translation IUs   and that one ground squirrel
98 Sarah Frank IUs   #tthaa #ts'à' ###' #ąįį

99 Translation IUs   ground squirrel   his intestines
100 Sarah Frank IUs   #tthaa
101 Sarah Frank IUs   vitrik

102 Translation IUs   that one out there
103 Additional Info   there might be a word before yeendaa

104 Translation IUs   on the fire   place it there
105 Sarah Frank IUs   ąįį kwat yeendaa
106 Sarah Frank IUs   kò' kat vee

107 Translation IUs   on
108 Paraverbal Features indistinct
109 Sarah Frank IUs   niinlii ts'à'
110 Sarah Frank IUs   #kat #giiyah #shah

111 Translation IUs   it became all hot
112 Gwich'in Sentence   Datthak nindhaa dhidlìt.

113 Literary Version   She wanted to make them very hot.
114 Sarah Frank IUs   tthak nindhaa dhidlìt

115 Translation IUs   and then
116 Paraverbal Features   quickly
117 Sarah Frank IUs   ąįįtł'ee it'ee ąįį

118 Gwich'in Sentence   Ąįįtł'ee it'ee ąįį tthaa trik t'aihnyaa it'ee zhìk
119   t'ii'in izhìk k'iizhak yinaahtii dahlįį k'iizhak hee jyàa diyiinlìk.

| 120 | Literary Version | She then threw them into the direction of where he was |
| 121 | | pulling on the willow sticks. |

| 122 | Themes | She is throwing the intestines in the direction of where |
| 123 | | she feels the brushman pulling the sticks |

| 124 | Translation IUs | the intestines, that's what I heard |
| 125 | Background | tape and clattering |

126	Background	tape
127	Paraverbal Features	indistinct
128	Sarah Frank IUs	#oontthaa trik t'aihnyaa it'ee

| 129 | Translation IUs | right there, straight down |
| 130 | Sarah Frank IUs | zhìk t'ii'in izhìk k'iizhak |

| 131 | Translation IUs | behind its back |
| 132 | Sarah Frank IUs | yinaahtii dahlįį |

| 133 | Translation IUs | straight down, that's how he did it |
| 134 | Paraverbal Features | indistinct |

| 135 | Sarah Frank IUs | k'iizhak hee jyàa diyiinlìk |

| 136 | Translation IUs | hot ground squirrel intestines |
| 137 | Sarah Frank IUs | tthaa trik dhah |

| 138 | Gwich'in Sentence | Tthaa trik dhah vindee nandhitł'ik roh. |

| 139 | Literary Version | She threw the hot intestines into his eyes. |

| 140 | Themes | She throws the intestines into his eyes |

| 141 | Translation IUs | his eyes, evidently |
| 142 | Paraverbal Features | indistinct |

| 143 | Sarah Frank IUs | vinee- vindee nandhitł'ik roh |

| 144 | Translation IUs | and then, down towards the river from the land in that area |

| 145 | Paraverbal Features | quickly |
| 146 | Sarah Frank IUs | ąįį ts'à' it'ee .. yeekit zhak gwà'àn hee |

| 147 | Gwich'in Sentence | Ąįį ts'à' it'ee yeekit zhak gwà'àn hee neetreegwahaatak |
| 148 | | yàhnyàa giiyàhnyàa. |

| 149 | Literary Version | They say he was moving very noisily. |

| 150 | Themes | The brushman is making a lot of noise crashing through the bushes |

| 151 | Translation IUs | they say someone was crashing through the bushes |

| 152 | Additional Info | Sarah might be either laughing or coughing at the end of this IU |

| 153 | Paraverbal Features | indistinct |
| 154 | Sarah Frank IUs | neetreegwahaatak yàhnyàa giiyàhnyàa |

| 155 | Background | clattering and breathing |

| 156 | Translation IUs | someone was crashing through the bushes |

157	Background	tape
158	Additional Info	second word incomprehensible
159	Sarah Frank IUs	neetreegwahaatak #

| 160 | Translation IUs | there is little to see |
| 161 | Sarah Frank IUs | gwiintsàl vahn gweech'in reh |

162   Gwich'in Sentence   Gwiintsàl vahn gweech'in reh ootthan t'ohjuh hee gwaa'ìn
163   dohłįį akhài' reh yeekìt zhìk dee'àn reh nàa'in dazhoo ik k'ùu tsal naatsùu ts'à'
164   dee'àn khàtły'ạh'ee ginyàa.

165   Literary Version   Since it was a little bit dark already, she went over to
166   the river to look and saw the brushman. He was was kneeling down rubbing his
167   eyes, wearing a worn out fur coat.

| 168 | Themes | The brushman is kneeling down rubbing his eyes, wearing a |
| 169 | | worn out fur coat |

| 170 | Translation IUs | just a little while ago, looking down that way |

| 171 | Sarah Frank IUs | ootthan t'ohjuh hee gwaa'ìn |

| 172 | Translation IUs | but then down toward the river |
| 173 | Paraverbal Features | indistinct |

174	Translation IUs	the brushman
175	Sarah Frank IUs	akhài' reh yeekìt zhìk dee'àn reh
176	Sarah Frank IUs	nàa'in

| 177 | Translation IUs | they say he's wearing a moose fur coat |
| 178 | Paraverbal Features | indistinct |

| 179 | Sarah Frank IUs | dazhoo ik - dazhoo ik k'ùu tsal naatsùu ts'à' dee'àn |
| 180 | | khàtł'yah'ee ginyàa |

181   Paraverbal Features   indistinct and incompleteness of pronunciation

182   Translation IUs   They say she killed him. That's what I heard.

183   Gwich'in Sentence   Chan yîiłghwą̇į̇į giiyàhnyàa t'aihnyàa.

184   Literary Version   They say she killed him that way.

185   Sarah Frank IUs   chan yîiłghwą̇į̇į giiyàhnyàa t'aihnyàa @@@

186   Additional Info   another person
187   Paraverbal Features   laughing
188   Themes   The old woman kills the brushman