BORN
IN THE
BLOOD

On Native American Translation

Edited and with an
introduction by Brian Swann

Swann, Brian. 2011.  Born in the Blood: On Native American Translation. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

http://www.nebraskapress.unl.edu/product/Born-in-the-Blood,674778.aspx

# 9

## Ethnopoetic Translation in Relation to Audio, Video, and New Media Representations

*Robin Ridington, Jillian Ridington, Patrick Moore,*
*Kate Hennessy, and Amber Ridington*

### Introduction

This chapter describes our use of video and Web-based media to present an electronic equivalent of "interlinear" translations of ethnographic texts. The initial tape recordings of elders of the Dane-ẕaa of northeastern British Columbia were made by Robin Ridington in the 1960s. Jillian Ridington and Howard Broomfield joined the work in the 1970s and 1980s, and Jillian continues to be a partner in the projects. In recent years, Robin has added video recordings to the collection. The entire audio archive has been cataloged and digitized and is available to members of the Dane-ẕaa community. More recently, the Doig River First Nation, working collaboratively with Amber Ridington, Kate Hennessy, Patrick Moore, and Robin and Jillian Ridington, began recording video as part of their Virtual Museum of Canada exhibit entitled *Dane Wajich—Dane-ẕaa Stories and Songs: Dreamers and the Land.*

### Interlinear and Ethnopoetic Translations

There is a long tradition in anthropology of presenting ethnographic texts as transcriptions of the native language, accompanied by a close interlinear translation. Some of the most important work resulted from a collaboration between a native-speaking researcher and a non-Native ethnographer. Many of the Kwakiutl (Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw) texts that Franz Boas published were collected by George Hunt. Those of Alice Fletcher and

Francis La Flesche derived from an even closer collaboration in which the Omaha native-speaker, Francis La Flesche, was also a coauthor of the published work. In his *Ethnology of the Kwakiutl*, Boas presented lines in English at the top of each page and corresponding lines in Kwak'wala at the bottom (Boas 1921). His work, however, is not known for its poetic value or for making First Nations literature accessible to a non-Native audience. In 2000, Ralph Maud suggested that Boas's collaborative work with his Tsimshian colleague Henry W. Tate to produce *Tsimshian Mythology* (1916) misrepresents the narratives as "authentic," when in fact they were edited heavily by Tate and reflect Tate's personal and multicultural perspective on Tsimshian mythology. With this new perspective, *Tsimshian Mythology* may be seen to represent an interesting syncretic creation in itself, but perhaps not the age-old tradition as transmitted among the Tsimshian people that it was purported to be.

Some premodern ethnographies also included free, often line-for-line, verse translation. They are therefore examples of what we now call anthropological poetics. Fletcher and La Flesche (1911) were particularly successful in using this method of translation when presenting highly formalized ritual song texts, such as those relating to the Sacred Pole of the Omaha tribe. These song texts were first presented with accompanying musical notation, then with a literal translation, and finally with a free translation. Their presentation of one song is as follows:

Omaha text:
Thea'ma wagthithonbi tho ho! gthitonba
Wagthitonbi, wagthitonbi, tho ho
Te'xi ehe gthithonba
Wagthitonbe, wagthitonbe te'xe ehe gthithonba

Literal translation:
*Theama*, here they are (the people); *wagthitonbi*—the prefix *wa* indicates that the object has power, *gthitonbi*, touching what is theirs ("touching" here means that the touching that is necessary for a preparation of the objects); *tho ho!* is an exclamation here used in the sense of a call to Wakonda, to arrest attention, to announce that something is in progress relating to serious matters; *te'xi* that which is of the most precious or sacred nature; *ehe*, I say.

Free translation:
The people cry aloud—tho ho! before thee.
Here they prepare for sacred rites—tho ho!
Their Sacred, Sacred Pole.
With reverent hands, I say, they touch the Sacred Pole before thee.
(1911:233–42)

During the 1970s, the journal *Alcheringa*, first edited by Jerome Rothenberg and Dennis Tedlock, featured a number of experimental works using poetic translations of ethnographic texts. Unlike earlier ethnopoetics, *Alcheringa* presented translations of recorded audio documents. It also innovated the practice of including thin vinyl audio records, bound within the magazine. Tedlock's 1972 collection of Zuni narrative poetry (*Finding the Center: Narrative Poetry of the Zuni Indians*) is an excellent example of *Alcheringa*'s ethnopoetic tradition applied to a substantial body of oral literature. Tedlock set out his translations of Andrew Peynetsa and Walter Sanchez in a line-for-line form, using typography to represent performance values documented on the original audio documents.

An ethnographic text produced prior to the advent of audio recording depended on the transcriber's ear and on his or her ability to take dictation quickly using a phonetic script. Ethnographers like John Swanton and John Peabody Harrington were exceptionally talented in this regard. Harrington, it should be noted, was also a pioneer in the use of audio recordings (wax cylinders and later aluminum disks) for documenting Native American texts. A written transcription and translation depends on the translator's ability to understand the poetics of the native language as well as on the ability and patience of the native "informant." By necessity, the ethnographic texts and translations found in traditional ethnographies document a particular collaboration between speaker and ethnographer. Because of the need for a translator as an intermediary, they do not document naturally occurring performative events. The Omaha ritual song presented above accurately *re-creates* the text of an actual performance (but not its actuality) in that the ritual song texts were performed by priests of the Honga clan accurately and without improvisation or interpretation.

Swanton's sensitive transcription and translation of Haida texts has been the source of poet Robert Bringhurst's remarkable poetic translations

of Haida oral literature (Swanton 1905; Bringhurst 1999). Swanton worked with a bilingual translator, Henry Moody, who, as Bringhurst explains, would "listen to the poem and repeat it sentence by sentence in a loud, clear, slow voice, proving to the poet he had heard each word and giving Swanton time to write it down" (1999:32). Swanton's sessions with Moody and a number of other Haida poets document a careful and studied rendition of oral literature in which the storyteller is the primary author of the document realized through the assistance of Moody and Swanton. The storyteller is the one who makes the authorial decisions about what to commit to writing. The resulting translation is a document of the authorial process, not a document of a naturally occurring performance event.

Tedlock provides a useful distinction between what he calls recitation and performance when he contrasts two versions of the Zuni "Word of Kyaklo" as respectively canonical and interpreted. The canonical version is, while technically an oral performance, more like the reading of a written text. The other is in Tedlock's words (and italics),

> *spoken*
> *rather than chanted*
> *interpreted*
> *rather than reproduced*
> *told on some quiet evening at home*
> *rather than proclaimed on a holy day in that holy chamber*
> *known as the kiva.* (1991:311–15)

He goes on to say that

> *Tales have no canonical versions*
> *no Kyaklo who recites them verbatim.*
> *They exist only*
> *in the form of interpretations*
> *and it takes a multiplicity of voices to tell them.* (1991:338)

The canonical version could, probably, have been written down by a skilled nineteenth-century ethnographer. The interpretive version could only have been documented as an audio recording. As Tedlock points out, Andrew Peynetsa's version came about

*on a chilly evening in early spring*
*by the hearth in his farmhouse with his family*
*with me there, too*
*and my tape recorder*. (1991:315)

Prior to the advent of audio recording, a text told by a non-literate, perhaps even monolingual, informant in collaboration with a transcriber/translator was more like a written document than an oral performance. It was of necessity studied and constructed. The text did not document intonation, gesture, or in many cases even the repetition that is so important to Native American narrative tradition. Bringhurst rightly credits the storytellers with whom Swanton and Moody worked as the authors of poetic texts. The advent of audio and later film and video recording made possible a new kind of documentation. Field recordings can, of course, be as formally contrived as texts that are dictated, but they can also document performative events in their natural setting. Whether performed intentionally "on air" or captured in the natural flow of events by an ethnographic documentarian, going from the raw audio document to a translation or interpretation requires aesthetic and epistemological choices.

Most texts transcribed from audio recordings have been, of necessity, removed from the recorded actuality. Even when a written translation is accompanied by a disk or CD of the original audio document (as in *Alcheringa*), there is an inevitable disconnect between the two representations. The experience of reading is separate from the experience of listening. Conventional ethnography has generally privileged the written text over the audio original; it has seen the audio as merely a means to the production of a written document. Ethnographic film, by contrast, has borrowed from the practice of subtitling films in a foreign language to produce translations that are more immediate and effective in preserving the link between text and actuality.

David MacDougall suggests that the idea to use subtitles in ethnographic film came about in 1961 when filmmakers Tim Asch and John Marshall were collaborating on a film about the !Kung. MacDougall says: "The idea of subtitling it was so obvious that it seems to have come to Asch and Marshall simultaneously. . . . One day Asch went to see Godard's *Breathless* at the Brattle Theater, and he remembers the moment of revelation when he thought of subtitling the !Kung material. But when he

mentioned the idea to Marshall, he found that he had thought of it too" (1995:83).

Probably the most interesting and innovative use of subtitling as a medium for ethnographic translation comes from the artistically and financially successful Igloolik Isuma Productions. The name Isuma means "to think," and they describe their mission as making it possible for young and old to "work together to keep our ancestors' knowledge alive." In addition to a series of documentaries in Inuktitut with English (and French) subtitles made between 1989 and 2006, Isuma has made two commercially and critically acclaimed feature films, also using subtitled Inuktitut. The Isuma Web site (www.isuma.ca) describes their "unique style" as "re-lived drama." In an article about Igloolik Isuma, Katerina Soukup points out that the Inuit have adopted the Inuktitut term *ikiaqqvik* 'traveling through layers' to describe the Internet. "The word," she says, "comes from the concept of describing what a shaman does when asked to find out about living or deceased relatives or where animals have disappeared to: travel across time and space to find answers" (2006:239).

Isuma's latest feature film, *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*, travels through layers of time to portray the defeat of shamanism by an indigenous Inuit Christianity. In one extraordinary continuous monologue lasting 9 minutes and 50 seconds, Inuit actor Pakak Inukshuk, playing Avva, a shaman whose life story explorer and ethnographer Knud Rasmussen documented at Igloolik in 1922, describes the events that led Avva to become a shaman. Rasmussen was a native speaker of Inuktitut and able to understand and document Avva's narrative. Pakak Innukshuk is in a unique position to re-create that story in the original Inuktitut. The viewer is brought into the story through the use of subtitles. The film presents complex intercultural and intergenerational translation strategies to convey Avva's life as a shaman. Avva told the original story in Inuktitut, and Rasmussen wrote it down in Danish. It was first published by Rasmussen in 1929 in *The Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos*, which was translated into English by W. Worster (Rasmussen 1976). Zacharias Kunik and Isuma Productions then adapted Rasmussen's text so as to "re-live" it as an audio and visual actuality. Like Tedlock's interpretive version of the Kyaklo story, Pakak Inukshuk re-created Avva's narrative eighty-five years later in the Inuktitut language he and Avva and Rasmussen all shared. The feature film then translated the Inuktitut as subtitles (two lines at a time) for distribution to a variety of written language communities. While the

film version omits some of Rasmussen's original and adds an introductory statement, the subtitled translation complements the Inuktitut performance effectively. The film version of Avva's statement began with a statement not in the Rasmussen original:

> My mother was cursed
> by an evil shaman
>
> who befriended my father
> in order to lie with her.
>
> When my mother refused, the
> shaman whispered angrily in her ear,
>
> "All your children will be born dead!"
> And so it happened that all my
>
> mother's children born before me
> had lain crosswise and were stillborn.

Pakak Inukshuk's performance is gripping and faithful to Avva's narrative as Rasmussen translated and transcribed it. Through his skill as an actor, the viewer gains an insight into the moment that Avva and Rasmussen shared those many years ago.

### Subtitles, Re-creation, and Translation of Dane-ẕaa Audio Documents

Dane-ẕaa songkeeper Tommy Attachie told Robin and Jillian Ridington that each time a person with knowledge sings one of the dreamers' songs, he or she creates it anew. In Tommy's words, "When you sing it now, just like new."[1] To use Tedlock's distinction again, the singer gives an interpretation a recitation. With each new performance, the singer re-authorizes the dreamer's song that he or she holds in the mind. The same interpretive style is true of Dane-ẕaa storytelling. The audio recordings we have made of Dane-ẕaa singers and storytellers document the actualities of particular interpretive performances. Younger members of the Dane-ẕaa community no longer speak the Beaver language fluently. One strategy for

making both the content and performative style of Dane-zaa oral tradition available to a new generation has been to present the original audio documents with an English translation in the form of subtitles against a visual field that shows a picture of the storyteller or photographs taken at the same time as the recording.

With the advent of digital video recording and computer-based editing, subtitling to simultaneously display a written translation along with the original performance has become available to any reasonably computer-literate ethnographer. The act of translation, of course, still remains the authorial responsibility of a bilingual translator, but the primary audio (or video) document can show the translated text in its performative context. Some of the recordings we have made with the Dane-zaa have been arranged in advance; in these, the narrators are clearly performing for an unseen audience that will experience the work in a different time and place. Others document events that are ongoing and independent of the presence of a microphone or camera. Within the category of interpretive performance documents as defined by Tedlock, we have found it useful to distinguish between those done self-consciously "on air" or "on camera" and those that document ongoing events that would have taken place in much the same way had they not been documented. The new video documents that went into the *Dane Wajich-Dane-zaa Stories and Songs* Web site (discussed later) are largely of the former kind, made in part with an outside audience in mind. In contrast, many of the songs included on the Web site as audio clips, several of which were recorded by Robin Ridington in the 1960s, were recorded in a natural and community-oriented context.

In early January 1966, Robin Ridington recorded the Dane-zaa Dreamer, Charlie Yahey, in an entirely unself-conscious setting. Robin had brought some elders from another community to visit Charlie. The Dreamer spent the best part of two days singing and telling people about his dreams of Heaven. Robin made the original recording on a portable Uher reel-to-reel machine in a community that did not have electricity. From time to time he switched on a reel-to-reel tape recorder, but he did not have enough blank tapes or spare batteries to attempt anything like a complete document of the event. Along with the rest of the thousands of hours of audio recording, this recording is now available to members of the Dane-zaa community in digital form (Doig River First Nation 2003).

In the passage presented below, the Dreamer warned that many people "go the white man's way" and do not sing and dance as they should. He said that the coming winter would be hard but that by singing he hoped to make it better. The Dreamer was aware that Robin was recording some of what went on during these two days, but he was in no way performing for the tape recorder (on other occasions he did allow Robin to record interviews in which he asked the Dreamer specific questions about his knowledge). In this passage, Charlie was speaking to his contemporaries, elders from Prophet River and members of his own community. Many years later, songkeeper Tommy Attachie (a young man, as Robin was, when the original recordings were made, and now, like Robin, an elder himself) provided a close translation of Charlie's words. Below is a short passage from this translation. The transcription of the Beaver in italics is Robin's own and is not intended to be a proper linguistic rendering of the Beaver-language text. Rather, he uses it to locate Tommy's English translation at the appropriate places in the audio document. Robin created the subtitled audio on Final Cut Express software, using a still photo of Charlie Yahey as a visual backdrop. He has used the same technique to visually present other audio documents from the 1960s, as well as to subtitle recently recorded video documents. Robin gave a draft of this paper to Gerald Yahey, Charlie's oldest grandson, and obtained his approval to use the text here.

**Charlie Yahey Recorded by Robin Ridington in 1966, Catalog #CY1-5.**
Translation by Tommy Attachie in 1998, Catalog #CY Tommy 3b.

*Kuu gruhti̱ alin ku*. 0:04
All those animals,

*Kaa echi onla.*
even they pray with their songs. 0:08

*T'aa kehni achu keli djuu*
but some people

*ke su' du'chi* 0:12
are not even scared [drumming]

*Achu chu dane ye dzu onli klike ahka kadzi' a' tsita.*
One of these evenings, nobody will be singing these songs.

*Achu adawaschi.* 0:19
They don't know anything.

*Ah tre Monias kuh kah che kuh ga dane.*
They go the white man's way. 0:22

*Achu ah wuu 'de kaa la grachi*
People who don't want to sing or dance, are not going to live
forever. 0:26

*Yaa da de' sat'*
Beyond [inside] the Sky, that's too far for them. 0:32

[sings 0:39—speaks at 0:53; continues with sung vocables]
*Chaa wu'dane—daa wu'naa na—ah ah yeh ah ah yeh—ah yeh* 1:04
*ha wah yeh, ah yeh* [to end of phrase] 1:14 [new phrase]
*Chee wu'dane—daa wu'naa la—ah ah yeh—ah ah yey wuh yeh . . .*
1:47
*Chuu yaske' sin daata grinta—*

*kaiila, iinla iinla ka du'duchi, muh nah ge, siize wut'se.* 1:55
This winter, it's going to be pretty hard

*Dane-z̲aa onli duh*
Where the Dane-z̲aa are living.

*wu'tsieh kuh naa eh duh wu't'zu.*
That's why I was singing, even during the winter.

*Du'ut'si eh muh ga, si de yaskee wu'tsize wu't suh ga*, 2:04
*Chuu, naa dehnla.* 2:07.
I was singing to make the cold weather stop. [song ends 3:24]

It is difficult, of course, to represent a moving audio document in the
static medium of print on a page. Charlie Yahey's song and oratory took

place at a particular time and place. It would have lived on only in the memories of those who experienced it (and understood it) at the time. Robin's experience of the event was limited by his inability to understand anything but the gist of what Charlie Yahey said. Later, Tommy Attachie's translation gave him a fuller understanding. Listening to the performance on DVD with English subtitles cued to the Beaver text now allows Robin to understand what went on better than he did at the time. More importantly, it allows members of the Dane-za community who never knew Charlie Yahey and do not speak Beaver to gain some insight into the poetics and metaphysics of this truly powerful orator. We hope to continue with the project of translating and presenting other material from the archive in this way for the benefit of future generations.

**Indigenous Culture on the Web:** *Dane Wajich—Dane-zaa*
*Stories and Songs: Dreamers and the Land*

While Robin's documentation of Charlie Yahey's oratory in 1966 was unorchestrated, the work that Amber Ridington, Kate Hennessy, Patrick Moore, and others did in collaboration with Dane-za youth and elders between 2005 and 2007 was intended for a wide audience. This more recent ethnographic work was undertaken specifically for a Virtual Museum of Canada exhibition that features subtitled video narratives deliberately performed for global and local audiences.[2] Like the Igloolik Isuma productions discussed above, the Doig River First Nation's recent online exhibit, *Dane Wajich—Dane-zaa Stories and Songs: Dreamers and the Land* is an example of indigenous agency and self-expression that brought elders and youth together to document their culture.

The *Dane Wajich* project grew out of a number of collaborative digital heritage projects initiated by members of the Doig River First Nation. These drew on archival materials from the Ridington-Dane-zaa Archive and included a compact disc, *Dane-zaa Dreamers' Songs: 1966–2000*; two videos, *Contact the People* and *They Dream about Everything*; and a Web site designed and built by Dane-zaa youth, *Hadaa ka naadzet: The Dane-zaa Moose Hunt* (Doig River First Nation 2000, 2001, 2004, 2006). Doig River's 2007 production, *Dane Wajich—Dane-zaa Stories and Songs: Dreamers and the Land*, represents one of the most ambitious projects to date, and was produced by the First Nation in collaboration with ethnographers (Robin Ridington, Jillian Ridington, Kate Hennessy, Amber Ridington, and Peter Biella), linguists (Patrick Moore and Julia Miller),

and multimedia professionals (Unlimited Digital, Vancouver ʙᴄ). The exhibit's community-directed production process facilitated the articulation of local goals for revitalizing language, recording oral traditions, and traveling to important places in their territory. It brought elders and youth together to document stories, songs, and their relationship to the land. Through community reviews during post-production, it provided the First Nation with primary control over their representation to local and global audiences.

The project also represents a contemporary expression of oral narrative grounded in hypermedia, situated at one end of a continuum that includes the work of Fletcher and LaFlesche (1911), Tedlock and Rothenberg (1970–80) and Zacharias Kunik's subtitling and translations in *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* (2006), which we have already described. Hypermedia is defined as combining written, theoretical, descriptive, pedagogical, and applied anthropological narratives with reflexive audiovisual and photographic representations of knowledge and experience; these are most effectively communicated audio-visually (Pink 2006). Sarah Pink points to Peter Biella's *Maasai Interactive* and Jay Ruby's *Oak Park Project* as examples of a new direction in visual anthropology that embraces hypermedia's multiple possibilities for framing research, creating stronger links with writing, and resituating video as a primary element of scholarship (Pink 2006).

Similarly, John Miles Foley, known for his ethnopoetic representation of the Milman Parry, Albert Lord, and Nikola Vujnovic recordings of South Slavic oral epic poetry from the 1930s, has recently embraced what he calls "cyber-techniques" and the "cyber-edition" as a way to include video, audio, and images of oral performances along with texts and writings about the performances. Foley, in his work with the online journal *Oral Tradition*, encourages the inclusion of "eCompanions" (in essence hypermedia Web sites) for journal articles. With these multimedia tools for ethnographic representation, texts do not lose connection to their original performance and, as Foley writes, "denature what we seek to understand and represent by reducing its diverse, many-sided identity to a print-centered shadow of itself. Sound and gesture and context and back-story are but a few of the innocent victims of this ritual sacrifice" (2005:260).

The multimedia exhibit *Dane Wajich—Dane-ẕaa Stories and Songs: Dreamers and the Land* demonstrates the potential for ethnopoetic translation in hypermedia and cyber-techniques. The *Dane Wajich* project pro-

vides a degree of reflexivity and transparency not easily achieved with textual and videographic representations of oral narratives alone. The project integrates subtitled Dane-zaa and English video narratives, hot-linked interpretive text, photographs of the production process, recordings of songs, and contemporary images of traditional Dane-zaa lands. In doing so, it addresses the current concerns faced by the community as they negotiate legacies of colonialism. As we will explain, the process of producing the videotaped oral narratives produces an aesthetic and thematic focus on intertextual representation. The co-presence of interpretive exhibit text, orthographic Dane-zaa Záágéʔ transcriptions, and English translations places the narratives in their linguistic, cultural, and political contexts. Production photos represent the collaborative process of the creation of the exhibit's narratives.

Video recordings of narratives told by Dane-zaa people are central to the *Dane Wajich* project. Many participants spoke in their own language, presenting their own stories and their own perspective on their culture. Over a period of three weeks in the summer of 2005, Doig River First Nation elders, ethnographers, and a team of young Dane-zaa video documentarians traveled to seven significant places in their territory. They recorded narratives about Dane-zaa dreamers, personal experiences, and changing relationships to the land and its animal, spiritual, and mineral resources. The places, speakers, and narrative themes were chosen by Doig River elders, and the young videographers recorded under the elders' direction. These primary documents, included as translated and subtitled video clips on the Web site, were recorded specifically for the project with the knowledge that both a community and an outside audience would see them.

### Linguistic Anthropology and Translation

The process of translation and transcription of *Dane Wajich* recordings was long and time-intensive. In the year that followed the recording of the videos, the linguistic and ethnographic team worked collaboratively with fluent Doig River community members to translate the mostly Dane-zaa Záágéʔ (Beaver) narratives into English, and to orthographically transcribe Dane-zaa Záágéʔ for use in the Web exhibit and in other local Beaver literacy programs.[3] The Dane-zaa narratives in the *Dane Wajich* Web site were translated principally by Eddie Apsassin, who worked with linguist Pat Moore. Eddie had been present at most of the recording

sessions and was familiar with the goals of the project and with the speakers. In the past he had participated in Dane-ẕaa literacy workshops that Marshall and Jean Holdstock conducted, and he has experience translating for elders at Doig River and Blueberry River. Eddie is fluent in Cree as well as in Dane-ẕaa Ẕáágéʔ, the Beaver language, and English.

The procedure used in preparing the transcripts and translation for use on the Web site was for Pat to play the sound files on a laptop computer and have Eddie repeat each phrase or sentence clearly so that it could be transcribed using the orthography developed for Dane-ẕaa Ẕáágéʔ by Marshall and Jean Holdstock. Although rough transcriptions and translations were available, Pat and Eddie based their transcriptions and translations largely on the recorded version. After each segment was transcribed, Pat wrote English terms under the Dane-ẕaa Ẕáágéʔ. Pat Moore is familiar with some of the common Dane-ẕaa terms from his work on this project and from his knowledge of the closely related languages Dene Dháh (Slavey) and Kaska, but Eddie had to translate the terms Pat was unfamiliar with. Finally, Eddie and Pat discussed how best to express what the speakers wanted to convey as they composed the smooth English translation, a compromise between colloquial Dane-ẕaa English and standard English, which Pat wrote. Eddie provided extensive commentary about the stories and about certain Dane-ẕaa expressions the narrators used that he found especially evocative or intriguing, but these comments were not included in the translation. When passages were especially obscure or difficult to translate, they were played for elders Tommy Attachie or Billy Attachie, who were able to interpret particularly challenging terms. One of the most difficult narratives to translate was Charlie Yahey's creation story, which uses abstract metaphorical references that cannot be interpreted literally, as well as multiple unmarked third-person verbs with no clear referent. Unfortunately, as we discuss later, Charlie Yahey's narrative was not ultimately included in the Web site. Pat also recorded the Dane-ẕaa Ẕáágéʔ place-names and dreamers' names with Tommy and Billy, and together they created a standardized orthography for them.

The translation of narrative texts has been a central concern of linguistic anthropology since its inception, and approaches to translation have evolved along with the subdiscipline. Alessandro Duranti (2003) has argued that linguistic anthropology in North America has employed three overlapping research paradigms. The first is associated with the work of

Franz Boas and his students and associates, and featured the recording of narrative texts and translations, often as interlinear texts as a way of documenting both the culture and language of American Indians. Pliny Goddard's Dane-ẕaa (Beaver) texts (1916) are an example of interlinear texts and translations in the Boasian mode.

Duranti characterizes the second paradigm of research in linguistic anthropology as more centrally concerned with the use of language in social life and with the study of performance. This research on the ethnography of communication was facilitated by the development and use of tape recorders, which enabled linguistic anthropologists to capture details of interactions for later analysis. Dell Hymes was one of the central figures in the development of this second paradigm during the 1960s and 1970s (Duranti 2003:327), and he is well known for his contributions to the translation and presentation of translations of American Indian narrative texts (Hymes 1981). Hymes brought attention to aspects of the structure of narrative performance that had been obscured by the ways earlier translations were presented as prose. Scholars such as Dennis Tedlock became advocates for explicitly presenting performance features recorded on tape in their translations. Robin Ridington's documentation of Dane-ẕaa (written as Dunne-za in his early work) narratives and his use of ethnopoetic translations is another example of the work of scholars of the second paradigm.

Duranti finds that the ongoing third paradigm of research in linguistic anthropology sees language as evidence of larger social processes. Linguistic anthropologists continue to be concerned with micro-linguistic data, including details of narrative performances, and they increasingly highlight the creative potential of language for the construction of identity. This third paradigm has focused on new approaches to genres, the roles of speakers and audiences in performances, the construction of gender and ethnic identities, the use of semiotic resources, and wider power relations (Duranti 2003:332).

Although successive paradigms of research have developed within linguistic anthropology, earlier research programs have remained active, so that the documentation of American Indian languages and questions of translation continue to be central concerns for many scholars. During the process of translating the video recordings of narrative performances for the Doig River First Nation's (2007) *Dane Wajich* virtual exhibit, the

linguists made use of well-established techniques. These included the preparation of interlinear transcripts with fluent speakers and the identification of intonational phrases and pauses that were used as line breaks for the Dane-ẕaa text and English translations. The translation process also facilitated reflection on the part of both linguists and Dane-ẕaa translators concerning the nature of the messages Dane-ẕaa narrators sought to convey and how they used varying narrative genres to address different potential audiences.

The storytellers and singers who contributed to the *Dane Wajich* exhibit took a leading role in determining what would be recorded and selected for the site. The participants all had a depth of experience working with linguists and anthropologists to document their language and culture, but they made individual choices about how to represent their culture and address both their immediate audience of Dane-ẕaa elders, youth, and academics as well as a wider Internet audience. The diverse nature of their performances reflects differences in their purposes and the ways they anticipated the interests of their audience. Other scholars of oral performances who have examined contemporary narrative performances in novel contexts report similar variability. Julie Cruikshank (1997), for instance, has described how storytellers at the Yukon International Storytelling Festival used different genres, including potlatch-style oratory, stories, songs, and archival documents, to engage the largely non-Native audience with indigenous issues of place and rights. Like the performers at that festival, the participants in the *Dane Wajich* project made use of different genres to express their culture in a form that could be translated for a wider Internet audience.

The ways Dane-ẕaa storytellers chose to express themselves reflected their training, their roles in the project, and their perceptions of possible audiences. Tommy Attachie, Dane-ẕaa elder and songkeeper, took a leading role in determining the nature of the project as he established the twin themes of traditions of place and the history of the Dane-ẕaa dreamers. His address at one of the first planning meetings directed the participants to share the stories, songs, and traditions associated with some of the most significant places in Dane-ẕaa territory as they traveled to each location in turn. He invoked the authority of the dreamer Gaayęą, whose drum the group had examined that morning, and who had traveled between the Dane-ẕaa communities in the early 1900s, holding tea dances at each location. Tommy Attachie's address was directed toward the assembled

Dane-ẕaa elders; the nature of any possible Internet audience was a secondary concern. His narrative is an example of what we have identified as performances that are not staged, but rather ongoing events that are largely independent of the presence of a video camera. A small portion of his address is reproduced below. Tommy echoes the earlier addresses of Dane-ẕaa dreamers as he speaks about Gaayęą's drum, the purpose for going to the places where their ancestors lived, and the possibility of reviving sacred knowledge. The Dane-ẕaa orthography below is based on the orthography developed by Marshall and Jean Holdstock that is described on the Web site, and the time codes are keyed to the video in the *Dane Wajich* Web site (Doig River First Nation 2007).

**Tommy Attachie at the *Dane Wajich* Planning Meeting, Doig River Band Administration Complex, June 29, 2005**[4]

01:19   Juuhḏzenéh Ahhatááʔ kuuts'adéjiih haę.
        Today, we believe in God.

01:26   Nahhadzěʔ ajuu déhgash;
        Our hearts are not black;

01:28   nahhadzěʔ dadal.
        our hearts are red.

01:31   Ii k'aastaah juu jegúúh déhgash,
        I think the black side, the one I looked at [on Gaayęą's drum],

01:36   ii sǫ̀ ajuu úújuu.
        that must be the side that's not so good.

01:40   E ii k'aasenéhtah iidekéh,
        I am going to tell you about what we saw in the past,

01:42   gukeh wowajiich jii hahk'íh nahhanaajuunuu,
        we will talk to them about how our ancestors lived,

01:48   hǫ́hch'ii ʔéh,
        how it was back then,

01:51   ii tl'ǫ gwe náęchesne jéts'ę́ʔ.
        and after that, where the dreamers were.

01:55   Kénaasjííh dah náághaghaęchéʔ de shin
        háádaʔah dé.
        We remember where they lived, where they dreamed the songs that they brought back.

01:59    Dane guu tsʼę́ dayah.

        People went toward them [people went to see them].

02:01    Gwe kʼéh juuʔúú,

        That way, too,

02:03    je hááké ʔ náásehjííhdęh háákaa juuh dzenéh,

        [we'll talk about] how we live still today,

02:08    ii hehsahdǫ́h nahhaazeduu.

        and how people lived long before us.

02:12    Ii taghalé ʔ, giidúúnaanéhjiije náchę yaadéshtlʼishe,

        That drum, they rewrapped the one that the dreamer
        Gaayęą drew on,

02:16    Gaayęą, ii hááhgáádǫh makʼaahtsʼanéhtah.

        Gaayęą's, the one we looked at yesterday.

02:21    Aja hájé lǫh sǫ̀ ii kʼaatsʼanehtah kʼaachʼuu.

        It was not by accident that we looked at it.

02:24    Nááwadúút sii gúlé.

        It will come back, maybe.

02:26    Ii ghǫh ǫ̀, e dane ghaa náęché ʔ gwe.

        For that reason, he dreamed for people.

After Tommy Attachie established the theme of the Virtual Museum project, the participants traveled to seven locations to record stories. Although their performances were thematically unified following the general outline established at the planning meeting, each storyteller conceived of his or her audience in different ways. The types of generic differences in their accounts are clearly illustrated by comparing the performance of Sam Acko (also known as Sammy Acko) at Madátsʼatlʼoʔje (Snare Hill) with the performance of Billy Attachie at Nę́tlʼuk (Osborn Creek).

Sam Acko's story, which describes events that occurred at Madátsʼatlʼǫje, is an example of the Dane-zaa genre of tǫhchʼiitǫ́h wawajijé ʔ 'long ago stories,' and he begins his account with "Aadzęhdǫ́h tǫhchʼiitǫ́h" 'A long time ago,' a common frame for this type of story. As Richard Bauman (2001) has pointed out, such framing devices carry expectations as to what type of performance will follow and facilitate the recontextualization of descriptions from one performance to the next. Sam continues by contextualizing the events of the story by explaining the difficult life people had in the past as they struggled to obtain enough food by hunting during periods of intense cold. Madátsʼatlʼǫje (Snare Hill) was one of the places

where people gathered in times of hardship, because they could capture moose there by driving them into snares at one end of the hill, even after the stocks of moose at other locations had been depleted. The protagonist of the story is a young Dane-ẕaa man who maintained an exemplary lifestyle but who kept to himself so that his moose-like qualities could be concealed.

**Sam Acko at Madáts'atł'oje (Snare Hill)**
**"The Man Who Turned into a Moose" July 1, 2005**[5]

00:00   Aadzęhdǫ́h tǫhch'iidǫ́h jii
        A long time ago
00:03   Madáts'atł'oje dane yéhjii.
        they called this Madáts'atł'oje [Snare Hill].
00:06   Dane yadáádzéʔ háá ghẹdaa.
        People depended on this place to live.
00:10   Dane yadáádzé dáánejiilh.
        People depended on this place to survive.

Although Sam Acko's introduction to the story provides contextualization that could be helpful for an audience that is unfamiliar with Dane-ẕaa traditions, the main part of his account is delivered in fluent Beaver language, in a style that would be most appropriate for his immediate audience of fluent Dane-ẕaa elders steeped in local traditions. His account was challenging to transcribe and translate because of his sophisticated use of the language, including technical vocabulary such as *hadaa dzisgii* 'moose mane' and complex sentences with embedded direct discourse. It was difficult to track the many characters in the story, as they are referred to primarily with unmarked third-person verbs. When the people realized that something was peculiar about the young man, they told his brother to stay with him at all times. However, in the excitement of chasing moose toward the snares, the young man was able to elude his brother and turn into a moose in order to lead the moose past the snares, preserving a small group of moose to replenish their stocks. Although the English translations in this section typically extend well beyond the more succinct Dane-ẕaa account in an attempt to convey the action being described, it is still challenging for an English-speaking audience to visualize the events, because they are unfamiliar with the reactions of hunters and conventions for describing the hunt. In their study of Southern

Tutchone storytellers, linguists Patrick Moore and Daniel Tlen (2007) have argued that this type of sophisticated performance in native language by storytellers serves to assert the prestige of indigenous language and cultural knowledge as a countermeasure to the threat of language shift and loss of cultural knowledge.

**Sam Acko at Madáts'atl'ǫje (Snare Hill)**
**"The Man Who Turned into a Moose" (continued)**

04:58 Háá jǫ ęhtsezǫh guu naadę sǫ̂,
       All of a sudden, right in front of them,

05:04 hadaa taawadéhsat jii.
       the moose all ran off.

05:07 Jii lhígé ęhchaage guts'ę̂gúh hadaa taawaadéhsat úh,
       One moose and then another separated from the rest of the
       herd and started to run away.

05:12 "Jii naade ustlę. Juude jii naade nętleh,"
       "I'm going to go around this way really fast. You go around
       that way and turn the moose around,"
       yéhjii juude sǫ̂ yaanewóʔǫh,
       he said [the younger brother to his older brother], Everything
       happened so quickly,

05:17 ę wanehjuude juude yanáeʔaak.
       the young man was able to fool his brother who was trying
       to stay close to him.

05:20 Juude yanáeʔaak hǫ́hch'ii.
       He fooled him.

05:24 Jii lhígé déhsǫ adę lhígé déhsǫ dę.
       While the young brother ran after one moose, his older
       brother ran after the other one.

05:27 Ii wats'ęh zǫh najwé.
       Then he was gone.

While Sam Acko provides additional contextualization for a wider audience, the core of his account was not simplified for a potential Internet audience. In contrast, Billy Attachie, in his account at Nętl'uk (Osborn River), chooses to provide a general orientation for an audience that lacks familiarity with the local language and traditions. His observations

were quite general and make use of short statements that could readily be translated into English. He frames his performance by providing the date, a convention he may have adopted from anthropologists who include such information to later identify the recording.

**Billy Attachie at Nętłʼuk (Osborn River)[6]**

| 00:00 | Juuhd̲zenéh, July sixth, 2005. |
| | Today is July sixth, 2005. |
| 00:09 | Jǫ atsʼachʼę Nętłʼuk dę; |
| | We are here at Nętłʼuk, [the end of the flat]; |
| 00:12 | jǫ laa Nętłʼuk wúúzhe. |
| | this place is called Nętłʼuk. |
| 00:15 | Tǫ́hchedǫ́h, jǫ dane náájeh, jǫ dę. |
| | Long ago, people used to live here, right here. |
| 00:23 | Ii kwą̂ wǫ́lę gwe kwą̂ wǫtlǫ. |
| | There were many houses. |
| 00:26 | Haat̲seh júúhje |
| | The first ones over here |
| 00:28 | north tsʼégúúh dane nááje eh, |
| | lived north of here, |
| 00:31 | e ii watłʼǫh yeh tsʼelę̨gae wadzis ę̨htsęʔ. |
| | and later on they lived by the creek. |

Billy's full account provides an overview of the life of Dane-z̲aa at Osborn River and other locations in the early twentieth century. Billy Attachie has extensive experience as a translator working with anthropologists and linguists. He may have been inclined to craft his presentation based on his perceptions of the level of knowledge of a non-Dane-z̲aa audience. Although he spoke in Dane-z̲aa Z̲áágéʔ, he relied on basic descriptions to deliver a clear picture for a diverse Internet audience.

The variation in the Dane-z̲aa speakers' presentation styles enhances the appeal of the Web site. Viewers can experience a range of genres requiring different degrees of interpretation. The storytellers have extensive experience working with academic researchers and seeing the ways indigenous cultures are represented in publications, in films, and on television. For them, self-representation through storytelling and singing has become a common experience. The variation in the approaches they take

to these performances indicates the extent of their involvement in, and knowledge of, indigenous documentary projects, as well as differences in their training and social roles.

### Curation and Interpretation: The Politics of Voice

Sam Acko's narrative "The Man Who Turned into a Moose," told at Madá-ts'atł'ǫje, was filmed along an old seismic cut, tangible evidence of the extensive oil and gas exploration and extraction activity in the area. Photographs of the process of recording this narrative are featured prominently on the Madáts'atł'ǫje page[7] and throughout the exhibition. An example of hypermedia, these photographs, along with interpretive text and links to other places and narratives, contextualize the narrative to a greater degree than text or video alone could do. In this way we can see that the project offers a textual and audio-visually reflexive reading of the actual production of the narrative and of the representation of Dane-ẕaa culture, histories, and language.

The production of the virtual exhibit was a collaborative process, and the storytellers demonstrated agency in communication to a range of audiences. Still, translating the narratives and the inclusion of the translations and transcriptions within the exhibit raise questions that anthropologists and folklorists have been grappling with since the emergence of performance studies and reflexivity articulated in *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore* (Parades and Bauman 1971) and *Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus 1986). To what extent do the translations impose language as "a figurative, structuring power that constitutes the subject who speaks as well as the one that is spoken to" (Poster 1990:14)? David MacDougall's description of Asch and Marshall's initial excitement at the idea of subtitling ethnographic films is tempered by his assertion that subtitling itself does not negate ethnographic obscurations of the subject's voice, as Asch and Marshall might have hoped. For MacDougall, the act of converting raw recorded speech into subtitles is a process of creating a written text. This text is negotiated by the filmmaker and translator, and the result is the writing of a definitive version of a narrative that banishes alternative readings (MacDougall 1998:174). In other words, the process of interpretation and translation is, and has always been, subjective.

To attempt to address this methodological and epistemological concern, the exhibit curators, Amber Ridington and Kate Hennessy, had to make decisions about the form that the narrative translations and tran-

scriptions would take within the exhibit. Financially, it was not feasible to subtitle videos in English, in Dane-ẕaa Záágéʔ, and in French as required by the funder. Also, throughout the production and translation process, orthographic spellings were continually adjusted. This meant that it was essential for the design team to be able to replace words as more accurate spellings emerged. The team chose to present translations adjacent to the video window rather than within the video frame. In this way, transcriptions could be replaced as necessary without re-creating every video. More importantly, the translations and transcriptions could be viewed together, reflecting both spoken Dane-ẕaa Záágéʔ and the English translations that were produced together by Doig River community members and linguists.[8] Aware of local Beaver literacy initiatives, the curators thought that giving the translations a longer amount of time on-screen would make them easier to read. While this method may not resolve the issues of authority and power that MacDougall raises, it at least represents a *process* of translation that sits alongside, rather than obscures, Sam Acko's narrative performance. In addition, for those interested in studying the textual representation more closely, the transcript is available for download as a PDF file.

The selection of these narratives and their translation and transcription were only the beginning of an interpretive curatorial process that informs our understanding of ethnopoetics and ethnography, and the many layers of translation that contribute to Dane-ẕaa representations in this hypermedia context. Talal Asad (1986) writes that one of the tasks of social anthropology that emerged after the 1950s was the use of ethnography in the translation of cultures. He, like MacDougall, also discusses the power differential in this process, in which the words of the culture as object are often replaced with the voice of authority of an outsider. One of our goals for the *Dane Wajich* exhibit, as curators and interpretive text writers, was to facilitate the community's self-representation. To this end, the curators drew on the participatory process and the inclusion of the community in reviewing multiple prototypes and drafts of the exhibit in order to make sure it represented their culture as they wanted it shown to a worldwide audience.

Even though the curators wrote the interpretive text that frames the primary video and audio documents in the exhibit, they were directed by the community to write it in the first person so that the voices of the Doig River people were prioritized. To do this, Kate and Amber had to identify

and figuratively translate the messages and themes from the videos and the planning and review meetings, and re-present them in a manner that would be both comprehensible and engaging to an outside audience unfamiliar with Dane-ẕaa culture or tradition. In essence, the curators used their ethnographic skills to translate the messages and themes from the primary audio and video selected for the exhibition into textual summaries which were then supplemented by graphics, such as maps and photographs. This multimedia approach allowed them to present the material in a number of formats so that, like the narratives themselves, the material would be accessible by multiple audiences and cultures.

The community chose to assert the primacy and existence of the Dane-ẕaa language by using it as frequently as possible on the Web site. They labeled places that are more commonly known by English names with their Dane-ẕaa place-names. The interactive medium of the Web site enabled the inclusion of audio clips that were activated as the mouse rolls over the word, so that it could be heard as well as read. In addition, the primary video documents were orthographically transcribed in Beaver as well as translated into English. All of these bilingual (Beaver and English) transcriptions place Beaver first, ahead of the English translation. These cyber-techniques are political statements claiming cultural authority. Because of the historical inequality between the Beaver and English languages, it was important for the Doig River people to assert the legitimacy of their oral culture through textual representation in the exhibit. As the Canadian government exercised their colonial policy of cultural assimilation, Doig River people, like most other Aboriginal groups in Canada, were forbidden to speak their own language while they were in school. Several of the stories that were told at Aláá? Ṣatǫ/Petersen's Crossing described experiences of punishment for using their Native language in school. Many children who were punished became ashamed of their language and chose not to teach it to their children.

However, unlike the children of many other First Nations, Dane-ẕaa children were never taken from their families and placed in residential schools. They returned to their homes every afternoon and spoke the Beaver language with their families. Until the late 1970s, most children spoke and understood Beaver. Television, which became available to the Doig River First Nation only in the 1980s, and co-education with white students had a great impact on the loss of the Beaver language; the children became immersed in an English-speaking environment. Now, lan-

guage revitalization is a priority for Dane-ẕaa communities, and many elders have made efforts to teach their grandchildren their language. As May Apsassin said in her video included in the exhibit: "That's what I was saying to my family. I say, 'Go to school, hang on to your language, hang on to your tradition way of living, and you be a hundred percent good person.'"[9] The *Dane Wajich* virtual exhibit has helped to build a public presence and to strengthen a positive public identity for the Doig River First Nation as indigenous Dane-ẕaa people. Both the process of creating the exhibition and the final public product copyrighted by the Doig River First Nation are forms of social action inextricably tied to multiple forms of translation.

**Indigenous Heritage and the Internet:**
**Emerging Issues in Intellectual Property**

During the fieldwork and storyboarding process, the curators assembled far more information than could possibly be included in the exhibition. Selecting which stories, what places, and what type of interpretive text to include as part of the Web site was part of the multifaceted translation process that emerged in the community exhibit review. It is within this process of selecting information to share with an outside audience that a new intellectual property rights discourse developed—which ultimately meant that a great deal of material originally selected for inclusion was removed from the exhibition.

As Amber and Kate have described (2008), the exhibit raised many questions at the heart of the politics of cultural representation: How can curators and communities balance the benefits of sharing Aboriginal cultural heritage with the necessity of protecting it? Can consensus be reached over what is appropriate to show a worldwide audience versus a local audience? How is local intellectual property rights discourse constituted? The *Dane Wajich* exhibit facilitated discussion about all of these questions and focused on emerging protocols for the use and distribution of images and sound recordings from the Ridington-Dane-ẕaa digital archive, particularly with regard to the digital distribution of these valued cultural materials to new global audiences on the Internet.

Robin Ridington has published pictures of the last Dane-ẕaa dreamer, Charlie Yahey, in a number of publications that the communities know about, value, and have access to. Yet in the course of this virtual museum project, and in the context of discussions related to the reach of the

Internet, intellectual property rights and obtaining permissions from community members to use the materials became an issue. After extensive dialogue as part of the community review process, facilitated by Amber and Kate in their capacity as project co-curators, it became clear that permission would be required from both the copyright holders and the intellectual property right holders for this Web-based project. However, we found that it is not always simple to determine who the intellectual property right holders are, especially with materials from people like Charlie Yahey who are now deceased. Some saw dreamers' songs and drawings as collective cultural property, while others began to claim it as individual and family cultural property.

The Doig River community ultimately decided that relevant families—and particularly the recognized family head or elders—should help decide how and where the materials relating to their family are publicly circulated. Throughout his lifetime, Charlie Yahey was a member of the Fort St. John band. In 1978, two years after his death, the Fort St. John band split into the Blueberry River and Doig River First Nations. Charlie Yahey's immediate descendants, who are now members of the Blueberry River First Nation, decided that they did not want pictures or recordings of Charlie Yahey included in the Doig River production, in part because they wanted to save them for use in a production of their own. The Doig River people, many of whom are closely related to Charlie Yahey through blood or marriage, still talk about their memories of Charlie Yahey and about the importance of his prophecies for their people. However, because of concerns expressed by members of the Yahey family, the curators decided not to include sound recordings of Charlie Yahey that Robin had collected, along with their accompanying translations and transcriptions, in the exhibition. Because Charlie Yahey had said on tape that through Robin's recordings "The world will listen to my voice," this decision was a difficult one.

The reasons for this materials' removal reflect emerging intellectual property rights concerns faced by many First Nations as they begin to exercise control over both their oral and material cultural heritage (see, for instance, Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Brown 2003; Karp et al. 2006). The immediate concerns that arose, however, seem to have more to do with divisions between different Dane-ẕaa communities than with an agreement about restricting access to their shared heritage. Because Robin's audio documents contain what amounts to a verbal agreement between him and

Charlie Yahey that the tapes should be made available to a wide audience ("The world will listen to my voice"), it is difficult to know whether this verbal permission to reproduce tape recordings should extend to distribution on the Internet. Neither Charlie nor Robin could have known that this technology would come into existence, although Charlie as a dreamer and prophet certainly used his powers to see into the future. Many of his prophecies tell about the present industrialization of Dane-ẕaa territory, and members of his family and larger community credit him with remarkable prophetic insight.

The Yahey family is concerned that it may not be possible to guarantee that the material is protected and handled in a culturally appropriate manner on a public medium like the Internet. They feel that their right to control the public use of their cultural heritage materials must always be acknowledged through the courtesy of asking permission. Ultimately, the Doig River community did choose to share a large selection of cultural heritage materials from their community, but they also chose to remove from the exhibit culturally sensitive materials deemed by some to be too powerful for uncontrolled access on the Internet. The approved materials include archival recordings and pictures taken without a public audience in mind as well as the newly recorded video and images, which were taken anticipating a public and global audience; both can be seen throughout the exhibition. We hope that sharing some of the details of the participatory process utilized during the creation of the *Dane Wajich* exhibit will be valuable to others working with the public display of similar politically charged cultural materials from other First Nations communities.

## Conclusion

This chapter has described our use of video and Web-based media to represent "interlinear" translations of ethnographic texts. It also has placed our own work within the context of the history and development of translation, transcription, and interpretation in anthropology and ethnographic film. Indigenous-directed video projects like the Igloolik Isuma productions, as well as Doig River's 2007 *Dane Wajich* exhibition, exemplify the potential of new visual media to show original performances in indigenous languages alongside their textual translations. We hope that both the performances we have described and the accompanying interlinear translations will become a valuable resource for Dane-ẕaa, and others

interested in their culture, who may wish to learn Dane-ẕaa Ẕáágéʔ with the benefit of both spoken and written materials.

Our experience indicates that translation and the choices involved in textual and visual representations are part of a subjective process. Each representation carries different connotations reflecting the decisions of each agent involved in the original and translated performances. It is only by acknowledging and detailing the processes involved in translation that a reader can understand it more fully. Many early ethnographers did not describe the process of translation, and no technology existed to enable them to create audio or video documentation of the performances. We are fortunate to have modern methods that enable us to better convey the original meanings and to represent the voice of the original speakers. Most importantly, we are aided by the best tool of all—the collaboration and cooperation of the people of the Doig River First Nation. We hope our work is worthy of their trust.

## Notes

Robin Ridington and Jillian Ridington are ethnographers, Patrick Moore is a linguistic anthropologist, Kate Hennessy is a visual anthropologist, and Amber Ridington is a folklorist.

1. See the book of that title, *When You Sing It Now, Just Like New*, by Robin and Jillian Ridington.

2. Co-curators Amber Ridington and Kate Hennessy coordinated the initial production process; coordinated and facilitated the tasks of all the team members and partners; wrote, edited, and curated content; worked with multimedia designers on drafts of the exhibit design; and also conducted a number of community consultations and exhibit reviews at Doig River between 2004 and 2007. They also worked with two different chiefs, and their councillors, during the course of the project, each with different perspectives and concerns about sharing and protecting their culture with the public and on the Internet.

Throughout the production and consultation process, Robin and Jillian Ridington assisted the curators by drawing on their own wealth of knowledge and experience in Dane-ẕaa communities to provide contextualizing information for the exhibit's interpretive text, and suggestions for the use of particular archival images, texts, and sound recordings from the repatriated digital archive.

3. To address one of the community's core concerns, about language documentation and revitalization, the community also formed a partnership with linguistic anthropologist Dr. Patrick Moore (University of British Columbia) and

Dr. Dagmar Jung (University of Cologne), who had recently received funding from the German Volkswagen Foundation for Beaver language documentation. Working with Dane-ẕaa language experts such as Billy Attachie, Madeline Oker, and Eddie Apsassin, Moore, Jung, and their colleague Julia Miller were able to use these funds for extensive translation and orthographic transcription of Dane-ẕaa Ẕáágéʔ, both for use in the virtual exhibit and for use in local language revitalization programs and oral history projects.

 4. Online at http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/Exhibitions/Danewajich/english/stories/video.php?action=fla/tommyatcomplex.

 5. Online at http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/Exhibitions/Danewajich/english/stories/video.php?action=fla/sasnarehill.

 6. Online at http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/Exhibitions/Danewajich/english/stories/video.php?action=fla/billyosborne.

 7. Online at http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/Exhibitions/Danewajich/english/places/snare_hill.php.

 8. View an example online at http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/Exhibitions/Danewajich/english/stories/video.php?action=fla/sasnarehill.

 9. Online at http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/Exhibitions/Danewajich/english/stories/video.php?action=fla/maymontney.

## References

Asad, Talal. 1986. The Concept of Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology. In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford and George Marcus, 141–64. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bauman, Richard. 2001. Genre. In *Key Terms in Language and Culture*, ed. Alessandro Duranti, 79–82. Oxford: Blackwell.

Boas, Franz. 1916. Tsimshian Mythology. Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1909–1910:29–1037. Washington DC.

———. 1921. *Ethnology of the Kwakiutl*. Washington DC: Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Volumes 1 and 2.

Bringhurst, Robert. 1999. *A Story as Sharp as a Knife*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre.

Brown, Michael F. 2003. *Who Owns Native Culture?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Clifford, James, and George Marcus, eds. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cruikshank, Julie. 1987. Negotiating with Narrative: Establishing Cultural Identity at the Yukon International Storytelling Festival. *American Anthropologist* 99 (1): 56–69.

Doig River First Nation. 2000. *Dane-ẕaa Dreamers' Songs: 1966–1999*. Audio CD edited by Robin Ridington, Garry Oker, and Stacy Shaak. Rose Prairie: Doig River First Nation.

———. 2001. *Contact the People*. Digital Video (DVD). Rose Prairie: Doig River First Nation.

———. 2003. *Ridington/Dane-ẕaa Digital Archive*. Rose Prairie: Doig River First Nation. www.fishability.biz/Doig.

———. 2004. *Hadaa ka naadzet: The Dane-ẕaa Moose Hunt*. www.moosehunt.doigriverfn.com.

———. 2006. *They Dream about Everything*. Digital Video (DVD). Rose Prairie: Doig River First Nation.

———. 2007. *Dane Wajich—Dane-ẕaa Stories and Songs: Dreamers and the Land*. Virtual Museum of Canada Exhibit: www.virtualmuseum.ca/Exhibitions/Danewajich.

Duranti, Alessandro. 2003. Language as Culture in U.S. Anthropology: Three Paradigms. *Current Anthropology* 44 (3): 323–47.

Fletcher, Alice C., and Francis La Flesche. 1911. *The Omaha Tribe*. Washington DC: Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Foley, John Miles. 2005. From Oral Performance to Paper-Text to Cyber-Edition. *Oral Tradition* 20 (2): 233–63.

Goddard, Pliny. 1916. Beaver Texts. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 10 (2): 67–170. New York.

Hymes, Dell. 1981. *"In Vain I Tried to Tell You": Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Karp, Ivan, Corine A. Krats, Lynne Szwaja, and Tomas Ybarra-Frausto. 2006. *Museum Frictions*. Durham: Duke University Press.

MacDougall, David. 1995. Subtitling Ethnographic Films: Archetypes into Individualities. *Visual Anthropology Review* 11 (1): 83–91.

———. 1998. Beyond Observational Cinema. In *Transcultural Cinema*, 125–39. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Maud, Ralph. 2000. *Transmission Difficulties: Franz Boas and Tsimshian Mythology*. Burnaby, British Columbia: Talonbooks.

Moore, Patrick, and Daniel Tlen. 2006. Indigenous Linguistics and Land Claims: The Semiotic Projection of Athabaskan Directionals in Elijah Smith's Radio Work. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 17 (2): 266–86.

Parades, Americo, and Richard Bauman, eds. 1971. *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Pink, Sarah. 2006. *The Future of Visual Anthropology*. London: Routledge.

Poster, Mark. 1990. *The Mode of Information: Poststructuralism and Social Context*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Rasmussen, Knud. 1929. *Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos*. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921–24. Vol. 7, no. 1. Copenhagen: Glydendalske Boghandel.

———. 1976. *The Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos*. Trans. W. Worster. New York: AMS Press.

Ridington, Amber, and Kate Hennessy. 2008. Building Indigenous Agency through Web-Based Exhibition: Dane Wajich—Dane-ẕaa Stories and Songs: Dreamers and the Land. In *Museums and the Web 2008: Proceedings*, ed. J. Trant and D. Bearman. Toronto: Archives & Museums Informatics. http://archimuse.com/mw2008/papers/ridington/ridington.html.

Ridington, Robin. 1978. *Swan People: A Study of the Dunne-za Prophet Dance*. National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, Ethnology Service Paper 38. Ottawa.

———. 1981. Beaver Indians. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 6, ed. June Helm, 350–60. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution.

———. 1988. *Trail to Heaven: Knowledge and Narrative in a Northern Native Community*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre.

Ridington, Robin, and Jillian Ridington. 2003. Archiving Actualities: Sharing Authority with Dane-ẕaa First Nations. *Comma: International Journal on Archives* 1:61–68.

———. 2006. *When You Sing It Now, Just Like New*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Rothenberg, Jerome, and Dennis Tedlock. 1970–80. *Alcheringa Ethnopoetics*.

Soukup, Katarina. 2006. Report: Travelling Through Layers: Inuit Artists Appropriate New Technologies. *Canadian Journal of Communication* 31:239–46.

Swanton, John R. 1905. *Haida Texts and Myths*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 29. Washington.

Tedlock, Dennis. 1972. *Finding the Center: Narrative Poetry of the Zuni Indians*. Trans. Dennis Tedlock from Performances in the Zuni by Andrew Peynetsa and Walter Sanchez. New York: Dial Press.

———. 1991. The Speaker of Tales Has More Than One String to Play On. In *Anthropological Poetics*, ed. Ivan Brady, 309–40. Savage MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Tuhiwai Smith, Linda. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.