

## Lake Iliamna Interview # 9

Interviewer: *Before we begin, is there anything you would like to share? What are your impressions of growing up here on the lake?*

Respondent: When we were growing up we moved around; our father trapped to make extra monies, so we went from campsite to campsite along the Kvichak [River] until it [turned] cold around Russian Christmas time. That house over there [gesturing] was our house growing up, past the church. There was only like ours, [village resident's], and [village resident's]; there was only like eight houses here growing up.

Interviewer: *Did family and friends share stories with you when you were younger?*

Respondent: They used to tell us stories, but not in great detail. [They used to] take me across the river to go berry pick; they'd tell me stories about fish going out the Kvichak and across the bay to lay their eggs there. Or people go gather greens in the spring time; [they would tell us] where to get them. Nowadays when you read a book to a child, it's not like that; it was all verbal.

Interviewer: *Do you remember any favorite stories? Do you have any favorite memories?*

Respondent: In the spring time, starting like maybe April, you'll start seeing the ice and the snow melting; we used to have lots of snow, like over five feet. [Now it is] not like when I was growing up; you had to carve a path [in the snow]. So spring time was the best time; it wasn't too cold. [The weather in spring] was almost similar to this. It is almost nine o'clock now [and it is light out].

Interviewer: *Do you recall experiencing earthquakes during your lifetime? Did you ever hear stories about earthquakes?*

Respondent: The only earthquake I heard about was way over on the Branch River, when we were over in Levelock in 1964. [During the earthquake] the ice was just a wave. We had spruce trees like they got over here, and they were just swaying. My mother and I were in the house. Dad came in and told us to stand by the door; he told us to stand there just in case the house fell down. We could see the trees just swaying.

Interviewer: *How long ago was it when people used to stay along the Branch River?*

Respondent: Where is it [looking at a map]; [Mount] Katmai is over there, so [Branch River is] that area. Oh it was years ago [that people lived there]; I can't even remember what time it was [that the earthquake happened]. You know how the water comes up when there's no ice? The water comes up and then goes back down, like a tidal wave is what it's called nowadays. Well, Blind Gramma, we call her Blind Gramma, she has all kinds of good stories. Everywhere the people went they walked; they packed whatever they needed for a month or so. Then the water come up, and then came back down; it didn't seem to bother anybody. Most everybody stayed close to the water edge in those years; that's how they've traveled.

Interviewer: *Have you noticed areas around the lake where landslides have happened?*

Respondent: Further down the river, most of the ground around there is clay. Every spring you will see some [of the river bank] come down. Over by the generator this last year it eroded down to the fence almost; farther up, maybe like six or eight miles where the high banks are. This way, closer where the east wind is, like in October or November, the east winds [come through the] big mountains.

Interviewer: *Have you seen evidence of landslides in the region? Have you heard stories about them?*

Respondent: My dad walked from Kukaklek [Lake] to Big Mountain and he seen where, [I don't know] if it was an earthquake or what, but it had slid down on the bank right close to the lake by Big Mountain. There was no road [there] in those years, there was only a path; a little, narrow path.

Interviewer: *Have you observed areas in the tundra that appear cracked, as if the ground was tearing apart?*

Respondent: When we pick salmon berries they used to tell us to take a stick because salmonberries grow where it's really swampy; if the ground is not so firm even, and you want to go over there, it's bottomless, it's like a pit, and you sink on down.

Interviewer: *Why is it so swampy in those areas?*

Respondent: When we were growing up by [a friend's] house, where the school is now, it used to be swampy and these humps is where the salmonberries used to grow. That's where they used to grow, and [they would also grow near] the upper end of the airport and the two lakes by [a friend's] house. As far as I can remember, from here to where [a friend's] house is, before they made this new road, it's been like that. [We used to] go up where there's little ponds up there.

Interviewer: *Have you observed areas of sand located far away from the lake?*

Respondent: Only over toward the bluffs across the lake [have I seen areas of sand in the tundra]; that's the only place I've ever seen. I don't know if the lake dried up. Those bluffs, when you guys ski up you'll see them [after the] upper end of the lagoon here.

Interviewer: *Have you experienced, or remember hearing stories about volcanic eruptions?*

Respondent: Not that I can remember.

Interviewer: *Did you hear stories about the Mount Katmai eruption in 1912?*

Respondent: I heard stories about that, and people that lived close to the eruption moved down to Naknek because of the ash, and no more game [or] berries. They said it was quite a bit [of ash].

Interviewer: *Have you noticed areas around the lake with exposed layers of sand, or soft sediments?*

Respondent: I'm sure it is because these bluffs over here [have layers of sand], and just before Lower Talarik [Creek] there's another bluff that comes out.

Interviewer: *Have you observed areas with swirled layers of sediment?*

Respondent: When we go berry pick we could go from here on the lake with the 4-wheeler, and you can take a ride further up and you can see [the bluffs] will be dark and light and dark and light; up where you guys were skiing down from Kokhanok, on this side of Big Mountain.

Interviewer: *Have you seen areas where the sediments contain peat layers underneath layers of non-organic sediments?*

Respondent: [I think I have seen what] almost looks like petrified wood. You see them in the summer time, [and] fall time when you go boating; we go to Big Mountain to have picnics.

Interviewer: *Have you ever known the lake water to rise or drop significantly? Have you heard stories about this?*

Respondent: Only when Iliamna Lake is rough [does the water level change significantly], like last fall there was seven skiffs that got drifted during the night downriver because they got really high winds. Right across here, [by] the little batch of ice we have here, we have a sandbar close to the mouth of the lake and [the water] will go past those little green houses there. You'll see moose standing up to their knees; in the morning you see them. That's where we went to pick blueberries, and cranberries. [In the past there were] not many trees like there is now, when I used to be across the river with my grandparents. You could see people walking around in this side, what local people there was, over there where the lodges are there used to be no trees, no buildings, just there used to be like a lighthouse, but it's a light that comes on at night for the fall time for the boats. It used to be just no, maybe like 40 years ago, because I'm 67, there was no trees across there; you could see all over there.

Interviewer: *Have you observed areas with new creeks or rivers, or where they have disappeared?*

Respondent: I've seen some down Kaskanak [Creek] when we go goose hunting down there, because up toward this where we go berry pick there's no creeks or little valleys, but down [near] Kaskanak there's quite a few. Across the river, past the lagoons there's quite a few of them valleys.

Interviewer: *Have you noticed areas in the lake that seem to be perpetually muddy?*

Respondent: I've never seen; only thing I've ever seen close to the beach was like a bunch of sticklebacks, [the water was] just dark. Other than that I've never seen anything dirty, muddy; the lake is always clear.

Interviewer: *Have you experienced, or heard stories about major storm events?*

Respondent: There used to be a barge to bring fuel from Dillingham, [to] Naknek and up the bay; you could see this barge [with a] 15 foot antenna, and it used to go down under the waves. I don't like to look over that direction; people always talk about Iliamna Lake monsters because we don't know what they are. We saw something like driftwood when it was blowing 80 miles an hour, and it was going across the lake. And we saw it going across the lake in the springtime. Seems like we get[storms] around October. [The weather has] been [warming] for the past 20 years it seems like. I notice there's not that much snow; when I was growing up we used to travel with dog teams and go to other villages like Kokhanok. In the '70s and '80s is when the 3-wheelers, 4-wheelers were coming about.

Interviewer: *Have you observed changes to the winter weather you experience here?*

Respondent: It was always cold and lots of snow [in the past]. I guess we were used to playing outside, but now you know we have this constant heat and you step outside and it seems cold!

Interviewer: *Have you experienced flooding, or heard stories about flooding events?*

Respondent: Not that I know of; we were down [near] Kaskanak when the river froze and Iliamna Lake had ice maybe 5, 6 inches and it broke up whenever it was frozen down there. The Kvichak River raised and my father put the tent on higher ground because we were close to the bank.

Interviewer: *Have you ever experienced tundra/forest fires here, or heard stories about them?*

Respondent: Years ago there [was a fire] behind the village here; we used to see old, dead trees [there]. I don't know what years those [fires] were, over the Alganak, Branch River.

Interviewer: *Have you noticed any changes to seasonal weather here?*

Respondent: Seems like some summers, they stay hotter than normal and we see different kinds of bugs we never see before. I don't know, what do you call those like little caterpillars? There never used to be that many. We had a picnic down Kaskanak [recently], and you could just see them; I never used to see them.

Interviewer: *Have you observed other plants/animals that are new to the area? Have you noticed other species of plants and animals that are now gone?*

Respondent: There was some kind of [new] plant out the road after they made that new road; i think the pictures are up at the hangar. [My friend] said, "Come with me, I want to show you something." There was a clump here, and a clump there; maybe it came with that machinery. I think, you have to ask [my friends]; they took pictures and looked it up on the internet.

Interviewer: *Have you observed any new or disappearing animal species?*

Respondent: We have been seeing the same old ducks and geese and swans. Occasionally we'll see eider ducks because they're down Bristol Bay area, but we've occasionally seen them here. We used to have electrical wires and it hit like 15 years ago. Somebody further down by [my friend's house] somewhere called fish and game and send it to King Salmon.

Interviewer: *Has the timing of freeze up and breakup changed during your lifetime?*

Respondent: We have more overflow than we used to when we were growing up. I don't know why it is; I never asked people that know. Right up here past [a friend's house], close to the mouth [of the Kvichak River], it must have been this high, eight foot high overflow. It's not this high yet. My oldest granddaughter, I had her on the sled and took a picture of her on the overflow. She's going to be 17 this month, and she must have been two years old [when the picture was taken].

Interviewer: *Have you noticed any changes in wind patterns?*

Respondent: [No]. We have mostly southwest wind, and northeast wind, but in the fall time we get the east wind before the lake freezes. [The wind] hits the beach across the river by the lodges and it will spray [sand] right into the lodges.

Interviewer: *Do you have permafrost here? Has the permafrost changed at all during your lifetime?*

Respondent: There is permafrost around because it gets pretty slick; there's permafrost down by the bank near my house. I think that's why down toward the generator house and before the fish and game landing there's been a lot of slides.

Interviewer: *Have you observed any changes to the rivers? Have any rivers changed course?*

Respondent: Down [near] the flats [the river] does that every spring; you have to find a new channel to go down. It's called the braids I think down here, maybe 12 miles down. The ice melts down and kind of rolls over when it gets shallow.

Interviewer: *Generally, have you noticed the environment to be getting any wetter or drier?*

Respondent: It's always been, Igiugig has always been swampy like this. The newest lake we have is on the other side of the airport; we call it Christina's Lake, and it's by the airport.

Interviewer: *Have there been any changes to your subsistence use, or to subsistence resources?*

Respondent: I haven't seen moose or caribou across the river here for last 10 years I think; they used to come down [in the] spring time, fall time and go back into higher thicker timber back there.

Interviewer: *Do the subsistence resources you utilize appear healthy?*

Respondent: Yeah, far as I know, [they are] pretty healthy. We get, like last year we had hardly any cranberries; they didn't grow, and we had to hunt for them but we had black, blue, and salmon [berries]. Cranberries we had to look around [for].

Interviewer: *Have you heard stories about starvation in the area?*

Respondent: Well, years ago they used to say, "You only get what you can handle, and there will be more coming down the following years, and don't waste anything." All the older people, my grandparents and aunts and uncles, they don't use their sites. Even [an elder couple] don't go to their campsite [anymore]; they just put a net up and come back here. Every spring when school is out we would go down Kaskanak and go to fish camp. Us and my aunt would go downriver, and we would go three miles downriver, when we were younger like [during the] middle part of August. It was a lot [of fish we harvested], even backbones; we tied up the backbones, and we used it for dog food instead of this modern dog food nowadays. My dad had eight, 10 dogs. Nowadays I think I put up 100 fish; we used to have a huge fish rack about as big as my house, and we would put up the backbones up there. Then, in August you put them in boxes or in the shed.

Years ago you do fish; like when we used to do fish down [near] Levelock, 56 miles downriver, we do fish about a week straight. Morning time and evening tide, the tide goes in and out down there. The tide comes about 17 miles up Levelock; belugas come from down the bay. There was even killer whales down Levelock on the ice. I know, it must have been [in the] early '80s because our kids were still in school here; it was in the spring time and an old dead whale had floated in with the tide. Walruses all bloated up. We get freshwater seals here [too]. When somebody comes down, or the [someone] will call and say, "They're half a mile downriver." You see them on the lake when you're out boating.

## Lake Iliamna Interview # 10

Interviewer: *Before we begin, is there anything you want to share? Do you have any questions?*

Respondent: [I was born at] Kukaklek [Lake]; used to be reindeer station. Used to be lots of people, but when we get good [fishing] season, 1942, everyone went [away] except us.

Interviewer: *Was story telling an important part of your youth?*

Respondent: I got lots of stories because my parents used to take care of old people before we got money; two of them died up at Kukaklek. My favortie storyteller is my a'pa, and my brother; he tell us to cook outdoors. Sometimes only one of us my apa took care of. I always cooked everything; ground squirrel, he keep that meat for everything. [We eat] ducks and ground squirrels; strong, fast.

Interviewer: *Have you experienced, or remember stories about the ground shaking/earthquakes?*

Respondent: [I remember an earthquake in] 1964; big one. I was holding baby at Kokhanok. An old man told us not to stay in the house, to go [outside]. An old lady fishing in the lake she said she can't stand up, [and was] crawling up to the beach, leaving her fish; at Kokhanok. [The earthquake] never damaged nothing. The Christmas tree make noise [at the time of the earthquake]; part of [Lake Iliamna] cracked.

Interviewer: *Have you experienced fallout from volcanoes, or heard stories about volcanic eruptions?*

Respondent: My mom used to talk about [volcanoes], when [one] blew up; [Mount] Katmai. She said nobody can eat no more [because of] lots of ash falling. My dad said he walked in the ash [up to his thighs]. One poor old lady they just left at Katmai. Everybody moved out of sight [at that time], and they just left her; poor old lady. They tried to get water. My dad take them to South Naknek with the canoe, leave the Katmai; poor lady. [They had] only water; no food. [It was] tough, but they make it though. They bring them down to South Naknek. [It erupted] before salmon come, but [ash fallout] didn't go to the other side; it blew this way and killed the salmon, but it didn't go that way.

Interviewer: *Have you seen evidence of, or heard stories about landslides near the lake?*

Respondent: I didn't see that yet. The stories [from a] long time ago, [people came] way up and couldn't move this way; the mouth [of the Kvichak River] changed. That's why Igiugig used to be on the other side [of the] Kvichak. [On] this side of the lagoon, a big open used to be there. A long time ago [something] move them around. [The dry channel above the lodges] used to be the mouth of Kvichak. Two mountains blew up; Katmai, and that mountain up there, the other one over there. Rock [fell from the sky], [and the] ground was shaking. When ground starts shaking nobody can eat, can't handle the food; that's what mama used to tell us.

Interviewer: *Have you ever observed areas in the tundra that appear sunken?*

Respondent: That's when the dogs go, they sink; that's kind of a scary place, like swamp. My apa [told a story], my mama's dad, [about the ground sinking]; scary.

Interviewer: *Are you aware of any bluffs around the lake with soft/sandy layers?*

Respondent: Most of them up there [past the lagoon], and this side too, [are soft and sandy]. [There are] big boulders over there too, like sediment boulders; some are a bunch of rocks altogether. They're quite sandy, and these ones by Big Mountain are more rocky; other side is more sand.

Interviewer: *Have you ever observed sand deposits in the tundra, perhaps far away from the lake?*

Respondent: [I have seen deposits of sand] by berry patch further inland, a mile and a half, maybe four miles. [Near the] trails for getting wood, one is a big sandy area, [and the] trail to Peck's Creek, going towards that there are rocky, beach gravel patches. [When there was a] reindeer station at Kukaklek Lake, [my] dad used to walk from Kukaklek to Rocky Point; I always took the dog with me [because] dogs carry can stuff. I used to use dogs all the time, no machines. Somewhere around '60 the first snowmachine [was used in this area]. [Fish camp] used to be nice; I first moved in 1955 [when construction crews took rocks from her fish camp in] 1952 or 53. Hurricane force winds eroded the fish camp out; extreme erosion took the protective barrier away from hauling airport rock.

Interviewer: *Have you ever known the lake water level to change, perhaps suddenly? Have you heard stories about this?*

Respondent: This summer [was the] first time I've seen lots of water since I live up here; first time I seen that much water in the lake. Too much rain; lots of rain, that's why. The Branch River was like that, so my dad moved. As far as I know, my dad told stories about that; everybody moved, found dry spot. We used to call it [unintelligible] to high spot. [The river] washed our place out; everybody moved to high place.

Interviewer: *Do you recall other flooding events? Are they common?*

Respondent: This is first time I've seen this much water; I've been living here since 1955, and [this is the] first time I've seen lots of water. The point got blown out and big waves in the river, took down some banks. [It is] not a dangerous area here flood wise.

Interviewer: *Have you observed any changes in weather patterns during your lifetime?*

Respondent: Yeah, [it is] really different now; too much wind and rain. We had no snow for a while now; finally we got snow. We had Christmas snow. Everything melt out. At Kukaklek those trees used to be small trees, now grow. [They] used to be small like that, [but they are] big trees now.



Interviewer: *Have you noticed any plant or animal species that didn't used to be in the area?*

Respondent: I didn't see other kind of bug yet; yeah, I see caterpillar and I never see other kind.

Interviewer: *Has winter weather changed in any way?*

Respondent: [The winter weather goes] up and down.

Interviewer: *Have you experienced tundra or forest fires, or heard stories about them?*

Respondent: When we lived up at Kukaklek there was a big fire. [There was a fire] over there one time, [on the] other side. They used blanket or something to drag them out. We had almost tundra over there on the island; there was a blanket I dragged him around.

Interviewer: *Have you noticed any changes in the timing of freeze up and breakup?*

Respondent: Yeah, sometimes. Sometimes the lake freeze up a long time; people try to come down one time and can't make it up. Everybody came down, go to Naknek; lots of ice. [Ice is important] for fishing, yeah.

Interviewer: *Have there been any changes in wind direction, intensity, etc.?*

Respondent: They got lots of east wind [in Kokhanok]. Once in a while we have wind; north wind we had come. North wind was blowing before we took off Big Mountain; wind, wind, wind. When we go down Levelock; wind, wind, wind.

Interviewer: *Have any of the rivers been shifting course?*

Respondent: [Rivers have shifted] down there, that's it, not up here.

Interviewer: *Have you noticed the environment to be getting wetter, drier, staying the same?*

Respondent: Same.

Interviewer: *Have you experienced any changes in the plants and animals you depend on for food and medicine?*

Respondent: [Subsistence resources go] up and down, sometimes not, sometimes not.

Interviewer: *Did you hunt moose when you were younger?*

Respondent: [I used to hunt moose] up Kukaklek; there was no bear when we lived up there. After that, my parents [had to go far for a bear]. [There are] lots [of bears now]; nobody hunt them no more, that's why. Long time ago they liked to hunt; my dad liked to hunt bear. When he tried to eat my fish I had to shoot him; I like to shoot the bear. I used to do it with my dad. I scare the moose, not the bear really. I shot moose with my dad.

Interviewer: *Do you remember hearing stories about starvation?*

Respondent: Only a long time ago I heard that story about no food. Only cranberries make you not hungry, and other berries make you really hungry; number one is cranberries. Blackfish, sticker fish, and sucker fish; three fish are never lost [and are always around]. They tell us that there's lots at Reindeer Lake; lots of suckers, nice and fat. Reindeer moss; my mom used to cook them with boiled fish juice.

Interviewer: *Do you still put up a lot of fish?*

Respondent: Not really; I got no more dogs. I didn't put up fish this summer; these kids did because I have arthritis. I have a hard time. How you do it? [We used to put up] a thousand, two thousand fish when we had dogs; we [used to] put up lots of fish. I didn't put up fish this summer; we got no more dog food.

Interviewer: *Do you have a favorite food?*

Respondent: [My favorite food is] fish, salmon; grayling is my favorite one. Fish look smaller [now]; putting it in a boat, in a video from years ago, fish overall are not big like in the video. We have king salmon, yeah. Only Kaskanak and Pecks Creek get King salmon going up. Once in a while [you see King salmon] up there. [In the] Branch River [there are] lots of King salmon. That's why I heard, a long time ago [there were more King salmon]. Once in a while we get King salmon from Peck's Creek; once in a while we got King salmon.

[A friend's] grandpa got a story about that mountain over there, between here and Kodiak; lonely mountain. [He went] out hunting and he disappeared, and then came back but didn't know a lot of time went by. One night was one year. When he send him to Branch River they said don't get wet; he went right on that lake and never fall. When he getting hungry he tried to eat, food right there, steaming. When he came back from over there he fell down and vomit the blood; when he go up by the Lake [*unintelligible*], put his shirt tie up so someone could find him when he get up. He got up in the morning and start walking, nothing wrong; he heard lots of people [telling stories]. He was so happy he was going to see the people; laugh and everyone play ball. Crawling on top and looked only the geese; he thought it was people! And he go back down the branch, nobody can see. Almost one week, and he was gonna go back. The old Branch River, he was laid out, even stand up and just walk; never see [anything]. [He washed in a spring] five times. He was gonna go back in the place; he watched two people put the canoe down. When people see him, look at him! They bring him to his mama; was gonna make wash. People try to talk to him, but he couldn't talk to nobody. Only start to talk to the people; he was old.

Ap'a used to tell us, can't believe how they know. Poor kids, those kids don't know nothing these days; now they just watch the TV, and don't play much. He said a lot of white people will come for gold, too. Now they start flying; he knew everything about these things. Must be a dream, I don't know how they know stuff coming like that. Now they talk only English. When we moved down Branch [River] we talk English. Before, in the winter, I just talk cause I got no schooling.

When the FAA was gonna close the one way, in 1955 I first move up there looking for my uncle. Nobody was around, just me and my dogs; nobody else. This paper is important, if nobody sign the paper. But second semester everybody come back. After that, no more; only one left they open the school, and everybody gone.

Interviewer: *Do you remember when there were reindeer stations in the area?*

Respondent: In 1947 we just let [the reindeer] go, and moved down. [There were reindeer stations] at Big Mountain, Kokhanok, Newhalen, and Pedro Bay. 1942 [was a] good season, then everybody let them go. We used to lasso little ones, little baby kinds. One time they tried to get a big one, tried to tie him; I ran home and laid down. He put on coat and hat and gloves, you must be strong old man, but he dropped the lasso and pulled the reindeer, pull them pull them pull them. Then he sit down on top and take the lasso off. He tell me when you make mistake like that you gonna get hurt. We lassoed a little one though. [there's an area called stone creek behind big mtn and they're sharpening stones for ulu. stones to make sparks and stones to sharpen].

[A friend] was talking about gold rocks [when drinking water]. When they saw something they would just leave it because it might bring bad luck. [On the] other side of Kaskanak, when he was walking, [there was] a rock clear as glass, and they could see his dogs the other side of rock; just like a clear glass. He could see his dogs the other side of the rock; clear. My Apa was talking about that when he was looking for reindeer.

## Lake Iliamna Interview # 11 & # 12

Interviewer: *Before we begin, is there anything you would like to share? Do you have any questions?*

Respondent (1): I was born, not on this river, on the Alagnak River; a lot of guys called it, "Branch River." I was born April 23, 1945.

Respondent (2): I don't know, my folks moved up; my sister knows more than I do about where we born. A lot of times people travel; they stay up there summer time and then move to summer camp, then move to winter camp. [People] never stay one place in them days; you move around a lot. In fall time they get red fish, too; no smoke, just weather dry. That's how you did fish a long time ago; [I was born in] 1943.

When the mountain blew up, the ice, it shook the water.

In our old days we didn't have oil stove, and we have to pack our own water with the little buckets about that high, back and forth. We didn't have no five gallon buckets in them days; you go down the hole through the ice, pretty thick. You open it in the morning so it's open all day, [we used the water] for steam bath, too. We don't have no shower like nowadays; we always tell them guys, "you might not live like this a long time; you might have to live like the old days." I'm always thinking what they tell me; this is important. Right now you don't think about it; when you get older, you think about it. Right now you want to play; it's good to know, never know what's gonna happen. Oil [prices are] getting high; a long time ago we used to make oil lamps with cloth; it was bright. It didn't have to be real bright as long as you could see.

Respondent (1): When we grew up we were still with our folks [for a] long time. I was still with my folks; we had to chop wood, and pack water like [my wife] said. [We used to] fill buckets, like a coffee can; if the stove went out it was cold in the house. We learn from our folks. When we grew up it wasn't an easy life; I never forget, but now it's not like a long time ago. When we grew up we had a fire every day. I explain [to younger generations] about when we used to hunt, we used to hike, hunt moose, hunt caribou. Sometimes we walk for 17 hours without eating. Sometime with my stepdad we get moose; we had a dog team. I used to guide; when we go moose hunting sometimes I pick up more English when I'm guiding for the hunters. They say, "You gotta explain," and that's how I learn English. When we grew up we didn't work, we just trapped wild fur; beaver, wolf, mink, anything we trap we send back to the company. We get a little money for what we buy from the store; that's what we used to do when I grew up.

Respondent (2): Trapping, all that work, it's a lot of work. I used to trap, too; it used to be fun. I used to skin; when we get dogs, we get a lot of fish [to feed them with].

Respondent (1): [We used to] put the fish over the fire until they dry. A lot of times we make brine from rock salt, and we split the salmon. Maybe half hour, 45 minutes and we smoke it every day until it dry.

Respondent (2): Then we hang the backbone on the fish rack; we didn't waste anything. [We had] a lot of dogs, [but we took] only what we could travel with.

Interviewer: *Was story telling an important part of your upbringing?*

Respondent (1): I listened to my grandpas and grandmas. I never go to sleep until they finish [a story]; I pick up most of them, but I forget some. I've got beaver story, moose, caribou, beaver, mink, otter, bears, and all; my stories. The easy one is red fox, a story I heard from my grandpa. You want to hear that story?

A long time ago in the 1800s, the fox, you always hear red fox written about it. There used to be no black in the tip of the hair and the tail. What happened is it came to a dry lake, and someone walking around had the fire. They used the black from the fire and paint his arm, his hair, and his tail. They said, "Oh boy, the young fox isn't gonna like me."

Respondent (2): That's pretty good; I like that story. I don't have that many stories. Only my sister might have some; [she is] much older than me.

Interviewer: *Have you experienced earthquakes during your lifetime, or heard stories about them?*

Respondent (2): No, not hardly much. [I felt an earthquake] down Branch River, too; even trees, them Christmas [spruce] trees were shaking, quite a while ago.

Respondent (1): You wanna know about earthquakes? A long time ago when I was a baby, they had an earthquake and it was shaking; they say, "You have to go outdoors. Sometimes door gets jammed [and] you can't go out. The earth is moving." That's what they used to tell us.

Interviewer: *Have you ever observed evidence of landslides in the area?*

Respondent (2): There on the beach here, the land just slide off; muddy clay slide into river. Maybe so much rain, the dirt gets heavy. It always rains quite a bit, [but] not all the time; once in a while when there's so much rain, the ground gets heavy and slides off. Even some place, the hill; it slide off the land.

Respondent (1): Another thing too, a long time ago there was a starvation; double winter. What happened when I was a baby [is] the winter [came] twice; no summer. Everything was gone; no redfish and no salmon in the water [for] two years. Only thing they had in the river was a lingcod; you understand that's what eats [on the] bottom of the river. That's what was around after the two winters. Then the small [fish we ate] was suckers, and then third was a little black one we call [*unintelligible*]. [We] eat the ground, when that happened like that; sometimes we [are still] afraid, and put away so much salmon [because we] never know what's going to happen. It's no fun. When my mom, my grandma, my grandpa were older they started crying when they talk about double winter; they were young. they die before it happen, [before they] tell the younger people.

Respondent (2): Starvation is not friendly; you can't share what you got. You hang on when there's starvation; you just hold on to yourselves to survive. [It is] pretty tough.

Respondent (1): When we watch the news they talk about the salmon. [I think the salmon are] gonna go away one of these times; that's gonna happen. It happened before, when we were a baby. I always tell my grandma, and grandpa used to tell me. It was no fun; you had no friends. If you try to survive, you keep [what you have] to yourself. When you're hungry, everyone go for it. You can't share with no one; that's no fun.

Respondent (2): [When there is starvation you] just hold [what you have] to yourself to survive; [it was] tough in the old days. Somedays we never know when we gonna – some days we pass [what we know] to young guys because we don't know what's coming [in the future]; they hear it from us.

Respondent (1): We pass [what we know] to younger people. [Starvation] happened before, but some guys don't understand; we tell them it happened before, a double winter happened before.

Respondent (2): Every year, when I [was growing] up, there used to be a lot of fish; [It is] not like that anymore. Every year they get lesser; every year. No more heavy year; fish and game are not gonna stop them. They go away; that's our heritage, and of course those boats out in the ocean maybe they get [the fish]. Before, what's left over, they come [here]. I think [the boats get] loaded down with fish, a lot of fish. Maybe that's why we get less every year; those guys catch them before they come here.

Respondent (1): It's gonna happen; the fish gonna go away like my gran and gram. It's gonna run real heavy, and then the next year it's gonna be lesser.

Respondent (2): But we never seen heavy runs yet; it's gonna be a lot of fish, and then every year they get lesser and lesser. That's our heritage; we pass it to young guys.

Respondent (2): [The numbers of animals are getting] lesser now; seems like the bear eat the young calves [of moose and caribou] every spring. [This is] the second time now they eat two calves, and the mother moose got no calves. We get lesser animals too, every year.

Respondent (1): In my family, my mom my dad, we used to be reindeer herders. In the 1800s, way back, they used to be reindeer herders for long time; they moved down Bristol Bay, all the reindeer.

Respondent (2): My folks [were] traveling there too, but I didn't see them. A lot of outsiders, we tell them girls and boys, I say, "You gotta remember what we say; you gotta write it down." There's one, he write it down, what we say; they can look at it when they read it. You gotta know where the suckers and blackfish are during starvation times; only fish are gonna live when the [salmon] go. That's how they survive up Talarik [Creek] over there. [People from] way up from north, they came up to survive up at Talarik. That's how far they came to survive, all the way from [the] Kuskokwim [River]; they look for survival food. You're not friendly when you try to survive.

Respondent (1): What I learned from my gran and gram; we used fish traps. I used to watch my gran and gram; I learned from them. They used fish traps; no net when we grew up, just fish traps. They make a funnel out of wood; once they go in fish trap, any kind of fish can't come back. You go down, and stay down until they fill up.

Respondent (2): No, we have nets; dip nets, all kind of nets. Before, they had traps.

Interviewer: *Have you seen any bluffs in the area with loose, sandy layers?*

Respondent (2): A lot of them other there, the bluffs with sand [are] past the lagoon; high cliffs with sand. Some guys try to walk up, and slide down. We tried too and we slide down; tough walking.

Interviewer: *Have you observed areas in the tundra that appear sunken, or are actively sinking?*

Respondent (2): Once in a while we run into them things. Not very often, though; not much, though. I hardly walk nowadays. Like, in the old days, we did quite a bit of walking.

Interviewer: *Have you experienced, or heard stories about volcanoes?*

Respondent (2): Not too much about volcanoes; ash is falling down.

Respondent (1): When the mountain blow up, yeah.

Respondent (2): When the mountain blew up a long time ago. People moved out because [there was] too much ash. The church was covered [with ash]. The orthodox church, they moved out to Saint Paul Island, all them close to that volcano. When ash come down [there was] no game or fish. The fish died from the ash; it fill up their gills. They die out quite a bit.

Interviewer: *Have you ever heard stories about large waves on the lake, or water levels rising or falling suddenly?*

Respondent (2): This fall was a lot of water; now it's dropping down quite a bit. A lot of water this fall; it has washed away a little bit here. The rain [brings] high water, lots. When the waves come, it washed everything. That's why we got black tundra; so much water washed the tundra. See that black one over there?

Interviewer: *Have you experienced much flooding here?*

Respondent (2): Not that I know of; some places might [flood].

Respondent (1): Not here, but down Levelock way [they get floods] about 115 feet over the bank.

Respondent (2): When the tide went over the village, their lower ground. Big tide when it go out, but we don't got no tides here.

Interviewer: *Have you noticed any differences in storm events from when you were growing up?*

Respondent (2): Pretty much when it's storm, it's storm. One time my uncle, my mom's brother, [there was a] storm out in the lake. [It was] 50 below and he can't see nothing. The storm [killed him] then we buried him here; only a couple of dogs were living. The storm [was] cold. Once in a while [we get storms here], but not very often, though; maybe sometime again.

Interviewer: *Has winter changed during your lifetime?*

Respondent (2): [Winters are] quite a bit different [now]. Before was pretty quiet, but now it's noisy; so much machine go. Like in the old days it was nice and quiet; no machines, no radio, no TV, no airplane, and no boat. Nowadays planes, helicopters go by; a lot of noise difference.

Interviewer: *Have you experienced forest or tundra fires here?*

Respondent (2): Tundra fire, we get it. [There was a] fire across the way; way up north that way. My mom, we used to live below flats [when] the tundra caught fire. My mom knew how to do stuff. What did you do with the bear skin? You threw it away? We dig around, and dig around. They took it down to the lake and soak it and shake it and shut off the fire; they know, them old people. That's why the bear skin, sometimes we save it; it reminds me of my mom. Maybe someday I [will] need it. A long time ago it used to be soles; [we had] no kind of boots like that. [We used to] sew them out of skin; parka and boots. My mom used to make ground squirrel parkas; one time we tried to get some [ground squirrels], too. I don't know what kind of squirrel; some kind of bugs they got. A lot of skin; every spring the squirrel come out, they hunt. It's a lot of fun, though. You know how to do it; in winter time you make a parka.

Interviewer: *Have you observed any changes in plant and animals species during your lifetime? Any new species, or species that have seemed to disappear?*

Respondent (2): Right now we hardly see any [new animals]; only one I see [that is] new [was] not too long ago. We were meeting in Newhalen; [people from] Iliamna and Pedro Bay, we drop off somebody there. I see something black under the water; [the animal] walked [with a] long tail. We got alligator up the lake here. I never saw the rest of the guys; they tip us in airplane to try to see. I didn't have my camera; now I carry my camera. My uncle used to tell us, "Maybe that's the one you saw." Right now, [that is the] only one different [animal] I see in all this time.

Interviewer: *Have you observed any changes in the seasonal timing of freeze up and breakup?*

Respondent (2): Sometimes they do that; after it breakup, it freezes back up. Almost make me think of double winter [when] salmon were out and back from the ice. [We] can't help it that ice hitting. Then when east wind comes there's a lot of drift down here in the river.

Interviewer: *Do you feel that winters have changed at all since you were young?*



Respondent (2): [Winters are] shorter; nowadays it's really mild out. That's why we don't fish the lake much; not enough winter. It looks funny when [the lake water is] open like that wintertime because we see it frozen all the time.

Interviewer: *Do you know of any old camps or village sites in the area that are no longer in use?*

Respondent (2): There's a lot of old villages [from] a long time ago. At old village [sites], mostly grasses grow on them nowadays. There's some down here [on the] other side, down Branch [River], and all over the old village; a long time ago [people] live [there]. [It was] not like nowadays.

Interviewer: *Did people used to travel long distances?*

Respondent (2): We used to travel [a lot] quite a while ago; now we don't hardly [travel] much. [We traveled by] dog team; [my husband] travel all the time. [He used to] go with his step dad and get some [food] when we were low on our dog food; his step dad get sister over in Koliganek, so the dogs could make it through the spring.

Respondent (1): Sometimes we used to go to Nushagak; I used to have a dog team with my stepdad. We [used to] sleep in the snow [with] no tent; we sleep in the sled. We make it! [It was] no fun, though. Towards Nushagak it's not like here; too much open place, you know? Not much trees over that way.

Respondent (2): [It has] hardly changed; only Igiugig has changed, [the Kvichak River has gotten] more wider. Before, [the river] was small and then wash away and get wider, wider. [The village] used to be [on the] other side; before we come down we move on this side. The other side we try to fish over there; maybe earthquake change it.

Interviewer: *Do you remember the 1964 earthquake?*

Respondent (2): That was a very good earthquake; we got a story about a mountain, too. I hope not right away, but [two mountains] say they gonna fight [and] the mountains blow up. That's our heritage; mountain war. Any time a mountain blow up, another mountain blow up; that's what they call a mountain war. They fight.

Respondent (1): What happened when the mountains fight [is] they shoot a spark to another mountain; as soon as it hits another mountain, it blows up. That's what they say, "Another war." That's no fun, though.

Respondent (2): I hope [that doesn't happen] for a while, though.

Even [the Alaska Department of] Fish and Game try to stop the animals; that's our heritage. I don't think they believe us, though; they think [the animals are] gonna live like that forever, but we're not gonna live like that. That's why we try to pass [what we know] down to these guys [from younger generations]. When they ask us, we tell them, but they hardly ask us. We tell them

our way, [and we tell them that] we might not live like this someday. [We tell them], “You guys gotta know how to live the old way;” gotta survive. Like nowadays, we used to travel with dog team days, but not nowadays. Today [there are] too much hondas, [and] snowmachine. A long time ago they live by canoe. We had a canoe, but some guy steal them; we don't got no canoe anymore. They shouldn't steal them; they should leave them to us. It was nice, though; [we used to travel] down Branch River. Some guy [from] Bristol Bay came and stole our canoe.

Respondent (1): When they [used] kayaks they make them out of roots from the trees; [they used to] split them up, dry them, and tie them together.

Respondent (2): Then they put the skin outside.

Respondent (1): [Sometimes they used] canvas.

Respondent (2): Even plain canvas; they paint them, too. That's how my dad used to make canoe, and he paint them up. It hardened when it dried; no water come in. They knew how to do stuff a long time ago. Seems like there's lesser; a long time ago there was less people. After the big flu, a lot of them died, but some lived. I don't remember what year [the big flu] was. At that time, [there was] starvation on top. You always see those smelts by Bristol Bay. You open the can of kass'aq [white person] food and [you] can't even eat it so we go for our dry fish. Survival; it's good to know. I tell them, “When you try to open the can, when starvation comes, it will be black; you can't eat it. You have to find your food.”

Respondent (1): [For] anybody native, we got a lot of – it's not written down on paper. We have a lot, but it's not written down; the old people tell us.

Respondent (2): Like in spring time we pick a lot of eggs. When [elders] tell us not to pick anymore, that's our law. [We do this] so they hatch, and we have more ducks. It's not written down though, our law. Like our moose, you get what you need to get and leave the rest, let them populate. That's how they told us a long time ago. Right now they populate; a long time ago we hardly have any moose, and we had a lot of bears. Now the bears we have more than anything else. That's what we tell [the Alaska Department of] Fish and Game: you got to watch the moose calves, too; let them grow up and protect them from the bears. We shoot them when we have to, when they come around to eat our smokehouse; that's our order from Fish and Game. Still, we do that; they hunt them not very often. A long time ago they hunt them and that [was] their food; [they used the] bear fat, [and used it for] food. They had hard time; my dad used to hunt a lot of bears. He said [in the] spring time it's hard to find bear; spring time is when they come out, and before they eat everything [it is] good meat. [In the] fall time they eat everything; garbage and trash. That's when we don't eat them, when they do that. They're good in the spring time, though, when they're walking out and eating all that stuff. After, they go back to the mountain and they eat the fish and berries; they are good then, too. Down the bay they eat anything and even try to chase the people nowadays; dangerous. That's why we need protection [because] sometimes we run into the bear; hungry bear. [If you] got no protection they might do something to you. [Bears are] dangerous, those big kind; scary, too. Especially the four of them; they gang up on you. Three cubs with their mom, they're dangerous. When you see the baby, the mom bear will chase us.