Two Lessons In Time In Upriver Halkomelem

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The core of this paper consists of two lessons in Beginning Halkomelem, Upriver dialects, written for classes at the Coqualeetza Education Training Centre, Sardis, B.C. In a few cases (month names) there are differences between Chilliwack, Tait, and Chehalis dialects, which I have indicated. But otherwise the forms given are the same for all three Upriver Halkomelem dialects (Upper Stalo).

The two lessons included are part of a set being worked out for adult classes in the Halkomelem language offered at Coqualeetza to the Indian people. The lessons are being put on videotape, cassette tapes, and Language Master cards (for the Bell & Howell Language Master machine). Another set of lessons are being worked out for elementary grade classes, although several classes of elementary school age are being taught currently with the adult lessons.

Lessons Ten and Eleven were chosen because they deal with tenses and words for time and hold together as a unit. A speaker needs the grammar in Lesson Ten to use the vocabulary in Lesson Eleven, and he needs the vocabulary in Lesson Eleven to use the grammar of Lesson Ten effectively. Inflection, syntax, semantics and ethnosemantics all come into play in this semantic domain of time. The lessons also show the orthography and approach being
used and introduce the notion of pronouns. Pronouns had been
treated as vocabulary and used in sentences (without labels) up
till Lesson Ten. In previous lessons the concepts of noun, verb,
and reduplication (doubling) had been introduced from the Halko-
melem viewpoint (using inflectional and syntactic definitions as
well as semantic ones).

Another reason I thought Lesson Eleven would be interesting is
for the rarely-treated system of months or moons. The area is
often thought hopeless because each fluent Salish speaker generally
knows only a few month names (if those) and usually disagrees with
most of the other speakers. At least this is often the field wor-
er's impression. However I was fortunate enough to first locate
a fluent speaker who knew many of the month names, and then to be
privileged to meet with a group of elders weekly who are for the
most part fluent speakers of the three upriver dialects of Halko-
melem, and finally, to use an ephemeris for lunar calculations and
to locate an excellent article by Leona Cope: Calendars of the
Indians North of Mexico (pp. 119-176 in University of California
Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 16, no. 4,
Nov. 6, 1919).

One fact, which may not be peculiar to the Halkomelem system
of dialects and microdialects, is that when months are named for
ripening seasons, fish runs, weather patterns, cultural activities,
etc., these events may occur at different times within the same
language, within the same major dialect area (here Upper Stalo),
or even within dialects (such as Tait or Chehalis or Chilliwack).
When this situation occurs, the same month name may occur at different times along the river.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOWER STALO</th>
<th>UPPER STALO</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Katzie</td>
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</table>

**Month named for:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>LOWER STALO</th>
<th>UPPER STALO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eulachon appear</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>(May)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenth month</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>July</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Months parenthesized are not named for the event indicated, but the event is known to occur in the month given. The Katzie months are given on pp. 7–9 of Diamond Jenness: The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Memoir #3 in the Anthropology of British Columbia series, 1955.)

Before proceeding to the lessons, I should mention an alternative way of presenting them. It would be quite possible to omit all the explanation in Lesson Ten and just present the examples. Later examples would reinforce the patterns learned. The following page shows the phonetic and phonemic values of each of the symbols in the practical orthography used in the lessons.

3
Phonetic and phonemic equivalents of symbols in the present practical orthography for Upriver Halkomelem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practical Orthography</th>
<th>Phonetic Symbols</th>
<th>Practical Orthography</th>
<th>Phonetic Symbols</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>/ɛ/ [æ]</td>
<td>t</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>[tʰ]</td>
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<td>t'</td>
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<td>th</td>
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<td>e</td>
<td>/e/ [I]</td>
<td>th'</td>
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<td>i</td>
<td>/i/ [i]</td>
<td>ts</td>
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<td>k</td>
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<td>[kʰ]</td>
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<td>kw'</td>
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<td>l</td>
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<td>xw</td>
<td>/x'w/ [x'w]</td>
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<td>sh</td>
<td>/s/ [ş]</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>/s'/ [s']</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
LESSON TEN (O:PEL)

A. Practice in writing elder's words.

B. How to talk in the past, present or future

1. Present time (tloqé:ys 'now')

To talk about the present you can use any verb by itself or end it with tsel 'I', chexw 'you', tset 'we', or chap 'you folks' (these words can be called pronouns). Some examples of this are:

líyemtsel 'I laugh'
kwímelchexw 'you get red, you blush'
tó:qwemchap 'you folks cough'
t'í:lem tset 'we sing'
t'í:lem 'he sings, she sings, it sings, they sing'
t'í:lem thutl'ò 'she sings'
t'í:lem tutl'ò 'he sings'

Doubled verbs can be used in the same way for continuous action:

líleyemtsel 'I'm laughing'
kwíkwemelchexw 'you are blushing'
t'ít'elem tset 'we are singing'
tóteqwemchap 'you folks are coughing'
t'ít'elem 'he's singing, she's singing, it's singing, they're singing,'
t'ít'elem tutl'ò 'he's singing'

2. Future time (xwewá:ta 'the future, not yet come')

To talk about the future you use the verb, then attach the pronouns (tsel, chexw, tset, chap) (to tell who is doing the action), then at the very end you add cha or tsa. For example:
liyemtselcha or liyemtseltsa  'I will laugh, I'll laugh'
kwímelchexwcha or kwímelchexwtsa  'you will blush, you'll blush'
tó:qwemchapcha or tô:qwemchaptsa  'you folks will cough'
t'i:lemtsetcha or t'i:lemtsettsa  'we will sing, we'll sing'
t'i:lemcha or t'i:lemtsa  'he'll sing, she'll sing, it will sing, they'll sing'
t'i:lemcha thútł'o  'she will sing'
t'i:lemcha yutł'o:lem  'they will sing'
líleyemtselcha  'I will be laughing, I'll be laughing'
t'it'elemtsetcha  'we will be singing, we'll be singing'

3. Past time (li:th lis hoy or hi:th lis hoy 'the past')
You can talk about the past by putting the pronoun (tsel, chexw, tset, chap, le) before the verb. This is all that's needed. But you can also add ilh or i:lh to the front of the pronoun to make it real clear you are talking about the past. For example:
tsél líyem or ilhtsel líyem  'I laughed'
chexw kwímel or ilhtchexw kwímel  'you blushed'
tset t'i:lem or ilhtset t'i:lem  'we sang'
chap tô:qwem or ilhtchap tô:qwem  'you folks coughed'
ilh t'i:lem  'he sang, she sang, it sang, they sang'
Le is used in front of the verb when a third party is doing something in the past. For example:
le t'i:lem  'he sang, she sang, it sang, they sang'
le t'i:lem thútł'o  'she sang'
le t'i:lem tútł'o  'he sang'
le t'í:lem yutl'ó:lem 'they sang'

And you can use doubled verbs if the action was continuing:
tsel líleyem or ílhtsel líleyem 'I was laughing'
chexw kwíkwemel or ílhchexw kwíkwemel 'you were blushing'
le t'ít'elem 'he was singing, she was singing, it was singing, they were singing'
le t'ít'elem yutl'ó:lem 'they were singing'

LESSON ELEVEN

Some words for time.

year
1975 (nineteen seventy-five) opel qas te tù:xw, th'èkwetselsxá

quas te lhq' áttes

Spring temqw'í:les
Summer ('hot time') temkw'ókw'es
Fall temhilálxw
Winter ('cold time') temxeytl'

month, moon skw'exó:s, lhqá:lts'
first quarter moon xaws te skw'exó:s
first half yuwá1 lhseq' te skw'exó:s
third quarter lhíxwes kwótes te skw'exó:s
full moon selíts' te skw'exó:s
second half lhseq' te skw'exó:s
last quarter ('burning out') th'èth'èx te skw'exó:s
new moon ('burnt out') th'èx te skw'exó:s
The Upper Stalo New Year was in October. Each month began at about the first quarter of the moon.

**October**
- tempó:kw' (time to smoke dry Chehalis spring salmon)
- or temchálhtel (time to dry fish)

**November**
- xets'ö:westel (time to put away canoe paddles for winter)
- or telxwìts (leaves are falling)

**December**
- meqo:s (fallen snow season)

**January**
- pelòqes ((dried sockeye head) torch season)

**February**
- temtl'i:q'es (time to get jammed in (as in a trap, a box, etc.))
- or temt'elémtses (time one's hand sticks to things (from the cold))

**March**
- welék'ës (little frog season (when they start talking))
- or qweloythí:lem ((birds) making music)

**April**
- temkwikwexel (time for baby sockeye salmon)
- or lhëmt'öles (possibly lhëmtóles) (season when spring showers start, spring showers in one's eyes)

**May**
- tem'elîle (time for salmonberries)

**June**
- temqoqò: (time for high water)
- or temt'ämwx (time for gooseberries) (less common name)

**July**
- epólestel (tenth month)
- or temqwá:1 (time for mosquitoes)
- or at Yale: temchálhtel (time to wind dry fish)

**August**
- temthéqi (time for sockeye salmon)

**September**
- temkw'ö:lexw. (time for dog salmon)
Some years there are 13 moons and some years there are 12. The 13 moon years seem to come every three for 10 or 13 year periods, then there is a gap of 5 years before the next 13 moon sequence starts. 1971 was a typical 13 moon year with first quarter moons on October 8, November 6, and December 5, 1970 to start the year and January 4, February 2, March 4, April 2, May 2, May 31, June 30, July 29, August 28, and September 26, 1971 to finish the year. The Stalo New Year of 1972 then began on October 26, 1971. The next 13 moon year was 1974 (beginning October 4, 1973 and ending October 22, 1974). The next 13 moon years would be 1979, 1982, 1985, 1988, 1993, 1996, 1999, 2002, 2005, and 2010. The other years in between all have 12 moons. The length of the year varies too, from about 19 days longer to about 10 days shorter than 365 days; some years have about 355 days, some have about 384 days.

Having gone through all that, we must realize that the complicated math used to figure out the above facts was not available to the Indian people. They were certainly aware that the same quarter of the moon reappears every $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, but probably took the events described in the names of the months as more important than rigid mathematical periods. So, if the salmonberries were not ripe till late May or early June in 1971, the moon of Tem'elile would start May 31 rather than May 2.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{when?} & & \text{temtám} \\
\text{yesterday} & & \text{chelaqelh or chelaqelhelh} \\
\text{day before yesterday} & & \text{yewalmels kw'e chelaqelh(elh)}
\end{align*}
\]
today  ttloweyel or tlöweyel
tonight  ttlo xwela:lt
tomorrow  twayele or twayele
day after tomorrow  yilaw kw'e weyeles
lately, recently  qa:ys
long ago  thi:th
early  metxwem
late  t:øyem
Monday  yilaw welhat ('after day')
Tuesday  sthemelts ('twice day, second day')
Wednesday  slhi:xws ('third day')
Thursday  sxoe:thels ('fourth day')
Friday  slhq'a:tses ('fifth day')
Saturday  t'oyqw'tem ('broken (rope, string)')
Sunday  sxe'xelhat ('sacred day')
sunrise  le me pelekw te syó:qwem
dawn  me tatewel ('getting light'),
      mi woweyel ('getting day'),
      me wa:yel ('daybreak')
morning  la:télh
noon, mid-day  têxswa:yél
afternoon  yilaw têxswa:yél
sunset  le th'êxw te syó:qwem
get dark  theti:1
evening  xwela:lt
night  slát, slát
midnight

texwsla:t or texw slåt

darkness

thå:t

when it gets to 1:00 o'clock

wetēses te slēts'es

when it gets to 2:00 o'clock

wetēses te isåles

when it gets to 3:00 o'clock

wetēses te slhi:xws

when it gets to 4:00 o'clock

wetēses te sxe'ō:thels

when it gets to 5:00 o'clock

wetēses te slheq'å:tses

when it gets to 6:00 o'clock

wetēses te st'xåms

when it gets to 7:00 o'clock

wetēses te sth'ō:kws

when it gets to 8:00 o'clock

wetēses te steqå:tsås

when it gets to 9:00 o'clock

wetēses te stu:xws

when it gets to 10:00 o'clock

wetēses te s'o:påls

when it gets to 11:00 o'clock

wetēses te s'o:påls qås te slēts'es

when it gets to 12:00 o'clock

wetēses te s'o:påls qås te isåles