

HALKOMELEM SPEECH EVENTS

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1. Narratives.
2. Speeches.
3. Songs.
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0. Introduction. During the past twelve years of research on Upriver dialects of Halkomelem, the variety of Halkomelem speech events has gradually become apparent to me. Partly it has been a function of getting to know more of the Upper Stalo people (who speak the Upriver dialects), and partly it has been a function of becoming a participant observer. What has survived for us to record is only a fraction of a rich literature. But I believe it is now possible to present a representative sample. I regret there is not enough space here to present musical transcriptions of the songs nor to discuss the rhythms, musical scales and harmonies. Nor is there space here for much semantic or pragmatic analysis of the texts, conversations, etc. But work is continuing, both in additional transcription and in analysis of what has been gathered. For now I just intend to present a survey of Upriver Halkomelem speech events with some of their sociolinguistic contexts, and to show that their literature constitutes much more than a dry collection of texts.

Types of speech events among the Upper Stalo now include at least the following: narratives, speeches, songs, conversations, speech with spirits, classroom instruction or lectures, joking, swearing, commands, exclamations, comments, verbal games, baby talk, and fauna talk. Some of these have become very rare in Halkomelem, some extinct, and some (such as classroom instruction and Christian religious services) have been added or influenced by European culture. Except for some narratives, speeches and songs, the morphosememic structure of each speech event is highly individualistic. It depends

much on the style of the speaker, what the speaker and hearer know together about the topic (or know each other knows), how informative the speaker wishes to be, how open the speaker is to questions from the hearer, etc. Ambiguities are often not resolved even at the end of the speech event.

1. Narratives. There were and are two types of narratives, the $sx^w ox^w iyé \cdot m$ 'legend, traditional story' and the $sq^w é l q^w el$ 'historical narrative, narrative of recent events, news'. These differ in a number of ways, chiefly in that the former is usually set during the time of the Transformers, is more formal in style but usually told to children before bedtime, and the teller is quite concerned consciously when telling them to adults with getting the words and details correct according to the tradition. Only with the $sx^w ox^w iyé \cdot m$ does the listener periodically say " $?i?é \cdot y$ " ('keep on going') to encourage the story-teller. All these features are lacking in the $sq^w é l q^w el$. The stories and narratives obtained so far feature many sentences begun with co-ordinating conjunctions, sometimes (especially in $sx^w ox^w iyé \cdot m$) these conjunction-initial sentences follow one another for a page or more. These indicate subsequent events and serve to carry on the narrative. They also serve as hesitation forms, especially the longer conjunctions like $qəx'as?ésu$.

Here are brief excerpts (beginnings) of several $sx^w ox^w iyé \cdot m$ (I have provided numbered lines and rough titles since there are no formal titles).

A. From The Story of the Flood, told by Dan Milo to Oliver Wells,
Jan. 6, 1964:

1. $siyé m$ l $siyéye$, $yáswe$ $lécx^w$ $pípetlax^w$. $tə?fle$
(dear)(my)(friend)(maybe)(you're (recognize me (this is)
going to) a little)

My dear friend, maybe you'll recognize me a little. This is the

2. $sx^w ox^w iyé m$ $k^w ses$ le $wóq^w$ $tə$ $témex^w$, $k^w e$ $?fí$ $t'é \cdot l$
(story) (when it)(was)(drowned)(the)(earth)(which)(past (went out
tense) of sight)

story of when the earth was drowned--what we would know from that

3. $k^w e$ $léc t$ $íq'éləx^w$ $təlf$ $k^w e$ $táym$. $láléc'e$ $swíyəqə$
(what)(we're (know it)(from)(that)(time) (there's one (man)
going to) person)

4. telfls ðeq'élx^w k^ws wóq^wsce te témex^w. ?ásu 0éstx^wes
(he defin- (knows it)(that)(it will (the)(earth) (so)(he told
itely) drown) them)
that definitely knew that the earth would drown. So he told
5. te siy'éyes, te mestiyex^w, "0iyémcep k^we sléx^wel ?iyá·lem
(the)(his friend)(the)(person, (you folks make)(a)(canoe)(alright,
people) good enough)
his friends, the people, "(You folks) make a canoe good enough
6. x^welém k^w0e mémele, k^w0e qéx mémeles."
(for) (your) (children) (the one who)(has lots)(his children)
for your children, the one(s) who have lots of children."
- B. From The Story of the Flood, told by Amy Cooper to Brent Galloway,
Nov. 30, 1971 and Dec. 12, 1971 (as told to her by Dennis Peters):
1. x^wasésu ?á·tes te láléc'0e te mestiyex^w.
(and so)(he called them)(the)(one person)(the)(person, people)
(And so) one person called the people.
2. ?á·tes te mestiyex^w welémes mé·ytem 0iyt te hí·k^w
(he called (the)(people) (if they're (he is (make it)(the)(big)
them) going to) helped)
He called the people if they would go help him make a big
3. q'ex^w0wež, sq'ém·el, qes te sx^wóq^wtel. ?esu xét'0estex^wes
((largest type of) (paddle)(and)(the)(canoe pole) (so)(he told them)
low-bow canoe)
low-bow canoe, paddle(s), and a canoe pole. (So) he told
4. te mestiyex^w k^wses hí·k^w0etce te qá· welís sà'ís
(the)(people)(when it)(will get big)(the)(water)(if it's)(their want)
the people that when the water gets big, if they want
5. k^wes ?éyelex^w yuk'álem qex'asu méytmèt túx'a.
(that they)(live) (they) (then) (he is helped) (him)
to live that he must be helped (that they must help him).

C. From The Story of Mink and Miss Pitch, told by Mrs. Susan Jimmy
to her daughter, Mrs. Maria Villanueva, May 3, 1978:

1. ?i?é·y 0'0e te sqéqexiyé, ?iyá·mex^v swíyeqe, yi?i·mex^v
(going (they) (the)(Little Mink) (handsome)(man) (travelling by
along) say) walking)
Little Mink was going along they say, a handsome man, walking

2. yi?é te ?iliyé0els te stá·lo. qe ?á·met 0e q'0·mi
(travelling by (the)(edge of)(the)(river)(and)(is sit- (the (girl)
way of, along) ting) (female))
along the edge of the river. And a girl was sitting there;
3. lí te cxi·qel k^ws ?á·mets 0e ?iyá·mex^v sá·ll.
(it is (the)(up a hill)(that)(she is (the (beautiful)(woman)
(there) sitting) (fem.))
on)
it was up a hill that the beautiful woman was sitting.
4. ?esesu ?ímex^v túx'a swíweles, sqéqexiyé. ?á·su ?ímex^vs lí te00.
(so he)(walks)(he) (young man)(Mink) (.so) (he walks)(at)(there)
So the young man, Mink, walked. And he walked.
5. híx^w swéyel k^ws ?ímex^vs. sq'0e'0wic k^ws yi?ímex^vs.
(it is (day(s))(that)(he walks)(he has his hands (as)(he travels by
three) behind his back) walking)
He walked there for three days. He had his hands behind his back
as he walked.
6. ?asu le tés te sxe?á0el swéyel qesu 0tíwél, "0 ?éy t'we
(so)(it (got to)(the)(fourth)(day)(and)(he thinks (oh)(it's (must be,
went) to himself good) would be)
("says inside")
(So) it got to the fourth day and he thought to himself, "Oh it
would be good if I (I'd better)
7. k^wels le k^wécet 0e q'0·mi." le q^w0lsteX^w
(that I)(go)(look her over, (the (girl) (he's going to)(talk to her)
see (visit) her) (f.))
go see (look over/visit) the girl." He's going to talk to her,
8. xét'0e 0'0e túx'a sqéqexiyé.
(he says)(they say)(he)(Mink)
(they say) Mink says.

Here are excerpts from two sq^w0lq^wel.

- D. From a narrative about a trip to a Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs
meeting, told by Amy Cooper to Brent Galloway, Nov. 10, 1971:
1. ?i·xcel le leq'0leq'0el. x'alsu tés k^w0e ðq'0·lec.
(past tense -I)(go)(travelling)(so I)(get up to, (the (Vancouver)
approach) distant)
I went travelling. And I got up to Vancouver.

2. cel lém te sq'ép. q'epéθet ye x'ólímex^w, te k'fík'ex^yetem
(I) (go to)(a)(gathering)(gather (the (Indian)(who)(are called
(past tense) themselves) pl.) (named))
I went to a gathering. The Indians who are called "chiefs" gathered.
3. "chiefs". λ'a siyéms yuλ'álem x'ólímex^w sq'oq'íp li teθé.
(that's (respected (them) (Indians)(gathered)(at)(there)
(the)) leader of) (in)
That's the siyéms (respected leaders) of those Indians gathered there.
4. lec'ó·mex^w li te θé, lec'ó·mex^w li k'wé θé, li k'wé
(different tribe, (in)(there (one/diff./ (in)(there (in)(the
(one people) (near) another tribe) distant) distant)
(There was) one tribe (from) here (nearby), another tribe there
(distant),
5. "north", yelík^w (li) k'wé Kamloops, yelík^w mók^w sx^wtelfs li te B.C.
north (some, (at)(the Kamloops, (some)(all)(they're (in)(the)B.C.
a few) (distant)) from)
in the north, some at Kamloops, from from all over B.C.

E. From an account of her birth (Dec. 1871) in a pit-house, told by Mrs. Margaret Jim of Laidlaw (Tait dialect) to Amy Cooper and Oliver Wells, Oct. 1962:

1. téx^w le q'é·yχem te tēmèx^w qesu cel k'wà·l li se sqēmèl
(it is (it (shaken)(the)(earth)(and)(I)(be born)(in)(a)(pithouse)
later) was)
Later there was an earthquake and I was born inside a pithouse;
2. k'wé sk^wtéx^w; k'wétéx^w ye x'ólímex^w....luw hik^w. luw t'we st'é
(the)(inside)(they were (the (Indian) (it (big)(it (must (like)
inside) pl.) was) was) be)
the Indian people were inside....It was big. It must have been like
3. k'wé là líflem k'wé hík^w mek^w léc'ewtx^w k'wélsuwí me tu
(this (little (as)(big as)(whole)(room)(when I was (come)(a little
here) house) already)
this little house here, the whole room was that big when I started
4. q'e'fílésθet.... t'wewí me ?eλ'qéyílsθélóm λ'óels x'wéwél
(to get wise, come (it must (come)(I was taken (that's (I wasn't yet,
to one's senses) have) outside) I) before I)
to come to my senses....I must have been taken outside, before I

5. me x'wé hík^w. ?esesu t'wewí me q'wéyíles....qesu le
(began)(to get)(big)(so it)(must (come (be spring)(and)(they
have) to) went)
began to get big yet. So it must have come to be spring....And they went
6. k'wtx^wfílem ?é·ítel, le te lúw seθéfyistx^wes lelém
(go inside)(they (known (went (what)(it (they made (many little
to speaker)) to) was) them) houses)
they went inside many little houses that they made,
7. tú s'í·ltx^w x'wél t'át'elà, syá·yes ye x'ólímex^w.
(sort (plank)(still)(just long ago)(the work of)(the (Indian)
of) pl.)
sort of planks just long ago, the work of the Indians.
8. lém k'wé le k'wétx^wfílem k'wéseseí temk^wák^wes.
(they (what (go in)(go inside)(when it was)(summer)
went to) they)
They went in what they go inside when in was summer.

2. Speeches. Speeches are even more formal than are sx^wox^wiyé·m. They contain a large number of set phrases and a small number of topics or assertions (determined almost exclusively by the occasion). At present speeches are given in Halkomelem at most large Indian gatherings in the Stalo area, but this is decreasing. And for every ten speeches at the average gathering, there is only one (10 percent) that is in Upriver Halkomelem; the rest are mostly in English. Occasions for Halkomelem speeches I have heard include: spirit dances, "work" done at spirit dances (such as initiation ceremonies, namings, putting on hair hats, cleansing ceremonies [including the sx^wá·yχ^wey, syewmóx^wces, and sg^wedíleč ceremonies], memorial ceremonies, pay-offs, scramble-giving, witnessing, etc.), funerals, burnings for the dead, weddings, feasts (including concluding meals at all ceremonies), educational gatherings, and political gatherings. Halkomelem speeches at these events are important as the last survival of a traditional use of Halkomelem in the upriver area. The use of the language at these times is more important than the content.

At all large gatherings there is an appointed master of ceremonies (te q'wáq^wel) or several (ye q'wáq^wel), and they have two styles of speaking: to participants in the ceremony (also loud enough to be heard by the audience)(stage directions are sotto voce

to participants only), and (two) directly to the audience (in welcoming speeches, in thanking speeches, and in explanatory speeches, for example). The former style is facing the participants, the latter is facing successively while speaking each of the four sides of the longhouse (or each direction where there are people) and using one's "longhouse voice" (projecting). The latter style is sometimes difficult to hear when the speaker is facing away but is generally quite effective. In fact other participants than the masters of ceremonies use both styles, for example witnesses called forth to speak to participants, family representatives called to speak, etc.

In former days there were a number of suppletive kinterms that were used only in speeches; only one has been discovered in Upriver Halkomelem so far, k^wiyá's 'uncle, aunt' (instead of sx^wemlí.k^w). But a large set has been discovered (apparently still in use) in the Cowichan and Nanaimo dialects.² Some of the set phrases and topics include (at welcoming speeches): siyé^m l siyéye 'my dear friend(s)', tsáwélep l siyéye 'you people my friends', siyé^m ʔéy siyéye 'dear good friends', ʔéy tel sq^wélewél k^wéls (k^wéclále mók^w ʔfk^welà, or sq^wéq'á tsáwélep l siyéye) 'I'm happy to (see you all here, or to be with you folks my friends)', c'ítalácel 'I thank you all very much (I praise you folks)', etc. One prominent and excellent speaker (RM) thanks people, welcomes them, tells them it's good to keep the fires going, don't let them go out; other topics include observations on decreasing use of the language and culture and encouragement to keep them up, value them, and practice them. People in the audience sporadically respond at will with "ó siyé^m" (siyé^m unstressed) or "stéʔé k^w éé siyé^m" ('Right on respected leader!').

At a typical naming ceremony those to be named are led out onto a blanket, the master of ceremonies explains what will happen, calls representatives who know the most about the person who formerly had the name and calls people from the audience to be witnesses. Then the one who is giving the name plus a speaker representing him/her come up, and the speaker gives the background of the name to the

2. See Ellen White and Peter Wilson: "syésssten? šten?ni?ten? c'ihen?etel?", a paper presented at the 10th International Conference on Salishan Languages, Aug. 14-16, 1975, Ellensburg, Wash., printed in Lektos: Interdisciplinary Working Papers in Language Sciences, University of Louisville, Special Issue, Aug. 1975, pp. 155-171, Louisville, Ky.

audience and bestows the name on the person to be named. Then the witnesses come forward, stand in a line facing the participants and one by one address them. Their speeches typically include these points: 1) take care of your name that you never shame it (and the person that bore it before); 2) lots of people will be watching you; 3) an Indian name is a special thing, a privilege; 4) you can't forget it and let outside things tangle you; 5) try to always remember the one who had the name, and remember the culture and what was said here today.

So far it has proven very difficult to record speeches; at most of the speech settings tape recorders are forbidden. Interviewing a speaker afterward may be the only way to get certain types of complete speeches. A few speeches (at feasts and conferences) have been recorded by Coqualeetza but not yet transcribed.

3. Songs. Songs are another important and powerful type of speech event. There are at least the following types of songs: 1) syúwól 'spirit song; spirit dance; spirit power', 2) k^wéx^wéqs or q^wéx^wéqs 'a kind of spirit song and spirit dance done after the syúwól (spirit power) has left a dancer but the dancer still needs to dance; the dancer is still under a trance but is not possessed; just a few of these songs exist; anyone can dance along and sing it at the time', 3) sx^wá.yx^wéy songs (there are a number of different ones for different occasions when the sx^wá.yx^wéy dance is done, usually sung by a chorus of women, often in harmony), 4) songs sung when the syewméx^wces ('mountain goat wool-fringed rattle') is used in ceremonies, 5) haywí·leq^w 'burning song for the dead' sung by te híyeq^wels (the ritualist who does burning ceremonies), 6) medicine songs sung by a shaman (sx^wlé·m) to cure specific or general illnesses (there were many different songs, for curing different spiritual and physical ailments; some were recorded in Densmore (1943)³ and some have been taped recently through Coqualeetza; Amelia Douglas, Edna Bobb, and myself have transcribed the words, and Albert Friesen is transcribing the music (University of Michigan, M.A. thesis on the music of the Upper Stalo, Department of Musicology, forthcoming),

3. Frances Densmore; Music of the Indians of British Columbia, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 136, Anthropological Papers, No. 27, 1943, Washington, D.C.; Oliver Wells obtained a tape of the cylinders recorded by Densmore, and I will be transcribing the words in the Stalo songs later in 1981.

7) other songs of the yewí·lmet 'ritualist' (for exorcisms, good sorcery, or bad sorcery; in regard to the sorcery cp. syiwíł 'spell'), 8) songs of the swéyel sx^wlé·m 'weather doctor',⁴ 9) church songs (and services) in Halkomelem (Catholic, Protestant, and Indian Shaker), 10) gambling songs for the bone game (sléhé·l)(usually secular and sung in fun, but sometimes sung to supernaturally draw the bones back to one's side [when one set has been lost to the opponents] and to confuse the opponents supernaturally),⁵ 11) weather songs sung by average people, 12) sentimental songs (usually called "love songs" by the Stalo but dealing also with any sentimental feelings), 13) welcome songs (sung to welcome guests to feasts and to thank the cooks), 14) lullabies, 15) songs from stories (including some powerful lay weather songs and many other types), 16) berry-picking songs (and presumably other work songs), 17) canoeing songs, and 18) fun songs or lively songs (there is a term for this but not yet clearly attested)(two post-contact songs are recorded in Halkomelem so far, a whiskey song and the heel-toe or híltu ('Hindu') song--sung and danced to the tune of "Jimmy Crack Corn").

Song types 1 through 9 are religious, 10 and 11 have some religious elements, 14 sometimes involves religious songs, and 11 through 18 are secular. Religious song types 1 through 8 are only sung by their owners and their drummers and are not allowed to be recorded, with a very few exceptions: spirit songs whose owners have long since passed away are sometimes sung out of season by close relatives as sentimental songs, and with permission of the owner (ritualists or shamen) some medicine songs, burning songs, and exorcism songs have been allowed to be recorded. All songs except types 9, and 14 through 16 are owned with exclusive rights of performance. But most types of secular songs and a number of church songs have been recorded, with proper permission.

Spirit songs are acquired by initiation and/or spirit sickness and/or a spirit quest. In the old days many spirit songs had Halkomelem words throughout or in part (the rest being syllables). But some spirit songs even then had only syllables, such as ho, hi, ha,

4. Duff, op. cit., p. 102.

5. See Wendy Bross Stuart: Gambling Music of the Coast Salish Indians, National Museum of Man, Ethnology Division, Paper No. 3, Mercury Series, Oct. 1972, Ottawa, Ontario.

he, hu, hey, hoy, ?o, ?ey, lo, la, etc. When a law was passed forbidding potlatching and spirit dancing, spirit dancing went undercover and by the 1960's had almost died out in the Upper Stalo area (only two or three dancers were still dancing). But in the late 1960's spirit dancing started a remarkable revival here. Now there are scores of dancers here, and about a dozen Upper Stalo per season become new dancers; most are under 60 and cannot speak Halkomelem (nor can many of their drummers, who are mostly young or middle-aged).⁶ So the new spirit songs only have syllables (there may be very rare exceptions). Only the old songs, for the most part those which have been retired since their owners died, show discernable Halkomelem words; for example: a) "x^wilx^wfléqláx^yes k^we x^wéyleq^ws k^we cíceł" 'The Thunderbird (lit. "big bird of the above" here) repeatedly almost killed me.' (from x^wileq-l-áx^y-es 'he almost killed me'), b) "?ícel selé·we, ?ícel selé·we l xáse" 'I'm lonely, I'm lonely my friendly spirit.' (xáse 'friendly spirit')(the rest of the song is sung syllables), c) "...te lí·ló·d xéxe, xéxe lí·ló·d ..." '... the railroad sacred, sacred railroad ...' (this famous dancer had the power of a railroad train). A q^wóx^weqs song had the following words: "?o· ho ?o ho, q^wóx^weqs sin." It seems likely that this type of song is related to the Puget Salish /q^wúx^wqed/ 'a type of spirit power'.⁷ The final sin may be compared with Northern Straits Salish -sen 'I (subj. of verb)', so that the words may be Northern Straits, meaning 'I am q^wóx^weqs'. The word q^wóx^weqs has the Halkomelem -eqs '(on the) nose, point' however. From these examples and others it seems that the words to spirit songs can refer to the spirit vision, or name the spirit power, or refer to the dancer's emotions.

Burnings for the dead have also been undergoing a revival for several years now (at least since 1975). In speech with spirits and ghosts and in burning songs which are sung to spirits of the dead, the words are here and there left obscure or unfinished or distorted in certain ways. This is said to be the language ghosts and spirits understand. It is also one reason why it is necessary to call in ritualists or Indian doctors (shamen) to communicate with spirits

6. For an account of the survival and revival of spirit dancing see Pamela Amoss: Coast Salish Spirit Dancing, The Survival of an Ancestral Religion, University of Washington Press, 1978, Seattle, Wash.
7. From Hesse: Dictionary of Puget Salish, University of Washington

and do the ceremonies; they can speak in this spirit language and understand it. Exorcisms of spirits and curing various spirit illnesses also share some of the use of this obscured or distorted Halkomelem or spirit language, in both songs and speech with spirits.

A burning starts at times when spirits traditionally are out travelling (early morning or late afternoon). The ritualist gathers the family and friends of several deceased people near a large fire outside. They are told to stand away from the direction from which the ghosts will come to the fire. The favorite food and drink of each of the deceased has been prepared on dishes and cups labelled with their names. The ritualist starts by calling the spirits to come to the fire and take the food. This is done in a rising falsetto (by either man or woman ritualist), with directions like "ʔihí:cx^w wek^wayəɬ ʔəmí." 'Come over here now.', "mihícx^w wek^wayəɬ tí." 'Come over now.', "ʔí:cx^w k^wayəɬ k^wú.t." 'Come take it now.' The ritualist is passing the food for each person over the fire and scraping half of it into the fire. The spirits are taking the food from its smoke and transformed essence. When the feeding is over the ritualist tells the spirits to go in the same rising falsetto, "lɛcx^w a k^wɛ" 'Go now!', "lɛmcx^w ʔə" 'Just go!', "cx^w le há.yθəl" 'You're finished eating.', "lɛmcx^w k^wayəɬ." 'Go now!' These directions are interspersed with blowing almost like "whew!, whew!, whew!"

One burning song is a farewell song sung to spirits after they have been ritually fed at the burning. Over steady drumming and between lines (phrases or breath groups) of syllables occur the following words: "lí há.yθəl (? θɛ x^w)əl sté.x^wəɬ, ʔo syiləw qə he he he" 'Are you finished eating (?) my children?, oh passed-on ones he he he', and a little later, "xə.m ʔɛ sté.(x^wəɬ)" 'Your children are crying' or "xə.m ʔɛ sté.(wəqəl)" 'Your departed ones are crying'. The guests then go inside and share a meal from the food not scraped into the fire. The whole ceremony is beautiful and moving, and this brief description does not do it justice.

Exorcism and medicine songs are even more complex, with a complex mix (determined somewhat by circumstances) of syllables, words, blowing, and calls or speech to the spirits. The ritualist or shaman often has to travel spiritually in a trance to where the spirits are to rescue the afflicted persons spirit. The Halkomelem words include

requests (with exorcisms) that the spirit leave, go bother rich people, and let the spirit of the afflicted person alone, to have pity, forget the afflicted person and go back to the spirit world. Several songs are also recorded of lay people trying to rid themselves of ghosts (of a deceased wife, of a ghost in the form of a horned owl, etc.). With medicine songs, phrases such as (in Halkomelem) "I am curing you.", "I am taking the disease away.", "You will get better.", etc. seem to predominate.⁸

A number of hymns and services were translated into Upriver Halkomelem by missionaries with Indian assistants before the turn of the 20th century,⁹ and a handful of elders still can sing some of them. They are beautiful and moving also. One Methodist hymn is included here which has recently been revived and sung at funerals and some elders meetings:

F. míɛ Jesus (sung to the tune of Come Thou Fount);
 míɛ Jesus sq'á tɛlíf.məɬ. ('Come Jesus, with us.')

(Chorus)

1 sá'í te Jesus, Hallelujah. ('I love Jesus, Hallelujah.') true.)
 1 sá'í te Jesus, wəɬ θəʔít təl sq^wɛ.1. ('I love Jesus, my words are true.')

1 sá'í te Jesus, ʔeyelɛx^wsəáx^wes. ('I love Jesus, he makes me alive.')

túx'a Jesus, sá'ís tɛʔəlθɛ. ('That's him, Jesus, he loves me.')

təlúwe Jesus {Christ təl} sá'í, ('It's you Jesus Christ I love.')

wəláy təlúwe, (tə) ʔéy siyéw. ('Only you, (the) Good Lord/Chief.')

{θ'ɛx^wmetcəx^w te} mók^w səlé.wə. ('You pity all the lonely [or poor]')

{θ'x^wímetcəx^w təw}

ʔéyɛlex^wcəx^w tɛ(w) mók^w q'áq'əy. ('You heal all the sick.')

(Chorus repeats)

It is interesting to compare these lyrics with those of the

8. Densmore, op. cit., pp. 17-24.

9. For example the hymn (F.) is found in Rev's. Thomas Crosby, Charles M. Tate, and William H. Barraclough: Indian Methodist Hymn-Book, Staylim-Paypa ta Methodist-Ts'hayilth, 1898, Chilliwack, B.C.

original hymn; it shows the magnitude of translation difficulties and how they were resolved. This song (like the most musically and linguistically successful songs in all categories) works well because more high-stressed syllables occur on higher notes (in fact most do) than do unstressed syllables; long vowels also occur on longer notes.

Slahal gambling songs from this area are well-discussed in Stuart (1972).¹⁰ Only the very rare slahal song has words rather than syllables. One Squamish song mentioned in Stuart¹¹ has words which translate 'You cannot possibly win because we have Bill on our side.' The only one I have heard with words rather than just syllables had the words, "ʔo luwize" which is 'Oh Louisa', but Duff¹² records another from the Tait dialect. He only gives its translation, 'My slahal (bones) are flying.' sung over and over (probably in Upriver Halkomelem, "ɬáɬək^w tel slehé.1.") (θ'ám-cēs-tel is a more correct word for 'slahal bone(s)').

Weather songs are songs to make the weather change. They are powerful songs but not very melodic. Most are from stories and thus have dual use. One which does not come from a story (apparently) was sung by the late Mrs. Cecilia Thomas. It is a child's song sung when he/she is wanting to play on the ice; it makes the weather turn freezing. The words are:

G. "ʔewálem-ci(1) léʔε, k^wes (s)wólwóléq-ci(1) léʔε."
(play-I?) (hey!) (when it)(is smooth ice-I?)(hey!)
'(I) play hey!, when it's (I'm?) smooth ice, hey!'

(-ci(1) is so far unattested in meaning unless it is a distorted (magical?) variant of -cel 'I (subj.)'.)

The other attested weather songs come from stories and include:

H. A child's song about the Crow and the Sun which Cecilia Thomas's grandmother taught her (from a sx^wox^wiyé.ṁ), to sing and ask for a good day:

"xét'e yèɬ telá spá.1 'This crow is saying again,
k^wels ʔówe telíʔél "that I'm not from
telúwe syá.q^wil you, Sun." (normally syá.q^wem is 'sun')
xé:ya', xé:yaq', xé:yaq', xé:yaq', xé:yaq'" (meaning unclear, possibly
 'scratch, scratch, ...')

10. Stuart, op. cit.

11. Stuart, op. cit., p. 8.

12. Duff, op. cit., p. 127.

I. Song sung by Cecilia Thomas from the story of Beaver and Frog. The Frog girl turned down Beaver's proposition of marriage by insulting his body. Beaver's two children then sing this song and make first fog, then rain, then harder rain; later Frog is seen floating downriver on her loom in the resulting flood; she cries, 'Come and get me! I'll marry you!' Beaver tells his children to get a stick and poke her out further in the river. She keeps on till she gets to below Harrison Bay.

"q^weq^weq^wtí.mx^yel te seswé.yél 'The days are getting foggy.'
q^weq^weq^wtí.mx^yel te seswé.yél" (q^wétx^yem 'get foggy')

then:

"ɬéɬɬmí.x^wx^yel te seswé.yél 'The days are getting rainy with bigger
ɬéɬɬmí.x^wx^yel te seswé.yél" drops.' (ɬéméx^w 'to rain')

finally:

"t'ém't'é.mq^wx^yel te seswé.yél 'The rain is really getting hard.'
t'ém't'é.mq^wx^yel te seswé.yél." (verb not attested elsewhere yet,
 but cp. t'em- 'chop')

One avoids telling this story (with its songs) unless he wants bad weather. Notice the unusual reduplication and ablaut and /e/.

Sentimental songs ("love songs") heard so far include songs of love (especially crying songs at being separated), nostalgia, and praise of beautiful places and of a beautiful woman; they are often melodic and memorable.

J. Love song of perhaps 100 years ago, sung by Dolly Felix, originally sung by Johnny to Teresa when he was starting in a canoe to meet her secretly after her family moved away.

"ʔo siléwecel. 'Oh, I'm lonely.
ʔecel yexémeθame. I've been travelling crying for you.
(unclear, possibly θ'e me x^wéʔf.) (They say she's coming here.)
(unclear, possibly ʔo q'a leq'élqel.) (Oh ?together travel.)
k^wéy k^wels k^wélàmè. I can't seem to let you go.
ʔo cel tsás. Oh I'm (or I was) unfortunate.
wécelce x^wlí.lmèθame? Will I get to reach you there?
ʔo le silé.we telúwe ʔf. Oh it's lonely for you here.
ʔo ʔo ʔo me q'i (possibly q'ay). Oh, oh, oh [sob-like] come to ?die.'

K. Love song of a man, sung by Esther (Johnnie) Fidele.

"c'álesem, c'álesem. 'Turn your face, turn your face.

telúwe q'émí. It's you girl.

l sá'í k'wels k'wecəəame. I want to look at you.

Pshaw! It's just my cousin!" Pshaw! It's just my cousin!

(The last line was spoken in English.) This delightful song originated when a man saw a girl with beautiful hair and got romantic ideas.

L. Love song sung by Cecilia Thomas about the town of Victoria, B.C., originally sung by her mother's mother, Lucy (sister of Maggie Harris).

"syiléw k'w's ʔíyes k'w'e sə'ámes. 'Victoria is more beautiful/fun.

syiléw k'w's ʔí.yes. ('Victoria') It is more beautiful/fun.

syiléw k'w's ʔíyes k'w'e sə'ámes. Victoria is more beautiful/fun.

syiléw, syí.léw. It is more, it is more.'

(the above lines repeat four more times, then)

syiléw k'w's ʔíyes k'w'e sə'ámes.

syiléw k'w's ʔí.yes.

syiléw k'w's ʔíyes k'w'e sə'ámes."

M. Called a love song by most, a travelling or canoeing song by some, this beautiful and famous song was made up by Mrs. Kate (Lorenzetto) Karlsen (born about 1900, sister of Edmond Lorenzetto), see Duff.¹³

I have heard it sung by five different people (three of whom, Mrs. Margaret Jim, Mrs. Edna Bobb, and Mrs. Cecilia Thomas, sing it twice on different recordings). These eight performances provide an interesting opportunity to study text variation between performances and between performers, as well as the continuity and change of oral tradition. However there is no space here for such a discussion.

Suffice it to say that Kate's own mother, Mrs. Jim (who spoke little or no English), probably gives the closest rendition (in Oct. 1962):

"ʔo tele sx'ʔí.mex'ɛɛ. 'Oh where I used to walk.

ʔo tele sx'ʔí.mex'ɛɛ. Oh where I used to walk. oh.

k'w'éclex'w'cel tel sx'ʔí.mex'ɛɛɛl ʔo ʔo. I see where I used to walk, oh,

ʔéyeséɛ tel sx'ʔí.mex'ɛɛɛl. 'It was (still) beautiful/nice where I used to walk.'

(continued)

"ʔo tele sx'ʔí.mex'ɛɛ. 'Oh where I used to walk.

ʔo tele sx'ʔí.mex'ɛɛ. Oh where I used to walk.

ʔéyeɛ k'w'ε tele sx'ʔí.mex'ɛɛɛt. It was really good where we used to walk.

ʔéyeséɛ tele sx'ʔí.mex'ɛɛ ɛ̀.m. It was beautiful/nice where I used to walk, crying.'

The second time Mrs. Jim sings the song on tape for Oliver Wells (Feb. 24, 1965) she exchanges line 3 with line 7 and repeats line 7 instead of line 8. Cecilia Thomas sang it several different ways, sometimes with line 2, sometimes without. Instead of line three she sang "k'w'elsuɛ k'w'éclex'w tel sx'ʔí.mex'ɛɛ" 'when I saw where I used to walk', and instead of line 4 she had "k'w'els yəxáməəet k'w'els yeʔí.mex'ɛɛ" 'so I cried when I was walking'. She also used the following in place of lines 7 and 8: "k'w'els yəxáməəet k'w'elsuɛ k'w'ec(lex'w), tel sx'ʔí.mex'ɛɛ haninú" 'so I cried when I saw where I used to walk, haninú'. Then followed a chorus of about eight lines of variants of "ʔo hanináy haninú; hanináy, hanináy, hanináy" which are syllables only (perhaps representing crying).

Edna Bobb had the following version:

"ʔó. əənc sx'ʔí.mex'ɛɛ. 'Oh where I used to walk.

ʔó. əənc sx'ʔí.mex'ɛɛ. (ditto)

ɛ̀.əlsuɛ ɛ̀.m, ɛ̀.əlsuɛ ɛ̀.m k'w'els yeʔí.mex'ɛɛ. So I cried, so I cried
ɛ̀.əlsuɛ ɛ̀.m, ɛ̀.əlsuɛ ɛ̀.m k'w'els yeʔí.mex'ɛɛ." when I was walking.
(ditto).'

She later felt əənc should be changed to "əə ʔí ʔul" (preserving the way her father sang it). Incidentally all songs have been transcribed here with stresses the words would have if spoken. Melodic pitch frequently changes these when they are sung.

Two weather songs from stories have already been given. One more song from a story needs to be mentioned, the song of ʔ'ówɛɛyɛ 'Cannibal Ogress', which she sings to trick the children into the fire and cook them. This energetic song is quite scary in the context of the story and is a classic of its kind.

N. ʔ'ówɛɛyɛ's song, sung by Dolly Felix of Chehalis, B.C.

"ʔí ʔé?emʔí.məə. 'Here grandchildren.

hílek'w sté.x'wɛɛ. Get ready children.

ɛ̀.acəsu q'w(ə)yí.lex'ɛɛ tɛ? sí.le. Your grandmother is going to dance.

ʔo ʔé?emʔí.məə, Oh grandchildren,

q'wíhíʔi hí hɛ?ɛ. dan(ce) hí hɛ?ɛ.

13. Duff, op. cit., pp. 9, 127.

"ʔo ʔéʔemʔi-məθ, 'Oh grandchildren,
 ʔéycəp k'wɛʔ sq'átəp. it's good you're all together.
 q'awótəmɛp. (You all) drum!
 mók'w ʔúk'w tə sté-x'wɛt. The children are all lost.
 ʔá ʔá, ʔá ʔó, Ah, ah, ah, oh,
 ʔo təl ʔéʔemʔi-məθ. Oh my grandchildren.
 hɛy!" Hey!"

The story has two more songs. The children trick ʔ'ówxiye and push her in the fire instead. She sings "tɛlx'áx' ʔéʔemʔimeθ" twice ('Remove me (from fire or water), grandchildren!'); the children say 'We are pulling you out.', but they are really pushing her in. When she burns her ashes turn first into the larger insects that bite and draw blood (deer flies, etc.), then the smaller ones such as mosquito-toes and finally no-see-um flies (biting midges). After the children finally reach home Dolly concludes with the Indian doctor's song to cure the children of the ghost of ʔ'ówxiye.

Three lullabies have been attested, two of which have words:
 O. 'What is it my baby?', sung by Mrs. Cecilia Thomas in a slightly downriver dialect (upriver dialects have siéli 'female', ʔ'e 'they say', méle-s 'it's child', and k'wák'w'təl 'mole' (alternate of spələwəl):
 "siéni c'e tə mənəs k'wák'w't. 'The mole's child is a girl they say.
 sté'm, sté'm tə mənəs k'wák'w't? What?, what is the mole's child?
 sté'm, sté'm tə mənəs k'wák'w't? What?, what is the mole's child?
 siéni c'e tə mənəs k'wák'w't. The mole's child is a girl they say.'
 siéni c'e tə mənəs k'wák'w't.
 sté'm, sté'm tə mənəs k'wák'w't?
 siéni c'e tə mənəs k'wák'w't."
 (Note omission of article before k'wák'w't, presumably to fit melody.)

P. Song to put a child to sleep, sung by Mrs. Cecilia Thomas (1976):
 "wɛt ʔi-tetəm səməlé-t. 'High-class people are already sleepy.
 təlá l sɛ'álex'iyè-m. These are my stories.
 x'f-q'w, x'f-q'w, x'f-q'w, x'f-q'w." Snore, snore, snore, snore.'
 (The whole repeated once more.) This is a slow song with only three pitches.

Q. One berry-picking song was obtained and is also a classic of its type. Sung by Esther Fidele:

"xəxək'wíwɛlcépcɛ. 'You'll get constipated.
 xəxək'wíwɛlcépcɛ. You'll get constipated.
 hɛlp'ex'vɛx'w tə ʔelíle. If you eat salmonberries.
 hɛlp'ex'vɛx'w tə ʔelíle." If you eat salmonberries.'

R. Finally there is a whiskey song sung in fun by Dan Milo and also reported (in English translation only) by Duff.¹⁴

"ʔo təluwə siyém. 'Oh it's you chief.
 ʔíyəs t'wə k'wə ʔi sáləs ʔə It would be nice/fun to just be drunk
 wəʔís k'wə weskíyè, təluwə siyém. if some whiskey were here you chief.
 (All repeated four times, the last time minus təluwə siyém in the last line. Then,)
 wú hú hú!" woo-hoo-hoo!"

4. Conversations. Conversations of course were and are the most prevalent speech event. Here is a sample from a conversation between Mrs. Margaret (Silva)(Lorenzetto) Jim (Mrs. August Jim) and Mrs. Amy Cooper in 1965.
 AC: ʔo hɛyθesθaməscəl k'wəct ʔəw mə x'wəhíwəl k'wə lec'ɛx'w.
 (oh)(I was telling you)(that we)(a bit)(came)(upriver)(the)(once)
 MJ: ʔé.ʔɛ.
 (yes)
 AC: ʔəsu ʔ'ás θə xət'əstx'wəs "buggy-horse" stəliqíwɛt.
 (it (what)(they call (our horses)
 was) them)
 MJ: ʔm.ʔm.
 (yes)
 AC: cət k'wɛ tés tə cáləq'wɛls tə sk'wɛtɛc.
 (we)(anyway)(neared)(the)(back(wood) side of)(the)(Squatits, now
 Peters Reserve)
 MJ: ʔé.ʔɛ.
 AC: qəʔ'asésu li təθé k'wəs q'á-w tə stqá-yɛ.
 (and it was)(in)(there)(that he)(howled)(the)(wolf)
 MJ: m-
 AC: ʔəsu lé-w tə stəliqíw.
 (so) (ran away)(the)(horses)

14. Duff, op. cit., p. 128.

MJ: ʔó:.
(oh!)

AC: kʷá:ləet. (MJ laughs) AC: 0é.t. (MJ laughs)
(they really galloped) (it was dark)

AC: ʔes t'we k'wes sɪəq'eləxʷes te xʷéts. ʔəwəet ʔit
(it)(must (that)(they knew it)(the)(their way, (we didn't
be) road)

yilək'wəlexʷ k'wstémés.
(travel hooking it (something,
accidentally) anything)

MJ: ʔé.ʔe.
AC: q'ə k'wəɪcət. (laughs) k'əkʷels le pétem wəls xʷel
(or)(we spill [we (that's why I)(was)(asking)(if they)(still)
would have spilled])

ʔi te sxté.
(are here)(that)(kind)

MJ: ʔé.y. ɪəq' luw q'wáq'wəɪlexʷes ʔi yə ʔew mestiyəxʷ.
(they keep (some- (they notice them)(here)(the (people)
on) times) pl.)

AC: Well.

MJ: qə ʔəwecəl ʔətɪ k'wəcləxʷ.
(but)(I haven't)(?)(seen them)

AC: ʔəwəɪ me təsétes tə xʷəlməxʷ,
(they didn't)(come)(they approach them)(the)(Indian)

MJ: ʔəwə.
(no)

AC: te mestiyəxʷ túk'á stqá.ye.
(the)(person, (that)(wolf)
people)

MJ: ʔəwə.

AC: ʔó.

MJ: wəlf ʔa ʔeləcés k'wəs c'ɪé-metəm-ɪ te sq'á.w líɪ
(anywhere)(when it)(it was heard-past)(the)(howl)(was
(wherever they are)

lí tí ləc'əxʷ.
(over there)(once)

AC: Uh-huh.

MJ: qəw lí te sləʔáəel k'wəs ʔé.ystəm t'we k'w ǰú
(while)(on)(the)(other (that (they went (it must (the (Joe)
side) they) after him) be) distant)

MJ (cont.): ɪfs t'we k'eləxʷ lí te sləʔáəel.
(when he)(must (stopped)(on)(the)(other side)
have)

AC: Uh-huh.

MJ: stqá.ye. su lí stɪtəʔéɪ tɪ sq'wɪq'wəmy. su ɪé.w
(it was (so)(there)(dim.-like-past, (this)(puppy) (so)(ran
a wolf) it was little like) away)

te sq'wɪq'wəmy. heqflem le te sxʷʔéxəəs. ləs ʔftet.
(the)(puppy) (he crawled (went (the)(his bed) (he went to)(sleep)
under) to)

AC: Hm!

This conversation shows both AC being the active speaker, then some interchange, then MJ, an older monolingual speaker, being the active speaker (AC the listener). As a listener AC even uses English words (probably because Oliver Wells is present), while MJ of course does not. And note MJ's use of past tense suffixed to verbs, and both diminutive and past tense affixes on the verb stəʔé 'be like, be similar'. More could be said about length of utterances, coherence of topic, etc., but there is no room here.

5. Speech with spirits. Some examples have already been given of speech to spirits. But one example follows of words or a prayer said to plants before picking them for medicine, bark, etc. If plants are treated with such respect the medicine or use will be successful, and the plants will not die out where picked:

S. Prayer or words to plants:

"le 0'exʷstólemet ʔo siyém.

'Pity us, oh siyém.

meytálxʷcəxʷ.

Help us.

0'exʷmetálxʷcəxʷ; ləɪ ctuɪ tsás.

Pity us; we're getting unfortunate.

qəx te sxʷhákʷixʷcət.

We'll use it in many ways.

sxʷəmlálxʷcəxʷ.

You did us a favor.

yéɪ yuxʷ k'wéʔəs há.y."

Thank you."

6. Other speech events. Other types of speech events include joking (xʷə-ʔiyéq-əp-əm 'get-change-?-middle voice'), swearing (qəl-iyə-ɪl-əm 'bad-in mouth-go/come-middle voice'), lectures and teachings, word games (such as the shuttlecock game where each person tries to name another part of the fish while throwing the shuttle to the other), comments, commands, exclamations, speech of fauna (bird calls, etc.), and baby talk (such as when using

words like ?éx or yéx '(said to baby to teach him something is bad)', ?úx 'it smells! (said to child)', néne 'hurt (baby talk)' and x: '(a sound of glad greeting to see children, said while patting them under the chin palm up)'). There may even be several types of joking, for example, hewθ'é·m 'teasing' and pésq^wt 'insult someone by referring to part of his body'. At any rate, the examples given in this paper hint at the richness of verbal expression that was available when Halkomelem was part of daily life. In some places it still survives.

PARTICLE, PAUSE AND PATTERN IN AMERICAN INDIAN NARRATIVE VERSE

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In a recent issue of this journal William Bright has presented a myth cycle of the Karok of northwestern California as a sequence of lines of verse. Bright remarks that the presentation of the Karok text and the English translation is based on the principles of recent work by Dennis Tedlock (1971, 1972) and myself (Hymes 1976, 1977). The presentation, indeed, combines a principle adopted by Tedlock in the presentation of Zuni narratives, with a principle adopted by myself in the presentation of narratives of the Chinookan-speaking peoples of Oregon and Washington. Tedlock and I both recognize that American Indian narratives may have the structure of poetry, may consist of lines organized in verses; but whereas Tedlock finds Zuni narrative to have lines on the basis of pauses in speech, I have found Chinookan narratives to have lines on the basis of certain features of syntax, features that are discernible in written and printed transcriptions. Each predication in a text is likely to be a line, whether or whatever the speaker may have paused. Particles that are translated as "now", "then", and the like are markers of lines and groups of lines (verses), and enable us to discover the poetic pattern of a narrative, even though the written record does not reveal the intonational phrasing and pausing that Tedlock can attend to on tape recordings.

In presenting the Karok cycle, "Coyote's Journey", Bright is able to reconcile these two approaches. On the one hand, initial particles, such as "now", "then" and the like, occur in the Karok myth, and Bright recognizes a unit of verse almost everywhere they occur. On the other hand, Bright knows where minor and major pauses occur in the telling of the myth, and finds that each line ends with a minor pause, while the groups of lines that form verses each end with a major pause. Since verses almost always coincide with the occurrence of sentence-initial particles, the two kinds of features, pauses and particles, cooperate in marking the poetic structure of the myth.

Is Karok typical or unique? If one could go backward in time to hear Louis Simpson tell Wishram narratives at Yakima in 1905, or Victoria Howard tell Clackamas narratives near Oregon City in 1929 and 1930, would pauses for breath turn out to coincide closely with units marked in other ways? Do the Zuni narratives recorded by Tedlock have particles and patterns associated with particles, in addition to lines that can be distinguished on the basis of pause? And even if these and other American Indian languages, have both pauses and particles in their narrative verse, are the relations between pauses and particles always cooperative and reinforcing, as seems to be the case in Karok?

If we are to go by what has been published, the answer would seem to be that the narrative verse of the three cultures, Chinookan, Zuni and Karok, is after all quite different in each case. Perhaps it will be found that Chinookan narratives have pauses that mostly coincide with lines and verses

Ed note: Dell Hymes sent this paper explaining that it will also appear in American Indian Culture and Research Journal.