HALKOMELEM SPEECH EVENTS

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0. Introduction.
1. Narratives.
2. Speeches.
3. Songs.
5. Speech with spirits.
6. Other speech events.

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.

1. Narratives. There were and are two types of narratives, the sx’ox’iyf’-m 'legend, traditional story' and the sq’diq’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’ox’iyf’-m does the listener periodically say "?i?i y’-y" ('keep on going') to encourage the story-teller. All these features are lacking in the sq’diq’el. The stories and narratives obtained so far feature many sentences begun with co-ordinating conjunctions, sometimes (especially in sx’ox’iyf’-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 q6)’as?su.

Here are brief excerpts (beginnings) of several sx’ox’iyf’-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. sx’ox’-m 1 sx’ofye1, yáswe lcc’w p6et’nx. te’fie
   (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’ox’iyf’-m kw’ase le wóq’w te tøme’x, k’we ?i tø’-1
   (story) (when it)(was)(drowned)(the)(earth)(which)(past (went out)
   tense) of sight)
   story of when the earth was drowned—what we would
3. kw’ase lcc’w q6)’ex’w tøl’tøc tøz’ø. lálco’ swfyeq
   (what)(we’re (know it)(from)(that)(time) (there's one (man)
   going to)
Little Mink was going along they say, a handsome man, walking
along the edge of the river. And a girl was sitting there, 

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)
B. From The Story of the Flood, told by Amy Cooper to Brent Galloway, 
Nov. 10, 1971: Here are excerpts from two meetings, told by Amy Cooper to Brent Galloway, Nov. 10, 1971:
1. "Giyálem k'we sléx'et t'iyá-les (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
2. k'Wi'su te léeleq'el, qág'el, qág'esu (past tense)(I)(go)(travelling)(so I)(get up to, (the (Vancouver) approach) distant) I went travelling. And I got up to Vancouver.
3. if te qe'f-mi 76.~
(travelling by (the) (edge of) (the) (river) (and) (is sit- (the) (girl) way of, along) along the edge of the river. And a girl was sitting there;
4. k'wes 76.~
(it is (the) (up a hill) (that) (she in (the) (beautiful) (woman) sitting) (female) on) it was up a hill that the beautiful woman was sitting.
5. k'6x'w6q.wtel. (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. k'6x'w6q.wtel. (it is (the) (up a hill) (that) (she in (the) (beautiful) (woman) sitting) (female) on) it got to the fourth day and he thought to himself, "Oh it would be good if I (I'd better)
7. k'Wi'su te qe'f-mi. 76.~
(that I)(go)(look her over, (the) (girl) (he's going to (talk to her) see (visit) her) (f.))
He's going to talk to her, 
8. k'6x'w6q.wtel. (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.
9. k'6x'w6q.wtel. (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.
10. k'6x'w6q.wtel. (it is (day(s)) (that) (he) (walks) (he) (has his hands (as) (he travels by three) behind his back) walking)
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2. col lèm te sq̓ ʔəp. q̓ ʔəp̓ ʔət̓ ye xʷélmaxʷ, te kw̓ ṳx̕ʷətəm (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". kw̓ a siy̓ səm yuhkw̓ ál̓əm x̕ʷélmaxʷ sq̓ ʔəp̓ li ʔət̓. (that’s (respected (them) (Indians)(gathered)(at)(there) (the) (leader of) (in))

That’s the siy̓ səm (respected leaders) of those Indians gathered there.

4. lec̓ ʔəm̓ li te q̓ e, lec̓ ʔəm̓ li kw̓ a ʔəf, li kw̓ a (different tribe, (in)(there (one/different tribe) from) (there) (one people) (nearby) (other tribe) (distant) (distant) (there) (was) (one tribe (from) (here (nearby)), another tribe there (distant), (past tense) (there), (from) (in) the north, some (at) (the Kamloops, some) (all) (they’re (in) there (B.C.), (especially) (there) (from) (in)

in the north, some at Kamloops, 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. t̕əxʷ li q̓ e ʔəyəm te bəməxʷ qəsu col kw̓ a-l li sq̓ bəməl (it is (it (shaken) (the earth) (and) (if) (be born) (in) (a) (pit house) (later) (was) (past tense) (there) (was) (an earthquake) and (I) was born inside a pit house;)

Later there was an earthquake and I was born inside a pit house;

2. kw̓ a sk̓ t̕əxʷ; kw̓ st̕əxʷ ye x̕ʷe ̓ ləm̓ xʷ...lw̓ híkʷ. lw̓ t̕ we st̕ə (the)(inside)(they were (the (Indian) (it (big) (it (must (like) (inside) (pl.) (was) (be)) (the Indian people were inside)...It was big. It must have been like

the Indian people were inside...It was big. It must have been like

3. kw̓ a la l̕ šəm kw̓ s h̕ sə kw̓ səkʷətəm li c̓ e ̓ wətwə kw̓ əlsəwəx̕ w̓ 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

this little house here, the whole room was that big when I started

4. q̓ ʔəsəm̓ xət, t̕əwəx̕ w̓ meʔ̕əq̓ ʔəyəl̕əm kw̓ əls x̕ʷəl̕ (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
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 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 Elkomelem so far, kWiyá-s 'uncle, aunt' (instead of sxwamél-kW). But a large set has been discovered (apparently still in use) in the Cowichan and Nanaimo dialects. Some of the set phrases and topics include (at welcoming speeches): siyóm l siyóye 'my dear friend(s)', tiw6lólep l siyóye 'you people my friends', siyóm tél siyóye 'dear good friends', tél sqélówel kWóls (kWólcálédxókW télëvi), or sqélóq tél télólep l siyóye)'I'm happy to (see you all here, or to be with you folks my friends)', c'fálcél '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 siyóm" (siyóm unstressed) or "stókW ó4 síyóm" ('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 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.

2. Songs. Songs are another important and powerful type of speech event. There are at least the following types of songs: 1) syómł 'spirit song; spirit dance; spirit power', 2) kWóls or qtów 'a kind of spirit song and spirit dance done after the syómł (spirit power) has left a dancer but the dancer still needs to take care of his 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.

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7) other songs of the ywfl·imat 'ritualist' (for exorcisms, good sorcery, or bad sorcery; in regard to the sorcery op. ywil 'spell'),
8) songs of the awyel sx'el-f-a 'weather doctor',
9) church songs (and services) in Halkomelem (Catholic, Protestant, and Indian Shaker),
10) gambling songs for the bone game (alef-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,
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 hflu ('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, 12 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 shamans) 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, he, hu, hcy, hoy, 7o, 7y, lo, la, etc. When a law was passed forbidding potlatching and spirit dancing, spirit dancing went under cover 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). 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) "8wil-xflaqal8'w k'w 8'w arq8'w k'w s cfc8' "The Thunderbird (lit. "big bird of the above" here) repeatedly almost killed me," (from xflaqal-8'w 'he almost killed me'), b) "feel self-wc. "feel self-wc 'I'm lonely, I'm lonely my friendly spirit.' (zasc 'friendly spirit')(the rest of the song is sung syllables), c) "...te 11-16-d xflq, xfr 11-16-d "... the railroad sacred, sacred railroad ..." (this famous dancer had the power of a railroad train). A q'weqs song had the following words: "7o ho 7o ho, q'weqs sin." It seems likely that this type of song is related to the Puget Salish /

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 "?ihf:kx' wok':ayc? w?f." (Help me, come over here now.), "minf:ox' wok':ayc? tf.' (Come over now.), "?f:ox' k':ayc? k'ü.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, "lecw' k'oc" 'Go now!', "lecx' ?o." 'Just go!', "cx' le h':ayc?" 'You're finished eating.' 'lecw' k'ayc?.' (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: "?if h':ayc? (\(x\)œ x)œ stf'x'œk, ? o, sylhëw qe he ha ho!' Are you finished eating (?) my children?, oh passed-on ones he ha he ho', and a little later, "?x'œm ? e stf'x'(w'ok)" 'Your children are crying' or "?x'œm ? e stf'(wqel)' '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.

A number of hymns and services were translated into Upriver Halkomelem by missionaries with Indian assistants before the turn of the 20th century, 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: mîk' Jesus (sung to the tune of Come Thou Fount):
mi k' Jesus sq'a têllf'mel. ('Come Jesus, with us.'
'(Chorus) [Tea stf' lel, 7s dote kül.' (Tea, teach us our song.)
(Chorus)
1 sk'f te Jesus, Hallelujah. ('I love Jesus, Hallelujah.')
1 sk'f te Jesus, wek the'te tél sq' tê.l. ('I love Jesus, my words are 1 sk'f te Jesus, têlex's'âk's'â. ('I love Jesus, he makes me alive.')
76y te Jesus, sk'f's'â te'l și. ('That's him, Jesus, he loves me.')
têlôwe Jesus (Chrst lel) sk'f, {wely 1 }
(telôwe Jesus (Christ tells) sk'f, {wely la only
welôf te telôwe, (te) sq' siyé. ('Only you, (the) Good Lord/Chief,')
eqo'â sk'mcex' te smôi' s'âlewe. ('You pity all the lonely (or poor)'
eqo'â sk'mcex' tow
?sk'mcex's'â exo te(w) môi' q'âq'ây. ('You heal all the sick.')
(Chorus repeats)
It is interesting to compare these lyrics with those of the

9. For example the hymn (F,) is found in Rev's. Thomas Crosby, Charles M. Tate, and William H. Barraclough: Indian Methodist Hymn-Book, Stavlim-Paypa ta Methodist-Pe'haylith, 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). Only the very rare slahal song has words rather
than syllables. One Squamish song mentioned in Stuart 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, "I wish I had a wish." Duff records another from the Tait dialect. He only
gives its translation, 'My slahal (bones) are flying.' sung over and over (probably in
Upriver Halkomelem, "<slah> tel sle<8>."

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. "wqweqwaqwtf-m~el te sesw6-y61 'The days are getting foggy.'
   qweqwaqwtf-m~el te sesw6-y61 'The days are getting foggy.'
   "wqweqwaqwtf-m~el te sesw6-y61 'The days are getting foggy with bigger
   "wqweqwaqwtf-m~el te sesw6-y61 'The days are getting hard.'
   "wqweqwaqwtf-m~el te sesw6-y61 'The days are getting hard.'
   (verb not attested elsewhere yet, but cp. t'ev- '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.

"?0 sil~wocal. 'Oh, I'm lonely.'
   ccel yq'f~m~e. 'I've been travelling crying for you.'
   (unclear, possibly q'a leq'f~qel.) (Oh ?together travel.)
   k'k yk x'els k'flam. I can't seem to let you go.
   10. Stuart, op. cit.
K. Love song of a man, sung by Esther (Johnnie) Pidale.

"c'klese'm, c'klese'm. 'Turn your face, turn your face.
tel'de q'lei. It's you girl.
l ak' wélusk k'i'c'oe'lam. I want to look at you.
Pahaw! It's just my cousin!' Pahaw! 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's 'lyes k'i'c'elam. 'Victoria is more beautiful/fun.
syiléw k's 'lye-yes. ('Victoria!') It is more beautiful/fun.
syiléw k's 'lyes k'i'c'elam. Victoria is more beautiful/fun.
syiléw, syif-léw. It is more, it is more.'

(above lines repeat four more times, then)
syiléw k's 'lyes k'i'c'elam.
syiléw k's 'lye-yes.
syiléw k's 'lyes k'i'c'elam."

M. Called a love song by moat, a travelling or canoeing song by some, this beautiful and famous song was made up by Mrs. Kate (Lorenzetto) Karlson (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):

"'o tele sx'w'f-mox'≠k. 'Oh where I used to walk.
'o tele sx'w'f-mox'≠k. Oh where I used to walk.
'o tele sx'w'f-mox'≠k. Oh where I used to walk.
k'wéclex'cemi tel sx'w'f-mox'≠k'el 'o 'o. I see where I used to walk, oh,
'c'yesèk tele sx'w'f-mox'≠k'el. 'It was (still) beautiful/nice where I used to walk.'

(continued)

The story has two more songs. The children trick the 'mole' and push her in the fire instead. She sings "Add 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 mosquitoes 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 the 'mole'.

Three lullabies have been attested, two of which have words:

Q. One berry-picking song was obtained and is also a classic of its type. Sung by Esther Bidele:
"ko?4we wel69 pods. 'You'll get constipated.
ko?4we wel69 pods. You'll get constipated.
help'ox'ox' te ?elfle. If you eat salmonberries.
help'ox'ox' te ?elfle. 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
"ko tel6we siy6m. 'Oh it's you chief.
ko?4we tel6we siy6m. It would be nice/fun to just be drunk
ko?4we tel6we siy6m. if some whiskey were here you chief.
(All repeated four times, the last time minus tel6we siy6m in the last line. Then,)
woh hoo-hoo!'
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 st&? '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 t'ev'ax'tse'mat ?o siyêm. 'Pity us, oh siyém. mcytîlx'cax'. Help us.
theta'x'matlíx'cax', leh chuuk tsás. Pity us: we're getting unfortunate.
gax te sx'hak'ix'cot. We'll use it in many ways.
sx'ematlíx'cax'. You did us a favor.
yc' yux' k'ev'cs há-'y.' Thank you.'

6. Other speech events. Other types of speech events include joking (x'ev-yi-faq-op-em 'get-change-i-middle voice'), swearing (qi-lîyî-fl-im '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
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 1903, 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.