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**And Then It Rained: Power and Song in Western Washington  
Coast Salish Myth Narratives**

**Laurel Sercombe**

**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**University of Washington**

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**Program Authorized to Offer Degree: Music**

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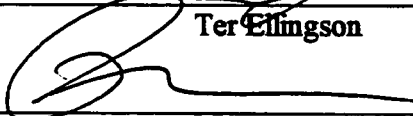
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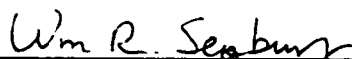
Chair of Supervisory Committee:

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Ter Ellingson

Reading Committee:

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Ter Ellingson

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Philip D. Schuyler

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
William R. Seaburg

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

University of Washington

Abstract

**And Then It Rained: Power and Song in Western Washington  
Coast Salish Myth Narratives**

Laurel Sercombe

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:  
Associate Professor Ter Ellingson  
Music

The First People of western Washington state have told stories for many generations. Until the disruption of lifeways caused by White settlement in the mid-nineteenth century, the formal telling of myth narratives was a seasonal event, taking place mainly in the winter months. With the dispersion of village settlements, the removal of children to government schools, and other drastic social changes, the storytelling context too was affected. During this period a new audience arrived in Native communities in the form of anthropologists, linguists, and other collectors hoping to "salvage" language and cultural practices they believed were doomed to extinction.

Many myth narratives and other stories documented since the 1890s include songs as part of the narrative whole, but collection and documentation practices have resulted in the displacement of these songs from their narrative context. The publication of transcribed story texts has often excluded consideration of songs or has considered them only as textual material. As recorded sound media began to be utilized to document song traditions, many of the songs associated with myth narratives were recorded and became part of the historical record.

This study investigates western Washington Coast Salish myth narrative songs from a variety of perspectives: as musical events with melodic and rhythm features, as structured narrative units, as literary texts, and as containers of cultural and spiritual meaning. The discussion focuses on the relationship of myth narrative songs to

spiritual power through their association with localized spirit beings. It is this relationship that connects myth narratives to human spiritual practice. In this way myth narratives contribute to an understanding of the cultural geography that identifies Coast Salish life and thought.

Storytelling is also considered as performance in order to highlight its essentially social, communicative nature. The analysis of an audio recording of a performance of the Coast Salish "Star Child" narrative cycle by Susie Sampson Peter includes discussion of a broad range of musical, rhetorical, and dramatic elements and takes into account the interactive aspects of the performance event.

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## Introduction

**We were dismembered. Our culture was taken away. Our language was taken away. Our way of life was taken away.... The only way to cure dismemberment is to remember (Bruce *subiyay* Miller) (*The Olympian* 4/14/96)**

The oral literature of the Coast Salish peoples describes a lively world of characters, places, and events through the medium of story and song. Although some Northwest Coast literature has been studied for its ethnographic and literary content, little attention has been paid to the songs within the stories. The subject of this study is the sung material in the oral literatures of the Coast Salish people of western Washington state, primarily speakers of Lushootseed and neighboring languages. Audio recordings and texts collected between 1927 and 1985 comprise the primary source material for the discussion of historical song practice. I have also relied on historical and contemporary writings on North American indigenous music, literature, and culture, as well as on my own notes and interviews with local consultants during the 1990s. From these sources I have compiled a body of songs and song texts which I investigate from several perspectives: 1) songs as musical events, 2) songs as narrative units, and 3) songs as containers of cultural and spiritual meaning.

The study approaches the songs in myths and other stories as they contribute to an understanding of the cultural geography that identifies Coast Salish life and thought. This geography is very much about physical sites, locations made explicit in story

narratives. But it also refers to the meanings of those places, to a web of social and spiritual relationships, and a common origin. For Coast Salish people, "History is most precise when it is geography, organized spatially rather than temporally..." (Kahn 1996:193). At the heart of this discussion is the relationship of myth song to spiritual power through its association with localized spirit beings. Through this relationship, the songs connect the myths to human spiritual practice and to the physical source of spiritual power that enables life for the entire community.

Our ability to explore this web of relationships is constrained, in part, by the nature of the historical record. The research methods and priorities of early ethnographers in the Pacific Northwest resulted in the publication of many volumes of texts, including stories and other ethnographic narratives. But interest in songs, separate from their texts, was generally secondary, and dealing with them was problematic. Since songs had to be manually notated or captured on fussy recording devices, musical data was often ignored altogether or, at best, collected in separate sessions with consultants singing songs of all kinds, one after another, to maximize cylinder or disc capacity. In the case of myth songs, these early audio documents represent a particularly jarring case of ethnographic disembodiment, in which musical utterances were isolated from their narrative context from the moment of collection. My aim here, in part, is to re-integrate, or re-place, the songs into the stories in order to appreciate them as cohesive narratives, informing and informed by the larger world of Coast Salish thought and belief.

## **Locating the Study**

### **Linguistic, Cultural, and Geographical Boundaries**

Coast Salish speakers occupy areas of western British Columbia and Washington and a small section of northwestern Oregon. Of the twenty-three Salishan languages, sixteen are spoken by these coastal groups (the remaining seven constitute the Interior Salish division) (Thompson and Kinkade 1990:33). Within the Northwest Coast culture area as defined by ethnographers since the late nineteenth century, the Coast Salish sub-area excludes Bella Coola and Tillamook, both isolated geographically from the remaining fourteen Coast Salish language groups located contiguously in southwestern British Columbia and western Washington (Suttles 1990:14). The Coast Salish sub-area may be further classified into Northern (Comox, Pentlatch, and Sechelt), Central (Squamish, Halkomelem, Nooksack, Northern Straits, and Clallam), Southern (Lushootseed and Twana), and Southwestern (Quinault, Upper and Lower Chehalis, and Cowlitz).

For this study I have relied mainly on sources from Lushootseed (Puget Salish), Twana, Clallam, Northern Straits (Samish and Lummi), and Tsamosan Salish (including the coastal sub-group of Quinault and Lower Chehalis and the inland sub-group of Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz). Although Nehalem Tillamook is not considered part of the Coast Salish cultural sub-area, the existence of a study of its

folklore has prompted me to include it at points where doing so enriches the overall discussion.

For members of localized Coast Salish communities before White settlement, group affiliation occurred at a number of levels, from that with "hearthmates" moving outward toward the level of "greatest allegiance and loyalty" (Miller 1999a:19), that of the entire drainage system around which the population center had developed (Smith 1940:6). Cultural differences and historical experience distinguish each community, but as Suttles points out, "Networks of intermarriage and cooperation in economic and ceremonial activities among neighboring tribes regardless of language made the whole Coast Salish region a kind of social continuum" (Suttles 1990:15).

My intention, when speaking of *the* Coast Salish, or *the* Lushootseed, is to locate references in time and place whenever possible and to maintain a historical perspective without lapsing into a de-temporalized ethnographic present. Working with both historical documentation and my own research materials, there is also a temptation to divide information into "then" and "now" or to rely on pre-contact/post-contact distinctions. My aim is to show respect to the generations I have come to know through descriptive accounts and oral transmission, going back to the period of greatest disruption in the mid-nineteenth century, by addressing them as directly as I can. Unqualified references to, for example, "Coast Salish mythology," reflect my perception that such a cultural tradition persists to the present day.

### **Locating the Discourse**

Human experience as articulated through discourse occurs at "...the richest point of intersection among language, culture, society, and individual expression" (Sherzer and Woodbury 1987:vii). Within this expressive universe, my interest here is primarily in narrative as "a form of discourse...which involves the recounting of a series of events" (ibid.:8). Emerging from "a selection process in which particular experiences are given structure and meaning by being taken out of the flow of experience," narrative events construct, rather than report, realities. Within the framework of discourse analysis, the study of narrative as "a complex cultural practice" thus requires attention to narrative texts and contexts and the relationship between them and to the communicative and performative aspects of narrative transmission (Shuman 1996:837, 839).

This study addresses narrative forms generally included under the broad heading of oral literature; that is, any form of narrative expression that is or has been primarily shared and transmitted orally. The designation "oral" indicates something both "unwritten" and "verbal" (Finnegan 1996:888). The label "oral literature" has served several ideological agendas, at one time effectively marginalizing the study of indigenous literary forms by contrasting them to literature in the etymologically specific sense of a "culture of letters" (Krupat 1992:174); in contemporary usage it suggests equal status with written literatures and highlights the fact that it is "told" in performance. Increasingly, editors of anthologies refer to Native American

"literatures," a more inclusive and neutral label. I continue to use "oral literature" to refer specifically to the narrative forms associated with pre-contact Coast Salish life (mostly still practiced), including myths and tales, historical accounts, personal narratives, and formal oratory, such as speeches. It is worth noting that while scholarly interest in orally transmitted literary forms goes back several hundred years, attention to the tradition of written literature by Native Americans is quite recent.<sup>1</sup> Coast Salish oral literature is documented now, of course, in both written and tape- (or disc-) recorded forms.

Throughout this study my orientation has been toward the identification and articulation of local (indigenous) values regarding literature and storytelling. In this context the term "verbal art" is used to refer to "a community's own conception of what in language use is aesthetically or rhetorically pleasing, the forms and processes that members of the community label or otherwise demonstrate they consider to be verbally artistic" (Sherzer and Woodbury 1987:8).

### **Cosmological Roots and Narrative Taxonomies**

Following the lead of contemporary scholars, I use the general term "story" to refer inclusively to myths, tales, legends, histories, and memoirs (Bierwert 1996). The term "myth" is used here to refer to the kind of story in which the songs under consideration usually appear; that is, a culturally central narrative set in "a world that is different

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<sup>1</sup> Kroeber (1994) discusses this tradition, in particular the work of John Rollin Ridge ("Yellowbird")

from or earlier than the one in which the myth is related" (Farrer 1997:576, paraphrasing Bascom 1965:4). Ramsey has suggested a definition of "myth" that avoids both "imaginary" and etiologically-focused applications of the term:

Myths are sacred traditional stories whose shaping function is to tell the people who know them who they are; how, through what origins and transformations, they have come to possess their particular world; and how they should live in that world, and with each other (Ramsey 1999:6).

The phrase "mythic narrative" aptly describes the genre under consideration (Kroeber 1994:26, Bierwert 1999:9). Farrer's term "mythic present" conveys an orientation toward time in which "the long-ago past...is conflated with that which is occurring now, at this moment, in our own time-space" (Farrer 1997:576). The elastic, spatial qualities of temporality are a central feature of perspectives presented in this study.

In general, differences between Native American narrative genres, particularly myths and tales, are not to be found in narrative structure but rather in the nature of the story world (stylistic distinctions will be discussed in Chapter Two):

By and large, scholars have been unable to distinguish satisfactorily the supposed genres of myth and tale among the North American Indians. Even Boas admitted that the contents of both folktales and myths were largely the same (Dundes 1964:27).

It is the place of humans in the story world that provides meaningful differentiation:

...between a world in the process of being transformed and prepared for the coming of human beings and a world rendered meaningful and spiritually potent inhabited by human beings. It is a distinction between mythic beings endowed with significance and potency and humans seeking that endowment. The mythic world necessarily precedes yet continues to reverberate through the

---

(Cherokee), whose 1854 novel, *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta, the Celebrated Bandit*, was the first published novel by a Native American.

world of tales (Frey and Hymes 1998:587).

To describe these states of being in temporal but not necessarily chronological terms, Wiget refers to "narrative time" to depict Native American oral narrative genres in a sequence, each corresponding to the appearance of certain mediating figures in a series of new worlds: an Origin Period (including the Earth-Diver Myth Complex and Emergence Myth Complex); a Transformation Period (including a Trickster/Transformer); and a Historicolegendary Period (Wiget 1985:4). At the crux of this sequence are "images of transformation" that result in the "communication of sacred power" that "establishes for all time the prototypical channel of power and provides, therefore, the means of access for all mankind to that power" (ibid.:9).

In Coast Salish cosmology the world consists of three "cosmic zones" (ibid.), the skyworld, the earthworld, and a land of the dead. The Twana conceived of a first land of the dead, an underworld arrived at by a trail where conditions were a reverse version of the earthworld; and a second land of the dead, from which souls were reborn (Elmendorf 1960:518-519). There is no one cohesive Coast Salish origin myth; instead, epic narratives describe "re-creations after a great flood rather than creation from a void" (Miller 1999a:49-50). The "Origin Period" was populated by beings "neither fully animal nor human or spirit, not fixed in time or space" (ibid.).

Sometimes one of these animal-people (often Muskrat) fulfills the earth-diver function and dives down through the floodwater to bring up land, but across the region a variety of re-creation epics are found. Miller describes the situation for Lushootseed:

Various genesis stories around Puget Sound serve to account for the many different village, ethnic, and tribal differences. All versions underscore, from a native perspective, the great language diversity in the area (ibid.:51).

A central character in Coast Salish literature is the Changer or Transformer, who appears in human form like other myth-era actors but, unlike most of them, is not associated with an animal or natural feature. The Transformer arrives in the world and, through a series of encounters with the animal-people who live there, changes them and the physical world to the form we know today, each associated with a specific location (ibid.:50). Local names of the Changer include *dikʷibət* (Lushootseed) or *dikʷibał* (Twana); *xwoni* (*xʷə'n* - Upper Chehalis) (Hajda 1990:512); *musp* (*məsp* - Upper Chehalis) (ibid.), *xaals* (*xə'ls*) (Suttles 1990:466); *qʷaati* or *qʷá-ti* (Makah and Quilleute) (Powell 1990:431), and *kəkaiax* (Clallam).

Coast Salish literature as a whole is perceived in relation to the time, or the world, of the Change or Transformation, and the Changer is the "mediational figure" of that world as portrayed in mythic narrative. In some accounts transformations are brought about by characters other than the Changer, but this does not seem to be as significant as the transformation itself, which results in something taking its "final form" (ibid.).

Stories about this transitional period reflect the unbounded quality of narrative time, during which the Transformer, acting as a "mediator,"

...incarnate[s] supernatural power and values in the present moment, thus communicating prototypical realities to each succeeding new world. In this way cultural institutions come to be understood as both created, historical realities and yet images of eternal verities (Wiget 1985:3).

Susie Sampson Peter, Skagit storyteller and historian, embodies this ability to mediate between historical and myth time when she uses the word *dik'ibət* to describe collector Leon Metcalf in the 1950s, in a passage translated from Skagit:

Yet I remember the old ways and I will ever recall them because now this Boston [American/white person] has come to us, this changer who wishes to know all about these other things (Hilbert 1995a:13).

Miller and Hilbert refer to myth time as the "Epic Age" and the Change as a "transformational period, [when] everything was in flux" (ibid.:127).

Somehow, every narrative picks up the story in the midst of things. There is no point of beginning for the Lushootseed. Instead, the narrative is continuous and proceeds in terms of connections (ibid.).

Both local (indigenous) and analytic narrative taxonomies reflect the primacy of the Change and provide more specific descriptions of the kinds of stories this study addresses. In northern Lushootseed *syəyəhub* (or *syəhub*) and southern Lushootseed *sx'i'a'b* indicates specifically a "story about the world before Changer transformed it" or more generally "a traditional old story" (Bates et al. 1994.:277). A contrasting category is *lələwul'b*, historical information (ibid.:135). In *Lushootseed Texts* Langen contrasts the *syəyəhub* with the history or memoir and the legend but finds it more useful to consider these discourse types as part of a "legend-myth continuum" (Langen in Bierwert 1996:156). She uses the terms "myth time" and "time that can be remembered" (ibid.:146) and places *syəyəhub* in myth time or during the Change.

For Upper Chehalis the equivalent to *syəyəhub* is *sielə'pt* (Adamson 1934:xii, Kinkade 1991:172); for Cowlitz, *sə'pt* (Adamson 1934:xii). For Halkomelem (Fraser River

Coast Salish) it is *scwaxwiyam*, while *sqwelqwel* refers to oral history that has been passed down (Bierwert 1999:77). For Squamish *sxʷəxʷiʔámʔ* is translated "story (non-realistic), myth," and *syáç* "story (realistic)" (Kuipers 1967:298, 300).

In Twana the term *sp'əla'č'* ("the capsizing") identifies the Change; the era leading up to it, the "myth period," is called *sa'bu* (Elmendorf 1960:535-536). Bruce Miller, Skokomish spiritual leader, employs *sp'əla'č'* (or *spelatch*) to refer not only to the original Change but to a recurring cataclysmic event:

*Spelatch*...turned everything as we knew it upside down....When the Puget Salish culture came to be decimated, everything they had known that gave them security, the knowledge of their ancestors' songs and ceremonies, was pulled out from under them. They were *spelatched*. Everything was turned upside down again. It was like a shipwreck where everyone was trying to find something to cling to, to save their lives (cited in Smyth and Ryan 1999:29).

Recognizing these Twana concepts, Elmendorf arranged stories told to him by Frank Allen and Henry Allen into "Myths" (those taking place in the myth period (*sa'bu*) before "the capsizing" (*sp'əla'č'*), a world populated by animal-people); "Semi-Mythic Tales" (myth elements are still prominent but the characters are mostly human beings, and actions and motives refer more directly to the modern world of human experience); and "Semi-Historic Tales" (characters are mainly human, and stories take place in an indefinite past, often dealing with the origin of human institutions, intermarriage with animals or spirits, and tribal origins). Elmendorf described these categories as moving chronologically from "almost timeless remoteness" to "concrete anecdotes of modern happening" (Elmendorf 1961:10). At the same time, Elmendorf acknowledged that the distinctions were hazy and obscured more important aspects of

the stories:

Everything changes, and things (in the myth age) are very different before they change, but attention is nowhere on the placement of changes in time. It is the magical or numinous qualities of change, the transformation of the world and its beings, on which the tales concentrate (Elmendorf 1961:9).

E. D. Jacobs arranged the stories told to her by Nehalem Tillamook consultant Clara Pearson in three groups by eras defined by Mrs. Pearson: the "myth age," the "era of the transformation" (when the Changer came in the form of South Wind), and the "period of true happenings." Jacobs qualifies this last designation, calling it "...rather the era of relatively recent history... because all the stories describe what these people believe truly occurred." She classified these as "Historical Tales" in the published volume. (Pearson 1959:ix). Jacobs found that some story characters crossed era boundaries without changing form, making those boundaries appear blurred, but she believed the categories made sense to "cultural insiders" (ibid.).

## **Methodology**

In this study I combine ethnohistorical research, field ethnography, and musical analysis to develop a fuller picture of a musical (and literary-educational-spiritual) practice from a period of critical change in Coast Salish society, through an era of cultural revitalization and the beginning of self-documentation, and continuing to the present.

## **Sources of Research Data**

1. Published and archival print sources.

2. Audio and video recordings and accompanying documentation, as follows:

a) Eighteen archival collections have been located which include sound recordings (and other forms of documentation) of western Washington Coast Salish songs produced between 1909 and 1976 by non-Native collectors, including: Adamson/Boas, Ballard, Boulton, Curtis, Densmore, Elmendorf, Farrand, Fetzer, Gunther, Haeberlin, Hess, Jacobs, Metcalf, Mohling, Rhodes, H. Smith, W. Snyder, Williams.

b) Recordings made by Vi Hilbert, Upper Skagit elder, from 1975; this research collection documents her own linguistic and cultural heritage (and compliments other recordings in her collection, made by other researchers); it constitutes part of the archive of Lushootseed Research Inc., founded by Vi Hilbert.

c) My taped interviews, videorecordings, and field notes made between 1992 and 1999 serve as both documentation of contemporary practice and a source of information about historical practices.

3. I also count as "data" the mental construct I carry into the writing (the storytelling world, the story world, and the dissertation world) based on my constantly changing perception of concepts and practices. In the course of conversation with my consultants (Indian and non-Indian) and as a result of listening and observing at local events, I find myself learning the same things again and again. Like grandmother Inch Worm, I repeatedly close the distance between myself and my destination (understanding), only to have the destination stretch out again toward the horizon.

### Organization of Data

From the sources described I compiled a list of western Washington Coast Salish myth and other story songs (in all recorded and print manifestations) in the form of a database catalog. This survey enabled me to identify different songs and versions of songs associated with various stories. For more intensive investigation I chose songs from two mythic narratives: the “Story of Dirty Face” (also called “The story of *spicx*” or “The Man Who Would Not Wash His Face”) and “Star Child” (or “Star Husband”). I located recordings of twenty-seven songs (ten from the “Story of *spicx*” and seventeen from “Star Child”) and prepared song data sheets for each, including a musical score and additional information on music-, narrative-, and performance-related features.

### Analysis and Interpretation

The ethnographic, historical, musicological, and language-related literature presented in the study, along with the song data described above, provide the basis for a performance analysis of Susie Sampson Peter’s telling of “Star Child” in Chapter Four and a comparative analysis of songs associated with the “Story of *spicx*” and “Star Child” in Chapter Six. The narrative analysis emphasizes the stylistic features of one prominent example of Lushootseed literature and the musical aspects of both spoken and sung text. The song comparison forms the basis for a characterization of western

Washington Coast Salish myth songs, presented in relation to earlier studies of Native American musical style.

### Research Aims

The aims of this study are to delineate a western Washington Coast Salish myth narrative song genre; to contribute to a greater appreciation of western Washington Coast Salish oral literature, including its narrative and musical dimensions, aspects of performance, and the cultural context and documentary history of its practice since the late nineteenth century; and to elucidate local (indigenous) values regarding story and song performance through the application of interpretive strategies emphasizing complementarity and interactivity.

### **Theoretical Perspectives**

In this study I seek to apply theoretical perspectives that enhance my objective of presenting and interpreting local (indigenous) values. Such perspectives are identified in the scholarly literature as ethnoaesthetics in the plastic and performing arts (B. Tedlock 1986:187), ethnocriticism in the literary arts (Krupat 1993:xix), and ethnopoetics in folklore and linguistic studies (ethnopoetics refers to both an approach based on native conceptions and a form of analysis and representation; see Sherzer and Woodbury 1987).<sup>2</sup> The particular challenge of this project has been to deduce

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<sup>2</sup> "Ethnomusicology" does not necessarily suggest the same approach as that of these more recent interdisciplinary ventures. That is not to say that ethnomusicologists do not conduct *ethnomusicology*. In the area of Native American music studies, David McAllester set the standard early on for such work.

aesthetic values across several generations of storytellers. Consultants in the past were not often asked what they found to be appealing or beautiful about a story or song or the performance of a particular story or song. Even when asked directly, most of us find such questions difficult to answer. It is not my aim to define Coast Salish aesthetics but rather to represent one expressive tradition as appropriately as possible. My treatment of the subject of songs in mythic narratives takes into account the following three conceptual areas: the importance of place, oral literature as history, and storytelling as performance.

### Place

In theorizing about place, contemporary ethnographers exercise a vocabulary based on interpretive frameworks which come from several intellectual streams. "Place" is a useful metaphor, allowing us to move easily among concepts we understand to be socially constructed, whether they are geographical, mental, or spiritual. Thus, an acknowledgement of the importance of a "sense of place" to the construction of social identity suggests that more is at stake in this perception than a connection to the land, though that connection may be profound. The consideration of place and places often focuses instead on the "frontier," a "shifting space in which two cultures encounter one another" (Krupat 1992:4). In this "culturally defined place where peoples with different culturally expressed identities meet and deal with each other" (Clifton 1989:24), issues such as ownership and control are addressed. Disruptive, often

violent power struggles take place at this frontier, often resulting in the "displacement" of groups of people in various ways.

The history of post-contact native America is at its core one of displacement: literal physical displacement has occurred in many forms, and tribal control over land and resources continues to be an unresolved issue. "Indian identities have seemed to hinge crucially on their retention or reconstruction of and access to a home place, perhaps because displacement was so common and so devastating, so politically beyond the control of most groups throughout their histories" (Blu 1996:224). In the case of western Washington groups, treaties initiated by territorial governor Isaac Stevens beginning in 1854 dismissed their claims to traditional lands and attempted to concentrate them on reservations on Puget Sound and Hood Canal, along the Pacific coast, and at one inland river confluence. Resistance took the outward form of an armed uprising in 1856; several groups held out for local reservations, and some Indians relocated on their own or simply stayed where they were. Whatever the degree of geographical displacement experienced, the links to the old village networks were broken; epidemics and other effects of White domination contributed further to social and cultural disruption.

This study addresses displacement in Coast Salish culture in more abstract forms which, nonetheless, remain bound to the concept of a "home place." Coast Salish people lived traditionally in village settlements on the river drainages of western

Washington and southern British Columbia. Ownership of resources, whether tangible or intangible, was based on relationships involving human and spiritual beings and their connection to the land.

Native sense of place was and is constantly confirmed throughout all records. Traditionally, each community insisted on its ownership of local territory and resources but shared them willingly. Settlers who acknowledged aboriginal claims were welcome to build and improve local lands in the native hope that they would learn to be better humans....It was land that provided the abodes of spirits, the placement of resources, and the domain of human communities (Miller 1999a:45).

Reflecting these values, many stories in Coast Salish communities were either explicitly located at or associated with local sites where things had happened in myth times. Those sites and their resident spirit beings are permanently charged with profound spiritual meaning to the local human community. The myths taught and reinforced ideas about the spirit world, which exists parallel to the human world, as well as depicting the pre-Transformer world of the animal-people. Many of the same myth narratives are found throughout the area, despite its linguistic diversity, as a result of many centuries of intermarriage, trade, and warfare. Differences in narratives often have to do with local geography. "There were so many different origin stories around Puget Sound because there were so many different village, ethnic, and tribal differences to be accounted for" (Miller and Hilbert 1996:139). The "Star Child" epic, discussed in Chapters Four and Six, is one example of a widely disseminated story with many different localized versions that trace the origins of a particular group back to its origins.

It is the particular role and significance of songs within the myths that is of greatest concern here. Where the stories establish the connection of the human to the spiritual through locality, it is the songs that most directly manifest the power inherent in those relationships. When myth characters sing, they are often singing their spirit songs; these songs, personal and localized, thus connect the myths to human spiritual practice and to the physical source of spiritual power that enables life for the entire community. The songs literally ground the world in the form of a reflection, since the myth world runs parallel to the human world. Myth songs mirror human spirit power songs, sometimes humorously, but they do not replicate them. If they were identical, they could diffuse the power of human spirit power songs; instead they demonstrate the way the world works at a metaphorical level.

The loss of control over geographical sites of spiritual/cultural importance seriously jeopardized the basis of Coast Salish religious practice. The support and cooperation of local spirit powers was essential for a community to effectively utilize the local natural resources. Ongoing spiritual practice, including the acquisition of individual spirit power and the dancing of that power in the longhouse, maintained those bonds. Dramatic social and cultural disruption, as well as physical displacement, called the entire system into question: what happened to the relationship between human and spirit beings when the linkage of place was lost? In the case of myth narratives and the songs they contain, displacement occurred first on this wrenching physical and psychological level; and later, when researchers sought to document them, collection

practices separated narratives from songs, further isolating songs and undermining the integrity of the literature as a whole.

### Interpreting Native American Literatures and Meanings of History

In order to address the subject of songs in Native American oral literature, it is necessary to examine how that literature has been approached and studied and to elucidate the beliefs and assumptions underlying that study. The first problem is that in order to be described and analyzed in the Western scholarly tradition, oral literature has had to be transcribed to a written form; if told in an indigenous language, it has had to be translated into English. The resulting text, then, becomes the object of study; the song text, whether lexical or consisting of vocables, comes to be thought of *as* the song, displaced in most cases from the musical elements that mark songs as distinct from text. (This problem is discussed further in Chapter Two in the discussion of early collection and documentation practices.)

An even more basic problem has to do with the nature of the material collected and conflicting ideas of what constitutes historical truth. Whereas Euroamerican tradition recognizes a strong and clear distinction between history and myth, indigenous thinking acknowledged mythology *as* history (Krupat 1993:xxi). The stories constitute not an oral literature but an oral history, telling what Trafzer calls "the first history of America" (ibid.:485). Consultants often refer to the epic stories as "the teachings" and even "the teachers" (Hilbert in Bierwert 1999:154), suggesting that

they convey not only valuable but true and necessary information. Differences between indigenous and Western epistemologies that underlie views of history and myth (also science and myth) have generally been treated as oppositional and incompatible. In this study I acknowledge multiple modes of thinking from a perspective emphasizing complementarity and interactivity, along the lines of Krupat's "ethnocriticism," that is, "a critical discourse constructed on both Western and indigenous understandings and 'realities'" (Krupat 1993:xx). This perspective "is concerned with differences rather than oppositions, and so seeks to replace oppositional with dialogical models" (Krupat 1992:26).

Some background on earlier approaches to the study and presentation of Native American literatures may clarify the issues addressed by ethnocriticism. From the mid-nineteenth century the collection of all things Indian began to accelerate in the service of a variety of social, philosophical, and political agendas. Collections of stories and songs assembled by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (Ojibwe), Frank Hamilton Cushing (Zuni), Matilda Coxe Stevenson (Zuni), Mary Austin, and Natalie Curtis Burlin were serious attempts to bring America's indigenous expressive forms to the attention of the broader public, but they seem to us now highly mediated, their original form obscured, their style "...more Victorian than Indian" (D. Tedlock 1971:114). In works of this era, it was assumed that the translator's responsibility was to convey the underlying similarity of Native American literary expression to the Euro-American tradition; this was best accomplished by adding new or explanatory material and employing

rhetorical devices and moralistic themes familiar to the non-Indian reader (D. Tedlock 1971).

In the academy, the study and interpretation of Native American literatures since the late nineteenth century has fallen within the domains of both the social sciences (anthropology) and the humanities (literature) and in the less rigidly aligned discipline of folklore. Whereas folklore defined its subject of study based on certain kinds of discourse - myths, tales, folksongs, etc. - Boasian anthropology recognized the value of that subject for the purposes of a broader cultural inquiry (McLendon 1977:153). Folklore maintained its comparative orientation long after anthropology abandoned it, emphasizing the collecting and classifying of texts as a core methodology. Folklorists have paid a great deal of attention to Native American oral literature in order to identify its constituent types, motifs, and variants for use in specific kinds of analysis.

Boas began collecting "folktales" during his first scientific expedition to Baffinland. His earliest writings on folklore were produced in part to advance his views regarding cultural evolutionism; he argued that the diffusion of story elements was due to historical processes of dissemination and acculturation rather than from their independent origin and development (Boas 1891, 1896, 1905, 1914, and 1916, cited in Stocking 1974). Boas' work on mythology, language, and even music was most continuously informed by his research on the Northwest Coast, conducted in the course of his numerous field trips there between 1886 and 1931 (White 1963:9). In

addition to his work with the Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island, Tsimshian, and other groups in British Columbia, he also produced publications based on research with Tillamook, Kathlamet, Lower Chinook, and Upper Chehalis speakers. Boas' folklore methodology was based on the detailed collecting and translating of texts and the mapping of story elements, with the aim of understanding historical relationships among adjacent cultures and of revealing features of a single society and culture as reflected in the oral literature. Two works in particular, *Tsimshian Mythology* (1916) and *Kwakiutl Culture as Reflected in Mythology* (1935) demonstrate these aims (Jacobs 1959b).

Boas and several generations of his students documented Native American culture through the study of languages and literature, producing numerous volumes of narrative texts. The Boasian school "typically valued translations that were 'direct' or 'close' or 'literal,' published with as few changes as possible from the sort of English used by interpreters or bilingual narrators" (D. Tedlock 1971:118). Among the students Boas sent to the Northwest were Livingston Farrand, Leo J. Frachtenberg, Hermann K. Haeberlin, Erna Gunther, Leslie Spier, George Herzog, Thelma Adamson, and Melville Jacobs. Jacobs in particular adhered to the Boasian model of approaching culture through the study of language and oral tradition. Based on research conducted in western Oregon and eastern Washington, he published texts, translations, ethnographic notes, and analysis of content and style (including a

consideration of songs) (Jacobs 1959a); his work also includes the application of elements of psychoanalytic theory as an interpretive tool.

Part of the Boas legacy to the discipline of cultural anthropology was the detachment with which he approached individual consultants. Jacobs makes the point that Boas had little aesthetic appreciation of the Native American folktales and music he collected:

Because he depreciated their esthetic values without being wholly aware of it, he had no interest in discussing natives' sentiments about them. He knew that all peoples cherished their arts, but he did not elect to find out why; it was enough to report, with utmost fidelity, upon the forms which natives expressed. A basic factor in his admonition to obtain mechanically perfect recordings may be found in his resistance to identification with people (Jacobs 1959b:127).

Though Boas was not exceptional in his attitude toward his research subjects, one cannot help wondering how different the historical record might be if he had advocated the elicitation of personal opinions and preferences in artistic matters.

Among other approaches to the study of North American mythology are those utilizing structuralism in some form. Levi-Strauss (1967, 1971, 1972) studied myths of North and South American indigenous groups and, combined with his understanding of their social organization, theorized that myths are the source of logical models or patterns of psychological association with which the human mind attempts to resolve dilemmas. These associations are based on concrete contrasts present on some level in a myth "set" that are classified as "binary oppositions," related

to each other within a system of oppositions. The individual mind manipulates these structures to mentally deal with more abstract questions (Carroll 1996:830; Kuper 1983:181-182). The structural or "pattern" aspects of myths and tales have been addressed from a less universalizing perspective by folklorists interested in the relationship of morphological units in a body of literature (Propp 1968); this type of analysis has been applied to the study of Native American oral literature (Dundes 1964, 1965).

In the 1970s new kinds of analysis began to be applied to the study of Native American literature, reflecting developments in linguistic, anthropological, and literary studies and the increasing cross-fertilization among them. In contemporary Native American narrative studies, a variety of interpretive approaches are employed. In Swann and Krupat's words, no adequate "master discourse" has emerged (Swann and Krupat 1987:4). Instead, scholars produce texts reflecting the perspectives of several formal discourses: Cultural Anthropology (including questions of representation and authority, re-working of the concept of "text," theories of performance, and ethnopoetics); Literary Criticism (structuralist and post-structuralist analysis, discourse and narrative analysis); and Linguistics (text translation and analysis re-evaluated in light of ethnopoetical and narratological approaches).

Literary approaches to the study of Native American literature have influenced contemporary scholars particularly by providing the analytical tools for elucidating

formal and narrative structure. In part, this analysis has been undertaken from a defensive stance, in order to "prove" that indigenous literature is valid and valuable as literature. Where Boas argued that myths and tales were valuable as a tool to understanding culture, literary scholars have been more interested in revealing the qualities that enable them to stand alongside the classical literature of the Western canon. In contemporary anthropology analytical tools have been employed as a means to better represent indigenous literary perspectives and to encompass aspects of performance in the study of poetics. Attention to features of performance has brought the musical content of texts into consideration as an integral part of the narrative.

Ethnopoetics, most broadly defined as "...the study of pre-literate societies' modes of discourse..." (Kroeber 1989:1), has been the most visible, if not the dominant, force in Native American literary criticism since the early 1970s. As developed by Hymes and Tedlock, ethnopoetic practice consists of the identification and analysis of patterns of verse organization in oral narratives. More broadly, it refers to the consideration of all the elements of oral performance previously overlooked by "text-obsessed" scholars, "...in the aim of retranslating and reinterpreting Native oral traditions according to Indian literary perspectives and values, not Anglo biases" (Pearson 1959:xii). Tedlock brought to this critical approach the consideration of performative dynamics, including the relationship between raconteur and audience. Elements such as pitch changes, volume, speed, and pauses are compared to the "syntactical units" in a narrative to reveal "contours" which demonstrate underlying aesthetic principles (D.

Tedlock in Sherzer and Woodbury 1987). The role of the audience in oral performance has been developed particularly by Toelken. Ethnopoetics aims to provide a means for understanding literature of any culture through what Kroeber calls "hermeneutic circling," the process of moving between detailed linguistic elements, extra-linguistic elements, and interpretation of the larger work towards an understanding of a literary tradition in terms of its own aesthetic system. Implicit in this discussion is the necessity for sound recordings or, preferably, film or video recordings, of oral performance including an audience for the fullest array of linguistic, performative, and interactive elements to be present for analysis.

The most significant developments in the study and interpretation of Native American literatures in the last thirty years may be summarized as follows: 1) the increased participation of Native people as writers, literary interpreters, and historians, 2) the effort by non-Indians to represent indigenous values and meanings in their interpretations and analysis, and 3) the re-figuring of texts in ways that aim to convey poetic and dramatic structure and non-verbal aspects of story narratives. Current scholarly work challenges long-dominant Euro-American critical assumptions and values with a variety of ethnocritical approaches.

Despite these developments, the role of song in Native American oral literature remains obscured. Most published works dealing with oral narratives continue to ignore all song elements other than the text. When they are discussed in ethnographic

works, songs are described as having special power and meaning in the stories; but they are not always present, either in collected texts or contemporary practice.

Because they are associated with spiritual power and esoteric knowledge, the myth songs may be deployed differently from myth texts, in ways difficult for outsiders to detect or interpret. In addition, differences between individual storytellers, the different occasions and contexts for storytelling, and variations in performance by the same tellers have rarely been taken into account. If our understanding of myth narratives has been constrained by the perspective of the "collecting" culture, our understanding of myth songs has been even more distorted.

### Storytelling as Performance

Storytelling may be seen as performance whenever a narrator and an audience are present in a setting of some kind, whatever the dynamics of their shared experience. Even if the teller is addressing a microphone while the only other person present is manipulating a tape recorder and remaining silent and unresponsive, a performance may be said to occur, and some kind of communication may be said to be enacted. In the case of tape recordings, that initial audience is the first but likely not the last; it may change with each playback, and the dynamic may become dialogical many years after the initial telling. Bierwert quotes Vi Hilbert in the process of transcribing tapes forty years after they were made:

Aunt Susie and I are having a good time as I work on her current information--she speaks in so many voices that I delight in translating her (cited in Bierwert 1999:136).

In this case, Susie Sampson Peter, trained by her father as a shaman (*x<sup>r</sup>daʔəb*), was speaking in Lushootseed in her home on the Swinomish Reservation in the early 1950s, intentionally documenting myth narratives and other teachings for posterity, while a small audience including collector Leon Metcalf responded in the background with expressions of "*həbuʔ*," as listeners at a formal winter story session in previous generations would have done. In the 1970s Vi Hilbert encountered the recordings and entered into her own dialogue with Aunt Susie. Among the results of this relationship (and other factors) was Hilbert's transformation from receiver of teachings to teacher. At eighty-two, she continues to be a respected historian and teacher, instructing through her writing, storytelling, and other public speaking.

In Chapter Four storytelling performance is discussed as a mode of communication, in the sense defined in the work of Georges, Bauman, Hymes, Sherzer, Darnell, and others instrumental in the development and application of an ethnography of speaking. Here the focus moves away from the story as "text" and toward the storyteller as verbal artist and the interrelationship of the teller, the audience, and the event setting. Ideas from this stream of performance studies are employed in the discussion and analysis of one performance of the Lushootseed "Star Child" story by Susie Sampson Peter.

## Chapter I: Songs in Coast Salish Life

Songs, or, more inclusively, sung utterances, constitute musical expression for the Coast Salish. This is generally true, as well, for all indigenous North American groups. Today it is common to hear the unaccompanied "Native American" flute played at gatherings in western Washington, but this practice has no historical basis in the Pacific Northwest. Sound instruments in use at the time of first contact and still in use today include drums (both idiophones such as box drums and membranophones such as frame drums) and many types of rattles (i.e., scallop-shell rattles, deer-hoof rattles, wooden vessel rattles) but no melodic instruments. Songs may be received spiritually, inherited, or composed by individuals and performed individually or by groups of singers, depending on the kind of song and performance context, usually with drum(s) and/or rattle(s) and often with dancers. Songs are integral to all kinds of ceremonial and social occasions; this continues to be the case, despite the fact that historical performance settings have been altered, in some cases drastically, since European/American contact. The range of musical activities and interests in contemporary Coast Salish communities is much like those of any other community in the United States or Canada, but the older native song practices continue to operate, in both public and private domains.

### Indigenous Terminology and Ethnographic Background

Coast Salish dialects include words for "song" and "singing" but not for a more general concept corresponding to that of "music." Terms for song include: northern Lushootseed *stilib* (from *ilib*, to sing); note also *skʷi ʔkʷcəb*, a slow-tempo song or lullaby (Bates et al. 1994:122, 239); southern Lushootseed *stéleb* or *selálekʷ* (from *él*, "to sing") (W. Snyder 1968, 193-194); Twana *s'ilal* (from *ilal*, "to sing"; note also *ilál* "to mourn, wail for the dead") (N. Thompson, personal communication); Upper Chehalis *siln'* (from *ʔlan'*, to sing) (Kinkade 1991: 11, 292). Spirit power songs are often referred to by the name of the power, such as *sqəp* (an Upper Chehalis power that brings good luck) (ibid.:105) or *tibśádad* (a Lushootseed warrior power; the song may bring thunder and wind) (Bates et al. 1994:228).

"Singing" may have several meanings, as illustrated by Lushootseed, where in addition to *ilib*, to sing, *yəw'dəb* is specifically "to practice spirit power in song and dance" (ibid.:277), and *ʔil(i)* is defined as "sing, repeat, interpret" but may also refer to singing a power song (ibid.:17). Langen demonstrates how the "lexical spread" of the latter term allows for several interpretations of a story passage where Raven attempts to sing his sister Crow's song (in Bierwert 1996:144). The Halkomelem term *syəwəən* (*syóʔwəən*) is used generally to identify the power song and dance one performs during the winter season (Amoss 1978:49; Suttles 1990:467).

We have little direct evidence to demonstrate what made a song a song in aural terms (before the influence of European musical concepts), but in ritual/spiritual terms songs are more clearly defined. According to Haeberlin and Gunther, all spirit powers have songs, each with its own text and tune (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930:67); but there is evidence from some groups that certain powers did not "give" songs. Songs "come down" (Hilbert, personal communication, 6/25/99) from spirit powers into human possession as the result of questing, illness, inheritance, or following rigorous training; they are the property of the individual who receives them. Spirit power songs are received by an individual and may reside in that individual for many years before indicating that it is time to be "brought out." Then the community assists as the singer "dances" the song for the first time, supporting the new singer by singing and drumming the song. Power songs are sung in the smokehouse during the winter season, always with the vocal support of the group present. Song and dance are inextricably connected; when you "bring out" your song in the smokehouse, you "dance" the song; the group sings along and keeps the rhythm with frame drums and rattles. A song may be loaned or given to someone else, but it continues to be acknowledged as belonging to the original owner, even after his/her death. Archival recordings of power songs by Martin Sampson, Charley Anderson, Henry Allen, and George Swanaset, among others, include announcements regarding the ownership of each song before it is performed.

Spirit powers are of two types: anyone may acquire the first type, sometimes called "career powers," because they assist in everyday activities such as hunting, fishing, gambling, or basketweaving (Miller 1999a:57). They are called *sqə́lálitut* (Lushootseed); *sʔə́ ʔyə́* (Central Coast Salish); *ḡłk'é ʔən* (Clallam); *č'šált* ("help power") (Twana); and *ʔə́xtk'łis* (Upper Chehalis) (Kinkade 1991:10).

The second type of power is shamanistic, limited to those who are to become shamans or doctoring people and referred to as *sx'á'á'b* (Lushootseed); *sné ʔem* (Central Coast Salish); *sx'ná'm* (Clallam); *swádas* (Twana); and *ʔacʔə́xtk'łis* (Upper Chehalis) (Kinkade 1991:10). There are many kinds of powers within each of these larger categories (Collins 1974, Elmendorf 1960, Haeberlin and Gunther 1930, Miller 1999a, Suttles 1974 [1951], Wike 1941), each distinguished by a song and dance. It is possible to have more than one power, and shamans usually had several. As part of his/her healing work, a shaman often came into close contact with a patient's power and sang their spirit song as well as his/her own in the course of treatment.

All ceremonial activities, including the winter dance, potlatches, and welcoming, naming, and First Salmon ceremonies, include singing, as do social activities such as the gambling game *slahal*. Many myth narratives and other stories include songs as well, often mirroring songs sung for the occasions just described. It is not appropriate to divide these contexts into sacred and secular, since spiritual power is considered to be at the basis of them all. At the same time, not all songs are equally spiritually

charged. In addition to those acquired spiritually and owned by an individual, some songs belong to families, some are considered public domain, and new songs are composed and performed for a variety of purposes.

An additional musical tradition has developed within the Indian Shaker Church, founded in the late nineteenth century in the southern Puget Sound area. Today the Church has congregations throughout the Pacific Northwest. Shaker musical practice consists of songs with the rhythmic accompaniment of brass handbells and foot-stomping. Songs are sung at services and curing rituals (called "shakes") and on many other formal and informal occasions. The concept of ownership in relation to Shaker songs is similar to that associated with spirit power songs, except that songs are believed to come from God and to be a form of communication with God. Unlike spirit power songs, Shaker songs may pass into communal ownership over time. The influence of Christian hymns is evident in many Shaker songs, and the vocal style also reflects the syncretic roots of the religion. The open, relaxed vocal quality is consistent with Coast Salish style generally, but the vibrato or tremolo of the voice in Shaker song rendering is atypical (Cunningham and Amoss in Smyth and Ryan 1999).

Collectors of Native American songs have generally distinguished between religious, ceremonial, or sacred songs, on the one hand, and social or secular songs, on the other. Further classification is often made according to cultural function (i.e.,

lullabies, welcoming (canoe/paddling) songs, doctoring songs, love songs); occasion of use (i.e., game (gambling) songs, war songs, secret society songs, potlatch songs, social dance songs, funeral/mourning songs); or some other descriptive basis (i.e., Chinook Jargon songs, children's songs, myth songs). Religious songs generally include spirit power (tamahnous) songs and Indian Shaker songs. Eells described war, gambling, and boat songs, as well as those used in religious ceremonies, as religious songs because they all involved the aid of spirit or tamahnous powers (he also mentions that instruments were used only with these songs) (Eells 1985:215). There has been no standardized vocabulary for identifying song types, but the same or similar terms have been used by most collectors, with some exceptions (for example, Densmore's "divorce songs" and Eells' "patriotic" song are types not mentioned elsewhere). For purposes of this study, all instances of myth or story songs will be treated as part of a distinct song genre.

Song classification by type has no indigenous basis. However, local (indigenous) taxonomies dealing with spirit powers are extensive and relate directly to the songs associated with them. According to Suttles, when a person becomes ill due to the presence of a spirit power in the form of a song that has not yet been sung, experienced singers "observe the way the person is breathing for an indication of the type of song he has; then those with songs of this type sing their own songs to stimulate him"; eventually his (or her) song is drawn out (Suttles 1974 [1951]:359). Miller states that the "rhythms" of "a dozen or so musical styles" were widely enough

known that assistance for the new singer could be counted on (Miller 1999a:58). He also emphasizes the complexities of spirit power categories: many factors, including family associations over many generations, beliefs about local sources of powers, and the different forms of beings all figure in the larger picture of Coast Salish spiritual practice. Categories of spirits, spirit power, and power songs are discussed at length in Chapter Five.

### **The Literature**

Due to the isolation of the Puget Sound area groups, the earliest European encounters with Coast Salish people in western Washington were with villages along the Pacific Coast (Quinault and probably Lower Chehalis) and those closest to the Strait of Juan de Fuca (Clallam). The earliest account of Coast Salish musical activity may be the brief mention in the records of the 1790 sailing expedition led by Manuel Quimper. The expedition entered the Strait of Juan de Fuca after leaving Nootka territory and in the Dungeness area came into contact with Salish speakers (Clallam), whom they engaged in trade. "They spent the whole day with the visitors and left at sunset, singing and 'demonstrating,' which was probably some dancing and gesturing in the canoe" (Wagner 1933:110). Four years later, in 1792, the Vancouver expedition traveled the same route, and at Port Discovery George Goodman Hewitt collected artifacts including a mountain sheep horn rattle with a wooden bird's head handle and a carved face on either side. The rattle was of the Salish type noted particularly among the Cowichan on Vancouver Island, and it may have originated there and been

obtained by the Clallam, who were related to the Songish and other groups of that area (Gunther 1972:79).

Not until the late nineteenth century do we have any truly descriptive documentation of musical life in western Washington. Myron Eells, a missionary on the Skokomish Reservation 1874-1907, lived among Twana speakers and also knew the neighboring Clallam well. He reports:

Music among these Indians consists more of noise than melody. As a rule the Clallams are far more musical than the Twanas. The women sometimes sing alone when at work, at funerals, and when tending the children; but in nearly all their gambling, war, boat, and religious songs, the men take the lead, the women, however, joining. Usually all persons sing the same melody, though sometimes the pitch varies considerably. At some of their tamahnous ceremonies, I have heard nearly all singing a different song; each one, as I have been told, sings his or her tamahnous song. At a distance of a few hundred yards, however, all of these seemed to blend into one harmony (Eells 1985:215).

Eells' preconceived ideas about what is "musical" influenced what he heard; nonetheless, it is significant that he documented examples of two-part singing and what he called chorus and solo parts to spirit dance performances (ibid.:18-20). His list of song types includes work, patriotic, boat, gambling, nursery, love, war, and funeral songs, as well as songs for religious ceremonies; he transcribed twenty-four songs of various types (ibid.:216-219). Eells also noted the use of square or rectangular frame drums by the Twana and round-headed drums by the Clallam and Quinault and identified deer-hoof rattles, scallop shell rattles, and hollow wooden rattles (ibid.:215, 379-380).

There have been no comprehensive ethnographic works on Coast Salish song. The personal spirit quest and spirit dance have received considerable attention as the central practices within the Coast Salish religious belief system from researchers including Amoss (Nooksack), Collins (Upper Skagit), Elmendorf (Twana), Lane (Cowichan), Suttles (Straits Salish and Halkomelem), Gunther (1927) and Haeberlin and Gunther (1930) (Puget Sound Coast Salish), and Wike (Puget Sound Coast Salish). A musical study of Twana spirit power songs was conducted by Mohling (1957). Skagit songs were the subject of an ethnographically based musical analysis by Williams (1962). Songs in relation to specific cultural practices have also been addressed: Stuart (1972) and Cunningham (1998) on gambling music and Gunther (1949) and Cunningham and Amoss (1999) on the Indian Shaker Church.

A separate body of work on Coast Salish songs exists as the result of early song collecting efforts in the Pacific Northwest; these works tend to be less ethnographically oriented and more musicological, classificatory, and comparative in their orientation. Three early publications have particular importance, though none deals directly with the subject of this study. The earliest scholarly work on the songs of any Northwest Coast group was Stumpf's 1886 essay, "Lieder der Bellakula Indianer," which includes transcriptions by both Stumpf and Boas, notated by hand during a visit by a group of Bella Coola Indians to Germany in 1885 (Ellingson 1992:119). This work places the music of a Salish language group at the birthplace of

the study of indigenous music in North America, if several thousand miles from their Pacific coast home.

The earliest publication on songs of the Coast Salish of southwestern British Columbia was Boas' "Chinook Songs" (1888), which does not document Coast Salish-language songs at all but rather songs sung by seasonal workers in Chinook Jargon, the polyglot trade language spoken by Indians all along the Northwest coast. Boas provides texts of thirty-eight social songs and three musical transcriptions (presumably his) in "an early study specifically devoted to music and culture change among urbanizing tribal peoples" (Ellingson 1992:118). Other than the transcriptions, no musicological interpretation or analysis is provided.

In 1906 Abraham and Hornbostel published "Phonographierte Indianermelodien aus British Columbia," an analysis of forty-four melodies recorded by Boas among the Thompson, an Interior Salish group. This essay became a model for the scientific study of "primitive" music advocated initially by Stumpf and developed into a comparative methodology by Hornbostel and Abraham. Based on the application of tonometric measurement of intervals in vocal melodies, the authors were able to demonstrate that intonation in indigenous music was not the result of "a crude technique of singing, but to consistent tendencies based on different principles" (Herzog 1949:94). For a developing Boasian anthropology, this result demonstrated a

larger truth about human cultures: "...the point of view of cultural relativity was demonstrated also in the field of music" (ibid.).

The first work specifically addressing Coast Salish-language songs of western Washington was the product of two students of Boas. Boas taught his students to record songs in the course of their fieldwork whenever possible, anticipating that musical analysis could be done away from the field by qualified scholars. In an early collaboration of this kind, "Some Songs of the Puget Sound Salish" (Roberts and Haeberlin 1918), field recordings made by Haeberlin with Snohomish and Snoqualmie consultants were transcribed and analyzed (formal structure, melodic and rhythmic features, a little performance data) by Roberts with brief ethnographic information and text translations by Haeberlin. The eleven songs (ten musical transcriptions) were categorized as follows: love songs (women's and men's), tribal song, guardian-spirit songs (women's and men's), doctoring songs, gambling song.

In 1926 Frances Densmore made field recordings near Chilliwack, British Columbia at a hop-picking camp. As with the community where Boas made his Chinook Jargon recordings in the 1880s, the camp included people from various locations who spoke various languages. In 1943 Densmore published *Music of the Indians of British Columbia*, including 98 song transcriptions from twenty-one singers from sixteen locations:

...thirteen melodies of the Sliamon Reserve Coast Salish, ten of the Squamish River group, ten from the Chilliwack on the Middle Fraser River, eight from

the Lower Thompson, and eleven from the Upper Thompson: also a few each from the Lower Fraser and from the Homalko Reserve, Straits of Georgia (Herzog, with assistance from Smith, 1949:95).

Each transcription is followed by a brief description of the "quality" (mood), melodic and rhythmic features, and repetitions; in a summary analysis section, Densmore discusses patterns of melodic structure, classifying songs according to four patterns observed in Indian songs, and metric features. Her song categories are: songs for treating the sick, war songs, potlatch songs, dance songs, social songs, game songs, canoe songs, songs connected with stories, songs for children, love songs, divorce songs, and miscellaneous songs.

Herzog carried on the tradition of Hornbostel in the United States in his study of numerous North American indigenous song traditions, combining empirical observation and analysis with humanistic concerns. His work contributed substantially to the body of knowledge regarding Coast Salish songs. Transcriptions by Herzog of nineteen songs recorded by Adamson and Boas appear in Adamson's *Folk-Tales of the Coast Salish* (1934) (this collection is discussed in later chapters). In his essay "Salish Music" (Smith 1949), Herzog attempts the first description of a Salish musical style, based on extremely limited sources (Stumpf's and Boas' Bella Coola transcriptions, the Thompson songs analyzed by Abraham and Hornbostel, the transcriptions by Roberts, Herzog (of the Adamson/Boas recordings), and Densmore (excluding non-Salish singers), and twenty-four Twana and Clallam melodies notated by Eells.

Herzog noted some shared traits with most of indigenous North America, including the absence of instrumental music, the use of percussion instruments for accompaniment in most instances, the frequent use of vocables rather than lexically meaningful text in part or all of a song, and a vocal style characterized by a tension of the vocal cords which is relaxed and re-tensed with each tone sung, producing accents, pulsations, and glides (Herzog 1949:96) (see Nettl 1954:7-8 for more detailed list of traits common throughout North America). Among the traits of Salish music identified by Herzog are a high frequency of melodies with a limited tonal range, rhythms based on triple meter, a complex relationship of rhythmic accompaniment to rhythm of voice, indications of harmonic or polyphonic part-singing, and nearly equal participation by men and women in musical activity. Particular significance is given to melodic range, which Herzog calls "...a fairly reliable index of musical development... archaic styles, or archaic song-types within more developed styles, tend to be characterized by a restricted tonal range" (ibid.:101). He compares the melodic ranges of Salish song types - power songs, gambling songs, dance songs, and lyrical songs - and shows that power songs (including doctoring, curing, and guardian spirit songs) have the most restricted range, suggesting that they have retained "their archaic character and simplicity" (ibid.:103). Parenthetically, he adds that story songs, which were apparently not included in his tabulation, also exhibit these archaic features. He also compares the melodic range of Salish songs and other features with those of the more "complex

cultures" of the Northwest Coast and concludes that their more elaborated musical forms support the idea that Salish culture preserves an older cultural system upon which the northern groups have developed their own cultural forms.

Nettl's *North American Indian Musical Styles* (1954) was the most comprehensive study aiming to identify indigenous musical styles and chart their geographical distribution, as anthropological and ethnomusicological interests moved away from earlier comparative models. Nettl's work built on that of Roberts (1936) and especially Herzog (1928, 1949) in describing Salish music as a sub-area within the Eskimo-Northwest Coast area. If he used additional sources to those listed by Herzog (1949) for his statistical sample, he does not indicate them. Though only a few more recorded sources were available to Nettl than had been to Herzog, any additions would have made the sample more representative (Gunther's Clallam and Elmendorf's Twana recordings would have greatly supplemented the Eels transcriptions, for example). Nettl's characterization of Salish music is mainly an elaboration of Herzog's earlier work; he notes some similarities with Eskimo music but places Salish between Eskimo and Northwest Coast styles in terms of complexity. He cites contact with Northwest Coast and Plains-Pueblo styles to explain similarities with Salish style.

Many factors call into question the validity and viability of the musical culture area approach to the study of indigenous North American music, as Nettl himself argues in

a later article (Nettl 1990:299). Key among them are the de-historicized view of musical culture that it presents; the artificiality of area boundaries, reflecting a lack of acknowledgement of indigenous trade networks, marriages between members of neighboring groups, and other opportunities for cultural borrowing; the small percentage of the total number of indigenous cultures whose practices are documented; the influence of European and American practices since contact; as well as the questionable validity of much of the musical data already collected and analyzed.

Along with ethnographic works written since the 1950s, recent publications dealing with Coast Salish songs have been subject to increased scrutiny by Native people. The lack of indigenous voices in the description of their own history and culture; the distortion of traditions as described by cultural outsiders; and the revealing of secret ritual information in text, drawings, and photographs are all accusations that have been made against works published about Coast Salish musical and cultural practice. Rhodes (1954) includes newspaper photographs documenting a ritual smokehouse event involving the *sgʷədilič* spirit power of Tommy Bob, as part of his summary of Puget Sound Salish music. This work followed the release on long-playing record of a collection of songs recorded by Rhodes, one of which is Tommy Bob's *sgʷədilič* spirit power song. Both Rhodes and his consultant Tommy Bob were severely criticized by some Native people for opening up this practice to public view. A more recent publication, *Spirit of the First People: Native American Music Traditions of*

*Washington State* (Smyth and Ryan 1999), reflects changes in perspective over the past fifty years. Here, for example, the culture-area approach is abandoned, and essays by both Native and non-Native authors describe musical practices across the state, from the West Coast eastward across the Cascades to the Plateau. This state-centered focus resulted primarily from the project's conception within the Washington State Arts Commission, and though it privileges inter- and intra-national boundaries, it also serves to emphasize meaningful connections that were previously obscured, particularly in relation to family ties that reach over the mountains and contemporary pan-Indian practices such as the pow-wow. Such publications reflect not only changes in perspective but the recognition of multiple perspectives.

## Chapter II: Collection and Documentation of Western Washington Coast Salish Songs

Early field research in Washington State, like the earliest ethnographic research on the Pacific Coast conducted in British Columbia and Alaska, was mainly initiated and conducted by members of the American anthropological establishment in Washington, D.C., New York, Boston, and Chicago around the turn of the twentieth century. The advent of sound recording technology in the 1890s had opened up the possibility of recorded sound documentation in ethnological research. Wax cylinder recordings became not only a new form of documentation but also a new kind of cultural artifact. This was the age of collecting, and hundreds of cylinders containing aural specimens were carried home from field expeditions and deposited in institutional collections for classification, duplication, and preservation. Recordings were often shelved without further study, and in many cases they are not even mentioned in the publications of the scholars who made them.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide historical background on documentary sound recording collections containing western Washington Coast Salish songs recorded between 1898 and the 1970s. Particular attention is given to the collection and documentation practices of early collectors whose work has influenced what we know about the musical life of this region and the role of songs in oral literature specifically. With one exception, all the collections under consideration were compiled by non-Native researchers and collectors who entered Native communities for a variety of

research purposes. The earliest collections were deposited originally in repositories of cylinder recordings in the Bureau of American Ethnology (now at the Smithsonian Institution) and the American Museum of Natural History; they now reside in the large archival collections at Indiana University, the Library of Congress, and the Smithsonian Institution. Several collections are located on the University of Washington campus in Seattle, including the Melville Jacobs Collection, which includes recordings by other collectors as well as his own, in the University Libraries; the Leon Metcalf Collection in the Burke Museum; and the Thom Hess Collection in the Ethnomusicology Archives, located in the Ethnomusicology Division of the School of Music.

Some of these collections are indexed in published catalogs, such as the Federal Cylinder Project guides published by the Library of Congress and the indexes to the collections in the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University. The Melville Jacobs collection is thoroughly indexed in the *Guide to Pacific Northwest Native American Materials in the Melville Jacobs Collection and in Other Archival Collections in the University of Washington Libraries* (Seaburg 1982). The on-line catalogs for the Library of Congress, Indiana University, the University of Washington, and many other research collections currently include archival holdings.

### **The Nature of the Archival Record**

This discussion is organized according to three historical periods: the era of salvage ethnography, represented by song collections on wax cylinder and aluminum and acetate disc, ending in the early 1940s; the era of magnetic tape recording, from the 1950s through the 1970s; and the present era, characterized not only by the appearance of digital recording technologies but by the application of these technologies and other forms of performance documentation by the First People themselves.

Early recorded sound collections contain songs performed, with few exceptions, by one person, sometimes with accompanying voices and/or drums. Songs have generally been classified by the collector according to function: personal songs, doctors' songs, game songs, love songs, war songs, secret society songs, potlatch songs, dance songs, children's songs, lullabies, gambling songs, canoe songs, shaman's songs, myth songs, etc. In many cases collectors were eliciting "memory" ethnography, asking their consultants to sing songs associated with social and cultural contexts they had never directly experienced or only recalled from childhood. In all cases, the requirements of recording technology (such as placement of the recording horn and, later, the microphone or problems related to powering the recording device) resulted in the removal of the song performance from any "natural" context.

A second kind of "decontextualization" occurred with the recording of story songs. Story texts were generally transcribed manually, and only the songs occurring within stories were recorded with sound recording equipment. This bifurcated approach to collection, as necessary as it may have seemed, resulted in a displacement of music from text in folklore collections that has influenced how stories are defined and studied. Myths, tales, and other forms of oral literature have been transcribed,

analyzed, and published as collections of text, with no consideration of the musical, structural, or cultural role of their associated songs.

In general, the historical record regarding the languages, mythology, subsistence, and plastic arts of the Northwest is far more substantial than that of its musical life. The reasons for this neglect probably have to do not only with the limitations of recording technology and the decontextualization of song performance, but with the priorities of early ethnographers, who were driven to collect and document Native cultures and languages as a "salvage" operation in the face their imminent extinction. For a variety of reasons, there were few scholars trained and committed to ethnomusicological research in western Washington.

The fact that there exists a considerable body of recorded songs, but little in the way of study and analysis of them, was noted by Jacobs in 1934. In the course of his extensive field work in eastern Washington and western Oregon, Jacobs recorded hundreds of songs, but he believed that music should be studied by scholars trained in what we would now call ethnomusicology. He wrote:

Since there is now perhaps no expert resident in the northwest competent to transcribe and conduct research in Indian music, our principal interest so far has been collection rather than study. In effect we have been building an archive composed of music given by natives spontaneously during the course of our field ethnologic and folkloristic researches. The purpose is to collect the music in its natural setting in the ethnologic work, and to forestall irretrievable loss and extinction if lone survivors or the few remaining remnants of a tribe die before the advent of a musicologist as such (cited in Seaburg 1982:39).

Jacobs' observations reflect the anthropological ideology of his time. It was considered not only the right, but the duty of ethnographers of Native cultures to collect and preserve as much evidence of expressive culture -- music, as well as the

language and folklore-- as possible. However, as Jacobs notes, the collecting of music recordings is one thing and the study of a group's music quite another.

### **Collectors**

Ten ethnographers conducted field research in Washington before World War II. Franz Boas had some measure of responsibility for nearly all the anthropological, linguistic, and musical research in the Northwest from the 1890s through the 1930s. Boas was on the faculty at Columbia University from 1896 until his retirement in 1937, and six of the ten early field workers in Washington were in fact his students: Livingston Farrand, Leo J. Frachtenberg, Hermann K. Haeberlin, Erna Gunther, Thelma Adamson, and Melville Jacobs. Of the remaining three, the most well-known are Edward S. Curtis and Frances Densmore; the third was a local collector named Arthur C. Ballard.

Boas made thirteen field trips to the Northwest (Rohner 1969: 309-313), and he sent students over the course of four generations to study the Native peoples of the Northwest Coast area. Boas's own recordings of Kwakiutl (now Kwakwaka'wakw) and Thompson River songs, made in 1893 or 1895, were, in fact, the first *in situ* recordings of Northwest Coast songs. (Songs by the Kwakiutl had previously been recorded at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.) Boas also published over 100 musical transcriptions during the course of his career (Ellingson 1992:118). He felt strongly that songs should be recorded whenever possible for later analysis by trained music scholars, and he encouraged all his students to record songs in the course of their fieldwork.

The first western Washington voices heard on cylinder recordings were those of a Quileute woman (whose English name was Eunice) and four Quinaults (identified as Liza, Jesse, Lucy, and Jim Cape). All were recorded in 1898 by Livingston Farrand (1867-1939), who visited the coast of Washington that year and again in 1900 as part of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, directed by Boas. The songs Farrand recorded are not mentioned in his collection of Quinault tales, and we know nothing about his consultants other than their English first names. (The recordings are located at Indiana University.)

The next recordings in the state were made by Edward S. Curtis (1868-1952). In addition to producing over 40,000 photographs and several films, he is estimated to have overseen the recording of several thousand cylinders. The whereabouts of many of these cylinder recordings is unknown, but 279 of the total, recorded between 1907 and 1913, are located at Indiana University. They represent numerous North American groups, including songs from several in Washington State identified as Klickitat, Wishram, Yakima, Makah, Snohomish (uncertain), Twana (listed as "Twadux,") and other unidentified groups (Seeger and Spear 1987:80-83). The Twana recordings are by Frank Allen (1909) and Henry Allen (1912); among the items recorded are Frank Allen's "Song on capturing a ghost [and] Choking of ghost" and a "Speech against Shakers" (notes for Curtis Collection, Archives of Traditional Music (57-014-F), pp. 23-24).

Leo J. Frachtenberg (1883-1930) and Hermann K. Haeberlin (1891-1918) were students of Boas. Both were in the field in 1916 and 1917, Frachtenberg in La Push and Haeberlin in the "Puget Sound District" working with the Snohomish and Snoqualmie. Frachtenberg recorded eighty-two cylinders of songs by ten Quileute

consultants (now at the Library of Congress (Gray 1988:223)). Haeberlin's recordings were the first in the Northwest to be used as Boas had envisioned. Helen Roberts, a Boas student who had studied music at the American Conservatory of Music, transcribed and analyzed the recordings and collaborated with Haeberlin on an article entitled "Some Songs of the Puget Sound Salish" (Roberts and Haeberlin 1918). The article named the local consultants and provided information about the sources of eleven songs and the occasions for their use. Also provided are musical transcriptions of ten of the songs with original texts (or non-lexical vocables), each accompanied by text translations and Roberts' musical analysis. The Haeberlin recordings are now housed at Indiana University. After his death, Haeberlin's research notes on the Puget Sound Salish were transferred by Boas to Erna Gunther (Amoss 1988:134), who published *The Indians of Puget Sound* under both their names, first in German in 1924 and then in English (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930). She also edited Haeberlin's *Mythology of Puget Sound* (Haeberlin 1924).

Frances Densmore (1867-1957) was a prolific collector of North American Indian songs for over half a century. Trained in music, not anthropology, she worked mainly outside Boas' sphere of influence. Her work was conducted for many years under the auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology, which sponsored her field research and published her monographs (Gray in Smyth and Ryan 1999). Her expertise in the collection, description, and analysis of Native American music was acknowledged by the founders of the formal discipline of ethnomusicology in the early 1950s (Frisbie 1991).

Densmore spent only a brief time in the Northwest. In 1923 and 1926 she visited Neah Bay on the Makah Reservation and recorded Clayoquot, Makah, and Quileute

songs. She also recorded one cylinder of Yakima material in 1926 in Chilliwack, British Columbia. These recordings are at the Library of Congress (Gray 1988). Densmore published a monograph on her Northwest work, *Nootka and Quileute Music* (Densmore 1939).

Erna Gunther (1896-1982) was best known in the state of Washington as the director of the Washington State Museum (now the Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum), a position she held for over thirty years. A student of Boas, Gunther earned an M.A. at Columbia in 1920 and completed her doctorate in 1928 with a dissertation on the First Salmon Ceremony. Having come to Seattle and the University of Washington initially as the wife of anthropologist Leslie Spier, she was appointed professor of Anthropology in 1930. She served as department chair and director of the Burke Museum for over thirty years, retiring from her position at the University of Washington in 1966 (Amoss 1988.) Among Gunther's work with Puget Sound area groups were her cylinder recordings of songs by Joe Johnson and Robert Collier of the Jamestown Klallam, recorded in Jamestown, Washington in 1925 and now in the collection at Indiana University. Neither of her two publications on the Klallam, *Klallam Folk Tales* (Gunther 1925) or *Klallam Ethnography* (Gunther 1927), mentions these songs. The guide to the Jacobs Collection also lists three aluminum disc recordings Gunther made in 1935 containing Makah and Quinault language (although perhaps no songs). These recordings were assigned numbers by Jacobs, but their location is not currently known (Seaburg 1982:76).

Thelma Adamson (1901-1983) and Melville Jacobs (1902-1971) were classmates who studied with Boas at Columbia University in the mid-1920s. They both did fieldwork in the Northwest during the summers of 1926 and 1927. During the second summer,

they were joined by Boas himself and a cylinder recorder. Three collections of recordings were made during the summer of 1927, including songs by Upper Chehalis, Cowlitz, Klickitat, and Yakima consultants. The cylinders were deposited at the American Museum of Natural History in New York, and they are now housed at Indiana University (Seeger and Spear 1987).

Adamson and Jacobs both obtained positions at the University of Washington in 1928, and Boas must have felt that his Northwest outpost was secured. He viewed the two as his resident field workers. Jacobs, at least, was committed to recording music in the course of his linguistic research; he hoped that his music recordings would be transcribed and analyzed by George Herzog, also a Boas student and a scholar of comparative musicology (Seaburg in Smyth and Ryan 1999). Adamson did not stay at the University of Washington; in fact, by the time her *Folk-Tales of the Coast Salish* was published along with song transcriptions by Herzog (1934), illness had already ended her career in anthropology. Jacobs, on the other hand, was to stay at the University of Washington until his death in 1971 -- teaching, conducting research in Washington and Oregon, and building his collection of recordings, both his own and those of other collectors. The collaborative projects he envisioned with Herzog to study the songs in Jacobs' collection never materialized, however.

Jacobs worked mainly with Chinookan, Sahaptian, Takelman, Coos, and Galice Athabaskan languages in western Oregon, but he also collected texts in Tillamook (a Coast Salish language), mainly the Nehalem dialect. His Nehalem Tillamook consultant was Mrs. Clara Pearson, with whom he recorded numerous texts and sixteen songs in 1933 and 1934. Some of these songs correspond to story texts told in English by Mrs. Pearson in 1934, collected by Elizabeth D. Jacobs and published in

*Nehalem Tillamook Texts* (Pearson 1959). Jacobs made or assisted with recordings of Washington state material, and the Jacobs Collection also includes recordings made by other collectors in various locations in Washington: these include recordings by Harry Smith (mainly Lummi, Swinomish, Samish), Herzog (Makah), and Marjorie Gellatly (Yakima, Puyallup, Snoqualmie). Among Jacobs' students, several recorded songs by western Washington Coast Salish consultants in the 1950s and '60s. These included Paul Fetzer, Pamela Amoss, Virginia Mohling, and Vivian Williams, whose recordings and publications are discussed elsewhere in this study.

The last of the prewar collectors to make cylinder recordings was Arthur C. Ballard (1876-1962), a businessman from Auburn, Washington, with a personal interest in the preservation of Native culture. Working independently, he began collecting Southern Lushootseed myths from Snoqualmie, Puyallup, and Duwamish speakers in 1916. In 1929, the University of Washington Press published his *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound*, a collection of 126 stories (including multiple versions) by twenty-seven consultants. Ballard provided the names of his consultants, as well as those of their parents and grandparents and additional genealogical information, in unusual detail for the time. Ballard collected these stories mainly in their original language, but published only the English translations. The song texts within the stories, however, are given in the original language. In 1932, Ballard made Ediphone cylinder recordings of four of his consultants singing twelve Lushootseed songs, eleven of which correspond to myth songs in the published collection. These recordings are in the Jacobs Collection at the University of Washington.

The control Boas maintained over field work activities in the Northwest during this period may be illustrated by an excerpt from a letter written by Boas to Ballard in

1928, the year Melville Jacobs and Thelma Adamson arrived at the University of Washington. Boas had been made aware of Ballard's work in a letter from Leslie Spier, Erna Gunther's husband, who apparently had suggested that some funds might be found to assist Ballard in his field work. Boas writes:

You may know that two of my students have been appointed at the University of Washington particularly for the purpose of continuing field work and I feel quite certain that they will be glad to cooperate with you.

If you have the opportunity I wish you would be good enough to discuss any work that you yourself would like to do with them and it is not impossible that perhaps a little money might be found to pay for expenses connected with investigations (Boas 1972: reel 29, Boas to Ballard 1/27/28).

The same day Boas wrote to Jacobs regarding Ballard:

You will have to judge yourself whether it seems profitable to cooperate with him. I presume the sum referred to by Spier might perhaps be found (Boas 1972: reel 29, Boas to Jacobs 1/27/28).

The last prewar sound recordings made in Washington are Duwamish myth dictations by Julia Siddle, recorded by Jacobs in 1936. In 1933 Jacobs had obtained funding for the construction of a portable electric phonograph recorder; beginning in July 1934, all his field recordings were produced with this equipment. This change in technology for Jacobs corresponds roughly with the end of the early ethnographic collecting era and the widespread transition to field recordings made on acetate and aluminum discs.

During the transitional period of the 1940s, a considerable corpus of disc recordings continued to be produced in western Washington. In 1941 John Paul Marr, working for anthropologist John Peabody Harrington, recorded complete myth narratives from Duwamish, Lummi, and Lower Chehalis consultants. Harrington never worked with these recordings, now housed in the National Anthropological Archives at the

Smithsonian, and they remain an untapped source of western Washington stories and songs.

William Elmendorf collected Skokomish (Twana) myth narratives and other stories as a "by-product" of his ethnographic research, much of which was conducted on the Skokomish reservation during the summers of 1939 and 1940 (Elmendorf 1961:1). His ethnographic monograph *The Structure of Twana Culture* (1960) was followed by a three-part series of articles, "Skokomish and Other Coast Salish Tales," containing thirty-eight story texts (1961). According to Elmendorf, it was the idea of his two informants, brothers Frank and Henry Allen, to dictate stories as a break from their other interview work. All the stories were collected in English, which Elmendorf later regretted (ibid.:5). Elmendorf does not mention in his 1961 collection that he returned to Skokomish in 1946 (Seaburg 1982:79) and recorded Henry Allen singing sixty-two songs (Frank Allen had died in 1945). Among these are twelve songs corresponding to stories in the published collection. Elmendorf's recordings are located in the Melville Jacobs Collection and are indexed in the guide to that collection (Seaburg 1982).

During this period a field survey was in progress to record and publish music from Native American communities around the United States. Willard Rhodes, a professor of music at Columbia University, conducted nine surveys between 1940 and 1952, visiting the Puget Sound region in 1950 to record songs of a number of local groups, including examples in Chinook Jargon and Indian Shaker Church songs. In 1954 the Library of Congress issued ten volumes of "Music of the American Indian" on long-playing records to distribute to Indian schools and agencies and to make available for sale to the general public. Nineteen of the songs recorded in western Washington in

1950 are included on the volume "Northwest (Puget Sound)" (Library of Congress AFS L34), which is still available on cassette. The complete collection of Rhodes' field recordings is at the Library of Congress.

With the advent of consumer analog tape recording technology around 1950, ethnographic field recording ceased to be the exclusive domain of the institutionally-supported researcher. The magnetic tape era was a continuation of the salvage era in impulse, but the medium allowed for more comprehensive documentation as well as for use by a larger population of collectors. Leon Metcalf, a Seattle teacher, had grown up in the Northwest in the early 1900s, was trained in music, and had a long career in music education. He had known local Indians as a child and developed a lifelong interest in the languages of the Northwest. In 1950 Metcalf took a language transcription class from Melville Jacobs in order to start his own research on Lushootseed, but he became impatient with Jacob's insistence on the mastery of grammar before employing a tape recorder. He purchased his own tape machine and began meeting and recording Native speakers. At the urging of Martin Sampson, Swinomish-Skagit culture bearer and the son of Upper Skagit historian Susie Sampson Peter, Metcalf concentrated on the collection of myths (Hilbert and Miller 1995b). Between 1950 and 1961 Metcalf recorded seventy-five reels of Northwest Native speech and music, including myth narratives by Susie Sampson Peter, Ruth Shelton, Martha Lamont, Annie Daniels, and Harry Moses (Lushootseed); Mrs. Purdy (Twana); Silas Heck (Chehalis); Julius Charles (Lummi); Amy Allen (Klallam); and others. The Metcalf collection is also notable for its inclusion of personal messages, which Metcalf recorded in the course of storytelling sessions and delivered during his visits to consultants around western Washington. The Metcalf collection is now

located in the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture at the University of Washington.

The second collector of the analog "golden age" was linguist Thom Hess, who began his study of Lushootseed as a student of Laurence C. Thompson at the University of Washington in 1961. In the course of his research first with Skagit, then Snohomish and other Lushootseed dialects, he began recording stories and commentary by consultants Elizabeth Krise, Martha Lamont, Edward (Hagen) Sam, Emma Conrad, and others. In 1967 Hess was introduced to Vi Hilbert by Louise George, a Skagit-speaking Nooksack who had been his first consultant, and a fruitful collaboration began (Bierwert 1996:5-6). Among Hess' publications are his *Dictionary of Puget Salish* (1976) and *Lushootseed Reader with Introductory Grammar: Vol. 1, Four Stories from Edward Sam* (1995). The stories he recorded, along with those in the Metcalf collection, stimulated a new appreciation of Lushootseed literature and were the foundation texts for its serious study by Langen, Bierwert, and others. They were also the source for many of the stories that became the core of Vi Hilbert's repertoire as a storyteller. Other linguists from the "analog" era whose language recordings include story and song material are M. Dale Kinkade (Upper Chehalis) and Warren A. Snyder (Snoqualmie).

Vi *taq<sup>w</sup>səblu* Hilbert, Upper Skagit elder, has had a major role in the preservation and revitalization of Lushootseed language and culture. Between 1972 and 1987 she taught Lushootseed language and literature at the University of Washington. In

addition to teaching, writing, and storytelling, Hilbert has recorded stories and interviews with local elders and, under the auspices of Lushootseed Research, established an archive of recordings and other documentation from many sources. Her own collecting efforts include recordings of Dora Solomon (Lummi/Skagit), Martin Sampson (Swinomish/Skagit), and the organizing of elders for the "Sharing Legends at Upper Skagit" event (produced by Crisca Bierwert). Her numerous publications include transcriptions and translations of stories by Susie Sampson Peter, Ruth Shelton, Edward (Hagen) Sam, Harry Moses, Martha Lamont, her parents, and others (Hilbert 1985, Hilbert and Miller 1995a and 1995b, etc.). She co-authored the *Lushootseed Dictionary* with Dawn Bates and Thom Hess (Bates et al. 1994).

Vi Hilbert is also the bridge between the "analog" era of collecting, which was still under the control of non-Indian collectors and researchers, and the present "digital" era, that of the storytelling revival in western Washington and increased control over documentation by local Indian people. In addition to Lushootseed Research, many western Washington tribes maintain their own archives of recordings, centered in tribal cultural offices, schools, and community centers. After several decades during which the Rhodes Library of Congress recording was the only commercially available sample of songs from the Puget Sound area, locally produced and performed publications of recordings of songs and stories have begun to appear in increasing numbers. Vi Hilbert, Bruce Miller, and Johnny Moses are among those with commercially available audio and videotape recordings.

### Chapter III: Features of Coast Salish Oral Literature

Myth narratives and other stories are among the many forms of Native American oral discourse. They are as much maps as literature, pointing to familiar yet amazing places. As elsewhere in North America, the Coast Salish worldview recognizes a cosmos made up of sky, earth, and underworld regions and a "myth world" located spatially and temporally at the heart of its cosmogony. Every member of the community carried the mental map of that world at one time. In winter evening story recitations, the myth world was activated and renewed in the form of verbal art. In the act of story recitation, practitioners invoked and reenacted a tradition containing literary, linguistic, cultural, dramatic, and musical aspects, as well as cosmological ones.

It was the literary, linguistic, and cultural features of Native American myths and stories that first attracted the attention of non-Native scholars. More recent attention to the performative aspects of storytelling has contributed to the foregrounding of its dramatic, poetic, and, in this study, musical facets, as well as its interactive nature. While the performance aesthetics of pre-contact storytelling contexts are impossible to know with certainty, interpretive and stylistic variety in contemporary practice may be observed at local storytelling events where the same story material delivered by several tellers reveals wildly different performance styles. Vocal delivery, pacing, the use of stylized speech, gesture, repetition, meta-commentary, humor, and song may

all vary according to the particular raconteur on the particular occasion with a particular audience.

The subject of this chapter is Coast Salish stories and storytelling. In keeping with the larger focus of the study, the discussion frequently comes back to the songs in oral literature and the role of these songs both in cultural practice and in the context of literary analysis.

### **Storytelling Settings**

#### **Pre-Contact or Early Contact: Mid-Nineteenth Century**

The relationship between individuals and their spirit powers involves an annual cycle during which powers are thought to travel, moving farthest away in summer and closest in during *pig'əd* (winter dance) time (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930:67), approximately mid-November to mid-February.<sup>1</sup> This close physical proximity results in spirit sickness (Miller 1999a:35). Winter spirit dancing, practiced throughout Coast Salish country, relieves this sickness as individuals are called each year by their power to dance their song (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930:61) and become "attuned to and strengthened by his or her bond" (ibid.). The power returns to an individual in the form of a song, but whether powers, songs, or both travel is not clear, since accounts differ (Amoss 1978:14, 51). According to some accounts, not all powers traveled: "Many *sklaletut* travelled around the world all year and returned

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<sup>1</sup> In Lushootseed culture a person's guardian spirit might return "[a]ny time from the middle of November to the beginning of January..." (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930:61); spirits began to arrive in November, and the ceremonial season commenced through February (Miller 1999a:97).

at this time, but the spirits which did not travel also came to their owners" (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930:61).

The spiritually charged nature of the winter season brought the myth world closer as well, and evening storytelling sessions took place in smokehouses in all Coast Salish winter settlements during the darkest, coldest months:<sup>2</sup>

In winter the peripheral world of supernatural power and myth came closer, spirit-power was sought and initiations into the control of power held, and myths formally told (Hymes 1981:21).

Winter was in effect a sacred season, during which the spirit dances and myth narration characterized a society somewhat in retreat, drawing nearer to its supernatural sources of strength, and reaffirming its ties with them (Hymes 1966:150).<sup>3</sup>

Winter weather, though not the winter season, is often portrayed in myth narratives.

For the Nooksack a myth describing an offense committed by Raven against the NorthWind people, *s'otic*, explained why freezing windy weather came several times during the winter, requiring the people to be quiet and respectful and to honor them ritually to prevent misfortune (Amoss 1978:15). Boas documented similar practices among Lower Fraser groups in British Columbia (Boas 1894:463, cited in Amoss 1978:15). Among other western Washington groups stories abound on the battle between North Wind (*stoblə*) and South Wind (also called Southwest, Storm, or Chinook Wind) (*stəgwauq*), often resulting in the arrival of rain or frost or the retreat

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<sup>2</sup> Miller uses "winter settlements" not villages in order to suggest "the complex pattern of interranked communities along a waterway and region" (Miller 1999a:10). Winter-village communities consisted of local groups on "definite house-group sites" (Elmendorf 1960:260) (single-site for most Twana, more than one house-group site for Skokomish) in villages of plank houses (the single-house village was characteristic of central and southern Puget Sound; Twana usually had more than one house) (ibid.:257).

of freezing weather to the north (Ballard 1929; Adamson 1934; Pearson 1959; Elmendorf 1961). In the "All-Year-Around Story" or "Legend of the Seasons" told by Emma Conrad and Harry Moses, four grandsons, apparently the four winds or four winter months, appear one by one in the home of their grandmother, the last one bringing spring (Hilbert 1985; Bierwert 1996).

From the accounts we have available to us, it is possible to imagine a particular winter storytelling event as it might have been described by a visitor during the mid-nineteenth century. (Our visitor, a cultural outsider, might seem to have limited observational skills, but she doesn't claim to be omniscient, and though plucky, she knows that ethnographic representation is constructed):

On a long, cold, damp winter evening in the residential longhouse, along with community members of all ages, I heard a series of stories set in the myth world. The storytellers were elders, both men and women. (All seemed to be members of the community, but apparently visitors are occasionally asked to tell.) The repertoire ranged from short tales to episodes of longer stories (sometimes an entire epic is told, which may take several nights). Humorous, bawdy, and serious material mingled, and even children seemed thoroughly acquainted with the story repertoire. Children and young adults were expected to remain lying down throughout the evening and were wakened if they appeared to be asleep. I gathered that storytelling sessions intended to provide instruction and moral training to pre-adolescent children are sometimes part of the evening activities or may be held separately.

This composite depiction includes elements culled from numerous ethnographic accounts. To my knowledge, no full description of such an evening was ever documented.

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<sup>3</sup> Hymes is describing Sahaptin, Chinookan here.

Storytelling is a social activity and, more basically, a social process, involving an entire community. In its pre-contact context (what we know of that context in the mid-1800s), storytelling served a variety of functions, including entertainment and artistic expression, but for children it was a particularly important part of their education and socialization. The value of the formal storytelling event in "...inducting children into the common beliefs and values of the society" (Hymes 1966:151) is strongly suggested by the variety of social constraints and conventions which appear to have been common at one time in many communities, Salish and non-Salish alike, in western Washington and Oregon.<sup>4</sup> These fall into several categories: 1) Contextual requirements such as appropriate season, time, and place; 2) Performance-related matters regarding who told stories, how they were told, and the posture and behavior of the recitalist; and 3) Social requirements including the proper behavior and posture of listeners and expectations regarding interaction between teller and audience.

Hymes determined that in Oregon and southern Washington, pre-contact myth recitation only occurred during the winter months (Hymes 1990:593). Based on available evidence, Seaburg agrees: "In all of the Native groups from the Northwest States from which we have data, the only appropriate season to tell myths was in the wintertime, and the only appropriate time of day was nighttime" (Seaburg 1997:9).

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<sup>4</sup> Such constraints and conventions are common throughout Native North America; see, for example, Tedlock's description of the appropriate season and setting for Zuni storytelling (D. Tedlock 1999:xxvi).

The Lushootseed area of western Washington appears to be a possible exception. It is unclear if the seasonal prescription operated as strictly here as elsewhere; there is no evidence in the scanty ethnographic literature, and my own (admittedly limited) inquiries have not turned up any recollections regarding restrictions. Vi Hilbert (Upper Skagit) doesn't recall any mention of seasonal restrictions when she was a child in the 1920s. She herself was told many stories by her parents, including "x-rated" tales from her father; she believes that Lushootseed people of all ages heard all kinds of stories. Of course, it is very possible that even without strict seasonal constraints, formal storytelling took place mainly during the winter season.

Historical accounts regarding seasonal restrictions are mainly from Coast Salish speakers in southwestern Washington (Twana and Upper Chehalis) or Oregon (Nehalem Tillamook), or from non-Salish speakers in western Oregon. According to Adamson:

...the Upper Chehalis never told stories in the summer for fear snakes would crawl through the door. They waited until the drizzling fall rains had set in, or until after the first flurry of snow. As soon as spring came, they stopped in order to make the spring last a long time (Adamson 1934:xii).

E. D. Jacobs elicited the most complete account of winter storytelling in discussions with Mrs. Clara Pearson, a Nehalem Tillamook speaker, in Garibaldi, Oregon, in 1933:

She had heard these stories every winter until she was almost forty. Her father, a Nehalem, and her mother, a Garibaldi Tillamook, had lived in her household. Her father seems to have been the principal raconteur in the family. Only three or four of the myths were remembered by Mrs. Pearson as having been told by her mother or others.... Tillamooks told myths only in midwinter, approximately during the months of December and January. If

stories were told at any other time, it was believed that rain or even more disagreeable consequences would follow (Pearson 1959:vii).

Snakebite was a recurring threat in areas prone to rattlesnake population. Chinookans refrained from myth-reciting in summer "for fear of rattlesnake bite" (Hymes 1981:21), as did the Galice Creek Athabaskans and Santiam Kalapuyas (who also risked yellowjacket stings).<sup>5</sup>

Proper performance behavior for storytellers has been addressed most directly by S.

Snyder in describing the Skagit:

If a story was imperfectly recalled, it was wrong to 'guess,' meaning to pad, improvise, or omit. It was better not to tell it at all for it is dangerous to omit scenes or to shorten myths. Nubile women in the audience might give birth to deformed children, incomplete or malformed like the abbreviated or truncated story. And shortening of myths would shorten the lives of all listeners (S. Snyder 1968:242).

Hymes reports a similar concern for error among his Wishram (Chinookan) informants, who "...will refuse to narrate any [mythology], rather than narrate it wrongly.... Wrongness here seems to extend to specific verbal form" (Hymes 1966:150).

E. D. Jacobs elicited information from Mrs. Pearson that illuminates the behavior of both reciter and audience members during Nehalem Tillamook winter storytelling:

Myths were not dramatized at the winter dances [as was done further north] but were told around the firesides in the homes. Spirit-power songs were chanted or sung as they occurred in the body of a story. Only old people were privileged to recount myths. Children and younger persons reclined on mats

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<sup>5</sup> M. Jacobs treated winter storytelling conventions as a class of performance-related stylistic features "...that comprise assertions of improprieties and fears of consequences..." if norms were violated (cited in Seaburg and Amoss 2000:100).

as they listened. Children were cautioned not to sit when listening lest they grow hunchbacked (Pearson 1959:vii).

Similar strictures to those of the Nehalem Tillamook regarding posture are mentioned in other accounts. Among the Upper Chehalis:

A story teller usually started after supper, and might go until after midnight. Everyone had to lie flat on their back and listen. Only the fireman would get up to tend the flames. When he did, the listeners said 'ososos' [158] to keep him and themselves from getting a hump back {387 js} (Adamson notes, cited in Miller 1999b:53).<sup>6</sup>

Adamson also cites another Upper Chehalis informant describing an epic story session:

The Mink story took all night. You had to lie flat and not move. If you sat up, you would get a crooked back (ibid.:54).

Not all audiences were expected to lie supine:

...among the Santiam Kalapuya, children were required to sit on the ground and not stand during storytelling (Jacobs 1945:81).

For the Twana (Skokomish) Elmendorf specifies nighttime, indoor storytelling by older men and women to an audience of all ages, a setting that implies winter, though he does not state this restriction. As in the other accounts cited, the threat of physical deformation was used to assure a child's proper listening behavior. "A child who slept during the telling of a myth was believed to be liable to acquire a hump on its back" (Elmendorf 1961:15-16).

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<sup>6</sup> In Adamson's 1934 published monograph, based on these notes, she writes, "The narrator of a story and the listeners had to lie flat on their backs when the story was being told, to avoid getting humps in their backs. The fire-man was the only one who was allowed to stir about and then only to keep the fire going" (Adamson 1934:xii-xiii); if this is based on the notes cited above, I question the statement that the narrator as well as the listeners had to lie on his/her back while telling the story.

The primary interactive feature of the winter storytelling sessions was the common practice of audience response to the narrator at the ends of phrases:

Probably every culture group in the Northwest required a stylized manner of audience response at regular intervals during a recital: [*habu*] for Lushootseed speakers, [*habu* or *hamaqay*] for Skokomish audiences, [*i'...!*], literally 'Yes!' for Sahaptin audiences, and so on (Seaburg 1997:10).

Adamson's informants in the Secena family gave "*oso'sos*" as the audience response term, but the more common term for the Upper Chehalis seemed to be "*hamu'qi*"; Adamson herself heard the latter term used when a very old person was telling a story (Adamson 1934:xiii).

In describing the place of Skokomish (Twana) children in the storytelling session, Elmendorf states:

The children... were taught to call out the response words *ha'bu* ('tell myth') or *hamaqa'y* (meaningless) at intervals as a sign that they were awake and listening.... No special children's stories seem to have existed, and no attempt was made to select or expurgate the stories told to children.... (Elmendorf 1961:15-16).

For most groups stylized audience response appears to be a convention requiring no threat of dire consequences to enforce; however, for the Skagit S. Snyder stresses the danger not just to the remiss audience member but to the entire community when proper interaction with the recitalist is not maintained:

The [Skagit] recitalist must introduce the myth by the word *habo'*.... Throughout the myth narration the audience responded with *habo's* to indicate 'go ahead' to the story-teller, should he pause, or to signify 'I know. Proceed.' Skagit believed that unless the audience participated, prompted and signalled alertness in this way future generations would be harmed. So listening to myths had as formidable a conscientiousness about it as their telling (S. Snyder 1968:242).

It has already been mentioned that, in addition to providing lively and engrossing entertainment to all members of a household, formal storytelling sessions were powerful social and pedagogical tools. These sessions demanded disciplined behavior and, in some cases, ritual preparation and follow-up activities such as swimming in cold water or "fetching" a story from the river and returning it there after the recitation (Adamson notes, cited in Miller 1999b:53; Hymes 1981:21).

Adamson reports:

[Among the Upper Chehalis] It was considered very bad manners for a child to fall asleep or ask for something to eat while an old person was telling him a story. An old person could demand that the child first swim in the river as pay for the story....The Cowlitz made a practice of sending a child to swim before or after a story was told, as pay for the story (Adamson 1934:xiii).

As Hymes points out (for Chinookans), myths and myth songs introduced children to the elements of the winter dance, and the discipline of the formal storytelling session was part of the spiritual training that prepared them for the rigors of spirit questing (Hymes 1981:21, 124).

Breaks in the flow of recitation in the formal storytelling setting reveal the educational priorities of Skagit elders: "Interruptions were tolerated, and exhortations to young people on ethical precepts suggested by myth material occasionally broke narration" (S. Snyder 1968:242).

In addition to story recitations, children often attended evening instructional sessions that included a variety of teachings. Skokomish (Twana) children were:

...brought into the house each evening and required to listen to verbal instructions on deportment and ethical matters, interspersed with myth narration....The instructional talks seem to have been set lectures, perhaps as standardized in form as the myths. These addresses were highly moralistic [where the myths were not] and exhorted children to be generous, industrious, self-controlled, and polite toward their elders in speech and conduct (Elmendorf 1960:430).

Jacobs described three storytelling contexts in the Northwest states (and suggested that each produced different versions of stories):

... a morning pedagogical-ethical version [to pre-adolescents], a second version as given to a men's house audience [southwestern Oregon], and a third version as given to a miscellaneous evening household audience in January or February (Jacobs ca. 1969-1970:12).<sup>7</sup>

Jacobs believed that non-mythic narratives or tales "were resorted to especially, maybe only, when the household night myth audience included still awake youngsters whom the recitalist believed needed something of moralistic treatment" (ibid.:17).

In an account of the education of Lushootseed children by Haeberlin and Gunther, storytelling is not mentioned, but a type of instruction called *gósálad* is described:

The old people gave the children advice, telling the boys what to do to be good men and teaching the girls how to be clean, make blankets, be good wives, and how to be hospitable....Among the Snohomish a man took his boys of six years or more out to the water every morning and made them bath and rub themselves (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930:48).

In the evenings the old people told the children about the various spirits so that they would recognize them [when questing] (ibid.:68).

In his discussion of Lushootseed social classes, Miller emphasizes the control exerted by elite families over access to valued knowledge. He cites *g'əd'áda* (Haeberlin and

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<sup>7</sup> Jacobs wonders if dictations gotten in informants' colloquial English were mainly of the morning session variety.

Gunther's *gósálad?*)<sup>8</sup> among several Lushootseed terms referring to the type of instruction that would, presumably, have been conducted by these families with their own children:

These teachings included the full range of the traditional heritage and family treasures, including stories, dances, songs, and artistic expressions, all linked to a stock of immortal names requiring the expression of great 'respect' through proper etiquette, elite protocols, moralistic narratives, and information about the effective (spiritually sanctioned) use of prime resource areas (Miller 1999a:10).

Members of upper class Lushootseed families maintained their social position in part by practicing and transmitting these teachings to their children. Esoteric instruction may have taken place in private contexts with family members, but the primary public, communal instruction of children occurred in organized evening sessions.

Whereas the context for formal storytelling reinforced the Lushootseed belief that "all normal social relations were based on sharing..." (Miller 1999a:26), *gʷədʷáda* reinforced equally the power of "hidden" knowledge in maintaining high social status.

Outside the winter season, references to myths or the "identificational aspects of myth" (Hymes 1966:150) were viewed as appropriate and appear commonplace.

Jacobs observes that casual talk about myths was always acceptable (in Seaburg and Amoss 2000:100). Children grew up hearing humorous and teasing references to myth characters and events as well as didactic lessons. Several accounts describe individual experiences such as berry-picking with a grandmother when a story was told with a particular purpose in mind, such as to learn a lesson or perhaps in order

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<sup>8</sup> *gʷədʷáda* - "teaching(s) of one's ancestors; instruction concerning one's family heritage, training" (Bates et al. 1994:98); see also Hess 1976:681).

to learn the story. Seasonal and setting restrictions do not appear to have applied to non-mythic stories.

#### Post-Contact: Early Twentieth Century

One of the many effects of Euro-American encroachment on Native life was the disruption of seasonal activities, including those of the winter season. The establishment of day and boarding schools for Indian children effectively severed that cycle for many. Separated from the old ways of speaking and singing and the communal environment of the smokehouse, they forgot how to listen.

By interrupting those oral traditions other aspects of learning can also suffer, for example, the retention of material based on oral transmission. Boarding school interrupted this age-old way of teaching (Haines in Smyth and Ryan 1999:14).

In 1869 the first "contract" school in the United States opened on the Tulalip Reservation (Marysville, Washington), funded by the Indian Bureau and operated by the Catholic Church (Szasz and Ryan 1988:291). By 1879 a dozen on-reservation boarding and day schools were operating in western Washington, though only a minority of Indian children attended them (Marino 1990:173). In 1880 the Training School for Indian Youth was founded in Forest Grove, Oregon as a boarding school for students from Oregon, Washington, and Alaska Native communities; it was moved to near Salem in 1885 and re-named the Chemawa Indian School, now the oldest Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school in continuous operation (Beckham 1990:183). Education for Native children became obligatory in 1893 (Wright 1991:24).

Between the 1880s and the 1920s many children attended boarding schools, where they were required to speak English and often were away from home for the entire nine-month school term. By 1928 90% of Indian children in the United States were enrolled in some type of school (Szasz and Ryan 1988:294). Not until 1941 did the number of children attending community day schools exceed the enrollment at boarding schools (ibid.:295). In the late 1970s through the early 1980s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs closed many of the remaining off-reservation boarding schools (ibid.:298).

The experience of boarding-school education was among the memories recalled in March 1985 when Vi Hilbert gathered together a group of Lushootseed elders at the Upper Skagit Tribal Center to exchange stories before a mostly Indian audience (some of Hilbert's non-Indian students and colleagues were also present). The event was videotaped and published in an edited form as "Sharing Legends at Upper Skagit" (Hilbert 1985). Seven elders (and Vi's son, Ron Hilbert) told stories and "Indian jokes," and others were called upon in traditional Coast Salish fashion to act as witnesses to the occasion. The majority of the storytellers and witnesses appear to have been in their eighties or older at the time "Sharing Legends" was recorded (the only survivors are Vi and her son), so they would have been children in the early years of the twentieth century, the height of the government boarding school era.

The witnesses spoke eloquently about their memories of life the way they remembered it as children, including their own experiences hearing the old stories, and the changes they've seen in recent times. These commentaries are both personal recollections and orations about the state of things; they provide first-hand information about Lushootseed storytelling contexts as they existed about a hundred years ago. (Comments of witnesses were not included in the published videorecording, and the following transcriptions were made from the unedited video masters, made available to me by Vi Hilbert.)

Laura Edwards was called to be the first witness:

Welcome to all the young people that came. This is really an educational gathering. We never used to have anything like this one. When our elders used to talk to us, it was done at home, in your *own* longhouses in your *own* immediate families. I can remember the many different places down in Fish Point over at Lummi. I think nearly every family had what we called a smokehouse, and, not only that but it was sort of a storehouse too, because that's where grandmother kept her basketmaking materials, and grandpa had his carving things stored up above - netmaking, - because he and the old man [Indian name], the old man Frank Hillaire, made the reefnets that they had out there at Lummi Island. This you don't see anymore. Why? Because we are spozed to be getting civilized, and they made them do away with that [excerpted from her comments].

Laura Edwards remembers storytelling as family-centered and family-located, a place where elders taught children.

Emma Edwards was called on to be the second witness:

I'll say a few words, not much. I'm happy to be here and to hear these stories that has been brought out the way our elders had taught, had told the children, their children. They keep 'em awake in the evenings, that's where the word of "*həbu?*" comes in. You're getting sleepy, then somebody will say "*həbu?*" and then you just straighten up and wake up, listen to what's said of the stories

that you folks heard today [last few words unclear]. But I'm gonna go back on-- my cousin Vi told me that, that I go back on how our parents brought us up, that we'd know. Today, there is so much change with the young people that made-- and their elders. At that time the elders was always first. Today it's not that way anymore [murmurs of agreement from audience]. The young people tell their parents nowadays. But in my days, we had to listen to our parents, our grandfather, I got see my grandfather, and he told me, advised me, told me lot of things, how I should try to respect everyone, kindness, be willing to help the elders.... The teaching that they brought out today... I thought that was really really nice [excerpted from her comments].

Emma Edwards begins to describe the behavior expected of children in the remembered storytelling context by speaking in third person, then switches to the inclusive "you" to convey a sense of the experience from a child's point of view: the elders are speaking, it's late, you're tired, you hear "*hābu?*" and are jolted awake again. The message is, that's how we were taught to listen. The "Sharing Legends" event reminds her of the old way children were instructed, and she uses this memory to convey how the values she was taught have been turned upside down: the elders used to come first, now they come last; the elders used to teach the children respect and kindness, now the children don't listen to them.

Pete Cheer was the seventh of eight witnesses to be called:

I'm a man that was raised in Oso [British Columbia]. I was raised over there, by my aunt. I believe I came over here in 1934 or 35. I used to hear these stories that these ones told me today, refreshing my mind. And the children used to have to sit down and listen - um-hmm [responding to a comment, inaudible to me] - when they talked, and if you went to sleep you either [indicates whack] with a cane or - cane - or they'd holler hup!, wake up!, they would. And they spoke Indian, and even though that they brought me from Canada over here when I was about 9 or 10 years old, but yet I'm a Hawaiian - part Hawaiian - French, Canadian, American Indian. And so they brought me up, up there and they called me [Steekah?] because I come from Canada. Said I was a wild Indian, I looked like a wild Indian when they first got me.

And now that I'm back to Nooksack, that's where my mother came from.... Everything that was taking place here, of these storytellin', I believe that they really got down to tellin' the stories about when Coyote got married in many places, how the salmon came about, that he had different wives in different places, in different tribes, up and down river. It wasn't just one place. He was chief, that Coyote. [agreement, comments] He was really chief. [comments, laughter] Yeah [responding to a comment I can't make out] - yeah, the chief, he was chief, that man. Maybe that's how come my brother calls me chief. [comments, laughter] Couldn't tell you that part. [much laughter] .

I enjoyed listening to these older ones telling their stories of Coyote and *kawqs* and *ká? ká?* and different ones. This one here is my close relative if she only know... from the Joe family [Vi- "Oh *si?ab*, thank you for recognizing me"]. And for you young ones that is here, every story that has been told is really really good. And the way that I was brought up, I had to listen or else I got a good spankin' or a good whack or else I had to hit the river, all year round. That was my bringin' up, until I got old enough to be what you'd say bullheaded and take off from home. And so, all of the teachin' comes back though if you're going to be bad, in your life. It does come back. You'll sit down in maybe one of those, they call, cross-bar hotels, and you will cry. Why didn't I listen to my parents and there I am in this place and can't get out. Many times I've sat there, til I come to realize that there was a better life to lead. And that's the almighty god up there who's lookin down upon you.

This is my words today - so take care of your elderly ones and everything that these ones said because when I was young I used to have to take care of old Johnny Price...and my uncles, my grandmother... [this is most but not all of his statement]

In his personal recollections of storytelling, Pete Cheer recalls mainly the coercion, even violence, he experienced as a child forced to sit and listen. From the perspective of a dis-placed boy and the unhappy man he became, realizing the value of the teachings was a hard battle. Where Laura Edwards spoke mostly of family, and Emma Edwards of respect, Pete Cheer found resonance in "Sharing Legends" when the storytellers "really got down to tellin' stories about...Coyote." In his identification with Coyote and his marital wanderings, he sees the myth world and his

own life as equally real. He's telling us his true story here. "Sharing Legends" reminded him that the teachings are history.

### Storytelling to Researchers

Many of the stories and songs documented in this study were performed by an elder speaking into a recording microphone or to a scholar with a pencil, in a room in a small house, with few or no listeners other than the collector present. Some of them had childhood memories of winter evenings in the longhouse, but others were already a generation or more removed from the direct experience of that annual event and had learned the stories from a grandparent or other elder. Some tellers hadn't told stories for years when the collectors arrived; some still told within their families. Their motives in agreeing to record the stories probably varied: they may have enjoyed the opportunity to share stories with an interested visitor; they may have felt pressured or intimidated into doing so; they may have been as concerned as the researcher that the language and stories were in danger of disappearing and wanted to help preserve them; they may have been interested in payment offered. Probably most had multiple reasons for agreeing. Those who refused to be recorded are not often mentioned in the literature.

### Storytelling 1980-2000

Many of the Coast Salish stories discussed in this study were likely told 150 years ago, but the seasonally-based storytelling context of that time no longer exists.

By the 1980s all but a handful of Lushootseed, Twana, and Upper Chehalis native speakers had passed away. The generation who had had direct contact with parents, grandparents, or other storytelling elders from that generation continued, in a few cases, to tell the stories informally in their communities but, increasingly, storytelling was performed publicly before an audience. Vi Hilbert began using recordings of storytellers and inviting elders to speak to her Lushootseed classes at the University of Washington, but as she developed a repertoire of stories herself, she gained a reputation as a professional storyteller. The Seattle Storytellers Guild, the Northwest Folklife Festival and other community festivals, public libraries, schools, and tribal groups sponsored programs including storytellers from around the Northwest. The most significant result of changes begun many decades before the 1980s was the transformation of a family-centered activity based in local Indian communities to an urban-centered public performance context with a primarily White audience. This process continues as non-Indians begin performing Indian stories publicly, sometimes in the original language.

## **Content**

### **Epic Traditions**

The core Lushootseed literature includes epic-length narratives, episodes or fragments of longer stories told independently, and short stories of various types. The epics concern a mythic time when the animals were people or "there were not the separate categories 'people' and 'animals,' but everyone was both" (Langen in Bierwert 1996:63). At one time the epics were told over the course of several nights, as

evidenced by rhetorical conventions for "parking" a story for the night. An Upper Chehalis consultant recalled that "...in the old days it took three nights to tell the Moon story; another said that it took one whole night" (Adamson 1934:xiii).

There is no single origin story but several "re-creation" stories involving the transformation of the world to its present state either by a Transformer/Changer character or by some other means, often following a flood. The diversity of languages around the region is often attributed to their distribution by Thrush or another character (Miller 1999a:51).

The "Star Child" or "Star Husband" is one of the most significant epic narratives in the canon, and numerous versions have been documented (including Farrand 1902; Curtis 1913; Gunther 1925; Haeberlin 1925; Ballard 1929; Adamson 1934; Marr 1941; Pearson 1959; Elmendorf 1961; W. Snyder 1968; Hilbert 1985, 1996; Hilbert and Miller 1995a; Miller 1999a, 1999b). In this story two brothers ultimately take on the role of transformers, changing the world to make it ready for humans and naming places and groups of people. Local place names are given in many versions to identify the location of events in the narrative. (See Chapter Four of this study for a performance analysis of Susie Sampson Peter's "Star Child" and Chapter Six for a discussion of the songs associated with it.)

Flood stories are found in many forms in western Washington and appear to be indigenous. Miller suggests that the flood story featuring *Dəwi* began as a version of

Noah's ark (the sound of a Lushootseed "n" having shifted recently to "d"); otherwise the story resembles many other documented versions (Miller 1999a:51-52).

Langen describes stories about the Changer or Transformer as a separate genre of myth narrative which usually consisted of "several short episodes told in parallel narration" (in Bierwert 1996:63). Numerous stories about the Changer are documented (Elmendorf 1961:20-26, 84-85). A longer story made up of a series of episodes told by Simon Pierre (Halkomelem) is included in *The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian* (Jeness 1955). There are also Change/Transformation stories that don't involve the Changer: in addition to *Dəwzi*, Miller lists Robe Boy (post-flood story) and Grizzly Wife (Miller 1999a:51-53). Some stories, such as that of Mud Swallow, describe the transformation of one character, usually as the result of greed or folly (Hilbert 1996:73).

It is possible that epic traditions of a different nature were also once told and sung in some Coast Salish communities. Bierwert describes the publication of *Sepass Tales: Songs of Y Ail Mihth*, a collection of poems by William Sepass, a Native elder on the Skulkale Reserve in Sardis, British Columbia, who produced the collection with the assistance of Sophie White Street and Eloise Street from 1911 to 1914 (Bierwert 1999:93-107). Exactly whose cultural traditions are represented in the work and the complex motivations of the collaborators is explored in some depth by Bierwert. Of interest here is the fact that the text is arranged in epic form and that Eloise Street believed that four-day sung epic performances had been part of local nineteenth

century Salish tradition. Bierwert suggests that Street may have been confusing Salish with *Kwakwaka'wakw* ceremonies, since "The presence of such a performance saga in Coast Salish country has not been recorded or even referred to by anyone else" (ibid.:96).

In the mid-1990s Johnny Moses, who identifies himself primarily as Tulalip, *Nuu-chah-nulth*, and Saanich (also Spokane, Chelan, Skagit, and Samish), began telling epic stories he had learned as a child over a period of years from *Nuu-chah-nulth*, Samish, Spokane, and other elders. Having not told any of these stories for a number of years, he told "The Clothes That Look at the People," a Samish story, at a winter gathering in 1994 and another epic story at a gathering in Nevada City, California that same year. For Vi Hilbert's multi-day birthday parties in July 1997, 1998, and 1999, Moses told Samish epics he titled "The Woman Who Was Raised in a Black Shaman Family and Didn't Know It," (1997) "The Battle Between Two Doctoring Women," (1998) and "I Collect People's Souls in Baskets..." (1999). The performances at Vi Hilbert's parties were bi-lingual renderings lasting one to two hours each day (or night) for the duration of each three- or four-day event. Moses preceded each day's telling with a description of the source and function of the story, describing how each epic records family history and genealogy. The stories are full of local references and usually map a journey by water taken by a female shaman. These epic narratives, like those of William Sepass, do not belong to any tradition documented elsewhere. There is no body of Samish oral literature for reference, and little is known of the Samish language, a Central Salish Northern Straits dialect.

Stories lasting between three and ten minutes are those most commonly documented in dictation or audio recordings and also the most frequently told in storytelling sessions today. These may be whole stories or short episodes of epics, "told for their own sake as units" (Reichard 1934:246). It is possible that collection practices have privileged shorter stories, though several early collectors made a particular effort to document longer performances. John Paul Marr, for example, recorded five long narratives by Emma Luscier (Lower Chehalis), including a Bluejay story nearly four hours in duration (Marr (recordings) 1941). In a letter to Melville Jacobs, Arthur Ballard described a recording session with Jack Stillman (Snoqualmie) in 1937:

I have found out one thing, namely that when an Indian can talk straight ahead without interruption in his own language he will give a much more elaborate version of a tale than either in English or in his own language when halted from time to time. The story of Rabbit and Grizzly, which was to be a short story ran for a full hour, without interruption except for change of disk (6/19/37, University of Washington Libraries, Jacobs Box 120, Folder 28).

More recently, Leon Metcalf and Thom Hess have also documented long stories as well as numerous shorter examples. It is likely that short stories, distinct from epic-length narratives, have been part of the repertoire for many generations.

### Characters

Myth narratives are populated by Animal-People (Raven, Mink, Crow, Deer, Coyote, etc.), a Changer/Transformer, and other characters who might be called Natural Feature-People (Mt. Baker, etc.), Cosmos-People (Moon, Sun), and Natural Force-People (South Wind, North Wind). An oft-appearing personality is the Trickster, ubiquitous in Native American mythologies but less rigidly cast in the Coast Salish

world than elsewhere. Stories of Coyote, the Trickster among the Interior Salish and other neighbors of the Coast Salish, are told among coastal groups, but Raven (common Trickster-Transformer on the northern Northwest coast) and Blue Jay (Trickster to some Chinookan groups) also play the role. Among the Nehalem Tillamook, South Wind is a unique Trickster character (Ramsey 1999:26-27).

All characters appear in human form but are often described as possessing characteristics associated with their final form, having a "combination of animal sagacity with human ability" (Reichard 1934:247). Some characters are more powerful than others, due to the strength of their spirit power, embodied in a song. Interestingly for this study, the Trickster character in myth narratives either doesn't have a song or can't remember it properly when he needs it (Hymes 1990:594). Before the Change every being had supernatural power, but the Changer had the power to transform the world and all its beings "...into particular landmarks where they still exist as aspects of geography, unusual acoustics, or appearance" (Miller 1999a:50). The Change prepared the world for the arrival of human beings, and a "transitional" period followed which is reflected in the story literature, where the interrelationship of human agency and spiritual power is negotiated, and right conduct in the Coast Salish world is demonstrated.

## **Features of Western Washington Coast Salish Myth Narratives**

### **Analytical Approaches**

Discourse about the characteristics of Native American literature is inextricably bound up with the question of translation. Contemporary narrative scholarship generally acknowledges translation as "a language of re-creation that no one, in fact, speaks" (Bierwert 1996:37, citing Benjamin 1968). Today's scholars are particularly critical of the forms in which the literature has been made available in translation since the mid-nineteenth century. "Translators have replaced the rhetorical and poetic devices of Native languages with English and American rhetorical equivalents of the time" (Bierwert 1996:24). Inherent structures and patterns and features of style tended to be ignored and/or distorted. Contemporary approaches to narrative studies have sought out these forms and features and provided various analytical roadmaps for the student of this literature.

The question of stories collected in English warrants mention. The Americanist text tradition has tended to reify the Native language text and its unmodified presentation. From this perspective the study and analysis of texts collected in English reveal little about the formal, structural, and stylistic features of the "original." Elmendorf, in fact, did conjecture about Twana literary form and style based on the Skokomish (Twana) stories he collected in English from the Allen brothers. Although he believed that the English versions, "strained through a foreign linguistic medium," were flawed as literature, he compared the story renditions of Frank, who had lived a

more "traditional" life, with those of Henry, expecting those of the former to have retained Twana characteristics (Elmendorf 1961:5).

In his study of Upper Coquille Athabaskan (southwestern Oregon) texts collected in English by Elizabeth D. Jacobs, Seaburg makes the point that consultants such as Coquille Thompson, Sr., probably hadn't told stories in their native language for several decades by the time they were recorded by researchers. Seaburg finds that such texts are worthy of literary study in their own right and, in so doing, gives voice to individuals previously ignored in the documentation of Northwest Indian literary traditions (Seaburg 1992).

The following summary introduces three approaches to narrative analysis utilized by scholars post-Boas. They are presented chronologically, and in some sense each developed in response to the previous. This introduction precedes a more detailed discussion of the features of oral literature in the Northwest states, based on the findings of scholars representing these different and, in my view, complementary perspectives.

1. Categorization of features of style and content - Early scholarly interest in oral literature, in both anthropological and folklore research, focused on the content of myth narratives. The value of myth to Lévi-Strauss, for example, did "...not lie in its style, its original music, or its syntax, but in the *story* which it tells" (Lévi-Strauss 1955:430). Boas collected folklore primarily because he was interested in language

and in what a people's stories revealed about their culture. He believed that style was too closely related to language to survive translation (Boas 1940:452). As Jacobs points out, Boas appears to have had little interest in the "literary or artistic qualities" of the stories he collected or in promoting indigenous oral literatures by publishing them in a form accessible to the general reading public (Jacobs 1959b:124).

Melville Jacobs was one of the first scholars to focus on stylistic features of myths and tales in the "Northwest States" (Oregon, Washington, and Idaho). He worked mainly with Chinookan, Sahaptian, Takelman, Coos, and Galice Athabaskan languages in western Oregon, collecting texts in the original language whenever possible. Working with so many languages, he did not attempt to master the grammar of each but, rather, relied on his consultants to assist in translating texts into English.

Jacobs saw myth narratives as dramatic forms and identified a variety of "play structure" types in the Northwest. He identified classes of expressive content present in myths and tales: social relationships, actor personalities, humor, values, world view, religious content, and musical compositions. Jacobs did not accept Boas' claim that linguistic factors govern expressive style, arguing in the case of Clackamas Chinook that "...linguistic factors exhibited in the text data which we have were...negligible, if contrasted with factors of contents and style..." (Jacobs 1959a:8). Jacobs specifies linguistic modifications present in but not exclusive to literature, including phonological alterations (the use of "onomatopoetic morphemes" and "regular consonantal changes to express...diminutive and augmentative nuances of meaning"); he found no syntactic forms employed exclusively in story texts

(ibid.:7). In her work with interior Salish Coeur d'Alene, Reichard found a more meaningful link between style and language; appreciation of the literature suffers from the fact that "reduplication, vowel lengthening, sound, song and gesture" cannot be "adequately rendered into English" (Reichard 1947:35).

Jacobs' vocabulary for delineating stylistic features was first presented systematically in *The Content and Style of an Oral Literature: Clackamas Chinook Myths and Tales* (1959a) and further developed in his 1972 essay "Areal Spread of Indian Oral Genre Features in the Northwest States" (Seaburg and Amoss 2000) (see also Jacobs ca. 1969-70, the manuscript version of this essay, in progress at the time of Jacobs' death). The latter lists twenty-one contrastive classes of stylistic features characterizing "... a Northwest States oral genre in its early morning, winter, and other recitals..." (ibid.:96). These include the "play structures" of narratives told in winter evening household recitals; numerous types of stylized devices and motifs (introductions, epilogues, and endings; pattern number; devices expressing distance or location; devices which date; plot expeditors; explanatory elements); linguistic features ("of negligible import"); manner of recital; lack of references to nature, emotional states, and personalities; conventions for the description of movement and travel; audience behavior; songs; use of humor; "laconic" or "terse" depictions accompanied by speedy plot action; features expressing improprieties and fears of consequences of violating proper recital setting; and features of titles in casual reference (ibid.:96-101). These features are described in more detail in the following section.

Jacobs recognized that the boundaries between features of content and of style were fluid: ... "most classes of features of oral literature style constituted repetitive or other manipulations of items of expressive content" (cited in Seaburg and Amoss 2000:54). They "... amount to opposite ends of a continuum" that "overlap and interrelate" (Jacobs 1959a:119). Reichard, even more so than Jacobs, gave considerable attention to classes of stylistic features in her study of Coeur d'Alene myths. She found several categories of features that may be either stylistic or contentual depending on function: action or setting may be motivating or formal (performed to fulfill convention); moralizing and explanatory elements may seem to be motivating but are usually stylistic. Reichard credits features of characterization, including expressive, non-lexical "sound words" and songs, with giving the stories their appeal. (She also mentions the tendency of myth characters to be organized into social groups, a feature addressed by Jacobs under expressive content.) Among linguistic devices she cites are reduplication, direct discourse instead of subordinate clauses (creating short "staccato" sentences), and rhetorical lengthening. Unlike Jacobs, she mentions pathos, bathos, and a sense of the macabre as characteristic features; other features, such as repetition and various kinds of stylized devices, are much as Jacobs depicts them (Reichard 1934, 1947).

2. Ethnopoetics - A second analytical approach is that encompassed under the broad heading of "Ethnopoetics," a term attributed to Jerome Rothenberg (Tedlock 1999:xvii). As developed by Hymes and Tedlock, ethnopoetics focuses on oral

literature as performed in the original language, attempting to reveal its inherent poetic structure through structural analysis informed by ethnographic data. In his work with Chinookan and Kalapuyan narratives, Hymes devised a system of ordering text in nested units (verses, stanzas, and scenes) based on its structural patterning in groups of threes and fives (pattern numbers). The primary analyst of Coast Salish oral literature from this perspective is Kinkade, whose analyses of Upper Chehalis texts will be discussed later in this chapter.

3. Narrative Architecture (Isolating Narrative Structures) - The work of Langen, Bierwert, and Nora and Richard Dauenhauer illustrates a third approach to the study of Northwest oral literature. These scholars, each in their own way, employ principals of translation that aim to recreate the "patterning" of the original narratives, revealing the structure of the language and ultimately its beauty. Their aims are those of ethnopoetics, though strategies of text mapping and forms of presentation (lineation) differ.

Bierwert views Lushootseed storytellers as dramatists and finds the source of some narrative paterning in ceremonial oratory (Bierwert 1996:24, 38). Circular structures, the use of word repetition, and the manipulation of word order in repetitive phrases are characteristic of both oral literature and oratory (ibid.:26). Langen has also looked outside the discourse of myth narrative and found examples of recursive structures in everyday Lushootseed speech patterns (Langen 1993). Bierwert and Langen's analyses reflect the depth of their knowledge of Lushootseed grammar,

morphology, and syntax, as well as their familiarity with Lushootseed narrative practice.

The Dauenhauers' published translations of Tlingit oral literature and oratory are explicitly directed to both a Tlingit audience and to others, and a balance is sought between trying to make the printed page "an extension of the voice of the original story teller" (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1987:12) and providing informed commentary. Narrative structures are among the literary, linguistic, and cultural "ways in" the authors provide for the reader. Based on their analysis, Langen notes "numerous parallels in narrative practice between Tlingit literature and Lushootseed" (in Bierwert 1996:60)

### Expressive Style

Stylistic features of myth narratives include a variety of linguistic and rhetorical devices. Such devices may be seen both as something "deployed" for narrative purposes, implying control and manipulation of style by the storyteller, and as expressions of or references to cultural ideas and values. Paralinguistic features of performance such as voice quality and loudness, the use of pauses, and songs are mentioned here but treated more thoroughly elsewhere in the study. Ten categories of features culled from the literature are described here:

1. Stylized or formulaic beginnings, epilogues, and endings of myth texts - Stylized words or phrases at the beginnings of myths appear to be the most prevalent type.

There are two traditional opening phrases for Lushootseed myth narratives, as in: 1) "*ʔa'cəc tiʔiʔ bə'sčəb*" ("There was Mink") and 2) "*ʔəstəlil tiʔiʔ bə'sčəb*" ("Mink is (or was) living there") (Langen in Bierwert 1996:96). Jacobs believed that conventional openings to stories were required in the winter evening storytelling setting across the Northwest states (Jacobs ca.1969-1970:[19]), and Reichard notes their existence for Coeur d'Alêne (Reichard 1934:252).

Traditional ending phrases for Lushootseed myth narratives are *diʔ (s) šac's* ("That is the ending") (Langen in Bierwert 1996:130) or *diʔ šuys* ("That's the end of it") (Hilbert 1996:[v]). Adamson describes the practice of the Heck family (Upper Chehalis) of ending a story with the phrase "*K'walal-'--'*" sometimes followed by a comment about the story. Others outside the family told her they had often heard the phrase, though they didn't use it. Adamson was offered several possible translations - "Soon his salmon will be all gone!" - "Keep the hoodoo away from the salmon!" - and "black-salmon" from "*k'walE'*." Whatever the meaning of the phrase, Adamson suspected that, "Like some songs that appear in the tales, it seems to imply much more than it says" (Adamson 1934:xiii). The Secena family (Upper Chehalis) used "*oso'sos*" as an ending as well as an audience response term; it is untranslatable (ibid.). From the English versions of Skokomish (Twana) stories he collected, Elmendorf found no set ending formulas (he didn't mention story openings). Reichard mentions formal endings for Coeur d'Alêne (Reichard 1934:252); Jacobs finds less data for epilogues (but suspects they were desirable) and even less for endings.

Jacobs cites an example of a formalized means of halting a long myth to be continued the next night, and he suspected that every group had some stylized phrase for this.

2. Pattern number - The literature treats pattern numbers as both a stylistic feature (Jacobs 1959a; Seaburg 1997:4) and a structural feature (Hymes, Kinkade, Langen). Pattern numbers are demonstrated in myth narratives in the repetition of actions and numbers of characters (such as five brothers). Boas first noted the four- and five-pattern features of Northwest states oral literature styles (Jacobs ca. 1969-1970:[30]). Four appears to be the dominant pattern number for the Northern Coast Salish and the Central Coast Salish, including northern Lushootseed (and more northern Northwest Coast groups). Five is dominant for the southern Lushootseed, Southwestern Coast Salish, and western Oregon (Jacobs identified a four-for-female, five-for-male pattern among the Tillamook Salish in northwestern Oregon (Jacobs 1959a:226)). Five is also prevalent in northern California and for the Nez Perce and Sahaptin and some of the Interior Salish (except for Coeur d'Alene, Spokane, Colville, and southern Okanagan, where the pattern number is four) (Seaburg 1997:4-5; this list is Seaburg's more detailed version of M. Jacobs' in Seaburg and Amoss 2000:97). Elmendorf reports that for the Skokomish (Twana), five is most prominent, followed by three, but that pattern number is not widely displayed (Elmendorf 1961:6).

3. Motifs or plot expeditors - Motifs in Native American folklore were identified and indexed by Stith Thompson (1929, 1955-58). Though associated with plot, the motif

is essentially a plot enabler, a "slice or small stretch of expressive content that functioned primarily in a stylistic way" (Jacobs in Seaburg and Amoss 2000:98). Hundreds of such motifs have been identified in the literature of the Northwest states, and "...their widespread distribution suggests that they were readily borrowed from group to group" (Seaburg 1997:5). Examples of common motifs are the youngest-smartest; the bride comes; ascent to upper world on an arrow chain; the release of hoarded game; the bungling host; supernatural (or miraculous) growth; the life token; Symplegades; talking excrements; father test; and the monster killed from within.

4. **Sound Imagery** - The features outlined here include linguistic and paralinguistic devices which are part of performance and not easily expressed in written transcription. They all presume the use of dialogue, spoken or sung, which appears to be a basic feature of Northwest states myth narrative.

a) **Multiplicity of Voices** - A narrative is often told in more than one voice, reflecting the cast of characters, some of whom have their own way of speaking (and who may speak differently on different occasions). "...[I]t is this multivocality, more than anything else, that makes stories sound different from prayers, speeches, or poems" (D. Tedlock 1999:xii).

b) **Stylized Speech and Specialized Language**: A storyteller may use special voice qualities or vocal mannerisms to indicate a particular character's speech, in order to

suggest certain personality traits (Hess in Hilbert 1985:xxiii). Often phonological or morphological modifications are made to words spoken in story dialogue.

Langen discusses at some length Martha Lamont's use of distinctive voices for Crow and the seagull slaves in "The Marriage of Crow" (in Bierwert 1996). The seagull slaves are "always talking"; they say "qʷəni, qʷəni, qʷəni, qʷəni, qʷəni" (untranslatable, spoken in a high register) (ibid.:108). When they comment on the dismissal of the first suitor, they again speak all at once, repeating the word "mələliʔ" (ibid.:116), the "stylized speech equivalent to bələliʔ" ("wrong again") (ibid.:130). Similarly, when the proper suitor is identified, they all chime in with "ni-t təʔ" (ibid.:124), "the seagulls' way of saying di-t təʔ" ("He's the one!") (ibid.:130). Langen makes the point that Mrs. Lamont does not have to announce who is speaking; once we know her "seagull voice," it is not necessary for her to tell us when their speech ends and Crow begins to talk (ibid.). Crow's language is also sometimes modified: she sings "k'ixʷ k'ixʷ" instead of "č'isc'istxʷ" ("to look for a husband") each time she sings her song announcing her intention to marry "the son of xʷəya'liwa" (ibid.). (I do not detect a special voice for Crow, though Langen suggests that she has a "distinctive" way of talking.)

The frequency of linguistic modification in myth songs was noted by Warren Snyder in a footnoted explanation of a song text transcription: "As in many songs, especially those of characters in stories, some of the morphemes of this word [ocótb əed

*latx<sup>h</sup>yáqqaqyaqósbá*, where *usəbə* = face with a suffix] are different from those of ordinary speech" (W. Snyder 1968:50, footnote 5).

It has been suggested that the antiquity of sung material is supported by changes in Lushootseed pronunciation. Nasal sounds in songs are thought to be older than currently spoken language). "Over a century ago, Lushootseed and others shifted away from nasals so that *m* > *b* and former *n* > *d*" (Miller 1999a:14, citing Hess). The nasal "m" is found in the voices of Raven and Coyote and in sung and spoken baby talk.

Further examples of stylized speech in Northwest oral literature are provided by Jacobs, who noted that in some Sahaptin groups, Coyote's speech was delivered in a monotone and Skunk's in falsetto; the male Nez Perce storyteller used nasalized vowels when Skunk was speaking (Jacobs was not sure this was true for female tellers) and spoke an octave or two below his normal voice for Grizzly (Jacobs ca. 1969-1970:[45]). Jacobs believed it was widespread throughout the region for one or more type of vocal mannerism (pitch, stress-accent, length, consonant-vowel change) to be used for leading male and female characters (ibid.: [46]).

c) Sound or Action Associated with a Character - Characters may have a sound (or action) unique to them; "sound words" may identify them or define them performing a certain act or show character's feelings (these are separate from cases where verb stems are used in onomatopoeic sense) (Reichard 1934:250). Jacobs also uses the

term "sound-words" for truly imitative cases, as in the Wishram myth collected by Sapir where Raven cries *kak kak* as well as onomatopoeic words (Jacobs ca. 1969-1970:[46]).

d) Use of Foreign Words - Story dialogue may include words foreign to the language of the story or words pronounced with a foreign accent; this often has a humorous effect.

5. Motivation and Explanatory Elements - Jacobs addressed motivation in his psychosocial treatment of personalities as an element of expressive content (Jacobs 1959a), but Reichard treated motivation as a stylistic feature when plot action is mainly formal. Coeur d'Alene motivations that form the "skeleton" of a story are punishment, revenge, desertion (related to the first two), disobedience, bravado, power of the little (or inferior) one, and imitation (unsuccessful). Another kind of formal motivation is the action by a protagonist to restore or repair a situation that was caused earlier in the narrative (Reichard (1934:244-245).

Related motivations have to do with etiological or moralizing functions of stories.

Reichard considered the former mainly a stylistic device and the latter a modern addition (ibid.). Ramsey cites the efforts of Boas, Lowie, Radin, and particularly Waterman to put the role of the "etiological motive" in perspective (Waterman 1914), seeing it as only one of many and rarely the only motive (Ramsey 1999:4). Jacobs noted that the list of explanatory elements differed from group to group in the

Northwest, and it seems likely that this reflects the local geography evoked in such explanations. Change or transformation in western Washington Coast Salish groups is generally caused by a Changer/Transformer character or other "actor-announcer" who steps out of character briefly to pronounce changes to the world. Jacobs believed that Boas and others projected a separate Changer character into Northwest myths (Jacobs in Seaburg and Amoss 2000:98). Although he appears to be alone in this view, the literature he studied in western Oregon does seem to contain fewer appearances of a Changer character than Lushootseed literature, for example.

6. Humor - Stories with a humorous intent are found in most Native American mythologies. Humor is also employed stylistically, in myths rather than tales (ibid.:100), through a variety of linguistic and rhetorical devices. Because audience response to humor is easily identifiable in smiles and laughter (ibid.:75), it is highly dependent on the dynamics of performance. Some performers may be "funnier" than others, and a skilled raconteur takes advantage of the available devices for enhancing a story through humor. Sometimes the rapport and interaction of storyteller and audience together may produce an especially humorous session. Jacobs believed that the stylistic role of humor was central historically in evening recitals and probably also in year-round casual conversation about myths and tales (ibid.:100). For Plateau groups Phinney observed, "Humor is undoubtedly the deepest and most vivid element in this mythology..." (Phinney 1934:ix).

A common linguistic device to create a humorous effect in Salishan languages is reduplication. "Although the morphological process is a common one in the language [and other Salishan languages], its exaggerated use is just as amusing to the Coeur d'Alene as it is to us. He, however, can make up combinations of repeated sounds which though grammatically correct are riotous" (Reichard 1934:249). Other devices, already described, may also have a humorous effect: the use of special voices (sometimes suggesting a speech impediment (*ibid.*)), rude noises, foreign words, and archaisms.

The use of humor is clearly a vital aspect of story content, as well as a stylistic matter. Obscene, violent, and ridiculous incidents and episodes are clearly meant to amuse and entertain. In his analysis of humor in Clackamas Chinook oral literature, Jacobs located 130 "fun situations" in myths and tales and attempted to identify the stimuli behind them, which he categorized into sixteen types, including tricks, anatomical references, vanity or foolishness, irony, language error, repetition, and pantomime, among others. In the body of literature he investigated, 60% of the myths contained "fun" but only 20% of the tales did. His explanation is that in a culture where "fun" was not an explicit value, myths, which he believed to be older than tales, have been subjected to more contemplation and processing and, at the same time, are more distant from the anxieties of human life that are represented in tales. This kind of psychological speculation has not been pursued by other scholars of Northwest oral literature, but the greater tendency of myth narratives to contain humorous material continues to be an interesting distinguishing feature (Jacobs 1959a:178).

7. **Miscellaneous linguistic devices** - Though Jacobs argued that linguistic features of style as a distinct class of features was, if it existed, of negligible significance to the understanding of Northwest oral literature, others have included them in analyses of literary style (Seaburg and Amoss 2000:99). The use of linguistic devices for stylistic effect may be particular to each language, and recognizing them requires considerable mastery of a language. Some devices are widespread, despite linguistic differences: vowel lengthening (rhetorical lengthening) in the verb stem to emphasize a long time or great distance (Reichard 1934:249); archaisms (Jacobs ca. 1969-1970:[44]; D. Tedlock 1983:43); the use of direct discourse (Reichard 1934:249); formulaic phrases limited to use in narratives; and onomatopoeic words created through reduplication and syntactic differences (D. Tedlock 1983:44).

At least one function of altered language is to mark it as something distinct from everyday speech. In ritual settings this difference may be a means of preventing the uninitiated from understanding what is said (or sung) (Silver and Miller 1997:145), but in a performance medium open to all, such as the winter evening storytelling session, altered language may have several functions: to mask esoteric meaning controlled by elite families and to evoke the spiritual nature of the myth world and the spiritual bonds it calls into being.

8. **Miscellaneous rhetorical devices** - Among rhetorical devices mentioned in the literature are the acting out of a part of a story (Reichard 1934:249); dramatic

personification of a character; the use of pathos and bathos (ibid.:251); repetition or parallelism used for rhetorical effect (ibid.; D. Tedlock 1971:130-131); and laconicism in the depiction of "action, movement, travel, feelings, relationships, and personalities" (Jacobs in Seaburg and Amoss 2000:100). Associated with this laconicism are widely distributed phrase types for expressing distance, location, and time (ibid.:98). A significant exception to this laconicism is the convention of repeating actions to conform to pattern number, generally four or five, depending on location (ibid.:100).

9. Delineations of Nature - References to features of flora and fauna, natural features, the weather, and the cosmos are generally made only when required by the plot, in keeping with the laconicism of depiction in Northwest oral literature outlined above (Seaburg and Amoss 2000:99; Jacobs ca.1969-1970:[48]; Reichard 1934:252). It may be more accurate here to distinguish between descriptive references, which are indeed rare, and personifications of natural features in the form of myth beings, which are often described in terms of their natural qualities. As discussed elsewhere in this study, geographically localized events and landmarks are also significant elements of myth narratives.

10. Characterization - The point has already been made that moods and feelings of story characters are not generally described explicitly but, rather, deduced from plot action (Seaburg and Amoss 2000:99). "...[W]hat oral narrative usually does with emotions is to evoke them rather than describe them directly..." (D. Tedlock

1971:130). Personalities and personality traits, familiar to cultural insiders from childhood, are also generally revealed or reflected in the plot. The personalities of some characters exist independently of any one story: as depicted by Langen, in Lushootseed literature Raven (who has a distinctive grating voice) is always motivated by greed, whereas Mink is considered clever, mischievous, and motivated by a spirit of fun; though Raven and Mink are always male, Crow may be either male or female and has several personas (Langen in Bierwert 1996:64-65).

The voices and special language of story characters have been described under "sound imagery." A song or other sound may also characterize a myth actor (Reichard 1934:250). Jacobs makes the interesting supposition that, although winter evening sessions were told in the dark without gestures, a set of gestures was attached to each myth and employed in off-season commentary or in early-morning sessions (Jacobs ca. 1969-1970:[52]).

### Formal/Structural Features

Elements of form and structure, perhaps more than any other aspects of oral literature, are sought out, identified, and articulated by cultural outsiders seeking to define a cultural aesthetic that is not necessarily acknowledged within the culture. Indigenous classifications tend to be made "...strictly in terms of function, moral value, or provenience (traditional or recent)" (Bricker in Bauman and Sherzer 1974:388). Whether or not formal structure is identified as such, verbal artistry tends to conform to its requirements within a performance tradition. "The speakers most skilled at

manipulating and taking advantage of the structural requirements are those recognized as the best performers" (Silver and Miller 1997:145). Another measure of the value placed by members of a community on structure is the integrity of form maintained in parodies (Bricker in Bauman and Sherzer 1974:377). The question of parodies will be addressed in Chapter Six.

Jacobs approached oral literature as similar in form to Western drama, "play structures" made up of acts and scenes in which characters motivated by various psychological impulses attempt to find resolution (Seaburg and Amoss 2000:91; Jacobs ca.1969-1970:5). He suggests that groups in the Northwest probably had "at least twenty, thirty, or more" "contrastive play structures" in their myth repertoire (ibid.:10) and that before 1810 that repertoire probably consisted of several hundred myths in each community (ibid.; Seaburg and Amoss 2000:91). A striking feature of the entire Oregon-Washington region is the frequency of four- or five-scene (or act) plays, in which four or five siblings or same-gender comrades go through a conventional ordeal in which that same pattern number governs plot action (Jacobs ca.1969-1970:5).

Some of the premises of ethnopoetics are consistent with Jacobs' views. Hymes has identified an underlying rhetorical organization in Chinookan narratives expressed by the structure of lines, verses, stanzas, scenes, and acts. The pattern number five is a crucial organizing factor here. Structural units at all levels are characterized as Onset, Ongoing, or Outcome. "Sequences of three units...are found to have this relationship

to each other. Sequences of five rather than three units tend to have the middle unit be, pivotally, outcome of the first two and onset of the last two" (V. Hymes 1987:62; she lists as sources D. Hymes 1975, 1977, 1980, 1981a, 1981b). The form is seen as dramatic verse, organized primarily through the use of parallelism and repetition at all levels of language.

Kinkade's three published analyses of Upper Chehalis myths illustrate the application of ethnopoetics to a western Washington Coast Salish literary tradition. In "Bluejay and His Sister," dictated to him by Silas Heck, the last fluent speaker of Upper Chehalis, Kinkade identifies structure "...more analogous to epic than to lyric poetry..." with a "rhythmic recurrence of events" organized around the number five and fivefold repetitions (corresponding to patterning in Chinookan and Sahaptin, where the pattern number is also five). Semantic and linguistic structure suggests divisions at various levels: the narrative is divided into three acts of five scenes each, and verses and lines group into sets of three or five (Kinkade 1987). (There are no songs in this particular narrative.)

Kinkade has also analyzed two texts collected by Boas, both of which include songs. The first, "Daughter of Fire," was dictated by Jonas Secena in 1927 and consists of one episode in an extensive epic cycle (Kinkade 1983). The episode, featuring Moon and the five daughters Fire, contains three acts of five scenes each; the scenes and the fire song, which is central to the plot, have a dualistic structure. "Bear and Bee" is organized around ritual singing and dancing that lasts five days and nights; songs of

twenty-one lines are each sung with five repetitions (Kinkade 1984). The role of songs in the formal structure of myth narratives will be developed further in Chapter Five.

Tedlock's ethnopoetic organization of texts differs fundamentally from the Hymesian approach in his recognition of the primacy of aurally perceived structure. "Instead of reorganizing my prose texts by means of what I could *see* in them, I replayed my recordings for what I could *hear* in them" (D. Tedlock 1999:xv). Kinkade describes the difference in approaches as "one of performance versus competence," in that Tedlock shows specific performance, and Hymes shows how a narrator organizes his/her story and how the parts interrelate (Kinkade 1987:288).

In their work with Lushootseed narratives, Langen and Bierwert retain the aims of ethnopoetics but concentrate on the analysis of rhetorical structures to reveal the coherence of the form. Their analyses elucidate the variety of narrative structures that make up the architecture of this literary form, including circular and concentric figures, parallelisms, interlocking repetition, and other repetitive structures, as well as bridge patterns (Langen 1998, Langen and Moses 1993; Bierwert 1996). In the minimal attention given to Twana literary style by Elmendorf, he noted a distinctive narrative structure in the (English) telling of Frank Allen, a "kind of repetitive continuation in which each statement in a series refers to or repeats part of the preceding one but also adds something new. Such a series may end with an emphatic summary or a reference to some earlier but connected event" (Elmendorf 1961:5).

## **Distribution of Western Washington Coast Salish and Neighboring Oral Literatures**

What the literature and other documentation show is the wide distribution of features of style and content within the Coast Salish area and, for some features, overlap with Interior Salish, Sahaptin, Chinookan, and other traditions. At the same time, the geographically localized nature of many stories is evident.

Reichard noted that style as well as content has a particular distribution. She found it odd, therefore, that "... the Coeur d'Alene have very little localization of myth happenings in their own territory. In only one case were the results of a legendary action made permanent in rock and trees. This is the more surprising since localization is the most obvious stylistic device among the Thompsons who are close relatives in language as well as in culture, and who share the same tales" (Reichard 1934:252-253). Localization is also characteristic of many western Washington Coast Salish myth narratives; this feature will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

Jacobs found many similar classes of stylistic features in the Northwest states and nearly identical phrases used for the introduction of stories and expressions of distance, location, and time (Seaburg and Amoss 2000:98). These patterns led him to speculate that features of formal recital style (and possibly pedagogic and informal recital settings) diffused early and continued to be shared as stories were borrowed

and translated throughout the region. Classes of expressive content features may have been less diffusible; at least, many are less similar than are stylistic features (ibid.:101).

#### Chapter IV: The Art of Story Performance

Storytellers create and re-enact narrative worlds through performance. The nature of western Washington Coast Salish verbal artistry is explored here in the work of several storytellers, with particular attention to Susie Sampson Peter and a 1950 performance of the "Star Child" story. The term "performance" is used here as defined and developed by Bauman and others to refer to a particular kind of spoken communication, a "frame" or interpretive context in contrast to literal communication as well as other "frames" such as translation and quotation (Bauman 1977:10). In the domain of performance there is an expectation regarding the competence as well as the content of a speaker's verbal expression. The speaker is responsible for demonstrating "features of language and paralanguage beyond the purely referential" (Clements 1996:33) and meeting "a community's emic criteria for verbal art" (ibid.:14). The speaker is subject to critique of his or her competence by the audience, which recognizes the capacity of performance to enhance experience and so regards "the act of expression and the performer with special intensity" (Bauman 1977:11). Though performance in this framework refers to "a mode of language use, a way of speaking" (ibid.), I include here sung as well as spoken verbal artistry.

Because it is socially and culturally situated in unique events, performance may be said to have an "emergent quality" (Bauman 1977:37); that is, each performance arises out of a particular communicative setting where the narrative "responds to and reflects the presence of a specific audience, engaging them in the story by

manipulating both what is said (the message) and the way it is said" (Clements 1996:34). Hymes, who first applied the term "emergent" to performance, used it to describe the behavioral dynamics of a type of social event, the "unfolding or arising" of performance "situated in a context" (Hymes 1981:81).<sup>1</sup> Narrative performance is, then, a dynamic event which can be studied as such, whether experienced directly, in text form, or recorded on an audio or visual medium. Hymes further distinguishes "full, authentic or authoritative performance" from other levels (such as illustrative, reportive, or oral scholia) on the basis of competence, exhibited in both knowledge and presentation, accompanied by a full utilization of the standards of the performance tradition (ibid.:84). Such full performance may characterize an entire narrative event, or a speaker may "breakthrough" into verbal artistry as a result of a shift in his/her communicative motivation (such as a switch from English to the original language).

In this study performance refers to a variety of performer-audience-setting configurations: public and private storytelling events (including one instance of side-by-side tape recorded and live story performance); stories recorded on audio or visual media for public consumption; stories elicited by researchers (with or without songs); and songs elicited by researchers. Dictation sessions (stories transcribed by ear with pencil and paper or dictated into a tape recorder) are intentionally included here, whether or not the listener understands what is being dictated, since the requisite

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<sup>1</sup> Bauman cites McHugh 1968 for the development of the concept of "emergence" and Hymes 1975 for the emphasis on performance (Bauman 1977:50); he later cites Williams 1973:11 for the term "emergent culture."

elements of performer, audience, and setting are present. (I have not encountered examples of a storyteller recording him- or herself with no one else present, but this case would stretch the definition!)<sup>2</sup>

### **Performance: Breakthrough Into Reenactment**

At a storytelling event in 1985 featuring a number of local elders, Gary Hillaire (Lummi) told a story in English about "when the mountains were people"; the story described the romance between Mt. Rainier and Mt. Baker (who already had a wife and daughter). The "creator" sent messengers to discourage the romance and ultimately froze the lovers in place, transforming them into glaciers, the wife and daughter into off-shore islands, and other characters into mountain peaks known as the Twin Sisters and Mt. Pilchuck. To enable Mt. Baker to gaze occasionally at Mt. Rainier, a song was sung by the messengers (Hillaire recites the text in English but doesn't sing); henceforth, whenever the blackfish [orcas] cross Hale Passage, Mt. Baker appears to stand up, and the clouds clear so he can see Mt. Rainier. (Hillaire explains the weather patterns that makes this "true, still today.") Following this narration, elder Fillmore James (Tulalip) excitedly spoke up:

*kʷʷa* [?] *syəhub*, that's a real story! I used to hear my grandfather talk about that... [inaudible]...mountain... [inaudible]...same way with that lake up there [points], Lake \_\_\_\_\_. That's a *syəhub* about that Lake \_\_\_\_\_ and this lake by Lummi. Some of them legends are really true! [woman's voice:

<sup>2</sup> In Clements' description of Boas's work with Cultee, he presents a range of considerations regarding the nature of their interchange. Although it may be argued that "dictation invariably produces something less than natural expression," verbal artistry may still be communicated, depending on how the speaker perceives and engages with the event (Clements 1996:40-41). In response to criticism of his original article on performance, Hymes acknowledged narrator-researcher dictation sessions as a special performance situation and allowed for cases where "demonstration" would be a more appropriate description of the communicative mode; he also describes "presentation," and "interpretation" as distinct modes (Hymes 1981:138-141).

"That's right."] Just like that rock he was talking about - Hagan Sam - that's still down Tulalip. Great big rock, flat on top, that was real! That's a big rock there and's been there since my mother was a child and they used to play on top of that rock. Some of these legends - some ain't just a legend, it's true! Like what he's talking about... [inaudible]...heard besides my grandfather. My grandpa Bill Kanim [sounds more like Kalum] used to talk about all them things, talk about all them islands, like what they were talking about -- them islands. That's all I got -- [he sits back] (Lushootseed Research 1985 (videorecording))

James' outpouring appeared to come from his recognition of important, familiar terrain in Hillaire's story performance, true information he had known all his life that connected him to his history through geography that is simultaneously mythic and local. Reviewing the videotape of this scene, I saw how much I had missed in my own perception of Hillaire's telling the first time I viewed it and the differences between my and James' criteria for the appreciation of its verbal artistry. I had found Hillaire's recitation uninteresting compared to others at the storytelling event; I was distracted by his drawings of personified mountains which he used to illustrate the characters, pointing at them with a cane as he talked, and his ending joke of a blank sheet to illustrate "when the human beings thought they were people." I did not recognize the presence of what Vi Hilbert calls the "backbone" of the story, as James did.

This discussion of Lushootseed and Upper Chehalis storytelling performance as culturally-situated communication begins with a description of the linguistic and paralinguistic features that mark story performance as a special form of communication, followed by a presentation of descriptive and evaluative comments by Coast Salish people that elucidate "metalanguages and the esthetic standards they

express" (Bauman 1977:24). Storytelling contexts (the "communicative setting") and features of story content and style have been described in some detail in Chapter Three. Here my concern is with the form of communication itself, the "culture-specific constellations of communicative means that serve to key performance..." (ibid.:22). These "minimally obligatory" performative elements constitute the basis of Lushootseed-area storytelling artistry, the "primary contribution of the form itself to the rendition which emerges" (Bauman and Sherzer 1974:312). Examples cited are from recordings of native speakers; their performances range from collecting sessions to storytelling events.

1) Speech Mode - Western Washington Coast Salish storytelling performance is conventionally keyed by a special speech mode consisting of a slower, more measured delivery than ordinary speech (though some raconteurs use ordinary speech mode).<sup>3</sup> Speech conventions include changes of pitch; the elongation of vowel sounds on one pitch (rhetorical lengthening); rhythmic speech; song- or chant-like figures; and pitch-pause combinations (Kinkade 1987). Standard language is used for stories of all kinds. There appears to be considerable tolerance, even appreciation, for individual presentation styles: pacing (rate), cadence (rhythmic flow), volume, vocal quality and inflection (contour), rhythmic speaking, use of stylized voices for story

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<sup>3</sup> Other identifiable modes of speech include formal oratorical speech (heard in the longhouse and at other formal gatherings) and Indian Shaker prayer speech.

characters, posture, and kinesic features such as gestures all appear to be matters of choice within the constraints of conventional practice.<sup>4</sup>

Langen contrasts the delivery of Lushootseed speakers Martha Lamont and Emma Conrad as heard on recordings made in their homes by Thom Hess in the early 1960s when both women were quite elderly. Langen suggests that differences in pacing may be stylistic or, perhaps, the result of the performance setting:

Martha Lamont is the dean of the breathless school of Lushootseed storytelling: once she gets going, she delivers long stretches of narration at breakneck speed without pausing for breath.... Those who knew her recall her speaking in a traditional, measured way. Some elders have suggested that she may have spoken so rapidly because the tape recorder made her nervous (Langen in Bierwert 1996:66).

In contrast to Martha Lamont... Mrs. Conrad spoke more slowly. In part, this may be because it is a Lushootseed tradition in public speaking to go slowly. But Mrs. Conrad spoke slowly in everyday speech, whether in English or in Lushootseed. Mrs. Conrad's delivery tends to be measured and a little sing-song, almost as if she is reciting or at least telling once again something she has told many times before in exactly the same way (ibid.:158).

Whatever the reasons for their respective rates of speech, Lamont and Conrad have clearly marked the change from an everyday speech mode to a recitation mode, and both women use changes of pacing, along with other techniques, for effect:

When Mrs. Lamont does slow down, it is to sum up or quote what a character has said. For these speeches, she places her voice a little higher, lengthens syllables for emphasis (or, frequently, for comic effect) and makes more than usual use of rising and falling inflections. When she wants one utterance to

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<sup>4</sup> Johnny Moses tells a story about his grandmother's impatience with an elder who spoke very slowly when called upon in the smokehouse; she goes traveling and is relieved to be out of range of that slow talker, but it turns out he is visiting too. (Johnny's exaggerated, "stylized" slow talker voice is extremely funny, and this story always gets a big laugh.)

echo another, she will use the same inflection, even though the words may not repeat exactly (ibid.:66).

[Mrs. Conrad]...makes particular use of the innate rhythms of Lushootseed, and her way of emphasizing something is not to repeat it or speak more loudly, but to slow down and bring out dactylic, anapestic, or iambic patterns in the phrases. Especially distinctive is her use of 'supernatural narration,' a delivery making use of particular pitches and accents that signals the presence of a supernatural or spiritual component in the events she is telling about (ibid.:158).

Vocal delivery may also be shaped by narrative structure, which in turn may act both to constrain the performer and inspire his/her artistry. Kinkade describes the delivery of Silas Heck, one of the last Upper Chehalis speakers, in a recording he made in the early 1960s:

...it turns out that [Heck's] intonation contours and pauses correspond quite well to the line divisions made in this presentation; that the correspondences are not absolute speaks to the narrator's freedom to vary these features too for artistic effect (Kinkade 1987:257).

2) Provenance - Often a storyteller begins by describing the lineage of a story, whose story it was, how it was passed on, from whom he/she received it. This practice creates a narrative bridge to the story, connecting the past to the present and the present to storytime and storyplace. It serves to teach and re-inforce the history of the listener (for insiders) and to establish the credentials or "authenticity" of the story for both insiders and outsiders listening.

3) Formulaic Phrases - For Lushootseed stories set in myth time, *syəyəhub*, formulaic beginnings and endings often key the listener to the fact that a *syəyəhub* rather than a legend or historical narrative is being recited (see Chapter Three). Among the

qualities Hilbert admires in Susie Sampson Peter's recitations is her use of these conventions:

She [Susie Sampson Peter] respected the traditional form of our stories, using the ancient beginning: Somebody lived there....She always ended in the traditional way, either *dił (s) šac's* or *dił shuys...* (Hilbert 1985:xiii).

Both Adamson and Kinkade noted the use of ending phrases for Upper Chehalis (see Chapter Three).

4) Expectation of Audience Response - Both speaker and audience expect a verbal sign, such as "*həbu?*" from listeners at points throughout the story, to indicate that they are listening and to encourage the storyteller to continue. "The feedback between audience and performer may be crucial to the organization of a performance" (Darnell 1974:315).

5) Narrative Structure - It was pointed out earlier that narrative structure interplays with speech mode in a variety of ways. It is the "interlocking" of the various structural elements that "...provides the narrator with a structure that entails both constraints on and opportunities for artistic expression" (Silver and Miller 1997:130). Compared to other types of verbal behavior, performances are tightly structured, "...both in terms of the organization of thematic content and in the linguistic devices that are used for the formal expression of the content" (ibid.:145). Langen's analyses of Lushootseed narrative practice elucidate the variety of narrative structures that make up the architecture of the literary form. She agains cites Martha Lamont for her skill in manipulating this form:

...Mrs. Lamont's stories are among the most densely figured that we have and...this formal regularity was produced at high speed....One may suspect that Mrs. Lamont's unhesitating delivery depends in no small measure on her sure grasp of literary form (Langen in Bierwert 1996:66).

In his analysis of Heck's telling of "Bluejay and His Sister," Kinkade treats the story as dramatic verse, in the tradition of Hymes, dividing it into three acts that are further organized into scenes, stanzas, verses, and lines. This approach highlights the episodic form of the story and the frequent appearance of things done in fives, the pattern number for Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1987:257-258). In his performance Heck utilizes this structural feature to his dramatic advantage:

...the narrator uses some very forceful devices to build to the climax of Bluejay's death. Here fives are crucial--so crucial that the narrator repeatedly reminds the listener to keep track of prairies and baskets of water" (Kinkade 1987:284). "He builds suspense with this counting, and increases tension when the count goes off, culminating in Bluejay's death (ibid.:256).

6) Terseness of Content - In the presentation of thematic content, knowledge of relevant information by the listener is presupposed, and little explanation is included.

Langen notes Crow's lament as she goes along crying, "*tusiʔáb ti tudscístx*" ("my husband was *siʔab* [of high rank]") (Langen in Bierwert 1996:82). The story audience knew that Crow's husband, Slug, was not *siʔab* at all, based on their knowledge of all that *siʔab* implied and their familiarity with Slug as a character (ibid.:99).

7) Presence of direct speech - Dialogue is a vital part of the stories. With dialogue comes perhaps the greatest opportunity for individual interpretation and expression as

a storyteller, while at the same time audience expectations regarding the personalities and voices of characters must be respected.

8) **Evocation of Songs** - The use of songs within myth narratives indicates a performance of a special kind. Because songs are associated with spiritual power, their appearance in a story alerts the listener to the proximity of power in some guise. A song may be introduced in the story as the power song of the character singing, or the circumstances of the story may suggest that it is, but no accounts suggest that these are real power songs. They do appear to imitate actual power songs, and it is likely that myth world spirit dancing provided an introduction to the activities of the winter dance season to small children not yet allowed in the smokehouse. Several scholars suggest that many, even most, myth power songs are parodies of the real thing. Langen sees most power songs as "recognizably parodic" in "stories whose protagonists are people who were later limited to their animals identities by the Changer" (Langen in Bierwert 1996:130, 144). In "Crow Is Sick" Langen's commentary reveals the entire story as a parody of the onset of sickness that leads to one's first spirit dance; both Raven's and Crow's songs are used inappropriately in terms of expected behaviors and thus appear to be parodies (ibid.:136-139).

The use of enigmatic, altered, or masked language in song texts is an additional sign of esoteric content, and the treatment of text surrounding a song may also suggest it. In "The Marriage of Crow," "The elevated diction in the lines surrounding Crow's

singing indicates that here is some sort of power song" (ibid.:130). (The change may be described as a slight slowing, lowering of volume, and careful enunciation.)

Significantly, despite assumptions about the importance of song, storytellers often describe or refer to a song without singing it or omit the song and any mention of it altogether. In other words, story songs key performance, but they do not have to be performed in order to do so.

Establishing Lushootseed/Coast Salish storytelling as performance doesn't go far enough toward describing the nature of the interaction between the teller and the story. I have intentionally avoided the word "recitalist" because of the implication of "reciting" or re-telling a scripted text that has become fixed over time. It seems more appropriate to consider the performance event in terms of its ritual aspects and the performed myth narrative as reenactment or re-creation. According to Propp's theory explaining the origin of the European "wondertale," as explicated by Langen, during initiation into hunters' secret societies, "...tales of how one's forebears acquired hunting skill were not only told but also re-enacted as part of a process of conferring the skill on a new initiate and of instructing him in proper behavior" (Langen in Bierwert 1996:175, citing Propp 1984:116-117). In Lushootseed-area storytelling, reenactment occurs when the teller engages with the myth world and, within the "reality of linkage" (Martin 1999:112) creates a story about it, one that has been created many time previously (each a "new re-creation" (Darnell in Silver and Miller 1997:130)). Like the European hunters, the teller also instructs the listener in proper

behavior. Teachers are crucial, but authors are of little interest. The "... Indian, focusing on reenactment, regards specificity of genesis as less important than continuity of power-flow" (Kroeber 1978:278).

### **Lushootseed Verbal Artistry**

Having established some of the elements of story performance, it remains to outline some Lushootseed-area criteria for judging "the skill and effectiveness of the performer's display of competence" (Bauman 1977:11). As in any performed art, levels of expertise vary. "Differences between raconteurs reflect not only the exercise of interpretive strategies in "re-creation" but "...the fact that some narrators are more skillful than others" (Silver and Miller 1997:130)

Scholars of Northwest states languages and literature have written convincingly of the inherent literary qualities of these traditions as well as their value ethnographically (and, for some, their interest psychologically). My interest here is in the practice of verbal art through storytelling and the evaluation of storytelling performance by Coast Salish people familiar with the tradition. Such individuals are, unfortunately, few in number, and this attempt remains sketchy and incomplete.

Competence in Lushootseed story performance may be evaluated in several ways:

- 1) Ability to evoke the myth narrative world - High value is placed on the ability of a speaker to connect the listener to myth time, to make the bridge from the present to

the world of myth time, and evoke story characters through the choice of episode, dramatic means, humor, and careful use of explicit or implicit depiction of characters. Bierwert tells us that Martha Lamont (Snohomish), who was known as a "dramatic storyteller," was "recognized by other elders as one of the region's finest storytellers" (Bierwert 1999:145, 147).

Vi Hilbert writes and speaks with great reverence about the storytelling mastery of Susie Sampson Peter (Skagit, born 1863), whose father was Hilbert's paternal grandfather's brother. Hilbert remembers "Aunt Susie" from her childhood but didn't become acquainted with her storytelling until the 1970s when she heard tape recordings made by Leon Metcalf in the early 1950s, when Aunt Susie was in her 90s. Hilbert got to know the taped story performances intimately in the process of transcribing and translating them, so her perspective is a personal one:

She [Aunt Susie] became every animal who was in her story, and that animal, of course, was a person, but she could go into the psyche of that animal, become its voice and its psyche. She made the stories live because of her enthusiasm, and because of her ability to stand inside of the story and describe it for those who were listening to her....She knew how to compose a story full of suspense, to reflect humor, to embody the philosophical depths of a culture, and to have every attribute of a good novel... Sometimes, she would think for her characters, and sometimes she would give them an aside, where they were thinking about what somebody else thought....She was our master storyteller (Hilbert and Miller 1995a:xiii-xv).

In addition to stories, Metcalf recorded messages from one elder to another, which he played when he visited each of them. This message from Martha Lamont to Susie Sampson Peter, recorded in 1954 and translated by Vi Hilbert, is in response to Metcalf's playing her his recording of Peter's telling of a Raven myth:

I was so happy when I heard Susie, your voice is so strong in that legend. That was why I sat quietly and was happy about the legend, the legend about Raven and the Seagulls who ate, who stole food. That is what I like about that. This is why I am happy when I hear that story from those who told legends. That is what I shall not forget what I heard because this legend is why I am happy concerning Susie. It was good that I heard this legend. These legends are scarcely heard anymore. There are more than two, more than this legend of the wolves with big appetites. This same with Raven's Feast but maybe Raven said as he put himself first and he ate all the food, but perhaps it truly was a feast after all. And I was delighted when I heard the good legend that you told. It was the fine language of Susie that I heard, it was good and I was happy (ibid.:293-294).

2) Ability to entertain - I have heard Vi Hilbert say many times, "I am NOT an en-ter-tain-er!" Though the point she is trying to communicate has to do with the motivating force behind Lushootseed storytelling, the fact is that she is a very entertaining storyteller, as were the elders she admired. When the audience is entertained, it is engaged, so that the story "...is a collective product...in the sense that it is the joint production of all the participants in the situation within which it is performed" (Bauman and Sherzer 1974:312).

Hilbert describes the skill with which Susie Sampson Peter used dramatic means to entertain:

She gave a performance when she told a tale. She became the character in the story, using stylized speech for some characters. Raven always speaks with a nasal twang. She created spirit power songs for Bear, Deer, and Flounder in the story of Mink's House Party. She had interpretations for the personalities of all of her characters. She even gave voice to a dead log that was brought to life to be a babysitter for Star Child (Hilbert 1985:xiii).

Metcalf's comments about Susie Sampson Peter also reveal his enjoyment and appreciation of her skill:

So the Indians very, very much appreciated their own language and could have fun with it. Aunt Susie, Susie Sampson Peter, in her taking the different parts as she would tell a story, she would talk funny. She was able to change it according to who was talking. If it was an old man, he would call *skʷʔxʷ*, the fern root, would call it *sɪax*, and then latter [sic] he would call it *sqʷaʔxʷ* and *sqʷuxʷ*. It was just to be [distinct] (Hilbert and Miller 1995b:67).

Vi Hilbert first heard stories of all kinds from her parents, Charley and Louise Anderson, and enjoyed the way their personalities were expressed in their ways of telling:

My parents had different styles. My father was laconic, soft-spoken, and detailed. My mother was dramatic, making much of the personalities and situations (Hilbert 1985:xii).

Hilbert also recalls the unique, highly entertaining style of Harry Moses (Upper Skagit/Sauk-Suiattle):

Harry had a wonderful sense of humor, which was well known. He loved to tell stories and his audience knew that they could count on him to embellish the facts, with a twinkle in his eyes (Hilbert 1985:xiii).

3) Efficacy - Belief in the power of language to effect action is widespread in Native American thought. Greater value is placed on what language does than on what it means. Discussing storytelling performance as "communication-based social action," Cruikshank describes her consultant Angel Sidney: "First, she demonstrates, you have to learn what the story *says*. Then you learn what the story can *do* when it is engaged as a strategy of communication" (Cruikshank 1998:41,155).

Several myth narratives are told in Coast Salish country about changes in the weather brought about through the use of specific spoken or sung language. The power of

such language to bridge the myth world and the everyday world has been attested to by numerous storytellers. Arthur Ballard elicited the story of *spicx* ("Dirty Face") from several consultants: Tom Milroy (Puyallup) told Ballard that if the story of *spicx* was told, it would bring rain; Joe Young (Puyallup) said that if *spicx* (he specified this as the myth name for Groundsparrow) "...is taking a bath on a sunny day and looking south, look out; it will rain"; James Goudy (Skagit) said when this bird cries out, he who hears it knows a rainstorm is coming (Ballard 1929:50). "Big John" also told Ballard, "If the *spetsx* people are angry rain will come" (ibid.:63).

Additional stories involving North Wind and South Wind were followed by comments about bringing about a change of weather or season: Ann Jack (Green River) told "North Wind and Storm Wind" and commented that if people told this story about Chinook Wind, before the whites came, it would soon rain (ibid.:60); Dan Silelus (Lake Washington) told Ballard, regarding his version of "North Wind and Storm Wind," that to melt the snow and bring rain, people would catch *spicx*, paint his face black, and turn him loose, so he would go to the river, wash his face, and call Chinook Wind, a practice called *tiu te'wudx* (ibid.:63); John Xot (Puyallup), in relation to his telling of "The Contest in the North," told Ballard that if the story is told, it will bring frost (ibid.:66). The number of references to controlling the weather in Ballard's published collection of southern Lushootseed narratives suggests that he intentionally asked his consultants about this; also, battles between North Wind and South Wind are known to have taken place in southern Lushootseed country, which may account for the number of stories about these events.

A story told by Emma Conrad (Nooksack) that has come to be known as "The All-Year-Around Story" also includes an episode dealing with the weather. According to collector Thom Hess, Nooksack elder Louise George told him that every time this story was told, it would snow the next day. Hess reports: "I heard it one time, and sure enough, it snowed the next day" (Hess in Bierwert 1996:18). It is likely that spoken or sung "formulas" to change the weather are a special category of esoteric language. This subject will be covered further in Chapter Five.

The efficacy of songs can be illustrated in the highly valued Lushootseed epics as well. In "Starchild" as told by Mrs. Peter, the younger brother (Diaper Child), who's been made Raven's slave, sings about what has happened to him in order to identify himself; his older brother (Star Child) hears him, and they plot his escape (Hilbert and Miller 1995a :104-105). In "Moon, the Transformer," told by Snuqualmi Charlie (Snoqualmie), Bluejay is the fifth man to try to get through the crashing gate (Symplegades motif) to rescue Moon; to prepare, he sings his power song and, because the strength of his power surpasses that of the first four, he succeeds (Ballard 1929:69). The songs in the "Dirty Face" (*spicx*) and Star Child stories will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

4) Balancing structural requirements with interpretation - The competence of a performer is often evaluated by how fresh and unexpected his or her rendition of a familiar work seems (this is certainly true in the European classical performing arts).

As Langen's work demonstrates, Martha Lamont's storytelling was highly regarded by her peers because, "The speakers most skilled at manipulating and taking advantage of the structural requirements [of an oral verbal art] are those recognized as the best performers" (Silver and Miller 1997:145). Lamont used the full range of linguistic, rhetorical, and dramatic resources of Lushootseed, and her skill in evoking special voices for characters was such that the listener could tell who was speaking even when she didn't announce it. But part of her skill appears to have been her selective application of these devices, depending on the story (Langen in Bierwert 1996:130).

Vi Hilbert's high regard for "Aunt Susie" was also based in part on her recognition of Peter's "creative and adaptive use of competence" (Bauman and Sherzer 1974:312):

She was a highly sophisticated raconteuse. She respected the traditional form of our stories, using the ancient beginning: Somebody lived there. She always recounted the events four times before the story came to a close. She would keep count for the audience, reminding everyone how many times this or that had happened so far in the story. She always ended in the traditional way, either *dił (s) šac's* or *dił shuys*... (Hilbert 1985:xiii).

### **Analysis of a Narrative Performance by Susie Sampson Peter**

#### **Introduction**

Susie Sampson Peter told the "Star Child" or "Star Husbands" story in Skagit (a dialect of northern Lushootseed) to Leon Metcalf on December 13, 1950 on the Swinomish Reservation near La Conner, Washington. This was the first of dozens of recordings Metcalf was to make of indigenous western Washington elders in the early 1950s. Mrs. Peter lived at Swinomish, but since her home did not have electricity,

the recording was made at a friend's house, probably that of Amelia Billy (Hilbert and Miller 1995a:viii; 1995b:68). Though Metcalf's aim was the documentation and preservation of a tradition, the presence of native speakers during the recording transformed the communicative setting into a social, interactive event. Metcalf announces on the recording that the *həbuʔs* (the appropriate Lushootseed audience response) audible on the tape are from Amelia Billy and Mrs. Peter's son Alphonso Sampson (one can also hear Metcalf's occasional *həbuʔ*). Mrs. Peter, who was blind and nearly ninety years old in 1950, clearly expects and responds to this traditional indication that her audience is listening and ready to hear more. At one point she breaks from the story frame and says, "*həbuʔəd čəxʷ gʷəkawič čəxʷ*" (translated "Say Haboo or you will become hunch backed") (line 170), a threat she may have remembered from childhood. The many features of Mrs. Peter's verbal artistry in this performance, including her dramatic characterizations and varied pacing, cadence, and inflection, are considered in the following performance analysis.

Mrs. Peter's "Star Child" has a total duration of exactly one hour. It appears to be a continuous performance, broken only by Metcalf's changing of the tape reel. The complete text was transcribed and translated by Vi Hilbert and published as part of a collection honoring Mrs. Peter (Hilbert and Miller 1995a:91-126). Commentary on the Lushoosteed "Star Child" is also provided in this volume and in Miller 1999a and Miller and Hilbert 1996.

The songs included in Mrs. Peter's performance are of particular relevance to this study. In addition to the discussion in this chapter regarding the narrative role of sung material, the songs are considered further in Chapter Six in a comparison of songs from numerous versions of "Star Child" and a discussion of their cultural and spiritual content.

### Precis

Susie Sampson Peter's December 13, 1950 version of "Star Child" may be summarized as follows:

Two sisters pick stars as imaginary husbands and wake up in the sky world married to them. While digging for roots, they dig through and see their home below through the hole. The older sister, now pregnant, rejects her old husband and escapes back to earth on a rope ladder. She brings a rotten log to life as a babysitter, builds a basket trap for salmon, and gives birth to a boy. The old woman babysitter forgets to sing to the baby as if it were a girl, as the mother instructed, resulting in his kidnapping by two women from upstream. The mother kicks the old woman back into a rotten log and sings a mourning song as she wrings out the diaper of her lost child. From this wringing a second boy child is created. Raven takes the mother and Diaper Boy (*spicik*) as his slaves.

As the first son [Star Child] grows up, he learns to hunt and follows his game downriver, where he has been forbidden to go, discovering his own past by eavesdropping on the two women. Diaper Boy is sent out for firewood and sings a song his mother taught him, describing their plight. His older brother hears the song, and the brothers meet and make plans. The older brother assumes his rightful high-status position, frees his mother and brother, and finds a worthy wife in Frog by holding a contest to see which woman can lift a heavy bundle from his canoe. Raven tries to take advantage of the situation but is changed into bird form and flies away.

The brothers become the moon and the sun. At first the older brother becomes the sun, but he makes the world too hot, so Diaper Child becomes the sun and his brother, with his wife Frog, becomes the moon. Mink arrives and claims to be the son of Diaper Boy. He wants to be the sun too but can't jump far enough and ends up creating the first eclipse instead. The brothers begin to name everything; they name tribes (by area), rivers, and many other places.

### Structure

Formally "Star Child" may be considered an epic, though its central theme is not so much the adventures and achievements of a hero as it is a localized account of human origins. It may be more aptly described as a myth narrative cycle, a series of episodes organized around the events leading up to the coming of human beings to the Lushootseed world. The cycle includes three songs. In Mrs. Peter's performance, features of content, narrative architecture, and performance suggest a structural division into three episodes. Rather than divide the narrative into acts, scenes, stanzas, and verses as demonstrated by Hymes and Kinkade, I break the episodes into scenes for purposes of discussion. The episodes may be summarized as follows: 1) The birth of the star child to a star father and earth-born mother, the kidnapping of the star child, and the enslavement of his mother and brother by Raven); 2) The coming of age of the star child, accidental meeting of the brothers, and assumption of rightful status by the star child for himself, his brother, and their mother; 3) The transformation of the brothers into the sun and moon and preparation of the world for the coming of human beings. At the point where I have identified the beginning of Episode II, Mrs. Peter herself announces the second part of the story in her performance; she does not explicitly identify any other divisions.

In her transcription and translation of the story, Hilbert indicates line divisions only (Hilbert and Miller 1995a). In his presentation of a composite version of "Star Child," based mainly on the Susie Sampson Peter version, Miller identifies seven sections (episodes) of varying lengths. My own identification of fourteen scenes

divided among three episodes (three in Episode I, eight in Episode II, and three in Episode III) is based on narrative and rhetorical cues: changes of setting or protagonist or a shift of focus in the narrative (Kinkade 1987:257); conventional narrative framing structures (Bierwert et al. 1996:27); and performance features such as pauses, pacing, and inflection (Tedlock: [cite]). The following is a brief outline of episodes and the scenes included in each:

#### Episode I:

1. Two sisters pick stars as imaginary husbands and wake up in the sky world married to them. While digging for roots, they dig through and see their home below. The older sister, now pregnant, rejects her old husband and escapes back to earth on a rope ladder. She pulls the rope down after her; it remains in a pile where she lands.
2. Now this young girl brings a rotten log to life as a babysitter, builds a basket trap for salmon, and gives birth to a boy. The old woman babysitter forgets to sing to the baby as if it were a girl, as its mother instructed, and sings a lullaby to a boy child instead [Song #1], resulting in his kidnapping. The mother kicks the old woman back into a rotten log and sings a mourning song as she wrings out the diaper of her lost child [Song #2]. From this wringing a second boy child is created.
3. Raven takes the mother and Diaper Boy (*spic'ik'*) as his slaves and relieves himself on the head and face of the mother.

#### Episode II:

1. The star child grows up with the two women who kidnapped him and learns to hunt.
2. Diaper Boy is sent out to get firewood by burning a hole in the base of a tree.
3. The star child follows an elk downriver, where he has been forbidden to go. He sees the smoke from Diaper Boy's fire and discovers his true identity by eavesdropping on the two women. He follows an elk downriver again, butchers it, and saves the tallow.
4. The mother of Diaper Boy teaches him a song describing their plight [Song #3] and tells him to sing while he is burning the tree for firewood.

5. The star child hears Diaper Boy's song [Song #3] and presents himself, but Diaper Boy is blinded and can't see him at first. The star child gives him tallow to eat and "brushes" him (a spiritual cleansing), and they plan their revenge.

6. Diaper Boy returns home to tell his mother the news, and Raven becomes suspicious. Diaper Boy has a bowel movement from the tallow, and Raven eats it.

7. The next morning the brothers meet, load the elk into the canoe, and discuss finding a worthy wife for the star child.

8. The brothers travel; they return to their mother, and the star child brushes her and gives her tallow to eat. Raven pretends she is his wife rather than his slave and then blurts out the star child's plan to marry the first woman who can lift the elk from the canoe. Frog succeeds and becomes his wife. They feast, and Raven displays his gluttony. They trick Raven and change him into bird form, and he and flies away.

Episode III: The brothers become the sun and moon and prepare the world for the coming of human beings.

1. The brothers become the moon and the sun. At first the older brother becomes the sun, but he makes the world too hot, so Diaper Child becomes the sun and his brother, with his wife Frog, becomes the moon.

2. Mink arrives and claims to be the son of Diaper Boy. He wants to be the sun too but can't jump far enough and ends up creating the first eclipse instead.

3. The brothers begin to name everything; they name tribes (by area), rivers, and many other places.

### Content

This story cycle is referred to as "Star Child" because of the character's importance in the founding of the Lushootseed world, but in Susie Sampson Peter's version he is never called by that name. Instead, he is known as "this child" (*ti'nił čáčas*), "older brother" (*sqás*), or simply "he". The second child, however, carries the name *spicik*, translated as "Diaper Boy" or "Diaper Child." In other western Washington versions, the brothers are sometimes identified as "Moon" and "Sun."

The ambiguity of story categories is also illustrated in Mrs. Peter's telling of "Star Child." While it is clearly set in the myth world, in myth time, and is identified in Lushootseed as a *syəyəhúb*, characters include both animal-people and humans. The two sisters are portrayed as young women occupied with the mundane human task of root-digging, the star child is kidnapped by two women, and the brothers appear to grow up as human children. The cycle is full of transformations, but Raven's is the only one in the expected direction of animal-person to final animal form. A rotten log is changed to an old woman babysitter and back again, the brothers become the sun and the moon, and Mink (instead of becoming mink) becomes the first eclipse. The explanation may be simply that this story or cycle of stories is different from others in the western Washington Coast Salish canon in that it deals with human origins and therefore crosses narrative boundaries by definition. The story's unconventional characteristics are, in any case, illustrative of the limitations of classification by a fixed set of criteria.

Susie Sampson Peter's "Star Child" is notable for its exclusion of an episode identified by Thompson as unique to "Puget Sound area" versions, in which the star child becomes the Transformer; that is, he takes on the role of *dúkʷtəł*, going from character to character and changing each to its final form. In Mrs. Peter's telling the brothers transform Raven into his bird form (at least, it is implied that they were responsible), and they have the power to name the places and peoples of the Skagit world, but they do not function as Transformers in the conventional Coast Salish

sense of the term. The distribution of "Star Child" and its local sub-type are discussed further in Chapter Six.

### Stylistic Features

Mrs. Peter's version of "Star Child" exhibits many stylistic features characteristic of Lushootseed and other western Washington oral literatures. Though the opening is not formulaic, she closes her telling of the long narrative cycle with the conventional Lushootseed ending, "*dił (s)šacšax*" ("That finishes it now") (line 991). The cycle begins with the star child episode, based on the star husband motif found in the oral literature of many North American groups (this motif is discussed further in Chapter Six). As a stylistic device, this motif sets into motion a whole series of actions and reactions. Its absence in numerous versions of western Washington origin stories with other similar content suggests that it may have been added to enhance the story in an earlier form.

The three songs included in the narrative all serve, at a stylistic level, to expedite plot, either by providing a context for information to be exchanged, as in the third song, or by effecting or allowing for a necessary change, as in the first and second songs.

Explanatory elements are also present in this version, mainly in the final episode, when the brothers become Sun and Moon and, because of the foolish behavior of Mink, the first eclipse occurs. Leading up to this final episode, Raven's gluttony and his pretensions to high-class status result in his being changed into bird form.

Character motivation plays a major role in plot development throughout the cycle.

One function of the opening star husband scene is to create a crisis situation from which a chain of reactions results. In this case, a young woman violates a number of cultural taboos by foolishly wishing for the unattainable and then rejecting the husband she has unwittingly chosen because of his age and undesirability. Her actions, resulting in the conception of a child with a celestial father, set into motion all the events of the following scenes, as she is punished for her selfish behavior by the loss of her child and enslavement to Raven and ultimately restored to a position of honor by that son, who then proceeds to found the Lushootseed world.

The world of Mrs. Peter's "Star Child" is populated by a large cast of characters including both people and animal-people, fifteen of whom have speaking lines.

Although she uses distinctive voices to represent Raven and Mink, she relies most heavily on changes in cadence, inflection, and vocal register for characterization. She often employs these rhetorical devices to humorous effect, resulting in exaggerated characterizations such as that of the old babysitter. Because characters are often not identified when they speak, it is much easier to tell who is talking by listening to the story than reading it. The fact that Star Child himself is never identified by name may have stylistic as well as esoteric ramifications.

In addition to the stylized speech of Raven and the babytalk of Mink, Hilbert and Miller note occasional phonological alterations to spoken Lushootseed in the course of the story. The text of the song of the old babysitter to the infant star child is "stylized baby talk," perhaps employed in part to emphasize the foolishness of the old

woman, who can't remember to sing to the baby as if he were a girl, as she has been instructed. Additional linguistic devices such as rhetorical lengthening and onomatopoeic words created through reduplication are noted in the following analysis.

In Mrs. Peter's "Star Child" there is little description or depiction of nature, as Jacobs and others have observed for Northwest narratives generally. There is, however, an extensive listing of places and place names in the final scene of Episode III, in which Star Child and Diaper Child, as Moon and Sun, name and thereby create the natural features of the Lushootseed world.

The pattern number four, characteristic of northern Lushootseed, is utilized extensively in this version of the story. As a stylistic device, pattern number is employed in several ways: 1) an action may be repeated four times simply to fulfill the convention but with no particular result indicated ("She fished, she fished, she fished, she fished" (line 175)); 2) an action repeated four times may result in a desired change (the fourth log kicked turns into an old woman babysitter (lines 94-125)); 3) the presence of something in the quantity of four may indicate a propitious or significant outcome (the woman sees four cedar trees and decides this will be a good place to live (lines 134-136)); or 4) in the passage of time the fourth day marks a change in the action (after Diaper Boy's fourth day as the sun, Mink shows up (lines 776-777)).

References to the number four appear throughout the cycle. In Episode I, Scene 1, the two sisters have been digging fern roots for four (*búus*) days when they lie down for the night and choose stars for husbands (p. 91). When the older sister returns to earth on a cedar rope ladder, she tugs it four times to tell her younger sister to let the rope fall to earth (p. 94). In scene two, as the older sister walks, she kicks logs to try to turn them into a babysitter. Not only is she successful with the fourth log, but she kicks each log (with one exception) four times. With the first log, Mrs. Peter says, "She kicked, kicked, kicked it/Right away it tried/Vainly it tried to sit up, this old log/It couldn't manage it/It just sat there/Again She kicked it/It became again an old rotten log" (she kicked it a total of four times). For the second log "she kicked it" appears only twice, but with the third and fourth logs she states explicitly, "She kicked it four times." It is the fourth log that gets up and addresses her as granddaughter. Later in this scene, the young mother mourns the loss of her child by singing as she washes and wrings out his diaper. She sings the entire song through twice, so that the line "Washing and wringing his diapers" is sung a total of four times, after which Diaper Boy cries out.

Episode II, Scene 1 begins with the star child learning to hunt and killing four increasingly large animals -- squirrel, rabbit, doe, and elk -- over a period of time as his skill improves. In Scene 7 Diaper Boy tells his brother that there are four women who are potential wives for him (but only one worthy one) (p. 109). The contest to become the star child's wife proceeds in Scene 8 as each of the four attempts to hoist the game packed in his canoe.

The number four figures once more in Episode III, Scene 2, after the brothers have become the moon and the sun. Diaper Boy has been the sun four times when Mink arrives, conniving to get in on the action.

### Performance Analysis

When Susie Sampson Peter told "Star Child" on December 13, 1950, she was deliberately committing the story to tape to preserve it for future generations. Metcalf wanted to record stories in the original Lushootseed, and because several native speakers were present for the recitation, the performance includes the reactions and interactions of performer and audience as they participate together in the re-creation of the myth world. Mrs. Peter achieves the "reality of linkage" with that world through her mastery of the many elements of verbal artistry, resulting in a performance that, though aimed at the future, transcended the aims of documentation and emerged as a reenactment of Skagit origins.

In this discussion I address several aspects of Peter's performance: speech mode, dramatic expression, musical features, and interactive behavior. Because we have audio documentation only, it isn't possible to comment directly on her facial expressions, posture, or bodily movements and gestures. Leon Metcalf recalled years after his work with Susie Sampson Peter that while telling stories, she was constantly in motion from the waist up (T.C.S. Langen, personal communication, 4/14/01). The

importance of the kinesic aspects of story performance must be recognized, even if this element of Peter's personal performance style remains unexplored.

The following excerpts from Susie Sampson Peter's 1950 telling of "Star Child" are part of the complete transcription and translation of the story published in Hilbert and Miller 1995a. The first excerpt, Episode I, Scene 2, lines 151 - 222, includes the first two of the three songs in Peter's version; the second, Episode II, Scene 4 (complete) and Scene 5, lines 367-401, includes the third song. These excerpts form the basis of the discussion that follows. Each line of Lushootseed text and its corresponding line number are presented as they appear in Hilbert and Miller 1995a. Audience commentary has been added between numbered lines or within text lines as appropriate. My performance markings are shown in brackets (brackets within quotation marks are bracketed comments from Hilbert and Miller). Additional information or explanation may be given in a separate line enclosed in brackets. The English translation from Hilbert and Miller appears last, again with my additions bracketed. When I have divided a line of text into smaller units, I have added "[a], [b], [c]," etc., to the line number.

**Key to performance markings:**

--- = lengthening of vowel

\_\_\_ [underscore] = accented syllable or word

np = no pause

bp = brief pause (breath)

fp = long pause (1-2 seconds)

↑ = ascending pitch contour

↓ = descending pitch contour

~ = undulating contour

→ = flat (no or little contour)

Episode I, Scene 2 (Lines 151 - 222)

151. *ʔa--- gʷəl, b(ə)asbədəʔil.* [↓ fp]  
Then, she gave birth to her child.

*həbuʔ* [male voice]

152. *ʔa* [interrupted by listener comment, starts again] *ʔa gʷəl læcut,* [→ fp]  
She said (to her babysitter),

153. *ʔuʰa---ʔləd cəxʷ t(i) a---dʔi---bac.* [~ bp]  
"You will comfort your grandson."

154. *ʔutadəyʔlucidbid cəxʷ.* [↑↓ bp]  
You will use female lullabies. [literally, "You will refer to him as female."]

155. *ʔəsgʷəcəb kʷət kʷi dəbət tulʔal qixʷ stələdəyʔ ʔə kʷi stubš.* [~ ↓ fp]  
Women from upriver are looking for males.

*həbuʔ* [male voice]

156. *gʷəsaxʷəbtub t(i) adʔibac.* [~ ↓ np]  
Your grandson would be kidnapped.

157. *xʷul cəxʷ tədəyʔlucidbid.* [~ ↓ fp]  
You will only refer to him as female."

158. *gʷəl ʔəsqəp tsə gə(t) luʰ.* [↓ fp]  
But this silly old woman is crazy.

[chuckle - woman's voice]

159. *ʔu---xʷ tsiʔəʔ (s)šəha---b(s)* [↓ fp]  
The mother of the child goes to check her fish trap.

160. *gʷəl ʔuləsčədʷəd.* [↑ fp]  
She sneaks up on the babysitter.

161. *stab tiʔəʔ ʔ(u)ləcuhaʔləd ti ʔə tsə xʷiʔləhaʔ.* [→ fp]  
And what does she hear her singing to the baby?

162. "ti dbədaʔ, ʔabšpibəš. [I hear "ʔa—bšpibəš ʔabšpibəš]  
[song begins (loud)]  
"Oh, my child, my grandson" "[stylized baby talk]".
163. kʔəlil čəxʔ ʔubəspaʔpadəyʔ.  
[song continues (loud)]  
"Oh, oh, oh, yeah, I mean, my girlchild,
164. kʔəlil čəxʔ ʔubəspaʔpadəyʔ." [fp]  
[song ends; last two words slightly softer]  
I mean to say, my girlchild."
- həbuʔ* [male voice]
165. "ʔu, ʔutubšlucidbitəb ʔə tə xʔiʔləhaʔ tə dbədaʔ. [→ np]  
"Oh, the miserable good for nothing is voicing the male lullaby for my son."
166. ʔusaxʔəbtub." [→↑ fp]  
[slightly slower; on last syllable pitch rises and volume drops]  
He will be kidnapped or run off with."
167. xʔi—? kʔi stə gʔəgʔadgʔad(d)xʔ, [~ bp]  
She spoke (harshly) to her,
168. "ʔəxid kʔ(i) a(d)dəxʔtubšlucidbid t(i) adʔibac." [↓ bp]  
[accelerating speed; demanding tone of voice]  
"Why did you identify your grandchild as a boychild?"
169. "ʔudxʔbalihigʔəd čəd. ʔudxʔbalihigʔəd (čəd)." [→ fp]  
[slowing; low vocal register; stylized crying in repeated phrase]  
"I forgot myself, I forgot myself."
170. *həbuʔəd čəxʔ gʔəkawič čəxʔ.* "[an aside by SSP]" [↓ fp]  
[addressed to audience in insistent speaking voice]  
"Say Haboo or you will become hunchbacked [!]"
- [laughter and several "*həbuʔ*'s; Metcalf says "It's a long story"]
171. ʔa—(h) tsiʔəʔ. [↓ np]  
[descending contour continues through next line]  
She was there.
172. gʔəl bəʔuxʔ bəšəhab. [↓ np]  
[descending contour completed]  
And again she went to her fish trap.

173. *ʃal sixʷ bətubʃlucidbitəb ʔə tsi xʷiʔləhaʔ.* [↓ fp]  
She again heard the foolish babysitter using boy terms for her child.
- hmm** [female voice]
174. *ʔu ʃusaxʷəbtub ti dbədaʔ.* [↓ bp]  
'Oh, my son is going to be kidnapped' "[she thought to herself]".
175. *ʔuladxʷ tsiʔəʔ. ʔuladxʷ. ʔuladxʷ. ʔuladxʷ.* [→↑ fp]  
[slows down; volume decreases slightly; flat contour ending high]  
She fished, she fished, she fished, she fished (for salmon who were trapped by her fishtrap).
176. *ʷəxid, ʔuʔəxid kʷ(i) a(d)dəxʷutubʃlucidbid t(i) adʔibac.* [→ ↓ bp]  
[faster; accusatory tone of voice]  
"Why, why do you use a male lullaby for your grandson (when you were instructed to the contrary).
177. *ʔəxid kʷ(i) a(d)də(xʷ)ʃulʷ ʔadəʔʔlucidbid.* [↓ bp]  
[continues fast and accusatory]  
Why do you not use a female lullaby for him?
178. *diʔ gʷad(s)saxʷəbtʃyitəb.* [↓ fp]  
[continues fast and accusatory]  
He'll be kidnapped," (she scolds).
- həbuʔ** [male voice]
179. *ʷa---, ʃudxʷbalihigʷəd cəd. ʃudxʷbalihigʷəd (cəd).* [↑ fp]  
[slower; stylized crying moving into high falsetto register, decreasing in volume]  
"Oh, I forget myself, I forget myself."
180. *ʃəʔ* [fp] *ti ʃuxʷaab tsiʔəʔ luʃ.* [~ fp]  
[first word appears to be spoken in falsetto like previous line]  
This old one kind of cries.
181. *ʔi---, bəʔuxʷəxʷ tsiʔəʔ səhəbiluʔ.* [↓ fp]  
[returns to normal speaking voice]  
Yes, again she went fishing from her fishtrap.
182. *ti---ləbaxʷ xʷiʔ gʷəsuhəʔliʔʔ ʔə tsiʔəʔ.* [↓ fp]  
The old one seems unable to comfort the child.

*həbu?* [male voice]

183. "ʔu—*likʔtubəxʔ ti dbəda? ʔə tsi xʔiʔləhaʔt.*" [↓ bp]  
[stylized sob on last word]  
"My child will be taken from the no good person."
184. *ʔcisəbəxʔ tsiʔə? luʔ ʔə tiʔə? sʔəʔadəyʔ.* [↓ fp]  
[faster, animated]  
Some women arrived at the old one now.
185. *tiləb ʔuwiliqʔitəb,* [↓ bp]  
They asked her right away.
186. "*stab tiʔit adsəsʔəladʔ(iʔ)t.*" [↓ bp]  
[loud, demanding tone of voice]  
"What are you babysitting?"
187. "*spaʔpadəyʔ, sbəlus cəd, spaʔpadəyʔ.*" [~ ↑ bp]  
[softer and slower; stylized crying moving into falsetto register]  
"A girl, your honors, a little girl child."
188. *xʔul ʔubələgʔəldub tsə gə(t). gʔəl bəhaʔliʔt.* [↓ bp]  
[faster pace]  
As soon as they left the foolish old babysitter, she again crooned to the child.
189. "*caʔ bəcibac ʔa kʔəlit cəxʔ ʔubəspaʔpadəyʔ.*" [bp]  
[song; last two syllables slightly softer]  
"Aah my grandson, oh, oh, uh, my mistake, my granddaughter" "[stylized]".
190. "*ʔu, ʔutubʔlucidbitəb ʔə tsiʔit luʔ tiʔit cəcəs.*" [~ ↓ bp]  
[lower voice register]  
"That old woman called that child a boychild."
191. *saxʔəbəxʔ tsi ʔititisu. gʔəl kʔədyid tsʔə? luʔ* [~ np]  
[slightly faster]  
The youngest one ran now and took the child from the old woman.
192. *gʔəl ləpəʔabacəd.* [~ ↓ bp]  
She examined its body.
193. *ti—ləb ʔuhaydxʔ stutubʔ.* [↓ np]  
[slightly slower]  
She could see right away that it was a boychild.

194. *huy sax<sup>w</sup>əbtx<sup>w</sup>əx<sup>w</sup> əlg<sup>w</sup>ə?* [↓ fp]  
They ran off with him.
195. *ʔa---(h) tsiʔə? luʃ ʔəsxi<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>əb.* [↓ np]  
[descending contour continues to next line]  
The old woman sat by herself (lonely and alone).
196. *g<sup>w</sup>əl tci<sup>w</sup>l tsiʔə? ʔəbsbədə?* [↓ fp]  
[descending contour completed]  
The mother of the child arrived.
- həbu?* [male voice]
197. *"ʔutci---səb tiʔə? adbədə? ʔə ti stətadəy?* [~ np]  
[stylized crying on last three words]  
"Oh, some women came to your child.
- 198[a]. *yaʔt cəd xət ti ʔuxibdup.* [~ ↑ fp]  
[stylized crying creates pitch rise at end]  
I tried to grab onto him,
- 198[b]. *x<sup>w</sup>ul ʔitsax<sup>w</sup>əbtx<sup>w</sup> əlg<sup>w</sup>ə?"* [~ np]  
[stylized crying; next line starts abruptly]  
but they just ran off with him."
199. *"yəxi cəx<sup>w</sup> ʔutubšlucidbid."* [→ ↓ bp]  
[spoken angrily and quickly]  
"It was because you kept calling him a boychild," she was told.
200. *tiləb ʔud<sup>w</sup>ubutəb tsʔə? luʃ.* [↓ fp]  
[slower; mournful tone]  
And then she was kicked.
201. *"ʔəxi(d)tubš cəx<sup>w</sup>!"* [extra words on recording not transcribed?] [↑ fp]  
[slowing down even more; stylized crying, almost sobbing]  
"What are you doing to me!"
- Ahh-Hai!** [loud exclamation on recording but not transcribed; fp]
- həbu?* [male voice, followed by female voice]
202. *ʔa---(h) tiʔə?* [falters briefly] *tiʔə? luʃ.* [↓ np]  
[descending contour continued to next line]  
There she was, this old woman,

203[a]. *gʷəl dʷubdʷubutəbaxʷ*. [↓ bp]  
 [descending contour completed]  
 and she was kicked. [in published transcription this clause is part of line 202]

203[b]. *ʷu---pʷacaxʷ*. [~ fp]  
 [rhythmic chant (high/low/high)]  
 She "[returned to her former being]" was a rotten old log.

[woman laughs quietly]

204. *huy təgʷəlbaxʷ*. [↓ fp]  
 Then she was left there.

205. *kʷədətəb ʷə tsiʷə? tiʷə?* [bp] *sqələd ʷə tiʷə? tubədəʷs*. [~ fp]  
 The mother took the soiled diaper of her child.

206. *gʷəl kʷitxʷ dxʷʷal kʷədiʷ dʷətixʷ*. [↓ fp]  
 She took it down to the creek.

207. *huy dʷaqadaxʷ*. [↓ bp]  
 Here she mourned loudly.

208. *xəabaxʷ*. [↓ fp]  
 She cried aloud.

209. *ʷiʷstadtxʷ cə(d) ʷə ti, ti šiʷab (gʷ)ət tudbədəʷ*,  
 [song begins; slow, even beat]  
 "I used to do this for my beloved son.

210[a]. *pʷicikʷ (b)ədəʷ(?)*,  
 [song continues; volume drops on second word ]  
 Washing and wringing his diapers. [literally, diaper baby]

210[b]. *pʷicikʷ (b)ədəʷ(?)*. [fp]  
 [song ends; volume drops on second word]  
 Washing and wringing his diapers.

*həbuʷ* [male voice]

211. *ʷistaʷ(?)daxʷ cəd ʷə ti, ti šiʷab bədəʷ*, [published transcription doesn't  
 exactly  
 match recording]  
 [song repetition begins]  
 I used to do this for my beloved son.

212. *pičikʷ (b)əd-*  
[song breaks off abruptly]  
[diaper baby]
213. *xʷul dxʷdʷa---l kʷədiʔ supi---čids kʷədiʔ xʷ(ə)ci---kʷ.* [~ fp]  
[slowly and mournfully]  
Only to the right she wrings his diaper.
214. *di---ʔ kʷi sgʷəčiqəd ʔə spičikʷ.* [↓ fp]  
Suddenly the diaper loudly cried out.
- həbuʔ* [several voices (male and female); other comments]
215. *xaab.* [fp] *xaab tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ.* [fp] *xaab.* [fp] *xaab.* [bp]  
[slow, dramatic delivery]  
He cried, this one cried, cried, cried.
216. *kʷədad tiʔəʔ bədaʔs. gʷəl xʷəl kʷəbacəd.* [↓ fp]  
She took him, her Diaper Child, and she wrapped him up.
- [murmur (female voice)]
217. *kʷədad tiʔəʔ staʔtəbs, tiʔəʔ (s)ʔətəds.* [bp] *gʷəl čəbaʔəd.* [~ bp]  
She took her few possessions, her food and she packed them.
218. *dxʷqʷicəxʷ ʔə tiʔit xədi---ʔəb.* [↓ np]  
[descending contour continues to next line]  
She went downstream of xədiʔəb.
219. *gʷəl tčil* [bp] *dxʷal tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ xudaʔatəb sčičigʷqs* [bp] *ʔilucid*  
[*həbu* (male voice)] *ʔə tiʔit duqʷəč.* [↓ fp]  
[descending contour completed]  
She arrived at the place that is called *sčičəgʷqs* along the shores of *duqʷəč.*
- 220[a]. *ʔa(h) kʷi səshudičupsəxʷ.* [↓ bp]  
There she built a fire
- 220[b]. *tətlii.* [↓ fp]  
[quickly, with downward inflection]  
and she lived there.
- 220[c]. *tətlii.* [→ np]  
[slowly; leads directly into next line]  
She lived there now.

221[a]. *ləcuḵaab.* [↓ fp]  
[mournful tone]  
She cried

221[b] *ḵaab.* [bp]  
[slow, mournful tone, same pitch as "ḵaab" in previous line]  
and cried.

222[a]. *ckʷaqid ʷuḵaabid tiʷit bədaʷs.* [↓ bp]  
She sorrowed for her son

222[b]. *qəlbut ʷa(h) tiʷəʷ cədit* [bp] *picikʷs* [↓ fp]  
even though she had this diaper

*həbuʷ* (male voice)

222[c]. *bədaʷs.* [fp]  
child.

(end of Scene 2)

Episode II, Scene 4 (complete) and Scene 5 (beginning) -

[beginning of new tape side; begins with man's voice (Lushootseed), sound of chair scraping]

353. *di---t kʷi sugʷučiitiʷ (suqʷučiitəbs) tiʷəʷ spicikʷ ʷə tsiʷəʷ skʷuys.* [↓ fp]  
There came a time when his mother instructed Diaper Child.

354. *"ʷu---luḵəxʷ kʷədaʷ kʷ(i) adsəxʷstudəq.* [↓ fp]  
"I suppose your dear one is older now."

355. *ʷaləxʷ ʷu tiʷəʷ səxʷstudəq kʷi čacəs uʷxʷ.* [↓ fp]  
Would your dear one still be a child?

356. *luḵəxʷ xʷuʷələʷ stubs.* [↓ fp]  
He must now be a grown man.

357. *ḵuḵaab čəxʷ ʷə kʷi ʷəscut ʷə tiʷəʷ ʷal kʷədiʷ a(d)daxʷuḵəlap.*" [↓ fp]  
You will voice these words while you are burning down your firewood."

358. *həʷi, həʷi, həʷi.* [bp]  
[song begins; slow, steady pace; loud]  
Song "[vocables]".

359. *tulik<sup>h</sup>tub k<sup>h</sup>ət k<sup>h</sup>i tudsqa* [bp] *ʔə tiʔit saliʔ stətadəyʔ dəbət tulqix<sup>h</sup>.* [fp]  
[song continues; volume drops on last syllable]  
"It is said that my older brother was stolen by women from upriver.
360. *tux<sup>h</sup>əx<sup>h</sup> cəd k<sup>h</sup>ət ti picik<sup>h</sup> ʔə tsi k<sup>h</sup>uyəʔ.* [bp]  
[song continues; loud; volume drops on last syllable]  
It is said that I am just from the wringings of my mother.
361. *ʔəshuyutəb cəd studəq ʔə ti kawqas.*" [bp]  
[song ends; loud; on last syllable volume drops and voice wavers]  
Raven has made a slave of me."
362. *ʔudə—x<sup>h</sup>sacəpadup tiʔəʔ cacas,* [→ fp]  
[mournfully]  
This child sounds mournfully as though singing his dirge.
363. *həʔi,* [*həbuʔ* (male voice)] *həʔi, həʔi.* [bp]  
[song (2<sup>nd</sup> time) begins; loud; on last syllable volume drops and voice wavers]  
Song: vocables.
364. "*tulik<sup>h</sup>tub k<sup>h</sup>ət k<sup>h</sup>i tudsqa* [bp] *ʔə tiʔit saliʔ stətadəyʔ dəbət tulqix<sup>h</sup>.* [bp]  
[song continues; loud; volume drops on last syllable]  
"It is said that my older brother was stolen by two women from upriver.
365. *tux<sup>h</sup>əx<sup>h</sup> cəd k<sup>h</sup>ət ti picik<sup>h</sup> ʔə tsi k<sup>h</sup>uyəʔ.* [bp]  
[song continues; loud; volume drops on last syllable]  
It seems that I am just from wringings by my mother.
366. *ʔəshuyutəb cəd studəq ʔə ti kawqas.*" [fp]  
[song ends; loud; on last syllable volume drops and voice wavers]  
I have been made a slave to Raven."

*həbuʔ* [male voice]

Scene 5 -

367. *ʔa—(h) tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ.* [↓ np]  
[descending contour continues to next line]  
He was there.
- 368[a]. *tux<sup>h</sup>əx<sup>h</sup>əd tiʔəʔ* [word (?) missing from published transcription] [↓ bp]  
[descending contour completed]  
He had butchered this

- 368[b]. *kʷagʷiçəd*. [↓ bp]  
elk.
369. *gʷəl tukitid*. [~ fp]  
And he had hung it up.
370. *huy, tud* [slight hesitation] *əgʷasəxʷ tiʔəʔ ʔudaw ʔal tiʔəʔ ʔiçiçids*. [~ np]  
Then he deposited the tallow into his quiver.
371. *gʷəl kʷit* [↑ bp]  
Then he went downward.
372. *ʔa(h) tiʔit*. [~ np]  
[spoken in a half-whisper]  
There is someone there.
373. *ləcuʂaladiʔ ʔal tiʔit ləcu(s)qʷiʔqʷəsəb(s)*. [~ bp]  
[continues in half-whisper]  
Someone making a noise where it is smoking a little.
374. *ʔu---xʷ tiʔəʔ*. [↓ np]  
[descending contour continues to next line]  
He went.
375. *ʔučədʷəd*. [↓ fp]  
[descending contour completed]  
He was quietly sneaking upon it.
376. *gʷəl ləküis diʔalap ʔə tiʔəʔ (s)ləcuʂəʂlap(s) hawəʔ*. [→ ↓ fp]  
He stood on the opposite side of where it seems someone was felling a tree.
377. *xʷul çəd k(u)asləqəd*. [→ fp]  
[spoken in a half-whisper]  
'I will just listen to him' "[he thought to himself]".
378. *həʔi, həʔi, həʔi*. [bp]  
[song (3<sup>rd</sup> time) begins; loud]  
Song: vocables.
379. *"tuʂikʷtub kʷət kʷi tudsqə* [bp] *ʔə kʷi saliʔ stətadəyʔ dəbət tulqixʷ*. [bp]  
[song continues; loud; volume drops slightly on final syllable]  
"It seems that my brother was stolen by two women from the Upriver/Eastern area.
380. *tuxʷ çəd kʷət ti piçikʷ ʔə tsi kʷuyəʔ*. [fp]

[song continues; loud; volume drops slightly on final syllable]  
It seems that I am just from the wringings of my mother.

*həbu?* [male voice]

381. *ʔəshuyutəb cəd studəq ʔə ti kawqas.* [bp]  
[song ends; loud; volume drop and slight waver on final syllable]  
Raven has made me a slave."
382. *qəqaxə---cut tiʔə?* [↓ bp]  
He showed himself a little.
383. *ʔəxʔbutusəb tiʔə? cəcas.* [↓↑ → ~ fp]  
[stylized crying; soft]  
The child had his face covered by his hands.
384. *ʔəsʔistahəb ʔə ti (s)əsbutusəb(s) ʔə tə suxəabs.* [→ ↓ fp]  
[continues stylized crying; soft]  
He had his hands like this covering his face as he cried.

*həbu?* [woman's voice]

385. *gʔəl ləwiliqʔitəb,* [↓ bp]  
[normal speaking voice]  
And he was asked.
386. *"ləcuʔidigʔat cəxʔ. ləcuʔidigʔat."* [~ ↓ fp]  
"What are you saying, what do you say?"
387. *"ləcuḫaab cəd.* [~ np]  
[mournfully]  
"I am crying.
388. *dxʔtugʔus.* [~ bp]  
[continues mournfully]  
Drowning my face (with my tears).
389. *ləcuḫaab cəd. ləcuḫaab."* [↑ fp]  
[pitch rises as speech changes to stylized crying]  
I am crying, crying."
390. *xʔi---? gʔə(s)šudxʔs tiʔə? cəcxʔays.* [~ fp]  
[normal speaking voice (slightly mournful)]  
He couldn't see because his eyes were blinded [by the shining being before him].

391. *"ləcuḡaab cəd.* [→ fp]  
[continues mournfully]  
"I am crying.
392. *tutik<sup>w</sup>tub k<sup>w</sup>ət k<sup>w</sup>i tudsqa* [bp] *ʔə k<sup>w</sup>i sali? sətədəy? dəbət tulqix<sup>w</sup>*  
*tusqadaʔ(s).* [~ fp]  
[continues mournfully]  
It is said that my brother was stolen by two women from upriver who stole him [sic].
393. *tuʔəbsʔələd<sup>w</sup>ətə(d) k<sup>w</sup>ət k<sup>w</sup>si k<sup>w</sup>uyəʔ ʔə k<sup>w</sup>si tuluḡ.* [~ fp]  
[continues mournfully]  
It is said that my mother had an old woman for a babysitter.
394. *ʔu—, tudik<sup>w</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>əx<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>si tuluḡ.* [~ np]  
[normal speaking voice]  
Oh, then she got angry at the old woman.
395. *g<sup>w</sup>əl tud<sup>w</sup>ub<sup>w</sup>d<sup>w</sup>ubudəx<sup>w</sup>.* [~ bp]  
[normal speaking voice]  
Then she kicked and kicked her.
396. *g<sup>w</sup>əl tubəhuyil p<sup>w</sup>qac.* [↑ ↓ bp]  
[normal speaking voice]  
Then she again became a rotten log.
397. *g<sup>w</sup>əl tuʔibaš.* [↑ fp]  
[normal speaking voice]  
Then she (the mother) traveled.
- 398[a]. *huy, tut<sup>w</sup>cisəbəx<sup>w</sup> ʔə tiʔit cədīt* [bp] *kawqs* [→ bp]  
Now that Raven came to us,
- 398[b]. *čta stətudəqəx<sup>w</sup> ʔə ti kawqs.* [~ fp]  
[slightly mournful tone]  
and we are now the slaves of the Raven.
399. *ʔahəx<sup>w</sup> cət qix<sup>w</sup>.* [~ fp]  
[slightly mournful tone]  
We are there upriver.
400. *ʔəshuyutubutəx<sup>w</sup> studəq.* [~ np]  
[slightly mournful tone]

He has made slaves of us.

401. *ʔəshuyutub(uʔ) sʔuʂəbābdxʷ* [bp] *tiʔiʔ kawʔqs.* " [~ fp]  
[slightly mournful tone]  
Raven has made us quite unfortunate."

*həbuʔ* [male voice]

(Scene 5 continues through line 428)

Close repeated listening to the story reveals the inherent melodic and rhythmic qualities of spoken Lushootseed. In storytelling the sound patterns that make up the language are manipulated for rhetorical and dramatic effect. Natural stresses in words and phrases may be emphasized, de-emphasized, elongated, exaggerated, repeated, or obscured in the course of performance, resulting in combinations of pitches and rhythms not characteristic of everyday spoken language. At what point such combinations of sounds become "musical" is a highly subjective and ultimately not very useful question. In this discussion musical characteristics of story texts, that is, patterns and structures involving melodic and rhythmic elements, are viewed on a continuum with everyday speech at one end and (full-blown) song at the other. The musical features of Peter's performance fall along the full range of that continuum and are addressed throughout this analysis.

Repetition is another basic component of the "Star Child" story. A structural analysis would reveal repetition as a crucial element in the overall architecture of the narrative, but for the purposes of analyzing performance, its rhetorical applications

are the primary consideration. Repetition and parallelism are present on all levels: in words, phrases, scenes, episodes and in both spoken and sung modes.

**Speech Mode** - A consideration of Peter's speech mode in her presentation of "Star Child" includes the elements of pacing, cadence, inflection, volume, and vocal quality. In a long story, or collection of stories, such as this, these rhetorical elements convey narrative structure as well as creating a vivid, varied listening experience. In general, Peter begins episodes and scenes within episodes at a fairly slow pace, framing significant phrases with full pauses. A common pitch-pause combination at the start of a new section is a descending pitch contour, often beginning with the elongation of a vowel, and ending with a pause. Line 2 (the first full line of the story) illustrates several of these features:

2. *[u---]t(u)acux<sup>w</sup>i?x<sup>w</sup>i? ti?ə? stəladəy?. [↓ fp] dəbət sʔa?. [→ fp] (sə)sa(?)li?  
təlix<sup>w</sup> susuq<sup>w</sup>a?. [↓ bp]  
[fairly slow pace; loud, strong voice; low register]  
Two sisters from the cultural aristocracy were foraging for food.*

The first syllable is elongated; it is also the highest pitched syllable, from which the phrase descends to the first full pause (fp). The middle phrase, *dəbət sʔa?* ("cultural aristocracy" or noble class), is separated from what comes before and after by full pauses, marking it as important information. In this case the storyteller may be telling us a number of things: two women are out gathering roots -- not just any two women, but members of the noble class (is this an acceptable activity for them?). They are siblings as well, and the specific kinship language used -- *təlix<sup>w</sup> susuq<sup>w</sup>a?* -- suggests

a particular kind of emotional bond (Langen, personal communication, 4/14/01).

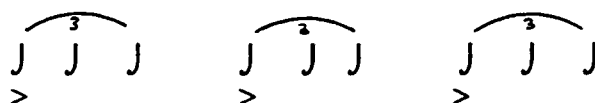
Following this terse presentation of crucial material, the story proceeds.

Line 2 of the story also demonstrates how the cadence or rhythmic flow of the narrative is affected by rhetorical lengthening and the strategic use of pauses. As the story unfolds, the flow of spoken language is broken by a variety of rhetorical devices. Repetition of words or phrases often creates melodic and/or rhythmic patterns that serve the narrative in various ways. Lines 30-33 contain a narrative figure ending in a repeated rhythmic phrase:

30. *čaʔad.* [np]  
They dug.

31. *pəqʷalcəxʷ tsiʔəʔ.* [~ bp]  
Hers broke off.

32. *pəqʷaxʷ tiʔəʔ skʷiʔxʷ.* [↓ bp]  
The fern root broke off.



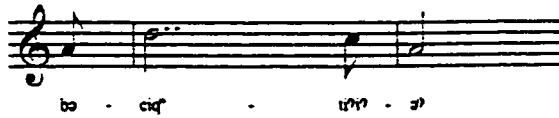
33. *huy, čaʔadəxʷ. huy, čaʔadəxʷ. huy, čaʔadəxʷ.* [↓ bp]  
[rhythmic pattern repeated 3 times]  
She dug and she dug and she dug.

In this case the pattern is rhythmic; there is no melodic content other than the slight descending contour created by the accent on "huy" each time. The rhythmic figure serves to dramatize the repetitive action of digging, in this instance, the two sisters digging for roots in the sky world. This subject was introduced several lines earlier, as follows:

23. *huy, bæciqʷəxʷ əlgʷəʔ.* [↓ fp]  
Again they went out to dig roots

*həbuʔ* [male voice] [followed by background conversation at start of line 24]

♩. 96



24. *bæci---qʷ tʷiʷiʷə---ʔ. gʷəl qəlqəl kʷədiʔ sxʷiʷxʷiʷs.* [↓ fp]  
They dug until they had lots of roots gathered.

Line 23 -- "Again they went out to dig roots" -- refers to the opening of the story in which the sisters are digging for roots near their home before they foolishly wish for star husbands (here the verb "*ciqʷ*" (to dig roots) replaces "*čəʔ*" (to dig, dig out)). This line elicits a "*həbuʔ*" response from one listener, and Peter begins the next line (24) with four text syllables that are distinctly sung before continuing in speech mode. On the speech-song continuum, these sung syllables may be seen as a kind of exaggerated rhetorical lengthening. The elongation of vowel sounds suggests that the digging went on and on, similar to the effect of the repeated "*huy, čəʔadəxʷ*" in line 33. It is also likely that Peter's use of melodic and rhythmic elements at this point reflects the significance of digging as both the structural backbone of this scene and for the culturally charged meaning it contains.

This example also demonstrates several patterns of speech inflection or intonation contour. Kinkade noted four characteristic pitch-pause combinations in an Upper Chehalis story told by Silas Heck (Kinkade 1987:289), all of which also appear in Susie Sampson Peter's "Star Child": a pause with no intonation change; rising

intonation with pause; falling intonation with short pause; and falling intonation with longer pause (very common). Intonation contours and pauses are coded after each line in the excerpts presented here. The constantly varied inflection of Mrs. Peter's speech is not indicated with these markers, nor is the mellifluous quality of her intonation contours adequately demonstrated.

In order to compare Susie Sampson Peter's storytelling speech mode to her everyday speech mode, I consulted a recording made by Metcalf in 1953 in which Mrs. Peter responds to questions about her personal history. Metcalf's questions in English are translated into Skagit by her son Alphonso. She answers, sometimes at length, and he summarizes in English (Metcalf tape 53). Her speech in this context (admittedly, a formal interview setting and not necessarily representative of everyday conversation) has a more relaxed pace than her storytelling mode. Her voice is less animated, with less variety in her inflection and cadence, but some patterns, including the descending pitch contour, are still present.

**Dramatic Expression** – Throughout "Star Child" Mrs. Peter varies her pacing, cadence, inflection, volume, and vocal quality, not only to mark structure, but to bring the action to life, create dramatic effects, and personify her characters. Repeated phrases commonly illustrate actions repeated in the present (as in line 33) or continuing for some period of time (as in line 175 -- *ʔuladxʔ tsiʔəʔ. ʔuladxʔ. ʔuladxʔ. ʔuladxʔ* ("She fished, she fished, she fished, she fished") -- where the number of repetitions also matches the pattern number four). Cadential changes are employed at

several points in "Star Child" to create a sense of drama, particularly to convey tension and pathos. In lines 19-22 an exchange between one sister and her star husband demonstrates the folly of her behavior and the emotional pain she caused:

19. *tiləb nuhaydub ʔə tiʔəʔ lətəwaʔs.* [↓ fp]  
Right away the star knew what she felt.
20. *"ʔuʔəxidəxʔ tiʔit a(d)dəxʔdʔilic. gʔəl tuxʔ cəxʔ tubəhiqʔabic.* [↓ fp]  
"Why do you reject me when you chose at first to admire me?"
21. *adsgʔaʔ adxəc t(u)ashiqʔabic.* [fp] *adsgʔaʔ.* " [↓ fp]  
[slightly slower pace; descending contour starts on 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable]  
It was your idea to admire me...yours.
22. *xʔiʔ gʔəsgʔəgadəd ʔə tsiʔəʔ.* [↓ fp]  
[original pace]  
She didn't say anything.

Note the descending intonation of each line as well as the full pause between each and the additional full pause that frames "*adsgʔaʔ*" ("yours") (line 21), emphasizing the young woman's culpability. The emotional power of this scene, made more potent by its terseness, argues against generalizations regarding the absence of explicit expressions of emotions in Northwest Coast narratives (see Jacobs in Seaburg and Amoss 2000:99).

An additional means of dramatic expression is the acting out of events in the story as it is told. Based on Metcalf's comment about Peter's physical engagement during storytelling, it seems likely that she acted out parts of "Star Child." In one verbal reference she says (translated), "He had his hands like this covering his face as he cried" (line 384).

Characterization in Mrs. Peter's "Star Child" is handled mainly through alteration of pacing, cadence, inflection, vocal register, and volume. In the course of the story fifteen characters speak, thirteen of whom are distinguished mainly through the use of these rhetorical devices. Characters are often identifiable by their emotional state (the anger of the mother toward the old babysitter, the sorrow of the old babysitter for failing in her charge, etc.). Sadness is frequently expressed in stylized crying or weeping, an effect created through the elongation of vowels, descending pitch patterns, and repetition of words such as *xiab* ("crying").

Two characters are distinguished further by having their own vocal qualities. Raven has a unique stylized voice that distinguishes him wherever he appears in the Lushootseed story world. In his nasal way of speaking he pronounces "n" for "d," as noted by Hilbert following line 231, where he says *čən* for *čəd* ("I"). Mink, on the other hand, is good at impersonation and shows up in the story asking in a childish voice, "*čad kʔi maʔmaʔ*" ("Where is Mama?") (line 782). This line not only gets a laugh from her audience, but Peter also interrupts her own narrative to chuckle. Diaper Child knows right away that it's Mink playing a trick.

Musical features – I have described the range of melodic and rhythmic features in Mrs. Peter's "Star Child" as points along a continuum from speech to song. From this perspective, everyday spoken language is one extreme on the continuum (assuming all speech to have some musical qualities), rhythmic figures composed of words or

phrases coming next, figures with both rhythmic and melodic elements next, extended figures or phrases next, and songs at the far extreme. Though the continuum model is useful in a discussion of performance features, it breaks down under scrutiny from a narrative perspective and from the perspective of Lushootseed beliefs. To be a song in the Lushootseed sense, it must be somebody's song, and it must have efficacy (or show by its lack of efficacy its uselessness). Story narrators are distinct from characters and do not participate in the world they describe or have any potency in that world. Song-like figures sung by narrators are thus understood not to be songs but to mark text in some meaningful way. Mrs. Peter's "Star Child" includes at least one example of a fully-developed sung phrase by the narrator (lines 855-857); in this case the phrase seems to mark the demise of Mink and the transition to the final scene of the story, in which the star child and Diaper Child begin to name everything in the Skagit world.

Mrs. Peter's version of "Star Child" includes three distinct songs (each repeated entirely or partially): the song of the old babysitter to the infant star child; the mourning song of the mother after the kidnapping of the star child; and the song of Diaper Boy, taught to him by his mother. A discussion of the narrative and esoteric functions of these songs and a compilation of musical data related to them is included in Chapter Six, and transcription sheets for each song are in Appendix II. Comments here address songs as elements of performance in the narrative context.

In Episode I, Scene 2 the old babysitter (a rotten log kicked into life) is instructed by the baby star child's mother to address him as a girl child when she sings to him, to prevent him from being kidnapped. According to the narrative, she sings the song three times: we hear the first instance, which Mrs. Peter sings in a robust voice, as follows:

162. "ti dbada?, ʔabʂipibəs. [I hear "ʔa---bʂipibəs ʔabʂipibəs]  
[song begins (loud)]  
"Oh, my child, my grandson" "[stylized baby talk]".
163. *kʰəlilʔ cəxʰ ʔubəspaʔpadəyʔ.*  
[song continues (loud)]  
"Oh, oh, oh, yeah, I mean, my girlchild,
164. *kʰəlilʔ cəxʰ ʔubəspaʔpadəyʔ.* [fp]  
[song ends; last two words slightly softer]  
I mean to say, my girlchild."

72 A B

'ab - spi - bas 'ab - spi - bas k'a - lit cax'u - bas - pe' - pa - dayʔ k'a - lit cax'u - bas -

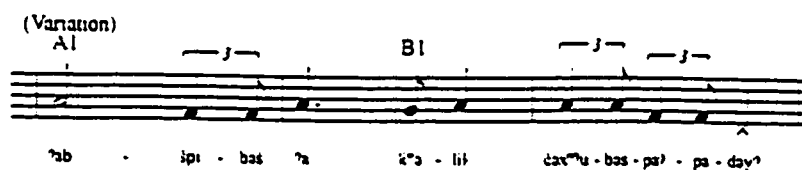
6

pe' - pa - dayʔ

The mother, who has sneaked close to hear what she is singing, angrily chastises the old babysitter for referring to the baby as a boy. According to the translator, she is singing a kind of stylized baby talk. We are told of the second instance of the song by the narrator, but we do not hear it (Mrs. Peter may have shortened the scene by

leaving out this repetition). We hear the third instance of the song, which the old babysitter sings within earshot of two women. Having told them that the baby is a girl, she blunders again and calls him "grandson" in the song before correcting herself.

188. *ḫ'ul' ḫubəlag'əldub tsə gə(t). g'əl bəbaʔliʔt.* [↓ bp]  
[faster pace]  
As soon as they left the foolish old babysitter, she again crooned to the child.
189. *"čəʔ bəčibac ʔa k'əliʔ čəx' ʔubəspaʔpadəyʔ."* [bp]  
[song; last two syllables slightly softer]  
"Aah my grandson, oh, oh, uh, my mistake, my granddaughter" "[stylized]".



This third song instance is a shortened variation of the first instance. Where each text phrase was sung twice (A A B B) in a two-part musical phrase (A B) in the first instance, the musical phrase has been truncated (A1 B1) and each text phrase sung only once (A B) in the third.

The second song also occurs in Episode I, Scene 2, following the kidnapping of the star child baby and the mother's cruel kicking of the old babysitter to turn her back into a rotten log. The mourning mother takes the baby's diaper to wring it out in the creek. Whereas a form of the word for singing (*ʔil(i)*) was used to introduce the first song (line 161), the second song is not introduced as such:

208. *ḫaabəx'.* [↓ fp]

She cried aloud.

209. *"ʔistadtʔ cə(d) ʔə ti, ti siʔab (gʔ)ət tudbədəʔ,*  
 [song begins; slow, even beat]  
 "I used to do this for my beloved son.

- 210[a]. *picikʔ (b)ədəʔ,*  
 [song continues; volume drops on second word ]  
 Washing and wringing his diapers. [literally, diaper baby]

- 210[b]. *picikʔ (b)ədəʔ.* [fp]  
 [song ends; volume drops on second word]  
 Washing and wringing his diapers.

♩ 30

ʔis - tadtʔ cə(d) ʔə ti - ti siʔab (gʔ)ət tud - bə - dəʔ - pi - cikʔ (b)ə - dəʔ

6  
 pi - cikʔ (b)ə - dəʔ

The first instance is, like the first song, a two-part musical phrase (A B), but the text in this case is made up of two phrases of unequal length, the second phrase repeated (A B B). The slow steady tempo of the song and the drop in volume on the word *(b)ədəʔ*. in each iteration suggest a kind of stylized sob, but this is clearly a fully formed song, indicated by the cohesive melodic and rhythmic material set to a steady pulse. After the first instance of the song, someone says "*həbuʔ*" and Mrs. Peter begins the second iteration but breaks off the song abruptly:

211. *ʔistaʔdaxʔ cəd ʔə ti, ti siʔab bədəʔ,* [published transcription doesn't exactly match recording]  
 [song repetition begins]  
 I used to do this for my beloved son.
212. *picikʔ (b)əd-*

[song breaks off abruptly]  
[diaper baby]

A (Partial repeat) B

'is - mæx' cə(d) ʔə n - n s'ʔab (g)ʔal dæ? dæ? - pi - cik' (b)  
[abrupt switch to speech]

213. *x'uł dx'dʔa---l k'ædi? supi---cids k'ædi? x'(ə)ci---k'.* [~ fp]  
[slowly and mournfully]  
Only to the right she wrings his diaper.

214. *di---ʔ k'i sg'æciqəd ʔə spicik'.* [↓ fp]  
Suddenly the diaper loudly cried out.

I interpret the sudden switch from song to speech as a rhetorical device to set the stage for the sudden creation of a second baby from the wet diaper of the missing star child. The implied spiritual power of a woman whose song is potent enough to produce a child is discussed in Chapter Six.

Episode II, Scenes 4 and 5 contain the third song in Mrs. Peter's "Star Child." Scene 4 opens after an unspecified amount of time has passed:

353. *di---ł k'i sug'učiiti? (sug'učitəbs) ti?ə? spicik' ʔə tsi?ə? sk'uys.* [↓ fp]  
There came a time when his mother instructed Diaper Child.

Diaper Child's mother comments that her first son, the star child, must be a grown man by now. She teaches Diaper Child words to repeat when he is out preparing firewood. As with the second song, the third is not introduced as such:

357. *łuxaab cəx' ʔə k'i ʔəscut ʔə ti?ə? ʔal k'ædi? a(d)dax'ušəʔap."* [↓ fp]  
You will voice these words while you are burning down your firewood."

358. *hə?i, hə?i, hə?i.* [bp]

[song begins; slow, steady pace; loud]  
Song "[vocables]".

359. *tulik<sup>h</sup>tub k<sup>h</sup>ət k<sup>h</sup>i tudsqa* [bp] *ʔə tiʔit saliʔ stətadəʔ dəbət tulqix<sup>h</sup>.* [fp]  
[song continues; volume drops on last syllable]  
"It is said that my older brother was stolen by women from upriver.
360. *tux<sup>h</sup>əx<sup>h</sup> əd k<sup>h</sup>ət ti piçik<sup>h</sup> ʔə tsi k<sup>h</sup>uyəʔ.* [bp]  
[song continues; loud; volume drops on last syllable]  
It is said that I am just from the wringings of my mother.
361. *ʔəshuyutab əd studəq ʔə ti kawqas.*" [bp]  
[song ends; loud; on last syllable volume drops and voice wavers]  
Raven has made a slave of me."

♩. 72 A

ha - ʔi ha - ʔi ha - ʔi tu - lik<sup>h</sup> - tub k<sup>h</sup>ət k<sup>h</sup>i tuds - qa ʔə tiʔit sa - liʔ stə -

♩. 84 A1 B1

lə - dəʔ də - bət tui - qix<sup>h</sup> tux<sup>h</sup> - əx<sup>h</sup> əd k<sup>h</sup>ət ti pi - çik<sup>h</sup> ʔə tsi k<sup>h</sup>u - yəʔ

♩. 84 B1

shuyutab əd stud - əq ʔə ti kaw - qas

The song begins with the repeated vocable "həʔi," suggesting the beginning of a spirit power song. The remainder of the song is a terse summary of events since the young woman's return from the sky world, re-phrased in her son's voice. It is likely that a transfer of spiritual power is taking place in the course of this instruction. The

musical structure consists of two phrases repeated with variation (A B A1 B1) and four lines of text (A B C D). The melody includes more repeated pitches than the previous two songs and, as a result, sounds almost chanted.

Diaper Child now repeats what his mother taught him. Again, this utterance is not called a song.

362. *ʃudə—xʷsəcəpadup tiʔəʔ čáčas*, [→ fp]  
[mournfully]  
This child sounds mournfully as though singing his dirge.
363. *həʔi*, [*həbuʔ* (male voice)] *həʔi*, *həʔi*. [bp]  
[song (2<sup>nd</sup> time) begins; loud; on last syllable volume drops and voice wavers]  
Song: vocables.
364. "*tutikʷtub kʷət kʷi tudsqa* [bp] *ʔə tiʔiʔ salɪʔ stətadəyʔ dəbət tulqixʷ*. [bp]  
[song continues; loud; volume drops on last syllable]  
"It is said that my older brother was stolen by two women from upriver.
365. *tuxʷəxʷ čəd kʷət ti pičikʷ ʔə tsi kʷuyəʔ*. [bp]  
[song continues; loud; volume drops on last syllable]  
It seems that I am just from wringings by my mother.
366. *ʔəshuyutəb čəd studəq ʔə ti kawqas*." [fp]  
[song ends; loud; on last syllable volume drops and voice wavers]  
I have been made a slave to Raven."

76  
(variation 1)

la - dəy' də-bət tul - qix' - tux' k'ət ti pi - cik' 'ə tsi k'u - yə' - 'ə -

shu - yu - tət tət stu - dəq 'ə ti kəw - qas

In this second instance the text remains the same (A B C D), but the melody is transformed so that the former A1 is a new variation of B. The result is a melodic structure of A B B1 B2. As in the first instance, the song is delivered in a loud, solemn voice, with a consistent drop of volume on the last syllable of each line.

Following Diaper Child's song, the scene changes. Scene 5 opens with Star Child, having butchered an elk, going downriver and hearing Diaper Child's song (the third instance). In this way Star Child learns his own history, recognizes his brother, and prepares to set things right in the world.

377. *'x'uł cəd t(u)asləqəd.'* [→ fp]  
 [spoken in a half-whisper]  
 'I will just listen to him' "[he thought to himself]".
378. *hə?i, hə?i, hə?i.* [bp]  
 [song (3<sup>rd</sup> time) begins; loud]  
 Song: vocables.
379. *"tulik<sup>u</sup>tub k'ət k'i tudsqa* [bp] *ʔə k'i sali? stətadəy? dəbət tulqix<sup>u</sup>.* [bp]  
 [song continues; loud; volume drops slightly on final syllable]  
 "It seems that my brother was stolen by two women from the Upriver/Eastern area.
380. *tux' cəd k'ət ti pičik' ʔə tsi k'uyə?* [fp]

[song continues; loud; volume drops slightly on final syllable]  
It seems that I am just from the wringings of my mother.

*həbu?* [male voice]

381. *ʔəshuyutəb cəd studəq ʔə ti kawqas.* [bp]  
[song ends; loud; volume drop and slight waver on final syllable]  
Raven has made me a slave."

♩ 76  
(variation 2)

ha - ʔi ha - ʔi ha - ʔi tu - liʔ - tub kʔə kʔi tuds - qa ʔə kʔi sa - liʔ si -

la - dayʔ də - bol tul - qax - tuxʔ kʔə ti pi - cikʔ ʔə tsi kʔu - yəʔ ʔə -

10  
shuyu - tab cəd stu - dəq ʔə ti kaw - qas

In the third instance, the melody changes slightly but maintains its phrase structure of A B B1 B2; the text again remains the same (A B C D). The tempo of all three iterations is nearly identical with only slight fluctuation within each one. Following the third instance, the two brothers face each other. Once more Diaper Child tells his story, this time in speech mode, beginning with what has been the second line of the sung version (translated): "It is said that my brother was stolen by two women from upriver..." (line 105) and continuing the story in more detail, ending with the enslavement of himself and his mother by Raven. It is significant that this entire sequence of events is set into motion by the mother's instruction of Diaper Child.

What is never directly called a song (but clearly functions as a song in the narrative) may be esoteric information of the kind maintained and transmitted in high-class Lushootseed families. Despite her fall from grace, the mother of the two brothers is a spiritually powerful person with knowledge that eventually enables her to orchestrate her own rescue.

Interactive behavior - The small Lushootseed-speaking audience present for Mrs. Peter's telling of "Star Child" seems to enjoy the event and offers considerable response and comment. All audible and intelligible (to me) audience remarks have been marked in the above excerpts. At the beginning of the recording, a man's voice (Mrs. Peter's son Alphonso?) says "*həbu?*" and a few additional words in Skagit, to which Mrs. Peter responds with her own commanding "*həbu?*" and proceeds with the first line of the story. She is twenty-three lines into the narrative before her listeners begin to respond with "*həbu?*," but from that point on one or more listener "*həbu?*"s approximately every five to ten lines. In the 123 lines excerpted above, there are 17 "*həbu?*"s or one approximately every 7 lines. (I have not attempted to correlate the response with features of Mrs. Peter's performance or with story content.) As mentioned earlier in this section, at one point Mrs. Peter reminds her audience sternly to say "*həbu?*" or they will become hunchbacked, at which point everyone laughs and says "*həbu?*," and Leon Metcalf is heard commenting, "It's a long story!"

Despite the serious nature of its content, "Star Child" includes humorous incidents and characters. I noted throughout the narrative the places where the Lushootseed-

speaking audience laughed or otherwise audibly responded to a given line of text. In the excerpts included with this section, a woman listener (Amelia Billy?) laughs at two lines related to the old babysitter who's created from a rotten log (lines 158 and 203[b]). As mentioned, all laugh when Mrs. Peter exhorts them to "*høbu?*"

Elsewhere in the story, the scenes detailing the outrageous actions of Raven and Mink evoke the most laughter (lines 248, 462, 782, 828, 835, 845, and 853 in Hilbert and Miller 1995a).

## Chapter V: Songs in Western Washington Coast Salish Oral Literature

What is the place of songs in Coast Salish stories? Songs occur organically within stories but are distinct from narration. Songs expedite and enhance story action but mark a change in the quality of that action. Songs are brief events within stories, but they evoke broader associations that link stories to sources of spiritual power. An investigation of story songs as musical entities reveals that, from other perspectives, songs may be defined quite differently. In this chapter several of these perspectives are explored before story songs are examined in detail through the lens of musicological analysis. Several themes recur throughout this discussion: the complex relationship between music and words, the association of song with spiritual power, and the dialectic of song conceived as an expressive as opposed to an efficacious form. Material introduced in Chapters Three and Four is incorporated here as it applies specifically to Coast Salish story songs.

### **Indigenous Song Concepts**

As discussed in Chapter One, all Coast Salish dialects include terms for song and singing. Beyond this musical terminology, what constitutes a song conceptually has to do more with extra-musical than strictly musical considerations, and direct statements about such concepts are few. Nonetheless, some observations may be made based on material presented in this study. Indigenous Coast Salish musical thought is embedded in lifeways which have been documented orally or in written form back to at least the mid-nineteenth century. In contemporary life these concepts still resonate, and their validation in ongoing spiritual practice bears on our

understanding of story songs. The following is a tentative list of Coast Salish

concepts regarding song:

- Song is associated with spiritual power, though not all songs come from spiritual sources.
- Songs from spiritual sources "come down" to people in a pre-existing form.
- Other than songs in stories, song means singing with drum.
- Singing is often not distinguished from dancing; a spirit dancer "dances" his/her song.
- What songs *do* is valued above other qualities.
- Aesthetic judgments are made about songs.
- Emotional reactions are expressed regarding songs.
- Songs differ from everyday speech in the recognizable rhythmic patterning of text.
- Song composition is most effectively accomplished with spiritual assistance.
- Some types of songs are recognizable by the speed and/or pattern of the drum beat.
- Spirit power songs are always sung the same way, since it is the spirit guardian who is singing through the singer.

### **Songs as Texts**

Native American songs have often been studied as if they consisted of text only, poetic text to be sure, but not songs. Linguistic and literary features of songs, including story songs, were equally neglected in ethnomusicological studies following the agenda of comparative musicology. More balanced approaches from a range of disciplines are based on acknowledgement of all the component parts of

songs and the necessity of examining not only the parts but the relationships among them. Songs are made up of text and music, forming one structural relationship; songs may also be seen as structural units in relation to the larger structures of story narratives.

At a mechanical level the relationship between words and music in Native American songs appears to be both cohesive and accommodating. Language does, to some extent, determine the rhythmic patterns of songs, but in practice words and music are closely tied. Bursill-Hall refers to

...the tightness of the relationship between the words and music of the songs of the North American Indian. They have no system of musical notation or writing, and yet the native speaker is curiously conscious of the inseparability of words and music; this is clearly revealed in the great difficulty experienced by the native informant when asked to dictate the words of the song (Bursill-Hall 1964:18).

Similarly, Mohling notes the "reciprocal relationship" of the words and music in Twana songs and the way "in which each adjusts to and accommodates the other to form an integrated whole" (Mohling 1957:31). Williams, in her study of Skagit songs, finds similar accommodation occurring:

When Mr. Sampson sang a song both with and without the words, the melody did not change appreciably. However, although the melody is closely fitted to the text, the text does not completely determine the form of the melody but is often fitted to it... (V. Williams 1962:11).

Several aspects of language use are considered here for their role in shaping story song texts:

1. Language of song texts - It is not uncommon to find story song texts sung in a different language from the companion story. The most frequent appearance of this practice is found in the recordings of Henry Allen (Twana/Skokomish) made by Elmendorf, who reports that "...songs in Skokomish stories are often in the southern dialect of the Puget Sound language [southern Lushootseed], not in Twana." Of the twelve songs identified as "myth songs" in his 1946 recordings of Allen, Elmendorf lists nine as being in southern Lushootseed and two as Twana (one is uncertain). Elmendorf does not distinguish between southern Lushootseed (or other) stories adopted by Twana speakers (where the original language of the song might be expected to carry over) and stories originating with the Skokomish (where one might expect Twana song texts). Because the stories were collected in English and the songs recorded separately several years later, there is no way to know in what language Allen originally learned each of the stories or whether he thought of them all as Twana stories.

Based on statements by Allen, Elmendorf goes further to state that "...the majority of all songs used by Skokomish have non-Twana words" (Elmendorf 1961:6).

According to Elmendorf's count, over half the sixty-two Twana songs he recorded with Henry Allen (including the twelve myth songs) are in Lushootseed, several are in Klallam or Upper Chehalis, and the rest are in Twana.<sup>1</sup> According to consultant Allen, "Twana is a hard language to make songs in. The words won't fit the tune in most songs." (Elmendorf 1960:282). Despite the evidence of a small but significant

body of songs in Twana, Elmendorf concludes, "The Skokomish preferred to compose songs with non-Twana... words," (ibid.). Unfortunately, no other sources are cited on this question.

2. Phonological differences between speech and song - As mentioned in Chapter Three, spoken dialogue in stories often includes some modification of the language to suggest the personality of a character. Similar modification occurs commonly in the songs of many Native American groups, including the Coast Salish. Some phonological "rules" are unique to song, while in other cases rules that apply to speech are suspended in song (Silver and Miller 1997:131). Mohling describes changes made in Skokomish songs in order to "extend the text, allowing it to fit longer melodies" (Mohling 1957:32). Text phrases may be repeated to accomplish this, or,

In most songs, the words are decorated with intrusive or appended nonsense syllables in such a way that the sung version of the text is quite different from a spoken version of the same words (ibid.).

Intrusive decoration consists of the extension or reiteration of a vowel in the middle of a word through palatization, aspiration, rounding, or glottalization; in appended decoration these techniques are applied to vocables added to the ends of words or phrases (ibid.).

Williams' description of similar linguistic modifications in Skagit songs is expressed somewhat differently. Words are fitted to melodies by the "infixing of conventional

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<sup>1</sup> Elmendorf concluded that love songs and (career) guardian-spirit songs were composed mainly in

syllables" (such as "e, i, he, ha, ya") into a word, the change of a vowel or consonant, or the dropping of a syllable or final consonant. Her consultant, Martin Sampson, recognized that such alterations produced the "poetic" form of a word desirable in a song (V. Williams 1962:12).

In the Snyder examples cited in Chapter Two, structural rather than phonological modification is made to a word in its sung form, giving a character its unique voice (W. Snyder 1968:50, footnote).

Functionally, linguistic modification of song texts appears to occur primarily to enable text phrases to fit melodic material. This suggests a degree of independence at the time of composition which is not reflected in indigenous song concepts as I have outlined them. An additional explanation is the aesthetic consideration suggested by Martin Sampson.

3. Masked text - A third rationale for altering text is the intentional masking of words because of their perceived power. This may be achieved through phonological or morphological linguistic modification or other obfuscating treatment. It has also been suggested that archaic language containing traces of secret ritual formulae may still be carried in song texts (Halpern 1976:269). The importance of such masking is described by Vi Hilbert:

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Lushootseed, while doctoring (shaman's) songs were in Twana.

Charley Anderson [Hilbert's father] sings all of these [spirit power] songs. When singing a power song, words are camouflaged to keep words from being easily translated. Strength of power might be weakened if it were easy to identify the words. Nothing of value is easy to obtain (Hilbert 1997).

4. Vocables - Formerly called "nonsense" or "meaningless" syllables," vocables are sung utterances without lexical meaning. A substantial literature exists on the subject of their characteristics, function, and meaning in Native American songs.<sup>2</sup>

Phonological alteration as described above sometimes includes the use of vocables, but generally vocables are presumed to take the place of words rather than modify them; they "...are not as a rule to be found between words but before the body of the song, before repeats of the text and usually (though not always) at the end" (Bursill-Hall 1964:19).

Frisbie lists five functions of vocables she identified in Navajo songs: 1) "linking the sacred and the profane,"; 2) establishing the mood; 3) identification or labeling; 4) cueing (in ritual drama); and 5) structural (Frisbie 1980:374). Bursill-Hall describes the "specific function" of vocables in musical terms: "to establish the rhythm and melody of the song" (Bursill-Hall 1964:19). Several of these functions are mentioned in reference to Coast Salish songs. Williams, who lists several dozen examples of vocables found in Skagit songs, did not find a correlation between use of vocable and song type (V. Williams 1962:12). She found that over half the songs in her sample (and all divisions of songs) ended with syllables such as "*he*" or "*hwi*" with various

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<sup>2</sup> See Boas 1912:967 (glosses vocables as "the burden of the song" for the Coast Tsimshian); Bursill-Hall 1964; Densmore 1943; Frisbie 1980; Halpern 1976; Hinton 1980; Hymes 1981:48; Katz 1974; McAllester and McAllester; Mulder 1994; Nettl 1953, 1954; Powers 1979; Robins 1957.

inflections (ibid.:14). Mohling noted that all four Skokomish shaman songs recorded by Henry Allen ended with "*h ʔi...*" (as did some of other song types). Allen told Mohling that hand game songs were often shaman songs sung with vocables and that women's power songs end with "*es xa xo..*" [with added diacritical], but she was unable to confirm these statements with the limited number of samples included in her analysis (Mohling 1957:35) Hess comments that though vocables "can not be translated...in the songs they form an integral part of the mood" (cited in Hilbert 1985:xxiii).

5. Stylistic features - Viewed as literary texts, story songs may be studied for their expressive, formal, and structural features just as their companion narratives have been. There has been little investigation specific to Coast Salish story songs from this perspective, but some observations are included here along with examples from western Washington Coast Salish stories. As discussed in Chapter Two, categories of literary features are not always distinct, though for convenience they are addressed separately.

a) Stylized or formulaic beginnings and endings do not appear to be features of story songs, though vocaballic exclamations at the ends of many songs and song divisions do serve as markers that distinguish song from story narrative.

b) Characterization - Songs are sung by myth characters of all kinds. In addition to special speaking voices and language, songs often identify these actors or describe

their personalities. When they sing, myth actors often take on the persona of spirit dancers. "Songs occur in myths as manifestations of identity and particular power" (Hymes 1981:127). The close association of myth characters and power is demonstrated in the widespread motif in Northwest Coast narratives of the staging of a winter dance which brings myth-era characters together to sing their "characterizing song" in a contest that determines the way the world is transformed (Hymes 1990:595).

c) Modes of communication - Closely tied to characterization is the form of communication expressed by myth actors when they sing. Some songs are primarily self-identifying and make a statement about the character's appearance or habits (Jacobs 1959a:201) (i.e., "We are the sons of fire" from "Star Husband"). A related category includes songs that describe a character's own actions (i.e., "I'm banging and banging the side of my head" from "Star Husband"). Other modes of communication in song include expressions of emotion, sometimes contrived to get a particular reaction from other actors (i.e., the widowed Crow cries as she sings, "My husband was *siʔab*" in the "Changer" story); and descriptions of the actions of other actors or of plot action.

d) Humor - Story songs are often humorous. The song text itself may be funny, that is, obscene or gross, or the sound imagery in the song may create a humorous effect through reduplication or the use of foreign words. The personality of the character, already known by the audience and acted out with a special voice or vocal

mannerisms, contributes to the effect. If story songs are interpreted as parodies of real spirit power songs, the juxtaposition of the sacred and the profane may stimulate further amusement.

In texts from groups neighboring western Washington Coast Salish, Trickster characters may show their inability to acquire a spirit power by lacking a song or by not being able to learn or remember one (Hymes 1990:594).

e) Repetition - Repetition of words or phrases within a song and repeated singing of the entire song several times through is characteristic of Northwest states story songs (Jacobs 1959a:207).

f) Songs may be referred to but not sung. This may be due to stylistic or structural factors, or it may indicate the degeneration of the story form.

#### 6. Formal and structural features -

a) Frequency of songs in various narrative forms - Story songs have been characterized as formal narrative devices (Elmendorf 1961:6). They appear to be more common in stories set in "myth time" than in other classes of stories. In the Twana stories collected by Elmendorf, seventeen of thirty-eight stories have at least one song, with thirty-one songs total; of these thirty-one songs, twenty-two appear in thirteen "myths," five in two "semi-mythic tales," and four in two "semi-historic tales" (Elmendorf's categories). Jacobs surmised that the greater age of myths

contributes to the likelihood of their containing song and dance components (Jacobs 1959a:200).

b) Pattern number - As it relates to songs, pattern number is strictly a structural feature. While there is little evidence overall to suggest that pattern numbers are significant in the structuring of songs, two examples show that they may operate at some level. In her study of Skagit music Williams found that

...four-phrase structure dominates in all classes of songs. This conforms to the 'sacred number' of the region, in contrast to the apparent lack of a tendency for repetitions of entire songs and divisions to cluster around the number four (V. Williams 1962:54).

Kinkade finds a pattern of five repetitions of each song in the story "Bear and Bee" (collected by Boas from Jonas Secena) which describes a five-day ritual of singing and dancing (Kinkade 1984:249). In this story the recurring use of the pattern number may suggest an overtly pedagogical function.

c) Situations in stories giving rise to songs - Jacobs observed that in Northwest states mythic narratives, songs are most likely to occur when actors are invoking their spirit powers, when an infant is being tended, and in scenes of "pre-cultural fighting" (Jacobs 1959a:200).

d) Function of songs in story plot -

1) The song may punctuate plot action (Jacobs in Seaburg and Amoss 2000:100); in "Coyote's People Sing" (a story from the Chinook-speaking area of western Oregon),

Hymes notes that songs "dramatize the confrontation which is the main continuing focus of interest," in this case the contest among powers at a winter dance (Hymes 1981:127).

2) The song may expedite the plot through the power of words. "...[W]ords do not simply describe or refer to features or ideas in the world but may themselves have a power to bring forth that which they name" (Frey and Hymes 1998:594). This may apply to both sung and spoken words, since in certain verbal formulas the power lies in the words themselves.

3) The song may offer momentary relief from "the darkest tragic action" of some stories (Jacobs in Seaburg and Amoss 2000:100).

4) The song may serve an aesthetic function (ibid.) by appearing within but distinct from narrative, marking boundaries within the narrative architecture and between states of being.

Art marks the point of transition between one space and another, and of one time to another, it also marks historic events. Art serves as the visual marker when an individual, both physically and spiritually, passes from one state of being into another.... (M. Williams 1995:84).

5) The song may simply provide entertainment (ibid.).

## **Esoteric Aspects of Songs in Oral Literature**

**Relationship to Spirit Power Songs** - As discussed in Chapter Four, the presence of songs in myth narratives is a signal that spiritual power has been evoked at some level. The mimetic or parodic quality of some myth songs has been characterized as serving a primarily instructional purpose in the communal winter storytelling context. Here we look further at the source of the myth song in the nature of the spirit power song itself. Indigenous characterization of spirit power song types is investigated to delineate the various elements of the spirit dance: melody, text, rhythm, movement, costume, and regalia. The discussion comes back to the relationship of the spirit power songs to their narrative counterparts.

### **1. Characterizing Spirit Power Songs -**

**a) Distinguishing spirit source, power, and spirit song -** Haeberlin and Gunther (1930), Wike (1941), Smith (1949), Collins (1949), Suttles (1951), Elmendorf (1960), and Amoss (1978) have all documented categories of Coast Salish spirit powers and spirit power songs. Given the esoteric, secretive nature of the subject and differences in terminology used by both consultants and researchers, it is not surprising that a clear distinction between power, source of power, and song cannot be easily arrived at. Suttles lists as sources of spirit power "living things, natural objects, natural forces, monsters, and, rarely, even manmade objects," though they are usually living creatures (Suttles 1974:327/383). Powers are "gifts" from these spirits, accessed and manifested through a song provided when the power is bestowed but distinct from the song. Although there is no limit to the number of sources of spirit power possible,

spirit songs belong to one of a small set of song types (ibid.:330/386). Further, whereas the name of a power is supposed to be kept secret, the song must be recognizable by name or type in order for the power to be acknowledged and reinforced by the community:

The presence of a spirit song in a person who has never sung it is made known by illness, vague aches and pains and feelings of listlessness, or uncontrollable weeping. This situation may be handled by persons who are already singers. They observe the way the person is breathing for an indication of the type of song he has; then those with songs of this type sing their own songs to stimulate him. If he manages to get a little of it out, the old singers take it up and try to draw the rest out of him by trial and error [description continues] (ibid.:359/415).

The requirement of secrecy regarding the identity of the power contrasts with the requirement of the song to be recognized and classified: "The nature of the vision is known only to the dancer, but anyone can tell from the music, the manner of dancing, and the dance regalia what kind of song the initiate has received" (Amoss 1978:64).

The support of others with the same type of song may be crucial for a first-time singer:

While I was staying with them [the Harveys, Upper Skagit], one of their neighbors, a young woman, became sick from the return of the warrior spirit, tubša'dad, for the first time. 'Singers' of the same spirit had to be brought in from the Swinomish reservation and from Vancouver Island 'to help' her, that is, to enable her to validate her spirit publicly" (Collins 1974:247).

Suttles' dichotomy between limitless power sources and finite song type was confirmed by Amoss in her work with the Nooksack:

The informants I consulted repeatedly emphasized the infinite expansibility of the class of visions. 'Anything you see,' said QH, 'if that's what's going to help you, why then it's what you get.' Although people I talked with indicate that there is theoretically no reason a person might not receive a totally exotic song

which would not fit into any of the recognized categories, the evidence collected in this study supports Suttles' statement that there is only a limited number of types of songs" (Amoss 1978:64).

Amoss notes that in current practice, the song of a new spirit dancer is not merely identified but suggested and structured by those leading the initiation:

That song types should be finite when visions are potentially infinite is not surprising when one considers that there is an established musical tradition to which new songs must conform. Songs are learned during the initiation process. Few new dancers, even those spontaneously possessed, burst into fully formed songs. Most begin tentatively with suggestive groans and mumblings which are interpreted by the initiators. In effect, initiators and initiate work together to give musical substance to the *syo'wən*. At the present time most new dancers are initiated by capture, with or without their prior consent, and have nothing until a song is coaxed into them by the initiators. The cultural pressures for conformity are less likely to inhibit the range of individual creativity in structuring the vision experience than they are in structuring the song bestowed by the vision (ibid.).

b) Features of spirit song types - Criteria for distinguishing spirit song types have been culled from the literature. Most scholars who have attempted to characterize local spirit powers have separated them into lay or "career" (Miller 1999a:9) powers and shamanic or "curing" (ibid.) powers. A distinction between shamanic/curing power and all other power is made indigenously. Lay powers have been categorized in various ways. Haeberlin lists each power by name within categories (his) of types of ability conferred; he provides little song information (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930). Wike enumerates indigenous classes of powers (and some specific powers) and includes features of song and dance movements, emphasizing the relationship of the two. Some of the powers listed by Haeberlin were viewed by Wike's consultants as classes of spirits (Wike 1941:27). Wike noted that in both her work and

Haeberlin's, accounts of power varied "...depending upon whether or not the individual possessed the spirit being discussed" (ibid.:59).

Smith lists powers (including shamanistic powers) by name within categories (hers) and provides song features for some (Smith 1949). Collins and Elmendorf arrange powers by type of associated ability but do not include song or dance characteristics (Collins 1949; Elmendorf 1960). According to Elmendorf, Twana classified guardian spirits by grouping together those conferring power associated with similar functions, and he observes that, "Differences in guardian-spirit ceremonial forms - dances, song types, paraphernalia - consistently followed the native grouping of power classes" (Elmendorf 1960:489). Suttles lists powers by song class, providing information about each class, including some features of dance movement; he suggests that most songs belonged to six or seven classes (Suttles 1974). Amoss' discussion of powers includes indigenous categories such as black paint and red paint songs and does not differentiate shamanistic powers from lay powers as a category; features of songs and dance movements are not provided (Amoss 1978).

Song types have probably been recognized and identified on the basis of combinations of kinds of features. In the only extant study of a body of Coast Salish (Twana) spirit power songs, Mohling concludes:

The correlation between song type and musical features is far from complete... suggesting that other than musical or textual contents distinguish song types in the mind of the native Twana. It is conceivable that dance movement, gestures, stylized use of voice, emotional state, or perhaps even

musical features unnoticed by a western-trained musician are the actual differentiating features (Mohling 1957:34).

Williams makes a similar observation for the Skagit:

...[T]he different types of spirit powers are to be distinguished by their song and dance expression.... (V. Williams 1962:5); ...it is likely that each subtype has its own distinctive features, since Mrs. Joe stated that today 'you can tell what kind of power [a new dancer has] by the song (ibid.:65).

Criteria used to distinguish spirit power song types may be grouped into the following categories: 1) Tempo, rhythm, and meter; 2) The relationship between the vocal rhythm, drum rhythm, and the physical movement of the dancer; 3) Manner of singing; 4) Manner of dancing; 5) Text; 6) Form; 7) Paint/regalia of dancer; 8) Effect of song/dance; 9) Difficulty; 10) Relative importance of song and dance. References to features in each category are listed in Table V-1. Only the feature or quality is cited, not the song type referred to.

Table V-1: Criteria for the Classification of Spirit Power Songs

<p><b>1) Tempo, rhythm, and meter</b>  Cited by Smith - "slow. about half notes": "medium song in four quarter time": "a medium fast song, in quarter notes"  Cited by Haerberlin - "...the songs were sung four times in very fast tempo and four times in slow"  Cited by Suttles - "the dance is relatively lively": "slow song": "slow and fine"  Cited by Mohling - "Tempo, measured in drum beats...specifically identifies certain types of spirit power songs": complex rhythmic patterns characterize soul recovery songs (Mohling 1957:34)</p> <p><b>2) Relationship of rhythm of drum, song, and physical movement of the dancer</b>  Cited by Suttles - "an initial part where the performer sings and moves slowly to rapid drum beats and a second part where the dancer sings faster and dances more violently to slower drumbeats"  Cited by Wike, referring to same class as Suttles - "There are at least two divisions...ordinarily they are followed by a third section": 1<sup>st</sup> section - drums beats extremely rapid, while syllables of song are sustained; the "warrior gesture" and associated gestures are part of dance movements; 2<sup>nd</sup> section - frequently same song syllables as first section but restored to conventional word groupings so accents fall on words rather than sustained syllables; song tempo faster while drum slows and takes regular metric form (Wike 1941:88); 3<sup>rd</sup> section - characterized by changes in "rhythmic structure and pattern or tempo" (ibid.:89); in most other spirit songs the dance follows the note pattern (ibid.:97); "...a favorite power, because it is a 'peppy' song, and the movement of the dancers is varied and brilliant"; "When the Swinomish change the relationship of the arms, they make the readjustment abruptly, definitely placing the arms on an exact beat of the drum" (ibid.:86)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(continued next page)</p>
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(continued)

**3) Manner of singing**

Cited by Smith - "ended very lightly, gracefully, tapering off into nothing": "very forceful and staccato"; "ended in a hard, loud ho or he"

**4) Manner of dancing**

Cited in Suttles - "relatively lively"; "dances more violently"

Cited in Wike - "A dancer may imitate realistically the gestures of the bone game or the movements of weaving, whereas the only clue to the identity of the tutelary may be a small gesture of the ankles..."; "a display of technical virtuosity that is meant to suggest the vitality and skill the dancer has at his command at battle, or now, in ordinary life" (Wike 1941:84); the dancer "...executes a transfer of weight on each beat throughout, moving slowly in one direction or another but always travelling to make a counterclockwise circuit of the building" (ibid.:85)

**5) Text**

Cited by Smith - ends with "hai: hai:."; "singer uses word higwa'lgwił [name of power] in song"

Cited by Suttles - "He believed they all [songs of particular class] had Puget Sound words which describe a journey"

**6) Form**

Cited by Suttles - Songs (in a particular class) "have a recognizable form"

Cited by Wike - Discussion of 2 common classes of power - in one, song appears to accompany dance, in second the song is primary and the dance seems secondary; in one common class, 2 sections may make up complete dance but usually there is a third section - informants had terms for sections, translated as "the beginning, the first step," "the even dance," and "the end."; "...one melodic theme with rhythmic variations is often the form..." (Wike 1941:97); in contrasted form, "each section of the song is an independent musical ideal, a melodic line accompanied by an unaccented constant bass": "one movement or a simple combination of movements is repeated without development" (ibid.:98)

**7) Paint/Regalia of dancer**

Cited by Suttles - "the dancer uses black face paint and carries a staff with deer-hoof rattles"; red face paint, cluster of deer-hoof rattles on short cord; "he put white down on his head and sang his song"

Cited by Wike - "...formerly danced with a knife through the flesh of each side of their chests"

**8) Effect of song/dance**

Cited by Wike - "'comforting song; when you're sick you cry that song'...like a spirit... described by Haeberlin...songs whose only attribute is their ability to soothe and comfort"

Cited by Collins - "Informants said that it was always good weather, a clear warm day when c'a'yq was sung...happiness and gaiety associated with c'a'yq": cloud and rain spirits make it rain

Cited by Haeberlin and Gunther - "When there was illness in a neighboring tribe, the songs of these [3]spirits were sung to prevent the disease from spreading."

Cited by Haeberlin - With a certain power a person "could predict sickness and could tell whether there will be any sickness all year around": "Most old people had this spirit because it has a good tune and makes its owner happy. Otherwise it had no power"

**9) Difficulty**

Cited by Suttles - "an easy song"

**10) Relative importance of song and dance**

Cited by Wike - "The element of the spirit manifestation which is ceremonially important, song or dance, varies with the type of power" (Wike 1941:84)

2. Relationship of Spirit Powers to Myth Characters - Suttles is explicit in distinguishing powers from myth-era characters: "Mythological beings were not sources of power" (Suttles 1974:327/383). Collins, on the other hand, includes references to myth-era characters when discussing Skagit bear and wolf spirits (Collins 1949:147-151). She also describes a myth narrative about the arrival of *sg'ədilič* (a well-known Lushootseed power) and his brothers Knife, Fire, and an unidentified youngest brother in the Skagit Valley (ibid.:158); in Upper Skagit accounts *sg'ədilič* was one of the transformers, though according to Collins this myth is not reported in other areas (ibid.:158-164).

Human personality traits may have been associated with real or myth-era animals:

Any of the powers which differentiated personalities or was connected with the enhancement of prestige was *sqəla'litut*. Pride, gruffness, a fondness for berries, any such personality differences, were connected with certain animal or bird powers or inanimate objects in nature. In these cases the traits often aped those of the animals themselves, or they were based upon anthropomorphized interpretations of their behavior, or derived from actions of the counterparts of existing animals and birds as these were related in myths dealing with a time before the world was changed into its present form (Smith 1949:59).

Smith's list of powers begins with "Blue jay, *skai'kai*," described as "Very lively and always up to something. Other birds don't like him. Selfish and full of life. A schemer and a good politician. One of the best" (ibid.:68). Although she doesn't state as much, this Blue jay sounds very much like the well-known myth-era character, the animal-person called Blue jay. Smith lists other bird powers but doesn't describe their personalities. She distinguishes real birds from myth-era birds in another context:

When a person was in the woods, especially a hunter, he listened to the owls, squirrels and bluejays, especially the latter. If they talked fast and mad, it meant bad luck, if they talked slow and happy, it meant good luck. This had nothing to do with power; the particular real bird or animal heard was passing on information to the listener. Occasionally such animals gave specific advice to the hunter" (ibid.:128).

Relationship to Incantations - In addition to the songs that form the crux of the human/spirit bonds, at one time other esoteric knowledge in the form of spoken or sung words was highly valued. According to Miller, elite Lushootseed families controlled and passed on these "enchancements" as part of their store of private knowledge. For the Coast Salish of Haro and Rosario straits

There were also songs which were transmitted and used like spells. They may in fact have been simply spells sung rather than spoken, but the informant PG gave them a separate name...so perhaps they should be called incantations to distinguish them from both spoken spells and other songs (Suttles 1974:387/443).

These incantations were clearly distinguished from spirit power songs in terms of their human source and acquisition "as learned and often purchased possessions" (ibid.:381/437). There is no literature suggesting that story songs may be parodies of such incantations, but the features of some songs suggests this possibility. This subject will be explored in detail in Chapter Six.

## **Myth Songs as Musical Events**

### Historical Perspective -

In this section I address the historical characterization of western Washington Coast Salish songs generally, and myth songs specifically, before presenting my own findings regarding musical and linguistic features of myth songs in Chapter Six. Two

types of historical sources have been consulted: first, surveys of musical traits and, second, studies (greatly influenced by the first type) of specific bodies of songs. The first type is made up of surveys of North American indigenous musical style areas which utilize notated song transcriptions as a basis for characterizing the musical features of songs in each area. The rationale for organizing knowledge about North American Indian music through the identification and analysis of areal musical traits has long been questioned and the comparative aim abandoned in Ethnomusicology since the 1960s in favor of other approaches and priorities. Criticisms of the earlier approach include the problems of defining "culture area," "musical style area," "tribal repertoire," etc.; the inadequacy of using recordings made outside of cultural context; lack of knowledge of languages; absence of extra-musical performance factors in recordings and transcriptions made from 1886 through the early 1950s; censoring of samples recorded in the quest for oldest, most authentic, least contaminated, etc.; pre-conceived cultural and musical ideas that influenced collecting; philosophical agendas that drove research (cultural relativism looking for stable, coherent styles; diffusionist ideas of a Siberian prototype). The ethnomusicologist of today expects a description of any musical activity to be historically and culturally contextualized, to acknowledge its musical, linguistic, and performance-related aspects, and, to be presented dialogically. (Some of those formerly involved with classificatory work are also its critics (Nettl 1969)).

Comparative musicologists called for more studies of local musical traditions in order to better portray North American Indian music according to culture area. Two

masters theses completed at the University of Washington in 1957 and 1962 attempted to provide the kind of analysis exemplified by Herzog's work for two western Washington Coast Salish song traditions. These contributions, by Virginia Gill Mohling and Vivian Tomlinson Williams, will be discussed later in this chapter.

It is noteworthy that, although the Hornbostel paradigm and the broader aims of comparative musicology no longer underlie most research on North American indigenous musics, the literature on the Northwest Coast has continued to devote considerable attention to song analysis. This stream of scholarship, based on the work of British anthropologist J. R. Firth, focuses on the relationship of music and text and presumed parallels between musical and linguistic structure. It is also informed by Sapir's work on the connection between language and music. Works dealing with the structural organization of Northwest Coast songs include Robins and McLeod, "Five Yurok Songs: A Musical and Textual Analysis" (1956); Bursill-Hall, "The Linguistic Analysis of North American Indian Songs" (about Haida love songs) (1964); Mulder, "Structural Organization in Coast Tsimshian Music" (1994). Mulder expanded on musical-linguistic analysis along Hymesian lines to focus particularly on the use of repetition and variation to identify structural patterns; she also investigated the structural function of vocables in determining these patterns. Enrico and Stuart's *Northern Haida Songs* (1996) is the only monograph to date devoted to the study of musical-linguistic structures across the full range of song genres in a Northwest Coast music tradition. No such study has focused on a Coast Salish song tradition.

### Musical Traits of Salish Song Genres -

The following description and critique of the comparative studies conducted during the first half of the twentieth century precede my own findings for several reasons: 1) A contemporary study must begin not only with a review of what is already known but how it came to be known, in order to evaluate its appropriateness as a benchmark; 2) Coast Salish music got short shrift in earlier comparative studies; a fuller picture may be constituted utilizing additional recorded sources; 3) Comparative studies treated myth songs across areal lines as a "special" song type; how do Coast Salish myth songs figure into this characterization? 4) Comparative studies provide a vocabulary for describing musical characteristics; 5) Comparative studies provide a starting point for a study of musical change; 6) Combined with other analytical perspectives, the study of musical traits may contribute something of value to the overall characterization of Coast Salish myth songs.

**Early Areal Studies -** As outlined in chapter one, Stumpf's approach to the study of North American Indian music was developed into a comparative methodology by Hornbostel, Abraham, and Boas. Comparative studies of North American Indian music were later carried out by Roberts, Herzog, and Nettl, based on transcriptions and sound recordings of numerous collectors. Herzog's "Musical Styles in North America" (1930) summarizes the manner of singing or "singing technique" of North and South American Indians. He identifies a widely distributed Type A originally described by Hornbostel and a very limited Type B, which Herzog discovered among

some groups in California and the Great Basin and characterizes by its absence of the traits of Type A. Herzog makes no reference to recorded sources in this essay.

The Coast Salish, as part of the "Northwest Coast," are implicitly included in the "Type A" singing technique area. This generalization has been modified by other writers, and I will offer further evidence against it in the course of this and the next chapter.

Roberts' "Musical Areas in Aboriginal North America" (1936) was the first attempt to present a comprehensive survey of musical areas. She treats instrumental and vocal musical areas separately but concludes that in general the two areas coincide and that these broadly defined musical areas tend to match culture areas as established for other cultural traits. (Nettl later criticized this conclusion, remarking, "...she has produced a study which, on the whole, does not describe musical areas but the musical styles of culture areas" (Nettl 1954:vii).) In Nettl's own survey, he attempted to define areas on the basis of musical style.) Roberts maps the geographical distribution of musical instruments according to type (strings, wind, and percussion), and while acknowledging the paucity of available data, she summarizes the characteristics of vocal music in the following areas: Eskimo, Northwest Coast-Plateau, California, Southwest-Plains-Plateau, Eastern Woodlands—Southeast, and Mexico. She is careful to locate source material historically in the recent past, not necessarily representative of musical activity before the early nineteenth century.

Roberts' depiction of "Northwest Coast-Plateau" vocal music is based on Sapir's collection of Nootka songs, Haeberlin's Snohomish recordings (which Roberts transcribed for publication), Boas' Kwakiutl songs, and Abraham and Hornbostel's collection from British Columbia (see listing below). She identifies some features of "Northwest Coast" songs shared with Eskimo songs: the recitative quality common to many (with one tone dominating); and the frequent rising of pitch in the singing of both Nootka and Snohomish consultants. In contrast to Eskimos, Northwest Coast groups have more types of songs, and songs may have a wider melodic range, elaborate forms of composition, and complex rhythms and meters. The frequent use of minor thirds and a metric division of five is also mentioned (Roberts 1936:30). The Haeberlin Snohomish recordings are examples of Coast Salish songs but are not specified as such.

The value of Roberts' work is suggested in her discussion of nine generalizations she hopes to dispel in the course of the essay (*ibid.*:6). Most have to do with the perception that indigenous North American music is homogeneous in nature, lacking in variety and interest. She also objects to the hegemony of Plains Indian music, which was better known to the general public than that of other regions. In fact, it is her desire to demonstrate the many forms and styles of musical activity that motivate this work and give it its almost zealous tone. Her characterizations are weak both because her data is/are inadequate for the task and because she sees musical style as embedded in a larger expressive context she is unable to describe:

... the problems of identification, isolation and characterization of musical styles are not as easy as they appear. Only in the selection of and play with a considerable number of features, can pattern variation and local or tribal differences be discerned—often differences of degree rather than of absolute inclusion or exclusion. Even the simplest musical art is the complex result of the combination of many separate factors... (ibid.:4).

#### Herzog's Study of Salish Musical Traits -

The first and only study of Salish music (including coastal and interior groups) was published by Herzog (1949). In this work he addresses the problem of different styles "coexisting" in the music of a "single group." Following Hornbostel, Herzog had earlier proposed that such differences could be explained by "the intrusion of foreign elements" or "the survival of old forms" (Herzog 1935:24). The Salish study pursues this line of inquiry through a comparison of Salish with Northwest Coast musical style, represented by a sample of Kwakiutl, Nootka, Tsimshian, and Quileute songs (the latter included apparently because of its ceremonial ties to the Nootka (Herzog 1949:103). Herzog concludes that the primary difference between Salish music and that of the "complex cultures" of the Northwest Coast is the elaboration in the latter on what may have been a "common, or similar" base of musical material (ibid.:106). Thus, Salish cultures are characterized as preserving older, simpler musical forms linked to the religious practices associated with spirits and spirit power. Herzog agrees with Roberts that Salish music also shares some traits with "Eskimo" music and that of the "Paleo-Siberians."

Herzog's summary of fourteen Salish music traits are shown in the following table.

Table V-2: Salish Music Traits Identified by Herzog

**General****Features shared with most North American Indian music -**

No instrumental music; percussion instruments, used for accompaniment, predominate

Singing without accompaniment is rare

Many song texts consist partly or entirely of vocables; when text is meaningful, elements are often repeated

Technique of singing is that found widely across North America, characterized by a vocal production in which the vocal cords are tensed and relaxed on nearly every note, creating accents, pulsation on longer tones, and glides

**Rhythm**

**Measure** - A stable, consistent rhythmic measure is more common than in other areas

**Meter** - Rhythms based on 3, including triplets, are more common than usual; rhythms of 5 and 7 are moderately frequent

**Accompaniment** -

1) Medium - Less use of skin-covered drum in relation to rattles and rigid percussion instruments (planks, sticks); frame drum sometimes square

2) Relationship between voice and rhythmic accompaniment - Sometimes intricate (unlike of simple coordination in other areas); syncopated accompaniment is fairly frequent; difference in simultaneous rates of speed of voice and accompaniment is also fairly frequent

**Melody**

**Range** - Limited tonal range (a 6<sup>th</sup> or less in about 2/3 of the material)

**Scales** - Anhemitonic pentatonic scales dividing the octave into seconds and thirds are less common than in other areas (stepwise arrangement contrasted to gapped; Salish scales appear to be more of the gapped type, but not necessarily pentatonic)

**Melodic movement** -

1) Contour - Melodic movement often level or undulating rather than primarily descending; in songs with wider range, "pendulum" movement may result in which melody ascends and descends with frequent reversals of direction

2) Characteristic intervals - In songs with wider range, broad jumps are fairly frequent; combinations of steps of thirds with fourths or thirds with thirds give a "broken triad" effect; half-steps in unusual positions or resulting in unusual scale intervals (diminished fifth, augmented fourth or fifth) are more common than in music of other areas

**Form**

**Overall structure** - The structure of melodies often exhibits "a certain looseness and lack of clarity": musical phrases may be closely related instead of contrasting, or their form may vary upon repetition, or the number and order of phrases may vary upon repeating stanza or melody

**Other**

1) Slight indications of harmonic or polyphonic part-singing noteworthy because of rarity generally (among examples drone most common; some may be accidental)

2) Gender - Nearly equal participation of men and women as musicians and composers

Herzog's depiction of Salish music traits was based exclusively on his analysis of published song transcriptions. He notes that recordings of Salish songs were located at both the University of Washington and Columbia University, but "most of it has not yet been analyzed or published" (Herzog 1949:95). This helps explain the omission of vocal quality or technique in his characterization of Salish music, a noteworthy omission since his earliest work on musical style focused entirely on manner of singing (Herzog 1930).

The following table summarizes information about Herzog's sources :

Table V-3: Sources of Herzog's Salish Song Transcriptions

Transcribed by:	Recorded by:	# of Songs	Group/Language	Coast/Interior	# Myth Songs
Abraham & Hornbostel (1906)*	Boas	44	Thompson River	Interior	1? (song #10)
Eells (1879)	(not recorded)	24	Skokomish/Twana	Coast	0
Stumpf & Boas (1886)	(not recorded)	9	Bella Coola	Coast	0
Roberts (1918)	Haeberlin	16	Snohomish	Coast	0
Herzog (1934)	Adamson & Boas	19	Chehalis	Coast	19
Densmore (1943)	Densmore	13	Sliamon Reserve	Coast	0
Densmore (1943)	Densmore	10	Squamish River	Coast	0
Densmore (1943)	Densmore	10	Chilliwack (Middle Fraser River)	Coast	0
Densmore (1943)	Densmore	8	Lower Thompson River	Interior	0
Densmore (1943)	Densmore	11	Upper Thompson River	Interior	0
Densmore (1943)	Densmore	? ("a few each")	Lower Fraser River; Homalko Reserve (Straits of Georgia)	Coast & Interior ?	0

\* Date of publication is given in each case.

Of the 164 song transcriptions in the above sources, Herzog includes 140 in his analysis (rejecting the 24 by Eells as incomplete and unreliable, though he does include Eells' observations in his discussion of polyphony). The sample of 140 songs includes 77 from Coast Salish and 63 from Interior Salish groups (all Thompson). The issue of coast vs. interior Salish must be addressed at this point. Herzog treats "Salish" as a cultural designation (contrasting "the simple Salish cultures" to "the more complex cultures of the Northwest Coast" (Herzog 1949:106). He does not

distinguish between Coast Salish and Interior Salish at any point. In fact, the designation "Salish" refers to the Salishan family of languages and is not a cultural identifier. In culture area classifications the Coast Salish (speakers of Coast Salish languages excepting the Bella Coola and the Tillamook) constitute a sub-grouping within the Northwest Coast area (see Wissler, Kroeber, and Drucker), while the Interior Salish groups are part of the Plateau culture area. Though social networks and cultural similarities have always linked people across these categories, the distinction between Coast and Interior Salish is an important one in the study of historical cultural practice.

In the following tables Herzog's presentations of data on Salish melodic range and rhythm are reproduced; then a series of tables compare the data for total Salish, Coast Salish, Interior Salish, Western Washington Coast Salish, and British Columbia Coast Salish. Data pertaining to myth songs in Herzog's sample is then tabulated.

Table V-4: Melodic Range of Salish Songs (from Herzog Table 5 (Herzog 1949:99))

Source	5 <sup>th</sup> or less *	6 <sup>th</sup> or less	7 <sup>th</sup> or above	Total
Snohomish	13	14	2	16
Chehalis	15	16	3	19
Sliamon		5	8	13
Bella Coola		5	4	9
Squamish		4	6	10
Chilliwack		3	7	10
L. Thompson	28	37	7	44
L. Thompson Densmore		1	7	8
Upper Thompson		5	6	11
Total	56	90	50	140
%	40%	64%	36%	100%

\* This column is not in Herzog's table, but the data is in his text (Herzog 1949:99)

Table V-5: Melodic Range: Coast Salish Examples

Source	5 <sup>th</sup> or less	6 <sup>th</sup> or less	7 <sup>th</sup> or above	Total
Snohomish	13	14	2	16
Chehalis	15	16	3	19
Sliamon		5	8	13
Bella Coola		5	4	9
Squamish		4	6	10
Chilliwack		3	7	10
Total	28	47	30	77
%	36%	61%	39%	100%

Table V-6: Melodic Range: Interior Salish Examples

Source	5 <sup>th</sup> or less	6 <sup>th</sup> or less	7 <sup>th</sup> or above	Total
L. Thompson	28	37	7	44
L. Thompson Densmore		1	7	8
Upper Thompson		5	6	11
Total	28	43	20	63
%	44%	68%	32%	100%

Table V-7: Melodic Range: Western Washington Coast Salish Examples

Source	5 <sup>th</sup> or less	6 <sup>th</sup> or less	7 <sup>th</sup> or above	Total
Snohomish	13	14	2	16
Chehalis	15	16	3	19
Total	28	30	5	35
%	80%	86%	14%	100%

Table V-8: Melodic Range of Salish Songs According to Type of Song  
(from Herzog Table 7 (Herzog 1949:102))

<b>Power Songs</b>	6 <sup>th</sup> or less	7 <sup>th</sup> or above	Total
Snohomish: "Doctor's"	8	..	8
Snohomish: Guardian Spirit	5	..	5
Bella Coola: Doctoring	1	..	1
L. Thompson: "Medicine"	2	1	3
L. Thompson: "Religious"	2	..	2
U. Thompson: Curing	4	..	4
Sliamon, Chilliwack: Curing, Doctoring	3	6	9
Total	25	7	32
%	78%	22%	100%
<b>Gambling Songs</b>			
Snohomish	1	..	1
L. Thompson	1	1	2
Sliamon	1	..	1
Squamish	2	..	2
U. Thompson	1	4	5
Total	6	5	11
%	55%	45%	100%
<b>Dance Songs</b>			
L. Thompson	15	2	17
Bella Coola	1	1	2
Sliamon	1	5	6
Squamish	..	1	1
L. Thompson Dens.	..	4	4
U. Thompson	..	2	2
Total	17	15	32
%	53%	47%	100%
<b>Lyrical Songs</b>			
Snohomish	1	1	2
L. Thompson	6	5	11
Bella Coola	..	1	1
Squamish	..	3	3
Chilliwack	..	2	2

L. Thompson Dens.	..	2	2
Total	7	14	21
%	33%	66%	100%

Table V-9: Melodic Range According to Type of Song: Coast Salish Examples

<b>Power Songs</b>	6 <sup>th</sup> or less	7 <sup>th</sup> or above	Total
Snohomish: "Doctor's"	8	..	8
Snohomish: Guardian Spirit	5	..	5
Bella Coola: Doctoring	1	..	1
Sliamon, Chilliwack: Curing, Doctoring	3	6	9
Total	17	6	23
%	74%	26%	100%
<b>Gambling Songs</b>			
Snohomish	1	..	1
Sliamon	1	..	1
Squamish	2	..	2
Total	4	..	4
%	100%		100%
<b>Dance Songs</b>			
Bella Coola	1	1	2
Sliamon	1	5	6
Squamish	..	1	1
Total	2	7	9
%	22%	78%	100%
<b>Lyrical Songs</b>			
Snohomish	1	1	2
Bella Coola	..	1	1
Squamish	..	3	3
Chilliwack	..	2	2
Total	1	7	8
%	12.5%	87.5%	100%

Table V-10: Melodic Range According to Type of Song:  
Western Washington Coast Salish Examples

<b>Power Songs</b>	6 <sup>th</sup> or less	7 <sup>th</sup> or above	Total
Snohomish: "Doctor's"	8	..	8
Snohomish: Guardian Spirit	5	..	5
<b>Total</b>	13	0	13
<b>%</b>	100%		100%
<b>Gambling Songs</b>			
Snohomish	1	..	1
<b>Total</b>	1	..	1
<b>%</b>	100%		100%
<b>Dance Songs</b>			
<b>Total</b>	0	0	0
<b>Lyrical Songs</b>			
Snohomish	1	1	2
<b>Total</b>	1	1	2
<b>%</b>	50%	50%	100%

Table V-11: Summary: Melodic Range

Examples -	# 5 <sup>th</sup> or <	% 5 <sup>th</sup> or <	# 6 <sup>th</sup> or <	% 6 <sup>th</sup> or <	# 7 <sup>th</sup> or >	% 7 <sup>th</sup> or >	Total #
Salish (all examples)	56	40%	90	64%	50	36%	140
Coast Salish	28	36%	47	61%	30	39%	77
Interior Salish	28	44%	43	68%	20	32%	63
W. Wash. Coast Salish	28	80%	30	86%	5	14%	35
Myth Songs	15	79%	16	84%	3	16%	19
Power Songs- All	--	--	25	78%	7	22%	32
Power Songs- C. S.	--	--	17	74%	6	26%	23
Power Songs- I. S.	--	--	8	89%	1	11%	9
Power Songs- W.W.C.S.	--	--	13	100%	0		13
Gambling Songs - All	--	--	6	55%	5	45%	11
Gambling Songs - C.S.	--	--	4	100%	0		4
Gambling Songs - I. S.	--	--	2	29%	5	71%	7
Gambling Songs - W.W.C.S.	--	--	1	100%	0		1
Dance Songs - All	--	--	17	53%	15	47%	32
Dance Songs - C. S.	--	--	2	22%	7	78%	9
Dance Songs - I. S.	--	--	15	65%	8	35%	23
Dance Songs - W.W.C.S.	--	--	0		0		0
Lyrical Songs - All	--	--	7	33%	14	66%	21
Lyrical Songs - C. S.	--	--	1	12.5%	7	87.5%	8
Lyrical Songs - I. S.	--	--	6	46%	7	54%	13
Lyrical Songs - W.W.C.S.	--	--	1	50%	1	50%	2

Table V-12: Rhythmic Features of Salish Songs (from Herzog Table 6  
(Herzog 1949:100))

Source	Total	Stable Measure	%	Rhythms of 3 or Triplets	%	Rhythms of 5 or 7 (dominant or not dominant)	%
Snohomish	16	16	100%	9	56%	7: 3 (d); 4 (nd)	44%
Chehalis	19	8	42%	6	32%	2: 2 (nd)	11%
Sliamon	13	8	62%	..	0%	4: 2 (d); 2 (nd)	31%
Bella Coola	9	7	78%	3	33%	2: 2 (d)	22%
Squamish	10	6	60%	2	20%	--	--
Chilliwack	10	5	50%	..	0%	--	--
L. Thompson	44	31	70%	16	36%	12: 7(d); 5 (nd)	27%
L. Thompson Dens.	8	4	50%	1	13%	--	--
Upper Thompson	11	10	91%	..	0%	--	--
Total	140	95	68%	37	26%	27: 14 (dominant); 13 (not dominant)	19%

Table V-13: Rhythmic Features: Coast Salish Examples

Source	Total	Stable Measure	%	Rhythms of 3 or Triplets	%	Rhythms of 5 or 7 (dominant or not dominant)	%
Snohomish	16	16	100%	9	56%	7: 3 (d); 4 (nd)	44%
Chehalis	19	8	42%	6	32%	2: 2 (nd)	11%
Sliamon	13	8	62%	..	0%	4: 2 (d); 2 (nd)	31%
Bella Coola	9	7	78%	3	33%	2: 2 (d)	22%
Squamish	10	6	60%	2	20%	--	--
Chilliwack	10	5	50%	..	0%	--	--
Total	77	50	65%	20	26%	15: 7 dominant); 8 (not dominant)	19%

Table V-14: Rhythmic Features of Western Washington Coast Salish Examples

Source	Total	Stable Measure	%	Rhythms of 3 or Triplets	%	Rhythms of 5 or 7 (dominant or not dominant)	%
Snohomish	16	16	100%	9	56%	7: 3 (d); 4 (nd)	44%
Chehalis	19	8	42%	6	32%	2: 2 (nd)	11%
Total	35	24	69%	15	43%	9: 3 (d); 6 (nd)	26%

Table V-15: Summary: Rhythmic Features

Source	Stable Measure	Total	%	Rhythms of 3 or Triplets	Total	%
Salish (all examples)	95	140	68%	37	140	26%
Coast Salish	50	77	65%	20	77	26%
Interior Salish	45	63	71%	17	63	27%
W. Wash. Coast Salish	24	35	69%	15	35	43%
Myth Songs	8	19	42%	6	19	32%

Critique of Herzog's Findings - Herzog himself expressed reservations about the utility of his data in characterizing Salish music. Since most groups were represented by a small number of melodies (or none), "tribal" styles couldn't be established, and differentiation according to use or function couldn't be adequately judged. He noted also that the sample data was incomplete: some transcriptions had no texts, some left out rhythmic accompaniment, and changes during repetitions may not have been noted. He considered the data from Eells interesting but suspect (*ibid.*:95-96). The data from Densmore's recordings concerned Herzog because of the strong contrast between her material and that from other sources in terms of melodic range. He

suspected that the Chilliwack material, with the smallest number of songs having a range less than a sixth, had been subject to heavy recent borrowings from non-Salish groups, probably due to its position as a hop picking center, which drew from a large area. For some of Densmore's groups the "archaic" song types (like spirit power songs) were presented "less well" than others. Herzog also identified problems with the song categories: the designation "dance song" was vague and probably included items that shouldn't be treated as a group, but not enough was known about most of them to differentiate them. It was difficult to determine which songs were (spirit) power songs; he suspected that some dance songs and gambling songs should be considered in that group (ibid.:101).

My own observations regarding Herzog's study further call into question the validity of his findings:

- 1) Since "Salish" is a language family which overlaps two culture areas with distinct social, religious, and literary traditions, a characterization of Salish music is nearly meaningless if musical life is to be considered in relation to other cultural experience.
- 2) The sample of thirty-five songs from western Washington Coast Salish is insufficient, since it represents only two of nine language (seventeen dialect) groups.
- 3) Of the two collections of western Washington Coast Salish songs analyzed, one is entirely story songs, resulting in the western Washington sample consisting of 54% myth songs (19 of 35 songs). Herzog claims that myth songs generally have a limited

melodic range, so by his own criterion this sample does not represent western Washington or Coast Salish songs generally.

4) Of the 77 Coast Salish examples, 9 are Bella Coola (three of which Herzog claims are from neighboring tribes); 13 are Sliamon [Slaiamon]; 10 are Squamish; 10 are Chilliwack; 16 are Snohomish; and 19 are Chehalis. Of these only the Snohomish and Chehalis examples (35 total) are from western Washington; this constitutes 45% of the Coast Salish material and 25% of the total 140 songs analyzed. In terms of language representation, the Coast Salish examples are from 6 of the 16 Coast Salish languages; 2 of the 6 are from western Washington. These two, Snohomish and Chehalis, are the only languages of the 9 western Washington Coast Salish groups represented. Considering that Nettl's later study utilized the same sources as Herzog's, it is clear that a small sample representing a limited area has been made to stand for a large repertoire of songs across the entire Coast Salish cultural sub-area.

Herzog's Treatment of Myth Songs - Among the song genres represented in Herzog 1949 are the nineteen Chehalis "myth" songs recorded by Adamson and Boas; none of the other sources include songs explicitly identified as such. Story songs enter into Herzog's characterization of Salish music in relation to melodic range. He notes that fifteen (of the nineteen) Chehalis examples have a range of a fifth or less and comments in a footnote, "However, songs in stories tend to have a limited range in Indian music in general" (ibid.:99). In discussing melodic range as an index of musical development, he states, "...archaic styles, or archaic song-types within more

developed styles, tend to be characterized by a restricted tonal range" (ibid.:101-102). It follows "...that Salish melodies connected with doctoring, curing, and guardian spirit beliefs have best preserved their archaic character and simplicity (as have also story songs, judging from the Chehalis group)..." (ibid.:102-103). In characterizing Salish story songs, Herzog places them in a special song category outside the Salish "culture" area.

In an earlier article Herzog outlined four "special song types" he observed in North American Indian music, styles which cut across tribal boundaries and often contrasted with other types of songs within a tribal (or cultural) style (Herzog 1935). The fourth of these song types he identified as "songs in animal stories," which Herzog judged to be among the oldest surviving types, based on their widespread appearance and their simplicity. He also observed that the manner of singing of these songs was different from the prevalent style in North America (and in some Siberian and much South American Indian music) and suggested that if this is a very old song type, the singing technique was likely old as well, perhaps predating the prevalent style. Without describing the manner of story song singing, he simply contrasted it to that in which "a continuous guttural pressure results in the strong accentuation of every tone, in strong glides, and in subdividing longer tones by regular pulsations which fall in with the rhythmic progression of the shorter tones" (Herzog 1935:8). This contrasting manner of singing appears to be the "Type B" originally proposed by Herzog as characteristic of the Yuman and other groups in southern and central California (Herzog 1930:457); he later developed the view that this vocal style was present

outside that area as well in songs sung by animal characters in stories and story cycles.

Herzog characterized animal story songs as follows:

They are very brief, exceedingly simple in melody, rhythm, and structure. As against the three or four phrases of the average Indian song, these may have only one or two. The range may be about a fifth or less, with a content of perhaps two to four tones. The rules of repetition prominent in Indian styles where sacred numbers are important in the culture are not followed here. Often they are sung without any accompaniment. Their simplicity makes them not unlike our children's ditties. Many of them are hardly more than chanted forms of spoken sentences... In contrast to most songs of the tribes from whom they were recorded, they do not contain strings of nonsense syllables; the music merely supports the words of the song, which often ends with animal cries. At times the entire song is merely an imitation (although not necessarily very naturalistic) of the animal's cries, the song always being sung by an animal in the story. This type of song, while often embedded in animal stories of all varieties, appears more constantly in the story cycles connected with an animal trickster or animal culture hero (Herzog 1935:9).

One of the five animal story transcriptions presented by Herzog is a Coast Salish example, "Song of Bluejay," recorded by Adamson/Boas (Upper Chehalis 14) (ibid.: [12]).<sup>3</sup> The same transcription was published in Adamson's collection with text and English translation (Adamson 1934:422). None of the nineteen transcriptions in Herzog (1935) include song texts. It is clear that Herzog isolated the musical features of the "special song types" to make his point regarding the existence of musical styles that "intrude" across tribal boundaries or that exhibit uncharacteristic features due to the survival of archaic forms (ibid.:2). Explaining these exceptional song styles was necessary to his larger aim of identifying and delineating tribal styles. The omission of song texts is understandable, given his agenda, but it is also frustrating, since his

passing comments on the structural relationship of music to text in these exceptional styles suggests a more holistic perspective than is demonstrated in his analysis.

Herzog's characterization of animal story songs bears on the subject of Coast Salish story songs in a number of ways. First, Herzog's understanding of the concepts of "animal," "animal trickster," and "animal culture hero" must be questioned. In the Coast Salish myth era, animals were people; that is, they stood on two feet in human form, though they often had personality traits or physical characteristics reminiscent of the animal they would become after the arrival of the Changer/Transformer. The "animal trickster" of the Northwest, whether Coyote, Raven, Mink, or another character, is always a person. Animal songs of northwestern California and "Arctic Asia" better fit the profile described by Herzog, especially in regard to their mimetic quality (Keeling 1992:41). Some western Washington Coast Salish story songs do in fact conform to this profile, but they seem to be a sub-type of the story song genre. The Coast Salish story song genre and song sub-types will be discussed more fully in Chapter Six.

#### Nettl's Characterization of Salish Songs -

Nettl was the inheritor of the aims and methodology practiced by Herzog in his numerous studies of local musical styles, and he produced two works on the distribution of musical style traits in North America (Nettl 1954, 1969) as well as

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<sup>3</sup> The other examples are Yanktonai-Dakota - song of Spider (Herzog, Dakota 1); Winnebago - song of Trickster (Herzog, Winnebago 4); Tonkawa - song of Mouse (Hoijer Tonkawa 2); and Tonkawa - song of Turtle (Hoijer, Tonkawa 2).

several that refer to and modify aspects of those works (1990, 1992). Nettl modeled his first and most comprehensive treatment on the culture area studies of Wissler (1922) and Kroeber (1947), but his aim was to identify musical areas entirely on the basis of vocal style, without consideration of musical instrument distribution or other cultural factors. He thus delineated six music areas on the basis of "generally homogeneous musical style," establishing an area by identifying "one or several important traits which are not found with the same degree of intensity in neighboring areas" (Nettl 1954:4). The areas are: Eskimo-Northwest Coast; Great Basin; California-Yuman; Athabaskan; Plains-Pueblo; and Eastern. The boundaries of these areas do not exactly match the culture areas identified by Wissler or Kroeber, but Nettl found for most areas, as Wissler had, a distribution of traits around centers of development where the style was most typical and sometimes more complex. In his later revision Nettl identified five areas which were fairly close to Kroeber's culture areas.

It is noteworthy that Nettl did not include recordings made by Jacobs in western Oregon in his study sample. Jacobs' cylinder recordings of Klikitat and Upper Cowlitz Sahaptin songs made in 1926 and 1927 had been deposited at the American Museum of Natural History, were later loaned to Herzog and brought to Indiana University with him in 1946, and eventually became part of the collection of the Archives of Traditional Music. Copies of Clackamas Chinook recordings made in 1929 and 1930 were also sent to Herzog and later deposited in the Archives (Seaburg 1982:36). Herzog lists these and other recordings made by Jacobs in his

survey of field recordings (Herzog 1936:25/585). The western Oregon area documented by Jacobs was entirely left out of Nettl's study, however. This area, which includes non-Salish speaking coastal groups as well as inland people listed under "Plateau Area" in Herzog's survey (*ibid.*), may have been considered marginal to adjacent musical areas. It's also possible that although Jacobs' recordings were in Herzog's possession in Indiana, they were not made available to Nettl during the time he was preparing his dissertation (and subsequent publication). It is also unfortunate that recordings of western Washington Coast Salish groups made by Gunther, Jacobs, Ballard, Harrington, H. Smith, and Elmendorf were not added to Nettl's Salish sample; the reason for these omissions is not known.

Following the analytical methods developed by Hornbostel and practiced by Herzog, Nettl (1954) addresses four categories of musical information: melody, rhythm, form, and other features. His data comes from musical transcriptions compiled from monographs and other published works; unpublished transcriptions, including many by the author; and field recordings (located at the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University), which he used to corroborate written material (*ibid.*). Nettl's study was intended to isolate musical data for detailed analysis; hence, information about song genres and song texts is omitted. Working mainly from transcriptions, performance-related information was also absent. Because of this, his findings regarding vocal quality are the least developed.

Of the twenty-eight song transcriptions included, two are Salish examples (Thompson River songs transcribed by Hornbostel and Abraham (No. 34 and 12 [incorrectly printed as "34"] ). Nettl lists the same Salish sources Herzog used for his 1949 essay, with no additions.<sup>4</sup> The Densmore material is discounted on the grounds that tribes are "not accurately identified" (either Nettl had not seen Marian W. Smith's clarification of these tribal designations (Herzog 1949:95), or he felt the song sources were still ambiguous).

Nettl's "Eskimo-Northwest Coast" area included the Eskimo, Northwest Coast, and Salish sub-areas. The overall area is characterized in the following table:

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<sup>4</sup> Nettl counts eighteen songs transcribed by Herzog (instead of nineteen).

Table V-16: Nettl's 1954 Characterization of the "Eskimo-Northwest Coast"  
Music Area

**Rhythm**

Measure - Recitative-like singing with uncertain pitches and monotonic sections

Degree of complexity - High degree of rhythmic complexity

Accompaniment -

1) Relationship between voice and rhythmic accompaniment - Rhythmic design in the instrumental accompaniment; complex relationships between melodic and percussive rhythms

**Melody**

Range - Average range a major sixth

Melodic movement -

1) Contour - Undulating and pendulum types of melodic movement  
2) Characteristic intervals - Importance of minor seconds, major thirds, and perfect fourths as melodic intervals, in contrast to other areas

**Form** -

Overall structure -

1) Looseness, flexibility of form  
2) Use of throughcomposed forms

**Other** -

1) Responsorial technique  
2) Drone type of polyphony

Eskimo, Salish, and Northwest Coast styles are distinguished on the basis of complexity in scale, form, and polyphony. Eskimo style is the simplest (and one of the simplest styles in North America), Salish somewhat more complex, and Northwest Coast the most complex (and one of the most complex in North America). Northwest Coast style traits are an "elaboration" or "more complex variety" of those found in the area as a whole (ibid:13-14). Nettl mentions evidence of influence on Salish style not only by the Northwest Coast but by Plains-Pueblo style. Nettl characterizes the Salish sub-area as follows:

Table V-17: Nettl's 1954 Characterization of the "Salish" Music Sub-Area

**Rhythm**

Measure - Use of recitative-like singing ("rhythmic recitation of a text with a melody whose general contour is fixed but whose actual pitches are relatively uncertain"); alternation of ordinary singing with recitative

Durational values - 3 or 4 durational values are most common

Meter -

- 1) Over 50% of songs are either entirely or predominantly isometric
- 2) Triplets juxtaposed to duplets and dotted rhythms are common
- 3) Isorhythmic construction is very rare
- 4) Rhythms based on ternary division are common, also units of 5 and 7 beats
- 5) Final tones of songs are usually long

Tempo - somewhat slower than Northwest Coast

Degree of Complexity - rhythmic complexity is a feature of entire Eskimo-Northwest Coast area

Accompaniment -

1) Relationship between voice and rhythmic accompaniment - often intricate; may be syncopated; rates of speed of the 2 rhythms may differ; accompaniment is not usually in a regular pulse but is likely to have its own rhythmic design

**Melody**

Range - Relatively small range (average of M6), though numerous songs have ranges larger than an octave

Scales -

- 1) Frequently pentatonic; hexatonic and tetratonic also common
- 2) Intervals in scales most frequently M2, m2, and m3

Melodic movement -

1) Contour - usually undulating or level (especially in melodies with a small range); in melodies with a wider range movement is pendulum-like, moving in broad jumps from one extreme of the range to the other

2) Characteristic intervals - M3 and m3 (but in smaller proportion to total material than in other musical areas); more m2, M3, and P4 than elsewhere; triad-like melodic movement common

**Form**Overall structure -

- 1) Both strophic and throughcomposed;
- 2) Often characterized by lack of clarity and by looseness not found outside Eskimo-NW Coast area

Divisions/Phrases/Figures -

- 1) Number of phrases or sections in a song is relatively large (average 6-12)
- 2) Salish songs of average length (less than a minute for a strophe is common)
- 3) Relationship of sections: progressive (no material repeated) and iterative (iteration with variation is common); repetition of short motif in progressive material is also found

**Performance**

Vocal quality - vocal tension and pulsations on longer tones found to a moderate degree

**Other**

Polyphony/part-singing - number of instances reported indicates a slight development of polyphony; most are drone type

Nettl later re-examined musical areas (Nettl 1969) and modified his conceptualization to emphasize trait clustering and homogeneity of style within an area. He separated areas into "good" and "bad" ("good" showed at least some unique traits, no more than two dominant composition types, and a reasonably homogeneous singing style). By these criteria, "Eskimo-Northwest Coast" was "poor" since "...the Eskimo and Coast-Salish groups seem tied together by too thin a thread to constitute an area..."

(ibid.:186). His final reordering consisted of five regions: Eskimo; Northwest Coast and Coast Salish; East, Plains, part of the Plateau, Eastern Great Basin, Pueblo, and Eastern Apache; Western Basin and Northern California; and California-Yuman plus Navajo. In addition to revising his conceptual model, Nettl utilized newly available recording data in reconsidering musical areas; this does not appear to have been the basis for his decision regarding groups in the Northwest, however. In this study Coast Salish is specified as a musical sub-area for the first time; unfortunately, no further characterization is provided.

In Nettl's contribution to the *New Grove Dictionary* (1990), his description of the "North-west Coast" area is abbreviated and slightly refined, and "Salish" style is depicted here as a similar but less fully realized variation (Nettl 1990:301).

Table V-18: Nettl's 1990 Characterization of the "North-west Coast" Music Area

<p><b>General</b> - among more complex styles in North America</p> <p><b>Rhythm</b>  <u>Accompaniment</u> - frequently complex rhythmic accompaniment</p> <p><b>Melody</b>  <u>Melodic movement</u> - use of small intervals such as minor 2nds</p> <p><b>Form</b>  <u>Divisions/Phrases/Figures</u> - large variety of complex forms built from short phrases</p>
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In his 1990 essay Nettl introduces the category "simple style" for the first time. This musical style is most widespread in northern California, the Great Basin of Utah and Nevada, and among some Eskimos, but it also appears in certain song genres among tribes "... which otherwise use more complex styles" (ibid:299). Although Herzog did not use the term "simple style," Nettl's usage clearly refers back to the "special song types" identified by Herzog (1935): the recitation of animal tales, some love songs, most gambling songs, and ghost dance songs. Nettl associates this music with that of other "simple cultures" around the world and suggests that the "world-wide, though scattered, distribution of this style may imply great age" (ibid.:298).

Comparison of Roberts', Herzog's, and Nettl's Characterizations of Salish Music -

Roberts, Herzog, and Nettl all address the shared features between Eskimo and Northwest Coast styles and the relationship between Salish and Eskimo on the one hand and Salish and Northwest Coast on the other (Herzog 1949:108). Nettl places them on a continuum from one of the simplest styles in North America (Eskimo) to

one of the most complex styles (Northwest Coast) with Salish somewhere inbetween and subject to the influence of the Plains-Pueblo as well as the Northwest Coast (Nettl 1954:13-14).

In general Nettl's characterization of Salish music was a refinement of Herzog's without significant modification.

Melody - Nettl notes the frequent appearance of hexatonic and tetratonic as well as pentatonic scales; Nettl elaborates on common scale intervals and specifies the most common melodic intervals (both comment on triad-like melodic movement).

Rhythm - Nettl's analysis is more extensive, but he doesn't mention Herzog's observation that a stable, consistent rhythmic measure dominating the melody is more common than usual; Nettl introduces "isometric" and "isorhythmic" construction; they agree about the intricate relationship between vocal and accompaniment rhythms.

Form - Nettl's analysis is much more extensive; he delineates types of forms, phrase structure, length, and formal principles.

Polyphonic singing - Roberts, Nettl, and Herzog all address polyphonic or part-singing; unfortunately, they all rely in part on the testimony of Eells, whose musical perceptions have been generally discounted.

**Recitative - Roberts and Nettl both describe the recitative-like performance of some songs (Nettl refers to Abraham and Hornbostel)**

**Tempo - Only Nettl mentions tempo.**

**Vocal quality/manner of singing - Herzog, whose analysis came from transcriptions, describes Salish vocal quality as consistent with that found widely over the continent (i.e., Type A):**

**It [Type A vocal style] is characterized by a strong tension of the vocal cords, intermittently relaxed and tensed anew for almost every tone, which results in frequent and sharp accents, pulsations of the voice on longer tones, and strong glides (Herzog 1949:96).**

**Nettl, who used recordings mainly as a check against transcriptions (1954), modified Herzog's characterization to a "moderate amount of vocal tension and pulsation on longer tones" (Nettl 1954). There is no mention of the subject in Nettl (1969). In his summary of North American Indian musical style and vocal quality, Nettl (1990) indirectly includes Salish in the one-third of the continent where vocal style is not characterized by glottal tension, rhythmic pulsation, harshness of tone, and high, often falsetto singing. Although Nettl did not develop this or other performance-related aspects of musical style, the subject was taken up by Rhodes. Based on recordings he made in the early 1950s, Rhodes developed Herzog's 1930 classification of manner of singing into either the dominant Type A (based on**

Hornbostel's characterization) or contrasting Type B, suggesting that some western Washington singing constituted yet a third type:

Though the singing technique for this area has been identified with styles found widely over the North American continent, a comparison of the songs of this record [Swinomish, Lummi, Skokomish, Makah, and Quinault] with those of other tribes and areas leads one to question the correctness of this view. It is possible that a more detailed study of a large body of material from this area will lead to the identification of a third type of Indian singing, intermediate to the two types now generally recognized (Rhodes 1954 (rev. 1984);[13]).

Rhodes' third vocal style type (Type C?) seems to fall at some midway point along the continuum between extreme vocal tension and pulsation and their absence.

Evidence presented in Chapter Six confirms in a more descriptive form the relaxed, non-pulsating, non-nasalized style suggested by Rhodes for much western Washington singing.

### **Western Washington Coast Salish Song Studies**

The remaining primary sources of information regarding western Washington Coast Salish song traditions are two masters theses by Virginia Gill Mohling (1957) and Vivian Tomlinson Williams (1962), both completed in the Anthropology Department at the University of Washington. After reviewing these sources, musical data from all sources discussed in this chapter will be compiled into a rough characterization of western Washington Coast Salish musical style.

Mohling's *Twana Spirit Power Songs* and Williams' *Analysis of Skagit Music* will be discussed together, since they are similar in intent and method. Both Mohling and

Williams sought to describe and analyze a body of songs in order to ascertain musical features by song category. For her study of Twana spirit power songs, Mohling's sole consultant was Henry Allen, who had been one Elmendorf's primary sources of information on Twana culture since 1939 (Elmendorf 1960). Mohling utilized recordings of Allen made by Elmendorf in 1946 and additional recordings made with her and Elmendorf present in 1955 to check for variation in his song renditions. These recordings provide the only opportunity for such comparison in the body of western Washington Coast Salish songs documented on tape. In addition to her transcriptions of seventeen spirit power songs (both career and curing types), she includes twelve examples from other song genres she identifies as "Hand game," "Disc game," "Women's power," and "Myth." (This song will be discussed further in Chapter Six).

Unlike Mohling, Williams did field work with Skagit consultants and attended spirit dances at Swinomish, Lummi, and in West Saanich on Vancouver Island. She includes ethnographic data based on this field research to enhance her musical analysis. Williams' primary song consultants were Martin Sampson and Mary Willup, whom she recorded during 1961-1962. She transcribed a total of 57 songs, including 42 Skagit, 14 foreign, and one improvised song, in categories she labels "Doctoring," "skla'letut," "Gambling," "Shaker," "Story," and "Popular."

Neither Mohling nor Williams found the available data sufficient for a classification of songs by musical and/or textual features. Mohling concluded that a native

taxonomy of Twana spirit power songs (and other song types) was probably based on non-musical features such as dance movements and gestures (Mohling 1957:34).

Williams also regretted the lack of information about dance movements associated with specific song types and the lack or limited representation of some song types in her sample; she also felt a need for more consultants "to correct for idiosyncratic renderings of songs" (V. Williams 1962:68). Without more documentation of Skagit and other Lushootseed song types, it was not possible to determine "whether Skagit music represents a discrete stylistic entity with respect to other Salish music" (ibid.)

Both authors transcribed songs from recordings using standard notation. Mohling's transcriptions are based on what she identifies as a "Typical Phrase" after comparing Allen's song renditions; variations are also notated, so that "the original version of the performance can be reconstructed" (Mohling 1957:11). Williams, who did not have the benefit of multiple renditions in most cases, did notate variations when a song was performed more than once. Both refer to a linguistic model in their approach to musical transcription, applying the principle of "phonemic analysis" to the determination of significant pitch changes. Significantly, both also include sung and spoken versions of song texts whenever possible in order to demonstrate changes made to sung language. In addition to her transcriptions from tape recorded song performances, Williams includes rough transcriptions made "live" at a spirit dance for comparison purposes.

Summaries of the melodic, rhythmic, and textual data resulting from Mohling's and Williams' analyses are given in Tables V-19 through V-22. Several features are of special interest: Mohling's discussion of rhythm focuses on the tempo of the drum beat, the criterion by which Allen most consistently distinguished certain types of spirit power songs. She notes the slight difference between the vocal pulse and drum pulse in Twana songs but believes the phenomenon to be "a matter of indifference or lack of concern with coordinating the song with the accompaniment" (ibid.:29).

Mohling's discussion of song texts is significant in its consideration of the differences between spoken text and sung text, the latter being "decorated with intrusive or appended nonsense syllables" in order to "extend the text, allowing it to fit longer melodies" (ibid.:32). She sees this as a function of the "reciprocal relationship" of the words and music "in which each adjusts to and accommodates the other to form an integrated whole" (ibid.:31).

Williams focuses on the structural elements of songs, including song divisions (often made up of two-three parts) and repetitions with an ending exclamation (or some other marker) after each; types of melodic extension employed; and the arrangement of phrases and figures within phrases (she associates the prevalence of four-phrase structure with the Skagit pattern number). Unlike Mohling's consultant, Williams' apparently did not use tempo as the main distinguishing feature of song types.

Williams cites Herzog's characterization of Salish music throughout her study and compares her findings with his in numerous categories. Williams speculates on the

influence of "Canadian" (Coast Salish) Indians on the "Puget Sound" (Skagit and Swinomish) initiation ceremony.

Table V-19: Mohling's Characterization of Twana Music

#### General

- Music entirely vocal; no melodic instruments
- Songs always accompanied by a simple rhythm played on frame drum or plank
- Song texts usually consist of a "short poetic phrase whose meaning related to the function of the particular song" (p. 9); sometimes consist of "nonsense syllables"
- Short melody, repeated numerous times with slight variations (a few are through-composed)
- Tones and intervals approximately those of Western European music but standards of pitch more flexible

#### Rhythm

Tempo - medium (115-182 dbm) and medium-slow (107) songs (62% of total) undifferentiated by song type; all shaman and hand game songs are fast (208-224) (24% of total); women's power (and one pastime) song slow (89-93) (7% of total); drum roll for myth song and one soul recovery song (7% of total)

##### Accompaniment -

Medium - drum

Relationship between voice and rhythmic accompaniment - tempi often do not coincide (but difference hardly measurable); 50% of songs have "close" and 50% have "loose" relationship; syncopation occurs occasionally (only once consistently)

Characteristic rhythmic patterns - 59% characterized by simple (duple relationships); 41% by complex (triple relationships)

#### Melody

Range - 38% P5; 28% M6; 21% m7; 10% octave; 3% m9

##### Scale -

Mode (Kolinski/Waterman) - 86% song sample is in Penta-Mode; 7% Hexa-Mode; 7% Hepta-Mode

##### Tonality -

Tonal center by attraction - 45% on C; 10% on G; 7% on D; 3.5 % on A (19 songs)

Tonal center by melodic weight - 20% on G; 7% on D; 3.5 % on C; 3.5% on B (10 songs)

##### Melodic movement -

Contour - undulating; 55% of songs end on lowest tone; none end on highest tone

Characteristic intervals - M2 (predominant), m3, and M3; predominance of downward stepwise intervals; skips larger than P4 are mainly upward (since most melodic sections begin higher than they end, large jump required between sections)

#### Form

Divisions/Phrases/Figures - sections usually approximately the same metric length; majority of songs have 2 or 4 divisions

#### Text

Decoration - Words in most songs are "decorated with intrusive or appended" vocables

- Intrusive (vowel) syllable decoration includes palatalized (in 24% of songs), aspirated (31%), rounded (7%), and glottal interruption (7%)

- Appended decoration includes palatalized (21%); aspirated (3.5%); combined palatalized and aspirated (24%); rounded (3.5%); combined palatalized, aspirated and rounded (10%); and glottal interruption (7%)

Table V-20: Williams' Characterization of Skagit Music

**General**

- Music made up entirely of songs
- Some songs divided into 2 or 3 parts
- Majority of songs and all divisions of songs end with spoken syllables
- Songs and divisions of songs repeated 2, 3, 4, or 6 x (slight variation in arrangement of divisions and number of repetitions)
- All but 5 songs in sample are in scales consistent with conventional Western scales
- Pattern number "4" appears to be reflected in dominance of 4-phrase structure across song classes

**Rhythm**

Measure - 48 of 67 songs and song sections (72%) have "consistently recurrent bars of 2 to 7 beats"

Tempo - fast (220-279 dbm) - skialetut chant introductions, doctoring and gambling songs; intermediate (110-189) - most skialetut and all popular, Shaker and story songs

Meter - rhythms of 3 or triplets somewhat frequent; rhythms of 5 and 7 found somewhat less frequently (such rhythms occur without being dominant in 9 of 14 Skagit songs with variable meter); complex rhythms appear in 41 songs and divisions (55 occurrences) and are a marked feature of 22 of these

**Melody**

Range - average of 11.56 semi-tones (range from 3 to 21); 40% of songs or divisions have range of 9 (M6) or less; "level formula" (Kolinski) average was 72:28 (marked descending trend; only 10 of 67 songs do not end lower than they begin; of these only 5 rise in level) (amount of level descent falls within extremes given by Kolinski for American Indian music)

Scales -

- 1) Tonal type (Kolinski mode) - Tetra-type, Penta-type, Hexa-type, Hepta-type, Nova-type
- 2) Scale (number of pitches) - ditonic, tritonic, tetratonic, pentatonic, hexatonic, heptatonic

Tonality -

1) "Mode" (tonal center determined by melodic weight or occasionally by attraction) - of 66 songs, C=25 (38%), D=15 (23%), E=3 (4.5%), F=1 (1.5%), G=5 (8%), A=17 (26%)

Melodic movement -

- 1) Contour - uses Kolinski's pattern types: pendular phrases outnumber descending (except for Shaker); all songs contain pendular movement; most common phrase combined pendular and descending movement; ascending, ascending and pendular, level, and "ascending, descending, and pendular" phrases relatively uncommon
- 2) Characteristic intervals - M2 (up and down); m3 (up and down); M3 (down); P4 (down); predominance of downward steps and general downward melodic trend of phrases; upward skips over P4 occur between phrases; "wide jumps" (larger than P4) found (usually once or twice only) in 48% of songs (31 of 66 songs and song sections) not including intervals between phrases

**Form**Divisions/Phrases/Figures -

- 1) Melodic extension - 3 types appear in 54 (65 occurrences) of 67 (81%) songs and divisions
- 2) Arrangement of phrases - 4-phrase structures predominate in all song types; 5-phrase next most common, then 2 and 3 (same number of songs)
- 3) More than half the songs and all divisions of songs end with spoken syllables; songs with 2 or 3 divisions are always marked by an ending exclamation or equivalent (presumably same type of syllables)
- 4) Variation from one performance to next was mainly in arrangement of divisions and number of repetitions of song (2-6 times)

Table V-21: Mohling's Characterization of 29 Twana Songs by Type

**Spirit power songs (18)****Shaman power songs (4) -**

Tempo - all have fast tempo

Endings - all end with stylized "h"i"

Mode - 2 of the 4 shaman songs are the only songs in Hexa-Mode

**Soul recovery songs (5) -**

Rhythm - complex rhythmic patterns

Melodic contour - 4 of 5 have type B melodic contour (final tone somewhere in middle of range; two of these have unique feature of ending higher than they begin)

**Wealth power songs (6) -**

Melody - 4 of 6 share common melody (though rhythmic differences result from different texts)

**Women's power song (1) -**

Tempo - slow (HIA said all women's power songs should be slow and end with "es xa xo")

**Clairvoyance (1) - not characterized****War song (1) - not characterized****Gambling songs (6)****Hand game songs (3) -**

Tempo - all have fast tempo (feature shared with shaman songs)

**Disc game songs (3) -**

Form - 2 of 3 are through-composed

**Myth song (1) -**

Rhythm - similar to soul recovery song (No. 6) [dotted rhythms?]

**"Pastime" songs (4) - not characterized**

Table V-22: Williams' Characterization of 66 Skagit Songs by Type

**Spirit power songs (28)****Doctoring songs (14) -**

Tempo - fast tempo (228-276)

Measure - 50% have a steady but variable meter (higher proportion than other types)

Divisions/Phrases - a few have 2 divisions

Other - HA says doctoring songs may be adapted to gambling songs (range of tempos and distribution of meters similar)

**skla'letut songs (14, incl. 12 Skagit & 2 foreign) -**

Divisions/Phrases - unique pattern - "chant introduction" is fast in tempo and free in rhythm, remaining divisions in strict duple or triple time with moderate tempo (132-176); divisions usually marked by spoken exclamations

Sub-types - "...it is likely that each subtype has its own distinctive features, since Mrs. Joe stated that today 'you can tell what kind of power [a new dancer has] by the song" (p. 65); sample too small to do more than guess at typical features of subtypes

1) sk<sup>w</sup>dilič songs (4) - 2 have faster tempo than other songs; all are syncopated (this may be the "special rhythm" by which MS said they are recognized)

2) s'téleb songs (2) - both use 3/2 and 4/3 complex rhythms

3) q'oxkd (2) - melodies constructed on basis of a 4-note scale (although 2 different tonal types and 3 different modes are involved)

4) tlabix<sup>w</sup> (2) - unusually extended ranges (MS's songs, he likes to transpose last phrase down 1 octave)

5) Other powers - dadokəm (1), šiou'd (1), tubša'da (1), unidentified (1), foreign (2)

**Gambling songs (14, including 4 Skagit, 9 foreign, and 1 improvised)**

General - simple and lively

Tempo - fast tempo (within range of doctoring songs)

Measure - high occurrence of variable meters; 50% use syncopated rhythms

Durational values - notes tend to be short, figures separated by brief rests

Scales - tonal construction of most doesn't exceed anhemitonic pentatonic scale in complexity

Mode - most common are C and G

**Shaker songs (9) -**

Tempo - most have moderate tempo (120-182)

Meter - most in 4/4 meter

Range - 14-16 semi-tones

Rhythm - frequent use of dotted rhythms

Other - of any song type, they most resemble Western song forms (major/minor scales, 4-bar phrases, strict meter)

**Story songs (2)**

These 2 examples represent extremes of ranges in Skagit music so can't characterize (1 may be exceptional)

**Popular songs (4, including 1 Skagit and 3 foreign)**

Tempo - moderate tempo

Other - like Shaker songs, tend to resemble Western song forms (strict and regular meter (in 3/4 time rather than 4/4), balanced phrase length, 4-bar phrases with common rhythmic patterns, moderate tempo)

## **Summary**

### **Comparison of Data Compiled by Herzog, Mohling, and Williams -**

To some extent, the studies by Mohling and Williams continued the tradition of musical style analysis practiced by Herzog and long-awaited by anthropologists such as Jacobs. They both transcribed song recordings and utilized data from these transcriptions in the analysis of melody, rhythm, and form; both attempted to characterize song types on this basis, and in being unable to do so to their satisfaction, acknowledged the limits of their method. Both lamented the deficiencies of Western notation, the lack of "objective" analytical techniques, and the limits of their song samples. Both studies address text and its relationship to the music, and Mohling goes so far as to analyze the types and proportions of text decoration used in her song sample. Though neither included "manner of singing" in her overall characterization of musical style, Williams refers to Herzog's description of the prevalent style and the contrasting vocal styles of her consultants. She cites consultant Martin Sampson, who makes the insightful comment that his own singing of skla'letut songs on tape was at a lower pitch and more relaxed than when songs were "normally sung" (V. Williams 1962:11). In general, by addressing the role of text and features such as tempo, Mohling and Williams made a significant shift toward the consideration of culturally meaningful song components.

Throughout her study, Williams compared her findings to those of Herzog and found them in general agreement. She found greater use of "wide jumps" than he did, adding weight to his observation that larger intervallic jumps are more frequent in

Salish music than in other North American Indian music.<sup>5</sup> Her findings on melodic contour confirmed Herzog's, in her view, by demonstrating that descending phrases were outnumbered by pendular phrases. She found a combined pendular and descending movement to be the most common type.<sup>6</sup> Williams also agreed with Herzog's characterization of Salish song phrases as "closely related to each other instead of using contrasting material."<sup>7</sup>

Herzog devoted particular attention to the subject of melodic range due to his belief that it could serve as an index of musical development. Among its broader aims, comparative musicology sought to uncover universal patterns of musical progression from simple to more complex forms. Herzog followed the lead of Hornbostel, who believed that "given the coexistence of simple and complicated forms within one musical culture, 'the complicated forms may be considered as having sprung from the simple ones'" (Herzog 1930: 40). According to this way of thinking, "...archaic styles, or archaic song-types within more developed styles, tend to be characterized by a restricted tonal range" (Herzog 1949:101-102). By "restricted," Herzog seems to have meant a range of a sixth or less (though he also grouped songs having a range of

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<sup>5</sup> Herzog found "wide jumps" in 24 (15%) of 140 songs; assuming that "wide" is larger than P4, Williams found them (usually once or twice only) in 48% (31 of 66 songs and song sections) of her sample, not including intervals between phrases. She attributed discrepancy to a different definition of "wide jumps," a difference between Skagit and other Salish music, or an unrepresentative sample (V. Williams 1962:30).

<sup>6</sup> Herzog found that 23 of 140 (16%) songs had "level or undulating rather than primarily descending"; in Williams' sample the most common phrase combined pendular and descending movement. Because pendular phrases outnumbered descending phrases (except in Shaker songs) Williams felt Herzog's observation to be accurate. Ascending, ascending and pendular, level, and "ascending, descending, and pendular" phrases were relatively uncommon

<sup>7</sup> Williams identified three techniques for "melodic extension" (making new melodic material on the basis of old): 1) variation, 2) transposition (Nettl), and 3) rhythmic pattern retained but contour altered

a fifth or less). From an analysis of his sample data, he concluded "...that Salish melodies connected with doctoring, curing, and guardian spirit beliefs have best preserved their archaic character and simplicity (as have also story songs, judging from the Chehalis group)..." (ibid.:102). Williams found that only 39% of her sample had a melodic range of a major sixth or less, compared to Herzog's 64%. Mohling's results, however, were quite similar to Herzog's, with 66% of the sample having a range of a major sixth or less.

The following tables show Mohling and Williams' data on melodic range and the revised totals when Herzog, Mohling, and Williams' data is compiled. The new data make the biggest difference for western Washington Coast Salish songs (the category to which both new collections belong). From 86% with a "limited tonal range," the total drops to 57%.

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(goes with repetition of text). Melodic extension appeared in 54 (65 occurrences) of 67 songs and divisions.

Table V-23: Melodic Range: Mohling (Twana/Skokomish) and Williams (Skagit) Data

Source	5 <sup>th</sup> or less	6 <sup>th</sup> or less	7 <sup>th</sup> or above	Total
<b>Twana/Skokomish (Mohling)</b>				
Power songs	7	10	8	18
Gambling songs	2	6	--	6
Myth song	--	1	--	1
"Pastime" songs	2	2	2	4
Total (Twana)	11	19	10	29
%	38%	66%	34%	100%
<b>Skagit (Williams)</b>				
Power songs				
Doctoring songs	3	9	6	15
Skla'letut	6	8	15	23
Sub-total (Power songs)	9	17	21	38
Gambling songs	2	6	8	14
Shaker songs	--	--	9	9
Story songs	1	1	1	2
"Popular" songs	1	2	2	4
Total (Skagit)	13	26	41	67
%	19%	39%	61%	100%
Total - #	24	45	51	96
%	25%	47%	53%	100%

Table V-24: Melodic Range: Revised Totals (Herzog, Mohling, and Williams Data)

Source	5 <sup>th</sup> or less	6 <sup>th</sup> or less	7 <sup>th</sup> or above	Total
<b>Herzog Salish Totals - #</b>	56	90	50	140
<b>%</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>64%</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Revised Salish Totals - #</b>	80	135	101	236
<b>%</b>	<b>34%</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Herzog Coast Salish Totals - #</b>	28	47	30	77
<b>%</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>61%</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Revised Coast Salish Totals - #</b>	52	92	81	173
<b>%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Herzog Western Washington Coast Salish Totals - #</b>	28	30	5	35
<b>%</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>86%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Revised Western Washington Coast Salish Totals - #</b>	52	75	56	131
<b>%</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>100%</b>

The final table dealing with melodic range summarizes data according to song type:

Table V-25: Melodic Range According to Type of Song: Coast Salish Examples  
(Revised Totals) (Herzog, Mohling, and Williams Data)

<b>Power Songs (Herzog)</b>	6 <sup>th</sup> or less	7 <sup>th</sup> or above	Total
Snohomish: "Doctor's"	8	..	8
Snohomish: Guardian Spirit	5	..	5
Bella Coola: Doctoring	1	..	1
Sliamon, Chilliwack: Curing, Doctoring	3	6	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Power Songs (Mohling)</b>			
Twana/Skokomish	10	8	18
<b>%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Power Songs (Williams)</b>			
Skagit - Doctoring	9	6	15
Skagit - Skla'letut	8	15	23
<b>Sub-Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Total Power Songs</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Gambling Songs (Herzog)</b>			
Snohomish	1	..	1
Sliamon	1	..	1
Squamish	2	..	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>100%</b>		<b>100%</b>
<b>Gambling Songs (Mohling)</b>			
Twana/Skokomish	6	--	6
<b>%</b>	<b>100%</b>	--	<b>100%</b>
<b>Gambling Songs (Williams)</b>			
Skagit	6	8	14
<b>%</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Total Gambling Songs</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>24</b>

<b>%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Myth/Story Songs</b>			
Chehalis (Herzog)	16	3	19
Twana/Skok. (Mohling)	1	--	1
Skagit (Williams)	1	1	2
<b>Total Myth/Story Songs</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>82%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Dance Songs (Herzog)</b>			
Bella Coola	1	1	2
Siamon	1	5	6
Squamish	..	1	1
<b>Total Dance Songs</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Lyrical Songs (Herzog)</b>			
Snohomish	1	1	2
Bella Coola	..	1	1
Squamish	..	3	3
Chilliwack	..	2	2
<b>Total Lyrical Songs</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>12.5%</b>	<b>87.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>"Pastime" Songs (Mohling)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Shaker Songs (Williams)</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>"Popular" Songs (Williams)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Total (All songs)</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>159</b>
<b>% (All songs)</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Rhythmic features were treated much more thoroughly by Williams than Mohling, and once again Williams compared her findings to Herzog's. Their findings regarding the presence of a "stable, consistent rhythmic measure" were very similar. Herzog located regular measure in 95 of 140 Salish songs (68%); Williams found in 48 of 67 songs and song sections (72%) what she termed "consistently recurrent bars of 2 to 7 beats" (V. Williams 1962:58). Regarding meter, Williams located rhythms of three or triplets more frequently than did Herzog. Williams found fewer rhythms of five and seven dominant than Herzog; such rhythms occur without being dominant in thirteen of Herzog's songs and nine Skagit (of fourteen Skagit songs with variable meter). Complex rhythms appear to be more frequent in Williams' sample than in Herzog's.<sup>8</sup>

The following tables show Mohling and Williams' data on several rhythmic features and the revised totals when Herzog, Mohling, and Williams' data is compiled. The greatest change resulting from the new data is in the one area analyzed by both Mohling and Williams: rhythms of three or triplets. The rate of appearance is considerably higher in their samples than in Herzog's. On the other hand, rhythms of five or seven were less frequent in Williams' study than Herzog's (Mohling did not analyze this feature).

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<sup>8</sup> Herzog lists syncopation as an important feature in seventeen songs, less so in four; he found one song each with a 2/3, 4/3, and 4/6 voice to drum relationship. Williams found complex rhythms (including syncopation, groups of three against two, groups of four against three, and "dotted rhythms") in forty-one songs and divisions (fifty-five occurrences); these features were significant in twenty-two of the total number (syncopation was important in eleven songs and incidental in nine). Mohling reported only one example of consistent syncopation (with occasional appearance in other songs).

Table V-26: Rhythmic Features: Mohling (Twana/Skokomish) and Williams (Skagit) Data

Source	Total	Stable Measure *	%	Rhythms of 3 or Triplets	%	Rhythms of 5 or 7 (dominant or not dominant)	%
<b>Mohling and Williams</b>							
Twana/Skokomish	29	(not analyzed)	--	12 (6 have dotted rhythms)	41%	(not analyzed)	--
Skagit	67	48	72%	41 (dominant in 22)	61%	? dominant 9 (not dominant)	13%
Total	67	48	72%	53	55%	9 (not dominant)	13%

\* Williams defines as consistently recurring bars of 2-7 beats

Table V-27: Rhythmic Features: Revised Totals (Herzog, Mohling, and Williams Data)

Source	Total	Stable Measure	%	Rhythms of 3 or Triplets	%	Rhythms of 5 or 7 (dominant/not dom.)	%
<b>Herzog Salish Totals</b>	140	95	68%	37	26%	27: 14 (d); 13 (nd)	19%
<b>Revised Salish Totals</b>	207/236	143 (of 207)	69%	90 (of 236)	38%	36 (of 207) : 14 (d); 22 (nd)	17%
<b>Herzog Coast Salish Totals</b>	77	50	65%	20	26%	15: 7 (d); 8 (nd)	19%
<b>Revised Coast Salish Totals</b>	144/173	98 (of 144)	68%	73 (of 173)	42%	24 (of 144) : 7 (d); 17 (nd)	17%
<b>Herzog Western Wash. Coast Salish Totals</b>	35	24	69%	15	43%	9: 3 (d); 6 (nd)	26%

<b>Revised Western Wash. Coast Salish Totals</b>	102/131	72 (of 102)	71%	68 (of 131)	52%	18 (of 102) : 3 (d); 15 (nd)	18%
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Of what value is this comparative data? In truth, there are few students of North American indigenous song traditions today who would defend its validity, yet alone its usefulness. The song repertoire included in these three studies is clearly not representative of the area being characterized. Even with the addition of the Twana and Skagit samples, the majority of language communities in western Washington are not represented. Within the collections surveyed, a balanced range of song traditions is absent as well. Neither Mohling nor Williams felt their collections to be an adequate representation of Twana or Skagit song traditions. But the larger question has to do with the overall aim of such studies. With the rejection of the agenda of comparative musicology during the early 1950s, its "raw material" quickly became de-valued as well, as a "new paradigm" took its place and the "artificial separation between acoustical and cultural aspects of music" was broken down (Ellingson 1992:131).

Though the research paradigm has changed, the characterization of song traditions may still serve a purpose within studies of indigenous cultural history and practice. In a field where research has mostly been bifurcated along disciplinary lines, contemporary approaches often utilize old material within a new framework. For example, despite the numerous studies of Northwest Coast music, "...analysis of the relationship between text and music is still rare in the literature" (Enrico and Stuart

1996:3). Such analysis contributes to a more complete and well-integrated understanding of song and story traditions.

The final consideration here is whether these musical studies tell us anything useful about story songs. According to Jacobs, "No style features peculiar to myth or tale singing differentiated it from other singing, as far as is known" (cited in Seaburg and Amoss 2000:100). Can this statement be verified on the basis of stylistic features identified in the small sample of story songs analyzed here? First, let us summarize melodic and rhythmic data about the story songs in Herzog, Mohling, and Williams' studies.

Table V-28: Melodic Range: Myth/Story Songs

Source	5 <sup>th</sup> or less	6 <sup>th</sup> or less	7 <sup>th</sup> or above	Total
<b>Chehalis (Herzog)</b>	15	16	3	19
<b>%</b>	79%	84%	16%	100%
<b>Twana/Skok. (Mohling)</b>	--	1	--	1
<b>%</b>	--	100%	--	100%
<b>Skagit (Williams)</b>	1	1	1	2
<b>%</b>	50%	50%	50%	100%
<b>Total Myth/Story Songs</b>	16	18	4	22
<b>%</b>	73%	82%	18%	100%

Table V-29: Rhythmic Features of Myth/Story Songs

Source	Total	Stable Measure	%	Rhythms of 3 or Triplets	%	Rhythms of 5 or 7 (dominant or not dominant)	%
<b>Chehalis (Herzog)</b>	19	8	42%	6	32%	2: 2 (nd)	11%
<b>Skagit (Williams)</b>	2	1	50%	1	50%	--	--

It is clear that the percentage of myth/story songs with a melodic range of a sixth or less (82%) is significantly larger than that of western Washington Coast Salish songs generally (57%), based on the sample represented by these three studies. Myth/story songs also appear to have stable measure less frequently than other western Washington songs, though the sample is far too small to be statistically valid.

Information gleaned from the findings of Herzog, Mohling, and Williams contributes little to our appreciation and understanding of western Washington Coast Salish myth/story songs. In order to more meaningfully and appropriately characterize this song tradition, we return to the question – What is the place of songs in Coast Salish stories? In Chapter Six the perspectives presented in this chapter are the basis for a more integrated discussion of songs from the literary repertoires of the Lushootseed, Twana, and Upper Chehalis.

## Chapter VI: Myth Narrative Songs in Their Place

In this chapter I return to the aims outlined in the Introduction: to explore the cultural geography that grounds Washington Coast Salish oral literature; to demonstrate the primacy of place in myth narratives and the relationship of myth song to spiritual power through its association with localized spirit beings; and to clarify the role and significance of myth narrative songs in spiritual practice. I also return to the subject of indigenous song concepts, particularly in the context of stories.

In the preceding chapters much attention has been paid to studies from various disciplines bearing in some way on the subject of story songs: 1) as literary texts, 2) as narrative “devices” contributing to plot, characterization, and literary style, 3) as musical events, and 4) as containers of cultural/spiritual meaning. Now these approaches are integrated so as to encompass multiple aspects of story songs, including their performance.

Songs from two stories in the western Washington Coast Salish repertoire have been selected for discussion: 1) the song of Dirty Face from the “Story of *spicx*” (or “Dirty Face” or “The Man Who Would Not Wash His Face”) and 2) songs from the “Star Child” or “Star Husband” cycle, including songs of the Grandmother/babysitter, the song to create Diaper Child, songs to rescue the Star Child, Diaper Child’s song, and songs anticipating the arrival of the Transformer. Consideration of the songs begins with a discussion of the pedagogical aspects of their source stories and the use

of songs in that context. By comparing songs and versions of songs, I attempt to identify the organizing principles that enable their integrity as musical units. Based on transcriptions of the twenty-seven songs under consideration (Appendix B), musical features and performance-related aspects are summarized and discussed in relation to the characterizations reported in Chapter Five.

### **Documentation of Song Recordings and Source Stories**

Recordings of seventy-six story songs by twenty named (and several unidentified) western Washington Coast Salish raconteurs are documented at the end of this study in Appendix A. (The total includes the twenty-seven songs from "Dirty Face" and "Star Child.") This sizable corpus contrasts with the small sample presented in earlier studies (see Chapter Five). The recordings were made between 1927 and 1985; some were recorded contiguously with stories, but most were recorded in separate sessions where only songs were documented. The listing is arranged alphabetically by storyteller's name; for each song, additional contextual information is provided, including the name of the collector, date and location of recording, current location of original recording, and a description of the source or related story. Since the list only represents stories for which recordings of songs have been documented, it omits many published and unpublished story texts as well as recordings of stories that do not include songs. I do not claim to adequately represent here the local story and song repertoires of storytellers in Western Washington as they stood between the 1920s and the early 1960s; rather, I have foregrounded the repertoire for which there is documentation of song recordings for purposes of this study.

### **The Story of Dirty Face or *spicx***

The story about Dirty Face or *spicx* (also called "The Man Who Would Not Wash His Face" takes place in the myth/epic era, before the arrival of *dúkʷbət*. It features Dirty Face (often named *spicx* (also *spetsx* or *spetsxu*)), a young man harrassed by his wife's family because of his dirty or sooty face. He has this appearance because it is that of the small bird whose dark gray or brown hood or face markings he has and whose form he takes after the world is changed. He is identified as Snowbird in several stories (Henry Allen, Jerry Kanim) but also as Thrush (Peter Heck, Mary Iley); Wren (Frank Allen); Snipe (Lizzie Martin); Oregon Junco (Emma Conrad); Ground Sparrow or Swamp Sparrow (Joe Young (Puyallup), who says specifically in Marian Smith's notes that *spicx* is not Junco); "a bird similar to the Oregon junco, the common name of which... is *xwa'xwai* or *xwaxwe*" (Jonah Jack, interpreter, cited in Ballard 1929:49), or generically as a little gray bird with dark rings around his eyes (Ann Jack). In Emma Conrad's version the character is called *səlus*, Lushootseed for Junco, rather than *spicx*. He may have been associated with different birds depending on the home of the storyteller and the winter birds in residence. The story of Dirty Face is told throughout the Puget Sound region of western Washington state and probably originated among Lushootseed speakers.

I have located fourteen versions of the story of Dirty Face in various published and unpublished sources and ten recordings of the song that accompanies the story.

Among these various manifestations, only four renderings include both the story and

its song recorded (on audio or video media) as a cohesively performed unit. In the remaining cases, story and song are displaced from one another for a variety of reasons. I have documented the following story and song versions:

A. Story and recorded song from same raconteur

- 1) Annie Daniels (Duwamish) - Leon Metcalf, collector  
Unpublished story, including song - "Story of *spitsx*"p" (in Lushootseed (Duwamish)); recorded 5/1/54  
Unpublished English translation of story by Vi Hilbert
- 2) Lizzie Martin (Lummi) - Lushootseed Research, collector  
From unpublished portion of "Sharing Legends at Upper Skagit" (videorecording) recorded 3/25/85  
Story about Snipe and his Southwind parents (English); song in Skagit(?)
- 3) Jerry Kanim (Snoqualmie) - Warren Snyder, collector  
Published story text - "Snow Bird" (told in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie) and published with English translation) (Snyder 1968:48-51); collected August 1955
- 4) Henry Allen (Twana) - William Elmendorf, collector  
Published story text - "Snowbird As South Wind" (told in English) (Elmendorf 1961:104); collected 1939 or 1940  
Unpublished song recording - "Snowbird's Song to his South Wind Uncles" (song text in Lushootseed); collected in 1946

B. Story and recorded song from different raconteurs but related in collection

- 1) Snuqualmi Charlie (Snoqualmie) and Jack Stillman (Snoqualmie) - Arthur C. Ballard, collector  
Published story text - "The Man Who Would Not Wash His Face" as told by Snuqualmi Charlie (1st of 4 versions of story collected by Ballard in original language 1916-1929, published in English only) (Ballard 1929:49)  
  
Unpublished song recording - Arthur C. Ballard, collector  
Unpublished song from "The Man Who Would Not Wash His Face" sung by Jack Stillman (Snoqualmie); recorded June 1932; doesn't exactly match any of the 4 versions of the story collected by Ballard but is closest to that of Snuqualmi Charlie

C. Story in print form including song texts

- 1) Peter Heck (Upper Chehalis) - Thelma Adamson, collector (1926)  
Published story text in English titled "The Flood" (Adamson 1934:1-2);  
includes song text - "Father-in-law, mother-in-law, Keep moving back from  
the river"
  
- 2) Mary Iley (part upper Cowlitz Taitnapam, mainly lower Cowlitz Coast  
Salish in tribal identification (Jacobs 1934:125)); Thelma Adamson, collector  
(1927)  
Published story text in English titled "The Flood" (Adamson 1934:178);  
includes song texts (3 song sections in story) - "Brothers-in-law, brothers-in-  
law/I'm going to wash my face, I'm going to wash my face" (2x); "Brothers-  
in-law, brothers-in-law/I'm going to wash my face/I'm dancing now";  
"Brothers-in-law, brothers-in-law/I'm bathing now, I'm bathing now." The  
source of this published version appears to be an undated entry in Adamson's  
notes - "Thrush. Little Brown Bird" by Mary Iley (Miller 1999:55); the main  
difference is the use of both "Thrush" and "*spicx*" in the notes but only  
"*spicx*" in the published version
  
- 3) Christine Smith (Green River) - Arthur C. Ballard, collector  
Published story text in English titled "The Man Who Would Not Wash His  
Face" (2nd of 4 versions of story collected by Ballard in original language  
between 1916 and 1929, published in English only) (Ballard 1929:50);  
includes song text - "*bo'lə bo'lə sxe' otso'təbtcid / kya'kəkwiə ko'sib /  
sxo'lgwad xwe*"
  
- 4) Joe Young (Puyallup) - Arthur C. Ballard, collector  
Published story text in English titled "The Man Who Would Not Wash His  
Face": (4th of 4 versions of story collected by Ballard in original language  
between 1916 and 1929, published in English only) (Ballard 1929:50);  
includes song text - "*syElyEla'b əd kwi'akako'sIb tci'cUb tci'cUb*" ("Uncles, I  
am washing my face; rain in long drops, rain in long drops!")
  
- 5) Chief William Shelton (Tulalip) - collector?  
Published story text in English titled "Sparrow Washes His Face" (Hilbert  
1981 (1996)); story dated "1923" [?]; includes English song text - "Let the  
rain come down in torrents...for I have been told to wash my face!"

#### D. Story only (recordings or print form)

- 1) Emma Conrad (Sauk) - Thom Hess, collector (1963)  
Unpublished story on audio tape; story transcription by Toby Langen for  
Tulalip Tribes; no songs
  
- 2) Ann Jack (Green River) - Arthur C. Ballard, collector

Published story text - "The Man Who Would Not Wash His Face" (3rd of 4 versions of story collected by Ballard in original language between 1916 and 1929, published in English only) (Ballard 1929:50); no songs

3) Joe Pete (Upper Chehalis) - Thelma Adamson, collector (1926)  
Published story fragment (Adamson 1934:3); no songs

4) Jonas Secena (Upper Chehalis) - Thelma Adamson, collector (1926)  
Published story text - "The Flood" (Adamson 1934:2-3); no songs

#### E. Song only (recordings)

1) Marion Davis (Upper Chehalis; mother from White River, Nisqually and Puyallup relations (Kinkade 1991:viii) - Thelma Adamson, collector.  
No corresponding story by Marion Davis in published volume  
Unpublished song recording (from White River; text in southern Lushootseed?); recorded 1927.  
Published transcription by Herzog (text phonetically transcribed by Boas?) (Adamson 1934:429)

2) Martha Lamont (Snohomish) - Thom Hess, collector  
Unpublished song recording (Snohomish); recorded 8/4/66

The story of Dirty Face or *spicx*<sup>w</sup> is not a discrete, autonomous story but rather, like many stories in the repertoire, an episode in the Lushootseed epic narrative that describes the coming of *dúk<sup>w</sup>ibəł* the Transformer. It may be told on its own, or it may lead in to the story of a big flood and its aftermath, including a version of the earthdiver sequence, widespread in North American mythology. Flood stories are common throughout western Washington, and not all include the Dirty Face episode. Dirty Face or *spicx*<sup>w</sup> also appears in other stories where he plays a supporting, rather than a leading role.

The simple form of the story may be summarized as follows:

Dirty Face lives with his wife's family, and it is his job to bring in the wood. This work causes his face to become increasingly dirty, and he is criticized and told repeatedly by his in-laws to wash it. At first he refuses to wash his face, but finally he reluctantly agrees. He goes to the river and turns toward his own relations to the south, telling them in a song that he has been asked to wash his face. This appeal results immediately in the arrival of the south wind and rain. The mountain snow melts, and the world floods, destroying everything.

Dundes cites an Upper Chehalis version of the story as an example of an alternative version of a common structural pattern, or combination of "motifemes," that consists of "Lack, Liquidation of Lack, Interdiction, Violation, Consequence, and Attempted Escape." In this alternative, where there is no initial state of lack, one is created within the story as the result of the violation of an interdiction:

... the flood may be caused, as in the Upper Chehalis account, by foolishly flaunting a taboo. In the latter account Thrush is not allowed to wash his dirty face (Int), but he is induced to do so (Viol). After Thrush washes his face, it begins to rain heavily until the water rises and covers everything (Conseq). Then Muskrat dives four time for the necessary dirt in the usual earthdiver sequence (AE) (Dundes 1965:210).

In some versions the "Interdiction" is an explicit warning that some disaster will likely occur if *spicx* washes his face (Adamson 1934:1-2). Whether the story involves "flaunting a taboo" is a question of interpretation, which will be addressed later in this section.

The story of Dirty Face or *spicx* illustrates the importance of place in western Washington Coast Salish narratives. Local references and other features of the various story and song versions clearly identify it as Coast Salish and, more

specifically, as indigenous to the Puget Sound region, probably originating among southern Lushootseed speakers:

1. The use of pattern number in some versions helps to localize the story. The pattern number five was dominant among the southern Lushootseed, southwestern Coast Salish, and groups in western Oregon. In one version of the story, *spicx*<sup>w</sup> was married to one of five sisters and had four brothers-in-law (Snuqualmi Charlie); in two versions *spicx*<sup>w</sup> is told five times to wash his face (W. Snyder (Kanim); Adamson 1934:1 (P. Heck)).
  
2. In several versions Dirty Face is associated with a specific location. In Heck's Upper Chehalis version Muskrat dives for dirt five times to re-create the world after the flood brought on by Thrush. Muskrat names the resulting mound of land Tiger Lily (*masi'ik' i*), now called Black Mountain (located near Gate in Upper Chehalis country) (Adamson 1934:1-2). Secena's Upper Chehalis rendering also locates Black Mountain as the place Muskrat created with the aid of his spirit power; he adds that at Gate (near the Mima Prairie) "the earth still remains in the shape of waves" (ibid.:3).

In a version of the Star Husband story *spicx*<sup>w</sup> (*t'əbt'a'b'*) (wren) successfully rescues the Star Child and is told by the Transformer to stay at Snoqualmie Pass, where the story took place:

And they told *spicx*, 'You're going to stay with the Snoqualmie now. Your name is Snoqualmie now'. ...And there are lots of *spicx* in that country right today (Elmendorf 1961:27, 30). (This version was told by Twana speaker Frank Allen, but he got the story from Snoqualmie Doctor Jack.)

3. The Lushootseed term "*yəlab*" is present in most of the versions for which we have story or song text in the original language, and the concept is central to understanding the story. "*yəlab*" may refer specifically to an uncle or aunt when the parent is deceased, or more generally to relatives or ancestors (Bates et al. 1994:277). In the story Dirty Face goes to the river and addresses his own relations to the south, his "*yəla'b*" or "*yəl'yəla'b*," to complain about his in-laws and ask for assistance. He does so in the form of a song, in which he tells them he has been asked to wash his face. The seriousness of this request is clear, as his plea is answered instantly in the form of rain and wind, resulting in dire consequences that, at one level, avenge his poor treatment.

The theme of family roles and especially relations between affines dominates the story of Dirty Face. In his wife's family's household, he does the dirty work of bringing in the wood, a lowly job usually reserved for women or slaves. The practice of village exogamy and its dynamics are reflected in the situation of Dirty Face. In most versions his people are different from his wife's people: he is from the Southwind, Southwest Wind, or Rain-Wind people; in one version his wife is specifically contrasted as being from the North Wind people (Henry Allen). It was not unusual in the Puget Sound region, for a man to live with his wife's family, as Dirty Face does in most versions. In Jerry Kanim's telling,

however, Dirty Face lives with his relatives (there is no mention of his wife) and appeals to his nephew South Wind (who calls him "yala'ps"); Dirty Face then warns his own "yalyala'ps," the elk, to head for the hills to avoid the coming flood. In Ann Jack's sketchy version family dynamics are altogether absent; it is his neighbors who tell Dirty Face to wash, after which it begins to rain. And in the Upper Chehalis telling by Jonas Secena, Dirty Face is Thrush, a female disgraced among her people for not washing or bathing.

4. Though the story of Dirty Face appears throughout the northern and southern Lushootseed, Twana, and Upper Chehalis-speaking areas, the songs in all seven versions documented here have texts in Lushootseed. Though it cannot be proved that the story is of Lushootseed origin, its close association with the Lushootseed myth world and geographical landmarks associated with the work of *dúk'ibəl*, the Lushootseed Changer, strongly suggest it.

The story of Dirty Face undoubtedly served a pedagogical function at one time, providing instruction about appropriate ways to behave in families and in the community as well as introducing elements of esoteric knowledge and spiritual practice.

- 1) The importance of cleanliness and purity as a cultural/spiritual value
- 2) The relationship between story songs and spirit power songs
- 3) The relationship between story songs and sung ritual words (enchancements)

Cleanliness is one of the central themes in the story of Dirty Face or *spicx*. It is his dirty face and refusal to wash that ignites family tensions. The importance of personal hygiene is a message children have heard for many generations in Coast Salish communities:

Young [Nooksack] children from the age of five or six years were brought up in a tradition of personal cleanliness and self-discipline. Daily bathing in the river was the cornerstone of this regime (Amoss 1978:13).

In the case of Dirty Face, however, the insistence on cleanliness appears to backfire, since by washing he brings on cataclysmic destruction. Clearly, the world as constituted in the story was not operating properly and had to be cleared away in the anticipation of re-creation. The conflict between Dirty Face and his in-laws appears to be about more than personal hygiene. He is different from them and considered low class, but he knows that what they ask of him is wrong. As Henry Allen tells it:

He is just a black cloud, that South Wind [Snowbird]; he shouldn't wash his face. His duty is black cloud and lots of rain... (Elmendorf 1961:104).

Ultimately he must do what his wife's family wishes. At this point in the story a crucial transition is made from the mundane world of the animal-people to that of supernatural power. Washing takes on ritual meaning, suggestive of the ritual preparations for real-life spirit acquisition:

The passage from the human sphere to the nonhuman sphere was ritually dangerous and hedged with taboos. Contact could be achieved only if the human supplicant were purged of the taint of human existence. Bathing cleaned off the smell of sweat and the odor of smoke from the plank houses... (Amoss 1978:13).

I have already suggested that myth narratives may demonstrate the relationship between the Coast Salish individual and his or her spirit power, and this may be the case in the story of Dirty Face. Though it may not be explicit in every story, action in myth narratives is often brought about by a character calling on his/her spirit power by invoking his/her song. Sometimes the results are humorous, particularly when a character's power proves too weak to effect the desired action, or when it is clear to other myth characters that the character has no power and is faking it. In the case of Dirty Face, the strength of his spirit power is revealed in a song potent enough to destroy the world. (Of course, after his dramatic achievement, accomplished with the assistance of his power, he is unceremoniously turned into a bird with no such power.)

If myth characters mirror their modern human counterparts in calling upon their spirit powers for assistance, how do the power songs of these myth characters relate to actual spirit power songs? Because songs are associated with spiritual power, their appearance in a myth narrative alerts the listener to the proximity of power in some form. A song may be introduced in the story as the power song of the character singing, or the circumstances of the story may suggest that it is, but no accounts suggest that these are real power songs. They do appear to imitate actual power songs, and it is likely that myth world spirit dancing provided an introduction to the activities of the winter dance season to small children not yet allowed in the smokehouse. Langen suggests that many myth power songs are parodies of the real thing. In the Lushootseed story "Crow Is Sick," Langen's commentary reveals the

entire story as a parody of the onset of sickness that leads to one's first spirit dance; both Raven's and Crow's songs are used inappropriately in terms of expected behaviors and thus appear to be parodies (in Bierwert 1996:136-139).

Parody power songs may imitate the esoteric language of power songs, described in Chapter Five. Vi Hilbert found the *spicx* song of Annie Daniels to be untranslatable; the only word that comes through undisguised is "*yəl'yəla b*," the ancestors to whom he appeals for help. It is clear from the versions of the song of Dirty Face compiled for this study that everyday speech has been altered in a number of ways in the creation of sung text. Langen (ibid.) and Snyder (1968:50) have also documented alterations in language in Lushootseed stories.

When Dirty Face invokes the rain and wind, he is using the power of language, in this case sung language, to directly effect action. This kind of demonstration suggests an alternative interpretation to that of power song parody. Another kind of power comes from "family wisdom" possessed and controlled by high-ranking families in pre-Contact Coast Salish communities (and still operating in some forms). Among the kinds of esoteric knowledge they controlled were ritual words or enchantments used to control animals, weather spirits, and humans (Miller 1999a:91). Spoken or sung "formulas" to change the weather appear to be a special category of esoteric language among Puget Sound area people. The ability to change the weather goes along with being *si'ab*, or high class, in Lushootseed myth times (Langen and Barthold 1991:4).

The power of language and other ritual performance to bridge the myth world and the everyday world is confirmed by tellers of the Dirty Face story. Tom Milroy (Puyallup) told Arthur Ballard that if the story were told, it would bring rain; Joe Young (Puyallup) said that if *spicx*<sup>1</sup> is seen taking a bath on a sunny day and looking south, it will rain (Ballard 1929:50). Henry Allen told William Elmendorf the *spicx*<sup>1</sup> story and then commented,

When North Wind comes here in winter time we sing these songs. We catch Snowbird and kill him and burn him in a fire and sing for *c̄abas̄ c̄abas̄ c̄abas̄*. Then the icicles melt and wet, warm weather comes. When they do this they think of this story. They go outdoors and call *c̄abas̄* three times to change the weather. I can remember people doing this (Elmendorf 1961:105).

The story of Dirty Face shares certain features with stories concerning the contest between the North Wind and South (or Chinook or Storm or Rain) Wind; in fact, they seem to be conflated at times. In the telling of "North Wind and Storm Wind" told by Dan Silelus, *stoblə* (North Wind) has defeated the Chinook Wind people, leaving only a young man and his grandmother. The young man gradually gains strength (ritually prepares for and acquires spirit power) in order to defeat *stoblə*. As his power becomes stronger, he tells his grandmother to wash her face (which had been fouled by *stoblə's* slave, Raven), and her washing brings on the rain and warmer weather. In this case there is no song; the ritual washing is enough to bring the rain. There may have been a song at that point in the story at one time, or maybe not; but it's clear that some ritual action is necessary to mark the boundary between the everyday and the spiritual.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Other examples of enchantments used in stories include an Upper Chehalis story told by Peter Heck, in which Toad employed dog-fish oil and a spoken formula to work a "charm" called "k'its'sta'ni" to

Comparison of Versions -

Musical transcriptions of the ten song recordings and other song data constitute Appendix B in this study. Comparative data utilized in this section is presented in Table VI-1.

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remove a hat stuck on Moon's head, thereby winning him as a husband (Adamson 1934:171); in another story, told by Mary Heck, Spear gets a board stuck to him as the result of consorting with the Pitch People, and an old woman removes it with the same charm (ibid.:91).

Table VI-1: Comparison of Songs in the *spicx*™ Story (Arranged by Transcription Number)

#	Singer Name	Story #	Lang. of Singer	Lang. of Song	Lang. of Story	Meter	Pulse (bpm)	Range (Semi./Int.)	# of Tones	Rhythmic Accomp.
1	A. Daniels	AD1	Duw. (S.L.)	Duw. (S.L.)	Duw. (S.L.)	variable	48-66	7/P5	4	none
2	L. Martin	LM1	Lummi	Skagit? (N.L.)	English	duple	104-108	7/P5	3	none
3	M. Lamont	ML5	Snoh. (N.L.)	Lushootseed	--	variable	60-84	7/P5	4	none
4	J. Kanim	JK1	Snoq. (S.L.)	Snoq. ?(S.L.)	Snoq. ?(S.L.)	unmetered	ca.48	7/P5	4	none
5	J. Kanim	JK2	Snoq. (S.L.)	Snoq. ?(S.L.)	Snoq. ?(S.L.)	variable	60	7/P5	4	none
6	J. Stillman	JSt1	Snoq. (S.L.)	Snoq. ?(S.L.)	--	unmetered	--	7/P5	3	none
7	H. Allen	HA7	Twana	Lushootseed (S.)	English	triple	40-48	7/P5	4	none
8	H. Allen	HA14	Twana	Lushootseed (S.)	--	triple	52	7/P5	4	none
9	H. Allen	HA15	Twana	Lushootseed (S.)	--	triple	52	7/P5	3	none
10	M. Davis	MD7	Upper Chehalis	Lushootseed (S.)	--	duple	58	2/M2	2	none

#	Singer Name	Characteristic Rhythm	Characteristic Interval	Contour	Pitch Change	Vocal Quality	Volume	Audience
1	A. Daniels	/ u	M2	undulating	slight drop	open; no pulsing; slight tremolo	soft-medium	no
2	L. Martin	u /	m3	undulating	slight fluctuation	ditto; no tremolo	medium	yes
3	M. Lamont	u / u /	m3/M3	undulating	none	ditto; no tremolo	soft-medium	no
4	J. Kanim	u /	m3	undulating	none	ditto; slight tremolo	medium	no
5	J. Kanim	--	M2	undulating	none	ditto; slight tremolo	medium	no
6	J. Stillman	--	M2	undulating	some indistinct pitches	ditto; no tremolo	soft-medium	no
7	H. Allen	u /	m3	undulating	none	ditto; no tremolo	soft-medium	no
8	H. Allen	u /	unison	undulating	none	ditto; no tremolo	soft-medium	no
9	H. Allen	u /	m3/M3	undulating	none	ditto; no tremolo	soft-medium	no
10	M. Davis	/ u	M2	und. (narrow)	+ 1 semitone	ditto; no tremolo	loud	no

Despite their differences, the various versions of the Dirty Face story share what Vi Hilbert calls the "backbone" of the story. Similarly, the renditions of the song of Dirty Face have a core similarity that is not necessarily obvious. None of the ten versions are identical, musically or textually (including the three by Henry Allen). Of the ten, three have primarily triple meter (all three Henry Allen versions); two have primarily duple meter; three have variable meter (tending toward duple); and two have free meter (one tending toward duple). Pulse tends to be fairly slow, ranging between 40 and 60 quarter notes per minute, with two examples extending outside that range. Melodic range is a fifth for all but one version, and most contain three or four scale tones. The characteristic or most commonly occurring interval is the third (m3 for three versions, both m3 and M3 for two) or the major second (four versions) (in one version a characteristic interval could not be identified). All share an undulating melodic contour.

But what unifies these renditions musically has primarily to do with rhythmic patterns and the interrelationship of rhythm and text. To demonstrate this interrelationship, transcriptions of the song texts are presented; these have been compiled from a number of different sources, and orthographic differences have been preserved. Some text has been altered from spoken form, and meaning is often obscured. I have had assistance with the transcriptions and translations of several versions; the initials of the text transcriber and translator appear to the right of the first lines of text for each. Texts are arranged by name of raconteur. (It has already been mentioned that every recorded version of the song of Dirty Face is sung in Lushootseed (probably all

southern). This includes the three renditions by Henry Allen (Twana/Skokomish), one by Marion Davis (Upper Chehalis), and one by Lizzie Martin (Lummi) from neighboring areas):

- 1) Daniels (southern Lushootseed - Duwamish) (Vi Hilbert./Toby Langen)
  - A [sung] *buləb, buləs ʔas tədi*  
[vocables?]
  - B [sung] *hagʷəxʷ c'əd ʔuyəqəqʔəqʷus [ʔ] yəlyəlab [ʔ] ʔkʷ*  
(For a long time I...speak up...face...my uncles/relatives)
  - A [sung] *buləb, buləs ʔas tədi*  
[vocables?]
  - B1 [sung] *hagʷəxʷ c'əd ʔuyəqəqʔəqʷus [ʔ] ʔi*  
(For a long time I...speak up...face...yes)  
[...xətətəd ʔiiiiʔ]? [not translatable]
  - [spoken] *huy gʷəlqəlbəxʷ gʷəlqəlbəxʷ gʷəlqəlbəxʷ gʷəlqəlbəxʷ gʷəlqəl*  
(And then it rained and rained and rained...)
  
- 2) Martin (Lushootseed - Skagit?) (my transcription)
  - A [sung] *ʔuhilitəb ca'd*
  - B [sung] *ləyaqʷyaqʷo-*
  - B1 [sung] *yaqʷyaqʷo-*
  - C [sung] *yə'lyəla'b*
  
- 3) Lamont (southern Lushootseed) (Thom Hess)
  - A [sung] *ʔucutəb cəd tədxʷyəqyəqusəbəd sə dyalyalab sqʷulgʷədxʷ*
  - B [sung] *cəbəs cəbəs qʷulgʷədxʷ*
  - B [sung] *cəbəs cəbəs qʷulgʷədxʷ*
  
- 4) Kanim 1 (southern Lushootseed - Snoqualmie) (Warren Snyder)
  - A [sung] *toco'tb cəd tətxʷyə'qaqyaqo'sbd e*  
(I was told to wash my face. Yes.)
  - B [sung] *toʔ'a(ya)ʔaxʷcaxʷ stgʷa'qʷ*  
(You will come now, South Wind.)
  
- 5) Kanim 2 (southern Lushootseed - Snoqualmie) (Warren Snyder)
  - A [sung] *ta'ta'q'itcotle dya'lyalap*  
(Go up into the mountains my uncles, the elk.)

B [sung] *otx<sup>w</sup>ya'qaqyaqo'sbax<sup>w</sup> cəd (i)*  
(I wash my face.)

6) Stillman (southern Lushootseed - Snoqualmie) (Arthur Ballard)

A [sung] *t'a-'tAq̄ttsutti t'a-'tAq̄ttsutti cldya-'lyala-B*  
(Move back from the river, my uncles)

B [sung] *utx<sup>w</sup>wiya'q̄aq̄iya'q̄o'sl baxtcl d cldya-'lyala-B*  
(I am going to wash my face, my uncles)

7-9) Allen (southern Lushootseed) (all 3 renditions) (William Elmendorf)

A [sung] *oco'təbčə'd ləyə'q̄yəq̄<sup>w</sup> o'səbəd*  
(They tell me to wash my face)

B [sung] *šdəyə'lyəla'b sk'əx<sup>w</sup>o'lg<sup>w</sup>ədəx<sup>w</sup>*  
(O my uncles from the South Wind World.)

C [spoken] *čəbə's čəbə's čəbə's*  
(Wet drizzle, wet drizzle, wet drizzle)

10) Davis (southern Lushootseed) (my transcription)

A [sung] *...i...oco'təbčə'd...yə'lyəla'b...*

B [sung] [?]

A/A1? [sung] *...i...oco'təbčə'd...yə'lyəla'b...*

B or B1? [sung]

The rhythmic patterns of these songs are characterized generally by repeated triplet or dotted rhythmic figures (short long short or long short long), often difficult to differentiate. These rhythms may be accompanied in the text by repeated words (or vocables), reduplicated or altered forms of words, or text strings that convey lexically cohesive statements. I would suggest that it is the word *yəla'b*, found in some form in nine versions of the story, that provides the rhythmic foundation for the song.

The internal rhythm of the singular form *yəlab* (short long) or the plural *yə'lyəlab* (long short long) is reinforced by the use of the word *čəbə's* (short long) ("mist," southern Lushootseed (Bates et al 1994:62), also translated descriptively by Elmendorf as "wet drizzle") in several versions. In all three of Allen's renditions it

appears as a repeated spoken word at the end of the song - *čəbə's čəbə's čəbə's* - in the rhythm "short-long [pause] short-long [pause] short-long" with emphasis on the long, underlined syllable. In the Daniels version the song is followed by the spoken line - *huy g'alqəlbəx' g'alqəlbəx' g'alqəlbəx' g'alqəlbəx' g'alqəl* (And then it rained and rained and rained...) - with the repeated syllables arranged in even triplets with a pulse on "*qəlb*" ("rain" (N.L.) each time (*qəlbəx'* is northern Lushootseed for "It's starting to rain" (ibid.:175). These ending phrases both have onomatopoeic and chant-like qualities. *čəbə's* also appears in Lamont's version in sung form, where it is repeated within the phrase and again in a repeat of the entire text phrase. (No versions use the words *təcəb* (S.L.) ("heavy mist prior to a general rain") or *təltəb* ("sprinkle, mist"), perhaps because they have an accent on the first syllable and thus violate the underlying rhythmic principle of the song.

The rhythmic pattern embodied by the words *yəla'b* and *čəbə's* is evident throughout this body of songs, even where the words themselves do not appear. Vocables with the same rhythm may substitute, as with *buləb*, *buləs* in the Daniels version.

### **The Star Child (Star Husband) Story**

The Star Child story is perhaps the most important Lushootseed narrative cycle, but it is found in many other areas of North America as well. Thompson counted 86 reported versions of "The Star Husband" (Thompson 1965:418), including a group from the Northwest Coast in which the basic story continues as the star child grows up to become the "culture hero" and proceeds to transform the world. The

significance of this character in Coast Salish literature is what prompts me to use "Star Child" rather than "Star Husband" as a title. Thompson identifies a Puget Sound area sub-type unified by the incorporation of the "independent cycle" of the boy turned transformer, the mention of a gust of wind that blows up through the skyhole, and the opening root-digging scene. Related versions told by the Quinault (Coast Salish) and Quileute (Chimakuan) on the western Washington coast include an account of the war between the sky people and the earth people (ibid.:454).<sup>2</sup>

The aims of the historic-geographic method of folklore research are not of primary concern here, but it may be noted that in his attempt to construct a "life history" of the Star Husband tale, Thompson estimates that the Puget Sound sub-type was "apparently current at least by about 1880" and the story in its "basic form" goes back "at least to the eighteenth century," probably originating in the Central Plains (ibid.:455, 457). A more recent treatment is Miller's discussion of the Lushootseed epic, mainly based on the telling by Susie Sampson Peter and, to a lesser extent, that of Dora Solomon (Miller 1999a:54-57). He emphasizes the geographical "grounding" of local versions, supplies details linking the various episodes, and traces events in the story that become crucial in "defining all important aspects of their [Lushootseed] life and belief" (ibid.:54).

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<sup>2</sup> I have located only one instance of the "Star Husband" story from the British Columbia Coast Salish, a Songish (Songhees) Northern Straits version documented by Boas and including only the sky world episode (Boas 1895:62).

I have located sixteen versions of the Star Child story (also called "Moon, the Transformer" or "Moon and Sun") by western Washington Coast Salish raconteurs as well as eight related stories with similar content but lacking the star husband episode. Like the story of Dirty Face, the versions vary in length and coverage. Several are epic-length tellings (Susie Sampson Peter, Snuqualmi Charlie); others are episodes or fragments. Unlike the story of Dirty Face, the story of the Star Child includes several occasions where songs serve a narrative purpose.

A common western Washington form of the Star Child story may be summarized as follows:

Two sisters camp out after a day of digging roots; while gazing at the stars, they pick two as imaginary husbands; girls wake up in sky world married to star husbands; while digging for roots in the sky world, they dig through and see their home below through the hole; one of the women is pregnant; they secretly create a rope ladder and escape back to earth; often a swing is created with rope ladder to the sky; the baby is stolen when left in the care of an old blind woman (often created from a log); rescue attempt may occur; mother creates second child from wringing out stolen baby's diaper; mother and diaper child become slaves of Raven; star child is now a man; he is either tracked down by one of the animal people, usually in the form of a bird, or else meets his brother accidentally in the woods; star child turned Transformer encounters and changes the world on his way to his mother's home; star child returns home and marries the first woman who can lift a heavy bundle; brothers become the sun and moon and create the world in the form we know it today.<sup>3</sup>

Of the sixteen story versions identified, eight include songs. Of these, one contains one song, two contain two songs, three contain three, and two contain four. Three song recordings that are not associated with a specific story version have also been

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<sup>3</sup> For a composite version of the story see Hilbert and Miller 1995a:138; for an abstract see Miller 1999a:54-57.

identified. Of the eight related stories, six include songs; of these, one each contains one, two, and three songs, two contain four, and one contains ten. These story and song versions are as follows:

Story and recorded songs from same raconteur -

- 1) Susie Sampson Peter (Skagit) - Leon Metcalf, collector  
 Unpublished recording of epic story told by SSP in Skagit and recorded by Leon Metcalf, 12/13/50, Swinomish Reservation  
 Published story text in Skagit and English titled "Star Child," in Aunt Susie book, p. 91-126  
 Story includes three songs: Song of grandmother to baby; Mother's mourning song for son; Diaper Boy's song
  
- 2) Henry Allen (Twana/Skokomish) - William Elmendorf, collector  
 Published story text titled "Star Husband" (collected and told in English) (Elmendorf 1961:31-37); includes four songs.  
 Unpublished recording of four songs in story recorded by Elmendorf, 1946:
  - a) "Fire Brothers' Song" (Lushootseed)
  - b) "Deer's Song" (Twana)
  - c) "Wren's Song" (Lushootseed)
  - d) "Snake Basket Woman's Song" (Twana)
  
- 3) Dora Solomon (Lummi/Skagit) - Vi Hilbert, collector  
 Published story text in English titled "Star Story" ("*sx<sup>n</sup>iʔx<sup>n</sup>tii*") (Hilbert 1996:3-6); includes one song; story dated 1975.  
 Unpublished recording of epic story told in Skagit; title on tape, "Diaper Child - *spicik<sup>m</sup>*"; recorded 8/25/76 [date on cassette copy, conflicts with that in published story] on the Lummi Reservation; includes one song (song of Diaper Child).
  
- 4) Jerry Kanim (Snoqualmie) - Warren Snyder, collector  
 Published story texts in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie) and English titled "Star Husband" and "Transformer" (2<sup>nd</sup> is continuation of 1<sup>st</sup>) (W. Snyder 1968:4-13); no songs in "Star Husband"; 3 songs in "Transformer" (song of Deer, song of Crane, song of sons of Fire).  
 Unpublished recording of story texts including songs recorded by Snyder in August 1955 in Carnation, WA

Story and recorded songs from different raconteurs but related in collection -

- 1) Snoqualmi Charlie (Snoqualmie) and Jack Stillman (Snoqualmie) - Arthur C. Ballard, collector  
Published story text - "Moon, the Transformer" as told by Snoqualmi Charlie (Ballard 1929:69-80) (part of set collected in original language 1916-1929, published in English only).  
Unpublished recording of the four songs in the story; sung by Jack Stillman in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie); "Song of Grandmother Toad, from 'Moon the Transformer'"; "Song of Bluejay," "Song of Deer when Transformer is approaching," and "Song of Crane" recorded by Ballard on Ediphone cylinders, June 1932, Muckleshoot Reservation, Auburn, WA

Story in print form including song texts -

- 1) Mary Iley (Cowlitz) - Thelma Adamson, collector  
Published story in English titled "Moon and Sun" (Adamson p. 269-271); includes text (complete?) for three songs sung by grandmother (first a lullaby, second when she realizes baby has been stolen, third same as first resulting in creation of diaper boy)
- 2) Frank Allen (Twana/Skokomish) - William Elmendorf, collector  
Published story text titled "Star Husband" (collected and told in English) (Elmendorf 1961:27-31); includes texts for two songs sung by grandmother (first when she realizes baby has been replaced with a piece of rotten wood, second when *spicx* successfully retrieves baby); no recordings of songs
- 3) Unidentified Puyallup storyteller - Edward Curtis, collector  
Published story text in English titled "Dabábet'hw, the Transformer" (Curtis 1913:117-121); includes mention of one song (grandmother singing to baby) and text of second (son of Fire)
- 4) Jack Adams (Suquamish) - Warren Snyder, collector  
Published story text in English titled "Star Husband" (Miller 1999b:160-161); from Snyder's 1952-1954 fieldnotes; one song in English by grandfather/babysitter - "My grandchild is a piece of wood now."

Story only (recordings or print form) -

- 1) Peter Heck (Upper Chehalis) - Thelma Adamson, collector  
Published story text in English titled "Star Husband" (Adamson 1934:95); brief; no songs
- 2) Jonas Secena (Upper Chehalis) - Thelma Adamson, collector

- Published story text in English titled "Star Husband" (Adamson 1934:95-96); no songs
- 3) Jerry Meeker (Snoqualmie) - Thelma Adamson, collector  
Published story text in English titled "Star Husband" (Adamson 1934:356); no songs
- 4) Bob Pope (Quinault) - Livingston Farrand, collector  
Published story text in English titled "The Ascent to the Sky or Star Husbands" (Farrand 1902:107-109); no songs
- 5) Clara Pearson (Nehalem Tillamook) - Elizabeth Jacobs, collector  
Published story text in English titled "The Star Husbands" (Pearson/E. Jacobs 1959:95); no songs; transcribed from unpublished recording of story in English; recorded 9/14/34 in Garibaldi, OR on RCA pregrooved disc by M. Jacobs
- 6) Skookum George (Snoqualmie) - Hermann Haerberlin, collector  
Published story text in English titled "Star Husband" (Haerberlin 1925:373-374); no songs
- 7) Henry Sicade (Snoqualmie) - Hermann Haerberlin, collector  
Published story text in English titled "Star Husband" (Haerberlin 1925:375-377); no songs
- 8) Mrs. Jennie Talicus ("interpreted by Vera Ulmer") (Klallam) - Erna Gunther, collector  
Published story text in English titled "Star Husband" (Gunther 1925:135-136); no songs
- 9) Peter James (Duwamish) - John Paul Marr, collector  
Unpublished recording of story in Duwamish and English; titled "Star Husbands"; recorded by J.P. Marr, 1941; no songs
- 10) Lucy Williams (Upper Skagit) - Leon Metcalf, collector  
Published story text in English titled "Star Story" (Hilbert 1996:53-56); story dated 1954; no songs  
Unpublished recording in Metcalf collection.
- 11) Julia Jacobs (Suquamish) - Warren Snyder, collector  
Published story text in English titled "Star Story" (Miller 1999b:158-159); from Snyder's 1952-1954 fieldnotes; no songs

## E. Song only

- 1) Henry Allen (Twana/Skokomish) - Laura Boulton, collector  
Sung in Twana; recorded in Seattle, April 1946; notes indicate this song is a lullaby from the "Starchild myth"
- 2) Henry Allen (Twana/Skokomish) - William Elmendorf, collector  
Sung in Twana; recorded in Sept. or Oct. 1946 [at Skokomish?] and titled "Twana Lullaby"; not part of sequence of myth songs recorded at same time and not associated with either "Star Husband" version in Elmendorf 1961
- 3) Unidentified [Upper Chehalis] - Thelma Adamson, collector  
Published song transcription by George Herzog (Adamson 1934:428) titled "Cradle Song of [malé], Moon Story" (P.R. 7a); Herzog indicates singers as "two men" (sounds more like one man with a woman singing at the octave); form of "malé" from Kinkade 1991:79.
- 4) Unidentified [Upper Chehalis] - Thelma Adamson, collector  
Published song transcription by George Herzog (Adamson 1934:428) titled "t'op'á 'yulaqam Song, Moon Story" (P.R. 7b); Herzog indicates singer as "one man" (sounds like one man with a woman singing at the octave); form of "t'op'á 'yulaqam" from Kinkade 1991:149
- 5) Unidentified [Upper Chehalis] - Thelma Adamson, collector  
Published song transcription by George Herzog (Adamson 1934:427) titled "malé Shrinks the Earth" (P.R. 6); Herzog indicates singers as "two men" (sounds more like one man with a woman singing at the octave)

Related stories with no star husbands episode -

- 1) Peter Heck (Upper Chehalis) - Thelma Adamson, collector  
Published story text in English titled "Moon" (Adamson 1934:158-172); long version of Moon and Sun story; includes English song texts for 10 songs (grandmother singing to baby (2 songs); song of mother to grandmother while chasing kidnappers; song of man making net; song of someone marching; song of someone else waiting for Changer; song of old man; song of 5 Fire-ladies; song of woman; song of man (Wren))
- 2) Jonas Secena (Upper Chehalis) - Thelma Adamson, collector  
Published story text in English titled "Moon" (Adamson 1934:173-177); long version of Moon and Sun story, also story of Xwane'xwane; includes English song texts for 2 songs (grandmother singing to baby and then announcing its replacement by piece of rotten wood)
- 3) James Cheholts (Cowlitz) - Thelma Adamson, collector

Published story text in English titled "Moon and Sun" (Adamson 1934:271-272); includes English text for 1 song (grandmother sings as second baby is created out of moss)

4) Sophie Smith (Cowlitz) - Thelma Adamson, collector  
Published story text in English titled "The Stolen Boy" (Adamson 1934:272-274); includes English song texts for 4 songs by mother-in-law (lullaby, song about baby feeling like rotten wood, song to shorten road during chase; lullaby to second child)

5) Mary Adams (Twana/Skokomish) - Thelma Adamson, collector  
Published story text in English titled "Moon and Sun" (Adamson 1934:374-378); no songs

6) Jerry Meeker (Snoqualmie) - Thelma Adamson, collector  
Published story text in English titled "Moon and Sun" (Adamson 1934:356-360); includes English or Lushootseed song texts for 3 songs (grandmother's lullaby and song about baby turning into wood (English); song of sons of Fire (Lushootseed)

7) Little Sam (Snoqualmie) - Hermann Haeberlin, collector  
Published story text in English titled "Symplegades" (Haeberlin 1925:372); no songs

8) Unidentified storyteller (Humptulip) - Thelma Adamson, collector  
Published story text in English titled "Moon and Sun" (Adamson 1934:276-284); long version about Moon and Sun and xwane-xwane; includes English song texts for 4 songs (grandmother's lullaby and 2 songs after baby is stolen; Bluejay's song to test potential brides for chief)

9) Harry Moses (Skagit/Marblemount) - Leon Metcalf, collector  
Published story text in English titled "*spipicik*" "Diaper Boy" (Hilbert 1996:59-60); recorded 11/28/52; English song text for grandmother's lullaby.  
Unpublished recording in Metcalf collection (Tape 32).

In her audio recording of "Star Child" in 1976, storyteller Dora Solomon

(Lummi/Skagit) comments to Vi Hilbert, "I could tell you, that's a history of the Indian. That's the beginning of the Indian." As a pedagogical tool, this epic may once have served a very different role from that of the story of Dirty Face. Although it certainly contains teachings about family and social mores, it is also in effect a

creation story, a chronicle, and a map of the world. (The "chiefly" families may be considered the descendants of Star Child (Miller 1999a:54).) The world it describes/circumscribes, however, depends on the vantage point of the storyteller. "Star Child" as documented here includes versions from northern and southern Lushootseed (Skagit, Snoqualmie), Twana, Klallam, Upper Chehalis, Cowlitz, Quinault, and Nehalem Tillamook speakers. Sites mentioned in many of these versions reflect the local geography and place names. Variations including the length of the version told, the episodes chosen, the level of narrative detail, and the use of songs may be the result of several factors: from whom the story was learned and in what setting, memorization and recall, individual preferences and presentation style, and the setting in which the story was recorded.

References to local sites abound in the "Star Child" stories. Places contain history, and boundaries that distinguish near and far places circumscribe a group's idea of where home is and may also help explain origins. According to Martin Sampson, the son of Susie Sampson Peter, the Skagits came long ago from the mountains upriver. He cites the "Star Child" story: "Those who were kidnapped by the stars - the child of one of these women was taken by women from upriver (E[ast].) not down-river (W[est].). All of the stories of the people indicate that it was from upstream (E[ast].) that the people came. That they walked" (Sampson, interview with Vi Hilbert 3/18/76, transcript p.11).

Sampson describes his mother's "Star Child" as the origin story of the Nookachamish, people who at one time occupied the Skagit River valley between what is now Mt. Vernon and Lyman, including Big Lake and Clear Lake and extending west to the Olympic Marsh (Sampson 1972:19). The story begins with two young women from a noble/elite family gathering camas roots on the prairie near Clear Lake (Whitney and Sampson 1938:18). Following their trip to the sky world, the older of the two, who is about to give birth to the Star Child, returns from the sky world on a cedar rope, landing

...on the hill across the Nookachamps River from 'Whats-al-ul,' the [Nookachamish] village on the river just above Barney Lake. There the rope is coiled in the form of a rock known to the Indians as 'Yud-was-ta' [yədwastəʔ], meaning 'heart,' or 'of the heart' (Sampson 1972:52).

Big Rock, as Sampson refers to it, is located at the fork of Big Lake and the Mt. Vernon road (ibid.:9) (across from the Big Rock gas station on Highway 9 (Miller 1999a:152)).<sup>4</sup>

The other local reference made by Sampson is to the confluence of the Nookachamps and Skagit rivers, where Raven meets the young mother and takes her and her Diaper Child to be his slaves in "*Kaw-kwa-wats-o*," a Nookachamish village between what is now Sedro Woolley and Lyman (Sampson 1972:52).

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<sup>4</sup> In the 1938 collection of stories "as told by" Sampson to Whitney, the return location is described slightly differently: "This is thought to have been on the banks of a small stream running into Clear Lake, for to this day there is a large rock standing there looking for all the world like a coiled rope" (Whitney and Sampson 1938:20). In another Skagit account, Dora Solomon describes what sounds like the same location: "It is there at the little creek at the other end of Clear Lake in Skagit county" (Hilbert 1980 (1996):3).

In Metcalf's 1950 recording of Susie Sampson Peter telling "Star Child," the final section of the story consists of a long list of places Star Child and Diaper Child name, including "tribes" (names of language groups), rivers, and other landmarks (Hilbert and Miller 1995a:122-126). The list details the world as it must have looked from the Skagit perspective, including Coast Salish neighbors to the north and west, upriver groups, the Lushootseed-speaking area, and groups much further north and east.

For southern Lushootseed the "Star Child" story is associated with the area around Snoqualmie Falls. In Snuqualmi Charlie's version the story starts with two sisters from *tolbcw* (now Carnation) who go to dig bracken fern roots on the prairie above the Falls. Upon their return from the sky world, their ladder becomes a swing (*yado'ad*) whose arc goes from "*Da'xcdibc*" (Footprint, at Mount Si) on the north side of the river to *Kəlbts* (Camping Place) at Rattlesnake Mountain, on the south side (Ballard 1929:72). As Moon goes around changing things, he transforms a fish weir into the waterfall and a chief, *Kəlbts*, his two wives, and other people there at the time into stone. Though Moon said the swing could stay forever, Rat gnawed the rope, and the swing fell. Moon, whose name is *sLokwa'ləb* (Snoqualmie), placed a man and woman on each river (Skagit, Yakima, Lummi, Puyallup, etc.).

Skookum George (Snoqualmie) places the women's camping site about two miles beyond Snoqualmie Falls near a mountain called *Q'albits*, near North Bend. The people swing on the rope ladder through a valley running north to south, creating

gulches as they go, and when Rat gnaws through the rope, it drops into the Snoqualmie Valley at a place called *Midoad* (rock).

Several Snoqualmie versions not only portray the special status of the Snoqualmie but reflect the low standing in which some of their neighbors may have been held. In Jerry Kanim's version, the Star Child as Transformer encounters a very fat child who repeats everything he says; in disgust he throws the child toward the Clallam (that's why they have big stomachs).<sup>5</sup> In the course of changing things, he goes up the Tolt River, into the mountains, and then returns home to Snoqualmie, saying, "The people of the future will keep the name of Snoqualmie forever" (Snyder 1968:33). When he sees some Snohomish sitting up on Mt. Si near the swing, he turns them into rock; when the swing comes down, it too is turned to stone. According to Snuqualmi Jim and Skookum George (both Snoqualmie), the Snohomish knew this Snoqualmie story but didn't tell it (Haeberlin 1926:375). Little Sam, in a related story, describes how the salmon women came from the west to the Snoqualmie River near the falls, where they stole the baby; as *dik'ibət*, he brings salmon back to Snoqualmie and teaches the people to make fish nets (ibid.:372).

Both versions from Suquamish tellers refer to the rock location at Snoqualmie; one explicitly says the story came to the Suquamish from the Snoqualmie (Miller 1999b:159, 161).

Frank Allen (Twana) told a version of the story he learned from Doctor Jack ("up the Cedar River") which retains its Snoqualmie locale. He describes a mountain near Snoqualmie Pass where pictures of Snoqualmie chiefs put there by *dúkʷibəʔ* gradually dropped off as the chiefs died, leaving white spots on the rock. The rope ladder from the sky world is now a pile of stones on the prairie above Snoqualmie Falls. *dúkʷibəʔ* the Transformer arrives later, after the Star Child marries a wife from the star world and they, along with his sister and her spouse, become the ancestors of the Snoqualmie people. Early in this account, *spicxʷ* rescues the kidnapped baby and is told to stay with Snoqualmie - "Your name is Snoqualmie now."

Frank Allen's brother Henry tells a different version, located geographically in Twana country, in which the Star Child himself becomes *dúkʷibaʔ*. As he travels, he encounters a series of "bad animals" who are transformed into rock points along Hood Canal. Henry Allen commented to collector Elmendorf that the Lushootseed name for the sucking monster, *bátʷqs*, is always used in this story and that the same name is used for the bluff into which he was transformed near Lilliwaup (Elmendorf 1961:35). *dúkʷibaʔ* also names two creeks located in relation to Hamma Hamma: *qačqʷa-ʔədəs* (Wake Tike, first creek north of Cummings Point, on the west side of Hood Canal) and *habibiəlqoʷ* (cascara bark creek) (ibid.). He turns a young woman having her first menses into a rock (*a-takʷčəd*) near Dewatto for violating cleanliness taboos.

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<sup>5</sup> In a short Clallam version by Jennie Talicus, the rope from the sky world fell in a coil, now partly

The only related Upper Chehalis account with local geographical references is Peter Heck's story "Moon" about *Xwan*, who lived at Lequito and raised two girls produced from salmon milt who ran away when he began to call them "wives." Later in the story Moon comes back to the Lequito prairie; after fixing his brother and tricking Bluejay; he and his brother become Sun and Moon. In another version of "Moon," Jonas Secena recounts that the baby (Moon) was stolen from the Lequito prairie.

In a related Cowlitz version by Sophie Smith, the baby is stolen by two women who get away in a canoe near Olympia. And an unidentified Humptulip storyteller begins a related story on the Humptulip River.

References to local pattern numbers are distributed throughout the many versions cited here: in the north, the number four (see Peter for Skagit) and further south, the number five (see Kanim and Meeker for Snoqualmie, Smith for Cowlitz, and the unattributed Humptulip version).

Before directly addressing the subject of songs in these versions of "Star Child," a few relevant comments may be made about esoteric content. In Sampson's discussion of the Star Child, whom he distinguishes from the Transformer, he lists the changes made in preparation for the human era: the Transformer named everything and gave the people "Mystic Words" and "spirit life" (Sampson 1972:57); that is, private

knowledge, including enchantments, and access to spiritual power. According to Miller, this happened during the time the Star Child and his brother burned everything that had been made and scattered the ashes around so the coming humans would have access to it (Miller 1999a:55). Only a few versions mention this transfer of knowledge. In Henry Allen's account "poor little Frog" succeeds in lifting *dúk'ṭbət's* bundle and becoming his wife because her grandmother had *dux'č'ələ'x'* (compulsive magic) which she was singing as her granddaughter took her turn (Elmendorf 1961:37). In Peter's version Frog's success appears to be the result of instructions by her mother on social etiquette, how to appear high-class, but the use of enchantments may be implied.

Musical transcriptions of seventeen song recordings from various versions of "Star Child" may be found in Appendix B. In the following discussion songs will be referred to by the name of the raconteur and the song number assigned in the Appendix A listing, as follows:

- 1) Susie Sampson Peter
  - a) Grandmother's song to baby (SP1)
  - b) Mother's mourning song (SP2)
  - c) Diaper Child's song (SP3)
- 2) Dora Solomon
  - a) Diaper Child's song (DSol1)
- 3) Jack Stillman
  - a) Grandmother Toad's song (JSt4)
  - b) Bluejay's song (JSt5)
  - c) Deer's song (JSt6)
  - d) Crane's song (JSt7)
- 4) Henry Allen
  - a) Fire Brothers' song (HA1)
  - b) Deer's song (HA2)

- c) Wren's song (HA3)
  - d) Snake Basket Woman's song (HA4)
  - e) Lullaby (recorded by Boulton) (HA14)
  - f) Lullaby (recorded by Elmendorf) (HA13)
- 5) Unidentified
- a) Cradle song of malé [Mother of Moon] (U1)
  - b) Rotten Wood (t'op'á 'yulaqam) song (U2)
  - c) malé Shrinks the Earth (U3)

Table VI-2 includes data related to these songs, arranged by singer.

Table VI-2: Comparison of Songs in the "Star Child" Story (Arranged by Transcription Number) (p. 1)

#	Singer Name	Song Title & #	Story Name	Lang. of Singer	Lang. of Song	Lang. of Story	Meter	Pulse (bpm)	Range (S-/Int.)
1	S.S. Peter	Old woman's song to baby (SP1)	Star Child	Skagit	Skagit	Skagit	duple (complex)	72	6/D5
2	S.S. Peter	Mother wringing diaper (SP2)	Star Child	Skagit	Skagit	Skagit	duple	80	7/P5
3	S.S. Peter	Diaper boy's song (1 <sup>st</sup> x) (SP3)	Star Child	Skagit	Skagit	Skagit	duple	72-84	5/P4
4	D. Solomon	Song of <i>spicik</i> (DSol)	Star Story	Skagit/Lummi	Skagit	Skagit	variable	88-100	4/M3
5	J. Stillman	Grandmother Toad's song (JS14)	Moon, the Transformer	Snoqualmie	Snoqualmie	--	unmetered	None	7/P5
6	J. Stillman	Song of Bluejay (skal'kal) (JS15)	Moon, the Transformer	Snoqualmie	Snoqualmie	--	duple	84-152	unison
7	J. Stillman	Song of Deer (JS16)	Moon, the Transformer	Snoqualmie	Snoqualmie	--	duple	112	5/P4
8	J. Stillman	Song of Crane (Blue Heron) (JS17)	Moon, the Transformer	Snoqualmie	Snoqualmie	--	duple	100	unison
9	H. Allen	Song of the Fire Brothers (HA1)	Star Husband	Twana	Lushootseed (s.)	English	duple	126	5/P4
10	H. Allen	Song of Deer (HA2)	Star Husband	Twana	Lushootseed? or Twana?	English	duple	112	unison
11	H. Allen	Song of Wren (HA3)	Star Husband	Twana	Lushootseed (s.)	English	triple	108-112	7/P5
12	H. Allen	Song of Snake Basket Woman (HA4)	Star Husband	Twana	Twana	English	duple	92-100	5/P4
13	H. Allen	Lullaby (HA13)	[Star Husband]	Twana	Twana	--	duple	78-80	7/P5
14	H. Allen	Lullaby (HA16)	Star Child	Twana	Twana	--	duple	88-90	9/M6
15	Unidentified	Cradle song (U1)	Moon	?	Upper Chehalis	--	variable	120-132	octave
16	Unidentified	t'op'á yulagam (U2)	Moon	?	Upper Chehalis	--	variable	88-96 (126)	7/P5
17	Unidentified	malé shrinks the earth (U3)	[Moon]	?	Upper Chehalis	--	variable	@63 (@144-152)	octave

Table VI-2: Comparison of Songs in the "Star Child" Story (Arranged by Transcription Number) (p. 2)

#	Singer Name	# of Tones	Rhythmic Accomp.	Characteristic Rhythm	Characteristic Interval	Contour	Pitch Change	Vocal Quality	Volume	Audience
1	S.S. Peter	5	--	/ / u	m3/M3	undulating	none	open; no pulsing or tremolo.	med. to high	Family & friends
2	S.S. Peter	5	--	/ / u /	--	undulating	fluctuates (held notes)	open; no pulsing or tremolo	med.	ditto
3	S.S. Peter	3	--	/ u	m3	undulating	none	open; no pulsing or tremolo	med.	ditto
4	D. Solomon	3	--	/ u	M2	undulating	none	open; no pulsing or tremolo	low	V. Hilbert
5	J. Stillman	3	--	--	M2, P4	undulating	none	open; no pulsing or tremolo	med.	--
6	J. Stillman	1	--	u u	unison	flat	none	rhythmic speech	med.	--
7	J. Stillman	2	--	u u	P4	undulating	none	open; no pulsing or tremolo	med.	--
8	J. Stillman	1	--	--	unison	flat	none	rhythmic speech	med.	--
9	H. Allen	3	drum	--	unison	undulating (narrow)	- one word; rise at end	open; no pulsing or tremolo	med.	--
10	H. Allen	1	drum	u /	unison	flat	-1 semitone	rhythmic speech	med.	--
11	H. Allen	4	drum	--	unison	undulating (narrow)	none	open; no pulsing or tremolo	med.	--
12	H. Allen	2	drum	/ u u /	unison	flat	none	rhythmic speech	med.	--
13	H. Allen	4	drum	u u u u /	m3/M3 M2	descending	none	open; no pulsing or tremolo	med.	--
14	H. Allen	6	drum	u u u u /	M2	undulating	+1 semitone on repeats	open; no pulsing or tremolo	med.	--
15	Unidentified	4	drum	/ u /	m3, P4	undulating	none	open; no pulsing or tremolo	med. to high	-
16	Unidentified	4	drum	/ u	m3, P4	undulating	none	open; no pulsing or tremolo	med. to high	--
17	Unidentified	4	drum	/ u /	m3, P4	undulating	fluctuates	open; no pulsing or tremolo	med. to high	--

These songs may be further grouped in several ways: 1) by the episode in which they appear, 2) by the character singing, or 3) by type of melodic content. Songs occur at several key points of the "Star Child" story; events associated with songs are indicated here with the number of each corresponding recording (not all such songs are represented in the recordings; some appear in versions for which we have only song texts):

- 1) Kidnapping of baby
  - a) Song (lullaby) of grandmother/babysitter reveals gender of baby despite warning, and baby is kidnapped (SP1, HA14, HA13, U1)
  - b) Song (lullaby) of grandmother alerts mother of baby to its disappearance by referring to its resemblance to rotten wood (JSt4, U2)
  
- 2) Creation of Diaper Child
  - a) Mother's mourning song for kidnapped son while wringing out his diaper produces second child (SP2)
  
- 3) Attempts to Rescue Baby
  - a) Chase of kidnappers (rescue unsuccessful) (Upper Chehalis versions) (U3)
  - b) Baby rescued by one of the animal people successfully going through a violently opening and closing gateway (Symplegades motif); a song of victory follows.
    1. Grandmother's song (see Frank Allen text) (no recordings)
    2. Bluejay's song (JSt5)
  
- 4) Uniting of two brothers
  - a) Mother teaches song to Diaper Child about their plight
  - b) Song of Diaper Child attracts his brother to him (SP3, DSo1)
  
- 5) Anticipation of arrival of Transformer
  - a) Song of Deer (HA2, JSt6)
  - b) Song of Crane (JSt7)
  - c) Song of sons of Fire (HA1)
  - d) Song of Wren (spicx\*) (HA3)
  - e) Song of witch (HA4)

The six songs associated with the kidnapping of the baby form the largest related group. Of these, four are sung by the grandmother/babysitter before the baby is

kidnapped, and each song text reveals the baby's gender.<sup>6</sup> This accidental announcement is crucial to the plot, which requires the boy baby to be stolen and taken far away. Whereas the songs accompanying the story of Dirty Face were all sung in southern Lushootseed, whatever the source, the songs in "Star Child" are sung in a variety of languages. Of the four songs in this first group, two are in Twana (both by the same singer), one in Skagit (Lushootseed), and one in Upper Chehalis. Unfortunately, it cannot be confirmed that song and story language matched in each case, since three of the four songs were recorded without the accompanying story.

The songs in this first group appear to be *sk'a?k'cəb* ("lullaby" (Bates et al. 1994:328)); what connects them is the rocking, repetitive quality associated with the lullaby, rather than specific melodic or rhythmic patterns (it is likely that the texts all involve some "baby talk" as well). Allen's versions are in duple meter, Peter's alternates between complex triple and duple, and the unattributed Upper Chehalis version is too irregular to classify. Peter's version is unique; its initial similarity to the tune of "Brahms' Lullaby" may be coincidental and, in any case, is very brief. Her rendition is characterized by a repeating "long-short" triplet rhythm (based on altered text) and the rare appearance of the interval of a diminished fifth (twice) in the melody. Allen's two renditions, recorded during the same year but by different collectors, vary slightly. Rhythmically, they are identical, built on the same short,

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<sup>6</sup> Although most versions state or imply that the grandmother simply misspoke and called him "grandson" or "baby boy" in her song, Dora Solomon refers to the existence of "special lullabies for each sex" (Hilbert 1981 (1996):3), and Susie Sampson Peter uses the term "female lullabies" (Hilbert 1995a:96). Vi Hilbert is not aware of the existence of separate lullabies.

repeated text phrase; though the overall melodic contour is the same, the Elmendorf recording is characterized by frequent melodic jumps of a minor or major third (in all five renditions), while the Boulton recording has mainly stepwise motion.

Interestingly, Allen accompanies himself on drum in both recordings.<sup>7</sup>

The unattributed Upper Chehalis version (transcribed by Herzog) is unlike those of Allen or Peter but quite similar musically to the two songs the grandmother/babysitter sings after realizing that a piece of rotten wood has been substituted for the baby boy (unattributed Upper Chehalis and Stillman). All are irregular or, more accurately, unmetered melodies characterized by a descending melodic phrase beginning on the fifth tone, undulating stepwise and then descending by a fourth to a resting point. In numerous versions of the story, the second song by the grandmother/babysitter alerts the baby's mother to the kidnapping and propels the epic into the next episode.

According to Martin Sampson, real-life *sk'a?k'cəb* came from several sources, including stories:

There was of course the *sk'a?k'cəb*. You take your child and comfort it however possible. Make up your own. Maybe from your spirit power. Maybe from your mind. There were many, however, taken from the legends. Just as it is today (Sampson, interview with Vi Hilbert, 3/18/76, transcript p. 9).

Whereas the songs of the grandmother/babysitter serve a crucial narrative purpose, they do not seem to connote esoteric meaning. The creation of a second child out of the soiled bedding (moss or soft cedar bark) of the stolen child does, however,

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<sup>7</sup> Allen did not use the drum when he performed the sequence of myth songs recorded by Elmendorf during the same session; this "Twana Lullaby" was not part of that group of songs though it is clearly associated with the "Star Child" story.

suggest the evocation of power. In many versions of the story, the anguished mother of the stolen child cries as she wrings out the baby's bedding. In Peter's version she wrings "only to the right" as she sings what is perhaps her personal power song, and the diaper child (*picik*, *spipicik*) is created. In Solomon's the mother twists the bedding four times to get the child to turn out right. She "...was a powerful woman" (Hilbert 1981 (1996):54). In Henry Allen's account "someone got a doctor" who brought the rotten wood (which replaced the baby) to life. Peter's song is notable for the repeated descending melodic phrase built on the words "*picik* (*b)əda(?)*" ("washing and wringing his diapers") (Hilbert and Miller 1995a:98).

The recorded example "*malé* Shrinks the Earth" is sung as the mother and grandmother (in some Upper Chehalis versions) give chase to the kidnappers. With this song the grandmother (Inch Worm, Hell Diver, or Marsh) (ibid.:138) appears to call upon her spirit power to close the distance by folding up the earth as they go. In this recording the song is very similar to the other unattributed Upper Chehalis songs (described above) sung by the grandmother earlier in the story. This unidentified singer is perhaps the same in each case and the tune a kind of grandmother "leitmotif" with different words used in each rendition as the story requires: first the lullaby that reveals the baby's gender, followed closely by the song announcing the baby's resemblance to rotten wood, and finally the effort to "shrink the earth" and overtake the kidnappers. Since there is no story version corresponding to these songs in Adamson's collection, this is entirely conjecture.

A fourth occasion for a song by the grandmother occurs in Frank Allen's account of the story, in which the baby is rescued after a succession of animal people attempt to pass through a violently opening and closing opening or gateway (the Symplegades motif) to get to where the baby has been taken. It's disappointing that there is no recording of the song, particularly because it is our old friend *spicx* who manages the rescue; the grandmother's song celebrates their return. In Snuqualmi Charlie's telling it is Bluejay (*skai'kai*) who succeeds, getting his head flattened in the process. It is implicit in competitions among the animal people, such as this one, that whoever succeeds does so because of the superior strength of his or her spirit power. Bluejay sings his power song as he sails off to attempt to find the stolen baby and repeats it when he arrives home victorious. His song is different from any mentioned previously; it is short, repetitive and chant-like, much like the "animal songs" identified by Herzog and discussed in Chapter Five. The text appears to consist of repeated vocables ("*ka' tsa ka' tsa ka' tsa*") and the uttering of Bluejay's own onomatopoeic name ("*kai kai kai kai kai*"), so it may be said to function as self-identification.

The song of Diaper Child (*spicik*), like the grandmother's lullabies, allows crucial information to be communicated between characters; in this case, Diaper Child describes the kidnapping of his brother within earshot of the brother, and the two are re-united. The two documented recordings of the song, by Susie Sampson Peter and Dora Solomon, both Skagit, utilize similar melodic material, though Peter's is more fully developed. In Peter's version of the story, Diaper Child's mother sings the song

to him, and he then repeats it "mournfully as though singing his dirge" (Hilbert and Miller 1995a:104). He later sings it while working in the forest, as she has told him to. The song text includes the fact that he (and his mother) have been made slaves by Raven, thus filling his brother in further on the sad state of things. The story requires three renditions of the song, which Peter sings with considerable melodic variation each time but identical text and rhythmic structure. The song texts in both Peter and Solomon's versions begin with the vocables "*həʔi, həʔi, həʔi*," which may suggest that it is a power song, perhaps of the type that aids in finding missing people.

The final group of six songs comes from episodes that detail the Star Child turned Transformer as he travels the world, encountering and changing various characters.<sup>8</sup> These songs are all sung by such characters - the Sons of Fire, Wren, Deer, the Basket Woman (Ogress), and Crane (Blue Heron) - in their pre-transformation state. Deer is actually waiting for the Transformer (*dúkʷibət*, in this case) and plans to murder him, but the weapon he is sharpening is shoved into him by *dúkʷibət*, making the sharp bone that transforms him into a deer. Wren and Crane are using their heads as hammers and are shown how to devise tools instead. The Basket Woman, famous in the literature for stealing and roasting children, is killed. And the Sons of Fire openly confront the Transformer, demonstrate their ability to burn the earth by singing, and force *dúkʷibət* to retreat.

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<sup>8</sup> According to an account collected at Spence's Bridge, British Columbia, two Transformers named Sesulia'n and Seku'lia "...transformed those who were proud, while they helped those who were grateful for advice and instruction (Boas 1917:13).

The songs in this group are all of the short, repetitive, chant-like type outlined above in the discussion of Bluejay's power song. They may be viewed similarly as parodies of spirit power songs. The texts of five of the six are descriptions by the actors of the action they are involved in ("I'm pounding and pounding my head," "This is what I'm making to kill the Transformer," etc.). The sixth is initially a statement of identify ("We are the Sons of Fire"), but it also serves to establish the tension of confrontation. The line of text which follows four sentences later, "So they sang and had power and the earth started to burn," also suggests the potency of their spiritual power.

In narrative episodes such as this series of encounters, the number of repetitive incidents described by a raconteur may vary widely and the inclusion of a song may be flexible. In Henry Allen's version Beaver follows Deer and sings the same song, but it is not performed again.

The songs associated with the "Star Child" epic illustrate the range of song types in Coast Salish literature: their different narrative functions, structures, musical characteristics, and organizing principles. Unlike the song in the Dirty Face story versions, songs in "Star Child" are performed in a variety of languages. This and the considerable variation in the narrative from version to version suggest that the separate episodes of the epic have, in many cases, taken on an independent identity, acquiring their own histories through re-telling by storytellers in different families across dialects and language areas. Is this an indication of the disintegration of the

epic over time? Did the drastic changes in Coast Salish lifeways during the past century and a half rupture even the story of Coast Salish origins? It is impossible to know to what extent such changes have occurred, but the full epic renditions documented in this section suggest significant regional differences even in multi-episodic versions (see S.S. Peter, D. Solomon, Snuqualmi Charlie, P. Heck, and J. Secena). Regarding songs, the song/story displacement problem prevents us from assessing the frequency and range of their appearance in the telling of "Star Child." In addition to differences, several striking similarities in the story renditions should be noted regarding song: no versions include songs in the sky world episode, and no songs are sung by the Star Child or Transformer. One possible explanation may be the unique role of the Star Child/Transformer being; though he is clearly powerful, he is neither a human being nor one of the animal people and therefore, perhaps, not associated with spirit power in the culturally understood sense.

### **Summary of Myth Narrative Song Data**

The following characterization of western Washington Coast Salish myth narrative songs is based on the material presented in this study, including my findings and those of Herzog, Mohling, and Williams. It must be admitted that the weakest link here is the use of language in songs and the precise relationship of text and music. In part, this is due to the difficulty of working with texts in several different languages and with text transcriptions by a variety of individuals, some of whom employed phonetic and some phonemic transcription methods. Differences in orthography have not always been easy to interpret either. My approach has been to work with song

texts in the form each author has provided without attempting to standardize transcription systems. I have been assisted in the task of interpreting these texts by Vi Hilbert, Toby Langen, and Nile Thompson, but my own lack of language competency has limited my ability to deal with them effectively.

The parameters for comparison used here are based in part on those of Enrico and Stuart (1996): pulse, meter, rhythmic accompaniment, pitch change, number of renditions, range, characteristic interval, characteristic rhythm, contour, and musical/linguistic structure. I have excluded solfege and scale but added number of tones. In addition, I have included aspects of vocal quality (open or closed vocal production, smooth or pulsing, presence or absence of tremolo) and other performance parameters (expression, volume, audience presence).

#### Musical Features -

**Solo Nature of Performance** - Unlike other song genres, story songs are sung only by the storyteller; others present do not join in singing; women and men perform equally as storytellers.

**Rhythmic Accompaniment** - Unlike other song genres, story songs are generally performed without accompanying drum or other sound instrument (with exceptions in some de-contextualized sound recordings and in some contemporary performance).

The relationship of voice to rhythmic accompaniment is, consequently, not an issue in this genre.

**Length** - Story songs vary in length, but in performance they are usually repeated several times; the shortest may be a rhythmic pattern of a few syllables uttered on one pitch, the longest made up of one or more fully developed phrases.

**Melodic Range** - The great majority of songs in my sample of 27 song versions have a range of a 6<sup>th</sup> or less (93%); 89% have a range of a 5<sup>th</sup> or less. These totals are slightly higher than Herzog's for western Washington Coast Salish (86% and 80%) and substantially higher than Herzog, Mohling, and Williams' combined totals (57% and 40%). Comparing myth/story songs only, melodic range is narrower in my sample than in Herzog, Mohling, and Williams', where 82% had a range of a 6<sup>th</sup> or less and 73% had a range of a 5<sup>th</sup> or less. Melodic range in western Washington Coast Salish myth/story songs appears to be narrower than other song genres. Table VI-3 summarizes data on melodic range for all western Washington Coast Salish songs in samples analyzed by Herzog, Mohling, and Williams, with added data from this study. Table VI-4 summarizes data on myth-story songs only.

Table VI-3: Melodic Range: Western Washington Coast Salish Songs (Data from Herzog, Mohling, Williams, and Sercombe)

Source	5 <sup>th</sup> or less	6 <sup>th</sup> or less	7 <sup>th</sup> or above	Total
<b>Herzog Totals - #</b>	28	30	5	35
%	80%	86%	14%	100%
<b>Herzog, Mohling &amp; Williams Totals - #</b>	52	75	56	131
%	40%	57%	43%	100%
<b>Sercombe Totals - #</b>	24	25	2	27
%	89%	93%	7%	100%
<b>Herzog, Mohling, Williams &amp; Sercombe Totals - #</b>	76	100	58	158
%	48%	63%	37%	100%

Table VI-4: Melodic Range: Western Washington Coast Salish Myth/Story Songs (Data from Herzog, Mohling, Williams, and Sercombe)

Source	5 <sup>th</sup> or less	6 <sup>th</sup> or less	7 <sup>th</sup> or above	Total
<b>Chehalis (Herzog)</b>	15	16	3	19
%	79%	84%	16%	100%
<b>Twana/Skok. (Mohling)</b>	--	1	--	1
%	--	100%	--	100%
<b>Skagit (Williams)</b>	1	1	1	2
%	50%	50%	50%	100%
<b>Herzog, Mohling &amp; Williams Totals - #</b>	16	18	4	22
%	73%	82%	18%	100%
<b>From Sercombe song sample:</b>				
Lummi	1	1	--	1
Lushootseed	13	13	--	13
Twana	8	9	--	9
Upper Chehalis	2	2	2	4
<b>Sercombe Totals-#</b>	24	25	2	27
%	89%	93%	7%	100%
<b>Herzog, Mohling, Williams &amp; Sercombe Totals - #</b>	40	43	6	49
%	82%	88%	12%	100%

**Melodic Contour** - An undulating melodic contour is the most common in my sample (over 80%); in 4 single-pitch songs, the contour is flat; in one additional song, it is descending.

**Characteristic Melodic Intervals** - The most common intervals in my sample are M2 (major second) and m3 (minor third), followed by unison, P4 (perfect fourth) and M3 (major third).

**Number of Pitches** - Of the 27 song versions in my sample, 78% have three or more distinct pitches; the most common number of pitches is 4 (11 instances) followed by 3 (7 instances).

**Characteristic Rhythms** - Most story songs include repeated rhythmic patterns made up of repeated or altered words or phrases. Songs with very limited melodic material often consist entirely of a chant-like repeated rhythmic sequence.

**Meter** - Duple meter is found in 48% (13) of the songs in my sample; 26% (7) are in variable meter (either alternating duple/triple meter or in more complex combinations of 2's and 3's); 15% (4) are in triple meter (3 of these instances are the same song by the same singer, recorded on different dates), but 37% (10) include rhythms based on 3's; and 11% (3) appear to be unmetered. Herzog's criterion of "a stable, consistent rhythmic measure dominating the melody" (Herzog 1949:97) applies to 63% (17) of my sample (slightly fewer than the 71% for Herzog, Mohling, and Williams

combined). I found rhythms based on 5's (not dominant) in 11% (3) of the song versions (compared to 18% for Herzog, Mohling, and Williams combined). "Stable measure" appears to be less frequent in western Washington Coast Salish myth/story songs than in other song genres. The evaluation of rhythmic features as defined by Herzog is a particularly subjective and unreliable area and even less relevant in a genre without regular rhythmic accompaniment. Complex rhythms, including syncopation, appear to be present but are not easily distinguished. Table VI-5 summarizes rhythmic features of all western Washington Coast Salish songs in samples analyzed by Herzog, Mohling, and Williams, with added data from this study. Table VI-6 summarizes rhythmic features of myth/story songs only.

Table VI-5: Rhythmic Features: Western Washington Coast Salish Songs (Data from Herzog, Mohling, Williams, and Sercombe)

Source	Total	Stable Measure	%	Rhythms of 3 or Triplets	%	Rhythms of 5 or 7 (dominant/not dom.)	%
Herzog Totals -	35	24	69%	15	43%	9: 3 (d); 6 (nd)	26%
<b>Herzog, Mohling &amp; Williams Totals -</b>	102/131	72 (of 102)	<b>71%</b>	68 (of 131)	<b>52%</b>	18 (of 102) : 3 (d); 15 (nd)	<b>18%</b>
From Sercombe song sample:	27	17	63%	10	37%	3 (nd)	11%
<b>Herzog, Mohling, Williams &amp; Sercombe Totals</b>	129/158	89 (of 129)	<b>69%</b>	78 (of 158)	<b>49%</b>	21 (of 129) : 3 (d); 18 (nd)	<b>16%</b>

Table VI-6: Rhythmic Features: Western Washington Coast Salish Myth/Story Songs (Data from Herzog, Mohling, Williams, and Sercombe)

Source	Total	Stable Measure	%	Rhythms of 3 or Triplets	%	Rhythms of 5 or 7 (dominant or not dominant)	%
Chehalis (Herzog)	19	8	42%	6	32%	2: 2 (nd)	11%
Skagit (Williams)	2	1	50%	1	50%	--	--
From Sercombe song sample:							
Lummi	1	1	100%	--	--	--	--
Lushootseed	13	6	46%	3	23%	2	15%
Twana	9	9	100%	4	44%	--	--
Upper Chehalis	4	1	25%	3	75%	1	25%
<b>Totals -</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>54%</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10%</b>

**Pulse** - In the 10 versions of the "Dirty Face" song, pulse is generally slow, clustering between 48-60 bpm; 2 versions are somewhat faster, and one has no measurable pulse. The songs from "Star Child" tend to have faster pulses, across song categories (clustering between 84-112 bpm). The lullabies are sung at various rates, but, interestingly, the two songs of Deer are sung at the same rate (112 bpm); the short, chant-like songs by characters waiting for the Transformer are slightly faster than other song types (92-126 bpm).

**Constancy of Musical Form** - My song sample displays similar constancy of musical form to that noted by Enrico and Stuart for northern Haida songs generally:

...we found that most differences between similar musical phrases are in fact simply melodic and thus have nothing to do with differences in language. This is clearest when a song repeats linguistic material while varying the music (Enrico and Stuart 1996:458).

Though this contrasts with the findings of some other Northwest Coast research (ibid.:457), it is not surprising in a genre such as story songs which are structured on repeated linguistic material rather than sequential verses. Variation in melody in repeated iterations of the same rendition is typical of this sample.

**Language of Song** - Story songs are not necessarily sung in the same language as the story or of the storyteller. In half the instances of Dirty Face songs, the language sung is not the singer's primary language (the situation is complicated by the presence of texts in English). In the Star Child song sample, 18% of the instances where the language of the singer is known are in a neighboring language. This change occurs

mainly in the case of Twana speaker Henry Allen, the majority of whose song versions are in Lushootseed. (On the basis of discussion with Allen, Elmendorf believed this to be a common practice among Twana speakers; unfortunately, documentation of songs by other Twana speakers are unavailable for comparison.)

**Vocables** - Most songs in the sample consist partly or entirely of lexical texts.

Vocables appear to be phonemic; some may have onomatopoeic meaning. Because story songs serve a narrative function, words are necessary to the genre. Musical complexity does not seem to correlate to use of vocables (in agreement with Enrico and Stuart's findings for northern Haida (*ibid.*:444)).

**Differences between language of speech and of song** - Phonological changes from everyday speech appear to be present in some examples. Linguistic analysis may reveal specific conventions for such alteration.

**Musical/Linguistic structures** - Musical and linguistic units have a one to one correspondence in most cases in this sample.

**Literary Features** - Songs may 1) expedite plot or 2) punctuate or reinforce plot through self-identification of a character or the action of a character, the expression of an emotional state, and/or humor. Some song texts are unclassifiable due to their fragmentary nature or because they are untranslatable.

**Performance Features** - Individual differences in performance are notable in the areas of pulse, meter, pitch change, and number of renditions; but a large degree of similarity is demonstrated in vocal quality and song integrity.

**Cultural/Esoteric Features** - Songs may be 1) explicitly announced as spirit power songs (understood to be parodic), 2) implied by content to be spirit power songs, 3) incantations or song formulae to effect action at a parodic level, 4) incantations or song formulae with real power to effect action beyond the mythic present.

### **Conclusion**

The problem addressed in this study is the nature of song within the context of narrative: how and why is it distinct from narrative? The discussion has considered these songs from a variety of perspectives, in order to better understand their literary, linguistic, and musical features; the history of their collection and documentation; their transmission through more than a century of social upheaval and drastic changes in lifeways into a period of cultural revitalization and self-documentation; the verbal artistry of their performance in storytelling; and the local (indigenous) cultural and aesthetic values which generate narrative tradition and performance. Though cultural displacement has disrupted story and song transmission since the mid-nineteenth century, continuity of practice can be found in oral and written accounts and in the belief of local culture bearers that what they do is what their ancestors did.

The story of Dirty Face (*spicx*) and the narrative cycle of the "Star Child" focused the discussion on the pedagogical function of stories and their accompanying songs. The twenty-seven song instances documented here constitute the sample used for analysis and comparison with other collections of western Washington Coast Salish songs. The musical data presented enable us to more fully characterize myth/story songs as musical events, but that characterization is of little value outside the more holistic representation that has been my aim.

From the beginning of this investigation into the nature of song within narrative, I have tried to understand the relationship of myth/story songs to "spiritual power," as conceived by the Coast Salish. I did not make this connection myself; rather, when I first told Vi Hilbert I was interested in researching the songs in the stories in part because they did not seem to involve sensitive spiritual or esoteric material, she set me straight immediately, saying that the study of any songs was an intrusion into the realm of the sacred. She supported my choice, however, and has been unfailingly helpful during my research.

Because songs are associated with spiritual power, the presence or even the reference to a song in a myth narrative alerts the listener to the proximity of power or the knowledge of power. Stories inform and instruct at many levels; through storytelling, mundane and esoteric knowledge is transmitted, and the power inherent in esoteric knowledge is evoked. In the mythic present, when a character "sings his (her) song" or "dances his (her) power," the listener knows it is not a real spirit power song. As

Bruce Miller put it while describing the story of "Otter's Feast," "The song for the story's not an actual spirit song -- Insert spirit song here!" (B. Miller, interview, 6/18/99). The difference is understood -- though melody and rhythm play a part, it is "the text not directly divulging" that most clearly suggests parody. Knowledge of the sacred includes knowledge of the proper context for ritual enactment. Songs, like power boards, demonstrate their efficacy in the appropriate season when humans and immortals are in close relationship, but "...when they were done, the spirit boards were nothing more than a piece of wood.... They served their purpose, like a disposable diaper" (ibid.).

Power in the form of esoteric knowledge transmitted and activated by human beings, rather than immortals, is also part of the myth narrative world. Stories containing sung or spoken incantations, such as the chant for rain in the Dirty Face story, may at one time have been the property of certain elite families. References to such ownership mainly seem to involve northern coastal groups, but it may have been more widespread in the western Washington Coast Salish area at one time (J. Miller 1989:129; J. Miller 1999a:10). It is possible that proprietary concerns account for the absence of songs in some documented story versions (Amoss, personal communication, 1/4/01). Unlike spirit power songs in stories, which are seen as stand-ins or parodies of real power songs, incantations or enchantments appearing in stories are sometimes presumed to have real power. Earlier in this chapter I noted several examples of storytellers who warned that telling a story or singing a song from a particular story would bring about a change in the weather.

Songs in western Washington Coast Salish myth narratives are associated with spiritual power and potency on a variety of metaphorical and literal levels. Song is valued most for its efficacy, but that efficacy can only be understood in relation to localized sources of power and appropriate contexts for its ritual use. The presence or absence of songs matters less than the knowledge of the link between the human and spirit worlds that song invokes in the mythic present. In the everyday life of stories, songs make things happen and help characters get things done (Langen in Bierwert 1996:130). In the lives of storytellers, songs are teachers who give voice to the ancestors. For those of us who hear the stories, the songs help us remember.

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## Discography

- Adamson, Thelma [1927] [songs by Marion Davis (Upper Chehalis), Mr. and Mrs. Dan Secena (Upper Chehalis), and Jonas Xwan (Secena) (Upper Chehalis) recorded on the Chehalis Reservation, Oakville, Washington; 18 cylinders, with documentation (ATM 54-130-F)] [Bloomington, IN: Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University]
- Adamson, Thelma [1928 or 1932] [songs in Nooksack by unidentified singers recorded in Everson (?), Washington; 2 cylinders (ATM 54-043-F)] [Bloomington, IN; Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University]
- Adamson, Thelma and Franz Boas [1927] [songs by Marion Davis (Upper Chehalis) recorded on the Chehalis Reservation, Oakville, Washington; 19 cylinders with documentation (ATM 54-131-F)] [Bloomington, IN: Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University]
- Ballard, Arthur [1932] [songs by Jack Stillman (Snoqualmie), Lucy Bill (Snoqualmie), George Young (Puyallup), and Mary Jerry (Duwamish) recorded on the Muckleshoot Reservation, Auburn, Washington; 8 cylinders with documentation (Jacobs Collection 14549-14556)] [Seattle: University of Washington Libraries]
- Boulton, Laura [April 1946] [songs of Henry Allen (Twana), part of Laura Boulton Collection, Archives of Traditional Music (ATM EC 12575-12576)] [Bloomington, IN: Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University]
- Curtis, Edward S. [1909, 1912] [songs of Frank Allen and Henry Allen (Twana); part of Edward S. Curtis Collection, Archives of Traditional Music (ATM 57-014-F)] [Bloomington, IN: Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University]
- Elmendorf, William W. [1946] [songs of Henry Allen (Twana); 12 glass-based acetate discs (location unknown); tape copies in Jacobs Collection (Jacobs 14800-14812)] [Seattle: University of Washington Libraries]
- Elmendorf, William W. and Virginia Gill Mohling [1955] [interview of Henry Allen (Twana) by Elmendorf and Mohling and songs by Allen; tape titled "checking session"; one tape reel in Jacobs Collection (tape 92.5, Box SR-3)] [Seattle: University of Washington Libraries]
- Fetzer, Paul [1950] [stories and songs by Mr. and Mrs. Charley Anderson, Thomas Cline, Mrs. Louise George, Agnes James, George Swanaset, and Mrs. Lotte Tom (primarily Nooksack); 16 aluminum discs and 1 glass disc] [Seattle: University of Washington Libraries]

- Hess, Thom [1961-1976] [stories, songs, and linguistic material by consultants including Emma Conrad (Skagit), Martha Lamont (Snohomish), Martin Sampson (Swinomish), and many others; 69 tape reels (Hess Collection 95-19)] [Seattle: University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archives]
- Hilbert, Vi [1976] [Star Child/Diaper Child story by Dora Solomon, recorded by Vi Hilbert, 8/25/76, Lummi Reservation] [Seattle: Lushootseed Research Archive]
- Jacobs, Melville [1936] [stories and songs by Julia Siddle (Duwamish) recorded on RCA pre-grooved aluminum discs, 2/20/36 in Seattle; part of Jacobs Collection (Jacobs 14733-14734)] [Seattle: University of Washington Libraries]
- Jacobs, Melville and Thelma Adamson. [1927] [songs by Mary Eyley (Cowlitz), Sam Eyley (Yakima), Mary Mundi Hunt (Klikitat), and Joe Hunt (Klikitat) recorded in Nesika, Washington; 38 cylinders with documentation (ATM 54-133-F)] [Bloomington, IN: Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University]
- Lushootseed Research. 1985. *Sharing Legends at Upper Skagit*. Videorecording produced by Crisca Bierwert Russell; directed by Pila Laronel; event organized by Vi Hilbert. (28 min.) Seattle: Lushootseed Research. [Source tapes for this publication: 6 production masters (1" video reels) recorded 3/25/85 at Upper Skagit Tribal Center; property of Lushootseed Research Archive).
- Marr, John Paul. [1941] [stories and songs by Emma Luscier (Lower Chehalis), Peter James (Duwamish), George C. Patrick (Lummi), and George and Andrew Sanders (Sandos) (Nisqually); 56 aluminum discs] [Washington, D.C.: National Anthropological Archives]
- Metcalf, Leon V. [1950-1961] [stories, songs, messages, and other spoken material; consultants include Susie Sampson Peter (Skagit), Martin Sampson (Swinomish), Annie Daniels (Duwamish), Martha Lamont (Snohomish), and many others] [Seattle: Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, University of Washington]
- Rhodes, Willard [1950] [songs by Charley Anderson (Skagit); part of Rhodes collection at UCLA (numbering from Library of Congress copies - LWO 27581, AFS 10091 cuts 6-30, AFS 10091 side B cut 1, from LWO 1817 reel 2)] [Los Angeles: UCLA]
- Smith, Harry [1942-1943] [songs by Amelia Billy (Swinomish), Julius Charles (Lummi), Mrs. John Lions (Samish), etc., recorded in Bellingham, WA; tapes

in Jacobs Collection (Tapes D-1--D-4)] [Seattle: University of Washington Libraries]

Smith, Marian, George Herzog, and Melville Jacobs [1951] [interview with Jerry Meeker (Puyallup), including Bluejay story, recorded 8/17/51, Tacoma, WA; part of Jacobs Collection (Jacobs 14773; 1952 dubs, Tape 30)] [Seattle: University of Washington Libraries]

Snyder, Warren [1955] [stories and linguistic material by Jerry Kanim (Snoqualmie), (and "Mrs. Charles"); 11 original reels in the possession of Vi Hilbert] [Seattle: Lushootseed Research Archive]

Appendix A: Recordings of Western Washington Coast Salish  
Story Songs and Source Stories

Each song rendition is assigned a number (coded by storyteller).

1. Henry Allen (Twana/Skokomish)

- HA1 - "Fire Brothers' Song" recorded by Elmendorf, 1946 (Jacobs 14808-a1); song text in Lushootseed; transcribed by Sercombe; song 1 of 4 from "Star Husband Myth (2<sup>nd</sup> version)"; told in English; published in Elmendorf 1961 (text #5; song text on p. 33)
- HA2 "Deer's Song" recorded by Elmendorf, 1946 (Jacobs 14808-a2); song text in Lushootseed? or Twana?; transcribed by Sercombe; song 2 of 4 from "Star Husband Myth (2<sup>nd</sup> version)"; told in English; published in Elmendorf 1961 (text #5; song text on p. 34)
- HA3 "Wren's Song" recorded by Elmendorf, 1946 (Jacobs 14808-a3); song text in Lushootseed; transcribed by Sercombe; song 3 of 4 from "Star Husband Myth (2<sup>nd</sup> version)"; told in English; published in Elmendorf 1961 (text #5; song text on p. 35)
- HA4 "Snake Basket Woman's Song" recorded by Elmendorf, 1946 (Jacobs 14808-a4); song text in Twana; transcribed by Sercombe; song 4 of 4 from "Star Husband Myth (2<sup>nd</sup> version)"; told in English; published in Elmendorf 1961 (text #5; song text on p. 35)
- HA5 "Crow Women's Song" recorded by Elmendorf, 1946 (Jacobs 14808-b1); song text in Lushootseed; transcribed by Sercombe; from "Spike Tail Monster"; told in English; published in Elmendorf 1961 (text #9; song texts (2 versions) on pp. 90-91)
- HA6 "Skate's Song" recorded by Elmendorf, 1946 (Jacobs 14808-b2); song text in Lushootseed; transcribed by Sercombe; from "Otter's Feast and Skate"; told in English; published in Elmendorf 1961 (text #18; song text on p. 102)
- HA7 "Snowbird's Song to His South Wind Uncles" (1<sup>st</sup> version) recorded by Elmendorf, 1946 (Jacobs 14808-b3); song text in southern Lushootseed; transcribed by Sercombe; from "Snowbird as South Wind" (told in English) (Elmendorf rec. 1939-40) (Elmendorf 1961:104-105) (text #22)
- HA8 "Scabby Boy Song" (Scabby Boy's spirit power song) recorded by Elmendorf, 1946 (Jacobs 14809-a1); song text in Lushootseed; transcribed by Sercombe; song 1 of 4 from "Scabby Boy"; told in English; published in Elmendorf 1961

(text #24; song text on p. 105); Elmendorf classifies this as a "semi-mythic" tale.

- HA9 "Scabby Boy Song" (1<sup>st</sup> variant of previous song) recorded by Elmendorf, 1946 (Jacobs 14809-a2); song text in Lushootseed; transcribed by Sercombe; song 2 of 4 from "Scabby Boy"; told in English; published in Elmendorf 1961 (text #24; song text on p. 105); Elmendorf classifies this as a "semi-mythic" tale.
- HA10 "Scabby Boy Song" (2<sup>nd</sup> variant of song) recorded by Elmendorf, 1946 (Jacobs 14809-a3); song text in Lushootseed; no transcription; song 3 of 4 from "Scabby Boy"; told in English; published in Elmendorf 1961 (text #24; song text on p. 106); Elmendorf classifies this as a "semi-mythic" tale.
- HA11 "Scabby Boy Song" (3<sup>rd</sup> variant of song) recorded by Elmendorf, 1946 (Jacobs 14809-b1); song text in Lushootseed; no transcription; song 4 of 4 from "Scabby Boy"; told in English; published in Elmendorf 1961 (text #24; song text on p. 106); Elmendorf classifies this as a "semi-mythic" tale.
- HA12 "Song of a Bird Hunter" recorded by Elmendorf, 1946 (Jacobs 14809-b2); song text in Twana; transcribed by Sercombe; 2<sup>nd</sup> transcription by Mohling (Powers) (Mohling 1957, "Song No. 29 - Myth"); from "Seal Hunter, Canoe Maker and Bird Hunter (2<sup>nd</sup> version)"; told in English; published in Elmendorf 1961 (text #26; song text on p. 117); see also brief description in Mohling.
- HA13 "Twana Lullaby" recorded by Elmendorf, 1946 (Jacobs 14807-b1) (not part of myth song sequence); song text in Twana (N. Thompson); transcribed by Sercombe; corresponds to Boulton #17; no corresponding story in Elmendorf collection (goes with Star Husband story but not with the versions in Elmendorf 1961)
- HA14 "Snowbird's Song to His South Wind Uncles" (2<sup>nd</sup> version) recorded by Elmendorf and Mohling, 1955 (1<sup>st</sup> version on "checking session" tape, Jacobs 92.5); transcribed by Sercombe.
- HA15 "Snowbird's Song to His South Wind Uncles" (3<sup>rd</sup> version) recorded by Elmendorf and Mohling, 1955 (2<sup>nd</sup> version on "checking session" tape, Jacobs 92.5); transcribed by Sercombe.
- HA16 "Lullaby... from starchild myth" recorded by Boulton, 1946 (ATM EC 12576 - #17); transcribed by Sercombe; no corresponding story (same as previous song)

HA17 "Stick game song from myth" (Rabbit and black bear play hand game - whose song?) recorded by Boulton, 1946 (ATM EC 12576 - #10); transcribed by Sercombe; no corresponding story.

2. Charley Anderson (Skagit)

CA1 Song of Basket Ogress; recorded by Rhodes, 1950 (LWO 27581, AFS 10091 cuts 6-30, AFS 10091 side B cut 1, from LWO 1817 reel 2); no transcription; song included in story; sung in Upper Skagit (?); from "Basket Ogress" told in English on tape; unpublished.

3. Amelia Billy (Swinomish)

AB1 Song sung by Deer when Transformer came; recorded by H. Smith, Dec. 1942 or April 1943, Bellingham, WA (Jacobs Collection, Tape D-4, #A2); no transcription; no associated story.

AB2 Chant of ogress as she prepared to roast children; recorded by H. Smith, Dec. 1942 or April 1943, Bellingham, WA (Jacobs Collection, Tape D-4, #A3-A4); no transcription; no associated story.

4. Julius Charles (Lummi)

JC1 Beaver's song to bring rain; recorded by H. Smith, 8/14/42, Bellingham, WA (Jacobs Collection, Tape D-2, #A1); no transcription; no mention of associated story.

5. Annie Daniels (Duwamish)

AD1 Song of *spicx* recorded by Metcalf (Metcalf tape 61A, recorded 5/1/54, Muckleshoot Reservation); in Duwamish (partly untranslatable); transcribed by Sercombe; from "*spitsx*" recorded by Metcalf (see above); story duration 6:24; story transcribed and translated by Vi Hilbert 6/25/99 (unpublished)

6. Marion Davis (Upper Chehalis)

MD1 Bluejay's Song ("What was that you showed me, Nau?") recorded by Adamson/Boas; transcribed by Herzog (Adamson 1934:422); from "Bluejay Goes to the Land of the Dead (2<sup>nd</sup> version)" (ibid.:24-27; song text on p. 25)

MD2 Chant, Wren Calls Elk ("Come, come, El-el-elk...") recorded by Adamson and Boas; transcribed by Herzog (ibid.:423); from "Wren Kills Elk (2<sup>nd</sup> version)" (ibid.:36-40; song text on p. 36)

- MD3 Lion's Gambling Song ("tc'o tc'o tc'o...") recorded by Adamson and Boas; transcribed by Herzog (ibid.:424); song 1 of 2 from "Mountain Lion and Rabbit Gamble (2<sup>nd</sup> version)" (ibid.:53-55; song text on pp. 53-54)
- MD4 Rabbit's Gambling Song ("sax sax'e'lyə...") recorded by Adamson and Boas; transcribed by Herzog (ibid.:424); song 2 of 2 from "Mountain Lion and Rabbit Gamble (2<sup>nd</sup> version)" (ibid.:53-55; song text on pp. 53-54)
- MD5 Mink's Song ("otso'təb...") (text in Nisqualli - see IU index sheet for cylinder 4381) recorded by Adamson and Boas; transcribed by Herzog (ibid.:426); from "Mink Kills a Chief's Son" (White River tale) (ibid.:361)
- MD6 "Crow's Song" ("łala'a baba'l̥xweis..."); (text in Puyallup - see IU index sheet for cylinder 4391) recorded by Adamson and Boas; transcribed by Herzog (ibid.:427); from "Crow Doctors Her Daughter" (White River tale) (ibid.:361-364; song text on p. 362)
- MD7 "Spitsx̄" Chant to Bring Rain" recorded by Adamson/Boas in 1927 and transcribed by Herzog (ibid.:429); mother from White River, Nisqually and Puyallup relations (Kinkade 1991:viii); song from White River, text in southern Lushootseed?; published song text in transcription phonetically transcribed (incorrectly) - by Boas?; no corresponding story in published volume (Adamson 1934)

#### 7. Peter Heck (Upper Chehalis)

- PH1 "Wolf's Gambling Song" recorded by Adamson and Boas; transcribed by Herzog (ibid.:425); "Shank of a deer..." in story (p. 55-56), but starts with "ma'L'i na'..." in transcription (p. 425); in story Wolves and Deer alternate songs, with all but first starting with "ma'L'i na," described by Adamson as "an opening phrase"; from "Wolf and Deer Gamble" (ibid.:55-59; song text on pp. 55-56)

#### 8. Mary Jerry

- MJ1 Two songs from myths (listed in Jacobs documentation as "Song of spetsx̄" and Song of Grandmother when Storm Wind approaches"; recorded by Ballard, July [?], 1932, Auburn, WA (Jacobs 14552 #1-2); sung in Lushootseed (Duwamish); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 52; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; no transcription.
- MJ2 Unidentified song from myth; recorded by Ballard, July [?], 1932, Auburn, WA (Jacobs 14552 #6); sung in Lushootseed (Duwamish); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 52; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; no transcription.

MD3 Two unidentified songs from myths; recorded by Ballard, 7/13/32, Auburn, WA (Jacobs 14553 #1-2); sung in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 52; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; no transcription.

9. Jerry Kanim (Snoqualmie)

JK1 Song of Snow Bird (1 of 2) recorded by W. Snyder, 1955; 3 songs in story, 2 of which are sung; 2 songs transcribed by Sercombe; from "Snow Bird"; story, including songs, dictated in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie) and published with English translation (W. Snyder 1968:48-51)

JK2 Song of Snow Bird (2 of 2) recorded by W. Snyder, 1955; transcribed by Sercombe; see note for previous song.

JK3 Rabbit's Song recorded by W. Snyder, 1955 (Snyder tape "SPS-S4" side 2); song included in recording of story; no transcription; Kanim indicates that this is a bone game song (*sqəlálitut*); see footnote on p.78 about special language of story characters; (Bear's Song from this story is a single word which Kanim speaks only once; it follows Rabbit's Song in narration.); from "The Origin of the Seasons"; story text published in Lushootseed and English (Snyder 1968:78-79)

10. Martha Lamont (Snohomish)

ML1 "Crow's Song" recorded by Metcalf, 1953 (Metcalf tape 38) and Hess, 1962; transcribed by Sercombe; second transcription by T. Browner (Bierwert 1996:131); sung in Lushootseed; from "Crow and Her Seagull Slaves" or "The Marriage of Crow" recorded by Metcalf and Hess (see above); told in Lushootseed; Hess version published as "The Marriage of Crow" (Bierwert 1996:108-131)

ML2 "Crow's Song" recorded by Hess; transcribed by R. Crawford (Bierwert 1996:102); sung in Lushootseed; from "Martha Lamont's Changer Story" recorded by Hess; told in Lushootseed; published (Bierwert 1996:68-102)

ML3 "Raven's Song" from "Crow Is Sick" recorded by Hess; transcribed by T. Browner (Bierwert 1996:144); sung in Lushootseed; song 1 of 2 from "Crow Is Sick" recorded by Hess; told in Lushootseed; published (Bierwert 1996:136-145)

ML4 "Crow's Song" from "Crow Is Sick" recorded by Hess; transcribed by T. Browner (Bierwert 1996:145); sung in Lushootseed; song 2 of 2 from "Crow

Is Sick" recorded by Hess; told in Lushootseed; published (Bierwert 1996:136-145)

- ML5 "Picx"s song for rain" recorded by Hess (Hess tape 20, rec. 8/4/66); in Snohomish? southern Lushootseed?; title from tape box; transcribed by Sercombe; [no story, recording of song only; may go with Emma Conrad's Flood story]

11. Mrs. John Lions (Samish)

- MJL1 Chant of ogress gathering children; recorded by H. Smith, Dec. 1942 or April 1943, Bellingham, WA (Jacobs Collection, Tape D-4, #B3); no transcription; no associated story (singer not identified in documentation, but it seems likely to be Mrs. Lions, who sang previous song on same tape).

12. Lizzie Martin (Lummi)

- LM1 Song of Snipe recorded by Hilbert et al. 1985; song included in story; sung in Lushootseed; transcribed by Sercombe; from story of Snipe and his Southwind parents; told in English; part of "Sharing Legends at Upper Skagit" event videotaped at Upper Skagit tribal center; not included in published version.

13. Jerry Meeker (Puyallup)

- JM1 Bluejay's song recorded by M. Smith, Herzog, and M. Jacobs, 8/17/51, Tacoma, WA (Jacobs 14773; 1952 dubs, Tape 30); no transcription; following song, Meeker tells Bluejay story in Puyallup.

14. Susie Sampson Peter (Skagit)

- SP1 Old woman babysitter's song from "Star Child" recorded by Metcalf, 12/13/50, Swinomish, WA (Metcalf Tape 1A); song included in story told in Skagit; song transcribed by Sercombe; text and English translation included in Hilbert and Miller 1995a (pp. 91-126).
- SP2 Mother's mourning song from "Star Child" recorded by Metcalf, 12/13/50, Swinomish, WA (Metcalf Tape 1A); song included in story told in Skagit; song transcribed by Sercombe; text and English translation included in Hilbert and Miller 1995a (pp. 91-126).
- SP3 Diaper Child's song from "Star Child" recorded by Metcalf, 12/13/50, Swinomish, WA (Metcalf Tape 1B); song included in story told in Skagit; song transcribed by Sercombe; text and English translation included in Hilbert and Miller 1995a (pp. 91-126).

15. Dan Secena (Upper Chehalis)

- DS1 "Bear's Song" ("One year will be night...") recorded by Adamson and Boas; transcribed by Herzog (ibid.:425); song 1 of 2 from "Bear and Ant or The Contest for Day and Night (2<sup>nd</sup> version)" (ibid.:132)
- DS2 "Yellowjacket's Song" ("day-- are short...") recorded by Adamson and Boas; transcribed by Herzog (ibid.:426); song 2 of 2 from "Bear and Ant or The Contest for Day and Night (2<sup>nd</sup> version)" (ibid.:132)

16. Jonas Secena (Upper Chehalis)

- JS1 "Lion's Gambling Song" ("I'm going to swallow you...") recorded by Adamson and Boas; transcribed by Herzog (ibid.:423); song 1 of 2 from "Mountain Lion and Rabbit Gamble (1<sup>st</sup> version)" (ibid.:52-53; song text on p. 52)
- JS2 Rabbit's Gambling Song ("Slice it up, blue sky...") recorded by Adamson and Boas; transcribed by Herzog (ibid.:424); Adamson says in footnote on p.52 that text is in Puyallup or Squally); song 2 of 2 from "Mountain Lion and Rabbit Gamble (1<sup>st</sup> version)" (ibid.:52-53; song text on p. 52); this song is titled Lion's Gambling Song in p.424 transcription, but I think it's Rabbit's; according to number (P.R. 24b), it was strip b on cylinder 4385, labeled Rabbit's G.S.on ATM index sheet and on photo-copy of original transcription.

17. Julia Siddle (Duwamish)

- JSi1 Songs in unidentified Duwamish myth dictations recorded by M. Jacobs, 2/20/36, Seattle, WA; recorded on RCA pre-grooved aluminum discs (Jacobs 14733-14734)

18. Dora Solomon (Lummi/Skagit)

- DSo1 Song of Diaper Child (*spicik*) from "Star Story" (*sx<sup>r</sup>i?x<sup>r</sup>ti*) recorded by Hilbert, 8/25/76, Lummi, WA; song included in story told in Skagit; English translation of text included in Hilbert 1996 (pp. 3-6).

19. Jack Stillman (Snoqualmie)

- JSt1 Song from "The Man Who Would Not Wash His Face" recorded by Ballard, June 13 or 19, 1932 (Jacobs 14549 #1); sung in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 50; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; transcribed by Sercombe; related story, "The Man Who Would Not Wash His Face"; the recorded song is most like that in the text version

told by Snuqualmi Charlie (it doesn't match exactly) (Ballard 1929:49) (4 versions collected by Ballard - from Snuqualmi Charlie (Snoqualmie), Christine Smith (Green River), Ann Jack (Green River), and Joe Young (Puyallup) (Ballard 1929:49-50) all collected in the original language between 1916 and 1929, published in English only).

- JSt2 Song from "North Wind and Storm Wind"; recorded by Ballard, June 13 or 19, 1932, Auburn, WA (Jacobs 14549 #2); sung in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 50; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; no transcription; related story, "North Wind and Storm Wind" as told by Big John (Green River) (Ballard 1929:55-63); collected in original language between 1916 and 1929; published in English only.
- JSt3 Songs of Ant and Bear (and part of story); recorded by Ballard, June 13 or 19, 1932 (Jacobs 14549 #3); sung in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 51; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; no transcription; related story, "Ant and Bear"; recorded songs most like those in text version told by Jonah Jack (Puyallup) (Ballard 1929:55); collected in original language between 1916 and 1929, published in English only.
- JSt4 Song of Grandmother Toad; recorded by Ballard, June 13 or 19, 1932 (Jacobs 14549 #4); sung in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 51; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; transcribed by Sercombe; related story, "Moon, the Transformer" as told by Snuqualmi Charlie (Snoqualmie) (Ballard 1929:69-80); collected in original language between 1916 and 1929, published in English only.
- JSt5 Song of Bluejay; recorded by Ballard, June 13 or 19, 1932 (Jacobs 14549 #5); sung in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 51; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; transcribed by Sercombe; related story, "Moon, the Transformer" as told by Snuqualmi Charlie (Snoqualmie) (Ballard 1929:69-80); collected in original language between 1916 and 1929, published in English only.
- JSt6 Song of Deer when Transformer is approaching; recorded by Ballard, June 13 or 19, 1932 (Jacobs 14549 #6); sung in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 51; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; transcribed by Sercombe; related story, "Moon, the Transformer" as told by Snuqualmi Charlie (Snoqualmie) (Ballard 1929:69-80); collected in original language between 1916 and 1929, published in English only.
- JSt7 Song of Crane; recorded by Ballard, June 13 or 19, 1932 (Jacobs 14549 #7); sung in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 51; UW

- Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; transcribed by Sercombe; related story, "Moon, the Transformer" as told by Snuqualmi Charlie (Snoqualmie) (Ballard 1929:69-80); collected in original language between 1916 and 1929, published in English only.
- JSt8 Song of Chipmunk, recorded by Ballard, June 13 or 19, 1932 (Jacobs 14549 #8); sung in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 51; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; no transcription; related story, "Chipmunk and Snail Woman" as told by Ann Jack (Green River) (Ballard 1929:109-111); collected in original language between 1916 and 1929, published in English only.
- JSt9 Song of the Five Fire Brothers; recorded by Ballard, June 13 or 19, 1932 (Jacobs 14549 #9); sung in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 51; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; transcribed by Sercombe; related story, "Moon, the Transformer" as told by Snuqualmi Charlie (Snoqualmie) (Ballard 1929:69-80); collected in original language between 1916 and 1929, published in English only.
- JSt10 Song of Mink inside the Whale; recorded by Ballard, June 13 or 19, 1932 (Jacobs 14549 #10); sung in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 51; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; no transcription; related story, "Mink and His Grandmother" as told by Joe Young (Puyallup) (Ballard 1929:123); collected in original language between 1916 and 1929, published in English only.
- JSt11 Song of Grizzly and of Rabbit; recorded by Ballard, June 13 or 19, 1932 (Jacobs 14549 #11); sung in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 51; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; no transcription; related story, "Rabbit and Grizzly Have a Contest" as told by John Xot (Puyallup) (Ballard 1929:135-136); collected in original language between 1916 and 1929, published in English only.
- JSt12 Song about Flea from an unrecorded myth; recorded by Ballard, June 13 or 19, 1932 (Jacobs 14549 #12); sung in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 51; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; no transcription; following Stillman's version, the same song is sung in a similar version by Lucy Bill, Stillman's sister (#12-a)
- JSt13 Song from myth (listed in Jacobs documentation as "Song of *spetsx*"); recorded by Ballard, July 16, 1932 (Jacobs 14554 #2); sung in Lushootseed (Snoqualmie); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 52; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; no transcription; (Jacobs' announcement at this point on tape indicates that a tape is missing in the Ballard sequence; it appears to be 14554 that is missing)

## 20. George Young

- GY1 Song from myth of Sawbill Drake, Hell Diver and Crane (no associated story); recorded by Ballard, July 9, 1932, Auburn, WA (Jacobs 14551 #1); sung in Lushootseed (Puyallup); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection*, p. 51; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; no transcription.
- GY2 Song from myth of Bear and Elk (no associated story); recorded by Ballard, July 9, 1932, Auburn, WA (Jacobs 14551 #2); sung in Lushootseed (Puyallup); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 51; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; no transcription.
- GY3 Two unidentified songs from myths (one listed in Jacobs documentation as "Myth Song of Groundsparrow"); recorded by Ballard, July 9, 1932, Auburn, WA (Jacobs 14551 #8-9); sung in Lushootseed (Puyallup); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 51; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; no transcription.
- GY4 Flea's song [from a myth?] (no associated story); recorded by Ballard, July 9, 1932, Auburn, WA (Jacobs 14551 #10); sung in Lushootseed (Puyallup); *Guide to...Jacobs Collection* p. 51; UW Libraries, Special Collections, Jacobs Box 120-26; no transcription.

## 21. Unidentified singers

- U1 Cradle song of Malé' [Mother of Moon], from Moon story; song in Upper Chehalis (2 male voices) recorded by Adamson and Boas, 1927, Chehalis Reservation, Oakville, WA (ATM 54-131-F; cylinder 4371, strip A); song transcriptions by Sercombe and George Herzog (Adamson 1934:428); no corresponding story in Adamson 1934.
- U2 T'op'á Yulaqa Song, from Moon story; song in Upper Chehalis (1 male voice) recorded by Adamson and Boas, 1927, Chehalis Reservation, Oakville, WA (ATM 54-131-F; cylinder 4371, strip B); song transcriptions by Sercombe and George Herzog (Adamson 1934:428); no corresponding story in Adamson 1934.
- U3 Malé' Shrinks the Earth; song in Upper Chehalis (2 male voices) recorded by Adamson and Boas, 1927, Chehalis Reservation, Oakville, WA (ATM 54-131-F; cylinder 4370, strip A); song transcriptions by Sercombe and George Herzog (Adamson 1934:427); no corresponding story in Adamson 1934.

**Note:** The recordings of story songs by Clara Pearson in Nehalem Tillamook (western Oregon), recorded by Melville Jacobs, are not included in the above listing. See Seaburg 1982 for a detailed list of contents.

## Appendix B: Song Transcriptions

I have employed standard Western music notation for song transcription, in the tradition of Roberts and Herzog, adding the conventional markings to indicate inexact or inaudible sound data. Though more sophisticated, scientific means are available for the measurement and comparison of melodic and rhythmic elements, I believe that my findings will be most useful if presented in the same form as previous research. I have the additional hope that these song transcriptions may be utilized by storytellers wishing to return songs to their story performances and that teachers may share them with children studying the literature, history, and culture of the First People of western Washington.

Transcriptions 1-10 are songs associated with the story of "Dirty Face," (also known as "*spicx*" or "The Man Who Would Not Wash His Face"), and 11-27 are from the "Star Child" narrative cycle. Each group is organized by name of singer/storyteller within an alphabetical sequence by language. The language designation refers to the primary affiliation of the singer or storyteller, rather than the language of the story or song, necessarily.

Each transcription is followed by musical data for use in analysis and comparison, as well as information about the song and the song performance, including: language of song, name and language of story, name of story character who is singing, collector name, date and place of recording, and other contextual information.

The source of the song text transcriptions is given in each case. I have decided to leave transcriptions in the orthographies in which they were transcribed, rather than attempt to normalize them. Because of the variety of sources, a number of approaches are in evidence: truly phonetic transcriptions, "broad" phonetic transcriptions, as well as phonemic transcriptions. Additionally, orthographic symbols may not always be applied in the same way.

Key to symbols used:

The starting pitch of a song is indicated as follows:

c through b (octave below middle c)

c<sup>1</sup> through b<sup>1</sup> (starts on middle c)

c<sup>2</sup> through b<sup>2</sup> (starts one octave up from middle c)

Characteristic (frequently occurring) rhythms are shown as combinations of short and long tones:

u = short

/ = long

## Transcription #1 (Dirty Face #1): Annie Daniels (AD1)

Story Title: Story of *spitsx<sup>p</sup>*  
 Singer: Annie Daniels (Duwamish) (S.L.)  
 Collector: Leon Metcalf

Date: 5/1/54  
 Location: Muckleshoot Reservation

bu - ab bu - las - 'as - ta - di

ha - gax<sup>m</sup> - cad - 'u - ya - qo - q'o - q'us - [?] - ya - ya - lab [?] [?] i

bu - lob - bu - lob - 'as - ta - di

ha - gax<sup>m</sup> - cad - 'u - ya - qo - q'o - q'us [?] [?] [?] [?] i

huy - gal - qal - box<sup>m</sup> - gal - qal - box<sup>m</sup> - gal - qal - box<sup>m</sup> - gal - qal - box<sup>m</sup> - gal - qal

Number of Renditions: 1x Starting Pitch: g# Pitch Change: slight drop  
 Pulse: 48-66 bpm Volume: soft-medium Audience: none  
 Meter: duple; some 5-beat groups Accompaniment: none  
 Characteristic Rhythm: / u Expression: -  
 Number of Tones: 4 Melodic Contour: undulating  
 Range (Semitones/Interval): 7/P5 Language of Song: Duwamish (S.L.)  
 Characteristic Interval: M2 Language of Story: Duwamish (S.L.)  
 Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing, slight tremolo  
 Character Singing: *spitsx<sup>p</sup>*  
 Text Function: expedites plot (brings rain, avenges in-laws)

Text and Translation: (Hilbert 1999)

A) *bulab bulas 'as tadi*

B) *hag<sup>m</sup>x<sup>m</sup> cad 'uyaqaq'iq'us [?] yalyalab [?] i*

A<sup>1</sup>) *bulab bulab 'as tadi*

B<sup>1</sup>) *hag<sup>ax</sup> əd ɲyəqəq'əq'us* [?] i

C) [spoken] *huy g<sup>əl</sup> qəlbəx<sup>ʔ</sup>, g<sup>əl</sup> qəlbəx<sup>ʔ</sup>, g<sup>əl</sup> qəlbəx<sup>ʔ</sup>, g<sup>əl</sup> qəl*  
 [mostly untranslatable; *buləb bulas* may be vocables; *yəlyələb* is uncles, parents, or relations]

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A B A<sup>1</sup> B<sup>1</sup>  
 L: A B A<sup>1</sup> B<sup>1</sup>

Comments: Unpublished recording in Metcalf Collection (Tape 61), Burke Museum, University of Washington; story duration = 6:24; story transcribed and translated by Vi Hilbert 6/99; transcription includes spoken phrase at end of song.

## Transcription #2 (Dirty Face #2): Lizzie Martin (LM1)

Story Title: [Snipe and his South Wind parents]  
 Singer: Lizzie Martin (Lummi)  
 Collector: Vi Hilbert

Date: 3/25/85

Location: Upper Skagit Tribal Center

♩ 104-108

o - hi - li - tab - ca'd - ta - yaq' - yaq' - o

yaq' - yaq' - o - ya - ya - la - b

Number of Renditions: 1x

Pulse: 104-108 bpm

Meter: duple (mostly)

Characteristic Rhythm: u /

Number of tones - 3

Range (Semitones/Interval): 7/P5

Characteristic Interval: m3

Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing or tremolo

Character Singing: Snipe

Text Function: expedites plot (brings rain, avenges in-laws)

Starting Pitch: c'#

Volume: medium

Accompaniment: none

Expression: --

Melodic Contour: undulating

Language of Song: Lushootseed (Skagit?)

Language of Story: English

Pitch Change: slight fluctuation

Audience: large

Text and Translation: (my transcription and translation)

A) o he li tabcád

B) layaq'yaq'o

B<sup>1</sup>) yaq'yaq'o

C) yalyalab

A-B) [They tell me to wash my face]

C) [o my uncles]

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A A<sup>1</sup> A<sup>2</sup> B

L: A B B<sup>1</sup> C

Comments: Transcribed from videotaped performance; part of unedited version of "Sharing Legends of Upper Skagit" (Tape 2); part of Lushootseed Research collection.

### Transcription #3 (Dirty Face #3): Martha Lamont (ML5)

Story Title: [no corresponding story]  
 Singer: Martha Lamont (Snohomish)  
 Collector: Thom Hess

Date: 8/4/66  
 Location: [?]

♩. 60

A

tu - cut - ab ead - tadx - yaq - yaq - us - abod tadyal - ya - lab sq'ui - g' - dx' co -

B

♩. 80

6

bas co - bas q'x' - ul - g' - dx' co - bas co - bas q'x' - ul - g' - dx' - tu -

A1

♩. 72

10

+ (to end of line)

cut - ab ead - tadx - yaq - yaq - us - abod tadyal - ya - lab sq'ui - g' - dx' co -

B1

♩. 84

14

bas co - bas q'x' - ul - g' - dx' co - bas co - bas q'x' - ul - g' - dx'

Number of Renditions: 1x	Starting Pitch: f#	Pitch Change: none
Pulse: 60-84 bpm	Volume: soft-medium	Audience: none
Meter: duple; triple	Accompaniment: none	Expression: -
Characteristic Rhythm: u / u /	Melodic Contour: undulating	Language of Song: Lushootseed (S.?)
Number of tones - 4	Language of Story: n.a.	
Range (Semitones/Interval): 7/P5		
Characteristic Interval: m3; M3		
Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing or tremolo		
Text Function: [no corresponding story by Martha Lamont]		
Character Singing: picx'		

#### Text and Translation: (Thom Hess)

A) *tu cut ab ead tadx yaq yaq us abod tadyal ya lab sq'ui g' dx' co*

B) *ebas! ebas q'ulg' dx'!* (2x)

A) [They tell me to wash my face]  
 [my uncles]

B) [misty rain, upriver (east)]

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A B A' B'  
  ^      ^  
L: A BB A BB

Comments: Song on Hess Tape #20; may go with Emma Conrad's flood story (Hess Tape #44); Hess note on back of tape box (#20) – "song of Oregon junks [junco] (bird) goes w/ story of Emma Conrad – Flood story."

### Transcription #4 (Dirty Face #4): Jerry Kanim (JK1)

Story Title: Snow Bird  
 Singer: Jerry Kanim (Snoqualmie)  
 Collector: Warren Snyder

Date: August 1955  
 Location: Carnation, WA

♩. 48

to - co' - tb - cad - latx' - ya'q - aq - ya - qo' - sbd - e - to?' -

a - (ya) - lax' - cax' - sig' - a'q' - tu - co' - tb - cad - latx' -

ya'q - aq - ya - qo' - sbd - e - to?' - a - lax' - cax' -

Number of Renditions: 2*	Starting Pitch: d	Pitch Change: none
Pulse: @48 bpm	Volume: medium	Audience: none
Meter: unmetetered	Accompaniment: none	Expression: -
Characteristic Rhythm: u /	Melodic Contour: undulating	Language of Song: Snoqualmie? (S.L.)
Number of tones: 4	Language of Story: Snoqualmie; English	
Range (Semitones/Interval): 7/P5		
Characteristic Interval: m3		
Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing, slight tremolo		
Character Singing: Snow Bird		
Text Function: expedites plot (brings flood); explanatory		

Text and Translation: (Warren Snyder - southern Lushootseed and English)

A) toco'tb cad latx'yaqaqyaqosbd e

B) to' a'ax'cax' sig'a'q'

A) I was told to wash my face -- yes.

B) You will come now, South Wind.

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A B A<sup>1</sup> B<sup>1</sup>  
 L: A B A B<sup>1</sup>

\* Phrase one is sung twice, then phrase two is sung twice (2<sup>nd</sup> time abbreviated).

Comments: Story, including songs, in Snyder's *Southern Puget Sound Salish Texts...* (1968), pp. 48-51; tape of story, including songs, on Snyder Reel IX in Lushootseed Research collection (cuts off at paragraph 12, last sentence, after 6<sup>th</sup> word; this is the only version with two different Snow Bird songs).

### Transcription #5 (Dirty Face #5): Jerry Kanim (JK2)

Story Title: Snow Bird  
 Singer: Jerry Kanim (Snoqualmie)  
 Collector: Warren Snyder

Date: August 1955  
 Location: Carnation, WA

♩. 60

ta' - taqi - cot - to - dya'l - ya - ap - oot' -

ya' - qaqa - ya - qo's - bax' - cad - (i)

Number of Renditions: 1x	Starting Pitch: e	Pitch Change: none
Pulse: 60 bpm (slight fluctuation)	Volume: medium	Audience: none
Meter: variable	Accompaniment: none	
Characteristic Rhythm: —	Expression: —	
Number of tones: 4	Melodic Contour: undulating	
Range (Semitones/Interval): 7/P5	Language of Song: Snoqualmie? (S.L.)	
Characteristic Interval: M2	Language of Story: Snoqualmie; English	
Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing, slight tremolo		
Character Singing: Snow Bird		
Text Function: expedites plot (song instructs uncles to flee to mountains); self-description of action ("I wash my face")		

Text and Translation: (Warren Snyder - southern Lushootseed and English)

A) *tátáqtcotlé dyáhyalap*

B) *oot'yaqaqyaqósbox' cad i*

A) Go up into the mountains, my uncles, the elk.

B) I wash my face.

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A A'  
 L: A B

Comments: Second of two different Snow Bird songs in the story; text, including songs, in Snyder's *Southern Puget Sound Salish Texts...* (1968), pp. 48-51; tape of story, including songs, on Snyder Reel IX in Lushootseed Research collection (cuts off at paragraph 12, last sentence, after 6<sup>th</sup> word.

### Transcription #6 (Dirty Face #6): Jack Stillman (JSt1)

Story Title: **The Man Who Would Not Wash His Face**      Date: **June 13, 1932**  
 Singer: **Jack Stillman (Snoqualmie)**      Location: **Muckleshoot Res., Auburn, WA**  
 Collector: **Arthur Ballard**

A

[?] (etc.)

B

Number of Renditions: 2x    Starting Pitch: c #    Pitch Change: some pitches indistinct, esp. lowest  
 Pulse: --    Volume: soft-medium  
 Meter: unmetered    Audience: none  
 Characteristic Rhythm: --    Accompaniment: none  
 Number of tones: 3    Expression: --  
 Range (Semitones/Interval): 7/P5    Melodic Contour: undulating  
 Characteristic Interval: M2    Language of Song: Snoqualmie? (S.L.)  
 Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing, no tremolo    Language of Story: n.a.  
 Character Singing: *spetsx*  
 Text Function: expedites plot (brings flood, people drowned, *spetsx* flies to home of uncle)

Text and Translation: (Ballard transcription of story version by Snoqualmi Charlie; not translated)

A) *ad tsáakosib ad tsáakosib yiyila'b*

B) *Ačwiyá kakayá kóslbtced i*

A) [...uncles]

B) [?]

Melodic and Linguistic Structure:    M: A B  
   L: A B

Comments: Unpublished song recording in Jacobs Collection (14549 #1), UW Libraries; Ballard's *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound* (1929) includes 4 versions of "The Man Who..." (all in English); song by Stillman is most similar (but not identical) to that in version #1 by Snoqualmi Charlie (p. 49).

## Transcription #7 (Dirty Face #7): Henry Allen (HA7)

Story Title: Snowbird As South Wind  
 Singer: Henry Allen (Twana)  
 Collector: William Elmendorf

Date: 1946 (Sept. or Oct.)  
 Location: Skokomish Reservation

♩ 40-48

A

o - co' - tab - ca'd - to - yo' - q'yaq' - o' - so - to d - tda - -yo'l - ye'l -

B

ab - sk'o - x'o'l - g'o - do'x' - to - bo's - to - bo's - to - bo's

Number of Renditions: 4x

Pulse: 40-48 bpm

Meter: triple

Characteristic Rhythm: u /

Number of Tones: 4

Range (Semitones/Interval): 7/P5

Characteristic Interval: m3

Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing, no tremolo

Character Singing: Snowbird

Text Function: expedites plot (brings rain, avenges in-laws)

Starting Pitch: c

Pitch Change: none

Volume: soft-medium

Audience: none

Accompaniment: none

Expression: -

Melodic Contour: undulating

Language of Song: Lushootseed (southern)

Language of Story: English

Text and Translation: (from Elmendorf 1961:104)

A) *oco'təbcád təyá-q''yaq'' o'sabad*

B) *šətya'lyal'áb sk'ix'ólq''ada'x''*

C) *čəba's čəba's čəba's*

A) They tell me to wash my face,

B) O my uncles from the South Wind world.

C) Wet drizzle, wet drizzle, wet drizzle

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A A<sup>1</sup> B

L: A B C

Comments: First version of 3; unpublished recording in University of Washington Libraries (Jacobs Collection 14808 b3); story in Elmendorf 1961:104-105 (collected 1939 or 1940).

### Transcription #8 (Dirty Face #8): Henry Allen (HA14)

Story Title: Snowbird As South Wind

Date: 1955

Singer: Henry Allen (Twana)

Location: Elmendorf home, Seattle?

Collector: William Elmendorf and Virginia Mohling

♩. 52

o - co' - tab - ta'd - la - ya' - q'yaq' - o' - so - .

6

ba - d - ida - ya'l - ya'l - a'b - sk'a - x'o'l - ga - da'x' - .

11

ta - ba's - . - . - ta - ba's - . - . - ta - ba's

Number of Renditions: 2 (plus ending)

Starting Pitch: b flat

Pitch Change: none

Pulse: 52 bpm

Volume: soft-medium

Audience: none

Meter: triple

Accompaniment: none

Characteristic Rhythm: u /

Expression: --

Number of tones: 4

Melodic Contour: undulating

Range (Semitones/Interval): 7/P5

Language of Song: Lushootseed (S.)

Characteristic Interval: unison

Language of Story: English

Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing or tremolo

Character Singing: Snowbird as South Wind

Text Function: expedites plot (brings rain, avenges in-laws)

Text and Translation: (from Elmendorf 1961:104)

A) *oco'tabca'd tayá-q'yaq' o'sabca'd*

B) *sdtya'lyal' áB sk'ux'ólq'ada'x'*

C) *ca'ba's ca'ba's ca'ba's*

A) They tell me to wash my face,

B) O my uncles from the South Wind world.

C) Wet drizzle, wet drizzle, wet drizzle

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A A<sup>1</sup> A A<sup>1</sup> B

L: A B A B C

Comments: Second version of 3; this version is the first of 2 on the "checking session" on Jacobs Tape 92.5, Box SR-3 (in UW Libraries); if this is the long-missing Mohling recording referred to in her thesis (p. 1), it was recorded in 1955; 2<sup>nd</sup> version follows after machine click.

### Transcription #9 (Dirty Face #9): Henry Allen (HA15)

Story Title: Snowbird As South Wind  
 Singer: Henry Allen (Twana)  
 Collector: W. Elmendorf and V. Mohling

Date: 1955  
 Location: Elmendorf home, Seattle?

The musical score consists of three staves of music in a 7/5 time signature. The first staff (measures 1-5) is marked with a tempo of 52 bpm and a dynamic of *mf*. The second staff (measures 6-10) includes a first ending bracket. The third staff (measures 11-15) includes a second ending bracket. The lyrics are written below the notes.

o co' - tob - ca'd - la - ya' - q'yaq' - o' - sa -  
 ba - d - saba - ya'l - ya't - a'b - sk'o - x'o'l - go - da'x'  
 da'x' - ca ba's - ca - ba's - ca - ba's

Number of Renditions: 2 (plus ending)      Starting Pitch: c      Pitch Change: none  
 Pulse: 52 bpm      Volume: soft-medium      Audience: none  
 Meter: triple      Accompaniment: none  
 Characteristic Rhythm: u /      Expression: --  
 Number of tones: 3      Melodic Contour: undulating  
 Range (Semitones/Interval): 7/P5      Language of Song: Lushootseed (S.)  
 Characteristic Interval: m3; M3      Language of Story: English  
 Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing or tremolo  
 Character Singing: Snowbird as South Wind  
 Text Function: expedites plot (brings rain, avenges in-laws)

Text and Translation: (from Elmendorf 1961:104)

- A) oco'tabcád tayá-q'yayq' o'sabad  
 B) sdyax'hyal' áB sk'ix'ólq'ada'x'  
 C) caba's caba's caba's

- A) They tell me to wash my face,  
 B) O my uncles from the South Wind world.  
 C) Wet drizzle, wet drizzle, wet drizzle

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A A<sup>1</sup> A A<sup>1</sup> B  
 L: A B A B C

Comments: Third version of 3; this version is the 2<sup>nd</sup> of 2 on the "checking session" on Jacobs Tape 92.5, Box SR-3 (in UW Libraries); if this is the long-missing Mohling recording referred to in her thesis (p. 1), it was recorded in 1955; follows 1st version (after machine click) and is essentially the same except for *cábás*.

## Transcription #10 (Dirty Face #10): Marion Davis (MD7)

Story Title: [no corresponding story]  
 Singer: Marion Davis (Upper Chehalis)  
 Collector: Thelma Adamson/Franz Boas

Date: 1927  
 Location: [unknown]

1  $\text{♩} = 58$  A(a1) (b)  $\text{—} \overset{3}{\text{—}}$   
 bu - lob bu - lob i nu - cut - ab - cad - d\_

4 (slightly faster) (atempo) (a2) (a3)  
 ya - yal - yal - ab ldx\* ya - qus ya - qus bad bu - lob bu - lob i

7 A1(a1) (b) (slightly faster) (atempo)  
 bu - lob bu - lob i nu - cut - ab - cad - d\_

10  $\text{—} \overset{3}{\text{—}}$  (a2) (a3) (slightly faster)  
 ya-yal-yal-ab l- dx\* ya - qus ya - qus bad bu - lob bu - lob i

Number of Renditions: 2x

Pulse: 58 bpm

Meter: duple

Characteristic Rhythm: / u

Number of tones: 2

Range (Semitones/Interval): 2/M2

Characteristic Interval: M2

Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing or tremolo

Character Singing: *spitsxu*

Text Function: [no corresponding story in Adamson collection]

Starting Pitch: g

Volume: loud

Accompaniment: none

Expression: --

Melodic Contour: undulating (narrow)

Language of Song: Lushootseed (S.)\*

Language of Story: n.a.

Pitch Change: ends 1 semitone up

Audience: none

Text and Translation: (my transcription based on Daniels and Lamont versions)

- A) *buləb bulə(b) i*  
 B) *ʔucu-əbcəd d- yayalyalab*  
 C) *lɔdx\* yaqus yaqus bəd*  
 A) *buləb bulə(b) i*

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A (prefer Herzog's - a<sup>1</sup> b a<sup>2</sup> a<sup>3</sup>)  
 v  
 L: ABCA

Comments: Unpublished song in Boas/Adamson cylinder collection at Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music (54-131-F); story in Adamson 1934, but Herzog transcription of song is in Appendix, p. 429, with phonetic text transcription; also see photo-copy of Herzog's hand-written transcription (IUATM); Herzog titled song, "*spitsxu* Chant to Bring Rain."

\* Herzog identifies song as "White River"; Davis' mother from White River, also Puyallup and Nisqually relations; Davis told White River as well as Upper Chehalis stories; according to IUATM index sheet, song is Nisqually.

## Transcription #11 (Star Child #1): Susie Sampson Peter (SP1)

Story Title: Star Child  
 Singer: Susie Sampson Peter (Skagit)  
 Collector: Leon Metcalf

Date: 12/13/50  
 Location: Swinomish

♩ 72

'ab - spi - bas 'ab - spi - bas k'o - lii cax'u - bas - pa' - pa - day? k'o - lii cax'u - bas -

(Variation)  
 A1 B1  
 pa' - pa - day? 'ab - spi - bas 'a k'o - lii cax'u - bas - pa' - pa - day?

Number of Renditions: 2x

Pulse: 72 bpm

Meter: duple (complex)

Characteristic Rhythm: / / u

Number of tones: 5

Range (Semitones/Interval): 6/D5 (1<sup>st</sup> x)

Characteristic Interval: m3, M3

Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing or tremolo

Character Singing: old woman babysitter

Text Function: expedites plot (reveals gender of baby); humor

Starting Pitch: f<sup>1</sup> Pitch Change: 2<sup>nd</sup> x starts P4 lower

Volume: medium-loud Audience: 3-4

Accompaniment: none

Expression: -

Melodic Contour: undulating

Language of Song: Skagit (N.L.)

Language of Story: Skagit (N.L.)

Text and Translation: (Hilbert and Miller 1995a)

A) 'abspibās

A) my grandson

B) k'o-lii cax' 'ubəspa'padəy?

B) I mean to say, my girlchild

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A B (2<sup>nd</sup> x) A<sup>1</sup> B<sup>1</sup>  
 ^ ^  
 L: A A B B A B

Comments: Unpublished recording in Metcalf Collection (Tape 1A); story duration = 1:00:13; story and song text transcription and translation by Vi Hilbert in Hilbert and Miller 1995a (pp. 91-126) (song text in lines 162-164, 189 (p. 96)).



Transcription #13 (Star Child #3): Susie Sampson Peter (SP3)

Story Title: Star Child  
 Singer: Susie Sampson Peter (Skagit)  
 Collector: Leon Metcalf

Date: 12/13/50  
 Location: Swinomish

♩ 72  
 A

ho - 'i ho - 'i ho - 'i - tu - lii' - tub k'el k'i nuds - qa 'o t'itil sa - li' s'la -

7 3 3 9 A1 ♩ 84 B1

la - day' da-bol tul - qix' - nux' - x' cad k'el ti pi - cik' 'o tsi k'u - yot' - 'o -

11 3

shuyutab cad stud - aq 'o ti kaw - qas -

♩ 76  
 (variation 1)  
 A

ho - 'i ho - 'i ho - 'i - tu - lii' - tub k'el k'i nuds - qa 'o t'itil sa - li' s'la -

7 3 3 9 B1 3 3 9 B2

la - day' da-bol tul - qix' - nux' k'el ti pi - cik' 'o tsi k'u - yot' - 'o -

11 3

shu - yu - tab cad stu - daq 'o ti kaw - qas -

♩. 76  
(variation 2)

A

♩. 80

B

♩. 84

hə - ʔi hə - ʔi hə - ʔi - tu - liᵏ - tub kʰəl kʰi tuds - qa ʔə kʰi sɛ - liʔ sɛ -

la - dəyʔ də - bəl tul - qixʰ - tuᵏ kʰəl ti pi - cikʰ ʔə tsi kʰu - yəʔ ʔə -

shuyu - tɔb tɔd stu - dɔq ʔə ti kaw - qas

Number of Renditions: 3x

Pulse: 72-84 bpm

Meter: duple

Characteristic Rhythm: / u

Number of tones: 3, 4, 4

Range (Semitones/Interval): 5/P4

Characteristic Interval: m3

Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing or tremolo

Character Speaking: mother; Diaper Child

Text Function: expedites plot (brings brothers together)

Starting Pitch: c<sup>1</sup>, c<sup>1</sup>#, c<sup>1</sup># Pitch Change: none

Volume: medium

Audience: 3-4

Accompaniment: none

Expression: --

Melodic Contour: undulating

Language of Song: Skagit (N.L.)

Language of Story: Skagit (N.L.)

Text and Translation: (Hilbert and Miller 1995a)

A) həʔi həʔi həʔi

A) [vocables]

B) tulik<sup>u</sup>tub kʰəl kʰi tudsqa

B) It is said that my older brother was stolen

C) ʔə tiʔit sa-liʔ sɛ-la-dəyʔ də-bəl tul-qixʰ

C) by two women from upriver.

D) tuᵏ-əxʰ tɔd kʰəl ti pi-cikʰ ʔə tsi kʰu-yəʔ

D) It seems that I am just from wringings by my mother.

E) ʔə-shu-yu-tɔb tɔd stud-əq ʔə ti kaw-qas

E) I have been made a slave to Raven.

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A B A<sup>1</sup> B<sup>1</sup> (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> xx) A B B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup>  
 v  
 L: A B C D E A B C D E

Comments: Unpublished recording in Metcalf Collection (Tape 1B); story duration = 1:00:13; story and song text transcription and translation in Hilbert and Miller 1995a (pp. 91-126) (song text in lines 358-361, 363-366, 378-381 (pp. 104-105)).

## Transcription #14 (Star Child #4): Dora Solomon (DS01)

Story Title: Diaper Child - *spicik*  
 Singer: Dora Solomon  
 Collector: Vi Hilbert

Date: 8/25/76  
 Location: Lummi

♩. 88 A  
 ♩. 100 B  
 ♩. 9A1

ʔi ho - ʔi ho - ʔi tu - tik - tub kʔal [ʔ] [ʔ][ʔ] [ʔ] tuds - qa ho - ʔi ho - ʔi ho - ʔi

Number of Renditions: 1x

Pulse: 88-100 bpm

Meter: duple

Characteristic Rhythm:

Number of tones: 3

Range (Semitones/Interval): 4/M3

Characteristic Interval: M2

Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing or tremolo

Text Function: expedites plot (brings brothers together)

Character Singing: Diaper Child

Starting Pitch: a

Pitch Change: none

Volume: low

Audience: none

Accompaniment: none

Expression: -

Melodic Contour: undulating

Language of Song: Skagit (N.L.)

Language of Story: Skagit (N.L.)

Text and Translation: (my transcription based on similarity to S.S. Peter's version)

1) ʔi hoʔ ʔi hoʔ ʔi

1) [vocables]

2) tʔikʔtub kʔal kʔi tudsqa [ʔ]

2) It is said that my older brother was stolen [ʔ]

3) hoʔ ʔi hoʔ ʔi hoʔ ʔi

3) [vocables]

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A B A<sup>1</sup>

L: A B A

Comments: Unpublished recording by Vi Hilbert; text published in *Haboo: Lushootseed Literature in English* (1996 ed.).

### Transcription #15 (Star Child #5): Jack Stillman (JSt4)

Story Title: Moon, the Transformer  
 Singer: Jack Stillman  
 Collector: Arthur Ballard

Date: June 13 or 19, 1932  
 Location: Muckleshoot Res., Auburn, WA

A B B

Lté - ha xwáb a - yó - yo qwái ti tcátc eb yux i

Number of Renditions: 2x

Pulse: --

Meter: unmetered

Characteristic Rhythm: --

Number of tones: 3

Range (Semitones/Interval): 7/P5

Characteristic Interval: M2, P4

Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing or tremolo

Character Singing: Grandmother Toad (*tsólóya*)

Text Function: reinforces plot (conveys information that baby has been stolen); humor

Starting Pitch: c#

Volume: medium

Accompaniment: none

Expression: --

Melodic Contour: undulating

Language of Song: Snoqualmie (S.L.)

Language of Story: --

Pitch Change: none

Audience: none

Text and Translation: Ballard's phonetic transcription and translation of version by Snoqualmie Charlie (appears to match Stillman song recording)

A) *Ltéha xwáb ayóyo qwái ti tcátc eb yux i*

A) This feels like rotten wood instead of a baby.

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A (a b b)

L: A

Comments: Unpublished recording in Jacobs collection (Jacobs #14549 #4); song text transcription from printed story, "Moon, the Transformer," by Snoqualmie Charlie (Snoqualmie) in Ballard 1929:69-80 (song text on p. 72).

## Transcription #16 (Star Child #6): Jack Stillman (JSt5)

Story Title: Moon, the Transformer  
 Singer: Jack Stillman  
 Collector: Arthur Ballard

Date: June 13 or 19, 1932  
 Location: Muckleshoot Res., Auburn, WA

♩. 152 ♩. 100 (slows slightly with each repetition)

A B

(pitch approximate)

ká - tsa ká - tsa ká - tsa ká - tsa ká - tsa ká - tsa ká - tsa ká - tsa kai kai kai kai kai

♩. 108 ♩. 84 (slows slightly with each repetition)

A (partial repeat) B

ká - tsa ká - tsa ká - tsa ká - tsa kai kai kai kai kai

Number of Renditions: 2x	Starting Pitch: d <sup>1</sup>	Pitch Change: --
Pulse: 84-152 bpm	Volume: medium	Audience: none
Meter: duple	Accompaniment: none	
Characteristic Rhythm: u u	Expression: --	
Number of tones: 5 (spoken)	Melodic Contour: flat	
Range (Semitones/Interval): 7/P5 (spoken)	Language of Song: Snoqualmie	
Characteristic Interval: unison	Language of Story: --	
Vocal Quality: rhythmic speech		
Character Singing: Bluejay (skai'kai)		
Text Function: reinforce characterization (Bluejay's power song?)		

### Text and Translation:

Ballard's phonetic transcription and translation of version by Snoqualmie Charlie (appears to correspond to song in Stillman recording) -

A) *Ká tsa Ká tsa*

A) [vocables] [sung when Bluejay flies off to rescue baby]  
 (á tsati có badid) [in text version, p. 73, but not part of sung version]

B) *Kai Kai Kai*

B) [vocables] [sung after Bluejay succeeds in getting through passage, again arriving home]

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A B  
 L: A B

Comments: Unpublished recording in Jacobs collection (Jacobs #14549 #5); song text transcription from printed story, "Moon, the Transformer," by Snoqualmie Charlie (Snoqualmie) in Ballard 1930:69-80 (song text on p. 73); also see Guide to Jacobs Collection, p. 51.

### Transcription #17 (Star Child #7): Jack Stillman (JSt6)

Story Title: **Moon, the Transformer**  
 Singer: **Jack Stillman**  
 Collector: **Arthur Ballard**

Date: **June 13 or 19, 1932**  
 Location: **Muckleshoot Res., Auburn, WA**

♩ 112

Xo - dé - há - dki-(la) doqwe-bá'L tits ai - áq ai - áq ai - áq ai - áq ai - áq ai - áq a

Number of Renditions: 2x

Pulse: 112 bpm

Meter: duple

Characteristic Rhythm: u u

Number of tones: 2

Range (Semitones/Interval): 5/P4

Characteristic Interval: P4

Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing or tremolo

Character Singing: Deer

Text Function: reinforces plot (announces intention of killing Transformer)

Starting Pitch: b

Volume: medium

Accompaniment: none

Expression: -

Melodic Contour: undulating

Language of Song: Snoqualmie

Language of Story: -

Pitch Change: none

Audience: none

#### Text and Translation:

**Ballard's phonetic transcription and translation of version by Snoqualmie Charlie (appears to correspond to song in Stillman recording) -**

(aiáq aiáq) [beginning of text in print version, not part of recording]

A) *Xodéhádki(la)*

B) *doqwebál*

C) *tits aiáq aiáq*

A-C) ("This is what I am making to kill the Transformer.")

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A A<sup>1</sup> A<sup>2</sup>

L: A B C

Comments: Unpublished recording in Jacobs collection (Jacobs #14549 #6); song text transcription from printed story, "Moon, the Transformer," by Snoqualmie Charlie (Snoqualmie) in Ballard 1929:69-80 (song text on p. 75); also see Guide to Jacobs Collection, p. 51.

## Transcription #18 (Star Child #8): Jack Stillman (JSt7)

Story Title: **Moon, the Transformer**  
 Singer: **Jack Stillman**  
 Collector: **Arthur Ballard**

Date: **June 13 and 19, 1932**  
 Location: **Muckleshoot Res., Auburn, WA**

♩ 100  
 A

[?]                      [?]                      sxwl - lá - le - di

Number of Renditions: 4x

Pulse: 100 bpm

Meter: duple

Characteristic Rhythm: --

Number of tones: 1

Range (Semitones/Interval): --

Characteristic Interval: unison

Vocal Quality: **rhythmic speech**

Character Singing: **Crane (Blue Heron)**

Text Function: **reinforces plot (self-description of action)**

Starting Pitch: d<sup>1</sup>

Volume: **medium**

Accompaniment: **none**

Expression: --

Melodic Contour: **flat**

Language of Song: **Snoqualmie**

Language of Story: --

Pitch Change: --

Audience: **none**

### Text and Translation:

**Ballard's phonetic transcription and translation of version by Snoqualmi Charlie (appears to correspond to song in Stillman recording) -**

A) (*tsalás tsalás sxwlláladi*) [beginning of text in print version; Stillman version is similar but does not correspond exactly]

A) ("Pounding, pounding, with the side of my head.")

Melodic and Linguistic Structure:   M: A  
   L: A

Comments: Unpublished recording in Jacobs collection (Jacobs #14549 #7); song text transcription from printed story, "Moon, the Transformer," by Snoqualmi Charlie (Snoqualmie) in Ballard 1929:69-80 (song text on p. 77); also see Guide to Jacobs Collection, p. 51.

## Transcription #19 (Star Child #9): Henry Allen (HA1)

Story Title: **Star Husband**  
 Singer: **Henry Allen**  
 Collector: **William Elmendorf**

Date: **Sept. or Oct. 1946**  
 Location: **Skokomish Reservation**

♩ 126 (10x)

A A1

do - bá.l - cad q'i sa't sa't sa't

(renditions 1, 3, 4, 9)

(variation 1)

A A1

do - bá.l - cad q'i sa't sa't sa't

(rendition 2)

(variation 2)

A A1

do - bá.l - cad q'i sa't sa't sa't

(rendition 5)

(variation 3)

A A1

do - bá.l - cad q'i sa't sa't sa't

(rendition 6)

Number of Renditions: 10x	Starting Pitch: c#	Pitch Change: drops 1 semitone
Pulse: 126 bpm	Volume: medium	Audience: none
Meter: duple	Accompaniment: drum (coincides w/ vocal pulse)	Expression: singer laughs near end of song
Characteristic Rhythm: --	Melodic Contour: undulating (slightly)	Language of Song: Lushootseed
Number of tones: 3	Language of Story: English	
Range (Semitones/Interval): 5/P4		
Characteristic Interval: unison		
Vocal Quality: rhythmic speech (with distinct pitch)		
Character Singing: Fire Brothers		
Text Function: expedites plot (demonstration of power)		

### Text and Translation:

From Elmendorf 1961:33 --

A) *dəba-ʔcadq'i sa't sa't sa't*

B) We are the sons of fire.

**Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A A' (slight variation in repetitions)**  
**L: A B**

**Comments:** Unpublished recording in Elmendorf sub-collection of Jacobs Collection (#14808 a1) (from disc 9 face A); song text transcription from "Star Husband" told by Henry Allen (Elmendorf 1961:31-37) (Skokomish Tales #5) (song text on p. 33).

## Transcription #20 (Star Child #10): Henry Allen (HA2)

Story Title: **Star Husband**  
 Singer: **Henry Allen**  
 Collector: **William Elmendorf**

Date: **Sept. or Oct. 1946**  
 Location: **Skokomish Reservation**

♩ 112

bus - ya'q - ya'q - cad    [?]    [?]    [?]    du - ki - ba

x                    x                    x                    x                    x                    x                    x

\* - in first rendition 1st pitch is slightly lower and 2nd and 3rd pitches are slightly higher than pitch given.

Number of Renditions: 6x	Starting Pitch: a#	Pitch Change: drops @ 1 semitone
Pulse: 112 bpm (fluctuates)	Volume: medium	Audience: none
Meter: duple	Accompaniment: drum (coincides w/ vocal pulse)	Expression: --
Characteristic Rhythm: u /	Melodic Contour: flat	Language of Song: Twana*
Number of tones: 1	Language of Story: English	
Range (Semitones/Interval): --		
Characteristic Interval: unison		
Vocal Quality: rhythmic speech		
Character Singing: Deer		
Text Function: expedites plot (self-description of action brings on interaction resulting in transformation)		

### Text and Translation:

From Elmendorf 1961:34 -

A) busya'gya'qcad [additional word(s) not transcribed but audible here] duk'iba#

A) I'm filing and filing.

(I'm sharpening and sharpening for the Transformer) [Elmendorf announcement on tape]

\* Elmendorf lists language as Lushootseed in published transcription but announces language as Twana on song recording.

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A (a a<sup>1</sup> a<sup>2</sup>)  
 L: A

Comments: Unpublished recording in Elmendorf sub-collection of Jacobs Collection (#14808 a2) - (from disc 9 face A); song text transcription from "Star Husband" told by Henry Allen (Elmendorf 1961:31-37) (Skokomish Tales #5) (song text on p. 34).





Comments: Unpublished recording in Elmendorf sub-collection of Jacobs Collection (#14808 a4) (from disc 9 face A); song text transcription from "Star Husband" told by Henry Allen (Elmendorf 1961:31-37) (Skokomish Tales #5) (song text on p. 35-36).

### Transcription #23 (Star Child #13): Henry Allen (HA13)

Story Title: Star Husband  
 Singer: Henry Allen  
 Collector: William Elmendorf

Date: Sept. or Oct. 1946  
 Location: Skokomish Reservation

J. 78-80

A B

Ba-la ba-la e Ba-la ba-la e he Ba-la ba-la o ho tid ba - hai yu da ha  
 x x x x x x x x (etc.)

5 A1

Ba-la ba-la e Ba-la

(variation 1)

7 A B

Ba-la ba-la e Ba-la ba-la i Ba-la ba-la e he tid ba - hai yu da ha

11 A1

Ba-la ba-la e Ba-la Ba-la

(variation 2)

13 A B

Ba-la ba-la e Ba-la ba-la i Ba-la ba-la e he tid ba - hai yu da ha

17 A1

Ba-la ba-la i Ba-la Ba-la i hi

(variation 3)

20 A B

Ba-la ba-la e Ba-la ba-la i Ba-la ba-la e he tid ba - hai yu da ha

24 A1

Ba-la ba-la i Ba-la Ba-la i

(variation 4)

26 A B  
Ba - la ba - la e Ba - la ba - la i Ba - la ba - la e he tid ba - hai yu da ha

30 A1  
Ba - la ba - la i Ba - la Ba - la i hi

Number of Renditions: 5x

Pulse: 78-80 bpm

Meter: duple

Characteristic Rhythm: u u u u /

Number of tones: 4

Range (Semitones/Interval): 7/P5

Characteristic Interval: m3, M3, M2

Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing or tremolo

Character Singing: Grandmother/babysitter

Text Function: (no corresponding version of story in Elmendorf collection)

Starting Pitch: f#

Pitch Change: none

Volume: medium

Audience: none

Accompaniment: drum (coincides w/ vocal pulse)

Expression: --

Melodic Contour: descending

Language of Song: Twana

Language of Story: --

Text and Translation: (my phonetic transcription)

A) *Bala bala e Bala bala e he*

A) [vocables?]

B) *Bala bala o ho tid ba hai yu da ha*

B) [vocables? / my child / vocables?]

A) *Bala bala e Bala*

A) [vocables?]

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A B A<sup>1</sup> (slight variation in repetitions)

L: A B A

Comments: Unpublished recording in Elmendorf sub-collection of Jacobs Collection (#14807 b1); not part of sequence of myth songs on tape and not associated with versions of story in Elmendorf's documentation.

## Transcription #24 (Star Child #14): Henry Allen (HA16)

Story Title: Star Husband  
 Singer: Henry Allen  
 Collector: Laura Boulton

Date: April 1946  
 Location: Seattle, WA

♩ 88-90

A B

Ba - la ba - la e      Ba - la ba - la o      Ba - la ba - la e he tid ba hai yu da a  
 x x x x      x x x x      x x x x x x x x x x

5 A1

Ba - la ba - la i      Ba - la ba - la  
 x x x x      x x x x

(variation 1)

7 A B

Ba - la ba - la e      Ba - la ba - la i      Ba - la ba - la e he ti tid ba hai yu da a  
 x x x x      x x x x x      x x x x x x x x x x

12 A1

Ba - la ba - la e      Ba - la ba - la  
 x x x x      x x x x x

(variation 2)

14 A B

Ba - la ba - la o      Ba - la ba - la e      Ba - la ba - la o ho tid ba hai yu da a  
 x x x x      x x x x x      x x x x x x x x x x

19 A1

Ba - la ba - la i - - -  
 x x x x x x

Number of Renditions: 3x    Starting Pitch: g#, a, a    Pitch Change: start pitch rises 1 semitone  
 Pulse: 88-90 bpm    Volume: medium    Audience: none  
 Meter: duple    Accompaniment: drum (coincides w/ vocal pulse)  
 Characteristic Rhythm: u u u /    Expression: -  
 Number of tones: 6    Melodic Contour: undulating  
 Range (Semitones/Interval): 9/M6    Language of Song: Twana  
 Characteristic Interval: M2    Language of Story: --  
 Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing or tremolo  
 Character Singing: old babysitter  
 Text Function: (no corresponding story in Boulton collection)

Text and Translation: (my phonetic transcription, untranslated)

- A) *Bala bala e Bala bala o*
- A) [vocables?]
- B) *Bala bala e he tid ba hai yu da a*
- B) [vocables? / my child / vocables?]
- A) *Bala bala i Bala bala*
- A) [vocables?]

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A B A<sup>1</sup> (slight variation in repetitions)

L: A B A

Comments: Unpublished recording in Boulton collection at Archives of Traditional Music (ATM EC 12576 #17); Boulton title, "Lullaby, from...starchild myth."

## Transcription #25 (Star Child #15): [unidentified singers] U1

Story Title: **Moon Story**  
 Singer: **2 singers (1 voice prominent)**  
 Collector: **Thelma Adamson/Franz Boas**

Date: **1927**  
 Location: **Chehalis Res., Oakville, WA**

J. 120-132

A

ə - l si - tan e - mts

x x (etc.)

A1

al si - tan e - mts al - si - tan

A2

e - mts [?] (etc.)

Number of Renditions: **4x**

Pulse: **120-132 bpm**

Meter: **duple**

Characteristic Rhythm: **/ u /**

Number of tones: **4**

Range (Semitones/Interval): **octave**

Characteristic Interval: **-**

Vocal Quality: **open, no pulsing or tremolo**

Character Singing: **Male'**

Text Function: **[no corresponding story in Adamson collection]**

Starting Pitch: **b\*** Pitch Change: **slight fluctuation**

Volume: **medium-loud** Audience: **none**

Accompaniment: **drum\*\***

Expression: **-**

Melodic Contour: **undulating**

Language of Song: **Upper Chehalis**

Language of Story: **-**

### Text and Translation:

From Herzog song transcription (text transcription by Boas?) (Adamson 1934:428) -

A) ə-l sitan e-mts al sitan e-mts

A) al sitan e-mts ə-l sitan e-mts

(chief / my grandson)

B) hoya hoəoiya ham

Another text version (Herzog/Boas (ibid.)) -

A) mə - sa - ma tan a - ls ə - tan a - ls

A) mə - sa - ma [repeated] e - tan a - ls

B) ɛi - ya ya ɛi - ya ya

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A A<sup>1</sup> (variation in all repetitions)

L: A A (final repetition ends with B)

\* Second voice (female?) audible an octave above prominent male voice.

\*\* Drum pulse and vocal pulse coincide most of the time.

Comments: Unpublished cylinder recording in Adamson/Boas collection at the Archives of Traditional Music (ATM 54-131-F; cylinder 4371, strip A) (also identified as P.R. 7a); singers may include Marion Davis (Upper Chehalis), who is listed as the primary singer in this collection; song transcription by Herzog (Adamson 1934:428); Herzog titled song, "Cradle Song of Male", Moon Story."

## Transcription #26 (Star Child #16): [unidentified singer] U2

Story Title: Moon Story  
 Singer: 2 singers (1 voice prominent)  
 Collector: Thelma Adamson/Franz Boas

Date: 1927  
 Location: Chehalis Res., Oakville, WA

♩ 88-96

A

t'o - p'a' - yu - la-qam e ta-nin  
 X X (etc.)

3 A1

t'o - p'a' - yu - la-qam ta - nin - an a' e - ms

5 A2

t'o - p'a' - yu - la-qam ta - nin a' yams t'o - p'a' - yu - la-qam ta - nin

8 A4

a' e - ms t'o - p'a' - yu - la-qam ta - nin a' e - ms

11 A5

t'o - p'a' - yu - la-qam ta - nin - an - a' e - ms t'o - p'a' - yu - la-qam ta

14 A6 (cut-off)

Number of Renditions: 7x Starting Pitch: g\* Pitch Change: slight fluctuation  
 Pulse: 88-96 bpm (drum=126 bpm) Volume: medium-loud Audience: none  
 Meter: duple Accompaniment: drum (and sticks?)\*\*  
 Characteristic Rhythm: / u Expression: --  
 Number of tones: 4 Melodic Contour: undulating  
 Range (Semitones/Interval): 7/P5 Language of Song: Upper Chehalis  
 Characteristic Interval: -- Language of Story: --  
 Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing or tremolo  
 Character Singing: Grandmother  
 Text Function: [no corresponding story in Adamson collection]

## Text and Translation:

From Herzog song transcription (text transcription by Boas?) (Adamson 1934:428) -

7 iterations of text line:

A) *t'o-p'a'-yu-la-qam*

B) *e ta-nin*

B<sup>1</sup>) *ta-nin an a' e-mts*

B<sup>2</sup>) *ta-nin a' yamts*

B<sup>3</sup>) *ta-nin a' e-mts*

B<sup>4</sup>) *ta-nin a' e-mts*

B<sup>5</sup>) *ta-nin an a' e-mts*

B<sup>6</sup>) *ta-*

(rotten wood / now / rotten wood / now / my little grandson)

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A (2<sup>nd</sup> x) A<sup>1</sup> (3<sup>rd</sup> x) A<sup>2</sup> (etc.)

L: AB AB<sup>1</sup> AB<sup>2</sup> (etc.)

\* Second voice (female?) audible an octave above prominent male voice.

\*\* Drum pulse and vocal pulse coincide at start, then move in and out of phase.

Comments: Unpublished cylinder recording in Adamson/Boas collection at the Archives of Traditional Music (ATM 54-131-F; cylinder 4371, strip B) (also identified as P.R. 7b); song transcription by Herzog (Adamson 1934:428); Herzog titled song, "Top'a\_ Yulaqa Song, Moon Story."

## Transcription #27 (Star Child #17): [unidentified singers] U3

Story Title: Unidentified  
 Singer: 2 singers (1 voice prominent)  
 Collector: Thelma Adamson/Franz Boas

Date: 1927  
 Location: Chehalis Res., Oakville, WA

♩ 125 (approx.)

A

to - mi - na'      to - mi - na'      ti ta  
 x x (etc.)

A<sup>1</sup>

to      mi - tcila      to - mi - tcila      (tc) ta - amc

A<sup>2</sup>      A<sup>3</sup>      (etc.)

to - mi - na'      tit      sma'      ni - tci      to - mi - na'      ti ta

Number of Renditions: 3x      Starting Pitch: e\*      Pitch Change: slight fluctuation  
 Pulse: 125 bpm (approx.)      Volume: medium-loud      Audience: none  
 Meter: duple      Accompaniment: drum\*\*  
 Characteristic Rhythm: / u /      Expression: --  
 Number of tones: 4      Melodic Contour: undulating  
 Range (Semitones/Interval): 7/P5      Language of Song: Upper Chehalis  
 Characteristic Interval: -      Language of Story: -  
 Vocal Quality: open, no pulsing or tremolo  
 Character Singing: ?  
 Text Function: [no corresponding story in Adamson collection]

### Text and Translation:

From Herzog song transcription (text transcription by Boas?) (Adamson 1934:427) -

- A) to-mi-na' to-mi-na' ti ta  
 (shrink, shrink the earth)  
 A<sup>1</sup>) to-mi-tcila to-mi-tcila (tc) ta-amc  
 (shrink, shrink the earth)  
 A<sup>2</sup>) to-mi-na' tit sma' ni-tci  
 (shrink the mountains)  
 A<sup>3</sup>) to-mi-na' ti ta  
 (shrink, shrink the earth)  
 (etc. with variations)

B) *hai ya a hai ya a*  
*hai ya ho oi ya ha*  
*hai ya*

Melodic and Linguistic Structure: M: A A<sup>1</sup> A<sup>2</sup> A<sup>3</sup> (2<sup>nd</sup> x) A<sup>4</sup> A<sup>5</sup> A<sup>6</sup> A<sup>7</sup> (3<sup>rd</sup> x) A<sup>8</sup> A<sup>9</sup> A<sup>10</sup> A<sup>11</sup> A<sup>12</sup>

L: A A<sup>1</sup> A<sup>2</sup> A<sup>3</sup> (2<sup>nd</sup> x) A<sup>3</sup> A<sup>1</sup> A<sup>2</sup> B (3<sup>rd</sup> x) A<sup>3</sup> A<sup>3</sup> A<sup>1</sup> A<sup>2</sup> B

\* Second voice (female?) audible an octave above prominent male voice.

\*\* Drum pulse and vocal pulse coincide at start, then move in and out of phase.

Comments: Unpublished cylinder recording in Adamson/Boas collection at the Archives of Traditional Music (ATM 54-131-F; cylinder 4370, strip A) (also identified as P.R. 6); song transcription by Herzog (Adamson 1934:427); Herzog song title, "Male ' Shrinks the Earth."

**Vita****Laurel Sercombe**

1974 B.A. Music, California State University at Humboldt, Arcata, California  
(cum laude)

1977 Master of Librarianship, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington