GAMBLING MUSIC OF THE COAST SALISH INDIANS

by

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A.Mus., McGill University, 1966
B.A., McGill University, 1969

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF MUSIC

in the Department

of

Music

We accept this thesis as conforming to

the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April, 1972

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ABSTRACT

Slahal is a gambling game played by North American natives on the North Pacific coast. This activity is of particular interest to the ethnomusicologist because of the large body of songs which not only accompanies but also is intimately linked with it. The thesis which follows is a résumé of research done over the past two and one-half years and deals with the slahal songs of the Coast Salish.

I begin with a description of the game itself the object of which is to guess the location of two tokens concealed in the hands of the opponents. We soon learn that gambling music, as one may say about music in general, has a certain power -- the ability to elevate the entire game experience into a different and more exciting realm than that of an ordinary game.

The main bulk of the thesis is in the second part where I have presented 77 representative songs out of 194, transcribed from over twelve hours of music. Along with the songs are analyses and comments which are found in summary form in Part III. The concluding section touches upon the significance of slahal in present-day Indian culture.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Several warm summer evenings come to mind and I see and hear Uncle Louie Miranda reconstructing many events from the earlier days of his life. Uncle Louie is seventy-nine years of age and has given freely of his past to educate us in many ways. He has much to teach and we have learned a great deal about slahal and about many other things as well. My deepest gratitude to Uncle Louie for being the person he is and for spending so many hours with us.

My husband, Ronald, has expended much effort in guiding me through the non-musical, anthropological side of this thesis. He has shown great patience and unfailing support whenever I most needed it.

I sincerely appreciate the fact that my thesis advisor, Elliot Weisgarber, has always given of his time, and certainly has spent much of it working with me.

Fieldwork was supported by the National Museum of Man, Ottawa in 1970.

PART I

A description of slahal

"Slahal," otherwise known as "the bone game",[1] is a form of gambling of practiced by North American natives on the North Pacific coast. This singular activity is of particular interest to the ethnomusicologist because of the large body of songs which not only accompanies but also is intimately linked with it. My research deals with the slahal songs of those natives designated as Coast Salish and the present effort is a resume of that research.

In order to provide a picture of the game, it seems important to begin by describing the physical placement of the persons involved: Two sides or "teams" are facing eachother. Each team has lined up, so to speak, behind two planks or logs which are parallel to one another and separated by a distance of approximately ten feet. As for the game itself,slahal requires two pairs of cylindrical bones intended to be concealed in the hands, thus only a few inches in length and perhaps the diameter of a penny. The individual pair of bones consists of one marked and one unmarked bone, the marked is the female bone or /xwí'ktən/, and the unmarked is the male bone or /t'ámtən/.[2] The female bone is either sculptured, painted, or designated by a colored band around the middle, widthwise. During the game the bones are hidden in the hands while being mixed by two different individuals from one team, each manipulating one pair. The object of the game for the

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[1] Also known as "lehal".

[2] Learned from Mr. Louis Miranda, the words are from the Squamish dialect.

opposite team to guess the position of the unmarked bones. The guesser, then, is interested in the location of two out of four bones. In other words there are four possible choices:

(figure #1)

1) the unmarked bones are on the outside

2) the unmarked bones are on the inside

3) they are to the left

4) they are to the right

The guess is a non-verbal one indicated by means of the following hand gestures corresponding to the above positions of the bones:

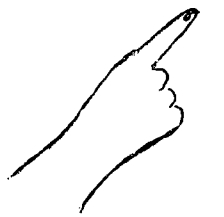
(figure #2)

1)

3)

2)

4)



After the guesser reveals his choice, the two mixers open their hands and expose the bones.[1]

The object of the game is to guess correctly as to the location of the bones while the opponents are shifting each of the two sets. Each round has a winner and a loser and may be represented as a completed activity. However, the ordinary slahal game lasts for many rounds. The playing continues until a decisive number of rounds has been won by one side, calculated by a set of eleven wooden sticks which provide a tally of gains and losses. The teams begin with five sticks each and the eleventh stick, also known as the king stick or kick stick, is decided by means of simultaneous mixing and then guessing by a representative for each side (the guesser or pointer). The team whose pointer has guessed correctly, and sometimes after several "ties", wins possession of the kick stick. Then the bones are thrown over to the losing side and two people from this side begin to mix the bones. If the team is able to fool their opponents into guessing incorrectly, that is where the guesser has been totally wrong, the mixing side is then entitled to two sticks. They will send the bones over to the opposite side who will, in turn, start mixing -- a round will have been completed. However,if the guess was partially correct, that is e.g. the pointer gestured to the right and the bones were on the outside, he/she will have

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[1]The guesser is permitted to make false guesses which do not count as the real thing. This is to make the mixers nervous, possibly betraying the location of the bones. However,good mixers are able to remain stone-faced during all the guesses, fake or real.

guessed correctly on one set of bones. This means that the guessing side only loses one stick instead of two, and the mixing side must give up one set of bones. The round then continues until the pointer guesses correctly on the set of bones which remains in play. The other alternative is that the guesser chooses correctly on the first try. Then, his team loses no sticks and gains the two sets of bones and the right to mix and win sticks. The game is over when one side possesses all the tally sticks, and that may take anywhere from about fifteen minutes to many, many hours.

Wagers are placed both on the outcome of individual rounds and on the completed game. Every bet must be "covered", i.e. a like amount must be wagered by the opposite side so that winnings are provided for. All wagering is a double or nothing affair. If you bet one dollar, then you will either win two dollars (the one dollar bet plus the dollar put up by an opponent) or the dollar is lost. This wagering pattern is identical for the "round bets" and the "game bets." However "game bets" are ordinarily larger and are placed before the playing begins and recorded so that the monies may be distributed appropriately when the entire game is completed. "Round bets" are made informally be catching the eye of a person on the opposite side and moving a dollar bill or whatever you wish to bet. Both parties, then, usually crumple up the money and throw it into the center. The winner will pick up his money and that of the other person. "Game bets" are accumulated and placed in a scarf or similar receptacle (sometimes

as much as a thousand dollars or more) which is left conspicuously in the playing area throughout the game.

Slahal has been traced to aboriginal times when it served as a type of inter-village competition using blankets and other goods instead of dollars. It is interesting to note that the use of hand gestures instead of verbal guesses made it possible for groups who could not otherwise communicate to play against one another. It was also a way to enjoy oneself in the company of others while trying to keep one's mind off the long, cold winter nights. Nowadays, it is common for the members of one locality to oppose those from another. For example, at Cultus Lake the Americans (Lummi, Nooksack, LaConner) were playing the Canadians (Cowichan, Musqueam, Saanich) although, at the Lummi Reserve in Washington several weeks later, some of the players who had been on the same side were now playing opposite one another. (Kew, 1970, 303-4) I observed this myself in both 1970 and 1971, proving that anyone may play with whomever he chooses. For instance, if someone reputed to be a good pointer is playing for one side, you may decide to "put your money on him." Mr. Louis Miranda has recounted many examples of this sort: at one time a Yakima woman had acquired an excellent reputation as a pointer both in terms of skill and luck. She served as the pointer for the Canadians on one occasion, and many people changed sides to be with her. Sure enough, the Canadian side won.[1] The individuals who are known

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[1]This incident took place about 45-50 years ago.

to have a certain amount of luck and power and/or expertise seem to be a good risk to put one's money on. Many years ago, it was the Vancouver Island people who were said to have "never been beaten."[1] Even now the people from Duncan are very active gamblers. There are many players known as professionals who travel the "circuits" all year round and earn a living in this way. The professionals, then, may attract players to their respective sides with tacit promises of victory. Some frequent players are even known for their sleight of hand and special caution may accompany the guesser's choice of location of bones when these individuals are mixing them.

Slahal playing is often a prominent activity of the native population. During the twentieth century we have seen slahal playing at the hop-picking camps in the Fraser Valley and in the fish canneries where Indians from different groups were working. Today, slahal is played on weekends at the Somenos reserve near Duncan, B.C. (Kew, 1970, 302-3) and undoubtedly at other reserves on an equally private basis in the warmer months of the year. Slahal is almost always played at the various public festivals which are two days in length and usually center around canoe races. The playing often goes on all night; at Cultus Lake, June, 1971, they were still playing when we left after 2:30a.m. and J.E.M. Kew reports that in 1967 at the Lummi Reserve, the game ended shortly before the Catholic Mass (p. 302).

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[1] Mr. Louis Miranda, speaking of the situation as he saw it between approximately 1910-1930.

Slahal is perhaps the most common traditional game played on the North Pacific Coast. It is important to note that this type of game, known as the "hand game", is played extensively all over the North American continent as well. For instance Kenneth Peacock (1955, 1961, p. 5) states that it is the "...most widespread Indian gambling game on the Canadian Plains -- indeed on most of the continent." And Kenneth Peacock is surely in agreement with a much earlier study of games by Stewart Culin (1907) where we find descriptions of hand games played by 81 tribes from 28 linguistic groups located in California, Oregon, Washington, Alberta, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, British Columbia, Alaska, the Yukon, Manitoba, Arizona, Nevada, Colorado, Utah, Texas, and Mexico (Culin, 1907 pp. 267-327). We known about the Dogribs in the Northwest Territories and their hand game (Helm & Lurie, 1966) as well as the popularity of the hand game, documented by Tony and Ida Isaacs, on their recording of hand game songs (1969).

As we see, the hand game has diffused all over the North American continent, and although it seems strange the musical styles of the various groups who play are very different one from the other.[1] Even among the songs we collected there were two distinct styles: one sung by the Coast Salish groups and another sung by the Yakimas, a Plateau group from eastern Washington State.

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[1]See "Discography" for a comparison of styles available on recording.

Slahal could not be played without music, and the slahal songs with percussion accompaniment play an essential part in the game: even games with a small number of participants must include music. Only one side will sing at any one time -- the side mixing the bones. Conversely, when the round is over and the bones are in the possession of the opposite team it is their turn to mix and to sing. One objective of the mixing and singing side is to confuse and perhaps rile the opposite team -- particularly the guesser who is trying to concentrate on the whereabouts of the unmarked bones. For example, one old woman would occasionally stop singing to shout /χéχOS/ at the guesser on the opposite side. This means "you're blind" and is obviously an attempt to annoy him/her. Verbal exclamations of this sort are quite common. Another example: Mr. Louis Miranda recounted an incident which took place perhaps fifty years ago. Apparently, a young woman named Annie, was often chosen to mix the bones because (1) she bounced around a great deal when mixing and singing, and (2) she was a very "well-built" female. The result was always that the guesser on the opposite team would lose track of the bones and instead, watch Annie.

Louis Miranda once sung a slahal song for us which I had never heard, one which had a combination of vocables and understandable words. The words, again, were meant to rile and confuse the opposite side: "(approximate translation) you cannot possibly win because we have Bill on our side (Bill being the name of a person reputed to be a good slahal player)". But even

fifty years ago, songs with words were a rarity and this certainly is the case at the present time: of the 194 songs in my collection, none have actual texts. Instead they use vocables such as "hay ya ha ha" etc. Yet it is interesting to note the remarkable consistency with which they are used. For instance, one song appears in my sample thirteen times over the period of two years and the variance in the use of vocables is almost nil. In other words each specific slahal song has quite definite vocables which go along with it. This leads to speculation: perhaps the vocables were once words which lost their meaning through the course of many years of oral tradition. Somehow, in this case I do not really think so. Slahal songs are constantly changing, and quite rapidly at that. It is quite common to learn songs from strangers while playing the game -- in fact most natives learn slahal songs from listening and repeating, during the many times a song is repeated. Louis Miranda, who has not played slahal for over 44 years, recognized the songs I sung to him because he has been present at games. However, he made quite clear the fact that my collection were "modern" songs and that there were many different songs used when he was playing approximately 44-70 years ago. In other words, if the musical tradition changes so rapidly it is unlikely that a song would last for an appropriate length of time for the text to evolve into vocables. Even in the course of three seasons (1969, 1970, 1971), I have seen certain changes -- an affinity for a particular song, a change in melodic rhythm largely owing to the influence of one strong and respected singer, and so forth.

There are several singers who more often than not, choose the songs which will be heard. This is not a conscious pre-planned effort, but rather a spontaneous outburst from the individual who sings the loudest and with the most confidence. A song usually continues until the end of the round, and thus there are many repetitions necessary. In the course of these repetitions it is not difficult to learn a new song, indeed, the repetitions seem almost like a built-in mechanism for the purpose of teaching slahal songs to people who are not familiar with them. In fact, the musical tradition in slahal is transmitted entirely in this way.

Now we run into a problem: let us suppose that someone starts a song and the others do not like it. Are they stuck with that song for the remainder of the round? The answer is no, and oftentimes a song will be changed several times within the round. The reason is quite obvious to the singers involved -- the song chosen was an unlucky song. It was not spirited enough, the players did not know it and could not learn it quickly enough; in general it would be a source of bad luck. Sometimes, if the pointing side has guessed correctly on one set of bones, the mixing and singing side will change songs in an effort to bring "Lady Luck" more onto their side. Some people refer to this Lady Luck as spirit power which is contained in the slahal songs. Frances Densmore (1943, 64-67) mentioned that in the course of her research one informant led her to believe that slahal songs could be gained in dreams or visions. Songs learned as such might lend spiritual help

to that player while he is singing and mixing. One of our informants corroborated this -- he had known people who claimed such powers. He, however, was sceptical as to the "truth" of such statements.

Yet, if one believes in the intrinsic power of music, it is easy to understand the spirit power contained in slahal songs. Further, we have experienced, after many hours of listening, observing and singing, a certain trance-like state perhaps because of the persistent drumbeats. We discussed this very point with Dr. Wolfgang Jilek, psychiatrist and anthropologist, and he stated that it is physiologically possible to achieve a trance-like state when there are between three and seven pulses per second. Sure enough, slahal songs are accompanied by eighth-note drumbeats, the average being 252 pulses per minute, or precisely 4.2 pulses per second. In other words, it is the music which takes slahal out of the realm of the ordinary game and into the "super-real" or supernormal. These same songs are apparently also used for dancing (Kew, 1970, 294).

It is important, at this point, to clarify the use of "drumming" and "drumbeats". The percussion accompaniment for slahal songs is partly with drums held at the back with one hand and beaten with a leather-ended stick. However, many people cannot afford to buy a drum and instead use a stick and

beat on the log or plank in front of them. There are many other percussion instruments devised by the players: two sticks together, two rocks together, a rock on a beer can, etc. In fact, the use of drums in slahal playing is a fairly recent arrival: Louis Miranda mentioned that in Squamish the drum was not used in slahal until about 1910. The drums are carefully attended to and the pitch of each drum is important. It is interesting to watch how the players, one by one, approach the fire in the center to tune their drums with heat as the night wears on and the temperature drops.

There is, yet, one other point to consider. Mrs. Pearl Warren, of the Seattle Indian Center, is quite certain that slahal songs are owned by individuals. She claims that although anyone can join in, one must own the song in order to initiate it. The younger Indians may not be aware that ownership claims are applicable in the case of slahal songs, but according to Mrs. Warren it is so. She was even able to indicate the family which owned a specific song as we were listening to it. Frances Densmore, in the publication to which I have already referred, indicated that a man received a slahal song from a spirit in his dream. In other words, that song was uniquely <u>his</u>. Ownership of songs, while not uncommon on the North Pacific Coast, implies that the songs involved are of a private or spiritual nature. It seems fairly obvious that if these songs were truly private, they would <u>not</u> be sung at public festivals where people like myself could record, transcribe and analyse them. After such treatment, <u>any</u> song

would certainly be divested of power!

Most people we have spoken with neither believe that the songs are owned nor that they are private or spiritual as are the cultural or spirit songs which are only sung at private gatherings. According to Mr. Louis Miranda it is important to keep things in perspective as regards slahal songs. First of all "Slahal is only a game," and it is not as important that the songs be sung "perfectly" as it is for the spirit songs. We learned another interesting lesson from the same man: Louis Miranda occasionally teaches children in the North Vancouver public schools, and in some of his classes he teaches them how to play slahal. What does he do for the singing? In order to convey the feeling in slahal songs which is quite different from what we normally do when instructed to sing, Uncle Louie (as everyone calls him) tells them to make noise, shout, scream, pound on the floor, etc. A most controversial view of music but quite insightful as regards slahal songs.

PART II

Transcriptions and analyses

This section is devoted to the slahal songs themselves which were transcribed from recordings made in the field between 1969-1971. The first six songs, labelled M1-M6, were taped at Cultus Lake, B.C. in 1969 by Lynn Maranda; the other 188 were recorded by my husband and myself. We did our taping in the summer months of 1970 and 1971 with a Sony TC 110 cassette recorder, and succeeded in collecting over twelve hours of music at several Indian festivals all of which were located within a 75-mile radius of Vancouver:

June, 1970 - Cultus Lake Festival -- Cultus Lake, B.C.
June, 1970 - Stommish Festival -- Lummi Reserve, Washington
June, 1971 - Cultus Lake Festival -- Cultus Lake, B.C.
June, 1971 - Stommish Festival -- Lummi Reserve, Washington
Aug., 1971 - Songhees Festival -- Songhees Reserve (Vancouver (Island), B.C.

There are several important points in need of clarification before embarking upon the transcriptions and analyses. We begin with M1-6 and continue, in order of taping, through #59. That is, I did no editing and left intact those songs and how they follow one another. From there on, I chose to pull certain songs out of context to avoid excessive length and to complete the picture by means of representative songs. The numbers given to each song indicates <u>where</u> it occurs in the sample and <u>when</u> a particular rendition was sung. I also indicate how frequently in the sample a song has occurred -- some as often as fourteen times.

One category I used in the analyses is "pitch", and in most songs, there is a pitch rise. The descriptions, however do not indicate the length of a song, that is, the number of repetitions involved -- a factor which is most directly related to pitch change. In other words a song which repeats fifteen times is more likely to exhibit a significant pitch change (rise) than the song which is only sung twice through.

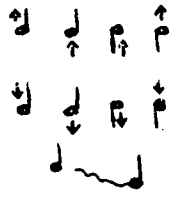
The songs were transcribed into the precise tonality in which they were sung. This is not to assume that absolute pitch has relevance in the same way it does in western art music. Nor were the sharps and flats used to add complexity to a body of fairly simple songs. Instead, the songs were transcribed as they occurred allowing for later pitch comparisons with similar versions of the same piece.

As for the tempo markings, one usually finds that the song begins at a slower tempo which gradually increases and then stabilizes. For most pieces, then, I have indicated the stabilized tempo rather than both the slower and faster tempi.

The use of a full bar line indicates that a strong beat is about to occur, and quite often the number of beats between accented notes is irregular. I do not mark each change with the formal indication of meter as one does in western art music (e.g. $\frac{3}{4}$), in conformity with the simplicity of the songs involved. Sometimes, however, I do use a partial bar line to subdivide the beats of more complicated rhythmic patterns, for

instance the Yakima songs (#16, #46).

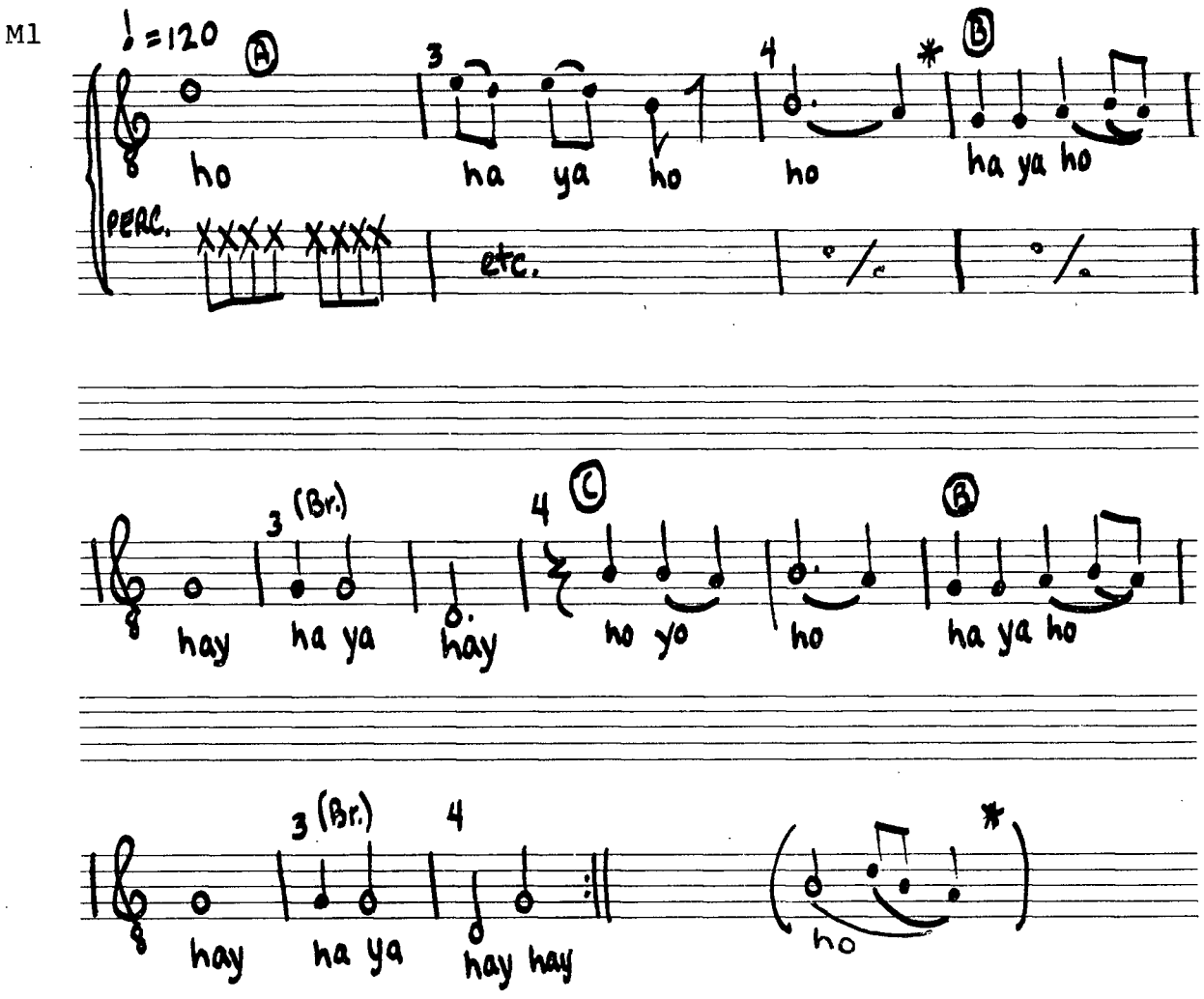
Please note the meaning of the following symbols which will appear in the transcriptions:


= about 50 cents[1] higher than indicated

= about 50 cents lower than indicated

= a slide between notes

Cultus Lake, June, 1969



[1]There are 100 cents in one semi-tone. Fifty cents, then, is a quarter-tone.

Pitch: rise of approximately a semi-tone plus 50 cents from first rendition to the last rendition. Pitch rise occurs in small increments, particularly while sustaining the first note.

Contour: descending.

Melodic range: approximately one octave, although the main interest is within a fifth.

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest -- sol, la, do, re, mi, sol, la)

Form: A/B/bridge/C/B/bridge

Song M1 (recorded 1969) occurs in slightly differing versions on four other occasions in the sample:

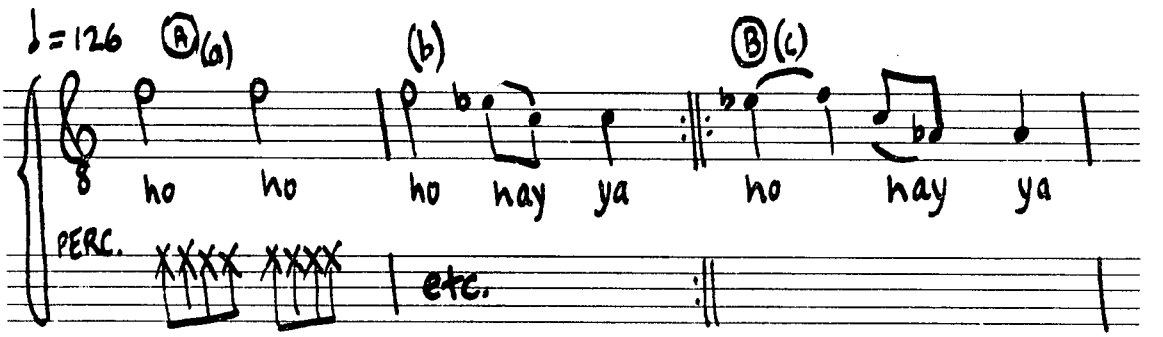
#13 - June, 1970 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

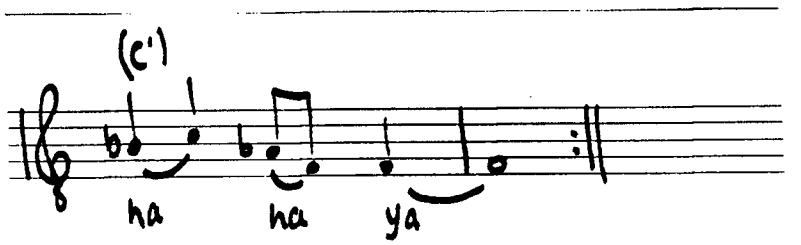
#52 - June, 1970 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

#63 - June, 1970 -- Lummi Reserve

#82 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

M2





Pitch: begins approx. 50 cents higher than indicated in notation. No appreciable fluctuation in the course of repetition.

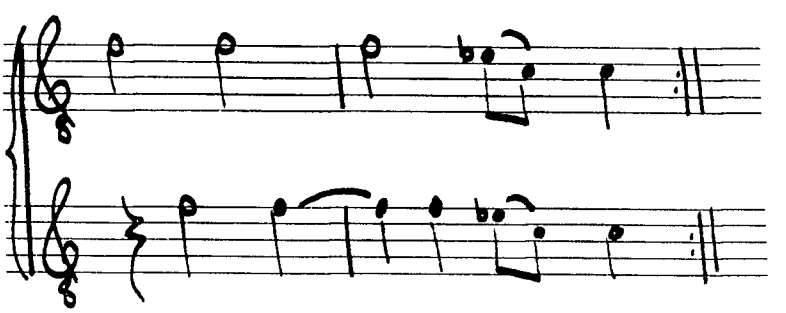
Contour: descending

Melodic range: octave

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - la, do, re, mi, sol, la)

Form: A /A /B / B /
a+b/ a+b/c+c^1 /c+c^1 /

The "a" motive has a definite antiphonal flavor



and for the moment, the piece is in two parts. The 'c' motives demonstrate the use of falling sequences -- a very common device.

Song M2 (recorded 1969) occurs in slightly different versions on thirteen other occasions in the sample:

Song #1 - June, 1970 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#2 - June, 1970 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#28a-June, 1970 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#28b-June, 1970 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#79 -June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#97 -June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#105-June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#122-June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#153-June, 1971 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

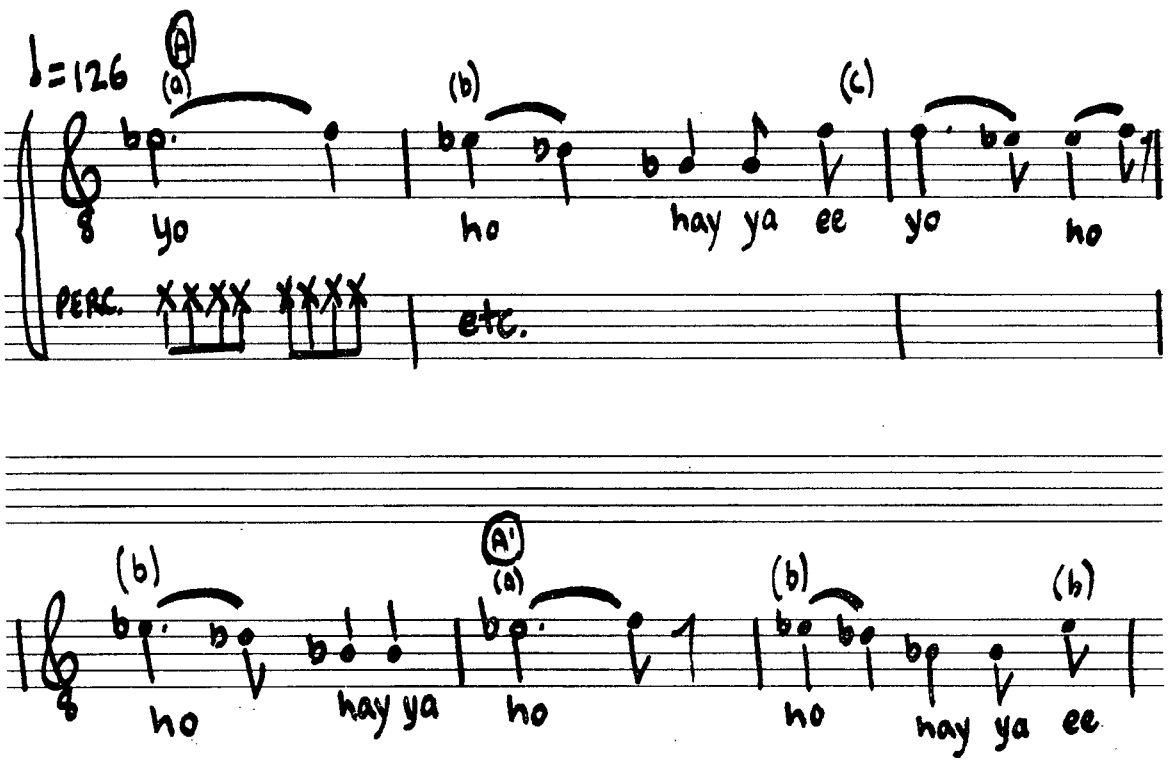
#158-June, 1971 -- Lummi

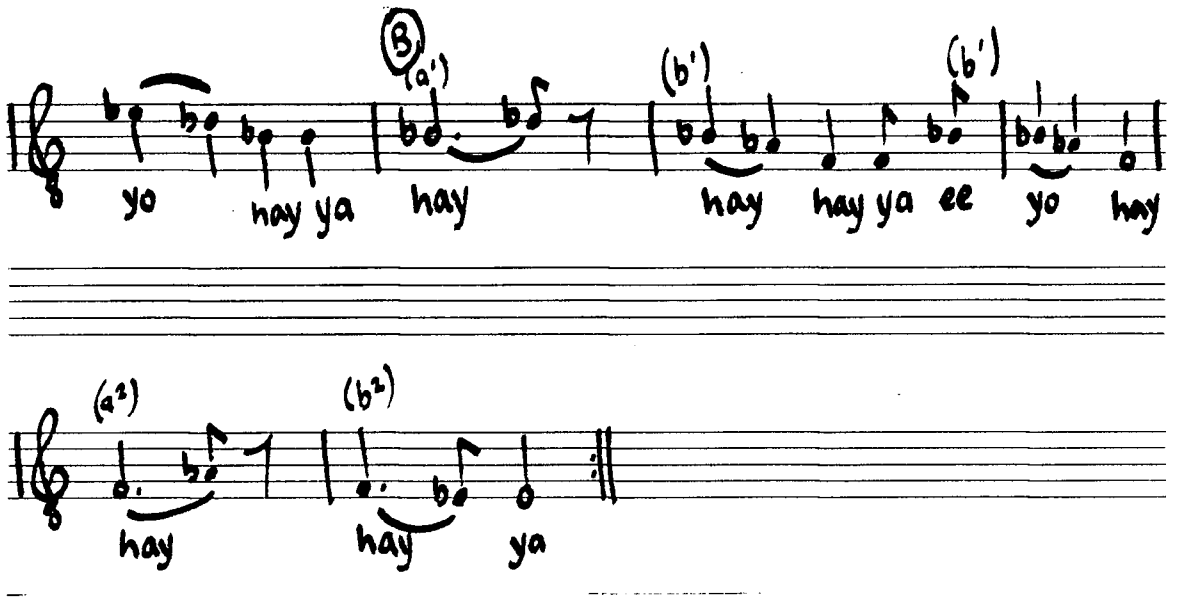
#160-June, 1971 -- Lummi

#163-June, 1971 -- Lummi

#166-June, 1971 -- Lummi

M3





Pitch: rise of approx. a semi-tone during the course of the repetitions.

Contour: descending

Melodic range: a ninth

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - re, mi, sol, la, do, re, mi)

Form:

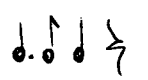
A	A^1	B
a+b/c+b	a+b/b	$a^1+b^1/b^1/a^2+b^2$

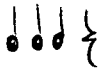
"a^1" - wider interval
- lower in pitch

"b^1" - some interval
- lower in pitch

"a^2" - same interval as a^1
- lower in pitch

"b^2" - same rhythm
- descending

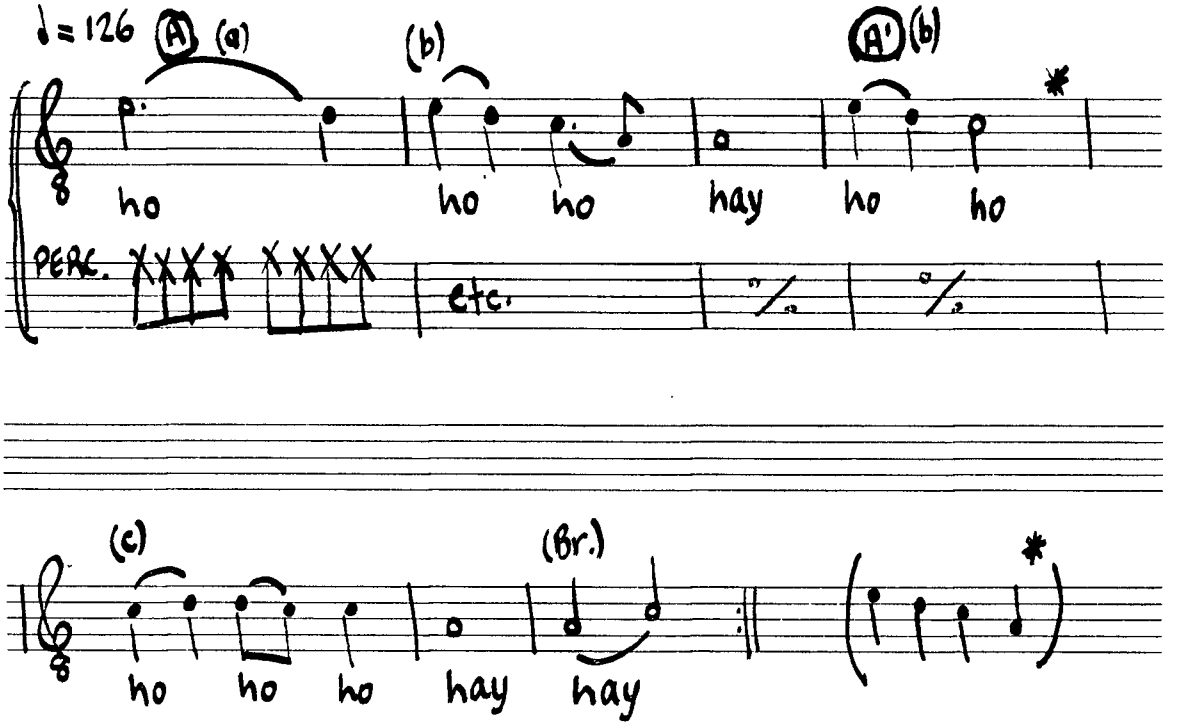
The "b", "b^1" and "b^2" motives are either indicated as 

or as  . A certain amount of fluctuation occurs and the two rhythms are often interchangeable.

M3 occurs once again in this sample:

#32 - June, 1970 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

M4



Pitch: the piece begins 50 c higher than indicated in the notation. A 50 cent pitch rise occurs, and the piece ends approximately where it appears in the transcription.

Contour: two descending phrases

Melodic range: fifth

Scale: pentatonic without "la" (from lowest - la, do, re, mi)

Form: A / A^1 / Bridge
a+b/ b+c /

Song M4 (1969) occurs on ten other occasions in my sample:

#15 - June, 1970 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#20 - June, 1970 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#58 - June, 1970 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

#61 - June, 1970 -- Lummi

#96 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

#123 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

#128 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

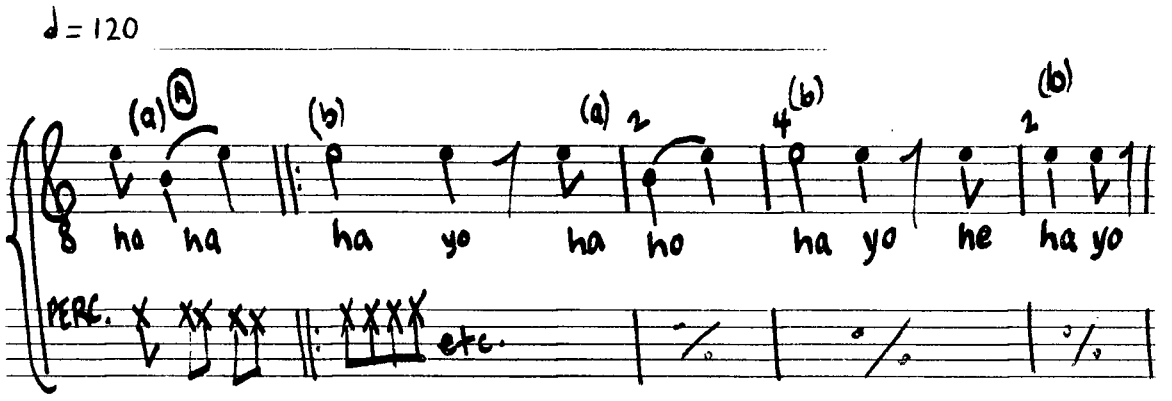
#132 - June 19, 1971 -- Lummi

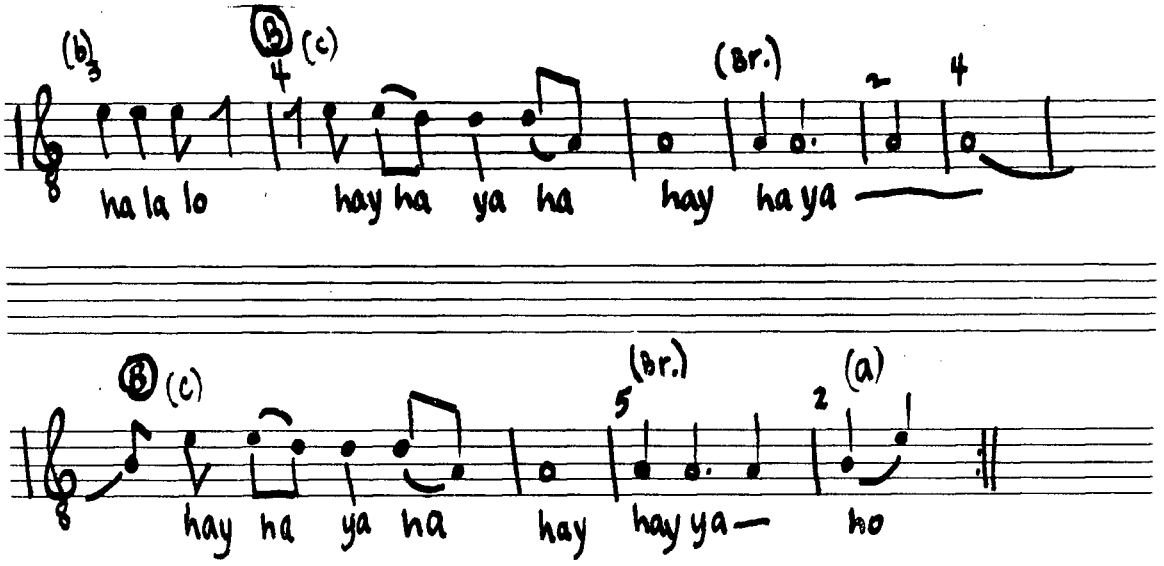
#147 - June 20, 1971 -- Lummi

#150 - June 20, 1971 -- Lummi

Each one of these eleven versions have some characteristics which are slightly distinctive from the others although they are clearly similar enough to be considered basically the same song.

M5





Pitch: rise of approx. 50 cents

Contour: stationary, except for the ending where the line falls.

Melodic range: fifth

Scale: Use of only four notes, pentatonic without "mi" (from lowest - sol, la, do, re)

Form: consists of several motives

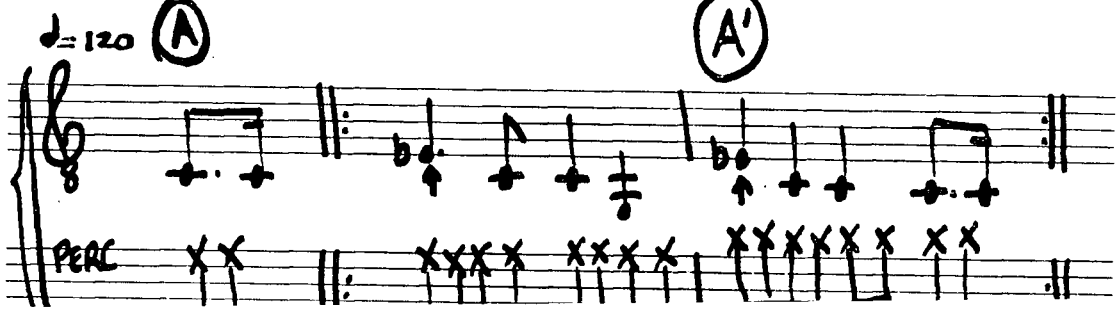
(a) rising fourth

(b) repeating 'e'.

(c) falling figure bridge

A	B	B
a+b/a+b/b/b/b	c+ bridge	c+ bridge

M6



Pitch: begins approximately 30 cents lower than the pitch notated. Rise of a semi-tone.

Contour: descending

Melodic range: sixth, mainly within the compass of a third.

Scale: only three tones - sol, do, mi (from the lowest). What is interesting is the use of a neutral third, the interval between a major and minor third. It actually sounds like a minor third sliding upward.

Form: A/A^1

Song M6 (recorded in 1969) occurs on three more occasions in the sample:

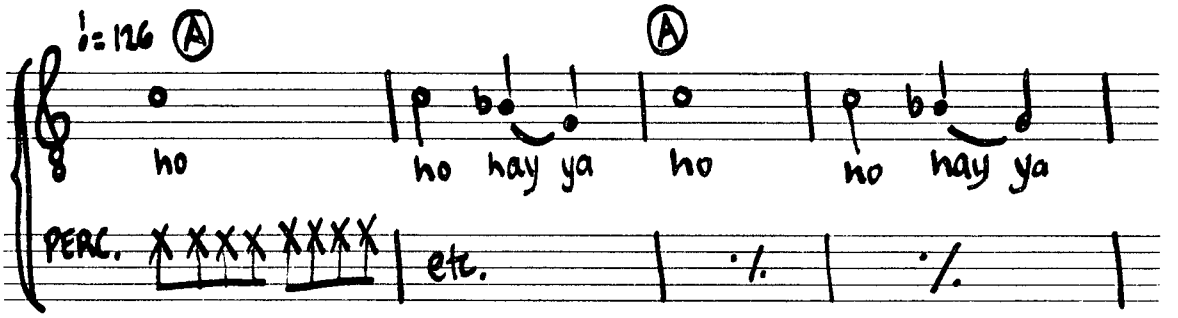
#17 - June, 1970 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

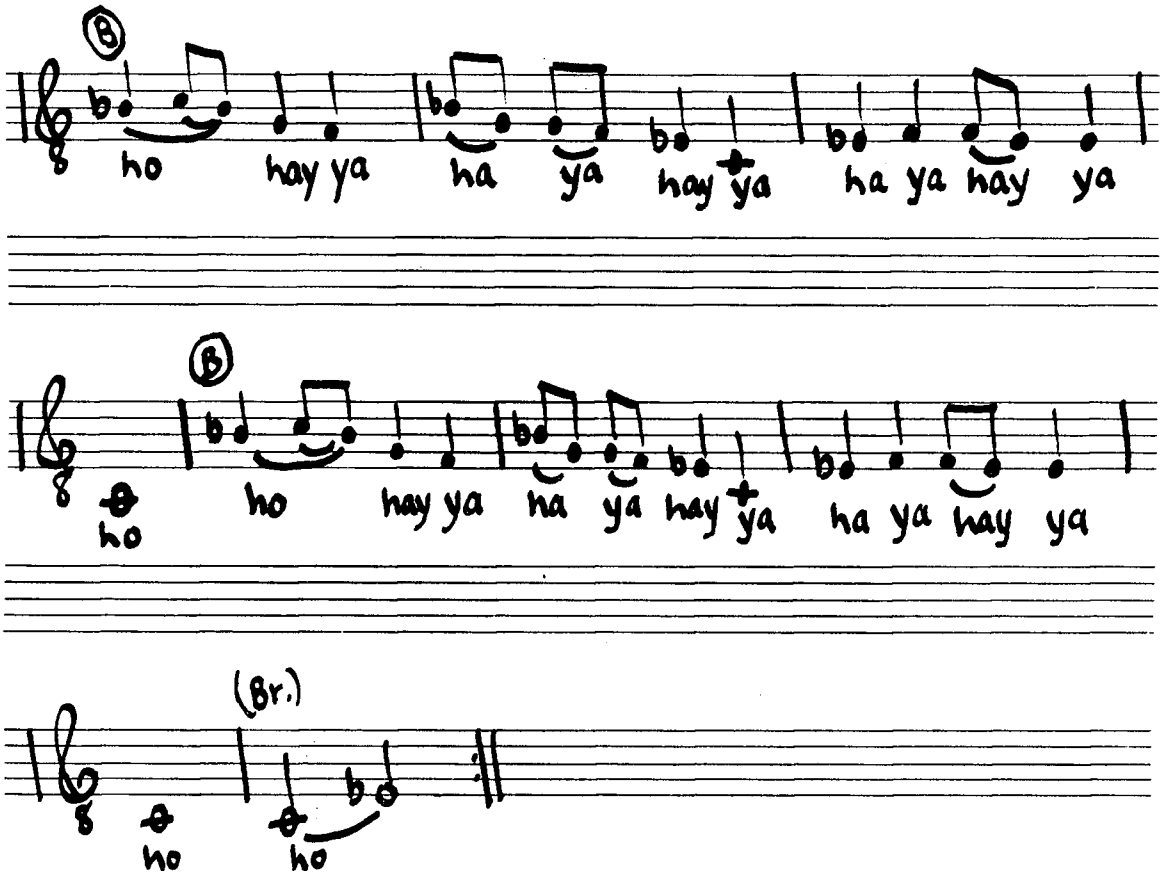
#94 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#145 - June 20, 1971 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

CULTUS LAKE, 1970

1





Pitch: begins 50 c higher than notation indicates, rise of about one semi-tone.

Contour: descending

Melodic range: octave

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - la, do, re, mi, sol, la)

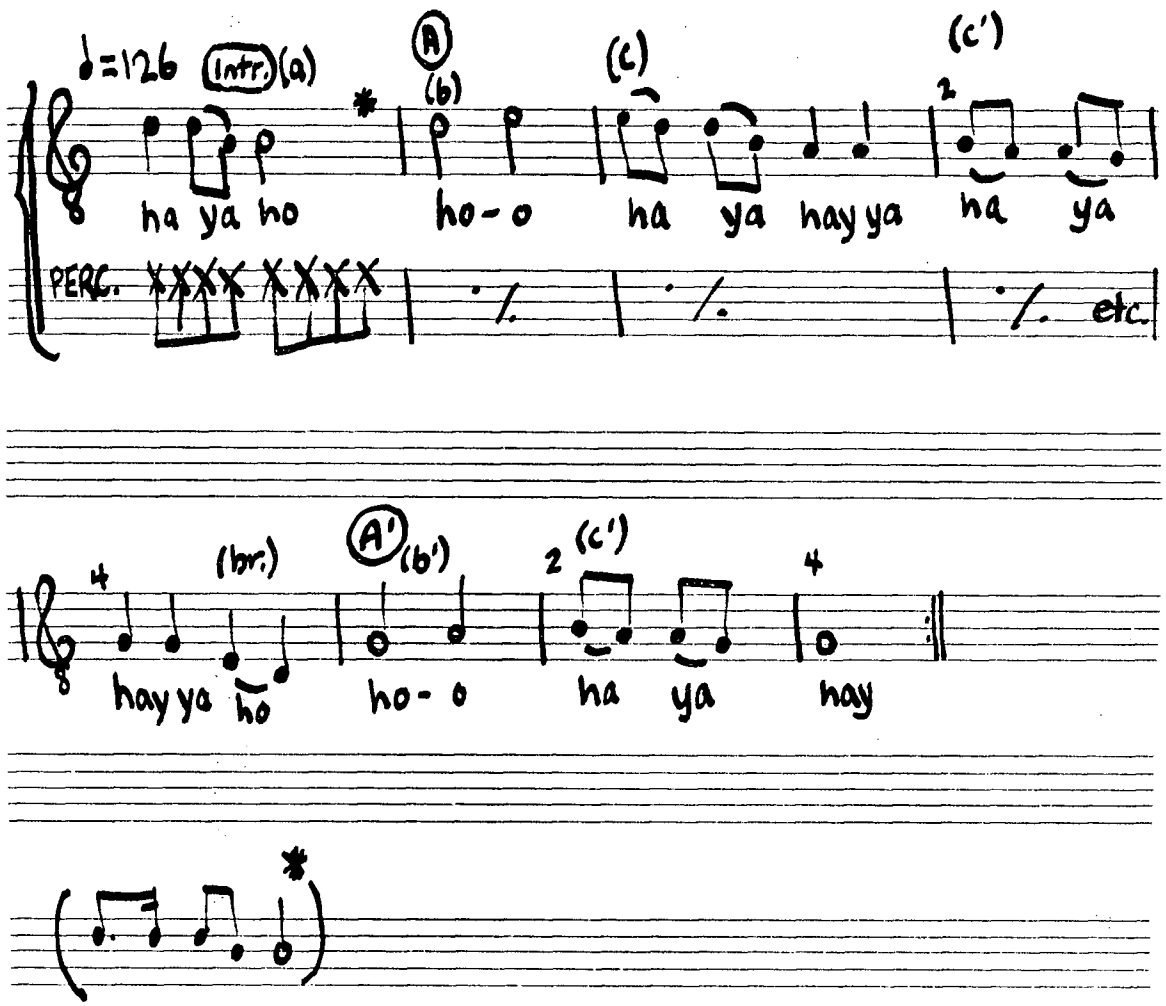
Form: A/A/B/B

Here is the first example of a variation on a song we have already encountered. Compare with M2:

The A phrases are quite similar, however the B phrases of #1 are longer than those of M2 with a larger number of sequences in a downward direction. Yet #M2 and #1 are similar enough to consider them variations of the same piece and not two different songs. #M2 was recorded at Cultus Lake, B.C. in 1969, and #1 in 1970, also at Cultus Lake, B.C.

(See M2 for the list containing frequency of repetition in the sample)

1a



Pitch: begins approx. 70 cents lower than notation indicates, rise of about one semi-tone, to approx. 30 cents above pitch indicated.

Contour: descending

Melodic range: ninth

Scale: Pentatonic (from lowest - sol, la, do, re, mi, sol, la)

Form: Introduction/ A / / A^1
a/ b + c + c^1/ bridge/ b^1+c^1

Polyphony: a small number of women are singing a fourth above the melody as indicated.

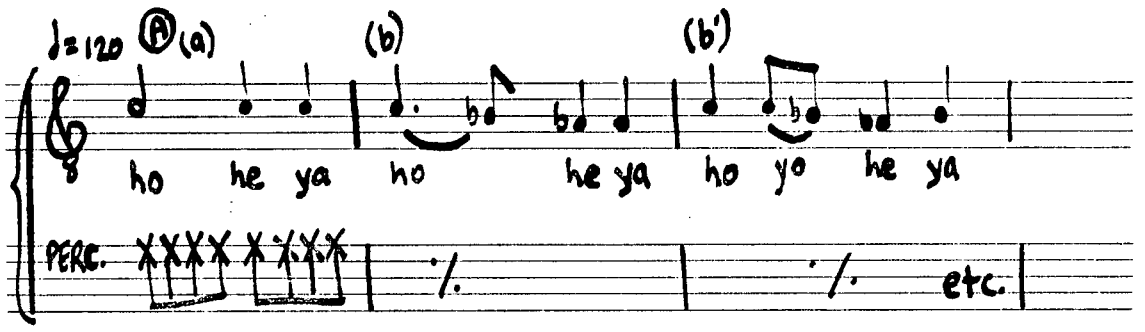
Song 1a (recorded in 1970) occurs in slightly different versions on three other occasions in the sample:

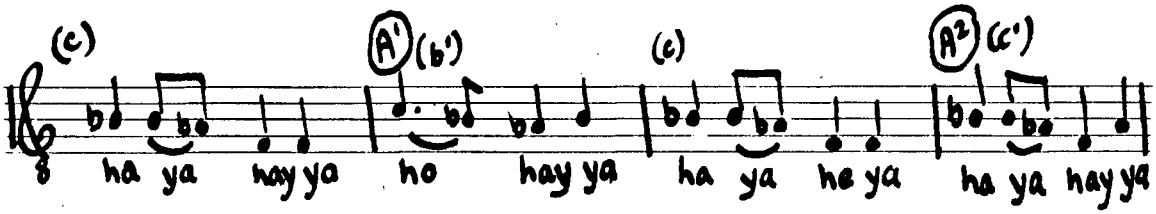
#34b - June, 1970 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

#100 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

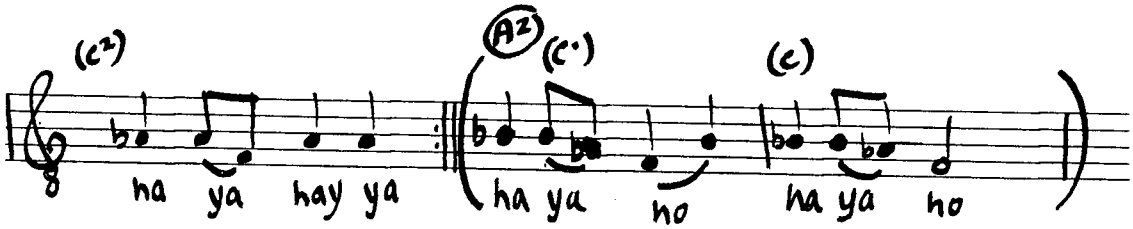
#114 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

2





(last bars changing to:)



Pitch: no appreciable change

Contour: descending

Melodic range: fifth

Scale: pentatonic without "sol" (from lowest - la, do, re, mi)

Form: A / A^1 / A^2 (A^2) The final two bars were changed by the players after several repetitions.
a+b b^1+c/ b^1+c/c^1+c^2 (c^1+c)

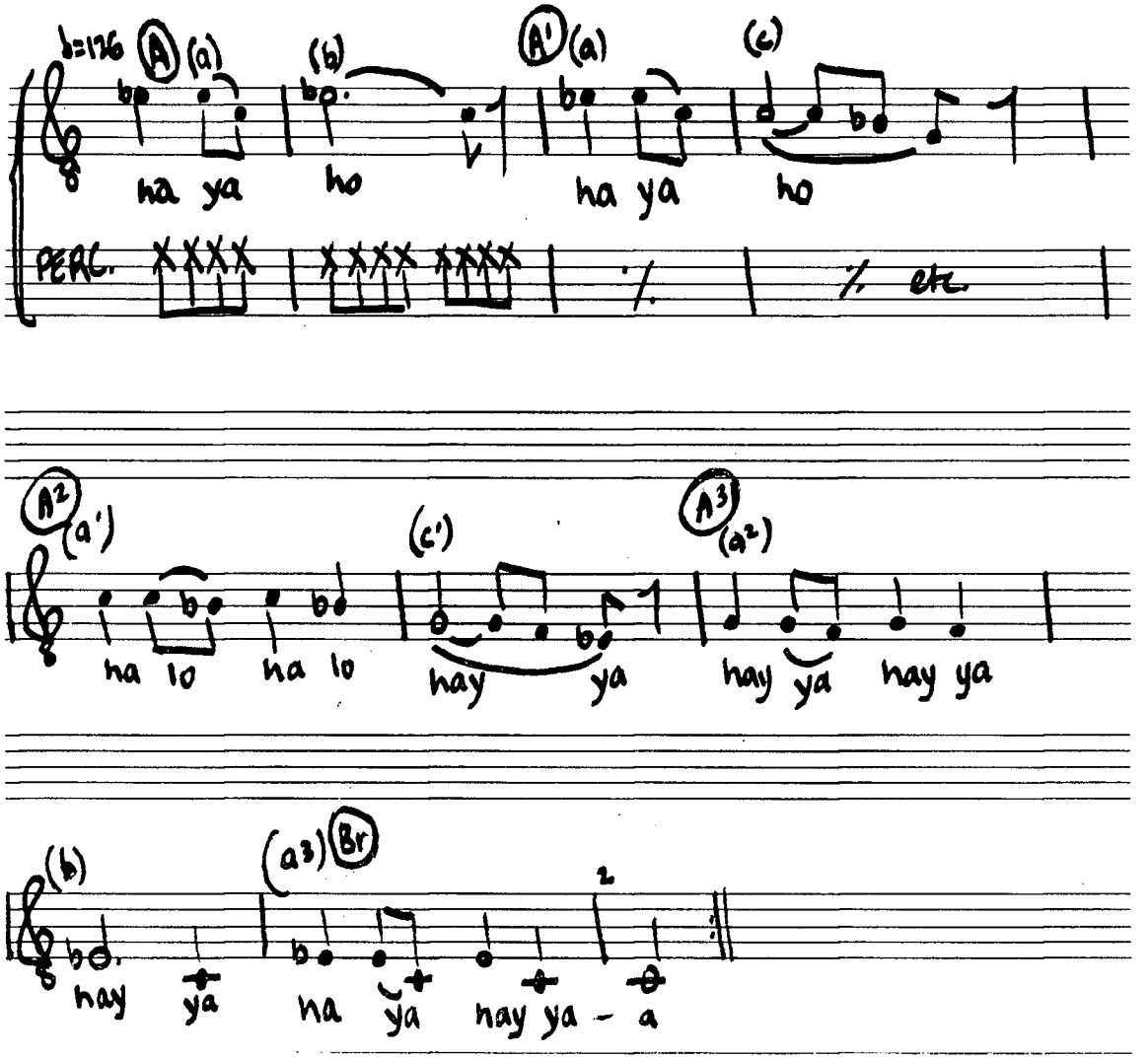
Song #2 (recorded 1970) occurs in slightly different versions on three other occasions in the sample:

#25 - June, 1970 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#47 - June, 1970 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

#161 - June, 1971 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

3



Pitch: rise of a semi-tone plus 20-30 cents from original pitch.

Contour: descending

Melodic range: tenth

Scale: pentatonic

Form: A /A^1 A^2 A^3 bridge
a+b/a+c/a^1+c^1/a^2+b/a^3

another use of sequences in a downward direction.

Polyphony: Some women are singing the same melody a fourth above.

Song #3 (recorded in 1970) occurs in slightly different versions on five other occasions in the sample:

#10 - June, 1970 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

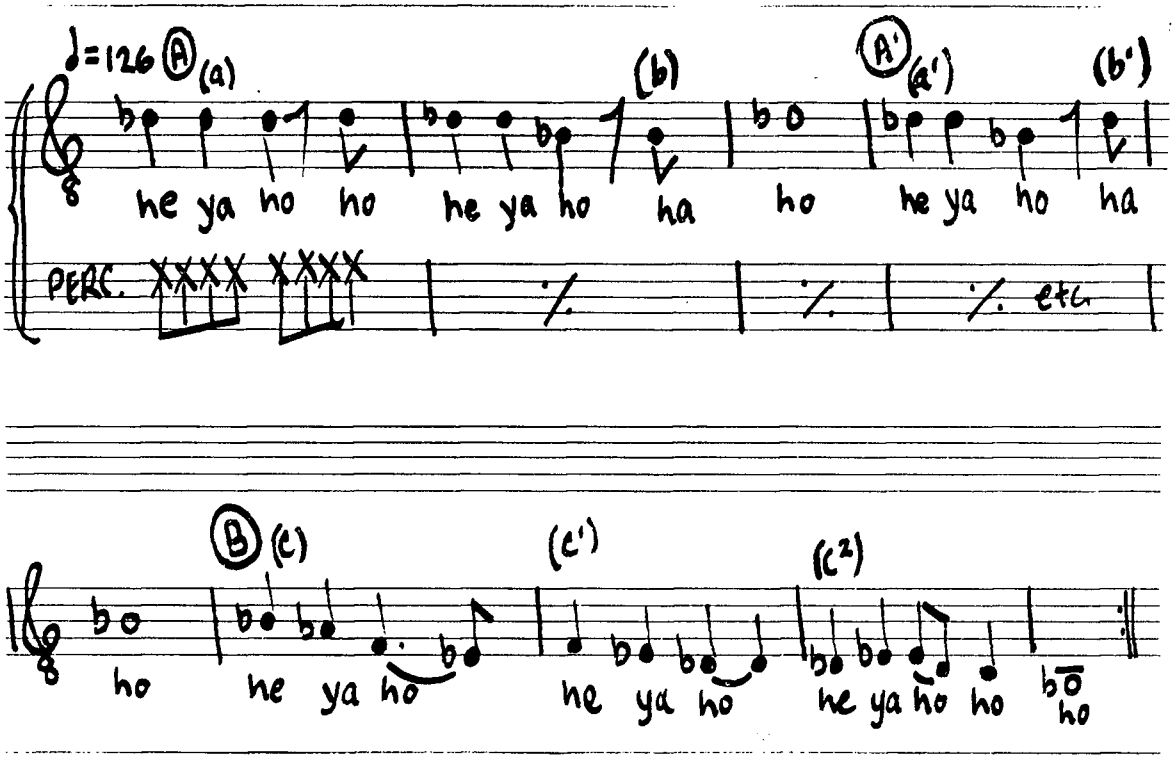
#29 - June, 1970 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

#33 - June, 1970 -- Lummi

#44 - June, 1970 -- Lummi

#70 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

4



Pitch: no appreciable pitch change, the interval in bar #2, begins as a major 3rd and settles into a minor third.

Contour: descending

Melodic range: tenth

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - la, do, re, mi, sol, la, do)

Form: A / A^1 / B
a+b/ a^1+b^1 / $c+c^1+c^2$
(shortened)

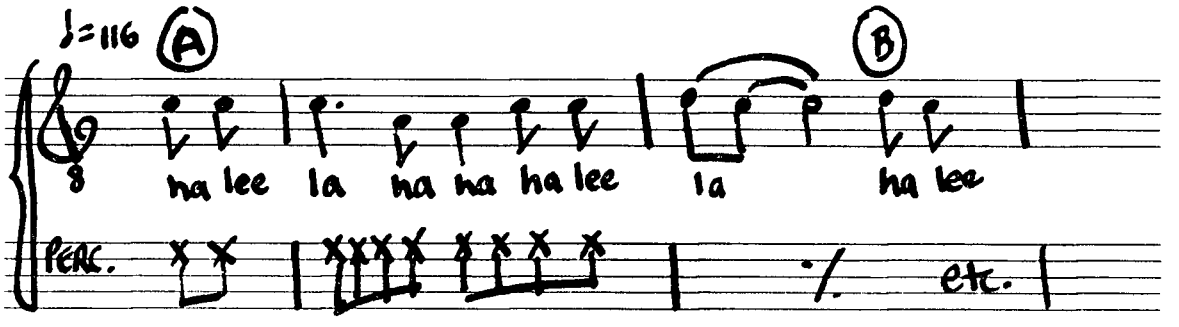
The 'c' motives are again, examples of the downward directed sequences.

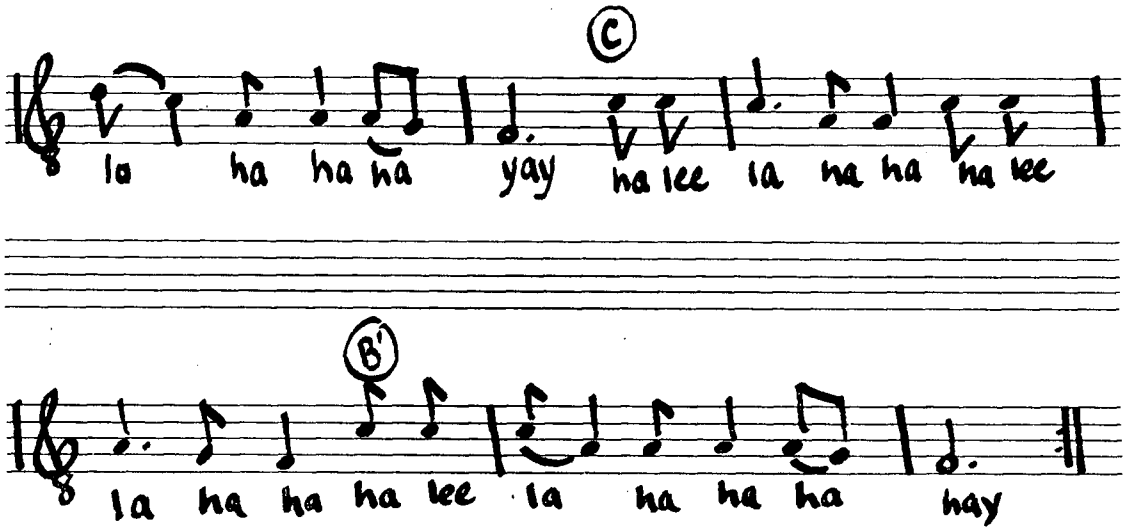
Song #4 occurs in slightly different versions on two other occasions in this sample:

#7 - June, 1970 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#30 - June, 1970 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

5





Pitch: begins approx. 70 cents higher than the notation indicates, rise of about 20 c during the repetitions

Contour: undulating between d^1 and b^1, then descending

Melodic range: sixth

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - do, re, mi, sol, la)

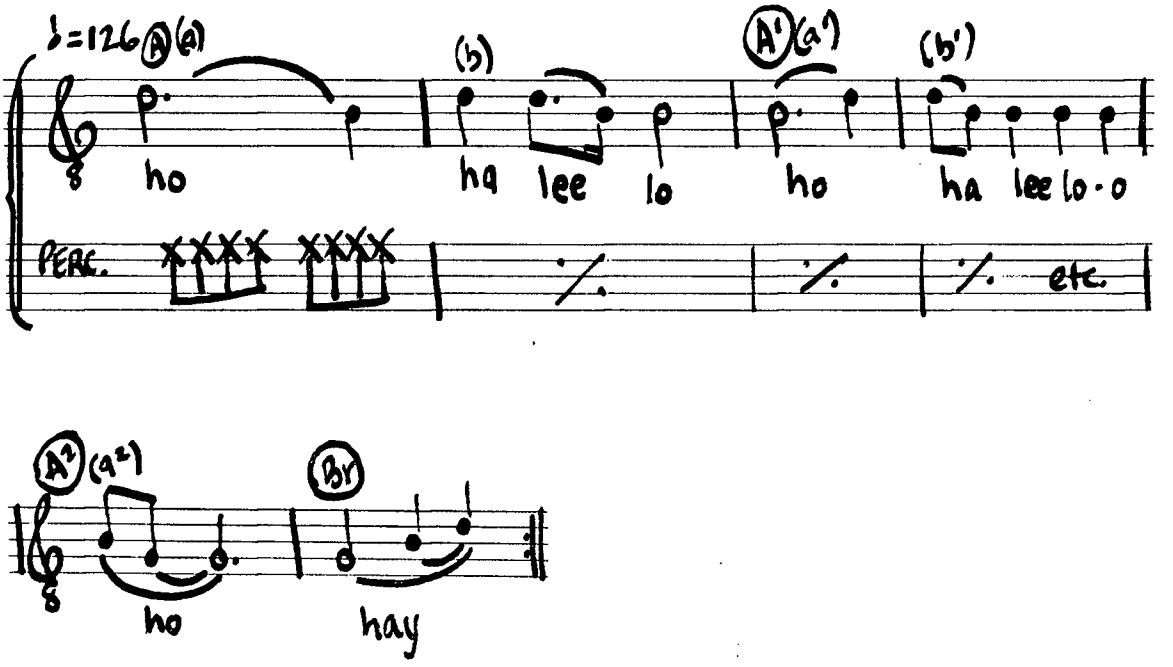
Form: A B C B^1

A and B phrases definitely complement one another, A is the question and B is the response. C is a small development using two sequential phrases, and B^1 ends the song in a very satisfying, cadential way.

Song #5 occurs once again in the sample:

#57 - June, 1970 -- Lummi Reserve, Washington

6



Pitch: 60-70 cents lower than notation indicates rise of approx. a semi-tone

Contour: descending

Melodic range: fifth

Scale: only three tones which seem to outline a major triad (from lowest - do, mi, so)

Form:

A	A^1	A^2	Bridge
a+b	a^1+b^1	a^2	

Song #6 (recorded in 1970) occurs in slightly different versions on six other occasions in the sample:

#31 - June, 1970 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

#59 - June, 1970 -- Lummi

#74 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#91 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

#95 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

#107 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

7

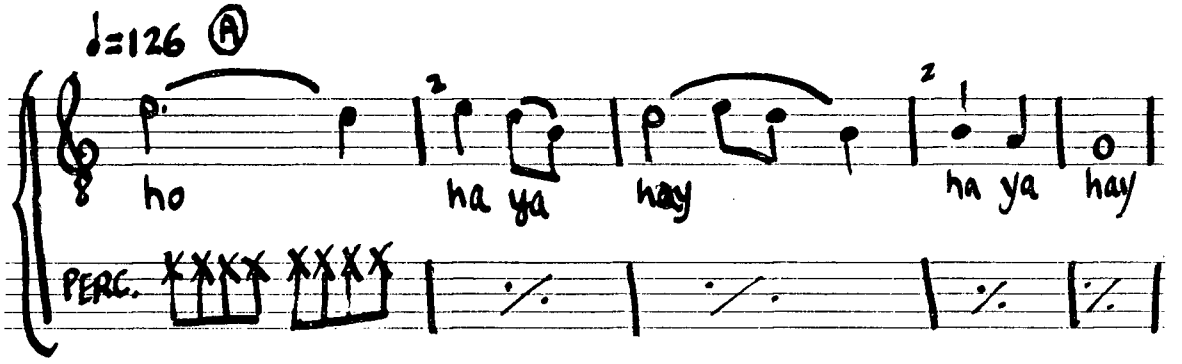
Song #7 is nearly identical to #4, excepting the following differences.

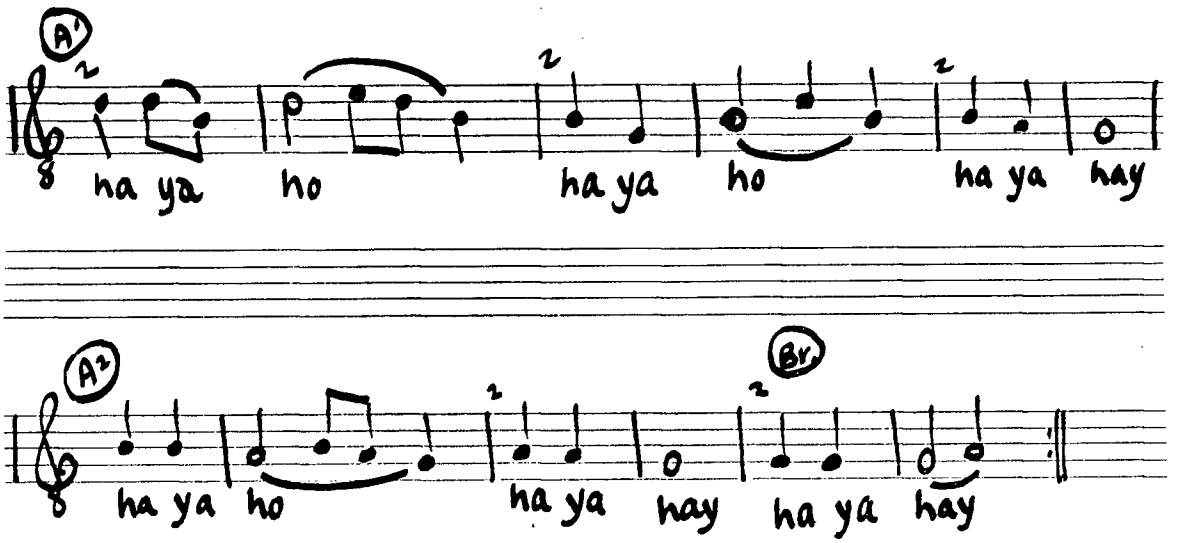
Pitch; begins on 'd', approximately a semi-tone higher than #4.

Polyphony: In this version, sung within an hour of #4, we find that the women, singing a fourth above the men, are producing the more prominent melody.

(See #4 for frequency of repetition)

8





Pitch: rise of a semi-tone

Contour: three descending phrases

Melodic range: sixth

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - do, re, mi, sol, la)

From: A A^1 A^2 Bridge

This song is especially interesting, formally, because each phrase ends in the same "ha ya hay" figure. The other interesting feature is the regular alternation between two and four-beat grouping.

Song #8 occurs in slightly different versions on four other

occasions in the sample:

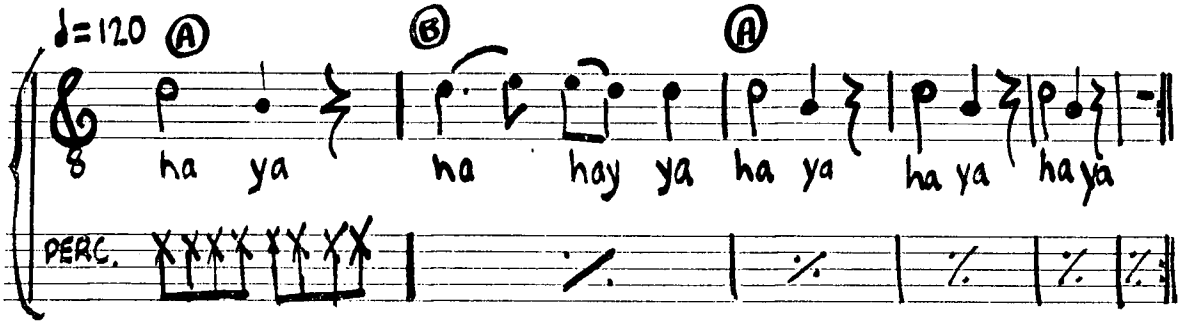
#38 - June, 1970 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

#90 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#104 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

#118 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

9



Pitch: approx. 80 cents lower than notation indicates, no significant pitch rise

Contour: descending

Melodie range: fourth

Scale: mi, sol and la only (from lowest)

Form: A B A plus two diminishing echoes of "A"

Polyphony: two parts of equal prominence. What appears in the transcription is the men's voices; the women are singing a fourth higher.

A similar version of #9 occurs in June, 1970 at the Lummi Reserve, Wash. (Song #55).

10

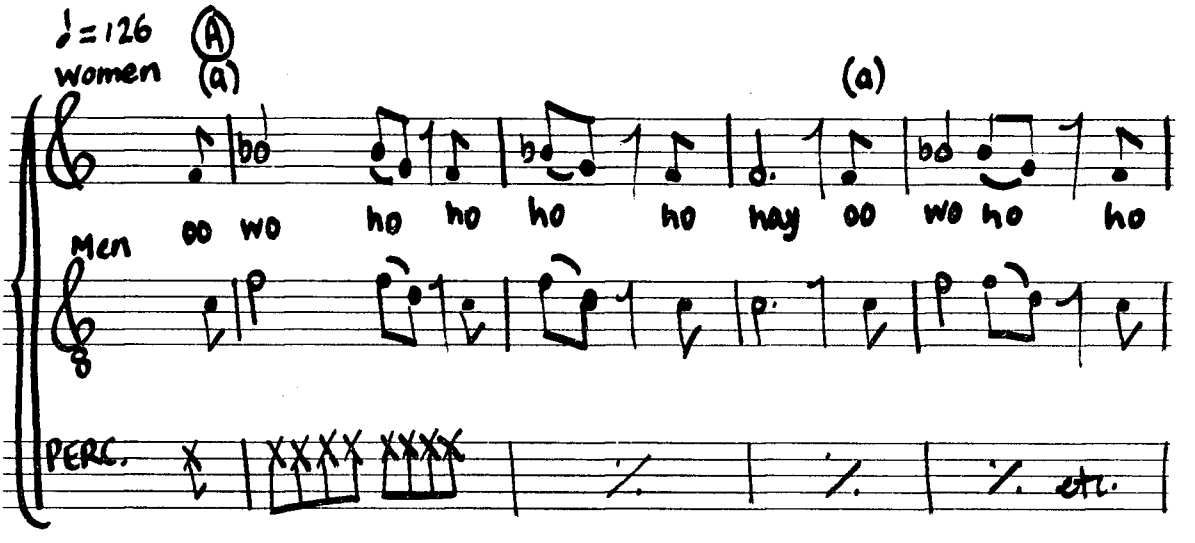
Song #10 is nearly identical to #3 excepting the following differences:

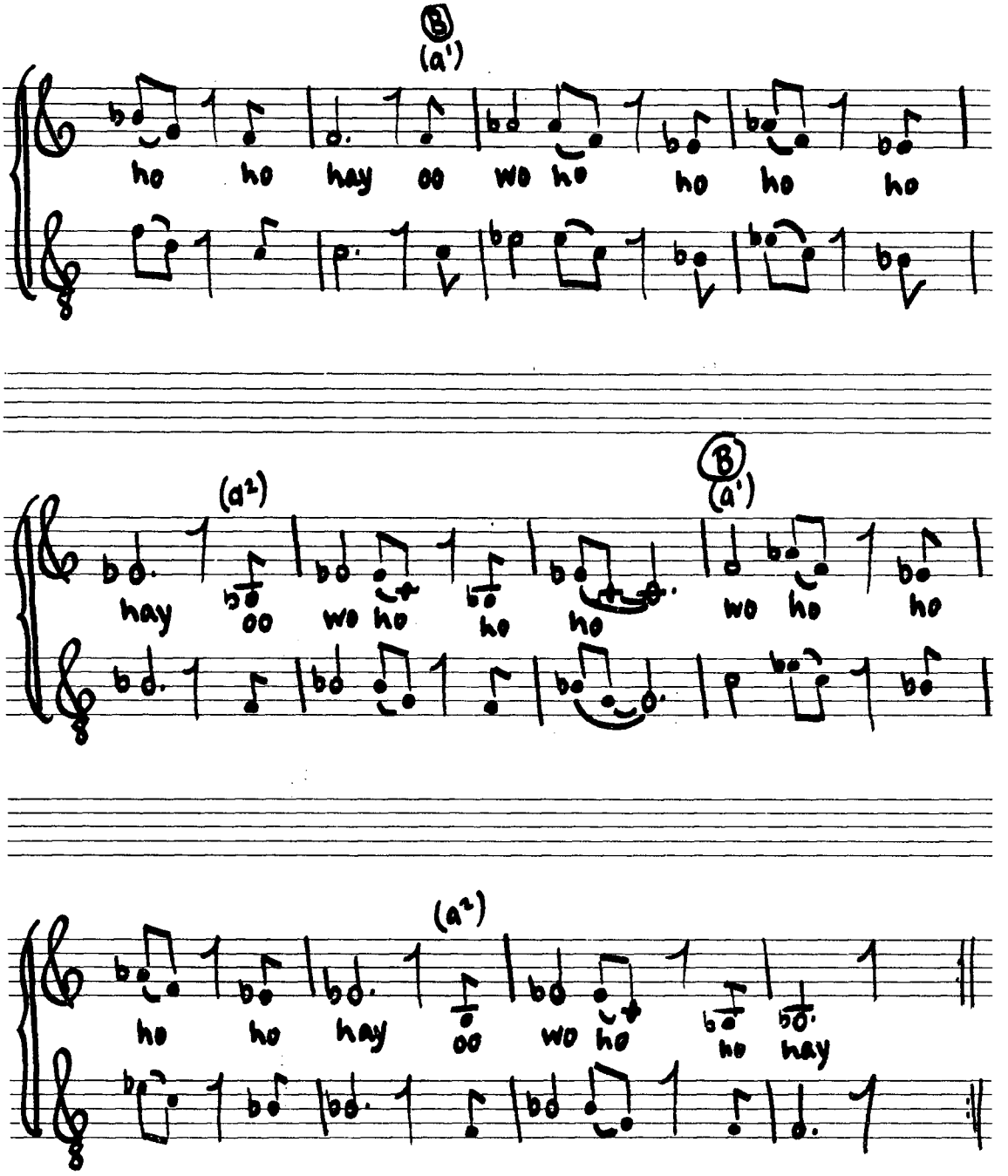
Pitch: begins at the same pitch as #3, but in this case the pitch rises a semi-tone plus about 40-50 c -- a small difference.

Polyphony: none, in contrast to #3

(See #3 for frequency of repetition)

11





Pitch: rise of a semi-tone

Contour: descending

Melodic range: octave

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - re, mi, sol, la, do, re)

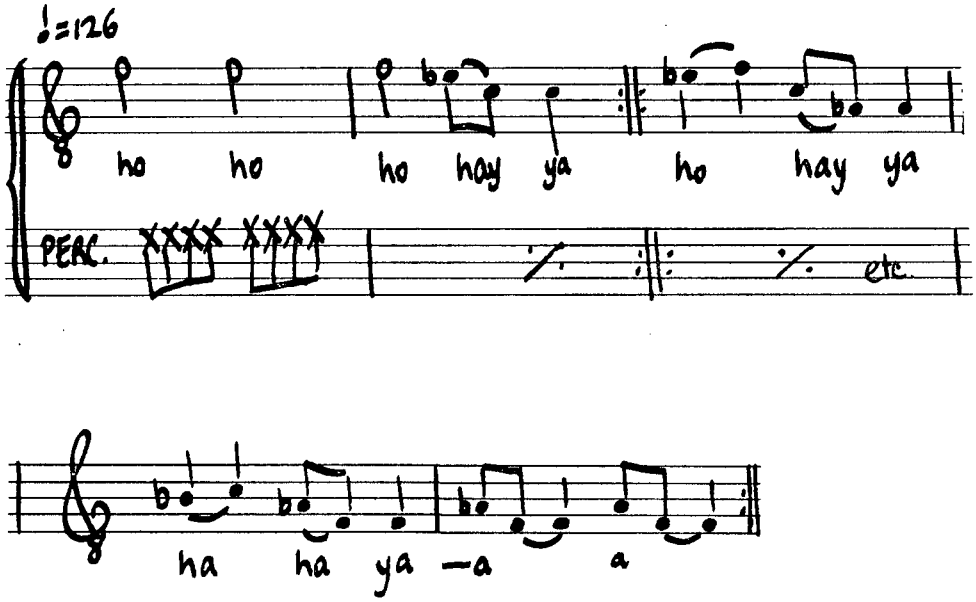
Form:

A	B	B
a+a	a^1+a^2	a^1+a^2

Polyphony: The men began the song and the women proceeded to take over, a fourth above. This is probably because the song goes below a comfortable pitch for the men involved. Consequently, the women, a fourth above, predominate in the lowest sections ("a^2") and are at least equally strong throughout the rest of the piece.

A similar version of #11 occurs in June, 1971 at Cultus Lake B.C. (87).

12



Pitch: A semi-tone rise had already occurred (to f#) when the situation became confused. Apparently, a leading singer forgot to repeat the "B" section and continued on to the beginning of the song. The result was musical chaos for a few seconds until a new leader emerged and began this same song again -- this time a whole-tone below where his predecessor had left off -- and we find ourselves on "e".

Contour: descending

Melodic range: octave

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - la, do, re, mi, sol, la)

Form: see M2

The difference, note-wise, between this song and M2 is the final bar -- otherwise they are the same. (See M2 for the frequency of repetition in the entire sample.)

13

This song is nearly identical to M1, excepting the following differences:

Pitch: semi-tone rise

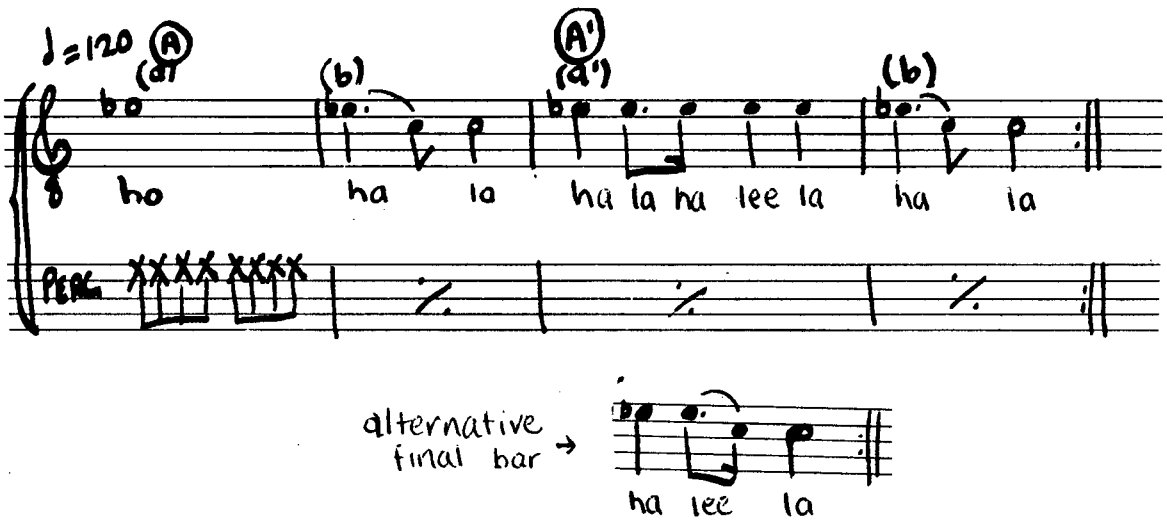
M.M.: ♩ =126

Polyphony: Several women were singing a fourth above the men. The difficulty arose when they augmented that interval to

a tritone. The men seemed perturbed about the clashes and shortly thereafter, someone changed the song, the same side continuing to mix the bones and sing.

(See M1 for the frequency of repetition.)

14



Pitch: no appreciable change

Contour: descending

Melodic range: minor third

Scale: only two tones - "sol" and "mi," or "do" and "la"

Form: A A^{1}
a+b a^{1}b

Song #26 (Cultus Lake, June, 1970) is very similar to, although surely not to be considered the same as, this song.

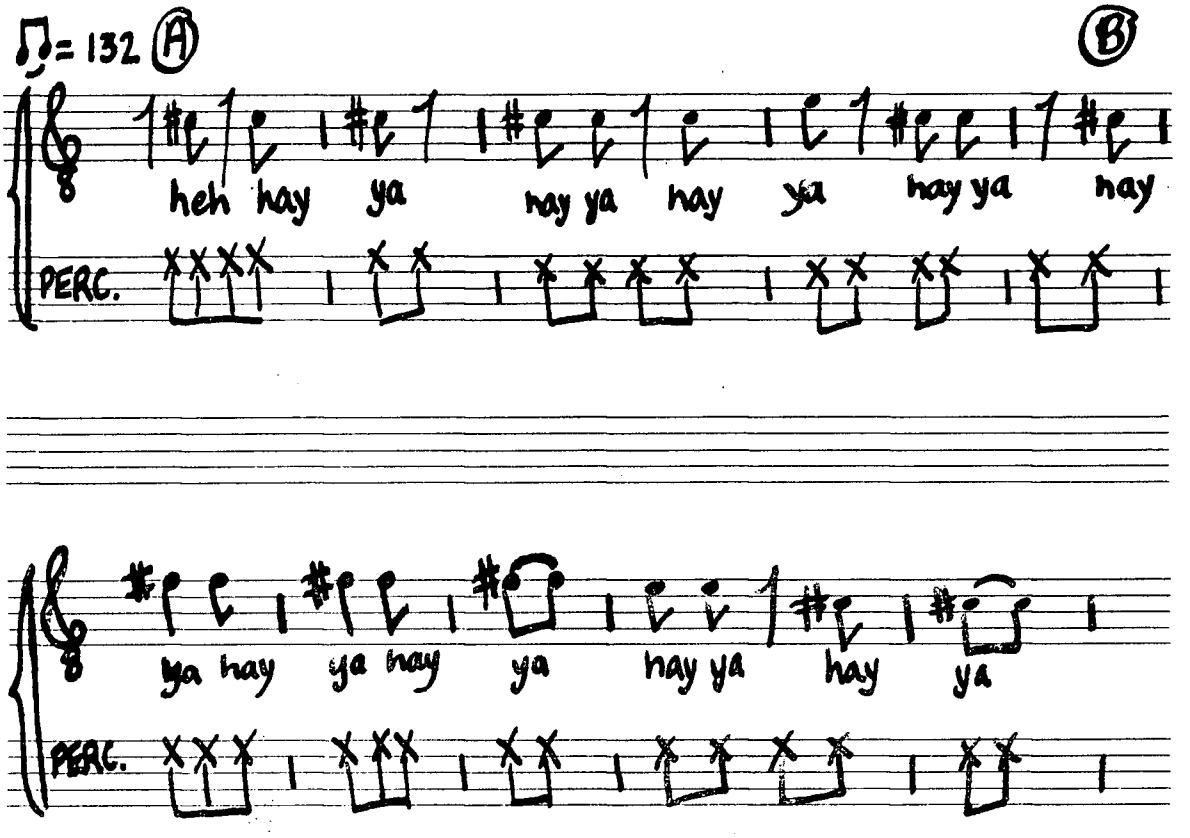
15

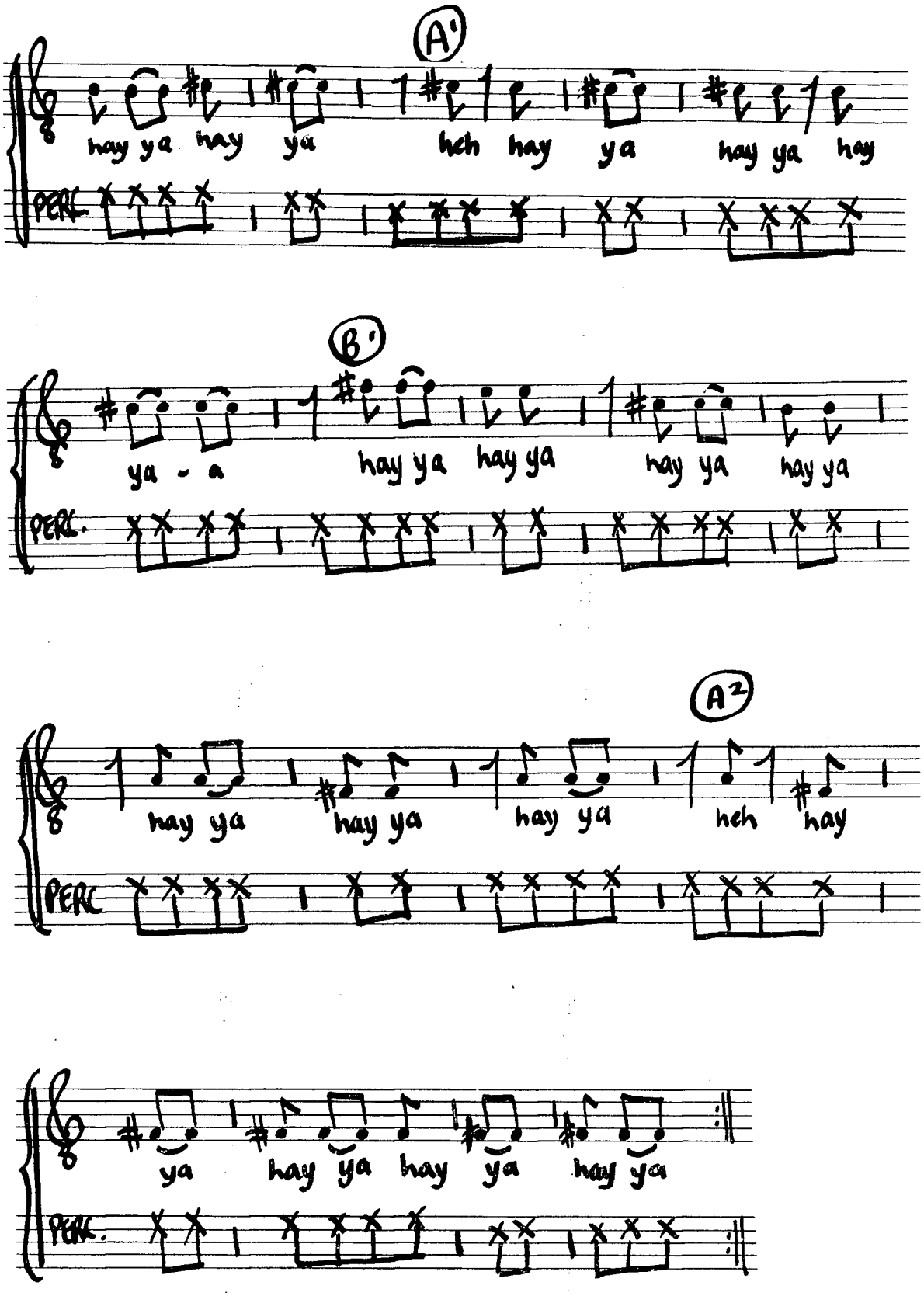
Song #15 is nearly identical to M4 excepting the following differences:

Pitch: #15 begins on e-flat, a semi-tone lower than M4. A pitch rise of approximately one semi-tone plus 20 cents has occurred by the end of the piece.

(See M4 for the frequency of repetition.)

16




A'
hay ya hay ya heh hay ya hay ya hay
PERC
B'
ya - a hay ya hay ya hay ya hay ya
PERC.
A2
hay ya hay ya hay ya heh hay
PERC
ya hay ya hay ya hay ya
PERC.

Pitch: a pitch-rise of approximately 20 cents

Contour: descending

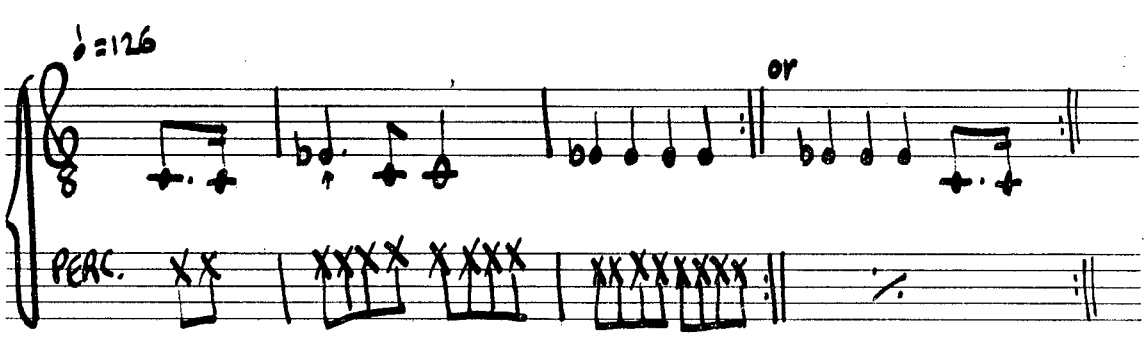
Melodic range; octave

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - la, do, re, mi, sol, la)

Form: A B A^1 B^1 A^2 -- The A sections may be characterized as stationary (pitch-wise) and syncopated, while the B sections leap and move downward, according to the pentatonic scale.

This song, most definitely, does not conform to those we have seen thus far. The rhythm is far more complicated and the vocal quality is slightly different. I brought the song to Mr. Louis Miranda who confirmed my suspicions. The song is not a Salish gambling song, but a song belonging to the Yakima group (Yakima,Washington) who were present at Cultus Lake, B.C. Uncle Louie was positive this song was not sung by "our boys". Also, in his opinion, the Yakimas do not know how to sing properly: "they use those shrieky voices."

17

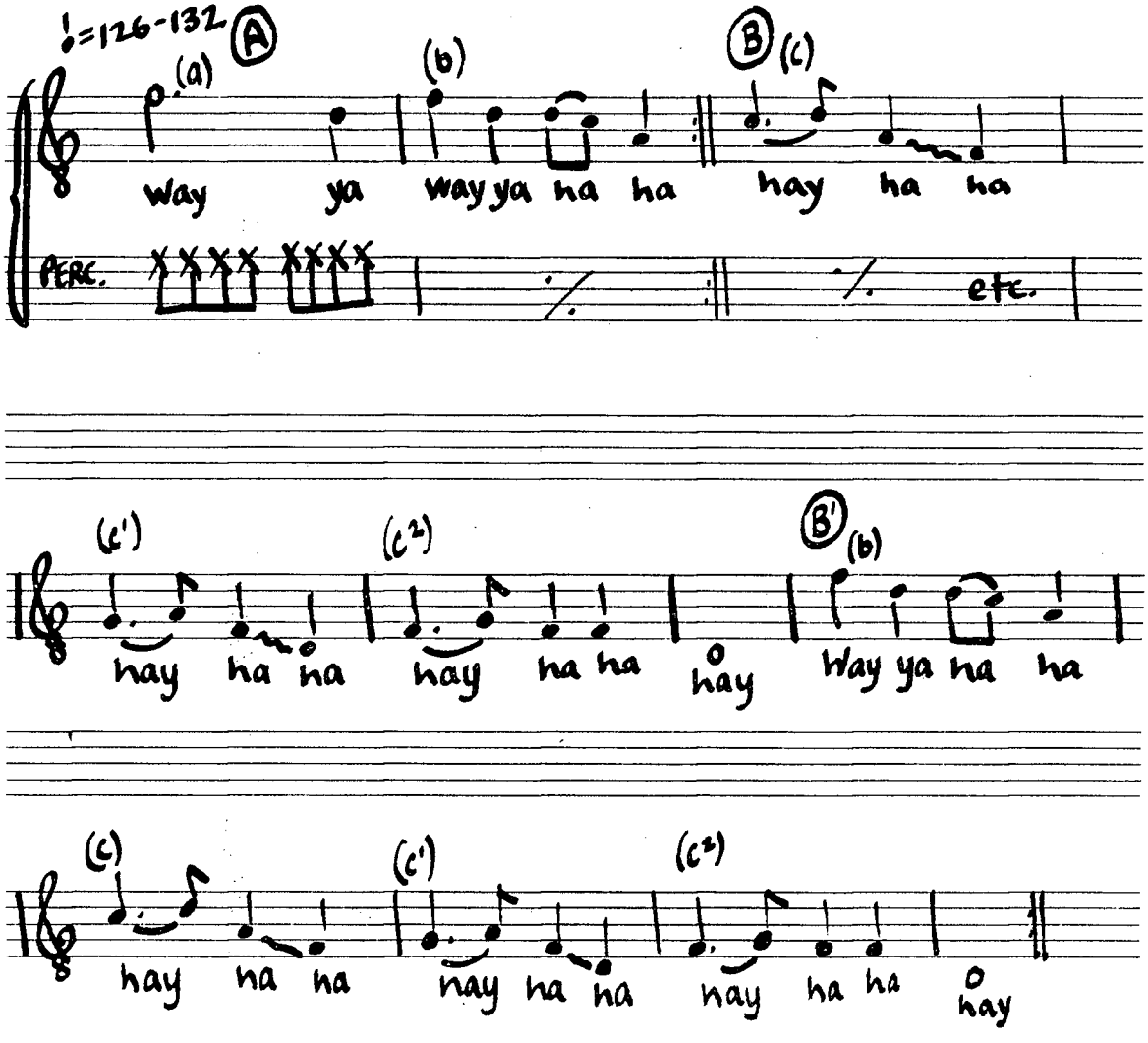


This rendition of the following song includes a variety of versions. One is identical to #M6. The other two are notated above:

Polyphony: Toward the end, several men begin singing a third below the others. This effort at "harmony" definitely feels like "dressing-up" a rather dull and uninteresting song.

(See M6 for frequency of repetition.)

18



Pitch: pitch rise of about 70 cents

Contour: descending

Melodic range: tenth

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - la, do, re, mi, sol, la, do)

Form:

A	A	B	B^1
a+b	a+b	$c+c^1+c^2$	$b+c+c^1+c^2$

Another interesting use of falling melodic sequences.

Polyphony: a few attempts were made by several women, singing a fourth above and then later, a third above the men. Neither one was sustained for any length of time.

Song #18 (recorded 1970) occurs in slightly different versions on twelve other occasions in this sample:

#62 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#73 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

#76 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

#92 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

#115 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

#121 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

#126 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

#138 - June, 1971 -- Lummi Reserve, Washington

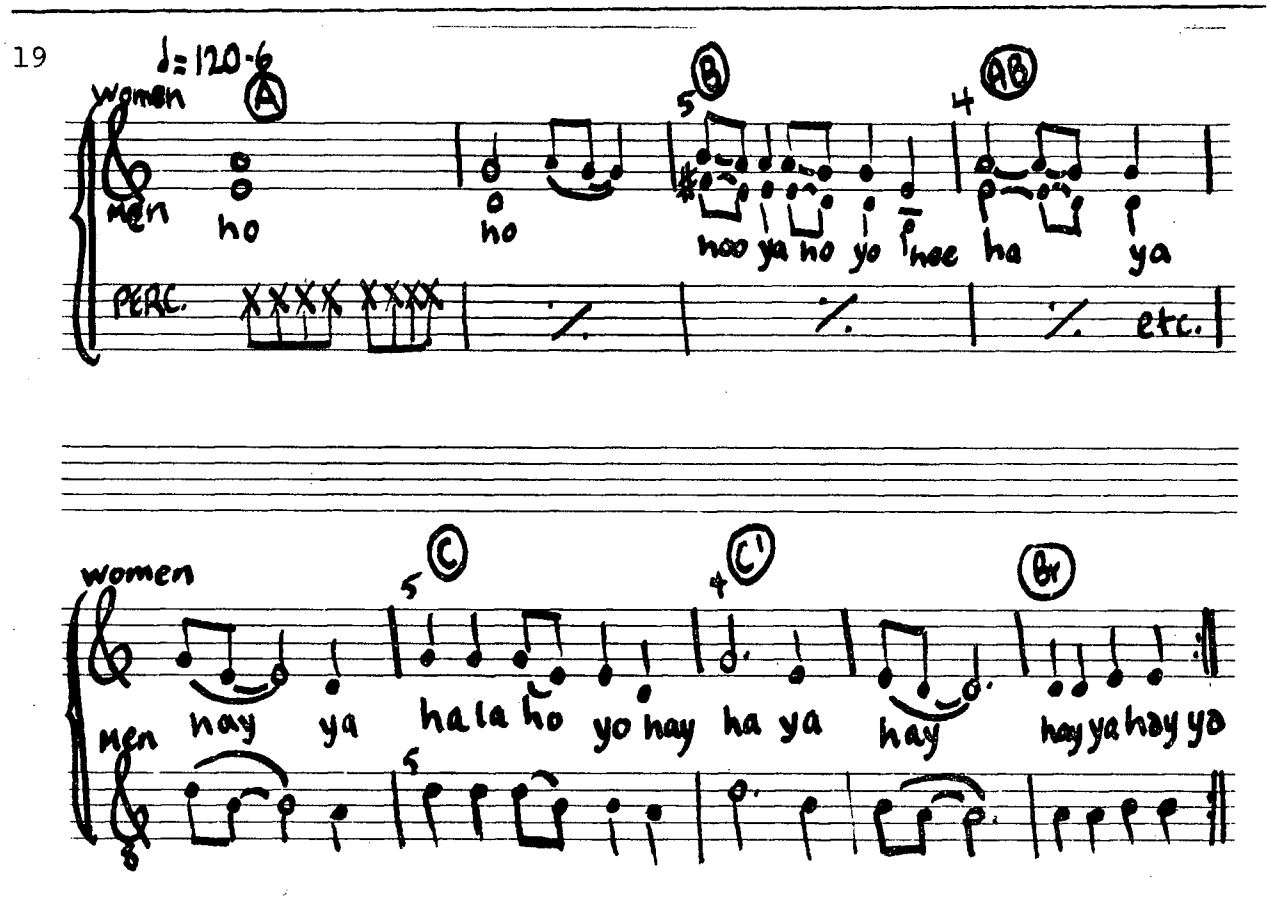
#151 - June 20, 1971 -- Lummi

#177 - June 20, 1971 -- Lummi

#181 - June 20, 1971 -- Lummi

#183 - June 20, 1971 -- Lummi

A comparison of these versions reveals that the same song has a different number of beats from version to version, each equally acceptable. In other words, a different number of falling sequences are used and the melodic range is accordingly wider or narrower. The missing link, so to speak, in this chain, is that there is a direct correlation between the starting pitch and the number of sequences used: the higher the pitch the more sequences and the wider the range, conversely when the starting pitch is lower, there are fewer sequences and a narrower range. This phenomenon was corroborated by several informants and is apparently quite commonplace.



Pitch: small pitch rise, perhaps 10-20 cents

Contour: descending

Melodic range: sixth

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - sol, la, do, re, mi)

Form: A B AB C C^1 Bridge

Polyphony: The women are singing a fourth above the men and prove to be the stronger of the two groups.

Song #19 (recorded in 1970) occurs in slightly different versions on three other occasions:

#75 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#83 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#134 - June, 1971 -- Lummi Reserve, Washington

20

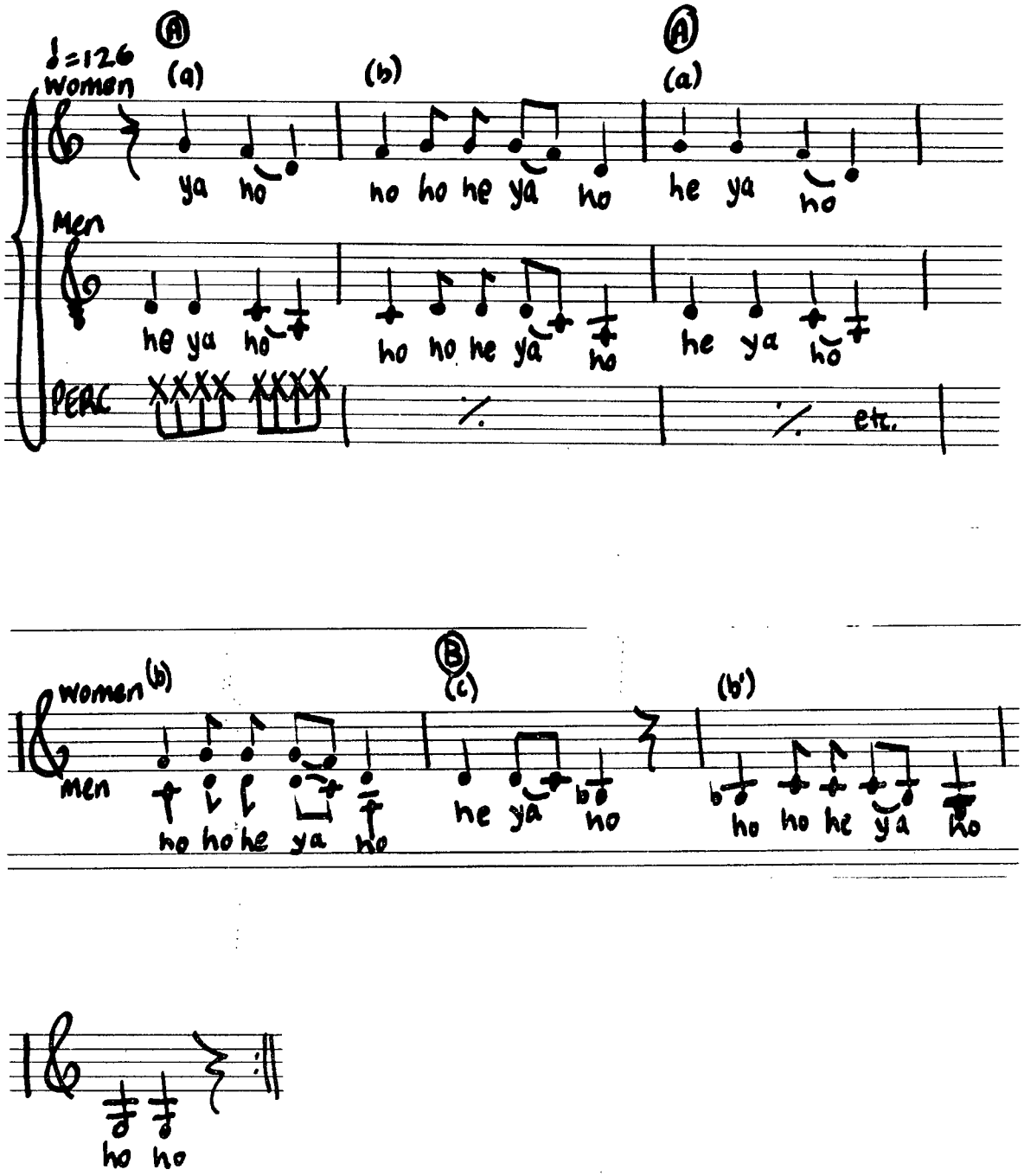
This song is nearly identical to M4, excepting the following differences:

Pitch: sung a semi-tone plus fifty cents higher than M4

This version has a twenty cent rise in pitch.

(See M4 for frequency of repetition.)

21


♩=126
Women
Men
Perc.
(a)
(b)
(a)
ya ho
ho ho he ya ho
he ya ho
he ya ho
ho ho he ya ho
he ya ho
etc.
Women
Men
(b)
(c)
(b')
ho ho he ya ho
he ya ho
ho ho he ya ho
ho ho

Pitch: sung approx. 50 c higher than indicated in notation.
Pitch rise of about 50-60 cents.

Contour: descending

Melodic range: octave

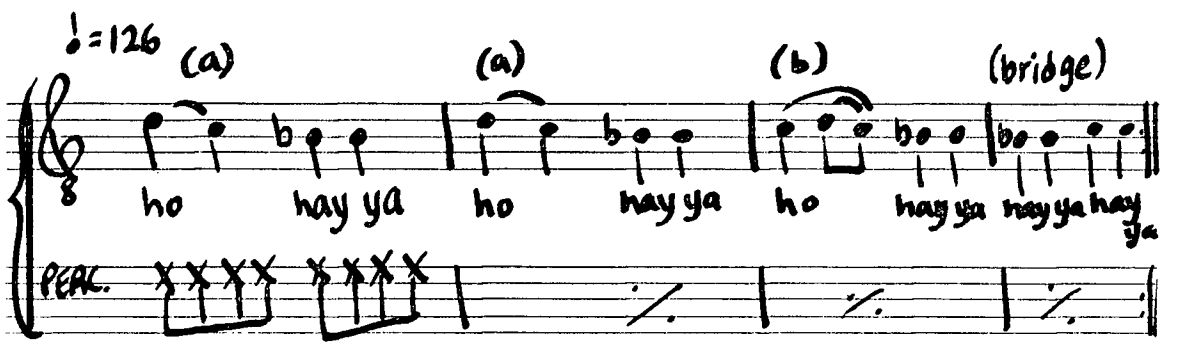
Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - la, do, re, mi, sol, la)

Form: A A B
a+b a+b c+b[1]

Polyphony: The men begin this song and the women add the upper fourth. However, the 'B' section is quite overpowered by the women; the men (the lower fourth) are hardly heard at all. The piece has gone too low and is out of the men's comfortable range.

At one point in the recording all of the singers stop completely. We may assume that the other side has made their guess. Then the same song continues only with a bit more energy and enthusiasm. Several renditions later, the song ends.

22



Pitch: no appreciable change

Contour: descending

Melodic range: major third

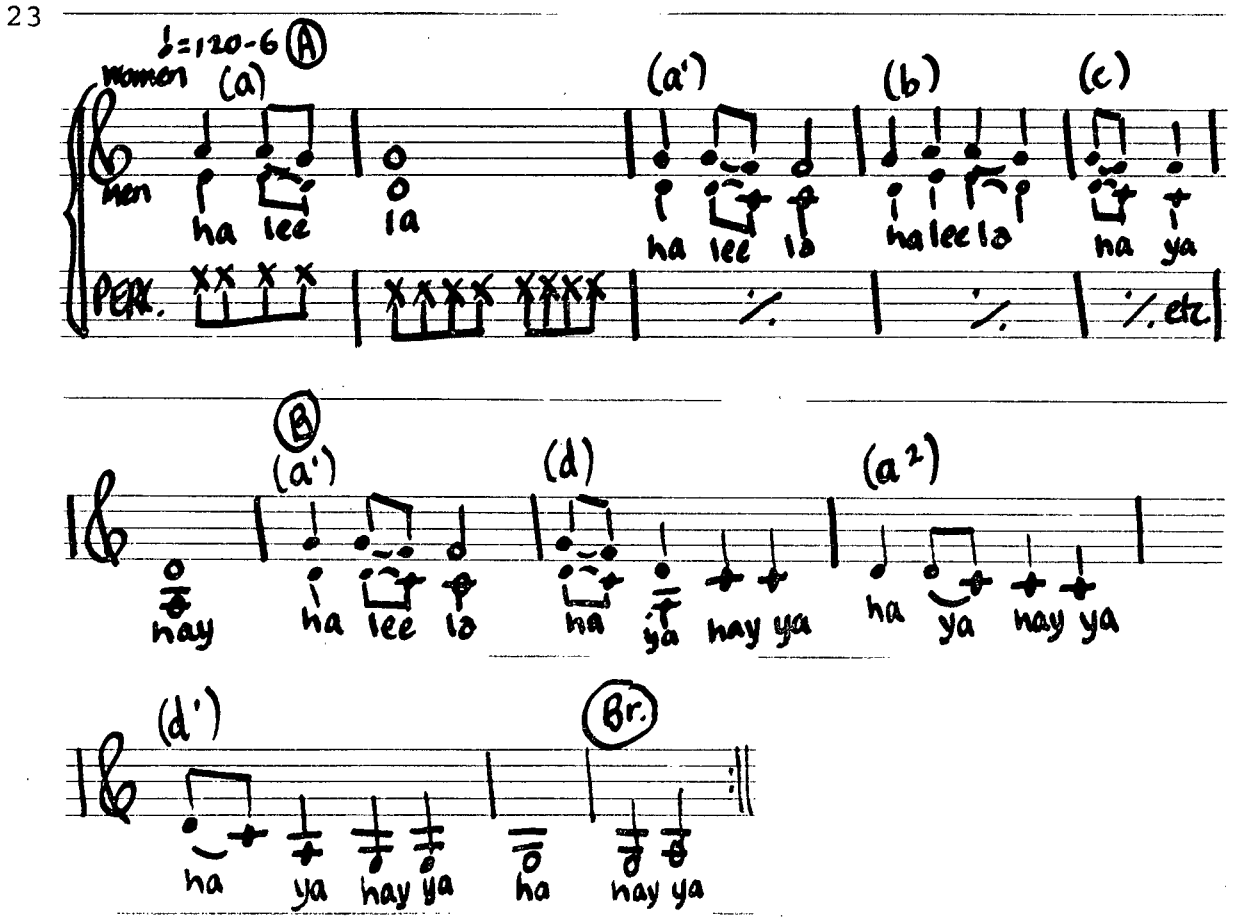
Scale: only three tones "do, re, mi."

Form: a a b bridge

Song #22 (recorded in 1970 occurs in slightly different versions on two other occasions in this sample:

#125 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#149 - June, 1971 -- Lummi Reserve, Washington.



Pitch: Pitch rise of a semi-tone plus approx. 20-30 cents. This is due, in part, to a gradual rise and in part, to several abrupt attempts on the part of the men. It seems that some women started this song in a vocal range which was too low for the men. Consequently, there were several attempts to raise the pitch of this song.

Contour: descending

Melodic range: ninth

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - re, mi, sol, la, do, re, mi)

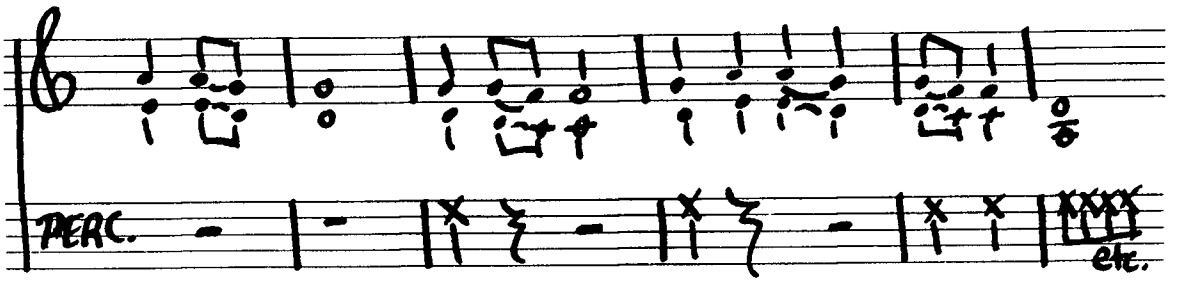
Form:

A				/	B		/ Bridge
a	a^1	b	c	/ a^1d	a^2	d^1	/

again, we see the use of falling sequential patterns.

Polyphony: The women (the higher part) are clearly the predominant voice. As the sequences bring the song lower and lower. The men eventually drop out altogether until the return to the beginning.

Percussion: As a result of the confusion caused by the men, trying to raise the pitch, the song begins to break down. (5th + 6th repetition). In an effort to unify the singers (beginning of the 7th repetition), one man stands up and leads the following drum pattern:



Song #23 (recorded 1970) occurs in slightly different versions on four other occasions in this sample:

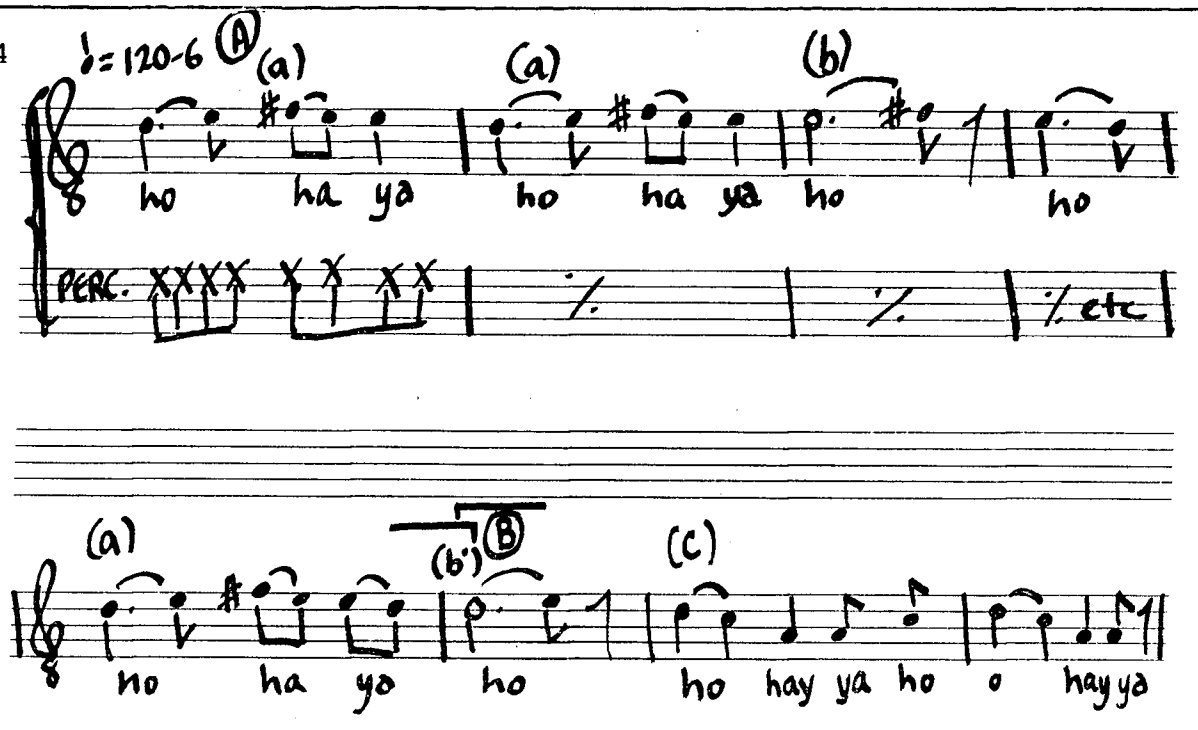
#93 - June, 1971 - Cultus Lake, B.C.

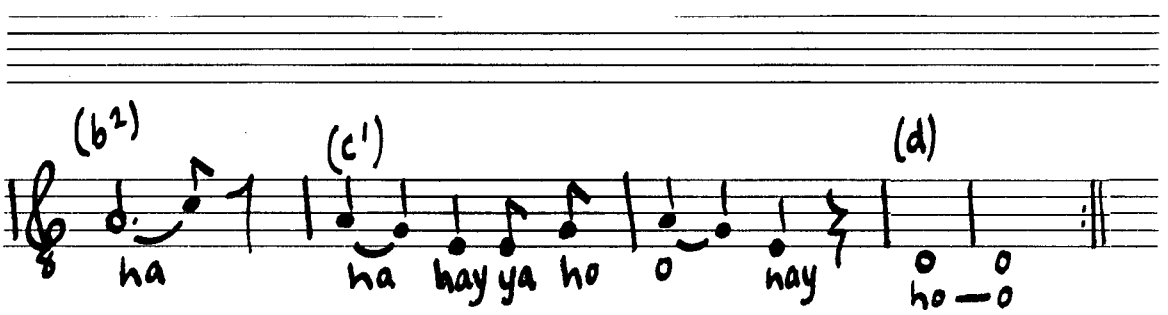
#120 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#135 - June 19, 1971 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

#164 - June 20, 1971 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

24





Pitch: sung approx. 70 cents lower than notation indicates. At one point, the song actually reaches 'd' (70 c rise) but the group proceeds to bring it down again. The pitch, then, slightly, approx. 30 cents.

Contour: descending

Melodic range: tenth

Form: $\overset{\overset{B}{\overline{\qquad\qquad}}}{/\overset{A}{\overline{a+a+b+a+b^{1}}}/+c+b^{2}+c^{1}+d/}$

use of falling sequential pattern. Interesting use of overlapping phrases.

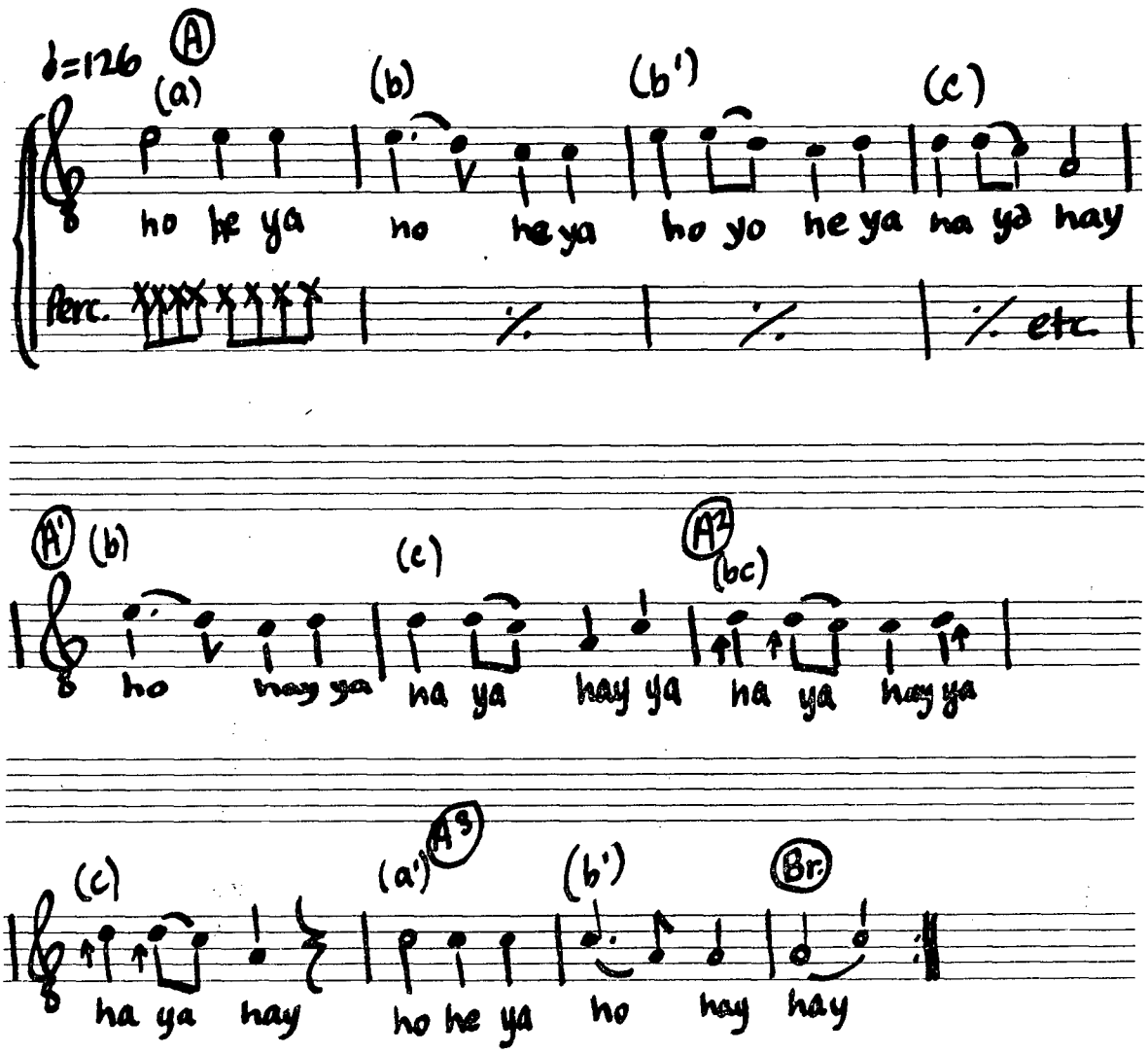
Scale: This song, strangely enough, appears to be in two different scales. Phrase "A" uses "do," "re" and "mi," or the first three scale degrees of either a major scale or a pentatonic scale. The "B" phrase begins where "A" has just cadenced and the "d" or "do" is transformed into the "re" of a pentatonic scale. (from lowest - re, mi, sol, la, do, re, mi

Song #24 occurs in slightly different versions on two other occasions in this sample:

#68 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#81 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

25



This song is very similar to #2. Note the following differences:

Pitch: A major third higher. Pitch rise of approx. 30 cents.

M.M.: slightly faster than #2.

Form: 1) #25 is three bars longer than #2.

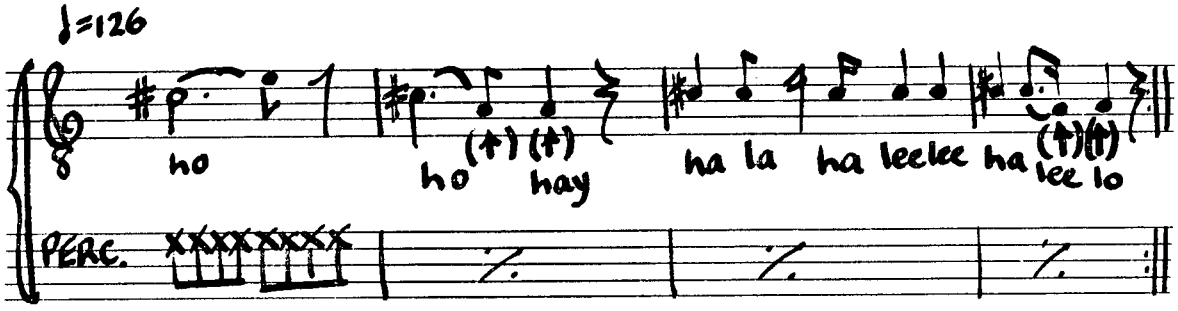
2) #25 uses the "second variation" found at the end of #2.

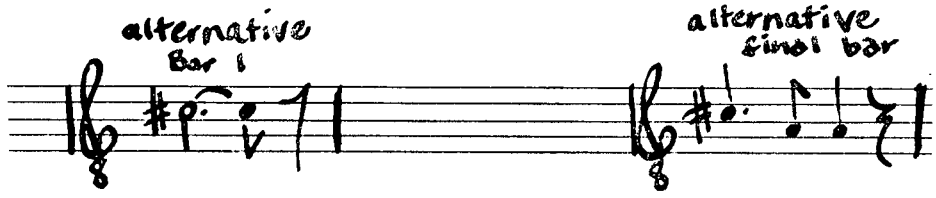
The form, then, is:

A / A^1 / A^2 / A^3 / Bridge
a+b, b^1+c/ b+c / bc+c / a^1+b^1/

Note the use of the slightly augmented major second in the A^2 phrase, as indicated by the arrow (↑).

26





This song is similar to #14 in certain respects:

1) same length

2) constructed of very similar rhythmic patterns and variations within those patterns.

The differences are as follows:

Pitch: rise of approx. 50 cents and then a "mutiny" of sorts

occurs. The pitch is pulled down by a semitone plus 50 cents -- the starting note is now 'c'. Between this point and when the song is discontinued, there is another pitch rise, a semitone.

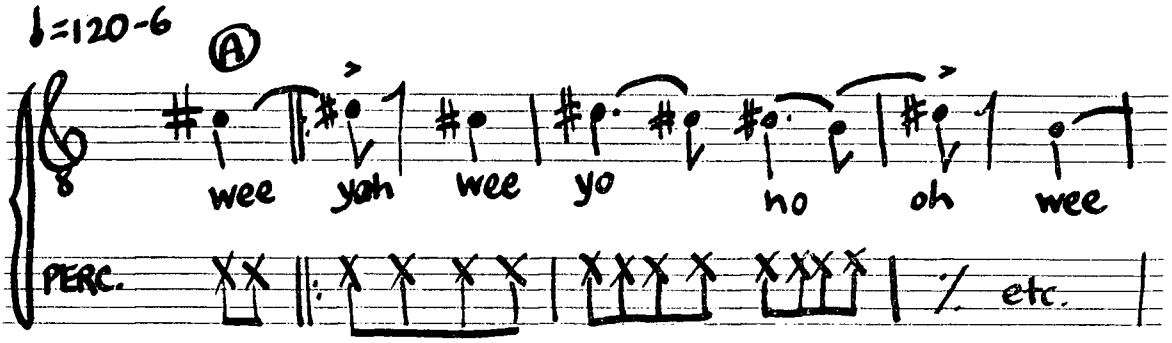
Melodic range: fifth

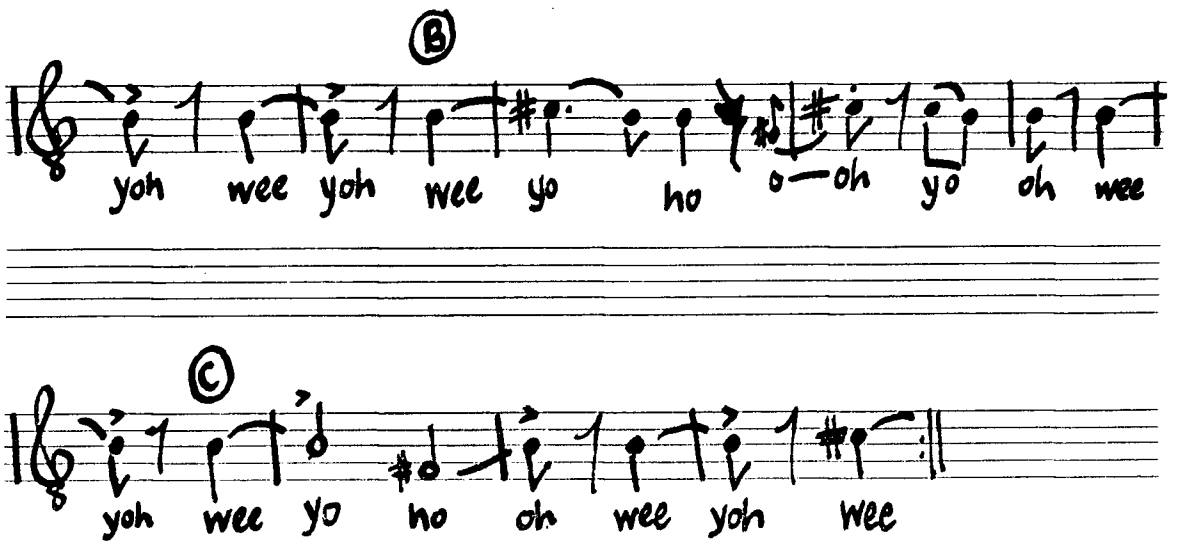
Scale: Three tones -- "do," "mi," and "sol", However, the song begins with the "mi-do" interval being less than a major third, in other words, a neutral third. This interval widens, however, and after several renditions begins to sound like a major third.

Form: This piece is a good example of what you might call "the self-variation technique." This phenomenon occurs in the case of a dull, uninteresting piece which requires constant internal variation in order to remain energetic and spirited, and serve its function. This piece particularly demonstrates constant rhythmic change, but of course, within a recognizable framework.

STOMMISH GAMES, LUMMI RESERVE, Gooseberry Point,Wash., June, 1970

27





Pitch: rise of a semi-tone

Contour: undulating

Melodic range: sixth

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - sol, la, do, re, mi)

Form: A, B, C

The piece begins and each phrase ends with the same motive, certainly a unifying feature of the piece.

Polyphony: One lone female voice sings a fifth above the other singers, and, with occasional lapses.

Song #27 occurs in slightly different versions on six other

occasions in this sample:

#39 - June, 1970 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

#53 - June, 1970 -- Lummi

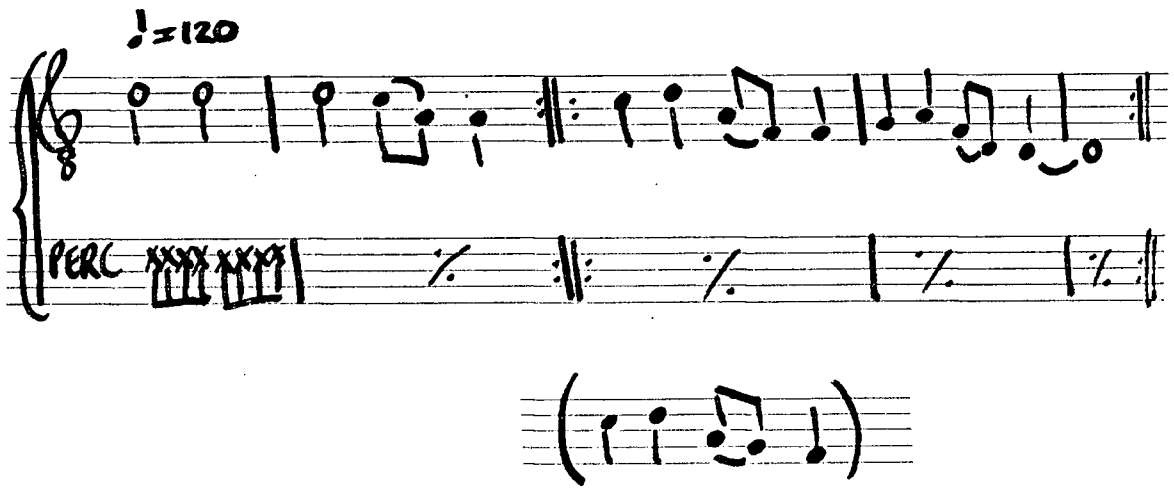
#65 - June, 1970 -- Lummi

#106 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#162 - June, 1971 -- Lummi

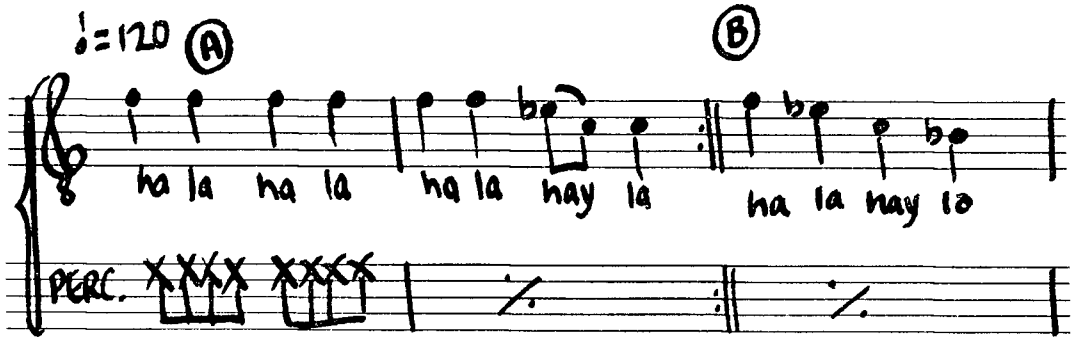
#168 - June, 1971 -- Lummi

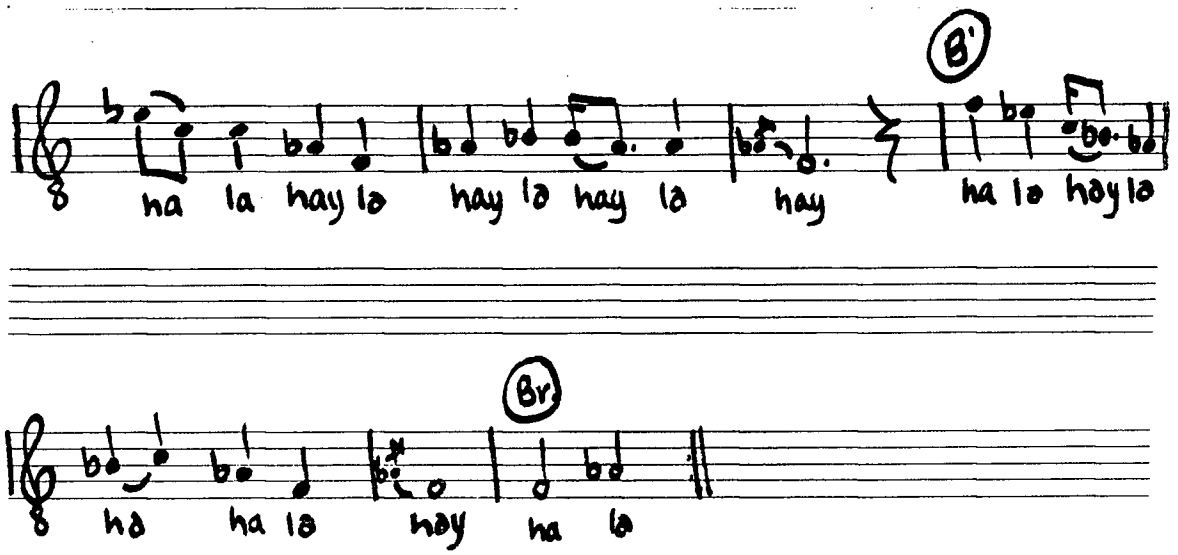
28a



As this song begins one can identify it as being very similar to #M2 and #12. After three repetitions, however, another individual takes over, raises the pitch and begins to lead the others in what is obviously a variation on what has come before.

28b





The variation is short-lived, however, because the leader confuses the "B" section with the "B^1" section. The other players sense the confusion and another individual comes forth to begin a new song.

Pitch: 20 cents below the pitch indicated in notation. No appreciable change.

Contour: descending

Melodic range: octave

Scale: pentatonic - (from lowest - la, do, re, mi, sol, la)

Form: A, A, B, B^1, Bridge

Both 28a and 28b bear resemblance to M2, 1 and 12. However,

28a is closer to M2 and 12, and 28b, from a melodic point of view, is much closer to #1, although the latter, formally is tied to 28a, M2 and 12 (form: A A BB' Bridge). Perhaps it is easier, now, to understand and compare the variations which occur within the framework of one piece. And each of the fourteen versions listed under M2 have something new to offer although something quite familiar as well.

29

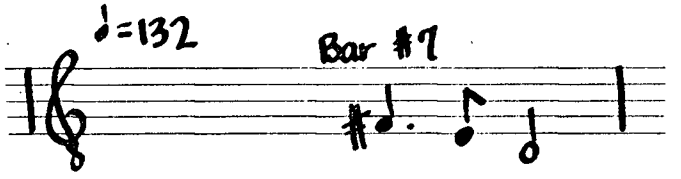
Song #29 is nearly identical to #3 and #10, excepting the following differences:

The other difference is in the final note. Of the seven repetitions, five times we find a half-note, as in #3 and #10, and on two occasions a whole-note.

(See #3 for frequency of repetition.)

30

Song #30 is nearly identical to Song #4 excepting the following differences:



Pitch: begins 50 cents higher than notation indicates and rises approx. one semi-tone.

This song continues for quite a while, and for this reason also makes use of the "self-variation principle." For example, several rhythms change upon each repetition, thus making precise transcription nearly impossible.

31

Song #31 is nearly identical to #6 excepting the following differences:

Pitch: starts a semi-tone higher than #6, and then rises a whole tone plus 50 cents.

M.M.: identical (between 126-132)

Polyphony: Someone attempts to sing a third below the others and fails dismally.

(See #6 for frequency of repetition.)

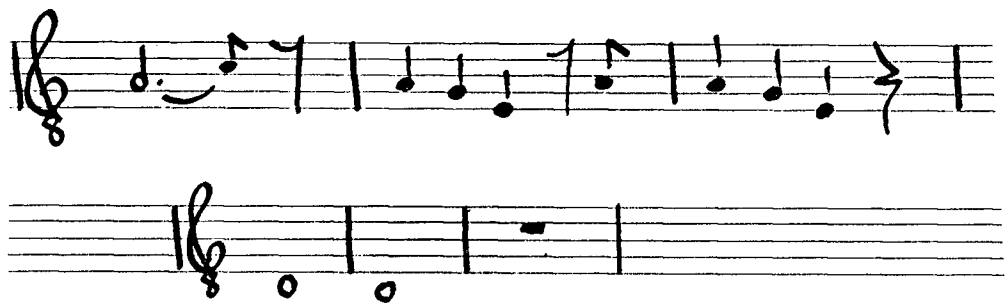
32

Song #32 is nearly identical to #M3 excepting the following differences:

Pitch: a semi-tone plus 50 cents lower than M3 (recorded one year prior to this version). Rises approx. 50 cents.

M.M.: identical (=126)

M3 consists of twelve four-beat bars whereas #32 is thirteen bars long. Compare the "B" phrase (last five bars) of M3 with the last six bars of #32 which appear below:

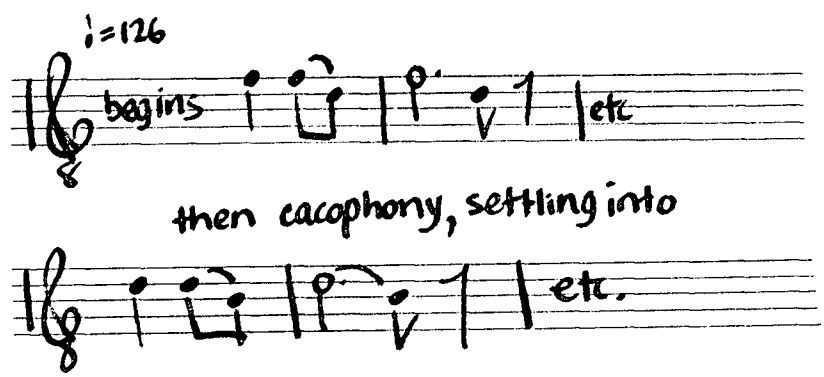


(See M3 for frequency of repetition)

33

Song #33 is nearly identical to #3, #10, #29 excepting the following differences:

Pitch:

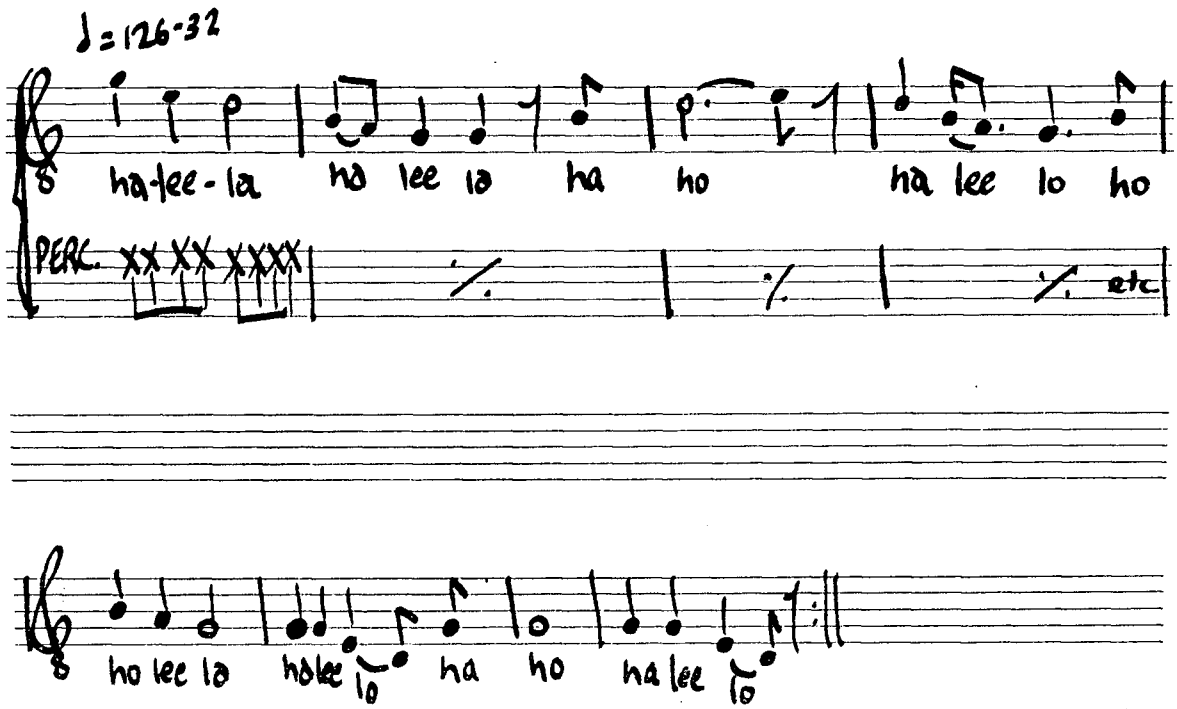


Pitch rise of about 50 cents.

The last note of this rendition is a half-note.

(See #3 for frequency of repetition.)

34



Pitch: starts about 30 cents below pitch indicated in notation.
Rise of 20-30 cents.

Contour: descending.

Melodic Range: twelfth

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - sol, la, do, re, mi, sol, la, do)

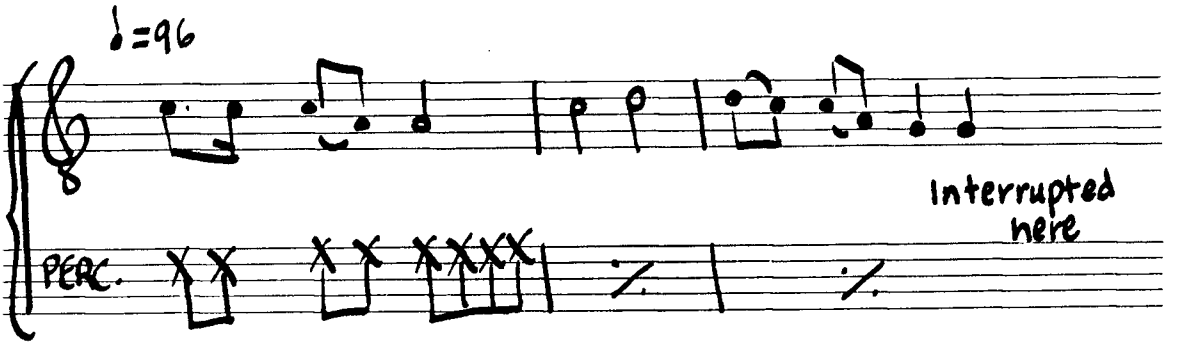
Form: No significant return of motives or phrases.

Song #34 occurs in slightly different versions on two other occasions in this sample:

#86 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#88 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

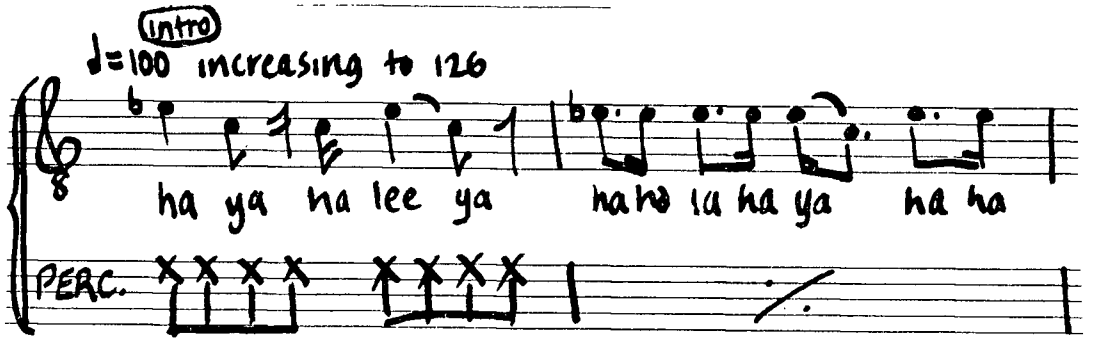
34b

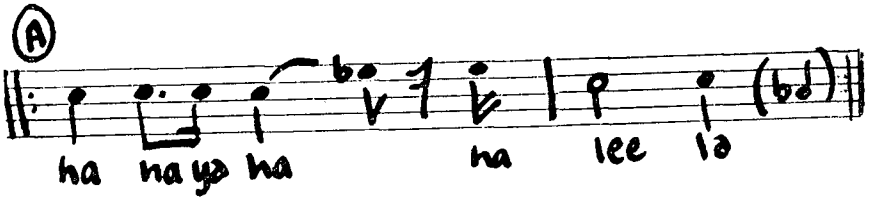


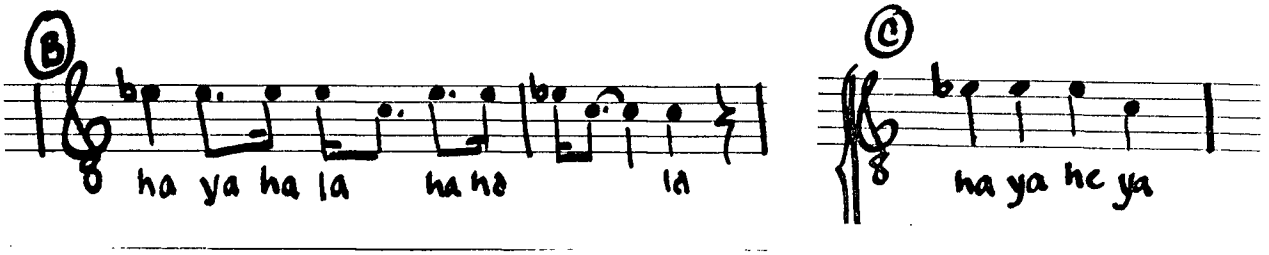
An old man makes an attempt to start a song (similar to #1a) at ♩ =96. After a few seconds, he is overruled by the others.

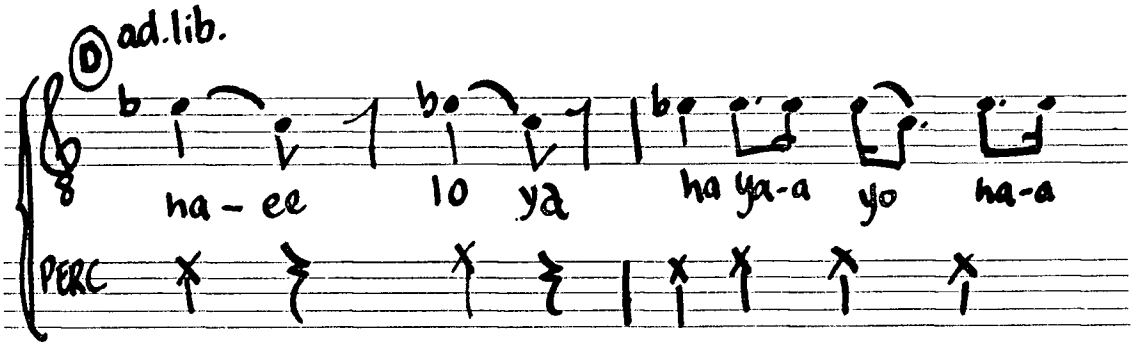
35

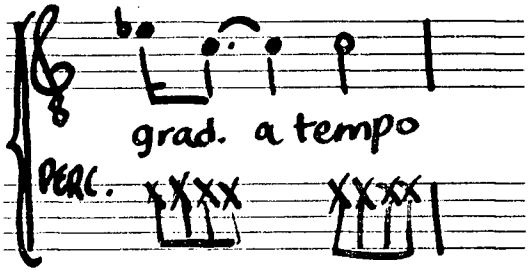
Song #35, although quite simple, is put together in a rather strange and seemingly arbitrary way:











Introduction

A - eight times through

B - once through

A - five times through

C - once through

B - once through

A - seven times through

B - once

A - twice

D - (unmeasured section) once

A - on the seventh repeat, an interruption to

B - once

A - four times

etc.

The "d" or unmeasured section comes back two more times, and the piece comes to its conclusion at "a". Thus, it works out to a kind of rondo form.

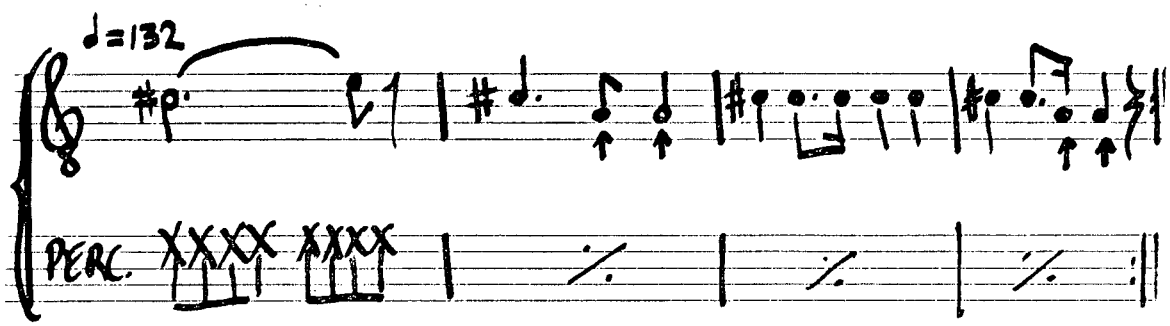
Pitch: no appreciable change.

Contour: undulating

Melodic range: fifth

Scale: only three tones (from lowest - do, mi, and sol)

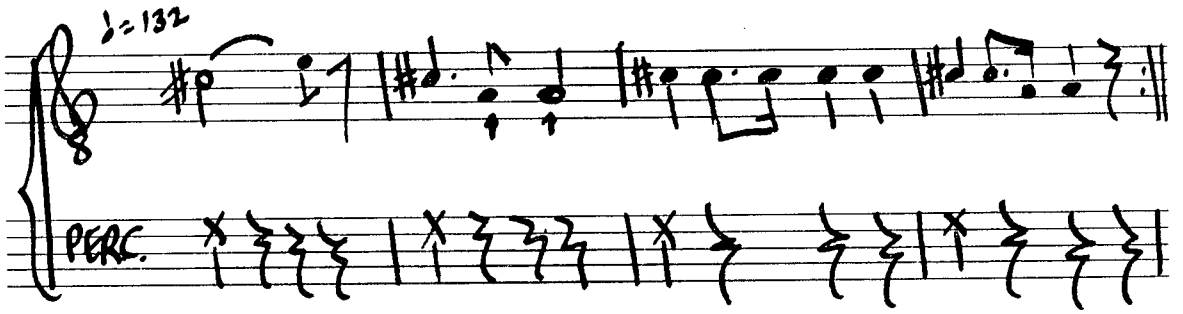
36



Song #36 is nearly identical to #26 excepting the following differences:

Pitch: The rise of a semi-tone occurs. Then the group brings down the pitch abruptly, by a semi-tone.

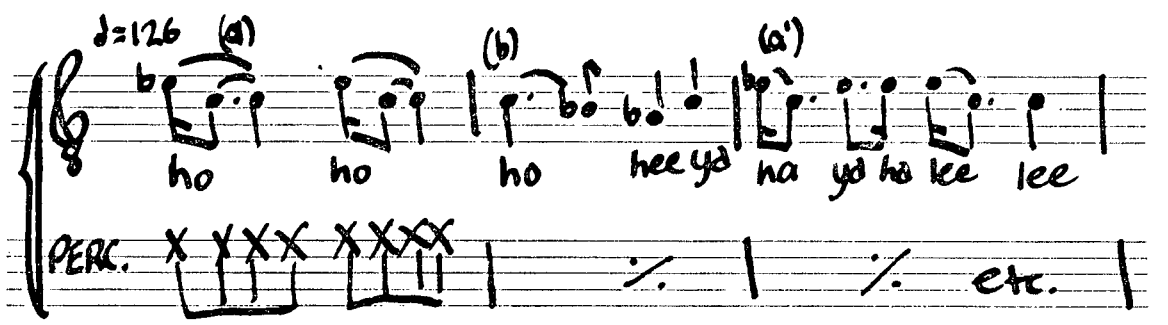
The most interesting difference between number 26 and 36 is that the latter has several renditions in which the percussion underlines the melody as follows:

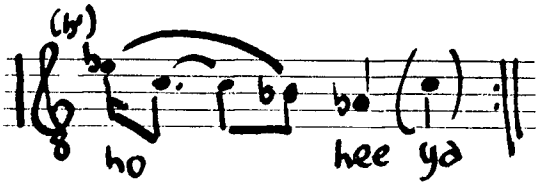


It is quite curious that this phenomenon occurs here just after #35 - a song full of the same device - whereas it did not occur in #26.

The similarities between #36 and #26 are striking especially perhaps, the use of the neutral third at the same point for each one. I might also suggest a comparison on this song with numbers 6 and 31, #14, and #35.

37





No. 37 is, again, a familiar song although we have not yet come across another identical to it. It is interesting, however, to compare #37 with Nos. 26 and 36, 6 and 31, 14, and 35.

Pitch: no appreciable change

Contour: undulating

Melodic range: fifth

Scale: pentatonic without the "la"

Form: a, b, a^1, b^1

Song #37 occurs in slightly different versions on three other occasions in this sample:

#67 - June, 1970 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

#80 - June, 1971 - Cultus Lake, B.C.

#101 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

38

Song #38 is nearly identical to #8 excepting the following differences:

Pitch: 50-60 cents lower than #8 at the outset. Pitch rise of a semi-tone plus 50 cents.

M.M.: ♩ =120.

This particular recording is interesting to hear because of the "flavor" it imparts. There were many comments made from the sidelines which are perhaps more audible than the singing itself. Some of what you hear is the following:

Man: "Ten bucks!"

or

Man: "You wanna' bet?"

Woman: "I don't have any money".

You can also hear two men, rather drunk, singing "hee ya ho" (etc.) at the top of their lungs even though no one else is singing what they are.

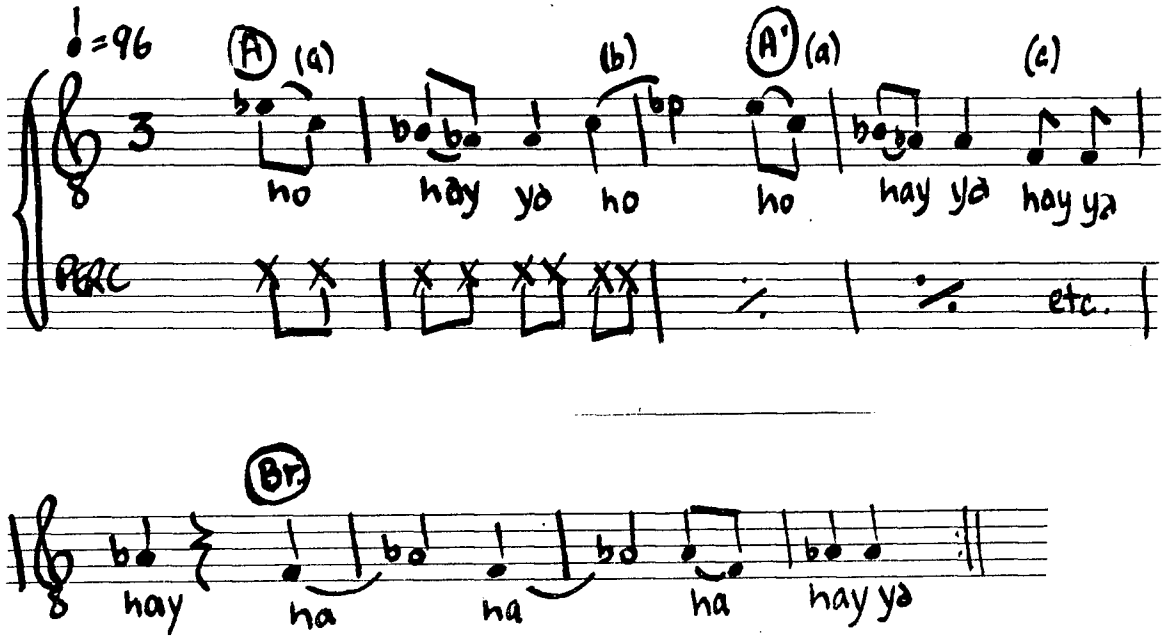
(See #8 for frequency of repetition.)

#39

Song #39 is identical to #27, including the pitch and the amount of pitch rise. The only difference is in the metronome markings: the tempo of #39 is ♩ =126-132.

(See #27 for frequency of repetition.)

40



Pitch: rise of a semi-tone.

Contour: descending and undulating Bridge (end)

Melodic range: seventh

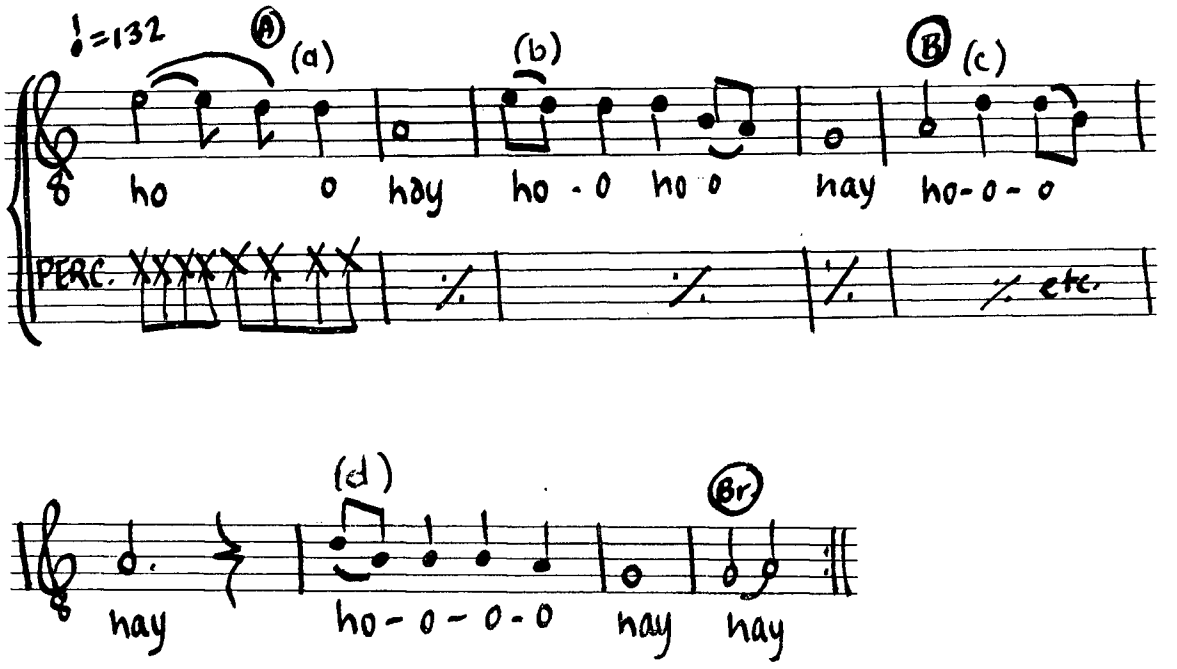
Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - la, do, re, mi, sol)

Form: A (a+b) A^1 (a+c) Bridge

Polyphony: A few abortive attempts at harmony a third below.

Song #40 is very distinctive because it is one of the few slahal songs in triple meter. A similar version of this piece was sung at Cultus Lake,B.C. in June, 1971 --#84 described and sung below.

41



Pitch: begins 70-80 cents lower than notation indicates.

Contour: four phrases:

a - descending

b - descending

c - ascending and descending

d - descending

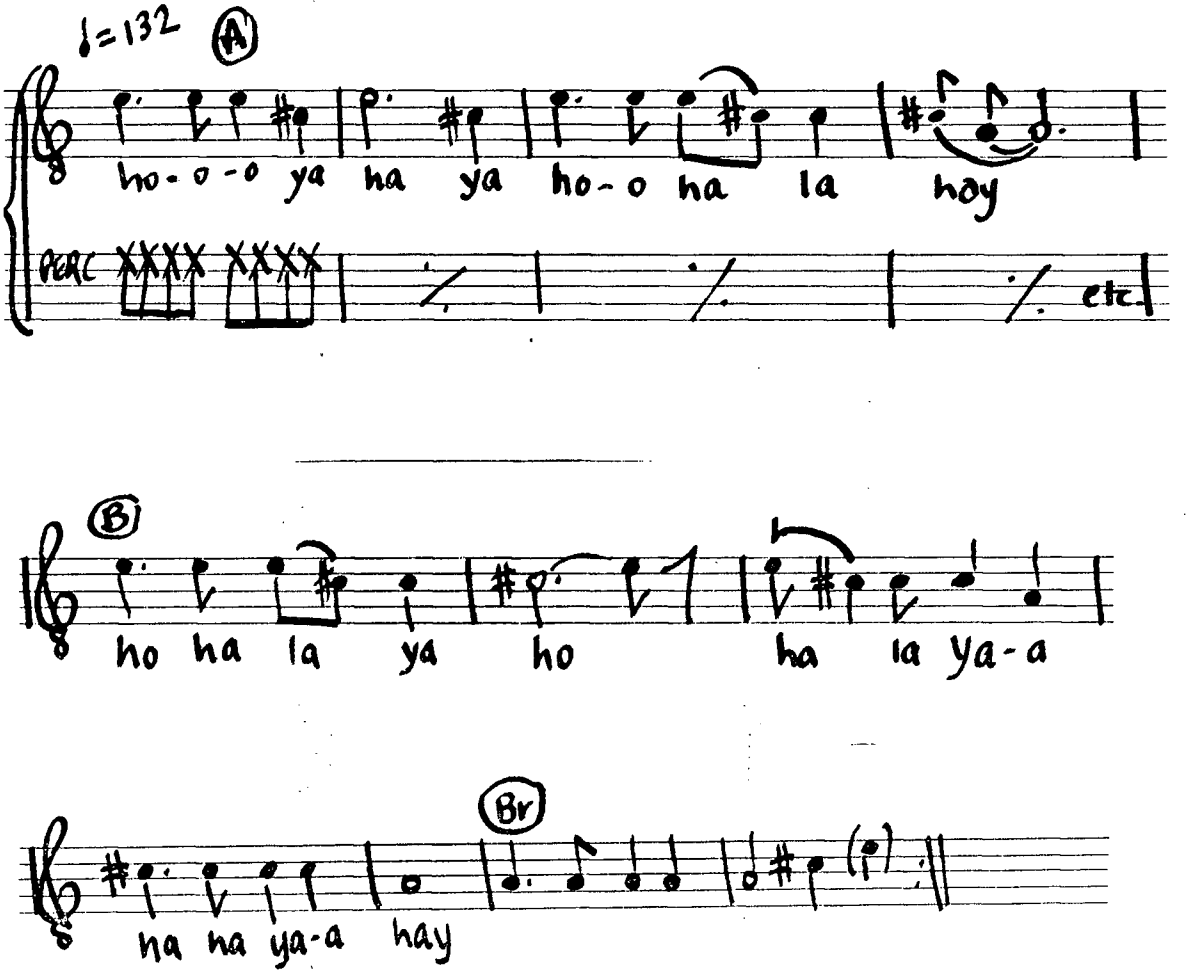
Melodic range: sixth

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - do, re, mi, sol, la)

Form: A B Bridge
a+b c+d

Each of the two major phrases can be subdivided into question and answer phrases.

42



Pitch: begins approx. 50 cents below pitch indicated in notation.

Rise of a semi-tone plus 50 cents.

Contour: descending

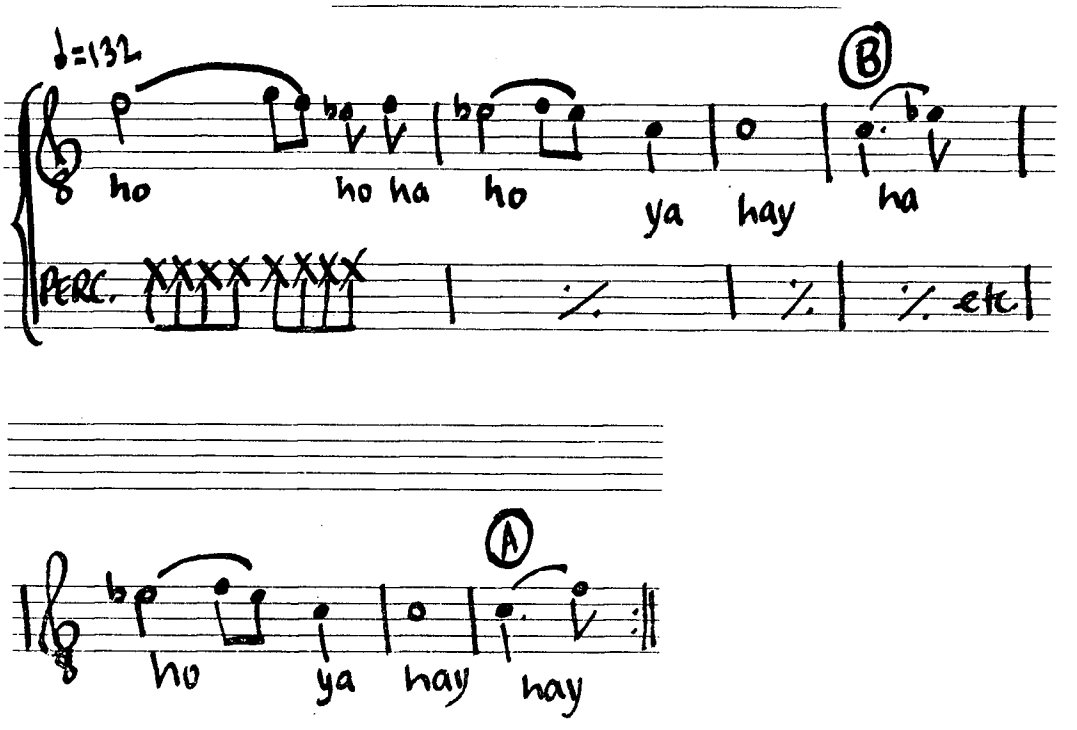
Melodic range: fifth

Scale: only do, mi, and sol (from lowest)

Form: A, B, Bridge

The rhythms and the "scale" of this piece are reminiscent of #37 and the songs suggested in the description of #37. However, #42 is clearly neither the same song as #37 nor a variation thereof.

43



Pitch: Begins approx. 20 cents below pitch indicated in notation. Pitch rise of a few cents. Then part of the group lowers the song by a whole-tone. The effect is parallel seconds for a short time.

Contour: descending -- undulating

Melodic range: fifth

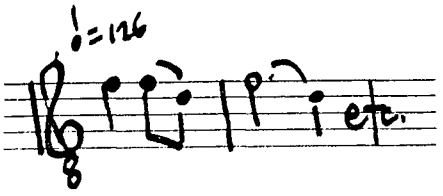
Scale: pentatonic minus "sol" (la, do, re, mi)

Form: A/B

The two-beat measures are actually anacruses, and the last particularly, should be considered as such, rather than as a bridge.

44

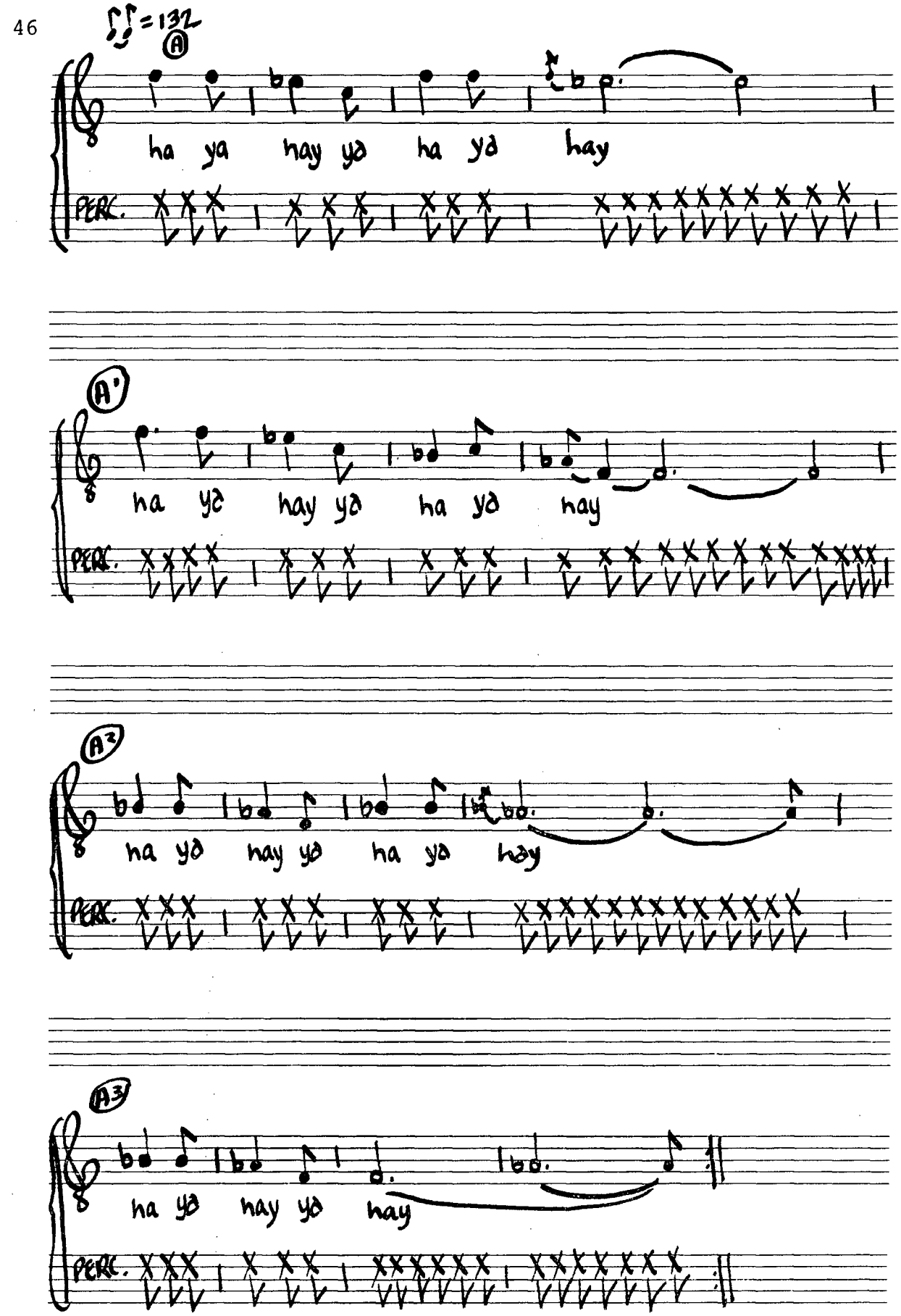
Song #44 is nearly identical to #3, 10, 29 and 33, including the half-note at the end. The starting pitch is the following:



(See #3 for frequency of repetition)

45

In between Nos. 44 and 45, many people try to start a successful song and fail dismally. One of the unsuccessful songs is #45, nearly identical to #17 and M6 but sung a semi-tone lower. Not even one rendition reaches completion.


46
♩♩♩=132
A
ha ya hay ya ha ya hay
PERC.
A'
ha ya hay ya ha ya hay
PERC.
A2
ha ya hay ya ha ya hay
PERC.
A3
ha ya hay ya hay
PERC.

Pitch: rise of a semi-tone

Contour: descending

Melodic range: octave

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - la, do, re, mi, sol, la)

Form: Four phrases which are related to one another by the use of similar rhythms and similar interval jumps.

$A \quad A^1 \quad A^2 \quad A^3$

A and A^1 are question and answer phrases as are A^2 and A^3. The rising minor third at the end serves as a bridge.

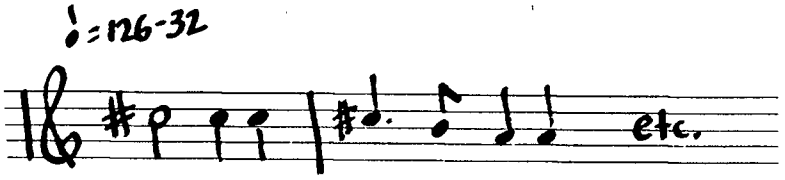
This is a Yakima song, the most interesting feature of which is the highly unusual timing. At first, one thinks perhaps it is arbitrary and changes at each repetition, but upon closer scrutinization it becomes apparent that each repetition is identical and that the end of each phrase is thirteen drumbeats in length.

Similar versions of this song occur on two other occasions in this sample:

#54 - June, 1970 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

#66 - June, 1970 -- Lummi

47.



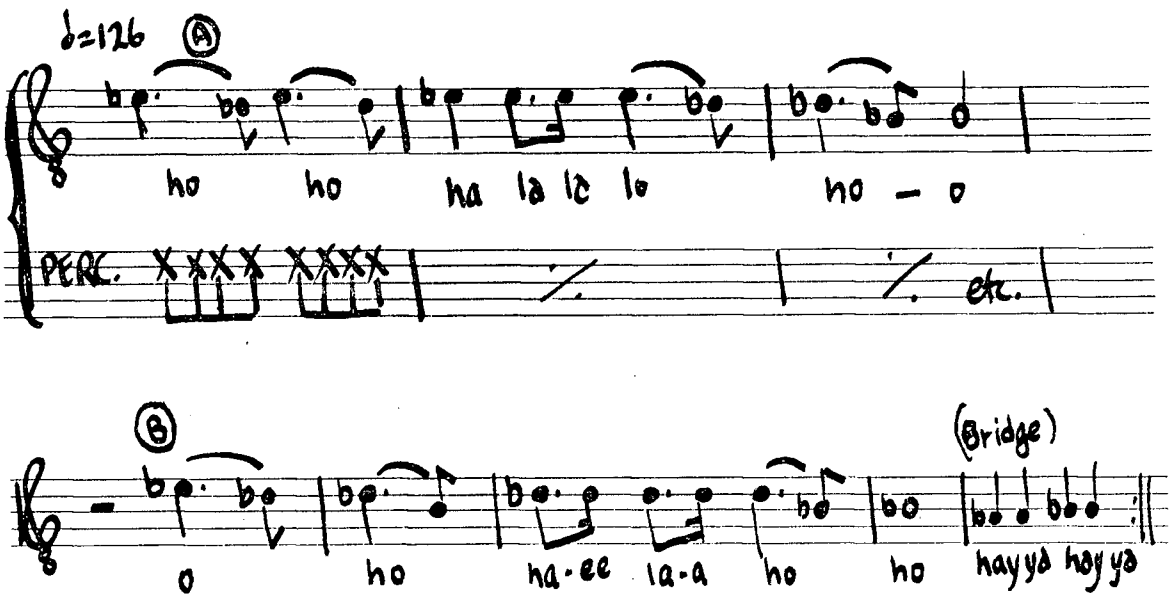
Song #47 is nearly identical to #25 and quite similar to #2. The one significant difference between this song and #25 is the:

Pitch: sung nearly a minor third lower. Pitch rise of a semitone plus 50 cents.

No. 47 also makes use of the slightly augmented major second in the A^2 phrase (see arrow), and in general is much closer to the #25 rendition of the song than to the #2 rendition. There is no doubt, however, that they are instances of the same song.

(See #2 for frequency of repetition.)

48



Pitch: rise of a semi-tone

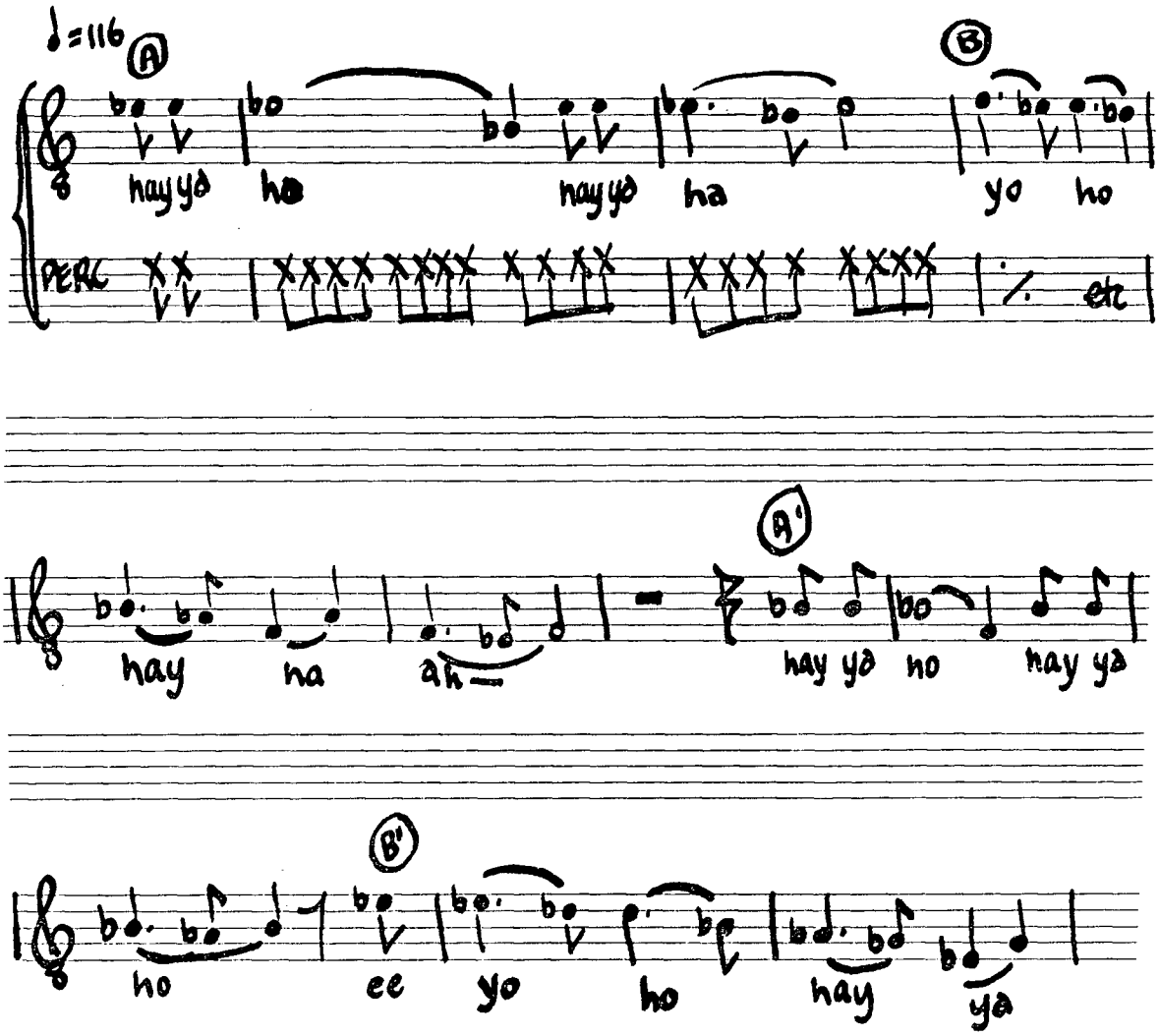
Contour: descending (fourth)

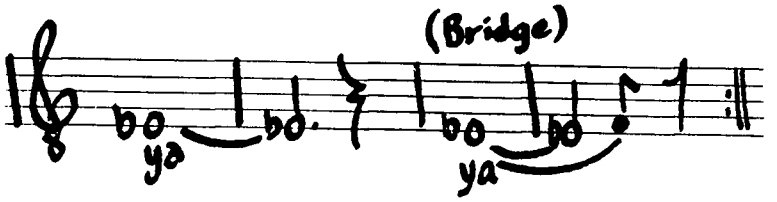
Melodic range: fifth

Scale: pentatonic without "do" (from lowest pitch - re, mi, sol, la)

Form: A B Bridge

49





Pitch: rise of nearly a semi-tone (80-100 cents)

Contour: descending

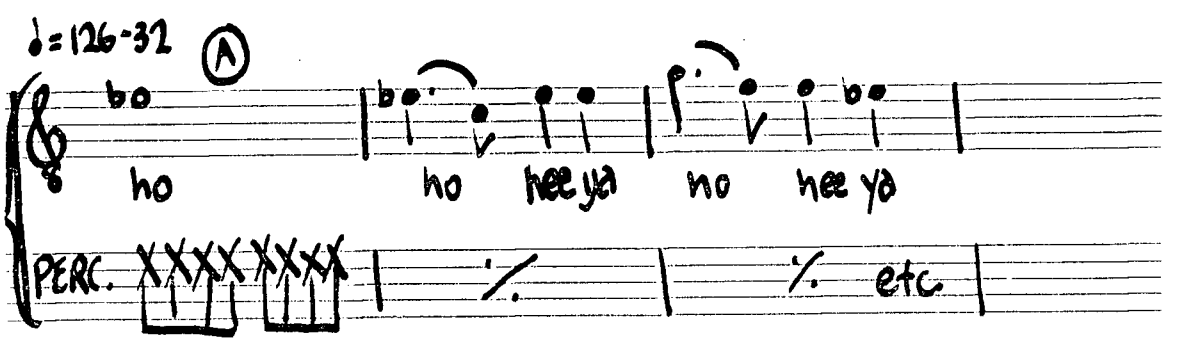
Melodic range: ninth

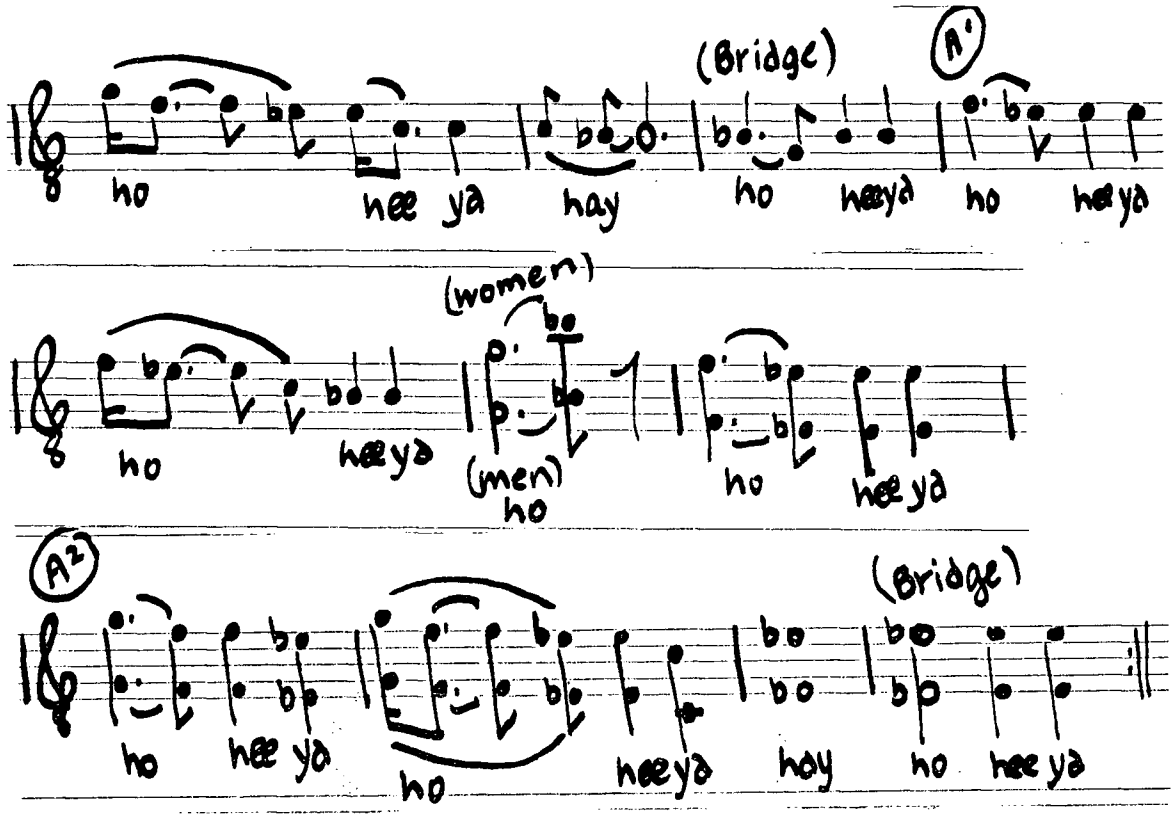
Scale: Pentatonic with a brief "fa" (re, mi, (fa), sol, la, do, re, mi)

Form: A B A^1 B^1 Bridge

A child is heard throughout this song, nagging his mother who is busy playing the game: "Mommy, I want a pop."

50





Pitch: rise of a semi-tone

Contour: descending

Melodic range: tenth

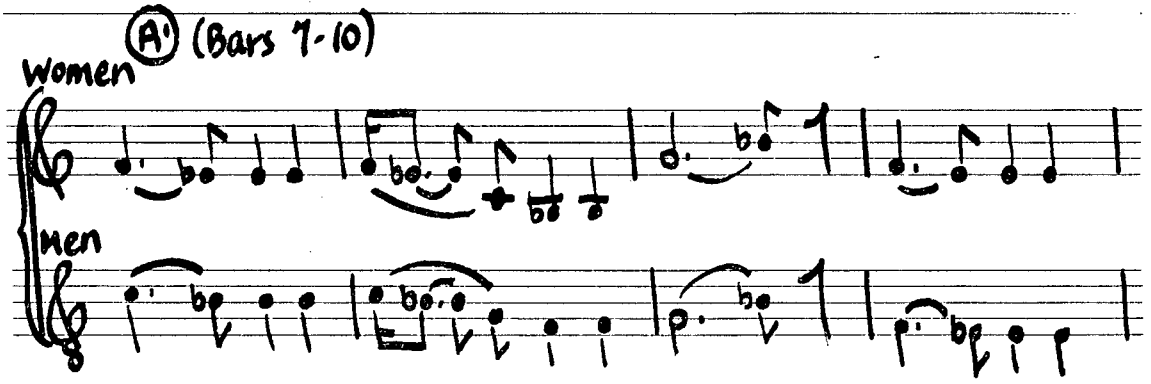
Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - do, re, mi, sol, la, do, re, mi)

Form: A, Bridge, A^1, A^2, Bridge

Again the regular use of certain rhythmic patterns makes foolish the use of different phrase names (A,B,C) with such obvious phrase similarities.

Polyphony: The most striking aspect of this piece is the regular use of octaves beginning at Bar 9 and continuing to the end.

The women leap up to the higher octave while the men sing the lower. To further complicate matters, after several repetitions the men choose to sing a fourth below the women which gradually fluctuates between a third and a fourth. This is quite unusual because the women normally break away from the pitch chosen by the men. And an additional complication occurs when we combine all of these characteristics and notice that the men, either a fourth or a third below the women, jump back to the position of the lower octave commencing at Bar 9. Then when the players are back at the beginning of the song, the men are, once again, either a fourth or a third (or somewhere in between) below the women.



Song #50 occurs in slightly different versions on five other occasions in this sample:

#89 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#110 - June, 1971 - Cultus Lake

#133 - June 19, 1971 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

#143 - June 20, 1971 -- Lummi

#154 - June 20, 1971 -- Lummi

51

Song #51 is the same song as Nos. 3, 10, 29, 33 and 44. What

is distinctive about this rendition is the following:

a) Pitch:

rise of a tone and a half.

b) In contrast to most of the other renditions the final note was most frequently a whole-note.

c) At Bar 6, one woman jumped to the upper octave and stayed through the remainder of each repetition.

(See #3 for frequency of repetition.)

52

Song #52 is nearly identical to #M1 and #13 excepting the following differences:

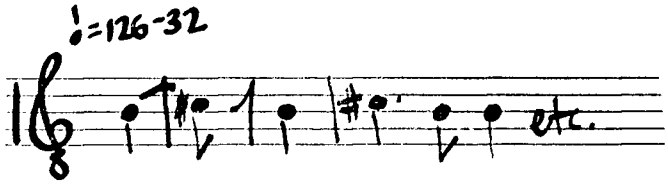
Pitch: starts a semi-tone above the other two renditions. A short break occurs and the singers resume, abruptly raising the pitch by a semi-tone.

- certain notes are slightly different:

(See M1 for frequency of repetition)

53

Song #53 is nearly identical to Nos. 27 and 39 excepting the following pitch difference:



pitch rise of a semi-tone.

(See #27 for frequency of repetition.)

54

Song #54 is almost identical to #46, the differences being as follows:

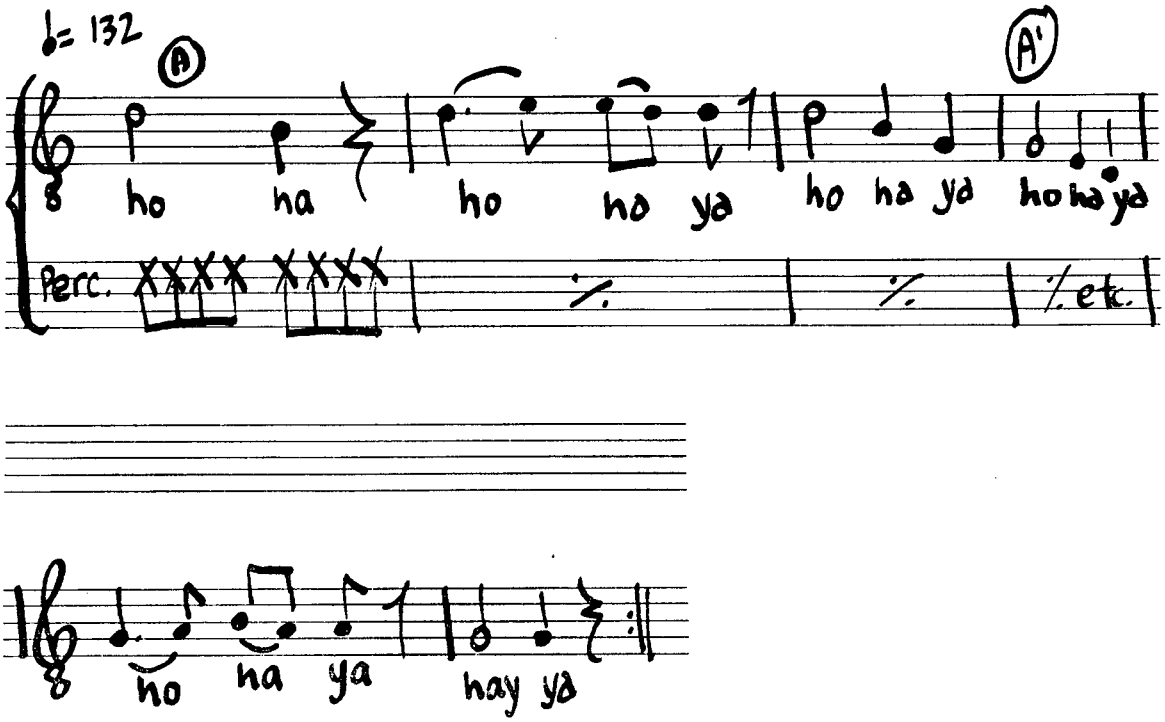
a) Pitch: begins 50 cents lower. Pitch rise of 50 cents.

b) Timing: The irregular number of drumbeats (13) is generally adhered to, although there are a number of inconsistencies.

55

Song #55 is similar to #9 in many ways. However, beyond Bar 3, the two songs are quite different even though they both

are six bars in total length.



Pitch: rise of a semi-tone plus 45-50 cents.

Contour: undulating

Melodic range: ninth

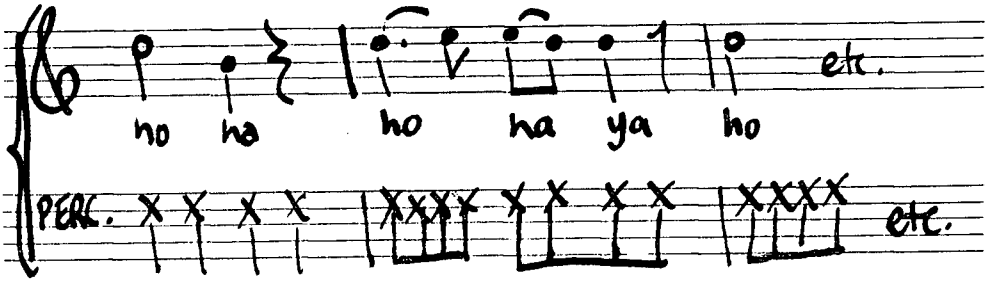
Scale: pentatonic (from lowest pitch - sol, la, do, re, mi, sol, la)

Form: A, A^1.

"A^1" consists of several motives which are in the lower part of the range but which are unmistakeably linked to those of "A".

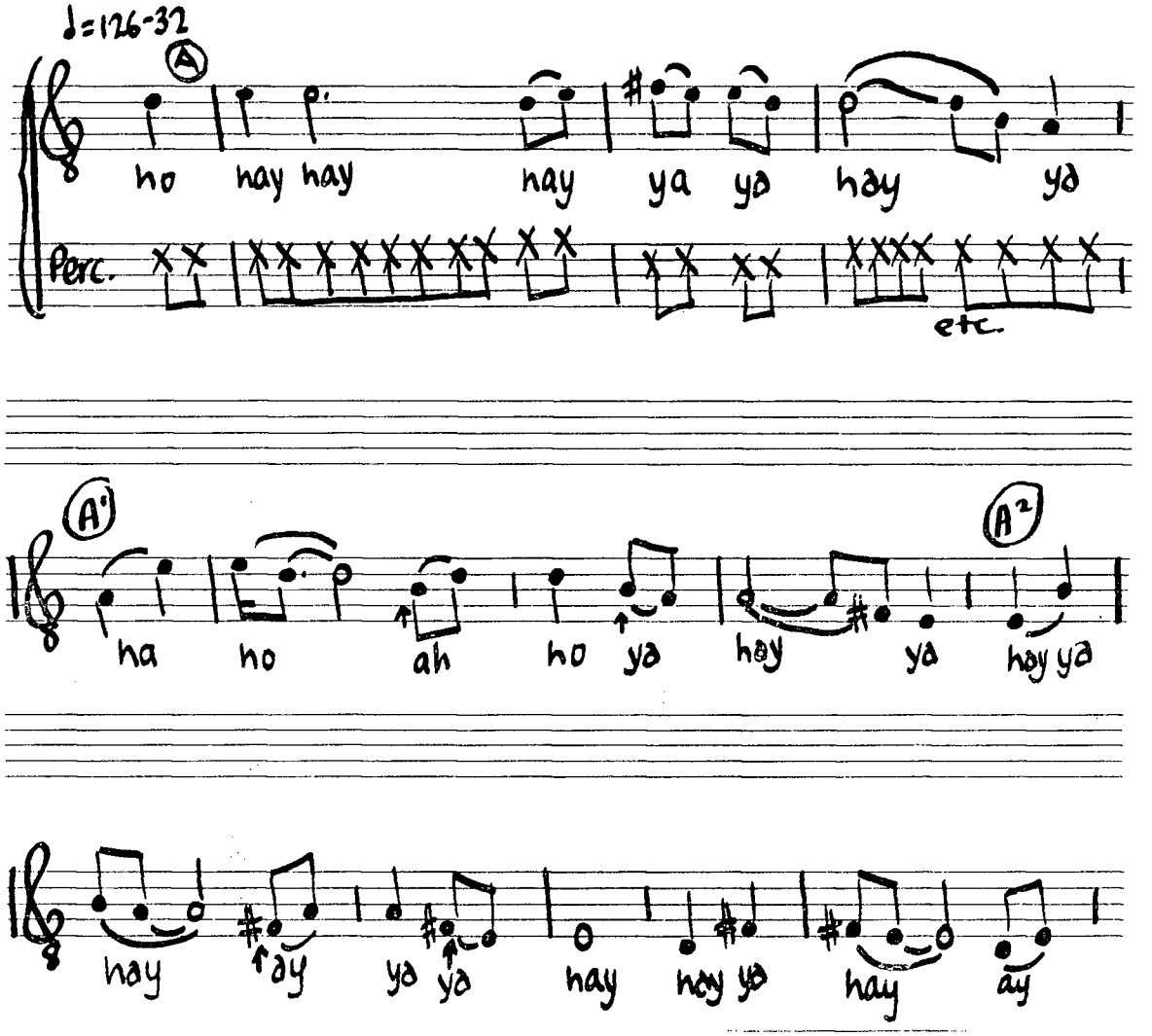
Polyphony: Several women are singing a fourth above the men, weakly and sporadically.

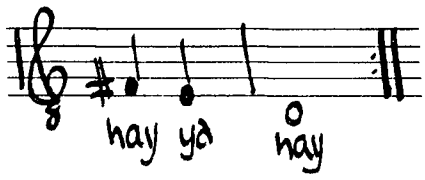
Percussion: At one point the first bar of the song is accompanied as follows:



This is for added strength and group solidarity.

56





Pitch: begins 50 cents lower than the notation indicates.

Pitch rise of a whole-tone.

Contour: descending

Melodic range: tenth

Scale: pentatonic (do, re, mi, sol, la, do, re, mi)

Form: A A^1 A^2 A^3

Another example of falling sequences. Each phrase has approximately the same rhythmic and melodic features but occurs lower in pitch than the preceding phrase.

It is also interesting to note the timing: 4+2, 4+2 with the exception of a 5+2. The phrases, however, are divided into 2+4+2+4, beginning with the 2, or the anacrusis.

57

Song #57 is nearly identical to #5 excepting the following differences:

a) Pitch: begins approximately 30 cents lower than No. 5, and rises 50-70 cents.

b) Tempo: No. 5 - ♩ = 116

No. 57 - ♩ = 132

58

Song #58 is nearly identical to Nos. M4, 15 and 20. It begins approximately 40 cents lower than e' and rises a semi-tone plus 50 cents. The tempo, like M4, 15 and 20, is ♩ =126-32.

An interesting observation one could make about this piece is that it demonstrates the aforementioned self-variation principle. In other words ♪♪ will change into ♩♪., for variety and to keep the piece lively after many repetitions. This internal variation becomes necessary when the song is losing energy; the dotted figure, for example, adds a certain spark and revives an otherwise dying song. And the necessity is because of the link between the spirit of the song and the "luck" needed to mix the bones well.

(See M4 for frequency of repetition

59

Song #59 is almost identical to Nos. 6 and 31 excepting the following differences:

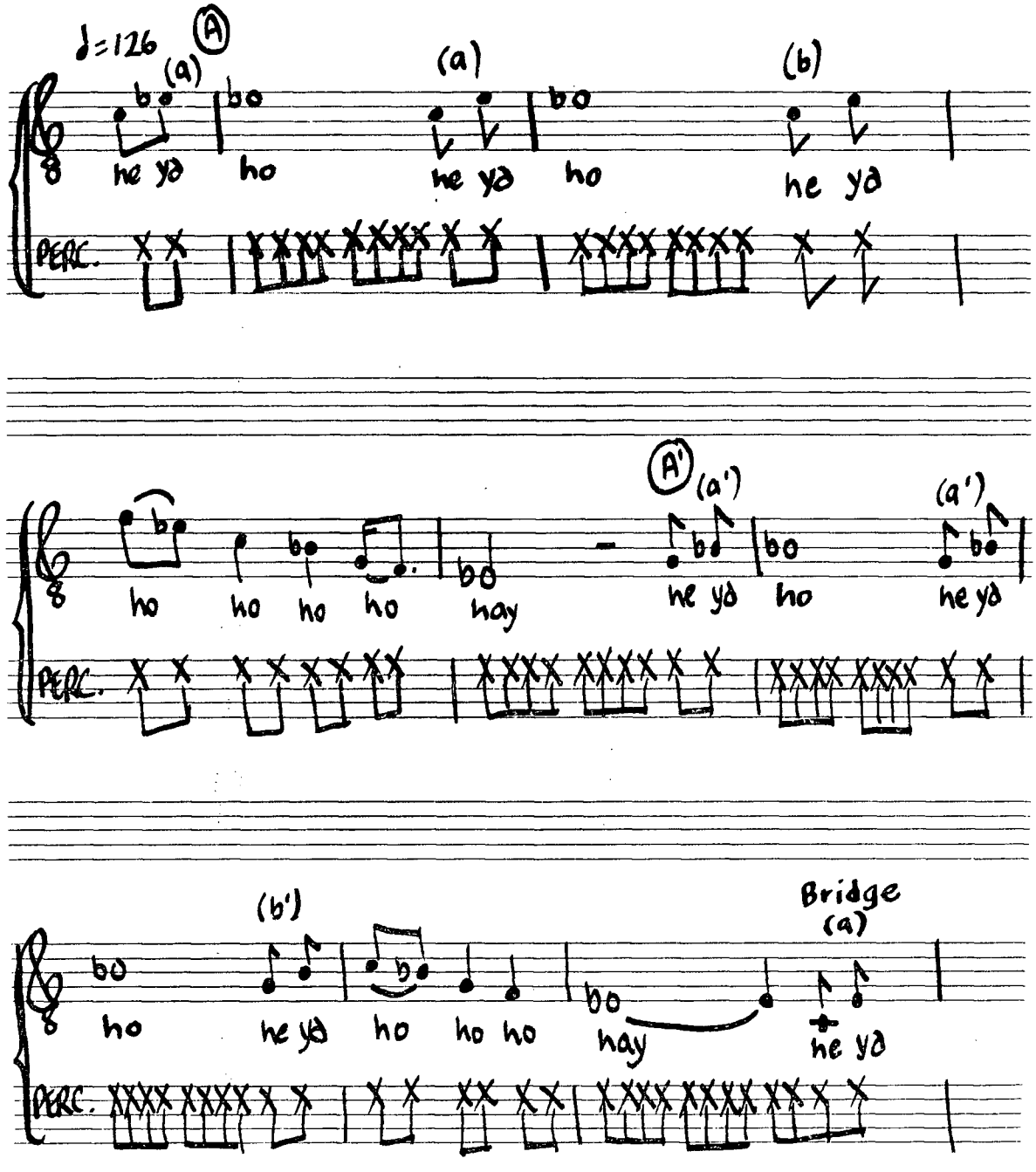
a) <u>Pitch:</u> begins 50 cents below e' and rises by a semi-tone.

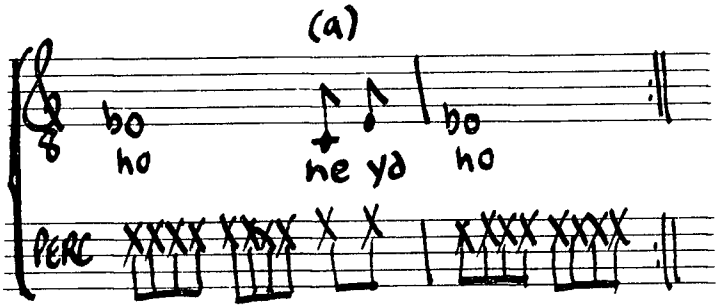
b) <u>Tempo</u>: settles into ♩ =126-32 but later on, slows down to ♩ =116-20.

(See #6 for frequency of repetition.)

Thus far, we have seen a detailed description of the first few hours of slahal songs unedited, and directly from my recordings of 1969 and 1970. The total number of songs collected is 194, and for reasons of length, here are several representative pieces from the rest of that collection.

77





Pitch: approximately an 80 cent pitch rise.

Contour: descending, but in an undulating manner

Melodic range: eleventh

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - la, do, re, mi, sol, la, do, re)

Form:

A	A_1	Bridge
a+a+b	$a^1+a^1+b^1$	a+a

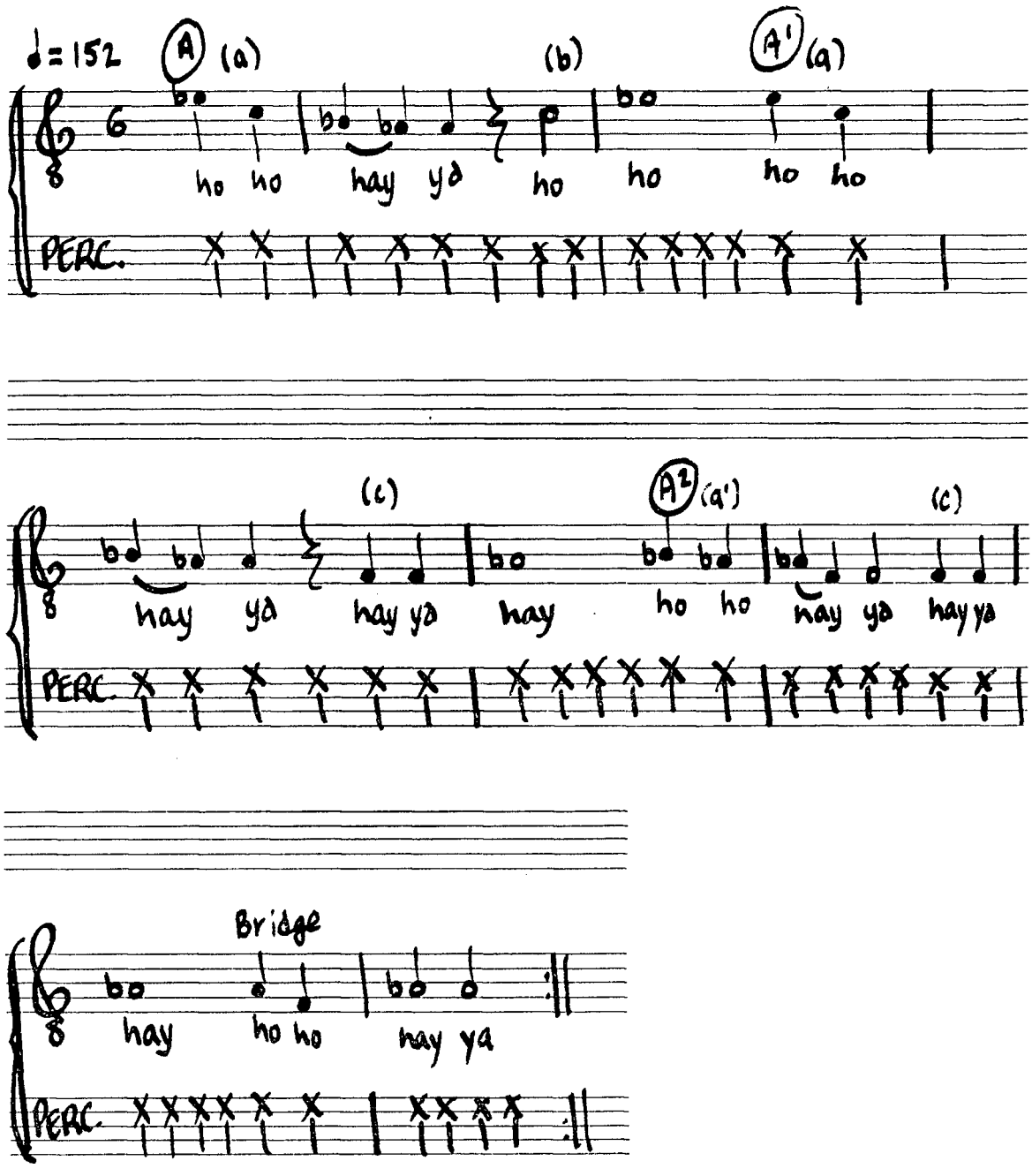
Song #77 is especially interesting because of the five-beat groupings ("a") alternating with the seven-beat groupings ("b"). For this reason one can also look at the piece as a rather neat rondo form:

a a/ b / a^1 a^1 / b / a a

The performance of song #77 took place during a game in June 1971 at Cultus Lake, B.C. It occurs upon one other occasion in the sample: #152 - June 20, 1971 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash. Both times Abel Joe (Duncan, B.C.), is both the leader and the

predominant voice. He has a propensity for turning ♩ ♩ into ♩. ♩ .

84



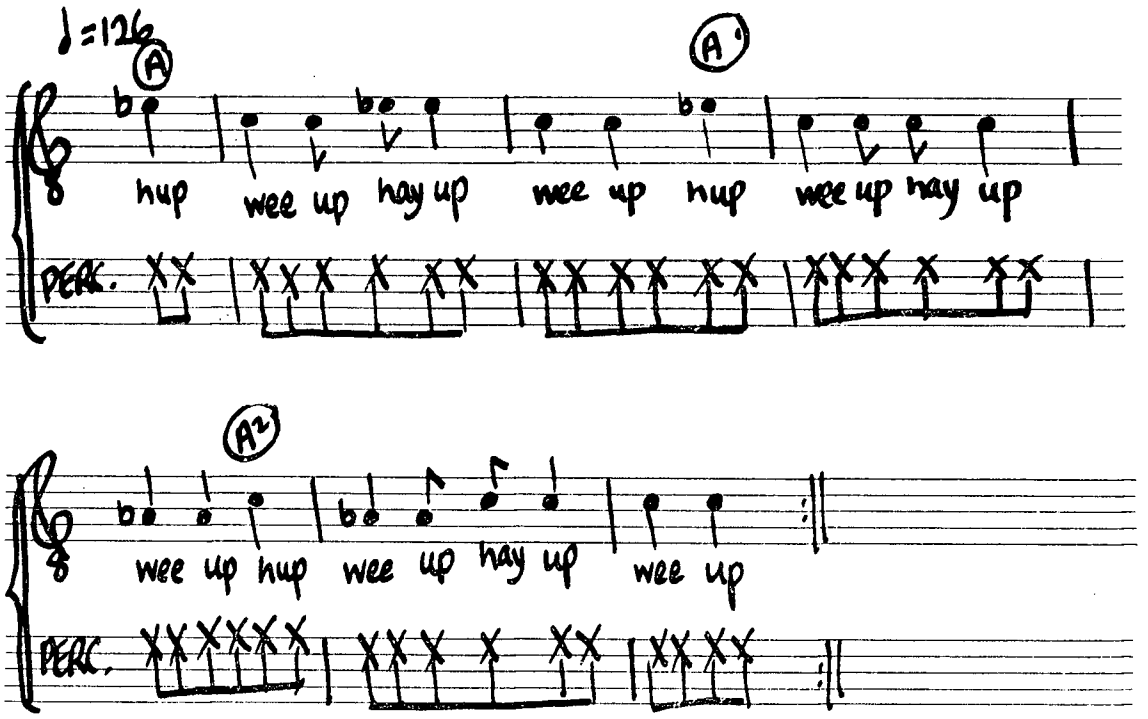
Song #84 (Cultus Lake, June, 1971) makes an interesting contrast to #40 (Lummi Reserve, Wash., June, 1970).

Pitch: rise of approximately 60 cents.

Form: A A^1 A^2 Bridge
a+b a+c a^1+c

It consists of three twelve-beat phrases plus a six-beat bridge. The same length as #40, but with a shorter bridge, and thereby one extra phrase. Song #40 is in "3" whereas #84 is in "6", the main difference being that the tempo of the latter is much slower; each drumbeat must be counted as a quarter note rather than an eighth-note and the measure elongated from 3 to 6 beats. Thus, if we compare tempi, #40 has 192 drumbeats per minute whereas #84 has only 152.

98



Song #98 (Cultus Lake, B.C., June, 1971) only occurs this once in the sample. It is distinctive in that alongside #40 and #84, we have the only Salish slahal songs in triple meter

Pitch: no appreciable change

Contour: undulating

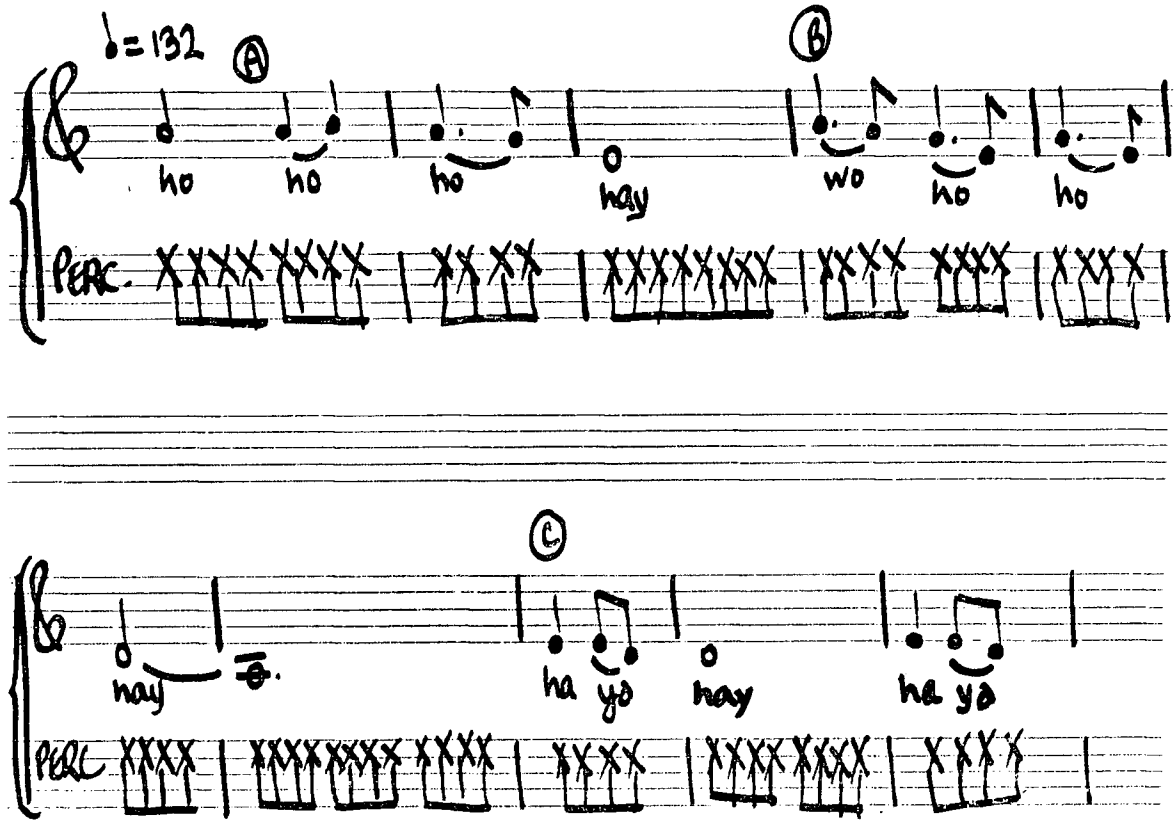
Melodic range: fifth

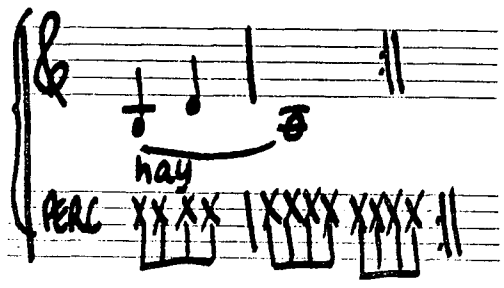
Scale: only three notes - do, mi, sol

Form: A A^1 A^2

The phrases are rhythmically identical. And melodically, there is only a choice of three notes.

137





Song #137 (Lummi Reserve, Wash., June 19, 1971) occurs on four other occasions in the sample:

#78 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#103- June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

#117- June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

#155- June 20, 1971 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

There is a great deal of variety in the choice of pitch, for example #117 is sung a fifth lower than #137, and #78 is a major third lower. The tempi, however, are fairly uniform.

Pitch: rise of approximately a semi-tone.

Contour: descending

Melodic range: ninth

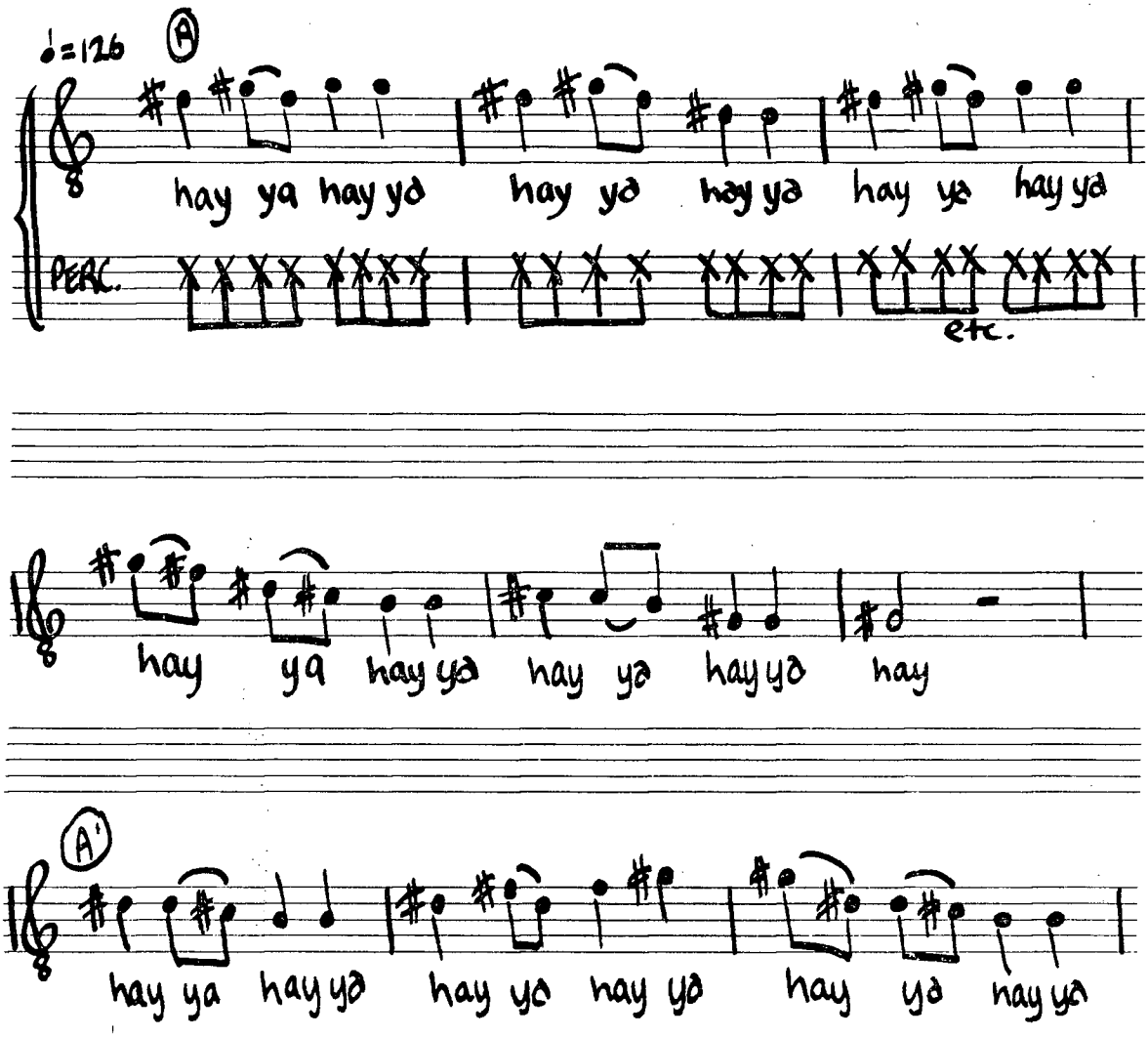
Scale: pentatonic (from lowest -re, mi, sol, la, do, re, mi)

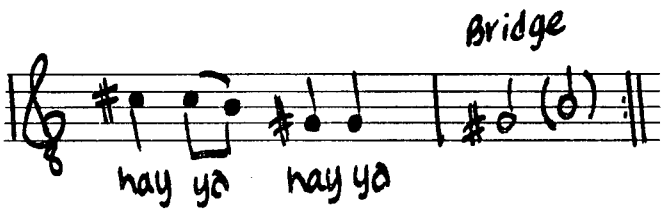
Form: A B C

The C phrase includes one false start and then the completion of that phrase.

At the end of the "B" and "C" phrases, the melodic drop of a fourth only occurs in this version. The other four remain on the upper note for the same number of beats. It seems quite likely that the reason has a great deal to do with the pitch. In other words, the other versions are already too low in the singer's range to accommodate any lower pitches whereas Song #137 is still high enough at the end to allow for additional widening of range. This is a similar phenomenon as that which occurs in Song #18 as compared with its twelve other versions.

#142





Song #142 (Lummi Reserve, Wash., June 20, 1971) occurs on three other occasions in the sample:

#136 - June 19, 1971 -- Lummi

#141 -- June 19, 1971 -- Lummi

#148 - June 20, 1971 -- Lummi

A very strange coincidence happened as regards this song. On Saturday, June 19, 1971, my husband and I left the reserve around 7 p.m. just after song #141. We arrived back the following afternoon at approximately 2 p.m. and turned on the tape recorder. Song #142, strangely enough, was <u>exactly</u> the same song -- same "key", same tempo -- as #141. So we began where we had left off.

<u>Pitch</u>: no appreciable change.

<u>Contour</u>: undulating in a descending direction

<u>Melodic range</u>: octave

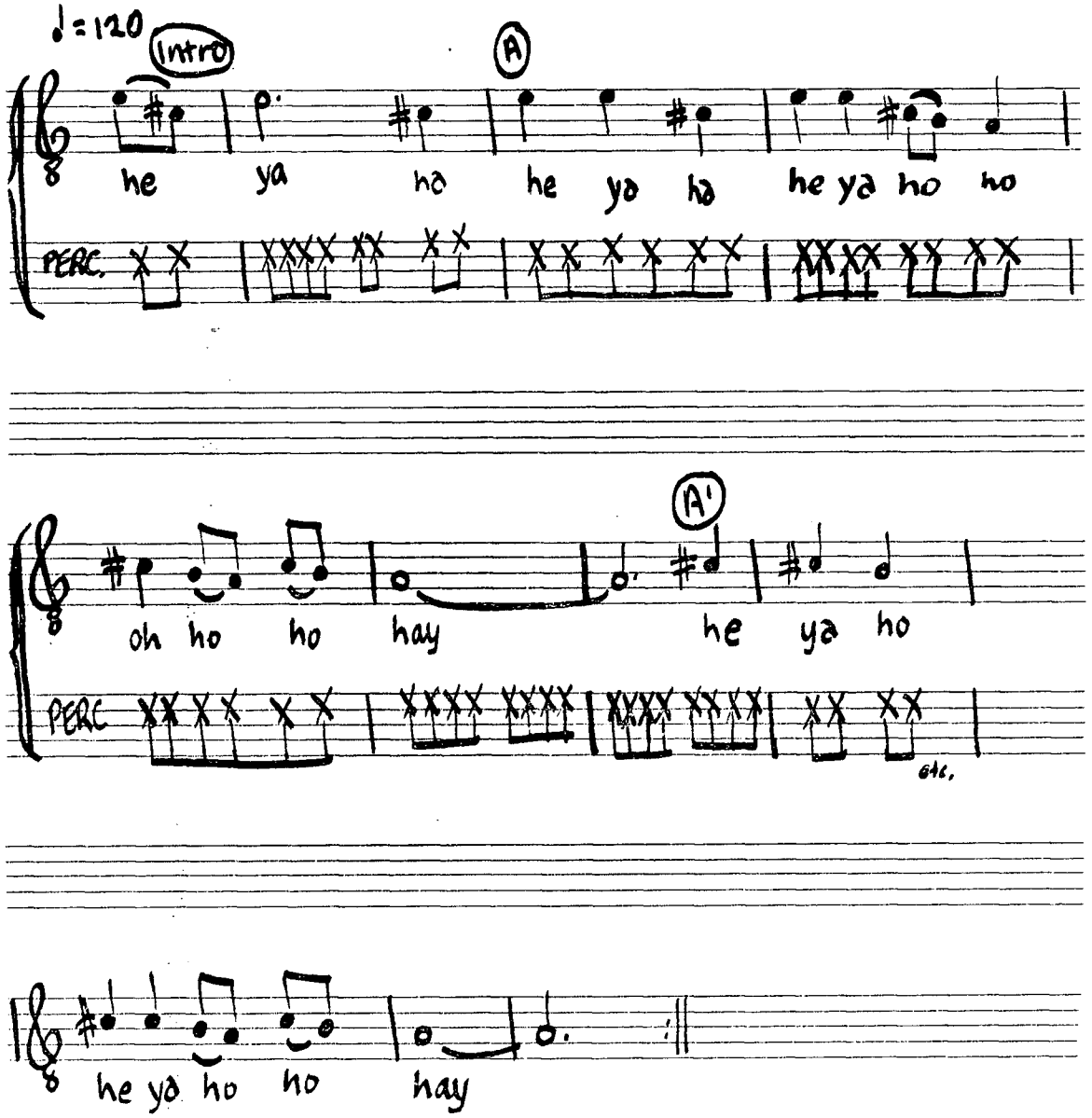
<u>Scale</u>: pentatonic (from the lowest - la, do, re, mi, sol, la)

Form: A A^1 Bridge.

Each bar is a separate motive, all ending with two quarter notes but going in different directions.

Also note the alternative for Bar 1

156



Song #156 (Lummi Reserve, Wash., June 20, 1971) appears on seven other occasions in the sample:

#69 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#108 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

#113 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

#119 - June, 1971 -- Cultus Lake

#130 - June 19, 1971 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

#171 - June 20, 1971 -- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

#174 - June 20, 1971 -- Lummi

The melodic and rhythmic aspect of the different versions are very similar. Tempo, however, is not so. Song #156, as you see, is ♩ =120, the others fall either into the 120 to 132 range or into the ♩ =100 to 108 range -- quite a different feeling.

Following is a description of these songs using #156 as the model:

Pitch: no appreciable change

Contour: descending (each motive individually moves in descending direction as well)

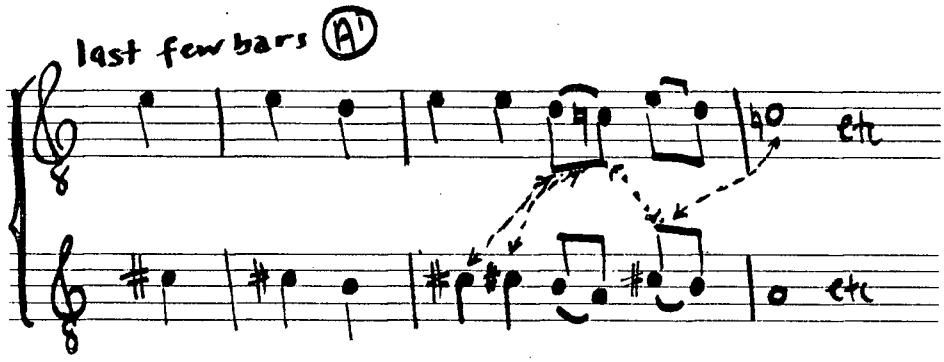
Melodic range: fifth

Scale: pentatonic without "la" (from lowest - do, re, mi, sol)

Form: Intro. A A^1

Both "A" and "A^1" begin with a false start so to speak, and

then continue by developing the opening motive or false start.

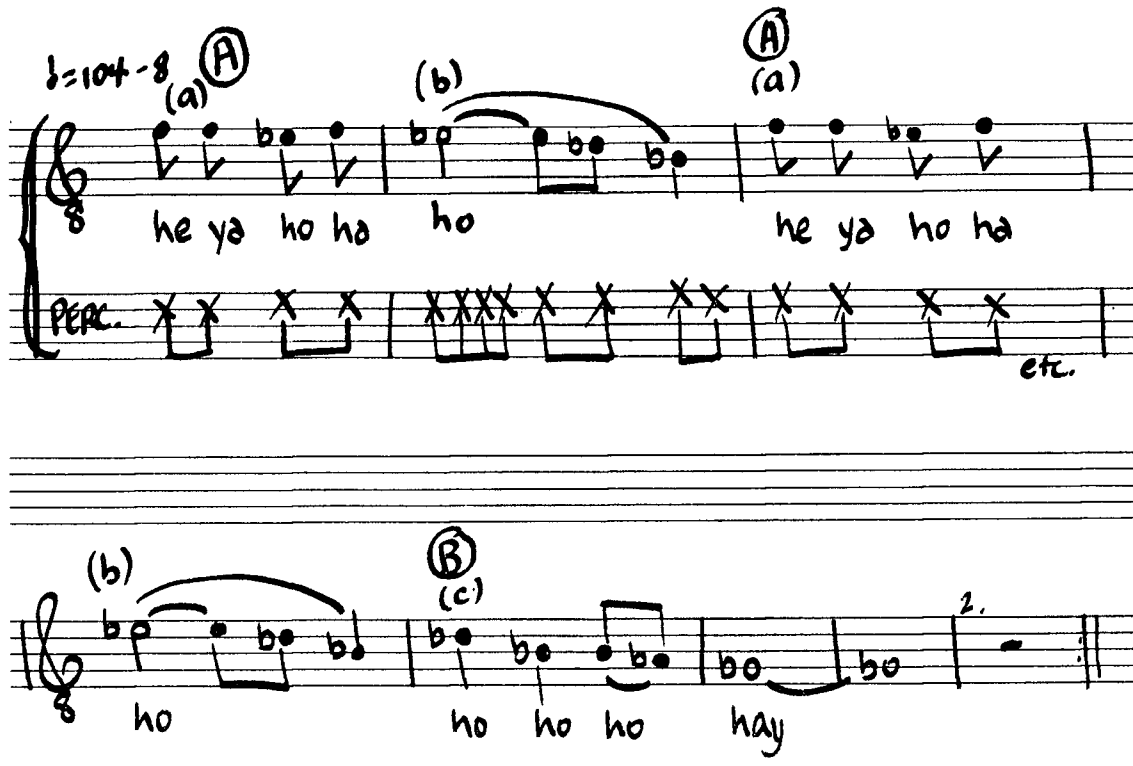


Polyphony: Song #156 is particularly interesting because we discover that the women singing a third above are not serving has a harmonic accoutrement to the men. Instead, what we have is a polytonal piece of music, as evidenced by the cross-relations we see in the notation just above. If the women were truly singing in harmony, the minor third would be amended to a major third where necessary to maintain the mode or key already established,

It is also important to add, at this point, that the interval we hear is between a minor third and a neutral third although it has been transcribed as a minor third for convenience.

Nos. 176, 177, 178 and 179, as the numbers indicate, were sung in succession (Lummi, June 20, 1971). There are some very interesting common characteristics to observe here. Several general principles as regards slahal songs may well be derived from a comparison of these four. First a description of each.

176



Pitch: no appreciable change

Contour: descending

Melodic range: major seventh

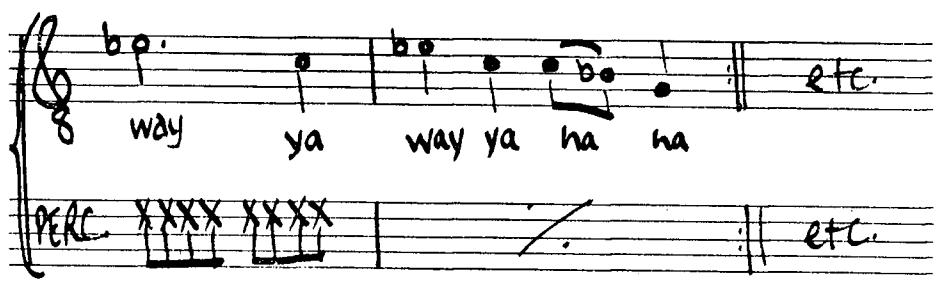
Scale: diatonic, without fa (from lowest - do, re, me, sol, la, ti)

Form:

A	A	B
a+b	a+b	c

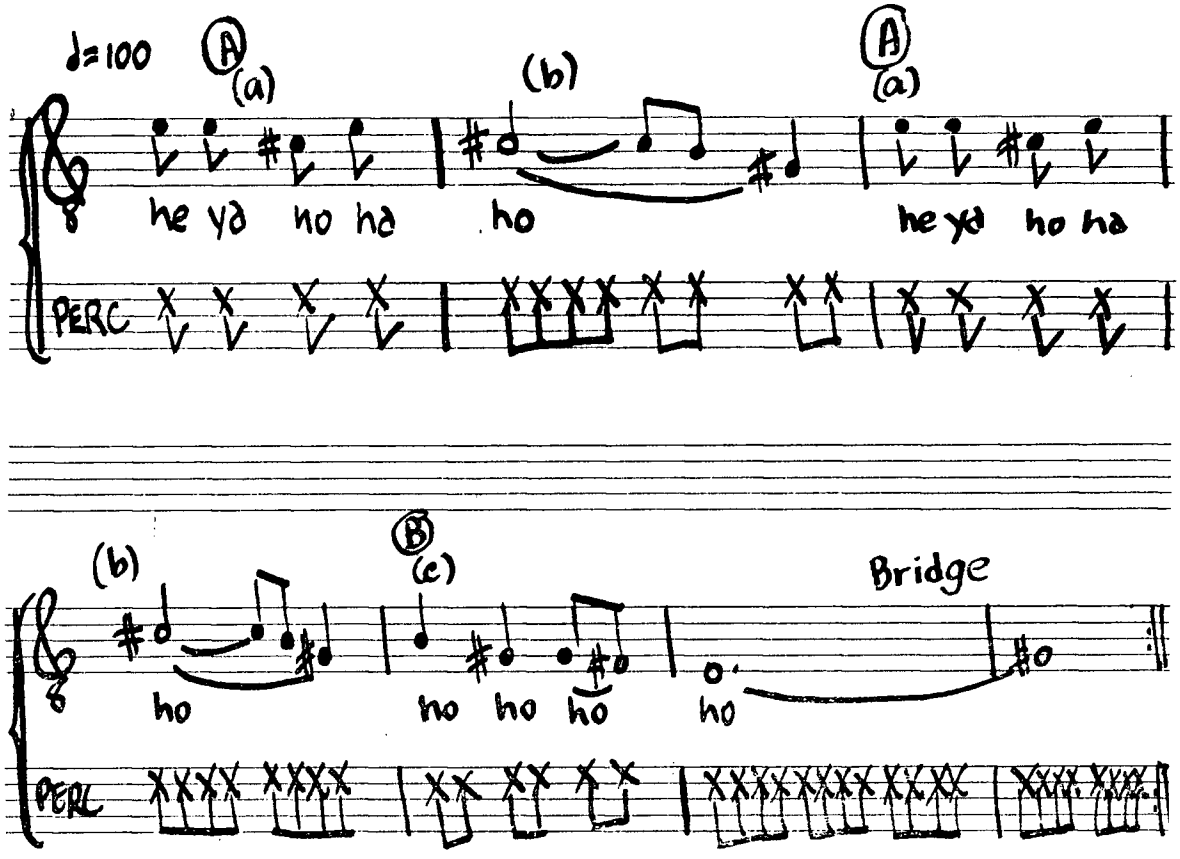
---

177 ♩=96, increases to 108



Song #177 is one of the thirteen versions related to #18 which occur in this sample. Here we see only the first two phrases, as a reminder of the piece. Also please note the tempo -- much slower than that of #18. Perhaps one-third of all the renditions are sung in a similarly slow tempo.

178



Pitch: sung about 30 cents lower than is indicated in notation

Contour: descending

Melodic range: octave

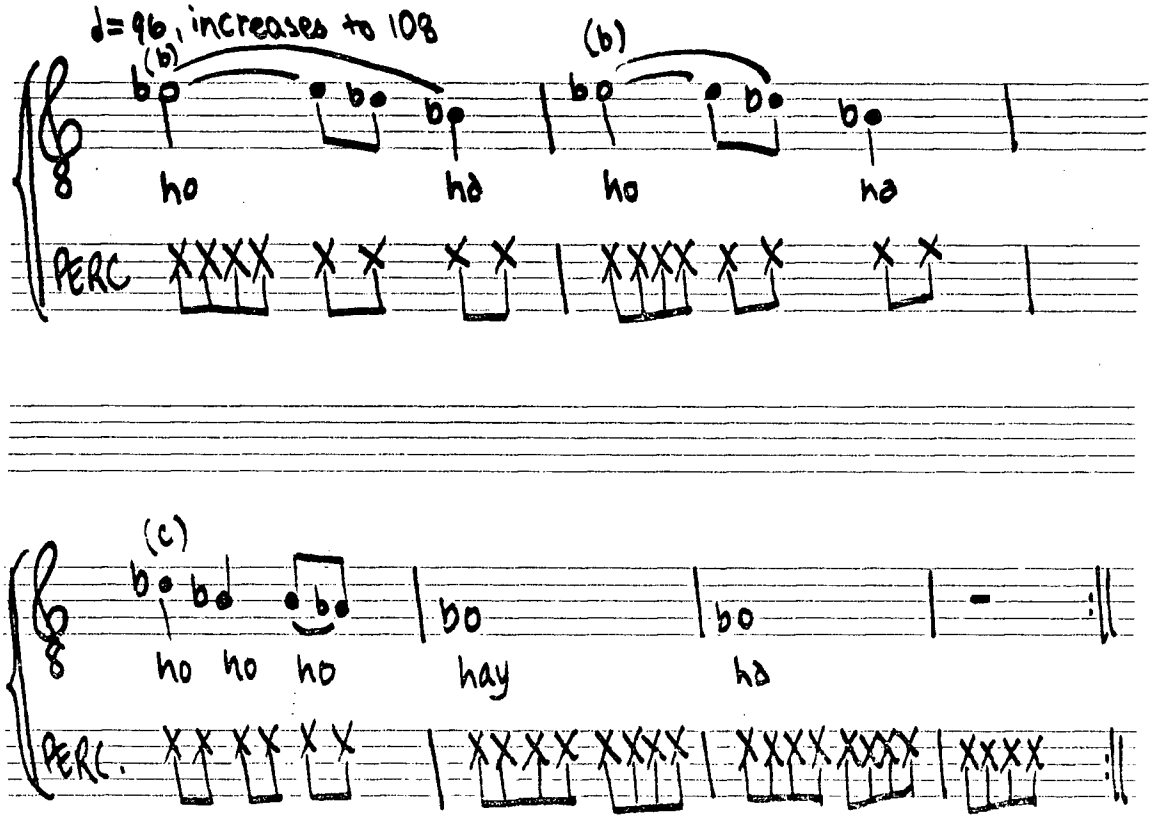
Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - do, re, mi, sol, la, do)

Form: A A B
a+b a+b c

In simplified form, what we have seen here is this equation: #176 + #177 = #178. That is, the form, and the rhythmic motives of #176, plus the intervals of #177 equals the new piece, #178. Notice also how they are all in a rather slow tempo -- more a function of inertia at this time. In other words, a slower pulse has been set up and is difficult to break out of.

#179

Song #179 is also in a slower tempo.



Pitch: Slight Pitch rise

Contour: descending

Melodic range: sixth

Scale: pentatonic (from lowest - do, re, mi, sol, la)

Form: (using letters to mean the same motives as in #176 and #178.)

b b c

Here we see familiar motives; "c", again, as a closing phrase, but "b" used without "a" to alternate with it. In any case, these four songs give us a valuable insight into compositional techniques:

> Nos. 176, 177, 178, 179 taken together reveal the importance of extemporization in the compositional and performance practices of slahal songs.

PART III

A résumé of song characteristics

Many characteristics of slahal song have become apparent with the transcriptions and analyses. To begin, we find that most songs are in duple meter, with only three exceptions in the entire sample, Nos. 40, 84 and 98, in triple meter. Most songs are monophonic although you frequently hear what appears to be parallel fourths or parallel fifths. This second voice usually consists of several women singing above the men in a range more comfortable for their voices. And although it appears that the upper part has a harmonic function,in reality the women are simply singing the identical piece a fourth or a fifth higher than the men. Frequently this produces some most interesting cross-relations as in #156 where the women are a third above the men.

Most of the slahal songs are pentatonic. However, all of the possible inversions of that scale are used with great frequency. In the following chart notice the occurrence of the various permutations. I use the moveable "do" solfège system in which no fixed pitch is implied. Also, please keep in mind that "do" does not necessarily serve as the tonic; my use of solfège is to suggest specific intervallic relationships.

Notice also the number of songs which consist only of the outline of a major triad.

Table #1

USE OF SCALES

Song no.	Scale	Placement of intervals (from low to high)
M1	pentatonic	sol la do re mi sol la do
M2	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la do
M3	pentatonic	re mi sol la do re mi
M4	pentatonic (modif.)	la do re mi
M5	pentatonic (modif.)	sol la do re
M6	major triad	sol do mi
1	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la
1a	pentatonic	sol la do re mi sol la
2	pentatonic (modif.)	la do re mi
3	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la do
4	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la do
5	pentatonic	do re mi sol la
6	major triad	do mi sol
7	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la do
8	pentatonic	do re mi sol la
9	pentatonic (modif.)	mi sol la
10	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la do
11	pentatonic	re mi sol la do re
12	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la
13	pentatonic	sol la do re mi sol la
14	two-tones	mi sol
15	pentatonic (modif.)	la do re mi
16*	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la
17	major triad	sol do mi
18	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la do
19	pentatonic	sol la do re mi
20	pentatonic (modif)	la do re mi
21	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la
22	3 tones	do re mi
23	pentatonic	re mi sol la do re mi
24+	(two scales in the same)	do re mi
	song. One is pentatonic)	re mi sol la do re mi
25	pentatonic (modif.)	la do re mi
26	major triad	do mi sol
27	pentatonic	sol la do re mi
28a	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la
28b	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la
29	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la do
30	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la do
31	major triad	do mi sol
32	pentatonic	re mi sol la do re mi
33	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la do
34	pentatonic	sol la do re mi sol la do
35	major triad	do mi sol
36	major triad	do mi sol
37	pentatonic (modif.)	do re mi sol

*Yakima song

+the pitch that was "do" changes into "re" for the second part of the song

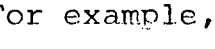
USE OF SCALES (cont.)

Song no.	Scale	Placement of intervals (from low to high)
38	pentatonic	do re mi sol la
39	pentatonic	sol la do re mi
40	pentatonic	la do re mi sol
41	pentatonic	do re mi sol la
42	major triad	do mi sol
43	pentatonic (modif.)	la do re mi
44	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la do
45	major triad	sol do mi
46*	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la
47	pentatonic (modif.)	la do re mi
48	pentatonic (modif.)	re mi sol la
49	pentatonic (modif.)	re mi (fa) sol la do re mi
50	pentatonic	do re mi sol la do re mi
51	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la do
52	pentatonic	sol la do re mi sol la
53	pentatonic	sol la do re mi
54*	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la
55	pentatonic	sol la do re mi sol la
56	pentatonic	do re mi sol la do re mi
57	pentatonic	do re mi sol la
58	pentatonic (modif.)	la do re mi
59	major triad	do mi sol
77	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la do re
84	pentatonic	la do re mi sol
98	major triad	do mi sol
137	pentatonic	re mi sol la do re mi
142	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la
156	pentatonic (modif.)	do re mi sol
176	diatonic	do re mi sol la ti
177	pentatonic	la do re mi sol la do
178	pentatonic	do re mi sol la do
179	pentatonic	do re mi sol la

Of the 77 songs represented here:

49	are fully pentatonic
12	are pentatonic, minus one tone
1	is pentatonic, minus two tones
1	is pentatonic, with a passing "fa"
1	is diatonic
11	consist of three tones forming a major triad
1	consists of three tones -- do, re, mi
1	consists of two tones -- mi, sol
77	

*Yakima song

The percussion accompaniment, as we have seen,is basically in regular eighth-note pulses. The only exceptions to this rule is in cases where the power and strength of a song is waning and certain players wish to recapture that power by emphasizing certain notes and temporarily slowing down the percussion accompaniment as in Nos. 35, 36 and 55. When asked, Louis Miranda quickly acknowledged this phenomenon and, in fact, told us that there are specific linguistic designations for each type of percussion accompaniment. For example,  is called /tatomé'ɬ/in the Squamish dialect.

In the song sample we have seen that while some slahal songs have an undulating contour, most are descending in shape. At the same time, a vast majority of songs demonstrate a significant pitch rise. Particularly if the song has undergone many repetitions do we find a larger rise in pitch. This phenomenon occurs quite often in native musics. Edward Sapir has stated that rising pitch was a characteristic of the Nootka language and Helen H. Roberts and Morris Swadesh (1955) use this to explain the fact that nearly one-half of the songs Sapir collected, demonstrate a pitch rise. Ida Halpern explains the pitch rise phenomenon in Kwakiutl music as being part of "a distinct variation principle"within the songs which consists of a persistent upward movement of pitch (Halpern, 1967, p. 7). In slahal, I would agree that the pitch rise is due to the excitement provoked by the game and the quick tempo although not necessarily that it has to do with song variation.

Certain slahal songs have occurred in the sample with more frequency than others, yet it is interesting to note that two identical versions of a song are quite rare. The following are the most common differences when comparing two versions of the same song:

1) The tempi are sometimes quite different as in the case of Nos. 18 and 177.

2) The songs are often "performed" in different tonalities, one higher or lower than the other.

3) We occasionally see a variation of a familiar melody which is close enough to the first one to be recognized as such as in the case of Nos. M2, 1, 28a and 28b.

4) The song may use a certain number of descending sequences thus affecting its length, and its melodic range. Often, the number of sequences has either been expanded or decreased. The reason for this phenomenon is directly related to the absolute pitch of the starting note. If it is higher, the singers can continue to add sequences, singing lower and lower while still remaining in a comfortable vocal range (see #18 and #137.)

5) Often, we find that the song gradually changes -- particularly in its rhythmic aspects. This occurs largely in the case where the song is rather uninteresting. The "lead" singers are

aware of this fact and in order to revitalize the singing and recapture some spirit or power, they change a figure like  into  , and inject some life into their team. Such is the case in Nos. 26, 30, 31, and many more.

Another interesting characteristic of slahal songs is the occasional use of neutral thirds and other quarter-tones. See Nos. 25, 47, 26 and 36.

It has already been mentioned how slahal songs are initiated by a person who sings the loudest and with the most confidence. I have long been sceptical as to whether or not an entire song is in the mind of the leader at the time he initiates the song. One reason for doubt is that frequently the individual starting the song might hold a single note for a few seconds before proceeding. A very interesting insight into this question came before our eyes when looking at Nos. 176, 177 and 178 and how #176 plus #177 logically led to #178 thus proving that often we have "instantaneous composition". Perhaps this is the manner in which new songs accrue to the repertoire.

Among the 194 songs I found that six of them were sung by the Yakima Indians in their style which is quite different from that of the Coast Salish and which the Salish will not imitate. The Yakimas are from eastern Washington and are a Plateau group. For examples see Nos. 16, 46 and 54. The other Yakima songs occurred at Nos. 60 and 66 (Lummi Reserve, Wash., 1970) and No. 146 (Lummi, 1971).

Finally, I have prepared a table to see the frequency of repetition for the slahal songs discussed in this work including those between nos. 60 and 185 which are similar to those already transcribed and analysed in Part II:

Table #2

FREQUENCY OF REPETITION

The following table will be helpful in specifying where and when a particular song occurred:

M1-6: June 7, 1969 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#1-26: June 6, 1970 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#27-67: June 20, 1970-- Lummi Reserve, Wash.

#68-129: June 5, 1971 -- Cultus Lake, B.C.

#130-141: June 19, 1971--Lummi Reserve, Wash.

#142-185: June 20, 1971--Lummi Reserve, Wash.

Song no.	When else it occurs in the sample (by song number).	Total number of repetitions
M1	#13, 52, 63, 82	5
M2	1, 12, 28a, 28b, 79, 97, 105, 122, 153, 158, 160, 163, 166	14
M3	32	2
M4	15, 20, 58, 61, 96, 123, 128 132, 147, 150	11
M5		1
M6	17, 94, 145	4
1	See M2	See M2
1a	34b, 100, 114	4
2	25, 47, 161	4
3	10, 29, 33, 44, 70	6
4	7, 30	3
5	57	2
6	31, 59, 74, 91, 15, 107	7
7	See #4	See #4
8	38, 90, 104, 110	5
9	55	2
10	See #3	See #3
11	87	2
12	See M2	See M2
13	See M1	See M1
14		1

FREQUENCY OF REPETITION (cont.)

Song no.	Where else it occurs in the sample (by song number)	Total number of repetitions
15	See #M4	See #M4
16	--(Yakima song)	1
17	See M6	See M6
18	62, 73, 76, 92, 115, 121, 126, 138, 151, 177, 181, 183	13
19	75, 83, 134	4
20	See M4	See M4
21	--	1
22	125, 149	3
23	93, 120, 135, 164	5
24	68, 81	3
25	See #2	See #2
26	--	1
27	39, 53, 65, 106, 162, 168	7
28a&b	See M2	See M2
29	See #3	See #3
30	See #4	See #4
31	See #6	See #6
32	See M3	See M3
33	See #3	See #3
34	86, 88	3
35	--	1
36	26	2
37	67, 80, 101	4
38	See #8	See #8
39	See #27	See #27
40	84	2
41	--	1
42	--	1
43	--	1
44	See #3	See #3
45	See M6	See M6
46	54, 66 (yakima)	3
47	See #2	See #2
48	--	1
49	--	1
50	89, 110, 133, 143, 154	6
51	See #3	See #3
52	See M1	See M1
53	See #27	See #27
54	See #46 (Yakima)	See #46
55	See #9	See #9
56	--	1
57	See #5	See #5
58	See M4	See M4
59	See #6	See #6

FREQUENCY OF REPETITIONS (cont.)

Song no.	Where else it occurs in the sample (by song number)	Total number of repetitions
77	152	2
84	See #40	See #40
98	--	1
137	78, 103, 117, 155	5
142	136, 141, 148	4
156	69, 108, 113, 119, 130, 171, 174	8
176	--	1
177	See #18	See #18
178	--	1
179	--	1

PART IV

Concluding remarks

It has been well established that music is intimately linked with slahal playing and in fact that a slahal game would not proceed without music. Yet we have not yet touched upon a more basic point -- why is slahal played as frequently as it is? The game is attractive for many reasons: there is a good deal of interest in betting; the game becomes quite involving if you have some money down. There is a certain amount of fun-making and joking associated with playing as well as the excitement inherent in winning a game. And surely there is the aesthetic appeal of the music for both the listener and the performer, to say nothing of the fact that any spectator may sing along. But more important than any of the above slahal is an Indian game, played by Indians, and which stands for Indianness. In slahal we find a group of people of a common ethnic identity participating in common activities -- helping their teammates, feeling a sense of achievement in the monetary reward and in successful group action. This is particularly significant for North American Indians who have surely been the underdogs for a long time and who have been deprived of these positive feelings in real life (Kew, 1970, 305-309).

Slahal plays a part in what exists today as Indian cultural life on the North Pacific Coast. It is important in that it is an expression of being Indian and a specific and positive cultural identity to live with.

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