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Music and Culture Areas of Native California

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FROM the standpoint of ethnomusicology, California has been described as a neglected field of research (Wallace 1978:648) and one of the least well-known areas in all of North America (Vennum 1979:349). In fact, however, thousands of recordings have been collected in the area, and there is a fairly extensive literature providing song-texts, translations, and other information concerning the performance contexts and functions of native music. For many tribes or localities, the music itself has been notated and analyzed in considerable detail. Only a small portion of this data is considered in Bruno Nettl's widely accepted synopsis of the "California-Yuman" music area (1954:18-21), and a more accurate and balanced overview now seems possible.

This paper sketches the principal music and culture areas of native California and identifies general characteristics that distinguish the region in the overall sphere of Native American music. Rather than provide notations or detailed analyses I describe the music according to a set of general parameters that I have found useful in previous comparative research. The following elements are considered: (1) vocal quality or timbre; (2) presence of words or vocables, text-setting, and repetition of text; (3) musical organization or texture; (4) musical form or structure, including phrase-length; (5) melodic range or ambitus; (6) melodic contour or direction; (7) scale, particularly number of tones in scale; (8) rhythm, especially meter; and (9) other notable tendencies. For readers who want more detailed information, sources describing

the music or the performance contexts of public singing are noted throughout.

The focus is on vocal music, and instrumental music is discussed mainly in relation to these styles, as a more complete account would pose a new set of comparative problems and entail different descriptive strategies. Moreover, except for the section which follows, this paper deals with public performance styles of music and dance that are still being performed today or for which there are recordings which indicate the musical texture and other characteristics of ensemble singing. Usually, this means fairly recent tape recordings, because earlier collectors, confined to disc phonographs or the older cylinder equipment, mainly recorded solo singing or speech in an interview setting.

There remain some important gaps in the record—areas in which indigenous musical traditions have become extinct and for which adequate documentation may not exist or further research is necessary. For these regions I shall only try to describe the evidence that exists, suggest some probabilities, and assess the prospects for future research.

ANIMAL-SPEECH SONGS AND THEIR HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

As George Herzog once observed (1935:24), Native American musical repertoires are not usually homogeneous but generally include "foreign" elements and "survivals" as well as songs in the dominant public style or styles. While this paper follows established procedure

in focusing on the latter, it seems important at the outset to discuss a certain genre or type of song that is likely to be excluded from standard comparative studies but has considerable significance from an historical perspective.

The earliest wax cylinder recordings of native Californians were collected by Alfred L. Kroeber shortly after 1900 among Yurok Indians along the lower Klamath River. Many of these were of spoken texts, but the collection also included songs with titles such as the following: money medicine song, deer hunting song, song used in boat when water is rough, medicine song from Buzzard for stomach sickness, lucky song for gathering acorns, medicine song to dissolve anger, song for doctoring a sick dog, and so on (Keeling 1991). Far from being an artform or a means of entertainment, this type of Yurok song was magical in function, used to wish for something or bring about some specific result. A great diversity existed, as these songs touched on nearly every aspect of native culture in its aboriginal forms.

These personal "medicine" songs were usually simple and repetitive in character: in most cases one or two melodic phrases were repeated over and over for as long as the singer wished. Most often the song was considered to be an imitation of something that a spirit-person or animal said or did in the mythic time before human beings existed, and in many cases the song was quite speech-like, though always with certain mannerisms that distinguished it from normal human speech.

This general type of song has been collected all over North America, among various Inuit and Yupik cultures of the Arctic region, and even among the indigenous peoples of Siberia and elsewhere in northeastern Asia. Because of this huge distribution and the relatively simple character of these songs, some believe that they represent an ancient form of Native American singing and perhaps even the basic style from which all others developed. This is an idea first

expressed by Herzog, who called these "animal songs" as a sort of generic label (1935:30-31). My own study of over 100 such songs (Keeling 1992a) leads me to agree with Herzog. The basic characteristics of this type of song can be listed as follows.

1. The vocal delivery is speech-like, but besides having more pitch inflection it usually differs from normal speech through presence of nasality, glottalization, or other mannerisms which signify the speech of spirit- persons or animals.
2. The songs usually have words rather than vocables, and the setting of the text is syllabic.
3. This is basically a soloistic genre (though certain styles of group singing fit the same general profile).
4. The song usually consists of one or two brief phrases that are repeated several times (ten or more on most recordings).
5. The melodic range is very narrow (a fifth or less).
6. The melodic contour is level or undulating.
7. Songs in which pitches can be discerned have simple scales with only two, three, or four notes (though exceptions occur).
8. Simple meters (for example 2/4 or 3/4) tend to be most common, but there is much variety in this respect, and irregular or complex meters are also frequently heard; the tempo is usually moderate or slow.
9. The songs have a simple and repetitive character, giving the clear impression of an incantation rather than a "song" as such.

These songs are hardly ever heard today, but I mention them first because so many have been collected in the California region as a whole. This may be due in part to the fact that Indians of the northern and Sierra Nevada regions were among the last in North America to be influenced by contact with Euro-Americans. The elderly singers whom Kroeber interviewed along the Klamath River at the turn of the century could remember songs as they existed before most Indians in that area had ever even seen a white person. Native Americans of most other regions had by this time been affected by contact with whites for hundreds of

years. This is one reason why California Indian music can be said to have a particularly ancient heritage. With this in mind, let us proceed to a summary showing the major areas in which predominant public styles can be distinguished.

NORTHWESTERN CALIFORNIA

A very unique and relatively self-contained civilization developed in this area. It was centered among the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa tribes but was shared to a lesser extent by neighboring Indian groups in northwestern California and southern Oregon. While in some respects (First Salmon Ceremony, importance of status and wealth, etc.) these cultures can be viewed as belonging to the Pacific Northwest culture area, their ritual systems and music are distinctively Californian and without close parallels elsewhere.

Two of the most important northwestern California ceremonies are the White Deerskin Dance and the Jump Dance. These are comparable to New Year celebrations, but they are deeply religious in character as their purpose is to renew the world and purify it from the polluting influence of human beings. The music for these ceremonies is usually slow in tempo and the singers often seem to have a "sobbing" quality in their voices, as if they were crying. This music is still being performed today, but it is usually considered too sacred for public demonstrations or for entertainment purposes, so it can only be heard by those who attend the actual ceremonies.

By contrast, songs of the Brush Dance are often sung in public. This is also a religious ceremony, traditionally held in order to cure a sick child, but even though it is a sacred event it is also an occasion for having fun. A distinction is made between "heavy songs" and "light songs" during the Brush Dance, but even the more religious heavy songs have a strong rhythmic feeling that derives from the contrast between a repeated bass pattern (sung by the

group) and the syncopated solo part that is sung by a lead singer.

This type of counterpoint is very rare in Native American music, but some form of it occurs in nearly all types of group singing from this area. In fact, there are several general characteristics that hold for all northwestern California ceremonial singing (except in Flower Dance songs), and the same basic style is heard in gambling songs. These basic traits can be listed as follows.

1. The solo part often has a "sobbing" quality, and there is much tension, pulsation, nasality, and glissando.

2. The song-texts most often consist of vocables rather than words, and the setting is melismatic.

3. The musical texture features a solo part plus some type of bass part sung by the group.

4. The melodic form is typically strophic or through-composed, and songs usually include a contrasting phrase or groups of phrases sung at a higher pitch level than the opening melodic phrases.

5. The melodic range is extremely wide (usually an octave or more, and often as wide as a twelfth).

6. The melodic contour is typically descending in contour.

7. Scales are most often pentatonic and anhemitonic.

8. Simple meters are the general rule, though dropped or added beats are frequent, and there is a tendency toward syncopation; irregular meters or complex meters are rare.

9. The solo part may include melodic motives of the bass part, especially at the end of phrases, and there is a general tendency for the solo part to begin in a high register, then descend gradually so as to merge with the bass part at the end of phrases; the overall impression is that of an apparently unrestrained and emotional style with a strong element of improvisation in the solo part.

More specific information on the music and ceremonial life of tribes in this region can be found in Angulo and d'Harcourt (1931), Barrett (1963), Goldschmidt and Driver (1940), Keeling (1985, 1989, 1992a, 1992b), and Kroeber and Gifford (1949). There are many historical re-

cordings from this area among the holdings at the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology (University of California, Berkeley), the Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music, and the Library of Congress.

NORTHEASTERN CALIFORNIA

The songs and dances of the Modoc, Achumawi, Atsugewi, Yana, and other tribes of northeastern California are much less well-known. In pre-contact times, the ceremonial life of this region seems to have been less developed than elsewhere in California, and the main occasions for public singing were for the Girls' Puberty Ceremony and gambling games. Nearly all of the older recordings collected in this area fit the profile of "animal songs" as described above, and the style of group singing in this area was evidently similar. Recently, this has become a sort of "international" zone, musically speaking. One can hear Pan-Indian singing at the Susanville pow-wow, while on other occasions (such as the annual Bear Dance) one hears hand-game songs from various tribes in California or Nevada, and other music in the North-central style discussed below.

Major published sources on earlier music-making and related aspects of culture in this area include Angulo and d'Harcourt (1931), Garland (1988), Hall and Nettle (1955), Kroeber (1925), Nettle (1965), and Park (1986). There are a fair number of archival recordings at the Archives of Traditional Music (Indiana University) and at Hearst Museum of Anthropology.

NORTH-CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

This large musical style area stretches from Mendocino and Sonoma counties in the west, across the Sacramento Valley, and eastward into the northern Sierra Nevada. Major tribal groups include the various divisions of the Pomo, and the Yuki, Nomlaki, Patwin, Maidu, Konkow, Nisenan, and eastern Miwok.

Music and ceremonial life throughout this region were very complex. In precontact times a number of different local cultures and religious systems were found, and there have also been major transformations in music and spiritual life during the past hundred years, mainly through the advent of the 1870 Ghost Dance and the subsequent emergence of what has been called the Dreamer religion or Bole-Marú cult. Still, it is best to think of this as a unified musical culture area, and in some respects the most distinctly Californian area insofar as each of the others has a greater affinity with musical and cultural developments beyond the boundaries of the state.

In ancient times, many of the north-central California tribes shared a ceremonial complex that has been called the Kuksu religion. In a sense these rituals were also aimed at renewing and preserving nature (much like the World Renewal observances in northwestern California), but dance rituals of the Kuksu religion also featured impersonations of supernatural beings. These dances were held in large, semi-subterranean ceremonial houses or "roundhouses." Sometimes these are known as "Bighead" dances, because of a costume the main dancer wears, but in fact the Bighead was only one of several deities and animals that were imitated.

In most areas the spirit impersonations were connected with initiation rites into men's secret societies. Boys would be taken into the roundhouses by their adult male sponsors and subjected to formalized ordeals, such as being frightened or shot with false arrows. The younger members were allowed to dance as smaller deities such as Duck, Goose, Coyote, or Deer. Later, as they became older and more knowledgeable, they would perhaps be permitted to impersonate more important ones such as the Cloud, the Woman, Bighead, or Grizzly Bear.

Throughout this area the various tribes also had secular dances such as the Shakehead or the

Pomo Ball Dance, and these illustrate the basic style of group singing in the region. This music resembles the northwestern style in being contrapuntal, but the nature of the counterpoint is very different. In north-central California, the solo part is augmented by another basically rhythmic part that is known as "the rock." This accompaniment is sung by one person, and the singing itself is called "holding rock." Besides the soloist and the rock there is also the rhythm of clapsticks (played by the singers) and very often the sound of whistles (blown by dancers), so that the whole musical texture is fairly complex.

The various rhythmic patterns are particularly subtle and distinctive. Rather than having a syncopated solo part over a regular bass ostinato in what Lomax would code as "simple meter," many of these songs have what is defined in cantometrics terms as "complex meter" (Lomax 1976:190). The basic characteristics of the style can be summarized as follows.

1. The vocal delivery is tense and forceful, but there is less nasality, pulsation, glottalization, and glissando than in northwestern singing.
2. The song-texts usually consist of vocables rather than words, and the setting of the text is syllabic.
3. The musical texture includes a solo vocal part, a vocal accompaniment known as the rock (sung by an individual), and rhythmic support by instruments such as the clapstick and single-pitched whistles.
4. The typical melodic form is either (a) a simple litaney with variation or (b) a complex litaney. In the latter case there is a contrasting section (sometimes called "the turn" by native singers) that is sung at a higher pitch level.
5. The melodic range is moderate (usually between a fifth and an octave).
6. The contour is typically level or undulating.
7. Three, four, and five tone scales are the most typical, and half-steps or minor second intervals are common.
8. Simple meters (such as 2/4 and 3/4) and complex meters (especially an 8/8 measure comprised of 3 + 3 + 2) are about equally represented.

9. The rhythmic complexity of the singing is connected to a sophisticated formalization of dance, as there are different step-patterns associated with particular types of vocal rhythm.

Generally speaking, while published sources on native culture and ritual life in this region are fairly numerous and of good quality, studies of the music itself are less satisfactory for one reason or another. Some of the more important published writings are Powers (1877), Barrett (1917), Kroeber (1925), Angulo and d'Harcourt (1931), Gifford (1955), Densmore (1958), Meighan and Riddell (1972), and Halpern (1988). There are many historical recordings from this area at the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, the Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music, and the Library of Congress.

SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY AND ADJACENT FOOTHILLS OF THE SIERRA NEVADA

Music and culture among the various Yokuts tribes of this area differ sharply from those of the northern-central area. Though instruments such as the clapstick and cocoon rattle were known in both regions, the Yokuts musical style has greater affinity with that of their easterly neighbors the Monache (Western Mono) and other tribes of the Great Basin area. There are also certain cultural connections to southern California, such as mourning rituals and initiation ceremonies involving the drinking of crushed *Datura* roots (Jimson weed or toloache).

By drinking the narcotic *Datura*, young adults in this area were expected to have visions or hallucinations in which they formed relations with a guardian spirit. In many cases their rapport with a spirit helper was symbolized by a song, and song titles such as Eagle Song, Coyote Song, Owl Song, or Beaver Song generally derive from relationships of this sort. Hand game songs and mourning songs are also very prominent in the Yokuts repertoires.

In Yokuts singing, the vocal delivery is much softer and more relaxed than in the

northwestern and north-central styles discussed previously, and rather than singing in some form of counterpoint the Yokuts ensemble style has a unison texture: that is, when there are two or more singers they sing the same melody together. Most importantly, there is a certain type of melodic form or structure that is very common in songs from this area. In many of the songs, each phrase of the music is sung twice, so that many of the songs have an AABB-type structure. This type of "paired" patterning is also common in songs of the Ghost Dance, a religious movement that began among the Paiutes of Walker Lake, Nevada, and gradually spread across the Great Basin and eastward into the Plains culture area, but the historical basis of this correspondence is not well understood. The general characteristics of Yokuts singing are listed as follows.

1. The delivery is soft and relaxed.
2. The song-texts often consist of vocables but in many cases consist of words (sometimes in archaic or foreign languages), and the setting of the text is syllabic.
3. The musical texture is unison singing, with regular rhythmic accenting by the clapstick.
4. The melodic form is usually some type of complex litany, sometimes with a contrasting section at higher pitch level (the "rise") but most typically with paired repetitions in the pattern AABBAABB (etc.).
5. The melodic range is moderate (usually from a fifth to an octave).
6. The contour is typically level or undulating.
7. Scales are usually pentatonic or heptatonic.
8. Simple, irregular, and complex meters are heard.
9. The relaxed delivery and frequency of a form with paired repetitions (AABB) connect this style with that of the Monache (Western Mono) and other Great Basin tribes to the east.

Yokuts culture and ritual life are described at some length in Kroeber (1925:474-543), and the music has been discussed by Hatch (1958), Merriam and Spier (1958), Pietroforte (1965), and Cummins (1979). Historical recordings are

available at the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology and at the Library of Congress (American Folklife Center), and in the John P. Harrington collection at the National Anthropological Archives (Smithsonian Institution).

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

The entire area south of the Tehachapi Mountains, both coastal and interior, can be viewed as a fairly unified region, and includes tribal groups such as the Luiseño, Serrano, Cahuilla, Diegueño (or Ipai and Tipai), and Mohave. This is another "international" zone in which Californian musical traditions have a fairly strong relationship with those of other native peoples to the east.

From a comparative perspective, the most striking element in public singing of this region is the presence of songs that are sung in groups or series. These song-cycles are mythological: that is, each song depicts a particular image or event, and strung together in a series these songs reveal the story of events that took place shortly after the world was created. Prior to European contact, there were more than a hundred songs in some of the cycles, so that the singing of them took some time, and many different cycles were known. These could be considered a form of literature as much as music, and similar traditions of epic poetry are found among other Indian peoples throughout the greater Southwest culture area, for example, the Havasupai and Walapai of Arizona and the Yaquis of Arizona and northwestern Mexico (Evers and Molina 1987).

In earlier times, these songs were recited as part of a very complex ceremonial life, and there were two main categories of rituals: (1) various rituals to initiate adolescents of either sex as they approached adulthood, and (2) ceremonies to mourn the passing of tribal members. Today, much of the early ceremonial life has been lost, and many of the song-cycles have been forgotten. But the cycle known as

Bird Songs are still being performed, in a style that Indians believe has been handed down continuously since the era described in the mythic texts themselves. The words are said to be derived from an ancient language which is no longer spoken nor understood by modern singers, and the music itself varies in style from stately, chant-like introductory songs to highly syncopated melodies with catchy rhythms. In this area, dance movements were not highly developed (by comparison with the north-central area, for example) and the main focus of the ritual was narrative. The general profile for public singing in southern California can be given as follows.

1. The vocal delivery is fairly soft and relaxed, but the tessitura or range of the singing is lower than that of the San Joaquin Valley tribes.

2. The songs have words in an archaic language no longer understood by modern singers, and the setting of the text is syllabic.

3. The texture of the music is unison, all singing the same melody, with regular rhythmic accompaniment by seed-rattles.

4. The melodic form is best classified as complex litany: that is, the songs consist of one or two phrases repeated over and over but typically include a contrasting section sung at higher pitch level (the "rise").

5. The melodic range is moderate (usually from a fifth to an octave).

6. The contour is typically level or undulating.

7. Scales are usually heptatonic or pentatonic.

8. Complex and irregular meters are very common.

9. The songs are strung together into lengthy cycles or series, and there is little emphasis on the relation of songs to dance movements in this basically narrative style.

There are some excellent sources on music and culture of this region; these include Dubois (1908), Waterman (1910), Kroeber (1925), Herzog (1928), and Roberts (1933), among others. Historical recordings from this area are available in collections at the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, the Indiana Uni-

versity Archives of Traditional Music, and the Library of Congress.

CENTRAL COAST

Even more than in southern California, the native cultures of this area (from the San Francisco Bay south to the Santa Barbara Channel, and including the Marin Miwok, Costanoan, Esselen, Salinan, and Chumash) were severely diminished by missionization and other devastating effects of white settlement during the 18th and 19th centuries. Ceremonial (or other public) songs have not been performed in this area for over a hundred years, and the music is not adequately documented in published sources. In reviewing the available evidence and prospects for further research it seems best to consider the northern and southern groups of this area separately.

The predominant public vocal style among the northerly groups (Marin Miwok, Costanoan, Esselen, and Salinan) can not be defined at this writing. From various sources it seems that the *Kuksu* ceremonies of the north-central area were also practiced among these coastal tribes, and instruments connected with the north-central style (split-stick rattle, whistles, and cocoon rattle) are also documented here (Levy 1978: 490). Therefore, it seems most likely that these groups belong musically to the north-central region, but more research is needed, particularly because musical influences from the San Joaquin Valley (Yokuts) peoples are clearly present but difficult to measure.

A fairly large body of published sources, historical recordings, and manuscripts are available for future research. Translated song-texts and other comments on Costanoan and Salinan music can be found in Kroeber (1925:471-472) and Mason (1912:156-159), and Stevenson (1973:8-13) even provides notations for six (Mutsun) Costanoan songs that were originally transcribed by Fray Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta at Mission San Juan Bautista between

1810 and 1823. Recordings of 28 songs sung by a Costanoan (or Esselen) woman are available among the cylinder originals at the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology (Keeling 1991: 4-8), but by far the most promising resources for future research are the recordings and unpublished notes of John P. Harrington. Harrington's recordings of Chochenyo (East Bay) Costanoan music were listed and discussed in Gray and Schupman (1990:52-68). His field-notes, currently available on microfilm, are summarized in the published guide by Mills and Brickfield (1986).

The outlook for future research on music of the more southerly Chumash peoples seems even more promising, though existing publications on the subject pose some thorny questions for clear music-areal mapping. Tegler (1979) and Gray and Schupman (1990) list and describe a large collection of cylinders recorded by Harrington between 1912 and 1919. From these annotated catalogues it seems clear that the singers knew songs and song-cycles from other southern California tribes besides their own, and Tegler's brief summary of Chumash musical characteristics (1986) also suggests a definite connection to the southern California musical style as outlined above. At the same time, however, these sources mention other genres that are not documented elsewhere in southern California, and Tegler (1986:441) mentioned aspects of ensemble singing and associated instruments that are distinctly foreign to the southern California style as profiled above.

These disparities need to be addressed in future research, but the available evidence in historical recordings and related information gathered by Harrington is very promising, and much relevant information derived from Harrington's notes is available in publications by Blackburn (1975), Hudson (1979), Hudson and Underhay (1978), and Hudson et al. (1977).

According to Gray and Schupman (1990: 14), Helen Heffron Roberts notated some of the

songs collected by Harrington, and these are found among her Tachi Yokuts transcription notebooks (TY 75 and TY 76) at the Archive of Folk Song (Library of Congress).

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

From this survey we can see that it is not easy to generalize about California Indian music, as there are at least five different sub-areas that need to be distinguished. Nonetheless it does seem possible to make some statements about general tendencies and about the special place of California in the overall sphere of North American Indian music.

Vocal Quality

I list this characteristic first because vocal quality is easily perceived and has considerable significance as a cultural indicator. In many cases the timbre or phonology of a vocal style seems to symbolize certain attitudes and beliefs quite close to the core of cultural identity; thus (for example) the "sobbing" quality in Yurok and Hupa singing serves as the key for a general interpretation of the music and spiritual life in Keeling (1992a). There is at this writing no similar symbolic analysis for other vocal traditions of the California region, but some general remarks can be made.

The public singing among tribes of the northwestern and north-central areas is much more tense and forceful than that of the San Joaquin Valley and southern areas, and in this respect the entire state can be divided into two more general areas (northern and southern), except for the northeastern zone, which is less well-known and difficult to classify. Both of the southern sub-areas can be viewed as "international zones" in this respect, since the soft and relaxed delivery of the Yokuts tribes parallels that of the Great Basin culture area, and the more deep-voiced singing of southern California tribes (including the Chumash) seems to have an affinity with that of some other native groups in

the greater Southwest culture area.

One vocal mannerism that is found throughout California but not very often elsewhere in North America is the use of rhythmic "grunting" or shouting as a technique for vocal accompaniment. This is very prominent in group singing among the northwestern and north-central tribes, but has also been documented in southern California (Herzog 1928: 191) and among the Chumash (Tegler 1986: 441). It is much less common in Yokuts singing, but has been noted in mourning songs of the nearby Western Mono (Loether 1992).

Song Texts and Text-Setting

The general tendency in northwestern and north-central California is for ceremonial songs to consist mainly of meaningless syllables or vocables, while songs of the San Joaquin Valley and southern California tribes more often have words. However, there is considerable variety in this respect among all California tribes, and it seems difficult to justify a north-south division based on this parameter.

Among the Yurok and other northwestern tribes ceremonial singing is sometimes melismatic, but syllabic text-setting is otherwise the general rule throughout California. As in some other Native American musical traditions, the texts of California Indian songs are often sparse and allusive, so that a few repeated words may serve to symbolize a rather complicated story or mythological event that might otherwise take considerable time to explain in narrative fashion. This tendency towards texts of an obscure character is most obvious in southern California, where the words of Bird Songs are no longer understood by modern singers.

Musical Organization or Texture

The presence of vocal counterpoint as a basic element in public singing is an important characteristic that distinguishes California Indian music from that of other culture areas. While

certain types of drone polyphony have been noted among tribes of the Pacific Northwest (Nettl 1961:361-362), the tendency toward true rhythmic counterpoint is much more pronounced in California than in other parts of North America.

Contrapuntal styles of the northwestern and north-central areas have been discussed at some length, and these styles can be also heard in many recent recordings and in modern performances of the music. What is less well known is that tendencies toward polyphony (or even true counterpoint) have also been documented elsewhere in California, primarily in earlier sources. For example, Herzog (1928:187, 191) mentions the use of rhythmic grunting as an accompaniment among southern tribes in the Diegueño mourning ceremony and also in gambling songs of the peon game. Another form of counterpoint, in which a male chorus accompanies the singing of women, can be heard in Waterman's recordings of the Diegueño Tatahuila Dance. Similar practices were probably also known among the Yokuts and Monache (Western Mono), particularly in songs connected with mourning ceremonies, but these have not been adequately documented in published sources.

Musical Instruments

This essay focuses primarily on vocal music, and purely instrumental styles are not considered here. Nonetheless it seems important to note that instruments such as the elderberry flute and musical bow were widespread as solo instruments in California, the latter being a rarity in Native American music as a whole. These and other instruments are described in Angulo and d'Harcourt (1931), Roberts (1936), Wallace (1978), and Waterman (1908).

The drum or true membranophone is strikingly absent in nearly all of California, where a variety of other instruments is used to provide a rhythmic accompaniment or add complexity to

the musical texture of vocal ensembles. The most typical and distinctively Californian of these instruments is the split-stick rattle or clapstick, which is (or was) used to accompany singing among tribes of the northwestern, the north-central, San Joaquin Valley, and coastal sub-regions. Basically, this consists of a length of wood that is split from one end and the pith removed, the unsplit end serving as a handle. When beaten against the other hand, the free ends clashed together so as to produce a clacking sound which was used to mark the rhythm of the singing.

Whistles are used to accompany ritual singing in the northwestern and north-central styles, thus providing another element by which California Indian music can be divided into northern and southern zones. The moth cocoon rattle was used (in earlier times) in both the north-central and in the San Joaquin Valley areas but has not been documented in the northernmost and southernmost regions. Other instruments such as the log drum (used in north-central singing) and the gourd rattle (used throughout the southern California area) have more limited distributions in California.

Much more could be said about instruments, but for present purposes it is sufficient to reiterate the importance of the clapstick as a distinctively Californian instrument while noting that the whistles and gourd rattles seem to be "international" elements connecting California Indian music to that of the Northwest Coast and Southwest culture areas, respectively.

Musical Form or Structure

The formal device of including repeated or new melodic material sung at a higher pitch level than the opening phrases of a song was first noted as a basic feature of Mohave and Diegueño singing by Herzog (1928:193), who labeled this formal technique "the rise." Later, Nettl (1954:18-19) asserted that this was a

widespread characteristic that distinguished California Indian music from that of other culture areas. My initial response was to question this assertion, since Nettl's study, based on limited evidence, gives an overly simplistic image of California Indian music as a whole. But I am now inclined to agree with Nettl that various forms of "the rise" are indeed found in nearly every sub-region of California, even in musical styles and cultural contexts that are otherwise quite diverse. It is much less prevalent in adjacent culture areas or elsewhere in North America.

Melodic Characteristics (Range, Contour, Scale)

In melodic parameters the northwestern style differs from all other areas in being wide in range (usually an octave or wider), descending in contour, and generally having scales that are pentatonic and anhemitonic. By contrast, the general rule elsewhere is that the singing is moderate in range (between a fifth and an octave) and level or undulating in contour. While the other California styles also tend to be pentatonic (or tetratonic), scales with a half-step interval are fairly common in all but the northwestern area.

Meter and Rhythm

Except for the San Joaquin Valley region, the various California styles tend to be fairly complex from a rhythmic perspective, though for different reasons in each case. Simple meters tend to dominate in the northwestern area, but solo parts are often syncopated and contain many irregularities that contradict the basic beat of the group. Complex meters are fairly typical in the north-central style and in the southern areas, including the San Joaquin Valley and southern California tribes. The latter two styles also show a distinct tendency toward irregular meters.

Conservative Attitudes Relating to Music and Dance

At the beginning of this essay I commented on the unusual number of "animal songs" that have been collected in California, especially by early researchers, and suggested that this was perhaps due to the fact that native cultures of the northernmost and Sierra Nevada regions were among the last in North America to be greatly influenced by contact with whites. It should also be noted that California Indian peoples have also been fairly resistant to external or modernizing influences even in more recent times. The Ghost Dance of 1870 did have an impact on native religion in north-central California, but generally speaking syncretistic movements such as the Ghost Dance or the Native American Church made relatively little headway in California during the last hundred years even though they had considerable influence on native cultures in adjacent regions.

Neither have more recent Pan-Indian movements had success in California. In cities such as Los Angeles or in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area the modern Pow-wow and its music have become very popular among urban Indian people, especially those from other states. But the American Indian Movement and Pow-wow music have never become established in rural Indian communities in California (except in the northeastern region, where an annual Pow-wow is held at Susanville), and Indian people I have known in rural communities throughout the state seem to place much importance on doing things "the old way."

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON METHODOLOGY

In closing, it seems important to comment on the limitations of this type of (synchronic) music-areal analysis. In focusing on predominant styles, a study of this sort tends to exclude

other genres and styles which would need to be considered in a more detailed music history. For example, Keeling (1992b) identified several sub-styles in the northwestern California area, but only one is profiled here. The prospect of taking a statistical approach (that is, speaking in terms of averages that might tend to obscure the distinctions between various sub-styles) strikes me as being even more problematic from a methodological standpoint. In this paper I devoted a section to "animal songs" in order to provide some indication of historical depth, but other "subordinate" genres have not been considered. This is a methodological problem that Herzog (1935) noted decades ago but which has yet to be resolved in comparative research on Native American music.

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