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Niimina Ahubiya: Western Mono Song Genres

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ALTHOUGH Native American communities may lose their ancestral language or other aspects of their traditional culture, music seems to be more resistant to the continual onslaught of the dominant Euro-American culture. Even today, traditional music remains a vital part of Native American communities throughout the United States. In this article I examine one aspect of the musical¹ traditions of the Western Mono, specifically the different types of songs, and their functions within Western Mono society. First, I give a short synopsis of aboriginal Mono culture and society. Next, I discuss what little data have been published dealing with Mono music in the ethnographic literature. And finally, I present the data that I have collected.²

INTRODUCTION TO THE WESTERN MONO

The Western Mono (also known as the Sierra Mono or Monache) are a group of California Indians who during pre-Contact times inhabited the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada mountains in central California. Their territory included the San Joaquin, Kings, and Kaweah river valleys and tributaries, beginning at an elevation of 1,500 feet and extending to the crest of the Sierra. Today the Western Mono number slightly over 1,000 persons and live principally in and around the four foothill towns of Northfork (in Madera country), Auberry, Tollhouse, and Dunlap (in Fresno county), all within the boundaries of their aboriginal territory.

Traditionally, the Western Mono were a semi-nomadic people who possessed a hunting

and gathering economy. They lived in permanent villages and hamlets located in the lower foothills during the winter. In late spring and early summer they moved to camps at higher elevations, and returned in the fall to their permanent villages for the acorn harvest.

There were six bands of Western Mono based on geographical location. Along the San Joaquin River and its tributaries were the small hamlets of the Northfork band. The Wobonuch and Entimbich bands lived in larger villages along the Kings River and its tributaries. The three southernmost bands, the Patwisha, Michahai, and Waksachi, lived in villages on tributaries of the Kaweah River.

Western Mono villages were usually located in very close proximity to Foothill Yokuts settlements, except for the hamlets of the Northfork band, which was the most isolated band of the Western Mono. Interaction among all the Western Mono and their neighbors was intense for religious, social, and commercial purposes.

Social organization was based on patrilineages named after a particular totem animal. These totem animals were sacred to members of the patrilineage. In addition, the Northfork band was the only band of Western Mono to have a moiety system, which they shared in common with their immediate neighbors to the west and north, the Chuckchansi Yokuts and the Southern Sierra Miwok respectively. Each Northfork moiety consisted of two divisions, which may have represented the four original bands to settle in the Northfork area (Gifford 1932:36). Villages were run by hereditary chiefs of the Eagle lineage, except in the case of the Northfork band, where settlements had two

hereditary chiefs, one from the Eagle lineage of the Eagle moiety, and the other from the Turkey Vulture lineage of the Coyote moiety (Gifford 1932:35).

The religion of the Western Mono consisted of a number of life-cycle rituals, such as puberty and funeral ceremonies, and a number of seasonal ceremonies. The seasonal ceremonies occurred in the spring and fall, since during the summer months most people were absent from the winter villages. Some of these ceremonies were hosted by particular lineages, such as the Rattlesnake Ritual hosted by the Rattlesnake lineage in April, and the Bear Dance hosted by the Bear lineage in November. Others were first fruit ceremonies, such as the First Salmon Ceremony in May, and the Acorn Festival in late September. The most important religious ritual was the annual Mourning Ceremony, held in October (Gayton 1946:256-258). Although not all the bands held every one of these ceremonies on an annual basis, people traveled great distances to attend ceremonies among other Western Mono bands, or even among neighboring tribes. The Northfork band also performed bird cult ceremonies, which were held in honor of the eagle and the vulture (Gifford 1932:39). (See Gifford 1926 for a detailed description of these bird cult ceremonies among the Sierra Miwok.) Besides this annual cycle of ceremonials, there were also a number of curing ceremonies performed by shamans for various types of illness.

Another important aspect of Mono religion was the acquisition of *puha*³, or supernatural power. This was given to a person during a dream by a spirit-helper, which usually appeared in the form of an animal. The spirit-helper gave the recipient of its *puha* a song, and often special instructions regarding taboos or the collection of ritual paraphernalia. Everyone in Mono society needed at least one spirit-helper to cope with the rigors of everyday life. The difference between an average person and a

shaman was in the number of spirit-helpers he or she possessed.

WESTERN MONO MUSIC IN THE ETHNOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

The primary ethnographic sources on the Western Mono are the work of Gifford (1923, 1932), who worked exclusively with the Northfork band during the 1910s, and Gayton (1929, 1930a, 1930b, 1945, 1946, 1948), who worked with the five southern bands during the 1920s. Neither of these ethnographers spoke the Mono language during a time when many of the Mono people were still monolingual. Also, neither researcher wrote specifically about the music of the Mono, although certain facts can be gleaned from their work.

Gayton (1948), in her ethnographic description of the Michahai and Waksachi bands, described the four musical instruments used among the southernmost Kaweah River bands. These consisted of a flute made of elderwood, which was "twelve to fourteen inches in length and had four holes" (1948:228); a whistle made of the shinbone of a chicken hawk, which was about three inches long; a cocoon rattle made from the cocoons of the silk moth, with pebbles inserted inside the cocoons; and the clapper stick, made of elderwood and approximately eighteen inches in length. "It was held in the right hand and flapped against the palm of the left, never against wood or stone. It was the normal or profane accompaniment to all dance singing" (1948:228).

In her ethnographic description of the Wobonuch and Entimbich bands, Gayton (1948) described five different instruments. She mentioned that the flute was used only by men "before bedtime or as an amusement in the sweat house; there were no restrictions on its use" (1948:269). There was also a longer flute that contained eight holes. The whistle among these two bands was made of an eagle shank (unlike that made of elderwood by the Kaweah

River bands), and was "used only by shamans and jimsonweed dreamers" (1948:269). The cocoon rattle was used by the "singers at the Snake Ritual and Bear Dance" (1948:269). The clapper stick was used at all dances except for the Bear Dance. The other instrument mentioned was the musical bow, which was two to three feet long, made from any kind of wood and a sinew string, and played by holding one end of the string in the mouth and plucking it.

Gifford's (1932) ethnography of the Northfork band does not contain a specific section on musical instruments, but he did mention the use of a whistle during the Eagle Dance, as well as the exclamations made by the dancers:

When the people danced they formed a long single file outdoors. The eagle was held between the hands of the second man. The leader tooted a large bone whistle, in time to the slow movements of the dancers (men and women). The man with the eagle, and those behind him in imitation, moved their hands first downward to the left, then to the right, then skyward. With each movement an exclamation was uttered. The eagle carrier exclaimed, "We!" with a rattle in his throat, with each movement of his hands to left and to right; when pointing upward he exclaimed, "Mwau!" The leader tooted his whistle in time to this, while the dancers behind the eagle carrier exclaimed, "Hu! hu!" in unison [Gifford 1932:39-40].

Gifford (1932:46) also mentioned that dances were known by the names of the songs sung during them, and that the songs for the dances were given to the people during mythological times by the first chief, Eagle.

In another section, Gifford (1932:51) mentioned that in addition to the regular shaman, there was a specialized type known as a "singing doctor," whose ". . . specific function was to drive away by singing any ghost or spirit that had appeared in a dream and made the dreamer ill. The method of removing bad effects of a dream was to sing before the patient and shake the cocoon rattle, go out to consult the spirits, return and put ashes on the head of the patient, blow them from him and announce a cure."

From this description it seems that the singing doctor's role was both that of diviner (to determine what had caused the illness) and of doctor (to remove the cause). Based on the Mono term in Gifford (1932:51) for the singing doctor ("soahubiere"), it appears this is the same role as the singer of ghost-chasing songs *tso'ahubiyadut+* ⁴).

Finally, in a section describing the funeral ceremony, Gifford (1932:44) briefly mentioned singers:

The singers stood in an arc on the north side of the fire, at the west end the woman leader with the stentorian voice. The chorus consisted of twelve or fifteen voices, both male and female. The song could be heard for quite a distance in the surrounding forest and the rhythm was such as to encourage the dancers' efforts. The dancers, fifteen or twenty in number and mostly women, proceeded counterclockwise [sic].

Pietroforte (1965) has produced a collection of 25 songs with an accompanying recording. All the songs are transcribed musically with the text, preceded by a short introduction. Two of these are Western Mono songs (sung by Molly Pomona of Northfork), along with 14 Yokuts songs, and nine Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) songs.

WESTERN MONO MUSICAL GENRES

Ethnomusicologists have divided aboriginal North American music into geographical "musical areas" based on musical style and types of instruments used, similar to the "cultural areas" of anthropologists. Roberts (1936) proposed a California musical area, and Nettl (1954) proposed a California-Yuman musical area. Both of these slightly differing musical areas include the music of the central and Sierran California Indians.

Nettl (1954:18-9) described this musical area as characterized by

. . . the use of a relaxed, non-pulsating vocal technique, which is found here to a greater degree than elsewhere on the continent, including even the Great Basin musical area, and the pres-

ence of the Rise, a type of form and melodic movement. . . . The Rise consists of the interruption of the general melodic trend, which is usually the repetition of a short section or at least movement in a restricted range, by material with higher pitches.

Some, though not all, of the Western Mono songs that I have heard do contain the Rise. All Western Mono songs are sung with a relaxed voice. Within the California-Yuman musical area, Nettl (1954:21) characterized central California music as having "greater rhythmic complexity and tenser vocal technique, but . . . formally simpler" than southern California music. He also mentioned a characteristic found in many Western Mono songs, especially funerary and ghost-chasing songs.

Songs are often concluded by rhythmic shouting; some song series have their own characteristic shouts which are used to close each song. The use of rhythmic grunting and shouting as a type of percussive-like accompaniment to melodies is found occasionally [Nettl 1954:21].

Western Mono songs which exhibit this "rhythmic grunting" end each strophe with an exaggerated "h" sound followed by a devoiced "a" ([hAA]).

Recently, Keeling (1992) disputed some of Nettl's characterizations of the California-Yuman musical area. Keeling identified at least five subregions within California (Northwestern, Northeastern, North-central, San Joaquin Valley and adjacent foothills of the Sierra Nevada, Southern, and possibly Central Coast). Keeling (1992:148) described California Indian music as having "a particularly ancient heritage" in comparison with other North American musical areas. Western Mono music clearly falls within the San Joaquin Valley and adjacent foothills of the Sierra Nevada subregion, which Keeling has characterized as having a vocal delivery which is "much softer and more relaxed than in the northwestern and north-central styles," as well as a unison texture (singers sing the same melody together) and an

AABB-type structure, similar to Ghost Dance songs from the Great Basin (1992:150-151).

Listed below is a typology of song genres that was given to me by Mrs. Rosalie Bethel of Northfork. I have used Duranti's (1983:20) definition of genre, which is a "recognized (by its users) unit . . . with some well-defined features such as . . . socially defined appropriate contexts of use." Where I was given the name of the genre in Mono by Mrs. Bethel, I have indicated it in parentheses. I also note those genres of songs that are now extinct. By extinct I mean those songs that are no longer used nor are their melodies and texts remembered.

A TYPOLOGY OF WESTERN MONO SONG GENRES

1. Funerary songs used at the "Cry-dance" (*nayaqaqwee*), "Coming-out" ceremony (*patsibuhwaiti*), and Mourning Anniversary
 - a) funeral songs
 - b) burning song
 - c) coming-out song
2. Family mourning songs (*t'i'apediwan*)
3. Ghost-chasing songs (*tso'ahubiya*)
4. Power songs
 - a) bewitching songs (*qadu' tsautU hubiya*)
 - b) curing songs (*puhana ahubiya*)
5. Hand-game songs (*nayakwin ahubiya*)
6. Social dance songs [all are extinct]
 - a) Friendship dance songs (*sagwad-ayana ahubiya*)
7. Ritual dance songs [all are extinct]
 - a) Acorn Festival songs
 - b) Eagle Dance songs
 - c) Vulture Dance songs
 - d) Rattlesnake Ritual songs
 - e) Bear Dance songs
 - f) Jimsonweed Ritual songs

8. Personal songs
9. Work songs [all are extinct]
 - a) grinding songs
 - b) hunting songs
10. Lullabies [all are extinct]
11. Narrative songs

COMPARISON OF SONG GENRES

It can be seen that a fair number of the genres listed above have already become extinct. These represent, for the most part, songs from rituals which are no longer performed by the Mono today, or songs associated with economic pursuits which no longer play the important role in Mono society that they did in pre-Contact times. Those genres that are not extinct still play a vital role in late twentieth-century Western Mono culture.

The eleven genres of songs clearly fall into two broad etic categories. The first category consists of those songs which are personally owned, and may be sung only by the owner. These include the family mourning songs, power songs, and personal songs. In the case of family mourning songs, these were sung only by members of the family to which they belonged and were identified with the particular family by other members of the community. Power songs were not sung by anyone other than the owner because of the potential dangers inherent in these songs. They could, however, be sold or given to someone else by their owner. Personal songs were also sold or given away by their owner.

The second category consists of the eight other genres (funerary songs, ghost-chasing songs, hand-game songs, social dance songs, ritual dance songs, work songs, lullabies, and narrative songs) that are not personally owned. A subset of this second category consists of songs that are restricted in use to particular contexts, are handed down from generation to generation, and are believed by the Mono to have originated in mythological times. This

subset includes the funerary songs, the ghost-chasing songs, the ritual dance songs, and the narrative songs. The other genres within this second category were freely borrowed, and could be sung out of context without risking any dangerous repercussions.

Another type of etic categorization of Western Mono song genres is based on whether the songs contain words or vocables (i.e., syllables without any linguistic meaning in the Mono language). Of the musical genres that are not extinct, the majority of songs consist of vocables. The only genres of which I am aware that contain songs with actual words are personal songs and narrative songs, although there are some songs within these genres that consist only of vocables. Songs consisting primarily of vocables are a common feature of American Indian music throughout much of the United States. Several Western Mono people have told me that these songs are in a different language (perhaps one of the Yokuts or Miwok languages).

Hinton (1980:293) discussed the differences between songs with words and songs with vocables, and found that:

. . . communication of informational content of all fully worded songs is an essential part of the song's reason for being, and is the major goal to be accomplished by the song. . . . In all cases, too, the songs are sung for an audience who sits and listens; there is no dancing and no group singing with the fully worded songs. The audience's job is to understand the song content, and the singer's goal is to communicate the content successfully.

In reference to songs which contain only vocables, Hinton (1980:294) wrote that:

communication of informational content is not involved in the song function. However, this does not mean that the songs are meaningless. . . .

We find that meaning is present in wordless songs in general, but that it is not tied at all to language; it instead becomes fused with function.

When looking at vocable-rich songs overall, we see two striking aspects of the functions of the musical events that are missing from most of the fully worded songs: the first is the goal of solidarity, and the second is spiritual involvement [emphases in original].⁵

Those few Western Mono songs that do contain words conform to this analysis. Personal songs and narrative songs convey information to an audience which is sitting and listening, and are not sung for purposes of solidarity or spiritual involvement.

DISCUSSION OF EXTANT SONG GENRES

Now I will discuss in detail each extant song genre of Western Mono music. These include the funerary, family mourning, ghost-chasing, power, hand-game, personal, and narrative songs.

Funerary Songs

The funerary songs (group performance, no personal ownership, no instrumental accompaniment) are those songs which are sung during rituals dealing with spirits of the deceased. There are three rituals during which the same group of songs are used. The "cry-dance" (*nayagaqwee*) is the funeral ceremony held immediately after someone dies. The "coming-out" ceremony (*patsibuhwaiti*) is held a year after the funeral, and marks the end of mourning for the kin of the deceased. The Mourning Anniversary was a ceremony held on an annual basis during pre-Contact times to honor the spirits of all the deceased ancestors. Of these three rituals, the Mourning Anniversary is no longer held. (See Loether [1990] for more detailed information concerning Western Mono funerary practices.)

There is a group of ten songs which are sung during all three rituals. Each song is repeated twice, followed by a break. All three rituals begin at sundown and last until sunrise. The songs are sung by a group of professional singers who are paid by the kin of the deceased

and other members of the audience. While the singers sing, the mourners dance around a bonfire holding possessions from the deceased (or in the case of the Mourning Anniversary, baskets and basketry effigies of the ancestors made especially for this ritual). At the end of each ceremony, the burning song is sung as the sun comes up behind the mountains. After the second set, all the deceased's possessions (or the articles prepared especially for this ceremony) are thrown into the fire. The coming-out song is sung following the burning song by those who have completed their period of mourning.

Gifford (1932:36) mentioned that both divisions of each moiety among the Northfork band had their own "peculiar funeral songs." This would mean that there were four different sets of funeral songs. I have collected all ten funeral songs from each moiety (Coyote and Eagle), and although there are slight variations in the tunes of each song, they are recognizably the same songs from an etic perspective. The same ten funeral songs and the burning song are used by the Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) on the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada, although they also sing a number of songs during their funeral ceremony which they do not share in common with the Western Mono (Pietroforte 1965:45).

Family Mourning Songs

In pre-Contact times, the woman of every household possessed a family mourning song (solo or group performance, personal ownership, no instrumental accompaniment), which was recognized by other members of the community as belonging to her family, and which was passed down from one generation to the next. Upon the death of a close relative, she would sing this song as she made her way to the chief's house. Those in the village who heard her singing this song immediately knew that someone in her family had died. Once the chief had been informed of the death, preparations for

the cry-dance were begun. Today, this song is sung at the beginning of the cry-dance, as the singers dance around the corpse, or, if the corpse is no longer present, as they dance around the possessions of the deceased that will be carried by the dancers during the ceremony. It is also used at the beginning of the coming-out ceremony.

Ghost-chasing Songs

Ghost-chasing songs (group performance, personal ownership, may or may not have instrumental accompaniment) are used to cure people who are suffering ill effects from dreaming about the dead. These dreams are viewed as a sign that the dreamer is being haunted by a spirit, most often a deceased relative, and ghost-chasing songs are used to drive away this spirit. Ghost-chasing songs often end in rhythmic grunting, and sometimes even shouts. The Mono believe that the vibrations from the music and rhythmic grunting help to drive away the spirits of the dead. One requirement, however, is that there be enough singers at a ghost-chasing ceremony to insure that the spirits will hear the songs. At one ghost-chasing ceremony I attended at the Northfork hamlet of *Tsibodibau*, not enough singers were present. In order to rectify the situation, Mrs. Bethel, the head singer at this particular ceremony, went to the local elementary school and borrowed their public address system, which she set up facing the speakers into the surrounding hills to insure that their voices would be heard by the spirits. This anecdote illustrates the Monos' ability to adapt their traditional beliefs creatively to whatever conditions are encountered. Ghost-chasing songs are accompanied by a cocoon rattle.

Power Songs

Power songs (solo performance, personal ownership, no instrumental accompaniment) are songs which an individual acquires from his or

her spirit-helper through dreams or other means, such as visions induced by the drinking of jimsonweed tea. By singing these songs, one is able to utilize the *puha* (supernatural power) of one's spirit-helper. Because of the inherent danger associated with these songs, it is believed one should not sing them in front of others, nor should one use another's power song without permission and the proper instructions. When one has acquired more *puha* than one can possibly use, one may become a shaman, and "rent out" this extra *puha* to others for a fee. Bewitching songs are songs which use *puha* to harm others. Curing songs use *puha* for positive purposes, such as protection against wild animals or for good luck while hunting, as well as to undo the harmful effects of others' bewitching songs.

Hand-game Songs

The hand-game is a traditional gambling game, although such newer games as cards and bingo are also very popular among the Western Mono. Most of the hand-game songs (group performance, no personal ownership, may or may not have instrumental accompaniment) which the Western Mono sing contain Great Basin musical characteristics, although Herzog (1935) described hand-game songs as one song style that cuts across different musical areas. Nettle (1954:14-5) described Great Basin musical style as follows:

The general characteristics of the Great Basin musical area show it to be the one with the simplest styles on the continent. These are the use of a small melodic range, lack of much vocal tension and pulsation in the singing, and lack of specialized melodic movement which consist, rather, of descending, undulating, and arc-shaped progressions.

The preponderance of Great Basin hand-game songs among the Western Mono is probably due to the fact that, as in pre-Contact times, they have maintained close contact with their eastern neighbors, especially the Owens

Valley Paiute, who speak the Mono language, and the Northern Paiute. Hand-game songs are frequently borrowed, since it is believed that if another team is winning, it is due to the inherent good luck associated with a particular song.

Personal Songs

Personal songs (solo performance, personal ownership, may or may not have instrumental accompaniment) are those that individuals have composed themselves, or that may have come to them in a dream. Personal songs are different from power songs in that they are not sung to utilize *puha*. Therefore these songs are often sung while walking or working. Many personal songs have words, and can be compared to our own popular songs which combine poetry with music. Despite the lack of inherent danger in borrowing a person's personal song, the Western Mono consider it bad manners to sing someone else's personal song without permission. These songs can be sold, and are often given away.

Narrative Songs

Narrative songs (solo performance, no personal ownership, no instrumental accompaniment) are the songs that occur in traditional stories. These songs are the personal songs of characters within the stories. The words in narrative songs may resemble the sounds made by the animal character, they may incorporate the name of the character into the song, or they may be in a form of a Western Mono verse, which succinctly describes the predicament of that particular character. Songs occurred regularly in traditional stories, although today many people remember the story without remembering the particular song that went with it.

CONCLUSION

Although Gayton (1948) reported five instruments in use by the Western Mono (the whistle, flute, cocoon rattle, musical bow, and

clapper stick), and Gifford (1932) reported two (the whistle and the clapper stick), the only instruments used by the Northfork band today are the clapper stick (*anawataki'inU*), and the cocoon rattle (*sa'nazI*). The cocoon rattle is used exclusively in ghost-chasing songs. It is a stick with four cocoons, flicker feathers, and five little sticks attached to one end. The cocoons are used because it is believed by the Mono that it is the only thing in nature into which no evil can enter. The flicker feathers are used because the flicker is believed to be the leader of the smaller birds. The flicker is the first bird to move to the mountains for the summer, or to the foothills for the winter, followed by the other birds. The five little sticks represent the four directions and the heart. Funerary songs are unaccompanied by instruments.

The role of a singer is still an important one in Western Mono society. Both men and women can be singers. According to Mrs. Bethel, the three things she looks for in aspiring singers are a good voice, the ability to keep the rhythm, and leadership qualities. The last is important since today the singers often do the organizational and preparational work that the chief's assistant (*natenab+*) did in pre-Contact times. The method of becoming a singer has not changed. There is no established position or office of singer, nor was there in the past. Singers are those people who are recognized by the community as being knowledgeable in the appropriate songs for a particular ceremony. There is also no formal method of training or apprenticeship. Interested persons attach themselves to a well-known singer, and accompany them from ceremony to ceremony until they are either accepted or rejected by the singer. If they are accepted, and once they have learned the songs, they are asked to join in with the other singers. Today singers often use tape-recordings to learn and practice new songs, or simply to remember old ones.

I have presented only a preliminary introduction to the music of the Western Mono. Because the data have been limited to what I, as an outsider, have been able to learn and experience, there is no doubt that some information is missing. A complete collection of Mono music, with musical transcriptions and extensive ethnographic notes, is a logical next step; however, religious sensibilities may prevent this kind of exhaustive study from ever coming to print. Only if the Mono people themselves collect and describe their rich musical heritage will they manage to balance the often contradictory goals of preservation for future generations while still retaining ultimate control of materials which they may not wish to share with outsiders.

NOTES

1. The Western Mono term *hubiya* means both a single song and music in general. In the particular sense that I use it in this article, I feel "song" is a more appropriate gloss. *N-i-i-m-i-na Ahubiya* translates as "the people's music."

2. I first became acquainted with the Mono people in 1979 while an undergraduate student at the University of California, Los Angeles, and have been a student of their language and culture since that time. I have worked with the Northfork, Auberry, and Sycamore communities. Although my main interest has been in the language (see Bethel et al. 1984 and Loether 1991), I have also learned about many aspects of Mono culture while doing linguistic work. The information contained in this paper was collected during several trips to Northfork between 1980 and 1985 to gather linguistic data, as well as during a formal interview about Western Mono music with Mrs. Rosalie Bethel, a Western Mono singer from Northfork, held on November 30, 1985. Other data are from tape recordings that were in Mrs. Bethel's possession. These include an interview with Jennie Beecher of Northfork made on May 31, 1970 (interviewer unidentified); an interview with Lucy Kinsman of Northfork made on May 28, 1969 (interviewer unidentified); and a recording of songs sung by Susan Johnston, Elizabeth Polkenhorn and Mary Williams, all of Northfork (the date the tape was made is unknown). I have not included the musical transcriptions of the songs I discuss out of respect for the wishes of the Mono people who have shared them with me. Collections of Mono music

are located at the Ethnomusicology Library at the University of California, Los Angeles, the Hearst Museum (formerly the Lowie Museum) at the University of California, Berkeley, and at local and county libraries throughout Fresno and Madera counties. This article has been adapted from a paper which I gave at "Ancient Songs in a Modern World: A Conference and Festival of Native American Music of California," held in Idyllwild, California, in May 1992, which was jointly sponsored by the California Council for the Humanities, the Malki Museum, and the American Indian Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles.

3. The orthography used in this paper is the same as the standard Americanist orthography employed in the *Handbook of North American Indians* (Heizer 1978), with the following exceptions: *d* (alveolar flap), *g* (voiced velar fricative), ' (glottal stop), long vowels are represented by double characters, and voiceless or whispered vowels at the ends of words are represented by upper-case letters. For more information concerning Mono phonology, the reader is advised to consult either Lamb (1958) or Bethel et al. (1984).

4. This word can be parsed as follows: *iso'a-hubiya-du-t+*' ghost-song-make-AGENT.

5. As Judith Vander (personal communication 1993) rightly pointed out to me, there are a number of exceptions in the Great Basin to Hinton's conclusions that worded songs are sung to an audience that sits and listens, most notably Round Dance and Ghost Dance songs. Also, vocables are related to spoken language in "many important ways. . . . The vowels and consonants used in the formation of vocables are drawn from the phonology of particular languages. Further, the order of the vocables in a song are as invariant as words; there are often characteristic vocable endings and sometimes beginnings as well. In my view they are abstract poetry" (J. Vander, personal communication 1993).

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