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VOL. XLI, NO. 3

ENEMY WAY MUSIC

A STUDY OF SOCIAL AND ESTHETIC VALUES AS SEEN IN NAVAHO MUSIC

BY

DAVID P. McALLESTER

REPORTS OF THE RIMROCK PROJECT
VALUES SERIES NO. 3

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.
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FOREWORD

NEVER, to my knowledge, have ethnography and musicology been brought so closely together as in this monograph. Indeed they are separable here only by arbitrary and conventional abstraction. Dr. McAllester has treated music for what it is: an aspect of culture which can be fully understood only if its manifold and often subtle overflows into other aspects of culture are grasped. The music of a culture, in its turn, as David McAllester so brilliantly shows, reveals many hitherto hidden or half-hidden facets of the rest of the culture and gives excellent clues to the underlying premises that give cultures their systematic quality. This leads immediately into the realm of values which is the focus of the second half of the monograph.

There has long been a rather general and very vague recognition that there were common elements in many conceptions of "value" used by economists, philosophers, social scientists, and estheticians. This is, I think, the first empirical and detailed exploration of the interconnections between esthetic values and the more pervasive standards and value-orientations of a particular culture. There are likewise some fragmentary but penetrating comparisons with two other cultures in the same ecological area. In each case it seems clear that conceptions of "good" and "bad" as regards music are related to conceptions of "good" and "bad" in other areas of behavior.

This, then, is a pioneering study in esthetic values and their relations to the total value system of a culture. It is likewise a major contribution to musicology and to Navaho ethnography. There is much excellent new ethnographic information, particularly in the values area. Dr. McAllester has skillfully linked esthetics, ethnography, linguistics and literary style in the matrix of values analysis. His work greatly strengthens the hypothesis that values give the key to cultural structure and that values of all types must be investigated — not just those ordinarily designated as "moral" and "religious."

With this monograph musicology appears for the first time as a highly significant social science.

CLYDE KLUCKHOHN

Cambridge, Massachusetts
September, 1953

AUTHOR'S ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

IN EVERY phase of the work leading to this monograph I have received help for which I would like to express my deep appreciation. I wish particularly to state my indebtedness to the Navahos whose interest, patience, and good will made this study possible. Their anonymity is preserved in the pseudonyms used in the following pages, but in a very real sense they are the true authors of this study.

My thanks are due to the Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures, Laboratory of Social Relations of Harvard University, which provided funds from a Rockefeller Foundation grant for travel, field work, and the principal burden of publication costs. Discussions with members of the Values Study, access to its voluminous files, and the entrée to the Rimrock area are important benefits, all generously given. I wish to mention, especially, the careful and wise editorial help of Mr. Irving Telling, Miss June Nettleship and Miss Anne Parsons and the valuable theoretical and organizational suggestions of Mr. Otto von Mering, Jr. I wish also to express my thanks to Dr. J. O. Brew, Director, and other members of the staff of the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology of Harvard University for their help in the preparation of this paper. The Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, Santa Fé, New Mexico provided funds for a very helpful investigation of ceremonial music at which time I was also able to record my only examples of "trotting" skip-dance songs. The generous assistance of my father, Dr. Ralph W. McAllester, did much to facilitate this research.

I am deeply grateful to Wesleyan University for a leave of absence during the Fall Term of 1950–1951, and to the Wesleyan University Research Committee which provided a grant-in-aid to assist with publication expenses.

Many students of Navaho culture gave me the benefit of their knowledge and experience. I wish particularly to express my obligations to Father Berard Haile, Gladys A. Reichard, Robert Rapoport, David C. McClelland, Evon Z. Vogt, and Mary C. Wheelwright. I owe much to the interest and help of John M. Roberts, Co-ordinator of the Values Study, freely given from the moment I first began to plan this research.

My debt to Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn is very great indeed. His interest in, and criticism of my research design and his careful reading and painstaking evaluation of this monograph have been of invaluable aid. His discussion of the theory of values, both in print and in personal interviews, provided the impetus for the present study.

Wherever I turned for advice or hospitality in the Rimrock area, I was received most generously. To traders, missionaries, and local residents alike, I owe warm thanks for valuable contacts, much local Navaho lore, and facilities for interviewing and making recordings.

While it gives me much pleasure to express my gratitude to all of the above, I wish to take full responsibility for any errors of fact or interpretation in this paper.

CONTENTS

PART I

ETHNOGRAPHIC AND MUSICOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION

MUSIC AND THE STUDY OF VALUES

MUSIC has not been given a fair hearing in the social sciences, and this is almost as true of the other arts as well. Perhaps the immediate intrinsic interest of the arts can be blamed for the fact that they have usually been treated *per se* rather than in their relationship to culture as a whole. A drawing, a dance step, or a melody is intercultural in the sense that it is immediately recognized as a mode of expression by any observer. He knows that this is art, the dance, or music and reflects that here is a "universal language." How far the arts really constitute a universal language is a problem which, as yet, has scarcely received serious attention from the students of social relations.

Of all the arts, perhaps music has seemed the hardest to study as social behavior. Aside from the accompanying poetry in the song texts, the actual substance of music appears forbiddingly abstract. Melodic line and phrasing, meter, pitch, and scale have been reserved for highly trained musicologists, few of whom have been interested in cultural applications. The unfortunate result of this specialization and the feeling that one must have "talent" to study music has been a general abdication from this field by social scientists, even to the extent that the most elementary questions about attitudes toward music have often remained unasked.[1] In the realm of cultural values this rich source of insight still awaits systematic exploration.

The research described on the following pages is an attempt to explore cultural values through an analysis of attitudes toward music and through an analysis of the music itself. The Navahos in the Rimrock area seemed particularly suitable for a study of this sort because they have been thoroughly investigated from many other points of view and because it is a matter of general knowledge that music ordinarily plays a vital role in the everyday life of Navahos. The study was conceived on a comparative basis. Some mention of the Mormon and Salcedaa material collected is made in the following pages, but a cross-cultural comparison as such will be made in another paper.

My primary technique was the field interview with any and all possible informants, but I also interviewed a selected sample of the Rimrock Navaho population, using a prepared questionnaire (*see* Appendix A). The questionnaire provided a common core of investigation in the interviews but was not used in the same way with all informants in the sample. Whenever feasible, recordings of songs were made, and the recording situation provided some of the most fruitful stimuli for the discussion of music. I attended whatever ceremonies I could during my four and one-half months' stay, including a Night Way twenty miles north near Pine Valley, and a meeting of the Native American Church not far from Window Rock. I was present at the public aspect of the Enemy Way on five occasions:

1. September 9, 1950, at Pine Valley. Second Night. Sway singing, announcements, dancing, sway singing continued. About three hours.

2. September 10, 1950, at Willow Fence. Third Night of same Enemy Way. Observed: circle dance, walking songs, serenade of patient, sway singing, dancing, sway singing continued, announcements, concluding ceremony. About twelve hours.

3. September 20, 1950, at Willow Fence. Third Night of Enemy Way for woman who fainted at the September 9 dance. Particip. in circle dance and some of sway singing. Observed: walking songs, serenade, sway singing, dancing, sway singing continued,

[1] Exceptions in the area of Navaho studies may be noted in Reichard, 1950, vol. I, pp. 279–300; Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, pp. 141–44, 151–53; and Kluckhohn and Wyman, 1940, pp. 64–67.

[1a] "Salceda" is a fictitious name for a Southwestern Indian community having a pueblo-type culture.

announcements, concluding ceremony. About thirteen hours.

September 22, 1950, at Pine Valley. Visited an Enemy Way home-camp on interpreter's business four days before the ceremony was to begin. Was advised to stay in the car. Observed: a limited amount of the activity of preparation.

4. September 27, 1950, at Pine Valley, two miles from home-camp. Second Night. Learned First Night had been down near Railtown. Observed: sway singing, announcements, dancing. Slept, got up for last half hour of singing at dawn. About four hours.

5. September 28, 1950, at Pine Valley, home-camp. Third Night of above. Observed: circle dance, walking songs, serenade, sway singing. Went to bed about 11:30 before dancing began. Heard next morning there had been very little dancing. Observed: last hour of sway singing and concluding ceremony. Heard Salcedanos make speech about rowdy character of performance (*see* p. 13). About seven hours.

I tried to observe as many different social situations as possible where music might play a part. I camped for short periods with two Navaho families, attended meetings of the Mormon Church and the Galilean Mission, worked for a week with Navaho migrant laborers in the carrot fields near Carrot Flats, New Mexico, spending the nights in the slab-shanty village provided by the employers, and made several extended trips with groups of Navahos in my car. In all of these situations, I made observations and asked questions with the aim of discovering what the musical dimension of social behavior could contribute to the study of values and value theory.

[2] Kluckhohn, in Parsons and Shils, 1951, p. 395.

The participants in the Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures Project have arrived at a useful working definition of the term value:

> A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action.[2]

Vogt sums up values and value-orientations as involving three fundamental types of experience:

> What is or is believed to be (existential).
> What one wants (desire).
> What one ought to want (the desirable).[3]

In a comparative study of values through an analysis of music and attitudes towards music, these areas suggest many interesting avenues of investigation.

Existential Values

Perhaps the most basic question, and one of the hardest to approach, *is what music is conceived to be*. A striking example of my own cultural bias in this respect became apparent when I had the first section of my questionnaire translated into Navaho: there was no general word for "musical instrument" or even for "music." A fact-finding question such as, "What kinds of musical instruments do you use?" (really intended to start the informant thinking and talking about music) had to be phrased, "Some people beat a drum when they sing; what other things are used like that?" A "fact" in the Navaho universe is that music is not a general category of activity but has to be divided into specific aspects or kinds of music. I learned, moreover, that beating a drum to accompany oneself in song was not a matter of esthetic choice but a rigid requirement for a particular ceremony, and a discussion of musical instruments was not an esthetic discussion for the Navahos but was, by definition, a discussion of ceremonial esoterica.

Similarly, the question, "How do you feel when you hear a drum?" was intended to evoke an esthetic response. But the Navaho "fact" is that a drum accompaniment is rarely heard except with the public songs of the

[3] Vogt, 1951, p. 7.

Enemy Way, and if you feel queer, especially dizzy, at the ceremonial, it is a clear indication that you, too, need to be a patient at this particular kind of "sing." What I took to be a somewhat general esthetic question was, for the Navahos, a most specific ceremonial question and was interpreted by the average informant as an inquiry into his state of health.

At the beginning of my work I intended to limit my investigation to secular music, reserving any considerable study in the tremendous field of Navaho religious music for a later time. I soon discovered the Navaho "fact" that *all* music is religious and that the most nearly secular songs in melody, in textual content, and in the attitudes of the performers were derived from the Enemy Way chant mentioned above, a religious ceremony designed to protect the Navahos from the influence of the ghosts of slain outsiders. The dancing which accompanies certain parts of this rite is widely known as the Navaho Squaw Dance, and it is the singing which accompanies this dance, together with certain other kinds of public songs of the Enemy Way, to which I refer.

It was possible, eventually, to construct a hierarchy of different kinds of music according to the degree of secular emphasis. In the value-orientations of the Navahos I could find no music that was believed to be purely secular, but the public Enemy Way songs and certain songs of the Blessing Way [4] were secular *as well as* religious and could be used in secular contexts.

It was necessary, of course, to try to ascertain, for music, the Navaho definition of "religious." Questioning revealed little or no native preoccupation with a differentiation between that which is religious and that which is secular. The Navaho has not compartmentalized his life in this respect. However, as will be seen below in the discussion of taboo, a useful definition of the religious in Navaho music could be arrived at behaviorally, even though it is foreign to Navaho modes of thought.[5]

Normative Values

Any extended investigation of existential values leads to the normative. Part of the definition of music, or of religious or secular music, must include the substance of what is wanted or expected in a culture from its music.

The *esthetic*, as one of the important "content categories" of values,[6] merits the serious attention of the social scientist. As in the case of the religious and the secular, the organic quality of Navaho value-orientations does not permit any neat separation of esthetics and religion. A discussion of the Navaho musical esthetic and the emergence of a new value in this area will be found in Part Two, below. As is shown in detail, what is desired in music is an *effect*, primarily magical, whether the song is for dancing, gambling, corn grinding, or healing. When a traditional Navaho is asked how he likes a song, he does not consider the question, "How does it sound?" but "What is it for?" Esthetic desiderata in our sense of specifications of melodic form, tone, vocal style, and so on, can be derived only from a musicological examination of these aspects of the music; they are not discussed as such by Navaho singers.

The *social aspect* of Navaho singing is another important phase of the desired. Here too, a change from traditional values is taking place, and a conflict between younger and older generations may be seen. The question, "What do we want?" is in a state of flux, and the question "What *ought* we to want?" has come very much to the fore. Sex roles and age roles emerge as important factors in Navaho normative values as regards music. Here too, significant changes are taking place due

[4] I am indebted to Dr. Kluckhohn for information on the secular use of Blessing Way songs. He has found that both children and male adults may sing songs from the latter part of this ceremony, especially Dawn Songs, on social occasions. Women do not sing these, however, and the fact that such songs bring good luck or "good hope" whenever they are sung suggests that religious connotations are present more generally than is the case with the public songs of the Enemy Way. *See also* Wyman and Kluckhohn, 1938, pp. 35–36.

[5] A particularly promising approach in ascertaining religious and esthetic values in music is suggested by Roberts' "strength, direction, and prepotency." In an area where articulate discussion is at a minimum these behaviorally observable indications of value content should be extremely useful. *See* Roberts, 1952, pp. 12–14.

[6] Kluckhohn, in Parsons and Shils, 1951, pp. 412–13.

to the encroachment of white American culture and new religious ideas.

The "secular" songs of the Enemy Way are in a central position in the whole problem of Navaho values as seen through music. They are the only songs that may be sung in extempore variations or composed *de novo* by a talented individual [7] and are thus a focal point of the new esthetic. They are used specifically in a social context even in the religious ceremony of which they are a part, and they may also be used apart from the ceremony as purely recreational music. They are thus of basic importance in the consideration of religious and/or secular values in Navaho culture. To my knowledge, they are the only Navaho songs that may have texts bearing on contemporary mores and other topical subjects, providing direct material on social values. In musical structure they are much freer than is the highly formalized chant-like music of the sacred healing ceremonies,[8] and yet they show distinct formal conventions which may be related to certain aspects of the Navaho's conception of his relations with his external environment. It is not surprising, then, that they are the most widely known and most often sung melodies among the Navahos today.

I have oriented the following discussion around a consideration of these public songs of Enemy Way. As background for the discussion of values in Part Two of this paper, an outline of the Enemy Way ceremonial, its place in Navaho culture, and a discussion and analysis of its music with particular emphasis on the public songs will be given in the following three chapters.

[7] Almost all Navaho music is traditional with a strong emphasis on exact learning and repetition. A few "silly" or humorous songs are made up, usually on an Enemy Way model, but as far as I know the only other songs which are not carefully handed down are "Yeibichai songs," the dance songs used in the public part of the Night Way ceremonial. These songs are made up as part of the efforts of the competing dance teams rather than as individual compositions. According to Dr. Kluckhohn (personal communication), some of these have been sung outside the ceremony, in social contexts, in the last ten years.

[8] In the non-public parts of the Enemy Way ceremony, the music has the same chant-like quality as the other healing ceremonies.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ENEMY WAY

EXCEPT for the music, the descriptions already published of this ceremony leave little to be added. For the reader's convenience a résumé of the purpose and performance of the Enemy Way will be given in this chapter. Unless otherwise indicated the data should be understood to refer to practices in the Rimrock-Willow Fence-Pine Valley area.

PURPOSE OF THE CEREMONY

The formal intention of the Enemy Way is to lay the ghost of an outsider: that of a white man or of some other non-Navaho such as a European, an Asiatic, or a member of some other Indian tribe. Most of the Enemy Ways performed in the last few years for young men have been directed against the ghosts of enemies slain in World War II.[1] But numerous situations in everyday life may expose one to the attentions of an "enemy" ghost: being too near the scene of a fatal automobile accident was cited by one informant. Intimate contact with a non-Navaho who may have died subsequently is another possibility. Women as well as men may be pursued by these ghosts and require the performance of the Enemy Way.

At the present time a lot of this sickness among the women is due to the fact that when the girls go off to school they come in contact with white men's clothes. If they wash a white man's clothes and inhale the steam from the water this brings on the old war sickness. That explains why it is mostly the women who get the war sickness today.[2]

The ways by which one can tell when the ceremony is needed range from the general, such as a vague feeling that it would be a good thing, to the highly specific, such as a dream that recalled an encounter with the body of a dead outsider. It is frequently used as a last resort when other ceremonies have failed. To ascertain whether it is the proper ceremony for a particular sickness a small portion of the ritual, the blackening, is sometimes tried first. If the patient shows improvement, the whole ceremony is then performed. One sure symptom is a feeling of faintness or dizziness when one attends an Enemy Way which is being held for someone else. That this is by no means a rare occurrence may be shown by the fact that at least eight informants mentioned it. Three informants testified that they had felt a little queer when listening to Enemy Way music and thus knew the time was coming when this trouble might get serious and require the ceremony. At the Enemy Way which I attended on September 9, 1950, a woman fainted, and she was the patient at the next Enemy Way given in that region, September 18–20. Reasons given for putting off the performance of the ceremony when the symptoms were not serious were that the weather was too cold, there was not enough money in the family just then, and that the sheep had been doing poorly.

Besides the formal purpose of the ceremony, one should not overlook such socially derived motives as the urge to keep up with the neighbors in the matter of giving ceremonials and the feeling of poorer families that wealthy families should provide more than the average number of these entertainments.[3] An important function of the social part of the ceremony is the "bringing out" of young girls who have reached marriageable age. The interest of the young men is clearly centered in the social singing and drinking and in looking over the available girls. The Enemy Way is felt to be a particularly enjoyable ceremony for the spectators. Any man may join in a good deal of the singing, and women have been known to do so, too. This is one of the rare occasions in Navaho life on which young men may dance with girls, and it is one of the few

[1] Adair and Vogt, 1949.
[2] Hill, W. W., 1936, pp. 17–18.
[3] Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 161.

ceremonies to which a composer may bring his songs for a public hearing. These circumstances may well have an effect on the frequency with which the Enemy Way is given, particularly in the summer months when the nights are short and pleasant.

PROCEDURE

It is well to bear in mind that the ceremony is, in many of its steps, a re-enactment of a war party and that much of the behavior and paraphernalia relate to the two great wars in Navaho mythology — the slaying of the monsters by the Hero Twins and the war on Taos. Two separate camps are involved, and in many ways they represent the two warring factions.

In outline the steps of the ceremony are as follows:

Preparation	1.	The feeling grows among the patient's relatives that the ceremony is needed. Tentative explorations sound out the clansmen who will be expected to share in the expense. If family support is forthcoming, the decision is finally reached, and overtures to a practitioner of the ceremony and to a "stick receiver" are decided upon.
Preparation	2.	The head of the family (male) at another camp is asked to be stick receiver, and, if he consents, he sets the date for the beginning of the ceremony.
Preparation	3.	The practitioner arrives, and under his guidance a drum is prepared at the patient's camp with considerable ceremony. Some or all of the night is spent in singing with a few hours of dancing sometimes added.
First Day	4.	The "rattle" stick is decorated and carried by the patient and a large following to the camp of the stick receiver.
First Night	5.	First night of public singing and a few hours of dancing take place at the camp of the stick receiver.
Second Day	6.	Party from patient's camp sings outside stick receiver's hogan and receives presents.
Second Day	7.	Party from patient's camp returns home.
Second Day	8.	The stick receiver's camp is moved to within a few miles of the patient's camp.
Second Night	9.	Second night of public singing and a few hours of dancing take place at the new camp of the stick receiver's party.
Third Day	10.	Stick receiver's party moves to the patient's camp, and a sham battle takes place, after which the stick receiver's camp is set up next to the patient's camp.
Third Day	11.	Party from stick receiver's camp sings outside patient's hogan and receives presents.
Third Day	12.	Blackening of patient, performance of Enemy Way rites, and shooting of scalp take place.
Third Night	13.	Circle dance, walking songs, serenade, and third night of public singing with a few hours of dancing take place.
Third Night	14.	At dawn a brief ceremony concludes the Enemy Way. This may include the singing of Blessing Way songs.

These steps are considered below in somewhat greater detail.

The Decision

When it is decided after very complex negotiations that the Enemy Way is needed, much activity ensues at the patient's camp. A special hogan must be built, and a new cooking arbor is erected to the south of it. A practitioner who knows the songs and procedure is sought. Friends and relatives go in search of such herbs

as the practitioner requires [4] and the yarn that must decorate the "rattle" and be presented to the family of the stick receiver. An agent is sent to procure an enemy trophy such as a scalp or a bit of bone. It must be from a dead outsider and one of the same tribe or race as that of the ghost which is causing the patient's sickness. There are individuals who keep scalps or bones buried somewhere for such emergencies. When a white man's ghost is bothering a Navaho in the Rimrock area, the trophy is provided by the bones of a certain sheepherder who was murdered by a Mexican and received a shallow burial in an unprotected place some years ago.

The Stick Receiver

It is preferable that the stick receiver be a person of some esoteric knowledge concerning the Enemy Way. He should know the four sacred songs (Coyote Songs) which precede the public singing. A favorite stick receiver in the Rimrock-Willow Fence area was Mr. Moustache, himself a singer of the Blessing Way.

When a stick receiver is found he chooses a time most convenient for all concerned within three, five, seven, etc., days. The interval of days is always an odd number "because in this manner things were done in the beginning of time." [5] If the patient is seriously ill, the time will be as short as possible, often only one day.

Preparation of the Drum

The night before the party is to go to the stick receiver's camp, the drum is prepared. The drum is a small native earthen pot with a buckskin cover. Water is poured into the pot ceremonially, and sacred songs are sung by the practitioner as several men pull a moistened buckskin taut over the mouth of the pot. Someone wraps a buckskin thong around the neck of the pot, and the drumhead is thus secured. Three holes representing eyes and a mouth are punched in the drumhead with a steel awl, and additional water may be put into the pot through these holes. Special songs are sung during the preparation of the drum (*see* pp. 15–17) which is then taken outside. Four special songs are now sung by the medicine man and anyone who knows them well enough to join in and assist. These are the "First" or "Coyote" songs. After this, sway singing begins and may continue until midnight or even all night. The patient is supposed to participate, and there may be a little dancing.[6]

Journey to Stick Receiver's Camp

The stick is called "rattle" in Navaho and is probably derived from the handle of a rattle. It is a branch of juniper three or four feet long which is cut, trimmed, and decorated with much punctilio, prayer, and the singing of special songs. Certain herbs, feathers, parts of animals, colored yarn, etc., are fastened to it. The bark is incised with a design representing the bow of Enemy Slayer and another representing the hair-knot of Changing Woman, his mother.

Preparations are now made for the journey to the stick receiver's camp. The departure must be timed so that the party will arrive at about sundown. It is preferred that they travel on horseback, and the stick receiver's camp should be some distance away. At the Enemy Way at Pine Valley, September 26–28, 1950, the stick receiver was to have been a man living near Willow Fence, but the death of an old lady related to the family there occasioned a last-minute change to a man living a few miles south of Railtown.

Eddie Cochise was told by his grandfather that during the captivity at Fort Sumner these long distances were not possible; the camps had to be within a few yards of each other. The Navahos had no horses at that time and so they decorated long sticks to represent horses of different colors, "rode" these to the stick receiver's camp, and "tethered" them there. "They did this so that when they were set free, their children would have all kinds of horses again."

If the patient is well enough to ride, his face is painted with a band of black from ear to ear along the jaw-bone and a band of red across the bridge of the nose from cheek-

[4] Wyman and Harris, 1941, p. 74; Franciscan Fathers, 1910, pp. 368–69.

[5] Haile, 1938, p. 221; Dyk, 1938, pp. 59, 202–03.

[6] Haile, 1938, p. 223.

bone to cheekbone. White spots are painted over the red on the cheekbones, and specular iron ore is added to this. He then carries the stick on the journey and presents it to the stick receiver when he arrives at the latter's camp. A girl, who should be a virgin and of a different clan from that of the patient, is chosen by the stick receiver to be the "stick girl." She will be in charge of the stick until near the end of the ceremony on the last night; she must see that it is kept in a safe place, and she carries it during the dancing.

In addition to the yarn on the stick, several pounds of the same red yarn are carried, looped around somebody's neck or on a saddle horn, and presented to the wife of the stick receiver. If the patient's party travels by automobile, the yarn will be looped around the base of the aerial or in some other conspicuous place. This yarn may be incorporated into blankets that the women in the stick receiver's household weave; a favorite use is for the bright tassels on the corners of saddle blankets.

First Night of Public Singing

This night is called the First Night by the Navahos, and I have kept this usage. After dark, various fires by the wagons or trucks of the spectators light the dance circle. People may have a few bites to eat, and there is usually a good deal of waiting around. The singing begins with the four sacred songs of the night before, led by the stick receiver if he knows them. Men group around the drummer, and general singing follows, continuing for some time. The singers very soon divide into two factions facing each other. These two sides take turns in the singing, and a strong element of competition begins to appear. After an hour or so of this, there is often a break for announcements, and various tribal leaders may announce tribal elections to be held, or day-labor jobs to be had, in Idaho or on the railroad. The crowd is often exhorted to keep in mind the sacred nature of the ceremony and the "old Navaho way" of doing things. Drinking and promiscuity are condemned. I have heard announcements that were very brief and one so long that the drummer beat impatiently on his drum, people shouted for the singing to continue, and somewhat drunken youths began mocking the rising and falling cadences of the speaker's voice. This manifestation of impatience was extraordinary in my experience with the Navaho (*see* "Navaho Quiet," pp. 78, 86.)

When the announcements are over, the singing continues for a while as before, and then a bonfire is lit in the center of the dance circle. The singing now changes from sway songs to dance songs, and girls make their appearance seeking partners. The stick girl begins the dancing by seizing a youth and dragging him out into the circle. She holds him firmly by the belt or jacket and wheels with him in one spot. Other girls follow suit and at intervals they stop, collect payments from the boys, and find new partners. The payments, usually from a dime to a quarter, traditionally represent booty brought back from Taos and given to the Corn People Maidens,[7] but none of my informants knew of this. Few older men or women dance.

In the Willow Fence region, the custom has come down from the Navaho Reservation in recent years of going from the wheeling of individual couples into a round dance in which couples dance along side by side in a procession which circles around the dance ground. They may be holding hands or have their arms around each other, and I have seen occasional couples dancing this way draped in the same blanket. For the most part, the couples simply walk or trot along, but occasionally someone may be seen skipping in a very subdued double bounce, first on one foot and then on the other. Jim Chamiso said that on the reservation these two styles of dancing go with distinct types of songs. (*See* "trotting songs," nos. 43–46, and "skipping songs," nos. 47–50.)

The singers signal the end of the dancing (*see* song no. 1), and the rest of the night is spent in singing sway songs. Interest in this part of the proceedings is heightened by the competition between the two groups of singers and often by competition between the younger and older generations in the demonstration of endurance (*see* p. 76.) At dawn the singing comes to an end, and, again, announcements may be made.

[7] Haile, 1938, p. 49.

Sometimes, during this first night of singing and dancing at the stick receiver's camp, a separate dance goes on at the patient's camp. This is especially likely to occur if people feel that they will have a better time there; in this case, they will not go over to the stick receiver's camp with the patient's party but will drift into the patient's camp around dusk.

Gift Singing

Early in the morning of the second day, the patient's party assembles before the stick receiver's hogan, and special songs, the gift songs, are sung. The stick receiver's party throws small gifts to the singers through the smoke hole of the hogan, and then larger gifts are brought out and handed to persons who can be trusted to reciprocate with gifts of equal or greater value later in the ceremony. These gifts also represent booty taken in the war on Taos.

Return of the Patient's Party

The patient's party then returns home, being careful to retrace exactly the route by which they came. The young men in the party may take this opportunity to try out their horses in a race. In an Enemy Way in the summer of 1947, John Nez and Eddie Mario, who were the two patients, raced their horses on the way from Pine Valley to Rimrock. Sometimes, members of the patient's party wait and move with the stick receiver's camp and stay with them for the singing and dancing of the second night.[8]

Stick Receiver's Party Moves Camp

Later in the day, the stick receiver's party moves camp. Household utensils are gathered together and packed in wagons and trucks. The stick is carried by the stick girl, and the drum that was made at the stick receiver's camp is carried by a man who is designated drummer. These two individuals lead the procession, and the party embarks in the direction of the patient's camp. It is usual for one member of the patient's party to remain behind to act as guide and show the way officially. He is supposed to direct the stick receiver's party to a suitable camp site where there is water and plenty of firewood.

The party stops and builds a temporary camp a few miles short of the patient's camp. A brush hogan is erected, and here the stick receiver's family may stay and the stick be kept in safety when it is not in use. The move is timed so that camp will be made near sundown. There is an obligation on the part of the patient's family to provide for this new camp as shown by the guide mentioned above. On one occasion, I was asked to carry word to the patient's camp that the stick receiver's party was in need of water.

Second Night of Public Singing

The second night of the Enemy Way is spent in singing, with a few hours of dancing, at the new camp of the stick receiver's party.[9] The procedure is the same as that already described for the first night. Members of the patient's camp go over to join in the singing and dancing, and the patient himself will do so if he is a young man and is not disabled by his illness.

The Move to the Patient's Camp

Soon after dawn the stick receiver's party moves again. This time they proceed directly to the camp of the patient, and at their arrival a sham battle takes place. Members of the patient's party ride out to meet them, and there is much shouting and firing of guns. Then the invading party gallops into camp and circles around the hogan of the patient with continued yelling and gunfire. They withdraw forty or fifty yards to where the women and children are already setting up camp and then charge again. They attack and circle the hogan in this fashion four times and then withdraw and remain in their new camp. Women from the patient's camp come over with food for the newcomers, and there is an interval for breakfast.

[8] Vogt, 1951, p. 25.

[9] Navahos sometimes called this second night of the Enemy Way "the camp night" because it is held out in the open between the stick receiver's hogan and the patient's home hogan. (E. Z. Vogt, personal communication, 1952.)

The Return Gift Singing

After breakfast the stick receiver's party gathers in front of the patient's hogan and sings the gift songs. It is now their turn to receive presents. Small gifts are thrown out through the smoke hole, and return gifts are brought out by those who received them the day before at the stick receiver's home camp. The singing continues as long as there are gifts to be distributed.

The Enemy Way Rites

Now begins the treatment of the patient — the performance of the more specific healing rites. He is blackened with the charcoal of certain herbs. His face is painted as on the morning of the first day. He is decorated with necklaces and wristlets of mountain lion claws, and yucca leaves are knotted and unknotted in ceremonially prescribed ways. All of these performances accompany ritual singing which is quite unlike the public singing in form and function. The complete series of songs is known only by the medicine man, though other men present may assist in the singing, as at most ceremonials, by following along with the melody and what words they know or can pick up. The songs, which are long and chantlike with full and detailed texts, suggest by the progression of words what ceremonial act shall be done at what time.

If the patient is married, his wife is blackened at this time since she too is considered a patient. If the ghost is driven away from the patient but remains with his wife, all the exorcism of the ceremony may have been in vain.

After the rites over the patient, an old man goes out to the place, one hundred yards or so from the hogan, where the enemy trophy has been laid on the ground and the location marked by an upright stick. The old man shoots at the trophy and strews ashes on it, and the enemy ghost is thus killed. If the ghost in question is that of a white man, the trophy will be placed north of the hogan in the direction of Railtown. Similarly, the trophy is placed in the direction of Salceda, the Apache, etc., for ghosts of those tribes.

[10] This may include men from the patient's camp. (Vogt, personal communication, 1952.)

A second killing of the ghost is enacted by the patient, or by a male proxy for the patient if the latter is a woman. The patient approaches the trophy and thrusts a symbolic "crow's bill" towards it. He also strews ashes and repeats some phrase such as "it is dead, it is dead!"

Third Night of Public Singing

The Circle Dance. At dusk, a group of men in the stick receiver's camp [10] join hands and form a circle. There are two drummers inside the circle, one from each camp, and to their accompaniment the singing of circle dance songs begins. The circle moves around in one direction for one song and then in the opposite direction for the next. It is divided into two teams, roughly half-and-half, which take turns in the singing in the same competitive manner as in the regular sway singing. The men who are singing move around with a double bounce on each step while the men in the other half of the circle simply walk around without dancing.

The circle dance may continue for an hour or more. At some time during its progress, women who wish to do so may enter the circle and walk around in the same direction as the dancers without singing. According to two informants, the stick girl is always supposed to be one of this group and carry the stick at this time. I noted, however, that in the third circle dance I saw (September 28, 1950, at Pine Valley), no stick was being carried by any of the girls inside the circle. When the women decide to leave, the dancers raise their arms and let them pass under. One informant stated that by entering the dance women help to drive away the ghost. There were three women in the circle dance at Willow Fence on September 10, and six at Pine Valley on September 28. After the circle dance there is a pause during which announcements are often made.

The Walking Songs. A group of men, usually older men, and the stick receiver carrying the stick start a ceremonial progress from the stick receiver's camp to the patient's hogan. Four times on the way over they stop

and shout the name of the enemy's tribe or race:

'ana hastiin, ye-ye-ye, 'ana 'asdzá, 'ana 'alchíni 'ana nasht'ézhi!
(Enemy man, hey! enemy woman, enemy children, enemy Zuñi!)

On one occasion I witnessed the firing of pistols into the air at this pause. When I mentioned this to Son of Bead Chant Singer, a man of much esoteric knowledge from Carrisozo in the Navaho Reservation, he was surprised and interested, saying that he had never heard of this practice before.

When the walking group reaches the patient's hogan, they stand before the door. A ceremonial basket is thrust out under the door curtain, and the leader of the walking group sits on the ground with the basket upside down before him. Using the basket as a drum, he sings the four sacred Coyote songs that begin the night's public singing. He sings the first song next to the door, moves back a few steps for the second, and so on until he is almost under the cooking arbor for the fourth. After this song there is a period of serenading during which the walking group sings sway songs around the patient's hogan. Then the group disbands and returns to the stick receiver's camp. There is no procession back.

The Regular Singing and Dancing. After another pause, sway singing begins again in the stick receiver's camp. The fire is lit eventually, and the dancing begins as before. On this night, however, the stick receiver may take the stick when the dancing is over and hold it while he joins the singing group.

Conclusion

At dawn the singing is concluded with the four "First songs" or "Coyote songs." If the patient requests it, a Blessing Way song may be sung after these. The patient and his family come out and face the east on the edge of the stick receiver's camp circle. Prayers are said, and pollen is distributed ceremonially. The ceremony is then over.

When the ceremony had been concluded on the second and third nights of the Pine Valley Enemy Way, September 27 and 28, there were long announcements made by very drunk Navahos. The burden was similar to those of the other announcements mentioned but also included reproaches for the diminished energy of the singing group as the night wore on and for the drinking that had taken place. The announcements after the third night included an interesting contribution by a group of Salcedanos. Using English as a *lingua franca*, they asked the announcer to tell the assembly that they were upset by the drinking and the Navahos' failure to cope with it. They said that they used to enjoy coming to the Squaw Dances for the social occasion, the refreshments, and the girls, and they used to feel that it helped to bring rain. Now, they said, they did not enjoy it and they did not feel that the occasion had been holy. They added that their governors (one of whom was present) did not get drunk, and they were sorry to see the Navaho leaders setting such a bad example for their young men. The announcer translated this, and the Navahos seemed to take the reproof seriously.

For information regarding the symbolism in the Enemy Way, the five-day version of the ceremony, and the extra rites of the Black Dancers and the Tail Songs, the reader is referred to Father Berard Haile's excellent account. My informants did not provide material on these matters and knew little about the more elaborate versions of the ceremony when they were asked directly. Although I did not have the opportunity to discuss the Enemy Way Music with a practitioner who knew the rite, it is my guess that the five-day version is rarely given south of Railtown.

The only information I received concerning the origin of the ceremony was from Henry Stanton, a middle-aged man who lived most of his life as a Navaho, though his father was a Mormon. At the second night of the Pine Valley Enemy Way, he asked me if I knew "where all this started" and told me the following:

There were these twins, and the folks kept them hidden under a big rock. There were lots of giants around then, and they wanted to keep the kids away from them. The giants came around and saw all the tracks in the dust, little footprints. They said, "Where are those kids?" They wanted to eat them up, see? But the folks told them they just made those tracks

in the dust with their hands. They didn't have any kids and they got lonesome, so, they said, they made their hand like this (he doubled up his fingers and showed me) and then made little marks for the toes.

Well, those kids grew up and they wanted to know where their father was. They kept asking "Where is our father?" But the folks told them, "Wait a little while and we'll tell you." Well, one day the kids were gone. They'd gone to look for their father. They found him, and he told them how to kill all the giants. They did that, and then they got bothered by it. So the first one of these dances was held to cure them of it. That's how it started.

THE SONGS IN THE ENEMY WAY

LIST OF SONGS IN THE ENEMY WAY

THE reader has seen that singing occurs at nearly every major point in the performance of the Enemy Way. In the present chapter, the various kinds of songs will be discussed. They are presented in chronological order as far as possible. Except for the secular songs in the rite, I am indebted to Father Berard's detailed and painstaking work in "Origin Legend of the Navaho Enemy Way" for my information on songs and ritual alike.

Full discussion of the secular songs is reserved for the following chapter, in which analyses and musical transcriptions are also given.

Starred titles refer to the secular songs.

- Bear and Snake Songs
- Songs used in preparation of the drum
- Songs used in preparation of the rattle stick
- The Coyote Songs
- The Sway Songs *
- The Dance Songs *
  - Trotting
  - Skipping
  - Signal for end of dancing
- The Gift Songs *
- Emetic Songs
- Unraveling Songs
- Medicine Songs
  - For medicine in gourd
  - For application of pollen
- Blackening Songs
  - Those which refer to the enemy's country
  - Those which refer to the Navaho country
- Circle Dance Songs *
- Walking Songs
- Songs to the Patient
- Concluding songs of the ceremonial
  - Blessing Way song to patient
  - Coyote Songs
- Songs for depositing the rattle stick
  - Rattle Stick Song
  - An alternative: The Twelve-word Blessing Way Song

[1] Haile, 1938, p. 219.

Additional songs used in the longer version of the ceremony:

- Songs of the Tail Dancers
  - Tail Songs facing the enemy
  - Tail Songs facing the hogan
  - Songs naming the warriors (Tail Songs)
  - Blessing Way song which may be sung on request (Tail Songs)
  - Songs sung while facing the scalp (not a Tail Song)
- Songs of the Black Dancers
  - Black Feces Songs
  - Songs of the Hard Flint Boys
  - An alternative set of songs of the Hard Flint Boys
- Songs at the meal of the no-cedar mush

Bear and Snake Songs

The first songs to be used in the Enemy Way are the protective songs mentioned by Father Berard.[1] Either my informants did not know about, or did not want to talk about them. According to Slim Curly, Father Berard's informant, they could be used by the agent who goes after the enemy trophy. If he knows the songs, they are effective protection against the danger in the trophy. Whether they are the same or similar to Bear and Snake songs that occur in other chants is not clear.

These songs, which were formerly used in war, refer to Bear Man and Big Snake Man, two apparently feeble old men who accompanied the war party of Enemy Slayer against Taos. These men were powerful warriors in reality. In spite of their appearance of frailty, they managed to obtain the scalps Enemy Slayer was seeking and marry the two Corn People Maidens.[2]

Songs used in Preparation of the Drum

Slim Curly mentions two songs sung by the practitioner during the preparation of the ma-

[2] Haile, 1938, pp. 171–75, 219.

terials for the drum and the looped drumstick.[3]

In addition, when the drumhead is tied down, the practitioner sings five songs. With the first four he beats the drum near the rim on the north, east, south, and west sides, respectively. For the fifth song he beats the drum in the center. These songs are identical except that there is a different burden [4] for each:

Song number 1. Now it sounded.
Song number 2. Now the sound traveled.
Song number 3. Now the sound ceased.
Song number 4. Now it is pleasant everywhere.
Song number 5. Come, my little one, come!

This similarity, except for the burden, of the songs in any song-group is almost universal in Navaho ceremonial music. After a brief introduction of vocables, usually something like " 'eneya," a song begins with a phrase repeated a number of times in what may be called a chorus. Then the body of the song begins, but at the end of each line in the body the last few bars of the chorus are added as a sort of burden. The complete, or nearly complete, chorus is repeated between the halves of a two-part song and again at the end of the song. Usually only the chorus and burden change from one song to the next within any song-group. The change in text usually expresses a progression or development of ideas.

There are nine other songs used in the preparation of the drum, and it is my guess that they are sung soon after the five just mentioned, though this is not clear from Slim Curly's account. These may be sung on the same melody as the group of five, but there would be variations in each of the burdens which are given below: [5]

1. A nice one is preparing it for me.
2. A nice one has prepared it for me.
3. A nice one now gave its sound.
4. The sound of a nice one has now gone forth.
5. The sound of a nice one has now ceased.
6. From a nice one beauty now extends.
7. From a nice one beauty is now spread out.
8. Come, my child, come!
9. Come, my child, come!

Father Berard gives the complete text of song number three in this set [6] and I reproduce it here for an example of the way the chorus and burden are used. The parentheses and the arrangement of the text are mine. Asterisks in the first line of each half of the song indicate where the burden begins.

(Introduction) 'e ne ya a

(Chorus) A nice one, a nice one, a nice one now gave a sound, a nice, a nice, a nice one now gave a sound, so it did.

(Body first part) Now I am Changing Woman's child when * a nice one gave its sound, so it did,
In the center of the turquoise home a nice one gave its sound, so it did,
On the very top of a soft goods floor a nice one gave its sound, so it did,
It's the nice child of a dark water pot that just gave its sound, so it did,
Its lid is a dark cloud when the nice one gave its sound, so it is,
Sunray encircles it when the nice one gave its sound, so it does,
Water's child is sprayed upon it when the nice one gave its sound, so it is,
At its front it is pleasant when the nice one gave its sound, so it is,
At its rear it is pleasant when the nice one gave its sound, so it is,
It's the nice child of long life and happiness that just gave its sound, so it is,

(Chorus) A nice, a nice one, a nice one now now gave its sound, so it did.

(Body second part) Now I am the grandchild of Changing Woman when a nice one gave its sound, so it did,

[3] Haile, 1938, p. 223.

[4] Since there are two kinds of chorus in most Navaho ceremonial music, a differentiation in terminology must be made: "chorus" refers to the material repeated at the beginning, middle and end of the song; "burden" refers to an abbreviated version of this chorus which is repeated at the end of each line in the body of the song. (*See* above.)

[5] Haile, 1938, p. 263.

[6] Haile, 1938, pp. 264–65.

In the center of the white bead home
a nice one gave its sound, so it did,
On the very top of a jewelled floor
a nice one gave its sound, so it did,
It's the nice child of the blue water
pot that just gave its sound, so it is,
Blue cloud is its lid when a nice one
gave its sound, so it is,
Rainbow encircles it when a nice one
gave its sound, so it does,
Water's child is sprayed upon it when
a nice one gave its sound, so it is,
In its rear it is pleasant when a nice
one gave its sound, so it is,
At its front it is pleasant when a nice
one gave its sound, so it is,
It's the nice child of long life and
happiness that just gave its sound,
so it is,

(Chorus) A nice one, a nice one, a nice one just gave it's sound, that's all!

Following these songs a prayer is said during which male patients hold their hands over the drum, and female patients hold their hands beneath it. As in the ceremonial music, the body of the prayer is the same each time, but a different beginning, somewhat analogous to the chorus of a song, is made for each prayer.

It is at this point that the holes are punched in the drumhead, and the drum is carried out to the brush shelter near the patient's hogan. Singers gather around, and the medicine man leads in singing the four special songs, the Coyote Songs, which always start a night's singing. After this the group begins sway singing and may continue all night. There may also be some dancing at this time, or they may stop singing and return the drum to the hogan at any time. The Coyote Songs are discussed in more detail on page 18 in connection with the first night, when they are again used to start the singing.

Songs used in Preparation of the Rattle Stick

The decoration of the stick takes place on the morning of the first day. There are ten songs which accompany this ritual; the first six describe the actual decoration of the stick:

1. He is making it for me . . .
   Monster Slayer is making his staff for me . . .
   Gazer on Enemy is making his staff for me . . .
   The staff of the wide queue he is making for me . . .

2. He has made it for me . . .
   Monster Slayer, . . .

3. He has brought it here for me . . .
   Monster Slayer, . . .

4. He placed it in my hand . . .
   Monster Slayer, etc . . .

5. He tallowed it for me . . .
   Monster Slayer is making, etc . . .

6. He has reddened it for me . . .
   Monster Slayer, etc . . .

Songs 7–10 are concerned with the people: elders, men, women, children, and chiefs surrounding the stick in the act of decorating it:

7. He is decorating it for me . . .
   Monster Slayer's staff, he is decorating it for me . . .
   The staff of the extended bowstring, he is decorating . . .
   Surrounded by the emergence elders, he is decorating . . .
   Surrounded by the emergence women, . . .

8. He has decorated it for me . . .
   Monster Slayer's, . . .

9. Now he carries it away . . .
   Monster Slayer's staff, . . .

10. Pleasant again it has come to be . . .
    Monster Slayer's staff, . . .[7]

At the end of the decoration ritual five Blessing Way songs (*'anaa'aji bohózhǫ́ǫ́dji*, "Enemy Way Blessing Part") are optional.

1. Here it stands, by its power motion began, . . .
   Now in the center of the home of Changing Woman it stands, . . .
   A turquoise stands upright, . . .
   Now it stands in the center of the home of Changing Woman, . . .
   A white bead stands upright, . . .

[7] Haile, 1938, pp. 259–60.

2. Here it stands upright whereby he (patient) is in motion . . .

3. Here it stands whereby he (patient) arose . . .

4. Here is (the power) by which he stands . . .

5. Here is the upright whereby he begins to walk . . .[8]

The Coyote Songs

The patient's party arrives at the camp of the stick receiver at about sunset. He inspects the stick, and, if it is made properly, he accepts it, and his group prepares a drum. This is done without the Drum Songs or any other particular ceremony. He then goes outside and leads the "'e-ya e-ya he-he ya-ha" songs or first songs of coyote, the owl, and burrowing owl.[9] These are the four songs which must inaugurate each night of public singing and are referred to by the Navahos as *'ana'dji 'atsáłe* (Enemy Way First Songs) or *má'i biyiin* (Coyote Songs).

The male spectators may join in these songs, following the practitioner, but these are not songs that a person would sing by himself or on any other occasion. As Bill Begay put it, "We are afraid of those, we leave them to the medicine man." The texts, taken from Father Berard, follow (arrangement and simplification mine). The syllables are meaningless except that they imitate the bark of coyotes and the hooting of owls. My informants said these songs were about coyote, owl, burrowing owl, and something else, they did not know what.[10]

1. he·ya heya heya he·ya 'eyehe 'ayeyehe ya'eeyeya,
heya he·ya 'eyehe ya'ehe·ya
'e·he·yeya,

he·ya·a 'ehe'o·o·he·ya 'e·he'eya,
he·ya·a 'eha'o·o·he·ya 'e·he'eya,

he·ya 'eyahe·ya he·ya he·yaheya
he·ya 'ehe'o· o·heya 'e'eha·ya· he·ya
he·ya:

2. he·ya he·ya·he·ya' ee·ya'e·ye·na he·ya
'ee·na he·ya 'ee·ne,
ya·ahe·yaa'ee·ya' eye·na he·ya 'ee·na
he·ya 'ee·ne,
ne·yahe·o 'eyooho,
ya·a ne·ya 'e·nehe'o 'e·yooho,
ya·a he·yaa he·eya 'eye·na he·ya 'e·e·na
he·ya 'ee·ne
ya·γana he·ya he·ya:

3. he·ya he·ya he·ya·a heeya 'eye·ya'eya 'eneya
'ehee· ho·wena
he·ya·a heeya 'eye·ya'eya 'eneya
'ehee· ho·wena
he·yaya 'eya 'eye·ya'eya 'eneya
'ehee· ho·wena
he·yaya 'eya 'eye·ya'eya 'eneya
'ehe'e· ho·wena
he·yaya·'eya 'eye·ya'eya 'eneya
'ehe'e·ho·wena
he·yaya heeya 'eye·ya'eneya'eneya'-
'ehe'e· ho·wena
he·ya he·ya

4. heya heya heya·a yo·ho· yo·ho· yaha hahe·ya·an
ha·yahe· ha·wena
yo·ho· yo·ho· yaha hahe·ya·an
ha·yahe· ha·wena
he·yo· wena hahe·yahan
ha·yahe· ha·wena
he·yo· wena hahe·yahan
he he he he·yo
he·yo· wena hahe·yahan
he he he he·yo
he·yo· howo· heyo
wana heya heya[11]

The Sway Songs

After the four "First Songs," the careful order and specificity of the music is relaxed. Within the limitations of a certain *type* of song, the sway song, any song that comes to mind will be performed. The only "order" in the singing comes from similarity: one song will suggest another which sounds a good deal like it. I did discover, however, that there was at least one song which was supposed to be followed by another specific melody since both were about airplanes (*see* songs no. 4 and 5).

[8] Haile, 1938, pp. 261–63.

[9] Haile, 1938, p. 223.

[10] Coolidge's informant said there were five songs ". . . the same songs that are sung today — songs so old that they have no words. They were the Coyote Song, the Owl Song, the Talking God Song, the Water-Sprinkler Song, and the song to Estsan Adlehi." Coolidge and Coolidge, 1930, p. 170.

[11] Haile, 1938, p. 265.

Though the singing that now takes place is confined to the sway songs, the repertory within this limitation is enormous. There is no telling how many hundreds of these songs are known, sung, and passed around on the reservation and among off-reservation Navahos. New ones are invented and have a period of popularity which may carry them from end to end of the Navaho country. Old ones may be revived and have a vogue lasting months or years. Singers frequently know who made a particular song and how long ago.

Sway songs, together with the dance songs, the gift songs, and the circle dance songs, are the songs which the public ordinarily hears at a Squaw Dance and any of these four types of song may appear labeled "Squaw Dance Song" on the commercial records of Navaho music now available.[12] The sway songs are markedly different from the ceremonial songs described so far. They are not constructed on the chorus-verse-burden pattern of the chanted music but are much simpler, shorter, and more lively melodically. They do not have the constant repetition of chorus and burden in the text and melody so characteristic of the chants. There may be no meaningful text at all (this is said to be characteristic of the older songs) or there may be short phrases such as "This is beautiful," repeated a number of times and rounded out with vocables. Additional texts and a technical discussion of the music of these songs will be found below, pp. 25–37.

The Dance Songs

When it is time for the dancing to begin, a large bonfire is lit in the middle of the dancing ground, and the music changes from sway songs to songs with a different musical and textual content, the *ahizhdi áhai* ("two come together") songs. These dance songs have the same regular rhythm as the sway songs but are much longer, being sung with many repeats so that the dancing to a particular song may go on as long as ten minutes or so. These are repetitions of the whole song, however, not of burdens or magical formulae.

As in the case of the sway songs, there may be dance songs composed entirely of vocables with no meaningful text. Where there are texts, they usually refer, humorously, to the way the dancing is going, the behavior of girls, or the relations of the sexes.

Dancing in the Rimrock-Willow Fence region usually begins with the wheeling dance mentioned above. In *Son of Old Man Hat* this dance is called "those-who-turn," but my informants had no distinguishing term for it beyond *ahizhdi áhai*, used for all social dancing in the Enemy Way.[13] The round dance which comes next is said by Rimrock Navahos to be derived from an Apache social dance which was copied for a number of years by the Navahos. In the Apache form, the couples face the same way and dance forwards and backwards together in a long double line. According to both Navaho and Mormon informants, this type of dance was practiced in Rimrock simply as a social dance without ceremonial implications and was also used in the Enemy Way. The Coolidges, writing before 1930, speak of the wheeling dance and an Apache Dance:

> . . . a backwards and forwards dance, very graceful to behold called the Foot-Together Dance . . . sometimes called the Apache Dance.[14]

It seems possible to reconstruct a recent stage of the history of social dancing in the Enemy Way. The Apache Dance has evolved into a round dance in which the men and girls move around the dance ground in a large circle, double file, instead of going backwards and forwards. This development seems to have taken place on the reservation and has diffused back to the off-reservation Navahos south of Railtown who claim to have transmitted the Apache Dance from the Mescalero to the reservation in the first place.

[12] Boulton, 1941, record 91a, songs number 1, 3, 4, 6 are songs number 64, 65, 74, and 75 in this paper, all gift songs. Rhodes, 1949, record 1422A (1), "Riding Song" is song number 1 in this paper, known widely among the Navahos as the signal song to end the dancing and resume sway singing.

[13] *See* Dyk, 1938, p. 209, and all of Chapter 11 for Navaho viewpoints on the Enemy Way.

[14] Coolidge and Coolidge, 1930, pp. 177–78; *see also* p. 167.

On the reservation there are two kinds of steps used in the round dance, skipping and "loping" or trotting. Reservation Navahos told me that there were specific kinds of songs for these two different dance steps, but in the Rimrock-Willow Fence area one may see both skipping and loping going on at the same time. Various informants have told me that this is because the Navahos of this region do not know any better and cannot tell the difference between these two types of songs.

In the painting of an Enemy Way round dance by Harrison Begay, the girls are all to the right of their partners.[15] There was no such uniformity in any of the dances I saw. I mention this here as possible further evidence for "provincialism" south of Railtown, but I have not seen round dancing on the reservation myself, and I recognize the possibility of artistic license or formalization.

Like our "Good Night Ladies" or "Home Sweet Home," the Navahos have a special song (*see* song no. 1) which constitutes a signal for the dancing to stop. This is one of the older style sway songs. At the dances I saw, most of the dancers had stopped anyway before the signal song was sung, but several informants said that often when the word is given by some of the older men present for this signal, there may be objections from young people who want to continue the dancing. I was told that there have been times when they have tried to shout down the singers, and where a stay of sentence has been given. The dancing may be terminated at any time if the evening begins to get too rowdy.

After the dancing, the sway singing is resumed and continues for the rest of the night.

The Gift Songs

In the morning after breakfast, the members of the patient's party gather outside the stick receiver's hogan and sing the four starting (Coyote) songs. These are followed by gift songs which continue as long as gifts are thrown out of the hogan to the singers. Slim Curly says of these songs: "These serenaders again sing the first four songs for him (the stick receiver), after which they begin their sway singing, with no particular regard for songs to be sung." [16] Of the ten gift songs recorded by me, however, three (54–56) are quite unlike the sway songs structurally. These were sung by an old informant, Mr. Moustache, who said that they came from the Utes. He sang others which his grandson identified as very old sway songs used nowadays just as gift songs. Comments by both Mr. Moustache and John Nez indicated that the Ute-style songs are preferable, but are now being forgotten.[16a]

When the gift singing is over, there is no further singing until the evening when another night of sway singing and dance singing takes place at the half-way camp of the stick receiver's party. As noted above and in Slim Curly's account,[17] there may be dancing at both camps on the first night.

The Emetic Songs

The last three sections have mentioned songs of a public and "secular" nature. At dawn on the third day attention is focused on the patient. The preparation and use of an emetic is the first step in a series of rituals centering around him. Two songs are sung while the emetic is boiling, and a third song is sung when the patient drinks. These are sacred songs in the chant form discussed already in connection with the songs used in the preparation of the drum and the rattle.

The burden in the first song is "We are preparing food for you." The second song is like the first with the burden changed to "For yourself, you have now prepared food." An abbreviated text of the second song follows:

'eneya With a thrill, my grandchild, you have prepared a food for yourself, with a thrill, . . .

[15] Tanner, 1950, pp. 18–19 (reproduction of painting).

[16] Haile, 1938, p. 227.

[17] Haile, 1938, p. 229.

[16a] Herzog, 1935, p. 413, suggests a Northern Ute origin for ". . . dancing songs, mostly exoteric, associated with the Enemy Chant or 'War Dance' . . ." on the basis of a high incidence of paired phrases. Herzog's musical example is clearly a sway song. In the present study, pairing is found to be high *only* in the sway songs and not in the "Ute-style" songs. This is a highly significant clue to a possible Ute origin for the sway songs as well as the gift songs.

And so, because I am the child of Changing Woman,
you have now prepared food for yourself, halayai,
Below the sunrise you have now prepared . . .
In a turquoise basket, you have now prepared . . .
Of the dew of dark cloud you have now prepared . . .
At its front it is pleasant when you have . . .
At its rear it is pleasant when you have . . .
Now long life and happiness, my grandchild, you have now prepared food with a thrill, my grandchild . . .
And so, because I am the grandchild of Changing Woman,
you have now prepared a food for yourself,
Below the sun . . .
In a white bead basket . . .
Of the dew of dark mist . . .
In its rear it is pleasant . . .
At its front it is pleasant . . .
Now long life and happiness, my child, . . .
With a thrill, my grandchild, you have now prepared a food,
With a thrill, my grandchild, you have now prepared a food,
With a thrill, my grandchild, you have just prepared yourself a food, that's all.[18]

The song used during the drinking of the emetic speaks of Monster Slayer shaking a dark cloud and then the male rain from various parts of his body.

The next event on the third day is the sham battle between the stick receiver's camp and the patient's camp. A breakfast is provided by the latter, and then a return gift singing takes place outside the patient's hogan. The songs are the same as in the first gift singing.

Unraveling Songs

At the conclusion of the gift singing, attention is again centered on the patient while the rite of unraveling is performed over him. This rite is found in many ceremonies and consists of untying or cutting knots, usually slipknots made in yucca leaves, which are held or tied at appropriate parts of the patient's body.

The theory of the practice is that pain and evil influences are tied within or upon the patient's body and this ceremony unties and releases them, transferring them to the herbs which are later disposed (of). The little hoops also carry the evil away with them as they are rolled away. In difficult labor the baby may be tied in by evil influences and unraveling releases it.[19]

Before the unraveling begins in the Enemy Way, a song known as "the song with which they usually returned" is sung. It is borrowed from Monster Way and is said to be "the song heard by Changing Woman on the return of her boys from the slaughter of the big *ye-i*." [20] The song, which precedes the prayers to the shoulder band and wristlets, is built on the burden "He is putting it in shape." This phrase apparently refers to the yucca knots.

The songs which accompany the unraveling itself are seven in number, identical except for the progression of ideas in the burden:

1. With my grandchild he extracts them . . .
2. With my grandchild he has extracted them . . .
3. He unravels it with you, my grandchild . . .
4. He has unraveled it with you, my grandchild . . .
5. My grandchild, it has returned far from you . . .
6. My grandchild, it has returned upon him . . .
7. My grandchild, it has returned far away . . .

The text in the body of the song refers to Changing Woman and Black God and speaks of a dark cord, an extended bowstring, and a blue cord being unraveled.[21]

The Medicine Songs

When the unraveled slipknots have been disposed of, medicine which has been prepared in a gourd container is presented to the patient, and then pollen is applied. There is a song which accompanies each of these acts.

The first, the medicine song, refers to Huerfano Mountain, Changing Woman, Monster Slayer, Spruce Mountain, Enemy Gazer, and has for a burden "Come, my child, come."

The pollen song is the same except that the call of the corn beetle (*'elool*) is heard in the burden.

[18] Haile, 1938, pp. 266–67.
[19] Kluckhohn and Wyman, 1940, p. 79.
[20] Haile, 1938, p. 220.
[21] Haile, 1938, pp. 270–71.

Blackening Songs

The blackening of the patient now takes place, and it is during this ritual that the Black Dancers and the Tail Song singers perform outside. The blackening songs are also in chant form with full texts and can be divided into those which refer to the enemy's country and those which refer to the Navaho country.

The enemy-country songs are distinctly warlike in character and speak of the death of the enemy, the weeping in the enemy country, and the rejoicing in the Navaho country. Monster Slayer and Gazer on Enemy are mentioned, and their terrifying warlike aspects are stressed. There are sixteen of these songs.

The next series of songs refers to the Navaho country and to ritual acts in the process of blackening the patient.

Six songs refer again to Monster Slayer and Gazer on Enemy as the first slayers of enemies. The seventh song accompanies the singer's application of peppermint and pennyroyal to his hands, which he then presses over the patient's heart four times. The patient is identified as the child of the Milky Way, the rainbow, Monster Slayer, and Gazer on Enemy, and the song refers repeatedly to long life.

Sacred tallow, charcoal, red ocher, and specular iron ore are mentioned in the next four songs, and these ingredients are rubbed on the patient as the songs are sung. After this, the enemy scalp is strewn with ashes by an old man specially designated for the office. During this rite, a song is sung in which the enemy men, women, children, and leaders are spoken of as gray with ashes, "a pitiful sight." [22]

The next song describes the scavengers who feed on the corpse of the slain enemy in the origin legend of the Enemy Way [23] and refers to the dust shaken from the paws of a gopher into the moccasins of the patient. (The gopher, by digging an underground approach, gave the Twins access to the Horned Monster in the Enemy Way origin legend).[24] It is followed by a song to prepare the patient to attack the scalp.

Yucca wristlets, yucca shoulder bands, and a feather for the forelock are applied to the patient, and a song is sung for each of these acts. In the songs, the wristlets are referred to as "Monster Slayer's bands . . . the bands of long life," the shoulder bands are "Monster Slayer's bowstring, . . . the bowstring of long life," and the feather is associated with the Monster Eagles in the Monster Way, the red-shouldered hawk, and the wolf.

One more song concludes the blackening ceremonies. The patient is accoutered in Monster Slayer's apparel and is ready to go out to the scalp and strike it with the crow's bill. He is identified with Monster Slayer and Gazer on Enemy in the song.

According to Slim Curly,[25] the next songs in the ceremony are those with which the stick receiver's group goes over to the patient's hogan, which I have designated as the "Walking Songs." In my observation, however, another ceremony, the Circle Dance, takes place first, and singers from both camps participate.

The Circle Dance Songs

As the evening of the third day approaches, the Circle Dance takes place. For about an hour the men, holding hands, circle first in one direction and then in the other. The songs are one of the four types of "secular" music in the Enemy Way. The dance is described in more detail on page 12 and the music is discussed on pages 51–54.

Walking Song

When the Circle Dance is over, there is a lengthy pause, and then the stick receiver's party starts its ceremonial walk over to the patient's hogan. They sing on the way and make four stops during which the name of the patient and the name of the enemy's tribe or race are shouted out. This song is secret. I could not find any informants who would admit that they knew it, though several of them said they could sing it when a singer was leading them. The Walking Song is concluded when the party is standing in front of the hogan. The stick receiver then sings four songs to the patient.

[22] Haile, 1938, p. 281.
[23] Haile, 1938, p. 197.
[24] Haile, 1938, pp. 113–17.
[25] Haile, 1938, pp. 284–85.

Songs to the Patient

Father Berard, who recorded the four songs which come next, was told by Slim Curly that this is a Ghost Way song (with four different burdens) which has been adapted to naming the patient and the enemy in the Enemy Way. The patient kills the enemy, in the song, and the tears of the enemy survivors are mentioned. The slaying of the ghost is mentioned also.

The stick receiver now sings the Coyote Songs, and a serenade of sway singing by the group follows. When they stop, the group breaks up and returns to the dance circle without ceremony. After a pause, during which announcements may be made, the sway singing starts up again. Again the bonfire is lit, the stick girl appears to start the dancing, the singing shifts to dance songs, and the third night of singing and dancing takes place.

Concluding Songs of the Enemy Way

At dawn the singer awakens the patient (or patients) and leads the way outside. He sings a Blessing Way song as the group makes its way to the south. There is a set of six Blessing Way songs, any one of which may be used. The sway singing is concluded with the four Coyote Songs. The medicine man may lead the first of these and the stick receiver the other three. Then the medicine man and the patients proceed to the south edge of the ceremonial grounds where they make pollen offerings and inhale the dawn four times.[26]

Songs for Depositing the Rattle Stick

While it is still early dawn, the stick receiver's party begins to leave for home. When the party arrives, the rattle stick is deposited in some safe out-of-the-way place with a prayer. A song is sung in which the stick is referred to as "Monster Slayer's staff," and its placement is described.

In the little ceremony of depositing the stick, another song, widely known as the Twelve-word Song of Blessing Way, may be preferred. This song has the function of correcting omissions of songs or prayers in ceremonials. It mentions Talking God, Hogan God, "the boy," "the girl," the first white corn boy, the first yellow corn girl, pollen boy, corn beetle girl, and stresses in the burden "happiness assuring good conditions."[27]

An Elaboration of the Ordinary Enemy Way Ceremony

If the patient requests Tail Songs in addition to the regular Enemy Way ceremony, two special singers are hired, one to lead the Tail Songs and one to lead the Black Dancers. Various additional dances and rites are prepared, and numerous additional songs are used. The Tail Songs are so called because of the ending "his tail, his tail, his tail." This commemorates their being sung by Coyote and his followers at the original Enemy Way, at which time they switched their tails vigorously. These songs are rendered by the Tail Song group outside the patient's hogan at the same time as the Blackening Songs are being sung inside. Half the Tail Songs are sung facing the enemy, and the others are sung facing the hogan.

The Songs of the Tail Dancers

The first of the songs of the Tail Dancers are the Songs Facing the Enemy. The scalp is placed in the midst of the dancers who form a semi-circle around it, open in the direction of the enemy. Two very old men, who have seen the enemy, take the end positions. There are sixteen songs in the series which constitutes the Enemy side. They refer, insultingly and obscenely, to the death of the enemy, the desecration of the bodies, and the sorrow of the enemy survivors. In the sixteenth song, the patient is referred to by name, as a warrior.

Here the Enemy Way side ends. Directly the circle (of dancers) is turned sunwise, as usual, and now stands with the opening facing the hogan. You see, when the Pueblos were wiped out at Taos, some still had remained in the vicinity and, banding together with the Mexicans, these inhabited the vicinity of Santa Fe. Therefore now that country is mentioned.[28]

[26] Haile, 1938, pp. 245, 286.
[27] Haile, 1938, pp. 288–91.
[28] Haile, 1938, p. 201.

The next seven songs, Songs Facing the Hogan, mention the impotent relatives of the enemy at Santa Fé, the young men of Lukachukai who killed the enemy, the rejoicing of the girls at Chinlee, the grief of the enemy below Dolores, below White Mountain.

Eight songs are now sung in which any warrior may pay for the privilege of having his name mentioned. The songs mention Dolores and Lukachukai and refer to the spattered blood and hair of the enemy, the distribution of booty, and the feminine admiration of valor.

By special request, the Blessing Part of Enemy Way Song may be added to the eight songs mentioned above. No warrior's name is mentioned; the song ridicules the sexual organs of the enemy woman and the enemy man.

The Song Facing the Scalp is not a Tail Song but is sung by the Tail Dancers while they are facing in the direction of the scalp. It refers to the weeping of the enemy at Dolores and White Mountain.

The Songs of the Black Dancers

The two Black Feces songs are sung after the conclusion of the blackening songs in the hogan. They have no meaning, but there is some indication that they may be in ceremonially altered speech. They are sung by the Black Dancers.

The leader then daubs them with mud and sings one or all of the Flint Boy Songs. There are two sets of these songs from which he may choose. The longer set mentions the Hard Flint Boys and their weapons and protective garments of flint; also Flint Man and the Blue Flint Man, Flint Woman and the Yellow Flint Woman, the Flint Girls and the Barbed Flint Girls, and the Flint Children and the Variegated Flint Children. The shorter set mentions only the Flint Boys.

The Black Dancers then leap out of the hogan by means of the smoke hole and daub the patient and any co-patients who have been blackened with him. At this time any person in the audience who has been bothered with Enemy Way troubles (i.e., feels faint when he hears Enemy Way music) may ask to be treated also.[29]

Song at the Meal of No-Cedar Mush

After the Black Dancers have daubed all who wish it, they return to the patient's hogan where a basket of no-cedar mush awaits them.[30] While they are eating, the leader sings two songs. The words are almost identical in both songs. They refer to eating, and the patient is identified with the dawn.[31]

[29] Haile, 1938, p. 241.
[30] Haile, 1938, p. 241.
[31] Haile, 1938, p. 313.

THE SECULAR SONGS IN THE ENEMY WAY

GENERAL REMARKS

THIS chapter is a discussion and analysis of the sway songs, the dance songs, the gift songs, and the circle dance songs of the Enemy Way. Of the many kinds of music included in this ceremonial, these are the only ones that are also sung casually for entertainment in a secular context. They are the songs least freighted with overtones of magic, and it is therefore not surprising to find them different in form from the sacred songs. They are not chants but complex melodies. Perhaps the only other large body of music among the Navahos where free composition and competition of singers may be observed is the Yeibichai songs.

In the course of recording eighty-six of these public songs of the Enemy Way (seventy-five different songs and eleven duplications), I was struck by differences in melodic structure in the songs of different categories. A discussion of these differences follows. (The reader who is not interested in technical detail will find these differences summarized on pp. 55–59.

The recording was done on a "Soundmirror" magnetic tape machine which required a 110-volt electric current.[1] In consequence, I had to drive informants to a trading post or mission where electricity was available. Most of the songs below were recorded at the Long Timbers trading post. A large unused room was available here, and the recording sessions were undisturbed. The records made by John Hawk were done in my station wagon parked outside the Blue Springs trading post. About a dozen young men gathered around the car during the recording and John played up to this audience throughout the session. Mr. Moustache, Johnny Blanco, Joseph Pablo, and John Nez made their records in my bedroom at a boarding house in Rimrock, New Mexico. Here again the sessions were undisturbed except, perhaps, by the informants' unfamiliarity with the room.

My principal informants were:

Bill Begay, a man in his fifties from Willow Fence. He is a composer of note and very well versed in ceremonial matters. Other informants invariably asked to hear the records Bill had made for me. It is interesting to note that although this informant has been an instructor and assistant to anthropologists for many years he still advised Eddie Cochise not to record certain old songs for me, the sanction being the danger of illness or death, and he himself recorded only sway songs. He was said by certain other informants to be a witch, and his knowledge of deer songs (to be used in hunting) was cited as evidence of this.

Grant Johns, a man in his late fifties from Willow Fence. This informant felt free to record Yeibichai and Blessing Way songs as well as the sway songs included in this paper.

Mrs. Grant Johns, a woman in her early fifties from Willow Fence. This informant sang dance songs and circle dance songs. She was so timid at the beginning of the recording that she had scarcely enough breath to sing. She showed unfamiliarity with many of the songs she sang and was too shy to sing some of the risqué texts.

Paula Henry, a girl of about eight, Mrs.

[1] Note to students who make recordings in the field: this machine, while perfectly adequate for recording melodies for musicological study, does not make recordings that will satisfy professional standards. The comments in a personal communication from Edward Tatnall Canby, critic of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, are well worth quoting: ". . . I would guess that the songs were recorded at 7½, perhaps on one of the smaller types of machines. If not that, then something went wrong in the processing, since the higher tones, the sibilants, and vowel colors are not clear. . . . I might as well point out that entirely too much work is now being done in the field with the cheaper home-type tape machines. . . . Professional work, after all, should be done with better equipment, and those sponsoring such work should be made to understand that one does not use toys for scientific work. . . ."

Johns' niece, from Willow Fence. She sang three dance songs.

John Hawk, a man in his sixties from Willow Fence, known as a great fun-lover and something of a clown. He sang sway songs, gift songs, and circle dance songs and, in addition, sang my only example of a song created extempore. This song was in great demand thereafter, being considered extremely funny by all who heard it.

Johnny Blanco, a man in his early thirties from Rimrock. This informant sang sway songs, dance songs, gift songs, and circle dance songs. Twice when he rode from Rimrock to Enemy Ways at Willow Fence and Pinyon with me, he sang these songs continuously for over an hour with very few repeats that I could detect.

John Nez, a man in his early thirties from Rimrock. This informant knew very few songs. He sang one with Johnny Blanco and proved to be uncertain of the melody, and on another occasion he mixed up three separate songs in trying to make a record. I have a gift song, sung with Johnny Blanco, and a variant of a circle dance song, rendered by him shortly after he heard Mr. Moustache sing it.

Mr. Moustache, a man of eighty-four from Rimrock. This informant sang sway songs, gift songs, and circle dance songs. He refused to sing dance songs. He is a ceremonial practitioner and was by all odds my most well-informed recorder. He was formerly much in demand as a stick receiver, and so very likely knew the four starting songs and the Walking Song. John Nez, his grandson, said that he did but that it would be better not to inquire about these.

Joseph Pablo, a man in his late forties from Rimrock. This informant has friends at Mescalero and has attended many dances there. A number of the dance songs he recorded were strongly Apache in form, according to Jim Chamiso. He also recorded some sway songs.

Son of Bead Chant Singer, a man in his fifties from Carrisozo, Arizona. This informant, a former ceremonial practitioner, was converted to Christianity soon after I met him. He recorded moccasin game songs, Blessing Way songs, personal Blessing songs such as sweathouse songs, and creation songs from several of the major chants. He sang four "loping" songs and four skipping songs to show me the difference between them as they are sung on the reservation.

Jim Chamiso, a man in his late thirties, from Rimrock. This informant has lived on the reservation as well as at Rimrock. He studied to be a ceremonial practitioner and then went into missionary training at the Rimrock Galilean Mission. He is very well informed, naturally, in Navaho ceremonialism and its music but would not make records of Navaho songs, partly because of his religious convictions, and partly because he knew people would talk if he did. He was an invaluable interpreter and critic of nearly all the music I collected.

The informants listed above did not, of course, confine their services to the making of records. The recording situation was almost always a stimulus to discussions of various aspects of music in Navaho life, and these in turn led to talk in many other fields, particularly that of religion. In addition to my indebtedness to these people for their interest and very great help, I should by rights mention nearly every Navaho I met and many of those whom I observed since all of them contributed to my understanding of Navaho music as social behavior.

The reader will find references in this paper to a number of individuals besides the eleven described above. As stated in the Acknowledgments, all of these names are pseudonyms.

SECTION ONE — *THE SWAY SONGS*

Even Southwesterners who have spent their lives as neighbors of the Navahos have rarely heard any kind of Navaho music other than "Squaw Dance" and Yeibichai songs. Indeed, I have often heard the two terms used interchangeably. Even in the anthropological

literature, the term "sway singing" or "*nda* singing" may be used to cover all of the music used during the three nights of public singing in the Enemy Way. In an attempt to eliminate this confusion, I have reserved the term "sway song" for songs of a particular type which are used during the long hours of singing after the dancing has stopped. Often the dancing continues for only a few hours, and so these "non-dance" songs make up the largest proportion of the songs actually rendered. Some of these same songs are also heard before the dancing begins.

Often, though not always, the men singing the sway songs stand in a densely packed group and sway together from side to side in time with the music. When the group is made up of two competing halves, the side that is singing sways while the other side stands still. According to the Franciscans, the word *nda*, used by the Navahos nowadays to refer to the whole public part of the ceremony, comes from *ajindá* — "they all sing moving." It is also true, however, that the men sway when they are singing the dance songs. But the Navaho term for the dance music, *ahizhdi áhai sin* "two come together song," refers to the dancing and not to the movement of the singers.

There seems to be good evidence that the dancing was originally done to the music of the sway songs. In the origin legend the singing began under the leadership of Coyote, and the Corn People Maidens circled about the returning warriors in a kind of Virginia Reel figure.[2] When the girls had finished this first "Squaw Dance," the same kind of singing continued into the night. Old people vigorously express a preference for the sway songs, and some of my older, more conservative informants sang no other kind. In recent years, however, a type of music designed specifically for the dancing has come into vogue (*see* Part Two below), and there seems to be a tendency for this music to supercede the sway songs altogether during this part of the night. During the hours of steady singing between the end of the dancing and the dawn, only the sway songs are used.

It is my impression that this separation of function is becoming increasingly marked. As the secularization of the public part of the Enemy Way takes its course, I predict that the new songs will take over entirely during the dancing, and that they will eventually move into the non-dancing part of the evening as well.

The sway songs, then, the oldest public songs of the Enemy Way, are presented in this section.

COMMENTS WITH THE SWAY SONGS

SONG NUMBER

1. This song is pretty old, it came from the reservation. A man living down there had this song. About fifteen, eighteen years ago I changed it up higher like this. (Bill Begay)

1a. This is the same song the old way. The People had this back in Fort Sumner. People liked it the new way, but they still sing it both ways. The old people sing down low. It's the young boys that sing up high. We older people change it back and start low again. (Bill Begay)

1b. This one is a signal to change back to the regular songs. Everyone knows it means the end of the dancing, and if the people want to go on, they holler to them to stop singing that song. I think this is the only song that never changes. They use it everywhere; it's important. If the older men think the dance is going on all right they let it go on. If there are too many people drunk they bring that song out now. (Johnny Blanco)

2. No, this one has no words to it. It's very old, about thirty-five years old from up on the reservation. I learned it from a man who is dead now. He used to be a policeman up at Fort Defiance. He died six or seven years ago. I heard it all three nights and by the third night I knew it. (Bill Begay)

3. I learned this from my father. He was pretty old. My father used to say about this song he had a brother who was taken over to Fort Sumner. He learned it over there. He learned it while they kept him there. He brought it back to Fort Defiance and when they started back on their way this song spread out all over. (Bill Begay)

[2] Haile, 1938, p. 169.

3a. He (John Hawk) sang the chorus in the wrong place in this one. (Jim Chamiso)

4. It's about twelve years old from Houck, a place over to the west of here. I learned it about eight years ago hearing the boys sing it every summer. A man at Houck made it up. He died at the Fort Defiance hospital. Munroe, his name was. He was a good singer. He had a good voice; he was a good singer of Squaw Dance songs. I went to school with him in Albuquerque. We used to sing together at Squaw Dances. (Question) Yes, I've made up a few. There was a man named *yiłaadł* who could sing right through the three nights. The others couldn't stand it. Friends get together on the two sides; the people from different parts of the country are lined up against each other. You sing on the side of your relatives, and if there aren't any of your folks there you go with your friends. (Bill Begay)

5. This goes with that airplane song. I learned this at the same dance where Bill Begay learned that airplane song around twelve years ago. You come right back with this one if the other side sings the airplane song. (Question) They use it pretty often; lots of people know it. (Grant Johns) He rushes this along too much. (Jim Chamiso)

6. This is one of my own. I made it up when I went over to Chaco Canyon the first time. One day I was not doing anything so I went to a friend's. There's a Navaho I visit when I go over there; he's the same clan as I am. There was a man about sixty years old there, and some young boys and I talked with the old man quite a while and with the boys too. They said they heard there was a Squaw Dance the next day, and the two boys asked me if I had some songs they could learn. They wanted some songs from the Rimrock Country. I told them, "The Rimrock people don't have any good songs, they don't have the Squaw Dance very much there." I told them I would come back Sunday afternoon and would make up one for them. They said, "All right." I went back where those two boys were and said, "Let's go away behind the corral and sing over there." We sang other songs first and then came to this (*Lonesome as I am*). It's when you're far away from home and you get up and are lonesome in the daytime. That song's for when you're lonesome; it makes you feel better then. I told them that, and they said, "That sure is a pretty one," and that they'd keep that as long as their lifetime. I still hear that song around Crown Point. That was eight years ago and now it's spread all over. Here too. (Bill Begay)

7. Pretty near everybody knows this one. (Why?) Because it's pretty, that's why everybody knows it. I made this one right after that other (6). It was seven years ago. I went down here this side of Tohatchi. I was singing all night. The next morning I went to the sweat bath to get in good voice. When I was finished, I figured that song out. Those boys down there were singing Good Hope Way songs. I said, "Let's make up a song." I had one in mind already. I said, "Let's make them hear a new song tonight." They said, "All right, let's have a good one so we can be on top of those fellas." We sang that, and by daylight the other side was singing it.

The young boys get tired by morning. They're supposed to be such good singers, but it's just at the beginning when they do a lot of yelling. That's a happy song to wake up the people because the song is pretty. It makes you think, "I'm going far away and someone might meet me over there where there is that dance bringing that pleasure." (Bill Begay)

8. I learned this way down north of Railtown about five years ago. I just picked it up when I heard it. I heard it for two nights and then I picked it up. (Question) No, it has no words, it's just a pretty song. (Bill Begay)

9. I added this to the other one (8) three years ago over at Rimrock. I just got it figured out. They had a Squaw Dance there, and I just studied this out, figured it out. There are a lot that start this way. I just compared it with those others. I made it one beside the other like that. They said it was a pretty one. They wanted to know where it came from. It goes with the one I just sang. (Question) Either can be first. It's not usual to have a pair like that, usually they just pick the next song up from anywhere. One song makes you think of another one just like it. (Bill Begay)

10. No, there are no words to this. I learned it from Joe Lee about six years ago at a dance. (John Hawk)

He's all mixed up on this one. It should be *'eyaweya'eya*. That "*heya*" mixed it up. At the singing, we are always criticizing each other. We tell the other side it wasn't right and do it over to show them. That might lead to a fight. It did once on the reservation. He (John Hawk) didn't finish the chorus in this.

And he started at the beginning too soon. (Jim Chamiso) (Possibly a version of number 1)

11. This means, "That's the song." It means you did all right to come back with that song. It's well liked, they sing this at every Squaw Dance. You have to know the right song to come back with. Those drunken boys just jump at any song. They do it wrong. (How do you know the right one?) Just thinking about it right in your head. (Grant Johns)

    This is supposed to be *'éláániló*. "Oh, is that you?" (Jim Chamiso)

12. This is a funy song from the Squaw Dance. It's about a mirror. You sing it to a girl to ask her to come over because you have a mirror. (Johnny Blanco)

    It's kind of old. When I was a kid I used to do that. The younger kids and the girls used to herd the sheep. They'd flash a mirror to each other for a signal. I used to do that too when I was a kid. You have to be secret talking to a girl, but it's getting easier all the time. (Question) It's a regular Squaw Dance song that could be used any time, anywhere. But you don't hear it any more. It's kind of old. It's funny how shy our girls are; it's a kind of funny culture. (John Nez) (!)

13. This is a regular common song. The kids can sing this or anyone can, it's just a common Squaw Dance song. (Jim Chamiso)
14. (No comment)
15. These are the old main special songs. Nowadays they make up songs that have lots of words. (Evelyn Pablo)
16. (What are your favorite kinds of songs?) I like all of them. There is nothing bad about any of them. (Can you sing any others for me besides Moccasin Game songs?) I'm not a real singer, I only know Blessing Way. It is not right to sing other people's songs. (How about Enemy Way songs?) It's all right to sing those. (Mr. Moustache)
17. (No comment)
18. (No comment)
18a. (No comment)
18b. (No comment)
19. There used to be more than twenty or thirty of these that I knew but now I have forgotten. (Signal songs?) There are two. (Mr. Moustache)
19a. (No comment)
20. He sings it "*he'o*," the old way. Straight. Nowadays they've changed that to *dez'a* "Rock Point" and the old man don't like that. (John Nez)
21. This is just a regular Squaw Dance. (How can you tell?) Just by the way they swing it. By the rhythm. (John Nez)
21a. (No comment)
22. (No comment)
23. These are the old songs. The people over at Red Cliffs sing just a little different songs over there. They've got more pep to it. They can sing real loud too, if they want to. Maybe sometimes it's not so much pep, either, they sing sad almost. (Slower?) I think they do. Yes, a little slower. (John Nez)
24. (Meaning of text?) This is all different from the Moccasin Game songs. They make sense. This don't tell. You can tell something about it if it has a dozen words or more. (John Nez)

    It means "Turn your head, leave it that straight way." (Mr. Moustache)

TEXTS

Meaningful Texts

Of the twenty-four sway songs collected, eight have meaningful texts. These typically contain only a few words or a short phrase which may be repeated several times. The light, sometimes topical, subject matter is in sharp contrast to Navaho sacred music which contains magical phrases and long, full, repetitive lists of Holy People, sacred places, and parts of the body or of plants. In the sway songs, no mention is made of sacred things or of the enemy.

[3] *See* pp. 36–37. (Notes on the Sway Songs for the Navaho words.

SONG NUMBER

3. This is beautiful, beautiful, beautiful, etc.[3]
3a. This is beautiful, saying it over, in the night.
4. Look up, car (motor) sound saying!
   (Look up, there is the sound of (an airplane) motor!)
5. Where are you going?
   Where are you going?
   Good-bye! (Companion song to number 4.)
6. Lonesome as I am.
11. That's the one!
    (That's the song!)

12. Would you come over?
I have a mirror with me. (refers to the mirror used by young sheepherders to signal each other)

23. That's it! The (small) money is sticking out.

24. Turn your head, turn your head,
Leave it straight.
(Don't look around.)

Texts in Vocables

The meaningless texts are by no means a haphazard arrangement of nonsense-syllables. Certain of the vocables are used in patterns as rigid as those of the melody itself and, indeed, cannot be separated from it.

Fixed Phrases: *Introduction and coda.* In the sway songs the introductory vocables are always *heyeyeyeya* or *heyeyeyeyaŋa*. The same vocables are also used in the coda which concludes every sway song, and this coda may also be found at important stopping points in the course of the melodic development. This pattern is sung on repeated quarter notes on the tonic. I have labeled this melodic and textual phrase "X," a customary symbol for introductory material. An example of its use in introductory and codential functions may be shown in the phrase pattern of song number 2, a classic example of sway song form:

X ABY ABy CBX SBY SBy CBX

The Secondary Coda. There is frequently a phrase shorter than "X" which also consists of repeated notes on the tonic and which concludes shorter melodic material. It is sung with the vocables *he*, or *heya*, or *heŋena*, *haŋenaŋa*, depending on the number of notes to be rendered. I have labeled this phrase "Y" in its full form of four beats and "y" in its shorter form of two beats. Its use may be seen in the example given above. Note the order of the full and partial form in a repeated phrase complex such as ABY ABy.

The Pre-coda. The dissyllabic *wena*, or *hyane*, or *yane*, is frequently used just before the "X" or the "Y" ("y") codas. It is too brief to count as a phrase in its own right and so is not indicated by any special symbol, but it frequently comprises the last two beats of a "B" phrase or any other phrase which comes before a coda. Melodically the pre-coda is sung on the interval of a major or minor third, descending to the tonic.

The "Sway Development." Another vocable phrase which is characteristic of many of the sway songs, and appears in no other songs of the Enemy Way, is found in association with a melodic development which occurs toward the end of the song. I have labeled this "S," and an excellent example of its use may be seen in the phrase patterning of song number 2 given above. The vocables used with "S" are always *he'ya hane hyo*, or some close variation, and the melodic material which accompanies these syllables is the furthest development of new material before the song ends. The conclusion is then almost always a repetition of earlier melodic material (a repetition of CBX in the example above). The "S" unit itself usually includes some earlier melodic material and a coda, and this whole complex is sung twice before the concluding material begins.

The Main Text in Vocables

The vocable phrases described so far have been inseparable from certain melodic phrases, and both are fixed or rigid to a considerable extent. The vocables that constitute the main body of the song show great variety. Usually a phrase such as *'eyo yowe* will be repeated on each musical phrase in much the same way as are the meaningful texts. In spite of the variety, only certain vocables are "right" for a particular song; such specificity is at least as rigid as in the case of meaningful texts. Some of the vocables most frequently used are *'eya*, *yaŋa*, *'ene*, *yana*, and *yowe*. I have observed a number of times that when a singer gets lost in a song and is fumbling with the text, trying to get sorted out again, he is likely to use the vocables *he ne ne ne*, etc., the introductory "X" formula. This occurs in other kinds of songs as well as sway songs.

MELODIC ANALYSIS

Meter

The rhythm of the sway songs is prevailingly even and in a double meter. Though one phrase may have six beats and another four, the subdivisions or measures are nearly always two beats in length. The most common phrase is a 2, 2, 2 figure rhythmically. Exceptions may be found, however. It is not uncommon to find a measure of three beats [4] as in the "A" and "B" phrases of song number 3, and it is not unusual to find the last measure of a codential phrase with three beats instead of two or four (song no. 16).

Tempo

The tempi are all within the range of *andante* and *allegro* with the weight more in the slower category. A simple table shows the distribution:

SPEED		NUMBER OF SONGS
andante ♩ = MM	130–9	6
	140–9	8
allegro ♩ = MM	150–9	6
	160–9	3
	176	1

Pitch

Pitch or key in the sway songs may be said to be as high as possible. The competitive raising of the pitch has been described earlier. One would not expect the pitches of the songs I recorded to be representative due to the "unnatural" conditions, i.e., indoors and solo, but they are similar to the pitches in the Boulton and Rhodes recordings, which were made by groups. Once when I asked an informant why he was not singing "naturally" (loud and high), he replied that he was afraid my recording machine could not stand it.

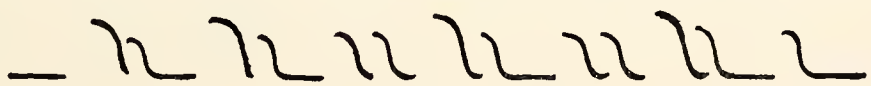
The songs are sung on the same pitch for some time, until the singers get warmed up and the feeling of competition begins to find expression. A slight rise in pitch can be heard in the succession of songs recorded by Joseph Pablo, but I have nothing on records analogous to a nightlong series during an Enemy Way. My informants always demanded to hear the records that had already been made before they themselves started to record, and so the previous singer usually determined the pitch on which they began. It is not surprising, then, that very few keys [5] are represented in the present collection. Ten songs were sung in C, three in C-sharp, one in D-sharp, and nine in F. These tablatures are all to be understood as in the "small octave" — the octave below middle C.

Melodic Line

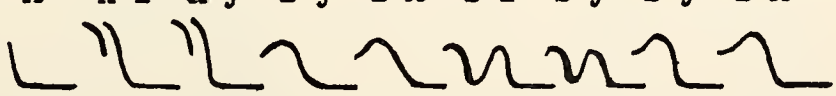
Below are simplified graphic representations of some of the most characteristic sway song melodic line patterns:

Group I

No. 7. X A B X A B X B B A B X B B A B X B X



No. 9. X A Y A y B y B X S Y S y B y B X

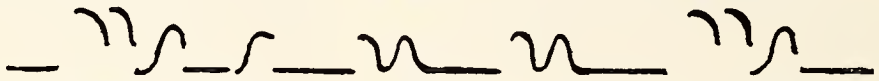


[4] McAllester, 1951, p. 35. The "interrupted double" beat.

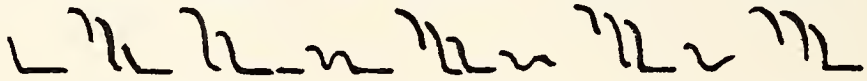
[5] By "key" I do not mean to imply all the note relationships understood in our musical tradition. I simply wish to indicate the "tonic" or base note of the melody as a means of identifying the relative pitch of the songs discussed (*see* p. 34 ff.)

Group II

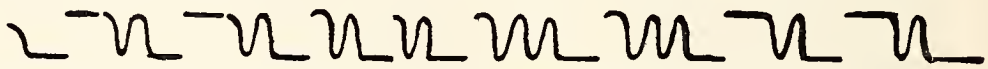
No. 10. X A A B Y B y X S B Y X S B Y X A A B Y X



No. 13. X ABBX ABBX y CCY ABBX CC ABBX CC ABBX



No. 17. X A B Y A B Y B y B X S B Y S B X A B y A B X



The songs in Group I reach the tonic in the first phrase after the introduction whereas in Group II this affirmation of tonality is delayed until the "B" phrase. The examples will suffice to show that sway songs generally are strongly downward in movement with phrases progressively more restricted in compass in a "collapsing" figure. There is a strong attraction to the tonic, and this attraction is offset by a fresh upward movement in the "sway development." The reader will find many variations on this theme in the melodies and a few, such as song number 19, expand instead of "collapsing."

Over-all Range. Five of the sway songs are a fifth in range, four are a sixth in range, and fifteen are an octave in range. In a sense, however, these figures are misleading for many of the octaves are functionally very weak, being barely touched once or twice in the course of the song. When *active* range is considered, there are two songs a fourth in range, nine songs a fifth in range, six songs a sixth in range, and only seven songs an octave in range.

Range in Individual Phrases. Within the individual phrases, a compass of an octave is rare. A certain number of "A" phrases do cover the full octave. Compasses of a fifth, a third, and a fourth predominate. The codential phrases are, of course, quite flat, being sung entirely on the tonic.

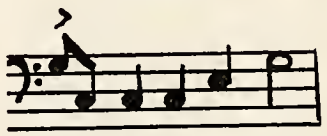
Melodic Phrasing

Fixed Phrases. As the reader has seen, certain phrases appear in identical or closely related forms throughout the sway songs. I have used letters from near the end of the alphabet to indicate these "fixed" phrases whenever they appear and have reserved consecutive lettering for the material original or unique to a particular song. I have explained the positions and function of the fixed phrases in the section on texts in vocables and so have merely to indicate the melodic content here.

Introduction and coda ("X") he ye ye ye ya, or he ye ye ye yana

The "Y" coda ("Y" or "y") ha, or hani, or hayena, etc.

The sway development ("S" etc.)



he ya hane hyo

Some examples of the complete phrase patterns of representative sway songs will illustrate the melodic function of the fixed phrases:

SONG NUMBER
2. X ABY ABy CBX SBY SBy CBX
3. X AY Ay By BX SAY SAy By BX
6. X ABY ABy Cy CX SBY SBy Cy CX

Note again how the full form of the Y coda is used with the first repetition of double phrases, and the reduced form is used when the melody "jumps off" to new material. The sway development is found in some variation in thirteen of the twenty-four sway songs, always with the fixed melodic and textual pattern "S". In nine more of the songs, there is a similar development *without* the fixed "S" but employing the same sort of expansion, combining new with old material before the song ends with a recapitulation of an early phrase complex, or of more than one of these, for a song ending:

SONG NUMBER
4. X AyBX AyBX BY By AyBX
12. X ABY ABy CBy CBX DBX ABY ABy CBX

Paired Phrases. The doubling of the first phrase in the sway songs is frequent enough to impress even the casual listener. This device is very useful in the group singing, since it allows the man who introduces the song to establish its identity, and then gives the group a chance to come in on the repeat before the song goes on to new development. The group often recognizes the proposed song after the first few notes, but all who know the song have joined in by the beginning of the second "A". In ten cases this doubling is of a *group* of phrases or a "phrase complex" as ABCX ABCX, etc., rather than a pairing of smaller units as X AYAy BYBy, etc., or X AA BB, etc.

There is enough pairing of shorter melodic units to be called more than a casual showing. Pairing can be counted in two ways; the total number of paired phrases in the song, or the number of *different* phrases that are paired. Thus a phrase pattern X AA BB CDE BB could be counted as three pairs by the first method or only two by the second, since the last BB is a repetition of a pair that has already been counted. A table will show the pairing in the sway songs counted both ways:

NO. OF PHRASES PAIRED	NO. OF SONGS	
	a	*b*
1.	6	4
2.	10	4
3.	8	3
4.		9
5.		1
6.		1
7.		
8.		2

a) is the count of different pairs, and b) is the count of total pairs.

In seven of the cases the pairing was full; that is, the entire song was made up of paired phrases.[6]

Over-all Patterns. The notation of every small phrase and coda, while valuable in outlining the structure of the song, is unnecessarily complex when the over-all phrase patterns of a number of songs are to be compared. By calling every series that ends in a coda one phrase, the picture is simplified. Number 6, for example, in detail is:

X ABY ABy CyCX SBY SBy CyCX

In simplified form it is X AA BB CC BB. Reduced to this larger phrasing, the sway songs fall into three categories of form:

Songs in which later material is repeated.

no. 7	no. 8
AAB	AABB
AB	AABB

Songs in which initial material is repeated.

no. 3	no. 4	no. 5	no. 10
AABBCC	ABABBB	AAB	ABCC
BB	AB	A	A
AABB			

nos. 11,18,20	no. 12	no. 13
AABB	AABBC	AAB
A	AAB	AB
		AB
		A

[6] McAllester, 1949, pp. 73–74; Herzog, 1935, pp. 407–15.

no. 17	no. 21	no. 23
AABBCC	AABCC	AAABB
AA	B	A
	AAB	

Songs in which middle material is repeated.

no. 1	no. 2	nos. 6 & 9
AABB	AABCC	AABBCC
ABB	B	BB
A		AABBCC
		BB

no. 14	no. 15	no. 16
AABB	AABB	AABBCC
a	ABB	BB
ABB	ABB	
a	ABB	
	A	

no. 19	no. 22	no. 24
AABCC	ABCC	AABBCC
BCC	B	ABB
B		

It is clear from the above that sway song style calls for incomplete repeats and that the repeated material may come from the beginning or the middle of the song and hardly ever from the end.

Number of Phrases. In counting the number of phrases, which is one measure of the length of a song, one may also reckon by a simple total, or by a total of *different* phrases. The difference in totals that results from these two methods of counting is very great since there are many repeats in the sway songs.

NO. OF DIFFERENT PHRASES:		NO. OF SONGS
3	.....	2
4	.....	3
5	.....	8
6	.....	11

TOTAL NO. OF PHRASES:		NO. OF SONGS
10–20	.....	7
21–30	.....	13
31–40	.....	3
41	.....	1

From the first set of figures one learns that the majority of the songs contains between five and six different phrases. Thus the songs are not outstandingly complex, particularly since the introductory and codential phrases have been included in the count. If these are omitted in a larger phrasing, such as that used above, none of the songs contains more than three phrases. This picture is representative of the "active" melodic material in the songs. "Lively but brief," would be a reasonable characterization of the melodic flight of a typical sway song.

The simple total, including all repetitions, shows that a sway song is usually some twenty-odd phrases in length.

Finals. A helpful device in analyzing the internal structure of a song is the plotting of "finals." This is the examination of the last note in each phrase according to its relationship to the tonic. A figure: 3,3,1,1,1 would mean that the song contained five phrases, the first two ending on the third note above the tonic, and the other three on the tonic itself. Such a scheme has the value of indicating the valence of the tonic in relation to the song as a whole. A figure such as 1,1,1,1,1, would suggest a musical tradition in which the tonic has very much greater melodic weight than in most Western European music.

The sway songs are like most American Indian music in their strong movement toward the tonic. If the larger phrasing is used, every phrase in every sway song comes to rest on the tonic. This is due to the fact that the level codential phrases discussed on page 30 are used to conclude each of these larger melodic flights. Thus song no. 1 has a "large pattern" X A A B B A B B A based on the more detailed description:

X AABX AABX SCY SCy AABX SCY SCy AABX

Note that every phrase complex in the latter scheme ends in either a y-coda or an x-coda. The pattern of finals in the detailed scheme is:

X AABX AABX SCY SCy AABX SCY
1 5,1,1,1 5,1,1,1 3,3,1 3,3,1 5,1,1,1 3,3,1
SCy AABX
3,3,1 5,1,1,1

The pattern of finals here reveals a descending type of melody in which nearly all phrase endings are low and a majority are on the tonic.

In seven of the sway songs, every phrase, even in the detailed scheme of phrasing, ends on the tonic (nos. 4,7,8,9,12,18,23). Seven others reach the tonic in every phrase but one, usually the initial phrase (nos. 5,13,16,17,19, 20,22). Song number 5, for example has the pattern:

X AABX AABX BB AABX
1 5,1,1,1 5,1,1,1 1,1 5,1,1,1

Six songs reach the tonic in all but two phrases (nos. 2,6,14,15,21,24) and only four songs fail to reach the tonic on the final note of three or more phrases (nos. 1,3,10,11). There is little doubt that the tonic has great weight in these melodies; the pattern of finals provides a manner of stating this fact, and a basis for stylistic and other comparisons.

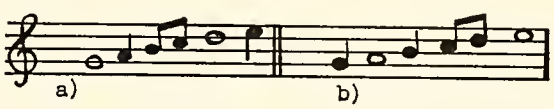
Tonality

Scales in Melodic Music. Von Hornbostel has argued cogently that the term "scale" in our sense of a fixed "store of notes or intervals from which he (the singer) selects and combines those which may please his ear," is inapplicable to music outside the harmonic tradition.[7] It is certainly true that no Navaho could, on demand, sing or otherwise define the scale or scales to which Navaho music conforms.

Scholes' definition affords a wider concept of the term:

> By "Scales" we mean stepwise, ordered arrangements, . . . of all the chief notes found in particular compositions or passages or in the music of a period or people.
>
> The number of different scales that mankind has used and is using is enormous, and can, indeed, never be completely known, whilst the processes by which they have come to be adopted are various also, including intuition, scientific reasoning, and chance.
>
> Apparently any combination of notes whatever may be adopted as the material from which a peasantry, or a composer, or a group of composers may make their tunes, and there exists not even one interval common to all the scales of the world.[8]

Herzog, von Hornbostel, and others have pointed out that the *relative melodic importance* of the notes making up a scale is more significant for its understanding than the mere definition of which notes occur within its compass.[9] Von Hornstobel's example will illustrate this point: [10]



Both scales show the same inventory of notes, but the relative importance of these notes (indicated here by the relative time-values) varies to such an extent that the two scales are different *modes* altogether. In song (a), the notes G and D were the important notes in the melody (tonic and dominant, respectively). The notes A and E were leading notes to the tonic and dominant, and B and C were passing notes of little importance. In song (b), the notes A and E were the tonic and dominant of the melody, B merely led to A, C and D were passing notes. This is a melodic definition: the relationships of the notes were judged by their function in a melody rather than by their positions on a "scale." [11]

Types of "Scales" in the Sway Songs. In discussing the relationships of notes in these songs, I have categorized the material under headings denoting various types of scales. In order to avoid the impression that I am referring to a "fixed store of notes" as in the

[7] Von Hornbostel, 1928, pp. 34–35.

[8] Scholes, 1947, pp. 833–34.

[9] "Melody is the aspect to which injustice is most easily done in studying Primitive Music. Because harmonies are used constantly in our music, they have permeated our musical consciousness to such an extent that the Western listener by necessity experiences music as harmonic — whether harmonies are actually present, are merely implied (as in the folksongs of Western Europe from the last few centuries), or are missing entirely, as in most Primitive Music. Only by prolonged training and familiarity is the investigator able to acquire the ability to experience 'monolinear' music as such. Harmonic habits condition not only our mode of experiencing music, but also the nature of our musical concepts. Thus, in analyzing primitive songs an effort must be made to lean only lightly on our concepts of scale, interval, and harmonic relations, and to describe tonality as it is manifested, empirically, in the songs themselves. In doing so, terms known in our musical terminology — tone, interval, scale, tonic, dominant, leading tone, and others — may be used but in a modified sense." Herzog, 1936, p. 286.

[10] Von Hornbostel, 1928, p. 36.

[11] Von Hornbostel, 1928, p. 36.

harmonic tradition of music, the "scales" or modes are shown in notation at the end of each group of songs. Their relative importance is indicated by the time values, as in the examples above, and their functional relationships are indicated by brackets.

Chromatic. The dominant notes in song number 22 are the three notes of our major triad, but the passing notes used in descending "runs" in the melody move by half steps so that within the compass of a fifth there is a series of chromatic steps complete except for one half step. The chromatic scale that can be derived from this song is rare both in Navaho music and in American Indian music as a whole.

Scale on the Interval of a Fourth. The interval of the fourth is one of the basic intervals in music all over the world.[12] It has been thought since the time of Pythagoras that the accoustical affinity between the fourth and the tonic (the fourth is the third overtone or "upper partial" of the tonic) must explain the prevalence of this interval.[13]

In the sway songs two of the melodies are constructed on the interval 1–4. The dominant notes in song number 2 are 1 3♭ 4 and in song number 17 they are 1 2 4. Both songs have, in addition, a fifth which seems to be merely the fourth raised by a strong accent at the start of a phrase.

Pentatonic Scales. The influence of the interval of a fourth in producing pentatonic scales is discussed in von Hornstobel.

> The prevalence of the fourth as a frame for melodic phrases together with the necessity of dividing it in order to obtain melodic steps produces, all over the world, melodic forms which are generally classed under the common heading of 'pentatonic music'. The use of this term shows the readiness of musical theorists to take scale instead of melodic structure for the primary element in music. When two fourths, each of them divided by an intermediate note, are linked with one another, and supplemented by the octave of the starting note — which often enough does not actually occur in the melody — the result is indeed a pentatonic scale: GXDYA(G).[14]

The pentatonic scale as ordinarily conceived, however, is the progression 1 2 3 5 6 8, in which the notes 1 3 5 predominate, suggesting that 2 and 6 are merely leading tones. These predominating notes are called by Scholes "the natural series," for accoustical reasons. Since the absence of 4 and 7 avoids the necessity for semitones, some theorists have suggested that the scale represents human tonal discrimination at an early evolutionary stage when the ear was "incapable of grasping semitones." [15]

Full pentatonic scales occur in songs number 9, 14, and 15. Song number 5 has the full scale without the octave, songs number 1 and 6 show the pentatonic scale without the second, and number 4 shows the pentatonic scale minus the sixth.

Diatonic Scales. Our major and minor diatonic scales (the Aeolian and Ionian modes) may be found in the melodies of several of the sway songs, though never in complete form.

Major: Song number 13 is the closest, lacking only the seventh.
Song number 18 lacks the sixth and seventh.
Songs number 7 and 10 lack the second and seventh.
Song number 19 lacks the second, seventh, and eighth.

Minor: Songs number 23 and 24 might be considered as containing our minor scale, but lacking many of the notes, might equally well be considered to be in the Dorian mode.

Open Triad. Songs containing a scale of the open or "broken" triad (1 3 5) are very rare in American Indian music. There are several cases in Salish music and, closer to the Navahos, in Northern Ute material. None of the many groups studied by Densmore, other than the Utes, have more than a very slight showing of this feature.[16]

Of the sway songs, numbers 8, 12, and 21 are constructed essentially on these three notes. Number 8 repeats the third an octave higher; it is the only song in the collection to go above the octave. Number 12 repeats the fifth in a dip below the tonic, also very rare in the sway

[12] Scholes, 1947, p. 834.
[13] McKinney and Anderson, 1940, pp. 88–89.
[14] Von Hornbostel, 1928, pp. 36–37.
[15] Scholes, 1947, pp. 836–37.
[16] McAllester, 1949, p. 71.

songs. Numbers 16 and 21 are also constructed essentially on these three notes but contain the seventh in addition; they are the only songs in this group to contain the seventh at all.

The Modes. Dorian Mode: three of the sway songs could be construed to be in the Dorian mode (1 2 3♭ 4 5 6 7♭ 8). Number 11 lacks the second, sixth, and eighth. The lowered seventh appears below the tonic. As mentioned above, numbers 23 and 24 could also be considered to be in this mode, but the second, sixth, seventh, and eighth are lacking in number 23; and the second, seventh, and eighth are lacking in number 24.

Mixolydian Mode: The major third and the lowered seventh could be said to put number 3 in the Mixolydian mode (1 2 3 4 5 6 7♭ 8), but many notes are missing. It lacks the second, sixth, and eighth, and the seventh flat appears only below the tonic.

NOTES ON THE SWAY SONGS

The number after the singer's name refers to the field recording number. For comparative purposes all songs have been notated in the key of C. Where key signatures are given in the notes, they indicate the key in which the song was sung.

1. Bill Begay; no. FN–I 8. This song is widely known as a signal song, used to indicate that the dancing should stop and the regular all-night sway singing begin.
Text: no meaningful text.
2. Bill Begay; no. FN–I 1.
Text: no meaningful text.
3. Bill Begay; no. FN–I 2.
díí nizhǫto ha
this beautiful is
4. Bill Begay; FN–I 3. Song no. 5 is considered a companion piece to this one.
Text: dego dini'íį chidi nat'ái la'aniina
look up motor sound saying
5. Grant Johns; FN–I 16; key of D. The informant said this song should go with no. 4.
Text: haagoshi gubai (English)
where are you going? goodbye
6. Bill Begay; no. FN–I 4; key of C-sharp.
Text: in the song: chi nawi yei
in prose: chi náko yei na'ah
lonesome as I am
7. Bill Begay; no. FN–I 5; key of D-sharp.
Text: no meaningful text.
8. Bill Begay; no. FN–I 6.
Text: no meaningful text.
9. Bill Begay; no. FN–I 7.
Text: no meaningful text.
10. John Hawk; no. FN–I 10. Seems to be a version of no. 1. Jim Chamiso's comment was that this song was "all mixed up."
Text: no meaningful text.
11. Grant Johns; no. FN–I 17; key of D-sharp.
Text: according to the singer the meaning is
"That's the one!" (Navaho not given.)
Jim Chamiso said the text should be:
'éláániló
Oh, is that you?
12. Johnny Blanco; no. FN–IV 5; key of D-sharp.
Text: shadí nałdats'ee
Would you come over?
bidesť'į nash'á
Mirror, I have it with me.
13. Joseph Pablo; no. FN–IV 10.
Text: no meaningful text.
14. Joseph Pablo; no. FN–IV 11.
Text: no meaningful text.
15. Joseph Pablo; no. FN–IV 12.
Text: no meaningful text.
16. Mr. Moustache; no. FN–V 8; key of F.
Text: no meaningful text.
17. Mr. Moustache; no. FN–V 9; key of F.
Text: no meaningful text.
18. Mr. Moustache; no. FN–V 10; key of F.
Text: no meaningful text.
19. Mr. Moustache; no. FN–V 12; key of F.
Text: no meaningful text.
20. Mr. Moustache; no. FN–V 13; key of F.
Text: no meaningful text. The meaningless he'o has been changed by other singers in recent years to dez'á "Rock Point."
21. Mr. Moustache; no. FN–V 17; key of F.
Text: no meaningful text.
22. Mr. Moustache; no. FN–V 18; key of F.
Text: no meaningful text.
23. Mr. Moustache; no. FN–V 21; key of F.
Text: in song: 'andoo yałha
in prose: 'íindáá yał
that's it, small money
há'ah
sticking out
24. Mr. Moustache; no. FN–V 22; key of F.
Text: khódjila khodjį' koénsht'é
that way here leave it straight
(Freely: Turn your head back (that way) look straight ahead.)

SIGNS USED IN THE TRANSCRIPTIONS


Above a note: approximately a quarter-tone higher than noted

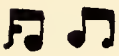
Above a note: approximately a quarter-tone lower than noted

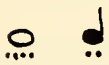

Pitch uncertain


Pitch quite indefinite; in the neighborhood of where the stem ends


Tone of unmusical quality; call, yell


Grace note


Dynamically weak tones

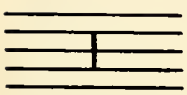

Pulsations on a longer tone, without actually breaking the tone


especially strong tie, glide (glissando)


Portamento


Above a note: slightly shorter than noted


Above a note: slightly longer than noted


Subdivision

A, B, etc. Large sections of a song, phrases

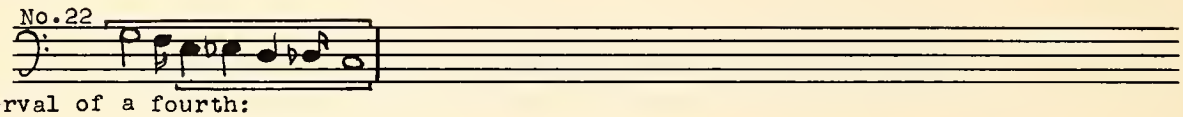
a, b, etc. Small phrases or subsections of phrases

A, A^1, etc. Closely related phrases

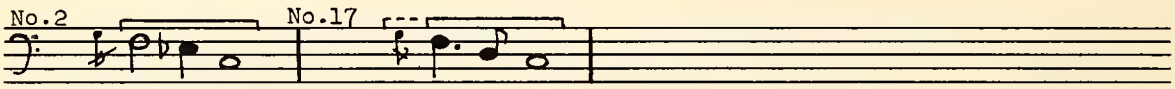
A, A_3, A_5, etc. Same phrase transposed a third, fifth, etc. lower

SCALES OF THE SWAY SONGS

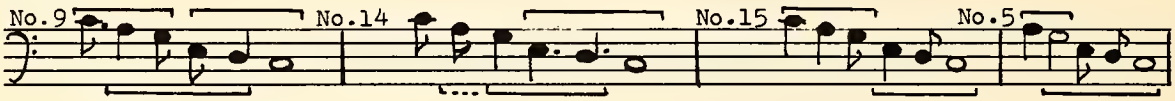
Chromatic:

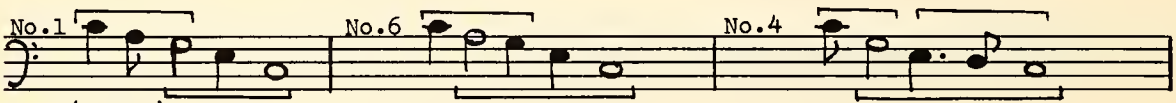


Interval of a fourth:

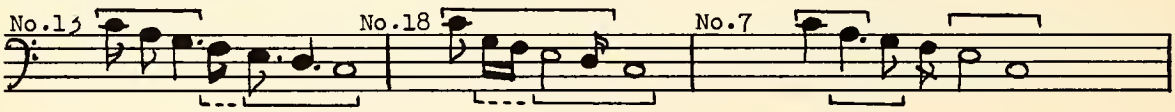


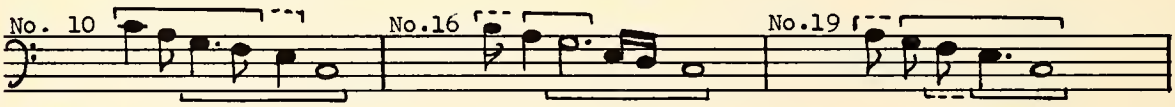
Pentatonic:



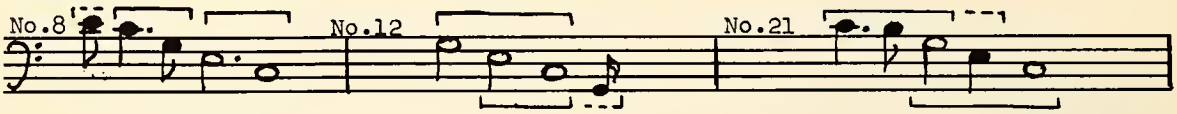


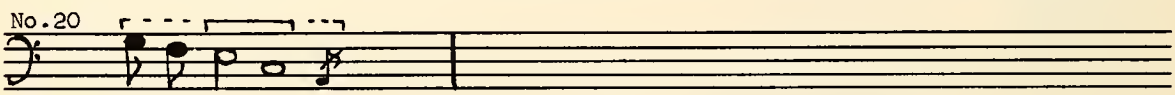
Diatonic (major)



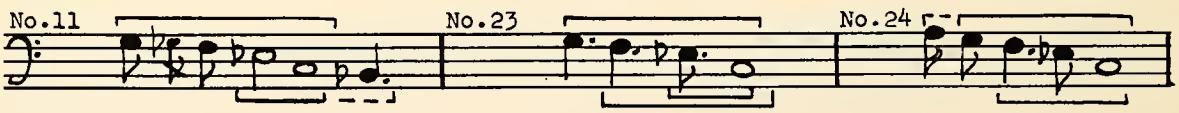


Open triad:

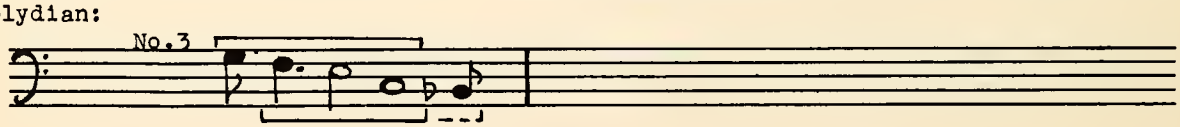




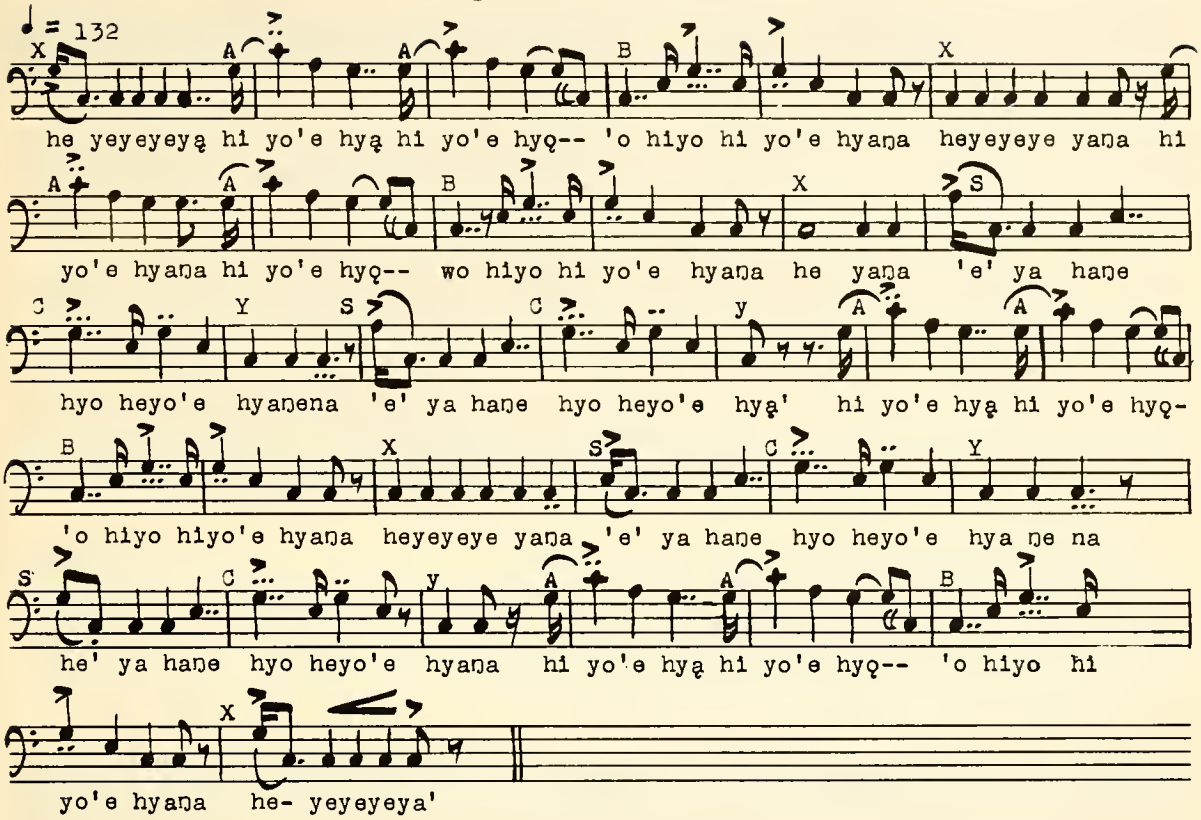
Dorian mode:



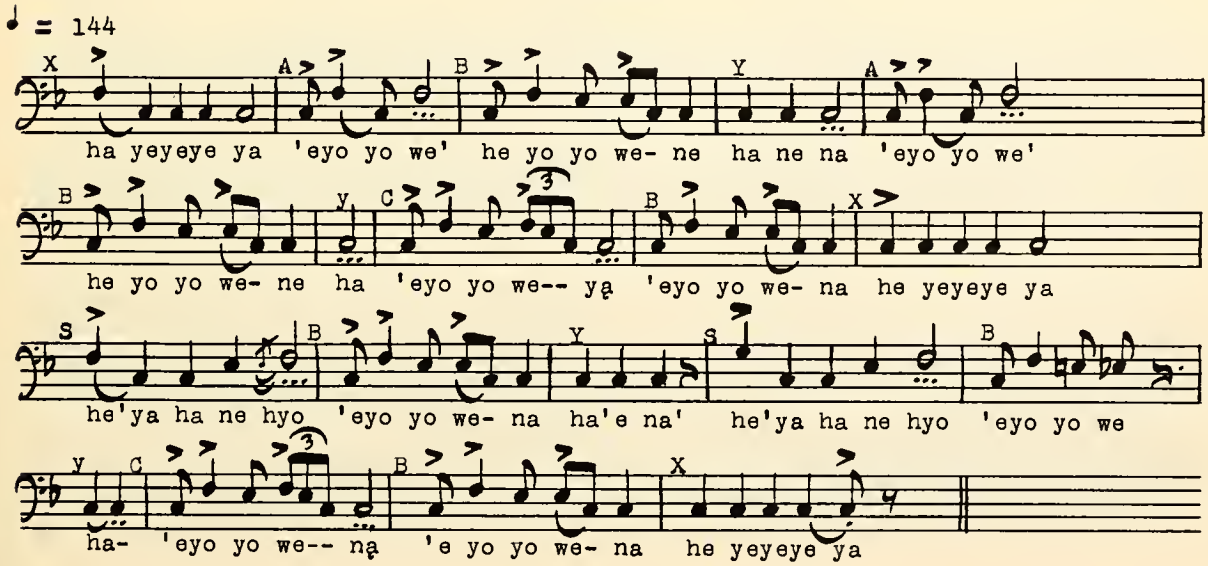
Mixolydian:



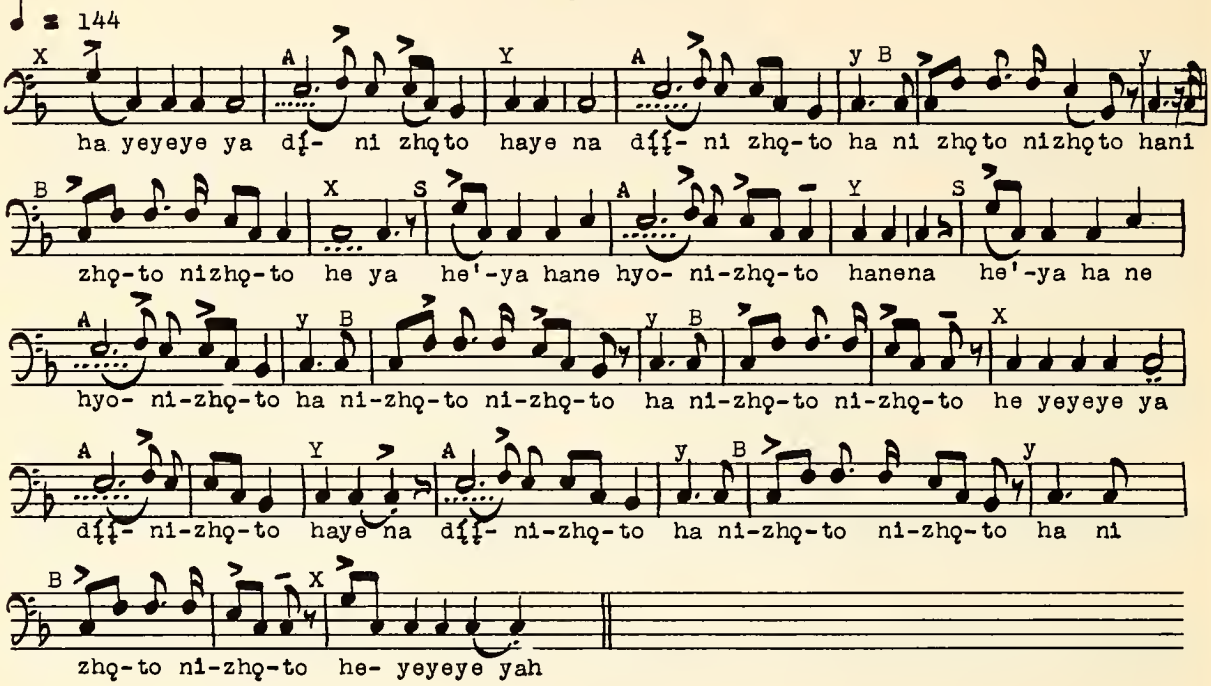
Song No. 1 Signal Song



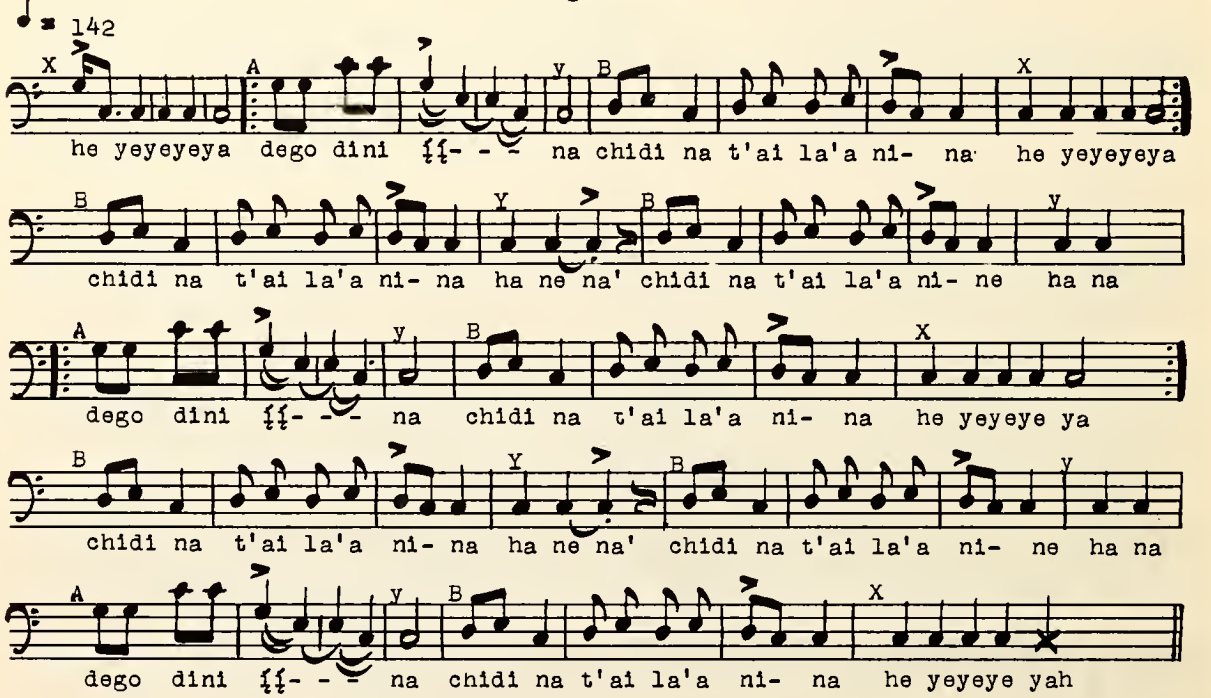
Song No. 2



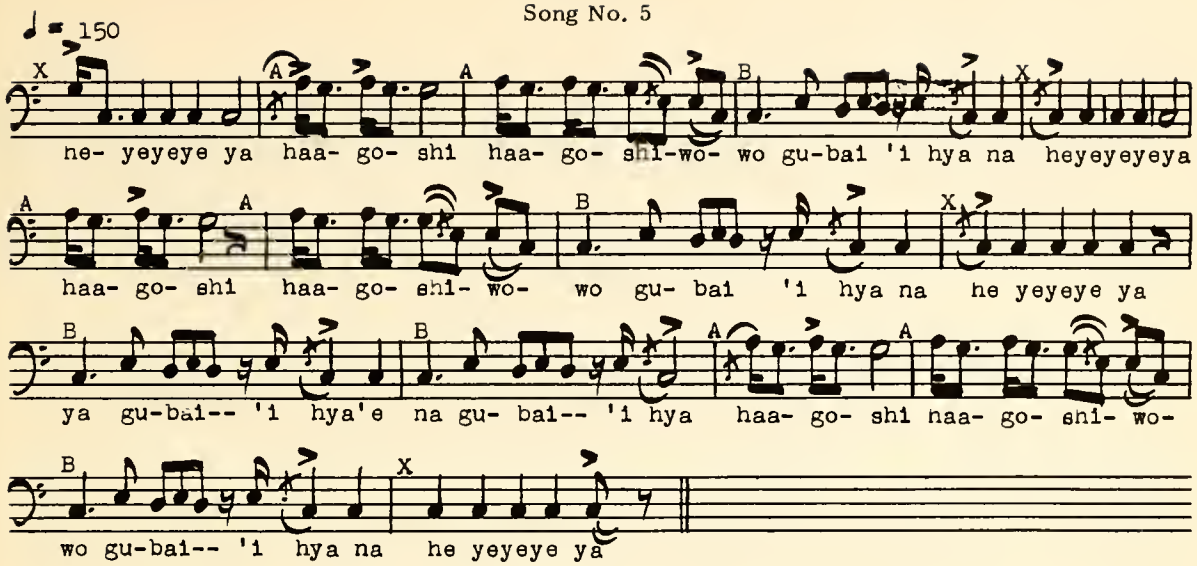
Song No. 3



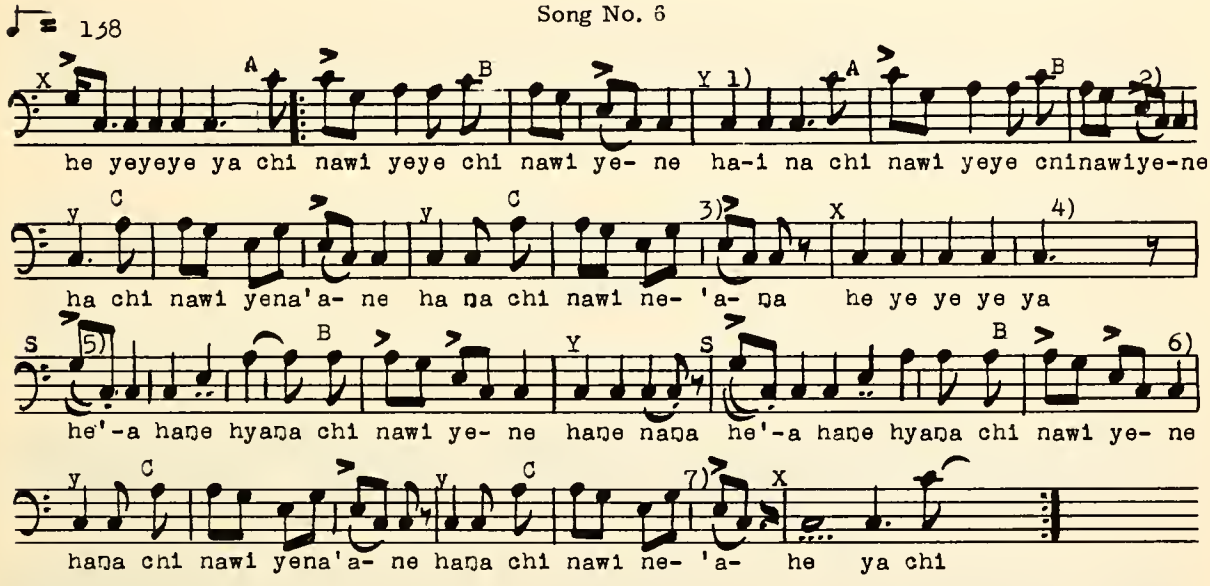
Song No. 4



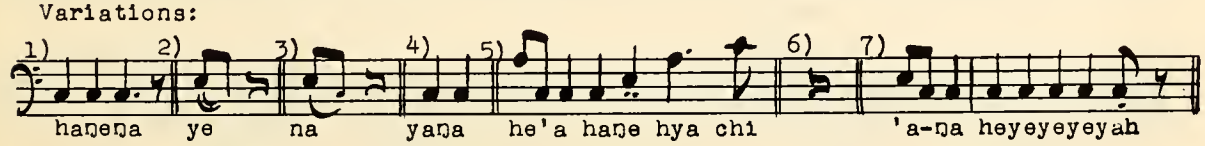
Song No. 5



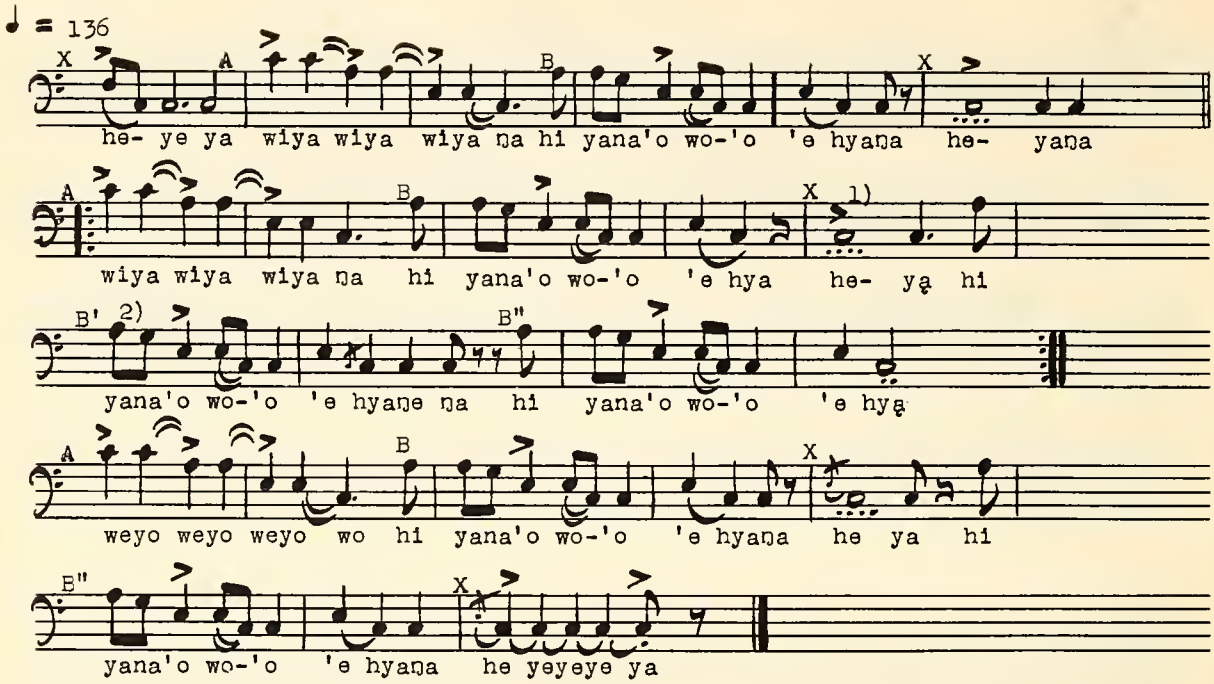
Song No. 6

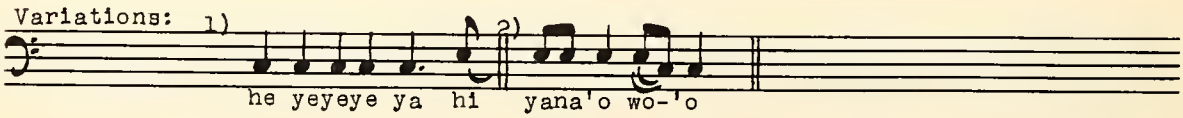


Variations:



Song No. 7





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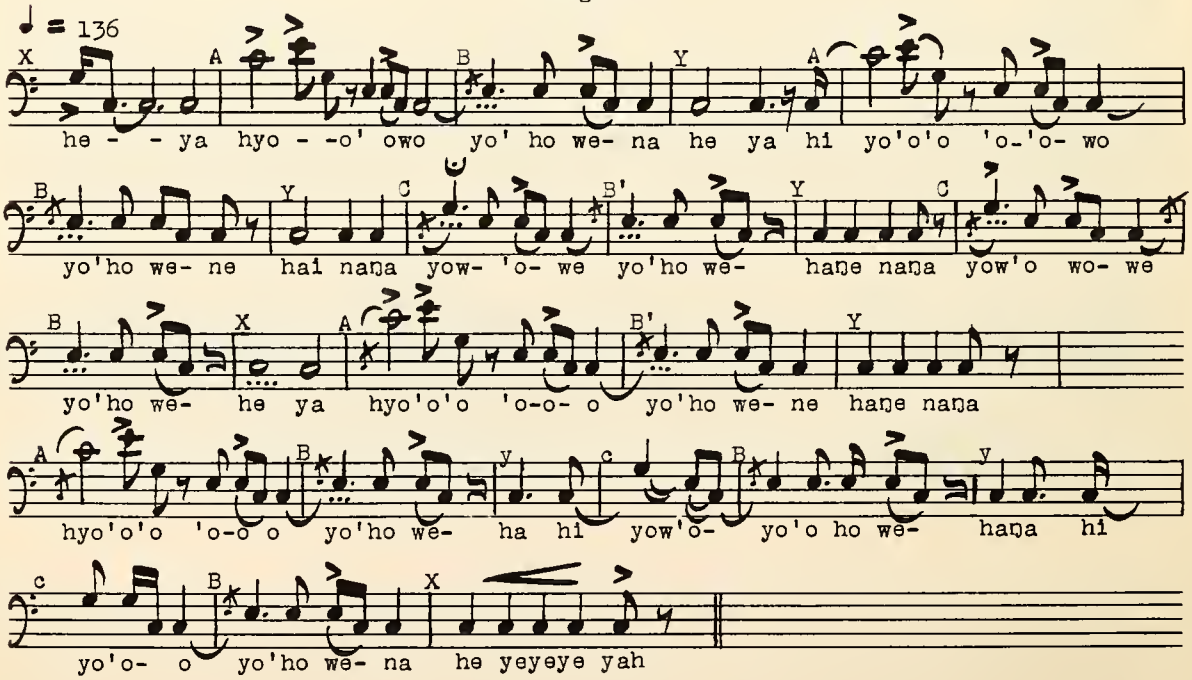

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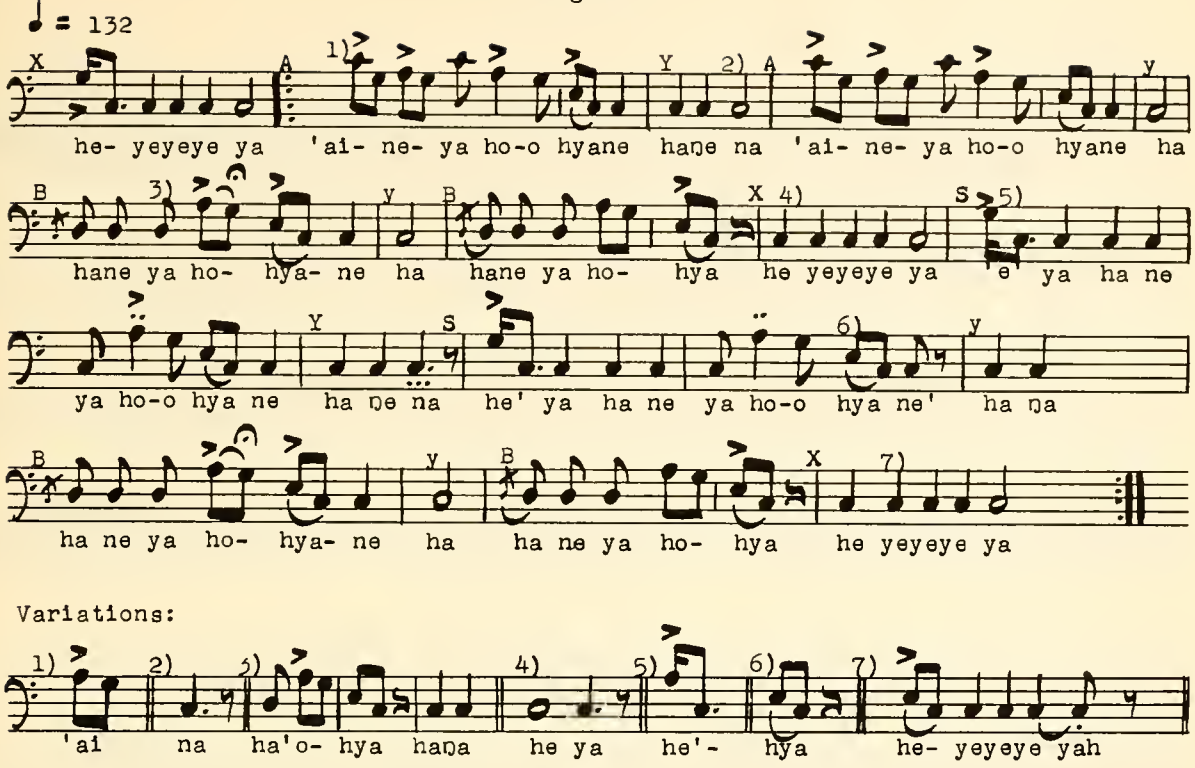
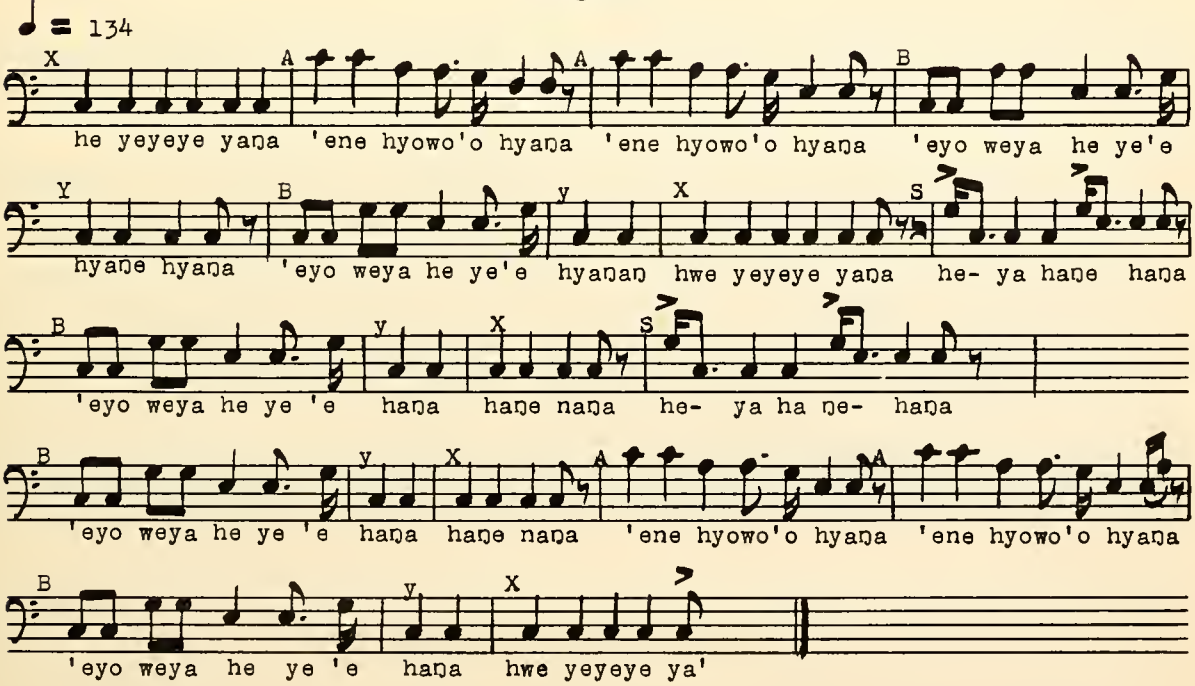
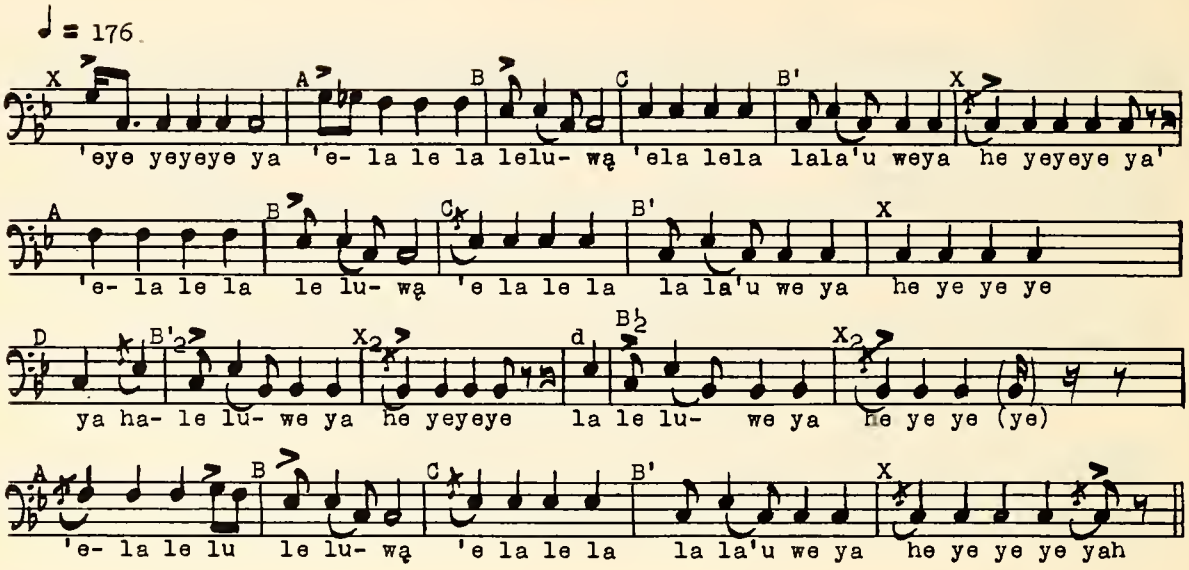


Variations:

Song No. 10



Song No. 11



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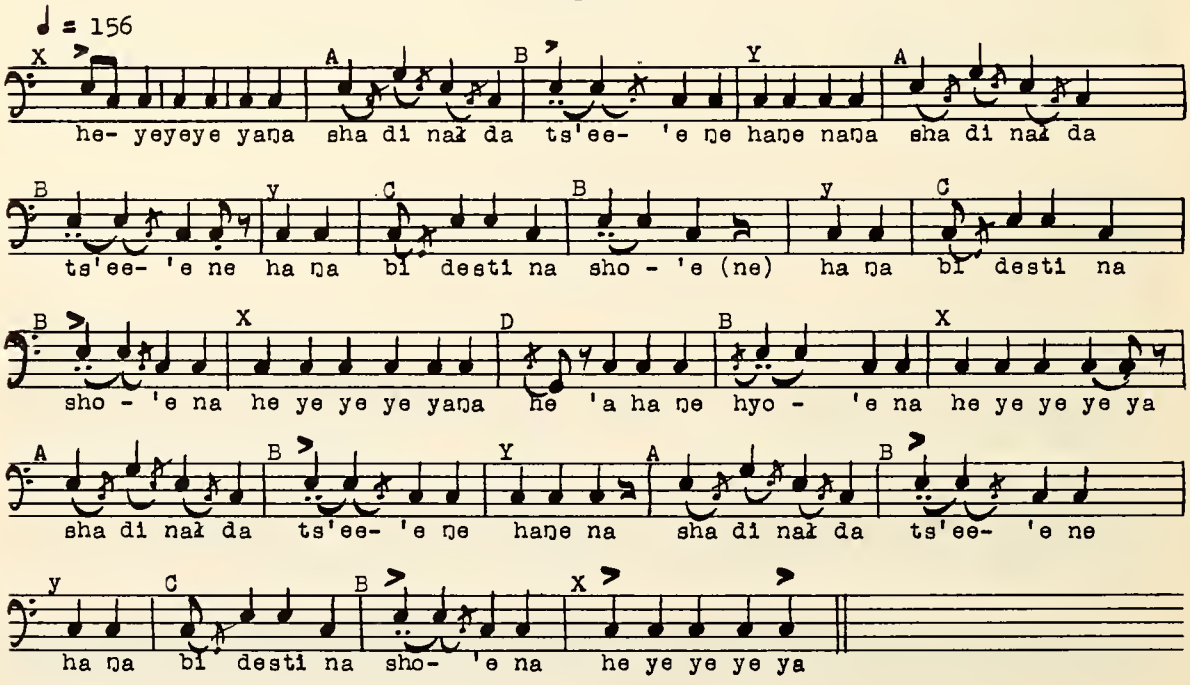

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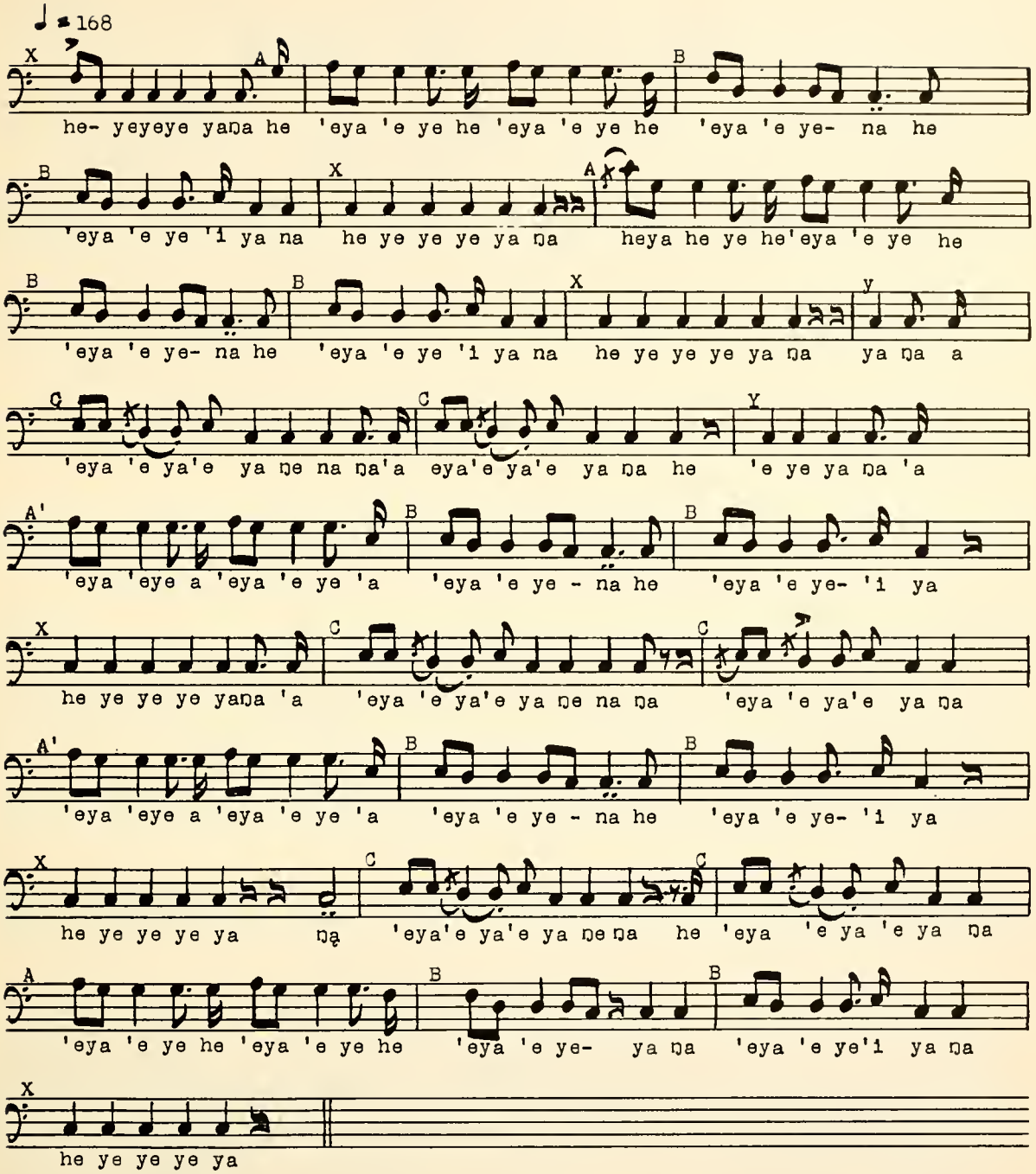
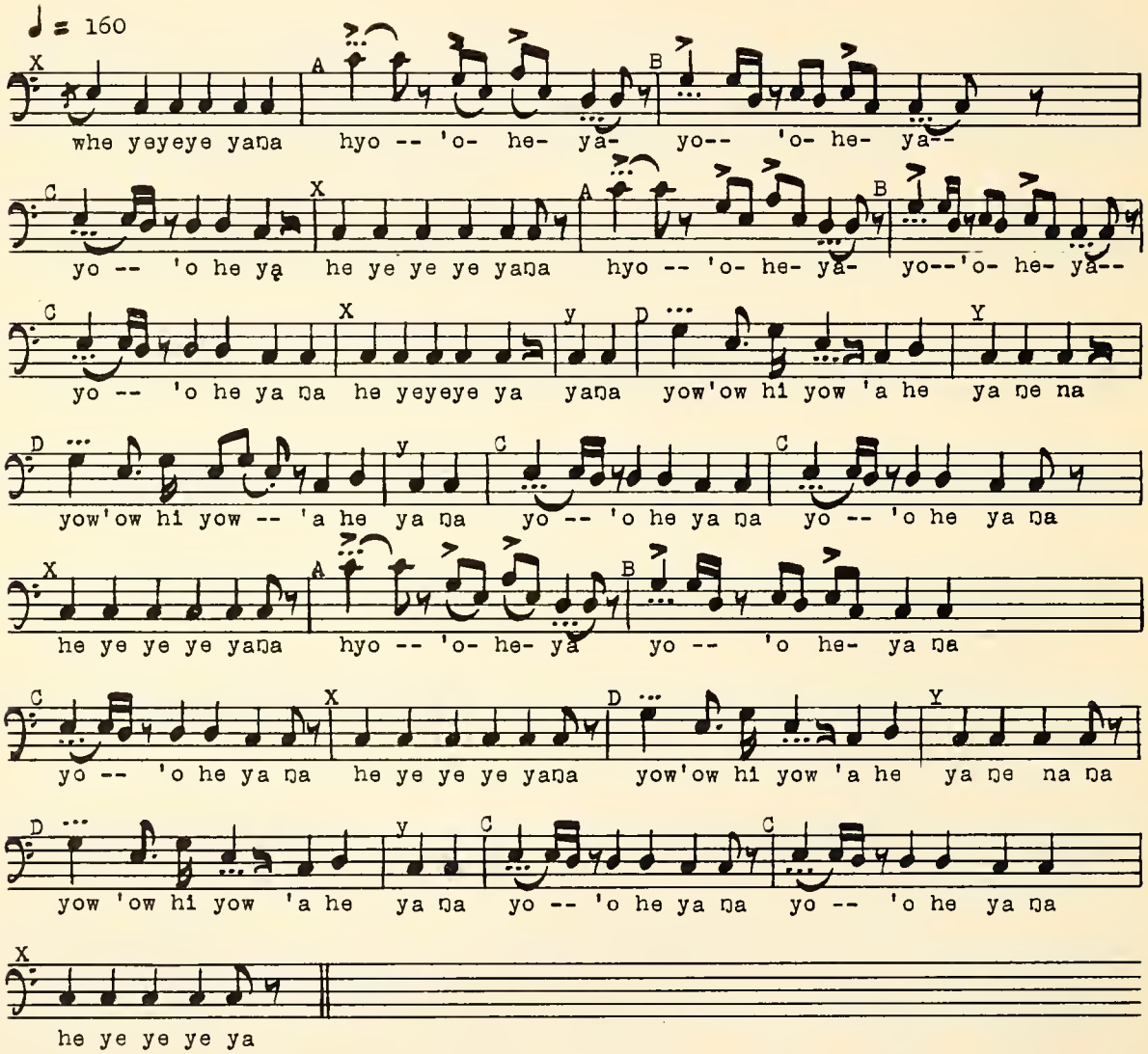
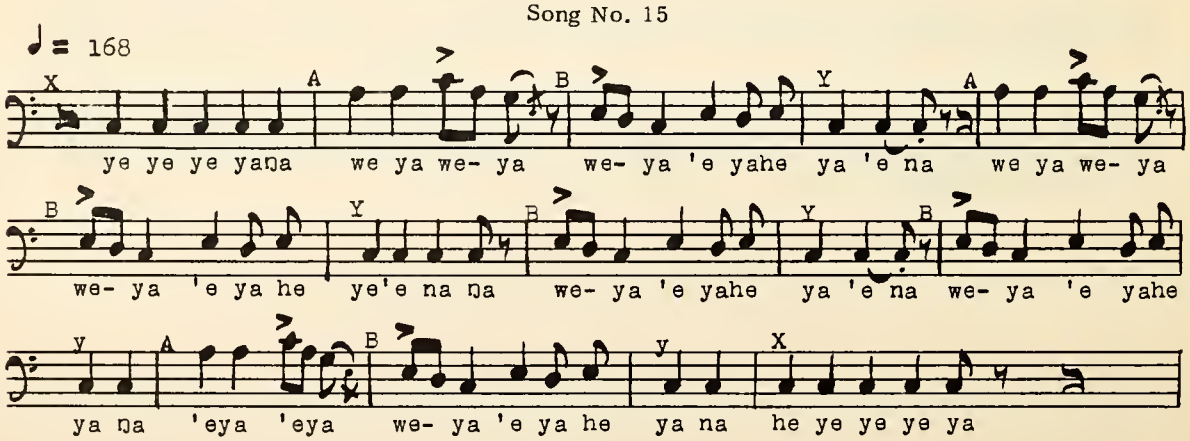
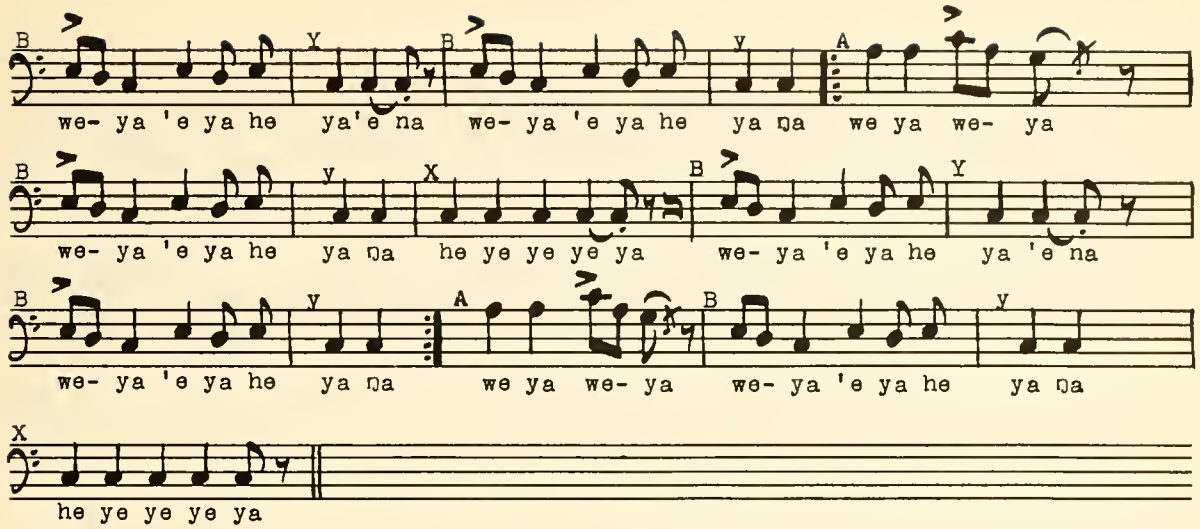

♩ = 168
X A B
he- yeyeye yaŋa he 'eya 'e ye he 'eya 'e ye he 'eya 'e ye- na he
B X A
'eya 'e ye 'i ya na he ye ye ye ya ŋa heya he ye he'eya 'e ye he
B B X y
'eya 'e ye- na he 'eya 'e ye 'i ya na he ye ye ye ya ŋa ya ŋa a
C C Y
'eya 'e ya'e ya ŋe na ŋa'a eya'e ya'e ya ŋa he 'e ye ya ŋa 'a
A' B B
'eya 'eye a 'eya 'e ye 'a 'eya 'e ye - na he 'eya 'e ye- 'i ya
X C C
he ye ye ye yaŋa 'a 'eya 'e ya'e ya ŋe na ŋa 'eya 'e ya'e ya ŋa
A' B B
'eya 'eye a 'eya 'e ye 'a 'eya 'e ye - na he 'eya 'e ye- 'i ya
X C C
he ye ye ye ya ŋą 'eya'e ya'e ya ŋe ŋa he 'eya 'e ya 'e ya ŋa
A B B
'eya 'e ye he 'eya 'e ye he 'eya 'e ye- ya ŋa 'eya 'e ye'i ya ŋa
X
he ye ye ye ya

Song No. 14

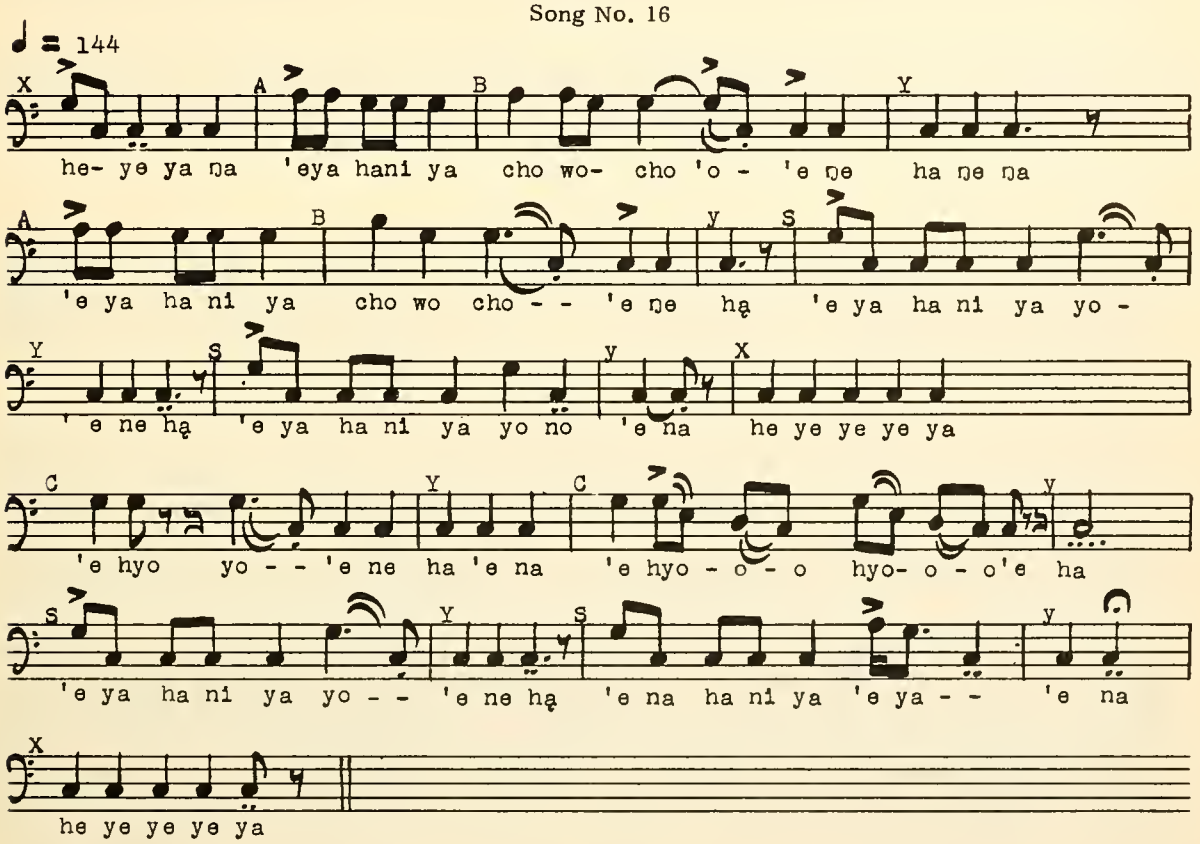


Song No. 15

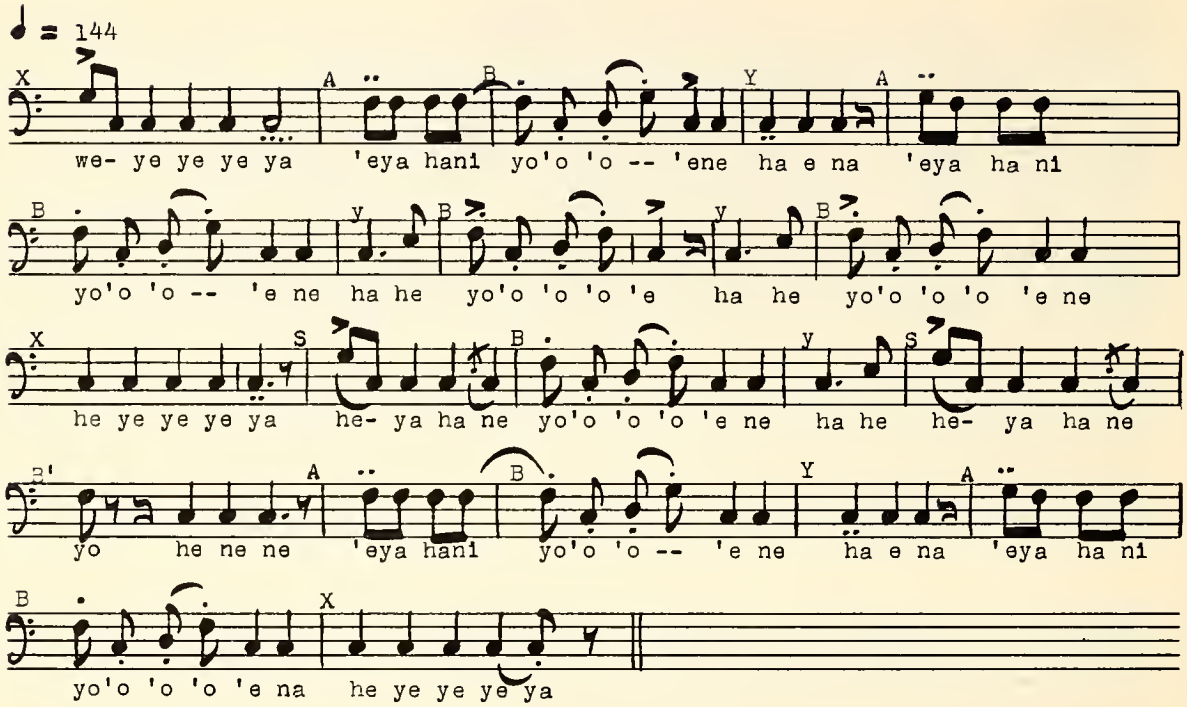



B Y B y A
we- ya 'e ya he ya'e na we- ya 'e ya he ya na we ya we- ya
B y X B Y
we- ya 'e ya he ya na he ye ye ye ya we- ya 'e ya he ya 'e na
B y A B y
we- ya 'e ya he ya na we ya we- ya we- ya 'e ya he ya na
X
he ye ye ye ya

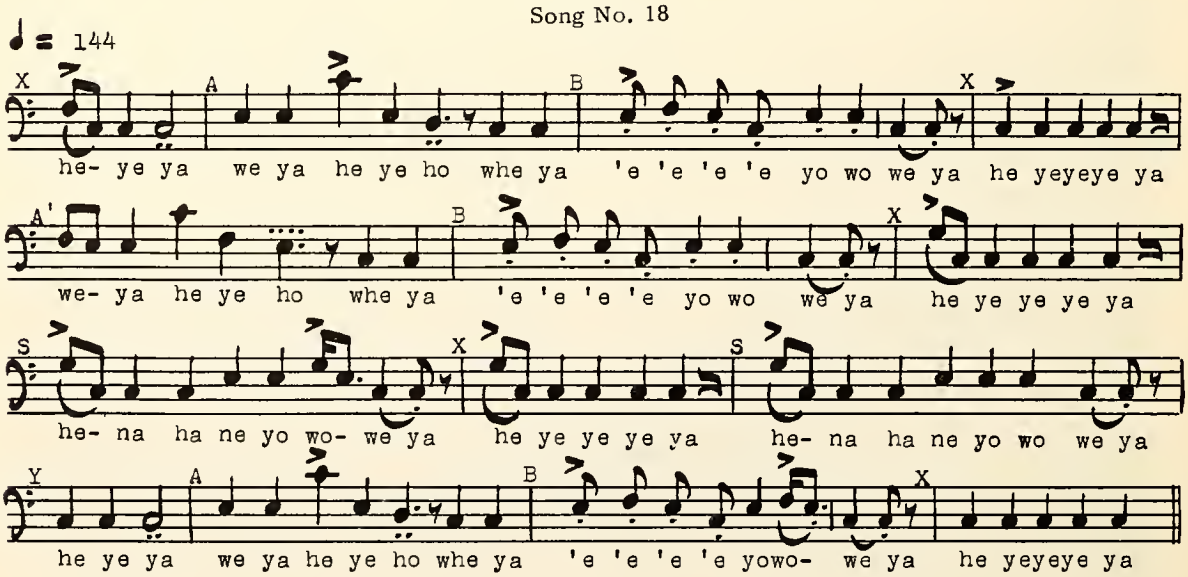
Song No. 16


♩ = 144
X A B Y
he- ye ya na 'eya hani ya cho wo- cho 'o - 'e ne ha ne na
A B y S
'e ya ha ni ya cho wo cho - - 'e ne hą 'e ya ha ni ya yo -
Y S y X
' e ne hą 'e ya ha ni ya yo no 'e na he ye ye ye ya
C Y C y
'e hyo yo - - 'e ne ha 'e na 'e hyo - o - o hyo- o - o'e ha
S Y S y
'e ya ha ni ya yo - - 'e ne hą 'e na ha ni ya 'e ya - - 'e na
X
he ye ye ye ya

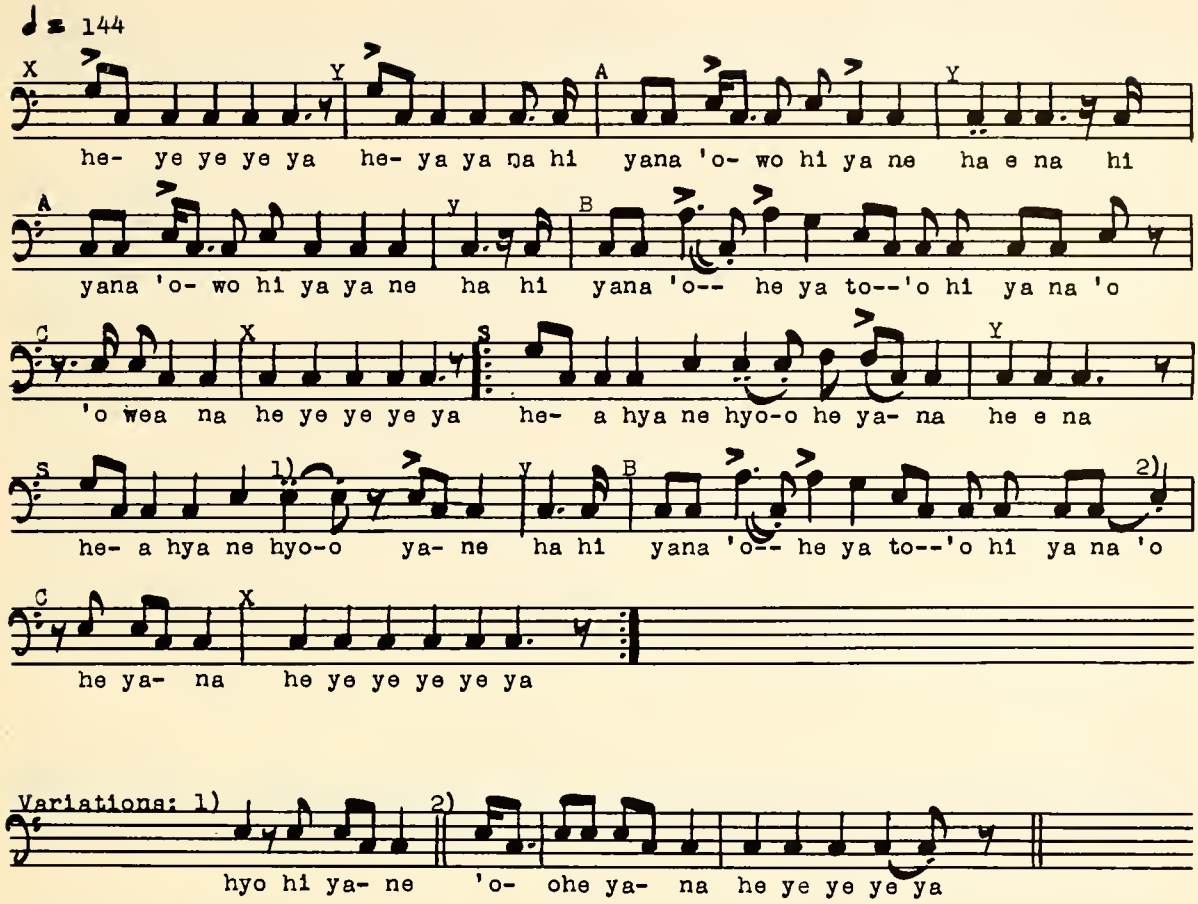
Song No. 17



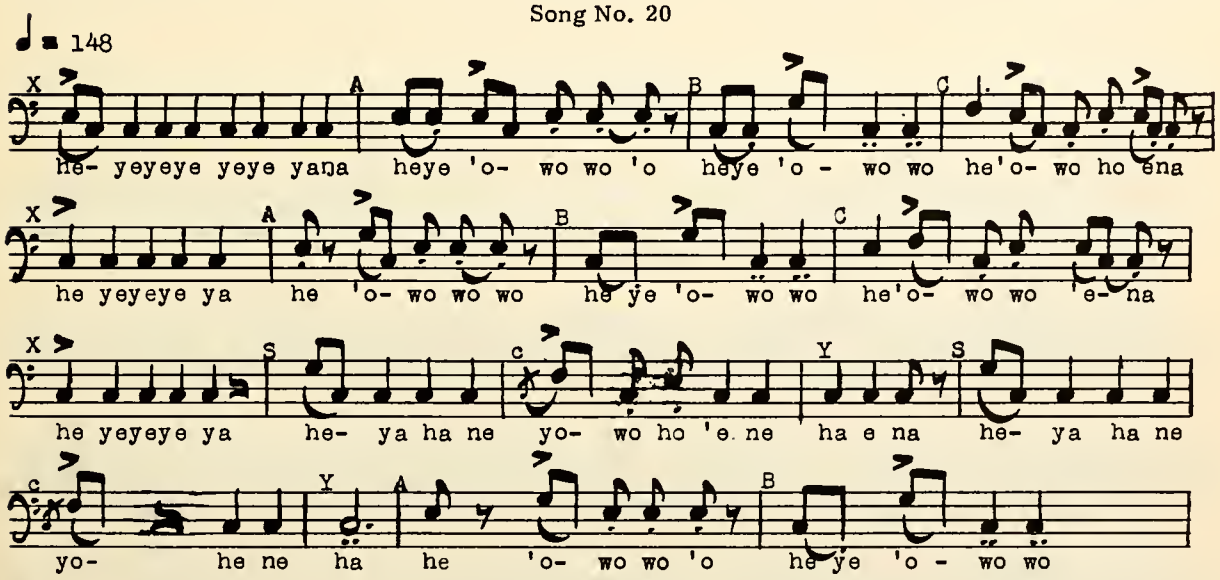
Song No. 18

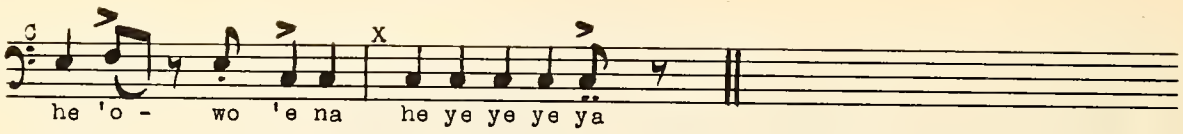


Song No. 19

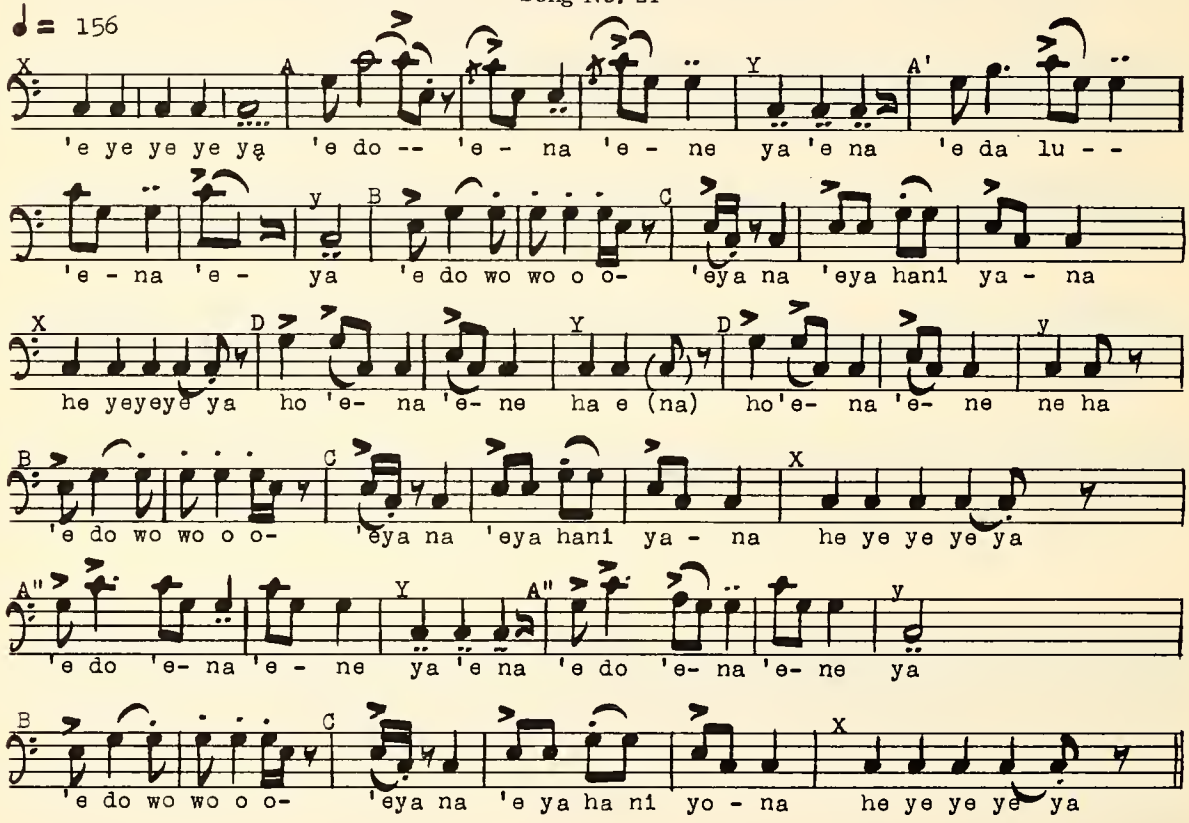


Song No. 20

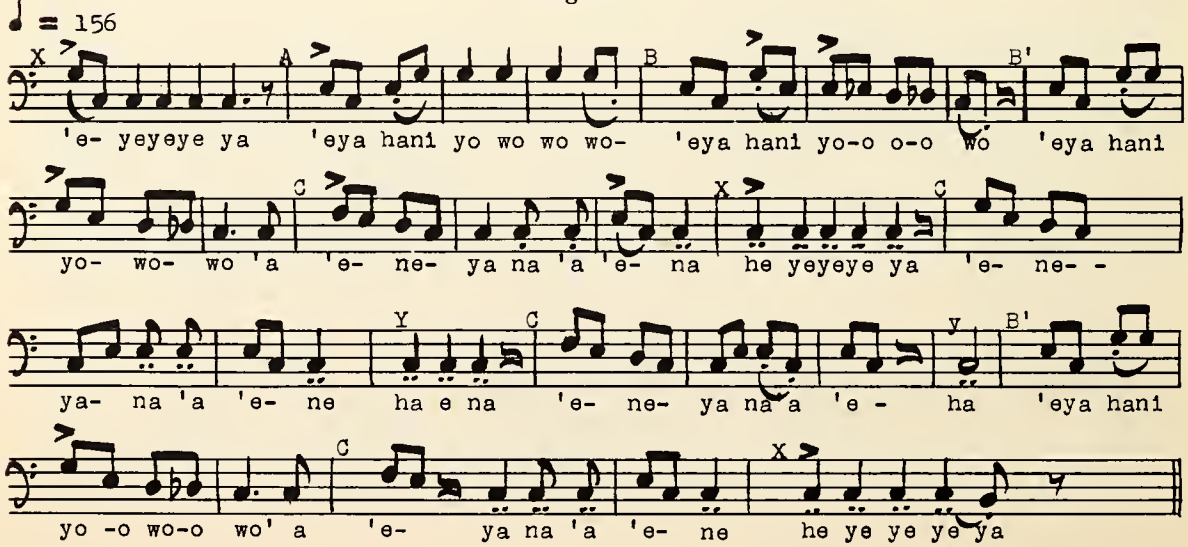




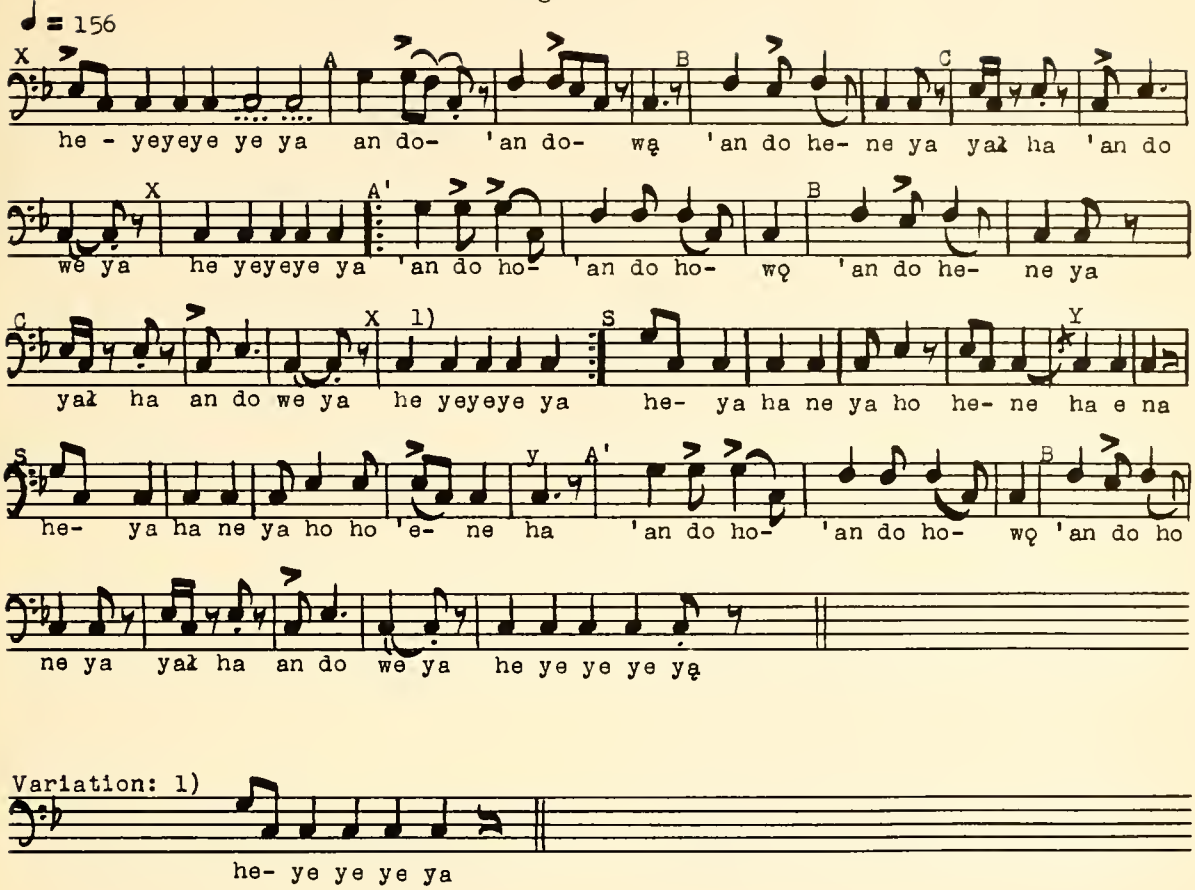
Song No. 21



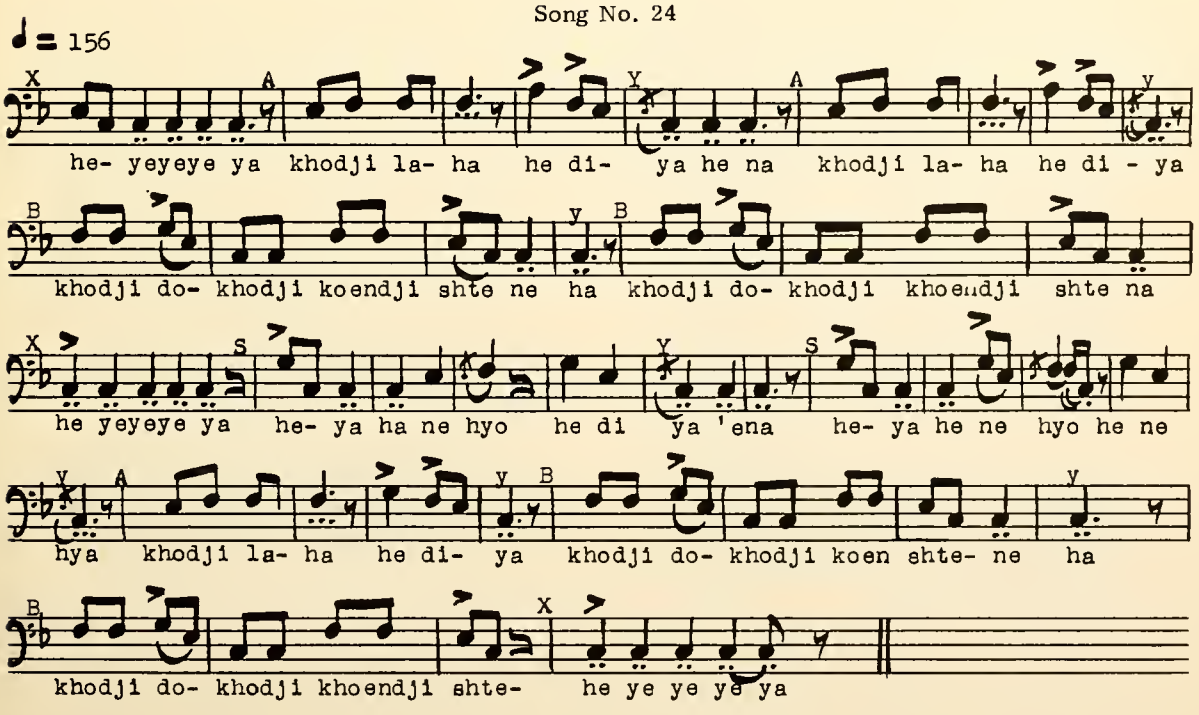
Song No. 22



Song No. 23



Song No. 24



SECTION TWO — *THE DANCE SONGS*

The dance songs differ from the sway songs in function and in form. As stated above they are sung only during that part of the night when the girls come forward and choose partners for the wheeling dance or the round dance. The dancing stops, and the girls must be given presents when there is a break in the singing. Since this break often comes after the rendition of one song (in contrast to the long successions of sway songs), the dance songs must be long enough to provide a satisfactory interval for dancing.

There are some musical formalities. Song number 25 is supposed to be the first song when the dancing begins, and a sway song, number 1, is sung as a signal when the consensus is that the dancing has continued long enough. The older people, particularly the principals in the arrangements for the Enemy Way, may decide that the hour is too late or that too many young men are intoxicated. On one occasion, however, I saw the dancing stop simply because there were too few girls. They seemed to lose the courage to seize partners, and so the dance singing went on, and the bonfire blazed brightly, but there was no more dancing. The comments of some of the young men expressed disappointment, but the signal song was sung, and the rest of the night spent in sway singing.

COMMENTS WITH THE DANCE SONGS

I don't like these. (Why?) They are just made up and don't amount to anything. They are just recent. Now they are put in with the Squaw Dance songs, but they didn't have these long ago. (Mr. Moustache)

SONG NUMBER

25. She sings this kind of short. In the early days the women used to sing during the Squaw Dance but now they don't. (Grant Johns)
She didn't get it right. They always start the skip dancing with this one. She just repeats *part* of the chorus. (Jim Chamiso)

25a. This song could be used for a lullaby. It has no words. You hold the baby and rock back and forth while you sing so she'll go to sleep. (Question) A man or a woman could sing it. (Does your wife?) No. (Does she sing at all?) No. I just know that song. (Question) I learned it from some of the old kinfolks. I used to hear it when I was just a kid. (Johnny Blanco)
It's a Squaw Dance song, used in the turning dance. (Jim Chamiso)

26. It's a skip dance. "Yoshinai" means "come dance." (Grant Johns) No, it can't mean that. It may come from *yoshi* — "a girl partner" but that's a word very few people know. (Jim Chamiso)

27. It's a Squaw Dance song for when the girls are dancing. They like to go to Railtown and stand over there by some house and think about the old tramps. (Grant Johns)
It's a recent Skip Dance song. You can put different things in there like "movies" (*i'i'łk'ede'*) or "tramp" ("pack on back" *na'áłdjidí*) or "to drink" (*'adesbdłił*). She meant to say "tramp" but she really said "watch (*na'ałkid*). (Jim Chamiso)

28. This means you're not really dancing, just walking around. (*t'o na ná'* — "you're walking around.") (Grant Johns)
That song should be *o ya ye* all the way through. She made it a little fast at the end. (Jim Chamiso)

29. There are other words in this she was too bashful to sing. I don't know the songs they sing when they start dancing. I don't pay any attention. I know the night songs, that's all. (Grant Johns)
She gets lost. She got mixed up with two other songs. (Jim Chamiso)

29a. (No comment)

30. That's a mattress song. It's another one for the dancing time. It's one of the old ones. (Grant Johns)
She changed the words a little because she must have been bashful. She changed it from "lie closer" to "sit by me," and she changed "you bring your sheepskin" to "he is bringing a sheepskin." (Jim Chamiso)

31. This has no words. It is one of the main old special ones. Today they have lots of words. (Evelyn Pablo)

32. He started this more or less like a chant. Then he sings it over and over. They sing these as often as they feel like it. If it's real good they sing it many times over. (Jim Chamiso)

33. (No comment)
34. This means you will be holding the drum all night. (Evelyn Pablo) This came from Fort. This song really came from the Mescalero. It's an old one. There should be more words to it but I can't think of it. There are two kinds of dancing: there's a regular skip and then they sometimes just trot along. When you hear *heyeyeyeyaŋa* that's really *'ahizdi'áhai* (skip dance). The other kind of dancing is more recent and the songs have more words to them. They're more fancy. Often this dance is brought in by the smart youngsters. The new songs go "*he ye yaŋa.*" The tune is in small bits and the older kind is longer parts. (Jim Chamiso)
35. This is my favorite song. Joseph used to sing this at the time we were first married. (Evelyn Pablo) This is Mescalero too. It was made at the same time as the other. It is one of the first skip dance songs. They would laugh if they heard this one on the reservation. They wouldn't know it up there, they have changed it so much from the original Mescalero. The Fort people go over to Mescalero in July to a four days' feast, and that's when they got those songs. They still sing them in the old fashioned way here. The trotting dance came from there too. This new kind is also known as *'ahizdi'-áhai* only up at Carrisozo they know there *are* two kinds. They are way ahead of us up there. Around here they might sing both kinds and never know the difference. Around Carrisozo there are two groups of singers, one on either side of the circle of dancers. Up there on the reservation they don't wheel to this song. (Jim Chamiso)
36. This is another favorite of mine. (Evelyn Pablo) This song is Mescalero too but that is a Ute wording, not Navaho. In Navaho it means nothing as it stands. It would have to be *ch'enahoyé diid'ash.* I think there was a small batch of Utes — maybe they learned Mescalero down there at Mescalero. (Jim Chamiso)
37. This is the same kind of song too, from Mescalero too. It could only be a Mescalero tune. They start at Mescalero and get to be more Navaho sounding at Fort where there are three hundred Navahos with lots of Apaches mixed in. Those songs sound less and less Apache as you hear them closer to the reservation. (Jim Chamiso)
38. This was our song when we first got together. Now I'll sing it for her. (Joseph Pablo) This is the song we used to sing when when we were first married. (Evelyn Pablo) [When we played this recording back, Joseph jumped up and danced (wheeling dance) with me. D. McA.]
    This is another Mescalero song. It's teasing a boy and girl when they are dancing about what else could they do besides dancing together. (Jim Chamiso)
39. He made a little mistake in there. He almost put another song in there (laughs). (Evelyn Pablo)
    Another Mescalero tune, *he ye' yaŋa* is not Navaho. Navahos sing *hene yaŋa* or *heya heya.* (Jim Chamiso)
40. That *'e'eya do'o'he* is typical Apache singing. He uses Apache words here, almost like Navaho. (Jim Chamiso)
41. *'aneo 'aneo* is typical Apache too. In Navaho that would be *aŋigo* (he is snorting or crowing or hollering — the noise for some animal). (Jim Chamiso)
42. Cousins would tease each other with this one. The song is supposed to embarrass a man or a girl who might be dancing with a cousin. They do that nowadays but the old people especially tease cousins. People who are modern don't do that. (Just about sex?) No, they do it about cooking or anything. He might come in and say "I expect you have food already for me." Or if he sees a bracelet or anything nice he'll say "I expect you are going to give me those." (Jim Chamiso)
43. These are skipping songs in the Carrisozo style. (Jim Chamiso)
44. (No comment)
45. (No comment)
46. Some of these have words but he didn't use them. (Jim Chamiso)
47. These are trotting songs the way they sing them on the reservation. (Jim Chamiso)
48. (No comment)
49. (No comment)
50. (No comment)

TEXTS

Meaningful Texts

My impression is that the dance songs are much more likely to have meaningful texts than the sway songs. This is borne out in the fifteen examples below. These center closely around the boy and girl theme in subject matter. The informants who recorded them were clearly enjoying the ribaldry, though Mrs. Johns was bashful and changed number 30 to a more decorous version than is usually heard. The texts differ from the few sway song texts recorded in their tendency to be somewhat longer and more discursive as well as in the different emphasis of the subject matter.

SONG NUMBER

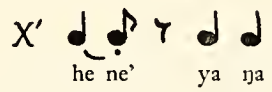
25. They were dancing together.
26. My partner (female), my partner, etc.
27. Railtown, you (girls) want.
    All the time saying "Watch,"[17] you're saying all the time.
    Against the house you're like a statue.
28. Walking around.
29a. Hello! hello! hello!, etc.
29b. Hello! hello! hello!, etc.
    I may kiss you.
30. Sit by me. He is bringing a sheepskin.
    (Modest variant of "lie closer to me, bring your sheepskin.")
33. My partner (female), my partner, etc.
    (a longer and more complicated song than 26 with different vocables filling out the meaningful word)
34. Holding the drum, all night.
36. It bothers us,
    We are going along together.
37. Going along together,
    I'll be getting on top of something.
38. What else are you going to do?
    That's your son!
    (teasing a girl dancing with too close a kinsman; suggests that they may do something worse together)
39. Your daughter
    Walking around in the night,
    Tomorrow, when she comes back,
    (She will have) lots of money.
40. The Apache woman of Fort,
    Her husband she had,
    He doesn't bother (sleep with) her any more.
41. His pig, his horse, there snorting
    His pig, riding,
    His pig, leading.
42. Are we walking along together?
    Well, my cousin
    To the hiding place there
    (Let's) you and I walk that way.
    (teasing a cross-cousin)

[17] Other verses substitute "movies," "tramp," "to drink."

Texts in Vocables

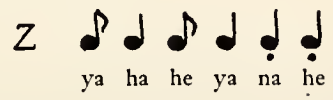
Like the sway songs, the dance songs have certain characteristic melodic and vocable patterns which occur in identical, or closely similar form, in a majority of songs. They are distinctly different from the fixed phrases in the sway songs.

Fixed Phrases: *Introduction and coda.* The dance song introduction (which is also used as a coda) is basically a four-beat figure, though it may extend to six beats, especially in its codential function. In its simplest form it is a:



Unlike the flowing *heyeyeyeyaŋa* of the sway song "X" this introduction is characteristically choppy and slower. The short, emphatic second note followed by a rest appears in nearly all variants, both introductory and codential. This style of introduction and coda is "not Navaho" but is spotted at once by informants as being characteristic of Mescalero Apache dance songs. I have labeled this figure "X'" to distinguish it from the "X" introduction and coda of the sway songs.

"Z" *Coda.* However, another concluding formula which is used in only two of the dance songs (no. 30 and no. 25, version 2) consists of the figure just described plus a syncopated pattern:



The Main Texts in Vocables

As in the sway songs, the vocables that constitute the main body of the songs show great variety but must be used in specific ways for specific songs. Except for a more broken or choppy delivery, they do not differ markedly from the vocables in the sway songs.

Four "Skipping Songs." Robert Chamiso and Son of Bead Chant Singer said that the Apache-style songs are "trotting" songs, and I can verify this in the case of the songs recorded by Joseph Pablo. During the playback of one of his records, he suddenly jumped up and began dancing with me, dancing a trot, not a skip. Son of Bead Chant Singer recorded four songs to illustrate the "skipping songs" used on the reservation (songs number 43–46). The introductions and codas of these songs were the straight sway song "X", both musically and in the vocables: *he yeyeyeya.*

MELODIC ANALYSIS

Meter

As in the sway songs, the rhythm of the dance songs is prevailingly even and in a double meter. There are occasional measures of three beats.

Tempo

The dance songs are distinctly slower than the sway songs. Most of them fall within the speed range of *adagio.*

SPEED	NUMBER OF SONGS
♩=MM 100–9	3
110–19	3
120–29	13
130–39	3
140–49	1
150–59	2
170–79	1

Pitch

The same reservations aply to pitch in the dance songs recorded as in the case of the sway songs. Under the recording conditions as defined, Paula Henry and Mrs. Johns, a child and a woman, pitched their songs between B-flat and G on the "one-lined octave." Only two men recorded dance songs. Joseph Pablo's twelve songs are grouped between E and G, and Son of Bead Chant Singer's eight songs are all squarely on G, in the "small octave."

Melodic Line

There are two distinct kinds of melody in the dance songs collected. These might be characterized as "narrow" and "wide" styles.

The melodies in the first group are narrow in compass, usually reaching no higher than the fifth of the scale, and sometimes only the third. The melodic direction is downward, but there is no room in which a strong descending impetus may be expressed, as it is in the sway songs. An unusual amount of dipping *below* the tonic may also be a result of this very restricted range. The songs of Joseph Pablo are typically of this kind (numbers 31–42). Of the other dance songs collected, only one by Mrs. Grant Johns and one by Son of Bead Chant Singer, numbers 30 and 50, are in the wide style. His songs and those of Paula Henry and Mrs. Grant Johns are typically of the narrow range (*see* numbers 25–29, and 43–49).

The wide-style songs have the octave range and powerful downward trend of the sway songs, but even so, many start low and have a strong upward movement before the melodic line starts down. Most of these songs get their descending impetus in the second or "B" phrase. Except for Mrs. Grant Johns' number 30 and Son of Bead Chant Singer's number 50, all of the songs in this category were the "Apache" songs recorded by Joseph Pablo (numbers 31–42).

Over-all Range. In spite of the "narrow" style songs in this group, the over-all ranges are somewhat greater than those of the sway songs. The Apache songs of Joseph Pablo emphasize this difference; his songs are typically an octave in compass and often include a dip below the tonic, which increases the total range to an octave plus the interval of a fourth.

Range in Individual Phrases. The ranges

within the phrases show essentially the same preferences as those in the sway songs. The flat codential phrases, and phrases with a range of a third, a fourth, and a fifth predominate. In both types of dance song, the codas are fewer: there is less of a feeling of coming to rest on the tonic, and the whole motion seems more actively up and down.

Melodic Phrasing

Fixed Phrases. The X′ introduction and coda and the Z coda have already been described in connection with the vocable patterns involved.

Paired Phrases. There is much less paired phrasing in the dance songs than in the sway songs. Any one of phrases A, B, or C may be doubled, but such doublings do not occur often. There is no full doubling all the way through a song, nor is there any analogue to the S pattern with its invariable doubling.

Over-all Patterns. The typical dance song is constructed in a full repeat pattern of phrasing. Number 25 is a good example. A variation with a partial beginning and a more extended phrasing which is then repeated fully can be seen in number 33. Nineteen of the twenty-six dance songs are of this type. The remaining seven show partial repeat patterns in which initial material is repeated as in the second category of the sway songs.

Examples: *Full Repeat*: (Nos. 25, 26, 28, 30–38, 41, 42, 45, 46, 48–50).

No. 25 X′ ABB′X′
X′ ABB′X′
X′ ABB′X′

No. 33 X′ AB DX′
ABCDX′ EX′EX′
AB DX′ EX′EX′
ABCDX′ EX′EX′
ABCDX′ EX′EX′

Partial Repeat: (Nos. 27, 29, 39, 40, 43, 44, 47).

No. 27 ABC
BC′DE
D

No. 44 X ABCDX
ABCDX EE′B′X
ABCDX EE′B′X
ABCDX

Number of Phrases. Though there is a somewhat greater number of *different* phrases in the dance songs than in the sway songs the unique feature of the former is the enormously greater number of total phrases. The differences in function in the two kinds of song explain this: a particular dance song may be repeated over and over for the length of a dance. My informants had a tendency to cut the dance songs short during the recording, but still, over half of them were thirty phrases or more in length and one was ninety-six.

NO OF DIFFERENT PHRASES	NO. OF SONGS
3	2
4	8
5	9
6	4
7	1
8	2

TOTAL NO. OF PHRASES	NO. OF SONGS
9–29	13
30–49	9
50–96	4

Finals. The finals in the dance songs do not show as great an attraction to the tonic as in the sway songs. The smaller number of codential phrases already mentioned is one of the reasons for this difference. Only two songs, numbers 39 and 46, show the full 1,1,1,1 etc. pattern. In eight cases all phrases except one (usually the first or "A" phrase) come to rest on the tonic and in another eight instances all but two of the phrases end on the tonic. This leaves a third group of eight songs in which three or more phrases end above the tonic. This showing, contrasted with the same feature in the sway songs, indicates a good deal less of the codential "drag", and, incidentally, a further removal from the chant style of Navaho music where the melodic attraction of the tonic is very great.

Tonality

Types of "Scales" in the Dance Songs: *Chromatic scales.* Chromatic scales are not found in these songs.

Scales on the interval of a fourth. Song number 44 is constructed on the intervals 1 3 4. It is different from the two scales on the interval of a fourth in the sway songs in that it does not avoid the semitone.

Pentatonic scales. There are three types of pentatonic scales in the dance songs:

1) *Pentatonic on the tonic.* This is the "usual" pentatonic scale, the full pattern of which is 1 2 3 5 6 8. Songs number 31 and 34 show the full pentatonic scale. Number 35 lacks the fifth. Number 28 lacks the sixth and the eighth. These songs have, in addition, a weak fourth. And number 25 lacks the fourth altogether, as well as the sixth and eighth.

2) *Pentatonic without the second.* The second and the sixth are really "passing tones" in the pentatonic scale, but a curious effect results when the second is missing. The whole scale gives a "seventh chord" effect as though it were actually the first inversion of the seventh chord on the sixth note of the scale, (6 1 3 5). The rich "harmonic" feeling which this suggests to the Western listener is certainly present in two songs, numbers 39 and 40. The sixth is strong enough, particularly in number 40, to add a great deal to the bare triad, 1 3 5.

It should be stressed, however, that the harmonic interpretation given above is strictly within the framework of European musical convention. It is doubtful that the native singer in a melodic tradition hears the intervals as a chord. As yet we know almost nothing as to the way the individual in this tradition hears music.

3) *Pentatonic scales on the fourth.* Songs lacking a third are extremely rare in the Enemy Way music examined so far. (*See* the two sway songs built on the interval of a fourth.) Four of them appear in the present group, and all seem actually to show pentatonic scales. These scales are suggested on the basis of two adjoining intervals of a fourth, as in von Hornbostel's examples: 1 2 4 5 6 8. The gaps in these fourths have been filled at the lower end (the second and the sixth), so that we have two scales of three notes each formed on identical interval patterns, and still the semitone is absent, as in the conventional pentatonic scale.

Another way to consider these scales would be as inversions of the conventional pentatonic scale, counting the fourth as the tonic and reading on up in the usual way. But the weight given to the various notes in the melodies makes this reading less logical musically than the one suggested above. Songs number 33 and 38 show this pattern with all the notes present. Number 43 has the sixth and eighth missing, but the sixth is given an octave lower when the melody takes a dip below the tonic. Number 48 has the sixth and eighth missing.

Diatonic scales. Again it is striking to the Western ear how few of the songs examined are in even a partial diatonic scale. Seven out of twenty-six is a small enough representation to indicate that we are clearly in a different musical tradition from our own. None of these is complete. Number 42 lacks only the seventh. Number 29 lacks the sixth, seventh and eighth, but the sixth appears below the tonic. In number 32, the sixth receives some slight use but the seventh and eighth are lacking. Number 30 lacks the fifth and seventh. Number 50 lacks the fourth and eighth. Two and six in this scale are weak, but the seventh, usually missing in Enemy Way songs, is strong. Numbers 47 and 49 show diatonic scales as far as they go, but this is only within the compass of a fifth.

Two songs that might be considered diatonic minor in scale are considered below under Modes.

Open triad. Only one song, number 41, seems to fall into this category, but numbers 39 and 40, considered under pentatonic scales, might well be listed here instead.

The modes. Two of the songs are built upon scales that might be in the Dorian mode (1 2 $3^{\flat}$ 4 5 6 $7^{\flat}$ 8) or the ascending melodic minor of our own diatonic scale.

These scales are:

Number 36	5	1	$3^{\flat}$	4	5	6	8	
Number 37		1	$3^{\flat}$	4		6	8	$10^{\flat}$

The interval of a minor third is present and defines the songs as "minor" to the ear trained in Western music, but the seventh is missing in both cases.

Four scales of very short span. Four songs remain in which the melodic line goes no higher than the third note on the scale. These scales are:

Number 26	6	(7)	1	2	3
Number 27	6		1	2	3
Number 45	5		1	2	3
Number 46			1	2	3

The sixth and fifth below the tonic function

strongly in these melodies. If these low notes were transposed an octave higher so that we called the scales 1 2 3 5 and 1 2 3 6, we could consider them as pentatonic or diatonic scales. However, it seems better to describe them separately, since they are unusual both for the emphasis below the tonic and for the very short span of range above the tonic.

NOTES ON THE DANCE SONGS

25. Mrs. Grant Johns; FN-I 24; key of B-flat.
Text: in the song: hede eyo
prose form: hede' áhi
they are dancing together

26. Paula Henry; FN-I 20; key of E. Singer was very shy and lost her breath at the end of the second "c" phrase.
Text: yoshi
partner (female)

27. Paula Henry; FN-I 21; key of D-sharp.
Text: ná' inízhozh ikó' t'eh dinį́įgoh na'ałkidit'
Railtown you want, all the time saying "watch"
'e dinį́įgoh kį́bąh nena' áh
all the time saying, house against, as if lifeless
Jim Chamiso said that the singer must have been confused to use "watch" here. It is usually na' áłdjidí, "pack on back" (tramp), or i'í'łk'ede', "movies," or 'adeshdlį́ł "to drink."

28. Paula Henry; FN-I 22; key of B. Heavy aspiration at end of each "c" phrase, almost a laugh.
Text: in the song: t'o la la
prose form: t'o na ná'
walking around

29. Mrs. Grant Johns; FN-I 31a; key of G.
Text: ha lo 'o (English)
hello!

30. Mrs. Grant Johns; FN-I 32; key of G.
Text: in the song: hana gwana daago
prose form: hana gwan ndago
sit by me
ya yełdjo yełne
yatłe yoyełgo
he is bringing a sheepskin
According to Jim Chamiso, Mrs. Johns was shy and did not sing the standard, more ribald, words:
hanagwan tyehgo yatyełdjoyéłgo
lie closer bring your sheepskin

31. Joseph Pablo; FN-IV 13; key of E.
Text: no meaningful text.

32. Joseph Pablo; FN-IV 14; key of F; one cannot avoid an impression of "extemporizing" here. Jim Chamiso commented that the introduction starts "like a chant" and the phrase pattern is haphazard compared to the usual dance song.
Text: no meaningful text.

33. Joseph Pablo; FN-IV 15; key of F; it appears as though phrase "a‴" is the version the singer is aiming at and that the earlier "a" phrases represent an effort to gain altitude. In the pairs of "e" phrases, a markedly "covered" tone-quality is used for the second in each pair.
Text: yoshi
partner (female)

34. Joseph Pablo; FN-IV 16; key of F; the singer tapped on the back of a guitar for a "drum" accompaniment. The beat alternates a ♩♩ ♪𝄾 with a
Text: dahi'ahło niłka
holding something (drum) all night

35. Joseph Pablo; FN-IV 17; key of F; same kind of "drum" as above. The beat is a to the *, after which it is a steady ♫ ♫ etc.
Text: no meaningful text.

36. Joseph Pablo; FN-IV 18; key of F; this is an interesting melody in that the weight of the fourth is almost equal to that of the tonic. Furthermore, the third and fifth *above* this fourth are strong enough to create the feeling of a separate melodic development based on the F and independent of the C.
Text: chinako yéla doodash
it bothers us we are going along together

37. Joseph Pablo; FN-IV 19; key of F; absence of a G in this melody creates a melodic bimodality similar to that in song no. 36.
Text: ahiya
going along together,
hasíyá'
getting on top of something

38. Joseph Pablo; FN-IV 20; key of G; melodic bimodality is very marked in this song. The fourth develops a strong "tonic" feeling in spite of the heavy codential weight on the tonic.
Text: dasha' nä́ą́'nt'i'e
what else are you going to do?
'eni yázh at'e
that's your son!

39. Joseph Pablo; FN-IV 21; key of G-flat; singer laughed after "d′" phrase and explained later that this was part of another song. A "hollow" tone was used on the final "X′" phrase.
Text: nich'é'e k'łe'naya
your daughter, walking around in the night,
iskágo
tomorrow
nadzáágo béso łąądo
when she returns, money, much

40. Joseph Pablo; FN-IV 22; key of F.
Text: t'is tsóhni zanach'índi
Fort (Apache woman's name)

haką́ hozlígo
her husband she had
doshana chitį́'da
he doesn't bother her any more

41. Joseph Pablo; FN-IV 23; key of F.

Text: bisóti hałį́ ladjį 'aneo hoyéł dzolós
his pig, his horse, there snorting, riding, leading

Jim Chamiso: "'aneo is Apache, in Navaho it would be 'aníigo."

42. Joseph Pablo; FN-IV 24; key of G; the "musical logic" of this long and apparently rambling song can be seen when the whole pattern is laid out:

X' A B C X'
A B C X' E F E F' X'
A B C X'
A C X' E F E F' X'
A B C X'
A' B E F E F' X' G
E F' X' G
E F' X' G'
E F' X'
A B C X'
A' B' C X'
A B C X' G G' E F E F' X'
A B C X' G G E F E F' X'

Text: djo'áshila enio 'awa sizédila
walking together, are we? well, my cousin,
ni' oohaz'án djį
to the hiding place, there
dodáshi
walk (a certain way)

43. Son of Bead Chant Singer; FN-VIII 1; key of G.

Text: no meaningful text.

44. Son of Bead Chant Singer; FN-VIII 2; key of G.

Text: no meaningful text.

45. Son of Bead Chant Singer; FN-VIII 3; key of G.

Text: no meaningful text.

46. Son of Bead Chant Singer; FN-VIII 4; Key of G.

Text: no meaningful text.

47. Son of Bead Chant Singer; MCW-III 8; key of G.

Text: no meaningful text.

48. Son of Bead Chant Singer; MCW-III 9; key of G.

Text: no meaningful text.

49. Son of Bead Chant Singer; MCW-III 10; key of G.

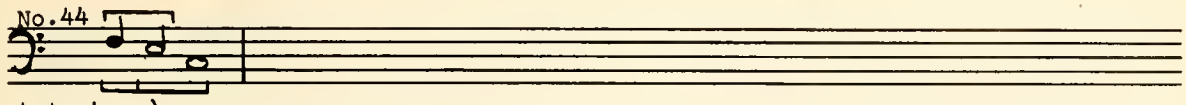
Text: no meaningful text.

50. Son of Bead Chant Singer; MCW-III 11; key of G.

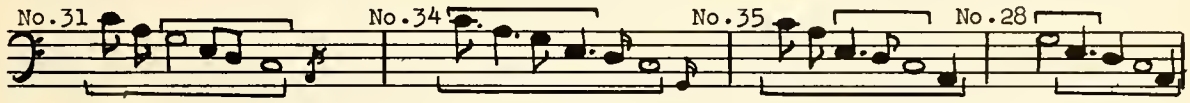
Text: no meaningful text.

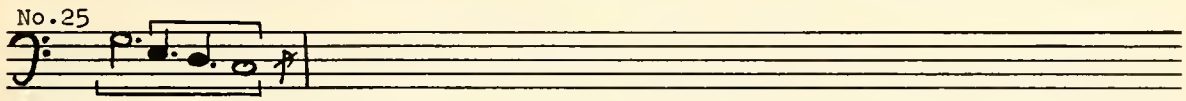
SCALES USED IN THE DANCE SONGS

On interval of a 4th:

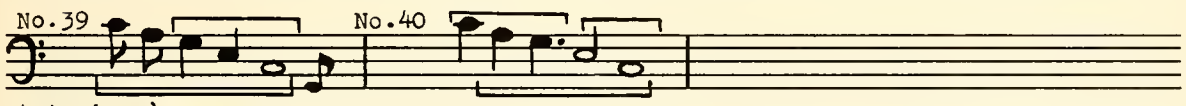


Pentatonic,a):

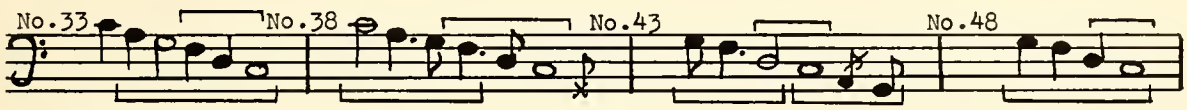




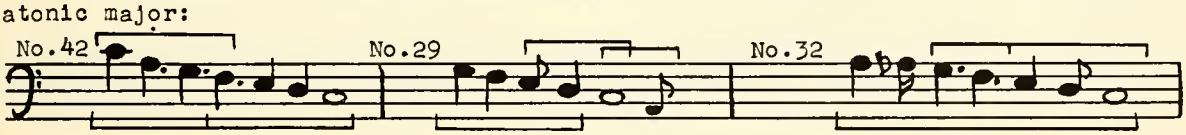
Pentatonic,b):

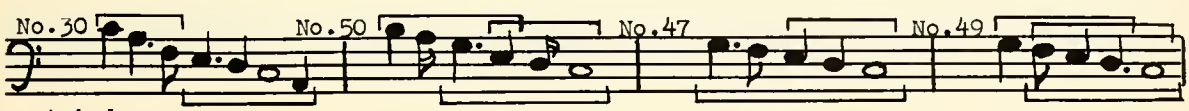


Pentatonic,c):

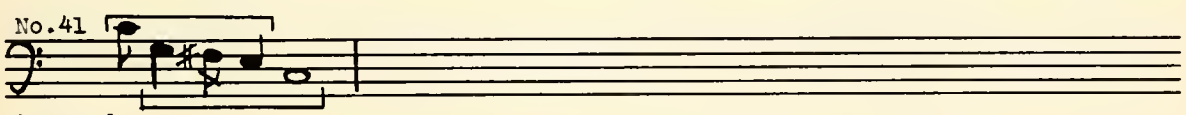


Diatonic major:

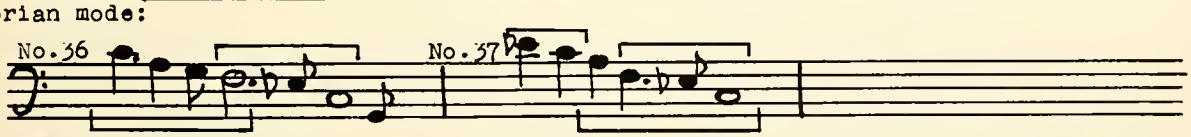




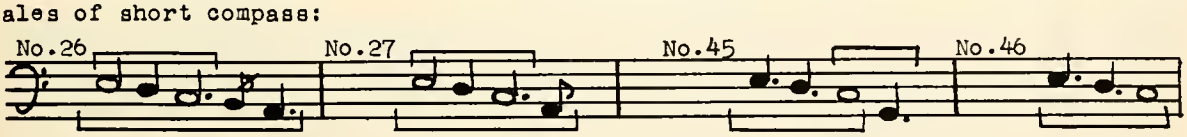
Open triad:



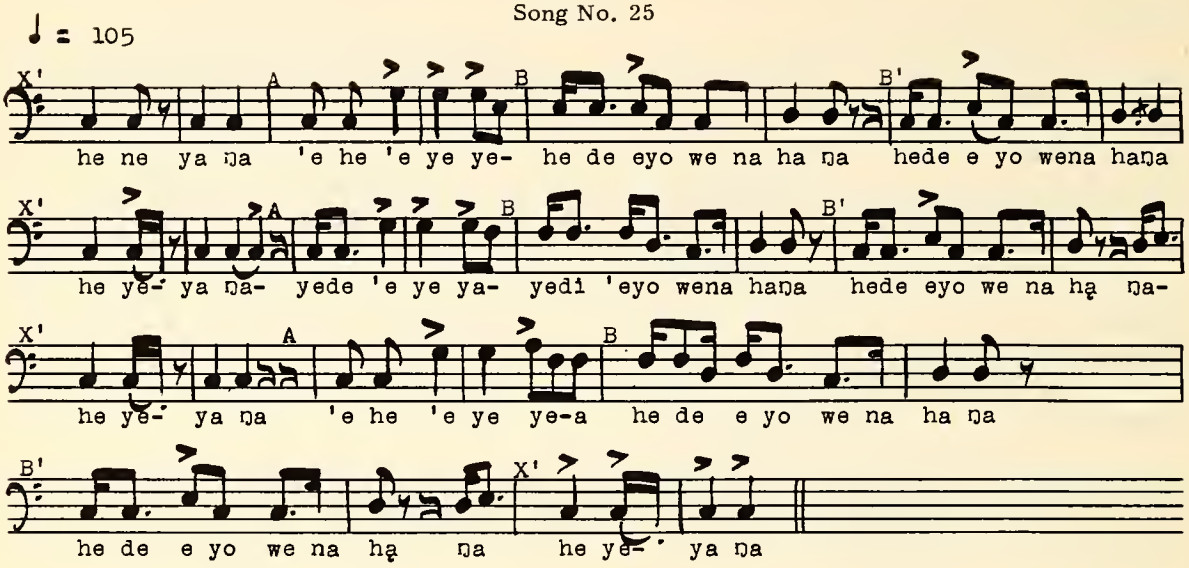
Dorian mode:



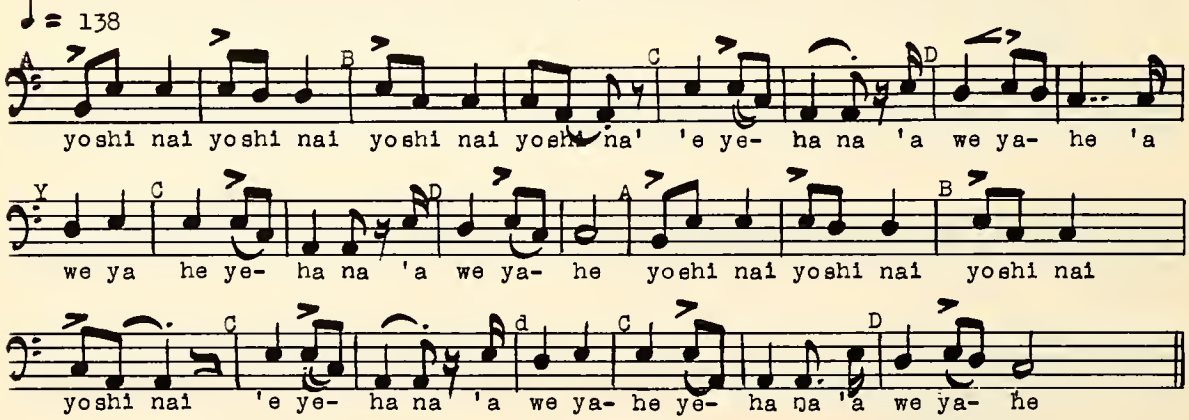
Scales of short compass:



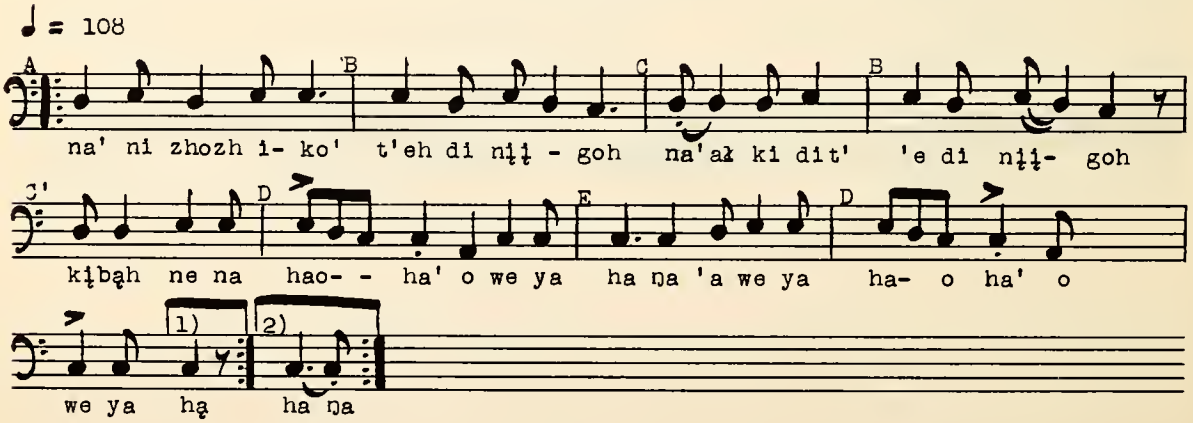
Song No. 25



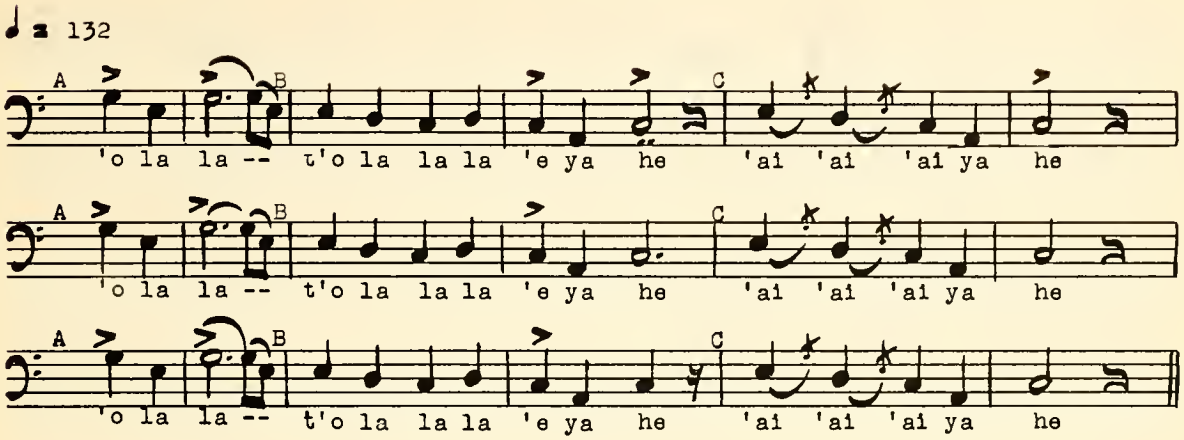
Song No. 26



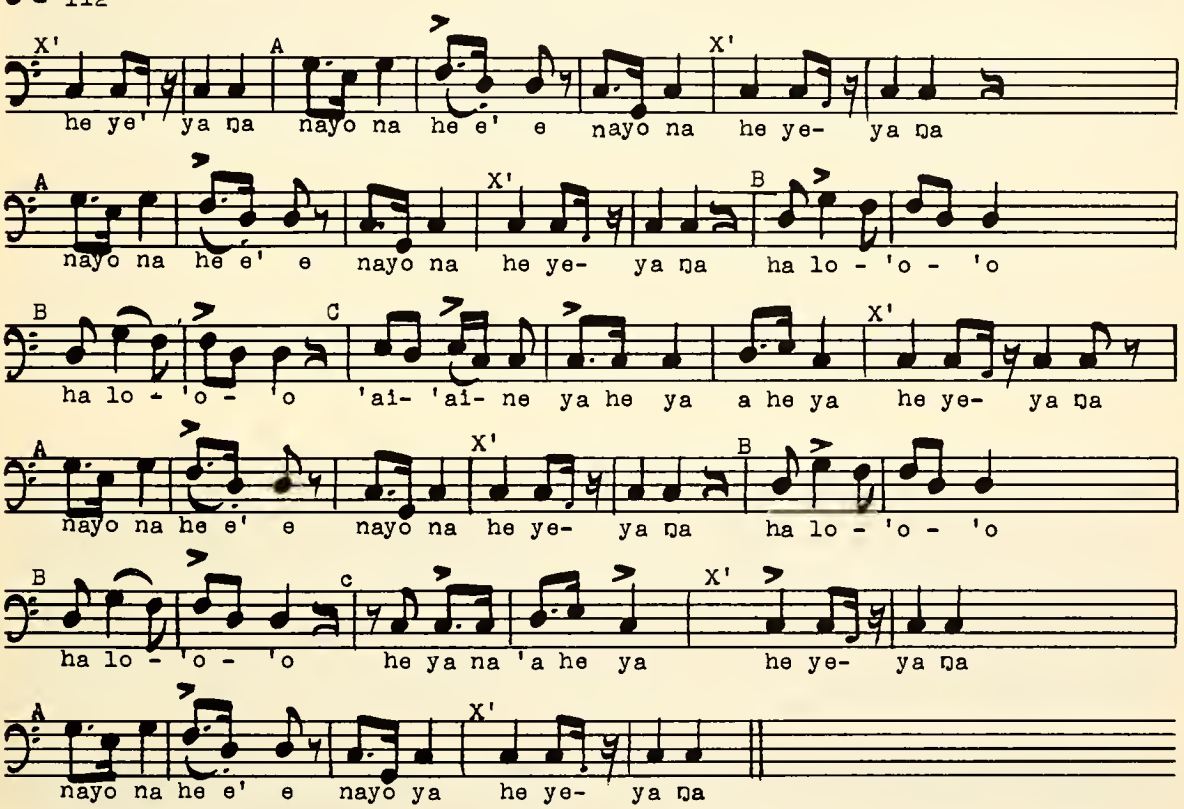
Song No. 27



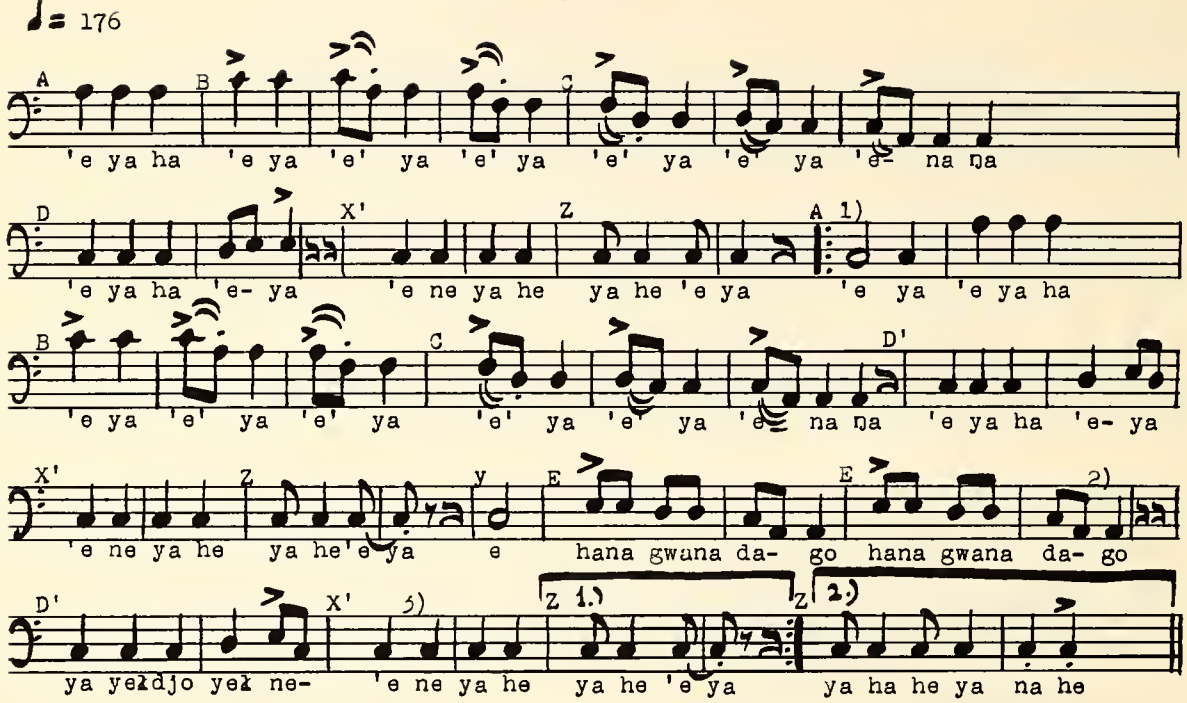
Song No. 28

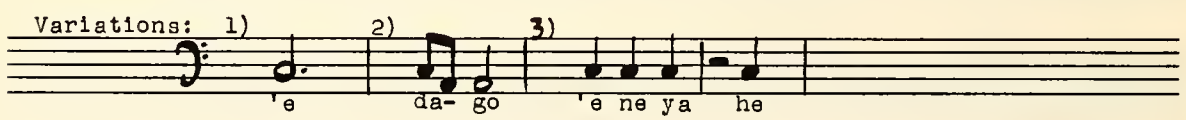


Song No. 29

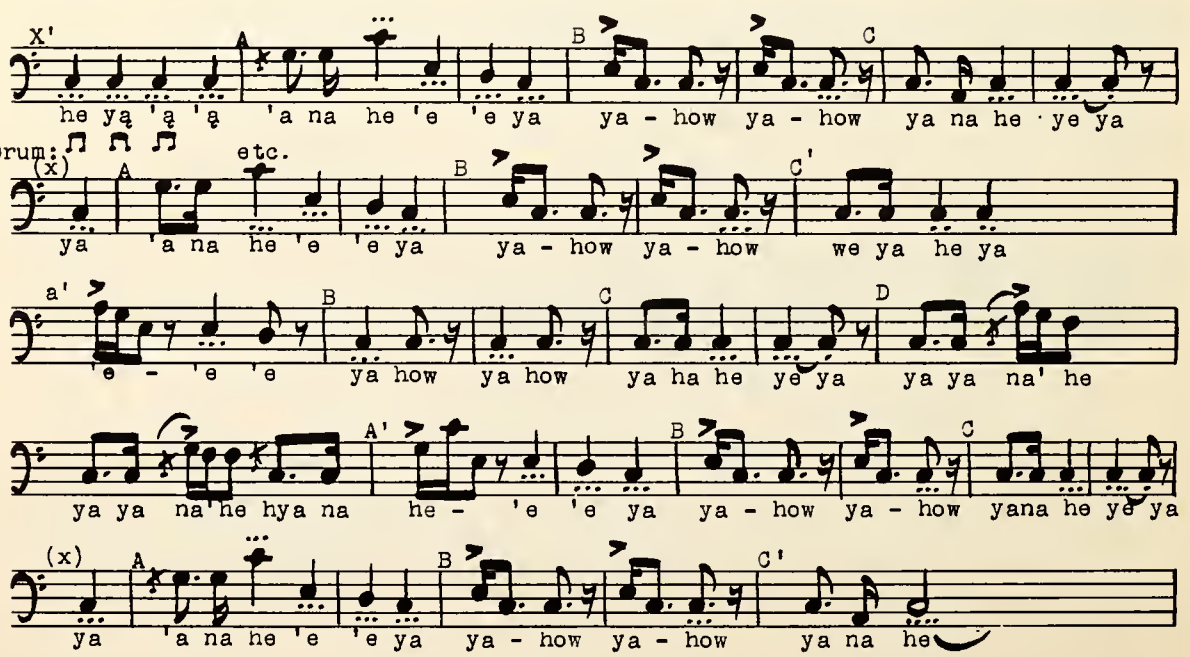


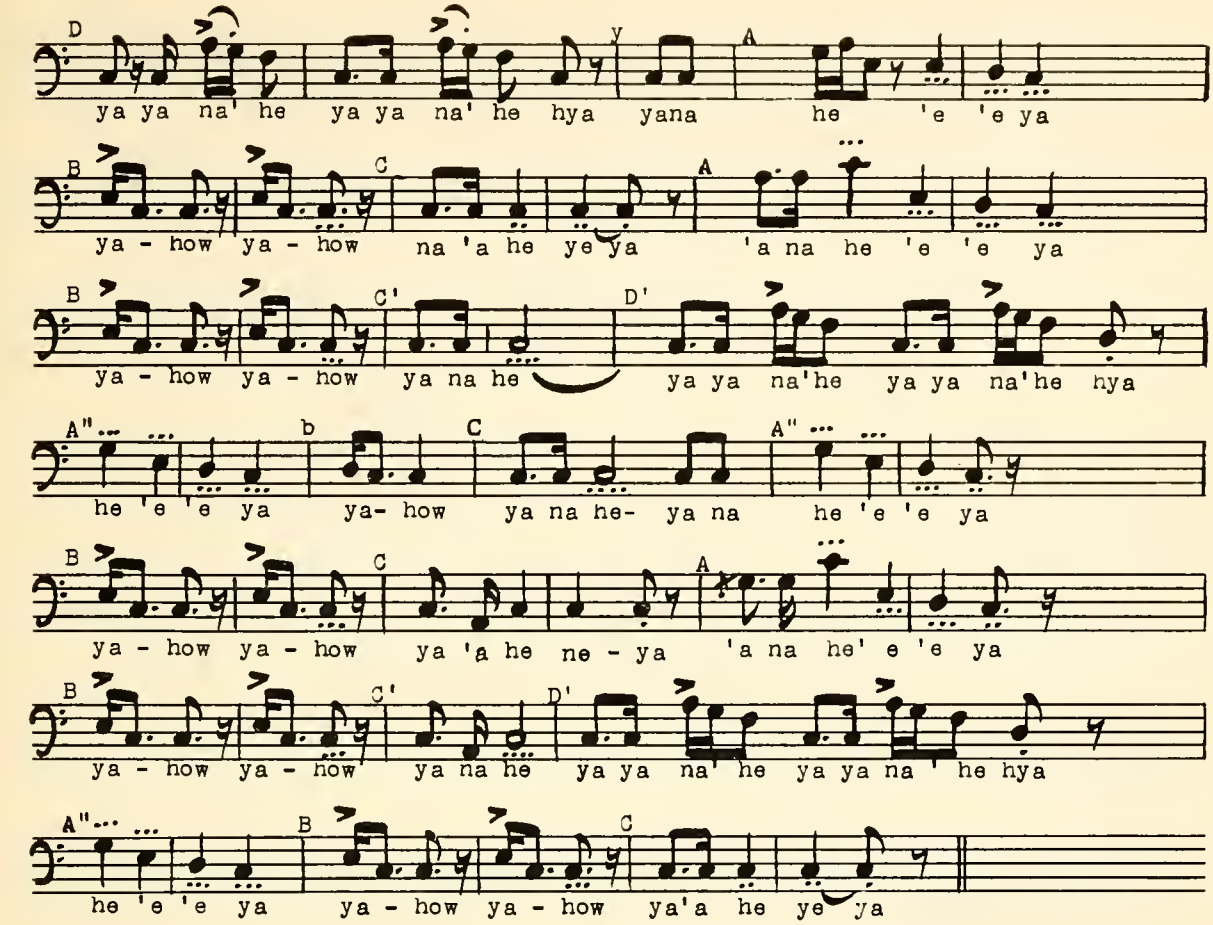
Song No. 30



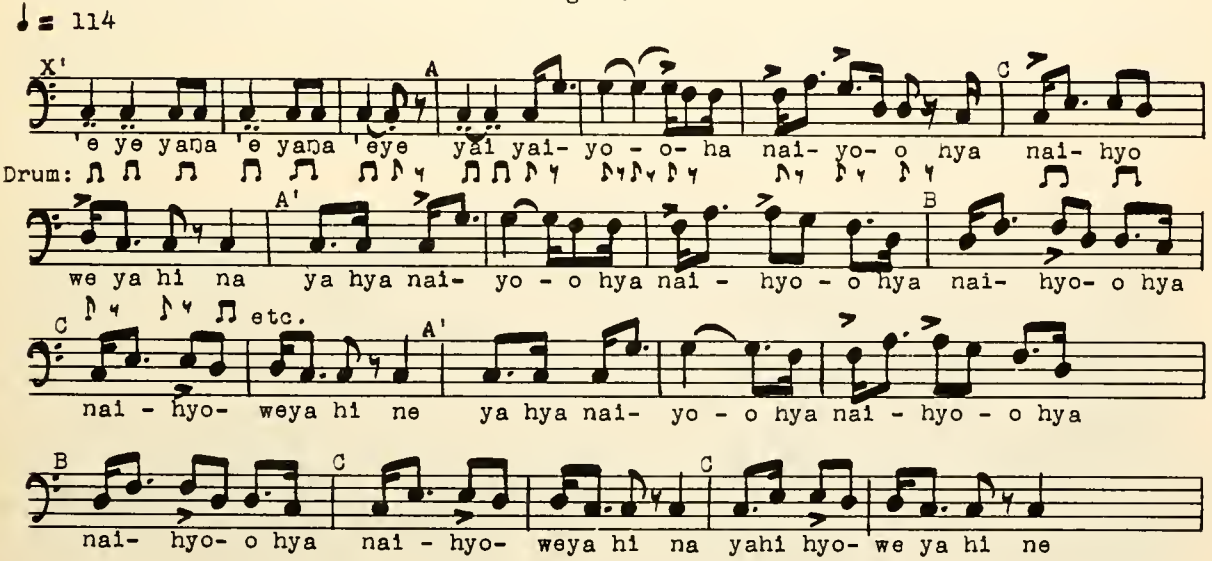


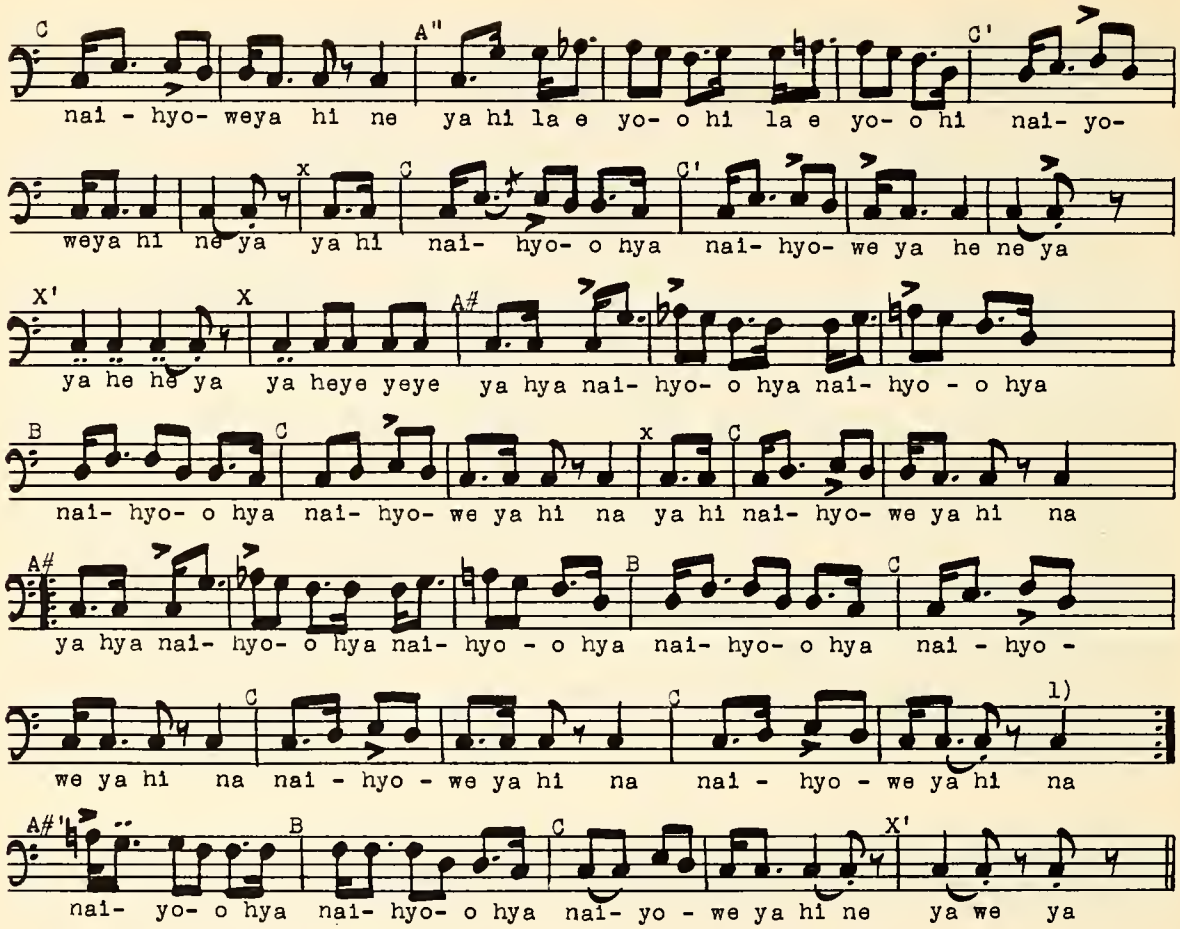
Song No. 31




D
ya ya na' he ya ya na' he hya yana he 'e 'e ya
B
C
A
ya - how ya - how na 'a he ye ya 'a na he 'e 'e ya
C'
D'
ya - how ya - how ya na he ya ya na'he ya ya na'he hya
A"
b
C
he 'e 'e ya ya- how ya na he- ya na he 'e 'e ya
ya - how ya - how ya 'a he ne - ya 'a na he' e 'e ya
ya - how ya - how ya na he ya ya na' he ya ya na ' he hya
he 'e 'e ya ya - how ya - how ya'a he ye ya

Song No. 32


♩= 114
X'
A
C
'e ye yana 'e yana 'eye yai yai- yo - o- ha nai- yo- o nya nai- hyo
Drum:
A'
B
we ya hi na ya hya nai- yo - o hya nai - hyo - o hya nai- hyo- o hya
etc.
nai - hyo- weya hi ne ya hya nai- yo - o hya nai - hyo - o hya
nai- hyo- o hya nai - hyo- weya hi na yahi hyo- we ya hi ne



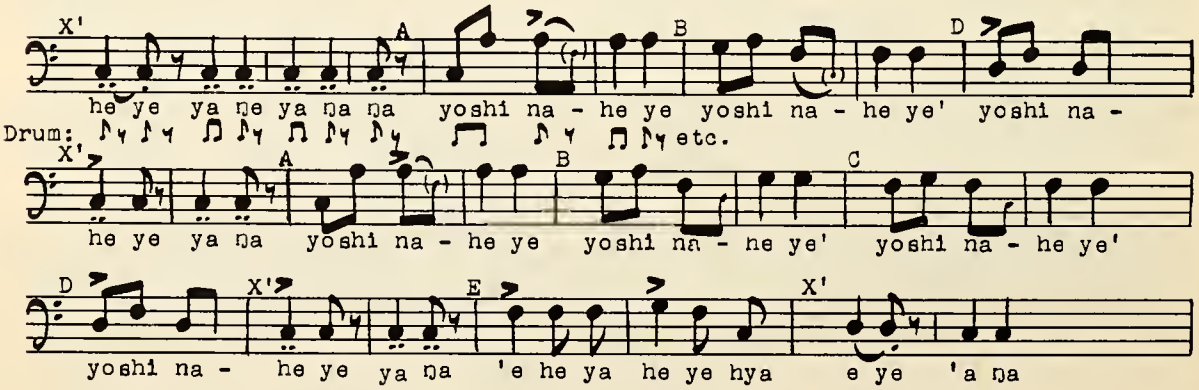
Variation: 1)

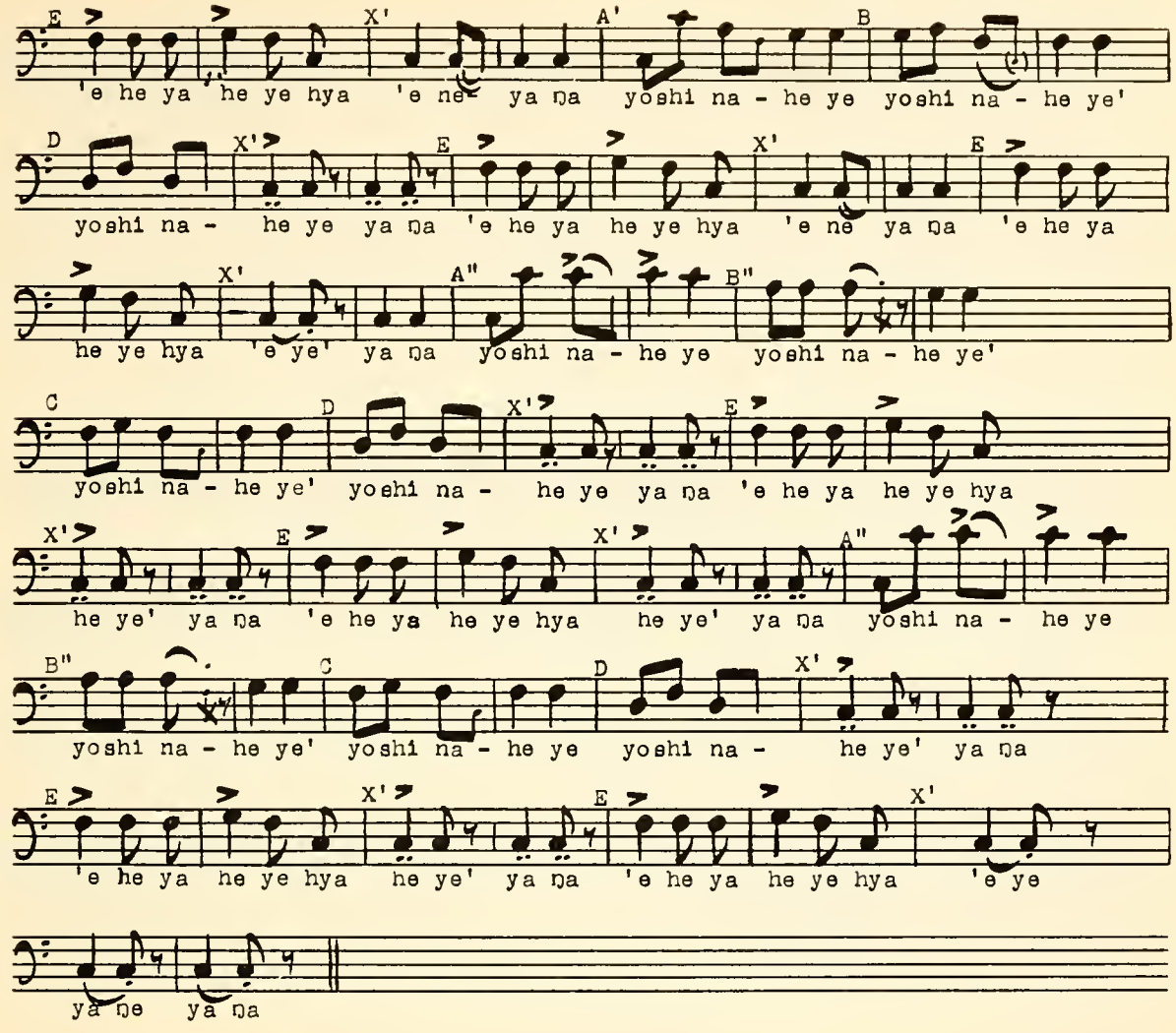
Drum:

na ya

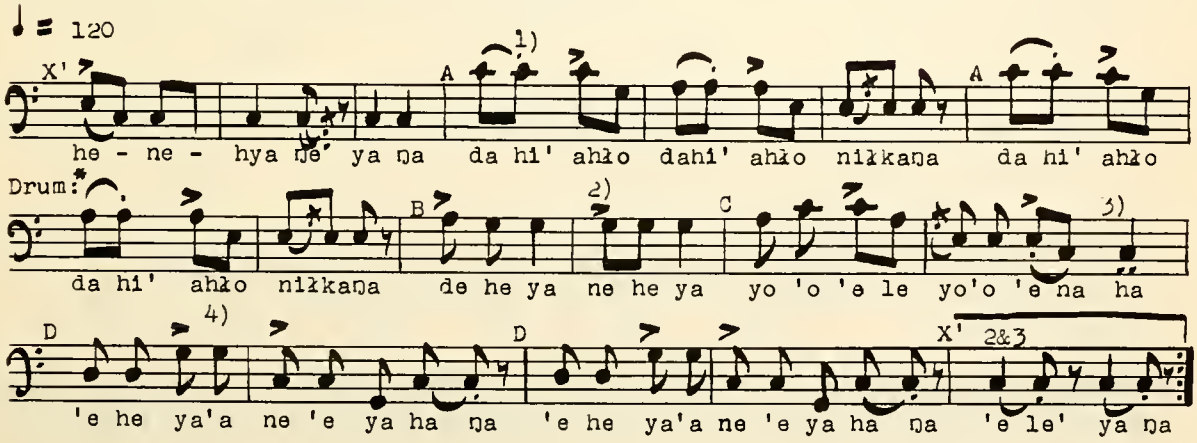
Song No. 33

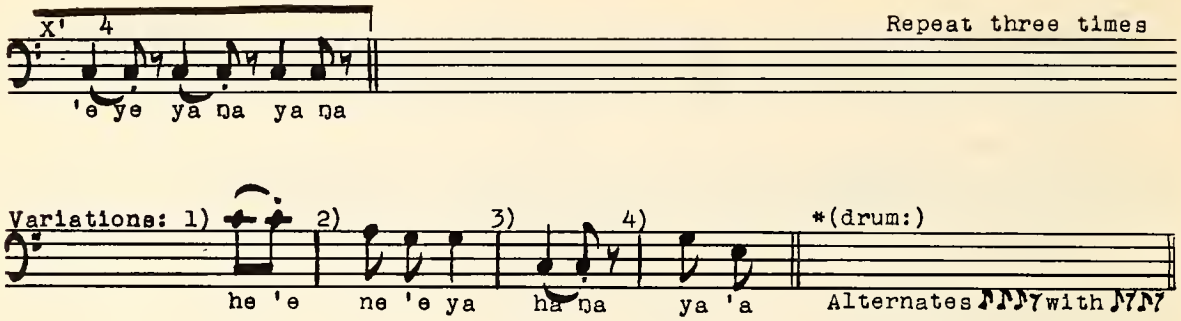
♩ = 116



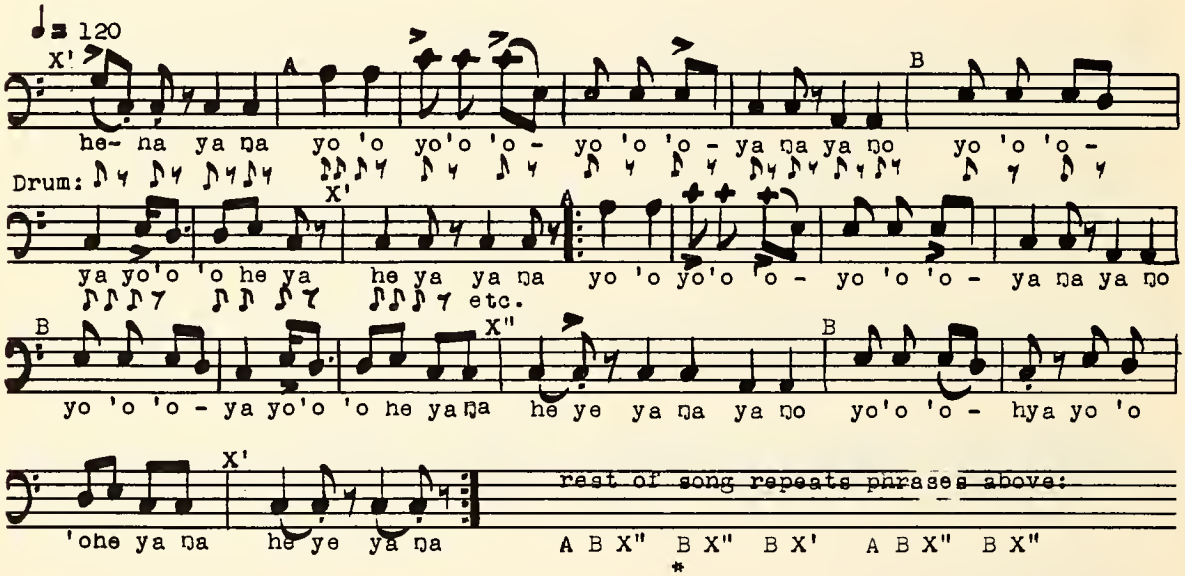

E X' A' B
'e he ya he ye hya 'e ne ya na yoshi na - he ye yoshi na - he ye'
D X' E X' E
yoshi na - he ye ya na 'e he ya he ye hya 'e ne ya na 'e he ya
X' A" B"
he ye hya 'e ye' ya na yoshi na - he ye yoshi na - he ye'
C D X' E
yoshi na - he ye' yoshi na - he ye ya na 'e he ya he ye hya
X' E X' A"
he ye' ya na 'e he ya he ye hya he ye' ya na yoshi na - he ye
B" C D X'
yoshi na - he ye' yoshi na - he ye yoshi na - he ye' ya na
E X' E X'
'e he ya he ye hya he ye' ya na 'e he ya he ye hya 'e ye
ya ne ya na

Song No. 34

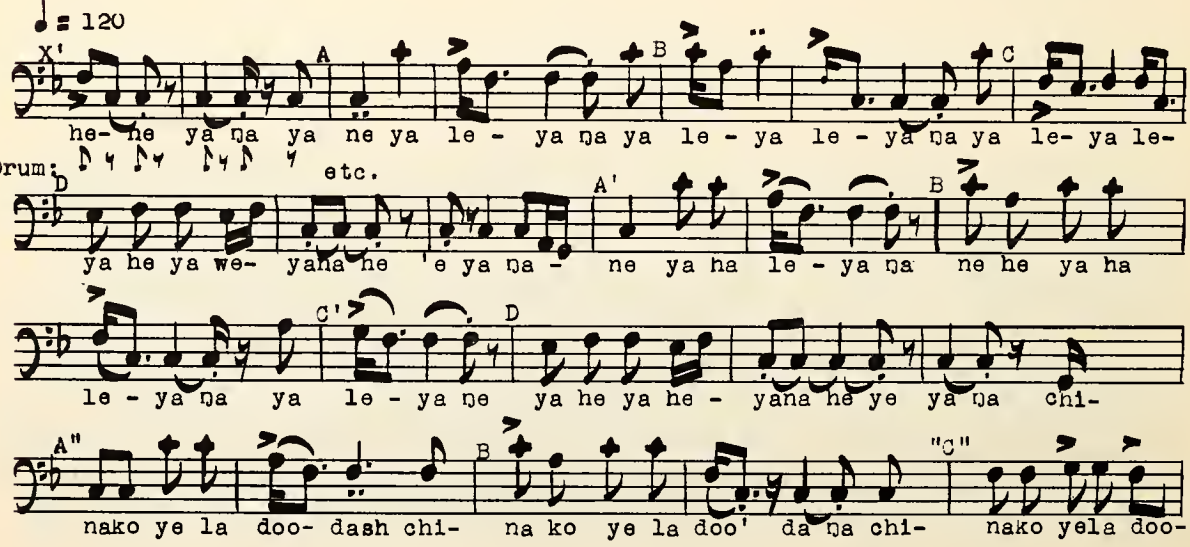

♩ = 120
X' A 1) A
he - ne - hya he' ya na da hi' ahło dahi' ahło niłkaŋa da hi' ahło
Drum:
B 2) C 3)
da hi' ahło niłkaŋa de he ya ne he ya yo 'o 'e le yo'o 'e na ha
D 4) D X' 2&3
'e he ya'a ne 'e ya ha ŋa 'e he ya'a ne 'e ya ha ŋa 'e le' ya ŋa

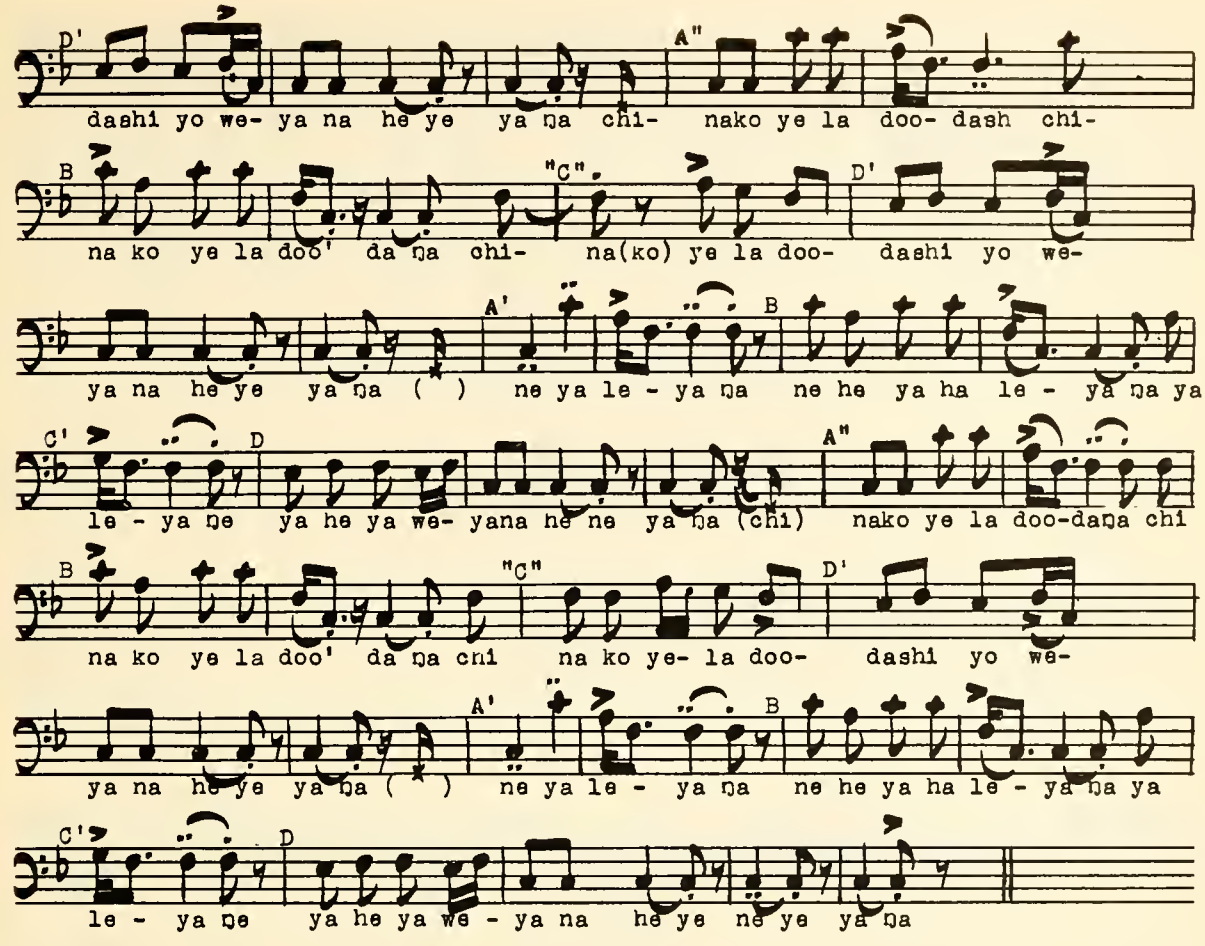


Song No. 35

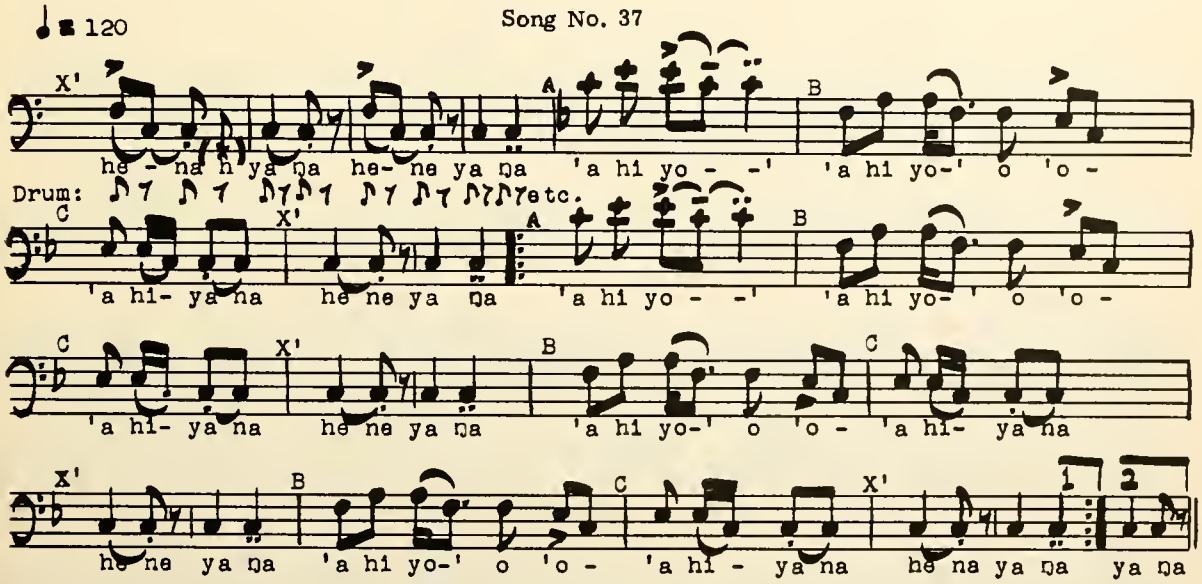


Song No. 36



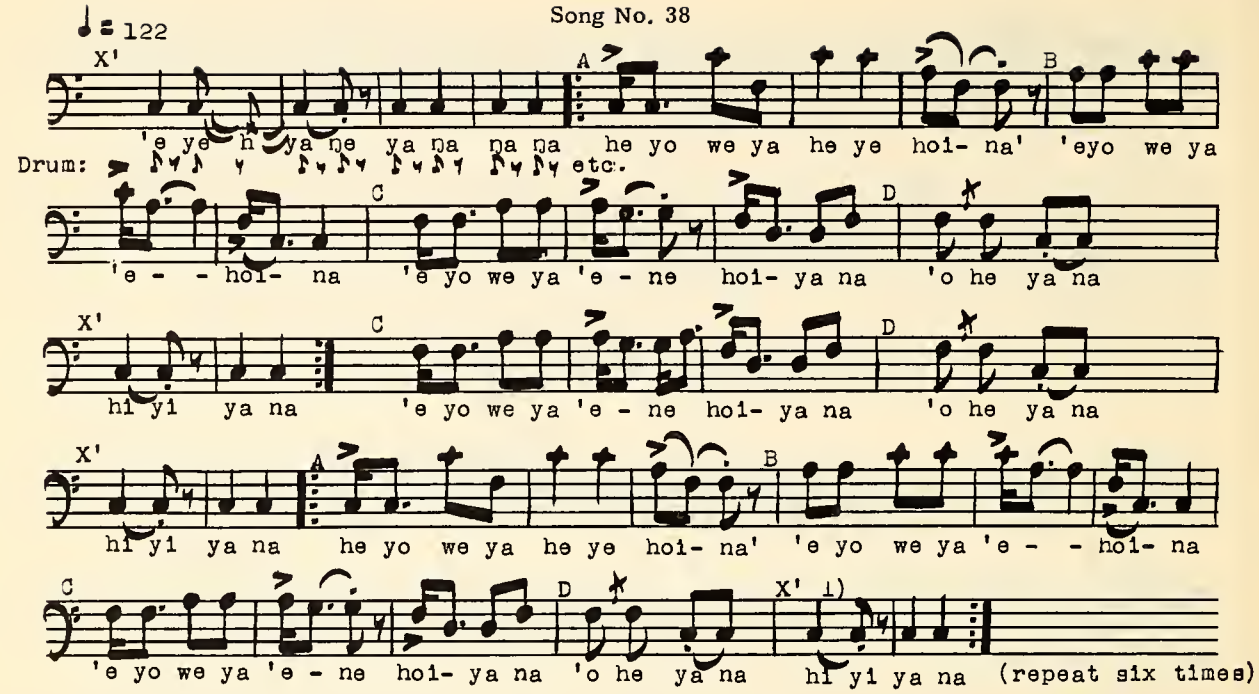


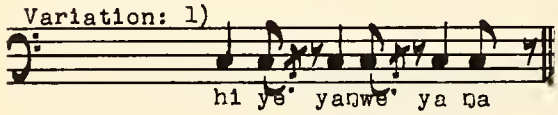
Song No. 37



(Note: there are four repeats and an extra measure after the last X'. In the text, "ahiyo" becomes "hasiyo" and "hasiyana" in the last A B C.)

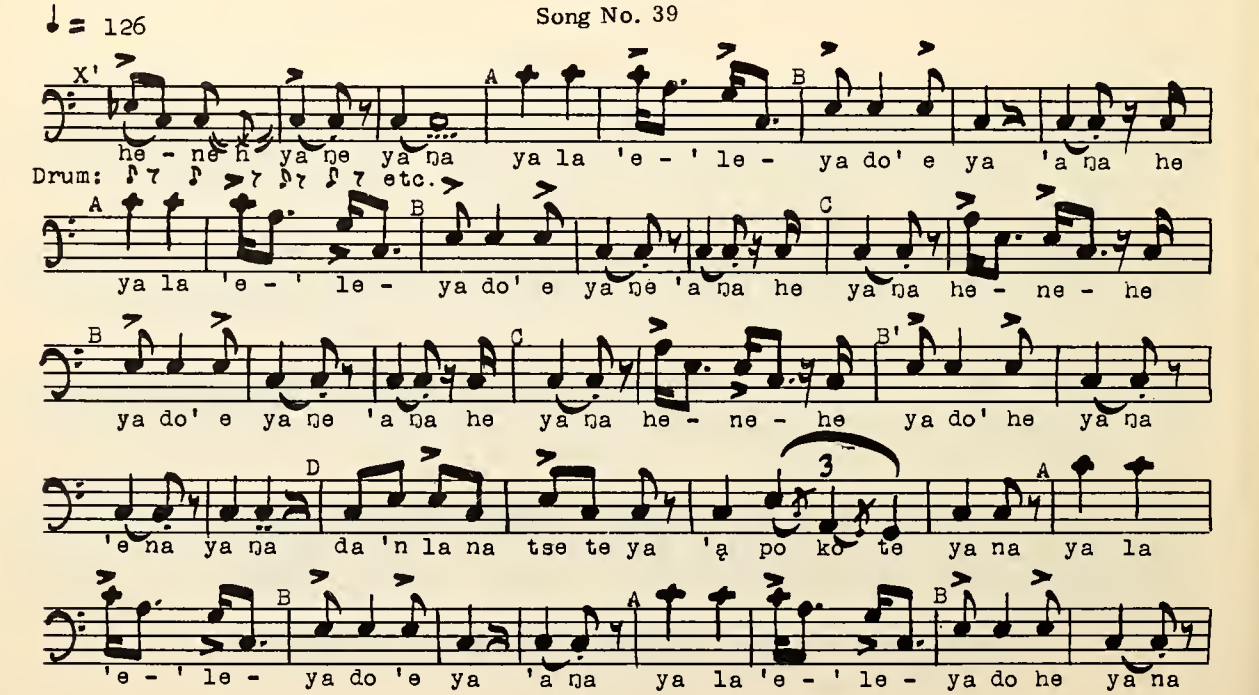
Song No. 38

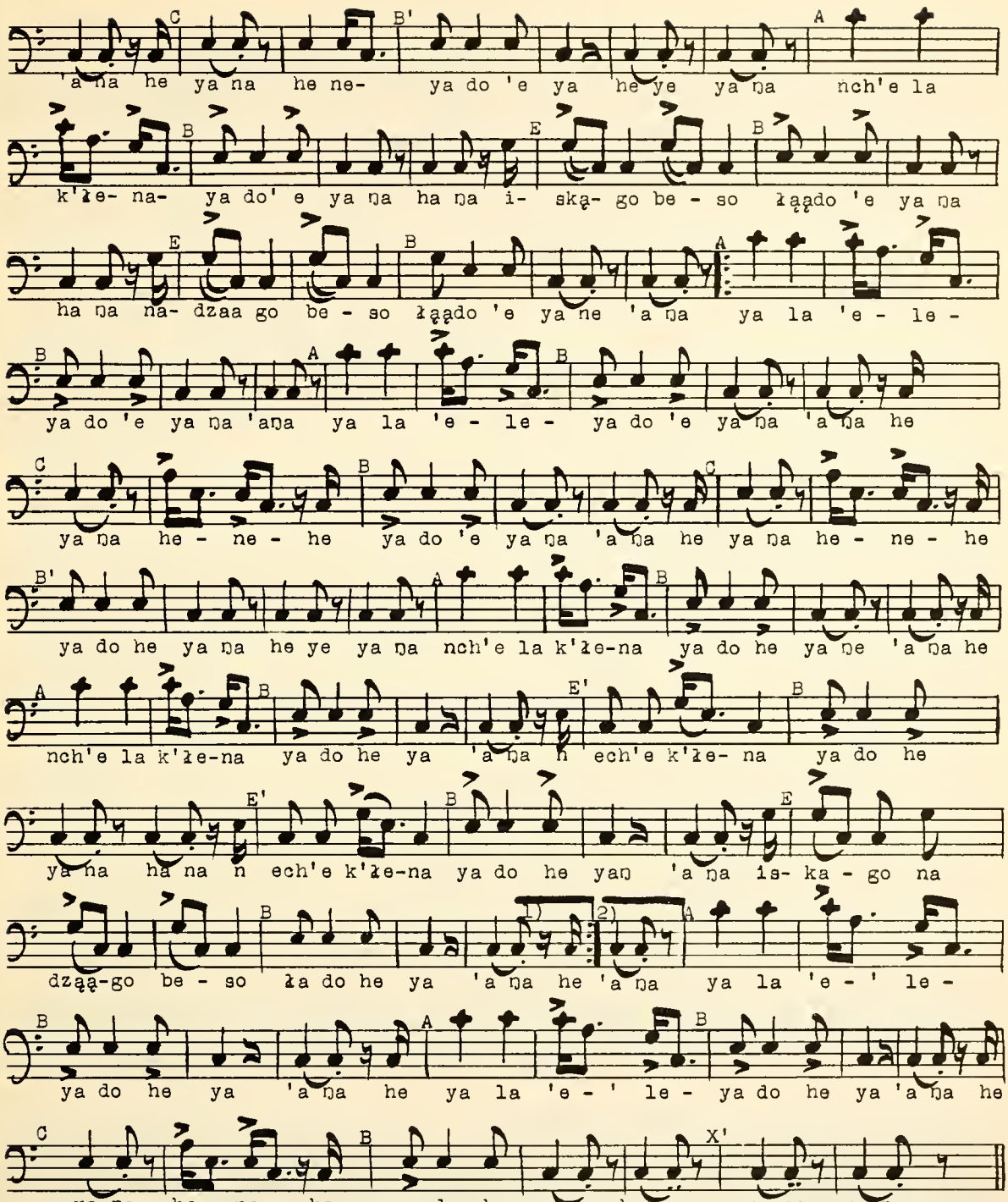




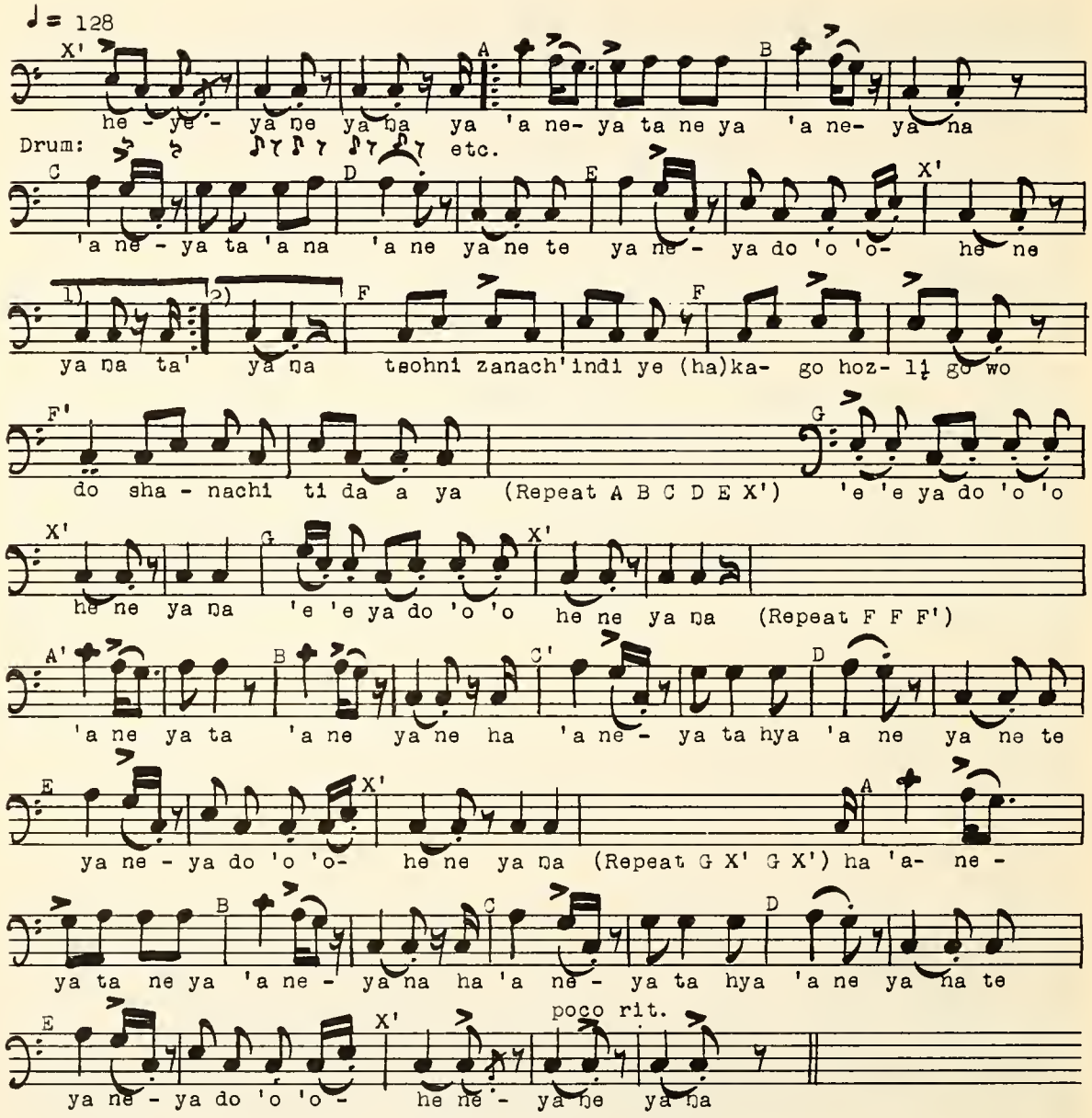
In the second and fourth repeats of A and B, the text: dasha' nąąt'i'eye hoi ya na 'eni yazh at'e hoi na, is substituted. In the repetitions, the variation appears the last time X' is sung.

Song No. 39

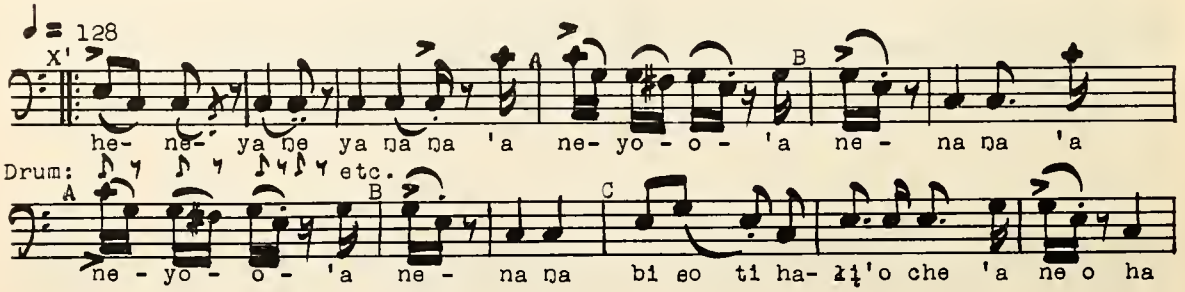


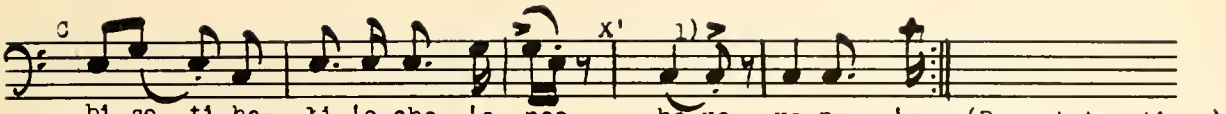

'a na he ya na he ne- ya do 'e ya he ye ya na nch'e la
k'łe- na- ya do' e ya na ha na i- ską- go be - so łąądo 'e ya na
ha na na- dzaa go be - so łąądo 'e ya ne 'a na ya la 'e - le -
ya do 'e ya na 'ana ya la 'e - le - ya do 'e ya na 'a na he
ya na he - ne - he ya do 'e ya na 'a na he ya na he - ne - he
ya do he ya na he ye ya na nch'e la k'łe-na ya do he ya ne 'a na he
nch'e la k'łe-na ya do he ya 'a na n ech'e k'łe- na ya do he
ya na ha na n ech'e k'łe-na ya do he yan 'a na is- ka - go na
dząą-go be - so ła do he ya 'a na he 'a na ya la 'e - ' le -
ya do he ya 'a na he ya la 'e - ' le - ya do he ya 'a na he
ya na he - ne - he ya do he ya na he ye ya ne ya na

Song No. 40

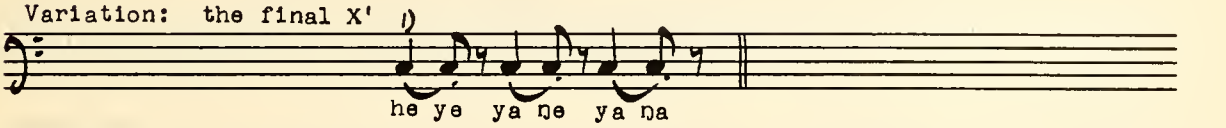


Song No. 41



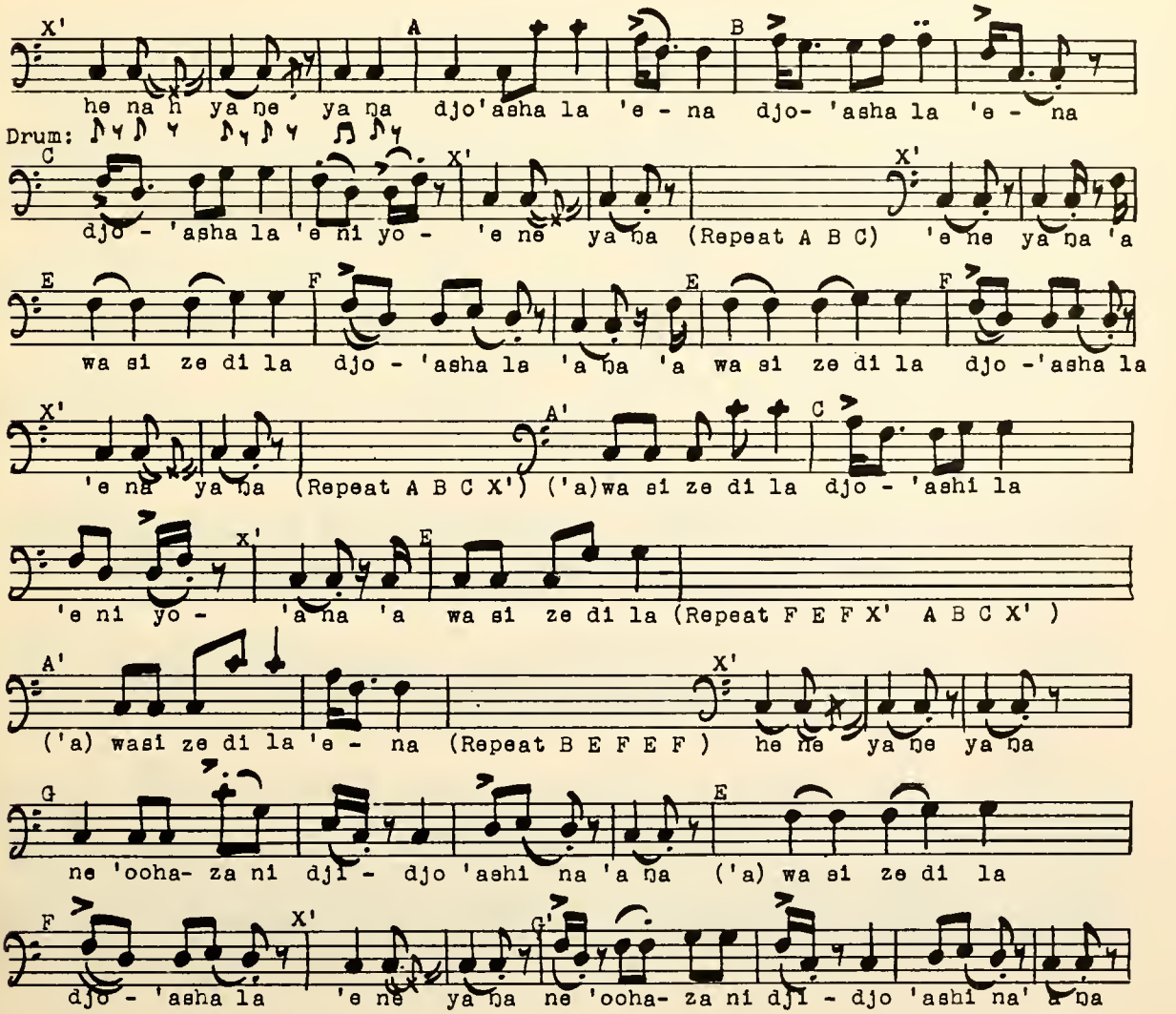


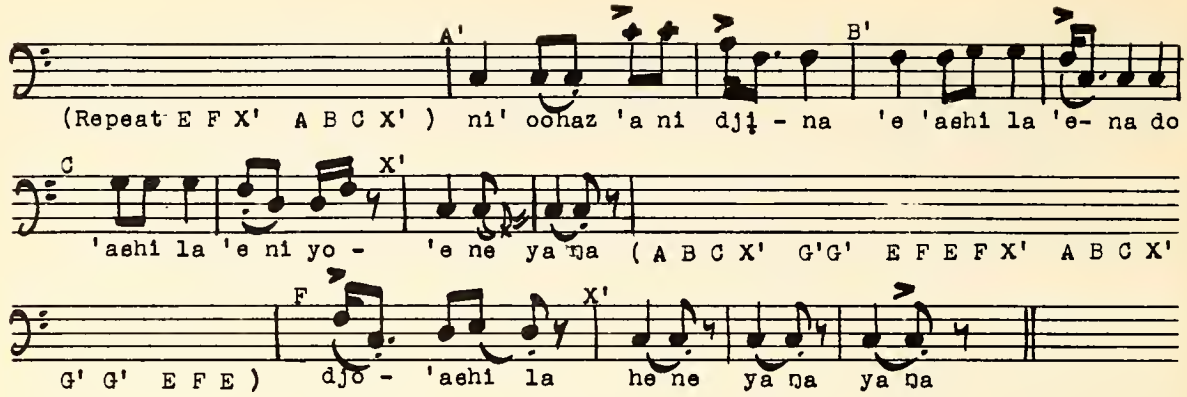
Note: text of "C" becomes bisoti hoyéł ladjį'aneo on repeat nos. 3,6,7,9, and 10; it becomes bisoti dzolos'oche'aneo on repeat nos. 4 and 8.



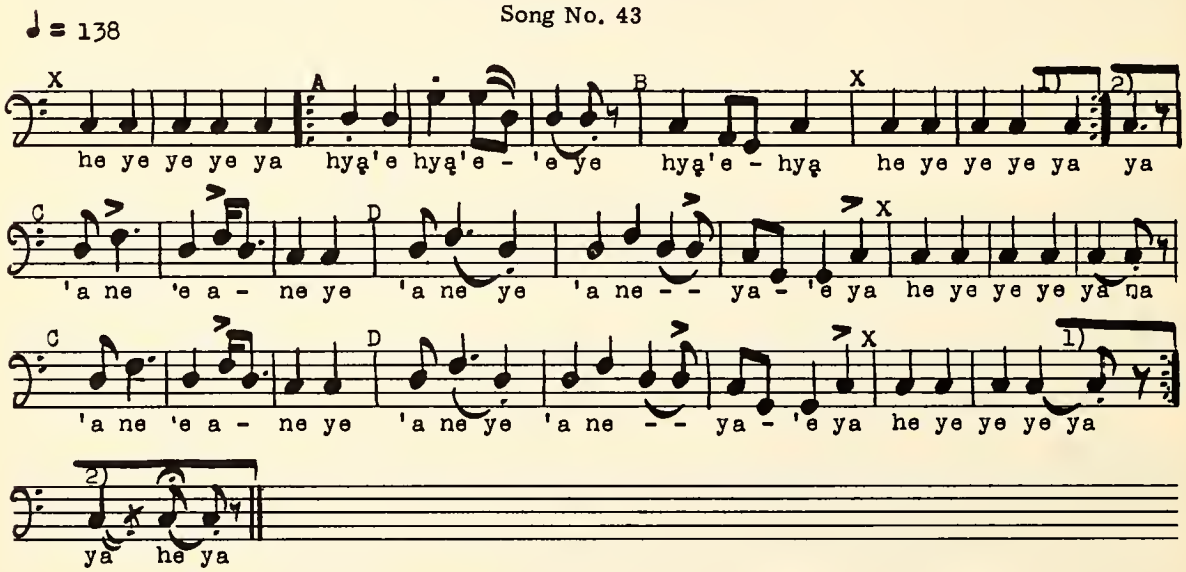
Song No. 42

♩= 126

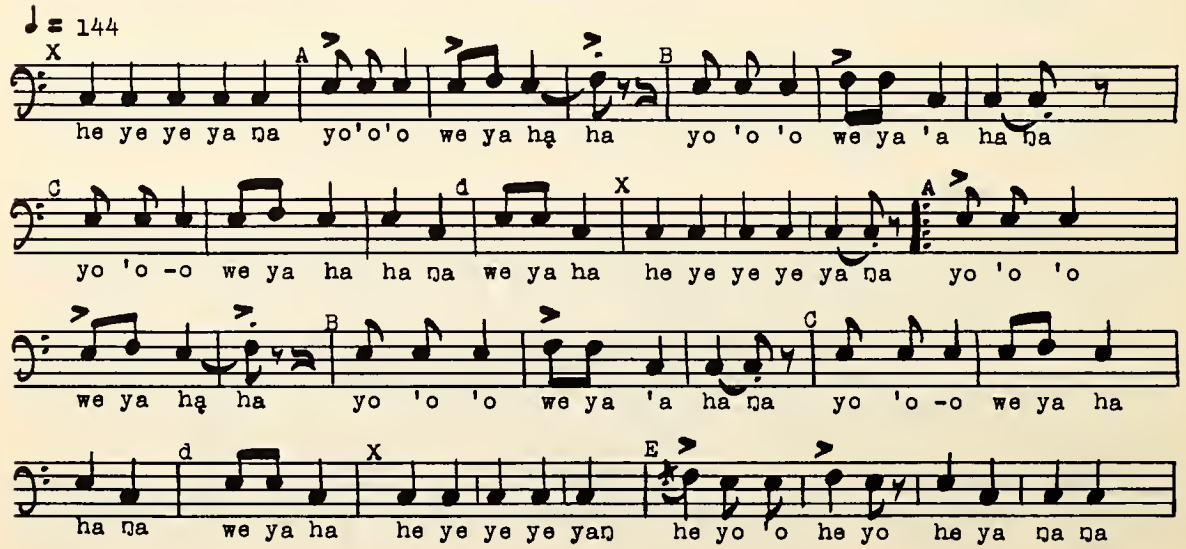


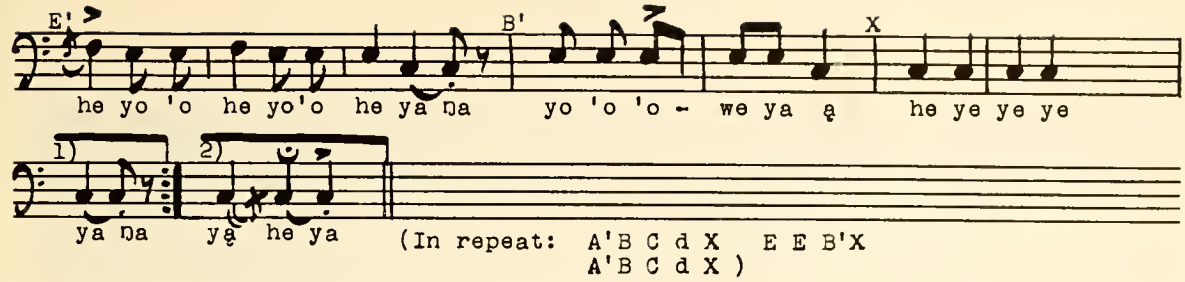


Song No. 43



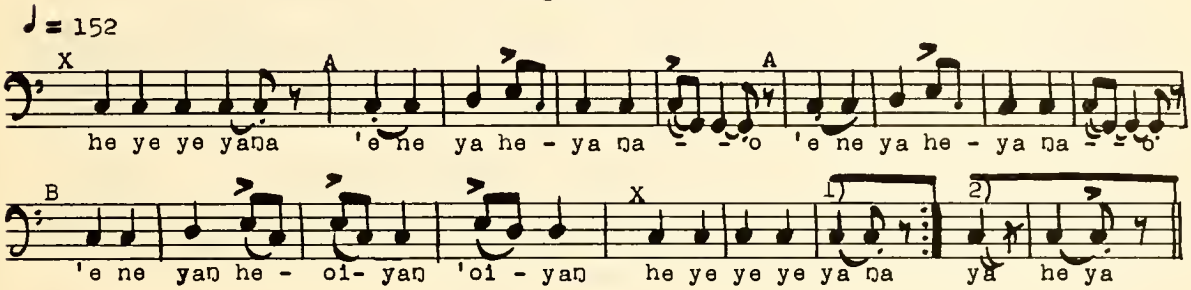
Song No. 44



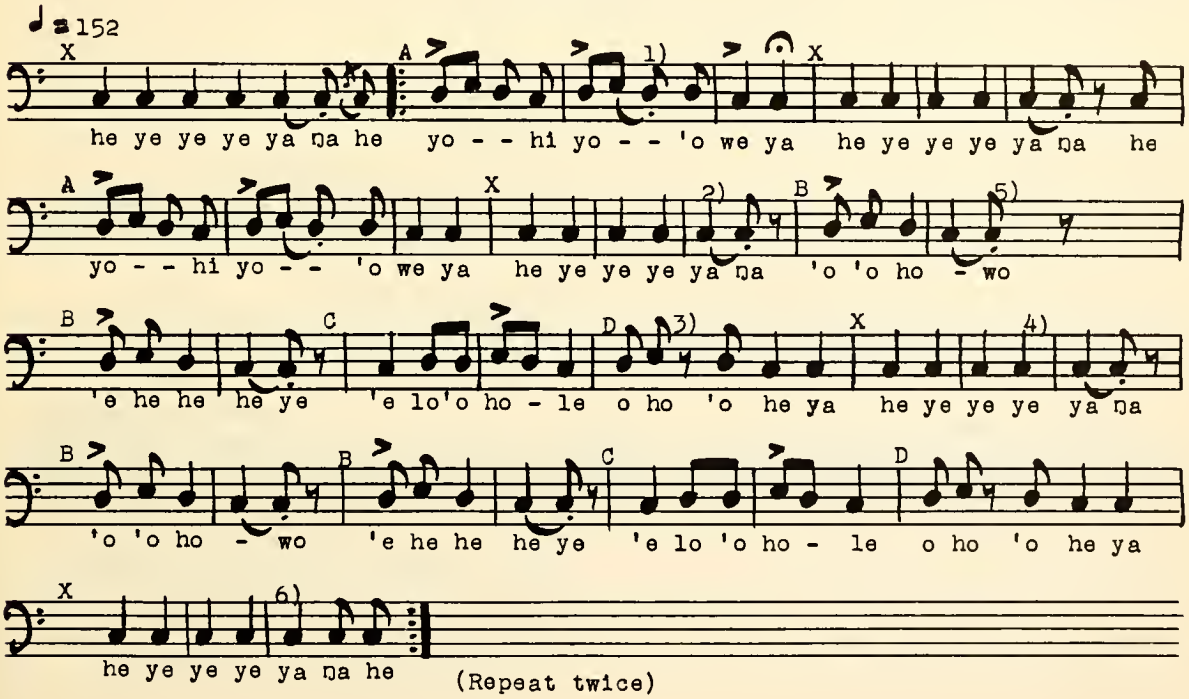


(In repeat: A'B C d X E E B'X
A'B C d X)

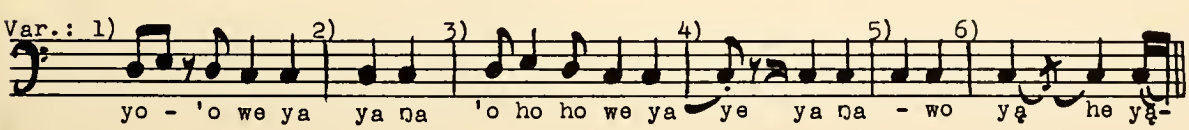
Song No. 45



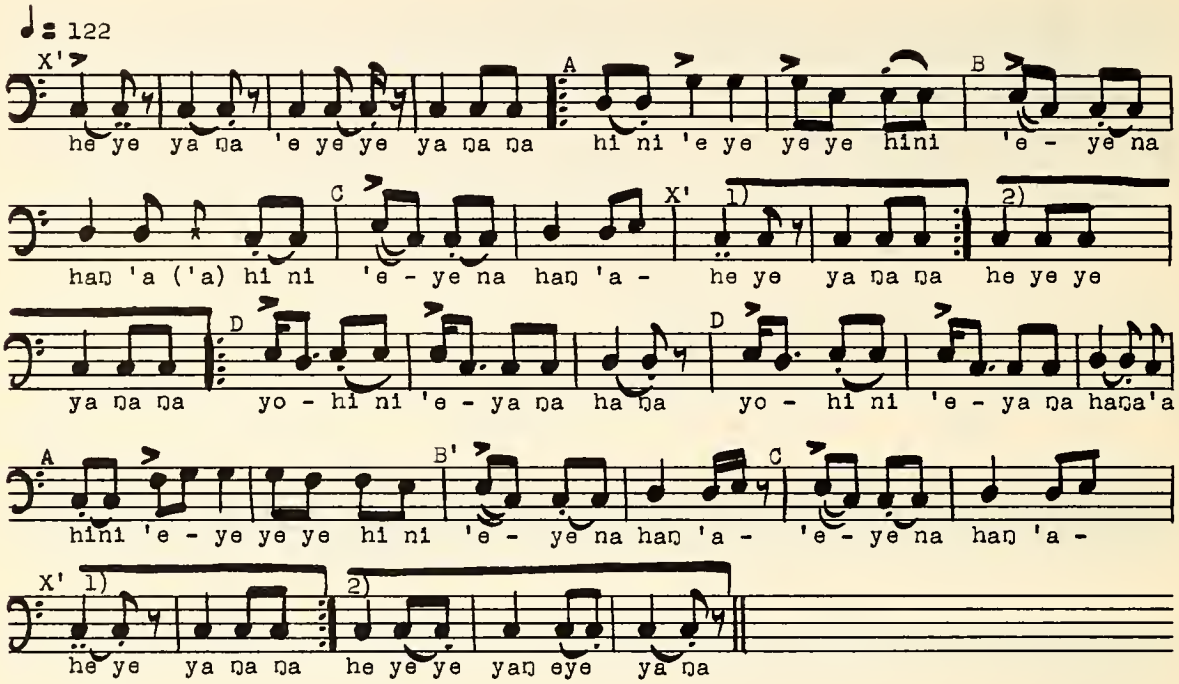
Song No. 46



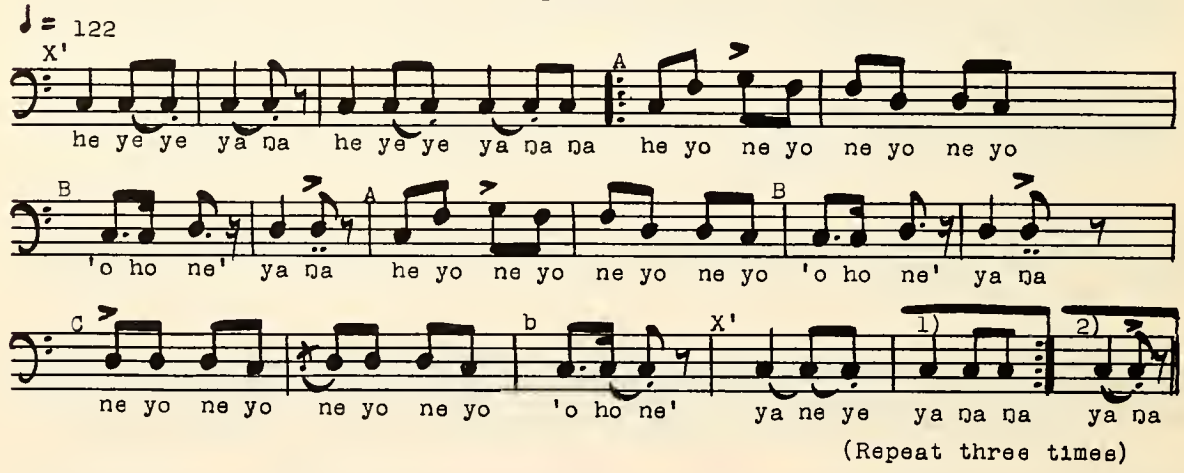
(Repeat twice)



Song No. 47

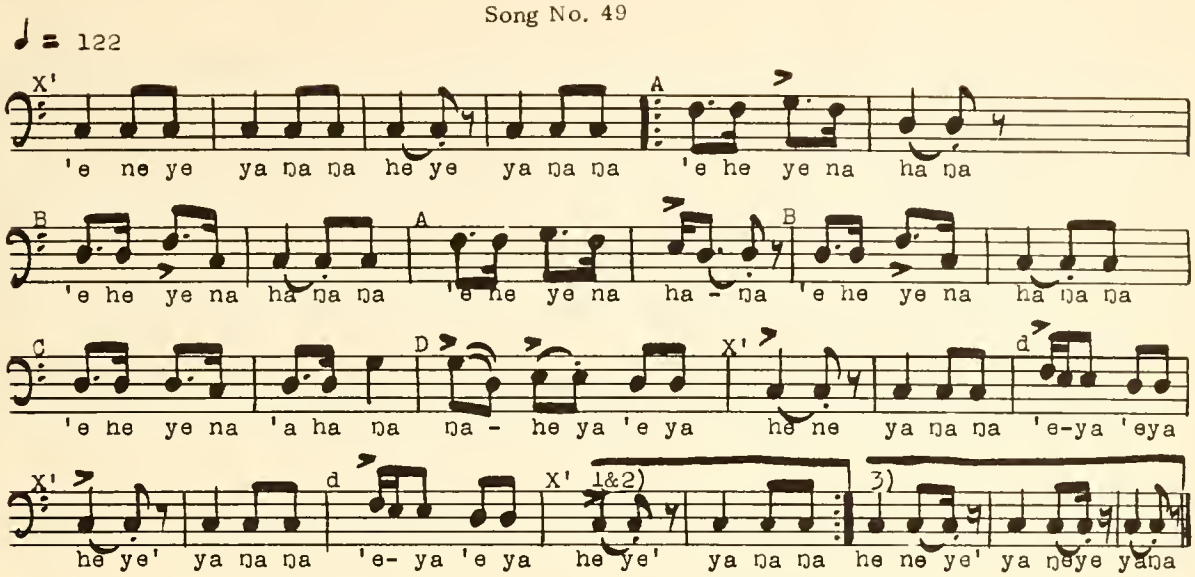


Song No. 48

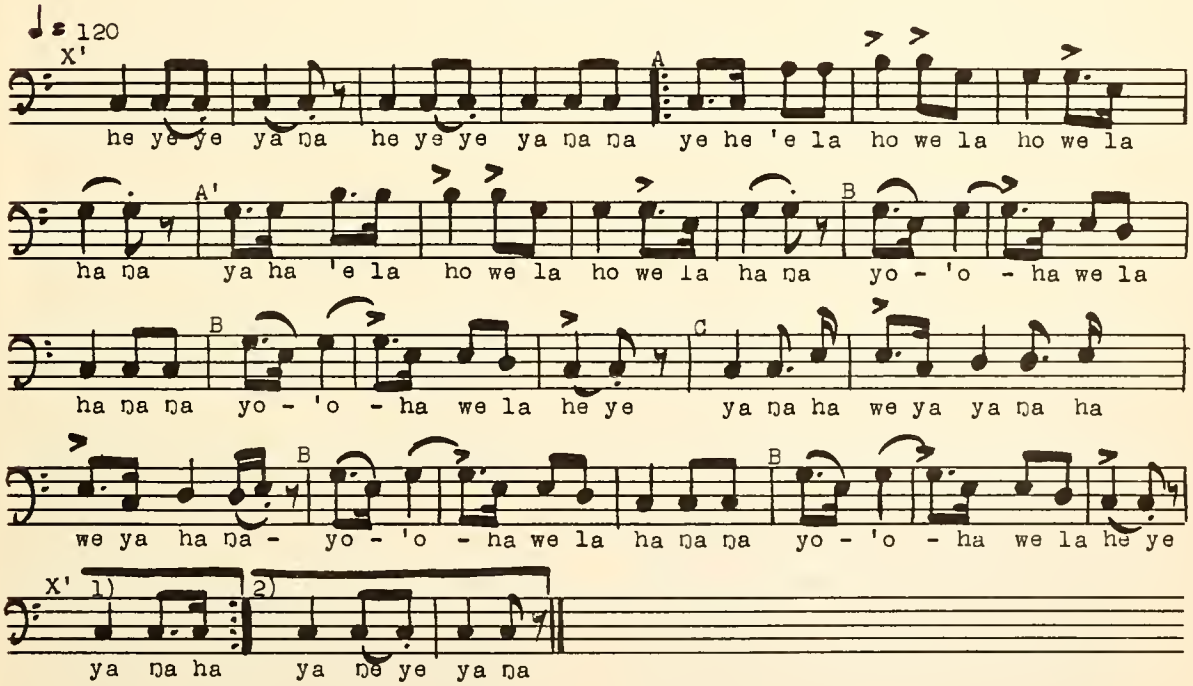


(Repeat three timee)

Song No. 49



Song No. 50



SECTION THREE — *THE GIFT SONGS*

The gift songs are used twice in the Enemy Way. They are sung first by the patient's group when they receive gifts in the stick receiver's camp on the morning of the second day. They are sung again by the stick receiver's group when they receive return gifts in the patient's camp on the morning of the third day. I did not see this part of the Enemy Way, but two of my informants sang gift songs in recording sessions.

In general, it seems that these songs are merely very old sway songs. One of the sway songs sung as such by Mr. Moustache (no. 17) was recorded earlier as a gift song by Johnny Blanco (no. 53). As will be seen in the analysis, there is a close kinship to sway song style throughout. It does seem, however, that there was a special class of song beside this, innovated by a man who was called Horns after a headdress he wore. He was apparently a Navaho who lived with the Utes "over beyond Ship Rock" for some time and brought this song style (as well as the headdress) back with him. He is still remembered by old people such as Mr. Moustache for the songs he made up and passed on. He was apparently a particularly active singer in the Enemy Way.

COMMENTS WITH THE GIFT SONGS

SONG NUMBER

51. I learned this a long time ago right around here from my father. (John Hawk)
52. This is one of the songs they sing when gifts are being thrown out through the smoke hole of the hogan on the second morning. It's joking about having enough clothes. This can be used then or a regular sway song can be used. (Question) There are four songs that come first, and these have to be led by the medicine man. No one else is allowed to lead these. It has to be perfect. (Johnny Blanco)
53. This is sung at the Squaw Dance when they are giving out gifts. (Question) No, they don't sing this at any other time. This is the same kind of tune only different words. (Johnny Blanco)
54. That's an old one, the way it *should* be. I wish I knew this. The younger fellows don't know this. Sometimes at the *nda* they just stand around. They don't know how to sing. (John Nez)
55. There are no words. (John Nez)
56. (No comment)
57. This is one of the old regular songs. We've forgotten the real gift songs, and now we have to use these. We don't use these any more in the regular part of the ceremony. (John Nez)
58. One of the old regular songs. At school at Wingate we'd get off in the woods and boil coffee and sing Squaw Dance songs. It would be the Ship Rock boys against the Chinlee boys. The superintendent chased us all home one night. We'd do it on a Saturday night, and we'd keep on singing until we got tired, and then gradually more and more fellas would go home. We'd take out a blanket and fix up a horse tail to look like a hair knot. It looked real. That was lots of fun. (Question) That was in 1939. (John Nez)
59. This is another old regular song. These have funny endings. Mr. Moustache used to wear a hair knot. (John Nez)
60. This is an old regular song too. (John Nez) There used to be more of these. We got these from another tribe, the *noda'a* (Ute) in Colorado somewhere way over beyond Ship Rock. A Navaho went over there for some years, and he sang those songs when he came back. He was wearing some kind of hat made of buckskin. Right in the center were two horns of braided buckskin. He was called *de'dasiláhi* ("horns ———"). In his days he carried the drum to Squaw Dances everywhere. He did singing everywhere and made up all kinds of songs. (Mr. Moustache) I heard a little about that. Peyote songs are mostly Ute. A few come from Oklahoma: Comanche and Cheyenne. (How about the gift songs?) I heard from some of the old people about that a few times. Yes, and the Ute Way came to us from the Utes too. (John Nez)

TEXTS

Meaningful Texts

There were only two meaningful texts in the ten gift songs collected, and these were both sung by Johnny Blanco, the younger informant. Mr. Moustache, the older informant, a man who has been a stick receiver many times, sang only vocables.

Both of these texts are joking, number 52 in almost a dance song spirit. But both refer obliquely to gifts. It is entirely possible that these are "gift" texts substituted for the original words or vocables of two old sway songs.

No. 52 How many skirts (do you have on?)
I'm going to the store,
I'm going to Los Nores.
No. 53 I came for a goat.

Texts in Vocables

Fixed Phrases: *Sway song introduction and coda.* Certain fixed phrases in the sway song style are found in many of the gift songs. The "X" *heyeyeyeyaŋa* on the tonic occurs in six of the songs in both introductory and codential positions. The smaller codas, "Y" and "y" appear in three songs in the usual sway style abundance and once in a fourth. (*See* nos. 51, 52, 53, and 57.)

Gift song introduction and coda. There are some fixed phrases that seem specific to the old, possibly Ute style, gift songs. The vocable phrase *heya heya* sung on the following rhythmic pattern on the tonic

is used by Mr. Moustache both as introduction and coda in the first two gift songs he sings and as a coda in the third. In the latter song, number 56, this phrase "U" is used after the second full repeat of phrases A B C D E F, and he then ends the song with the A B C D U of number 55!

In the four remaining gift songs by Mr. Moustache, a figure reminiscent of "U" is used with the "X" of the sway songs. "X" is used both as introduction and coda, but before the coda the vocables *yahe yahe* are sung, also on the tonic:

The whole thing is sung through twice to constitute the final coda of the song. If this new figure is called "V," the concluding pattern is then: VXVX.

A circle dance coda. In song number 56 one circle dance coda (labeled "O" here) appears instead of the "U" figure in the first rendition of the song.

The Main Texts in Vocables

A full scale study of the vocable texts can hardly be undertaken until more material has been collected. It might be mentioned here, however, that the main texts of the gift songs seem more full and "discursive" than those of the regular sway songs or the dance songs. Though the syllables used seem about the same, *heya*, *yowo*, *hyaŋa weya* and so on, their arrangement into "lines" seems more complex and extended than in the types of song considered in parts one and two of this chapter.

MELODIC ANALYSIS

Meter

The meter of the gift songs is prevailingly double with about the same slight amount of interruption by an occasional three-beat figure as encountered in the sway and dance songs.

Tempo

The tempi run the gamut from a fairly slow *adagio*, through *andante*, to a fairly slow *allegro*. There is a long gap between the three songs at ♩ = MM 104 and any of the others. It is interesting to note that these are the first

songs Mr. Moustache sang, with the "Ute" introduction and ending.

SPEED	NUMBER OF SONGS
♩=MM 104	3
144	2
152	2
156	1
160	2

Pitch

The two informants kept pretty well to their respective pitches. Johnny Blanco's two songs were in D and D-flat. All seven of Mr. Moustache's were in F. The Navaho convention of singing consecutive songs in the same, or nearly the same, key has been discussed above.

Melodic Line

It seems characteristic of all three types of songs considered so far that the later phrases are simpler in movement than the earlier ones, and that the whole melody flattens progressively toward the tonic in a strong downward movement.

A peculiarity in the gift songs is that phrase "B" can extend higher than any part of phrase "A" (nos. 55, 56, 59) and that it is often considerably more complex. It may be worth mentioning that seven of the ten gift songs collected have this feature while it occurs in a decided minority of the "regular" sway songs and the dance songs.

In most respects the line patterns resemble those of the sway songs. There is none of the frequent dipping below the tonic as in the dance songs (no. 55 is the only example), and the phrases are structured like regular sway songs. There is less flat codential material in the body of the song than in the regular sway songs. In all this general resemblance to sway style, it is striking that there is not a single case of "sway development" — upward movement on an "S" phrase.

Over-all Range. Most of the songs (7) cover an octave in range, though one of these, number 59, is really built on an active compass of only a sixth. A similar song, number 55, has a total range of a ninth but an active range of only a fifth. Two of the songs (nos. 53 and 54) are unequivocally limited to a range of a fifth.

Range in Individual Phrases. The picture here is essentially the same as in the regular sway songs.

Melodic Phrasing

Fixed Phrases. The use of sway song phrases, the "U" introduction and coda, which may be specifically associated with a particular gift song style, and the "V" phrase have been discussed above in connection with the use of vocables.

Paired Phrases. The gift songs which are closest to the sway song style tend to show the greatest amount of phrase pairing. Thus, of the three songs recorded by Johnny Blanco, two (nos. 51, 53) are fully paired, and one (52) contains paired phrases in the "sway development."

The "Ute" songs recorded by Mr. Moustache show no pairing whatever (nos. 54, 55, 56), and the four others have occasional pairing.

Over-all Patterns. The over-all phrase patterns show a straight development with full repeats for the "Ute" gift songs. In Mr. Moustache's four other songs, there is a coda "VXVX" *in addition to* the full repeat. The sway song development appears in two of Johnny Blanco's gift songs. One gets the impression that his songs are straight sway songs used for gift singing. Mr. Moustache's first three songs are rather different, perhaps adapted from Ute music for gift song purposes and his four subsequent songs are sway songs somewhat altered and assimilated to this special style.

Number of Phrases. The number of *different* phrases used in the gift songs is somewhat higher than in the regular sway songs, but the simple total runs in about the same proportion.

Finals. The strong attraction of the tonic is clear here but is not so marked in the gift songs collected as in the regular sway songs. There are no songs in which every phrase ends on the tonic, but in four of the songs there is only one phrase which does not.

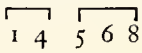
Tonality

Types of "Scales" in the Gift Songs:

Chromatic scales. Chromatic scales are not found in these songs.

Scale on the interval of a fourth. There are no scales in these songs built on the interval of a fourth.

Pentatonic scales. The only pentatonic scale in the gift songs is of the unusual variety, mentioned on page 44, in which the third is missing. Song number 58 has a scale 1 4 5 6 8. The values of the notes in the melody suggest that here again we have a scale composed of two conjoined tetrachords:



Diatonic scales. Two of the gift songs show the major diatonic scale. In number 52 the seventh is missing, and in number 55 both the seventh and the octave are missing.

Open triad. Three of the gift songs, numbers 51, 53, and 54, are based on the open triad. The seventh in number 51 is almost certainly the result of an effort to reach the high note in the repeat of phrase A. This type of scale is discussed in the section on the scales of the sway songs.

The Modes. There are four "minor" songs in the gift song group:

No. 56 . . . . 1 $3^{\flat}$ 4 5 $7^{\flat}$ 8
No. 57 . . . . 1 $3^{\flat}$ 4 5 6 $7^{\flat}$ 8
No. 59 . . . . 1 2 $3^{\flat}$ 4 5 6 8
No. 60 . . . . 1 (2) 4 5 6 $7^{\flat}$ 8

The first two are clearly in the Dorian mode, the others can be construed in various ways due to the missing notes. Number 59 could be either Dorian or the ascending melodic minor; number 60 could be either Dorian or Mixolydian since the third, which would decide the matter, is missing.

NOTES ON THE GIFT SONGS

51. John Hawk; FN-I 14; key of C-sharp.
Text: no meaningful text.

52. Johnny Blanco; FN-IV 7; key of D.
Text: (ni) 'éé ladokwii' kịgó diyá
skirt how many? store I'm going,
nolyago diyá
Los Nores I'm going

53. Johnny Blanco and John Nez; FN-IV 8; key of C-sharp.
Text: tl'izi haniyá
goat I came (for)

54. Mr. Moustache; FN-V 24; key of F-sharp.
Text: no meaningful text.

55. Mr. Moustache; FN-V 25; key of F-sharp.
Text: no meaningful text.

56. Mr. Moustache; FN-V 26; key of F; ends with A B C D U of no. 55!
Text: no meaningful text.

57. Mr. Moustache; FN-V 28; key of F.
Text: no meaningful text.

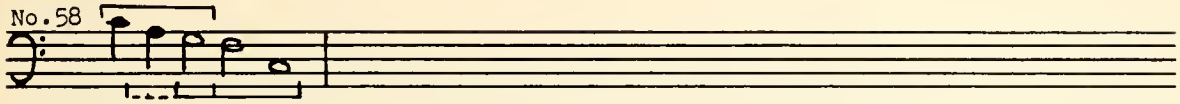
58. Mr. Moustache; FN-V 29; key of F.
Text: no meaningful text.

59. Mr. Moustache; FN-V 30; key of F.
Text: no meaningful text.

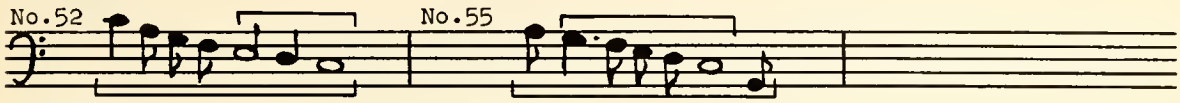
60. Mr. Moustache; FN-V 31; key of F; phrase "D" is the same as phrase "E" of no. 59.
Text: no meaningful text.

SCALES USED IN THE GIFT SONGS

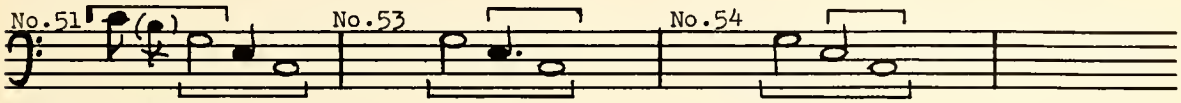
Pentatonic (tetrachords):



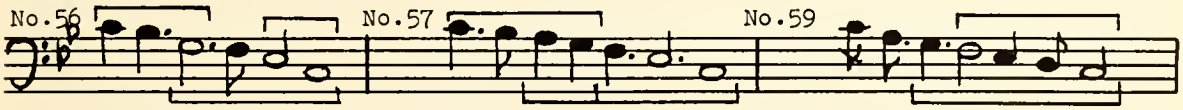
Diatonic major:

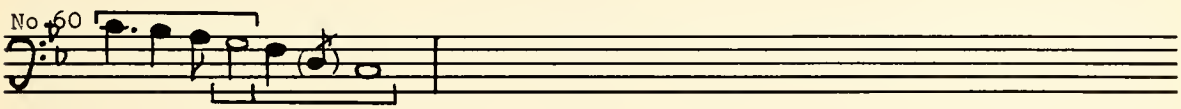


Open triad:



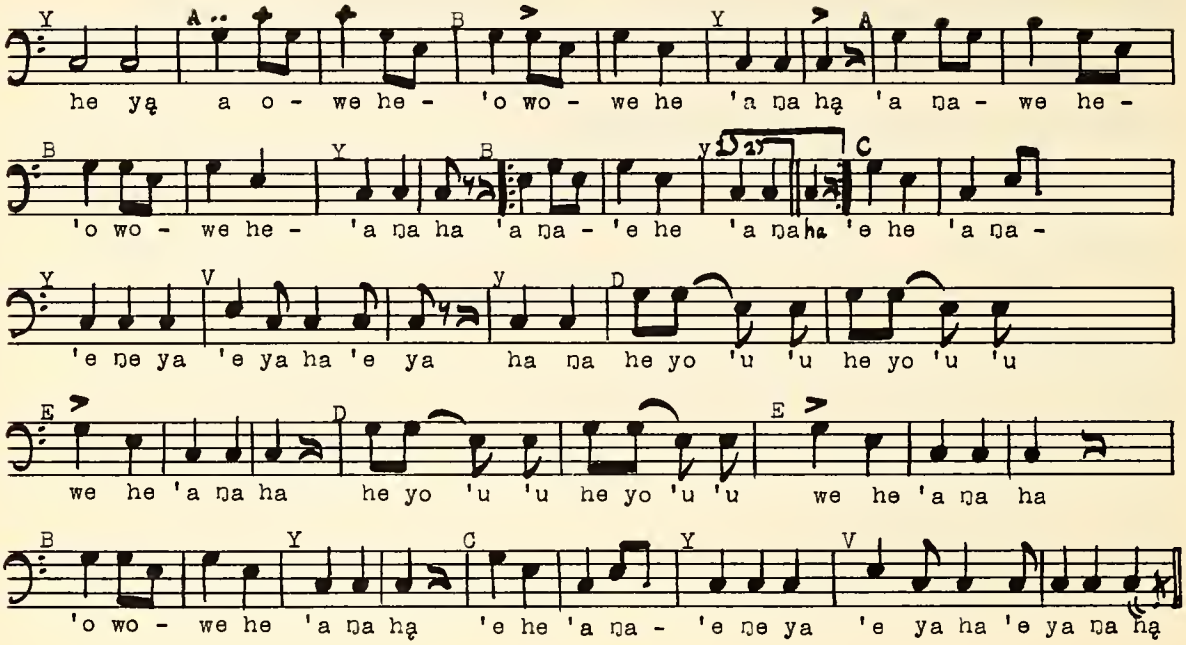
Dorian mode:





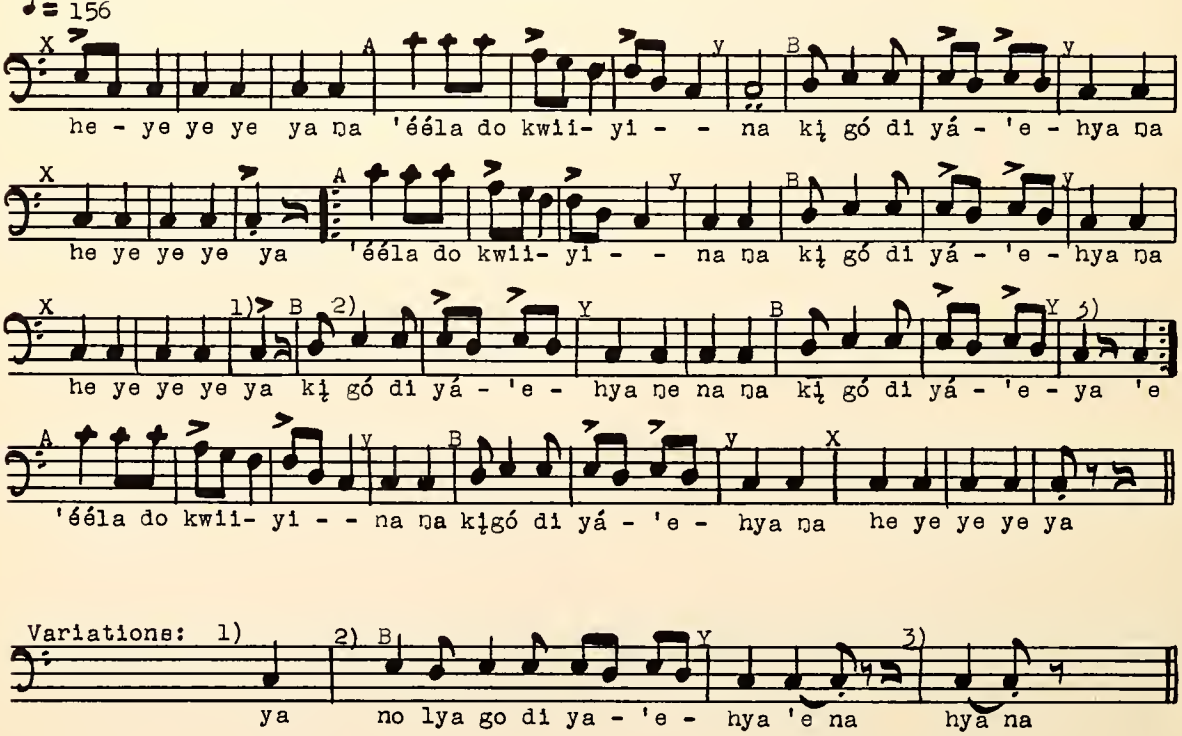
♩= 152

Song No. 51

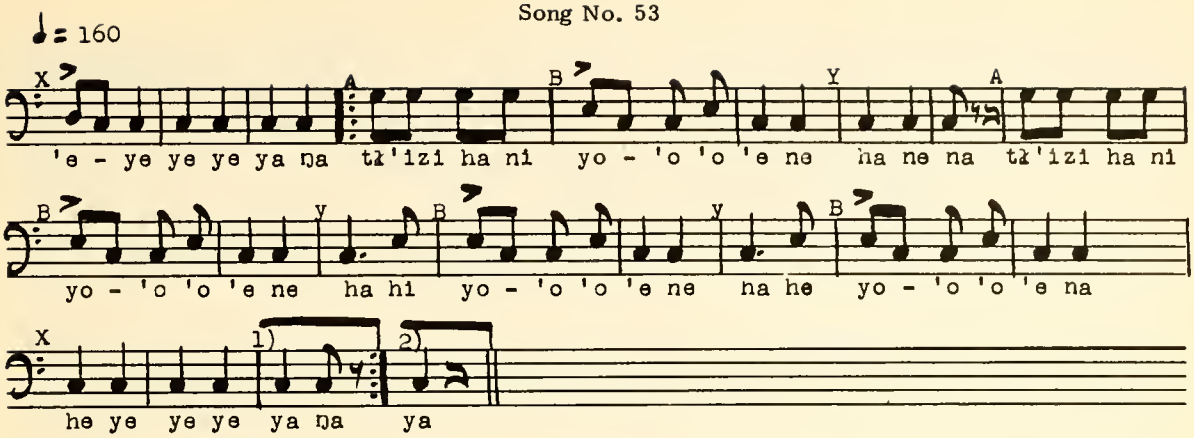


Song No. 52

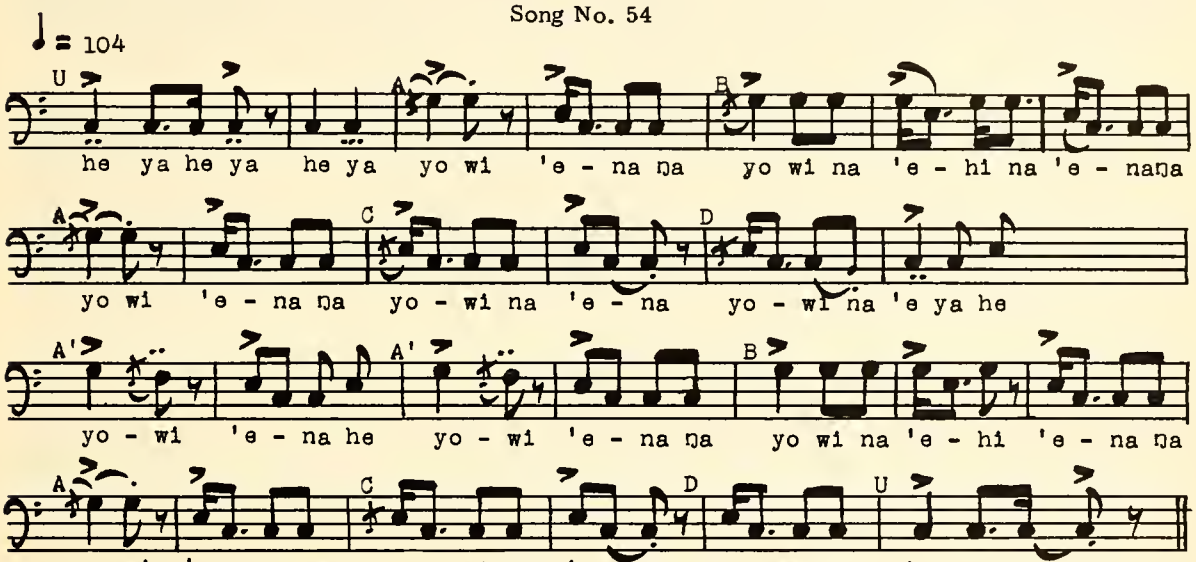
♩= 156



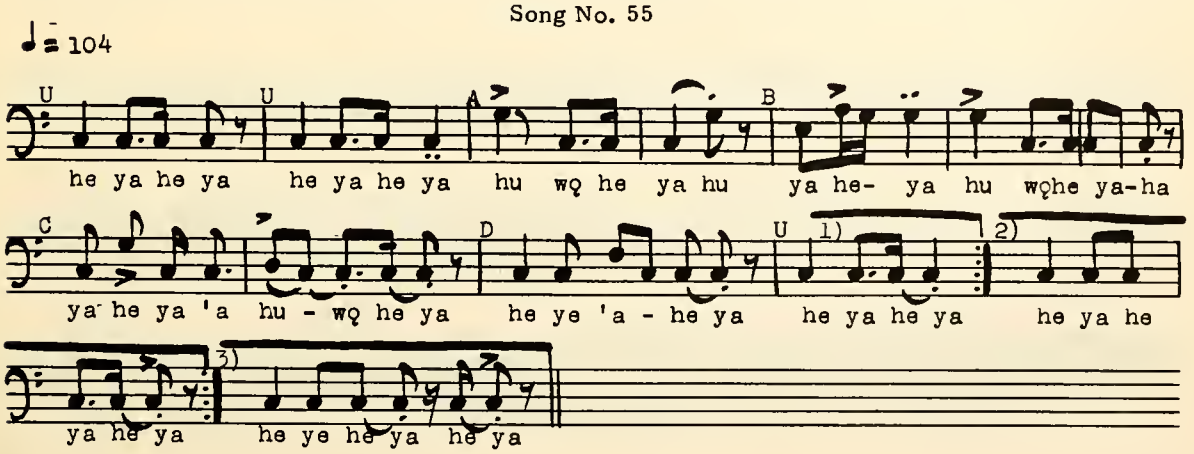
Song No. 53



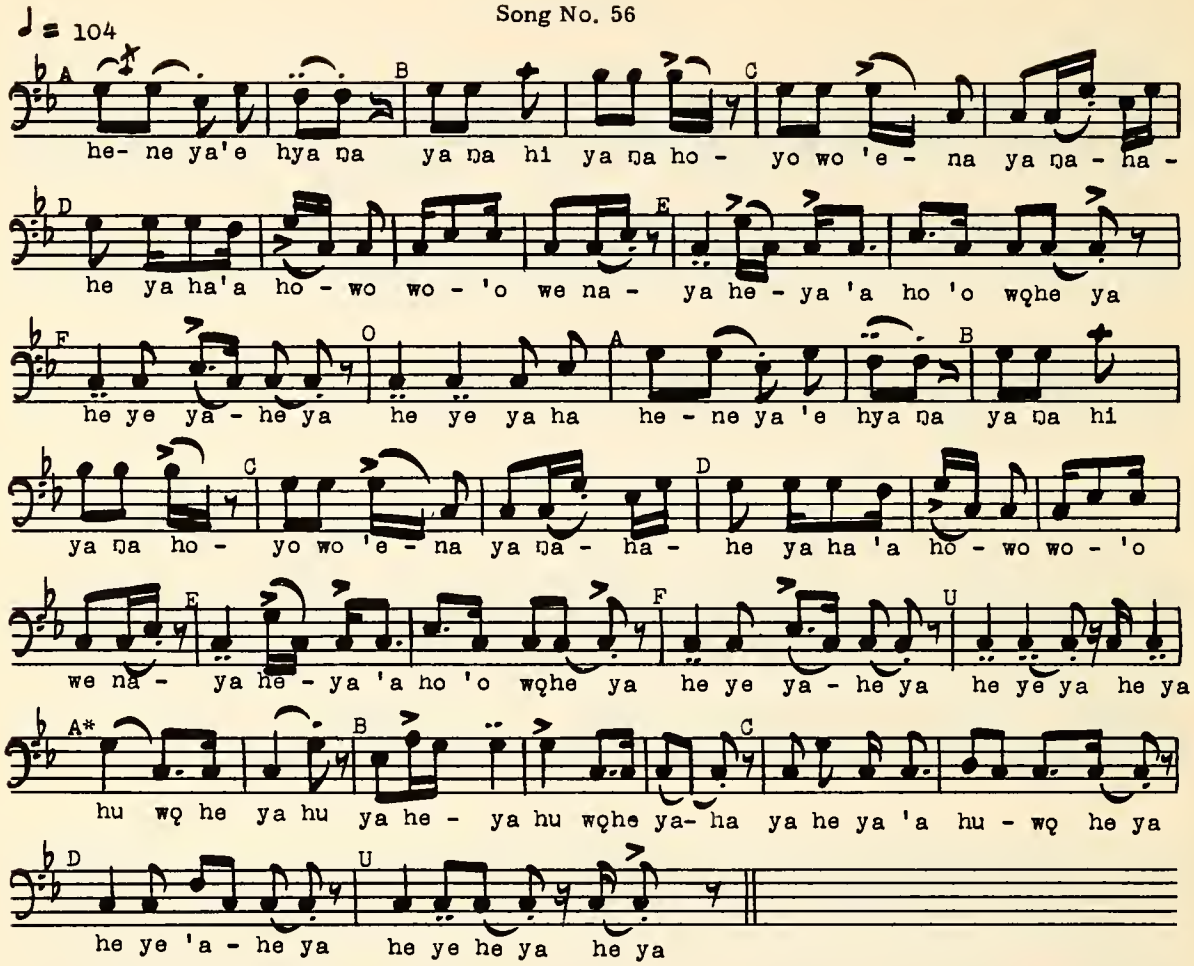
Song No. 54



Song No. 55

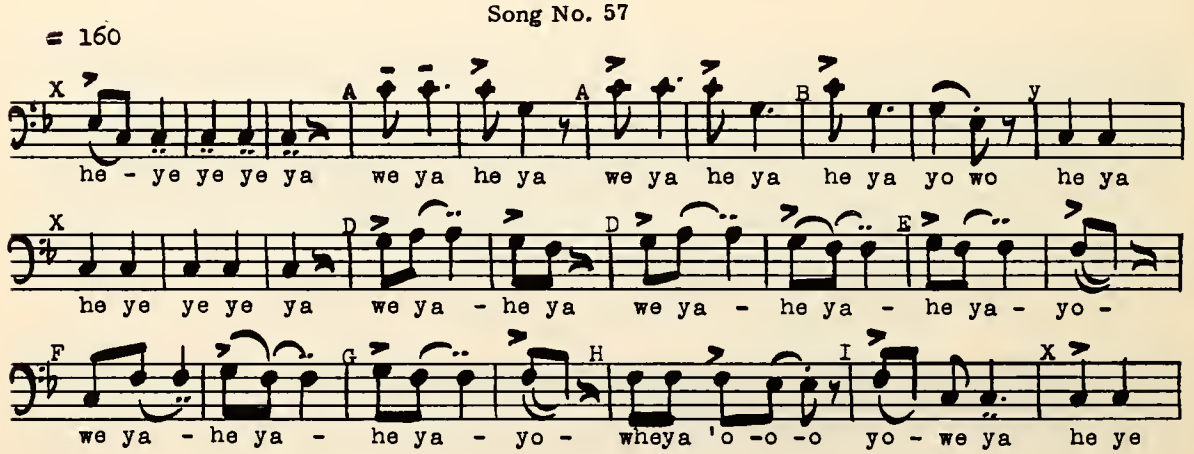


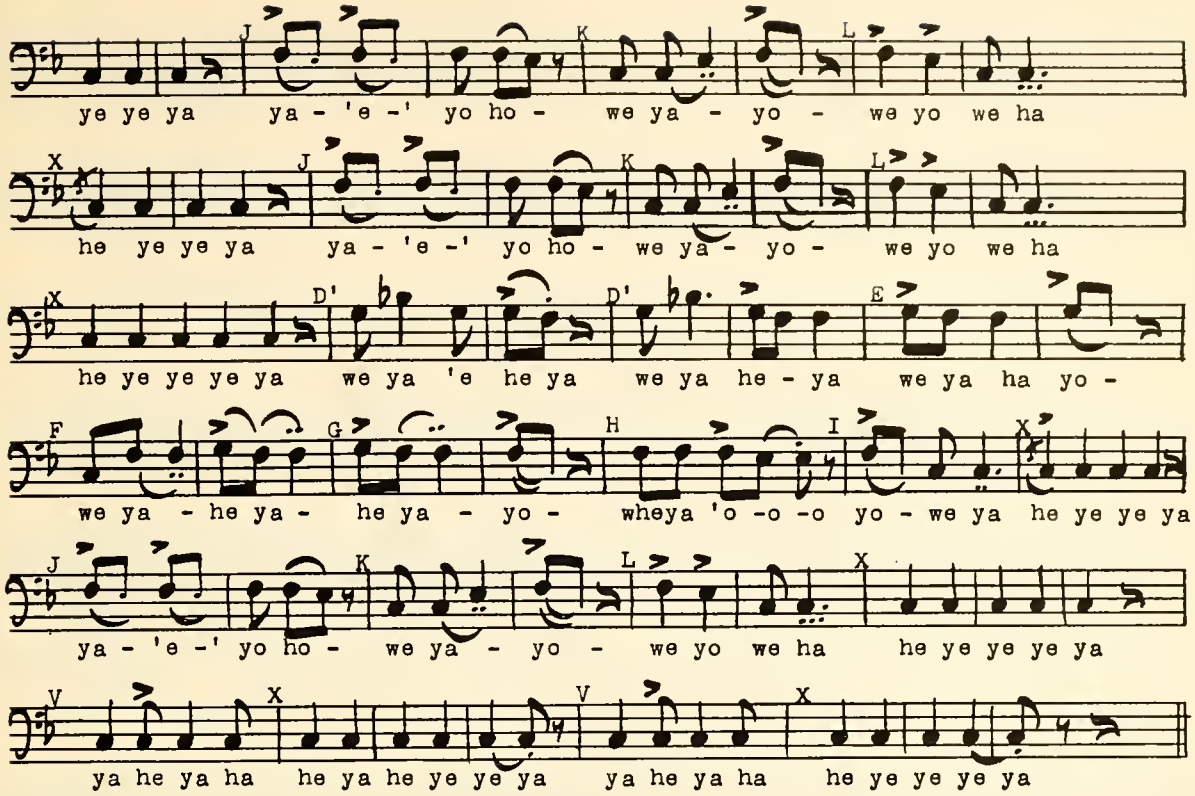
Song No. 56



* ABCDU taken from Song no. 55.

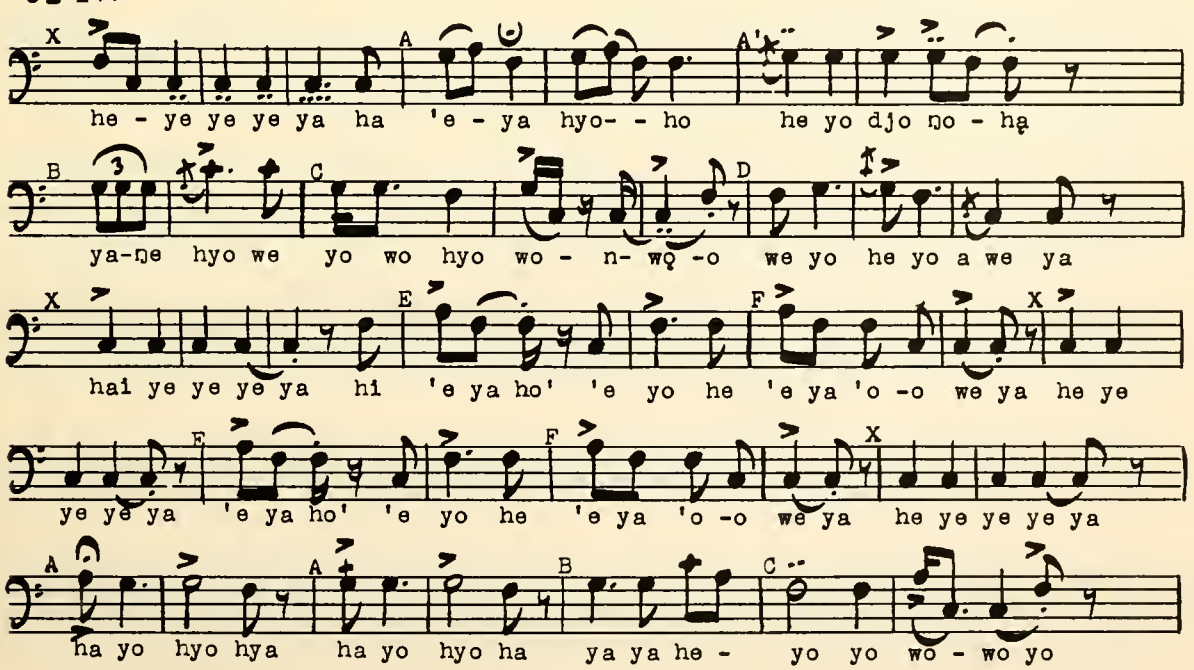
Song No. 57

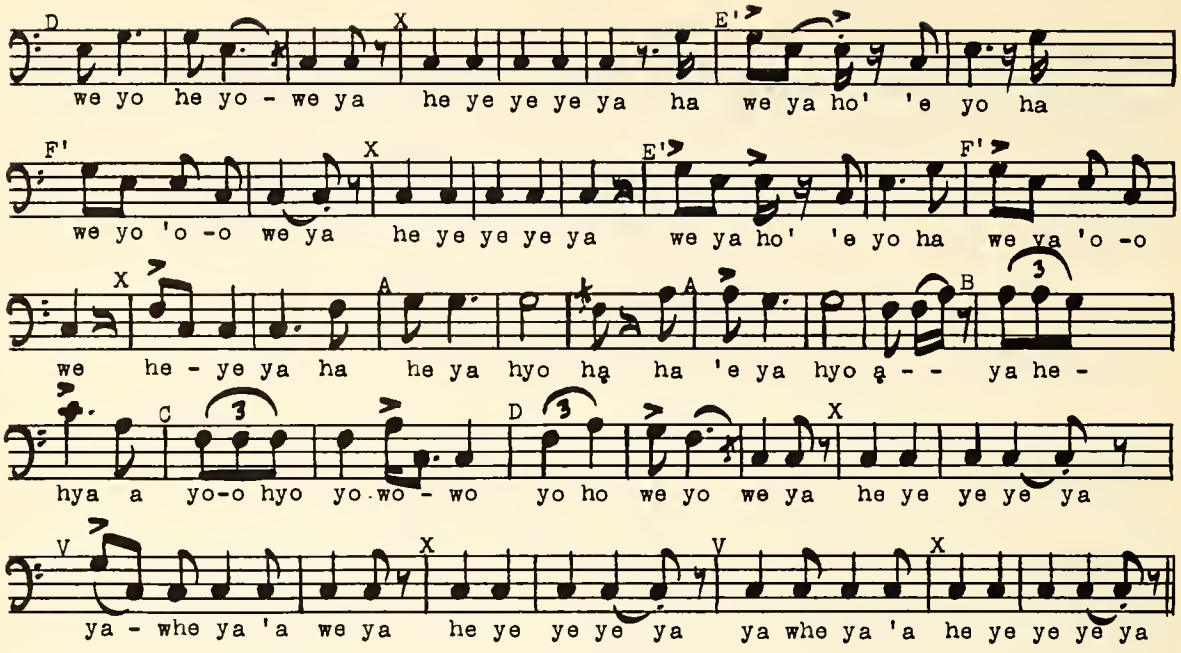




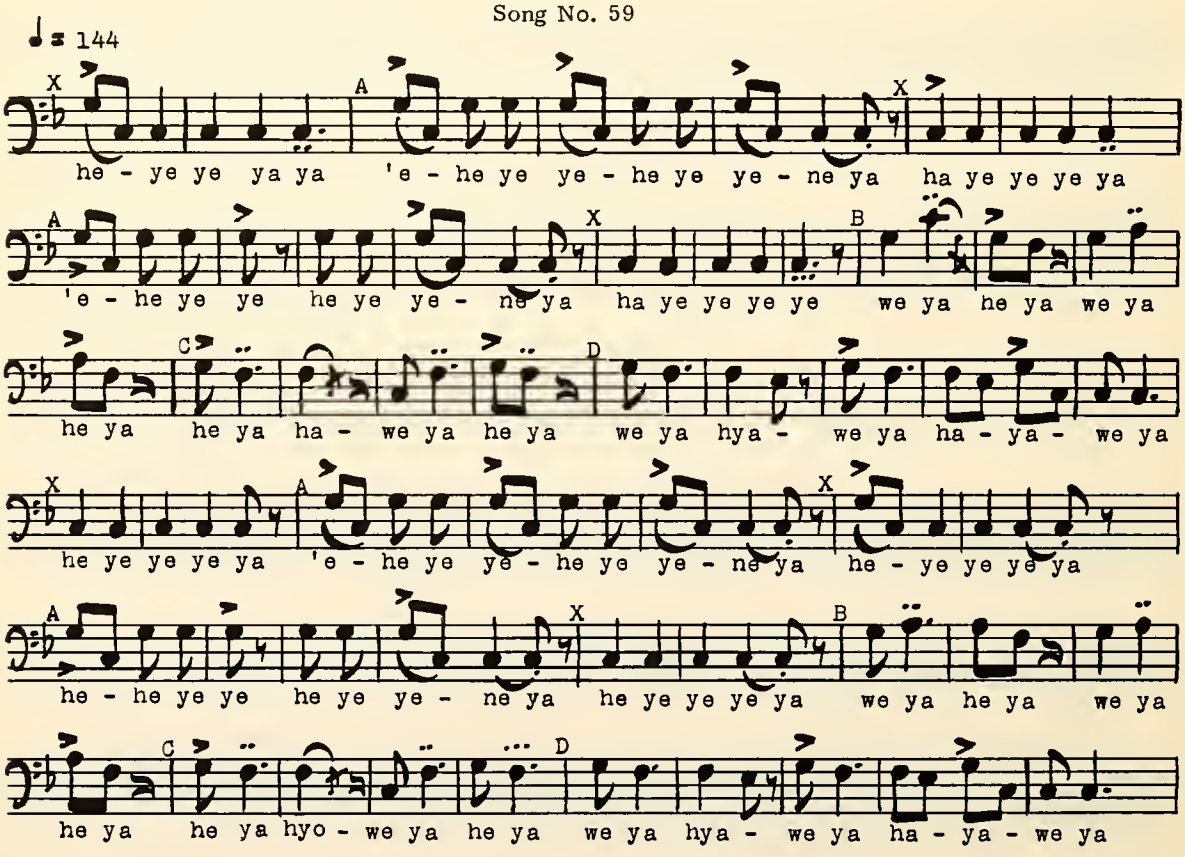
Song No. 58

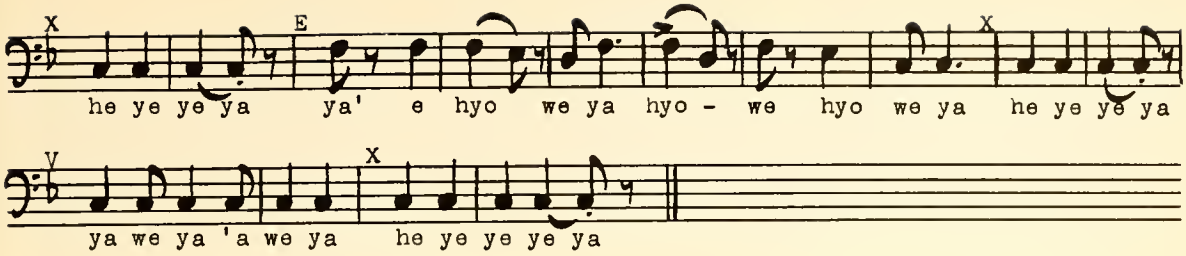
♩= 144



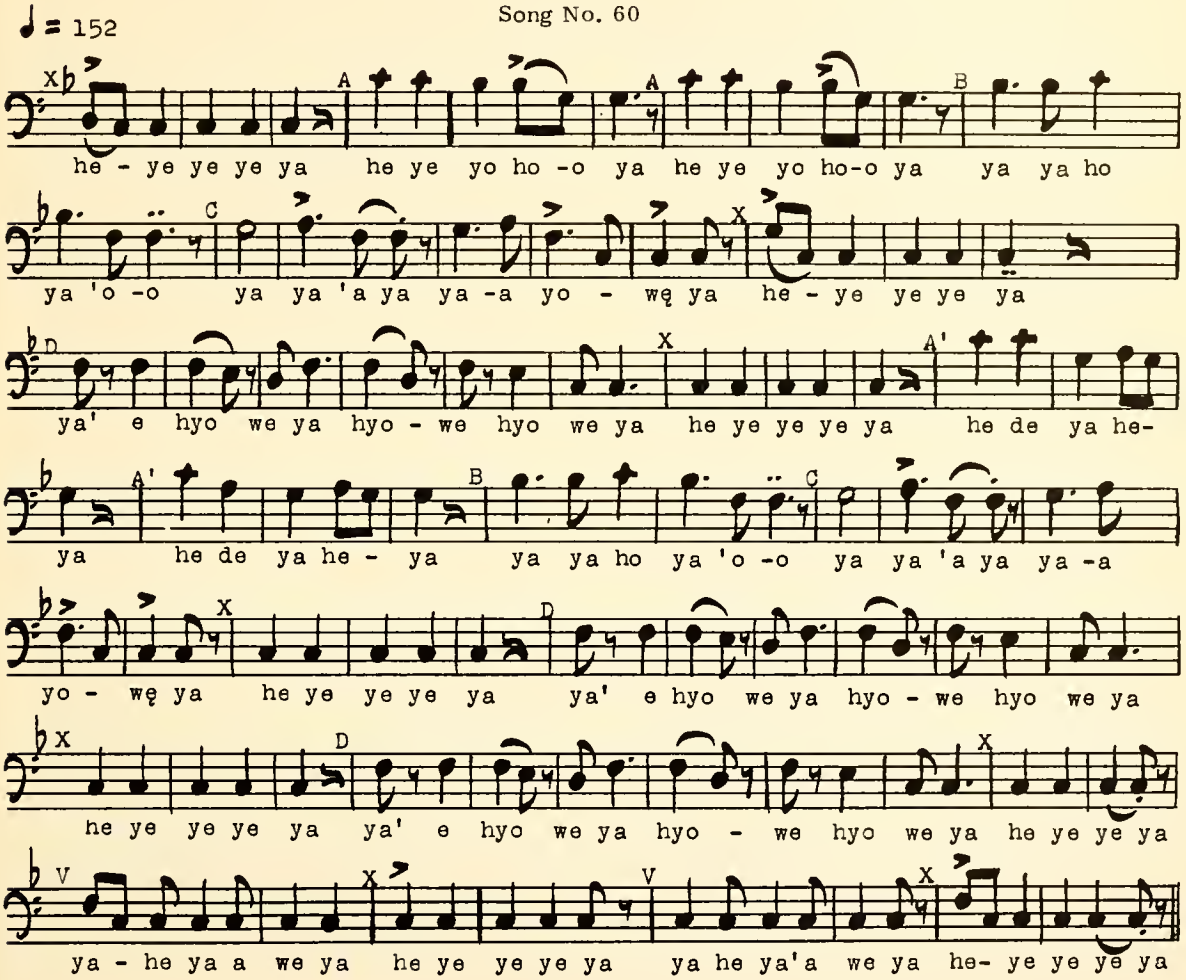

D
X
E'
we yo he yo - we ya he ye ye ye ya ha we ya ho' 'e yo ha
F'
X
E'
F'
we yo 'o -o we ya he ye ye ye ya we ya ho' 'e yo ha we ya 'o -o
X
A
A
B
we he - ye ya ha he ya hyo hą ha 'e ya hyo ą - - ya he -
C
D
X
hya a yo-o hyo yo wo - wo yo ho we yo we ya he ye ye ye ya
V
X
V
X
ya - whe ya 'a we ya he ye ye ye ya ya whe ya 'a he ye ye ye ya

Song No. 59


♩= 144
X
A
X
he - ye ye ya ya 'e - he ye ye - he ye ye - ne ya ha ye ye ye ya
A
X
B
'e - he ye ye he ye ye - ne ya ha ye ye ye ye we ya he ya we ya
C
D
he ya he ya ha - we ya he ya we ya hya - we ya ha - ya - we ya
X
A
X
he ye ye ye ya 'e - he ye ye - he ye ye - ne ya he - ye ye ye ya
A
X
B
he - he ye ye he ye ye - ne ya he ye ye ye ya we ya he ya we ya
C
D
he ya he ya hyo - we ya he ya we ya hya - we ya ha - ya - we ya


X
E
X
he ye ye ya ya' e hyo we ya hyo - we hyo we ya he ye ye ya
V
X
ya we ya 'a we ya he ye ye ye ya

Song No. 60


♩ = 152
X
A
A
B
he - ye ye ye ya he ye yo ho -o ya he ye yo ho-o ya ya ya ho
C
X
ya 'o -o ya ya 'a ya ya -a yo - wę ya he - ye ye ye ya
D
X
A'
ya' e hyo we ya hyo - we hyo we ya he ye ye ye ya he de ya he-
A'
B
C
ya he de ya he - ya ya ya ho ya 'o -o ya ya 'a ya ya -a
X
D
yo - wę ya he ye ye ye ya ya' e hyo we ya hyo - we hyo we ya
X
D
X
he ye ye ye ya ya' e hyo we ya hyo - we hyo we ya he ye ye ya
V
X
V
X
ya - he ya a we ya he ye ye ye ya ya he ya'a we ya he- ye ye ye ya

SECTION FOUR — *THE CIRCLE DANCE SONGS*

As described earlier, at about sunset on the third day of the Enemy Way, the men in the stick receiver's camp join hands to form a circle and dance for an hour or more in a circle dance.[18]

Fifteen songs were recorded from this part of the ceremony by six different informants; John Hawk, Grant Johns, Mrs. Grant Johns, Johnny Blanco, Mr. Moustache, and John Nez. These informants are described on pp. 25–26.

COMMENTS WITH THE CIRCLE DANCE SONGS

SONG NUMBER

61. This is a kind of a signal song. After the dance songs, they sing some circle dance songs and then go into the regular night songs. They don't circle then, they just sing the songs, and this is the one that come first. (Johnny Blanco)
62. He got this all wrong at the start. (Jim Chamiso) We used to tease one of the men, one of my cousins, with that song. When we were kids we used to sing it to tease with. It sounded funny to us so we teased him with it. It sounded like a made-up song. (Did you sing it when you saw him?) No, we didn't sing it to him, we'd say the words when we were by ourselves, making fun of him. (Jim Chamiso)
63. This is not the same thing as a Skip Dance. That song has been known since a long, long time ago. (Grant Johns)
64. This is a circle dance song, an old song. (Grant Johns) She started right in the middle of the song. (He sings it over and this time does it with an introduction.) It's not quite right. This is one of the old circle dance songs. There are few of these still known. (Jim Chamiso)
65. This goes with the one she just sang. It's another old song. These two go together. They are almost alike. (Grant Johns)
She lost the tone. That's an old circle dance song. (Jim Chamiso)
66. This is another ring song. (Grant Johns) These words aren't right, the song is not *known* by this "White Rocks." It should be "Fort Defiance." It's about a girl over in Fort Defiance trying to plan out for me, trying to make up the boy's mind to marry her. It's an old song. (Jim Chamiso)
67. This means it's hard for her to be away from home and her kinfolks too. This is an old time Squaw Dance in which the men and girls lined up side by side and then danced forwards and backwards in a straight line. They would stand side by side but facing in opposite directions. (John Nez)
68. I think this may be a circle dance but wait until we hear the next one. (John Nez)
69. This rhythm isn't right for a gift song. I don't know — he leaves something out all the time. (John Nez)
70. This is a circle dance. I never heard this before. It must be old. (John Nez) The circle dance is almost like the regular songs. They're not much different. (Mr. Moustache)
71. (No comment)
72. (No comment)
73. They still sing this nowadays. (John Nez)
74. I was expecting a certain one here. Not this one. (John Nez) In my young days I could sing all kinds of songs, but now my voice is not so good. I'll be ninety in another year. (Mr. Moustache)
75. This is the one that comes after the last one (74). (John Nez)

TEXTS

Meaningful Texts

In the two instances where circle dance songs had meaningful texts, the subject matter suggests the ordinary dance song: both are about girls.

No. 66 Hello, hello! Hello, hello!
A White Rock girl
Is planning (something) for me.

No. 67 Woman of Bare Ridge (Star Lake)
Woman of Bare Ridge,

[18] I use the term "circle dance" to distinguish it from the "round dance" in the social dancing later in the evening in which couples move side by side in a circle.

Even though it is very far from your home country,
Even though it is very hard,
Let's go to the Place of Wild Onions, we two.
yo 'edo 'edo- 'o 'e do 'o 'o lo 'edo weya hineya

Woman of Bare Ridge,
Woman of Bare Ridge,
Even though it is very hard,
Even though it is very hard,
Let's go to the Place of Wild Onions.

Texts in Vocables

Fixed Phrases. A few of the fixed phrases found in other kinds of public Enemy Way songs are present in the circle dance songs as well. The sway introduction, "X," is used in two of the songs, number 64 and number 66, but in no case is it used as a coda. The "Mescalero" "X'" is used codentially in number 63. The "Ute" phrase "V," ordinarily found in gift songs, is used at the end of number 72.

Circle Dance introduction and coda. A special triple-beat figure, "O," using the vocables *he neya* or *henaya*, or *henaiya*, begins and ends most of the circle dance songs and frequently functions as a coda elsewhere in the songs as well. The figure is always ♩. ♩. ♩. (he ne ya)

or some slight variation on it as: ♪♩ ♩ 𝄽 (he - nai ya)

Of the fifteen songs collected, ten begin with this figure, fourteen end with it (the fifteenth is the "V" phrase mentioned above), and fourteen use it in the body of the song in a codential function.

The Main Texts in Vocables

The syllables used in the main vocable texts are about the same as in the other kinds of public Enemy Way songs. Like the gift songs, the circle dance vocable texts seem to be fuller and more discursive than those of the sway songs and the dance songs.

MELODIC ANALYSIS

Meter

The circle dance songs are the only ones of the four kinds of public Enemy Way songs discussed here in which triple meter is frequent. Six of the songs — numbers 61, 62, 66, 67, 68 and 69 — are in triples throughout. The circle dance phrase, "O," is nearly always in triple meter even in songs which are otherwise prevailing duple: numbers 63, 70, 71, 72.

Tempo

Counting the triple-metered songs as ♩. = MM, the distribution of tempi is as follows:

SPEED		NUMBER OF SONGS
adagio	98–123	12
andante	124–153	1
allegro	154–181	0
presto	182–208	2

The circle dance songs are essentially the same as the dance songs in speed. Both the sway songs and the gift songs are distinctly faster.

Pitch

These songs are pitched within the same range as the sway songs and gift songs. Most of the pitches range from C to F-sharp in the "small octave" with the greatest number clustering at E and F. The two songs by Mrs. Grant Johns were pitched at B and B-flat on the "one-lined octave."

Melodic Line

The direction in the melodic line is prevailing downward with strong attraction to the tonic as in the other three groups of public Enemy Way songs under discussion. In the manner of downward progression the circle dance songs are somewhat idiosyncratic in that *only two* reach the tonic in the first phrase. In only two cases does the melodic line dip below the tonic.

Over-all Range. There is greater uniformity of range in the circle dance songs than in the other three groups. Eight of the fifteen collected have a compass of an octave. Two of

the eight, 75 and 62, also have a dip to the fifth below the tonic.

Range in Individual Phrases. As one might predict from the narrow compass of the "A" phrases already mentioned, the ranges in individual phrases in the circle dance songs are generally restricted. The flat introductions and codas predominate, and phrases with a range of a fourth are the next most frequent. Ranges of a fifth come next, then sixths, then thirds.

Melodic Phrasing

Fixed Phrases. The slight representation of fixed phrases from the other groups and the very diagnostic and characteristic "O" phrase, specific to the circle dance songs, have already been described.

Paired Phrases. Paired phrases are not a feature of the circle dance songs. No song in this group is fully paired, and more than a single doubling is rare; (but *see*: 63, 67, 73). In five of the fifteen, there is no doubling of the smaller phrases whatever.

Over-all Patterns. Two thirds of the circle dance songs are phrased in the sway song pattern. Number 66, for example, is phrased in classic sway song style: an initial melodic statement, a repeat of this statement, an extension of new material (the sway development), and a repeat of the initial statement. The five songs that do not fit this pattern — numbers 65, 69, 71, 74, 75 — show full repeat, straight development in the first three, and a repeat of later material in the last two.

Number of Phrases. The circle dance songs are high in the number of different phrases used — more like the dance songs than any other group — but they are low in the absolute total. The majority contain a total of twenty or less phrases. This count merely indicates that the songs are short but varied.

Finals. Only one song ends every phrase on the tonic. Three do so in all but the "A" phrase, and six more in all but two phrases, usually the "A" and "B." The general picture is clearly of melodies strongly oriented toward the base note of the scale.

Tonality

Types of "Scales" in the Circle Dance Songs: *Chromatic Scales.* None of the circle dance songs is constructed on a real chromatic scale where every step is separated from its neighbors by the interval of a semitone. Number 65 does contain an unusual half step, 5 $6^{\flat}$ 6, which gives it a somewhat chromatic flavor.

Scales on the Interval of a Fourth. Number 61 is built on the interval of a fourth. The third is lowered a half-tone, and a semitone between it and the fourth is thus avoided. If an identical arrangement of notes were joined to either end of this scale, the result would be the Dorian mode.

Pentatonic Scales. There is no true pentatonic scale in this group. Number 73, which is built on the open triad, could be extended to a pentatonic scale. The single occurrence of a sixth, even though it is extremely slight in value and quite possibly accidental, gives some weight to this suggestion. The relationship between the pentatonic scale and the scale of the open triad has been discussed above, in the Sway Song section, page 35.

Diatonic Scales. Major. Five of the melodies show scales which qualify as our diatonic "major" scale (the Ionian mode). They all lack the seventh. Number 62 has no sixth and a weak fifth; the latter, however, is strengthened by a repetition below the tonic. Number 65, mentioned before for its chromatic content, shows essentially a diatonic major scale: 1 2 3 4 5 $6^{\flat}$ 6. Numbers 67 and 68 lack the second as well as the seventh; number 69 lacks the sixth and seventh, but the tonic at the end of the J phrase is so low that it might well be called the seventh.

Minor. In four of the circle dance songs, suggestions of the descending melodic form of our minor scale, 1 2 $3^{\flat}$ 4 5 $6^{\flat}$ $7^{\flat}$ 8, the Aeolian mode, may be found.

Number 66	.	.	.	1	$3^{\flat}$	4	$6^{\flat}$	
75	.	.	.	5	1	$3^{\flat}$	4	$6^{\flat}$ 8
69	.	.	.	1	$3^{\flat}$	4	5	$6^{\flat}$ 7 8
74	.	.	.	1	$3^{\flat}$	4	$6^{\flat}$	7 8

It is interesting that in these songs the fifth is missing or unimportant. The fourth seems to be next to the tonic in value and has such weight in number 75 as to raise doubts concerning the tonality of the song. A case could be made for a "base note" on F instead of C —

an equivocal situation extremely rare in these Enemy Way songs and in Navaho music in general.

It should be noted that these four songs are the only ones in the entire collection which are in a modern Western European minor mode.

Open Triad. Number 73 is constructed on the open major triad, 1 3 5. See section entitled "Pentatonic Scales" for other remarks on this song.

The Modes. I have classified the remaining five songs in the Dorian mode. Number 64 contains the necessary notes to constitute an unequivocal Dorian mode even though 2, 5, 7, and 8 are missing. Number 71 could be in the Phrygian mode if the missing 2 and 5 were present and each lowered a semitone. Numbers 70 and 72 could be in the Aeolian mode if the missing sixths were present, lowered a semitone. Number 63 could be in the Aeolian mode if the missing sixth and seventh were present and lowered a semitone.

The proportion of scales which sound minor in mode to the Western ear is very high in this group:

GIFT	DANCE	SWAY	CIRCLE DANCE
4/10	2/26	5/24	10/15

NOTES ON THE CIRCLE DANCE SONGS

61. Johnny Blanco; FN-IV 9; key of C-sharp.
Text: no meaningful text.

62. John Hawk; FN-I 12; key of C-sharp.
Text: no meaningful text.

63. Grant Johns; FN-I 18; key of F.
Text: no meaningful text.

64. Mrs. Grant Johns; FN-I 25; key of B-flat.
Text: no meaningful text.

65. Mrs. Grant Johns; FN-I 26; key of B.
Text: no meaningful text.

66. Grant Johns; FN-I 34; key of E-flat.
Text:
he lu, he lu tséhagani
hello, hello, White Rock (girl)
shánaha'áh
plan for me

67. Mr. Moustache; FN-V 15; key of F.
Text:
hółkit nazáni ch'íín
Bare Ridge woman of
nkéya nizád ndí
your home far even though
nách'iná hoyéé ndí
your very hard even though,
thí' tl'ohchiní *
let's go Wild Onions
néét'áshto
two will go.

* Mr. Moustache actually sang "Bare Ridge" again, instead of "Wild Onions" the place Jim Chamiso insisted should be mentioned here.

68. Mr. Moustache; FN-V 16; key of F. Covered tone on the two codential "O" phrases.
Text: no meaningful text.

69. Mr. Moustache; FN-V 27; key of F-sharp.
Text: no meaningful text.

70. Mr. Moustache; FN-V 34; key of E.
Text: no meaningful text.

71. Mr. Moustache; FN-V 35; key of E.
Text: no meaningful text.

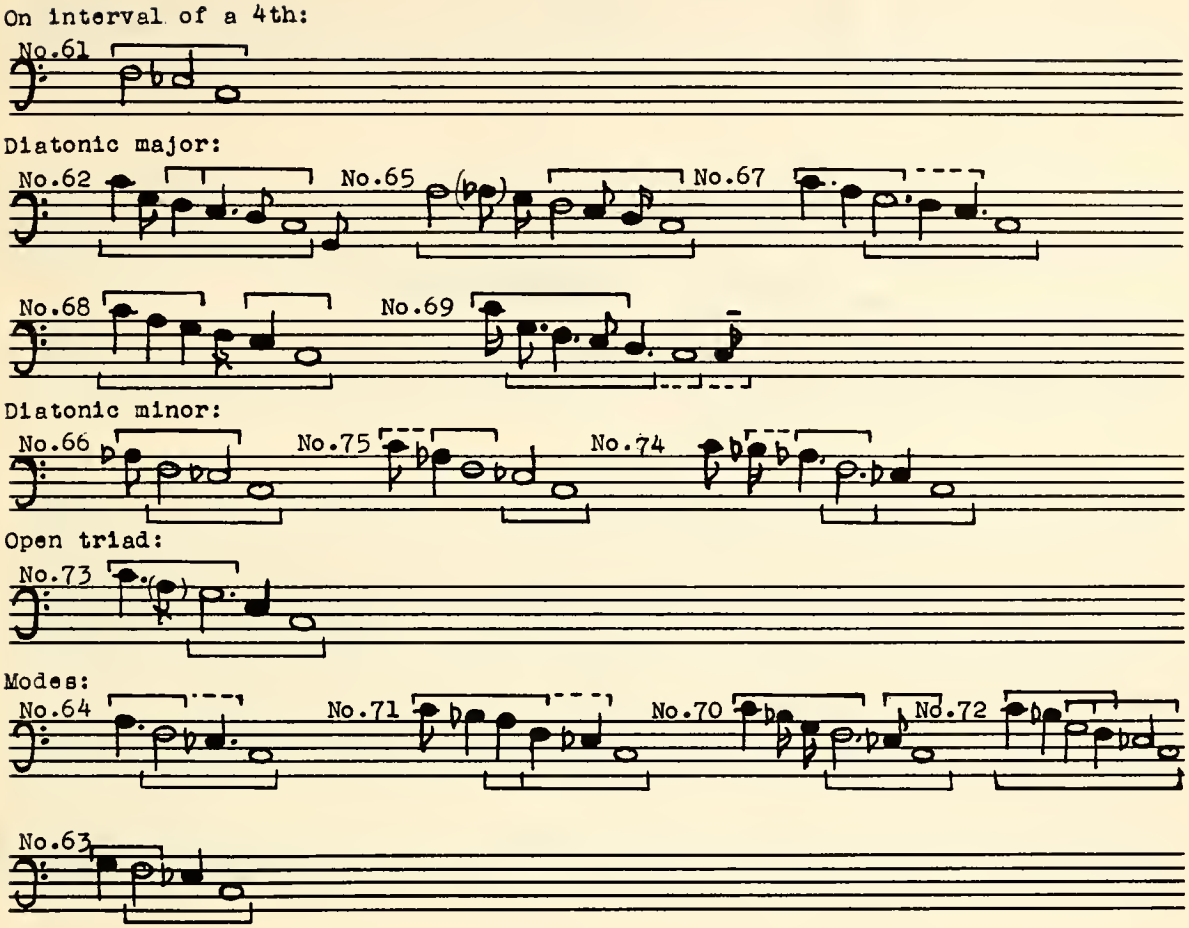
72. Mr. Moustache; FN-V 36; key of E; ends with gift song coda.
Text: no meaningful text.

73. Mr. Moustache; FN-V 37; key of E.
Text: no meaningful text.

74. Mr. Moustache; FN-V 38; key of E. Covered tone on last "O" phrase.
Text: no meaningful text.

75. John Nez; FN-V 39; key of F. The lack of a fifth and the heavy melodic weight on the fourth gives this song the bimodal quality noted for nos. 36–38 in Notes on the Dance Songs. Informant stated that this song should follow no. 74.
Text: no meaningful text.

SCALES USED
IN THE CIRCLE DANCE SONGS



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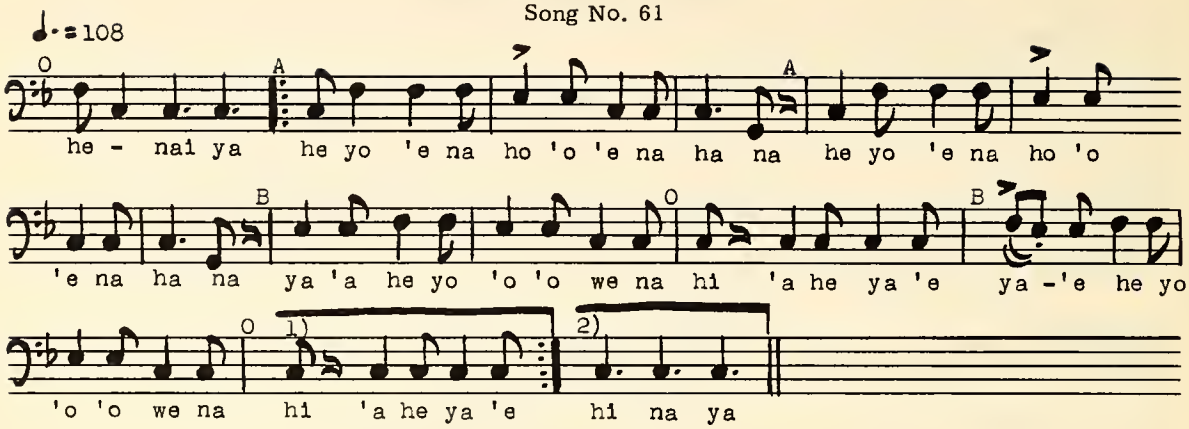

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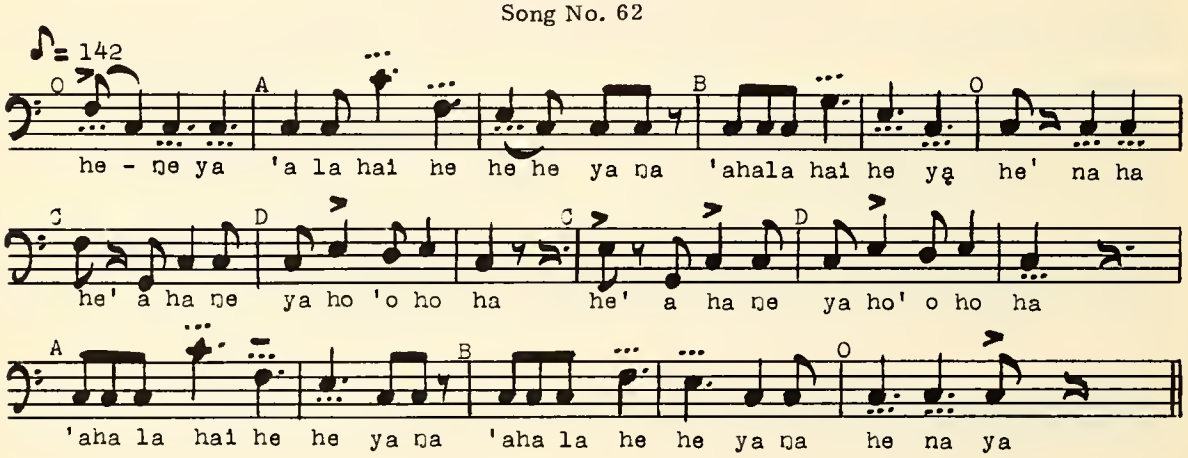

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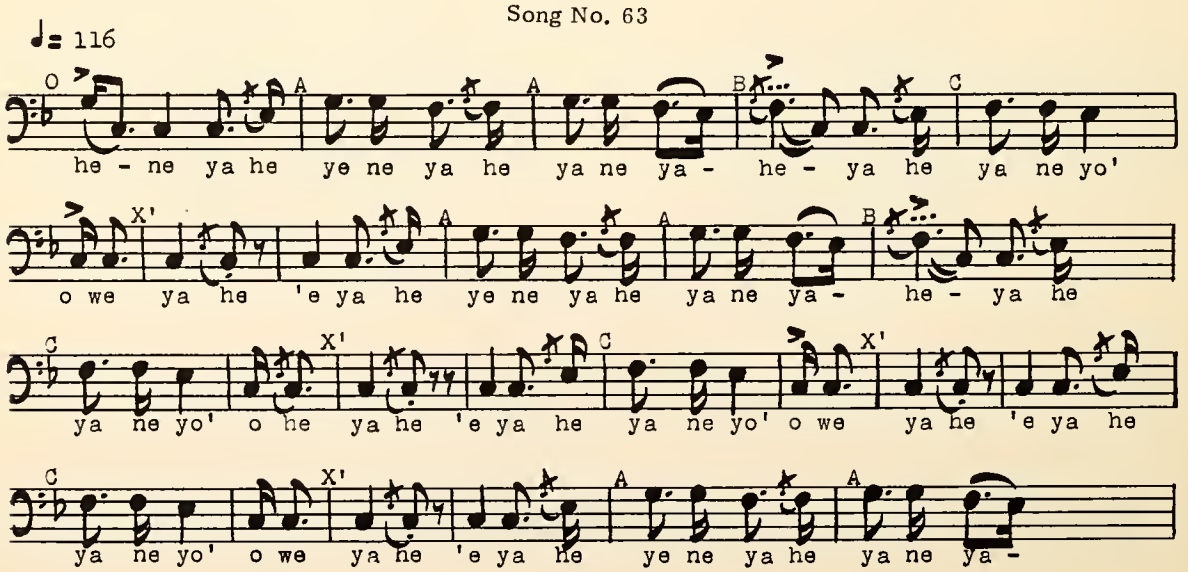

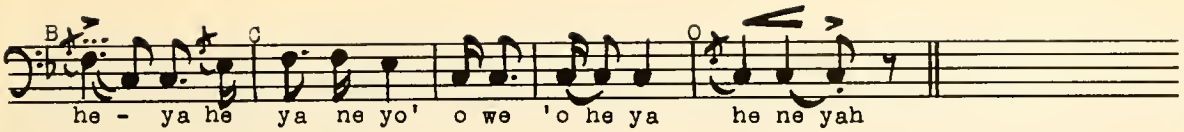

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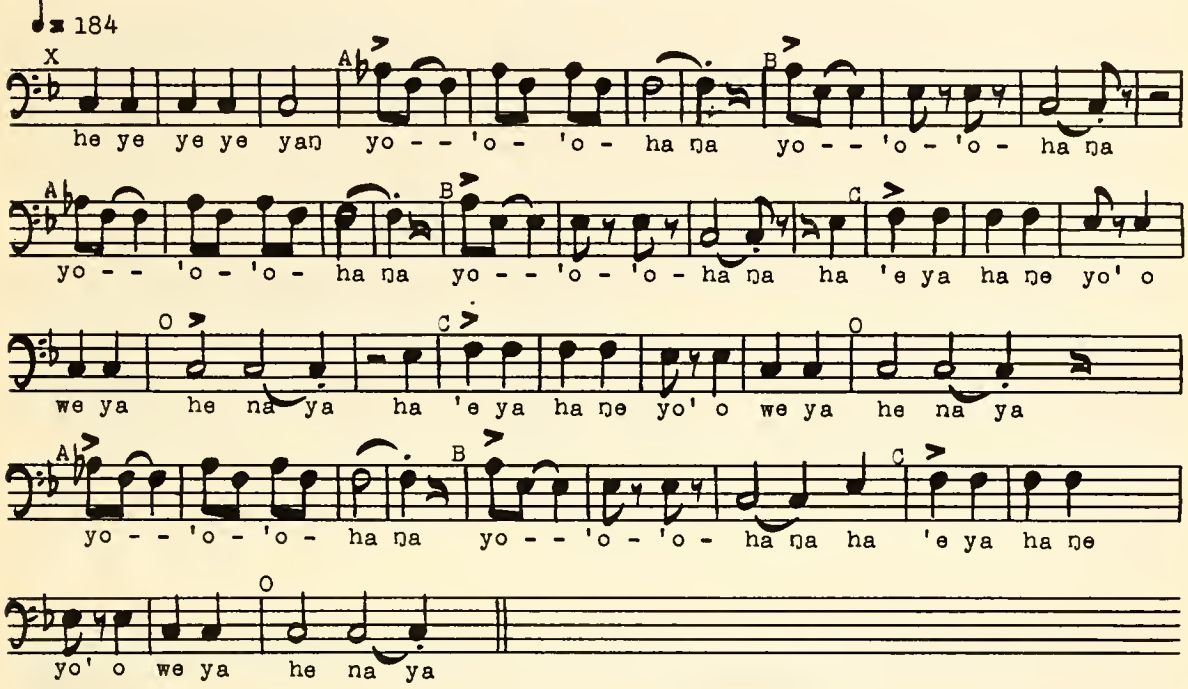

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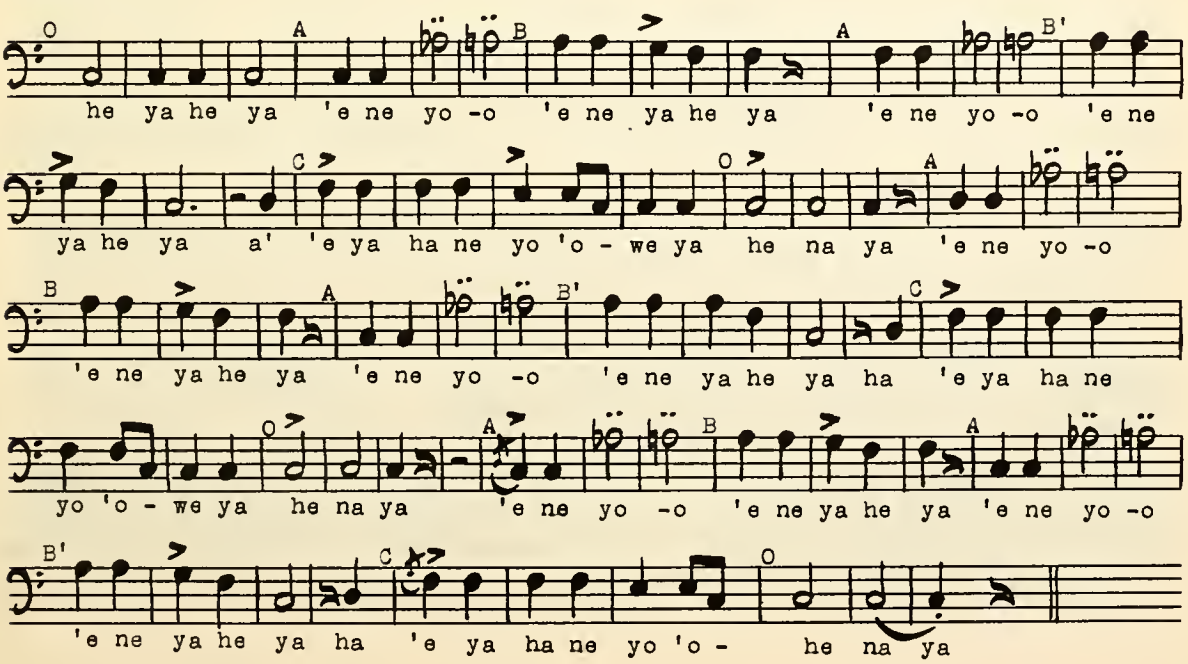

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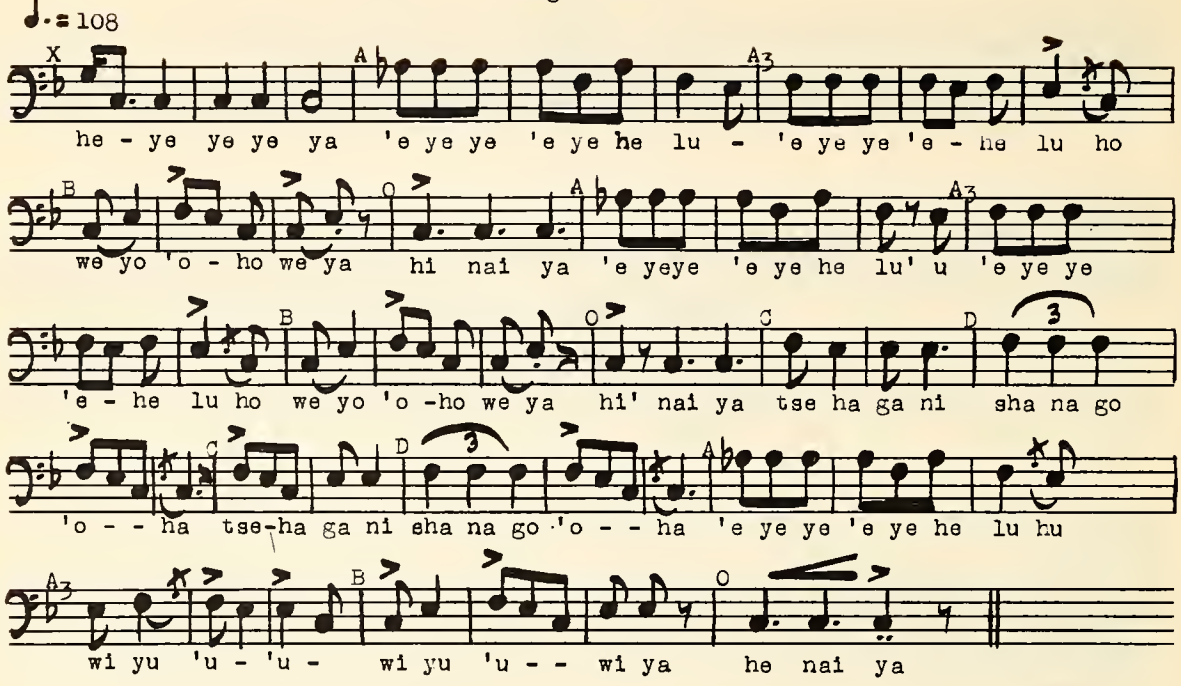

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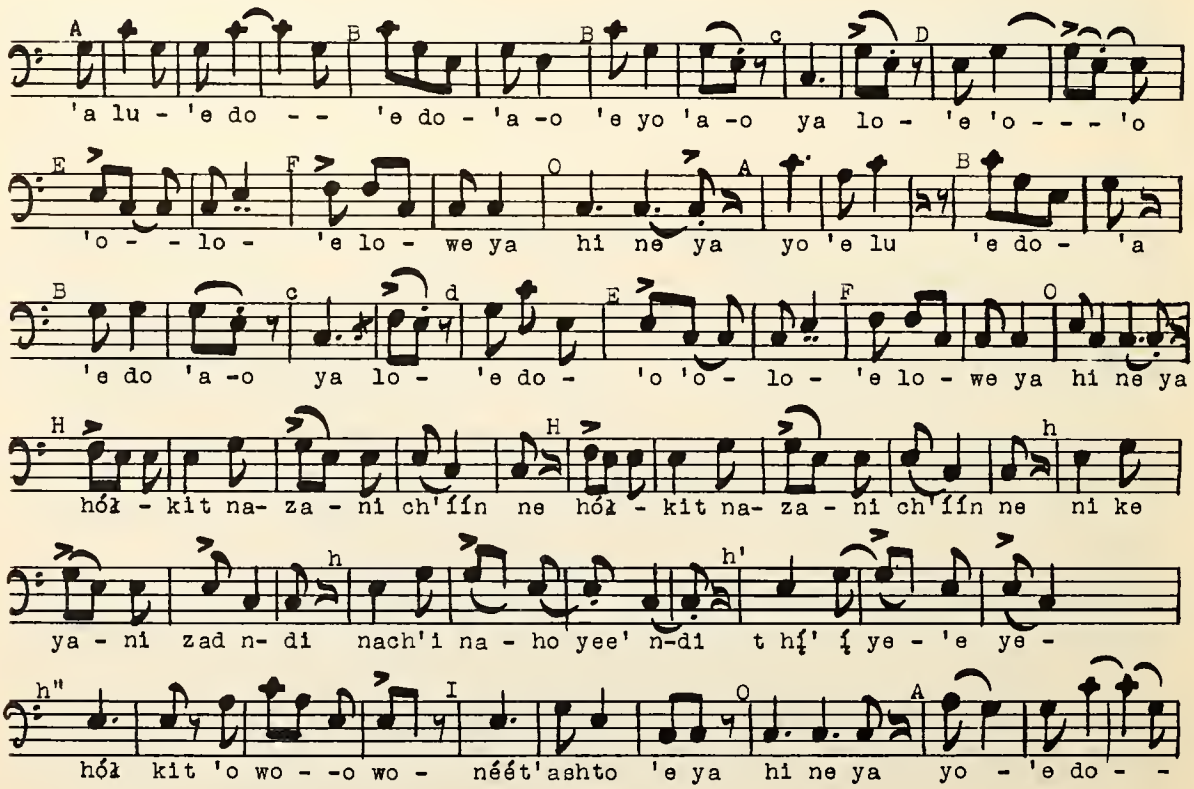
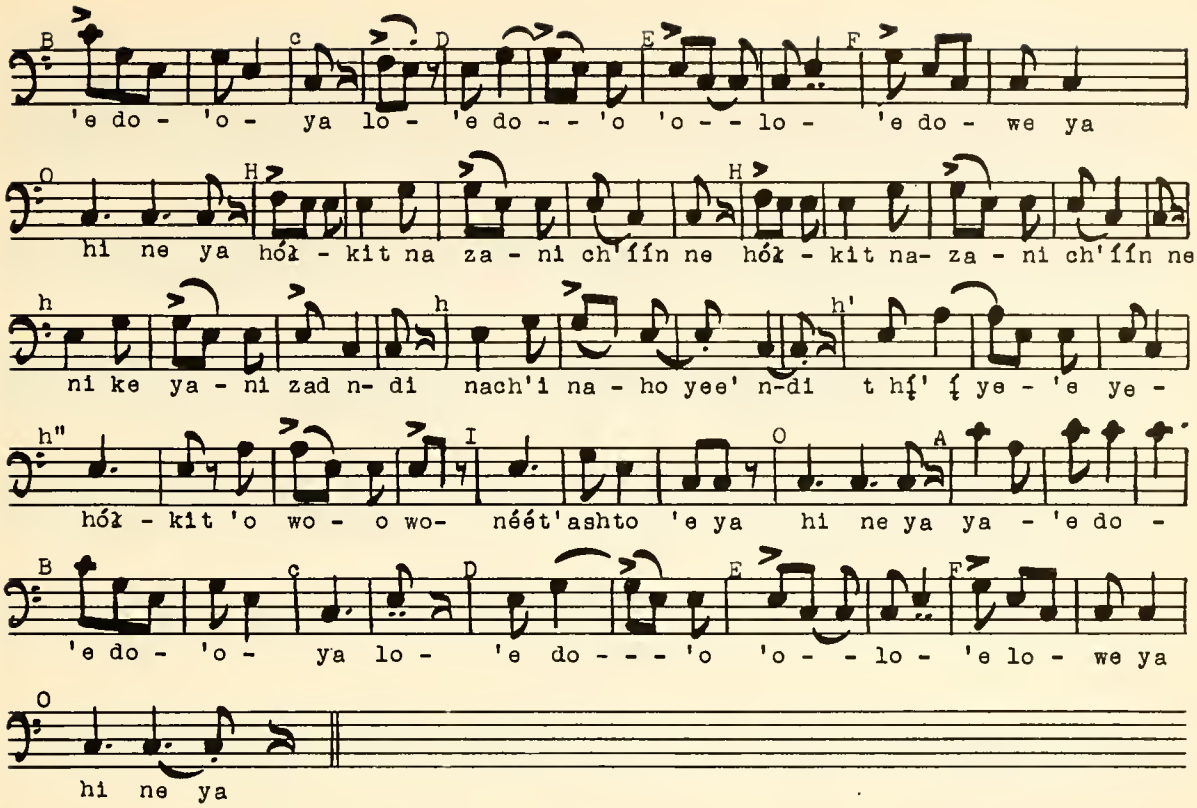
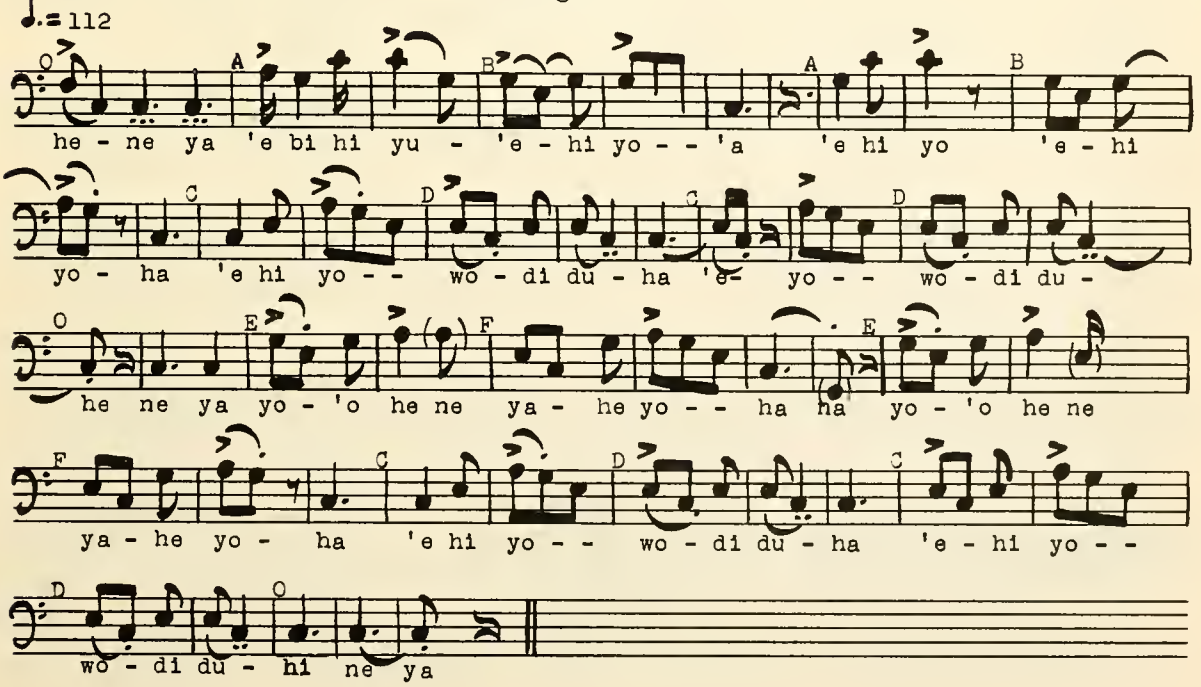
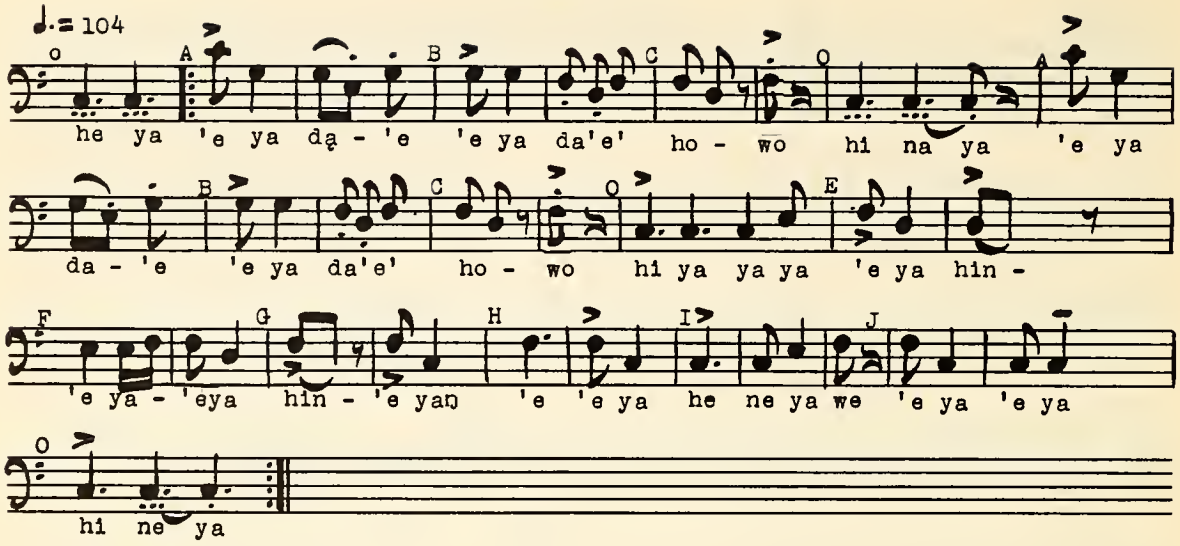



'e do - 'o - ya lo - 'e do - - 'o 'o - - lo - 'e do - we ya
hi ne ya hół - kit na za - ni ch'íín ne hół - kit na- za - ni ch'íín ne
ni ke ya - ni zad n- di nach'i na - ho yee' n-di t hį' į ye - 'e ye -
hół - kit 'o wo - o wo- néét'ashto 'e ya hi ne ya ya - 'e do -
'e do - 'o - ya lo - 'e do - - - 'o 'o - - lo - 'e lo - we ya
hi ne ya

Song No. 68


♩.= 112
he - ne ya 'e bi hi yu - 'e - hi yo - - 'a 'e hi yo 'e - hi
yo - ha 'e hi yo - - wo - di du - ha 'e- yo - - wo - di du -
he ne ya yo - 'o he ne ya - he yo - - ha ha yo - 'o he ne
ya - he yo - ha 'e hi yo - - wo - di du - ha 'e - hi yo - -
wo - di du - hi ne ya

Song No. 69



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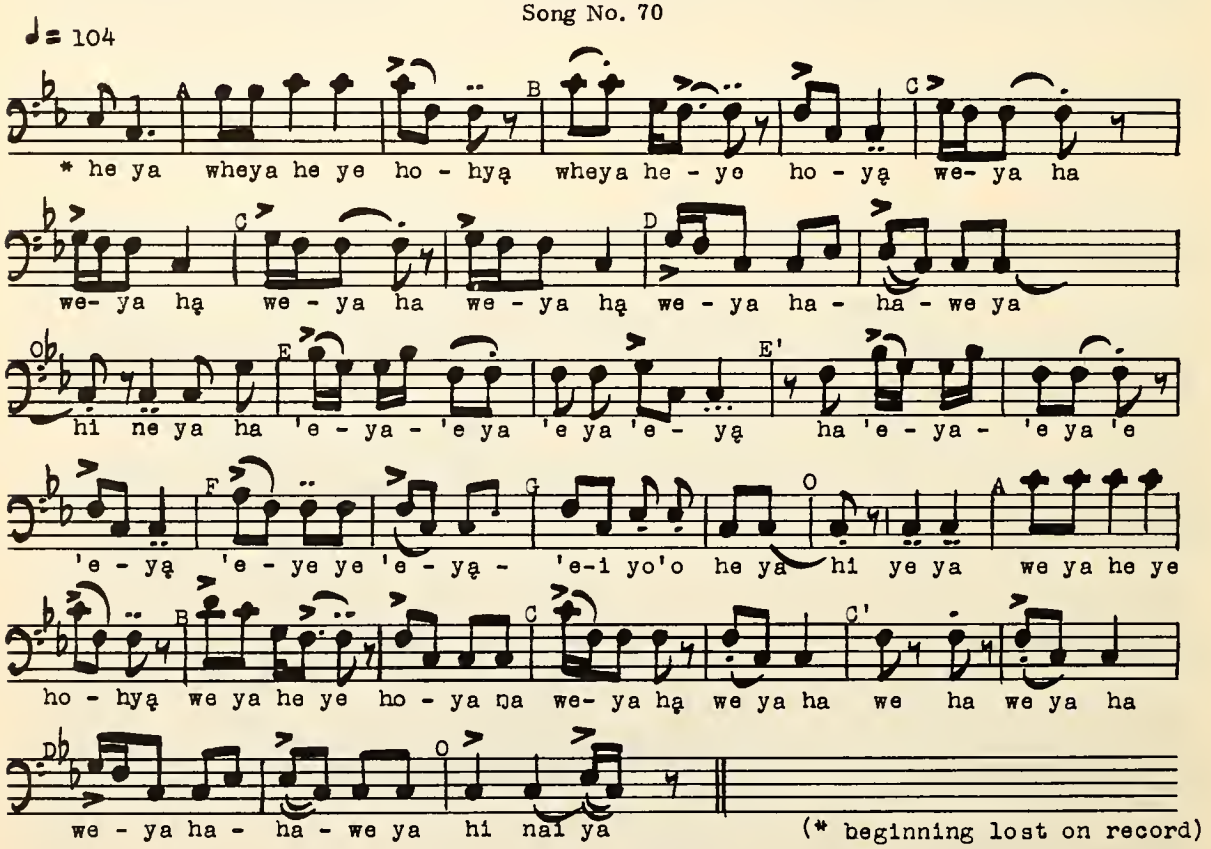
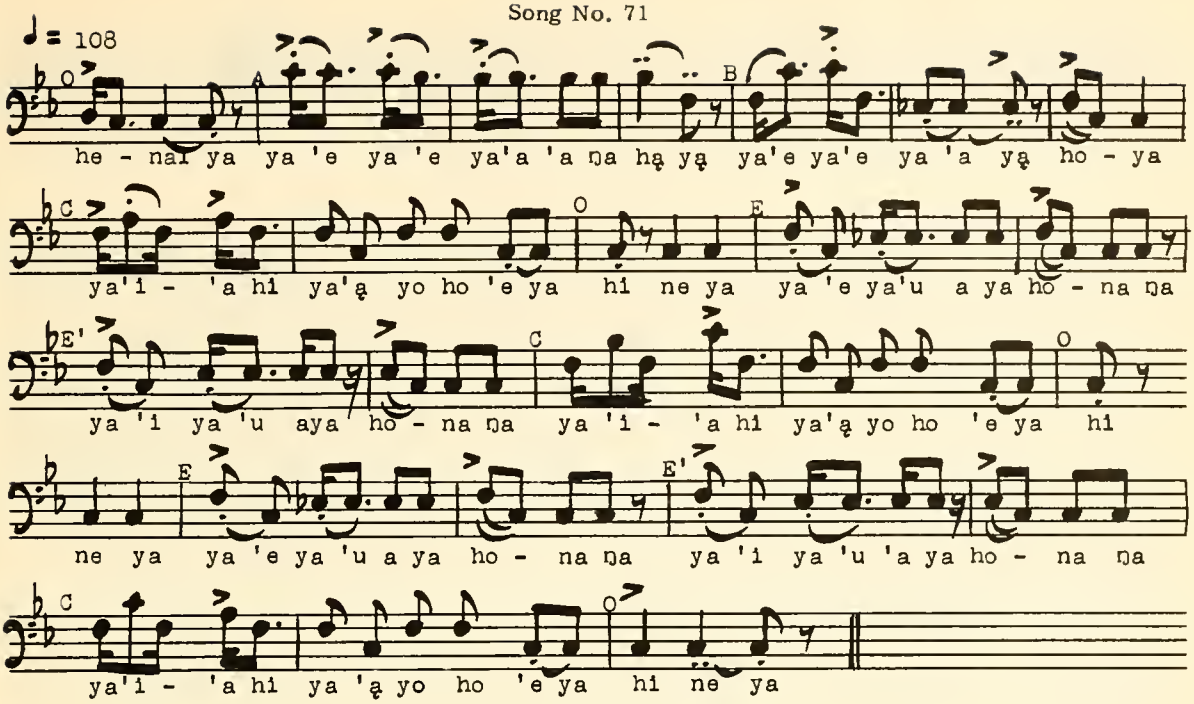


(* beginning lost on record)

Song No. 71



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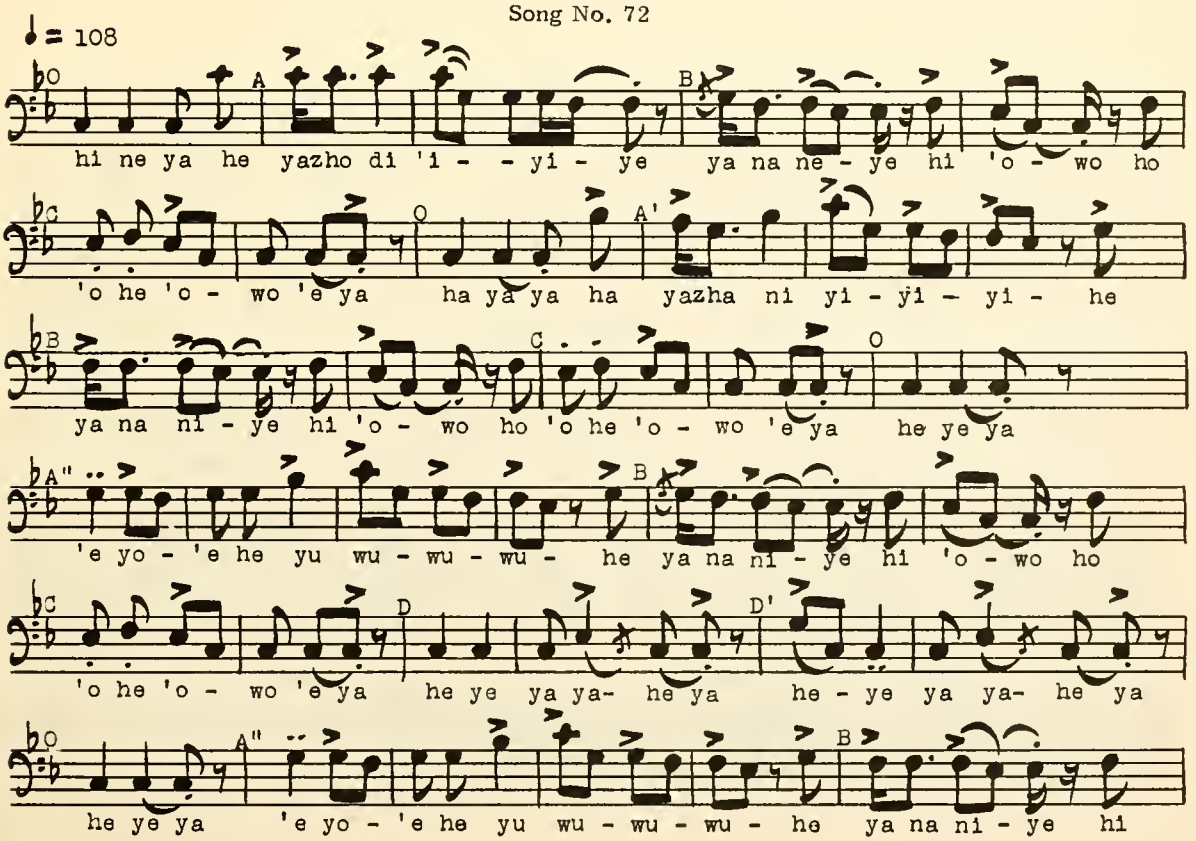

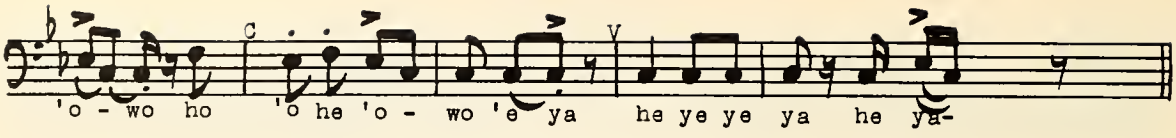

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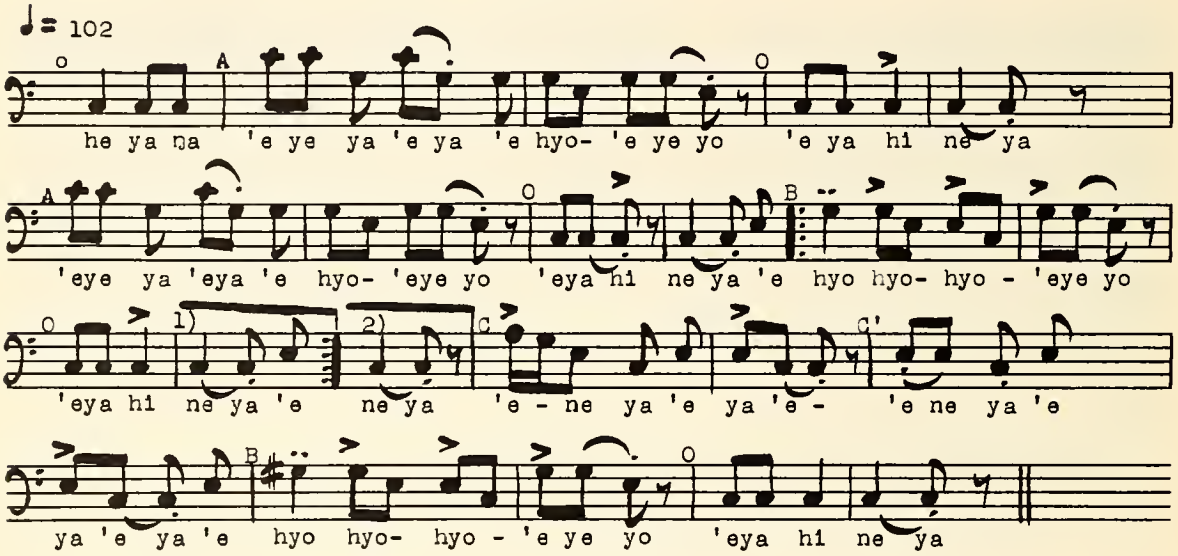

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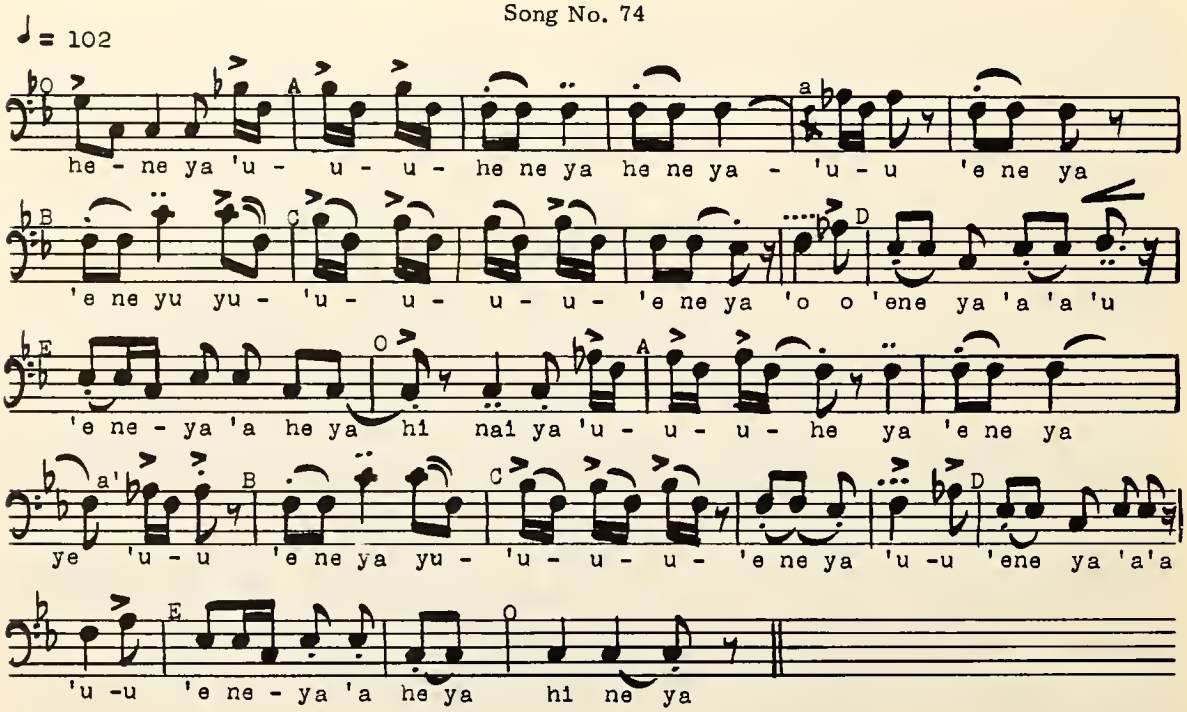
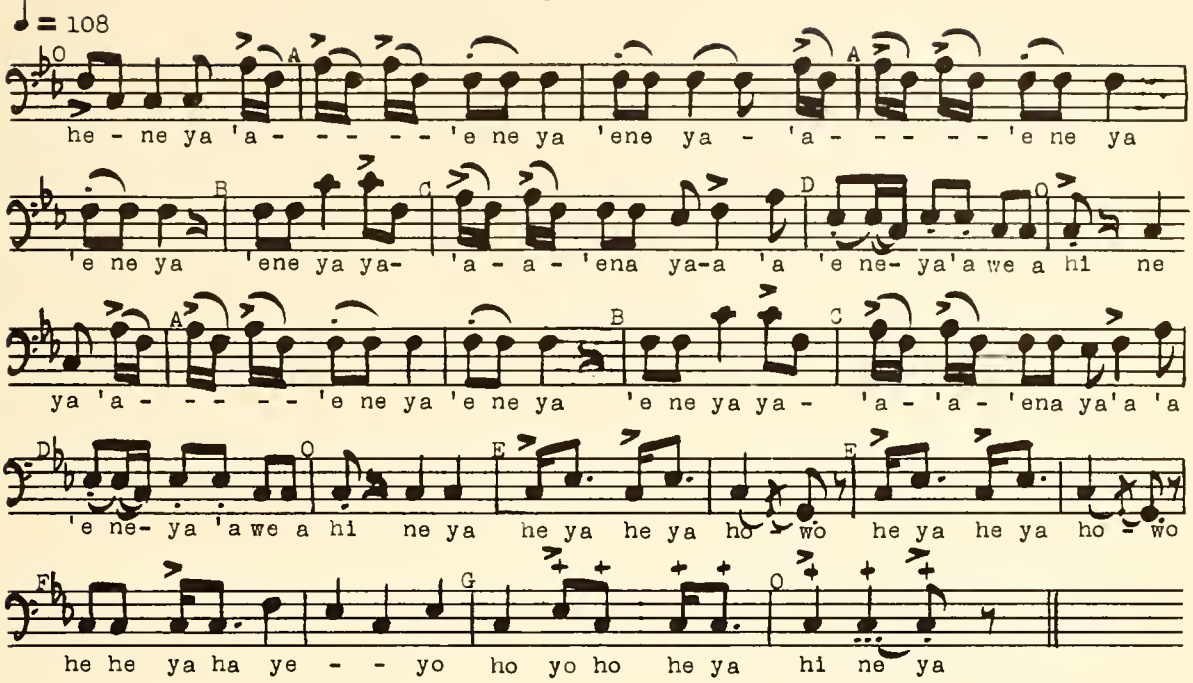


Song No. 75


♩= 108
he - ne ya 'a - - - - - 'e ne ya 'ene ya - 'a - - - - - 'e ne ya
'e ne ya 'ene ya ya- 'a - a - 'ena ya-a 'a 'e ne- ya'a we a hi ne
ya 'a - - - - - 'e ne ya 'e ne ya 'e ne ya ya - 'a - 'a - 'ena ya'a 'a
'e ne- ya 'a we a hi ne ya he ya he ya he ya ho - wo he ya he ya ho - wo
he he ya ha ye - - yo ho yo ho he ya hi ne ya

SECTION FIVE — *SUMMARY*

Vocal Style

The style of voice production is the first feature that strikes the ear in these songs. It is the same in all four types — nasal, high, with a wide vibrato and an ornamental use of the falsetto. This is the typical "American Indian" vocal style first noted by von Hornbostel, yet it is not as tense, as throat-splitting, as Sioux singing. This feature is less apparent on my recordings than it is in the group singing during an actual performance of the Enemy Way. In the sacred chanting and in individual renditions given in private, this vocal style is much subdued.

Function

The function of the four kinds of songs is quite different in each case. The sway songs are used primarily for the all-night singing after the dancing is over. The dance songs are used for the actual social dancing which, in my experience, continues only for a few hours each night. The gift songs are used only for the two occasions when gifts are made and returned. The circle dance songs are used during a circling dance performed by the men towards sundown on the third day.

Attitude

Since this will be the subject matter of Part II of this paper, I shall make only a few summary remarks here. These songs have a "recreational" connotation for the Navahos. A typical reaction is: "They make me feel happy because I know a lot of young people are getting together to have a good time when I hear them." Younger people are more interested in the dance songs; older people prefer the sway songs and the gift and circle dance songs and tend to speak scornfully of the dance songs as "new" and "worthless." The functional valuation of the older people is being replaced by an esthetic valuation which seems to be a concomitant of the secularization especially apparent among the younger Navahos.

Meaningful Texts

The more recent sway songs have texts on such themes as the sound of the singing, loneliness, airplanes, and signalling to girls.

Most of the dance song texts refer to the dancing or to humorous and ribald situations between the sexes.

The gift songs are usually without texts. The two texts collected refer to gifts.

The circle dance songs are also usually without texts. The two texts collected are like those of the regular dance songs, referring to girls in a jocular vein.

Texts in Vocables

The vocable texts are by no means haphazard collections of meaningless syllables. The vocables are as well known as are meaningful words: only certain specific vocables are "right" for a particular song. There are, moreover, diagnostic vocable patterns for each kind of song used in special introductory and codential figures. These patterns are as specific to the different kinds of Enemy Way song as "Amen" is to Christian hymnody, or "*he ne yo we*" is to songs of the Peyote Cult.

Sway Songs. The characteristic introduction and coda in sway songs is "*he ye ye ye yaya*" sung on the tonic. A briefer coda, "*heya*" or "*haye naya*," is also much used. There is also a characteristic dissyllable, "*wena*," which precedes both the longer and the shorter types of coda.

Another typical feature of sway songs is the "sway development," which often includes the phrase "*heya hane hyo*" on a rising melodic line as a kind of penultimate melodic extension.

The main texts in vocables are, like the meaningful texts, brief phrases repeated over and over.

Dance Songs. The dance songs, too, have their own characteristic type of introduction and coda on "*he ne' ya ya*" or some variation of it. This seems to be a Mescalero Apache phrase and is most typical of the "trotting" dance songs. Some of the "skipping" dance songs use the sway song introduction and coda.

The main texts in vocables are similar to those of the sway songs except that they are often set in a somewhat more choppy melody.

Gift Songs. The gift songs have a characteristic "*heya heya*" introduction and coda which seem to be derived from the Utes. Few of these old "Ute style" gift songs are known now, however, and very old sway songs, somewhat changed, but with characteristic sway song vocables, are used instead.

The main texts in vocables are often more full and discursive than in dance songs or typical sway songs.

Circle Dance Songs. This group, too, has its characteristic introduction and coda. It is a three-beat figure usually on "*he ne ya*" or "*he nai ya*" and sung on the tonic.

As in the gift songs, the main texts in vocables are fuller and more varied than those of the sway or dance songs.

Meter

The sway songs, dance songs, and gift songs all have regular, double meter though occasional extra beats are introduced and add rhythmic variety and interest. The circle dance songs are typically in regular *triple* meter.

Tempo

The fastest songs are the sway songs. The fastest songs in the circle dance group are of the sway type. The comparison can be shown most easily in a simple table:

	♩=MM:	SWAY	DANCE	GIFT	CIRCLE
adagio	98–				
	123		7	3	7
andante	124–				
	153	14	16	4	1
allegro	154–				
	181	10	3	3	5
presto	182–				
	208				2

Pitch

The pitches of the various songs are actually pretty much the same:

Sway	C –F	
Dance	E –G	(females: E′ –G′)
Gift	C♯–F	
Circle	C♯–F	(females: B♭′ –B′)

Recording conditions may have constrained the singers and thus affected pitch, but the circle dance songs recorded by Boulton were all pitched at G-flat even though they were sung by a group and so under more "natural" conditions.[19]

Melodic Line

All of the songs studied are strongly downward in movement with a marked attraction to the tonic.

The sway songs can be divided into two groups according to whether the melody reaches the tonic in the first phrase or the second.

The dance songs are of two types: one is like those sway songs that reach the tonic on the second phrase, the other is very narrow in range, hence restricted in movement and not so clearly downward in movement as the other Enemy Way songs. Both types show a good deal of dipping *below* the tonic.

The gift songs are largely like the sway songs in melodic line. A minor difference may be that the "B," or second, phrases tend to be more complex than in the sway songs and sometimes even higher than the "A" phrases. The result is a certain amount of *upward* movement at the start of the song.

The circle dance songs are also similar to the sway songs in melodic line. A scarcity of songs in which the "A" phrase reaches the tonic might be remarked for this group.

Over-all Range

The comparison can be shown best here by a table. Figures in parentheses represent *active* range, or range which is expressed consistently throughout the song. A weak jump to the octave or one unemphatic dip to the fifth below the tonic is recorded in the left-hand columns but ignored in the figures in parentheses.

[19] Boulton, 1941.

INTERVAL	SWAY	DANCE	GIFT	CIRCLE	TOTAL
3		(4)			(4)
4	(2)	1 (1)		1 (1)	2 (4)
5	5 (9)	6 (7)	2 (3)	1 (1)	14 (20)
6	4 (6)	3 (1)	(1)	3 (3)	10 (11)
7		3 (1)			3 (1)
8	15 (7)	4 (11)	7 (6)	10 (10)	36 (34)
9			1		1
10		5 (1)			5 (1)
11		4			4
					75 75

The sway songs seem weak on the upper part of the scale. Only seven of them show a really strong expression of the octave.

The dance songs are weak in the lower part of the scale. Few of the dips below the tonic found a strong expression in these songs.

The circle dance songs show the greatest uniformity in range. The octaves are all actively expressed.

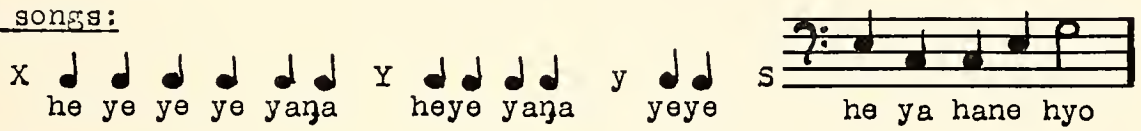
Range in Individual Phrases

Ranges of zero (the flat introductory and codential phrases usually sung on one note), a fifth, a third, and a fourth predominate in that order in the sway songs and the dance songs. The important ranges in the individual phrases of the gift songs are zero and a fifth. In the circle songs, ranges of zero and a fourth predominate, and ranges of a fifth and a third are expressed, but much less importantly.

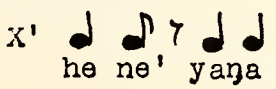
Melodic Phrasing

Fixed Phrases. Most of the fixed phrases are sung on one note and may therefore be better distinguished rhythmically than melodically.

Sway songs:

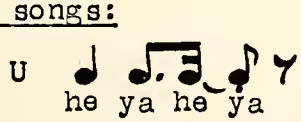


Dance songs:



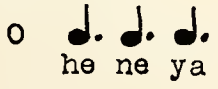
(Mescalero Apache)

Gift songs:



("Ute") Also have the X and Y of the sway songs.

Circle songs:



Paired Phrases. Sway songs show a considerable amount of phrase pairing. Seven of the songs are *fully* paired: AA BB CC, etc. The first phrase after the introduction is nearly always paired, and the fixed phrase, "S," is always paired.

Pairing is not a feature of the dance songs. Not one is fully paired, and other pairings are infrequent.

The "Ute type" of gift song shows no pairing, but it is a feature of the sway type gift songs.

The circle dance songs show very little pairing. Not one is fully paired, and more than one doubling is rare.

This feature in melodic phrasing seems to separate the sway songs from the other public songs of the Enemy Way with a rather neat stylistic definitiveness.

Over-all Patterns. The sway songs typically

show a partial repeat of material from early in the song or from the middle of the song. These kinds of patterning can be shown:

ABC and ABC
AB B

The dance songs typically show a full repeat of phrases: ABBC
ABBC

The gift songs in sway style show the partial repeat. Those in "Ute style" have a full repeat.

Most of the circle dance songs show the partial repeat phrase patterns of the sway songs.

Number of Phrases. None of the songs has fewer than three different phrases and most have more than three. Four and five phrases seems to be the average number. As the accompanying figure shows, the gift and circle dance songs show the greatest complexity in this respect:

NUMBER OF PHRASES	SWAY	DANCE	GIFT	CIRCLE
3	2	2		1
4	3	8	2	2
5	8	9	2	4
6	11	4	1	3
7		1	2	1
8		2	1	2
9			1	
14			1	2

The total number of phrases, counting all repeats, runs from about ten to nearly one hundred. Most songs have a total of between ten and thirty phrases. The dance songs are characteristically sung through many more times than the others and so, naturally, run up the largest total.

Finals. A method which is sometimes useful in analyzing the internal structure of a song is to plot the location of the final note in each phrase. A figure such as "1, 1, 1, 1" would indicate that in a song of four phrases, every phrase ended on the tonic, and the song as a whole is securely anchored to this note, even dominated by it.

	SWAY	DANCE	GIFT	CIRCLE
All phrases end on tonic	7	2	0	1
All but one " " "	7	8	3	3
All but two " " "	6	8	3	6
All but three or more "	4	8	4	5

The strong attraction of the tonic shown by these figures is one of the characteristics of most American Indian music. There were very few cases in which more than three phrases failed to end on the tonic.

Scales

Though the notion of a scale as a fixed series of notes which may be drawn upon for the construction of a song is foreign to the Navahos and, indeed, may be presumed to be foreign to any musical tradition that is melodic rather than harmonic, it is nevertheless possible for the musicologist to derive scales from the melodies he examines. A table is the simplest way of presenting the scales that can be heard in the four types of Enemy Way songs discussed here:

SCALES	SWAY	DANCE	GIFT	CIRCLE	
Chromatic	1	0	0	0	
Major diatonic	5	7	2	4	
Minor diatonic	0	0	0	4	"minor"
Dorian mode	3	2	4	5	"minor"
Mixolydian mode	2	0	0	0	"minor"
On interval of a fourth	2	1	0	1	
Open triad	3	1	3	1	
Pentatonic	8	11	1	0	
On interval of a third	0	4	0	0	
	24	26	10	15	75

A few comments will draw attention to some of the more interesting features of these "scales."

Contrary to popular conceptions of primitive music as mostly minor, "weird," and "mournful," we find a fair representation of songs that are in our own major diatonic scale. Only twenty of the seventy-five songs are "minor" in some sense. Fourteen of these seem to be in the "Dorian mode," that is, the *seventh* as well as the third is a semitone lower than in the major diatonic scale.

Another theory about primitive music is that it represents an archaic stage in the development of human aural perception. Supposedly, at this level, the ear cannot distinguish semitones, and so they are avoided. Thus minor modalities would not occur since a semitone from the second to the lowered

third would be involved. The major mode would be equally uncongenial, since it involves a semitone from the third to the fourth. Apparently the Navahos do not have an archaic ear since we have noted an abundant use of semitones. But they do have melodies which do not employ semitones, as, for example, twenty melodies that show pentatonic scales. Moreover, the seventh or "leading tone," a semitone below the tonic or octave, is present in only *four* of the seventy-five songs under discussion (nos. 16, 21, 50, and 51).

Note Relationships in General. The most important note in these songs is almost always the lowest note. This base note, which may be called a "tonic" since it establishes the tonality of the song, is the chief note and often the only note in all introductory and codential material, and it is the "resting point" towards which the melody moves. The dominance of this note over the rest of the melody is so pronounced that it resembles a magnetic attraction pulling irresistibly at the melodic line. This strength of the tonic is felt to a degree unknown in Western European music.

As I have mentioned elsewhere, Navaho ceremonial music may be pitched in nearly the same key throughout an entire night of singing. A crude experiment suggested that the Navaho sense of tonality may be much more rigid than our own. On various occasions I sang a simple melody (*My Country, 'Tis of Thee*) to Navaho informants and to Mormon informants. In order to see what the reaction would be I changed key every two or three notes. Though I kept the rhythm and general melodic direction of the piece, no informant recognized it. Without exception, the Navahos began to laugh after the second or third shift in tonality and said the song was "no good," or that I was "just making it up." The Mormons, on the other hand, said the song was "mysterious," or sounded "foreign, like a German song, maybe." Only one Mormon said that it "didn't sound right." It would be interesting to check for this feature of a very strong tonic and a very strong sense of tonality in other groups where the melodic tradition prevails.

A note of secondary importance is almost always present in the songs under discussion here. This note is most apt to be the third, fourth, or fifth above the tonic. The brackets in the "scale" scheme for song number 1 (*see* Scale Schemes following transcription of song number 24) indicate that the most significant melodic activity occurs in the intervals between the octave and the fifth and between the fifth and the tonic. The two active compasses "interlock" on the fifth, which gives this note strong weight as a secondary anchor point in the movement of the melody. Compare with number 15 where the active compasses are between the octave and the fifth, and the tonic and the third. The significant tonal sections are adjacent rather than interlocking and the values of the third and fifth are no greater than those of several other notes in the song.

The reader is referred to pp. 35–37 for a more detailed discussion of "scales" in music in the melodic tradition, and to the scale analyses following the song notations.

The descriptive material given above is intended to serve as a background for a study of values as seen in music as social behavior. As was mentioned in the Introduction, the "secular" songs of the Enemy Way are central to the whole problem of Navaho values, as approached through the music of the culture. They are the most widely known and most often sung melodies among the general Navaho population. Part II, which follows, is a discussion of religious, esthetic, and other values as they bear upon, and are reflected in, Navaho music. The sway songs, dance songs, circle songs, and gift songs of the Enemy Way, taken as a unit, serve as a point of departure in the discussion below.

THE NATURE OF TABOO

THE etymology of our word, "religion" (hold back, restrain, taboo) affords an appropriate starting point for a discussion of Navaho values with respect to religious music. On my first day of recording Navaho songs, I learned that some may be sung by anybody and discussed freely, but that others may be sung only with circumspection; with the right preparation, at the right time, and by the right people. Indeed, some of these latter songs may not be *heard* except by those who have been properly protected by initiation. In the words of my first informant on Navaho musical behavior, "We'd rather leave those to the medicine men; we are afraid of those." This is an attitude that I heard expressed many times subsequently and in many connections.

Danger in Navaho music is not conceived of as automatic and absolute. It may be mitigated by various kinds of protections and precautions.[1] The degree to which these are necessary provides the observer with a rough *scale of danger* on which the various types of music may be plotted. Those songs which are most hedged about by fears and restrictions are at the upper end of the scale and, in the sense of being most secret and dangerous, embody the most intense religious affect. At the lower end of the scale one finds those songs which are most nearly secular in feeling.

It is hard to discuss with a Navaho what music is "holy" and what music is not. The first reaction of nearly all of my informants was that all of their songs were sacred. Nor did they respond with categories to such questions as "Are some songs *more* holy than others?" No such hierarchies seem to exist ready-made in the Navaho scheme of values. But when asked directly, nearly every Navaho feels that songs from the great ceremonial chants are more sacred than gambling songs such as those sung with the Moccasin Game. The parts of the Night Chant and the Enemy Way Chant which are chanted by the ceremonial practitioner are recognized by everyone as being more sacred than the Yeibichai songs of the masked dancers in the former and the Squaw Dance songs publicly performed in the latter.

The following list is an attempt to plot various types of Navaho music according to their relative positions on a "scale of danger." This is not, of course, a Navaho systematization, but my own. The songs are placed in the order of decreasing power or danger.

1. Prayer ceremonials.
2. Songs used in witchcraft, and deer hunting songs.[2]
3. Songs from non-Navaho ceremonials. I know that Peyote songs are considered highly dangerous and believe this may be true for some of the other ceremonials performed by other Indian groups.
4. The longer chants: Night Way, Shooting Way, etc. The Evil Way chants are considered more dangerous than the Holy Way chants.[3]
5. Chanted parts of the Enemy Way: the four starting songs, the walking songs, the blackening songs, etc., are all very secret.
6. Moccasin Game and, perhaps, Stick Dice songs, which must be used only in the right season of the year.
7. Work songs such as weaving, spinning, and corn grinding songs. Much more needs to be known about these songs. They do not seem to be particularly taboo but they have, nevertheless, become very rare.[4]
8. Circle dance songs from the Enemy Way.
9. Yeibichai songs from Night Way, should only be sung in the winter.
10. Dawn songs and other songs from the latter part of the Blessing Way may be used in some social contexts, but still with religious overtones of bringing good luck.[5]

[1] *See* Kluckhohn, 1949, pp. 371–72, for concept of *bahadzid* ("for it there is fear").

[2] I am indebted to Clyde Kluckhohn for the information that songs are believed to be used in witchcraft. Deer hunting songs were thought by my informant to be used by witches; they are part of the obsolescent Game Way. *See* Wyman and Kluckhohn, 1938, p. 7, p. 35.

[3] Clyde Kluckhohn, personal communication. *See* Wyman and Kluckhohn, 1938, pp. 5–7, for classification.

[4] Rhodes, 1949, records 1422 B (1, 2, 3): These songs and The Silversmith's Song, 1423A (2) seem

(*Continued on p. 64*)

11. Sway songs, gift songs, and dance songs from the Enemy Way can be sung at any time.

The danger inherent in the songs at the upper end of the list is very nearly of the automatic kind found in magic everywhere. There is no feeling that the singing of these songs by the wrong persons or at inappropriate times is displeasing to any supernatural persons or forces, but rather that the songs themselves are dangerous. After Eddie Cochise had arranged to record some personal songs given him by his grandmother, he checked with Bill Begay and was persuaded that it would not be safe. The songs were too dangerous to be handled in an unconventional way and in an inappropriate setting. He said, "If I sing those, I might get sick. I might die pretty soon."

Children who have heard sacred chants are warned, by threats of illness or death, not to sing them. Washington Matthews, and, more recently, Maud Oakes, were warned of the danger involved in learning sacred things. According to the Navahos, Dr. Matthews' paralysis was the direct result of his researches in Navaho religion without adequate protection.[6] Maud Oakes was given protective pollen when Jeff King told her the story and gave her the dry-paintings of *Where the Two Came to Their Father*.[7]

DANGER THROUGH MISUSE: VARIOUS FORMS OF PROTECTION

In all of these instances, the danger is incurred through misuse. It is like the danger in an electrical power line: one must know how to handle it. There are various safety techniques or precautions. The dominant theme in Navaho taboo is *don't do it unless you know how.* The ways of dealing with this potent danger are many.

One form of protection is initiation. In the Enemy Way, for example, the blackening songs and the songs that accompany the assembling of the drum and rattle stick are highly dangerous; only those who have been patients in the ceremony may be present when these songs are sung. Another safety method is the prophylactic use of pollen mentioned above. There are also prophylactic songs such as the Bear and Snake songs that protect the agent who brings in the enemy trophy in the Enemy Way.

Proper timing is also a protective measure. According to Matthews, the songs of all the nine-day ceremonies may be sung "only during the frosty weather, in the late autumn and the winter months, . . ."[8] He implies that the danger here is snakes: the proper time for performance is when the snakes are hibernating. Another danger, present in the summer months, is lightning.

Careful preparation and training are important in Navaho music in that they insure against error. Thus, a ceremonial must be learned in the course of a long apprenticeship, during which the novice can assist at many performances until he has memorized the songs and other ritual components perfectly. In certain important ceremonies, as on the last night of the Night Chant, other ceremonial practitioners may attend to audit the songs and check any mistakes. They are present not so much to test the ability of the singer who is in charge of the ceremony as to serve as insurance against the possibility of any error going unnoticed.[9]

Jim Chamiso, when listening to recordings of Navaho songs, was very insistent on what was "right" and what was "wrong." A small deviation in melody or use of vocables would make him smile and shake his head. His corrections may be seen in the Comments. The Reverend Banks of the Galilean Mission has provided me with an interesting example of Navaho meticulousness in musical performance. A blind Navaho, 29 or 30 years old,

(*Continued from p. 63*)

all to be constructed on Squaw Dance models.

[6] "I asked if L. could sing some of the Blessing Way songs for me but he refused saying that although he knew some it wasn't right to sing them then although it was O.K. to just sing squaw dance songs because you're happy." Robert Rapoport, field notes, July 3, 1950.

[6] Reichard, 1950, p. 82.

[7] Oakes, 1943, p. 47.

[8] Matthews, 1902, p. 4.

[9] Matthews, 1902, pp. 145–46.

named Lowell Woods, spent a good deal of time around the Galilean Mission near Railtown. He had learned to play the accordion and accompanied the hymn singing at the Mission. When asked to play solos, he was very particular about whether he was playing "in English or in Navaho," and even about which verse he was playing.

Beside general preparation and training, there is a strong Navaho emphasis on training for a particular singing event. This includes running hard, fasting, and purification by vomiting. Eddie Cochise told me that for a price he would teach me the plant used as an emetic and the sacred song that went with its preparation and use. Jim Chamiso said that the young men nowadays do not want to prepare for a "sing" in this way, and consequently the singing is no longer as good as it used to be. Several informants remarked that the reason older men outlast the young men in the all-night singing of the Enemy Way is that the young men wear themselves out by fancy singing and that they no longer know how to prepare for it.

Tschopik has shown that the art of pottery making among the Navahos owes its obsolescence in considerable part to the taboo surrounding it.[10] The restriction of music, by and large, to adult males may be attributed to the same cause. Many old-timers in the Southwest say they have never heard a woman or a child sing, and many Navaho women interviewed by me stated that they rarely did any singing.[11] Dezba Cochise insisted that in her lifetime she had never sung any kind of song.

The danger of misuse is certainly a strong factor in this situation. Boys are not supposed to sing anything but Squaw Dance songs until they are old enough to learn other kinds of music accurately. A menstruating woman cannot participate in a ceremony and must not sing ceremonial songs. The few women who are singers and actually give ceremonials are all past the menopause.[12] As mentioned earlier, at the shooting of the trophy in the Enemy Way, a woman must be represented by a male relative.

Casual singing is not a feature of Navaho life. When I was camping with Navaho families, I heard only a few snatches of song, and this was always Squaw Dance music. Though my presence may have affected the situation, the Navahos themselves substantiated my impression when asked directly.[13] None of my informants knew of anyone who sang lullabies to infants. Work songs such as weaving, spinning, and corn grinding songs are now unknown in the Rimrock-Willow Fence area, though several informants said such songs used to be sung.[14]

From October second to October sixth, 1950, I worked with several hundred Navahos at Carrot Flats, New Mexico, and spent the nights in the slab shantytown provided by the owners. In part, my reason for being there was to observe musical behavior, and I found that neither in the fields nor back at camp in the evening was there any sustained effort to sing recreationally. Occasionally a boy in his early teens would sing or whistle a few bars of Squaw Dance music, and once for a short while I heard somebody in a slab shanty playing a short American piece on a mouth organ. Here again the Indians were among strangers, but I was told by Jim Chamiso, who acted as my interpreter on this trip, that there would have been no singing even if the people had all been well acquainted. As he put it, "We are afraid to sing because somebody might notice we make mistakes."

This does not mean that Navahos sing only in ceremonies. John Nez, when he was at school, used to sneak out with the other boys at night and sing Squaw Dance songs by a big fire. They would wear horsehair imitations of the clubbed hair of back-country Navahos and sing as long as they could stay awake. Dr. Kluckhohn spent an evening at the home of Gregorio (in Rimrock) in the fall of 1950 which ended with the men in the group singing the Dawn Songs of the Blessing Way.

[10] Tschopik, 1941, pp. 47–50.

[11] Matthews, 1897, pp. 26–27.

[12] Bill Begay in Kluckhohn's field notes, May 24, 1940.

[13] Kluckhohn's experience differs from mine: he has heard and participated in considerably more casual recreational singing than would seem to take place according to my statement.

[14] Salcedanos, however, learned corn grinding songs from the Navahos and still sing them, in the Navaho language, during the corn grinding before the mid-winter festival.

One may see a man riding somewhere and singing at the top of his voice. Young men riding to a Squaw Dance, on horseback or in a car, are likely to practice the songs they plan to use during the dance and the all-night singing. Still, very little Navaho singing is social or recreational, in our sense. It is tied to special occasions, usually ceremonial.

The restrictions on performance seem to be contributing to the disappearance of the great ceremonial chants. I have heard young men say that the many songs contained in the chants are "too hard" to learn. Though certain ceremonies, such as the Enemy Way, seem to be outstandingly viable today, it is true that a great many more have vanished or are now known by only a few older singers, some of whom have no pupils. In the world of music a high level of technical skill is required. A valuable or potent song is one that is remembered letter-perfect; a song that is "just made up" has no value in traditional Navaho religion. One of the most common complaints heard in the Rimrock region was that ceremonies are now being imperfectly performed. Annie Mucho, whose husband, father, and brother were all ceremonial practitioners, expressed considerable mistrust of the present-day performances of certain ceremonies. She said that her husband had learned imperfectly from her father: he often improvised where he should have remembered exactly.

Though two- and three-year-olds are often encouraged to sing, it is not unusual for children to practice singing in secret because they are afraid of ridicule and disapproval. I could find no example of adult Navahos whose parents had urged them to sing (as Old Man Hat did his son),[15] though I did meet several people who wanted their children to sing and had encouraged them to learn Mormon hymns or Squaw Dance songs. Alice Mario learned to play the harmonica with her sister in secret. Mrs. Grant Johns was very proud of her nine-year-old niece who knew three skip dance songs.

The lack of casual singing cannot be dissociated from a general shyness and indrawn quality of Navaho behavior. One could almost say there is a lack of casual talking as well. There is certainly very little *loud* talking. At any large gathering, an observer who is accustomed to the crowd behavior of white people is immediately struck by the general quietness which prevails. There are no loud noises and nobody makes himself conspicuous. Occasionally a tribal leader will make an announcement in which no obvious shyness is apparent, though I did see one speaker who stood with his back to the audience and flung brief remarks over his shoulder.

The chief exceptions to the peculiarly (from our point of view) muted quality of Navaho public gatherings are when formally organized singing takes place, as at Yeibichai Dances, Squaw Dances, or when there has been a good deal of drinking. In the latter instance, when fights begin to break out there may be some shouting, but even this is very different from drunken brawling in white-American culture. Much of the kicking and punching is done with silent intensity. The shouting is not prolonged or repetitive, but consists of a few short cries that seem to be forced out. Even in this extreme situation, there is very little sustained noise, nor do the onlookers shout censure or encouragement.

I will return to this matter of "Navaho quiet" in a later section.

A final remark in connection with taboo concerns the question of personal ownership in music. A man who has learned a chant has "bought" it not only by his effort and mastery but also by actual payment. This feeling of transfer for value received is important in all Navaho ceremony. The patient must pay for the ceremony in order for it to be effective. Similarly, the neophyte must have the ceremony performed over him for pay as part of his training. When Eddie Cochise offered to teach me a song, it was phrased in terms of apprenticeship and purchase. And when Mr. Moustache recorded for me, he would only sing Squaw Dance and Moccasin Game songs. He said of songs higher on the "scale of danger":

> I'm not a real singer, I only know the Blessing Way. It is not right to sing other people's songs.

The fear of misuse in Navaho music is closely related to its function as a practical technique in obtaining certain results in a way

[15] Dyk, 1938, p. 257.

that is essentially magical. If one asks what a particular song is for, or what music in general is for, the most frequent response will be, "to bring happiness and long life." In addition, there are specific functions of particular chants, such as the curing of a particular disease, which contribute to this goal. There are also special functions of songs within certain chants. The "Traveling Song" from the Blessing Way will give good luck in traveling and will also favorably affect conditions for the increase of cattle, horses, and other livestock. The protective function of the Bear and Snake songs in the Enemy Way has already been mentioned.

A good illustration of the functional emphasis in Navaho music may be obtained from comments on "foreign" music. A very common reaction to American or Spanish songs was, "I suppose it's all right, but I can't understand the words." Mr. Moustache, in making such a statement, went on to ask what the song was for. Unless the function was clear, informants did not know how to react.

The homeopathic, imitative, and contagious qualities of magic are observable in Navaho music. Though I was able to collect no lullabies, Mr. Moustache said to his grandson, John Nez, after singing a Moccasin Game song about the pygmy owl, "Why don't you sing that to your baby to make him sleep?" This owl has the reputation among the Navahos of sleeping both day and night. A song about the owl brings it into "contact" with the baby, and a like effect may be produced. Pollen which has come into contact with this bird is considered very potent sleeping medicine and may even cause the baby to sleep too much.

There is sometimes imitation such as the cry of a god or the buzzing of the corn beetle in a song which seeks to transmit power from these sources to the patient. In the Enemy Way, the four starting songs may be cited as an example of this.

RELIGIONS FROM OUTSIDE

THE PEYOTE CULT

MY EXPERIENCE with the Peyote cult among the Navahos consisted of two trips to visit Peyotist families and attendance at one Peyote meeting near Window Rock. I understood that the Navahos had learned about Peyote from the Utes,[1] and I was much interested to find out what I could about musical behavior in this new religion. As far as I could tell, the Ute music has been taken over *in toto*. A number of the men did not sing at all. One told me he had not been able to learn the songs though he was very eager to do so. I heard no Navaho words but only Peyote vocables and the special phrase, *heyowicinayo*. The singing was not done in the usual nasal, sharply emphatic Navaho style [2] but was in the standard "Peyote style" which is more even, almost in the Western European manner of voice production.[3] The Navahos I heard faithfully borrowed nearly every detail of the "foreign" music. This is not necessarily a requirement of the Peyote religion. Four special songs — the starting song, the midnight song, the morning water song, and the quitting song — do seem to have a fixed form in inter-tribal use,[4] but some tribes have, in addition, contributed songs with more or less extensive texts in their own languages to the general body of Peyote literature.

This somewhat rigid borrowing suggests a Navaho theme already discussed, the fear of misuse. This powerful music must be reproduced exactly. It reminds one of the formalistic attitude of the Navahos towards religion in general, and the fear of misuse seems to be at least a partial explanation. In addition, it should be remembered that the general Navaho reaction towards "the outside" is one of mistrust.[5] The Enemy Way, specific protection against the ghosts of dead outsiders, is only one illustration. Certainly the reaction of many Navahos and the majority of the Navaho Tribal Council towards the Peyote cult itself is of this kind. The cult is seen as a very great threat. In the Rimrock region, there were stories current about individuals who had taken peyote, become very sick, and eventually died. There seems to be no doubt that the ceremonial practitioners warn people in these terms and are among the most bitter opponents of the new religion. John Nez wanted to be sure that his grandfather, who knows the Blessing Way, never knew I had sung Peyote songs to him or that he was planning to accompany me to a Peyote meeting. And though he was very curious to attend a meeting, he wanted it understood that he would not, under any circumstances, eat the drug.

A further note on the potency of the Peyote cult in Navaho thinking came from Reverend Banks. He cited instances of a Peyotist coming into the Galilean Mission at Railtown and interrupting the missionary in order to preach the Peyote Gospel. Mr. Banks also said the Indians at the Mission believed that if they shook hands with a Peyotist, they would have to become members of the cult or die. This "contagion" was even supposed to be effective at third hand. Mr. Banks shook hands with a well-known Peyotist to show that he was not afraid of contamination and then found that he was avoided by his own parishioners.

Special words of sacred power were used in the Peyote meeting which I attended. As in regular Navaho prayer and chanting, the words *bik'e hojon* and *sahanayei* occurred frequently. In addition, I heard in every long prayer the English phrases, "Lord God our Heavenly Father" and "Jesus Christ our Savior." In the singing, however, there is the somewhat unusual situation of songs high up on the danger scale *without* meaningful words. The affect here apparently derives not from

[1] Astrov, Margot, personal communication; Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 167.

[2] Roberts, 1936, p. 33; McAllester, 1951, p. 36.

[3] McAllester, 1949, pp. 80–82.

[4] McAllester, 1952, p. 685.

[5] Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 225.

sacred phrases or words of explicit magical power but from sacred vocables and the careful rendition of songs from an outside religion.

During the wait before the Peyote breakfast and later while we lay around conversing in a general glow of good feeling after the breakfast there were many stories told of the goodness and power of Peyote. Johnny Odell, the vice president of the New Mexico Chapter of the Native American Church, was appointed by the leader to be my interpreter during the meeting. During the conversation after breakfast, he was the chief informant. His stories at this time included an account of how he was sent to the Pacific with the Marines by the anti-Peyotists, but Peyote brought him through safely, and how a former governor of Oklahoma went to a meeting and left after awhile, but got up out of bed and returned to it because ". . . that drum was calling me."

THE GALILEAN MISSION

A marked preponderance of women in the congregation was characteristic of all the services I attended at the Rimrock Galilean Mission. The service began at ten o'clock and was well attended throughout the day by the women and their children, but the men's side of the church was rather conspicuously empty except toward lunchtime. A good many younger men and boys began to arrive in time for the last hymns and crackers and soft drinks. They drifted out again soon after the service recommenced. Only one of the men was a customary testifier, while a number of the women could be counted on to contribute long, and often tearful, testimony on how they had been lost in sin and superstition and were grateful that they were now able to see the light and carry it to their friends and families.

Particularly in the afternoon, the service consisted of a good many calls by Mr. and Mrs. Banks for solos, duets, or singing by small groups of Navahos. There was little difficulty in getting volunteers from among the women and even the children, but here again the men lagged behind conspicuously. They had to be urged much more before performing, and they seemed to have had less success in learning the hymns. Jani Miguel, the most willing of the men, was utterly unable to keep on the melody, even with Mrs. Banks helping on the harmonium. The same was true of Jim Chamiso, the interpreter and assistant to Mr. Banks, although I know from my own observation that he had no trouble at all keeping in tune when singing Navaho songs. He was, in fact, known as a very good singer during the years when he was training to be a ceremonial practitioner. He was greatly troubled by his difficulty with the hymns and spent many hours of concentrated effort with me learning about scales and reading musical notation.

Another aspect of the female leadership in music was that a number of women told me that they were teaching their children to sing hymns. They were doing this, in part at least, at the urging of Mr. and Mrs. Banks, and there were frequent opportunities during the services to show the progress their children had made.

In her testimonials, Mrs. Jim Chamiso frequently referred to her thankfulness that the new religion had given her the courage to sing right out in front of everybody. Indications that traditional ceremonialism has not been fulfilling the needs of Navaho women may be found in Rapoport's study.

> And Audrey said: 'I have that hymn book right here in my hand, and I'm learning some of that. I didn't learn some of your songs, but I can learn some of the missionary's songs. Many years I just can't learn your songs. So I can join the Galilean church and learn these hymns.'
>
> And Mr. Moustache said: 'I don't think that's necessary for you to do that. If you want to hear some stories, I have the stories. I know the story about the time when man came out of the ground. Why don't you ask me about that instead of asking the missionary?'[8]

The female expenditure of effort and even leadership described above is, of course, a reversal in the usual sex role among the Navahos as regards religious behavior. In Navaho cere-

[8] Rapoport, 1954.

monials the singers are almost always male. The few female practitioners are exceptions of note. Even the roles of the female gods in the Yeibichai dancing are usually enacted by men. Women do not join the ceremonial practitioners in the chanting as men often do but sit as a passive audience throughout, only taking part in the general purifications and other observances which include everyone in the hogan. It is the men who teach boys sacred music in the usual course of events.

Like traditional Navaho religion, the Peyote cult is dominated by the men. In the meeting I attended, women partook of the drug, smoked the ritual cigarettes with which the ceremony begins, and one woman did pray and testify. But at no time did the women present participate in the singing, accompany any singer with the drum, or use one of the ritual fans.

The Peyote cult, like Christianity, introduces an ethical code backed by religion, but it is clear that it does not constitute so great a break with Navaho tradition as does Christianity. The emphasis in the latter on an afterlife, on an all-important Saviour returned from the dead, and the equality of the sexes in performing roles in the ritual are all radical departures. They are so radical as to suggest that in spite of the respectability and powerful financial and political backing of the missions and the almost opposite position of Peyote on these counts, Peyote may well prove to be the stronger and more successful contender of the two for Navaho adherents.

ESTHETIC VALUES

IN NAVAHO, *nizhóni* (it is good, beautiful) may be applied to an object of beauty such as a piece of jewelry, to a good-looking person, and, in the opinion of all but one of my informants, to music. As Nat Nez said, "You can tell if a thing is pretty with your ear as well as by eye."

As applied to music, however, the "good" and the "beautiful" in *nizhóni* do not seem to be separable. This fact leads us at once into the heart of Navaho musical esthetics. Music is so much a part of religion, a religion that seeks results through incantation, that it can hardly be conceived of apart from its function. The first question a Navaho asks about a song is not "How does it sound?" but, "What is it for?" Thus, when asked for reactions to Spanish and "American" songs, the usual response was:

I guess they're all right, but I don't know what they mean.
I don't know much about them because I don't know the words.[1]

It was almost impossible to get any informant started on a discussion of the esthetic desiderata in music (what is a good tone, what is my favorite instrument, etc.). The main reason seemed to be that in the organic Navaho world-view these qualities are not perceived as independent of total function.[2]

The linguistic barrier, of course, is most frustrating when it comes to subtle nuances of meaning. It was fortunate that my interpreter, Jim Chamiso, had an interest in language which was, as he said, "scientific." He delighted in long discussions of minute shades of meaning. We worked for many hours over the phrasing of the questionnaire on music, and he was careful to ask a given question the same way with all informants. This was a valuable aid to my understanding of what was being said, and since I had the questions by me in English and in Navaho, it was a check on the tendency of even the best interpreters to suggest answers when asking the questions.

The key question on esthetic judgment was:

hat'éégilah sin	*beeh ni zhónláh*
where abouts song	make pretty?

i.e., "What is it about a song that makes it sound pretty?" A classic reply expressing the conservative Navaho view as to what constitutes beauty in music was given by Paul Mario.

It's songs like the Lightning Way and some of the songs in the Blessing Way that are most beautiful. It's good for the patient and makes him well. If it's worthwhile it's beautiful. You could never say skip dance songs are beautiful.

Other similar responses were:

Some songs in the Blessing Way are about the only ones that have a beauty. They help you to receive goods; they raise up the hope for things in somebody's mind. (Johnny Blanco)

That song's a good one as long as it's not a song with no meaning. (Helen Chamiso)

I like Army songs because they saved the country. (Alice Mario)

A mixture of the functional with the esthetic, in the sense of *l'art pour l'art*, was also not uncommon. Johnny Blanco's response was:

Yes, I like the ones that have a nice tune. When you hear a nice tune that makes you happy. The songs I don't like are ones that are just short and don't mean anything.

A reply in a similar vein by Annie Mucho was:

I just feel someway. It sound pretty. I just wish I could sing that song. . . . A pretty sound is one that makes you happy.

[1] Another root which conveys both moral and esthetic meaning is *hózhǫ́-*: *hózhǫǫ́ni* — "beauty" (actually untranslatable). "It includes all that man desires; well-being, success, good health, good luck, happiness, peace, goodness, prosperity, wealth, safety, normality. This short word embraces also the idea that these things have been brought about by supernatural control . . . . represents all the good attainable by man with every means at his disposal, natural as well as supernatural." (Reichard, 1944, pp. 32–33; *see also* Kluckhohn, 1949, pp. 368–69.)

[2] For a definitive statement on the functional nature of Navaho religion, *see* Kluckhohn, 1942, pp. 68 ff.

There can be little doubt, then, of the importance of the functional in the esthetic judgments of many of my informants. The value here seems to be "Beauty is that which *does* something," and there is a corollary which may relate to the fear of misuse discussed above: "The good (beautiful) is the correctly performed."

But this picture is not the whole truth concerning Navaho musical esthetics as I found them. There was an unmistakable difference between the attitudes of older informants (and conservative Navahos in general) and those of certain younger men. This difference was clear in discussion, and it showed itself in musical behavior as well. Some of these younger men made statements about what constitutes beauty in music in which considerations of use or purpose did not appear.

A nice tune is when it's not too rough. (Nat Nez)

Some songs are prettier than others according to the voice of the fellow, and he's singing it right. (Louis Gordo)

Skip dance songs seemed to be at the center of the difference in attitude. These informants expressed a preference for skip dance songs where conservative Navahos condemned these songs.

Yes, there is one kind of song that makes me angry when I hear it: skip dance songs. (Why?) They are not really Navaho. They come from another tribe, and they are sung with the tone of those people. Our young men have picked it up and tried to make it good but all the time it is worse. (Asdza Mucho)

(Do you really think Squaw Dance songs are pretty?) Yes, the really important ones are. You can sing those anywhere; some other kinds you can't sing until the cold weather comes. . . . In the old times, they just sang the real sacred songs. Now, a few years back, they started making up new ones. . . . Nowadays they change the words a lot and spoil the whole thing. Now they don't do it right. . . . The dance songs[3] are going out now. They want more skip dance songs now. We used to sing dance songs a lot for children in those days. These were sacred songs during the time at Fort Sumner and the Squaw Dance was sacred. They only gave special songs. Now they do it any old way. That's why Americans think we just holler any old way. . . . The songs today are mostly made-up songs; they used to be special. Now there are lots of new ones. (Eddie Cochise)

There are indications that the Navahos are moving at present toward the development of a new set of values in music. It is my opinion that the process of secularization is beginning to move up the scale of danger. As this happens, more and more of the music loses the heavy emotional charge it once carried. Sway songs are no longer considered sacred in the way Eddie Cochise described them. Many observers note that the Squaw Dance is now principally a social occasion. This is confirmed by Paul Mario's statement:

I don't do much singing; I like to listen. Sometimes I sing at Squaw Dances. I went to Willow Fence and tried to sing but the drunks were spoiling the singing. I liked our own songs for a long time but it's kind of hard now. It looks like everything is going wrong now with those things.

Kluckhohn and Leighton note this change in emphasis,[4] and the speech of the Salceda delegation cited on page 13 highly relevant to this point. A new demand is being made on music. To command interest it must be pleasing in a more "sensate" way than before. That element of the "purely" esthetic (in our sense) which was present, perhaps, but subordinated in the functional phase of Navaho music is now coming to the foreground.

When I could not start esthetic discussion by more or less indirect questioning, I suggested differences in the way certain types of song sound. By singing a few bars of chant music and then a few bars of Squaw Dance or Yeibichai music and indicating verbally, and with gestures, the difference between the slightly varied melodic line of the former and the highly varied rise and fall of the latter, I was able, of course, to make clear one of the distinctions of sound that I had in mind. I then asked my informants if they had a preference for one or the other type of melodic line as such. Nearly everybody preferred high to low pitch, but there was a division again between some of the young men and the others on the question of variability in the melodic line. Two quotations will illustrate the functional

[3] Eddie Cochise refers to the sway songs that used to go with trotting dance steps as distinguished from the skip dance songs.

[4] Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, pp. 162–63.

conservative and the esthetic "modern" viewpoints:

I like it better when it goes along level; then I know it's a holy song. (Helen Chamiso)

Yes, they sing more fancy now. If you use only one tone it sounds kind of plain. (Nat Nez)

The difference between the old and the new in Navaho musical esthetics is not merely one of a choice in types of songs. There is also a difference in the theory and practice of vocal technique. For the traditional Navaho, singing is a sacred act that must be done correctly. The emphasis is on preparation and training. Endurance is important since the singing goes on all night and must be sustained if the ceremony is to be a success.

The older folks told girls and also boys to get up early before dawn. Then their voices would be good. If you are single you have a good voice: when you get married the voice changes. Now we don't talk that way to our children. . . . (He sings some Moccasin Game songs.) Those are rare songs. I'll teach you those for a dollar an hour. It takes a whole day to learn one of those, or we should get together in the night, that's the way you should learn a song. . . .

(How do you get a good voice?) The way I learned, when you start to be a medicine man they do something to you so that your voice never changes (never gets tired). They have a little ceremonial. You swallow some turquoise and then your voice will never change, it will always be good. . . . If you expect to have a good high voice you have to do something about it. If you hear of a dance, a Yeibichai or Squaw Dance, there's a plant you should get. You boil it and drink it and then go in the sweat house and take a steam bath. You put certain weeds on the hot rocks. You should vomit and that makes you lively and gives you a good voice. Those are the people who have a good voice at the sings.

(Can you give me the names of those plants?) That plant, I'm not supposed to tell. It will cost you a lot; you have to pay for it. It would cost about fifty dollars. It gives you a good physic and you throw up. It cleans you all out. (Eddie Cochise)

The new style of singing seems designed to attract attention to the singer rather than to last through a night of ritual obligation. The voice is forced up incredibly high and is embellished with a pronounced nasality and an elaborate vibrato. It is a style designed for show rather than endurance. My observation was that these features were most pronounced in the singing of the younger men, and that it was the middle-aged men who carried the burden of the singing in the small hours of the morning. A number of informants corroborated this:

It's the young boys that sing up high. We older people change it back and start low again. . . . The young boys get tired by morning. They're supposed to be such good singers but it's just at the beginning when they do a lot of yelling. (Bill Begay)

[Have you heard that (nasal) kind of singing?] Yes, they started that a few years ago, and all took it up. (Why?) They do it to make the songs sound funny. . . . It's the young people showing off in a crazy way. (Helen Chamiso)

When you sing high it's hard work. Some of them give out. Not all of them use that (nasal tone). Some use just high tones. Some use the voice with the nose but it's not so good. Too much nose is bad. They didn't do that so much in the old days. Now the young men do the singing and then don't do it right. They don't give the older folks a chance so they just quit. In the sway singing they are grabbing the song. Maybe three start at once. Some go all the way to the end. (Paul Mario)

Some young fellows raise it up that way. Then they get tired and they have to come down lower and rest. (Johnny Blanco)

Some people just sing like that. . . . We want to sing high all the time and then we run out of voice. (Louis Gordo)

A CONSTRUCT OF NAVAHO MUSICAL ESTHETICS

Though it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a Navaho who could outline a set of esthetic standards as regards music, there are, nevertheless, distinctive Navaho ways of singing. There are definite standards in practice. The following "principles" of Navaho music are derived from the material simply by observing consistencies in musical style.

Tonality

Tonality should be consistent. A particular song should not change key while it is being sung, and a group of songs should be in the same key. However, unintentional off key singing is not ridiculed.

Voice Production

A good voice is somewhat nasal, the vibrato is rather wide; the voice should be as high as possible, it should be capable of sharp emphases, and there should be an easy and powerful falsetto. As mentioned above, all of these features are more pronounced in younger singers. They are also more pronounced in public than in private singing. In the former situation where there is the factor of display and, in some cases, active competition as well as the support of the group in which the singing takes place, many Navahos throw off the shy, retiring appearance which is so characteristic in everyday behavior. Outside this clearly defined singing situation, the Navaho style of vocal technique is much more subdued. Only a few unusually "extrovert" individuals could be persuaded to sing out with full gusto when making records.

An interesting side note on voice production is a mannerism Navahos share with a good many American professional singers I have observed in rehearsal. It is possible, if one places a hand over the ear when singing, to hear very clearly the inner workings of the resonances within one's own head. In my experience at Navaho singing functions, I saw a number of singers who habitually covered one ear while singing. In some cases, these seemed to be leaders in the group, men who knew many songs, and, in the case of Enemy Way singing, were the men who most often led off with the new songs. In every Enemy Way I attended, I saw one or two men who used this technique.

> The boy, my younger brother, sang all the time, all kinds of songs. He used to tell me how the singers sang. He'd sit down, fix up something for a rattle, and say, "This is the way the singer starts." He'd straighten himself up, put one hand below his ears and start to shake the rattle. Then he'd sing, he'd commence with, Hey, Yey! "This is the way the singer starts his songs," he'd say.[5]

Group Singing

A striking contrast may be drawn between the discipline of Salceda group singing and the wild freedom that characterizes group singing among the Navahos. The latter perform a song with a kind of extempore group artistry. Not all the singers seem to know the song equally well, nor do they all seem to be singing exactly the same version of the song. The strongest voices determine the song to be sung next and the version to be used, but there is always a trailing edge of "error" (perhaps "variation" is a better word since nobody seems to be distressed by this). The impression is of a group of individualists who tune their differences to each other at the moment of singing in a dynamically creative way which is very hard to describe.

The Salcedanos, even in the Comanche Dance music, which is somewhat analogous to the social music of the Enemy Way, or in the social dance music which they call "Squaw Dance," show an impressive uniformity as a singing group. As a result of intensive rehearsal in the kivas, every man knows the song very well indeed, and all know it in a standard version. The phrasing and periods of all singers coincide in a manner reminiscent of a trained choir in the Western European tradition. Even the Yeibichai songs, which the Navahos do compose and rehearse for the occasion, show no such uniformity as the "Yeibichai" singing (and dancing) which the Salcedanos do in imitation of the Navahos on the morning after their mid-winter festival.

Rhythm

Navaho rhythms are characteristically fluid. The syncopations, the interrupted double beat, and the intricate variations in beat from one measure to the next evoke a gratified rhythmic motor response from native listeners. It seems that the rhythm is not a steady background for the melody, as in the case of most Western European music, but is as keenly perceived as melody for its combinations and permutations. In the chant music where the melody may be limited to two or three notes, the rhythm may be even more complex.

Tempo

All the Navaho music I have heard has been fast. There seems to be no *largo* in the scheme

[5] Dyk, 1938, pp. 99–100.

of the Navaho esthetic. Moreover, the note values are strikingly limited. If the most frequent value is indicated as a quarter note, one finds that quarters and eighths predominate overwhelmingly. Occassionally one hears a figure such as a dotted quarter followed by a sixteenth or the eighth divided into two sixteenths, but this is virtually all. This situation for the entire musical literature of a culture is extraordinary. It is not unusual to find restrictions in note values for a particular kind of music, as the music of a specific ceremony,[6] but for all kinds of music within the culture to be so similar in this respect is so odd as to start one guessing for the reason.

It is tempting to think of this speed and restriction of note values as an expression of the Navaho value on *action* and *motion*.[7] Another thought is that Navaho music in general may be dominated by the chants, and that prosodic rhythms and speeds have carried over into the vocables of music where extended texts are lacking.

Melodic Line

Except in chant singing, the melodic line in Navaho music tends to start high and move down, often over the course of an octave. Von Hornbostel has explained this direction of movement as the natural result of losing air in the lungs. As one breathes out in singing, it becomes increasingly difficult to sustain high notes, and so the result of any prolonged vocalization is likely to be a downward trend in melody.[8]

[6] McAllester, 1949, pp. 78–79.
[7] Astrov, 1950.
[8] Von Hornbostel, 1928, p. 34.

SOME OTHER CULTURAL VALUES

COMPETITION

OPEN competition is not often expressed as a value in Navaho culture. One rarely sees one individual obviously pushing ahead of another or boasting of surpassing a competitor. The fear of retaliation by witchcraft or of being accused of witchcraft as a result of a too conspicuous success seems to be one explanation.[1] In personal interactions under normal conditions, Navahos stress easy going friendly relations. There is little drive to "keep up with the Joneses," so little that neighboring white Americans often speak of Navahos as typically "lazy" or "not ambitious." In certain areas of Navaho musical behavior, however, there are two kinds of explicit competition: competition between age groups and competition between localities.[2]

Competition between age groups centers around singing techniques, endurance, and repertoire. Older people remark that young men think they can sing better than their elders and point to the "fancy" techniques the young men employ such as extremes in falsetto and nasality. The older people are admittedly less able to employ a virtuosic vocal technique, but they go on to say that this is merely a matter of display. They point out that the steady endurance necessary for the night-long performance of sway singing in the Enemy Way is incompatible with such strenuous vocalization.

> We're still singing when these young fellows go to sleep somewhere. (Bill Begay)

In sway singing as one song suggests another, there is also competition in the matter of repertoire. As described in Part I of this paper, there are two groups facing each other. The two sides take turns singing. That side which can muster the greatest number of different songs and get through the night with the fewest repetitions, of their own or the other side's songs, feels a significant edge of accomplishment. Another kind of competition where repertoire is concerned is like the game of "capping" quotations. Certain songs are supposed to be followed by specific companion pieces (song no. 4 by song no. 5, for example), and it is up to the opposite side to recognize and meet the challenge when the first in one of these pairs is sung. In this kind of competition, the younger singers may have an advantage in being *au courant* with the newer songs, but it is more than outweighed by the advantage of the older singers' larger repertoire, and the fact that older songs command greater prestige.

I have seen the singers clearly divided into younger and older groups, but this was unusual. The competition may still be there in another form when younger and older men are singing together on the same side. A good deal of assertion is required to launch each song as the initiative alternates from side to side. A singer who wishes to "call" the next song must be ready to break in with a loud voice on the last few bars of the song that is just finishing and be able to carry his group along with him. Not infrequently, two or more songs are thus started simultaneously, and somebody has to yield before hopeless confusion ensues. A person with a loud voice is undoubtedly in a better position in this sort of competition.

Informants agree that competition in song-calling fades as the night progresses, and this has been my observation as well. I saw two bad nights of singing where only a few voices were left by dawn, and it seemed as though the reservoir of fresh songs was entirely exhausted. On one of these nights, an announcer urged more men to come out and join the singing and stressed the importance of keeping it up undiminished all night.

Competition between localities is recognized by the Navahos as being one of the fea-

[1] Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, pp. 177–79.

[2] Guernsey, 1920, p. 304.

tures that adds zest to the sway singing. Often the stick receiver's camp will make up one side of the singing group, and the patient's camp will make up the other. The texts of the songs are sometimes altered impromptu to annoy the singers on the opposing side. Thus I was told that a team made up largely of men from Big Reeds sang a song about Blue Springs people liking girls with "bushy hair" (waved, or permanent hair-do) when there were several Blue Springs men on the other side. The result was "almost a fight." Another instance was an Enemy Way at the camp of Eddie Cochise near Rimrock in 1950. One of the songs was reworded to contain an uncomplimentary reference to the women of Shallow Water. The locality of the dance was mentioned, and since the reference could only have been to Eddie Cochise's wives, he broke up the singing until an apology had been made.

Competition between teams of singers is more formally expressed in Yeibichai singing. There the different groups of performers in the masked dancing are almost always young men from a particular locality who have met and rehearsed for the occasion and who hope to win a prize (sometimes a sheep) for the best singing, dancing, costumes, and clowning. I was present at the sixth night of a Night Way at Pine Valley and was able to learn which group (Crown Point, Big Reeds, etc.), was singing at any given time and, at the end, which group was considered to have done best.

Open expressions of hostility are a commonplace at Navaho gatherings if any considerable amount of drinking has gone on. Toward dawn on the seventh night of the Night Way just mentioned, a relative of the patient, an elderly man of officious deportment, made the rounds criticizing the whole program of masked dancing and saying that there had not been enough to make it a good ceremony. He proclaimed this opinion in a loud "announcer's" voice and was roundly criticized in turn by many of the onlookers. Several shouted back abusively and said that it was up to the family of the patient to provide plenty of dancers. On this occasion the usual Navaho circumspection was lacking. Charges and countercharges were freely shouted back and forth.

The only open hostility shown me by any Navaho occurred on this same night. A tall young man, very drunk, came up with a menacing air and, standing very close, began to ask in a loud voice, "Where are *you* from, my friend?" He kept this up in an increasingly unfriendly manner until he was pushed away by some other Navahos. The whole incident was phrased in terms of locality.

SELF-EXPRESSION

One of the most characteristic features in Navaho behavior is a guarded quietness and reticence, one might say a lack of boisterous self-expression. Even in speech, the Navaho scarcely opens his mouth: the jaws are barely parted, the lips hardly move, and the tone is pitched very low. The quiet key of Navaho behavior is so general that one quickly adjusts to it and is hardly aware of it unless he hears white Americans' laughter sounding out strangely loud at a ceremony, or hears an occasional startlingly loudmouthed Navaho.

In my observation the only general exceptions to this quietness are when Navahos have been drinking or when they are singing. The social songs in Navaho life seem to provide, for the men at least, a noisy release from the prevailing subdued mode. There was a good deal of drinking at the Enemy Ways and the Night Way I attended, and it was my feeling that this was particularly the case among the singers. I had the impression that liquor was an aid in removing the inhibitions that might hamper singing out good and loud.

Almost the only noise *was* singing. Several times during the Night Way I heard rowdy parties of young men around the edges of the dance ground and the circle of wagons and trucks. They did not yell, however, but raised their voices in a burlesque of the introductory "hi hi hi hi, hu hu hu hu!" of the Yeibichai songs.

Free composition is another kind of self-expression provided for in Navaho social music. As far as I know, it is only in Yeibichai and Squaw Dance music that free composition may

take place. All other music is traditional and must be carefully learned; moreover, it must be accurately learned. In view of the Navaho taboo system, it is not surprising to find that free composition may take place only at the bottom of the scale of danger, but this fact places the "social" music of the Enemy Way and the Night Way in a highly significant context for Navaho values. This is the only music around which feelings of creativity and social prestige on the basis of creativity may be ranged. These feelings are secular as far as the Navahos are concerned. Evidence has already been presented which indicates that this area in Navaho musical and psychological life is assuming increasing importance in the whole framework of Navaho cultural values.

NAVAHO QUIET

I should like to emphasize in this section the habitually quiet behavior mentioned above in contrast with the loudness and exuberance of Navaho singing. I have been impressed at all public occasions where I have seen large numbers of Navahos assembled, by the quiet and order that prevailed. There were no catcalls, no shouts, and not even any raised voices, except for public announcements. The difference in pace between Navaho and white American gatherings of this sort is impressive. A two-hour wait for the next event at a ceremony or at a horserace aroused no public comment in the former case, and very little in the latter. People just waited quietly. The quietness was equally striking in the fields at Carrot Flats where several hundred Navahos worked in a withdrawn hush, in marked contrast to the noisy behavior of a group of Mexican laborers working near by. A characterization reported to me by M. S. Edmonson is apropos here. A Salcedano informant told him he could always tell Navaho girls from Salcedano girls even at school where they were dressed the same. The clue was "that wild shy look" of the former.

Two recent studies provide interesting discussions of "Navaho quiet." One is an account of an effort to unionize a group of Navahos and the failure of that effort, partly because the organizer made a good deal of effort to get Navahos to boo and to shout "Don't go to work!"

> Had Harding been better informed or more sensitive to Navaho ways, he would have realized that Navahos never shout or behave in a noisy manner, except when intoxicated.[3]

The other study is of a Navaho who, because of his passive withdrawal in a difficult situation, was diagnosed as a catatonic schizophrenic. The suggestion is made that there may be a cultural reason for the fact that an impressive majority of Navaho mental cases are diagnosed as various forms of withdrawn schizophrenia.[4]

The behavior of Navaho children is instructive in this connection. Even in families I had known for some time, the children were so shy that they were not only not heard; they were seldom seen. One of the words I heard most in traveling with Navaho groups including children, and in such Navaho family life as I observed, was "sshąą!" Addressed especially to children and dogs, the word has a strong emphasis and a marked fricative effect in the back of the throat on the "-ąą!" The expression seems to be somewhat the equivalent of our "shush!" but contains more affect. In the case of the children it was usually timed so as to forestall any noise or exhibitionism and seemed to be a very effective control.

The word is also used among adult Navahos to attract attention. Here it has something of the same force as our "hey!" but there is an interesting difference. It is used when the person being addressed has not noticed other efforts to attract his attention and is beginning to move out of range. It is thus nearly always an "emergency" expression where our "hey!" can be used in a greater variety of situations. I was interested to hear "sshąą!" used by a Spanish-American woman selling hamburgers at the fair in the Indian town of Laguna, New Mexico. Some Navahos she knew walked past her booth without seeing her, and she recalled them with this exclamation. I rarely heard

[3] Streib, 1952, p. 28.

[4] Jewell, 1952, pp. 32–36.

Navahos yell. "Sshąą!," one of their most urgent attention-getters is acoustically more of a hiss than an outright yell in our sense of the word.

It is my feeling that the effectiveness of this expression in adult life is associated intimately with its constant use on children and on its congruence with a dominant theme in Navaho childhood training and adult attitudes. As phrased by Kluckhohn and Leighton, a basic proposition in Navaho life is: "Be wary of non-relatives." [5] Another is: "When in a new and dangerous situation, do nothing." [6] A Navaho in a strange place or in a crisis may seek safety by withdrawal into inaction and silence.

Perhaps one of the basic reasons for this constant repression of children is that until they have "learned how," they are great potential sources of error in a dangerous world that must be handled properly to be safe.

MUSICAL KNOWLEDGE BRINGS PRESTIGE

Skill in all the ceremonial arts — singing, dancing, making dry-paintings, telling stories — is highly valued by The People. Experts are richly rewarded in prestige as well as money, and not without reason. Prodigious memory is demanded of the ceremonialist. The Singer who knows one nine-night chant must learn at least as much as a man who sets out to memorize the whole of a Wagnerian opera: orchestral score, every vocal part, all the details of the settings, stage business, and each requirement of costume. Some Singers know three or more long chants, as well as various minor rites.[7]

There is prestige as well as safety in knowledge. Most of my informants when asked said they wanted their children to learn songs, and the most common reason given was ". . . so they will know something. So they will amount to something." Most of these informants meant sacred songs when they said this.

A frequent note in the narrative of Left Handed underlines this impression of the importance of music:

> Then, when you learn about all these things, there's a song for each one. Even though you know only one song for each of them everything of yours will be strong. Even if you have only one song for the sheep you'll raise them, nothing will bother them, nothing will happen to them, you'll have them a long time, the rest of your life. . . .
>
> When you haven't a song for the sheep you may raise them for two or three years, maybe longer than that, and you may have a lot, but those sheep will not be strong. . . . Sickness will bother them, and they'll be dying off. Soon you'll have no more sheep. . . . That is, when you haven't a song for them.[8]

> I told you that I had a handful of things and that you'd be that way sometime, but you'll have to have a hard time first. You won't get this way just as soon as you learn all the songs about them. You have to work for all these things. . . . After you get all this stuff you children will have everything.[9]

> And don't talk roughly, because you've learned many songs and prayers. If you know the songs and prayers you don't want to talk roughly. If you do you won't get these things, because all the stocks and properties will know that you'll be rough with them. They'll be afraid and won't come to you. If you think kindly and talk in the kindest manner then they'll know you're a kind man, and then everything will go to you.[10]

> The day after my brother arrived we started herding together, and from there on we both went out with the sheep every day. He surprised me. Even though he was a small boy he knew a lot of songs. I didn't know any kind of song. While I was out herding with him he started singing, he was singing Nda songs, and I wished that I knew some songs also, . . .[11]

> My boy, I'm getting worse and worse. I think I won't live much longer, so you must learn some songs and prayers about the horses and sheep, and about the jewelry and the farms. If you learn some songs and prayers about these things you'll be all right later on when you get to be a man. . . . And you'll live a long time and get old, if you learn some of the songs to make one live long.[12]

[5] Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 225.
[6] Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 226.
[7] Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 163.
[8] Dyk, 1938, pp. 76–77.
[9] Dyk, 1938, p. 80.
[10] Dyk, 1938, p. 81.
[11] Dyk, 1938, p. 99.
[12] Dyk, 1938, p. 256.

HUMOR

Willard W. Hill in his general study of Navaho humor found that the social songs of the Enemy Way were the chief source of song humor. He notes that the humor ranged "from the mildly ridiculous to out and out obscenity." Dr. Hill's texts are similar to those in the dance songs in the present collection.[13]

Many of the texts of the moccasin game songs are humorous in much the same way. A favorite song apparently known to all Navahos is the following:

> Wildcat is walking,
> He runs down,
> He gets his feet in the water,
> He breaks wind,
> "Wao, wao!" he says.

When Son of Bead Chant Singer recorded this for me he was so amused he had difficulty finishing the song, and his daughter laughed so hard she had to sit down on the ground. The first line of this song is enough to set the audience laughing in anticipation of what is to come. There seem to be several versions of this song current. Several other humorous moccasin game texts are given below:

> Chipmunk, can't drag it along,
> He can't drag it along,
> He holds back his ears.

> The chipmunk was standing,
> Jerking his feet.
> He has stripes.
> He is very short.

> The mole heats his unvarnished bow staff;
> I ram it up your rectum:
> It shakes your diaphragm.

> The turkey is dancing near the rocks,
> His pelvis is spread out.
> It makes you want to laugh.

> The pinon jay has small feces (is childish)
> He is empty (silly), he is empty.

> Big rabbit, goes out to see his girl,
> His urine, he urinates all around himself.

A few Navahos are skillful at composing ridiculous or silly songs. Joseph used to do this for his children, but I was never able to find him in the right mood for recording some of these songs. I did record a nonsense song that was extemporized on the spot by John Hawk who has a reputation as a humorous character around Blue Springs.

> My aunt,
> Good looking man, my son-in-law,
> Another will be, and will be,
> He will hunt deer, deer he will kill,
> He will bring meat,
> We'll eat meat,
> My aunt, my aunt,
> Will you, *please*?
> Will it happen? — they say.

The Indians who gathered around during this performance were highly amused. I had many requests then and later to play this record over, and its fame grew with each playing. When informants were asked what was so funny about it, the usual response was "Oh, he just made it up."

I did not discover any songs in which punning was deliberately used for comic effect, but I recorded two instances in which Son of Bead Chant Singer perceived puns in the texts of sacred chants when he was recording them and going over the translations. In the chant listing the armament of the Twins he was amused by the resemblance of the word "jagged lightning" (*ǹdáhádìłgò* sung *tsinahidilgi*) to "wagon" (*tsínayéi* — a version of *tsínabąs*).

The second instance was in the Wind Song in the same series where the phrase "my footsteps," (*bìnéhòdzìd* sung *k'abinehodsidi*) sounded like "fear of lard," (*'ak'a binéhodzid.*)[14]

Beside being of a fun-loving temperament, Son of Bead Chant Singer is a former ceremonial practitioner who at the time of the recording had recently embraced Christianity. These factors might have led to his being somewhat more prone than the average Navaho to see humorous connections in chant texts. The practice in chant singing of altering words

[13] Hill, 1943, p. 26.

[14] Hoijer (recorder), Creation Chant ms. songs 59a and 64.

from their prose forms leads to versions of words which the layman often cannot recognize. In a language already well adapted to punning, this alteration, which often includes the addition of an extra syllable at the beginning of the prose form of a word, would make for an ideal punning situation.

Members of white American culture have remarked on the "innocent childlike" quality of Navaho social behavior. Navahos laugh easily for what often seems to a trader or an anthropologist slight cause. A principle source of amusement seems to be any excursion into the unusual. A word used in an unusual context, a gesture in the wrong place, a song that someone has "just made up," are all occasions for much laughter. Perhaps the chief explanation for this is that Navaho culture is specific: departures from its norms are therefore keenly felt. This can be demonstrated in musical behavior. There are many feelings of restriction about what may or may not be sung and when. The well-worn patterns handed down by the elders are important. Departure from tradition is more heavily loaded with affect than it is with white Americans; hence the laughter of Navahos over matters that seem only slightly amusing to us.

It is my feeling that Navaho humor has a *defensive* quality. My interpreters were very shy about speaking to strange Navahos. Jim Chamiso, for instance, was my guide in a survey of the fields at Carrot Flats. It was our purpose to interview some Navaho workers at each of the carrot fields we visited. Jim would typically walk long distances looking for someone he knew before asking questions, and we sometimes drove through a slab shantytown and out again with our questions unasked, because there were no acquaintances in sight. When he did speak to strangers, or people he had not seen in a long time, he often covered his shyness with a comic air, speaking in a high voice. Bill Begay used a falsetto giggle quite unlike his natural laugh in similar situations.

This aspect of Navaho humor has a direct bearing on the Navaho mistrust of strangers and, indeed, seems to me to be an expression of it. In a dangerous situation among strangers it is safer to appear funny and harmless and, above all, good-natured and amiable, than to take chances of stepping on someone's toes. By the same token, the humor must be directed against oneself. Laughter should not be at the expense of others, particularly strangers, but *with* others at oneself.

In their humorous songs the Navahos do make quips about others, but these are usually phrased rather generally, as "you girls," or "people from Fort Defiance." So far as I know they are almost never personal. Dr. Hill, in the reference cited above, is of the same opinion. It is interesting that the moccasin game songs which contain laughable remarks about various animals and birds are sung only after the first killing frost when it is safe. There is a minimum of danger from retaliatory lightning, snake bite, or damage to the crops after this time of year.

WOMEN IN RELIGION

A cultural fact which is particularly striking to the musicologist is the almost complete exclusion of women from music. The most probable explanation is that all Navaho music is connected with religion, an area in which the participation of women is limited. For example, menstrual blood, which is very dangerous in any context, is considered particularly damaging to religious power.

As mentioned earlier, some women do not sing at all, and most women know no music beyond a few Squaw Dance songs. I have seen only one woman singing at an Enemy Way. She was so intoxicated that she had difficulty in standing up, and it was apparent that she did not know the songs at all well. The men seemed to think it was funny but embarrassing having her among the sway singers.

This exclusion of women is said to be gradually breaking down. In recent years girls have been known to stand near the sway singers and join in the dance songs.

They stand near the boy they are interested in.

Sometimes they stand right in back of him and join in the singing. The older people don't like this, but that's the way it is now, since the war. (John Nez)

Nevertheless, the Navaho attitude may still be stated: "Women have their own power, and it is dangerous to holy power."

INDIVIDUALISM

In discussing Navaho song style I compared their "individualistic" group singing with the more strictly schooled singing of the Salcedanos. The struggle that sometimes occurs between two or more men for ascendancy in starting off new songs during the sway singing is part of the same picture. There is no recognized leader or authority in control. In the same way there is no absolute dictum on what may be done with music. One medicine man may feel free to sing his songs to an anthropologist and another may not. "That's up to him," was the usual response when I asked a third person for an opinion as to whether an informant would be willing to discuss or record certain kinds of songs. The point is that the ceremony belongs to the individual who has purchased and learned it.

The reaction of John Nez to Salceda discipline when he was brought to trial there for drunkenness at the 1950 mid-winter festival is to the point:

Is this a free country? Well, down at that place they seem to have a king or an emperor or something! They had me in court there, and that governor there said I'd been drunk, and the fine was twenty-five dollars. That's a lot of money. That's how they support themselves over there: they get people drunk and then they fine them like that! I started to say something, and one of those Salceda police stopped me. "Don't speak to the governor unless he gives you permission to," he said. Well, that made me sore. I was going to speak anyway, and that police said to me, "If you speak he will double the fine."

PROVINCIALISM

The Navahos were very curious to hear "foreign" music. They were most interested in hearing songs from other Indian tribes, but Navahos in the Rimrock area were also much interested in hearing Mexican songs, and the young men who had been soldiers in Italy, France, and Germany asked repeatedly for songs from those countries. But except for some of the more devout Christians who knew a number of hymns translated into Navaho and who taught some of these to their children, I found few who could sing anything but Navaho music. Even the young people who had been to school and had learned such songs as "Jingle Bells," or "The Caissons Are Rolling Along," did not sing them when they got home. All but the names were soon forgotten. Two exceptions were Jim Chamiso who worked very hard to learn European scales in his interest to become a good hymn singer, and John Nez who worked for over a month, without much success, trying to learn a French song so that, as he put it:

I'll be one Navaho that knows how to sing a French song. Boy, that will surprise those other anthropologists when I just start to sing that, one day.

The one exception to this seems to be in the dance songs of the Enemy Way where English and Apache words and Apache musical forms may be borrowed.

In contrast to the general Navaho "provincialism," Salcedanos sing a great deal of music learned in school and from other tribes. Comanche and other Plains songs are incorporated into parts of their ritual as are songs from Acoma, Laguna, Santo Domingo, and the Hopi villages, to name merely a few. Many of these contain words or entire texts in the original languages. Though I met no Navahos who could sing Salcedano music, the Salcedanos sing Navaho corn grinding songs in the Navaho language in the mid-winter festival, and they do a Yeibichai dance in full Navaho costume as mentioned above. One gets a strong feeling of the Salcedano delight in the

esoteric in music: I traveled with a group of Salcedanos who quickly picked up by ear all the sway songs I knew. The favorite song of one of my Salcedano informants was "Clementine," which he asked me to record for him to keep, and his father's favorite songs were Winnebago love songs, sung partly in Winnebago and partly in English.

The only non-native musical instrument I encountered among the Navahos I visited was an occasional harmonica. (There was also one radio.) I also heard of a Mission Navaho near Railtown who played the accordion. This situation may be contrasted with the Salcedanos who for some years have had a highly organized Salceda Band, a full band with a conductor, which performs professionally at the Railtown Ceremonials and at similar occasions all over the Southwest. Some of the players were good enough by white American standards to have key positions on the Railtown civic orchestra during its brief career.

Perhaps the peak of musical heterodoxy among the Salcedanos was reached by Helen James, a Cherokee who met a Salcedano at an Indian show, married him, and has lived at Salceda Pueblo between shows for many years. She composed a "Salceda Lullaby" that might have come from the pen of Charles Wakefield Cadman. In her extensive travels in Indian shows she learned what whites expect Indian music to be like, and she composed the song to fit this pattern. With Salcedano and English words it is almost completely un-Indian, musically and textually. It is a well-nigh perfect imitation of a white imitation of an Indian song:

Ya'elu itona
Eya 'elu yo henia, henia, henia,
Weya'a hena.

Go to sleep my wee flower,
Go to sleep my sweet,
Close your eyes and sleep, dear,
Mother watches you till the morning dawns.[15]

The operation of selection in the process of diffusion has an important bearing on the study of cultural values. The fact that the Salcedanos draw so freely from other cultures in their music and that the Navahos do not, points out significant differences in the religious feeling of the two cultures. The Salcedanos are cosmopolitan and are stimulated by their religious music on a conscious esthetic level. Though Salcedano ceremonialism also operates on very much of a magico-functional plane, the "pure" esthetic aspect is much more highly developed than it is with the Navahos. The Navahos, by contrast, are unsophisticated traditionalists. The chant music is almost entirely handed down, and there is a strong feeling that it should be preserved with painstaking exactness. Words and melody alike are magic, heavily loaded with power; they must not be tampered with.

FORMALISM

A theme which has been mentioned so often in this paper as to merit a special place here is Navaho formalism. The meticulous punctilio which is so much a part of Navaho ritual carries over not only into the use of music but into its form as well.

An outstanding feature of the music in this culture is the large number of conventions employed. The sacred chants use special kinds of introductions, codas and endings, special kinds of distortions of words, and special patterns of repetition in text and melody.[16] In the social songs of the Enemy Way we also find introductions, internal codas, and closing formulae rather rigidly prescribed by the kind of song being used. (*See*, for example, page 57.)

In the chants, the songs follow one another in a prescribed order. They serve as a reminder of the myth that is the ultimate source of the ceremony, and they indicate the moment in the ceremony when fixed ritual acts

[15] I cannot resist the temptation to compare this with a more typical Salcedano lullaby:

My boy,
Little cottontail,
Little jackrabbit,
Little rat.

[16] McAllester in Wheelwright, 1951, pp. 33–38.

should be performed. In the social part of the Enemy Way, this kind of formalism is also present. Certain songs are used as signals for the beginning of the singing, the circle dancing, the social dancing, the return to sway singing, and the end of the singing at dawn.

The formality in the structure of Navaho music and the formality in its use provide us with an insight to certain important cultural values. The fear of misuse of dangerous power was discussed on pages 64–67 and was related to the Navaho emphasis on preparation, training, and correct procedure in religious behavior. What the analysis of the social music in the Enemy Way adds to this is the suggestion that a "defensive" formalism extends into certain aspects of non-religious life as well. Although it is impossible to say that any music in Navaho life is completely non-religious, we still find at the most nearly secular level a love song, a teasing song, or a jesting song, freely composed without restrictions of performance, but nevertheless limited by a stylism equal to that of chant forms.

MUSIC AS AN AID TO RAPPORT IN FIELD WORK

An ever-present problem for the field worker is establishing good relations with his informants. I have found the exchange of songs, the discussion of their meaning, and the appreciation of music in general to be an excellent avenue of approach to this problem in several cultures; it was no less true among the Navahos.

In the first place, the *role* of the field worker is defined in terms that nearly every culture can understand. There seems to be something more acceptable about a stranger who wants to learn songs than about one who wants to know how long babies are nursed. Among the Navahos, I was accused, jokingly, of wanting to become a ceremonial practitioner, the usual goal of someone learning songs. It seemed to work in my favor that I was there to learn, that I respected an aspect of Navaho life usually ignored or laughed at, and was willing to teach songs in return.

I transcribed some Squaw Dance songs within a few days of making my first records and was thus able to learn them accurately, though I was never able to achieve more than a poor imitation of Navaho vocal style. Nevertheless, the effect of my effort was more than I had hoped. I was apparently the first non-Indian in this region to be able to sing more than a few bars of Navaho music; exaggerated accounts of my virtuosity conflicted with a strong disbelief that any outsider could sing like a Navaho. My informants were much interested in songs from other Indian tribes, and more than once, after singing some of these, I was asked if I was really a white man, though I have a light complexion and blue eyes.

I found music very helpful when I made contact, without sponsor or interpreter of any sort, with a group of Navahos near Window Rock where I hoped to be able to attend a Peyote meeting. For several hours before the meeting began there was no English-speaking Navaho present, and the only communication I had was in the form of exchanging Peyote songs. When the meeting began, the leader was not very eager to have me there, and it was only by statements of sincere interest on my part and the fact that I already seemed to know a good deal about Peyote and could sing Peyote songs that I was allowed to remain.

From a discussion of music one can move by easy stages into almost any other area of cultural investigation. Almost any line of human behavior is crossed at some point by music. With the Navahos, such seemingly remote subjects as attitudes toward property, propagation of live stock, and the nature of taboo came to the fore in connection with music; sometimes I found informants who were so reserved that it seemed as though no interview at all were going to take place, but who became interested and accessible when the topic was music.

Music has been made unnecessarily a specialist's field in ethnology. A few songs from almost any culture can easily be learned by the ethnologist even if he is not a musician; even very imperfect renderings of native music can do much in establishing rapport.

A SUMMARY IN TERMS OF EXISTENTIAL AND NORMATIVE VALUES

PART II of this paper has been a study of Navaho values as revealed in attitudes and practices related to music. A summary follows in the form of statements of "facts" as the Navahos see them ("is" statements — existential values), and corollaries to these "facts," ("should" statements — normative values). (*See* pp. 4–6.) The normative statements are statements of the accepted, the *desirable*. Certain statements of the *desired*, in opposition to accepted norms and thus indicative of changing values, appear at the end of each section but the last.

WHAT MUSIC IS

Our value-orientations with respect to music are primarily ranged about the area of the esthetic. Those of the Navahos are largely functional. In this area, what is allowed and what is not allowed becomes of crucial importance; the study of this aspect of music reveals an interesting gradation of taboo in Navaho culture. (*See* pp. 63–64.)

1. Music is primarily a means of protection and control, related to the supernatural; therefore (most) music is powerful and may be dangerous if misused.
   a) A man should know many songs.
   b) One should sing the right music, the right way, at the right time.
   c) One should prepare oneself before singing; one should use certain songs only if the privilege has been earned.
   d) Women should not deal with music. In general only the Squaw Dance songs are safe for them.
   But: Women ought to have more to do with religion and the music of religion.

THE ESTHETIC

L'art pour l'art, the separation of the beautiful from the moral, the proper, is an attitude just beginning to emerge in Navaho values. A conflict is discernible between the values of some of the more acculturated young people and the conservative members of the group.

2. The beautiful is the good: morals and esthetics are not separable.
   a) A pretty song should do something for you.
   b) Young people should not make so much of those worthless (skip dance) songs.
   c) "Sings" should be kept holy. ". . . the drunks were spoiling the singing."
   But: "Some songs are prettier than others according to the voice of the fellow."
   "A nice tune is when it's not too rough."
   "A construct of Navaho musical esthetics." (*See* pp. 73–75 above.)

NAVAHO QUIET

The atmosphere at Navaho public gatherings and in Navaho private life is one of restraint, caution, and reserve. Self-expression and self-display are played down; but one gets the feeling that the social occasion of the Enemy Way is a time when inhibitions may be released. Frequently there is drinking and fighting at other ceremonials as well, but the Enemy Way, in its public singing, offers socially approved avenues for self-expression, teasing, competition, and even aggression.

3. A proper man is quiet, does not push ahead of others, but in Squaw Dance singing it is different.
   a) One should be patient.
   b) One should be quiet.
   c) One should be careful not to upset or annoy others, especially strangers.

   But: You can cut loose in Squaw Dance singing. You should be good at endurance, invention, and learning; your outfit should be able to out-sing the men from another locality.

NAVAHO HUMOR

The "simple, childlike" quality of much Navaho humor may be a result, at least in part, of the formality of this culture. Where much behavior is carefully prescribed, simple deviations become highly amusing. Such deviations may take the form of a pun, an unusual grammatical usage, or misusage, a comical "made up" song (usually patterned on sway song style), a ridiculous situation, somebody's embarrassment, or the suggestion or description of improper behavior (ribaldry or obscenity). I was also impressed by a *defensive* quality in Navaho humor in which one took the onus of the joke on oneself rather than taking the risk of offending others, especially strangers.

4. The unusual, the awkward, the improper, are funny.
   a) One ought to talk, sing, walk, ride, etc., correctly.
   b) One ought not to take chances by poking fun at others.

   But: It is fun to be foolish sometimes, and it is good to laugh.

INDIVIDUALISM

The Navahos have never been a highly organized group. An informal "What will the neighbors think?" has been one of the strongest social sanctions. Authority has traditionally rested in the family or extended family group, a situation which usually gives the individual a maximum of personal autonomy. In ownership of property, which includes possession of songs or ceremonial knowledge, and even in manner of singing, Navaho individualism is clearly expressed.

5. What one does with one's property, knowledge, songs, is one's own affair.
   But: No man should act "as though he had no family."[1]

PROVINCIALISM

Kluckhohn and Leighton have commented on how the bulk of Navaho material culture today shows European derivation or influence while their way of life and religion are much less altered.[2] Music is certainly an area of profound conservatism. While the Pueblo groups all around the Navahos borrow music freely from each other, from the whites, and from the Navahos, the latter do not follow suit. The fact that the music is largely religious may account for this difference, but if so, the attitude in religion itself is different. The Pueblos borrow largely in secular music such as love songs and social dance songs, but a great deal of sacred music is borrowed as well.

6. Foreign music is dangerous (*see* 1, *d* above) and not for Navahos.
   But: a) The Peyote cult and its music may be the real Indian religion. (Not the feeling in the Rimrock-Willow Fence area.)
   b) Young people are beginning to like songs that "sound different."

[1] Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 220.

[2] Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 28.

FORMALISM

The protective formalism with which the Navaho surrounds himself is clearly expressed in his music. From the most sacred chants to the most nearly secular level of humorous and teasing songs there is an all-pervading stylism.

7. There is a right way to sing every kind of song.

a) Chant songs should be sung with an introduction, an introductory chorus, a series of burdens, etc.

b) Sway songs, dance songs, circle dance songs, and gift songs all have their characteristic structural features.

DISCUSSION

In a musicologically oriented study of values, not every culture would yield as rich a harvest as does that of the Navahos. The complex ceremonialism which is ever-present in Navaho thinking is closely associated with music throughout, both in attitude and in performance. But the limitations on performance, and on the kinds of music used, are equally significant from the point of view of values. The virtual exclusion of women and children from all but Squaw Dance singing [3] is a case in point. Even lullabies seem to be very rare. Though song number 25 (a skip dance song) and presumably many other Squaw Dance songs as well, could be used for lullabies, the fact is that all female informants when asked said they did not know any themselves nor did they know of any other women who did.

My feeling is that music, for the Navahos, is so closely identified with ceremonialism that many non-ceremonial uses for music have been sharply limited. There is evidence for the obsolescence of work songs. Rhodes speaks of weaving, spinning, and corn-grinding songs as rare on the reservation: they are no longer used at all in the Rimrock-Willow Fence area, though the Salcedanos still sing Navaho corn-grinding songs learned in this region two generations ago.

Another type of music not in evidence among hte Navahos is children's songs (game songs, mocking songs, etc.). Again the reason, in large part, may be the influence of a highly formalized ceremonialism. The danger both to oneself and to others of misuse is strongly felt. This may help account for limitations in the amount of singing and the kinds of singing done by children.

The structural analysis of the songs was rewarding in that it revealed a formalism, even in the most informal songs, highly consistent with the Navaho approach to life. Kluckhohn's formula: "*Maintain orderliness in those sectors of life which are little subject to human control*," [4] seems to extend beyond ritual behavior, poetry, and ceremonial music, to include even Squaw Dance songs.

The over-all picture in Navaho music is of a tradition where many of the usual functions of music, such as self-expression, recreation, courtship, child care, and work are subordinated to an all-important function of supernatural control. With a few exceptions other functions must all find their expression within the area of one type of song, the Squaw Dance, or public songs of the Enemy Way.

[3] Some male children may know Blessing Way songs and sing these in a social context, and a few women past the menopause have become ceremonial practitioners. (*See* p. 65.)

[4] Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 224.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

IN PLANNING the research described above, it seemed desirable to have some sort of control over the interviewing situation. A questionnaire was devised so that the same questions, in the same order, could be asked of all informants. Because of the high degree of suggestion involved in most questions, an attempt was made to divide the interview into different levels of specificity, starting with the most general, "non-directive," stimuli, and moving on to more particular questions only when the informant seemed to reach the end of his more spontaneous responses. I considered answers given by an informant with little or no stimulus to have greater "saliency" than responses that had to be elicited by minute questioning. Other considerations, however, such as degree of rapport, shyness, caution in discussing sacred matters, and even cultural differences in the meaning of some of the questions (*see* pp. 4–5) somewhat reduced this "measure" of saliency.

The questionnaire itself broke down as far as any strict control over the interviews went. Often several of the questions yet to come were answered in response to an earlier question. I felt that my relations with the subject would suffer from a strict adherence to the principle of keeping all stimuli as nearly the same as possible. In some of the interviews it was clear that certain of the questions had better remain unasked because of the informants' personalities. Another difficulty was a tendency for onlookers to volunteer answers. I was not in a position to demand privacy and often felt that the information obtained was worth more than an attempt at control might have been.

My original list of informants consisted of a random sample of the adult Rimrock-Venado Navaho population. It often happened, however, that instead of interviewing the person on the list, I had, perforce, to interview several members of his family as well. Several persons on the list were out of the area working as migrant laborers. Some of these could be found and were, but others were not. The list did not include any ceremonial practitioner, and so I added some individuals who were known to have considerable esoteric knowledge. This was necessary, I felt, to an investigation of music, but my sample, due to this and other circumstances just described, was no longer strictly random.

I feel that some value remained in both the questionnaire and the sample. Though the former was used loosely it was still the core of all extended interviews. It was useful to me as a guide, being comprehensive enough to prevent large omissions, and it gave all interviews a similar direction thus providing a basis for estimating the special interests of the various informants. The levels of specificity also proved to be useful in judging the extent of informants' knowledge and interest.

Since the sample of informants was modified but not abandoned entirely, it did prevent a choice too much on the basis of musical interest or mere availability.

The questionnaire was as follows.

QUESTIONNAIRE

First Level of Specificity

1. Do you like to sing? Why?
2. Some people beat a drum when they sing; what other things are used like that?
3. What body parts are used in singing?

Second Level of Specificity

1. When and where is a drum (rattle, etc.) whatever the informant has listed) used?
2. In what ways may a drum (rattle, etc.) be beaten (sounded)?
3. How do you feel when you hear a drum (rattle, etc.)?
4. How old are children when they learn to use a drum (rattle, etc.)?
5. Is the drum (rattle, etc.) beaten the same way now as in the old days?
6. What makes you feel like singing? At what times?

7. Is there any time when you are not supposed to sing? (When you do not feel like singing?)
8. How many different kinds of songs are there?
9. Do these kinds sound different from each other?
10. How do the different kinds of songs make you feel when you hear them?
11. Are some kinds of songs hard to learn and others easy?
12. How old were you when you learned to sing? (How old were you when you could sing well?)
13. What did people say when you learned to sing?
14. Do you know some old songs that most people have forgotten?
15. Are there new kinds of songs being sung today? (What do you think of them?)
16. Are songs changing now? (Why?)
17. What do you think of American (Mexican) songs? (Why?)
18. Do you know any of either? (Do you wish you did?)
19. Are there other Navahos who do? (Are there any who did not go to school who do?)
20. Why do you think they (nobody) learned them?
21. Are there different ways of making the voice sound when we sing?
22. When do you use these different ways? (If any were described.)
23. Do people make their voices sound in new ways nowadays? (What?)
24. What do you think of the way American voices sound?
25. Are there any Navahos who make their voices sound that way when they sing?

Third Level of Specificity

1. Is there a kind of singing besides ceremonial singing? (What is it?) Suggest: lullabies, gambling songs, work songs, etc.
2. Is there a difference between the way ceremonial songs and other songs sound?
3. Are there ceremonial songs that can be used outside the ceremony?
4. Would you hear the show-off way the young men sing in a ceremonial?
5. Do you have a different feeling when you hear ceremonial songs and when you hear songs that are not ceremonial?
6. Do you feel differently about it when you hear a song in a ceremony and the same song *outside* the ceremony?
7. Are there special songs for working?
   Are there special songs for riding along?
   Are there special songs that go with games?
8. Are there songs people sing just to be funny?
9. Are there dirty songs the Navahos sing? (What do you think of them?)
10. Are there special songs for good luck?
11. Are there songs to make people stop what they are doing and behave better? (Songs for teasing people?)
12. Are there songs that make you feel happy?
13. Are there songs that make you feel sad?
14. Are there songs that make you feel angry?
15. Did you ever make up a song? (Was it a happy song? sad? angry?)
16. (Here an experiment in mood and music was introduced. I sang, without words, and with as nearly identical facial and vocal expression as possible, two songs, "The Happy Farmer," and "Pore Judd is Daid." Of course, the former is fast in tempo and the latter is slow. Informants were asked to identify which was supposed to be the happy song and which the sad one. They were then asked to give their reasons.)
17. Do you know any songs about love?
18. What do you think of American songs about this?
19. Are there songs that are especially pretty?
20. What is it about a song that makes it sound pretty?
21. Are there songs you think sound ugly? (Why?)
22. Can you say a song is pretty the way you say a girl or a good rug or a bracelet is pretty?
23. What kind of singing do you like better: (illustrate with narrow and wide vibrato, plain and nasal tone).
24. What kind of melody do you like better: (illustrate with a chant-like melody and a more varied melody).
25. Are there songs you like just because of the melody? (What is it about the melody that you like?)
26. Are there songs you like just because of the words? (What is it about the words that you like?)
27. Are there songs for children only?
28. Are there songs for men only?
29. Are there songs for women only?
30. Are there songs for old people only?
31. Is it a good thing for you to know songs? (Why?)
32. Do you teach songs to your children?
33. How do you teach them?
34. Do you give them something for learning songs?
35. Do you scold them if they do not learn songs?
36. Did your parents act like that with you?
37. How old are children when they learn to sing?
38. Why do you want children to learn to sing?
39. Do the children around here sing? (What do they sing?)

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