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To cite this article: Ana María Alarcón-Jiménez, Raquel Jiménez Pasalodos & Margarita Díaz-Andreu (2021) Mapping with/in: hearing power in Yokuts landscapes at the beginning of the twentieth century, *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 30:3, 379-396, DOI: [10.1080/17411912.2021.1953392](https://doi.org/10.1080/17411912.2021.1953392)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17411912.2021.1953392>



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Published online: 16 Jul 2021.



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Mapping with/in: hearing power in Yokuts landscapes at the beginning of the twentieth century

Ana María Alarcón-Jiménez ^a, Raquel Jiménez Pasalodos ^{a,b} and Margarita Díaz-Andreu ^{a,c}

^aDepartament de Història i Arqueologia, Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain; ^bDepartamento de Historia y Ciencias de la Música, Universitat de Valladolid, Valladolid; ^cInstitució Catalana de Recerca i Estudis Avançats (ICREA), Barcelona

ABSTRACT



The unpublished field notes on Native American Yokuts cultures and languages taken by linguist and ethnologist John P. Harrington in 1914–1942, now kept at the Smithsonian Institution, are analysed in the framework of Edward S. Casey's concept of mapping with/in. The Yokuts' process of mapping *tripni* places (powerful places) with/in their ancestral territories during the early twentieth century is discussed, paying particular attention to the role of hearing and sound. Moreover, in these archival materials, Yokuts tribal members relate with different bodies of water in an absorptive and porous way, with sound being part of a complex haptic and multi-sensory process. By listening to the testimonies of the Yokuts tribal members who collaborated with Harrington, we argue that sound perception, song, and the sense of hearing played a key role in the process of mapping *tripni*.

KEYWORDS

Yokuts; sound perception; song; sense of hearing; mapping; John P. Harrington

Introduction

Linguist and ethnologist John P. Harrington (1884–1961) spent many years studying different aspects of Native Californian cultures. He undertook detailed fieldwork of a number of Southern Valley and Foothill Yokuts dialects, collecting vocabularies as well as ethnographic and historical information. Most of his work was never published but his notes were later compiled at the National Anthropological Archives (Smithsonian Institution) and are now available online on thirteen sets of digitised microfilms (Reels 89–101). Harrington's records reveal his interest in Yokuts history, geography, culture, and socio-political organisation. He classified this indigenous knowledge in a Linnaean fashion using categories such as 'birds', 'insects', 'plants', and 'material culture'. Throughout his life he took field notes, recorded songs on wax cylinders, and transcribed a considerable number of song lyrics.¹ Between September 1916 and April 1917, together with his wife Carobeth (see below), he also recorded songs in wax cylinders that were then

CONTACT Margarita Díaz-Andreu  m.diaz-andreu@ub.edu  Departament de Història i Arqueologia, Universitat de Barcelona, 08001 Barcelona, Spain Institució Catalana de Recerca i Estudis Avançats (ICREA)
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transcribed by ethnomusicologist Helen H. Roberts (Frisbie 1989). As we mention later in this article, Harrington's relationship with Native American tribal members was both unequal and based on the socially dominant position of the ethnographer. However, for some Native American people today, these papers are a collaborative product, co-authored by Harrington and the Native American tribal members who shared their life stories and tribal knowledge with him (see Miranda 2016). Also, as of today, Yokuts tribal members are engaging with these documents as part of language and culture revitalisation processes, and they are also using them to reclaim parts of their expropriated lands.

John P. Harrington's Yokuts field notes contain rich unpublished accounts that describe certain places in the Yokuts ancestral territories as particularly powerful, 'sacred',² or *tripni*,³ which are often located within the landscape by different processes of hearing and sounding. In this respect, the ethnologist's annotations reveal two very different ways of conceptualising and mapping Yokuts lands, depending on whether one focuses on Harrington's enquiries or on the answers of his Native American interlocutors. In fact, the documents show both the ethnographer's concern for the exact location of certain geographical points, and the Yokuts tribal members' interest in sharing some of their collective and personal experiences in the landscape.

We approach these dissimilar perspectives by using philosopher Edward S. Casey's takes on mapping, as explained in his book *Earth-Mapping. Artists Reshaping Landscape* (2005). On the one hand, learning about the ancestral Yokuts territories was of interest to Harrington, as evidenced by the ethnologist's lists of Yokuts place names and their location in two-dimensional sketch maps. Throughout these documents, his attention focused on obtaining suitable information to make a *map of* portions of the Yokuts territories. In Casey's words, 'mapping of' is one of four ways in which mapping takes place. It entails making an effort to capture the exact geography of a place, 'its precise structure, its measurable extent' (Casey 2005: xx). On the other hand, if one reads Harrington's field notes, paying closer attention to Bob Bautista, Josefa Damian, or the other Yokuts individuals interviewed by the ethnographer, it seems that when they described the location of sites and the transformation of their territories, they might be *mapping with/in*. Mapping within or, as Casey puts it, with/in (Casey 2005: 189), 'concerns *the way one experiences* certain parts of the known world: the issue is no longer how to get there (...) but *how it feels to be there, with/in that very place*' (Casey 2005: xxi, emphasis in original text). In the colonial context of land expropriation and displacement in which Harrington's field notes are historically situated, the Yokuts mapping with/in of specially *tripni* places has a particular connotation. As settlers and government officials mapped powerful rocks, mountains, lakes, and rivers outside the land allotments of indigenous populations, singing, dancing, and telling stories acquired from/at these places served as a means to maintain their 'insideness' with/in tribal lands. This is because even outside the borders of state-sanctioned maps and unavailable as workscapes (Andrews 2014: 426), some aspects of these salient *tripni* places could still be accessed, sensed, inhabited, reclaimed and, thus, passed down from one generation to the next as mapped with/in the Yokuts ancestral territories.

In this article, we examine Casey's concept of mapping with/in by reading the indigenous testimonies compiled by Harrington. The aim of this article is to delve into the Yokuts process of mapping particularly *tripni* places or powerful places with/in their

territories during the early twentieth century and to what extent the sense of hearing was important in this process. The first part explains our use of the term ‘Yokuts’ and contextualises Harrington’s field notes. The second part endeavours to show that sound perception, song, and the sense of hearing all played a key role in the process of mapping salient *tripni* places with/in Yokuts ancestral lands.

On the term ‘Yokuts’

The term ‘Yokuts’ derives from words like *yucotc*, *yokotc*, *yokòts* meaning ‘person’ in some Yokuts languages⁴ (Kroeber 1925: 488; 1963: 187). Called *tulareños* in Spanish and Californio sources (Rizzo 2016), the first scholar to use the word ‘Yokuts’ to refer to the different tribes from the San Joaquin Valley and the Sierra Nevada foothills was Stephen Powers in his *Tribes of California* (1877: 369–92). Powers considered them, as was common at the time, as a group enclosed in a specific geographical area. In this he was followed by Alfred L. Kroeber (1907b: 170; 1925), who used the term in his publications, including his widely known *Handbook of the Indians of California* (1925). These authors’ definition of the Yokuts was exogenous, i.e. not defined by Native American people with ancestral lands in the San Joaquin Valley and the Sierra Nevada foothills. The scholars, and mainly Kroeber, justified it on the basis of language, cultural and social traits and political organisation. Of these four elements, the first – language – was key: the people grouped as Yokuts spoke a series of interrelated ‘dialects’ from the Penutian language stock. In addition, their unity was also assumed because they shared other common characteristics, including their sovereign organisation into what Kroeber called ‘true tribes’ (i.e. a system of polities constituted by both a main village and subsidiary villages that shared a name, workscapes, and a dialect). Their conceptualisation as a unity was also contemplated for what the anthropologist perceived as similar rich and varied acorn-based diets, for celebrating what he deemed common rituals and ceremonies, and for their organisation into identical moieties (see, for example, Kroeber 1925: 494). The final characteristic behind Kroeber’s conviction of the Yokuts as a valid unit of analysis was the existence in all tribes of a set of political and religious structures that included having a political leader or *Tiya* linked to the eagle moiety, and for believing in the eagle ‘as the chief of the assembly of animals who participated in the origin of things’ (Kroeber 1925: 183). John P. Harrington was aware of Kroeber’s work, as the Berkeley scholar’s research is occasionally mentioned in his field notes (see for instance Reel 94: Image 339). It is thus not surprising that both scholars saw the different Native American tribes from the San Joaquin Valley and the Sierra Nevada foothills as a unit of analysis, even though in his field notes, Harrington did not use the term ‘Yokuts’ but the Spanish ‘Tulareños’. Nevertheless, more often than this general term, Harrington noted the name of the tribal language spoken by the Yokuts people he interviewed, labelling his field cards with words like ‘Tachi’ or ‘Paleami’.

In this paper, we use the word Yokuts according to its current Native American implementation. The term Yokuts is used nowadays by Native American people from south-central California to identify themselves, although not in a unifying manner. The Chukchansi Tribe from the Picayune Rancheria has a critical view of this word, as explained on their website: ‘there is no Yokut Tribe, and [prior to European contact] each tribe had its own name and its own traditional use areas’ (Chukchansi Tribe

2019). Nevertheless, Chukchansi tribal leaders, together with the leaders of other federally recognised tribes from the San Joaquin Valley and the Sierra Nevada foothills – the Table Mountain Tribe (Table Mountain Rancheria), the Tachi-Yokut Tribe (Santa Rosa Rancheria), the Tejon Tribe (Bakersfield, who are currently fighting for the return of their expropriated lands), and the Tule River Tribe (Tule River Reservation) – do use the term Yokuts. In fact, they have transformed it into an important concept of the sovereign Central California Yokuts NAGPRA Coalition, through which the above-mentioned tribal leaders coordinate specific decisions and actions in bimonthly meetings.

Contextualising John P. Harrington's field notes

Anthropology was consolidated as a profession in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, initially in federal agencies such as the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE). By the time of the First World War, universities and museums had also become important employment and institutional centres (Patterson 2001: 64). Furthermore, 'anthropologists in the universities controlled both the certification and reproduction of the discipline' (Patterson 2001: 64). It was in this environment that John P. Harrington's work took place, first on his own initiative and later, from 1909, for the Archaeological Institute of America in Santa Fe. Finally, from 1915 until his retirement in 1954, he worked for the BAE. He published a series of studies before his period at the Bureau (Harrington 1908, 1916; Henderson and Harrington 1914; Robbins, Harrington, and Freire-Marreco 1916), but his publications virtually ceased after that. This means that the almost four decades of work he undertook for the Bureau remained largely unknown to the public. It was only after his death in 1961 that his field notes became available. Elaine L. Mills' organised the whole collection of Harrington's papers between 1977 and 1983 and, with her assistants, she prepared nine guides to his field notes. This turned them into an important source for the study of early-twentieth-century California and the Native American cultures of the Far West, including those of the Yokuts tribes (Mills 1985). Their accessibility – they are currently available online – makes them even more so.

Harrington was not the only one carrying out fieldwork in California in the first half of the twentieth century. He was a contemporary of others, including the avocational researcher Frank F. Latta (1929, 1949 [1977]) and the various scholars linked, either as colleagues or students, to Alfred L. Kroeber and the University of California, Berkeley, Department of Anthropology (Driver 1937; Gayton 1929, 1930, 1945, 1948a, 1948b; Gayton and Newman 1940; Kroeber 1907a, 1907b, 1925, 1963; Newman 1944).

Harrington undertook his first two-week field trip to the Yokuts ancestral territories in 1914, visiting the Tule River Reservation, Santa Rosa Rancheria, and Bakersfield. He returned to the area immediately after he was hired by the Bureau and his fieldwork spanned eleven months, from November 1916 to September 1917, during which time he visited the valley and the Sierra Nevada foothills (the Tule River Reservation, Santa Rosa Rancheria, and the Tejon region). During this time, he was accompanied by his then wife Carobeth Harrington (née Tucker) to whom he was married from 1916 to 1922. Their field notes included both handwritten and typed cards and pieces of paper in various languages: English, different Yokuts dialects, Spanish, and the Californio Spanish dialect still in use in the area (Lamar Prieto 2014). It should be mentioned

that on Reel 101 (Images 203–400) there are notes and music transcriptions made by musicologist and anthropologist Helen H. Roberts of the forty-one cylinders⁵ of Yokuts songs recorded by the Harringtons during their joint field trip. Roberts' work had been made possible by some extra funding John P. Harrington had been able to secure from the Bureau of American Ethnology. The Harringtons' field recordings were mailed to her in 1921 with a commission to transcribe the songs (Gray and Schupman 1990: 291–2). In the section where these notes are included, there are also song lyric transcriptions made by the Harringtons.

In addition to the 1914 and 1916–17 field trips, Harrington's Yokuts papers include notes related to his various short trips to this part of south-central California between 1922 and 1942. They contain information regarding his journey to the 1923 Ventura County Fair and his participation in and investigation of the Tejon Ranch case (Mills 1985: 142). Concerning the first event in 1923, Harrington invited a number of Yokuts tribal members to 'show' their culture at the Ventura County Fair, including the Tachi-Yokut doctor Bob Bautista. Harrington's field notes documented the construction of a tule boat, the dances performed by Bautista and other Yokuts people, and the payment they received for their participation in the fair, among other details (Reel 101: Images 463–77). Regarding the Tejon Ranch case, for which Harrington was temporarily hired (1921–1923) by the United States Department of the Interior to obtain depositions from the elderly residents of the Tejon, the ethnographer included letters and notes that can be found on Reel 100 from Image 964 onwards. It is important to note that the Tejon tribal members, who lost their lands as a result of the above-mentioned case (with Harrington, hired by the Department of Justice of the United States, acting in their defence), are still fighting for them. Pictures relating to both the Ventura County Fair and the Tejon Ranch case can be found in Mills (1985: viii–ix).

Over the years, John P. Harrington's research among Native American peoples, including the Yokuts tribes, has been perceived and reflected on in a myriad of ways. Kroeber, for instance, was aware of Harrington's ability as a gifted linguist (Stirling 1963: 371). In fact, the Berkeley anthropologist, even though critical of Harrington's reluctance to publish (Kroeber 1936 in Lightfoot 2005: 227), had access to, and used some of his data to write his renowned *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Kroeber 1925: viii). Along different lines, Harrington's research procedures have been criticised for going to unethical extremes in order to gain rapport with and obtain information from his Native American collaborators, as well as for attempting to lower fieldwork costs by underpaying them (see for instance Castañeda 2002; Laird 1975; Ringelstein 2019). In this respect, Harrington's work could be characterised, together with that of other salvage scholars, as an endeavour aimed at 'extracting' or mining (Hymes cited in Kroskrity 2013: 150) information to be studied by an academic elite, rather than 'mediating' it (Hymes cited in Kroskrity 2013: 150) with the Native American communities within which that knowledge resided (Kroskrity 2013: 150).⁶

Doubtlessly, Harrington's fieldnotes have to be looked at critically and in the context of Euro-American colonialism. The devastating role that ethnographers like him had for Native Californian tribes must not be underestimated. However, it is also important to note that in recent years, Harrington's fieldnotes, like other salvage scholarship, have been themselves 'salvaged' by Native American scholars, artists, archives, and museums in their efforts to bring back home the stories, languages, songs, and cultural

objects that these works documented (Castañeda 2002; Clifford 2013: 173). The resonance of the indigenous voices recorded in these fieldnotes contrasts sharply with the silence imposed on them by contemporary federal and institutional policies. To cite an instance from the realm of education, the use of tribal languages in government funded schools was prohibited from 1880 to 1934, a racist policy designed to ‘assimilate’ (Williams 2012: 35–46) indigenous children into Euro-American ways of being in the world. It is precisely the resounding presence of these voices in Harrington’s field notes, together with their authorship and their agency to shape and choose the stories that were told, that was relevant for writer Deborah Miranda, a member of the Ohlone-Costanoan Esselen Nation (California), in the context of her book *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*. In Miranda’s own words, ‘I regard the field notes that J. P. Harrington took while working with [my relative] Isabel Meadows as her body of work: her engagement in the creative use of words, literacy, and empowerment on behalf of her community’ (Miranda 2013: 81).

Mapping with/in: one concept, multiple perspectives

As mentioned in the introduction, mapping with/in is a term that comes from philosopher Edward S. Casey’s work, specifically from his analysis of and theoretical approach to certain contemporary art works. The term alludes to artistic processes of bodily immersion and connection both *with* a landscape and *in* a landscape (hence, *with/in*). As proposed by Casey, mapping with/in leads to the creation of ‘earth-maps’, i.e. a kind of map (and a work of art) that has profound links with the mapmaker’s body (Casey 2005: 103). Earth-maps are characterised, on the one hand, for being made of or evoking the materials and textures that constitute the surface of the place mapped (such as ‘earth’) and, on the other, for exhibiting the movement of the map-maker’s body as it experiences and moves through that place (Casey 2005: 104). In Casey’s own words, ‘to map with/in is to furnish an earth-map of a given place or region: a re-presentation in some specific medium of what it is like to be there in a bodily concrete way’ (2005: xxi).

In the Yokuts framework represented in John P. Harrington’s field notes, the process of mapping with/in differs from Casey’s in some aspects and coincides with it in others. It differs firstly in that, unlike Casey’s exclusive focus on the visual, in the Yokuts case, hearing and sounding out played a prominent role (at least in relation to the mapping with/in of salient *tripni* or powerful places). Secondly, Yokuts mapping with/in does not lead to the creation of earth-maps as ‘works of art’ meant to be themselves ‘the destination of the viewer’s visual voyage’ (Casey 2005: 189), but to the acquisition of earth-maps as knowledge. Knowledge, in this context, alludes to the ‘skills of being in-the world with other things [and beings], making one’s awareness of one’s environment and one’s self finer, broader, deeper, richer’ (Bird-David 1999: 77–8); as such, Yokuts earth-maps do refer back to the landscape known through them. In the historical documents examined here, it could be said that Yokuts mapping with/in was a way of relational knowing accessible to all Yokuts tribal members, which was individually acquired and collectively shared through storytelling, singing, and dancing in ritual, ceremonial, and healing contexts.

In contrast, from the point of view of our historical analysis, Yokuts mapping with/in coincides with Casey’s in that both allude to absorptive and porous processes. They are

absorptive as they entail a kind of ‘mapping that is done from the lived body’s standpoint (...) from its concrete experience of existing and moving on the earth, being extended in traction there, tracing out its trajectory, thus literally choro-graphic and topo-graphic’ (Casey 2005: 170). Moreover, they are porous because, in contrast to the strict borders ‘mapped of’ by official cartographers, the boundaries that result from mapping with/in are blurred: the place mapped with/in and the body mapping it are mutually felt and incorporated (Casey 2005: xxi). Finally, it is important to note that the Yokuts’ and Casey’s processes of mapping with/in occurred somewhere in place and time. In Yokuts terms, they took place in a *p’aan*, a Yaudanchi Yokuts spatio-temporal concept translated into the English language as ‘year’, ‘world’, and ‘land’ (Kroeber 1907b: 220, 276; 1925: 498; Newman 1944: 162) which, despite being much older, is close to Casey’s idea of a ‘place-world’ (2001, 2005: 70).

Sounding, singing and hearing *tripni* in the early twentieth century

The Yokuts process of mapping salient *tripni* places with/in their ancestral territories during the early twentieth century was intricately linked to making sounds, singing and hearing. *Tripni* is ubiquitously present in all sentient beings at varying degrees; according to the Yokuts testimonies documented by Harrington, certain places, natural features, and some plants and animals were particularly *tripni*. To begin with, places and natural features in Yokuts lands, such as mountains, rivers, lakes, and ponds, were characterised by Yokuts tribal members as specially *tripni*. They were set forth as salient topographic features as they either talked, embodied stories, sounded out, or sang/had songs on them. A powerful place, such as a given river, could be considered particularly *tripni* if it had the power to attract other beings to submerge themselves in it against their will (Reel 94: Image 615). Salient *tripni* sites were respected, but sometimes also feared. Some specially *tripni* places, such as doctors’ caches could be transient, meaning their power could vanish.⁷ This was the case of the cave known as *Pun’sun Tinliw*, a ‘big rock’ located near a church on the Tule River Reservation, from which ‘strange dogs’ (a doctor’s dream or totemic helpers, according to archaeologist David Whitley 2000: 111) used to be heard and seen in a time preceding Harrington’s visits to Yokuts territories (Reel 89: Images 255, 265, 581).

In addition to places, some people were also portrayed as particularly *tripni*. Humans, for instance, were characterised as specially *tripni* or ‘powerful’ if they were able to cure, cause illnesses, kill, influence people’s behaviour, or predict and/or control natural events (e.g. seed growing, rain, snake biting, floods). In the same vein, other-than-human beings were portrayed as saliently *tripni* for influencing or drawing humans to act in a particular manner and against their personal will through the sense of hearing. Hearing was not the only sense used by Yokuts tribal members to recognise and engage with remarkably *tripni* beings and places, although in Harrington’s papers both sensing and reacting (or avoiding to react) to sound, song, and speech were featured as key for knowing salient *tripni* beings and places.

Humans could become particularly *tripni* by acquiring power from dream helpers or salient *tripni* beings. Power acquisition was available to every Yokuts tribal member. It could be attained through ant biting (being bitten by ants), tobacco or datura consumption, and/or a personal and disciplined process of fasting, walking in nature, and bathing

individuals dreamed with or in them, as they told and learned stories about them, and as they performed songs linked to them in rituals, everyday practices, and annual ceremonies. Therefore, sounding, hearing and singing were key elements for the Yokuts construction and transmission of geographical knowledge: this was embodied through their experiences in the landscapes and co-created with the natural environment. In the following section, we show that some Yokuts peoples' testimonies, as recorded by Harrington, are eloquent about this process of mapping with/in in relation to water places or salient 'liquid' *tripni* points.

Singing water: 'A'ki' ponds and Tulare Lake

Geographer Louis De Vorsey pointed out that Native American mapping practices were based on rivers, lakes, seashores, mountain peaks, and terrestrial pathways. In his article 'Silent Witnesses: Native American Maps', he investigated a seventeenth century map traced on birch bark by members of the Mi'kmaq Nation (Atlantic Canada), highlighting the importance of depicting rivers and streams with the utmost precision (De Vorsey 1992: 723). In the Harringtons' field notes, water *tripni* places (lakes, ponds, and rivers) were some of the most frequently mentioned and mapped with/in. It is also worth highlighting that in various Yokuts dialects (including Chunut, Tejon, and Yauelmani), the word for song, to sing, and water is the same: *ilik* (Reel 90: Image 499; Kroeber 1907b: 279, 306; Newman 1944: 167, 202). In some way, the definition of *ilik* serves as a toponym for song.¹³ Furthermore, this connection between songs, the act of singing (often including dancing), and a place in the landscape is undoubtedly relevant in some of Harrington's recollections of indigenous geographic knowledge. Below, we will look at two case studies of Yokuts processes of mapping with/in salient *tripni* bodies of water: the 'Ak'i' ponds and Tulare Lake.

The 'Ak'i' ponds

Between 1916 and 1917 John P. and Carobeth Harrington collected different kinds of geographical data during their so-called 'place name trips'. Place name trips were made by car in the Harringtons' Model T Ford. On them, Yokuts tribal members were driven around their ancestral territories to elucidate both place names in Yokuts dialects and the former location of different Yokuts tribes. A number of place name trips are recorded in Harrington's papers (Reel 89: Image 176–195). During the second-place name trip, the Harringtons said they drove through the 'Ak'i' ponds. Among other details that facilitated the sketching of a two-dimensional map of the location of the ponds, if it were to be needed, they noted the coordinates (Reel 89: Image 180). In contrast, when asked by the Harringtons' about the meaning of the name of the ponds, the Tachi-Yokut doctor Bob Bautista explained that 'Ak'i' referred to 'little ones' toe prints in the muddy border of the pond in evening time' (Reel 89: Image 180). According to Josefa Damian, a native from Visalia of Chunut and Wowol Yokuts descent (Mills 1985: 143), 'Ak'i' were 'beings like babies of different ages' whose fingerprints could be seen on the shores of the ponds where they lived, and who could also be heard crying from these ponds at night (Reel 90: Image 579–580). Her statement coincided with both Bautista's and Francisca Lola's who said that 'Ak'i' lived in Chunut Yokuts territories and (also in

agreement with Damian) that sterile women could step in the footprints left by ‘Ak’i when emerging from the lake if they wished to conceive. ‘Ak’i were specially *tripni* underwater creatures who came to the surface at night. They cried ‘uwa, uwa’ and had the ability to take anyone they wanted to the depths of the pond (Reel 94: Image 323). ‘Ak’i used sound to attract people into the water and so they were feared.

If analysed in terms of mapping, and beyond animistic frameworks and parameters, it could be said that ‘Ak’i were mapped with/in Chunut Yokuts ancestral territories and that the knowledge of them constituted earth-maps. As earth-maps, ‘Ak’i gave a holistic sense of the physical structure of the ponds beyond their littoral zone and their flat representation on a sketch map. Knowing ‘Ak’i meant knowing and being able to feel the underwater portion of the ponds, their muddy shores, the shapes like footprints around their surface, and the sounds that signalled their salient power or *tripni*. An awareness of ‘Ak’i also gave a sense of the rhythm of the soundscape of these ponds, as they highlighted the sonic changes of their ecosystem from daytime to night-time (as ‘Ak’i were only heard at night). ‘Ak’i were mapped with/in in different ways including, firstly, the passing on and telling of the knowledge about them; secondly, as they were heard crying; and thirdly, as women’s feet touched the footprints left by ‘Ak’i to connect their bodies and absorb an aspect of those beings’ power. The ‘Ak’i earth-maps, therefore, evoked a sense of belonging, of knowing one’s territory, as well as the feeling of an array of emotions. According to Casey’s proposal, the feeling involved in this kind of mapping was ‘above all a question of *the contraction of the body on the land and of the attraction of things and events for that body*’ (Casey 2005: 150, emphasis in original text).

Tulare Lake

Tulare Lake was another place mapped with/in the Yokuts ancestral territories as particularly *tripni*; the lake had songs in it and these could be acquired by some tribal members. The preservation of Tulare Lake’s songs on both wax cylinder recordings and in transcribed music scores is particularly important in the face of the lake’s extinction. Although it is now drained due to the impact of farm irrigation schemes, in the nineteenth century Tulare was one of the largest lakes in the United States. When the Harringtons’ visited the Yokuts ancestral territories at the beginning of the twentieth century the lake was already shrinking. Moreover, it had been mapped as being outside the Tachi, Chunut, and Wowol Yokuts territories by Euro-American settlers, and this made it impossible for tribal members to use it as the centre of their social, cultural, religious, and economic lives as in the past. Furthermore, as Bob Bautista explained: ‘the Indians used to pick up a living around the lake [but] they have been driven from one place to another’ (Reel 89: Image 81). In spite of these complications brought on by years of Spanish, Mexican, and US American colonialism in south-central California, the Yokuts peoples’ testimonies in Harrington’s field notes evidence that the lake was still mapped with/in their territories through the telling of stories and the listening, dancing, and singing of the lake’s songs.

Tulare Lake was mapped as a salient *tripni* place with/in the Yokuts ancestral territories, as people listened to the lake’s own songs and voice. Specifically, in the context of Harrington’s records, the portrayal of the lake as a specially *tripni* body of water

that sang songs was set forth by Bob Bautista, who lived near it. In his notes, Harrington wrote that ‘Bob sees tripni’ all around and songs coming from the lake’ (Reel 89: Image 201). **Figure 2** shows the transcription of a song that, according to Bob Bautista, belonged to Tulare Lake (see note 13). During the Harringtons’ fieldwork, the doctor sang and danced this piece in front of both of them and Agnes Light, a schoolteacher at Lemoore, California,¹⁴ as they recorded it on their portable phonograph. Asked by Light about the person who had taught him this and other songs, the doctor explained that ‘they had come up out of the lake and the wind blowing above the lake’, and that they sounded ‘like women singing. That is the way I found them’ (Reel 89: Image 176). In addition to the lake’s lyrics and melodic lines, Helen H. Roberts’ transcription of the song in **Figure 2** included the accompaniment of the wooden split-stick that Bautista played while singing it (first line below the music score). She also transcribed the doctor’s steps as he danced the song with movements described elsewhere as the raising and lowering of one flexed leg after the other and stepping with energy and intensity on the ground (second line below the music score).

In addition to listening, finding, and learning this song, Bautista shared it with fellow Yokuts tribal members in *Kam* dance rituals. *Kam* were a kind of ritual dances, in which dance specialists like Bautista would dance at night and next to a bonfire, to the voices and split-stick accompaniment of two or three singers. *Kam* dances were performed in exchange for a payment from the sitting audience. This payment was made in seashells before the introduction of Euro-American currency, and later on in dollars (as during Harrington’s field work) (Reel 89: Image 221–237). This particular type of dance is documented by Harrington as being structured in song sequences, carefully chosen by the dancer so as to smoothly open, maintain a balanced tension, and keep the public awake towards the end of the performance. The sequence, in Bautista’s case, was chosen by the doctor himself and it included Tulare Lake songs like that transcribed in **Figure 2**. In the context of these performances, therefore, the words and voice of the lake resonated altogether with/in Bautista’s body, his singers’ bodies, and the audience’s bodies.

In terms of the lyrics, the Tulare Lake song transcribed in **Figure 2**, albeit very roughly and imprecisely translated, suggests processes of submersion and water reflection. The

Figure 2. Bob Bautista’s song number 16. Recorded and translated by John P. and Carobeth Harrington (Reel 101, Image 207). Transcribed by Helen H. Roberts (Reel 101, Image 255). The song belongs to Tulare Lake. The Harringtons’ translation (in red font) and the colourful rectangles indicate the repetition of melodic material in Roberts’ transcription and have been added by the authors.

singing lake, listened to and thus mapped as a salient *tripni* place with/in Yokuts lands, seems to be considering the possibility of the listener's body entering or submerging itself in it as through a door: 'What that is? [faster split-stick percussion]/ [Dancing begins] Maybe just like you fellow/ Here lie to us for nothing, maybe door/ What that is? [faster split-stick percussion]/ Maybe just like you fellow' (Reel 101: Image 255). In addition to the call for submersion, the song lyrics speak of reflection ('What that is? / Maybe just like you fellow'). In the song, the lake is portrayed as surprised by a presence that is not easily recognisable at first sight. After this initial questioning, the lake perhaps recognises that a human's body mirrored on its own surface could simultaneously be reframed as a lake with a human body and a human with a lake's watery body. As an earth-map, the song in question unveils Tulare Lake as a liquid body of water with a reflective surface that, in addition to its physical complexity and its actual salient *tripni* or power, is an aware sensual being with ideas, willpower, and an ability to create and question. All in all, despite the expropriation, transformation, and eventual extinction of Tulare Lake in the first half of the twentieth century, the resonance of its singing voice and lyrics allows its absence, and its past presence, to be remembered and heard nowadays (see note 14).

Conclusion

As this article has shown, according to Harrington's early twentieth century field documents, sounding out and the sense of hearing were essential for acquiring knowledge of and mapping remarkably *tripni* places with/in the Yokuts ancestral territories. Moreover, Yokuts tribal members related with different bodies of water in an absorptive and porous way, with sound being part of a complex haptic and multi-sensory process.

We have found that *mapping with/in* (Casey 2005) is an etic term useful for describing the drawing and plotting of places, especially of the salient *tripni* or powerful places in Harrington's Yokuts papers. Stating that specially *tripni* places were mapped with/in as they were heard involved putting together concepts from different genealogies. Whereas the former is part and parcel of Yokuts knowledge and ways of being in the world, the latter is a concept developed and used by Edward Casey to think through the work of contemporary artists like Dan Rice and Willem de Kooning. However, despite their different provenance, both *tripni* and mapping with/in have revealed themselves to be mutually conversant. Moreover, even if temporally and culturally distant, they allude to ideas of place-time, as well as to a process of knowing that does not call for a body to witness a place but for the witness of body and place (Casey 2005: xxi).

The importance, continuity, and tension between the colonial geographies and these embodied indigenous conceptions of the territory entailed two very different kinds of mapping. This dichotomy has impacted Yokuts tribes and tribal lands up to the present day, as it can currently be seen in the Tule River Tribe's struggle for the management of and access to water resources (Tule River Tribe 2019). Beyond the Yokuts territories, these geographical mapping conflicts extend to other Native American and indigenous territories, including recent cases such as the Native Hawaiian struggle against the construction of a large telescope on the sacred volcano Mauna Kea, or the Standing Rock Sioux tribe's defence and victory against the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline in their ancestral territories. In Australia, Aboriginal land ownership is

marked by song ownership. Each clan knows and passes down a song and the rituals associated with a particular territory, with songs that describe particular geographies. Under European Australian law, historical archival recordings of these songs have been accepted as evidence supporting legal ownership of the lands claimed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (i.e. Koch 2013). The early twentieth century accounts discussed in this paper can also be read as a testimony of Yokuts ancestral property of their land and their rights over its water resources.

Notes

1. For detailed archival information regarding the forty-eight cylinders recorded by the Harringtons see Gray and Schupman Jr. (1990: 291–315). We came to know about these cylinders and to study Harrington's papers in the context of our research for the ERC Artsoundscapes Project. Initially, we had planned to use these documents to compliment ethnographic research. However, due to the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic we were forced to cancel our field trip plans for 2020. The digitalisation of Harrington's field notes made it possible for us to continue with our research though within a more historical framework that we had initially planned. Furthermore, also due to the emergency situation resulting from the pandemic, we temporarily postponed our intended collaboration with the descendants of the tribal members who collaborated with Harrington for future, in person meetings at a more appropriate time. Nevertheless, as detailed in note 13 below, the Chairpersons of the Central California Yokuts NAGPRA Coalition are aware of both this article (which, once published, we will send to them as they have requested) and of our use of the so called Harrington's Yokuts papers.
2. See, for instance, Mary L. Keller's 'Indigenous Studies and the "Sacred"' (2014) for a discussion regarding the use of the term 'sacred' in the context of Native American studies.
3. In Harrington's field notes, the Yokuts word for 'power' appears transcribed as *tripni*' (Reel 89: Image 201) and *tfr'ip'ni* (Reel 94: Image 329). Alfred L. Kroeber transcribed and translated the term in various forms: as *tipni* (in Yaudanchi, meaning 'wonderful, supernatural') (Kroeber 1907b: 366); *tipna* (in Yauelmani: power, magic); *tipni* (again in Yaudanchi: something never seen before; animal vision; monster which speaks to a man); *tepani* (in Chawchila: miraculous); *tcipni*, *tcèpani* (in Chukchansi: having power, one who can eat fire) (Kroeber 1963: 221).
4. The word *yucotc* means 'person' in Chukchansi and Kechayi Yokuts; *yokotc* means 'person' in Durmna, Chawchila, Wechihit, and Choynok Yokuts; and *yokòts/yokots/yòkots* mean 'person' in Nutunutu, Tachi, Chunut, Wo'lasì, and Yawelmani Yokuts. Contrastingly, in Tulamni and Hometwoli Yokuts, 'person' is *toxy*; in Palewami, Yaudanchi, and Wukchumni Yokuts the word for 'person' is *tâati* or *mâi*; and in Chuckaimina, Michahay, Ayticha, Choynimni, and Gashowu Yokuts, the word for 'person' is *mâyi* (see Kroeber 1963: 187).
5. The Harringtons' wax cylinder recordings are currently archived at the American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress (Glenn 1991; Gray and Schupman 1990: 291–315).
6. Harrington was not only focused on 'extracting' or, in his view, salvaging, as much information as possible, but also, in doing it with precision. His perfectionist nature and in particular his preoccupation with a correct documentation of Native American languages, led him to design and carry around an oversized typewriter with extra characters to transcribe indigenous speech sound with the utmost accuracy (Hochman 2014: 31; Stirling 1963: 373). He also created a phonetic script called 'sonoscript' (Hochman 2014: 32) and used the field phonograph extensively.
7. This coincides with a later statement by members of the Wukchumni Council of Visalia in which they asserted that rock art places were transient (California US Army Corps of Engineers 1996: 60). In terms of conservation, the representatives of the Wukchumni Council of

Visalia have argued that the natural erosion of rock art sites does not worry them; moreover, rock art could be modified by tribal members. However, the destruction of these sites in the context of processes and projects external to the community is not favoured (California US Army Corps of Engineers 1996: 60).

8. In a telling account, Yokuts tribal member Francisca Lola explained to Harrington that as a child she used to dance in ritual and ceremonial contexts with P'o'in, a renowned female Yokuts ritual specialist. According to Lola, when dancing with P'o'in she used to dream 'all the time. [She] dreamt ta'ak, 'ohp, k'otol (Pleiades), limik' [falcon], etc. But when [the Catholic Dominican German priest] Fr. Guillermo baptised her, she quit dreaming this way and since then has dreamt *puros difuntos* [only with deceased people]' (Reel 89: Image 970). This short but eloquent experience speaks of Francisca Lola's personal journey into two different dream-spheres: one of dream helpers and the other of people who had passed. Her narration of the pre- and post-baptism experience describes the transition without showing her preferences for or clear emotional perspectives of either of those dream worlds. However, Lola's story reveals that baptism did in fact change her possibilities of forging new relationships with, and acquiring new powers from, dream helpers in dreams.
9. In the Harringtons' field notes, there are places such as a hill called 'ustjaw near Coalinga (California) that are characterised as *tripni* (Reel 90: Image 717), as if in reference to their use for ritual practices in a historical past (Reel 90: Image 719; Reel 89: Image 194). Perhaps this suggests that a place could both be and become specially *tripni*, just as asserted by Wukchumni Yokuts representatives in 1996: 'the sanctity of a place, that is, the power invested in it at creation or through subsequent ceremonies and religious activities, takes precedence over the material objects at a site' (California US Army Corps of Engineers 1996: 59).
10. Individual frog-like amphibians were known to have been dreamt and thus, to be the dream helpers of some Yokuts tribal members, as recounted by Anna H. Gayton (1948a: 114) and David Whitley (1992) in the case of the ritual specialist Haichacha.
11. The Yokuts term *Tiya* was translated into the English language as 'chief' (Frank and Goldberg 2010). The word 'captain', in contrast, designated tribal members who attained political and spiritual leadership through redefined paths (e.g. designation by a *Tiya* without successors or by group decision). These paths aimed for the continuation of Yokuts tribal sovereignty as, due to the effects of colonialism, the Yokuts patrilineal inheritance system, through the eagle moiety, was often truncated.
12. In our view, the song text *k'ati p'ono* is probably meant to be ok'ati p'ono, or, following Kroeber's transcription of Yaudanchi Yokuts words, *ökaj* (or *üka-wi*) *pon-pon* 7b, meaning 'look at the snow' (Kroeber 1907b). In the Harringtons' papers the only word translated is 'snow', however the concatenation of the repeating phrases suggests the union between the end of a phrase and the beginning of the next one.
13. On 30 October 2020 the tribal leaders of the Central California Yokuts NAGPRA Coalition, wrote a letter addressed to us, the authors of this article, authorizing the inclusion and publication in this text of Helen Roberts' transcription of the songs in Figures 1 and 2, with the lyrics transcribed and translated by Carobeth and John P. Harrington. We acknowledge that the images presented here are exact to those authorised by the Tribal Chairpersons of the Chukchansi Tribe, the Table Mountain Tribe, the Tachi-Yokut Tribe, the Tule River Tribe, and the Tejon Tribe. Furthermore, after the Central California NAGPRA Yokuts Coalition authorised the publication of these transcriptions, we requested and obtained permission from the Smithsonian Institution to include and publish them here.
14. As noted by Elain Mills, Agnes Light's surname is misspelled 'Slight' throughout the Harringtons' Yokuts field notes (Mills 1985: 158).

Acknowledgements

We would like to express our profound gratitude to archaeologists David Whitley, scholar Devlin Gandy, and Ohlone Costanoan Esselen scholar Deborah Miranda for their invaluable comments to

a later draft of this article. Devlin Gandy helped us to correct a previous error regarding our understanding of both *tripni* and of frogs. We are also indebted to Cultural Directors Shana Powers (Tachi-Yokut Tribe), Colin Rambo (Tejon Tribe), and Robert Pennell (Table Mountain Tribe). Mr. Rambo and Mr. Pennell patiently guided us through the process of asking for permission to use the two images included in this text. Finally, we are extremely honoured and grateful for the approval to use such images by the Tribal Chairpersons of the five tribes who constitute the Central California Yokuts NAGPRA Coalition (see note 13). Complying with their request, we have sent a letter (dated 10th February 2021) to the Anthropology Archives of the Smithsonian Institution, in which we reiterated our compromise to: first, exclusively use these images in the context of this academic article, and second, to send a copy of this paper to the members of the Coalition once it is published.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This work was supported by the ERC Artsoundscapes project (grant agreement number 787842, Principal Investigator: ICREA Research Professor Margarita Díaz-Andreu) funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme.

Notes on contributors

Ana María Alarcón-Jiménez completed an MA in Music at the University of California, San Diego, and a PhD in Ethnomusicology at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Her dissertation investigated Galician musical practices in the coastal town of Ortigueira, Galicia. It specifically dealt with the social construction and social production of the International Festival of the Celtic World of Ortigueira. In addition to her focus on the broad research area of music, power, and space, her research interests include issues of music, aesthetics, and resistance. Alarcón-Jiménez worked as a Research Assistant at the Institute of Ethnomusicology (INET) of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa from 2011 to 2016. She is co-founder and coordinator of the Group of Ethnomusicology at the Catalan Institute of Anthropology (ICA). She currently holds a Junior Postdoctoral Researcher position at the Artsoundscapes Project, Department of History and Archaeology, University of Barcelona. Her work for the Project involves inquiring into people's music and sonic practices and beliefs in a variety of contexts, and to advance the interdisciplinary dialogue between ethnomusicology and archaeology. In July 2021 she was awarded one of the City of Barcelona Awards for her "Disruptive Counterpoint" video installation project, in the category of Video, Arts, and Sciences.

Raquel Jiménez Pasalodos is an Assistant Professor of Ethnomusicology at the Department of Musicology of the University of Valladolid. She has been researching on archaeological findings related to music found in the Iberian Peninsula. Her main research areas are music archaeology, music ethnoarchaeology, experimental music archaeology and ethnomusicology. She is an active member of the major music archaeology study groups, such as the International Study Group for Music Archaeology and the ICTM study group of music archaeology. For the latter she edited the volume *Music and Ritual: Bridging material and living cultures* (Berlin, 2013). She participated as researcher in the European Music Archaeology Project (2013-2018; UE Culture Programme, Multiannual cooperations projects) and the Disguise Ritual Music Project (2013-2017, MC Actions – International Research Staff Exchange Scheme, IRSES). She has curated several exhibitions on music archaeology, educational workshops and dissemination talks. She has also published and edited children educational materials and exhibition catalogues in several languages and

collaborates once a month with an ancient music and sound section at the Spanish National broadcast Longitud de Onda in Radio Clásica. In the Artsoundscapes project her work focuses on the critical revision of ethnohistorical and ethnographic records related to music and sound among hunter-gatherers and early agriculturalists.

ICREA Research Professor *Margarita Díaz-Andreu* is a prehistoric archaeologist based at the University of Barcelona (Spain). She is the Principal Investigator of the European Research Council grant Artsoundscapes (Grant Agreement No. 787842). Over the years she has developed several lines of research, including rock art. In the last decade she has been researching in archaeoacoustics, an innovative line of research bringing sound back to archaeology. Within the Artsoundscapes project she and her team will be undertaking fieldwork in diverse areas of the world in collaboration with local archaeologists and representatives of local communities. A range of rock art landscapes will be analysed through physical acoustics, psychoacoustics, neuroacoustics and anthropological perspectives. Her research in archaeoacoustics has not only been published in some of the best international journals, but it has also reached the general public through radio interviews and news published on many web pages and in local newspapers.

ORCID

Ana María Alarcón-Jiménez  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7555-257X>

Raquel Jiménez Pasalodos  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9422-8302>

Margarita Díaz-Andreu  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1043-2336>

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