

Narrative, Place, and Identity in a Southern Paiute Community

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For Paiute-speaking adults in the San Juan Paiute community, it is often through narratives told in everyday interactions, as well as through the traditional myths and legends, that they create and recreate their identity as Paiute people. Presently, San Juan Paiute society and culture is changing rapidly and narratives provide a resource for Paiute people as they attempt to understand and fashion their place in a reconstructed socio-political landscape. San Juan Paiute storytellers, themselves, are well aware of the power of their narratives as these stories are recontextualized and performed in novel settings, in varying forms, and for shifting purposes. Both in narratives embedded in conversations and in traditional myths and legends, Paiute storytellers control metadiscursive practices that reflect and reconstitute the social and political landscape.

In this paper, I use video-taped interactions to examine informal narratives that came up naturally in conversation. Although more formal traditional stories are still told, everyday stories are informal. In particular, I analyze the ways these narratives shape and are shaped by the social context and the ways these narratives and narrative events have changed or remained the same. I focus on how the storytellers are using various kinds of stories (meta) discursively to re-create what it means to be Paiute.

Twenty-five years ago when I first visited them, the San Juan Paiutes were a small band of less than 200 members located on their traditional territory on the present-day Navajo Reservation. By the 1980s, the tribe consisted of between six and nine extended families (depending on how one counts them) that were Paiute-speaking and of three or four families who through particular historical circumstances had become Navajo-speaking. The San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe was unique at that time as the only one of the 10 Southern Paiute tribes where a number of families still used Paiute as an everyday language and where some children were still speaking Paiute. Most lived in one or two room self-constructed houses. They had no relationship with the federal government and most did not receive any services either through the B.I.A., the local Navajo government, or the County. Also no San Juan living on the Reservation was employed. They supported themselves primarily through subsistence farming and basketmaking—they were the primary producers of the Navajo Wedding basket, a trade basket, which the San Juan Paiutes sold to trading posts and individual Navajos who used them for ceremonies. Since that time, there have been a number of events that have changed their lives: the most important of these was their Federal Recognition in 1990 which gave them a government to government relation with the Federal Government and access to many programs. After Federal Recognition, many tribal members moved to Tuba City where their tribal offices have been "temporarily" located for the last 15 years or so. In Tuba City, they were able to live in trailers with electricity and running water and the San Juan Tribe has been able to provide employment and programs that serve Tribal members. Simultaneous with pursuing Recognition, they were intervening in the Navajo—Hopi land claims lawsuit which then became the Navajo—Hopi—Paiute suit in

1983 . Their goal was to gain title to at least a part of their traditional lands. In 2000, this goal came a little closer when the Paiute Tribe signed a land treaty with the Navajo Tribe which would give them a small reservation of their own. Today in 2006, they are still working to have Congress put their land into trust, i.e., a reservation and, so, are on the verge of finally being able to develop their land—including the simple construction of houses with modern services on their traditional land.

Although the physical and social context has changed a great deal, some things have remained the same—stories, especially informal stories, were in the past and are still a major form of entertainment and instruction when people get together. The telling of stories is important in itself and Paiutes expect that events that happen to them will get turned into stories. Stories often deal with what the storyteller observed, heard, or did, and often lead to multiple participation in a storytelling event itself. Children listen to these stories and sometimes try to participate. Generally, this participation is encouraged. The changing context has not made them perceive themselves as less Paiute. But it has meant that they have to work at making sense of their changing experiences, especially in terms of constructing and reconstructing their identity. Narratives, especially co-produced informal narratives, provide Paiutes with a metadiscursive resource to do just that. In the stories that follow we see various approaches that Paiutes are using. One of them has to do with linking Paiute life ways, morality, and history to places in the physical landscape. And a second has to do with using humor to contrast Paiute and non- Paiute identity.

Places are of great importance to most Paiutes, especially the ones who remember living on their traditional land—most Paiute-speaking families have only moved to Tuba City in the last 10 years and some still live there or have livestock and visit daily. Their traditional territory as a whole is made sacred by myth time events that are said to have taken place there. Also, Paiute ritual activity that takes place in and around homesites makes all Paiute homesites (extant or not), as well as other kinds of places, sacred.¹ Proximity to a place where Paiutes once lived or traveled invariably produces narratives about something that happened at that place.

In this example, we were on a pinyon nut gathering trip in an area near Paiute Canyon and I asked one Paiute woman, Na'auntsits Wʉn,² to tell me about pinyon picking; however, when her 31 months old grandson, Shushʉxats, who had followed me, began to repeat her phrases, she refocused the interaction to include him as a co-narrator. The interaction, which follows, provides a demonstration of how Paiutes socialize a very young child to be a storyteller. Note that as soon as she realizes that he is trying to participate, she pauses (one time for six seconds) after speaking and turns and looks at him, waiting for him to repeat. He, then, turns towards me and repeats her utterance:

Example 1. [sh=Shushʉxats; nw= Na'auntsits Wʉn; and pb=Pam Bunte. The first initials refer to the speaker; the initials following the dash refer to the addressee. Italicized segments in the original and translation mean that the segment was originally in English.]:

nw--pb nʌ'av tʌvwachʔai.³
I'm gathering pinyons.(1)⁴

nw--pb nʌ'av tʌvwachʔaiyʌ'm kaxutsing'wa. =
I'm gathering pinyons with my grandson.

pb--nw =um hmm= [Shʌshʌxats softly repeating tʌvwachʔay 'gathering pinyons' in background].

nw--pb =ichʌ aʌv ar'ai=
Now, it is this.

sh--pb =tʌvwachʔay. =
gathering pinyons.

nw--pb tʌvwachʔai'yʌm, (1)
we're pinyon gathering,

nw--pb tʌkavatsiaka'am ichʌ tʌvay. (1)
we're about to eat these pinyons.

tʌnkamais tʔm tʌkat'a ich. (1) tʌnkamar. (1)
It tastes good in the wintertime when you eat these. They taste good.

shakaih kunanax, (1)
When they cook [them] in the fire,

nw--pb/sh manikay paninax, =
they move them around in the pan,

pb--nw =ʌnga=
yes.

nw--pb/sh =kumixamap, popcornip'ani, sha'akaih. tʌnkamay. ʔavimakw
tʌnkamay. =
like corn, popcorn, when they cook [them]. They taste good. With salt on them,
they taste good.

sh--nw = [turns and looks at pb] popcorn ʔavi [gə gə] (.0)
popcorn salt [?]

nw--sh ʌ'ʌng. unikay tʌkamar iinch. [turns and looks at Shʌshʌxats] (3)

Yes. This tastes good.

sh--nw [turns and looks at pb] tæukamay iich
This tastes good.

nw--sh æuviakan u æuviakan u tækavani. [turns and looks at Shæshæxats] (6)
Now, I'm going to eat it. [bites pinyon]

sh--nw [turns and faces pb] æuv tækavani.
Now [I]m going to eat [it].

nw-pb/sh ichæra. ichæra. næm, tækavianiam ichæ nænai chøakain (1)
This. This. We, we will eat this one that I picked

kaivaxavachu tævapaxavachu. (.0)
in the mountains in the pinyon area.

pæp'aniak uruh.(.0)piaxairæav, kaxukaiæav pæpa//nika'//am aniræ.
This is the way. My late mother, my late grandmother used to do it this way.

sh-nw/pb //iits// iits
This, this

nw-pb/sh chøaræaka'am up'ani h//ani//xa. (.0)
That's how they used to pick them .

sh-nw/pb //pæp// iits (.0)
[?the way?] this

nw-sh/pb tømøøngütækanæp ara'ay. =
It used to always be in the winter.

sh-nw/pb =kæ pæp ii (.0)
? [?the way?] this

nw-pb inaku ampaxaiyuk ampaxay ukwa aipats. (.0).
This boy is talking about it.

tæutæniayaku. tæniavat'atæak ara'a, nanakuts. (1.5)
It's a good story. He will tell about it, when he's all grown up.

nw--sh aingu', kaxutsin. (.0)
Say [that], Grandson.

sh-nw Hunh? (.0)

nw--sh aingu' kaxutsin. (1)
Say [that], grandson.

nw—pb inaku taniavant. (.0)
He is going tell about it

nw—sh ʌ'ʌng ingu'. (.0)
Say "yes."

sh--nw ʌnga
Yes.

nw—sh ʌm hʌh
[agreeing]

Na'auntsits Wʌn's statements in the example above implies that Shʌshʌxats's cultural prowess and his present participation in the storytelling has made this story part of his identity. In fact, she links his present performance with his continued ability to tell this story "when he is all grown up" and indeed his identity as Paiute is indexically related to this and other stories he will tell. Na'auntsits Wʌn also retroactively frames the description of pinyon gathering as a story. Although while she doing the describing no one may have thought of it that way, now that she has constructing the interaction as a story it is a story. Notice too that although place is not highlighted in this narrative Na'auntsits Wʌn in her story says that the place where she picked the pinyon nut that she is eating is "kaivaxavachu tʌvapaxavachu" 'in the pinyon gathering mountains'—where we were sitting at the moment. In fact, we were very near some historic pinyon gathering camps that i had been taken to several years previously—probably where Na'auntsits Wʌn's late mother and grandmother stayed. Place actually played a large part in the way this narrative developed.

Although it happens less predictably, such a narrative may also be told when a place is simply mentioned in conversation. For example, Kaamp, his cousin Wasimpʌl, and Wasimpʌl's mother, Ani, were preparing and eating dinner around Wasimpʌl's kitchen table in Tuba City one evening in July 1999. Kaamp had been doing most of the talking on various topics while Wasimpʌl was fixing and serving dinner. When Wasimpʌl sat down Kaamp mentioned that another cousin had seen some tents in an area near the modern day town of Page. Page is near a place important to San Juan Paiutes called *nʌvaxarʌr* 'wild sheep mesa' in Paiute. At that point, Ani, who had up to this time been providing only encouragement in the form of minimal responses to Kaamp, began with the story introducer "*uvai uvaiyuruh*" 'then' to begin tell the story.

Example 2. [Kaamp =k; Wasimpʌl =w; Ani =a]

a: uvai uvaiyuruh navaiyurokwa'ang kaap kaivayuxwichuxw uruh uvai
Then it was he sang a protection song by those hills

Wasimpul then asked several questions trying to find out if it was a song she knew.

w: axani kaaruxa?
what song did he sing?

a: nux' ukwai kaxami'akw.
I can sing it.

w: axat ukur? kaxa'ak. uvai 'kiya'ningwavaxai' shuuv? [laughing]
which one? sing it. Is it "noisy laughter" maybe?

a: k ururuh impuvat poavuvat.
This one is about the medicine.

a: ungwaxura hanakapayukw inakapayukw airuxaivaich.
naxavukaruxa inakapayukw hanakapaiyapakw airuxaivaich.
shuuv inakapaiyuk airuxaivax.
"He was on that side (maybe) on this side he probably said.
"On this side of Wild Sheep Mesa" or "on that side," he probably said.
"Maybe this side," he might have said.

a: impuvø'ap tangwivachu sukain'ivani iruxa ukwai.
ungwah kwai nangutsung poatsixat uvwaiyønakätukw ukwai kaxaruxa
"Some type of disease will appear," he said.
The Paiute medicine man sang a protection song.

w: impura'iyur
what is it?

a: aiy yeh yeh ankasia ankasia ankasia
kwanantsixaiyoni wiyuxwanikovani
tavaiyaukw kwimituxwashoni wii'yuxwanikovani
[sings] Pinkish pinkish pinkish [sky]
As an eagle moving slowly back and forth
Sun setting moving in circular direction back and forth

a: haingwatsi'ik kwai øønax ungwaxøønax
mpukwai kukwatsini'kwai puwamanixya kwanantsixwiyavax.
unikaikungwah puva'anayu'ng kwai powanakan ungwaiyønaxatuxw kwai
kwiyunt'iruxa, pukwipuxai'kw tavayookwimituxw
Having said it while circling around the patient,

it was like what Navajos usually do performing a ceremony with the eagle feather. When he did that--performing the protection ceremony around the patient, He turned it (the disease) around towards the sunset.

a: imiaxwangukwai muwanixaip
My late father told this story.

Ani clearly framed this telling as a story. The first phrase, *uvai uvaiyuruh*, translated as 'then' is one of a set of phrases that are used at the beginning of stanzas and also sometimes introduce stories. For the ending frame, she uses, *imiaxwangukwai muwanixaip*. *muwanixaip* means 'my late father' and invoking the name of the person—most commonly an ancestor—who told them the story is a common way to frame the beginning or end a narrative. However, although *imiaxwangukwai* is also used as a story frame, in my experience it is only used to start a story and, then, only myth stories. Furthermore, it appears to be untranslatable—even by the Paiute storytellers who use the term. When I asked for a translation the only one I ever got was that it was like 'Once upon a time.' In other words, it is being used metacommunicatively to cue the listener into the kind of story to which they will be listening. It clearly does not mean literally 'told this story.' I believe what Ani was doing here by using a framing device more usual for the beginning of myth stories was simply emphasizing the storyness of her narrative.

For our purposes, this story's reliance on place is also crucial. It is the place that triggered/ keyed the narrative and for Ani the landscape was so essential that she had to remember which side of Wild Sheep Mesa it was that the Paiute medicine man performed the protection ceremony before she could go on with the narrative. For the San Juan people this area is particularly sacred because it is where Coyote let the Paiute people out of the quiver—it is the center of the earth. This would not be mentioned because it is considered common knowledge.

During the narrative, Wasimpul kept asking what the song was that was referred to in the opening line, even trying to guess at which one it was—"which one? sing it. Is it *noisy laughter* maybe?" *uvai 'kiya 'nitingwavaxai' shuuv?* However, her mother kept putting her off and instead spent quite a bit of time contextualizing the story as happening at a certain place. I was surprised when Ani finally sang the song because it turned out to be a popular song—one that even I knew. By not revealing the song to the end, she emphasized the central importance of place and put the song into what for her was the significant context. She knew that most people liked and could sing the song but also she must have realized that most people like her daughter did not realize the original purpose of the song since they had never witnessed a Paiute medicine man performing a protection ritual. I think that she wanted to make sure that her knowledge about this song was recontextualized for the new generation and that the importance of place in Paiute life ways was made clear. Ani died less than a year after this conversation.

The following story was told in January 2000 during after dinner conversation in Mukwiv's trailer and refers to an event that had taken place only a month or so earlier in the same location. On this occasion, Mukwiv is the primary storyteller although

everybody contributes. Everyone present on this occasion in Mukwiv's trailer (except me) had actually witnessed the event reported in the story. It is also very likely that all (or most) had either told or listened to this event as a story before, as well. The present event was therefore, a retelling, and a recontextualizing of the narrated event on at least two levels: a cautionary tale for the three year old at the table and an attempt to relocate and reconstruct Paiute identity metadiscursively for all present (including the three year-old). The telling is complicated and enriched by multiple co-tellers, by the ambiguity of the framing, and by multiple focuses. As background to the story—there was a group of people, mainly Anglos but composed of several ethnicities (including other Indians), whose mission was apparently to show Indian people how to dress and behave "properly." Mukwiv calls them "business peoplingw" adding the Paiute animate plural suffix. They had been invited to go to Mukwiv's house; and other Paiutes and some other Indians (including a policeman) showed up. When the "businesspeoplingw" were in the middle of explaining the virtues of middle class Anglo table manners and dress, a Paiute man, Kaamp, shows up drunk and falls down right in front of these well-dressed people. The videotaped interaction shows that at first when they are talking about what happened Tsanna is playing with her nephew, Shushuuxats, and is not paying attention to the story (even though it is actually her comment that led into the story). Notice how suddenly her attention shifts back to the story; and that this is when Mukwiv takes the lead.

The storytelling took place in Tuba City Arizona when four adult siblings, Mukwiv, Piki, Tsana, and Shaivingo'o, and their cousin, Shøøtsi, their mother's sister, Kwis, and cousin's son, three year old Shushuuxats, were eating dinner at Mukwiv's trailer. Tsanna made a comment about the effect of sweet drinks on Shushuuxats: "*aʌviyang tʌvwitsi anikovani marʌ ivinguts*" 'Now when he drinks [he's] more out of control.' This led to a story that everybody in the room was already familiar with.

Notice too that--although place does not have the central importance in this narrative that the previous story had, it is still felt necessary to note that they were in the exact place where the narrated event took place and even to establish from which side the main character had entered.

Example 3 [m = Mukwiv, p = Piki, ts = Tsana, and shai = Shaivingo'o, Shøø = shøøtsi, k = Kwis, and shʌ = Shushuuxats.]

ts: *aʌviyang tʌvwitsi anikovani marʌ ivinguts.* (.0)
Now when he drinks more out of control.

m: *mait'aiyungwano haʌv kaamp. "aiyʌngw'atʌm tʌvwits ivikarʌm," aikarʌm.*(.0)
That's what they're telling Kaamp now. "It's not good drinking too much," they say

shøø: [unclear others talking and laughing at same time about 20 seconds]

p: *kaichoxo'ang tuxutuxwa marø'øngut'aa.* (1)

His hat was pushed upwards [upwards folded] by someone.

shøø: maningwata'akw tuxutuxw=
Somebody did this upwards (with upwards motion of both hands)

ts: = 'aaah' aik ungwah. (1)
He said "aaah"

shu-- "aaah" =

I was the only one present who had not been at the meeting; and, as I was concentrating on Tsanna's interaction with the three year old, I was not listening to the story being told in the background. I became aware that an event was happening as Tsanna's attention shifted to the on-going narrative. The point when Tsanna reported "he [Kaamp] said, 'aaah' and Shashuats repeated the "aaah" seems to have been a turning point and Mukwiv retakes the lead in the narrative and "breaks into [animated] performance" (Hymes1975, Bauman 1993).

m: =mavai pa'aiyungwatumu businesspeopling tawitsi taara'u'akatam shuupaxa
inaax kaninaxain. (1) aaxaap'ahap? iyupaungwupuxair'angw kwayi
tanankw?

Over there there's lots of business people [wearing] fancy clothes at a meeting in
my house. (1) Which way did he come in? Was it this way through here?
[pointing]

ts: imainakwa (1)
From this side.

k: imainakwa =
From this side.

m: =imainakwa ungwah wakaingu
ma'n paxa'imai ungwah. toxoivatø taiyainukwika'a.
pu'ivatøum umuh tawitsi taruaka'tømu, taiyainukwika'
From this side, he comes in
He's walking like this. (with arms showing walking motion)
Right over here his feet flipped over head. (with upwards motion of both hands)
right in front the ones wearing fancy clothes his legs went up over his head.

[Laughter (3)]

ts: matsikw up'aang pioxwøpapaxa'ing.
Matsikw dragged him out.

m: tuxwaivøvøti'ikw ukwain uvai
Instead, he's putting up a show [Laughter]

shai: umuaxav ukwai karæi pørisits
Sitting among the people was the police [more laughter]

m: yaaikiyaka'ni shuwatəmæni, marəkatsing uwanai apaxai // tærian
The others were dying laughing, while the white person kept talking instead

ts: //apaxaixai =
talking, huh?

m: = tærian shuwatəmæni yaaikiyaka'ni=
instead the others were laughing

shai: =shuyukwai //pørisits ura'ai
one of them was police.

m: //shuyukwai// pørisits ura'ai kamutsipa//ni næranukwivøri//
one of them was police. Like a rabbit, playing and running around.

shæ: //kamuntsini. where you//
going you runaway, hunh? maning. =
like a rabbit. where you
going you runaway, hunh?[He]'s doing that.

ts-- shæ: =maning = [laughs]
[He]'s doing that.

shæ: =like that maning
like that doing that.

m-- shæ: kamuts=
Jackrabbit

shæ: =kamuts like that runaway
Jackrabbit like that runaway

k-- shæ: runaway

ts--shæ: axap'a? toxowaikaip'av?
What way? Any old way?

shə: tʌvwitsikwan, // *runaways--*
Really fast like, *runaway*

m: //tʌvwitsikwan
Really fast like.

ts: piya murachi. piya murachiyʌngu hin. =
He 's drunk on sweets. He 's suddenly drunk on sweets.

m: =piya murachi (1)
He 's drunk on sweets.

shøø: piya murachi
He 's drunk on sweets.

When Tsanna switches her attention from Shushʌxats to the ongoing narrative, it seems at first that the boy is paying attention to something in the next room rather than the story; however, closer attention to the footage reveals he is listening to the narrative all along and therefore it is not surprising when he re-enters the narrative interaction. Notice also how the storytellers encouraged his participation by repeating his statements and asking him questions about the actions of the character in the story. Just like Na'auntsits Wʌn in example one, they have, in effect, reoriented the story in order to include him.

This story displays multiple perspectives and stances. 1) There is Tsanna's perspective about Shushʌxats being out of control, drunk on sweets. 2) Mukwiv related Shushʌxats's case to Kaamp about whom she reported that "they say": "it isn't good to drink so much," and 3) Tsanna reported that Matsikw dragged Kaamp out of the meeting. However, the humor of the narrative is directed at the people in fancy dress rather than the drunk man. To understand what is going on here, we have to understand that drinking and alcoholism does not have the same stigma in Paiute society as it does in Euro-American society. People just think of it as a disease and continue to respect the person. In this case, Kaamp was compared to Jackrabbit while with other people it has been to the trickster, Coyote. This narrative, then, is also about identity and being Paiute. Like Coyote stories and Basso's Portraits of the Whiteman (1979), it shows the listener how not to act, i.e., like silly Anglos who think it is important to wear fancy clothes and act "properly." But also not like the undisciplined Jackrabbit jumping around and falling in front of a hunter or in this case a policeman.

All three of these narratives can be understood as participants' attempts to reconstruct what it means to be Paiute in changing social, political, and physical landscapes, but they accomplish this in different ways. Na'auntsits Wʌn and Shushʌxats co-told story is perhaps an attempt to keep some things as much the same as possible in a rapidly changing world. Shushʌxats was a two year old who was being raised in a monolingual Paiute-speaking household and he was out at the place where the traditional event should be, where it actually was taking place—the normal situation for this kind of narrative. He was also speaking in Paiute about traditional events. What I

think was innovative about the story was the way Na'aintsits W̄n framed it by saying that he was telling this "good story" and linking it subtly to both his language ability and the place. In the past, she would not have needed to do any of that because the linkages were all just taken for granted.

In Ani's story, the narrative genre already existed, but this time the context of its telling (the physical place) had to be discursively created. Ani reconstructs a traditional event witnessed many years before, taking her daughter and nephew metaphorically back to an important part of their physical and cultural landscape. In the past, the kind of information contained in this story would get passed down while visiting the place itself. The changing political situation between the Paiute and Navajo tribes makes this more difficult today. Also, in the past, children and young adults would have been naturally exposed to Paiute ritual practices. Now, a story stands in for the experience, albeit a story that was carefully fashioned with strong ties connecting the narrating event to the narrated event. These include ties, such as reported speech, reported song, and the references to place. In addition, by framing the story with devices more usual for myth or legend stories, Annie has extracted, or released the story from the landscape, making it available for telling in social situations not physically associated with the place of its occurrence.

The co-narrated story where the participants co-construct a retelling of the story about the drunk man and the business people, is also a traditional story form, but one which the Paiutes have frequently used to comment on social change and differences between themselves and others. The situational context of its re-telling allows a unique structure to emerge (Bauman & Briggs 1990). This emergent structure allows the participants to make this a narrative about what it means to be Paiute; at the same time, it becomes a narrative about Sh̄sh̄x̄ats and a language socialization event, socializing him both to begin to know how to think about people wearing fancy clothes and to begin to be a storyteller. His participation in narrating the story was key to Tsanna closing the story with a version of the opening frame which was—"when he drinks he's more out of control," but recontextualized by the intervening narrative to—"he 's drunk on sweets." Without his participation at the end of the narrative event it is unlikely that Tsanna would have commented on his behavior and it is only the parallel "he 's drunk on sweets" comment that constructs the beginning comment in retrospect as a framing device.

Whereas at least one Paiute narrative form is changing as a result of changes in the social and political environment, others are already constructed to take advantage of the social changes to contextualize and reinforce Paiute behaviors and values.

Notes

1. See Franklin and Bunte 1994:249-252) for a discussion of sacred places and of Paiutes feelings about them.
2. The names used in this paper are their own Paiute names. Almost all Paiutes have several names including their Anglo or Euro-American one. I asked them what they wanted to be called when I wrote about them. I told them I was uncomfortable just using their legal Anglo name. So since they are a small community anyone who knows them

can figure out who they are anyway, they decided to use one of their Paiute names..

3. The orthography used here was developed for Kaibab Paiute by me and the late Kaibab elder Lucille Jake. It has been used for educational and other purposes by members of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, by Kaibab, and by the San Juan. It is the official orthography of the San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe. Most characters have their International Phonetic Alphabet values. The following are exceptions or are otherwise worthy of special mention. The apostrophe ['] is the glottal stop. The letter [x] is the spirantized version of [k] and stands for a (usually) voiceless velar fricative. [y] is the glide. [r] is a short apical trill or flap and is the spirantized version of [t]. The digraph [ng] stands for a velar nasal. Before [k], however, the velar nasal is written simply as [n]. The digraphs [ts, ch, sh] are pronounced [ts, tʃ, ʃ]. [ɯ] is a high back unrounded vowel similar to the [ɨ] in Russian. [ø], a sound that in Southern Ute and San Juan Paiute replaces Kaibab and other Southern Paiute open *o*, is a mid front rounded vowel often pronounced with noticeable retroflex approximant *r* coloring. Long vowels are phonemic and are written as double vowels [aa]. Three or more identical vowels in a row signal stylistic lengthening. A voiceless vowel is written with a small circle under the vowel [ə̥]. Voiceless vowels are frequently dropped at the end of words. An acute accent on a vowel [í] indicates word stress.

4. In the transcribed examples, italics is used to indicate that the original was spoken in English rather than in Paiute. Numbers enclosed in parentheses designate the number of seconds of a pause. (2) is a two second pause. A very brief pause is noted by "(.0)." Latching between speakers is designated by an equal sign "=". Overlap or simultaneous speech is designated by "//". Square brackets [] are used to present contextual information

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