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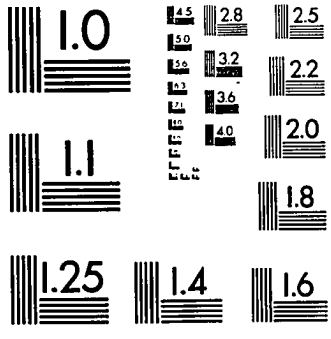

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

BEING AN INDIAN AMONG INDIANS

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

STEVEN BRYAN PRATT

Norman, Oklahoma

1985

BEING AN INDIAN AMONG INDIANS

A DISSERTATION

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION

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BEING AN INDIAN AMONG INDIANS

BY: STEVEN BRYAN PRATT

MAJOR PROFESSOR: D. LAWRENCE WIEDER, Ph.D.

This is a study of the communicative practices of a particular community. Those practices which function to communicate the speaker's cultural identity are the practices that are examined. As such, it is a particular type of ethnography of communication. In this study, attention is focused upon the question of how Indians determine the answer to the question, "Who is an Indian?" and the counterpart to that question, "How does a 'real' Indian make himself recognizable as a real Indian?"

The communicative behaviors identified in this study as being criterial in the identification of a real Indian function criterially for "contact Indians" or those Indians who have frequent contact with members of differing tribal groups and with members of other cultures, as opposed to "grass-roots Indians" who reside in isolated reservation areas who have limited, if any, contact with members of other tribes and other cultures.

In order to address the phenomenon of Indianness a qualitative-ethnographic methodology was employed which involved participant observation. This entails a heavy dependence on inductive procedures

which contrast with an a priori specification of the categories of analysis. With this method, the study permitted the subjects to specify what constitutes Indianness, rather than relying upon a preconceived conception of what Indianness is. The commu- nicative practices identified are not exhaustive of the criteria utilized by community members to identify a true and competent member. Instead, the study is an exploration into the question, "What exactly constitutes a true and competent member of the American Indian community?"

BEING AN INDIAN AMONG INDIANS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND THE RESEARCH STRATEGY

General Statement of the Problem at the Highest Level of Generality

Wieder and Pratt (1984: 1-4) provided an analysis of the general problem that this dissertation aims to illuminate and instantiate in the detailed particulars of ethnographic observation and analysis.

> In conducting their everyday affairs, persons unavoidably confront the problem of observing others and being observed by them. Every course of action which in any way requires the cooperation of others, or which can be impeded by others, requires that the actor correctly recognize who the others are and requires that the actor make who he is and what he is doing visible and recognizable.[1]
>
> Being a particular type of person and being engaged in a particular type of action covers a large territory--it includes such diverse matters as being one who is standing in line and being a true friend. However broad and diverse the territory, it is unified by some common features.
>
> (1) By appropriately behaving or otherwise indicating that one is a person of a particular sort, a person obliges and/or induces others to treat him as that sort of person. For example, by appropriately (visibly and recognizably) standing in line at the theater box office, one obliges others who wish a place in line to take their place behind oneself. By behaving and otherwise indicating that one is a friend, one obliges and induces the other to treat one as a friend.
>
> (2) The very action which indicates who one is requires the appropriate response of the other for its fulfillment and completion. To be a certain kind of person (e.g., a male, a student, a physician) requires that one elicit the enabling

responses of others which permit the enactment or performance of that persona.

(3) Those actions or other displays which make being that type of person visible and recognizable are not mere indicators or signs of being that type of person, as Goffman (1959) would have it, which can be divorced from actually being that type of person or doing what that type of person does. They are essential, organizing constituents of being that type of person. That is, the ways that persons make who they are (or what they are doing) visible and recognizable to others are essential and organizing constituents of living a life as that kind of person or of doing that kind of action. Whatever it is that one does to make it evident to others that one is actually standing in line, that activity of making it evident is an essential constituent of standing in line itself. And, that activity of "making evident" and its "method" is an organizing constituent of standing in line. It orders that activity for those who witness it, and it orders the activity from the standpoint of the person who does it or "undergoes" it. Similarly, however it is that one shows that one is a friend, that activity is an essential and organizing constituent of being a friend. However some person make it evident (make it visible and recognizable) that they are a woman, the methods and activity of making it evident are essential organizing constituents of being a woman or living one's life as a woman.

(4) What one does in making it evident that one is a particular type of person is necessarily correlated with what others recognize in recognizing that particular type of person. Of course, who it is that stands as an audience makes a difference here. In one important range of cases, the audience is also an incumbent of the category being recognized. It is very common that members of a category not only seek to be recognized as members, but it is also the case that being a member of that category requires such recognition. Being one who stands in line is one such example. Being a recognizable American Indian among American Indians is another. The activity and method of making oneself visible and recognizable as "standing in line" or as "being a real Indian" is correlated, point for point, with the "criteria" employed by others (who are "standing in line" or who are recognizable real Indians) in competently recognizing another as being one of them. Further, in these instances, the adequacy of one's recognition of other members of the category is itself a constituent feature of making oneself recognizable as a member. Thus, for example, properly recognizing other persons who are standing in line is one feature of "doing" "standing in line" in a visible and recognizable way. Recognizing other real Indians and only other real Indians as real Indians is one feature of being a recognizable real Indian for other real Indians.

In this study, attention is focused upon the question of how Indians determine the answer to the question, "Who is an Indian?" and the counterpart of that question, "How does a real Indian make himself recognizable as a real Indian?" The problem of "re-

cognition and being recognized" among Indians recommends itself as an especially useful example for investigation, because the matter is so consequential and problematic for Indians, as well as illuminating the phenomenon of "leading one's life as an Indian." Upon frequent occasions, the issues of recognition become a matter of discussion and "folk analysis." That is, Indians discuss the obvious Indianness, or lack of it, of a candidate Indian. "Is he really an Indian?" is a question that they ask, and they know that it can be asked about them. They are, then, reflective in areas that most of us simply take for granted. In their reflectiveness, Indians make especially good informants on the problem of recognition and being recognized. In its being problematic, the matter is also open to direct observation as it emerges and is dealt with in gatherings of two or more Indians.

A Focused Ethnography of Communication as a Solution to the "Problem"

At a more concrete level, this is a study of the communicative practices of a particular community. Those practices which function to communicate the speaker's cultural identity are the practices that are examined. As such it is a particular type of ethnography of communication which has a close kinship with Dell Hymes' (1972) conception.

What is an Ethnography of Communication?

For a social scientist to fully understand and explicate a particular culture, community, or group of people, it is necessary that the scientist investigate the interaction of language with social life. Rather than attempting to understand a particular culture based upon separate results from speech, communication, linguistics, psychology, sociology, ethnology, and seek to correlate them, the social scientist must investigate the use of language in the contexts of situations so as to discern patterns proper to speech activity, patterns that escape separate studies of grammar, of personality, of social structure, religion and the like, each abstracting from the

patterning of speech activity into some other frame of reference (cf. Hymes, 1974, esp. p. 3). Hymes (1972) puts the matter this way:

> ...[O]ne cannot take linguistic form, a given code, or even speech itself, as a limiting frame of reference. One must take as context a community, or network of persons, investigating its communicative activities as a whole, so that any use of channel and code takes its place as part of the resources upon which the members draw. (p. 4)

Thus, the community serves as the basic focus of analysis.

This ethnographic study of the communicative behaviors of the American Indian community employs, to some extent tacitly, Hymes' (1972) schema of components of speech events.

Speech Situation

"Within a community [which shares rules for the conduct and interpretation of communicative acts] one readily detects many situations associated with (or marked by the absence of) speech" (Hymes, 1972: 56). Such contexts of situation will often be naturally described as ceremonies which provide occasion for transmission of culture and public oratory, initial interactions which dictate silence on the part of the participants, dyads and small groups which provide occasion for verbal dueling, and so forth.

Speech Event

"This term is restricted to activities, or aspects of activities, that are directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech" (Hymes, 1972: 56). For example, when real Indians engage one another in verbal dueling there are certain rules that must be followed in order to properly enact the behavior such as rules concerning proper topics and rules that govern the treatment of the participants in terms of their relative ages.

Speech Act

"The speech act is the minimal term of the speech event and represents a level distinct from the sentence, and not identifiable with any single portion of other levels of grammar, nor with segments of any particular size defined in terms of other levels of grammar" (Hymes, 1972: 56-57). For example, when a real Indian tenders an invitation to another real Indian and the invitee responds in the affirmative, e.g., "yes, I'll be there," both interactants know that the affirmative response can actually mean "maybe I'll be there," "no, I won't be there," or "yes, I'll be there." Only by shared cultural knowledge can a real Indian properly assign meaning to the response.

Speech Styles

"Style has been approached as a matter of statistical frequency of elements already given in linguistic description, or as a deviation from some norm given by such description" (Hymes, 1972: 57). The distinctiveness of the speech style of "real Indians" is readily apparent in the public oratory of real Indians in that some features of the method of "real Indian public oratory" differ markedly from that of Western styles of public speaking. That is, a real Indian must utilize the appropriate styles of speaking in order to be afforded cultural competency.

Ways of Speaking

"This term is used as the most general, indeed, as a primitive, term. The point of it is the regulative idea that the communicative behavior within a community is analyzable in terms of determinate ways of speaking, that the communicative competence of persons comprises in

part a knowledge of determinate ways of speaking" (Hymes, 1972: 58). "Ways of speaking" is particularly important to the identification of a real Indian in that a real Indian must know and enact the appropriate methods of communicating within the community. The real Indian must know the appropriate structure in delivering a speech, he must know to whom he can enact specific communicative behaviors and under what circumstances, and so forth, in order to be considered a true member of the community.

Speech Community

According to Hymes, a speech community is defined as a community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety. For this study the American Indian community is the primary unit of analysis. Within the "real Indian" community its members must adhere to a prescribed set of rules in their interactions with other members in order to be considered a full-fledged, competent member (i.e., a real Indian) and to be able to interpret properly the meanings of the community's speech acts. Although the members of this community represent varying tribal affiliations, geographical locales, and differing linguistic stocks, English serves as the unifying language.

Speech Field

Hymes defines speech field as the total range of communities within which a person's knowledge of varieties and speaking rules potentially enables him to move communicatively. In this study the concept of "speech field" is employed in the conception of "contact Indians." The field of analysis is defined by a conjunction of speech

community and speech field. My concern, then, is with real Indians who are contact Indians.

The Scope of the Inquiry: Contact Indians

The communicative behaviors which are criterial in the identification of a real Indian can be generalized across most tribal affiliations and geographical regions. This is to say that in a real Indian's quest to make himself known to others as a real Indian and to identify others as a real Indian, the communicative behaviors described in this study are enacted inter-tribally as well as intra-tribally, and across most geographical boundaries, e.g., Plains Indians vs. Southwestern Indians. The communicative behaviors identified here function criterially for what I call "contact Indians" or those Indians who have frequent contact with members of differing tribal groups and with members of other cultures, as opposed to "grass-roots Indians" who reside in isolated reservation areas and who have limited, if any, contact with members of other tribes and other cultures.

Contact Indians comprise a segment of the Indian population who travel throughout their own geographical region, as well as other geographical regions. Travel and the attendant contact with members of other tribes and other cultures are frequently the result of attendance at inter-tribal activities such as pow-wows (social gatherings) and religious events, attendance at schools, colleges and universities, attendance at meetings of Indian professionals or meetings with representatives of the U.S. government, and so forth. On the

other hand, "grass-roots Indians" seldom venture from their reservation, and their primary contact with the outside world is through interactions with those contact Indians who have left the reservation and returned either for a visit or to resume residency. Their "Indianness" is not questioned by themselves or others.

Although these communicative behaviors are generalizable to most contact Indians, this does not suggest that there are no distinct tribal differences in language, customs, religion, rituals, etc. A common misconception among the members of the White culture is that all Indians are alike, regardless of tribal affiliation, and that all speak the same language and that all participate in the same kinds of tribal activities (e.g., religion and customs) and even that all Indians know each other.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

Overview of Method

In order to address the phenomena of Indianness, I have employed a qualitative-ethnographic methodology. This entails "research procedures which produce descriptive data: people's own written and spoken words and observable behavior" (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975: 4). This also entails a heavy dependence on inductive procedures which contrast with an a priori specification of the categories of analysis. My study permitted the subjects to specify what constitutes Indianness, rather than relying upon a preconceived conception of what Indianness is based upon the criteria established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), physical characteristics, and so forth. As Kennan and Hill (1979) note "more traditional perspectives involve the imposition on the data of an a priori position, typically rooted in a particular culture; thus, the observer is separated from the scene by the analytic scheme" (p. 10).

The particular qualitative approach this researcher utilized involved participant observation which McCall and Simmons (1969) define as "research characterized by a period of intense social interaction between the researcher and the subjects in the milieu of

the latter" (p. 3). Participant observation allows the researcher to enter a particular setting while unobtrusively observing the members in the course of managing their everyday affairs. In the course of observation, the researcher's life may actually become a part of the activities that he is studying. Because of my own life circumstance, as will become vividly apparent below, I was already involved on a day-to-day basis with the very phenomena that are the focus of this study. In many important ways, I have been my own primary informant.

On My Own Life as a "Real Indian"

I was born and raised in the Hominy Indian Village, Hominy, Oklahoma, and attended twelve years of school there. My father (a White "with some Indian blood") and my mother (a "full-blood") separated when I was young. I was raised by my mother, Lottie Shunkamolah, and grandmother, Margaret Shunkamolah, and by extended family members, such as great aunts and uncles and a host of cousins. This would have been the usual arrangement among the Osage and many other tribes, even had my father been present. My lineage is traced to [...], hereditary chief and spiritual leader of the Osage Nation, who was responsible for bringing the tribe to Oklahoma. I began war dancing at age seven and traveled throughout Oklahoma attending various pow-wows. Through traveling to dances, I became exposed to many of the tribes in Oklahoma. I began dancing in the [...], ceremonial dance of the [...] Osage district at age twelve and have held the honor position of [...] Dancer for the past twenty years.

Following graduation from Hominy High School, I attended North-

eastern A & M Junior College in Miami, Oklahoma; there I became acquainted with tribes from that area of the state. It was at this time that I first discovered the problematic nature of being a "real Indian" and discovered, for the first time, that I was part White. While growing up in the Hominy Indian village, my Indianness was never an issue, and I belonged to a strong traditional, respected family. I never "really" thought of myself as part White (although, of course, I knew that my father was primarily White, geneologically speaking), but when I got to NEO, people would ask me what I was, e.g., are you part Indian? Of course, I was amazed that they could not readily identify me as an Indian, when I knew that I was nothing except Indian. It was a traumatic shock, with which I was eventually able to cope (it took me, perhaps, ten years). It helped some (but only some) to learn shortly thereafter that even "full-blood" Indians were also questioned about their Indianness.

After attending NEO, I transferred to the University of New Mexico, where I actively participated in Indian campus life and had friends from many tribes. While an undergraduate, I tutored at Albuquerque Indian School, which was primarily made up of students from the Navajo and Pueblo tribes. In that role, I formed rather close relationships with students from many tribes.

Following graduation from UNM, I worked at Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute, Albuquerque, New Mexico. The student body was composed of members of all tribes from the Northern and Southern plains, the southwest, and from the Eastern tribes. My friends at that time were primarily from the Navajo and Pueblo tribes, and I

dated at least one female from each of the seventeen of the nineteen pueblos. After I left Albuquerque, I moved to Minneapolis to attend graduate school at the University of Minnesota. While in Minneapolis, I spent most of my leisure time on the "Asphalt Reservation," and interacted primarily with Minnesota Sioux, Canadian Sioux, Chippewa, and Winnebago Indians. While there, I also spent time with Indian friends whom I had known from New Mexico and Oklahoma (and met new fiends from those areas) who had also moved there. I also danced at the various pow-wows in the area and met many people through doing so.

After leaving Minneapolis, I moved to Norman, Oklahoma, and began working at the American Indian Nurses Association as a recruiter. I traveled to many states with heavy Indian populations and delivered presentations on the health fields. Among the places to which I traveled were the White Swan Reservation in Yakima, Washington; the Cherokee Reservation in Cherokee, North Carolina; the Rosebud Sioux Reservation in Mission, South Dakota; the Mescalero Apache Reservation; the Jicarilla Apache Reservation; and Haskell Indian Junior College, in Lawrence, Kansas. I also made several trips to the Navajo Reservation, and to the Pueblos. Further, I made several trips to the BIA and Indian health service headquarters in Washington, D.C. My duties also required that I attend the national conventions of the National Congress of American Indians, the National Indian Education Association, and the National Tribal Chairmen's Association. Each of these meetings brought together members of all tribes in the U.S.

After leaving the Nurses Association, I taught a summer session on the Navajo Reservation at the Navajo Community College, Tsaille,

Arizona. I then returned to graduate school at the University of Oklahoma.

In addition to my travels associated with my work, in which I met and interacted with members of all tribes (or, at least, nearly all), I have also met many people of various tribes through my war dancing. While I was at NCC, I danced at various pow-wows on the reservation and have been Head Dancer at Logan, Utah (Utes); at Mayetta, Kansas (Pottawatamie); on a reservation near San Diego, California; and at Tsaille, Arizona (Navajo). At other times, I have served as head dancer at many pow-wows in Oklahoma, and I have danced in many other states.

Through my work and dancing, I have met representatives from a great many tribes. Additionally, I have met other Indian people through the people I had already met. For example, in meeting someone in Washington, D.C., I would later be introduced to a Crow, a Flat-head, or a Blackfoot, and so on. On all of these countless occasions, I was concerned with the doing of Indianness, as were the other Indians whom I met. I had to learn how to act appropriately, that is, to act as a "real Indian" who was a "contact Indian." Through these past experiences, I began developing tacit generalizations, long before engaging in the explicit, reflective, systematic research that is reported here. In the first stages of this research, I began thinking back on what I had done or had had to do in order to be accepted, and what the behaviors were that were involved in achieving acceptance.

Initial Research Procedures and the Development of Other Techniques

During the initial stage of data gathering, I simply intensified my involvement in the the American Indian Community and functioned as a reflective observer as well as a participant. I sought out those who were regarded as true members as known to other members of the cultural group and began observing them in the process of "doing Indianness" in the course of conducting their daily affairs.

Some of the participants were told of my research and were asked to be a part of it. They were then asked specific questions about a certain phenomena. In other instances I was simply regarded as a participant in a specific event and did not readily make my presence as a researcher known. For example, although I tried, I found it impossible to structure a razzing event in that it is a spontaneous event. I did, however, covertly tape record several instances of razzing and later informed the participants that I had done so. I then asked their permission to utilize the tapes. Similarly, I did not set up artificial speaking situations, but relied upon their actual spontaneous occurrence.

Data Collection

Because of my membership in the Osage tribe, my participation in inter-tribal events, work at the Native American Studies office at the University of Oklahoma, and extended familial and social relationships, I was able to gather data unobtrusively while going about my usual affairs. On many occasions, I made my presence known as a researcher and offered examples of the phenomena of Indianness from my own experiences to my subjects-informants to encourage them to freely

discuss their own accounts of an event in question.

Categorization

Initially, I began this research without any preconceived notion as to what exactly and explicitly constitutes the folk concept of Indianness, as known to real Indians. However, after observing numerous interactions between real Indians, prominent topics of their conversation began to emerge. The primary topics of their discussions focused on matters such as tribal politics, the transmission of cultural beliefs, Indian events that have occurred and will occur, e.g., "Did you go to Tulsa Pow-wow?" or "Have you made plans for the Indian fair?" and especially, the Indianness, or lack of it, of other Indians, i.e., "Is he really an Indian?" Additionally, when the interactants discussed a candidate's Indianness, the topic of conversation often focused on the deviant behavior exhibited by a candidate Indian and the appropriate behavior that should have been enacted.

The question was asked so often that I posed a meta-question to those who were identified as real Indians: "How do you identify a real Indian?" The initial responses to the query were often remarks such as "I don't know, you just know who is and who isn't," or "he/she just doesn't know how to act like an Indian." However, after further interrogation, the respondents generally described a specific event in which a deviant behavior was exhibited by an individual whose identity was suspect as a real Indian. They would then explicate the behavior that a real Indian would exhibit in a similar situation. Thus, I began noting those types of behaviors, and the comments addressed to those behaviors, in field notes which led to an initial set of cri-

teria. These criteria were expanded by noting those behaviors which were viewed critically by real Indians in actual occasions of interaction. That is, I looked for modes of behavior that brought an Indian's "Indianness" into question. Through my interactions with other real Indians, prominent patterns of behavior began to surface which were enacted in almost all settings. I then began to group the behaviors and comments that I had observed and heard and then attempted to categorize these behaviors, e.g. "the acceptance of obligations." I developed six prominent patterns upon which I placed labels that I felt best identified the pattern, that is, I did not utilize folk expressions which might have been employed by the participants to identify these pattern-categories. I then began to look further into the details and nature of these categories. Upon further investigation, I then found that each category has one or more criterion associated with it. For example, the criteria of age, acceptable topics, and reciprocity are associated with the category of razzing.

Furthermore, upon reviewing my field notes concerning a specific behavior, I also found behaviors which would be associated with other categories. For example, whenever I observed participants razzing each other, examples pertaining to other categories began to surface. For example, if a person did not know the appropriate methods of razzing, the other members would suddenly become silent (non-acceptance), and only after the non-accepted Indian had left a discussion of the candidates non-indianness would be a common topic (maintenance of harmony).

The participants' statements that I chose to employ in my discus-

sion of a specific category were most reflective of the phenomena in question, although almost all of the participants' statements pertaining to that phenomena were of the same nature. That is, when I encountered further evidence, it was generally of the same nature as the evidence already "in hand." Therefore, I only chose selected responses to report. For example, whenever I was interacting with others and someone else was about to join our group, or another person's name was mentioned in the form of "do you know so and so," the candidate's Indianness would always be questioned, e.g., "is he an Indian?"

Participants

As I have already noted, I was a primary subject of my own research. The other participants for this study were primarily members of the various Southern Plains Indian tribes who reside in urban, rural, and reservation environments and are considered to be real Indians by other real Indians and those who consider themselves to be real Indians. However, as should be clear in the characterizations that follow, the extent of their contact experience with members of other tribes, where their Indianness would have been potentially at issue, more than strongly suggests that their experience as real Indians transcends tribe and region.

The age of the participants from which the primary data was gathered ranged from nineteen to eighty-four. Blood quantum ranged from one-eighth degree Indian blood to four-fourths. The educational backgrounds of the informants, who were were both male and female, ranged from college students and graduates (both graduate and under-

graduate) to those who have not completed high school. The participants were employed in a variety of occupations. They were attorneys, faculty members, counselors, businessmen, laborers, governmental employees, those who work in Indian organizations and tribal offices, and the unemployed. The participants were pow-wow goers and non-pow-wow goers, traditionalists and non-traditionalists, and the young and tribal elders. I generally tried to observe and interact with all representative Indians.

I had eleven primary subjects-informants (beyond myself) whom I observed, interacted with, and brought into focused research interviews. They included my extended family members, tribal elders, friends, and close associates.

My mother, a full-blooded, bi-lingual Osage Indian who resides on the Osage Indian reservation, served as a primary source of information. As a younger woman, she was active in tribal politics and frequently traveled to Washington, D.C., where she met various representatives of many tribes. Additionally, many of her peers returned to the reservation with new-found spouses from all areas of the United States and from tribes throughout the country. As befitting her position as an Indian mother, she has also accompanied me on most of my trips wherein I assumed the role of head dancer. Even today, she always attends the NCAI convention. Further, during those periods in which my brothers and I were living out of state, we frequently brought our out-of-state Indian friends home with us for extended visits. She always established close contact with these friends, and she always visited us wherever we were living, e.g., she lived on the

Navajo Reservation for a number of weeks while I lived there. I spent well over one hundred hours of interrogation with my mother, in which we discussed the categories of the investigation and sought further clarification of the phenomena that I was observing.

My other primary subjects-informants represented a broad cross-section of Indian people. A Kiowa-Taos Pueblo professor, whom I have known for five years, was the subject of four hours of focused interviewing. This subject grew up in Carnegie, Oklahoma, before moving to Lawrence, Kansas as a teenager. His mother worked for the BIA, through which she has had extensive contacts with multiple tribes. He has also lived in Flagstaff and Phoenix, Arizona. He attended an Indian Law Program in Albuquerque, New Mexico. His work and interests have led him to many Indian conferences throughout the United States and to deal with members of far-flung tribes.

A Kiowa carpenter, whom I have known for five years, was the subject of two hours of focused interviewing. He grew up in Wichita, Kansas, and now lives in Norman. Many of the out-of-state people whom I know are also known by him.

I conducted a two hour focused interview by long distance telephone with a member of the Caddo tribe, whom I have known for nineteen years. Originally from Binger, Oklahoma, she now lives in Washington, D.C., where she works for the BIA. D.C. functions as a melting pot for Indians, and the bureau has many employees from all tribes. Further, like myself, she dances, which leads her to travel throughout the nation to attend pow-wows, where she has even more contact with members of other tribes.

A Delaware friend, whom I have known for nine years, was the subject of a two and one half hour focused interviewing. She is a minority counselor from Oklahoma City. Because of her job, she travels all over the country to recruit Indians into the medical field. She also attends all of the major "Indian" conferences.

A Chickasaw attorney, whom I have known for twenty-two years, was the subject of four hours of focused interviewing. He and I worked together at the Nurses Association. He has traveled to all of the places that I have, and he has spent even more time than I have in the Northern Plains, especially on the Crow reservation. He too war dances and has accompanied me when I have gone out of state to attend a pow-wow or when I was the head dancer.

An Osage housewife, whom I have known for twenty-five years, was the subject of one hour of focused interviewing. She is married to the attorney mentioned above. At one time, she was a very well known and active dancer, an activity which took her throughout the country. She has close ties to the Crow reservation.

A Comanche administrative assistant for the Johnson-O'malley program was the subject of three hours of focused interviewing. In the course of her work, she attends various multi-tribal Indian conferences. Very active in the pow-wow world, she travels with her family throughout the U.S. attending pow-wows.

An Osage tribal elder, whom I have known for twenty-seven years, was the subject of a three hour focused interview. He takes much pleasure from gambling and goes to a wide variety of locales to find interesting games. In the course of these travels, he meets Indians

of many tribes.

A Pawnee undergraduate student, whom I have known for two years, was the subject of four hours of focused interviewing. His membership in an Indian science and engineering association takes him to various conferences and meetings with Indian students from a wide variety of tribes.

A Kiowa tribal employee, whom I have known for twelve years, was the subject of two hours of focused interviewing. Although this subject lives a predominantly "grass roots" style of life, he did attend an Indian Master's program at New Mexico State University, where he met many other students from various tribes. Further, although he, himself, does not war dance, he does enjoy attending dances, and this results in his frequent travels throughout the U.S. Like my mother, he functions as both a "grass roots" and as a "contact" "real Indian."

After the study was underway, I treated myself as a subject-informant with Professor D. Lawrence Wieder serving as the interviewer. We spent ten hours of focused interviewing and something on the order of fifty hours doing "occasioned" interviewing.

In addition to the time spent in focused interviews, I spent well over five hundred hours of discussion with my primary subjects-informants and spent eighteen hours of listening to formal Indian oratory. Additionally, I overheard and observed over one hundred and fifty conversations addressing the notion of Indianness from my secondary subjects-informants, about half of which I followed up with brief questions to gain further clarification. I also observed over five hundred interactions and social behavioral episodes of Indians "doing"

being and becoming Indians. The total number of hours spent interviewing and observing the subjects-informants is reflective of the time I spent as a formal researcher and is not reflective of the time I myself have spent in the "doing" being and becoming a real Indian, since it is a task that I have been involved in for the past thirty-five years and, I hope, will be involved in for at least another thirty-five years.

Setting

The field research, which Frake (1983) identifies as "...reasonably prolonged and continuous face-to-face contact with people in the natural setting of their daily lives" (p. 62), for this study was conducted in a natural setting which is identified by the participants as "Indian Country." "Indian Country" is defined by real Indians in a way that differs markedly from the definition employed by BIA officials and others in the Indian Business. Real Indians refer to any setting in which Indians gather for social, political, or religious events as "Indian Country." Data collection also occurred in a variety of more focused settings such as pow-wows, informal social exchanges in dyads and small groups, ceremonial dances, traditional dinners and ceremonies. Pow-wows or "War Dances" are social in nature rather than ceremonial, are inter-tribal, informal, and occur almost every weekend throughout the United States. Because of the inter-tribal setting, pow-wows afforded me an opportunity to observe the verbal interactions and behaviors of real Indians from differing tribes. Pow-wows also provided an opportunity to record "nouveau"

Indian public speaking and impromptu speeches. Informal social exchanges with Indians provided me with occasions in which I could discuss the notion of Indianness in an uninhibited setting. It also permitted me to observe such behaviors as razzing or humor. Traditional dinners and tribal ceremonials provided an opportunity to observe Indian oratory, transmission of cultural beliefs, and the various roles Indians must assume on such occasions. Questions concerning the participants' Indianness recurrently and naturally arose in all of these settings and situations.

On the Generalizability of the Results of This Study

This study seeks to establish the existence of a folk concept, "the real Indian;" to describe its constituent criteria; and to show its participation in interactions between Indians (who may be identified in those interactions as "real Indians;" "candidate real Indians;" interactionally clumsy, "inauthentic Indians;" "nouveau Indians;" or "apples;" etc.) and, to a lesser extent, in interactions between Indians and Whites.

A reader of this study who did not fully grasp the fact that my intent is to describe a concept and its "uses" might object to the generality of my findings by complaining in the following way: "You seem to be talking about all Indians, but your data was gathered primarily in Oklahoma, from Oklahoma-based Indians."

Let me address my hypothetical interlocutor directly: "Your remarks rather miss the point in several ways. This study is not concerned with a population of persons and their characteristics. It

would not serve the interests of this study to construct a 'real Indianness scale,' to administer that scale to a large random sample of all possible Indians (or, alternatively, to all U.S. residents), and to assess and describe, thereby, the distribution of 'real Indians' throughout the United States. Such a procedure fundamentally misconstrues the phenomenon and would lose sight of it. The phenomenon of interest here is a pure interactional communicative phenomenon. It occurs exclusively in communicative transactions, as they occur 'in real time,' as they are anticipated, and as they are recollected, talked about, and reconstructed."

My imaginary interlocutor might well reply, "How do you make valid claims about phenomena like that? How can we be assured that you have not simply reported a set of 'anecdotes' [whatever those might be] and that your phenomenon, if it does indeed exist, has no more generality than the particular episodes that you did observe or that were reported to you, i.e., that what you have is not simply a collection of non-generalizable, historical particulars?"

With some exasperation, I would reply, "Please remember that I already told you that this study was an ethnography of communication, much in the same sense that Hymes (1979) proposes it. Although I am not looking at linguistic phenomena in the same way that a linguist does, my procedures and claims to validity and generality have their foundation in the same chain of reason that underlies linguistics. I observed many actual episodes of 'doing real Indianness' (think of speaking real French). I also employed informants who 'did real Indianness' in my presence and at my request (think of a linguist who

gets native speakers to speak in his presence and at his request). Unlike the typical linguist, I did get my informants to reflect on and speak about 'doing Indianness.' However, like many linguists, especially those who follow Chomsky, I also used my own sensibilities as a native 'doer of being a real Indian' (think of a native speaker of French) to grasp the structure of the phenomena. I report to you the patterns that I have seen and grasped along with exemplars which support and illuminate what I am talking about. Like the linguist, I haven't given you the paticulars of the whole corpus of my data, but you wouldn't want to read that anyway. I could show it to you if you asked."

My interlocutor might well reply again, "Yes, yes; I think I get the general picture, but you still haven't mentioned anything which assures me that you can generalize beyond that corpus of data which you collected in Oklahoma. What do you have to say about that?"

"As you may recall from my brief autobiography and from the very brief biographies of my primary informants, my primary informants and I are 'contact Indians,' and our contacts with Indians from around the country are very widespread. We meet and interact with other Indians in their 'home territories.' We find that we are accepted as real Indians by them and that we can recognize them as real Indians. We 'do' 'being real Indians' together with them. Furthermore, they (Indians from other parts of the country) come to visit us here in Oklahoma, and here, too, we 'do' 'being real Indians' together with them. I was able to observe these later encounters directly, during the explicit reflective phase of my study. You may also recall that, as active

contact Indians, we (from Oklahoma) also meet and interact with other 'real Indians' as 'real Indians' at national meetings where members of all tribes are present."

"I think I've got it now. You are talking about a phenomenon that is much like competence in both the linguistic and the ethnomethodological sense of that term and that your claims concerning that phenomenon are grounded in much the same way as the claims of linguists and ethnomethodologists. Is that right?"

"Yes, indeed, you have it exactly."

The Literature on the Communication Patterns and Behaviors of American Indians

The communication patterns and behaviors of American Indians have been the focus of extensive research by social scientists in areas such as counseling, academics, group interaction, communication behaviors, myths, and folklore. However, current research tends to focus on one element of Indian communication and its application in a specific area, such as the effect of reticent behavior in the classroom, in non-interference and interpersonal relations, in Indian public speaking, or in focuses on specific tribes. One area of research not addressed by social scientists is the identification of specific communication patterns and behaviors that Indians employ in their interactions with other Indians in the course of managing every day affairs and the implications of these patterns and behaviors in addressing the notion of Indianness for Indians.

Numerous researchers have examined the communication behaviors of

American Indians in the classroom, in artificial groups, and in public speaking: Goodenough, 1956; Berlo, 1960; James, 1961; Wax and Thomas, 1961; Osborne and Porter, 1965; Osborne, 1967, 1968, 1970, 1973; Dumont and Wax, 1970; Osborne, Ballard, Ross, and Sahmaunt, 1970; Deloria, 1970; Murphy, 1970; Garbarino, 1971; Weppner, 1971; Dumont, 1972; John, 1972; Philips, 1972, 1974; Philipsen, 1972; Brandon, 1973; Good Tracks, 1973; Hall, 1976; Wilkinson, 1976; Ruben, 1977; Lujan and Dobkins, 1978; Hill and Lujan, 1978; Marnett, 1979; Burton and Siler, 1979; Cooley, 1979; Cooley and Babich, 1979; LaFromboise, 1979; Lujan, Kennan, Hill, and Long, 1979; Scafe and Kontas, 1979; Burton, 1980; Cooley and Babich, 1980; Cooley and Kontas, 1980; Kontas, Scafe, and Cooley, 1980; Kontas, 1981; Burton, 1982; and Hill and Lujan, 1982.

Researchers have also looked at communication patterns in case studies of specific tribal groups, individual Indians, or of individual events involving Indians: Dumont and Wax, 1970; Basso, 1970; Haslam, 1971; Miller, 1971; Arrington, 1975; Evers, 1975; Straus, 1977; Hill and Lujan, 1978; Lujan, 1978; Medicine, 1979; Frost, 1974; Ochs, 1974 (BIA Conflict); and Lake, 1979.

Others have studied the communication patterns of American Indians in myths, songs, and folklore: Morrison, 1977; Blanche, 1977; Brito-Huntingbear, 1977; Kennan and Hill, 1978a; and Kennan and Hill, 1978b.

In order to address the phenomena of Indianness, this ethnographic study, unlike other research, proposes to investigate the prominent modes of comportment which are known to "real members" of the Indian community as criterial for identity as a "real Indian."

Rather than focusing on one aspect of Indian behavior as being representative of Indianness (e.g., reticence), an ethnography of communication allows the researcher to view the social phenomena of Indianness as a complex phenomenon consisting of a number of mutually interdependent and mutually defining constituents.

CHAPTER III

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM ELABORATED

An American Indian student, assisting with the administration of a survey on which I was working, asked me a striking question:

> Do you want me to administer this questionnaire to only traditional Indians or to 'apples' also?

Asked what he meant by "traditional Indians or 'apples,'" the Indian student responded,

> You know, do you want me to use only real Indians or those who claim to be Indian.

This dialogue between the Indian student and me suggests the significance, recurrence, and unavoidable character of the question for American Indians that occurs in the context of their everyday lives: "what exactly constitutes a 'real' Indian?" A counterpart to that question is "how do real Indians know other real Indians and how do they make themselves known as real Indians to other real Indians?"

The Problematic Character of the Question

The question of what constitutes a real Indian is both problematic and consequential to members of the Indian community. The question is problematic in that "Indianness" seems to many scholars to represent a set of tacit presuppositions that members of the Indian

community adhere to, rather than something that is readily defined. In response to the question of Indianness, Svensson (1973), in a report on Indians in American politics attempts to resolve what she considers the most difficult question in any discussion of Indian political experiences: "who is an Indian?" Svensson (1973: 9), states:

> ...in the political arena, it is not a racial or cultural identity which alone determines the Indian actor; instead it is the complex interaction between these two factors. At its heart is a state of being, a cast of mind, a relationship to the universe. It is undefinable.

The question of Indianness is consequential because members of the Indian community ask this about others who would present themselves as Indians, and the answers determine admissibility to parts of the community's life and to the receipt of particular benefits offered by the community and by governmental agencies. To understand the extent of this problem and its consequences requires us to look at the legal efforts to resolve it.

Although Indians are one of the few ethnic, cultural, and racial groups in the United States with a legal definition, the notion of "Indianness" as known by real Indians is, as Svensson posits it, "undefinable." However, according to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), anyone of one fourth degree Indian blood of a federally recognized tribe is legally considered to an American Indian. According to this definition, a full-blood Indian of an un-recognized tribe is not considered to be an Indian, while if someone possesses one-fourth degree blood of a federally recognized tribe they are legally defined as an Indian. Thus, some persons who are fully recognized as "real Indians"

within Indian communities are "legally not Indians." The problematic character of the BIA's legal definition is further complicated by the fact that if someone is a full-blood Indian, but is a descendant of members of several tribes as a result of inter-tribal marriage; that person is not legally an Indian because they do not meet the one-fourth requirement of any one tribe.

Recognizing the ambiguity of "what is an Indian" and the place of blood quantum as a criterion of Indianness, Trimble (1976) in his discussion of the value differences between Indian clients and White counselors remarked, "For many Indians and non-Indians, a person is not Indian unless he or she is of pure Indian blood--a full-blood" (p. 206-207). Obviously, such a disparity as to how much Indian blood actually constitutes an Indian further confounds the notion of what exactly is an Indian.

In addition to the definition set by the BIA, most tribal groups also establish blood quantum as criterial for being a member of their tribe. The criterion of blood quantum varies between tribes. In some tribes anyone who is a descendant of a tribal member, regardless of their blood quantum is regarded as a member, while in other tribes only those who are a minimum of one-half Indian is required. Tribes holding more stringent requirements reason that anyone who possesses less than half Indian blood quantum is more White, Chicano, etc. than they are Indian.

Central to many of the issues involved here is that the determination of "tribal membership" and "being a recognizable Indian" refer to two distinct though related matters. It is possible to be a fully

recognized member of a tribe and not be a "real Indian," although one cannot be a real Indian without being a member of a tribe. That it is possible to be a fully recognized member of a tribe and not be considered a real Indian is exemplified in the membership requirements of the Osage tribe. In order to be considered a legal member of the Osage tribe, an individual must possess a share of the tribal mineral rights or "head-rights." Head-rights are most commonly obtained through inheritance from an Osage allottee or descendant. Head-rights enable a member to vote in tribal elections, run for tribal council, and have an active voice in tribal government. No blood quantum is required to possess a head-right. Therefore many of the voting members of the tribe possess little, if any, Osage Indian blood. These tribal members are referred to as "mixed-bloods," a pejorative term utilized to designate those of little or no Indian blood, and are not considered to be Indians. On the other hand, tribal members who do not possess a head-right share, but who participate in tribal events, reside in the Osage community, and are knowledgeable of tribal customs are considered to be "real Indians," although they are not legally able to vote or run for tribal office.

Along with degree of Indian blood and tribal membership, physical appearance also serves as a possible criterion for identifying someone as an Indian. For many non-Indians, the question of who is an Indian is resolved by the folk definition that anyone who possesses long black hair, a sharp pointed nose, dark brown skin, and dark eyes must be an Indian. That is, anyone who physically possesses the stereotypical physical characteristics of an Indian is an Indian. Any

attempt to use physical characteristics as the criterion of Indianness would fail to take account of the fact, known to real Indians, that there are many persons who are physically identifiable as an Indian, but who have assimilated into the White culture, who do not self-identify themselves to others as Indians, and who do not in any way consider themselves to be Indians. Conversely, many Indians who do not possess the appropriate physical characteristics, e.g., have light skin color, hair, and eyes, but have been socialized in a traditional Indian environment and reside on a reservation or rural Indian community, are identified as Indians by other Indians. Such persons are not readily identifiable to many non-Indians, and, consequently, would not be considered Indians by them.

The problematic status of physical characteristics as a criterion of Indianness has been encountered by other scholars. LaFromboise, in her study of assertion training with Indians, notes, that many features of Indian life, such as intermarriage between tribes and with non-Indians, complicate an adequate depiction of Indian behavior. Regarding the possibility that physical characteristics could be used as a criterion for identification as an Indian, LaFromboise (1979) writes that a person "may look 'Indian' in the physical sense of the word, but behave in a non-Indian manner or look like non-Indians physically and behave as many traditional fullbloods do" (p. 18). Further, in a discussion of the pan-Indian movement, Hertzberg (1972) states that "many Indians living on reservations do not look 'Indian,' but residence or former residence in Indian communities is normally accepted as evidence of being an Indian" (p. 322). Nonetheless, physical char-

acteristics play some part in a "real Indian's" identification of another person as a "possible real Indian," especially at early stages of their acquaintance.

The question of what constitutes a real Indian is further confounded by the belief among real Indians that many Whites falsely self-identify as Indians. And from the "real Indian point of view" almost all Whites who live in close proximity to Indian communities, regardless of their blood quantum, tribal affiliation, physical characteristics and so forth self-identify as possessing some degree of Indian blood. In Oklahoma, for example, it is commonplace for a real Indian to encounter a person who self-proclaims to be "one-thirty-second Cherokee Indian whose great-great grandmother was a Cherokee princess," yet a person seldom encounters someone who proclaims that he or she is one-thirty-second Black, Hispanic, Chinese, and so forth. Deloria (1969) has labeled this self-identification phenomenon as the "Indian-grandmother complex." From the standpoint of "real Indians," greed motivates many people of questionable lineage who do not ordinarily identify themselves as an Indian to other non-Indians to self-identify themselves as an Indian and to disclose this self-identification to real Indians in order to collect the supposed "benefits" Indians receive. Many of the "benefits" that Indians are eligible to receive (which in many instances do not require a minimum blood quantum) include such matters as educational grants from the BIA or tribal scholarships, free health care from the Indian Health Service (IHS), admission to medical, graduate and law schools, low income housing, and employment opportunities resulting from Indian preference or Equal

Employment Opportunity (EEO) practices of some employers. That there are those who do not ordinarily claim Indian lineage, unless they are attempting to receive some type of benefit, is high-lighted in the statement of a minority recruiter for a medical school who was explaining the difficulty she was experiencing in recruiting what she considered to be real Indians; she stated:

> I get a lot of people who will call me and claim to be part Indian to get into medical school and to try and get financial aid. I'll usually tell them that in order to be eligible for financial aid they'll have to send their CDIB [certificate of degree of Indian blood], and when they ask what that is, I know they're not really an Indian. We don't require a minimum blood quantum for admission; therefore, we admit anyone who can provide documentation, and when I call these students to assist with recruitment or for a social get-together, I never hear anything from them. All of a sudden, they cease to be an Indian.

Further evidence of the self-identification phenomenon is found in the remarks of an acquaintance who works for an Indian Health Service hospital. During the course of our conversation, the acquaintance began speaking of his current position and stated:

> You wouldn't believe all of the White people who come into our clinic. We see [treat] more of them than we do those who are really Indian. Some of them come in with CDIBs as low as 1/128th, and in some cases even lower. Even the Indian homes [low income housing] look like mostly White people live there. They claim to be Indian so they can get free health care and Indian homes, but none of them want to have anything to do with Indians.

Although many real Indians suspect the motives of those of questionable lineage who claim to be Indian, this is not to suggest that all who self-identify as an Indian are doing so merely out of greed. Often a claim of Indian heritage is utilized to establish a degree of commonality upon initial interaction. Furthermore, there are those who possess scant degrees of Indian blood but are indeed proud of

their Indian heritage.

The Consequential Character of the Question

The question of "who is really an Indian" is not only complex and, at least at first glance, ambiguous, it is also quite consequential for real Indians in several ways. That is, it is a question that real Indians must be prepared to cope with, whether or not they verbally formulate a definition. On this matter, Wieder and Pratt (1984: 7-8) argued as follows:

> From the standpoint of the practices of the real Indian, being a real Indian is not ascribed, nor is it even merely achieved.[2] Being a real Indian is not something one can simply be, but is something that one becomes and/or is, in and as "the doing" of being and becoming a real Indian. To be sure, one must learn how to "do" being and becoming a real Indian, but if one does not continue to "practice" what one knows, one ceases to be a real Indian.[3] Finally, "doing" being and becoming a real Indian is not something that can be done by oneself. In a multitude of ways, it requires the participation of other real Indians.
>
> To put the point more directly, being a visible and recognizable (i.e. accountable, in Garfinkel's [1967] sense) real Indian for other real Indians is a continuous, ongoing, contingent achievement involving both the doings of the person who would be a real Indian and the doings of those real Indians with whom he or she interacts. Properly conceived, being and becoming a real Indian, in and as "the doing" of being and becoming a real Indian, is not even a feature of the constituent actions of the doing. To adapt Goffman's (1959: 253) language, it is an emergent dramatic effect which arises out of the interaction between and among real Indians. But herein lies part of the consequentiality of the very question, "Who is an Indian?" Not only is getting oneself recognized as an Indian crucial to the persistent and effective doing of being and becoming an Indian, the way that one makes the determination that someone else is or is not a real Indian is a constituent part of doing being and becoming a real Indian as well. That is, incorrectly identifying someone as a real Indian when they are not, or not recognizing them when they are, places one's social being as a real Indian in jeopardy. Real Indians...take misidentification as an indicator that one is not as real an Indian as heretofore [had] been supposed. But the matter does not end here. The misidentification is also consequential for the real Indianness of one's kin, and it entails

> the acceptance of costly obligations which, if accepted on behalf of one who is not a real Indian, impede the continuous achieving of "doing" being and becoming a real Indian.

Empirical ethnographic support for these claims is provided in the following chapters.

The Endogenous Folk Criteria Which Define Indianness

To examine being an Indian among Indians is to examine Indianness as a form of "full-fledged, competent, bona fide membership" (in the sense meant by Garfinkel 1967 and other ethnomethodologists, e.g., Zimmerman and Wieder 1970) wherein the person's competence is taken for granted by himself and others. In numerous ways, that taking for granted of competence and the doubting of it serves as topic and data source. That is, occasions in which attributed competence functions as a topic of naturally occurring conversation and occasions in which competence is actively achieved or is actively doubted are particularly rich occasions for gathering material relevant to understanding and verifying the endogenous folk criteria which define Indianness.

Whenever Indians interact, a common topic of their conversation is the identity of another Indian, e.g., "Is he really an Indian?" The question is asked so often that, in the preliminary phase of this study, I posed a meta-question to those who were identified as real Indians by other real Indians: "How do you identify a real Indian?" The responses to the query were recorded in field notes and led to an initial set of criteria. These criteria were expanded by noting those behaviors which were viewed critically by real Indians in actual occasions of interaction. That is, I looked for modes of behavior

that brought an Indian's "Indianness" into question. In Wieder and Pratt (1984: 9) six prominent modes of comportment were preliminarily formulated as behavioral arenas in which the "real Indian's" competence is demonstrated and open to criticism. Each area has one or more criteria associated with it. These areas are as follows:

(a) Reticence with regard to interaction with strangers: Reticence is a peculiarly White American way of characterizing this form of communicative behavior, but the real Indian pattern has no name and stands out as a distinctive figure against the ground of White American chattiness, gregariousness, or free and idle talk.

(b) The assumption of obligations and familial relations: This feature pertains to rights and obligations a real Indian incurs in conversing with another real Indian. Within the "community" of real Indians, there is a tendency for non-kin relationships to develop beyond what Whites might call simple friendship.

(c) Razzing: This is a typically extemporaneous form of Indian communication which involves humor and skillful verbal sparring about the ongoing events within a particular situation.

(d) Attaining harmony in face-to-face relations: The real Indian manages his face-to-face relations with others in such a way that he appears to be in agreement with them, is respectful of them, is modest, and "fits in."

(e) Modesty and "doing one's part": The appropriate behavior is to remain silent about individual achievements and to refrain from expounding upon the expertise an individual might possess in any given area.

(f) Public speaking: A very wide variety of gatherings provides the occasion for Indian public speaking. Large gatherings which are focused upon some specific ceremony provide the occasion for prearranged speaking, as well as seemingly spontaneous, but formalized, public speaking.

Each of these areas, or behavioral arenas, is subjected to scrutiny in chapter three of the dissertation.

Showing Oneself to be a Competent Real Indian

As noted above, the process of doing Indianness is an active ongoing process. That is, once a member is accepted as a real Indian, that member is required to enact those culturally appropriate behaviors that would be recognized and used by the other members of the society. This is to say that once a member has been accepted as a real Indian, his or her position is not "etched in stone." Rather, if a member persistently deviates from the normatively required behaviors, his "deviance" can be viewed by other members as a cause for a lessening of the competency previously conferred upon him and even lead to avoidance of him or her and his or her rejection. An instance of competency being lessened occurs in a conversation about a tribal leader (both politically and culturally) between two older members of a particular tribe in northeastern Oklahoma which I was able to overhear:

> L. You know E. has really gotten away from doing the things in the right way. When he talks in front of our people he's supposed to explain what's going on to the younger people. You know, anymore I don't know what he's talking about, he's really gone 'haywire.'
> J. I know what you mean. Even E. is beginning to see it himself. He told M. that he's beginning to lose his following and he doesn't know what's wrong with everybody. He better straighten up because he's not the only one around here who can talk, some of these young men around here are about ready to take his place.
> L. Well, if he doesn't straighten up I'm going to say something to him.
> J. I'm about ready to myself.

Although both participants said that they were going to "say something to him" with regard to his transgression from the required communicative behaviors, neither one approached the individual--to do so would have required that they themselves violate those same norms.

Just as one can lose competency, a member who has been accorded only peripheral competency can be afforded greater competency by enacting appropriate behaviors at the right times and in the correct settings. In the same setting as the incident reported above, the cultural competency of another individual was also being addressed:

> L. You know J. wasn't raised around us and doesn't know our ways but she's been coming around and wanting to learn. She's doing it right, though; she listens and doesn't act like she already knows what going on. She's learning.
> J. That's the way they're supposed to learn about our ways. Not like some of these others who come back and act like they know more than we do.

These examples show that the folk concept of Indianness, "knowing our ways," or lack of it, is a freely discussed common topic of discussion among members of the Indian community.

CHAPTER IV

"THE DOING" OF BEING AND BECOMING A REAL INDIAN

Reticence With Regard to Interaction With Strangers

In the dominant society or "White culture," free and idle conversation between strangers is often encouraged in public places. Generally, White Americans, who find themselves with a few moments of "free" time, find it acceptable to engage others, with whom they have had no prior contact, in leisurely conversation to discuss commonplace matters such as the weather, world politics, sporting events, gasoline prices, and so forth. The check-out lines of grocery and department stores provide an illustration of this phenomenon. Airlines provide another example of this type of phenomena; as a passenger you are provided ample opportunity to disclose your life history, assume a new identity, or discuss your political convictions, and, in turn, you can listen attentively to the life history of the person occupying the seat next to you.

However, when real Indians who are strangers pass each other, wait in line, occupy adjoining seats, and so forth, the appropriate behavior is to remain silent and not to initiate conversation. For the real Indian, initiating conversation with another Indian, who is a stranger, is viewed as exhibiting "self-assertive" behavior and those

who exhibit such deviant behavior are viewed with suspicion. That is, by exhibiting self-assertive behavior during initial interaction, an Indian's cultural competency, or Indianness, is brought into question. Basso (1970) in his study of silence in the Western Apache culture noted:

> ...strangers who launch into conversation are frequently eyed with undisguised suspicion. A typical reaction to such individuals is that they "want something," that is, their willingness to violate convention is attributed to some urgent need which is likely to result in requests for money, labor, or transportation. (p. 218)

The use of silence as a mode of comportment is an integral constituent of the American Indian communication process and its use as a communicative strategy has often been misinterpreted by non-Indians as reticent speech behavior. However, Wieder and Pratt (1984) assert that "reticence is a peculiarly White American way of characterizing this form of communicative behavior, but the real Indian pattern has no name and stands out as a distinct figure against the ground of White American chattiness, gregariousness, or free and idle talk" (p. 9).

Lujan, Kennan, Hill, & Long (1979), in a study of the apparent reticent speech behaviors of Indians in the classroom, found that Indian students tend to completely withdraw from classroom activities, rarely participate in classroom discussions, decline to answer direct questions or to perform various in-class activities, when students do respond their comments are brief, and they fail to maintain direct eye contact with instructors and with others. They further found that these behaviors were only enacted in the classroom, and non-classroom observations showed that the "Indian students appear to be generally

gregarious and even boisterous within an Indian setting, particularly where non-Indians were insignificant features of the situation" (p. 15). The authors contend that the reasons for the contradictory speech behavior are based upon the notion that the classroom is a situation involving intercultural communication and represents an environment in which assimilation occurs, and as a result of the Indian student's quest for a sense of self-identity, which is drawn from tribal affiliation as opposed to the educational environment.

Philips (1972) in a comparison of Indian and non-Indian classroom communication performance on the Warm Springs reservation found that Indian children show a reluctance to participate, rarely volunteer to speak and when they do speak, they speak very softly, often in tones inaudible to others nearby, and in utterances typically shorter or briefer than those of their non-Indian peers. Philips concludes that "Indian children fail to participate verbally in classroom interactions because the social conditions for participation to which they have become accustomed in the Indian community are lacking. The absence of these appropriate social conditions for communicative performances affects the most common and everyday speech acts that occur in the classroom" (p. 392).

In a study addressing the non-standard linguistic features of Native Indian speech Wild, et al., (1983) noted that "Native Indian silences are actually a powerful form of communication themselves, as opposed to a simple absence of words" (pg. 7). Moreover, Hymes (1973) states, "silence itself is a specific message, of course, as a response within discourse, and within gatherings, a generalized mes-

sage about one's relation to a group and its rules of interaction... Whether one speaks, and if one speaks, the way in which one speaks are elements of choice, and hence the meaningfulness of language" (p. XXIII).

Whenever real Indians, who are strangers, pass each other, they purposely refrain from making direct eye contact, thereby eliminating the possibility that either will engage the other in conversation. Furthermore, silence is not only utilized in initial interactions, but it is also enacted in subsequent encounters. During a conversa- tion with several Indian students, I brought up this notion of initial silence among Indians and asked them if they had ever noticed this type of behavior. As one informant remarked:

> I passed this Indian girl on the way to class for two months, and we never spoke, even though she knew who I was and I knew her name.

Another respondent stated:

> When I was at this conference this other Indian girl and I never did talk to each other until the last night. There was one girl who was there, and did come up and talk to me who said she was Indian, but I could tell she wasn't because if she was she probably wouldn't have come up and talked to me.

This is to say that if the "girl" was indeed an Indian she would not have so casually initiated conversation nor would she have identified herself as an Indian. By initiating conversation she violated the normatively required behavior and her motives and identity as a real Indian were suspect by the other participant. Moreover, by identifying herself as an Indian, she was further perceived as attempting to assert her Indianness (something a "real Indian" would never do), rather than enacting the appropriate criterial behaviors which would

have alerted the other participant to her true cultural identity as a real Indian.

That the notion of initial silence is consequential for the identity of real Indians is evidenced by a young Indian woman from Oklahoma with whom I had been discussing the seeming reluctance of Indians to initiate conversation. She shared with me an incident that had occurred while she was on a trip to another state, and had observed three people who appeared physically to be Indians. She further noticed that they would occasionally glance at her, as if acknowledging her as an Indian. Since the Indian woman was from another state she decided to approach them and ask if they were Indians. The three people responded that they were indeed Indians, and that they were also from Oklahoma. However, the Indian woman stated:

> I knew I made a mistake when I went up and asked those people if they were Indians. I was only trying to be friendly because I was from out-of-state. They kind of looked at me like I was crazy or something. I really felt "shamed," because I knew better than to go over and talk to them first, I should have waited until they came up and talked to me.

By approaching the other Indians, this woman was aware that she had violated the norm of remaining silent with regard to initial interactions with strangers. Although the woman reported that it would have been more appropriate for the others to have approached her first, this produces a sort of double bind situation in that neither party may properly approach the other initially. The behavior exhibited by the others served to alert her to the notion that she had been sanctioned for exhibiting such deviant behavior. That the woman knew she had violated the normative behavior of remaining silent and

that she had brought her cultural competency into question are evidenced in her statement that she had "really felt 'shamed'" or was extremely embarrassed for violating the initial interaction ethic.

It would appear to the naive observer that because of the initial stage of silence, real Indians will never initiate conversation, and a question arises as to "what exactly is the required length of silence before real Indians can speak?" According to one informant, whom I had asked about this matter: "You just know when it's okay to go up and talk to someone." The implication here is that real Indians do not adhere to a Western notion of time with regard to initial interaction, but that it is based more upon a "sense" of a negotiated agreement between participants which is achieved through such non-verbal matters as mutual gaze, body posture, facial expressions and probably other non-verbal details. The participants speak of just "knowing" when it is the appropriate time to initiate conversation.

The primary cause of the initial stage of silence among real Indians can be attributed to the notion that once conversation has been initiated, a relationship develops between the interactants which carries stronger obligations than among other cultural groups. Within the Indian culture, once a social relationship develops members assume a type of quasi-familial responsibility of a brother, sister, mother, father, etc. rather that "just friends" or acquaintances and assume all of the duties that normally accompany such a label. Basso (1970), in his study of Western Apache speech behaviors, also found that "verbal reticence with strangers is directly related to the conviction that the establishment of social relationships is a serious matter

that calls for caution, careful judgment, and plenty of time" (p. 218). Further discussion of the obligations incurred after a social relationship develops will be addressed in a subsequent section.

Indian silence among strangers is enacted not only in settings which are predominately comprised of Indians, but can also take place in settings in which there are very few Indians. For example, an Indian couple, with whom I was discussing this notion of silence, related an incident that had occurred while they were in a night club which was predominately White, but in which there were four other visibly identifiable Indians in the club, yet none of the Indians spoke to each other nor acknowledged each other's presence. One member of the couple stated:

> You know, several White people who didn't know us talked to us and made small talk. You'd think that we'd be talking with the other Indians, but we don't. I guess that's just the way Indians are.

To have initiated conversation with the other Indians present would have required that they violate the normatively required comportment of initial silence and would have brought their cultural competency into question, even though they were in an intercultural setting.

Silence among strangers is enacted in other situations such as when an Indian may know one person in a dyad or group of Indians, but not be acquainted with any of the other members. Rather than going through the customary White American ritual of introducing the stranger to the group, those who know each other launch into a conversation as if there are no others present. Moreover, the other participants continue with their conversation, oblivious to the newly formed dyad. An illustration of this phenomenon was exemplified by an

incident that occurred while I was having dinner with an Indian couple at a local restaurant when another Indian approached the couple and addressed one of the members with whom he was acquainted, but did not speak to me or to the other person. They both carried on a conversation as if there were no others present. The following dialogue between the Indian couple serves to illustrate this point:

> D. I don't know why C. didn't say anything to me; he knows who I am. He's seen me around plenty of times and even went out with my roommate. Besides, why didn't you introduce us.
> B. I don't know, why didn't you say something yourself.

However, an exception to this silent comportment occurs when an older Indian is present in the dyad or group. Elder members of the real Indian community are afforded high status and the appropriate behavior in this occurrence is for the person encountering the dyad or group to either introduce themselves or wait until he/she is introduced by the person he/she is acquainted with. In this instance, introductions serve as a mode of respect for the status of the elder Indian.

The real Indian's use of silence in initial interactions with strangers occurs not only in intracultural settings, but interculturally as well. Non-Indians who find themselves in the presence of Indians and are not immediately introduced to all members of the group find this silent comportment to be perplexing, and generally take it upon themselves to introduce each other. Several non-Indian professors at the University of Oklahoma, who, on occasion, visit with the director of the Native American Studies program in his office, in which there are usually several Indian students, often encounter this

phenomenon. Initially these non-Indian professors perceived the lack of introductions as a mere oversight and often took the initiative in introducing themselves, "Well, if P. and S. aren't going to introduce us, my name is [...]."

An illustration of this phenomenon occurred while I was having lunch with several non-Indian professors and three Indian acquaintances, one of which joined our party en route to the restaurant and was not considered to be a real Indian by the others present. During the course of our luncheon conversation, neither of the real Indian members of our group attempted to introduce the new member and after a considerable amount of time had passed one of the non-Indian professors extended his hand to the new member and stated to X. "I don't believe we've met; I'm L." Although both of the Indian group members knew very well that L had not met X, they refrained from the customary introductions since they did not want to be perceived as endorsing X as a real Indian.

Although the American culture views the lack of introductions as socially unresponsive, careless, or deliberately exclusionary, the real Indian regards the use of introductions as a serious matter which results in an endorsement of another's Indianness. That is, when a real Indian introduces a candidate Indian to another real Indian, he is endorsing the candidate as another real Indian and, by doing so, incurs a type of quasi-responsibility for the actions of the person he is introducing. Let us suppose that a candidate Indian had been introduced by a real Indian to another Indian and at a later date the candidate had enacted some socially unacceptable behavior. Those who

had been offended would seek out the person who had made the introductions and admonish him for the actions of "his" friend, and request that he talk to that person regarding his deviant behavior since he was responsible for introducing that person and was also perceived as being somewhat responsible for the actions of that individual.

The Acceptance of Obligations and Taking on Familial Relations

Whenever real Indians initiate conversation with each other, both participants enter into a social relationship in which they incur greater responsibility for the maintenance of the relationship than is normally required within other cultures, especially White American culture. Initiating conversation among real Indians requires that the actors assume a relationship which is bound by other obligations. Among other responsibilities, this relationship requires the interactants to converse for an open-ended period of time each time they encounter each other regardless of the setting, time constraints, and so forth. The establishment of any social relationship among real Indians does not permit the interactants to assume a position of "mere acquaintance" in contrast to the White American culture wherein casual conversation does not impose any specific future obligations for the interactants.

The fact that initial conversation requires further obligations to speak is exemplified in the experience of one Indian student, whom I had asked if he ever felt obligated to converse each time he encountered an Indian acquaintance. In describing his relationship with another Indian student, he said:

> After we had started talking, I had to stop and talk each time I saw her. We both usually wound up being late for class, but if I hadn't stopped to talk, she would have thought I was "acting-some-kind-of-way."

By "acting-some-kind-of-way," in not stopping to talk, the Indian student's Indianness would have been brought into question for his reluctance to enact the required amenities, even though the relationship required both participants to forgo what Whites would regard as a more pressing engagement which resulted in their "being late for class."

Generally, casual social relationships among real Indians have a tendency to develop into intense quasi-familial relationships in which further, more stringent obligations are required rather than merely being required to interact each time the participants meet. Moreover, the acceptance of these more intense obligations is an integral constituent of Indian social relationships. To clarify these obligations, we must first examine the typical Indian family.

Social Structure of the Indian Family

In a discussion of the notion of obligations within the American Indian family, Wilkinson (1980) comments that "a tribe is a collection of families in which everyone has accepted duties and obligations to different people, and people operate in that kind of context" (p. 451).

The real Indian is primarily socialized in an extended family environment rather than the nuclear family of the dominant White American culture, although the detached family is also found in many real Indian social milieus, e.g., because of relocation to an urban environment, some real Indian families socialize their children with

Indian values and beliefs sans the assistance of extended family members. Red Horse (1980), in an article describing the family structure of American Indians, noted that "Indian family systems are extended networks which characteristically include several households. An Indian family, therefore, is an active kinship system inclusive of parents, children, aunts, uncles, cousins, and grandparents" (p. 462-463).

Within Indian cultures, familial roles involve a broader scope of obligations and the obligations are more intense than those within the typical White American family. Familial obligations require that the member assist in such matters as assisting with child rearing, speaking publicly for family members, assisting with tribal ceremonies, counseling, and generally helping all family members in any situations that might arise. In the Indian family, grandparents typically assume the parental role in the rearing of grandchildren, with the biological parents and other relatives functioning in a secondary support role. In many instances, if the grandparents do not reside in the same household as that of their children, they will take the oldest grandchild and raise that child as if that child were their own. According to one Indian grandmother, whom I had asked why she was raising her oldest grandchild rather than the child's natural parents, the primary reason that grandparents assume a parental role is:

> The reason that grandparents take the oldest grandchild, whether it's a boy or girl, is that it enables the mother and father to devote more time to the raising of the younger children. By the grandparents raising the oldest child, the child is taught the customs and beliefs of the tribe from those who can most accurately teach tribal customs and beliefs. The oldest grandchild, which has learned from the tribal elders, then serves as a role model

> for the younger brothers and sisters. The younger children can then learn the appropriate Indian behaviors by watching their older brother or sister.

Indian families function as extended networks in a wide variety of contexts. For example, whenever an Indian family decides to enact a specific cultural event, such as giving a person an Indian name, acknowledging the accomplishments of an individual, or putting on a war dance, they will "call upon their relatives" (the extended family members) for support. For the real Indian, the notion of "support" primarily refers to such matters as the attendance of extended family members at the naming ceremony. However, they often receive subsidiary support from the extended family in the form of monetary contributions, gifts, and physical assistance with specific facets of the ceremony, e.g., cooking. Although the attendance at a specific event is the primary obligation of family members, most members attempt to contribute as much time, effort, and financial assistance as is possible. One informant and I were discussing the various roles that extended family members must perform and in describing the typical Indian family, he stated:

> Among Indians, your family is very large. Your Aunt is just like your mother, your uncle is your father, and your cousins, even if they're first, second, or third, become your brothers and sisters. And they are supposed to assume the responsibilities of a mother, father, or brother.

From Friendly to Quasi-familial Relations

Not only do intimate family members assume the role of a father or mother, but close friends can also assume a quasi-familial status and can become someone's father, mother, brother, sister and so forth.

A common practice among intimate friends is to "adopt" or take the friend as a family member, e.g., brother or sister. When this occurs, the entire family assumes the responsibility of the relationship which has developed, even though the "true" family members may have no previous knowledge of the newly acquired family member.

That these "adoptions" occur among intimate friends is evidenced by my own experiences while I was an undergraduate in New Mexico. During my first semester, I had become acquainted with a family from one of the nearby Pueblos, and, after a period of time, an intense relationship developed, which ultimately resulted in the family's adopting me as their son. The adoption process involved a dinner at the family's home, to which some of their relatives and friends were invited, and, at the dinner, the newly established familial relationship was formally acknowledged. The family had other children; so I assumed the role of older brother to the two younger children and younger brother to the eldest daughter. I also assumed appropriate relational roles to the extended family members, e.g., cousin, nephew, etc.

Not only was I recognized as a family member, but so were other members of my immediate family. For example, when my "true" mother came to visit she assumed the role of sister to my new father and mother and that of an aunt to my new brother and sisters. Furthermore, when my Pueblo family came to my home community, they were introduced to members of my family and tribe as my adoptive family. The relationship was so intense, that it caused my mother to comment that she was beginning to wonder if they remembered just whose son I ac-

tually was. Although I have not lived in New Mexico for quite some time, I still maintain contact with my adopted mother and father.

Even though the extended family system is an essential constituent of Indian life, it does present some problems for Indian people. One Indian male informant was telling me of the difficulties he was experiencing from his family regarding his dating a non-Indian, and he stated:

> Most of the folks from back home are on me to marry someone from our tribe. But every time I try to date a girl from back home, everybody gets on to me and tells me I'm related to that girl. I mean I'd like to marry a girl from my tribe, but it seems like I'm related to everyone there. Even if my great-grandfather took someone as his brother, that relationship still exists, and if I date someone from that family, my folks get upset. It's as if I was trying to date my first cousin instead of someone I'm not really related to.

Among the Indian family, not only are family members unfavorably sanctioned for dating, but members of a quasi-familial system are unfavorably sanctioned for dating even though they may not be related by blood.

Extended families can be constituted by inter-tribal associations between intimate real Indians, as well as intra-tribal associations. My observations are consistent with those of Goodluck (1980) in her report of the Indian social-familial network. She found that "the extended family includes family members, clan members, and relatives who are called on for help in a given crisis. These people are not always related by blood but may be aligned by tribal association and geographic proximity" (p. 519).

Non-Indians often misinterpret the value and intensity of the relationships that develop between real Indians. Such was the case

when one informant, with whom I had been discussing the notion of Indian relationships, related an unpleasant experience that had occurred when he encountered a non-Indian acquaintance at a shopping mall. The informant explained that he introduced an Indian woman, with whom he had developed a close social relationship, as his sister to his non-Indian friend. The non-Indian immediately replied "She's not your sister. I know you don't have any sisters." The "brother" and "sister" were embarrassed and offended by the remark and immediately removed themselves from the non-Indian's presence. Real Indians do not take such relations casually, as was evidenced by the couple's abrupt departure, and, because of the familial responsibilities one incurs, neither do they enter into such relations without caution.

In that the establishment of relationships is criterial to the identification of real Indians, candidate Indians sometimes attempt to establish their Indianness by affiliating with real Indian families. Whenever real Indians, in dealing with a possible member of their own tribe or a possible member of a tribe with which they are familiar, attempt to discern the Indianness of a candidate Indian, they often endeavor to find out the lineage of the candidate. I had asked one informant, who administers educational scholarships for a particular tribe in southwest Oklahoma, if he ever questioned the Indianness of any of the applicants that came to his office to seek financial aid and he stated:

> I get a lot of people who come into my office and claim to be Indian just to try and get a grant. Whenever I want to find out if someone is really a [...], I always ask them who they are related to,

> and who is their family. I also ask them where they're from and if they might know someone who I know from that area. For example, if they're from [...], I'll ask them if they know [...], because everybody knows this person, and if they don't, I know they're not really a member of our tribe.

However, merely asserting one's self as being a member of an Indian family does not qualify one as a real Indian. This was evidenced by a middle-aged man that I observed at a ceremonial dance in northeast Oklahoma, who was going around shaking hands (an expression of respect among Indians) with most of the people in attendance. When he approached another middle-aged woman, whom I happened to be sitting behind, he shook hands and addressed the woman as "sister." The Indian women immediately replied:

> I'm not your sister. I don't even know who your people are.

That the candidate Indian's Indianness was questioned was evidenced by the woman's admonition of the candidate for having called her "sister" and by her statement that she was unaware of the candidate's "people" or family.

Candidate Indians often attempt to elevate their status by claiming quasi-familial ties with Indian families who are regarded as real Indians. Furthermore, these candidate Indians also misinterpret the importance of familial and quasi-familial relations and address everyone as grandfather, mother, sister, etc. Those who address others so familiarly are often suspect as a real Indian. Rather than enhancing their position as a real Indian, the candidates often offend the real Indians whom they address in such a familiar manner, resulting in non-acceptance. One informant and I were discussing the ways that candi-

date Indians claim a real Indian as their relative in order to be perceived as a real Indian by virtue of association. The informant mentioned one candidate in particular, with whom I was acquainted, and stated:

> Do you think [...] is really an Indian? He looks White and acts White, and the only reason people put up with him is because he claims [...] as his grandmother. He's just using her so other Indians will accept him as an Indian.

The candidate's Indianness was questioned because he was perceived as claiming kinship with a woman who was known by others as a real Indian, in order to enhance his tenuous position as real Indian. Rather than enacting the appropriate criterial behaviors to be considered a real Indian, the candidate chose to rely upon the credibility of another in order to achieve acceptance.

In another setting regarding questionable Indian lineage, in which I participated, the Indianness of a candidate, who had become a part of a particular Indian community through marriage, was being discussed. The primary topic of discussion centered on the candidate's claiming many Indian relatives. The informants reported:

> I knew [...] *before* she became an Indian. She used to be a White woman who was married to an Indian. Now she's more Indian than the rest of us. She calls everybody her grandpa, brother, and sister. She acts like everybody is her kin.

Although the woman was accepted by the Indian community as the spouse of an Indian, her claim as a real Indian based on her alleged familial ties with other Indians was insufficient to qualify her as a real Indian. Many non-Indians and candidate Indians who purport extended familial ties are often suspect by real Indians.

Razzing: Subtle Uses of Indian Humor

Once real Indians begin to interact, the participants almost always enter into a distinctive form of verbal sparring to further seek out the cultural competency, or Indianness, that each participant in an event or setting exhibits. One primary mode of behavior exhibited, whenever real Indians interact, is the use of humor. The use of humor, or "razzing" behavior, as a criterion of Indianness is not displayed haphazardly, but follows normative patterns. There are specific behaviors and strategies that must be followed in "razzing." That is, the members must know the appropriate methods of razzing.

Generally the razzing behavior is reflexive and contextual. To say that razzing behavior is reflexive points to the fact that the recounting of some out-of-the-ordinary or "deviant" behavior that had occurred in the past can be utilized in future encounters as a means of razzing, when something in that future situation elicits it. Those people most adept at this type of behavior are accorded stronger cultural competency, or Indianness, and those who are the most adept at razzing are generally considered real Indians. On the other hand, those who do not employ the appropriate methods in razzing often offend those whom they are attempting to razz and are not perceived as real Indians.

Razzing is contextual in the sense that the instances in which the razzing behavior is exhibited is dependent upon the events that occur as the members begin to interact. That is, the basis for razzing evolves from the situation itself. For example, if one participant were to exhibit a behavior which was in violation of some not-so-

important social norm, such as "snagging a buffalo" (being seen with a rather large Indian female) or were to be "painted up" (a common practice among younger Indians in which one Indian falls asleep in the presence of others and his or her face is painted in a bizarre fashion by the others present) this would be grounds for what real Indians term a "shame story."

Whenever real Indians interact, razzing and shame stories are frequently topics of conversation. Whoever is present can engage the other participants in razzing, become the object of a razz, or expect to have a shame story about their past actions recounted to the others present. Additionally, when real Indians recount a shame story, the original story is added to and embellished each time it is re-told, with the final version faintly resembling the original occurrence.

That an original incident will be added to and embellished by the participants is exemplified in the following interaction that I recorded at the camp of some acquaintances following a war dance. Following the evening dance, the conversants, both males and females, were discussing the various events that had occurred. This particular speech event commenced with a statement that one of the participants had overheard the remarks of an extremely overweight dancer (who was well over 300 pounds) who had jokingly stated that he was only "warming up" tonight and would be dancing much harder the next night. Upon hearing this statement, the other participants began adding to and embellishing upon the original statement.

P. I'll tell you what, and this is the honest truth. A whole cow gave its life up for his belt. Did you see that belt? There's not enough beads in the world to bead that thing either.

S. It would take a year to bead it.
P. I think it would. Only thing they could do to get that thing beaded was like to have about twenty Taiwanese beading night and day.
B. They'd have to use one of those big electric looms.

At this point the originator of the story began providing further background information and further embellished the story by recounting a supposedly "true" account of a past related exchange between him and other acquaintances of the person being discussed.

C. [...], you know he belongs to another tribe. He went around that other tribe and said "Relatives, brother, nephew, cousins, make me a belt." Nobody wanted to tell him no. "Well yeah, we'll try." I was talking to those guys later. "I'm the only one that spoke up. I told him, [...], its going to cost a hundred dollars just for the beads. That's before you <u>do</u> anything."

Following the completion of C's story, the other participants began adding to the original story.

W. Well, he could get each one to give him all the same design and they could all make a piece of it and piece it together.
P. I know what he could use. Those long beaded strips that go on the broadcloth blankets.
B. Two or three of them!
C. All I know is, he ought to put those [silver] conchos on his belt.
P. There's a couple dollars there too.
C. He'd be buying all the German silver in Oklahoma.
B. I'll make him a belt, if he gives me about three years to do it. And about $5,000 to do it.
W. Somewhere out there, there's a cow who's really cold. It was a sacrifice for <u>one big</u> Indian's belt.

That a shame story, with continued retelling, can lose its original context is exemplified by an incident that occurred while I was having dinner with several acquaintances. One member of our dinner party, who apparently had a tiring day at the office, yawned and uttered:

It's been a long day.

Another member of our dinner party immediately quipped:

> "E-long-gay." What is that? A new Indian word?
> What does it mean--you're too full to eat anymore?

The other participants joined in and began razzing the person who uttered the phrase as to the meaning of the "word" and what tribal language it reflected. Upon several later occasions, with the originator of the new "word" present, the shame story was recounted in several different versions, none of which resembled the original occurrence. The original incident finally deteriorated into a simple admonishment of others, by those who were present and those who had heard the shame story, not to eat excessively or they would become "e-long-gay," with no further explanation offered.

Almost all situations and incidents provide grounds in which real Indians razz each other, or relate shame stories about the past actions of someone who is present, a particular individual(s) the interactants are acquainted with, or about the actions of someone who is not known. Even upon initial interaction, real Indians who do not know each other often enter into this form of verbal sparring. The following dialogue which occurred in the Native American Studies office, in which two real Indians were asked if they knew each other by another, serves to illustrate this point:

> R. I don't think we've met before, but I have heard your name mentioned a lot. I guess you owe a lot of people money.
> B. No, it's probably because I've been with a lot of men's wives.

Although both participants did not know each other, both proceeded to engage in razzing to establish the Indianness of the other party.

Razzing is also utilized as a method to determine if another Indian is truly a real Indian. That is, if the interactants are unsure as to the Indianness of each other, one or both of the participants engages the other in a razz to elicit the appropriate methods that a real Indian would enact in response to the razz, as the aforementioned incident illustrates. If one of the participants does not employ the appropriate methods, then that person's identity as a real Indian will be suspect. Furthermore, if someone attempts to razz another and is not perceived to be a real Indian, or if that individual does not utilize the appropriate methods, the other participant(s) will refrain from engaging that person in the razzing behavior, and will be reluctant to engage that person in any future interactions. Moreover, that person's razz will be met with silence, which, in this context, a real Indian would interpret as an indication of non-acceptance.

That razzing is utilized as a method to determine the Indianness of another is exemplified by one informant, with whom I had been discussing the methods involved in razzing. The informant, in discussing the inappropriate razzing behavior of a candidate Indian, said:

> Most people don't accept [...] as an Indian. Whenever you talk to him he starts telling you about your tribe as if you don't know anything. He tries to razz everybody but he usually winds up offending everyone he talks to. I don't think he means to offend anyone, but it's because he doesn't know how to razz. He thinks he's being funny but he usually winds up making everybody mad. That's one of the reasons everyone thinks he's just a White man. He doesn't have an Indian sense of humor.

That any occasion provides grounds for razzing or recounting shame stories was evidenced by two Indians who were participating in a

tribal dance when one of the participants spied the former girlfriend of the other and remarked:

> Check out the south side; there's your old babe [...]—in fact, she <u>is</u> the whole south side.

In response to the razz the other participant immediately replied:

> She looks just as tiny as she always has.

By making light of the situation, the recipient of the razz was viewed as enacting the appropriate behavior. If the individual had acted in an offended or negative manner, then he would have been viewed negatively by the other participant. For the real Indian, a central tenet of razzing is "one who razzes another must also expect to be the recipient of razzing."

This tenet is further exemplified by an exchange that I witnessed between two Indians who were razzing each other. One of the participants became offended by a razzing remark and was quickly admonished by the other participant who stated:

> If you can dish it out, you've got to be able to take it.

Not only does razzing take place in face-to-face interactions, but it also occurs in the form of songs which are directed towards other individuals or events. Razzing in the form of singing is best exemplified by "forty-nines." Traditionally, forty-nine singing was originated by the Kiowa tribe of Oklahoma, and as Kennan and Hill (1978) noted in a study of Kiowa forty-nine singing from a communication perspective, "Its function, in the days before tribal confinement to the Anadarko, Oklahoma area, was a prelude, postscript, or celebration of past raiding parties" (p. 1). Although Indians no longer conduct "raiding parties" against other tribes or non-Indians,

forty-nine singing still occurs, but as a means of inter-tribal and intra-tribal socializing. Forty-nines are generally held after a pow-wow or war dance, are conducted out-of-doors, and are held not only in Oklahoma, but in any states in which Indians may gather for pow-wows, conventions, and so forth. That forty-nine singing is utilized in razzing was further elaborated by Kennan and Hill (1978) who found that:

> ...the event offers a kind of forum whereby individuals engage in a kind of friendly verbal dueling. Very often participants are well acquainted with each other and frequently singers direct barbs in the form of songs at one another. There is no real intent to seriously insult the object of such a song, rather, the songs take the form of and are accepted as friendly, personal jokes. (p. 12)

That forty-nine singing can be directed as a razz towards a specific event is exemplified by a particular song which was adapted from an older song to razz an annual week-long event held in Anadarko, Oklahoma, the American Indian Exposition or "Indian Fair." Indian Fair-goers are always cautioned against drinking the city's water, as it has been known to induce week-long cases of diarrhea; therefore, the razz against the Indian Fair asserts:

> I will see you next summer time
> American Indian Exposition
> Hope you don't get the diarrhea
> all week long

Razzing has a surface similarity to "sounding" (Kochman, 1968) or "playing the dozens" (Abrahams, 1962) which are verbal dueling games of Black speakers in urban ghetto areas. Razzing and sounding requires the interactants to be skillful in the uses of humor and verbal sparring, are dependent upon an audience, and require an awareness of the normatively required patterns. Although both of these cultur-

ally based forms are types of ritualized insults, razzing differs significantly from sounding or playing the dozens in the sense that playing the dozens often requires the participants to direct insults, generally of a sexual nature, towards a specific family member, e.g., someone's mother (Labov, 1972). Moreover, sounding and playing the dozens occur in the form of standardized rhymed couplets, as opposed to razzing which is not standardized and very seldom occurs in rhymed couplets. For example, Labov (1972), in a discussion of the ritualized insults of Black speakers in South Central Harlem cited typical rhymed couplets as:

> I hate to talk about your mother, she's a good old soul
> She got a ten-ton pussy and a rubber asshole.
>
> Iron is iron, and steel don't rust
> But your momma got a pussy like a Greyhound bus. (p. 129)

Within the Indian community, razzing is directed toward the divergent behavior of an individual, group, or a tribe, and unlike sounding and playing the dozens does not include such topical areas as family members, physical disabilities, or socio-economic status. In fact, one informant with whom I had been discussing Indian humor and the appropriate patterns associated with razzing stated:

> You can usually razz another Indian about anything they've done, or said, or even make up something to razz them about. But if you razz somebody about their family, then you better be ready to "go to blows." If you want to get somebody to fight, then just say something about their family.

Although real Indians avoid razzing someone about their family, they often razz others about their tribal membership. For example, a common razz among interactants of different tribal groups is to accuse each other of favoring a specific canine delicacy, e.g., roast dog or

puppy and dumplings. That real Indians enjoy razzing members of differing tribes with regard to the consumption of this delicacy is exemplified by a discussion I had with one woman from northeast Oklahoma who informed me that her home community had recently hired a new animal control officer, who happened to be a member of a southwestern Oklahoma tribe. The woman further explained that the "dog-catcher" was often razzed about the duties associated with his position. She further explained that whenever she would encounter the dog-catcher she would tell him:

> Hey [...], quit picking up our dogs. I know you're taking them down south to use for your feasts. We don't have any watch dogs left. We're unprotected.

In response to the razz the woman informed me that the "dog-catcher" would reply:

> It's not me. It's those [...] who are coming up here and taking your dogs. Besides, I heard that they were going to put on a big feast for you people and feed you your favorite meal.

With regard to Indian humor, Maestas (1976) in an essay on Indian rhetoric suggested that there are four matters in Indian humor which ought to be considered:

1. There is nothing the Indian loves better than to poke fun and to laugh. He has used this time and time again to train his children. Children who misbehave or who vary from the norm are usually teased into conformity.
2. Among Indian people they are constantly teasing each other. Vine Deloria many times has said that he wonders how Indians ever get anything done the way they tease each other. And yet the only side that the White man sees of the Indian is the poker-faced, stolid, individual who doesn't crack a smile.
3. The Indian loves his humor "best" when he can fool the White man.
4. The Indian understands and uses a very subtle approach to his humor. (p. 312)

Razzing is generally restricted to interactants of equal status, with status referring primarily to age levels. It is inappropriate to razz out of your status level. That is, younger individuals are required to exhibit respect for older individuals and are not able to razz those who are older.

That younger individuals are sanctioned for attempting to razz, or make light of the actions of someone who is older, was evidenced during an interaction I observed in which one Indian male was recounting to another Indian male a not-so-pleasant event that the former had experienced. During the conversation, the son of one of the interactants began to razz the older individual concerning his not-so-pleasant experience and was immediately sanctioned by his father who stated:

> Be quiet. You're not supposed to talk to older people like that. You're supposed to be respectful to those who are older than you are.

Although it would have been acceptable for the Indian males to razz each other over the unpleasant experience, it was unacceptable for the younger Indian to attempt to enter into the razzing behavior with those who were older. Even though razzing is restricted to participants of the same age level, it is not restricted to a specific gender, e.g., only males can razz males. Rather, males and females can and do engage each other in this form of verbal sparring.

Razzing is an in-group process and is utilized to identify in-group members or real Indians, as well as a device to identify out-group members. Because of the matters involved in knowing the appropriate behaviors, if a non-Indian or candidate Indian were to razz in the inappropriate manner, that person would be regarded as exhibiting

offensive or rude behavior. For example, many non-Indians generally refer to an Indian male as "chief." Although the term "chief" may not be utilized in a derogatory manner, it is interpreted by most real Indians as a racial slur, just as an Italian would be offended by being called "Dago," a Black being called "boy," an Irishman being called "Mick," and so forth. However, it is not unusual for a real Indian to razz another by referring to him as chief, nor would a real Indian be offended by the sobriquet from another real Indian. Many of the circumstances in which this razzing behavior is enacted must be exhibited according to the culturally appropriate methods, otherwise misinterpretation by a non-Indian could result in offense, hostility, verbally aggressive acts, and so forth.

A final constituent of the use of Indian humor is its "closed-groupness." Intelligible and humorous only to Indians, most non-Indians would be unable to understand the humor. That Indian humor is believed by real Indians to be intelligible only to real Indians was evidenced by one member of the Indian community, who was telling me of his experiences at a club which featured stand-up comedians, and he stated:

> They have amateur night over at this comedy club in Tulsa; we ought to put a table on the stage and let three Indian guys razz each other. They'd probably run all the White people out, because they wouldn't be able to understand what they were saying.

I asked several Indian informants if they felt that only real Indians could understand the humor utilized by real Indians. All of the informants agreed that non-Indians seldom appreciate a humorous story, and one informant in particular stated:

> A lot of times I'll tell my White friends something that has happened that I think is really funny or I'll tell them about a razz on someone else. After I get through telling them the story they'll just sit there like they're still waiting for the punch line. They really don't understand our humor. Also, if I try to razz them like I razz my Indian friends, they get upset and say that I tease too hard.

Although Indians take delight in razzing and relating shame stories about themselves and others, and find it witty, they regard it as distinctively Indian humor.

Public Speaking

Traditionally, the American Indian has been portrayed by the mass media as being uncommunicative, speaking only in monosyllables, unemotional, and stoic primarily because of a seeming reluctance to speak openly among others. Yet, real Indians are adept in the arts of formal and impromptu speaking. Almost any type of situation, whether it be formal or informal, provides an arena for Indian oratory. Generally, events such as traditional dinners, ceremonies, and dances, provide grounds for prearranged, formalized speaking, although almost any situation can provide grounds for seemingly spontaneous speaking.

Traditional Indian public speaking differs considerably from contemporary Western styles of public speaking. Within the White-American culture, everyone is permitted and encouraged to present his or her messages publicly and is taught at an early age the appropriate skills in verbalizing a specific message. For example, children in the lower grade levels often address large audiences in school assemblies, participate in show and tell, plays, and so forth. In fact, this right to speak openly is protected, to a certain extent, by law--

namely, by the First Amendment to the Constitution.

In contrast to the gatherings of White-Americans, in gatherings of real Indians not all persons are allowed to openly present a message to the gathering. Instead, public oratory is restricted to specific individuals, usually the elder males of a tribe and those who are called upon to speak for someone else. Whenever real Indians gather for a specific formal event, such as an honor dinner or naming ceremony, only the elder member of that tribe or "head man" (a predesignated elder who assumes the primary speaking role) speaks. This predesignated spokesman welcomes those in attendance, offers a prayer, and explains why he has been asked to speak for someone else or the reason that everyone has been invited or "called upon" to attend the event. If any of the others in attendance have a message that they want conveyed to those present, they ask the "head man," or an elder, usually a relative, such as a grandfather, uncle, or a close family friend, to "speak for them." When a real Indian has some type of message that he/she wishes to be conveyed to a particular audience, the appropriate behavior is for that person to seek out an elder member of the tribe to "speak for him" rather than speaking for himself which would be viewed by a real Indian as a violation of the speaking proprieties.

When real Indians begin to speak or are "called upon" to speak for someone else, the appropriate behavior is first to address the elder members who are present, each by their own name. Following the "recognition" of the elders, the speaker then addresses those in attendance and delivers the message that he has been asked to express.

While the spokesman is delivering the speech, the person requesting the address, and his or her family, stands next to the speaker in full view of the audience which is usually seated in a circular arrangement. The following speech, which I tape-recorded at a ceremonial dance, illustrates the appropriate behavior a speaker must exhibit when "called upon" to speak for someone else.

> Brother Jess, Aunt Julia, Uncle Phil, Sister Joan. Sister here, has asked me to express a few words for her today. I'll try to do the best that I can to express her words for her. She would like to thank all of the people who danced on her father's song and those who have helped her carry this song on. She also says that she doesn't have much, but she would like to give a few gifts away to some of the visitors here.

No time limits are imposed on the length of a speech, and the speaker decides whether to be brief in his presentation, or to be as verbose as he may wish to be. However, it is not uncommon for many Indian speakers to speak at great length, often covering a variety of topics such as his relationship with the family he is speaking for, the origin of a certain song, or the meaning of an Indian name. That a speaker will frequently cover a variety of topics is exemplified in the following speech that I tape-recorded at a ceremonial dance in northeastern Oklahoma. The speech was delivered by a male tribal elder speaking for his "niece" and covered topical matters such as his relationship with the woman's family, the family's position in that particular community, the obligations incurred in possessing a family song, and the current state of the family (they were in mourning).

> My niece comes today and has a few words that she wants me to express for her.
> A lot of times we try to be brief, but it's hard to do that. There was a lot of meaning and thought that went into this song that was made for her brother.

> Most of you remember my sister and my brother-in-law. They were people that were real active. That little summer house by their own home down here, many activities went on there. That leads to changes like this to come about. It makes you try to remember and think about these folks. They think about their memories to be had here. And their thoughts that go through people's mind; sometimes hurts their feelings, makes them glad too, all at the same time. And these folks over the past several years have been in a hard situation. One half or another of them have passed away. And there is that condition now. But, in spite of all of that, when this time comes, it's the time to be here, to be on hand. This song was made to reflect themselves, to have a part in it, to try to be here, to be on hand. This was something that came from way back there. To accept the responsibility, that people like my niece, she has to take care of this, to be here when they can, regardless of what the circumstances are, to support [...] on this song, that belongs to his dad. So they come here today with that thought in mind, with mixed emotions, both happy and sad. And its with real sincerity that she wants me to thank people who got up and danced with her because this song has been a blessing to them in their lifetime, as their parents were a blessing to them, and through them this was placed here. Regardless of what the circumstances are, they got something good to lean on, to have a part in, and regardless of whatever the circumstances they make their way here. So my niece wanted me to just express her heartfelt thanks to the friends and the family that came to help them with this. So she has some things she wants to give now.

Not only are a variety of topical matters addressed in a formal presentation, but the speaker also assumes that the receivers possess the same background knowledge of the cultural event he is addressing. That is, many of the topical areas are implied. Without a shared cultural knowledge, the receiver would not be cognizant of the topical matter, i.e., only a real Indian would fully comprehend the message.

The fact that time is not a primary concern of a speaker was exemplified during a formal tribal dinner I had attended in which the spokesman's "talk" had well exceeded the half-hour mark. The person sitting next to me leaned over and jokingly whispered:

> Boy, Uncle [...] sure is wound up. The grease on top of the chicken and dumplings is beginning to harden. When he gets through talking we might have to grab a ladle to break through that layer of grease so we can eat.

Indian public speaking, in more formalized occasions and often in less formal settings, is nearly always followed by a "give-away" or the distribution of gifts by the person who has requested some specific message to be conveyed. The purpose of the give-away is to either honor the achievements of someone, acknowledge a person who has provided assistance in the past, or to recognize visitors from another tribe, and so forth. The gifts are based upon whatever that person feels he or she can give away and generally vary from one dollar to a hundred dollars, groceries, Pendleton blankets, traditional Indian clothes, horses, or tepees.

In maintaining the public communication ethic, young men and all women (with certain exceptions which I will later note) are prohibited from speaking for themselves and for others, although in some isolated instances a woman can be given the right to speak by tribal elders. Those who violate this ethic are viewed negatively and are perceived by real Indians as "going over their bounds," or attempting to put themselves in a position similar to, or above that of an elder. A primary reason that younger Indians are not permitted to speak publicly, according to the real Indians who were my informants, is due to the belief that appropriate methods of public speaking are learned through observation and modeling, rather than the formalized classroom approach in which students are taught and practice the appropriate methods of public speaking utilized by the Western culture. Only by

observing the oratory of the elder members of a tribe can a person learn the appropriate methods of speech composition. Consequently, younger people have not been adequately exposed to the proper speaking methods, and, therefore, they are not cognizant of the appropriate behaviors that should be enacted when someone is called upon to speak.

I had asked several Indian elders, both male and female, why women are not allowed to speak openly. According to my informants, women are not allowed to speak for themselves and others owing to the tradition that men were, and still are, the heads of families, clans, and religious sects, and are the leaders and directors of ceremonial occasions. Men were and are tribal leaders, and assume the sole role of primary communicators in matters of everyday affairs. Out of respect for the leadership position that the elder men assume, women refrain from openly speaking. Although women are prohibited from speaking, some women, in isolated instances, can be given the "right" to speak. That is, a woman will be given the authority to speak for herself and others by the tribal elders via specific ceremonial rites, and it is made known to the tribal members that this person has been given the position of speaker. Although women are prohibited from openly speaking, this is not to suggest that women are not an important agent of socialization for both females and males. In fact, women are often sought out for advice and do serve as equals, superordinates, and the elder women are placed in positions of high honor, just as are the elder men.

Young Indian men are openly admonished for public communication infractions just as are Indian women. For example, a young Indian man

(twenty-seven years old) and I were discussing the methods involved in Indian oratory, and he recounted a situation in which he had been chastised, by the elder tribal members present, for speaking in a formal situation. He explained that the primary reason he was chastised for speaking openly was that he was too young. He was told by the elder tribal members:

> You're just a kid. You're not supposed to be speaking for yourself.

The implication here is that the younger Indian male had not been adequately exposed to enough speaking situations for him to be adequately prepared to speak for himself. Furthermore, he was viewed negatively by the elders for his speaking violation because there were other family members present whom he should have asked to speak for him, and the event was such that he did not possess the appropriate cultural knowledge to address the topic properly.

Because of the status placed on elders, it is a sign of respect that younger males and women do not speak. However, in some cases, particularly in less formal situations, if an elder is not present then the eldest male present, or the eldest male member of a family, e.g., the eldest son, will "fill in," and carry out the speaking duties. The types of occasions, in which younger males are permitted to "fill in" are limited to events such as explaining why everyone has been invited to a particular event such as a dinner, in offering prayers, and in delivering a message for someone else when an elder is not present. These types of occasions provide an opportunity for the younger males to begin assuming lesser speaking duties and help prepare them for a future time when they will assume the communicator

role of an elder. However, the younger speakers are not permitted to address areas which are more formal or ceremonial in nature, such as the giving of Indian names or the explanation and enactment of specific ceremonial rites, e.g., funeral rites. These matters can only be addressed by the tribal elders. Nevertheless, candidate Indians, unaware of the norms associated with public speaking sometimes attempt to speak for themselves, which is viewed negatively by real Indians.

That deviant speaking behavior is a matter of concern for real Indians was illustrated by a young Indian women who related to me, during a discussion she and I were having on appropriate Indian speaking behaviors, an incident in which she committed a speaking infraction. It appears that while she was living on a northern Indian reservation, she spoke for herself in a formal situation. This act offended the elder male tribal members, because on that particular reservation women do not openly speak for themselves. However, it was her husband and not her, she informed me, that was reprimanded by the elder tribal members for "not teaching his wife how to act. She's gone over her bounds." Rather than admonishing the woman for her deviant behavior, the elder members enacted the culturally appropriate behavior of informing the male who was, in turn, to inform the woman of her deviant behavior.

Public communication is not restricted to large formal cultural gatherings, but can also be enacted at small informal social interactions. Just as group members know the appropriate speaking behaviors enacted in formal situations and the appropriate roles to be assumed (speaker-audience), so too do they know the proprieties of

these behaviors as they are enacted in small informal gatherings. It is not unusual for an informal gathering of real Indians at someone's home to be transformed into a semi-formal public communication situation merely by someone saying, "I have a few words to say." Upon hearing these words, a loud multi-conversationed gathering can be converted into a seemingly formal situation with the participants assuming the appropriate roles and enacting the appropriate listening behaviors. That is, those present will cease conversing with others, focus their attention upon the speaker, and caution others to be silent and to "pay attention." Furthermore, it is not unusual for a give-away to follow the speaking, with gifts such as money or a personal possession given. Upon completion of these events, the setting is transformed once again into a multi-conversationed gathering.

That a social setting can be transformed into a formal speaking situation was evidenced during an event that occurred while I was visiting in the home of acquaintances in western Oklahoma. During the course of the evening, several other people had stopped by, with whom I was unacquainted, and after a considerable amount of time had lapsed one of the guests stood up and said:

> I'd like to say a few words. Today is my sister's birthday, and I'd like for everyone to wish her a happy birthday. It's our tribe's way to recognize these events, and in her honor, I'd like to give some money to a friend who has been sick. I hope that this gift will, in some way, make him feel better, and, with it, I want to give him my wishes for good health.

Such incidents are common among real Indians. Speaking can address any topical matter, and can occur in any locale. For example, an acquaintance had recently returned from a convention held by the

National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) and began telling me of the various incidents that had occurred during the convention. One particular incident that he related dealt with this particular aspect of public communication. He told me that after attending a full day of meetings he and a few of his acquaintances were invited to an informal social gathering, and he further stated:

> I went to this hospitality hour they were having in this suite, when one Indian guy stood up and started telling everybody that he had made friends with this guy from another tribe. He said it was good to make friends with members of other tribes. He was wearing this beaded vest and took it off and gave it to this guy he was talking about. Before he started talking, it was real noisy in there, but after he started talking, everybody got real quiet and started listening to him. After he got through, everybody went back to carrying on like they had been before.

Although the appropriate speaking behavior is to request an older male to speak for you, more contemporary or "nouveau Indians," male and female, are beginning to speak for themselves in less formal situations, specifically at pow-wows. Pow-wows are inter-tribal, social in nature, and do not follow a rigid structure. These features permit a public arena for "nouveau Indians" to attempt to display their cultural expertise. Moreover, ceremonial events are rarely enacted at pow-wows, because of the inter-tribal structure, and primarily provide a setting for Indians to gather for the purpose of socializing. Although many younger males and females are beginning to enact this behavior, it is also true that many real Indians are affronted by this new approach to public speaking. For example, during a recent pow-wow I attended, a young Indian female, around fourteen years of age, took it upon herself to address the people

present. That this type of behavior is unacceptable was evidenced by a conversation I overheard between two elderly Indian women; one stated:

> I don't know what's going on with these people anymore. Let's leave. I'm not about to sit here and listen to some little girl talk.

During a visit to my home community, an elder was "bringing me up-to-date" on the events that had occurred since my last visit. She related an incident of concern to her. A speech was given at a tribal dinner by a younger Indian male who was not employing the appropriate speaking methods. The elder told me:

> If these younger people are going to start talking, they should learn how to do it in the right way. After he started talking, he kind of turned everybody off. Everybody started visiting during his talk, and it got so loud that they finally had to start tapping on the table to get everybody's attention. I kind of felt sorry for him, but if he's going to get up and speak in front of our people, he better learn how to do it right.

"Nouveau Indians" are often sincere and eager to emulate what they perceive as real Indian comportment. However, these "nouveau Indians" do not have a command of the details, which is necessary to fully understand the implications involved in exhibiting a specific behavior such as public speaking. By not having a command of the details, "nouveau Indians" generally violate the prescribed speaking conventions. As a result, they are perceived by real Indians as not knowing what they are doing--as incompetent. This incompetency is recognized and talked about by full-fledged, competent members, and this incompetency is attributed to "lack of experience" and "lack of knowledge."

For example, I had attended an Indian awards banquet on a college

campus and observed a young Indian woman delivering a speech, which is not unusual in more "contemporary" settings. Upon the completion of her address, the young woman closed with an Indian word, reflective of a specific tribe in southern Oklahoma, which has been borrowed by many contact Indians and has a type of generic use. Being unfamiliar with the actual meaning of the word, I asked several people what the actual interpretation was. The explanations I received were all similar, but for further confirmation one individual arranged for me to speak with his mother who is fluent in the tribal language from which the word was borrowed. The informant's mother explained that the word the female used was a word that is generally utilized only by Indian males which is uttered by the audience in response to a speech, which roughly translated means "yes, I have heard," and is obviously not to be utilized by any speaker, much less a female speaker. Many younger Indians, in an attempt to display their Indianness, emulate behaviors to which they have been exposed, but which they do not fully comprehend. In this case, the speaker's attempt to display her cultural awareness or Indianness resulted in a faux pas that was noticed by others.

Attaining Harmony in Face-to-Face Relations

Whenever real Indians enter into matters of disagreement with others, are recipients of false information, are offended, and generally are placed in conflict situations, they tend to manage this form of conflict differently than do many other cultural groups in North America. Rather than directly confront someone who they feel

has committed an offensive act, rather than question the truthfulness of a statement, and rather than disagree with an assertion they feel to be false, real Indians tend to refrain from saying anything at all. In fact, a common question asked of an Indian who has been offended or placed in a conflict situation by other real Indians is, "Why didn't you say something?" Although real Indians generally refrain from addressing a potentially controversial issue or "saying some- thing," they often discuss the improprieties of others with family members and intimate friends.

That real Indians will refrain from directly confronting someone who has committed an offensive act is exemplified by a conversation I had with two Indian graduate students who regarded each other as real Indians. They began telling me of an incident that had occurred; as they discussed the incident, they appeared to become quite chafed. It seems that a non-Indian associate of theirs had gotten into the practice of occasionally referring to them, upon passing, as "Kemosabe," (the name given to the Lone Ranger by his Indian side-kick). Both had taken offense at this sobriquet and jokingly informed the other person that "Kemosabe" meant "chicken-shit" and was not something that an Indian liked to be called. However, the informants further related that the other person didn't appear to understand that they were offended by the sobriquet, and, on later occasions, he often referred to them, in the presence of others, as "Kemosabe." Although both told me that if he called them that once more they were going to "jump down his throat," neither has, even though he occasionally still refers to them as "Kemosabe."

If the two Indian graduate students were to have verbally confronted the offending non-Indian, they would have been perceived as creating a disharmonious situation, which a real Indian tries to avoid. A central tenet of the American Indian value system is the maintenance of harmony among its members and others. Gearing (1962), in his description of the Cherokee social structure, found that the primary focus in Cherokee moral thought is the notion of harmony among men. The harmony ethic requires that a "good man" manage conflict situations by not engaging in open physical manifestations of disagreement or aggression but by the avoidance of direct, face to face, conflict. He further found that:

> First in the usual circumstances of everyday life one must exercise foresight so as not to intrude. The harmony ethic is maintained by the recommendation that a good Cherokee must be a "quiet" man "avoiding disharmonious situations." It is maintained by not giving offense, the "unwillingness of the individual to thrust his ideas or personality in the limelight or to make decisions for or to speak for others." (p. 31)

Although Gearing's discussion on the maintenance of harmony was primarily concerned with the Cherokee tribe, the practices associated with conflict management are general to all those who are recognized as Indians by real Indians. An example of how silence, as a means of conflict avoidance, transcends tribal bounds was evidenced in a dialogue I witnessed between three Indians of different tribal groups, which took place in the office of the Native American Studies Center. Two of the participants were close friends and were regarded by each other as real Indians. The other participant identified himself as an Indian, however his identity as a real Indian was questioned by the other interactants.

L. What's been going on?
G. Been pretty busy. I've been commissioned by this rich White woman back East to make her a peyote fan. She's paying me a lot of money to do it.
L. That sounds pretty good. There's always somebody who'll pay money.

After G. had left the group, L. and P. began discussing the content of the statement made by G. concerning his cultural expertise.

P. You knew G. was bullshitting about making that fan. Why didn't you say something?
L. Yeah, I knew he was bullshitting. He's probably never even seen a peyote fan. Besides, why didn't you say something?

Both L. and P. were in agreement that G. was indeed making a false assertion about his cultural expertise. However, in order to maintain the culturally appropriate behavior of avoiding conflict, neither member chose to give offense by challenging G's assertion; to do so would have required that they enact improper behavior. Both chose to remain silent and maintain the ethic of avoiding direct, face-to-face, conflict. However, their use of silence as a conflict avoidance strategy was misinterpreted by the other participant as polite and quiet acceptance. Moreover, the misinterpretation of the avoidance of conflict behavior by the candidate provided further grounds for non-acceptance as a real Indian by the other interactants. As P. stated:

I don't know why that guy tries to act like he's an Indian. He doesn't even know how.

In G's attempt to display his Indianness to the other participants, his behavior was interpreted negatively by L. and P. in that the person making the assertion was attempting to present himself in multiple ways as being more knowledgeable than the other two and in doing so violated several cultural norms. His statement that he had

been commissioned to make a peyote fan gave the other members the impression that he was attempting to assert himself as being more knowledgeable than they were in constructing a cultural artifact. Although the construction of such an artifact is nothing unusual, it is something about which most real Indians do not openly talk. That he was being paid "a lot of money" gave the impression that the member was so culturally adept that he received a high monetary compensation for a task that does not normally carry a monetary value. His statement that a rich White woman had commissioned him was viewed negatively, since a real Indian would not construct such an object for a non-Indian. Finally, his discussion of the peyote fan was viewed by the others as an attempt to associate himself with a certain religious segment of the Indian population.

In the real Indian's quest to maintain harmony, the consequences of such an act are often costly. A real Indian attempts to maintain harmony with others even at the expense of potentially losing a job, money, and so forth. An Indian acquaintance, whom I had not seen for some time, had stopped by my office. During the course of our conversation, he began informing me of what had been happening in his life since I had last seen him. He related one incident in particular in which he had been "passed over" for a job that he had applied for at the tribal offices where he was currently working. He began telling me that he possessed all of the qualifications necessary for the position and most crucially, first priority was to go to those who were already employed there. He further stated that the applicants who had been brought in for interviews were all from out of the office. I

then asked him why he did not say anything to his superiors about why he was not considered for the position, if he indeed met all of the qualifications, particularly since he was already working there. He replied:

> If I would have said something, they would have thought I was trying to cause trouble. It's not the [...] way to go and cause trouble. The Indian way is to not make trouble or cause problems. That's the White man's way. We don't interfere; we let them alone. If I would have said something, everyone would have said I was trying to act White or I'm a militant.

In addition to his reluctance to "cause trouble," he was further hindered in his actions because a relative (cousin) was one of the candidates brought in for an interview. He remarked that if he had said something about not being selected:

> They could have made it bad on my cousin. If I did say something, [my cousin] wouldn't have had a chance at the job. I just figured that if I don't get the job then I'll just try and help my cousin get it.

Not only do real Indians refrain from "saying anything," with regard to matters such as job promotions and false assertions, they are also reluctant to correct improper cultural acts. For example, the non-occurrence of correction was visible during my attendance at my home community's annual ceremonial dances. During the course of the dance, it is customary to acknowledge or recognize certain individuals by having their Indian name announced or "hollered" by a particular individual so designated, the "town crier," in effect. Upon completion of the evening dance, I was visiting with some friends at their camp and overheard an older woman querying one of the elder males who had been participating in the dance as to whether or not a

certain name had been hollered. The elder man informed the woman that the name in question had indeed been hollered and she immediately responded:

> That was my father's name, and that name belongs to my family. It's not supposed to be given away, and when I find [...], I'm really going to give him a darn good talking to. He's not going to get away with this.

That her father's name had been given to someone who was not eligible to receive that certain name is regarded as a severe violation of the practices involved in the giving of names. Although the woman was very adamant in her claim to confront the man who had given the name away, she has not yet said anything to the man in question, even though she has had ample opportunity to do so. In fact, some time later, I had an opportunity to discuss this matter with the woman and asked if she ever "set him straight," and she replied:

> Not yet, but when I do he better watch out.

Although the verbal conflict avoidance phenomenon is primarily utilized in maintaining harmony among members of the American Indian community, if a conflict situation arises that cannot be managed by withdrawal strategies such as silence, lack of eye contact, or by physically removing one's self from the setting, and if such a situation persists, then a real Indian will verbally confront the offending person. Often non-Indians, unaware that they have offended an Indian, will misinterpret the non-verbal indicators that an Indian enacts to alert the offender to a potentially disharmonious situation, which generally results in what the outsider regards as an unexpected, sudden, eruption of conflict. One informant with whom I was discussing

this phenomenon asserted:

> Whenever an Indian gets real quiet and starts looking at you, then that's the time to look for the door, because he's telling you he's mad and you better watch out.

An example of how this behavior can be misinterpreted interculturally was evidenced in an exchange that I observed at a bowling alley between an Indian and a non-Indian in which the Indian took offense at a remark unknowingly made by the non-Indian. In an effort to avoid direct verbal conflict, the Indian enacted the culturally appropriate behavior of using silence as a means of terminating the interaction. This silent behavior was misinterpreted by the non-Indian as passivity. The non-Indian, unaware that he had made an offensive remark, relentlessly queried the Indian as to "what's wrong with you, why don't you say something?" Finally, out of frustration of being misinterpreted, the Indian verbally assaulted the non-Indian concerning the offensive remark previously made, causing further problems among the interactants.

Good Tracks (1973), in an essay on Native American noninterference, found similar behaviors in situations in which an Indian feels that he has been interfered with. He states:

> An Indian will usually withdraw his attention from a person who interferes. If the ill-mannered person does not take the hint the Indian will leave. In the event he is unable to leave, he will attempt to fade into the background and become unnoticed. (p. 31-32)

He further states, "On occasion, however, when pushed beyond endurance, he may lose his self-control and drive the aggressor away with verbal or physical force" (p. 32.)

That non-Indians misinterpret a real Indian's efforts at avoiding

conflict is further exemplified by a conversation I had with an Indian faculty member who was relating to me an incident which had occurred while he was presenting an intercultural workshop to secondary teachers at a school with a high Indian enrollment. During the course of his presentation, he began talking about the use of silence as a communicative strategy among Indian students, to which one member of the workshop responded:

> You can't tell me that Indian kids are reserved and quiet. I had one Indian student who sat in the back of the room, and one day, without any warning, he suddenly stood up and began ranting and raving about something I didn't understand.

The other participants then began pressing the school teacher for further details of the incident and found that she had been admonishing the student, in front of the other students, for not looking at her when she spoke to him. Generally, as a sign of respect, Indians refrain from making direct eye contact, which the school teacher misinterpreted as inattentive behavior. The Indian student had been enacting culturally appropriate behavior, but was being publicly reprimanded for it. Out of continued frustration and bewilderment, the student finally confronted the teacher.

Modesty and "Doing One's Part"

The real Indian's identity comes from his relationships with other real Indians. In his interactions with other real Indians, he is called upon to demonstrate that he is foremost an Indian and that he is truly "one of us." For the real Indian, "Indianness" is a nascent quality that is conferred upon an individual by other real

Indians, much like speaker credibility is bestowed upon a speaker by his audience. In his associations with other real Indians he does not attempt to place himself in a position of being superior to others, does not present himself as being more knowledgeable, does not boast of achievements or material possessions, nor does he readily interfere in the day-to-day affairs of others. Instead, he is modest and attempts to blend in with others.

This is not to suggest that the real Indian is less motivated, does not have a desire to succeed, or is less competitive than his non-Indian counterparts. Real Indians are as motivated to achieve as their non-Indian counterparts. However, unlike other American cultural groups, a real Indian does not openly boast of his achievements, possessions, and so forth. Rather, the appropriate behavior is to remain silent about individual achievements and to refrain from expounding upon the expertise an individual might possess in any given area, unless directly asked to do so. If a person does boast of his achievements, attempts to influence the decisions of others, or is seen as attempting to present himself as possessing greater cultural expertise, he is regarded, as one Indian stated, as "putting himself above others."

Within the real Indian community the maintenance of the group as a whole takes precedence over individual achievements. Real Indians work toward maintaining the group and receive their support from the community, rather than from individual achievement. In an effort to maintain solidarity, it is culturally inappropriate for one member to place themselves in a position superior to that of the other group

members, albeit one can be afforded higher status by the group itself, but this is generally restricted to the elder members. It is also culturally inappropriate for one member to place their individual interests above the interests of the others. Such an action can cause rejection by other real Indians. For example, when I encountered an acquaintance and asked him about his brother, he replied:

> He's not one of "us" anymore. He thinks he's White. All he cares about is himself and not the rest of us anymore. He's not my brother.

I then asked him why he didn't think his brother cared about anyone else, and he stated:

> A lot of times he's supposed to have come back for some dinners our folks have held, and he never seems to want to help out. I've asked him for help in the past, and he says he's got something else to do, so now we just leave him alone.

The implication here is that once an Indian places emphasis on individual interests, he is to be no longer regarded as one of "us."

Not only must a real Indian be concerned with presenting himself as "one of us" in his interactions with other real Indians, he must also comport himself in an appropriate manner while interacting in intercultural settings. When real Indians are asked to participate in discussion groups, e.g., on college campuses, they produce a remarkably standardized pattern. An example of this pattern occurred in a class I had taken in multi-ethnic counseling which was composed of graduate and advanced undergraduate students. For a class exercise, the students were placed into small groups according to their membership in a specific cultural group, e.g. Indians, Blacks, Whites, Asians. The group task was to discuss various aspects of their cul-

tural heritage and then present their findings to the class.

The group in which I participated was composed of those students who identified themselves as Indians. Despite the fact that the group was composed of students who were well versed in appropriate classroom behavior, and despite the fact that most knew a great deal about the topic, the group experienced some difficulty in meeting the assignment. Those who were considered to be real Indians by the others did not readily participate, and, when they did, their statements generally consisted of "that sounds good to me" or "I really don't know much about this." Conversely, although those who were not regarded as real Indians were perceived as knowing the least, they were the most verbal in the group and were responsible for the report that issued from the group.

By placing all of the self-identified Indians into one group, the instructor wittingly created a situation in which the group members would be required to act as authorities or experts on such matters. The situation created a dilemma--if the participants did speak to the issue they would have been perceived by the others as projecting themselves as experts or being more knowledgeable than the others, and by doing so their Indianness would have been questioned by the other real Indians. On the other hand, if they did not respond appropriately, they would have failed in meeting the class assignment. If the instructor had placed them in intercultural groups, the Indian participants would not have had a problem with meeting the assignment. Those who were the most reluctant to offer information in the group had previously behaved in class in just the opposite fashion. That

is, they freely participated in class discussions, answered questions, challenged certain assertions, and so forth.

Berlo (1960) noted similar findings in his discussion of the role differences between contrient and promotive interdependence systems and the problems that arise for those who assume roles in the varying systems. He further noted that teachers in the United States often attempt to motivate their students by getting them to compete against each other for grades, to compete to finish assignments quicker, and so forth. However, this approach is counter-productive with Indian students who are concerned with not "showing up their peers."

> If you send a group of Navaho children to the board to work on an arithmetic problem, no one will "finish" first. If one child completes his work, he carefully checks to see how all of the other children are coming. He does not turn away from the board until the last child is through--then all of the children turn together. They do not want to finish "first" or to "beat" another student in the same class. (p. 162-162)

Although the real Indian does not speak of his achievements openly, this does not mean that his achievements are not prized by him or that they go unnoticed by family and friends. In fact, real Indians take pride in acknowledging the accomplishments of others. Thus, the one who achieves, receives honor, which may give him pleasure. Generally, when someone receives an award, or achieves a certain goal, such as receiving a degree, or returning from the military, the persons family "recognizes" his or her achievements through a variety of mechanisms. These include preparing an elaborate feast, composing a song to honor the accomplishments of war veterans, holding war dances to honor the accomplishments of an individual, or giving a person an Indian name for some deed they may have accomplished. Although it is

inappropriate for an individual to speak of his deeds, it is not inappropriate for others to acknowledge that deed, to make it known to other members of the Indian community and for the individual to enjoy the accomplishment and the honor that it brings him.

Occasions like those noted above involve much time and expense and are usually attended by several hundred people. Because of the time and expense involved in preparing such an occasion, it is the obligation of family and quasi-family members to "help out," by attending and by contributing time and labor or monetary assistance. Those family and quasi-family members who do not help and yet are perceived as able to do so are regarded as not meeting their familial obligations. Not meeting obligations such as these is not simply disapproved. It occasions serious questions about whether or not one is "truly one of us," and, in turn, whether or not one is really an Indian.

A Discursus on the Etiquette of Invitations

Depending upon the type of occasion, it is the obligation of particular participants to extend invitations properly. Whenever real Indians extend an invitation they almost always go to the person's home and invite them face-to-face. Indian etiquette, with regard to invitations, dictates that before an invitation is tendered the participants usually engage in a brief conversation, that is, it is inappropriate to extend an invitation until the proper amenities have been observed. A person is never directly asked to attend a specific event, rather, the invitation is worded such that the invitee has an option as to whether to attend or not. For example, a close friend

came to my house, and after a lengthy conversation, informed me that her daughter was graduating from high school, after which, she and her family were planning a dinner in her daughter's honor and I was invited to attend. The invitation went:

> We're going to be having a dinner for [...] who just graduated from high school, and if you don't have any thing else going on at that time, we would like for you to be there. If you can't be there, we will understand.

That certain amenities must be observed when proffering an invitation was evidenced by one informant who was relating an incident in which he and his family had been invited to attend a dinner. Rather than going to this person's home to extend the invitation, the invitation was extended in a convenience store in which the participants happened to encounter each other. The informant also explained that the invitation was worded in such a way that the person extending the invitation made it clear that he expected them to be there. The informant felt this direct approach was inappropriate in stating:

> [...] acts like everybody is supposed to be there just because he's putting something on. That's not the right way to ask people to come. People have to put themselves out to be there, and because of that you're supposed to humble yourself, because you're counting on people coming and helping you out.

Wax and Thomas (1961), in their discussion of Indian good manners, also noted similar findings. With regard to the proper procedures involved in extending invitations among Indians they found:

> Great delicacy and sensitivity of feeling are essential to even a moderate standard of Indian good manners. If one is extending invitations to a get-together one does not urge people to come; such urging would be "interfering," for, if they wish to come, they will come. (p. 312)

We now return to the central theme of "modesty." Even those who are regarded as real Indians must be watchful that they are not perceived as "putting themselves above others." Being a real Indian is not a static affair—instead it is an on-going process. Thus, one could always become not "just one of us," but a White Man instead. Real Indians who leave their home communities in order to attend college or in order to pursue an occupation which takes them to urban areas, and who then return home either for a visit or to resume residency, often find themselves in a situation where their Indianness comes into question. They are viewed by their family and peers with suspicion as to whether or not they are still truly "one of us." When Indian students or professionals go home, they must soften their own achievements in order to avoid being seen as offensive and/or White.

To most real Indian students and professionals, it is crucial that they not be perceived by their significant others as having lost their Indian identity while they have been away to school or while working in an urban environment. An Indian graduate student and I were discussing our home communities when he informed me that he was unable to return home as often as he used to. He further explained that on those occasions when he did return home that he felt most people, initially, treated him as an outsider.

> When I do go home, it appears that most people are suspicious of me as to whether or not I have lost my identity. To me, it is very important that I do not lose my Indianness. For example, whenever I speak to my family or friends, I am very careful in the words I utilize. Obviously, since I've been in graduate school, I have obtained a vocabulary that is reflective of my discipline; therefore, I try not to use any words that would be unfamiliar to my friends and family. I

> don't want to run the risk of presenting myself as having changed and being viewed as if I am no longer one of them.

Further, when real Indian students go back to other "Indian" environments that they had been involved in before they went to school (besides "going home"), they are here too often suspect as to whether or not they have lost their "Indian Identity." One female graduate student told me of a recent visit to an Indian health clinic that she had worked at before going to school:

> When I went back to the clinic, everyone that I knew was cordial and friendly, but they appeared to be acting as if they were a little wary of me. After we began talking, everything resumed as it was before. I didn't dare mention what I was doing, because I was afraid they would think I was trying to act better than them.

I asked another Indian graduate student if he was concerned with how his family and former peers perceive him when he returned home. He informed me that it was a definite concern and that he goes to great lengths to appear as still "one of us."

> Whenever I go home, my friends and relatives always ask me what I have been doing. I always tell them I'm in school, but I don't mention that I'm in graduate school, because I'm afraid they might think I'm trying to act like I'm better than they are or that I'm trying to brag about my education.

Basso (1970) discussed similar findings in his ethnography of the speech behaviors of the western Apache. He noted that the parents of children who have been away to school are often reluctant to talk with their children when they come back from school. He further stated that "uppermost is the fear that, as a result of protracted exposure to Anglo attitudes and values, the children have come to view their parents as ignorant, old-fashioned, and no longer deserving of

respect" (p. 220).

Not only do real Indians tend to evade the issue of what they are pursuing, they will also attempt to "soften" any achievements that they have accomplished. Although community members are proud of the accomplishments of one of their members, it is inappropriate for that individual to speak of his accomplishments. Instead, it is appropriate to disclaim credit. For example, I had attended a dinner being held in honor of a young man who had recently completed his law degree. Upon completion of the dinner, I overheard several people congratulating him for his recent accomplishment. Appearing somewhat embarrassed the young man responded:

> I've gotten a lot of help and support from my family and friends. If it wasn't for their help and encouragement, I never could have finished my degree.

Although the Indian attorney had been away from his home community for some time while at law school and had not really received that much support from his family and others, he knew that if he had presented himself in such a manner that he claimed all the credit for himself, he would have been perceived by other real Indians as trying to put himself above them. Rather than acknowledging credit for the completion of his law degree and potentially being perceived as a White Man, he properly disclaimed credit.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study has been to provide an answer to a significant, recurrent, and unavoidable question that confronts American Indians in the course of managing their day-to-day affairs; "What exactly constitutes a 'real' Indian as known by 'real' Indians?" For the "real" Indian, the question is not merely answered by one's adherence to matters such as a person's assertion that he or she is an Indian, by one's tribal affiliation, by physical characteristics or blood quantum; although each of these matters are singly and conjointly utilized in identifying one as an Indian. Rather, it is answered by the knowledge and comprehension a person possesses of the community's life and a display of that knowledge and comprehension through adherence to those verbal and non-verbal practices which function to communicate one's cultural identity.

The real Indian knows who he is, and he also knows who other real Indians are. His identity is not questioned by himself, although upon initial interactions and subsequent encounters with other real Indians, he knows that his identity can be questioned. Real Indianness is demonstrated and realized through such witnessed courses of action as the following: in and through his conduct, he must show that

knows the appropriate length of "time" required, and methods involved, in initiating conversation with another Indian and the role that silence plays in initial interactions; he must show that he possesses an awareness of the obligations that one incurs when one enters into a social relationship with another Indian and that he realizes that the establishment of a social relationship requires the interactants to assume a position of being more than "just friends;" he must display his recognition that humor is an important constituent of the communicative processes of real Indians and that he knows that razzing is a reflexive process that is not demonstrated haphazardly but follows specific norms and behaviors; he must show that he realizes that not all persons are allowed to present messages openly and why, who can speak and under what circumstances, and that he is aware of the proper methods involved in developing and presenting a specific message. A real Indian must also know how to properly manage conflict situations and maintain harmony with members of the community. The real Indian knows as well that his identity as a real Indian comes from his relationships with other real Indians, that he is really "one of us," and that he should not attempt to place himself above others.

The real Indian also knows that "the doing" of being and becoming a real Indian is not a static affair. He knows that his position as a real Indian is not something that is ultimately achieved. That is, he knows that in the course of managing his everyday-affairs, a real Indian must conduct himself in a manner that is consistent with the expectations of other real Indians. If he ceases to comport himself in the culturally appropriate manner, as perceived by other real In-

dians, his identity as a true member can become suspect and the cultural competency that had been previously conferred upon him can be weakened or even annulled. Conversely, a person who had previously been afforded little, if any, culture competency can elevate their position as a real Indian by comporting themselves in the appropriate manner.

This ethnography has sought to explicate and provide an understanding of the communicative practices of a particular community. Although the communicative practices identified are not exhaustive of the criteria which may be utilized by community members to identify a true and competent member, it is more than a beginning in answering the question of "What exactly constitutes a true and competent member of the American Indian community?"

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END NOTES

[1] That is, he must make himself and his action "account-able" in Garfinkel's (1967) sense.

[2] This is not to say that there are no ascriptive or achieved features of being a real Indian. One must be able to make some claims to kinship with others who are recognized as real Indians, and one must have learned how to behave as one. These are at most necessary, but not sufficient, grounds for being recognized as a real Indian by other real Indians, and, often, these issues of ascription and achievement do not emerge in the recognition.

[3] Here it should be noted that ceasing to practice law or medicine does not, thereby, mean that one is no longer an attorney or a physician.