UCLA
American Indian Culture and Research Journal

Title

As the Rez Turns: Anomalies within and beyond the Boundaries of a Pueblo Community

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1tq9d03n

Journal
American Indian Culture and Research Journal , 35(2)

ISSN
0161-6463

Author
Debenport, Erin

Publication Date
2011-03-01

DOI
10.17953

Copyright Information
This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License, availalbe at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/

Peer reviewed

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

As the Rez Turns: Anomalies within and beyond the Boundaries of a Pueblo Community

Erin Debenport

> *VIVIAN: Do you know my cousin? This is Skylar—she came home from school. She came to check out the rez for the summer.*
> *AUNT AND UNCLE: Oh that's good. When was the last time you were home?*
> *SKYLAR: I haven't been here since I was seven. So it's been about eleven years. It sure has changed.*
>
> —Excerpt from *As the Rez Turns*

Like Skylar, a character in the soap opera *As the Rez Turns*, community members at San Antonio Pueblo often discuss the numerous changes that have occurred at the reservation during the last twenty years.[1] A character in the "first Indian soap opera" written by students in a community Tiwa-language class, Skylar's vision of the rez is fictional; her commentary, however, seems accurate—and at times hilarious—to the young adults at San Antonio Pueblo who created her. In the tribal library, in the community Head Start building, and at feasts and parties, San Antonians talk about how incredibly different life was "before we had a casino" or "back when we all had to go to Indian School in Santa Fe." Community members identify many of these changes as positive, including the greater number of people returning to the pueblo to live and work; the new educational opportunities that are available to tribal members; and their increased religious, cultural, and political

---

ERIN DEBENPORT is assistant professor of ethnology in the Department of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico. Her research interests include secrecy, privacy and cultural property rights; indigenous language and identity; and research ethics.

autonomy. However, other evaluations of the recent past trigger a nostalgic look back to a time free of the contemporary kinds of conflict that have arisen on the pueblo: when "people weren't as greedy," or "no one argued over who was or wasn't San Antonian—you just knew."

One of the recent changes at San Antonio Pueblo has been the decision to produce pedagogical materials written in the Tiwa language in order to promote the increased use of spoken Tiwa on the pueblo. The shift to indigenous-language literacy is a controversial decision in this community that, like other Pueblo groups, has historically avoided writing its ancestral language.[2] Discussions about what to write, who can write it, and how written materials must be circulated (or controlled) intersect with discussions about relative progress in the community. Some tribal members see literacy as a way to help retrieve some of the routines they think disappeared with the advent of the casino and greater self-determination, while others view certain writing practices as potentially harmful, hastening what they see as a progression away from Pueblo values. As such, the new written materials that have been produced as part of the tribal language-revitalization program often accomplish social work outside of strictly pedagogical or archival pursuits. Many seemingly neutral texts, such as the community dictionary or the adult curriculum, convey much more than the grammatical regularities of the Tiwa language and instead focus on outlining the lived experience of San Antonians. Indigenous-language texts also serve as new fora for the discussion and critique of social and political issues.

The members of the San Antonio Pueblo young-adult language program produced one such text, *As the Rez Turns*, over two subsequent summers. Similar to the popular cultural forms that Philip Deloria describes in his work *Indians in Unexpected Places*, this series of dialogues is an example of how Native Americans' active engagement with popular cultural forms, in this case, soap operas, is often perceived as anomalous, serving as challenges to extracommunity stereotypes of Native peoples.[3] Deloria's concepts of "expectation" and "anomaly" can be applied to the present case in order to examine not only the extracommunity stereotypes that figure in the production of a community soap opera but also other intracommunity expectations, as the text is designed for a strictly San Antonian audience. Local expectations concerning how new texts should adhere to Pueblo-language ideologies and what registers and genres should be represented in written materials being created as part of the Tiwa-language program also shape the creation of this text, which at once adheres to and defies local assumptions. In this sense, Deloria's analytic is a useful complement to Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs's analyses of intertextuality, which describe the ways that generic expectations can be variously exploited across occasions of use either to produce or diminish "intertextual

gaps to accomplish various goals."[4] The processes of entextualization and the content of *As the Rez Turns* contain expected ways of using language that align this text with either Pueblo or non-Pueblo models of interaction and personhood, and anomalous moves that emphasize the distance between local or nonlocal ways of speaking and the aspects of the soap opera.[5]

By challenging local expectations of how nonfluent speakers should approach indigenous-language literacy, the authors of *As the Rez Turns* effectively assert the right to create cultural materials and use the Tiwa language in new ways, positioning themselves as creators, not just consumers of indigenous-language texts. Simultaneously, the authors of this series of dialogues are able to craft another, indirect type of challenge: this supposedly pedagogical piece emerges as a sharp critique of current events at San Antonio Pueblo. The authors of *As the Rez Turns*, through their deployment of multiple stylistic and generic devices, create a fictional space in which they are able to comment on sensitive political and social issues at the pueblo to other community members as well as each other. In this sense, this text is an example of a Bakhtinian "complex" or "secondary" genre, in that its authors establish multiple connections to many types of texts, voice many types of subjectivities, and address several local audiences, not the least of which is the group of students.[6]

Although including veiled critiques within a pedagogical text may seem "unexpected" in that it is potentially quite risky, it indexes Pueblo forms of political discourse and interaction that privilege indirectness. *As the Rez Turns* exhibits many qualities that characterize what I call "Pueblo propriety," an idealized form of sociality that serves as a template at San Antonio Pueblo for appropriately embodying local identities, structuring interactions and texts, and considering visions of citizenship and community. This sensibility is characterized by highly mediated forms of address and veiled authorship, a focus on the continuous perfectibility of texts and interactions, and controlling the circulation of cultural objects in order to highlight their importance. In this article, I examine the creation and content of *As the Rez Turns* in order to outline the interplay between anomaly and expectation within and outside of San Antonio Pueblo, showing how a simple classroom exercise came to accomplish myriad, unforeseen types of social work.

Controlling Circulation, Debating Belonging

San Antonio Pueblo is one of the smallest of the nineteen New Mexico pueblos, but it is also one of the most affluent, due to successful tribal gaming, hospitality, and land-management ventures. Because of its proximity to Albuquerque and Santa Fe, tribal members have many economic and social ties with Anglo,

Hispanic, and other indigenous groups in these urban areas as well as at other neighboring pueblos. San Antonio Pueblo's size also means that children go to school off-reservation after they graduate from the Head Start program, with many attending private secondary schools in Albuquerque and Santa Fe. Summer education programs, including those focusing on language, are held in the tribal education complex and bring together students of similar ages who have been in different academic settings during the school year.

At San Antonio Pueblo, English is increasingly replacing Tiwa due to centuries of religious and cultural persecution, forced assimilation at federal Indian schools, the prevalence of English-language mass media, and the patterns of language shift that resemble those found in other indigenous North American communities.[7] Although the category of "Native speaker" and the push to quantify levels of fluency are concepts frequently found in the language-revitalization literature, these approaches fail to describe language shift at San Antonio. For instance, tribal members who play significant religious or political roles are more likely to be counted by San Antonians as "speakers" than community members who use the language for everyday interactions. This illustrates the extremely close association between Native-language use and ceremonial practice at San Antonio. Also, many tribal members can understand spoken exchanges or write fluently in Tiwa but cannot produce complex utterances. Regardless of how many people are identified as speakers by community members or as part of census surveys, what is clear is that the San Antonio Tiwa language is being used in fewer contexts—not at school, in many homes, or during some community events. For years tribal members worked to teach Tiwa orally, but members of the language program made the difficult decision to incorporate written materials as another tool to promote the use of spoken Tiwa on the reservation.

As Paul Kroskrity has detailed in his studies of the Arizona Tewa, a tribe that lived in the Rio Grande Valley before fleeing after Spanish recolonization following the Pueblo Revolt, dominant Pueblo-language ideologies are grounded in suitable ways of using ceremonial speech, in which the importance of speaking indigenous language and dispensing cultural knowledge appropriately are of paramount importance.[8] Pueblo groups' aversion to writing is related to such ideologies that inextricably connect indigenous languages to ceremonial sites, registers, and genres, meaning that the unchecked dissemination of Pueblo languages has the potential to compromise local cosmological and sociopolitical structures predicated on the control of cultural knowledge. For instance, certain knowledge is kept in particular clans, and, if improperly shared, could compromise clan organization as a whole. Thus the recent decisions to write the San Antonio Tiwa language and to partner with linguists in order to develop curricula and produce descriptive linguistic materials are

potentially quite divisive. Because the development of a literacy tradition is new and precarious, tribal members who are involved in producing pedagogical and descriptive materials and language learners who are starting to create their own indigenous-language materials are engaged in intensely political acts, asserting their right to contribute to a nascent literary tradition and creating texts that will be used to teach Tiwa to future generations of San Antonians.

San Antonio Pueblo has recently shifted its methods for determining membership, moving from lineage-based models to a system that combines aspects of this tradition with elements of a system based on blood quantum.[9] Although these models are used as guidelines, the decision regarding which individuals and families may remain on or be reinstated to tribal rolls is based on the decision of the tribal council and, in practice, solely on the judgments of a few individuals belonging to this body. In 2007, all female tribal members who had married non–San Antonio men and their dependents were removed from tribal rolls, along with individuals of both genders who had been adopted in infancy. This decision continues to have deep economic and social impact on all families in the community. Housing, health care, educational, and other benefits at San Antonio Pueblo are available only to tribal members. After this change was put into place, some children attending private schools had to enroll in public schools; patterns of inheritance were disrupted; and many couples chose to cohabitate rather than marry and risk losing tribal affiliation for themselves or their children. Although this ruling was not applied to every woman in extratribal marriages and the livelihoods of many families were not directly affected, every tribal member has a neighbor, godparent, or relation whose status has changed. Those directly and indirectly affected frequently spoke of this decision in noneconomic terms, questioning their own identities as indigenous people as a result of being removed from the rolls or wondering if their cousins could still participate in ceremonial dances. Although the appropriate management of the creation and circulation of indigenous language and other cultural materials is widely viewed as necessary, many community members express doubt regarding the need to manage tribal enrollment directly, indicating that "you know if you're Pueblo." Membership remains the central political and social issue at San Antonio Pueblo, reflected in the new texts created by the students in the summer language program.

The San Antonio young-adult summer classes were started in 2007 as one of several methods used by members of the tribal-language program to promote the increased use of the Tiwa language. Participants in the summer program included eight high school and college students; a fluent Tiwa speaker, John, who is also the head of the tribal-language program; a middle-aged community member, Michelle, who works for the language program; a

small rotating group of Tiwa speakers from San Antonio and one neighboring pueblo; and myself. Aside from John, who is fluent and literate in Tiwa, the participants varied in their spoken and written Tiwa abilities. During the eight-week program, we would meet every weekday from nine until two in the tribal library. Each day, the young-adult class would begin with a lesson on a phonological or grammatical aspect of Tiwa, followed by other in-class exercises designed to practice verb conjugation, pronoun use, or pronunciation. Following this, each student spent time with a fluent speaker, or in pairs, practicing spoken Tiwa and language comprehension. These activities were interspersed with cultural events, such as attending ceremonial dances at other pueblos or traveling to the mountains to learn Tiwa words for local geographic sites. To my surprise, the most popular activity of the summer started with a very simple class assignment.

Entextualization and Voicing

The creation of *As the Rez Turns* began with a language learning exercise during the summer of 2008. I asked the students and Michelle to write dialogues in English, and then work with John and other fluent speakers to translate and transcribe the dialogues in Tiwa. This assignment was designed to practice translation, transcription, and conversation, and to augment the growing collection of Tiwa pedagogical materials. The students had the option to work alone or in groups, but when one said that she wanted to work on a soap opera about "how it is around here," the others immediately signed on to work on the project as a class. The students started by establishing the plot and major characters, and, when they returned the following summer, began work immediately on the project. Although John and I also contributed to *As the Rez Turns* as a translator and scribe, respectively, we also completed our own versions of this class assignment. Predictably, the series of dialogues I created in English, and then worked with John to translate into Tiwa, closely resembled pedagogical dialogues used in foreign-language classes in the United States. Consisting of ordered exchanges between pairs of interlocutors, my contributions highlighted specific grammatical and phonological aspects of Tiwa that I wanted the students to practice, including switching between singular, dual, and plural person; verb conjugation; and identifying contrasts between nasal and nonnasal vowels. John's dialogues, written in Tiwa and then translated into English, focused on the past and cultural practices he felt that most San Antonians had abandoned. In this sense, his piece is similar to the nostalgic discourses that Jane Hill describes among older speakers of Nahuatl and the Arizona Tewa speech form Kroskrity calls "speaking the past" in that

it invokes past practices to offer moral instruction.[10] The students' efforts resulted in the six dialogues that constitute *As the Rez Turns*. Thus, all three responses to the class assignment varied greatly in terms of goals, content, and the generic and stylistic forms indexed by their respective authors.

Once assembled, the final version of *As the Rez Turns* chronicled a classic love triangle among the characters Vivian, Chance, and Skylar, who are brought together at San Antonio Pueblo's annual ceremonial Feast Day. Melodrama ensues when it is revealed that Chance's secret college girlfriend, Skylar, is also a tribal member and a cousin to Vivian, his local romantic interest. Chi'i Moonlight, another central role, was designed for Michelle, who wanted her character to be "a wise old *chi'i* [grandmother] who still likes to party." Additional characters consist of other community members or people from other pueblos, with each role designed especially for each student. Neither John, who was present for some of the writing sessions, nor I were assigned speaking parts, although the students would intermittently discuss casting me as an extra, playing "the white friend" or "the person working at the casino." The narrative unfolds throughout six scenes that take place on or near San Antonio Pueblo: after the feast near the river, at a casino party, at a football game, at a concert held in the tribal venue, at a local diner, and at two private homes on the pueblo. Throughout the dialogues, the authors utilize aspects of numerous speech genres and registers, ranging from speech forms associated with American and Mexican soap operas to local patterns of interaction.

Much of the social work accomplished and imagined by the authors of *As the Rez Turns* took place in the group negotiations surrounding its creation, recalling Leighton Peterson's observation that Navajo filmmakers "often have a heightened awareness of representational practices and their implications," elevating the importance of crafting the text for its authors.[11] After a long day of wrestling with the complex pronominal system or practicing ejective consonants, working as a group on the soap-opera dialogues became a time for the students to relax, be creative, and have fun without worrying about comprehension or saying something incorrectly. Students took turns as scribes at the board and mapped out the web of intrigue woven by Skylar, Vivian, and Chance. Patrons of the tribal library often stopped by to see what the racket was all about, and the students would excitedly tell visitors about their "Tiwa soap opera," which they hoped to perform "in Indian" very soon for community members. Most of these work sessions were devoted to humor. Students used their newly acquired Tiwa skills to try to construct puns and off-color remarks, make up slang words, and create neologisms. In this way, the soap became a tool for building class solidarity and establishing in-group boundaries. Its authors would tempt their peers and younger siblings, saying that "maybe we could find a small part for you," shrouding the enterprise in

secrecy and import. As such, the processes of entextualization surrounding the creation of *As the Rez Turns*, as well as the finished text, are emblematic of the coconstructed nature of the work and the centrality of this assignment.

Although the students debated plot devices and hashed out the details of each setting for the film version of the soap opera, they further refined aspects of each character, many of whom came to resemble their intended animators closely. One of the students, Jordan, a classic-rock fan, designed a party scene in which his character acted as the DJ, even making a list of songs he was going to play. The fictional people in *As the Rez Turns* attend colleges with basketball teams that particular students admire; Michelle insisted that the character of Chi'i Moonlight not be portrayed as "too old and lame"; and the student playing Chance, the notorious cheater, repeatedly assured the class, "I would never act like this!" Throughout the project, its authors engaged in processes of identification, alternatively distancing or aligning themselves with their respective dramatic roles.

It was also during these group conversations when students would directly challenge existing extracommunity stereotypes by highlighting characteristics that non–San Antonians might expect of characters in *As the Rez Turns*. For instance, while choosing the name for one of the minor characters, one of the students, Scott, said jokingly, "Well, why don't we just call him Buffalo Thunder!" and the class exploded in laughter in response to what they perceived as a stereotypical, unrealistic example of a local name. When discussing music choices for certain scenes, one of the students rolled her eyes and exclaimed, "Anything, but that awful flute music they always play," with "they" being the proprietors of restaurants or stores catering to tourists in New Mexico. Similarly, the students would joke that characters in the soap opera could wear t-shirts with images of Kokopelli, the iconic Pueblo flute player, because it was, after all "a Native soap opera," their comments dripping with irony.[12] While writing the dialogues, students frequently highlighted such "cheesy" uses of Native imagery in gaming and tourist projects, using them as jokes and as critiques of those who employ these stereotypical Native symbols.

Unlike many of the vignettes included in Deloria's analysis, San Antonians' critiques involving the (mis)use of indigenous languages or imagery are often directed at other area tribes as opposed to non-Indians. Scott's quip about Buffalo Thunder illustrates this point. This name is at once presented as an example of an overblown, non-Indian, Hollywood-style name and a subtle critique of a neighboring tribe that named their casino Buffalo Thunder. Here, Scott is making fun of a laterally opposed group for capitalizing on outsider ideas about appropriate names for Indian things. This is an interesting kind of identity management, one in which "cheesiness" embodies a complex critique of otherness, distancing the text authors from non-Indian and non–San

Antonian individuals. Crucially, this kind of identity management is not just about "Indian" versus "non-Indian" identity. Instead, it is also about utilizing certain postures and voicing individuals who are not from San Antonio Pueblo in order to frame multiple kinds of belonging between and among Indian groups. Invoking the possibility of a character named Buffalo Thunder calls to mind imagined, absent individuals, Indian and non-Indian, who might expect or utilize such a name with those present who would find such a name anomalous. Thus, the contrast between "cheesy" Native imagery used in advertising and the complex identities of the students writing *As the Rez Turns* serves as a challenge to outside stereotypes, while also challenging outsider depictions of Indian country as homogeneous and the supposed uniformity of the Pueblo Southwest.[13]

San Antonio Literacy: Challenging Local Expectations

Within the San Antonio community, Deloria's framework utilizing expectation and anomaly is also applicable, framing the contrasts between extant ideologies regarding the appropriate use of indigenous language and anomalous aspects of *As the Rez Turns*. Simply by engaging in the project, the student authors are asserting their right to create cultural materials that will be used in the future with other Tiwa-language classes, thus challenging the expectation that the purpose of the class is for them to receive, rather than create, indigenous-language texts. Within *As the Rez Turns*, the authors index different attitudes regarding the state of the community and challenge local language ideologies that privilege the primacy of the Tiwa language and foreground language purism.[14] Additionally, the students display attitudes regarding the uses of humor and indigenous language that diverge from established uses of Tiwa, shedding light on the ideological relationship between levels of fluency and language appropriateness at San Antonio Pueblo.

Unlike John and other middle-aged and elderly community members, the authors of *As the Rez Turns*, with the exception of Michelle, do not express nostalgia for a time before the tribe had a casino. Within the dialogues, the characters in the soap opera discuss tribal ventures and casino wealth freely, a trait not shared by tribal members at San Antonio Pueblo who draw a sharp distinction before and after this development and do not dwell on the economic benefits of gaming operations. This is apparent in the introduction to scene 2, at an after-feast party that takes place at the casino:

> (*People are seated all around, eating and visiting. A DJ is playing music. Some people are dancing. Vivian and Skylar are talking at a table and an older couple stops by to say "hi" to Vivian.*)

SKYLAR: Okay. Man, it's so cool you got me a room here! I think I'm gonna roll up there and check out the huge tub! I have to roll because I'm stuffed with crab legs. I can't believe the tribe paid for all this.

VIVIAN: Okay, I'm gonna check out the scene. There's always all kinds of action for these tribal things. Yeah! Hey Skylar—

SKYLAR: Yeah?

VIVIAN: No parties and no diving either!

Exchanges like this, which depict affluence and economic security as uncontroversial aspects of life at the pueblo, appear throughout the dialogues. This challenges the indirect ways that tribal members usually discuss casino wealth; it is typically presented as not only an organizing temporal framework for talking about the many changes that have taken place in San Antonian society but also as a possible explanation for negative developments. The student authors' neutral treatment of this issue signals an alternative depiction, recalling Jessica Cattelino's analysis of changing attitudes regarding value and wealth among the Florida Seminole and the emergent ways that cultural difference is being calibrated during the casino era.[15]

This comfort with discussing casino wealth and the benefits of tribal programs is accompanied by another theme not shared with older tribal members and fluent Tiwa speakers: the ease at which the authors of *As the Rez Turns* deviate from the dominant-language ideologies that emphasize the importance of maintaining linguistic purism.[16] This is evident in the story's content, with characters combining secular and ceremonial topics within individual exchanges:

CHANCE: What a beautiful day, huh? I'm so tired. I'll bet your feet really hurt, 'cause you didn't wear shoes all day. I'm so proud of you. Want something cold to drink, babe?

VIVIAN: Oh yeah, a beautiful hot day. Hopefully, our prayers will be answered.

Here, Chance and Vivian discuss the efficacy of ceremonial dances within the same conversation in which they discuss grabbing a drink. The deviation from linguistic purism is also evident at the level of register; characters use extremely informal language throughout the piece, even when discussing ceremonial practice, evident in this same example when Vivian addresses Chance as "babe." Even within the original, English version of the text, authors used Tiwa honorifics, kinship terms, and interjections, and insisted on using English and Indian names, displaying a preference for heterogeneity at the level of code. In her analysis of Navajo code mixing, Margaret Field locates a similar divergence from ideologies of purism, with younger speakers unproblematically employing English words and constructions when speaking Navajo.[17]

An additional challenge to expected uses of the Tiwa language is apparent in John's reaction to the exercise, signaling that this text differed from the others that the students practiced or learned. Although the students and Michelle saw *As the Rez Turns* as a site for language play and camaraderie, and looked forward to working on the project, John would first suggest doing other activities before agreeing to translate for the group. Unlike the grammatical lessons that I designed or the other cultural activities the class engaged in, he chose not to sit in on these sessions and would use these opportunities to catch up on work and answer phone calls, only joining the class when the Tiwa translation was needed. From his adjoining office, he would remark that, "You all are having too much fun," and "what will people say when they hear you making all this noise?"

Although it might seem that John's reaction is the result of a generational difference, one characterized by language ideologies that portray certain subjects as inappropriate for speakers of indigenous languages, this is not strictly the case. He supported the soap-opera project, and acknowledged the need for exercises that allowed the students to practice pronunciation and transcription, repeatedly asserting that "it's time for them to write stories about what they are interested in." Nor did he object to the informal or racy content of the dialogues. When editing the Tiwa version, John would laugh to himself while reading through the script, suggesting additional jokes or slang words in Tiwa, such as the word for "two-timer," that could be included. In this way, generational differences at San Antonio Pueblo with respect to language ideologies differ from the Cucapá case that Shaylih Muehlmann describes.[18] In this indigenous Mexican community, the use of swear words and obscenities in the local language is considered to be controversial by elders and noncommunity members (although they can be used creatively to index insider status), while younger speakers frequently use such terms, challenging local models of language use and external depictions of indigeneity. At San Antonio Pueblo, the expectation of seriousness is not predicated on membership in a particular age cohort and does not center on the relative salaciousness of the content, but depends on levels of Tiwa fluency. For John, joking in Tiwa is a comfortable activity, but joking about it or with it by those that cannot fully inhabit the language is not. This appears to be a generational difference only because all fluent speakers of San Antonio Tiwa are late middle-aged or elderly. Creating a text outside of these and other conventions allows these students to assert their right to develop their own linguistic materials and to use the Tiwa language in unexpected ways, problematizing the "seemingly opposing pressures" of "tradition and modernity."[19]

Intertextuality, Identification, and Simultaneity

In addition to challenging extra- and intracommunity expectations regarding depictions of indigeneity and indigenous-language use, *As the Rez Turns* is populated by characters that utilize multiple generic resources and numerous approaches to indexing identities. Many of the speech genres that the authors index are recognizable San Antonian speech genres or invoke place in a specifically local way, while others index extracommunity genres and locales. The class participants—who share their tastes, Indian names, or ways of speaking—embody some of the traits of the principal characters; others are patently foreign. As several scholars have pointed out, the job of the anthropologist is not to untangle what is local or authentic practice from what is foreign or borrowed, but instead to describe the various practices of identification and how cultural forms indexical of various identity traits are produced and circulated.[20] Like the San Carlos Apache that engage in punning and other ambiguous practices with language and expressive culture, the authors of *As the Rez Turns* "make full use of the indexical ambiguity, the simultaneity of the pointing gestures, at the heart of contemporary cultural identities on the reservation."[21] Like the stereotypically "Native" and "non-Native" processes of identity formation that David Samuels describes among San Carlos musicians and community members, the soap opera exhibits the multiple resources available for the construction of San Antonian identity and belonging, many of which index Anglo or Hispanic as well as Pueblo practices. Simultaneously, the soap-opera authors distance themselves from the story by including personas, stances, places, and tastes that index extralocal identities.

Throughout the dialogues, characters anchor the text as a specifically San Antonian story by invoking local places and history. Characters either overtly reference local places, such as Bailey's Diner (the setting for scene 4), or leave out information that would be necessary for a nonlocal audience to understand the dialogue, for example, using place names such as the "the Clear" or "the Lakes," locations that are ambiguous for non–San Antonians. Specificity of place is also apparent in the focus on lineage and family, a dominant theme in the piece. In the scene that follows, Skylar has just met an older couple at the casino party:

Skylar: They seem like nice people.
Vivian: They are. They were your Mom's favorite Aunt and Uncle. At least that's what my Dad told me. I should take you visiting. That way you can learn who your relatives are. It's important to know your relations, Skylar. I wouldn't want you to hook up with one of your cousins!
Skylar: Yeah, it's been so long and my Dad doesn't even know which kids belong to which parents.
Vivian: For real. I'll tell you who the cool ones are! Yeah!

Characters emphasize the importance of knowing the intricacies of San Antonio lineage throughout *As the Rez Turns*. Here, Vivian and Chance study the pictures of community members that hang in the casino buffet, and Vivian describes her long-lost cousin, Skylar:

> VIVIAN: Yeah, she hasn't been here for a long time. You know that big picture of Nana Betty in this hallway? She looks almost the same as her. That's her great grandma.
>
> CHANCE: You mean that one of her in the fancy white dress?

This scene is not only an invocation of San Antonian knowledge but also depicts actual interactions that regularly occur in the community. Every time the members of the language class would eat at the casino buffet, the students and John would point out the old pictures of the pueblo. Together they would identify each person and explain how they were related to the individuals depicted in the photographs.

The characters' speaking styles are also used to anchor the text locally. Throughout the dialogues, all of the characters exhibit a fluent command of the latest San Antonio slang, peppering their exchanges with exclamations of "ba(h)," calling one another "cuz," and asking incredulously, "for real?"[22] Although I do not represent them here, the characters, as voiced by the authors, also utilize local pitch accents, sociophonetic values that indexically separate San Antonian English speakers from residents of other pueblos, as well as from Navajo, white, or Hispanic youth in New Mexico.

The characters in *As the Rez Turns* also emphasize markers of local identities, engaging in authenticating practices that allow them to identify as San Antonian and Puebloan. In each scene, the characters discuss tribal affiliation, evident here in an excerpt from the scene set at the football game at San Antonio's field:

> VIVIAN: This is my friend, Peppa.
>
> PEPPA: Hey, what's up?
>
> JAMES & CHANCE: S'up? Where you from?
>
> PEPPA: Oh, I'm Cochiti.
>
> CHANCE: Hey, you from Cochiti? Do you know Tiffany?
>
> PEPPA: Oh yeah, that's my cuz.

This is an example of a prototypical introduction at San Antonio Pueblo. Many tribal members have parents from different pueblos, and all San Antonians have extended family from other reservations. Initial interactions such as these identify the main characters as San Antonian and locate the secondary characters in relation to this local identity.

As the Rez Turns indexes locality most directly in its depiction of actual relationships at San Antonio Pueblo. Before she started working as part of the Tiwa-language group, Michelle worked for fifteen years in the tribal recreation program. In this capacity, she helped design and lead afterschool programs and served as a teacher and mentor for numerous children at the pueblo. Although intergenerational friendships are not unusual at San Antonio Pueblo, Michelle remains especially popular, and many teenagers and young adults go to her for advice and support. The scenes featuring Chi'i Moonlight depict the type of interactions that Michelle has with younger community members. In the following scene, the character of Chi'i Moonlight is introduced:

VIVIAN: Look! There's Chi'i Moonlight, sitting by herself. Let's take her something to drink.
CHANCE: Hey Chi'i, how are you? Tired from dancing? We brought you something to drink.
CHI'I MOONLIGHT: Oh thank you. Yes, I'm tired, but it's a good tired. When I was younger, we would dance all day, go home and change and then dance all night.
CHANCE: Oh Chi'i, I bet you can still go for it! There's Jared. I'm going to say hi. I'll be right back.

After seeing Michelle at a concert that was held at the tribal venue during the summer, the students incorporated the event into a scene in the soap opera:

CHANCE: Hey, Chi'i! How are you?
CHI'I MOONLIGHT: Good. I'm doing good.
VIVIAN: I didn't know you liked Judas Priest.
CHI'I MOONLIGHT: Are you kidding? I LOVE Judas Priest! Woo! Rock on! Do you wanna stand next to me?

Indexing locality by describing the personal attributes of the soap-opera characters, the student authors are creating a text with specifically San Antonian qualities. These qualities are designed to be recognized as local, as descriptions of particular people. Any tribal member could read the scenes that feature Chi'i Moonlight and connect her to Michelle, or know where Chance and Vivian are going when they "meet at the Lakes."

At the same time, the authors also include pointedly nonlocal features throughout *As the Rez Turns*, indexing extracommunity speech genres, locations, and personas. This is most obvious in their choice of a soap opera as the organizing framework for the series of dialogues. By asserting that this was the "first Native soap opera," the students identify this genre as one originating outside of the pueblo, a form they are borrowing and imbuing with local features. As evidenced by their choice of title, the students looked to American

soap operas but also discussed Mexican *telenovelas*, which, as they said, were "really out there" as possible sources of inspiration. Like soaps and *telenovelas*, *As the Rez Turns* includes cases of mistaken identity, double-crossing, "evil" characters, and melodramatic confrontations.

The students also cited pedagogical language dialogues as a generic influence. Each author had taken at least two years of foreign-language classes in high school and consciously included the features they had found most helpful as students. The authors would admonish each other to "make sure that one character doesn't get too many speaking parts, because we all have to practice" and, for the most part, penned exchanges between only two interlocutors. Although they did not aim to design dialogue that would impart particular grammatical or phonological lessons, they repeatedly invoked the opinion that this exercise was important in order to "practice our Tiwa" and recognized that future language students would use the texts for this purpose. Although their approach to constructing teaching materials is indicative of the students' participation in the US education system, it is also indexical of a dominant-language ideology at San Antonio Pueblo: the emphasis on the utility of language. Across generations, contexts, and linguistic codes, community members emphasize the interactional effects of language use rather than its grammatical or referential attributes.

At many points within *As the Rez Turns*, the invocation of local and nonlocal speech genres and registers occurs almost simultaneously. For example, the students insisted that each of the main characters be given an Indian name and an English name, which mirrors the situation of most individuals at the pueblo.[23] After intense discussion, the students chose Vivian, Chance, Skylar, and Peppa for the main characters. The students viewed the names as either hyper-Anglo in the case of the first three characters or associated with hip-hop genres, as in Peppa's case. As one of the students remarked, "Like anyone around here would EVER be named something like *that*!" The class roared when he emphasized this instance of indexing otherness through its invocation of particular types of outsiders, its humor lying in the immense distance between local identities and cheesy, over-the-top, soap-worthy names. Like the Buffalo Thunder joke Scott made, complex voicing strategies are being used to create characters borne out of non-Indian visions of indigeneity.

After choosing the English names, the students selected Tiwa names in close consultation with John. The name they chose for Vivian was one that John had said "hadn't been used around here for years," and Chance's name had been the Indian name of one student's favorite uncle. After lengthy discussions with John, the students chose a name for Skylar that employed a Tiwa word for "sky," although John laughingly admitted that "it didn't really sound like a name." The name for Michelle's character is also local and nonlocal, combining

the Tiwa word for *grandmother* with a dramatic moniker, Moonlight, that the students thought sounded appropriately soapy.

The indexing of locality and otherness also occurs in the construction of many of the characters in *As the Rez Turns*. Although some characters exhibit qualities that the authors closely associated with their future animators, evident in the case of Chi'i Moonlight, others have personality traits that are consciously opposed to those of their animators, preventing the audience from fully aligning the characters with the students inhabiting the roles. Christine was one of the quieter students in the class, a quality almost always shared by Peppa, the role she plays in the soap opera. However, the stage directions in the scene set at the football game describe Peppa scanning the crowd, looking for a fight, an ironic joke embedded within the larger work. By the end of the summer, the students would pretend to quake with fear when Christine entered the classroom, shouting, "Watch out, Peppa gonna brawl!" Like the use of Indian and hyper-white names, this simultaneity contributes to the authors' ability to include political and social commentaries within *As the Rez Turns*.

Liminality and Indirect Political Discourse

Meeting local thematic, generic, and stylistic expectations and exemplifying distinctly San Antonian identities while indexing and critiquing genres, styles, and vocabulary associated with non-Pueblo popular cultural forms, partially obscures the pointed social commentary that would otherwise be impossible. The myriad interdiscursive and intertextual links between this text and others, including American and Mexican soap operas, local ways of speaking, and the personal histories of community members at San Antonio as embodied by specific characters in the text, create a liminal space in which the authors are able to comment on recent sociopolitical developments using complex voicing strategies. Here, I am not utilizing the concept of liminality to describe a place between stages in an established life-cycle cline, physical space, or social/sexual category, but instead as a discursive space that is neither a direct approximation of life at San Antonio Pueblo nor a depiction that isn't still fiercely local.[24] The possibilities for critique and protest that exist in discursive spaces not regulated by the strict adherence to particular speech genres is often seen in new uses of language, such as literacy, that are in the process of being institutionalized and regulated and are possible due their status as in-between states. By inhabiting such a space, the authors of *As the Rez Turns* are able to craft a text whose stated use is to practice the Tiwa language and contribute to the growing archive, but actually functions as a comedy of manners that contains pointed political commentary.

One way that the authors critique the current political situation at San Antonio Pueblo is by issuing veiled prognostications about the state of the community. The ominous warning issued by Aunt and Uncle to Skylar is an example of this tactic, cases of which appear throughout the dialogues:

Skylar: I haven't been here since I was seven. So it's been about eleven years. It sure has changed.
Vivian: Gosh, has it been that long?
Aunt and Uncle: Yeah, it really has changed. More than you will ever know. Well, we're gonna go see what we do. Take care. (*They go dance.*)
Skylar: See you.

When reading this scene aloud, the students playing the parts of the Aunt and Uncle darkly intoned "more than you will ever know" in unison, staring pointedly at the student playing Skylar. After they finished reading the line, Michelle said, "Yeah, no kidding," which elicited nods from all of her classmates. Though many such negative depictions of the community were never made explicit within the dialogues, each member of the class knew that what was being criticized was the recent change in tribal membership policy.

In other instances, characters in *As the Rez Turns* address specific aspects of the membership policy, highlighting the impact that the recent changes have had on particular individuals and families at the pueblo. Since the new membership decisions have been put into place, it has become harder for parents to enroll their children, with the standards for enrollment varying across, and sometimes within, families. The following excerpt from a conversation between Vivian and Chi'i Moonlight addresses this issue:

Vivian: Chi'i, are you okay? You look like you were sure thinking hard about something.
Chi'i Moonlight: Na. For the most part I'm just tired.
Vivian: So what's the other part?
Chi'i Moonlight: I was thinking about my grandkids and their situation. It's a pity. I was trying to think what I could do to help make things better.
Vivian: Poor Chi'i. You want me to come over tomorrow and we can talk about it?
Chi'i Moonlight: Oh, ba. That's okay. That's what my therapist is for. Yeah! Thanks for asking. Look, here comes Chance! You guys go jam, or whatever.

This fictional conversation closely parallels the difficulty Michelle has had ensuring that her own grandchildren are enrolled at the pueblo. When I brought this up with her and other members of the class, Michelle was adamant in her decision to include this vignette. "We should put more stuff like that in here," she said, "The whole thing should be stuff like that." This metapragmatic statement makes clear that the authors were conscious of

the text's status as a political tract, one that allowed the group's members to compare their respective political views surreptitiously while addressing an imagined audience of community members and future language learners.

As the Rez Turns' position as a comedy of manners designed to convey specific social critiques is also apparent in the overall narrative arc, which traces Chance's descent from a confident two-timer to single outcast. In the authors' gender commentary, a cheater is shamed, while kinship and lineage win out in the end. Chance's fall begins when Vivian sees him kissing Skylar at a local diner:

> Vivian What in the world was that about?
> Chance: What are you talking about? It was nothing . . .
> Vivian: Then why did she kiss you? You do know that's my cousin. . . . Right?
> Chance: Shut up . . . for real? Since when? Well, she's just some girl I know from school . . . that's all.
> Vivian: Since when? Since forever! Looks like more than a friend to me and everyone else at the table.
> Chance: What's it to you? What do you care?
> Vivian: Well, because I was your girlfriend but you can forget about that. You're just a shithead anyway!
> Chance: Well, Skylar is way better than you anyway, so forget you!
> Vivian: I'm done with you. Get out of my face!

Chance's fate is sealed when Skylar finds out about his relationship with Vivian, confronting him during the final scene, at a community get together:

> Skylar: So what's up with you and her?
> Chance: Not a damn thing.
> Skylar: Oh, I know you're lying. My cousin told me all about you two.
> Chance: Oh babe. I am so, so, so sorry. Can you please forgive me?
> Skylar: You hurt me so bad. It hurt my feelings when I found out the truth!
> Chance: Man, I'm really sorry. Now I know why you look so familiar. I never snapped, then I looked at that picture of your great grandma.
> Skylar: Oh well, too bad! (*She walks over to Vivian and Vivian's new guy, James.*) Hey! Don't worry cuz. I got your back. No worries, there's plenty more fish in the sea.
> Vivian: Cool, cuz. Oh, this is James. James, this is my cousin, Skylar. (*Scene fades.*)

By punishing the fictional Chance, the authors are indirectly expressing opposition to the recent membership policies, decisions that have predominantly affected women and children at San Antonio Pueblo. After the class finished writing the last scene in the soap opera, they congratulated each other on the

finished product. "There are so many guys like that around here," Christine said, and the other students enthusiastically nodded in agreement.

Expectation, Anomaly, and Pueblo Propriety

Expectation and anomaly inform the analysis of this text at many levels, not all of which I examine as part of this article. First, let us consider extracommunity expectations with respect to the title of the dialogue. Certainly, it is funny because it is a clever send-up of a popular soap opera, but do our reactions contain implicit ideas about what kinds of speech genres and representations indigenous people should be producing? In this case, students are "reframing" outside expectations of what kinds of cultural materials Native people should be creating by writing a text populated by characters who are not relegated to a mythic past but who are actively engaged with modernity in all of its trashy glory.[25] To the students at San Antonio, it is not anomalous to depict moving between expected categories such as ceremonial/secular, Indian/non-Indian, and traditional/modern as evidenced by their willingness to utilize seemingly oppositional styles and genres associated with both sides of these dichotomies.

Local expectations also serve as resources for the construction of a liminal discursive space, with authors maximizing and minimizing the distance between local and nonlocal genres, individuals, conversations, places, and events. Potentially controversial critiques are possible only because of the rampant, competing interdiscursive and intertextual connections to established ways of speaking and being. Bakhtin's observations regarding the unique features of the novel, mirror the characteristics of *As the Rez Turns*: "Authorial speech, the speeches of narrators, inserted genres, the speech of characters are merely those fundamental compositional unities with whose help heteroglossia can enter the novel; each of them permits a multiplicity of social voices and a wide variety of their links and interrelationships."[26] The unexpected use of these novelistic features within a pedagogical language text creates a semi-fictional place containing grandmothers, tribal rolls, and cousins along with therapists, heavy metal concerts, and mistaken identities. The San Antonio students, like those whose lives Deloria chronicles, are taking advantage of a "moment of paradox and opportunity" in which students' facility in indexing multiple kinds of genres coincides with still-evolving approaches to indigenous-language literacy.[27]

The critique that the authors offer, however, is not a straightforward example of "weak" factions voicing critiques against "dominant" groups, nor is it merely an example of emergent youth cultural forms.[28] As Daniel Suslak observes in his study of language use and generational difference among the

Mixe, "there exists a tendency to describe youth cultural practices and ways of speaking as irrepressibly hybrid and to imply that hybridity is inherently creative and counterhegemonic."[29] Although *As the Rez Turns* is "hybrid" in that it does not adhere to dominant-language ideologies privileging language purism, serves as an example of a Bakhtinian "complex genre," and contains themes that are patently counterhegemonic in their critique of the San Antonio Pueblo political elite, the strategies that the authors employ as part of their political treatise are not. Indirect forms of interaction that rely on audiences being able to identify veiled indexical values correctly are prototypical forms of sociality in Pueblo contexts. In writing *As the Rez Turns,* the students are indexing extant forms of cocreated, indirect political discourse. Although the authors' choice of genre is perhaps unexpected, the approaches they employ are decidedly not anomalous.

In this way, the soap opera is not an odd form at all in its use of indirection created by the lamination of multiple, anomalous frames. These range from the world of the absurdly fictional ("as if anyone around here would be named that!") to the established and familiar. *As the Rez Turns* is thus, in many ways, a very conservative comedy of manners. Its authors manage to reinforce and uphold the norms of Pueblo propriety even as (perhaps precisely because) they call everything else into question through oblique and "fictional" reference.

Acknowledgments

The author would like to thank Leighton Peterson and Anthony Webster for organizing the American Anthropological Association conference panel, "Indigenous Languages in Unexpected Places," Paul Kroskrity for his thoughtful comments on the conference version of this article, and my colleagues and students at San Antonio Pueblo who made this article possible. Three anonymous reviewers helped immensely with the final version, and I am grateful for their input. Mistakes and muddled points are solely my own. This research was supported by a National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant; an American Association of University Women American Dissertation Fellowship; a University of Chicago Division of the Humanities Dissertation Fellowship; and an American Council of Learned Societies/Mellon Foundation Recent Doctoral Recipient Fellowship.

Notes

1. *San Antonio Pueblo* is a pseudonym for the indigenous community in Central New Mexico where I continue to conduct ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork. I also use pseudonyms for the names of individual tribal members and present all examples of the Tiwa language that appear in quoted texts in English translation.

2. For more on Pueblo secrecy and literacy, see Erin Debenport, "The Potential Complexity of 'Universal Ownership': Cultural Property, Textual Circulation, and Linguistic Fieldwork," *Language and Communication* 30, no. 3 (2010): 204–10; Paul V. Kroskrity, *Language, History, and Identity: Ethnolinguistic Studies of the Arizona Tewa* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993); Paul V. Kroskrity, "Arizona Tewa Kiva Speech as a Manifestation of a Dominant Language Ideology," in *Linguistic Ideologies*, ed. Bambi Schieffelin, Kathryn Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 103–22; Paul V. Kroskrity, "Language Ideologies in the Expression and Representation of Arizona Tewa Ethnic Identity," in *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Polities, and Identities*, ed. Paul V. Kroskrity (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research, 2000), 329–59; Paul V. Kroskrity, "Narrative Reproductions: Ideologies of Storytelling, Authoritative Words, and Generic Regimentation in the Village of Tewa," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 19, no. 1 (2009): 40–56; Regis Pecos and Rebecca Blum-Martinez, "The Key to Cultural Survival: Language Planning and Revitalization in the Pueblo de Cochiti," in *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*, ed. Leanne Hinton and Ken Hale (San Diego, CA: Elsevier, 2001), 75–82; Christine P. Sims, "Language Planning: A Pilot Process in the Acoma Pueblo Community, in Hinton and Hale, *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*, 63–74.

3. Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004).

4. Charles L. Briggs and Richard Bauman, "Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 2, no. 2 (1992): 131–72; Richard Bauman, *A World of Others' Words: Cross-cultural Perspectives on Intertextuality* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004).

5. Bauman and Briggs define *entextualization* as "the process of rendering discourse extractable, of making a stretch of linguistic production into a unit—a text—that can be lifted out of its interactional setting." Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs, "Poetics and Performance as Critical Perspectives on Language and Social Life," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19 (1990): 59–88; the quotation is on p. 73.

6. Mikhail Bakhtin, "The Problem of Speech Genres," *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 60–102.

7. This is not to say the form of English spoken at San Antonio Pueblo isn't a distinct form, with its own grammatical and stylistic characteristics, only that it is outside the focus of this article to examine these issues in detail. For more on Native American English, see William Leap, *American Indian English* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993).

8. Kroskrity, *Language, History, and Identity*; "Arizona Tewa Kiva Speech as a Manifestation"; *Regimes of Language*; and "Narrative Reproductions."

9. Eva Marie Garroutte, *Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Circe Sturm, *Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

10. Jane Hill, "'Today There Is No Respect': Nostalgia, 'Respect' and Oppositional Discourse in Mexicano (Nahuatl) Language Ideology," in Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity *Language Ideologies*, 103–22. I detail the creation, content, and circulation of John's text in an upcoming publication (unpublished manuscript, University of New Mexico, Department of Anthropology).

11. Leighton Peterson, "'Reel Navajo': The Linguistic Creation of Indigenous Screen Memories," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 35, no. 2 (2011): 113.

12. Although Kokopelli is recognized as a religious deity in Pueblo, specifically Hopi, culture and history, stylized depictions of the flute-playing figure are also very popular images in the Southwest United States and are used as decoration on everything from garage doors to greeting cards. For an ethnographic and historical account of the Kokopelli image, see Ekkehart Malotki, *Kokopelli: The Making of an Icon* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000).

13. Closely analyzing the complex processes of identity production and management that occurred during the creation of *As the Rez Turns* and considering their application as part of various theories of identity are outside the purview of this article, but two works that are particularly applicable warrant mention here. During the processes of entextualization that yielded this text, its authors utilized "authenticating" and "denaturalizing" discourses, opposing "tactics of intersubjectivity" that Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall ("Language and Identity," in *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, ed. Allessandro Duranti [Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004], 369–94) identify among other dyadic semiotic processes used by interlocutors to index various stances and constitute identities. Scott's denaturalizing move, which portrays those that employ exaggerated Native imagery as inauthentic, recalls Adi Hastings and Paul Mannings's ("Introduction: Acts of Alterity," *Language and Communication* 24, no. 4 [2004]: 304) analysis of identity, the construction of which, they argue, relies as much on differentiation as it does on processes of identification. They state, "These voices attributed to others—'anti-registers'—create monstrous or deviant figures of alterity, with respect to which the (normal) identity of the speaker emerges as a sort of unmarked ground to the figure of abnormal alterity. Where registers involve the asymptotic imitation, adoption, or appropriation of a figural voice, mockeries and say-fors involve sharp demarcations between one's own voice and the voice imitated: in the typical case, a stance of alterity is constructed between the interactants and some other(s), who may be present but are usually not." With his Buffalo Thunder quip, Scott is contrasting himself and the other authors of the soap opera with users of a cheesy "anti-register" and casting noncommunity members as "figures of alterity." See Bucholtz and Hall, "Language and Identity"; Hastings and Manning, "Introduction: Acts of Alterity," 291–311.

14. Kroskrity, *Regimes of Language*.

15. Jessica R. Cattelino, *High Stakes: Florida Seminole Gaming and Sovereignty* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

16. Kroskrity, *Regimes of Language*.

17. Margaret Field, "Changing Navajo Language Ideologies and Changing Language Use," in *Native American Language Ideologies: Beliefs, Practices, and Struggles in Indian Country*, ed. Paul Kroskrity and Margaret Field (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), 31–47.

18. Shaylih Muehlmann, "'Spread your ass cheeks': And Other Things That Should Not Be Said in Indigenous Languages," *American Ethnologist* 35, no. 1 (2008): 34–48.

19. Peterson, "Reel Navajo."

20. Ward Keeler, "What's Burmese about Burmese Rap? Why Some Expressive Forms Go Global," *American Ethnologies* 36, no. 1 (2009): 2–19; David Samuels, *Putting a Song on Top of It: Expression and Identity on the San Carlos Apache Reservation* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004).

21. Samuels, *Putting a Song on Top of It*, 8.

22. *Ba* or *bah* are interjections used in place of English terms including *whatever*, *right*, or, in some nonironic cases, *well*, as in "oh well." I am unsure of the exact etymology, but would venture a guess that it is the Tiwa word for *and*, which is often used as a discourse marker in spoken Tiwa.

23. This pattern has been changing, with several families choosing only to give their children Tiwa names.

24. Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967); Carla De Meis, "House and Street: Narratives of Identity in a Liminal State among

Prostitutes in Brazil," *Ethos* 30, nos. 1–2 (2002): 3–24; Niko Besnier, "Polynesian Gender Liminality through Time and Space," in *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*, ed. Gilbert Herdt (New York: Zone, 1994), 285–328; Niko Besnier, "Sluts and Superwomen: The Politics of Gender Liminality in Urban Tonga," *Ethnos* 62 (1997): 5–31; Kira Hall, "Intertextual Sexuality: Parodies of Class, Identity and Desire in Liminal Delhi," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15, no. 1 (2005): 125–44. Although I utilize the concept of liminality to look at different phenomena than Besnier did, his depictions of liminality as closely connected to performance apply to the present case.

25. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*.

26. Mikhail Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," in *The Dialogic Imagination* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 263.

27. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 225

28. James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985).

29. Daniel F. Suslak, "The Sociolinguistic Problem of Generations," *Language and Communication* 29, no. 3 (2009): 199–209.