

Animals and Humans, Sex and Death: Toward a Symbolic Analysis of Four Southern Numic Rituals

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The rites of passage for menarche and first childbirth, the Bear Dance, and the Cry represent four of the most important rituals in the Southern Numic tradition. Drawing on contemporary field data, as well as the landmark work of early ethnographers, the present study documents these four rituals as they exist today, especially in the San Juan and Kaibab Paiute communities, and as they have evolved over the last century among the Ute and Southern Paiute in general. The study also analyzes the system of ritual and mythic symbolism that underlies sexual taboos and other practices and beliefs associated with the four rituals. The boundary between the human and nonhuman animal realms emerges as particularly salient for our understanding of Southern Numic moral and religious thought on sexuality and mortality, male and female gender roles, and other areas of human experience.

SEEKING to encourage an ongoing renewal in California ethnography, Buckley (1988:188) recently urged that "contemporary research in and analyses of Californian cultures . . . be undertaken in a threefold manner." His threefold approach called for: (1) new fieldwork among contemporary communities; (2) a review of the historic ethnographic record, especially unpublished archival materials; and (3) the synthesis and reanalysis of "these two strata of field materials" (Buckley 1988:188) in the context of current theoretical issues. This proposal is no less timely for Great Basin ethnology, as we undertake the challenge of synthesizing a growing body of new ethnography with the wealth of research that Sapir, Lowie, Steward, and so many others have bequeathed to us.

In this spirit, the initial three sections of this article provide an integrative historical and contemporary ethnographic account of four key Southern Numic rituals: the rites of passage for menarche and first childbirth, the Bear Dance, and the Cry. Our account centers on the contemporary Kaibab and San Juan Southern Paiute

communities of northern Arizona and southern Utah (Fig. 1), where the bulk of our fieldwork has taken place over the past 20 years. We also draw on earlier ethnographers' published and unpublished field data for Kaibab, San Juan, and the other Southern Paiute and Ute communities. Our purpose here is to provide detailed documentation of these rituals for the contemporary and historical Kaibab and San Juan communities, while at the same time shedding light on the historical intra- and interregional relationships that have influenced change and persistence in ritual practice among the Southern Numic peoples in general.

The last section offers a symbolic analysis of the four rituals and their significance for the Southern Numic, and especially Southern Paiute cosmology and religious thought. Our thematic focus is the nature/culture dichotomy, particularly the symbolic opposition between animals and humans. It is our opinion that this opposition figures crucially in Southern Paiute ritual and oral tradition and, in fact, lies at the very heart of moral and religious thought on human sexual-

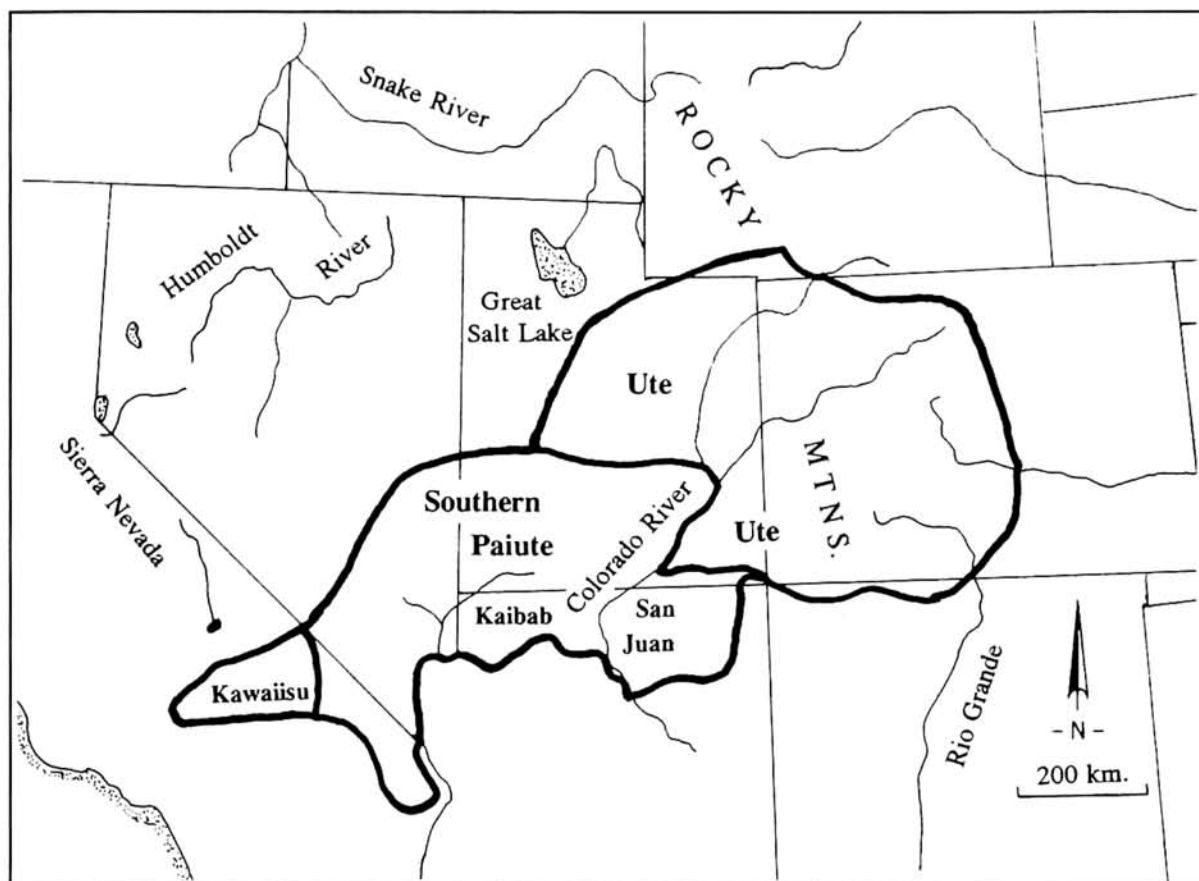


Fig. 1. Map showing locations of Kaibab and San Juan Southern Paiute communities.

ity, human mortality, and the proper relations that ought to obtain between men and women and between humans and the natural world.

MENARCHE AND FIRST CHILDBIRTH

The menarche ritual and its symbolic twin, the rite of passage conducted for a couple after the birth of their first child, are documented for the great majority of historical Southern Numic communities, including the Kaibab, San Juan, Shivwits, and other Southern Paiutes (Sapir 1910a:52-54; Stewart 1942:303-307, 309-311, 346-347; Kelly 1964:94, 96-98, 166), and the Southern, Northern, Pahvant, and other Utes (Stewart 1942:303-307, 309-311, 346-347; Smith 1974:138-142, 146-149). Moreover, the data make it clear that these two rituals were

remarkably uniform among all Southern Numic groups.

Menarche

According to Sapir (1910a:52-54), Kaibab women customarily spent their menses in a *náaxan(i)* ("alone-house") or *cháasixyan(i)* ("menstruation-house"),¹ a small, domed brush structure built for this purpose some 25 feet from the main dwelling. During a girl's first menstruation, she was isolated there to undergo a ritual signaling her passage from childhood. Stewart (1942:309, 311) found menarcheal and menstrual seclusion to be nearly universal among Southern Paiutes and Utes. For the Kaibab, "if a menstruating girl stayed in [the family] house, she was derided as no better than a dog" (Sapir

1910a:53). Males were also teased or shamed from the age of 10 or 11 years if they attempted to enter the *náaxan(i)* and were taught that talking to a menstruating woman or smelling the menstrual blood would make them "lazy" and unable to "walk quickly" (Sapir 1910a:52). Northern Ute consultants similarly averred that "a man should not have intercourse with a menstruating woman, because it would endanger his 'power' and might make him sick" (Smith 1974:148). Yet, at the same time, they also indicated that "this taboo was rarely observed" and that in fact "[c]ourtships took place in the hut, and many resulted in marriage" (Smith 1974:148).

With the Kaibab, as among the other Southern Numic groups, the period of seclusion at menarche was marked by taboos that forbade eating meat or other animal foods, drinking cold water, having contact with hunters, or touching the hair or face except with a special scratching stick (Sapir 1910a:53; Stewart 1942:309; Kelly 1964:98; Smith 1974:146-149). Among the San Juan Paiute and some Northern and Southern Ute groups, salt was likewise taboo (Stewart 1942:309, 311; Smith 1974:147). The meat, hunting, and salt taboos were also observed for subsequent menses (Stewart 1942:311). For most Southern Numic groups, the menarcheal girl was expected throughout her seclusion to run each morning to the east, fetch wood and water, and/or perform other work (Stewart 1942:310). Among the San Juan and some Northern and Southern Ute groups, the girl was "massaged" by a female elder to enhance her future growth (Stewart 1942:309; Smith 1974:146). Kelly (1964:98) recorded that the Kaibab menarcheal girl also "lay on [a] 'hot bed' as in childbirth."

In most groups, the close of the ritual came after four days of seclusion, at which point the menarcheal girl was bathed, given a change of clothes, fed a morsel of meat wrapped in sage or juniper leaves which she must spit into the fire, and had the ends of her hair trimmed (Stewart

1942:309-310; Kelly 1964:98; Smith 1974:147-148). For the Northern Ute, seclusion at menarche lasted 10 days, and three to four days at subsequent menses (Smith 1974:147-148). Among the Kaibab, the girl's ears were also pierced² and her face and the top of her head painted red at the end of her seclusion (Kelly 1964:98).

First Childbirth

After the birth of a Southern Numic couple's first child, and for some groups at each succeeding birth, the parturient woman and her husband were secluded in a *tuákan(i)* ("child-house"), where they observed taboos and other prescribed behaviors closely paralleling the menarche ritual and menstrual customs (Sapir 1910a:53-54; Stewart 1942:302-307, 346-347; Kelly 1964:94, 96-98; Smith 1974:138-142). The period of restrictions might last as long as a month for both parents, or somewhat less, especially in the case of the husband. Among most groups, the period of taboos for the father lasted until the baby's umbilical cord dropped off (Stewart 1942:306; Smith 1974:139-140). The taboos included those on meat and other animal foods, on cold water, and on touching oneself directly, especially the hair or face.

Though a man might hunt or fish after the birth, he would give away any game or fish he caught. His own kill was taboo both to him and his wife for up to a month, depending on the group (Stewart 1942:307, 346; Kelly 1964:96; Smith 1974:142). The Kaibab believed that if a woman broke the meat taboo, it would "cause heavier bleeding at the next delivery" (Kelly 1964:98). Among the Southern Paiute and in some Ute communities, the husband had to run east each morning (Stewart 1942:307). The Kaibab husband heated his wife's drinking water and twice a day prepared a *kumúntuarúkain(a)*, a "hot bed" of heated and buried rocks for his wife to lie on (Sapir 1910a:54; Kelly 1964:96). Among the Northern Ute, "morning and eve-

ning, the father heated the stones for his wife's pit bed" (Smith 1974:140). At the very least, husbands in all groups were sent to gather firewood for the new mother's hot bed (Stewart 1942:304). Kelly (1964:96) noted that the Kaibab husband "fetched wood and water, running, so as not to become lazy." As in the menarche ritual, bathing and changing one's clothes, painting the head or face with red pigment, and eating a ritual meal of meat with juniper or sage leaves ended the period of taboos and seclusion (Stewart 1942:305, 307; Smith 1974:142).

Discussion

The menarche and first childbirth rituals are doubtless among the oldest of Southern Numic cultural practices. Moreover, the widespread existence of similar rites of passage among many other historical and contemporary cultures in western North America attests both to their antiquity and to their significance for North American ethnology (e.g., Driver 1941; Basso 1966; Frisbie 1967; Schwartz 1983:18; d'Azevedo 1986:486; Fowler and Liljeblad 1986:449-450; Zigmond 1986:404; Buckley 1988).

Driver's (1941) massive comparative study of the menarche ritual in western North America makes this point particularly clearly. Driver (1941:36, 61) considered some manifestations of the girl's puberty rite, most notably the collective girls' initiations of southern California, to be relatively recent. The Southern Numic ritual, however, was comprised of much more widely distributed and, according to Driver (1941), more ancient elements. Some of these elements—including instruction, the avoidance of hunters, the taboos on meat, cold water, and self-touching, the requirement that the girl "work at the time of menstruation or after," and the practice of bathing the girl and changing her clothes at the close of seclusion—number among the group of traits which Driver (1941: 51, 60) concluded were "virtually universal in western North America," and thus also the old-

est traits associated with girls' puberty rites. Certain other traits, including the hot bed and salt taboo, constituted the "next oldest group of traits" (Driver 1941:61). He believed that these two trait sets, the oldest and next oldest, predated many other ritual practices found in western North America, including men's initiations (Driver 1941:60-61). Driver's data also suggest that certain other elements of the Southern Numic puberty ritual may also have been widely, though perhaps not so uniformly, distributed across the west, notably: molding or massaging the girl's body (1941:30, 33, and 36); hair trimming (1941:25, 29, and 37); the use of red pigment, sometimes with other colors, to paint the head or face (1941:25, 28, 31, and 34); and, finally, the seclusion of couples at childbirth or even during the menarche ritual itself as a prelude to marriage (1941:26, 28, 30-31).

Our comparative historical account would be remiss if it did not also include relevant mythological materials. As Whitely (1992:214) recently remarked in his study of Hopi names, "in those cultures . . . where many ritual practices are still very much alive, a major dimension of mythological meaning will be located in ritual performance." By the same logic of analogy, mythic stories may likewise provide important clues to the symbolic meanings and intended functions of ritual performance.

If this is so, then surely one of the most intriguing facts is that both the Kaibab and the San Juan have an origin tale for the childbirth ritual, but lack one for menarche or menstrual customs. Sapir's Kaibab consultant, Tony Tillohash, stated explicitly (Sapir 1910a:54) that "Coyote set [the] precedent" for the birth practices, including the first childbirth ritual. He also recounted the story during which this took place, which Sapir (1930:369-377) titled "Coyote Sets the Parturition Customs." When performing this story, our modern Kaibab and San Juan consultants also presented it as the origin story of the childbirth ritual. Although ethnographic data

supporting its ritual significance are lacking for other Southern Numic groups, the story itself had a wide distribution. Powell collected an early version of unspecified Southern Numic provenience (Fowler and Fowler 1971:88-89). Lowie (1924:53) recorded one variant for the Southern Ute in 1912 and three in 1915 for the Shivwits and Moapa Paiutes (Lowie 1924:124-128, 165-169). Smith (1992:27-28, 96-98) collected Uncompahgre and White River Northern Ute versions of the story in the 1930s.

In the Kaibab versions of the story, from both Sapir's and our own consultants, Coyote's wife sends him out to gather sumac for basket-making when Coyote hears a flock of geese singing overhead. Their song conveys that they are flying in search of people to kill and eat. Coyote talks the geese into sharing their feathers with him, but proves to be completely undisciplined and incapable of flying in proper formation. The geese remove their feathers from Coyote and he plunges to the ground. He awakes to find his brains smashed out of his head, which he greedily eats up, thinking they are mush. The geese fly onward to the west, there attacking a village. Coyote follows, finding there a pregnant woman lying dead, identified as his own wife (Sapir 1930:374, 376). Using traditional midwifery techniques (cf. Kelly 1964:97), Coyote forces the baby from her stomach, a boy in our modern Kaibab version, and swallows it. He himself then undergoes a traditional birth and states that he is establishing the first childbirth rituals, although he, in fact, observes them as if he were both husband and wife. Although Sapir's version ends here, in our modern Kaibab version, Coyote develops breasts for nursing his new son (cf. Coyote's magical clay breasts in the Shivwits and Moapa versions [Lowie 1924:125, 166]). He then takes his son to *Nuvvaxant(u)*, Las Vegas' Charleston Peak, to meet his uncle, Wolf.

Modern San Juan versions of this tale closely parallel that of the Kaibab up to the point

that Coyote awakens to eat his brains. He tracks the geese westward from one abandoned camp to another until he spies their wings shining like water in a wide valley. Arriving at the spot, he reminds himself that they had told him something about a baby boy. He cracks egg after egg, apparently the eggs of the geese themselves, looking for a boy but finding only girl children. In the last egg, he finds a boy, whom he swallows. In great discomfort, he then backtracks eastward looking for his *pav'ingw* ("his elder brother"),³ feeling ever more pregnant as he tracks him from abandoned camp to abandoned camp. Coyote asks his elder brother to cure him. His elder brother suggests shaking himself hard. Coyote refuses. The elder brother suggests sneezing hard. Coyote refuses. Finally, he suggests hanging from a rope, which Coyote does, and then gives birth to a son. His brother's wives think the child is cute but later complain that the little boy likes to "dance on their genitals" and also wanders around at night. Coyote's brother uses magic to correct the boy's behavior. Later, Coyote announces that "it is about to fall off," apparently referring to his son's umbilical cord, and asks again what he should do. His brother tells him that he must cut the ends of his hair and paint himself with red ocher.

Lowie's (1924:126) Shivwits version of this tale makes mention of the menstrual prohibition on eating meat and a custom of ritual bathing in warm water at menarche, but does not, however, appear to be intended as an account of their origin. Coyote, in an attempt to avoid sharing his deer kill with his daughter, throws deer blood in her lap when she is not looking and tells her to have her "grandfather" Wolf bathe her in warm water. Wolf sees through this deceit and tells her, "I know you are not menstruating, I have seen you" (Lowie 1924:126).

After the early decades of this century, the menarche and first childbirth rituals fell into

disuse in most Southern Paiute and Ute communities. Among the Kaibab, for example, there is no woman now living who has undergone the menarche ceremony and only a few elderly consultants have undergone the childbirth ritual. Except for isolated elements, such as the postpartum cold water taboo still observed by many Kaibab women, as well as in other communities, both rites of passage have virtually disappeared from community life.

For the San Juan Paiute, however, these two rites continue in an unbroken tradition into the present day (Bunte and Franklin 1987:228-230). In the summer of 1992, during our most recent field observations of the two rites, the San Juan families of the Willow Springs settlement group near Tuba City, Arizona, carried out one first childbirth ceremony and two menarche ceremonies, one of the latter for our youngest daughter, Rebecca (see below).

The San Juan are culturally unique in other respects, as they are the only Southern Paiute community where the native language is still spoken by a majority of children and young adults and the only one where traditional storytelling and many other aspects of traditional culture may still be observed. Their conservatism is surely due to their unique historical isolation from Euroamerican society on the western Navajo reservation. The San Juan sustained only one relatively brief episode of Euroamerican settlement, which began in the 1870s when the Mormons established a colony at Tuba City, Arizona, and ended when the colonists' homesteads were bought out by the government shortly after the Western Navajo Agency was established in Tuba City in 1901 (Bunte and Franklin 1987:53-55, 72-79, 90-98, 163, 167). In addition, though the San Juan have been reservation residents since that time, they did not become federally recognized as a tribe until 1990. As a result, the federal government and its policies have also had much less impact, negative or positive, on San Juan culture and society than

they have had on other Southern Numic groups. Throughout most of the last century, the San Juan people's primary external social and cultural contacts have been with other Indian groups, including the surrounding majority Navajo population, the nearby Hopi communities at Moenkopi and Third Mesa, and neighboring Southern Paiute and Ute communities outside the Navajo reservation, particularly Kaibab, Arizona, Richfield and White Mesa, Utah, and Towaoc, Colorado.

Among the San Juan today, male and female elders in the menarcheal girl's extended family isolate her in a separate room or a nearby unused dwelling for four days, until sunrise on the fifth day. During these four days, they instruct her and discourage children from playing with or talking to her. As one female Willow Springs elder in her sixties stated, this isolation serves to teach a girl "that you have to stand alone for yourself" as an adult.

Throughout both the menarche and first birth rituals, as well as on other occasions when they feel it is called for, female and male elders use *áikup(i)* ("instructions"), a traditional speech style rich in metaphor and proverb-like sayings, to teach not only the taboos but many other moral lessons. A number of San Juan consultants pointed out that the first time they hear them young people usually do not understand *áikup(i)*. They do not, however, ask their elders what they mean. Instead, one is expected to work at figuring out the meaning on one's own, sometimes succeeding only years later. One San Juan consultant in her thirties stated: "If you don't understand, you are like a masked person [*máavw' kurún(a)paxat(ʉ)*, 'you wear a mask/hood on your head']. After you figure it out, your hood would be taken away and you would understand, 'Oh, that's what it meant.' "

One of the menarcheal girl's female elders makes her a *nantsku'ngwa'nup(ʉ)* ("self-head scratch-tool"), a special scratching stick of juniper (cf. Kelly 1964:96). She is instructed

not to touch her head and face except with this stick or else her face will wrinkle and her hair grow gray and thin before its time. As one young woman's comment in English shows, this can become a real test of the girl's self-discipline: "They told me not to scratch myself. Ooh, I had to feel all the itchies all over me. Ooh, aiy, I wanted to scratch like this. I felt crazy. I needed some several sticks, I said. This doesn't work, I said." The menarcheal girl is instructed not to smile because this causes wrinkles. *Aikup(i)* also teach that too much smiling at young men is improper: *kiáxəwá'iku'um tsip'chuwatú'um* "If you go along smiling, [men] will be jumping on you," i.e., taking advantage of the girl sexually.

During menarche, the girl is given only non-animal foods to eat, preferably maize mush, and must not eat salt or drink or wash in cold water. Her drinking water is warmed on the fire or stove. Her elders teach her that from now on during menses she must not eat meat or touch any hunting tools. Otherwise, game animals will not let themselves be caught by the hunters in the family. The girl is told that to protect their health during her period she must also not step over male family members' bedding or have sex with a man. San Juan tradition holds that menstrual sex will make a man hunchbacked. However, as Smith (1974:148) similarly found with her Northern Ute consultants, a few of our consultants implied that the danger of menstrual sex was not taken too seriously by at least some married couples. Among the Kaibab and the San Juan today, some hunters believe that one should abstain from sexual contact altogether for a period of four or five days before hunting deer. In a contemporary Kaibab story, "Coyote and the Birdpeople" (Bunte 1980), Coyote's older brother, Wolf, takes him to task for not observing this hunting taboo.

Each morning before sunrise and each evening before sunset, the menarcheal girl must run towards the sun so as "to get strong, to stay

young, and not to get heavy," as one elderly San Juan woman from Willow Springs put it (Jake et al. 1983:47). She must make her own path and run farther each day. Elders keep the girl busy grinding corn, cooking bread, and chopping wood, and they instruct her in both the skills and moral discipline associated with work during these four days.

On the fifth day, several events bring the ritual to closure: bathing the girl in cold water; dressing her in clean clothes; putting red ocher or white clay pigment on her cheeks, depending on which is available; giving her raw rabbit or sheep liver wrapped in cedar leaves and other bitter herbs to chew and having her spit some into the fire; singeing or cutting the ends of her hair; and "massaging" her body into its proper adult shape. Elderly consultants uniformly attested that these customs have been part of San Juan ritual since at least the nineteenth century. In the last few years, some San Juan families in the Willow Springs and Tuba City area have begun to incorporate these traditional elements into a day-long community celebration and feast held in honor of the girl, making this last day of the menarche ritual more of a public event than it was historically or is among other San Juan families. These families have also grafted certain elements of the Navajo *kinaaldá* puberty ritual, as well as elements of pan-Indian popular culture, onto this concluding segment of the traditional ritual. The following account of this public celebration summarizes the events of the last day of our daughter's menarche ceremony and that of a San Juan girl, as they were conducted by the Willow Springs San Juan during the summer of 1992.

Early in the morning of the fifth day, the girl bathes in cold water. Their extended families (fictive kin in our daughter's case) buy food and, with the girl's assistance, slaughter a sheep or goat for the feast. The women assemble their finery and dress the girl up in "women's traditional" powwow style, with a long cloth

shift, beaded deerskin moccasins and belt, and an eagle feather fan. They braid her hair and decorate it with beaded barrettes, mink fur, feather decorations, and the like.

Once all the relatives and family friends have arrived, several public rituals take place outdoors. For our daughter, Rebecca's, ceremony, a mano and a metate were first placed on a sheepskin facing the direction of the sunrise, and she was instructed in grinding blue corn by two English-speaking Paiute women. The older girls who were watching, including Rebecca's older sister, were also coaxed into taking a turn at grinding. From the cornmeal, another woman boiled mush for the feast. The girls were told to run out towards the sunrise and back, using the path they had made during the previous four days. All of the children, as well as any willing men or women, ran after them. None were allowed to pass them. Otherwise, it is said, they will get old too quickly. This group run, like the blessing of the children below, is an element borrowed directly from the Navajo *kinaaldá* (cf. Frisbie 1967:71-88). At this point, the girls were given raw sheep's liver wrapped in cedar leaves to chew and then spit into the cooking fire.⁴ At the same time, a female elder gave them *áikup(i)*, teaching them that they should be hospitable and cook for visitors to their houses (this was translated for our daughter by a second woman).

Afterwards, a female elder *pará'a-* ("massaged") the girls' bodies, shaping them into their proper adult shape. The girls stood facing the sunrise while the elder lightly touched their hair from the top of their heads down their braids. The girls then lay prone on a blanket with their heads to the sunset and their feet to the sunrise as the elder shaped their backs, their left then their right arms and hands, their left then their right legs, and finally their heads and faces. Then, in imitation of the Navajo *kinaaldá*, all the boys and girls, and even some adults, came to stand in front of them as they faced the

sunrise direction so that they could bless them with their ritual power of growth by raising their hands straight up alongside their heads to make them grow, by patting them on the mouth four times to make them controlled in their speech, and in other ways as well (depending on the child, such as by squeezing a fat child's stomach to make them grow up skinnier).⁵ This blessing ended the ritual activities and was followed by the community feast.

Until recent decades, San Juan childbirth practices, including the first childbirth ritual, followed the historical Southern Paiute pattern attested for Kaibab and other Southern Paiutes (Stewart 1942:303-307; Kelly 1964:96-98; Kelly and Fowler 1986:377, 379). One San Juan woman, for example, told us that she had given birth to her first child in the 1960s "in the Paiute way": she held onto a rope tied from a tree while male and female helpers helped to push the baby out. As with the historical Kaibab, a "hot bed," called *kumúp(i)* in San Juan Paiute, was prepared for her to lie on during labor and for several days after the birth. Afterward, she ate cornmeal and drank warm water. After 30 days, her cousin butchered a sheep for her and her uncle had her chew the liver with cedar leaves and spit it in the middle of the fire. Her uncle also gave her herbal medicines to hasten her healing.

Since the 1960s, hospital births have been the norm. Some birth customs, such as the hot bed, the rope support, and the traditional midwifery described above, are no longer practical. Yet, first childbirth continues to be an important rite of passage for young men and women in the San Juan community. The following is a summary of San Juan practices for the last decade and a half. For 30 days, starting in the hospital and continuing later at home, the parturient woman observes taboos on meat, salt, and cold water and the taboo on touching her head or face except with a *nantsku'ngwa'nup(ʉ)*.⁶ In 1992, several people remarked on how skinny one

teenage mother had become because of her 30 days without animal foods. The rationale given for a woman's observance of these taboos parallels those for menarche, with the additional rationale that avoiding meat is said to speed internal healing and stop postpartum bleeding (cf. Sapir 1910a:54).

If the new mother has a boyfriend or husband living with her, then he must also observe these same taboos for four days or until the umbilical cord drops off. He must use the scratching stick to touch his face and hair or his face will wrinkle and his hair grow thin and gray prematurely. If he does not observe the animal food taboo, elders instruct him that he will become *cháasirukarum(ʉ)* ('gluttonous'). As one San Juan woman put it, "He'll be trying to pick up every last crumb." His mother-in-law and other kin instruct him on his new role as father and give him various daily tasks, especially firewood gathering. He must also run each morning towards the sunrise and each evening toward the sunset. If he does not perform these tasks, then his life will be shorter and he will always be unkempt, a *chəmtəts(i)* ('messy-head'). Where there is no husband present, some of the woman's sisters and brothers may run instead, as this is said to speed her healing. At the close of the taboo period, the couple bathe in cold water, have their faces painted with red ocher and the tips of their hair clipped, and are given the ritual meal of liver with cedar leaves to spit in the fire.

THE BEAR DANCE

Of the four rituals discussed here, the Bear Dance has by far the most continuous and voluminous ethnographic record, extending from the 1890s to the present and covering both Ute and Southern Paiute communities (Reed 1896; Sapir 1910a:8, 10, 12, 18, 58-60, 70, 1910b:40-45, 47-49, 1930:348-351; Reagan 1930; Steward 1932; Opler 1941; Kelly 1964:107-112; Smith 1974:220-222; Jorgensen 1986:662-665). Our

discussion focuses on its role in Kaibab and San Juan Paiute society and culture.

According to Sapir's consultant, Tony Tillohash, one autumn in the mid-1890s "when Tony was about 8 or 9," the Kaibab Paiutes learned the Ute Bear Dance and a number of Bear Dance songs from two Southern Paiute men then visiting their Kanab, Utah, camp; "Tom," a Koo-sharem or possibly Kaiparowits Paiute, who was then living at Cedar City but later came to live with the Kaibab community, and *Mampúts*, "a medicine man . . . of [the] Arizona [i.e., San Juan] Paiutes who had traveled much among [the] Southern Utes" (Sapir 1910a:59; cf. Kelly 1964:107-109). Within a few years, the celebration of the March Bear Dance had become a regular ritual and social event in the Kaibab community (Sapir 1910a:8, 10, 12, 18, 58-60, 70, 1930:472-473; Kelly 1964:107-112). According to Tillohash (Sapir 1910a:70), the San Juan also performed the Bear Dance during that period. While the Kaibab and the San Juan seldom hold dances of their own nowadays, they often participate as dancers and singers at Northern and Southern Ute Bear Dances (cf. Jorgensen 1972:251, 278, 280-281).

The Kaibab Bear Dance described by Tillohash is virtually identical to that described for the Utes (Reed 1896; Reagan 1930; Steward 1932; Opler 1941; Smith 1974:220-222; Jorgensen 1986:662-665) and could pass for a description of today's Bear Dance as observed today in Ute communities or, more rarely, in Southern Paiute communities. The Bear Dance took place within a corral-like enclosure of sticks or poles, with the women on one side and the men on the other. A group of several male singers began by playing a few strokes on their rasps, which are notched sticks held end downward against an inverted basket, tub, or dishpan to create a loud rumbling, and then sang a first song accompanied by the rasping (Sapir 1910a:12, 58; also see Sapir's photograph of Tillohash playing the rasp [Kelly 1964:Plate 7d]). In a note to one Bear

Dance song included in his unpublished Kaibab song texts, Sapir (1910b:47-48) remarked that the rasps were thrown away after the dance each year, and that Tom rasped four strokes to the measure while *Mampúts* rasped two strokes to the measure.

As the first song began, the women, explicitly seen as representing the bear-woman of the origin tale, chose their partners by touching them with a willow wand or by throwing pebbles at them. Three "officers" with pointed sticks stood by to encourage unwilling male partners (Sapir 1910a:10, 59). The dancing consisted of lines of dancers and later couples advancing and retreating, with men and women always on opposite sides of the dance ground facing each other (Sapir 1910a:12, 18, 58-59). As the dancing became increasingly vigorous, especially on the last song of the last night, dancers would spell each other (Sapir 1910a:59). Sapir (1910b:47-48) described the ritual that took place when a dancer or a couple fell: the dance chief would doctor the dancer with his rasp, while singing a satirical lyric (cf. Reed 1896:241-242; Jorgensen 1986:663).

Nowadays, a fall during this last song on the last night brings the dance to a close (cf. Steward 1932:272; Opler 1941:27). For the Uintah (Steward 1932:268) and the Towaoc (Opler 1941:23), the dance also follows a characteristic directionality. Before partners are chosen, women stand on the south and men on the north. During the dancing itself, women dance with their backs to the east, where there is an opening in the enclosure, while men dance from the west, with the male singers to their backs.

The Bear Dance traditionally coincided with early spring, the emergence of bears from hibernation, and the first rolling of thunder after winter's silence. Today, the Northern and Southern Ute communities hold dances in sequence from April through May, and White Mesa and Towaoc even hold them in September. For San Juan and Kaibab Paiutes today, participating in the

Bear Dance is a way of showing gratitude for and ensuring the blessings of yearly rains, as well as human and animal fertility. As grizzly bears have retreated from the Colorado Plateau region, the earlier significance of the Bear Dance as a ritual of propitiation has faded (cf. Reed 1896:238; Sapir 1910a, 1910b; Steward 1932:265; Opler 1941:26; Jorgensen 1986:663).

According to Jorgensen (1986:663), for the Northern Ute, the Bear Dance was also closely linked with the menarche ritual, since girls who had undergone the ritual were publicly recognized there. Elsewhere, he stated that menarcheal girls "were the women . . . chosen to be danced to exhaustion" (i.e., until one falls) in the closing segment of the dance and some also spent their first menses "in menstrual huts near the Bear Dance grounds . . . or at the Bear Dance [in the year] following their first period" (J. Jorgensen, personal communication to Smith 1974:222).

Within the Bear Dance ritual, the Kaibab and San Juan Paiute also incorporated elements of the Bear Dance ideology into their belief systems, including the Bear Dance origin story. In most recorded Ute versions (Mason 1910:363; Steward 1932:265; Opler 1941:25-26; Smith 1974:221; Jorgensen 1986:663), a man learns the dance by watching bears dancing, either in couples or one bear dancing back and forth to a tree. According to Opler (1941:25-26), the Southern Ute told two versions of the tale; the one above, which was told "principally to children," and another, more elaborate form, in which a young man joins a bear-woman in her cave. The man and bear later come to the Ute camp to teach them the dance. Afterwards, both depart, never to return. The Kaibab and San Juan versions—Tony Tillohash's version (Sapir 1930:348-351), the version told by Tom, one of the two men who taught the ritual to the Kaibab Paiute (Kelly 1964:108), and our modern San Juan version—all appear to derive from this second Southern Ute version.

In Tillohash's Kaibab version and our San Juan version, the young man tells his male friend that he has had a dream; about turning into a grizzly bear in the Kaibab version (Sapir 1930:348, 351) and about marrying the bear in the San Juan version. In Tom's and Tillohash's versions, the young man gives his clothes to his friend, tells him how to conduct the Bear Dance in the early spring, and then enters the bear's cave. These two Kaibab versions end with the young man married to the bear and partially transformed into a bear: he has fur but can still speak *nungwú-* ("Numic, human").

In the San Juan version, the young man leaves his village, situated *káivay tñáva* ("at the foot of the mountain"), to travel up into the mountains to see if his dream of marrying the bear is true. When they meet, she licks him all over and takes him into her cave to stay the winter. Along the walls, there are storage holes filled with dried chokecherries and pine nuts. She licks him again and puts a magical bark diaper on him so that he has no need to go out. She feeds him a magical root to prevent thirst. Over the course of the winter, he comes to understand her language. Lying in the dark beside her, he also begins to feel sexual desire for her, which San Juan storytellers and audiences find quite humorous. She tells him *kach* ("no"). Their relationship thus resembles nothing so much as that of mother and cub, albeit with Oedipal overtones. After a winter of boredom and occasional anxiety for his safety, the young man hears the rumbling of the thunder, which signals the beginning of spring and time to leave the cave. He emerges with the bear and, touching his face, finds it is covered in fur. As the bear forages further and further from her cave, he finally makes his escape. Returning home, he is nearly killed by his own people because of his furry appearance. Only when he speaks *nungwú-* is he saved. Later, the bear comes for him. On four successive days, she approaches the edge of the village, each day

standing closer and growling. In the end, the villagers kill the bear-woman and make a robe of her skin.

For Southern Paiutes, at least, the symbolism of the Bear must also be seen in the context of her role in the story of Wolf and Coyote's war with Bear and her kindred, the *ungwátua-tsingw(ú)* ("Rain Children"). Though apparently absent from the Ute canon, versions of this elaborate tale have been recorded from several Southern Paiute groups: three Kaibab versions, one collected by Sapir (1930:308-345) and two unpublished modern versions recorded by us; an unpublished modern San Juan version collected by us; a Shivwits version (Lowie 1924:92-102); a Moapa version (Lowie 1924:161-164); and a Chemehuevi version (Laird 1976:192-207). As all these versions differ little, we focus primarily on the Kaibab and San Juan tales here.

In the Kaibab versions, Coyote commits incest with Bear, his paternal aunt, offering himself in place of her wooden dildo. Bear clings to Coyote and he can only escape by losing his back meat. On orders by Wolf, Coyote returns to kill and butcher his aunt and her two children, but he carelessly lets her *piyúp(i)* ("heart" in the modern versions) or her *pukwúv(i)* ("bladder" in Sapir's [1930] version) escape to bring the Rain Children as reinforcements. Wolf sings out commands to Coyote, first telling him to gather arrow-sticks and later to go stand watch for the Rain Children. But each time Coyote misunderstands, until his brother explains the meaning of the songs. In the San Juan version, Coyote's elder brother refers to a *shanáoch(a)* ("pitch water-jug") in his song instructions: Coyote is to bring one for water while he works on the arrows, and to keep one behind him when he watches for the lightning, hiding behind it when he shoots at the Rain Children in the coming battle. Eventually, Coyote sees the lightning approaching from the west and is almost struck by it. Coyote and Wolf take turns battling the Rain Children, Wolf ordering Coyote not to

watch him when he fights. Coyote peeks out of their cave and sees Wolf in his magical *saxwáxar(ʉ)* ("blue/green" war clothes). The San Juan tale emphasizes that Coyote's suit is old, gray ponderosa bark while his brother's is fresh. Because he peeks, the Rain Children are able to kill Wolf and despoil his suit. Tracking the Rain Children westward, Coyote eventually recovers Wolf's clothing and Wolf is resurrected.

In Sapir's (1930) version and one modern Kaibab version, Wolf's resurrection results from Coyote's attempts to use his brother's medicine bundles containing the feathers of various birds, an element also occurring in the San Juan, Chemehuevi, Shivwits, and Moapa versions (Lowie 1924:101, 163-164; Laird 1976:200). The first bundle Coyote opens releases the night so that darkness falls over everything. After trying other bundles, Coyote shoots into the air the feathers of the *ankákwaana'ngwants(i)* ("red-shafted flicker" in Sapir's [1930:333] version), or feathers of the *kirtnankats(i)* (possibly "sparrow hawk" in one modern Kaibab version), finally bringing daylight. After three nights lying on an anthill, Wolf vanishes. The story ends with Coyote having trailed his brother back home to find him living with his wife. While Wolf is out hunting, Coyote attempts to rape his brother's wife. Being a worm-woman, she manages to escape into a tiny hole in a tree. Coyote is punished for his sin when, in his pursuit, he lodges his penis in the tree and his brother must cut off part of it to free him.

THE CRY

Sometime prior to 1870, the *yaxáp(i)*, or "Cry," and the song cycles that form its ritual backbone, were introduced to the Las Vegas and Moapa Paiutes by the Mohaves and the Chemehuevis, Southern Paiutes who themselves adopted it earlier from the Mohaves (Sapir 1912; Steward 1938:184-185; Kelly 1964:104; Laird 1976:16-18, 41-43, 242, 246; Kelly and Fowler

1986:383). During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Nevada Paiute communities held the Cry as an annual community-sponsored social gathering and mourning ceremony to honor the dead collectively, after the custom of central and southern California groups (Sapir 1910a:13, 1912; Steward 1938:184; Buckley 1987:83). Indeed, Steward (1938:184) reported that southern California Indians came from as far away as San Bernardino to take part in nineteenth century Las Vegas mourning ceremonies.

In the early 1890s, Moapa and St. George song leaders brought the Cry to Kaibab, where it quickly became an integral element of community life (Sapir 1910a:13-14, 1912; Kelly 1964:104; Kelly and Fowler 1986:383). By this point, the Cry had also changed its character. Now it was sponsored by individuals to honor a specific kinsperson and was held not annually but whenever the kin had accumulated the wealth needed to stage it and could assemble song leaders, often years after the death of the deceased (Sapir 1910a:13, 60-69). Sapir's informant, Tony Tillohash, identified 10 Cries that had taken place from before 1894 through 1909 at various Southern Paiute communities, including Kaibab, most of which were held in the summer months of June and July (Sapir 1910a:69).

The eastward diffusion of the Cry did not proceed beyond Kaibab. Tillohash indicated that "Utes never come to 'cries'" (Sapir 1910a:69), apparently referring to the Northern and Southern Ute communities, but clearly not Kanosh and Koosharem, still considered Ute by some Paiutes. San Juan Paiutes have attended Cries held in other communities since at least the 1890s (Sapir 1910a:61-69; Kelly 1964:33), including the 1901 East Forks Cry discussed below. Once, in 1983, the San Juan even invited Kaibab salt singers to perform a Cry for the funeral of a San Juan man. The San Juan do not, however, consider the Cry as part of their

own tradition. According to a San Juan tale, Coyote placed a stone between two sisters to prevent each from hearing the other's songs. Since then, the story goes, the Kaibab and other Paiutes west of the Colorado River and the San Juan Paiutes and Utes east of it have differed in their ceremonies and songs. Interestingly, Tony Tillohash told Sapir (1910a:37) a similar tale of two legendary women who were responsible for bringing the Cry to the Shivwits of St. George and who now stand as rocks on either bank of the Virgin River.

Sapir (1912:168) noted that, "the essential elements of the [Cry] ceremony are the singing of numerous mourning songs and the offering of valuables . . . in memory of the dead." In the early nineteenth century, four mourning song cycles existed (Sapir 1910a:10, 13-15, 37, 42, 61-69, 90, 1910b, 1912:169): (1) *astuvwiav(i)*, which Sapir called "roan songs" (in the sense of "roan-colored") but which the Chemehuevis (Laird 1976:16) and other Southern Paiute people translate as "salt songs"; (2) *witsuvwiav(i)*, "bird songs," some of which were associated with specific bird species, such as quail, roosters, and hummingbirds (Sapir 1910b:13, 22; cf. Laird 1976:18-19); (3) *shunáuvwiav(i)*, "coyote songs"; and (4) *naxáuvwiav(i)*, "mountain sheep songs." Tillohash performed 56 salt songs, 70 bird songs, and eight coyote songs, which Sapir (1910b) recorded and transcribed. No mountain sheep mourning songs were recorded. The preponderance of salt and bird songs in Tillohash's repertoire was perhaps indicative of things to come, as to our knowledge these are the only two song cycles now performed at Southern Paiute Cry ceremonies.

According to Tillohash, the mourning songs and the Cry itself owe their origins to myth-time events (Sapir 1910a:13-14, 1930:345-347). In Tillohash's account, when the various myth-time animals met in council "in the far western country" to lament the fact that many of them were dying, they then held the first Cry (Sapir 1930:

347). Coyote asked to sing his songs first, but as his first song was a foolish one, the others asked him to stop. Tillohash identified one of the coyote songs he performed for Sapir as being the very one originally sung by Coyote at that first Cry "in which he 'fooled people' " (Sapir 1910b:16). Coyote's next song was a more serious effort and better appreciated. Following Coyote, "the various animals sang their characteristic songs and these are now sung by the Indians of today" (Sapir 1910a:13).

The great majority of the mourning songs Tillohash performed were not in Southern Numic. Sapir (1910b:15-18) recorded one bird song which had recently been composed in Southern Paiute, and another bird song and two coyote songs which clearly derive from an original Southern Paiute or Chemehuevi text. The remainder appears to derive from Mohave or Walapai, both Yuman languages. However, these songs have been so transformed as to be incomprehensible to speakers of Mohave and Walapai (Sapir 1910a:14, 1912:169; Kelly and Fowler 1986:383; L. Hinton, personal communication 1991; P. Munro, personal communication 1991; cf. Laird 1976:16). This is perhaps not surprising. As Sapir's (1910a:37, 63, 1910b:2, 4, 43) notes imply, Southern Paiute singers were actively composing new mourning song texts and changing old ones, in effect treating the original Yuman song texts as vocables.

During the night singing that characterizes the Cry, separate groups of singers would sing two or more song cycles simultaneously, each group led by its own appointed song leaders with rattles. Each group of singers was arranged in two facing rows and each song cycle had its own characteristic pattern of gestures and movements (Sapir 1910a:10, 14, 65, 1910b:13, 20). Salt singers and coyote singers alternately stood or knelt on the ground, as salt singers today alternately stand or sit in chairs. As they also do today, bird singers always stood while singing and danced a slow, shuffling step, with bodies

bending gently forward and back and with both lines moving towards each other or away (cf. Sapir's photographs of Tillohash demonstrating the salt song stance and the bird song dance step [Kelly 1964:Plates 7f and 7e]). The singing went on until midnight for the first several nights and on the last night until dawn.

In addition to the four mourning song cycles, a fifth song type, the "greeting song," was also performed in conjunction with the Cry, as part of a formal welcome given in the evening before dinner and before the night singing, and sung again during the night at pauses in the mourning cycle singing (Sapir 1910a:63-64, 66). Sapir (1910b:6-7, 35-36) recorded two such greeting songs, both in Southern Paiute and both composed by Moapa singers who were said to have dreamed them. The people would line up in two long lines facing each other and the greeting singer would stand between the lines and sing. After singing, he would tell the people to weep. Similarly, during the night ceremony, a "talker" would walk around the ceremonial area speaking in an emotional manner about the participants' dead kinspeople to make them weep.

Sapir's notes of his 1910 interviews with Tillohash preserve an extraordinarily complete account of the planning and execution of one particular Kaibab Cry ceremony held in 1901 near East Forks, Utah (Sapir 1910a:61-69). The 1901 East Forks Cry was sponsored by two Kaibab men, Tom and Joe Pikavit, one the brother and the other the son of the man to be honored, who had died two or three years earlier (Sapir 1910a:61). With the help of the San Juan *Mampúts* (then living at Escalante) and Frank Mustache from St. George, the site was arranged and song leaders from St. George and Moapa were contacted (Sapir 1910a:61-62). In July 1901, when the Cry took place, it was attended by Southern Paiutes from Kaibab (living then at Kanab, Utah), St. George, Moapa, Cedar City, Koosharem, and San Juan, and by a party of

Shoshones from western Utah. Led by song leaders from St. George and Moapa, the night singing on the first several nights included bird, coyote, and salt singing until midnight, and on the last night all four song cycles were performed until dawn (Sapir 1910a:63-65). On the last night, it was forbidden to sleep. If one did, one might later fall sick, as Tillohash himself did after dozing off at another Cry (Sapir 1910a:41). During the afternoons and one evening when no Cry singing took place, there were "good times (bear dances, round dances, foot races, horse races, wrestling, target shooting, and gambling)" (Sapir 1910a:66).

On the afternoon before the last night of singing, ropes were strung between trees and valuables—including blankets, silk handkerchiefs and shawls, and baskets—were hung as offerings by the relatives of the deceased and by other donors. Horses to be offered were hitched nearby. A pyre was laid "about 100 yards e[ast] of the dance ground" (Sapir 1910a:67). During the night singing, the clothing offerings were divided among Cry participants and worn during the night, some even torn into strips so that they might be shared (Sapir 1910a:68). At dawn the people, led by the four groups of singers still singing, threw the offerings into the fire, including the articles of clothing they had put on over their own clothes and the remaining offerings that were still hanging from the ropes. The horses were led to a nearby mountain and shot.

Today, because of the exigencies of work schedules and the fact that participants often travel long distances to attend, Cry ceremonies take place over the course of a single night or, occasionally, over two nights, with singing going on until midnight on the first night and all night on the second. Only two song cycles, the salt and bird cycles, are performed at Southern Paiute Cries nowadays. Among the other Southern Paiute communities and among the Mohave and Walapai, the Kaibab are known for its salt singers, who are regularly called upon to per-

form at Cries in all of these communities.

Southern Paiutes have expanded the ceremonial functions of the Cry somewhat since the early twentieth century, as they have also apparently elaborated upon its ideology. Today, the Cry may be held twice for a deceased person, first on the night preceding the conventional funeral and burial and then again a year or more later as a "Memorial" or "Bigtime." The Memorial Cry will be planned for months in advance and will involve a much greater outlay of resources on the part of the sponsoring kin, including food to feed people and clothing and other goods to be burned as offerings or distributed to the participants in a giveaway on the morning the Cry ends. The Funeral Cry, on the other hand, will be less elaborate since it most often cannot be planned for. For a year and sometimes more after the initial Funeral Cry, it is expected that the kin of the deceased will still be deep in grief and spiritually vulnerable. The Memorial Cry brings an end to grieving, since after the outpouring of tears there, one is supposed to leave grief behind. Kaibab people also believe that holding a Memorial Cry will help put an end to any troubling dreams and depression thought to be caused by grief and by the lingering spirit of the deceased.

In addition to the good it does the living, the Funeral Cry ceremony performs a crucial service to the dead, giving power to and guiding the spirit to find its way to the next world. The salt song cycle, in particular, is said to sing the spirit of the deceased along a circular path that starts at the Colorado River in the west and moves clockwise up north and then east through Paiute country, ending at dawn on the final morning at the Colorado again. While this belief clearly derives from the same source as the songs themselves (the Chemehuevis and via them the Mohaves), it was adapted to fit its new cultural home, shifting its home territory into Southern Paiute country and also reversing its original counterclockwise directionality (cf.

Laird 1976:16-18, frontispiece). Salt song leaders may pause to speak over the course of the night to describe some difficulty the spirit is having on the journey. The songs are said to be sung in a prescribed order which follows the stages of the spirit's journey. During pauses in the singing at Funeral and Memorial Cries, especially later in the night, kin and friends get up to speak about the deceased. This talking, together with the salt and bird singing, are thought to lend the spirit greater strength to travel each further stage of his or her journey.

We conclude our description of the modern Cry with an account of a contemporary Memorial Cry at Kaibab, one that took place in June of 1991, about a year and a half after the Funeral Cry for the same person. The Memorial Cry was held in the basketball court at the tribe's community center, the doors of which open onto the north. In the northwest corner of the room were two rows of cafeteria tables. Ropes strung across the south wall were laden with clothing, Pendleton blankets, kitchen goods, and other items that were bought for the giveaway or which had belonged to the deceased and were to be burned in the morning. In the southeast corner, a table was set up with pictures of the deceased, his saddle and other cowboy gear, his Bear Dance rasp, and other things by which he was remembered. In the central space of the room, two groups of folding chairs were set up for the salt and bird singers. The salt singers' chairs were located diagonally southwest of the bird singers', with a single row of chairs facing east for the salt song leaders and several rows of chairs across from them facing west for anyone who wished to sing with them. The bird singers' chairs were likewise arranged in two groups, but with the song leaders' single row facing south and the rows of chairs for other singers facing north. In all the Cries we have attended, the salt song leaders' chairs have always faced east, including the few occasions when only salt singers were present. At one re-

cent Funeral Cry, the bird song leaders' chairs also faced east, perhaps because the leaders were Paiute rather than Yuman.

Late in the morning on the day before the night singing, the relatives asked the main bird song leader, a young Walapai man, to perform the greeting song. This concluded with the singer and all who were present moving as a group towards the table in the southeast corner, with all finally standing in a close crush before the deceased's photographs and memorabilia there. This occurred again before dinner was served in the early evening, several times during the night during pauses in the singing, and one last time before dawn near the end of the ceremony. (At Funeral Cries, the greeting song group moves towards the coffin in the same manner.) All of the song leaders were given bright bandannas, which they wore around their necks during the ceremony. The male relatives of the deceased wore ribboned vests and the female relatives wore ribboned dresses over their other clothing, all sewn especially for the occasion.

After a group of community women had served dinner to all present, starting with the song leaders, and the sun had set, the salt and bird singing began. The salt singing was led by a Kaibab man, assisted by other song leaders from Kaibab and Kanosh, Utah. The bird singing was led by the Walapai singer, his mother, and several Paiutes. Both groups of song leaders accompanied themselves with rattles. As in historical Cries, the salt singers sat and stood alternately as they sang, while the bird singers stood and danced sedately while singing, only sitting during pauses between songs. The two groups of singers followed the course of their own song cycle, pausing at different times and, of course, singing different songs simultaneously. Both groups took a break at midnight for a meal of coffee, cakes, and other sweets. During the night, the salt singers paused briefly between songs to see if anyone would get up and speak about the deceased to the assembled group.

Such speeches increased in number as the night went on and also grew more emotional.

At certain times during the salt and bird singing, a processional line of relatives and friends of the deceased danced in a slow and dignified manner through the aisle between the facing rows of singers as they carried the deceased's pictures and memorabilia from the table and his clothing (still on hangers) that had been hanging on the back wall.⁷ Just as dawn was beginning to break, the salt and bird singing ended and everyone drove to another location about a mile in the direction of the sunrise southeast of the community center. There a large pit had been dug and filled with logs. The sponsoring relatives led all of the participants in a clockwise circle around the pyre, where they threw in the clothing and other goods that had belonged to the deceased. The kin took off the special vests and dresses they had worn in the night and threw these into the pyre as well. Many others had put on items of the deceased's clothing, which they also threw in. The circling was accompanied by a Southern Paiute round dance song sung by a young powwow drum group from Kaibab. After shaking the hands of the relatives, who stood in a receiving line for this purpose, everyone returned to the community center, where a large breakfast was served and a giveaway was conducted. All of the adult guests received something. The song leaders and other helpers received the most gifts, as well as the most expensive ones.

ANIMALS AND HUMANS, SEX AND DEATH

The remainder of this article represents our attempt to identify and analyze key aspects of symbolism and cosmology that underlie and unify the ritual practices described above. It is our belief that one of the central concerns of Southern Numic religion is the relationship between animals and humans, a relationship that is treated with respect and not a little ambivalence,

but also with humorous irony and even eroticism. We begin our analysis with the rites of passage for menarche and first childbirth.

Menarche and First Childbirth

As (1941:51) Driver pointed out, a number of the beliefs and practices associated with these two Southern Numic rituals—the practice of seclusion, taboos prohibiting contact with certain categories of people, objects, and activities, and a belief that the ritual subject “may harm other people or nature”—are found throughout the Old and New Worlds. In their review of the literature on menstrual taboos and symbolism, Buckley and Gottlieb (1988:9) described the conventional approach that anthropologists have taken in analyzing such beliefs and practices: “Perhaps the most pervasive interpretation of menstrual taboos . . . has been the one that equates the notion of ‘taboo’ with ‘oppression’ and hence menstrual taboos with the suppression of women.” In brief, this approach posits that menstrual and other sexual taboos function to preserve male dominance by stigmatizing women and their sexuality as a supernatural threat to men and the social and cultural order men represent and control. One of the most influential examples of this approach is the “pollution” analysis of menstrual taboos by Douglas (1966: 140-158).

Analyses of menstrual and sexual taboos are also often subtly colored by the assumptions of European culture, which has long coded women and sexuality together as natural and therefore problematic for a cultural realm identified with men (e.g., Wood 1981; Duerr 1985; Keller 1985). As demonstrated by Keller’s (1985) critique of the objectivity/subjectivity opposition and other gender-based metaphors in the natural sciences, or by Martin’s (1988) analysis of popular and scientific medical views of “PMS,” this ancient pre-scientific cultural tendency is also a significant factor in Western scientific thinking.

The Southern Numic menarche and first childbirth rituals operate on very different assumptions than either the pollution-as-oppression model or European cultural notions would suggest. First, as a closer examination will demonstrate, the Southern Numic rites of passage locate human sexuality not in the natural, but in the cultural domain. In so doing, the rites also strive to maintain a proper boundary between human sexuality and the natural domain of the animals. Secondly, rather than stigmatizing women per se as polluted and thereby polarizing the sexes both socially and symbolically, these rituals seek to bind men to women, and both to society and culture, through their shared sexual powers and reproductive responsibilities.

During the liminal phase of the menarche and first childbirth rituals, the subjects are strictly isolated from physical contact with the animal world by taboos that forbid the ingestion of animal foods and contact with hunters and hunting tools. At the close of the liminal period, the girl or the couple is fed raw meat, animal food in its least cultural form (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1978:471-495). This act not only reunites the two realms in their customary relationship of eater and eaten, but also underscores the separation of domains that has prevailed up until that point.

Taboos also prohibit the menarcheal girl or parturient couple from eating salt or drinking or washing in cold water. Like meat, salt and water are resources that must be brought into the human domain from the outside domain beyond the sphere of human habitation. For the San Juan, who still lack indoor plumbing for the most part, water in its natural state is cold water indeed, straight from the well or spring. By contrast, the warm drinking water given to liminal ritual subjects is a cultural product. Bathing in cold water marks the end of the ritual state of separation.

The San Juan tale of the origin of salt portrays the salt spirit as an uncultured visitor from the outside, as does a Moapa version of the tale

(Lowie 1924:199-200). According to the story, some Paiutes were cooking soup when the *ə́nʉ́ngwʉ́(n)ts(i)* ("salt person") came to them and asked to share their food. Put off by his uncouth and rough appearance, the Paiutes reacted with even greater disgust when he showed his lack of manners by stirring his fingers right into the soup. They realized the value of his gift only after his departure from their camp, when they tasted the soup they thought he had dirtied. In the San Juan tale, the Paiutes, aided by a walkingstick insect who pointed the way, tracked him to a salt cave near the junction of the Colorado and Little Colorado rivers, where, from that point on, they would travel to gather their salt.

The symbolism of the self-touching taboos is more difficult to pin down. In contemporary and historical European and Mediterranean folk culture, the hair and skin—especially the hair and skin of women—represent the "wild" forces of sexuality that must be concealed and restrained for the benefit of social order and morality (e.g., Duerr 1985:40-59; Delaney 1988:82). This notion, transformed only slightly, has become commonplace in the analyses of symbolic anthropologists. Turner (1979:822), for example, has argued that skin and hair are universal symbols of "the 'natural,' biolibidinous forces of the inner body." Bordering visibly on "the external sphere of social relations," they must be ritually treated in ways that mark society's control over human nature (Turner 1979:822).

The Southern Numic rites of passage clearly do treat the skin and hair as symbols of human vitality that must be ritually protected and nurtured as well as controlled. Taboos on smiling, bathing, and self-touching are all intended, in part, to protect this power in its vulnerable liminal state, isolating skin and hair from contact with those things that would harm it, even the subject's own hands. At the close of the rituals, the use of scissors or fire to cut off or singe the

hair tips, the painting with mineral pigment, and the elders' laying of hands on hair and skin all clearly represent the action of cultural forces to direct and shape this vitality.

Yet skin and hair, and the sexual powers they represent, are not equated with nature or animality since, as we have seen, the latter are, in fact, treated as inimical to human vitality and sexuality. Moreover, for the San Juan, a woman's long hair is explicitly identified with human traits of intellect and wisdom. The menarcheal San Juan girl is taught in *áikʉp(i)* not to cut her hair short, for if she does, she will be *shumáikyainayav kuráy* ("cutting off her own wisdom/mind"). Most San Juan women, old and young, still wear their hair in braids or in long, modern hairstyles precisely for this reason.

In contrast with their separation from the outside or animal domain, the menarcheal girl and parturient couple are thoroughly immersed in an intensive interaction with the cultural realm during their liminal state of seclusion. They work at chopping wood, grinding corn, and other cultural tasks, and undergo continual verbal instruction, all under the governance of male and female elders, the most highly enculturated members of the community. Among the San Juan, the preferred food for ritual subjects is maize, preeminently a cultural product. Even the "hot bed" in parturition is amenable to interpretation as a process of symbolic "cooking" to render the parturient woman fully culturized. Similar practices in southern California puberty rites were indeed seen as having this symbolic function (Buckley 1987:79).

The girl or couple is also ritually identified with the sun and its diurnal and seasonal cycles, the sun apparently not being considered as a member of the taboo realm of animals and "outside" things. This identification is seen directly in the sunrise and sunset running that the menarcheal girl and the new father undertake, through which the sun confers a blessing on human vitality and reproductive powers. In

running, the ritual subject must circle clockwise around whatever end marker he or she has chosen, imitating the sun's diurnal path. Solar identification also occurs in the use of red and white pigments in the rituals, both colors being symbolic of the sun's power for the San Juan and perhaps other Southern Paiute and Ute peoples.

The discussion of taboos brings us to a second key question; whether in her liminal state a menstruating or parturient woman can be seen as unequivocally polluting, as described by Douglas (1966:140-158). Douglas's model operates on two levels, the cultural and the social. Cultural systems treat menstrual blood or other substances as magically unclean and dangerous because they violate culturally defined cosmological boundaries. In Douglas's view, however, the ultimate rationale for menstrual taboos and other pollution beliefs can only be found at the level of the social system, where they function as mechanisms to control groups which threaten the existing social order. Superficially, a pollution explanation of the taboos may seem applicable, since menstruating women are indeed seen as dangerous to men and offensive to the game animals men hunt. Yet on closer inspection, we find that the Southern Numic taboos do not benefit men at the expense of women nor do they single out women as a separate, stigmatized social and cultural category, even from a male perspective.

While some menstrual taboos do serve to protect men from supernatural danger, most of them, including the meat, salt, cold water, and self-touching taboos, actually function more to protect the subject herself from powers that are supernaturally harmful to her in her vulnerable liminal state. The same taboos work to protect both sexes in the rite of passage for childbirth, linking them in their shared sexual procreativity. *Cháasi-*, the term most often used to refer to the menstrual and childbirth taboos, reflects this more inclusive categorization. Sapir (1910a:53-54) explained it simply as "menstruation" or

"menstrual," as in *cháasixyan(i)* ("menstrual hut"). Based on our own Southern Paiute data, this term might better be interpreted as "ritually dangerous." It refers globally to both menstrual and childbirth taboos and, in the latter case, to both the parturient mother and father, as in the term *cháasirukarum(u)* ("gluttonous one," literally, "*cháasi*-eat-participle-animate"), used in *áikup(i)* to refer to the supernatural consequences for a husband who breaks the meat taboo. In fact, the natural domain should itself be seen as polluting to humans during their vulnerable liminality, since meat, salt, and cold water are all believed to harm the vitality of the menstruating woman or parturient couple.⁸

The taboos operate to create a couvade-like solidarity between adult male and female community members. Moreover, for the San Juan, this couvade also marks a couple's shared passage into socially recognized adulthood in the community (Bunte and Franklin 1987:229). It is interesting then to recall that the Southern Paiute origin tale highlights this couvade theme, rather than menarche and menstruation, indicating that the social and symbolic unity of women and men are of greater importance than any potential polarity. Coyote's own mythic couvade and his pre- and postpartum bisexuality seem designed to teach a moral lesson that is identical to that of the first childbirth rite of passage, that a father's responsibility is to identify himself with the process of birth and become, as it were, a male mother.

The Bear Dance

In the Bear Dance, the human domain is brought together in synchrony with the natural world and its annual cycle through the dramatic personification of bears in their mating dance. Once symbolically linked, each domain, the human and the natural, serves to strengthen the vital, sexual powers of the other. Yet in so doing, the Bear Dance appears to flout and even undo the symbolic boundary between human

sexuality and the animal powers that the men-arche and childbirth rituals work so hard to keep intact.

This identification with the Bear is all the more intriguing in light of the relationship between humans and the Bear and her kindred, the Rain Children, which, for Southern Paiutes at least, is a particularly uneasy and perilous one. In the myth-time cosmos, Coyote and his elder brother are the mythic powers whose purposes align most closely with the interests of humans. Coyote, often with crucial guidance from his brother, is credited with achieving many deeds of lasting benefit to present-day humans: the origin of humans (Lowie 1924:103-104, 157-159; Sapir 1930:351-359; Fowler and Fowler 1971:78); the theft of fire and the subsequent invention of cooking (Kroeber 1901:252-260; Lowie 1924:6-7, 117-119; Sapir 1930:377-393); and those other accomplishments outlined earlier, the origination of both the Cry and birth rituals, and the securing of spring rains out of winter and daylight out of darkness following the war with Bear and the Rain Children.

By contrast, in these same stories, certain other mythic beings stand in a more uncertain relationship to human interests. Among these dangerous but ultimately beneficial powers are: Bear and the Rain Children; the mysterious people-eating geese; the mysterious owners of fire in the tale of the theft of fire, whose use of rain and lightning as weapons against Coyote and his fellow thieves seems to identify them as Rain Children; and the ocean woman and her daughter with the toothed vagina in the story of the origin of humans. In every case, the dangerous powers are based in the west, typically at the ocean's edge itself, while Coyote and his brother are located squarely in the center of Southern Paiute country, Las Vegas' Charleston Peak for Kaibab and most other Paiutes. East-west and west-east movements mediate the confrontations between the two brothers and the western powers, each time bringing about a ben-

eficial transformation for the human world to come.

The very rules that govern the telling of tales preserve a boundary between these dangerous western powers and the human realm. While legendary tales, such as the Bear Dance origin tale, can be told at any time of the year, Kaibab and San Juan Paiutes will only perform mythic tales in the winter. Otherwise, it is said, the rattlesnakes, bears, and/or thunder will hear the stories, think they are being mocked, and later harm the guilty performer and audience (cf. Liljeblad 1986:650). Among the San Juan, when the first thunderstorm is heard in late winter or early spring, everyone in the household gets up and jumps up and down to "shake off the winter." From this point on, mythic tales should no longer be performed. Kaibab and San Juan Paiute ambivalence towards the Rain Children is also reflected in their customary practice of lighting bonfires during especially severe summer thunderstorms. These are lit as a warning to the Rain Children who might otherwise, it is said, someday decide to burn up the world.

In all versions of the Bear Dance origin tale, this perilous relationship is mediated through the actions of a male human rather than by Coyote and Wolf. While the Southern Paiute mythic cosmos is peopled by pre-human, liminal beings who have animal names but who really partake of both the human and animal, the legendary cosmos is that of the present world, with all of its categories and boundaries in place, including the animal/human boundary.⁹ In the Ute Mountain, Kaibab, and San Juan tales, animal-human sex is a key metaphoric vehicle for this mediation, echoing the motif of Coyote's incestuous encounter with Bear. A young man passes from the human realm, the village below the mountains, into the animal realm, the mountain country of the bear-woman. Once united with the bear-woman, he is transformed into a liminal being, having the fur of an animal and the speech of humans.

In the Kaibab versions, he marries the bear, forming a sexual union that completes his passage from the human into the animal domain. Once married, he remains permanently beyond the human realm, thereby resolving at least partially his contradictory liminality and restoring the cosmological boundary between realms. His act of dissolving the animal/human barrier, however, goes to the heart of the ritual function of the Bear Dance: to recreate the powerful liminal state that prevailed in the myth-time and so ensure the continuance of the transformative cycles achieved by Coyote and his brother.

In the San Juan tale, though the young man has dreamed of marrying her, the bear-woman will not permit sex. She instead becomes a mentor and mother to the young man, revealing to him her magical secrets for enduring the winter. Yet she comes to a violent end when she approaches the boundary of the village, as she is killed and skinned for a robe. If we recall that impersonations of bears using bear robes were once a central feature of early Bear Dances (Steward 1932:272), then perhaps this San Juan bricolage of the Bear Dance origin tale makes its own symbolic point: the death of the bear is an integral component of the bear/human, nature/culture reciprocity that is celebrated in the dance. This message is underscored by the manner in which the San Juan story parallels the bear sacrifice motif in the tale of Wolf and Coyote's battle with the Rain Children, in which Bear and Wolf are each killed in turn and each resurrected. Only with their sacrifice can the turning of the seasons, the cycle of day and night, and the revitalization of human and animal life be accomplished.

The animal/human connection celebrated in the Bear Dance ritual is intended to benefit both humans and animals through the enhancement of their respective reproductive powers as well as the shared benefits of rain. Human couples dancing are explicitly equated with bear couples said to be dancing in the mountains in the same

spring season, creating a reinforcing parallel between animal and human sexuality and insuring success for both worlds. Yet while it effectively weakens the boundary between humans and animals that is established in the stories and safeguarded through the rites of passage for menarche and first childbirth, the Bear Dance ritual also simultaneously affirms this boundary and the cosmological status quo it represents, since in its directional symbolism it preserves the mythic west/east, Bear/Coyote, animal/human opposition. The men, said to be impersonating the legendary young man, dance from the west, the Bear's home direction, and are thus identified with the animal realm. Male singers, also in the west, recreate the rumbling of the bears with their rasps. The women, though said to be impersonating the legendary bear-woman, dance from the east, the symbolic home of Coyote and Wolf, and of the humans who followed after.

The Cry

The Cry, like the menarche and childbirth rituals, is a rite of passage and one, moreover, which deals with a dangerous liminal state. Both the Kaibab and San Juan Paiutes consider the corpse itself to be supernaturally dangerous to anyone who is in a vulnerable state, especially the very young, the very old, the sick, and pregnant women. Between death and burial, these categories of people are warned not to approach or touch the body.¹⁰ For the Kaibab Paiutes, the spirit of the deceased may also remain in a liminal state between the world of the living and next world for a year or more after death. When this happens, it is thought that the deceased will contact their kin in dreams with the intent of taking one of the living to accompany him or her. The kinsperson may then fall sick and even die as a result. One of the primary purposes for holding a Memorial Cry is to end this in-between state and the danger it poses by helping the spirit to make a definitive transition from this world.

In the Cry, humans inherit ceremonial roles that were initiated by the myth-time animals. These mythic animal beings also knew mortality. In contrast to the menarche and first childbirth rites, the participants in a Cry are equated symbolically with the animal domain rather than separated from it. This identification is accomplished through the singing of song cycles that were first sung by animals and which bear names linking them to that domain: today, salt and bird songs; in the past, coyote and mountain sheep songs as well. The salt song leaders always sit on the west side facing east, identified thereby with the animals who once met "in the far western country" to hold the first Cry (Sapir 1930:347). The Cry recreates a liminal mythic state, but one which lacks the underlying sense of conflict and ambivalence found in the Bear Dance.

At the same time that the participants emulate the mythic animals, they also identify with the deceased on his or her journey to the next world, wearing the deceased's clothing, talking emotionally about him or her, and performing the singing which encourages the spirit and gives it strength. As in the menarche and childbirth rites, the Cry journey links the diurnal journey of the sun with the cycle of human life. But here the solar directional symbolism is turned on its head. The Cry moves from sunset to midnight to sunrise as the spirit follows a west to north to east road, thus reversing the sun's daily journey both spatially and temporally. The salt song leaders, who for Paiutes stand in closest contact with the journeying spirit, face the eastward direction the spirit must travel and sense each difficulty the spirit faces. The sunrise burning of the deceased's clothing and other goods ends this liminal identification and signals that the boundary between the living and the dead is to be restored. The clothing that was worn in the night is destroyed in the fire and the poignant emotionality of the night must also be put aside.

CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing discussion, we have sought to present evidence for a common, underlying system of symbolism and cosmological and religious thought, one shared by Southern Paiutes and, to a lesser degree, by Utes as well. Central to this system is the boundary between the natural or "outside" domain and the cultural or human domain. This categorical division is consistently applied across all four rituals and in many other areas of cultural belief and practice. To the "outside" belong: animals and salt; the raw and the cold; animal fur and animal speech; the mountain highland and other lands beyond the zone of human habitation; the west or sunset direction; and the Bear, the Rain Children, and other dangerous powers associated with the west in both myth and ritual. To this list, we might add other objects, properties, and beings not mentioned in our discussion, such as the *páaungapitsingw*(*u*) ("water-babies"). In the human domain are: humans and their sexuality; maize, fire, and cooking; human hair and human speech (i.e., Numic); the camp and village; the sunrise direction and the Paiutes' world center, Charleston Peak, for most groups; and the mythic brothers, Wolf and Coyote.

Rituals play a dual role in mediating the relationship between these two domains. Ritual prohibitions or taboos work to keep each in its appropriate place, preserving harmonious relations with the outside so that humans may partake of its material benefits while protecting themselves from its spiritual powers. Because humans depend on the outside domain spiritually as well as materially, other ritual practices seek to bridge the boundary between domains to tap the outside powers. Regardless of function, these ritual practices all operate within the same cosmological categories and evoke the symbolic vocabulary they provide.

In contrast with European traditions, women in this system appear to be more closely identi-

fied with the cultural domain whereas men may be seen as more marginal to it. The twin rites of passage which make humans into fully cultural beings begin first with women and only later are applied to both women and men. To become an elder, one must have undergone the childbirth rite. The male passage into social adulthood is thus completely dependent on the transition that young women make into their full social and reproductive powers. At the same time, the parallelism of the menarche and childbirth rites and the couvade functions of the latter carry a clear message for men and women about the proper social and symbolic relationships that their society believes should obtain between the two sexes, a message which is reinforced by the bisexual imagery of the birth ritual origin tale: men must imitate and identify with the sexuality of their female partners, in effect symbolically undergoing menarche and childbirth, if they wish to become fully human.

NOTES

1. The orthography used here is one developed for the Kaibab Paiute by Pamela Bunte and a Kaibab elder, Lucille Jake. It is presently used for educational and other purposes by members of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, by the Kaibab, and by the San Juan. Most characters have their International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) values. The following are exceptions or are otherwise worthy of special mention. The apostrophe ['] is the glottal stop. The letter [x] stands for a (usually) voiceless velar fricative. The letter [y] is the glide, as in English. The letter [r] is a short apical trill or flap. The digraph [ng] stands for a velar nasal, as in English *sing* with no hard *g*. Before [k], the velar nasal is written simply as [n], however. The diagraphs [ts, ch, sh] are pronounced as in English. The symbol [ɯ] is a high back unrounded vowel. The symbol [ø], a sound that in Southern Ute and San Juan Paiute replaces the Kaibab and other Southern Paiute open *o*, is a mid front rounded vowel often pronounced with noticeable retroflex approximate *r* coloring, similar to the vowel in American English *her*. For this article, we have included final vowels that in ordinary speech would be deleted or at least devoiced, placing them in parentheses to mark their optional quality. Primary word stresses are also marked with accents.
2. According to modern Kaibab consultants, traditionally a child's ears were pierced so that he or she would be able to pass on to the afterworld at death.
3. In San Juan tales, Coyote's elder brother is not called *Tɯvwáts(i)* as he is in Kaibab and other Southern Paiute traditions, but simply Coyote's elder brother or more rarely *Aváatɯ Shunáŋwav(i)* ("Big Coyote").
4. According to our daughter, the liver and "the tips" of the juniper that she was instructed to eat tasted "bitter" and "disgusting."
5. Despite borrowing these selected Navajo elements, the San Juan menarche ritual remains quite distinct from the Navajo *kinaaldá*, and is clearly so perceived by Paiutes as well as those local Navajos we have spoken with. Consulting Frisbie's (1967) landmark study of the Navajo ceremony, one can readily find a large number of elements, both important and relatively trivial, that are foreign to the San Juan ritual. The *kinaaldá* is performed in two phases, once for the menarche and again for the girl's second period, and lacks any parallel first childbirth ritual like that of the San Juan and other Southern Numic peoples. It is part of the Blessing Way cycle of rituals and thus requires the nighttime singing of Blessing Way songs, blessings with corn pollen, and other ritual actions, all of which must be performed by a trained Navajo singer in a traditional hogan. The ritual was instituted by the mythic culture heroine, Changing Woman/White Shell Woman, whom the menarcheal girl impersonates and whose mythic actions the night singing recount. The girl must prepare and serve to participants an '*alkaan* corncake, cooked overnight in a pit. The Navajo girl runs three times a day for four days, at dawn, noon, and sunset, rather than twice; she is also prohibited from carrying water, one of the common chores given to the menarcheal Paiute girl. Finally, the food taboos associated with the Navajo ritual differ in numerous respects from the Southern Numic taboos, prohibiting, for example, not only meat and salt but also sugar and other sweets.
6. According to one San Juan, who had her son in the Indian Health Service Hospital at Tuba City, Arizona: "My mother said [to the Navajo nurse], 'Don't give her cold water. Don't give her meat.' The nurse thought she was crazy. She [the nurse] said, 'This isn't old way. This is modern day.' Even though she said that, I didn't eat it. . . . My mother used to bring cornmeal to me every morning and afternoon and evening."
7. At a recent Funeral Cry, the family requested that the processional dance be performed without carrying the clothes and picture. This was done at the

deceased woman's request. The week before her death, she told her son that "in the old days" the procession dancers did not carry any memorabilia and that she wished to return to "the old ways."

8. A liminal animal product can likewise be dangerous to humans. Among the San Juan, untanned deer hides are considered to be supernaturally harmful to young children. As a result, the men or women who process hides by scraping the fur off and rubbing animal brains into the hide perform these activities in locations kept secret from children, often a cave or small structure at some distance from home sites. A complete change of clothes is kept at the site so that no hair or other pollutants will be carried home to where children are living. Once processed, the hide is a cultural object and no longer poses a danger.

Recently, one of us (Bunte) came upon an abandoned San Juan deer hide processing site while out walking with our youngest daughter and the adult daughter of the man who had used it. The daughter, in her thirties, remarked that she had never visited the site as a child and had not known of its location until she was grown. Her father, who had recently died, had apparently taken the pole over which the hides were hung for scraping and had stood it upright on a nearby sand hill with stones around its base. His daughter remarked: "He must have known that he wasn't coming out here again, that was his last time."

9. In contrast to the Southern Paiute tradition, Ute mythic tales sometimes include human characters, even non-Indians, and may also incorporate postcontact cultural items. See, for example, Mason's (1910:335-358) Uintah Ute tale, "Coyote and his Son," which features Utes, Sioux, Mexicans, mules, chickens, and eggs, alongside Coyote, Eagle, and other animal characters.

10. Southern Paiutes normally do touch the deceased at funerals, especially the face and hands, and express distress in cases when the mortician forbids this physical contact.

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