

The poet is put to death . . . because he
wants to make language perceive what it
doesn't want to say, provide it with its
matter independently of the sign, and free
it from denotation. For it is this *eminently*
parodic gesture that changes the system.

—Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language*

And all these problems of *identity*, as we so
foolishly say nowadays.—Jacques Derrida,
Monolingualism of the Other, or, the
Prosthesis of Origin

**Expression and
Identity on the
San Carlos Apache
Reservation**

**Putting a
Song
on Top of It**

David W. Samuels

The University of Arizona Press Tucson

The University of Arizona Press
© 2004 The Arizona Board of Regents
All rights reserved

Ⓢ This book is printed on acid-free, archival-quality paper.
Manufactured in the United States of America
09 08 07 06 05 04 6 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Samuels, David William, 1957–
Putting a song on top of it : expression and identity on the San Carlos
Apache Reservation / David W. Samuels.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-8165-2379-7 (cloth : alk. paper)
1. Apache Indians—Arizona—San Carlos Indian Reservation—Songs and
music. 2. Apache Indians—Arizona—San Carlos Indian Reservation—
Social life and customs. 3. Country music—Arizona—San Carlos Indian
Reservation. 4. Popular music—Arizona—San Carlos Indian Reservation.
5. San Carlos Indian Reservation (Ariz.)—Social life and customs. I. Title.
E99.A6s28 2004
305.897/25079154—dc22
2004017986

Publication of this book is made possible in part by the proceeds of a
permanent endowment created with the assistance of a Challenge Grant
from the National Endowment for the Humanities, a federal agency.

To the women who raised me:

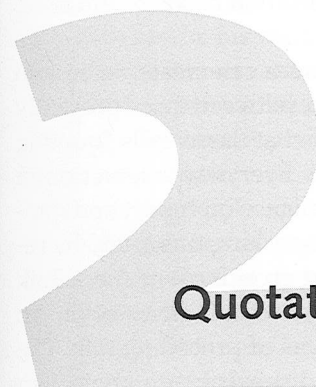
Edith, Agatha, Gloria, Era, and Esther

And to the musicians whose silenced voices
sing throughout these pages:

Ross Jr., J. B., and Big Bell

pass a pallid cowboy with fiery red eyes, driving his three friends into town in an old Model T Ford. Here, at this flat, you might encounter the old woman who carries a burlap sack slung over her shoulder. Somewhere else you'll find two women dressed in real old-style clothing, looking for the beaded jewelry that some grave robber stole from them. At that bridge over there, a school bus once went careening into the Gila River, and if you come out at just the right time of night, you might hear, briefly, the laughter of children playing. You may repeatedly see a man walking away from your house toward the road at all hours of the night. He may even come to your window and ask, in Apache, what you did with his clothes ("shidiyágé hago ándzaa?"). And if, well after dark, you were to go down to the edge of the water that buried Old San Carlos, they say that at that water's edge you would hear the old-timers singing.

Any good history begins in strangeness. The past should not be comfortable. The past should not be a familiar echo of the present, for if it is familiar why revisit it? The past should be so strange that you wonder how you and people you know and love could come from such a time.—**Richard White**, *Remembering Ahanagan: Storytelling in a Family's Past*



Quotation and History

In his landmark essays on Western Apache language and landscape, Keith Basso (1996) writes about his first attempts at learning to pronounce the names of the places he was mapping around the community of Cibecue, on the Fort Apache Reservation. Basso began his work by traveling around with two consultants from Cibecue, Charles Henry and Morley Cromwell. He writes about his difficulties wrapping his lips, teeth, and tongue around these place-names in his early attempts at saying them. After a number of failed attempts, he turned to Charles and apologized. Charles turned to Morley and scolded Basso in Western Apache: "What he's doing isn't right. It's not good. He seems to be in a hurry. Why is he in a hurry? It's disrespectful. Our ancestors made

this name. They made it just as it is. They made it for a reason. They spoke it first, a long time ago. He's repeating the speech of our ancestors. He doesn't know that. Tell him he's repeating the speech of our ancestors!" (1996:15). Charles's admonishment was unsettling for Basso. Among other things, Basso explains, "never had I suspected that using Apache placenames could be heard by those who use them as repeating verbatim—actually quoting—the speech of their early ancestors" (1996:16).

Among the people I know on the San Carlos Reservation, the past and present can similarly be brought into copresence with each other through acts of quotation. The practice of repeating the speech of others saturates talk in the community, the past made audible in the mouths of the present. Speakers in present contexts re-present past speakers and their words through repeating and reporting. This aesthetic of quotation is a key social means of performing all sorts of interactions and expressions, from gossip and everyday conversation to songs and more formal genres of narrative.

The habitual use of these discursive resources can create, in certain circumstances, a deeply felt sense of resonance between those presently speaking and those who spoke in the past—what Basso calls "quoting the ancestors." But the practice is pervasive. Everyday interaction in San Carlos and Bylas is marked by a heavy reliance on report and quotation, by repetitions both within and across speaking turns, and by recontextualizations of salient utterances among groups of speakers. Talk on the San Carlos Reservation is heavily recycled. In conversation, an utterance is often crafted out of bits and pieces of preceding talk. The voices of others are consistently hearable and speakable in one's own voice. Successive speakers link their utterances together in a chain, the links of which are portions of a previous utterance. These linked chains can take a number of forms. In one, these practices of reenactment and reembodiment are a part—perhaps a substantial part—of the iconicity of feeling discussed in chapter 1. In another, this cycling of commonly held material can spin off into a joking frame, called *yati'nlke'* (throwing words), in which responsibility for the meanings of utterances resides not within any individual speaker, but between speakers, in the spaces opened up by the dense recombinations of their words.

These forms of repetition and quotation make meaning making an intensely social and cooperative process. In public meetings and wakes, repetition and report contribute to a distinctive way of reaching com-

munity consensus and agreement. At the same time, linguistic and social factors contribute to constituting these exchanges. The San Carlos dialect of Western Apache, like other Athabaskan languages, is distinguished by the way its speakers rely on forms of repetition in the creation of discourse. For example, Dagmar Jung (2000) found repetition to be an important resource in the shaping of Lipan Apache narratives.¹ And according to Melissa Axelrod, "the structure of Athabaskan languages may make repetition strategies especially available to speakers" (2000:22).²

In general, then, conversation in San Carlos and Bylas is filled with the repetition and recontextualization of prior speech acts by others. Words and phrases float from speaker to speaker, each speaker adding to the possible array of meanings that accrue to those words and phrases. Images are built up through this social process, as successive speakers blend their own words with those that have come before, almost literalizing Bakhtin's observation that each speaker's words are only half her or his own. The culturally salient image of the speaking subject on the reservation is someone who productively uses the words of others in creating his utterances. A speaker also uses her utterances interactively to charge conversations with possible resources for later citation by others.³

In this chapter, I explore that aesthetic of quotation. For the past to circulate and resonate in the present in San Carlos and Bylas—or in any community, for that matter—it must be by some means representable in the present. On the San Carlos Reservation, one common element of those representations is the recurring instances of direct quotation and citation of past speakers and expressions. The particular feelingful relationship to the past that many experience in San Carlos and Bylas—the kinds of feelingful iconicities discussed in the previous chapter—are partially constituted in the dense layering and expressive importance of repetition. The ways in which speech forms circulate among individuals on the reservation help shape relationships not only between those individual speakers, but between present speakers and past speakers as well. By reanimating and reperforming the utterances of past speakers, people in San Carlos and Bylas forge relationships that are simultaneously intersubjective and historical.

A major argument in this chapter is that this pervasive style of representing past speakers has a cumulative effect. Because present speakers repeatedly and consistently place themselves in the role of reanimating

the voices of past speakers, they are enmeshed in social relationships not only with their present coparticipants, but with the past as well. The recoverable connection between present and past discussed in the previous chapter emerges at least in part out of everyday language use and out of the ways that historical relationships can be evoked through everyday communicative action on the reservation.

I explore the pervasiveness of these forms by examining a number of repetition and reported-speech phenomena in San Carlos and Bylas. First, I examine the direct reporting of past spoken clauses. Second, I explore the reporting of the thoughts, or inner dialogue, of others. Third, I discuss some of the ways that people make their interactions with each other poetically dense with repetition. Fourth, I explore the reporting of narratives. Finally, through a discussion of song structure and texts, I discuss the way that the embodiment of other voices can become a form of reported history.

Reported speech is a representation of one person's talk in the mouth of another. As representation, reported speech carries traces of both the originator and the reporter of the utterance. It is, in Voloshinov's classic definition, "speech within speech, utterance within utterance, and at the same time also *speech about speech, utterance about utterance*" (1973:115, emphasis in original). It is "both the representation of linguistic actions and the commentaries about these actions" (Besnier 1993:161). With good reason, the sense of verbatim faithfulness implied by the term *report* has been critiqued, and scholars have proposed alternative conceptualizations, such as "constructed dialogue" (Tannen 1989) or "modeling speech" (Errington 1998). Although I bear these legitimate correctives in mind, I use the more common term *report*.

The only manner of reporting speech in San Carlos and Bylas is direct citation. The absence of indirect reported speech is a well-attested feature of Navajo (Li 1986; Toelken and Scott 1981), as well as of other Athabaskan languages. The basic form of reported speech in Western Apache is the quoted portion followed by the third-person singular incomplete form of the verb *say*:

"X" nii
s/he says/said "X"

In all cases in San Carlos Apache, reported speech is represented as direct quotation. Like other Athabaskan languages, Western Apache lacks complementizers for embedding quoted speech, as in the English "She said that . . .":

She said *that* the food was tasty.
"Idán hicaḥ" nii.
"The food is tasty," she said.

I told her *to* leave him alone.
"Doo baa nanaa da," biidishnii.
"Leave him alone," I said to her.⁴

Nor does Western Apache syntax include the shifts in personal pronouns in indirect speech in English that coordinate the reported clause with the reporting clause.

ZACHARY: *You* should call *me* tonight.

INDIRECT REPORT: Zachary said (that) *we* should call *him* tonight.

Direct and indirect reported speech in English are further distinguished, at least in the minds of some grammarians, by a required "backshift" (Comrie 1986) in grammatical tense, aspect, or mood in order to make sense:⁵

RITA: I *will* meet you at seven o'clock.

INDIRECT REPORT: Rita said (that) she *would* meet us at seven o'clock.

Spurred in part by the translation of Voloshinov's (1973) and Bakhtin's (1981, 1984, 1986) work on reported speech and intertextuality, the attention of anthropologists and other cultural theorists has been attracted in recent years to the twin life of reported speech as both discursive resource and metadiscursive ideology (Goffman 1981; Güldemann and von Roncador 2002; Hanks 1987; Lucy 1993; Rumsey 1990; Silverstein 1985). This literature forms a basis for much of my own thinking in this area. There are aspects of reported speech in San Carlos Apache, however, that fit only imperfectly within the body of work on this topic.

One important area of distinction concerns the range of syntactic possibilities for reporting speech. Many languages, English among them, have a number of such possibilities. One recurring theme of scholarship on reported speech has been to map out this range and to analyze the cultural and ideological weight borne by using one or an-

other possibility in the course of a conversation. This aspect of study finds its roots, in part, in Voloshinov's interest in the development of "free indirect style" in the modern European novel.

Athabaskan languages such as Western Apache are difficult to bring under this umbrella, for they have only one syntactic means of attaching a reported instance of speech to a reporting clause—direct quotation, as I have illustrated. Languages with only a single quotative form can be difficult to fit into an approach to reported speech that emphasizes the meaning of a range of possibilities because "Quotatives, like other linguistic forms, acquire meaning in part by virtue of their value in a paradigm of alternatives in a language" (Lucy 1993:93). Although no linguistic anthropologist would argue that the singular form of reported speech in Western Apache renders it meaningless, the general approach to reported speech sometimes comes uncomfortably close to the position on "choice theory" critiqued by Roy Harris: that "when the range of choices is reduced by circumstantial factors to zero . . . then it becomes pointless to ascribe any meaning to the next move in the proceedings" (1996:37).⁶

But direct reported speech is not simply a distinctive syntactic feature of Western Apache. It is a grammatical rule, to be sure, but by the very fact of its rule-governed existence it is also a recurrent phenomenon, distributed over a wide range and number of clauses in everyday talk. The habitual use of these discourse resources makes quotation part of the linguistic "groove" (Feld [1988] 1994b) of Western Apache within the community, part of the "feeling for form" (Sapir 1921) that grammar holds out to speakers, part of a form of representation. Because direct quotation is the only way for one Apache speaker to report what a previous speaker has said, the grammatical parallelism across numerous instances of reporting has a cumulative effect of shaping the naturalized sense of the relationship between past and present. In other words, quotation—"ventriloquation," to use Bakhtin's vivid term—is a discourse-level phenomenon on the reservation.⁷ The pervasive constancy of direct reporting of speech across numerous utterances helps to create imagined social relationships between present and past speakers—relationships that can stretch across historical time as well as the immediate past.

Scholarly work in reported speech has offered new, important, and productive ways of conceptualizing the relationships between speak-

ers, audiences, addressees, coparticipants, ideologies, and the social histories of languages and discourses. In "Word, Dialogue, and the Novel" (1980), Julia Kristeva argues that within this three-dimensional space virtually all speech is reported speech: because all the words of a text or utterance have their social histories, "any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations" (1980:66). At the same time, I would maintain that it is one thing to assert this mosaic of quotation as a theoretical perspective on language and literature and another to be socialized into a community such as the San Carlos Reservation, in which citation and repetition are placed in such high relief; in which the speech of others is so prominently and deliberately displayed in one's own speech; where so much communicative energy is spent in reenacting, reanimating, and reperforming other people's utterances—in being, in a sense, other people.

Reporting and citation start at the beginning of a conversation. In one typical greeting in Western Apache, the greeter requests quoted speech from the person greeted:

- A: "Doo dagot'ée da" nnii.
Say "Nothing is happening."
B: Doo dagot'ée da.
Nothing is happening.

It has long been argued that direct reported speech—because it preserves the grammatical tense and aspect, as well as the pronominal person of the original utterance—implies that the reporter is in some way "performing" the original speaker (Coulmas 1986). Whatever the "accuracy" of direct quotation in reported speech, it implies a relationship of embodiment between present speakers and past speakers.⁸ On the reservation, the performance qualities of direct report are undeniable. Indeed, in San Carlos and Bylas, speakers often slide into quite theatrical performances of other speakers, animating figures (Goffman 1974) rather than merely speaking another's words. In filling the gap between one's own speech and another's, the slippage between various performed first-person positions (see Urban 1987) accumulates into a style of historical representation: past speech and past speakers as things reanimated, embodied, performed in the present, not referred to deictically through third-person speech.

The centripetal force that causes one speaker to shift into the voice of

another in reported speech is strong. One time at a family gathering in Seven Mile Wash, one of the older men, James, told the following story to his cousin, Mann.

- 1 *ł́ł́ shogheel lá'*
one time I was riding a horse⁹
- 2 *Hannah hik'eh Linda*
Hannah and Linda
- 3 *Gary bisisterhíí*
Gary's sisters
- 4 *nadazíí dá' aigee.*
as they were standing at that place
- 5 *ł́ł́ shogheel lá'*
one time I was riding a horse
- 6 *Hannah nagolní'.*
Hannah told this story
- 7 *akú ł́ł́ shogheel dá' ganíí*
really, when I was riding the horse there
- 8 *"ha'ih, hadín ł́ł́ bíł hilwołíí at'éé*
"ha'ih, who in the world is that person riding the horse
- 9 *beodzidgo?" nii niwíí*
*scarily?" she said*¹⁰
- 10 *doo shigolsih da wíí*
she didn't know me, you see
- 11 *"James daku at'ł́ł́," mił ch'inii.*
*"That's James," she [Linda] said to her [Hannah]*¹¹
- 12 *shii doo hásh't'ini da ganíí*
I really didn't want it
- 13 *lán shanł́tini wíí Thomas*
Thomas lent it to me, you see

James's story begins to show us a little bit how the dictates of direct reported speech become a crucial aspect of the construction and circulation of embodied intersubjective relations on the reservation. Like all storytellers, he must negotiate the relationship between the (past) narrated event and the (present) narrative event. He must also manage the shifting relationship between his existence as subject of his own story ("I was riding") and object of Hannah's story ("Hannah saw me"). Similarly, he has to negotiate his position as teller ("I am speaking") and his position as reporter ("Hannah spoke"). This negotiation took some time for James to work out. He repeated the topical focus of his narrative, *I*

was riding a horse, three times: in lines 1, 5, and 7. In the last instance, he placed himself in a subordinate clause (*ł́ł́ shogheel dá' / when I was riding a horse*).

James's shifting of his own presence in his narrative followed his announcement that it was actually Hannah's story that he was telling and preceded his embodiment of her frightened reaction to him. Such declarations of reported speech—interrupting a story in order to reveal the story's actual originator to the audience—are a common narrative technique, especially among older speakers. Britton Goode, Phillip's father, taped a story of a large flood that hit San Carlos around 1905.¹² Goode himself used the word *naizhjoł* (flood) to describe the event. But—perhaps because the event took place six years before he was born—Goode also acknowledged that others described it differently. Some called it *túyaa* (downflow), he said; others called it *ták'eh* (wash out). And as he continued his story about the 1905 flood, he let us know that it was not, in actuality, his story at all.

- 1 *akohgo díí la' isdzán bayánhi shíł nagolní' ní' aí*
there was an old woman that told me about this
- 2 *aí isdzán bayán shíł nagolní'íí t'ah hinaa aí*
this old woman that told me this is still alive
- 3 *álhi áldishnii wónkoh aí*
that's the one I'm telling you about
- 4 *aí "aldó' Tábaqt'iiségee gonshł́ł́ leh ní'*
"I also lived at Cottonwood trees by the river
- 5 *na'ilín nshł́ł́ dá' ní'" nii go'íí koh.*
when I was a girl," she said, you see, that one
- 6 *"dá'asts'íségo," nii ní' aí isdzánhíí*
"I was little at that time," said the woman
- 7 *go aí shíł nagolní'i áldishnii gáníí*
so she is the one who really told me what I'm saying

Similarly, the singer and humorist Vincent Craig preceded a live performance of his popular song "Rita" (also known as "The Crazy Candy Bar Song") with a disclaimer as to who is responsible for the performance (the song has particularly thick "Navajo-accented" vocal inflections): "Remember, this song is sung with an accent, okay? And it isn't really me singing. Because I went to *kallij*, heé. And I got *edumacated*, *zhó'*" (Craig 1981).

Direct reported speech mediates the representation of self and others in language. On the one hand, quoting others distributes responsibility

for an utterance across a variety of speakers. On the other hand, it also takes up another responsibility—namely, that of representing another's voice. James's announcement that he was going into a stretch of reported speech enabled him to take up Hannah's perspective of James on horseback. It also allowed him to perform Hannah's utterance fully, including its opening feminine-gendered exclamation "ha'ih!" without confusion as to who said what. Similarly, Vincent Craig's announcement of reported speech freed him to enter into a performance in which he could fully embody the voice of the character in his song.

A preference for direct reported speech is not limited to discourse in Western Apache, a fact that lends weight to the idea that it is not merely an obligatory grammatical rule, but also a way of imagining the relationships between present and past speakers. In the fall of 1994, the Elders Cultural Advisory Council called a public meeting to discuss what should be done with the skeletal remains of San Carlos Apaches in the Smithsonian Institution. The general opinion of the attendees seemed to be that—in spite of traditional beliefs that might dictate otherwise—it was more important that these people be laid to rest in their homeland. One woman got up and spoke eloquently, in both Apache and English, of her sadness at knowing that Geronimo was buried in Oklahoma. In her English portion, she spoke what she felt were Geronimo's words during his incarceration in Florida and Fort Sill, Oklahoma: "Geronimo, when he was living, said, 'The cactus misses me. The mesquites miss me.'"¹³

Direct report is also linked to another feature of discourse and interaction in San Carlos—namely, the "triadic" structure of directives (Field 2001). That is, rather than person A telling person C what to do, person A tells person B to tell person C what to do, as in this command I heard at a family gathering:

"Akú dándaa' nínii" bínii!

"Sit there' she says to you," you say to him!

Thus, not only do speakers directly quote the previous speech of others, but they expect that their own speech will also be quoted and often ensure that this quotation occurs in three-way interactions. I return to this issue again later, but for the moment I want to go back to Basso's example. When Charles scolded Basso for his disrespect to the ancestors, he did not confront Basso directly, but rather turned to Morley and told Morley what to say to Basso ("Tell him he's repeating the speech of our

ancestors!"). This triadic directive structure is maintained in English, as Margaret Field (2001) discovered in her work in Navajo day-care centers, where adults socialize children by directing them what to say to others and then expecting that the children will repeat what they have been told to say.

Not only is reported speech embedded in requests, but speakers also often simply request speech from each other as a means of socializing. These requests were certainly part of my own language socialization in the community, as people told me what I should say in various social contexts. These requests are no doubt part of child language socialization as well. Learning this practice is part of acquiring a cultural way of doing things together (Feld [1988] 1994b).¹⁴ Ongoing conversations in San Carlos and Bylas are peppered with one person requesting that a second person say something in response to a situation and with the second person responding with the elicited utterance, as in the following two examples, recorded during a backstage break with the Pacers during which we were trying to fix the bass drum pedal (it was always breaking).¹⁵

PAUL: "storezhi' shílnlyeed," nnii sáh!
Say "Run me up to the store!"

ARTHUR: storezhi' shílnlyeed!
Run me up to the store!

Then later, from the same conversation, when Mike did not want to lose the screwdriver we were using:

MIKE: "doowha ch'a'okees da dá'" nnii.
Say "Before it gets lost."

GREG: doowha ch'a'okees da dá'.
Before it gets lost.

These requests elicit assent through repetition by creating a sort of linguistic feedback loop. The first speaker quotes the desired speech to the second, and the second then provides the desired speech by quoting it back to the first. The linguistic-expressive performance of sociability in San Carlos and Bylas thus can be said to consist of saying the same thing. But the originator of the utterance is in a sense not the person who makes the declaration, but the one who requests that the other speaker make it.

To sum up: In San Carlos and Bylas, one's own speech is constantly

infected by the speech of others. Direct reported speech is not merely a grammatical necessity. It permeates the expressive life of the community, contributing to the formation of a style of intersubjectivity. Quoted speech restates past speakers' words and enables the embodied performance of various characters, both present day and historical. It is used in the making of requests, most notably in the making of requests for speech.

Autumn 1995. Driving through the dark with Kane and Donnie to another gig at Mark's Tavern in Globe. Andy, who owned Mark's with his brother Gino, lived in a house built high on a hill overlooking the McDonald's on Ash Street in Globe. People said the house was built by winos. One time I took a friend's mother to Globe so she could do some household shopping.¹⁶ On the way back, we went to the McDonald's drive-through for lunch. As we came out, she pointed out Andy's house to me—a stuccoed ranch home with big bay windows that had a nice view of the fast-food franchises below and the Pinals beyond. She told me about a rumor of how a bar owner might save some money in home construction costs. "They say winos from the bar dug his water lines for drinks," she said. "And then they say he sealed the pipes with commodity honey instead of pipe dope! He built it so cheap!" she said. "Those winos worked for beer all day. Now they say, 'that's *our* house.' Meaning that's where all their money is."

We drove through the dark because we were late. Before we played, we usually would gather wherever the instruments were being stored—at Marshall's or his mom's or Donnie's—at around 5:30 or so. After a little hanging out and telling fish stories, we would load up and take off. We didn't want to be late because we didn't want the owners to think we were irresponsible. But sometimes things don't go exactly according to plan. So there we were, driving through the dark on this fine September Saturday evening, late for setting up at Mark's.

With the sun down, the long-distance radio could come in, and I tuned the truck's stereo to Oklahoma City, KOMA. As we talked about this and that, Booker T. and the MGs were on the air—"Green Onions."

"Hey, Sluggo used to sing that one," said Donnie.

"Really?" I said, a bit surprised because the song has no words.

"No," Donnie corrected himself. "Not that one. That song redone by

Huey Lewis?" After some discussion, we figured out that he was talking about the Wilson Pickett song "634-5789."

"Héla!" said Kane. "'Stewart' nii."

"Yeah," Donnie agreed, "a lot of good music came out of there."

"'Sluggo' nii."

Herman's Hermits came over the air with "Can't You Hear My Heartbeat."

"That one right there!" Donnie exclaimed. "Sluggo used to sing that."

Here, on this trip, driving down Route 70 into Globe, the worlds of personal and social history were compacted into dense moments of mediated expressivity, charged with the vitality and life of both the expressions and the people who experienced them. Responses to those moments reveal a great deal about the social life of cultural expression on the reservation. Those moments and the artistic expressions that provide them are densely ambiguous because they are layered with numerous cultural, historical, and symbolic associations that collect and adhere to them over time and across space, crystalized layerings of instants and locations that Bakhtin (1981) calls "chronotopes." These associations may be hidden at the surface level of the expression, but they are detectable in nonverbal response and talk about art (see Feld [1984] 1994a). Often, on hearing "I'm Your Puppet" or "Hey Joe," Marshall would exclaim, "Héla! White Cityyú!" remembering the place where Sluggo lived, where they used to go to jam out. Kane's statement, then, that Booker T. Jones is really saying "Stewart" is hardly trivial. It's a deeply considered statement of the locally significant response to artistic experience. By making "Sluggo" and "Stewart" his verbal responses to the song "Green Onions," Kane revealed the stunning importance of place and the turn to the past in aesthetic evaluations on the reservation.

"Stewart," you see, is Stewart Indian School, the BIA boarding school in Stewart, Nevada, where Donnie Ray went to high school. There, Sluggo, Donnie Ray, Red, Milton, and Pinky got together and formed the Valiants, which was one of the most popular and successful bands in San Carlos in the late 1960s and 1970s. "Green Onions" was a hit in 1962, "Can't You Hear My Heartbeat" in 1965, and "634-5789" in 1966.¹⁷ The Valiants eventually broke up a number of personnel changes later, when three of the band members were drafted and sent to Vietnam in one of the early waves of troop buildups. Only two came back alive.

But Kane never went to Stewart Indian School. When he said, "'Stew-

art' nii," he was giving voice to *Donnie Ray's* inner speech, projecting himself into Donnie Ray's mind and imagining that he was speaking what Donnie would have said if Donnie had spoken what was in his own mind. Kane's statement doesn't necessarily achieve its effect because of its objective truth value—which is, of course, unknowable in any case. Rather, his statement was successful for the way it performed the intersubjectivity and empathy between himself and Donnie Ray.

The freedom to speak another's thoughts is a potentially dangerous practice. Some ceremonial practitioners shun Horse Songs because they feel that the purpose of those songs is to control the mind of another. No doubt, joking about what is going on in another person's thoughts requires a long-standing, well-worked, soft, and supple friendship so that the friends don't get offended at the teasing (Basso 1979). At the same time, however, this practice runs counter to the stereotypical image of the Native American discourse community, in which speakers are always respectful of each other's thoughts and words, and in which joking with another's words is always subject to potential dangers. The expectation that part of conversational skill involves entering the mind of another and extracting his or her inner speech to put it on exterior display in a joking frame offers an alternative and more ambiguous view of subjectivity and intersubjectivity on the San Carlos Reservation.

This deep personal relationship, whereby one speaker enters the thoughts and voices the interior monologue of another, is often marked by a tag clause, *tah nnii*. The tag was most commonly glossed for me as "you might say." People translated *tah* as meaning "maybe, possibly, could be, might"; *nnii* is the second-person singular of the verb *say*. Phillip, who also offered "you might say" as a possibility, sometimes interpreted it as "don't tell me!"—as in, "don't tell me you're going home!" But I find the "don't tell me" translation unsatisfying. For one thing, it converts direct reported speech to indirect and so loses that quality of actually giving voice to another's words. Indeed, it completely loses the quality of linguistic intersubjectivity. "Don't tell me" is often, if not in fact usually, used in English to talk about occurrences that happen in the world, not in the interior monologue of other speakers: "Don't tell me it's three o'clock already!" "Don't tell me it's raining!" In English,

utterances beginning with "Don't tell me" are often coded as "rhetorical," as in the tired routine where one person says, "Don't tell me it's three o'clock already," and the second says, "It's three o'clock already," to which the first person retorts, "I asked you not to tell me that."

Neither am I completely satisfied with the "you might say" option, despite the fact that it was the most commonly offered translation. It's an accurate enough interpretation of the words, but "you might say" in English carries more impersonal and, in a way, less threatening implications. These implications are in part owing to the way in which the personal pronoun *you* merges with the impersonal pronoun *one* in sentences such as "you [one] might say that she was the most unrecognized genius of her age."

By contrast, *tah nnii* indicates the possibility that someone might actually say something. Furthermore, some speakers were unsure whether the Apache phrase in question was *tah nnii* at all, or whether it might not be *tah ndih*, which would simply combine two ways of saying "maybe."¹⁸ Ultimately, as with many other Apache phrases, people told me that *tah nnii* is untranslatable. This untranslatability is manifested in its retention in English conversation as one of the more frequent lexical items in code-switching utterances.¹⁹ In the final analysis, then, the full implication of *tah nnii* doesn't seem to be matched by any of its English alternatives and therefore must emerge out of its habitual use in the expressive practices of people in the community.

Tah nnii is almost exclusively employed in a joking frame. The frame embraces the intense sociability of expressivity in San Carlos and Bylas. Interactional participant roles in San Carlos include a role that I might call "interjector" or "commentator"—someone who adds into the conversation what the participants are not saying but might. The interjector role isn't necessarily filled by a third person, of course—a single speaker may enact multiple participant roles and animate the voices of multiple figures and footings in the course of an interactional sequence (Goffman 1974, 1981; Hill 1995; Irvine 1996; Urban 1987). It's important as well to keep in mind that the interjector role, if enacted by a third party, is not the role of a meddling busybody, which would be highly criticized behavior. Rather, the interjector adds to the rich intersubjectivity of expressive interaction on the reservation.

The habitual nature of this practice, the expectation that this kind of joking language game will occur, made my ethnographic elicitation a challenging experience. As one person asked me, "Does it ever bother

you that you can't have a serious conversation with anybody around here?"

One afternoon, rehearsing with the Pacers, Marshall called for one of the group's original songs, "Cry Baby." He called for it first in English, then, jokingly, in Apache: "me' ch'aich'iihéé."

"What did you say?" I asked.

"Oh, nothing," he said, now aware of himself. "It's just the name of the song."

"Yeah, but what did you say?" I asked.

"'Cry Baby.'"

"I know," I pressed. "But how did you say it?"

"Me' ch'aich'iihéé."

"Anánnii, shíh," I said. Please say it again.

"Me' ch'aich'iihéé," he repeated.

"Detaadego!" I said. Slower! "Anánnii." It was filled with glottalized affricates, and I was unsure that I had heard them all correctly. Chaich'ii? Ch'aichii?

"Me' . . . ch'ai . . . ch'ii . . . héé."

Okay. I almost had it. If Marshall would repeat it one more time at normal speed, it would become part of my vocabulary. But before I could say anything, Kane chimed in.

"Say it *again*," tah nnii!" he whined imploringly. Everyone laughed, hard, and then through the laughter Pat completely broke my outside researcher interview frame.

"Strike three you're out," tah nnii," he said, letting me know exactly how many times I had asked for the same information. There was nothing to do but go back to jamming out.

As Pat's final joke demonstrates, *tah nnii* is also a frame for the circulation and recontextualization of the catch phrases of mass media. Such popular phrases and slogans as "I've fallen and I can't get up," "I love you, man," "You can't have my Bud Light," "Is it soup yet?" and "Where's the beef?" find their way into this joking frame. One time in Southside, as we were sitting outside the house on milk crates, a woman told me with great delight about the time a relative of hers came to Bylas to preach the gospel, and then it turned out that he was only preaching for "utility money," to make enough in donations to pay his electric

bill. She told the story as a bittersweet joke. Funny—but at the same time sad. In order to set herself apart from the hypocrisy of her relative's actions, she said, in a more serious tone, "Usually, I read my Bible, Scriptures, you know, daily . . ."

But her sister couldn't resist. "'Today's Chuckle,' tah nnii," she said, referring to the syndicated newspaper cartoon that runs in the *Arizona Republic*.

Later in the conversation, the second sister asked me, "Do you have a title for your book yet?"

"No," I said and started to *explain*, but of course I didn't realize that I was just being used as a foil.

"*Medicine Man* tah nnii!" she said with a loud laugh, proclaiming the title of the then-current movie starring Sean Connery and Lorraine Bracco.

The use of *tah nnii* doesn't necessarily indicate an act of mind reading, as Kane's voicing of Donnie Ray's thoughts had. It isn't always necessary that the words spoken be thought of as the actual words that an actual participant in a conversation would or should speak for himself or herself. Sometimes it's simply an utterance that might be spoken by someone in a similar situation or just something that strikes the speaker as funny. I have heard a speaker at a public meeting blow into the microphone and say "tah nnii" as a way of warming up his audience. Another time, during an evening filled with jokes in Moonbase, one young man kept the already-roaring group in stitches by imitating a snorty, milk-through-the-nose sort of laugh and saying "tah nnii." The frame makes the social process of meaning making tangible by allowing participants to inhabit multiple roles and to participate from multiple perspectives in a conversation. Expressivity in San Carlos and Bylas emerges in this realm of possibility. Participants are constantly filling the gap between what is said and what is meant, filling it with what might be said, shining lights down the roads not taken, and underscoring the instability of—and the unstable relationship between—signification and personal or cultural identity in the community.

Successive utterances in this game don't replace those that came before them, but rather adhere to them in an additive verbal construction of the world. The making of meaning becomes a social process of adding

on, filling in, densifying, making successive utterances adhere to what has come before. The practice wrests control over meaning from any particular individual speaking subject by exploding and making publicly accessible the entire range of expressive possibilities—saying, in effect, “These, too, have potential.”²⁰

Of course, it isn’t necessary to use a grammatical tag or a verb of saying in order to place the words of one person into the mouth of another. Speakers may evoke the presence of other characters simply by performing another person’s speaking style. This is especially true when a person in the community is known for a highly individual laugh, a distinctively high voice, an emblematic phrase, or some other identifiable feature of vocal performance. (At one point, my friends detected that I often said, quite defensively, “So?” when they teased me—which, of course, became additional fodder for teasing.)

In everyday interaction on the reservation, a speaker often lifts a portion out of a previous utterance and recontextualizes it within a successive utterance. When this reshaping is successful, the words almost fly around from speaker to speaker, as jokes build on jokes, puns on puns, meanings upon meanings, until what emerges is extremely complex and luminously layered, a product for which no speaker can claim ultimate responsibility.²¹ This is a practice that some people referred to as *yati’ n’ke’*, a term glossed for me as both “kicking words” and “throwing words”—the verb stem, *-ke’*, might best be associated with an English concept such as “scattering.” This form of verbal art is more likely to occur at gatherings where people are comfortable with each other, in social contexts where inhibitions drop away in the course of a conversation.

Here is an example. The Pacers had just finished playing up on Mormon Hill. After the gig, we picked up some quarts and then cruised over to the old house. At the house, we rolled down the windows of my truck, put a tape in the stereo, and gathered around the bed. Having been given permission to tape the conversation, I placed the microphone in the bed of the truck to try and pick up all the speakers. The talk ranged around a number of topics—how well Kane had played the drums, what happened when one of the amps blew a fuse, why we didn’t play certain songs, whether we saw someone’s neighbors, who

was dancing in a funny way, why someone from Texas would want to learn Apache. The transcription picks up at a point where Mary was accused of really dancing away to “La Bamba” when the band played it. She admitted it, then said that they don’t dance like that in Whiteriver. She tagged her sentence with an evidential particle, *go’íí*, which she pronounced in an imitation of the fast-speech contraction common to Whiteriver, *wóó*.²²

- 1 MARY: Whiteriver zhinée doo ai k’ehgo goz’aada wóó
Whiteriver side it’s not that way wóó.
- 2 MIKE: goz’aaaaa wóóóó
Not that way wóóóó.
- 3 ALEX: Bik’ehgoihinán yáá nadaiziidii wóó
They work for God wóó.
- 4 MIKE: Bik’ehgoihinán yáá nadaiziidii wóó
They work for God wóó.
- 5 MARY: doo baa ch’idlóh da wóó, da hago shìh at’ée zhò
ágadaoñnii yúgo.
You shouldn’t laugh about them wóó, it’s really somehow
if you say that.²³
- 6 GRANT: “ts’inádiskos” nnii “Whiteriveryú”
Say “I think back to Whiteriver.”
- 7 BRETT: Migózjìd, migózjìd!
She’s found out, she’s found out!
- 8 MIKE: k’ad miłgongaa yúgo “Akú shìl nłbaas” niñnii wiláh
Pretty soon if she’s buzzed out watch her say “Drive me
up there” to you.
- 9 MARY: lúlá
Way over there.
- 10 ALEX: lúúúúyúlá
Waaaaaay over there.
- 11 MIKE: hey. doo bii nat’íni da wíí, Peabo godisanii wóó
Hey. It wasn’t him that did it; it was Peabo that started it
wóó.
- 12 ALEX: Peabo godisanii wóó. Peabo mik’enniigo nłt’ée wóó
It was Peabo that started it wóó. You should be mad at
Peabo wóó.

This stretch of conversation is clearly filled with repetitions. If we take Mary’s opening line as a jumping-off point for what followed, then there are eleven subsequent speaking turns, seven of which contain some repeated material. This is most noticeable in the recurrence

of the evidential *wóó*, which appears a total of seven times, in six of the eleven utterances. Three of the eleven utterances—in lines 2, 4, and 10—are composed exclusively of repeated lexical material. Of these utterances, two are instances of intensification, reflexively focusing the participants' attention on a particularly salient portion of the preceding utterance. The first is Mike's repetition in line 2. He used part of the final clause of Mary's prior statement, taking up her sonic representation of Whiteriver and getting the ball rolling by broadly overperforming the evidential particle. The second occurred in line 10, in which Alex performed two standard Western Apache word games. One was that he combined the deictic particle *lúlá* with the Apache lip-pointing gesture, thus exaggeratedly fronting his vowels. The other was that he overperformed the semantic relationship between vowel length in deictics and physical distance in time and space—the difference between saying "a long time ago" and "a loooooong time ago."

In this example, repetition indicates what we might call "metapragmatic assent"—agreement as to a shared idea that this is a proper way to talk about talk. It also creates coherence between turns, sociability between speakers, and interpretability of the exchange. The evidential particle is thrown from person to person, each participant playing with what he or she has been given by previous speakers before passing it off to the next participant. The productive success of Mike's initial repetition, however, also indicates the close relationships felt between the participants. Response is by no means assured. It isn't simply a question of the appropriateness of the textual material being offered into play. Response is also shaped by the context, including the setting and the participants. The absence of a response can be interpreted as a comment on the speaker's relationship to the addressee rather than as a comment on the speaker's words themselves.

In the fall of 1994, the Pacers played at Marshall's mom's house at the lake for a birthday celebration. Because of its proximity to the lake store, the sound of the band often attracted visitors looking for a party. On break because, once again, the bass drum pedal had broken, the band members and some others were gathered behind the shade, talking, joking around, and fixing the equipment. Chris, who was hanging out backstage with the band, watched as Darryl cut a strip of leather with a Bowie knife. As Darryl worked, Chris offered his advice on how best to repair the broken pedal. In line 4, Darryl had slipped with the knife, which prompted Chris to try to throw some words around.

- 1 "beer bik'eh" ádishnii!
"Pour beer on it," that's what I said!
- 2 dínsood áwá
So it can stretch.
- 3 yeéééééé
Heeeeeeey.
[Darryl's knife slips, cutting the leather.]
- 4 kú, kú, baa gonyaa t'ázhi' kehée!
Here, here, be careful back off hey!
- 5 míchi' nadigees
He's cutting his nose off.
- 6 níchi' dadigho síndaa doleel iskaá abidá'
You'll be sitting with your nose cut off tomorrow morning.
- 7 níchi'la' zhí' hishgizh da' coffee indlaago síndaa doleel
Part of your nose is/will be cut off while you're sitting drinking coffee.

Three times—in lines 5, 6, and 7—Chris attempted to get the ball rolling. But he suffered topic failure each time. He ended up offering a number of possible ways of thinking about the sight of Darryl with his nose cut off, none of which elicited response from anyone. He was throwing words around with himself. Chris's failure was underscored by the conversation going on beside him, which was replete with words being picked up and thrown back by various participants. A few minutes later in the break, Darryl asked Marshall when the band was going to eat:

- 1 DARRYL: daos'aa da'idáa
When are we eating?
- 2 MARSHALL: [laughing] Ah, *shit* man, k'eda aal, aal no'ne daiskoo!
[laughing] Ah, shit, man, it's already
finished, they already took the food away!
- 3 MCGARRETT: gusé ch'inadis'aa
They threw it to the dogs over there.
- 4 DONNIE: gusé bibid nayideel kóh
The dog is carrying his belly around.
- 5 MARSHALL: bitl'age
Underneath
- 6 crumbles hijaad aigee.
there'll be a pile of crumbs.
- 7 MCGARRETT: gusé bibid daayinad
They'll be licking the dog's belly.
- 8 DONNIE: hee, naadiich'id wiláh, guitar nayil'íí

Hey, watch, they'll be scratching themselves
like they're playing guitars.

Here the exchange is intense and features the kind of verbal and prefixal repetition Axelrod noted. In contrast to Chris's earlier attempt, Marshall, McGarrett, and Donnie Ray cooperatively transformed Darryl's innocent question into a site for cooperative speech play. Each speaker fashioned his own successive image of what it meant that the food had been thrown to the dogs and how the band was going to eat now that the food was gone. Turn taking was important. No speaker offered more than one image in a row. Each speaker threw out his idea and waited for someone to respond before throwing out another. The order of turns was regimented. The session was capped by Donnie's uncanny comparison between the way a dog scratches its belly with its hind leg and the way a human strums a guitar.

I originally thought that Chris's failure to generate the kind of inter-subjective responses inspired by Darryl's hunger had something to do with his social relationship to the band. I assumed that his failure was because he was unwelcome and was being given the cold shoulder. As it turned out, however, when I played the tape back for various band members, Chris was actually a close friend and distant cousin of Marshall's, so my original theory didn't work. A number of people speculated as to why there had been no response because on second hearing they agreed that the images were humorous. One person thought that it might be that Chris was trying to "be involved" with Darryl's work—this is the critical line over which one becomes a busybody. Even though Chris was a close friend, he wasn't a member of the band and so perhaps shouldn't have acted that way. Another guessed that no one had heard Chris's jokes; it's possible that everyone was preoccupied with fixing the equipment, but his voice is loud and clear on my tape. One person speculated that because I was the closest person to Chris, he expected that I would provide the proper response, so his failure was actually my fault. Someone else mused that Chris's jokes had been ignored because they may have seemed inappropriate. It is believed that a traditional practice by men whose wives had been adulterous was to cut off the tips of their noses. One of the more well-known photographs of an Apache woman, taken by Markey in the 1880s, purports to be an image of a woman with her "nose cut off for adultery" (Arizona Historical Society, photograph no. 3237). This consultant thought it possible that by talk-

ing about cutting noses, Chris was interpreted as broaching the subject of adultery and was feminizing Darryl in the bargain. Another person thought that perhaps what had interfered with people's responses was that Chris had addressed Darryl directly ("you'll be sitting with your nose cut off") rather than addressing someone else about Darryl ("he'll be sitting with his nose cut off"). Ultimately, though, no one could tell me the diagnostic difference that would have triggered yati' nllke' in this case.

Talk about the Pacers brings us once again to a discussion about the links and overlaps between the spoken and the sung, the linguistic and the musical, in considering the importance of repetition and report in fashioning expressivity and identity on the reservation. The embodiment of other voices through one's own voice is not a practice limited to speech. The sense of one body enacting multiple voices is found in other vocal practices as well, and singing is one of the most prominent. I turn now to a discussion of traditional song structure on the reservation and of the evocative values of enacting figures through song. This discussion leads to an exploration of the power of direct report as it circulates through the voices in sung performances on the reservation.

I have two ends in mind here. The first, as I have said, is to further the connections between linguistic and musical expressivity. I discuss this idea in more detail at the end of this chapter. For the moment, though, I simply wish to maintain that the realm of sound—the musical dimensions of language in its vocalized performance—is a crucial site in which people craft deeply felt connections between their present lives and their sense of the Apache historical past.

The second end I have in mind, therefore, is to deepen the discussion of the relationship between feelingful iconicity and historical imagination on the reservation and to prepare the way for the discussion of musical practices that occupies the next few chapters. Song emphasizes the shifting ground of representation and identity. Perhaps this is because song moves nonsemantic modes of signification—the indexical and iconic—to the foreground of experience and interpretation. Perhaps it occurs because song is itself so cyclic and repetitive that it offers an example of the ever-changing, never quite recoverable return. In any event, song comes "to resonate deeply with the ambiguous journey-

ing of our identity in the world" (Chambers 2000:74). It highlights the inevitability of ambiguity and incompleteness in cultural expression, coupling it with the desire for recoverability and for true intersubjective coexperiencing.

Traditional songs on the San Carlos Reservation are structured strophically. That is, they consist of two alternating and distinct parts, cycling one after the other in an A-B-A-B sequence. One basic difference between the alternating parts is that one of them tends to have a great deal of melodic movement, from high notes to low notes, whereas the other is more staid and stable melodically, generally lingering on one or two notes throughout. For example, a person does not have to be an expert sight-reader of music to know that between these two melodies the first displays a wider range of tones and greater movement between them than does the second:

accent marks: drumbeats

A 

B 

In traditional San Carlos Apache song, the alternation of these two musical sections is often mirrored in the sung text, which itself alternates between two characters vocalizing the lines of the song. The alternating melodic lines are represented in the verbal text as a conversation between two characters.

The two melodies given here act as the musical embodiment of two characters—sweethearts in the midst of a breakup. One is begging the other, "Don't throw me away! Don't leave me in misery!" The other, singing the second melodic line, says, "I'll throw you against this rock and run away from you."

Yó'oshooít'e' hela gha	Don't throw me away
Yó'oshooít'e' hela gha	Don't throw me away
goyeeyo ashole' hela gha	Don't leave me in misery
heya ha 'eya 'e neegheya	heya ha 'eya 'e neegheya

Yó'oshooít'e' hela gha	Don't throw me away
goyeeyo ashole' hela gha	Don't leave me in misery
heya ha 'eya 'e neegheya	heya ha 'eya 'e neegheya
"Tsee bee nidishtee adá'	"I'm going to throw you against this rock
nits'á nádishyeed"	and run away"
Yó'oshooít'e' hela gha	Don't throw me away
goyeeyo ashole' hela gha	Don't leave me in misery
heya ha 'eya 'e neegheya	heya ha 'eya 'e neegheya
Yó'oshooít'e' hela gha	Don't throw me away
Yó'oshooít'e' hela gha	Don't throw me away
goyeeyo ashole' hela gha	Don't leave me in misery
heya ha 'eya 'e neegheya	heya ha 'eya 'e neegheya
Yó'oshooít'e' hela gha	Don't throw me away
goyeeyo ashole' hela gha	Don't leave me in misery
heya ha 'eya 'e neegheya	heya ha 'eya 'e neegheya
"Tsee bee nidishtłoh adá'	"I'm going to throw you against this rock
nits'á nádishyeed"	and run away"
Yó'oshooít'e' hela gha	Don't throw me away
goyeeyo ashole' hela gha	Don't leave me in misery
heya ha 'eya 'e neegheya	heya ha 'eya 'e neegheya

In addition to the melodic alternation, part of the poetry of the text also resides in the playful shifting of Apache handling verbs between the first and second stanzas.²⁴ In the first, the second lover sings "tsee bee nidishtee," meaning "I'm going to throw you against this rock" and using *-tee*, the verb form for handling a single live object (though one of a fairly small size—say, like a baby). In the second verse, the character sings, "tsee bee nidishtłoh," meaning, "I'm going to throw you into this rock," but using a handling verb stem, *-tłoh*, which is used to refer to mushy objects, such as mud or oatmeal. The song, then, in addition to embodying multiple characters, also displays the kind of humor available in the shifting ground of joking repetition seen in verbal art and speech play discussed earlier.

The embodiment of characters in sung performances can be filled with seriousness and respect as well, performing personal and social histories. We saw this earlier in the way people heard Sluggo in particular songs on the radio. We will encounter it again in the way some people

respond to Boe Titla's country songs about meaningful places in and around the reservation (discussed more fully in chapter 5).

But in 1996, the Apache-language teacher at the junior high school asked me to write liner notes for a tape she had helped the Apache Culture Club make, which they were going to sell in order to raise money for the club. She gave me a copy of the tape to listen to. One of her favorite songs on it was one she titled "Geronimo's Song." Traditional Apache songs rarely bear official titles, but for the purposes of printing something on the tape—how many songs on each side and the like—the teacher felt it was important. She was wavering between "Geronimo's Song" and "Lonesome Song," for the mood of the text. She ultimately settled on the first because it was more in keeping with the thing that makes this particular song special: it is purported to have been composed by Geronimo himself during his incarceration as a prisoner of war in Florida and Oklahoma. The young woman from San Carlos High School who sang the song did so with great feeling, and it was the favorite of a number of people who heard the tape.

Geronimo's Song

he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya ene yo he neegheya
 Dziłligai si'ání baa ch'ínágóyee yo
 he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya ene yo he neegheya
 Mexico bich'í dadistiní baa
 ch'ínágóyee yo
 he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya ene yo he neegheya
 Oklahoma bitisyú ch'íníyaa yo
 T'aazhí nádisht'íígo
 Tú shinaadí nadazlįigo

 Baa ch'ínágóyee yo
 he ya ya 'ene ya yo

Geronimo's Song

he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya ene yo he neegheya
 I'm lonely for White Mountain yo
 he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya ene yo he neegheya
 I'm lonely for the roads to
 Mexico yo
 he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya ene yo he neegheya
 I've gone past Oklahoma yo
 As I look backward
 As water flows down from my
 eyes
 I'm lonely for it
 he ya ya 'ene ya yo

he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya ene yo he neegheya

he ya ya 'ene ya yo
 he ya ya ene yo he neegheya

Did Geronimo "really" compose and sing this song? It would certainly be interesting to know, but I'm not certain either that it's the most important question to ask of the song or that it's necessary to know the answer to this question to appreciate the song and the power it has in the singer's voice. Composed by Geronimo or not, the song creates a feeling or mood that people attribute to Geronimo. The song in its contemporary, mediated performance is thus a core example of the iconicity of feeling embedded in the direct report of another's speech or thoughts. It bridges the gaps of historical time by giving the singer the opportunity to express, in Geronimo's own words, what Geronimo was feeling more than a century ago and to communicate her feelingful mediation of Geronimo to her listeners. For this moment, the wall dividing now and then becomes transparent, and the past becomes recoverable, not through linguistic reference, but through the iconic evocation of mood. In a sense, whoever composed the song *was* Geronimo, and whoever sings the song *is* Geronimo in that the song compacts the sweep of history into this sung moment of loneliness and longing for home.

The song that puts people in the mind of how things were doesn't have to be an old traditional Apache song. In fact, of course, Geronimo's song must have been composed after 1886. Recall, for instance, the feelingful response that Phillip had when he heard the Mexican song while looking at the old photographs of Apaches in his high school Spanish class. And, as is discussed more fully in the next few chapters, popular mediated musical forms such as rock, country, and reggae play important roles in the evocation of this turn to the past. Boe Titla, to whom I return in chapter 5, often casts his English-language country songs about the Apache places around the reservation as stretches of reported speech. He introduces his song "Chiricahua Mountain," for example, by saying that Chiricahua Mountain is where the San Carlos Apaches used to live before they were forced onto the reservation. "And then they got gathered up," he said, "and moved to San Carlos, Old San Carlos. And I'm pretty sure, when they were brought to Old San Carlos, somebody there was looking back where they once lived and missed the Chiricahua Mountain. . . . And this song is about that." The song is a stretch of reported speech and reported mood, set in a contemporary

musical framework, which allows listeners to be transported back to that time and that place and to feel what that person felt.

As language becomes music, as speech becomes song, questions of language as a system for the grammatical communication of semantic and referential statements about the world fall into the background. In their place, issues about language as performed vocality, as a complex indexical marker and situated evocative performance of the ambiguities of identity as it emerges in everyday expression surface.²⁵ The work of the imagination involved in the additive, densifying processes that contribute to a full understanding of expressive practices in San Carlos and Bylas is one way in which people on the reservation experience "the excess of language that spills over the edges of formal enclosure" (Chambers 2000:79).

One of the areas in which this spilling over occurs is, palpably, sound. Sound and repetition are important domains through which expressive practices make manifest the nature of historical imagination on the reservation. Through these practices, people in San Carlos and Bylas recognize the inherent ambiguity of semiotic systems. They recognize further that a primary source of this ambiguity in language lies in the realm of sound.²⁶ People on the reservation recognize that sound implicates the sensuousness and feelingfulness of iconicity and indexicality, rather than assuming that language lives completely in the realm of cognition and reference. They recognize that sonic performance is a key element of reported speech, repetition across utterances, and embodied figures in interaction. My consultants also recognized that ambiguity, sound, feelingfulness, and reported speech can be combined in order to create and circulate powerful, evocative recuperations of the past. This recovery is performed through expressive forms that create an iconicity of feeling, experienced as the recovery of historical feeling.

It is important to emphasize that I do not claim these practices to be "traditional Apache" practices or ideologies or ways of being. That this collection of expressive practices often partakes of elements found in the syntax and expressive opportunities in the Western Apache language is undeniable. But this connection by no means vouchsafes a claim that these practices are therefore ancient in their existence as forms of interpersonal expression. The desire in these forms may just

as easily be one of the produced effects of contemporary life on the reservation. Powwows similarly make generous use of older forms of Native American expression but are largely contemporary in their origins, design, and meanings (Browner 2002; Lassiter 1998). The question may ultimately resist resolution in any event, so I must stop short of making grand claims about authentic Apache traditions and here simply observe that these expressive forms are part of a crucially important means of performing and circulating deeply felt senses of attachment to Apache history in the San Carlos Reservation community. I want to stop short of hyperbolic claims of traditionality also because in the next few chapters I discuss how contemporary mediated forms of popular music are an important and indispensable part of the construction and circulation of these forms of historical desire and imagining.