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THE GIFT OF CHANGING WOMAN

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PREFACE

The first part of this paper (pp. 124-159) is a type description of the Western Apache girl's puberty rite or *na ih es* as it is performed by a group of Apaches living at Cibecue on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation in Arizona.

Compared to the wealth of information we have concerning the ceremonial forms and beliefs of other Southern Athapascan tribes, very little is available on those of the Western Apache. In fact, only two trained ethnographers have published studies on the subject. Goodwin (1938) has presented a brief outline of the entire Western Apache religious system, and Kaut (Goodwin and Kaut, 1954) has analyzed a nativistic movement. Detailed descriptions of ceremonies are completely lacking, and the present work is, I hope, a step toward the elimination of this deficiency.

In the second portion (pp. 160-170), I examine the symbolic content of *na ih es* in an effort to illustrate what it means to Apaches and how it educates the pubescent girl in the ways of adulthood. I also discuss some of the ways in which *na ih es* functions with regard to society at large. In this attempt at structural analysis, I make use of Kluckhohn's concepts of adjustive and adaptive response.

This report might never have been written had it not been for the interest and instruction of other people. In particular, I am deeply indebted to the late Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn, who first encouraged me to do fieldwork among the Western Apache. I am also grateful to Dr. Charles R. Kaut who introduced me to many people on the Fort Apache Reservation. In the actual writing, I profited greatly from the suggestions of Dr. Evon Z. Vogt. Valuable advice on the linguistic material was given to me by Dr. Richard Diebold, Jr. I also want to thank Symme Bernstein for the time and effort she spent preparing the illustrations.

For their cooperation, indulgence, and kindness I owe my greatest debt to the people of Cibecue, especially Dick and Don Cooley, Nashley Tessay (my interpreter), Teddy Peaches, and Nelson, Albert, Dewey, and Rose Lupe. Also, I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Helena Henry, Lillian and Sam Johnson, Melvin Kane, Dudley Patterson, George Gregg, Ernest Murphy, Roy Quay, Pedro Martinez, and Calvert Tessay.

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INTRODUCTION

THE WESTERN APACHE

The Southern Athapascans have been divided into seven major tribes on the basis of territorial, cultural, and linguistic distinctions which they themselves recognized (Goodwin, 1942, pp. 1-13, 1938, pp. 5-10). These are the Jicarilla, the Lipan, the Kiowa-Apache, the Mescalero, the Chiricahua, the Navaho, and the Western Apache. Hoijer (1938, p. 86) categorized these tribes linguistically into an eastern and western group. The latter includes the Navaho, Chiricahua, Mescalero, and Western Apache; the former is composed of the Jicarilla, Lipan, and Kiowa-Apache.

The definition of Goodwin (1935, p. 55), which is the most comprehensive yet devised, designates as Western Apache ". . . those Apache peoples who have lived within the present boundaries of the state of Arizona during historic times, with the exception of the Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and allied Apache, and a small band of Apaches known as the Apaches Mansos, who lived in the vicinity of Tucson."¹

In 1850, Western Apache country extended north to Flagstaff, south to Tucson, east to the present city of St. Johns, and west to the Verde River. At this time, the people were divided into five distinct groups, each ranging over its own area of land and refusing to encroach upon that of its neighbors.² These were the White Mountain Apache, Cibecue Apache, San Carlos Apache, Southern Tonto Apache, and Northern Tonto Apache. Within each group

¹ For a fuller discussion of this definition, including maps showing the distribution of Western Apache groups and those living in Arizona who were not Western Apache, see Goodwin, 1942, pp. 1-62. In the middle of the 19th century, the people now called Western Apache were known by a variety of names (Coyoterros, White Mountain Apaches, etc.). Goodwin spent much time on this confusing problem and in his Appendix I (*ibid.*, pp. 571-572) has prepared a list of terms by which the Western Apache groups were formerly known. To understand which groups are referred to in the early literature, this table is indispensable.

² In discussing the social divisions of the Western Apache, I have adopted Goodwin's (1942) terminology. Although slightly misleading at times (*group* vs. *local group*, etc.) it is otherwise extremely accurate and the product of extensive research.

were three to five smaller bands which, in turn, were subdivided into several local groups, these latter being the basic units upon which the social organization and government of the Western Apache were founded.³

Ever since 1871-73, when the United States Government began to interfere with the original balance of Western Apache culture by confining the people to the Fort Apache and San Carlos Reservations, the old distinctions between groups and bands have broken down. Similarly, the composition of local groups has been seriously altered. The matrilineal extended family, however, still preserves much of its old form, and the basic structure and function of the individual household has changed very little.

Before the coming of the White man, the Western Apache practiced a hunting and gathering economy. Wild plant foods such as mescal tubers, acorns, juniper berries, piñon nuts and yucca "fruit" were collected all year round, and big game (elk, deer, antelope, and bear) was hunted in the late spring and fall. Agriculture (beans, corn, and squash) was practiced sparingly. Although the modern economy revolves almost exclusively around cattle raising, the people still farm small plots of corn and beans, and continue to gather mescal tubers and acorns. Hunting is now greatly curtailed by reservation-imposed seasons.

Reservation life has brought about profound changes in religion. A system that once included ceremonies relative to warfare, hunting, and moving camp now centers on curing ceremonies and the girl's puberty rite. This is not to say that belief in the native religion has been abandoned. To the contrary, there is evidence to show that, despite strenuous efforts by missionaries to convert Apaches to Catholicism and other forms of Christianity, the incidence of native ceremonies has increased over the past decade or so. This may simply indicate that more people are getting "sick." But, more likely, it represents a trend toward the reacceptance of old religious practices which, for reasons not yet clearly understood, were considered inadequate around 1920-25 when nativistic movements swept across the Fort Apache and San Carlos Reservations.⁴

Speaking generally, belief in the old religion is found most commonly among persons of today's grandparental generation (aged 50-75 years). These people remember the "old days" clearly and adhere to many of the minute ritual proscriptions once practiced by everyone. A large portion of the parental generation (aged 25-50 years) also holds

³ Groups, bands, etc. are described in great detail by Goodwin (*ibid.*, pp. 13-192). His discussions are illustrated by numerous quotations from informants.

⁴ For additional information on the nativistic cults which have sprung up since the Western Apache came into contact with Whites, see Goodwin, 1938, pp. 34-37, and Goodwin and Kaut, 1954.

to its belief in the native religion. A few individuals have joined the church but it is significant that these "converts" attend Apache ceremonies as regularly as prayer meetings.

Today's young people have mixed feelings. Some scoff openly at what they call the "stupid" religious beliefs of their elders; practically none embrace White religion. More aware than their parents of the benefits of White medical techniques, the young people rarely rely on native medicine men, who heal the sick by supernatural means.

CIBECUE

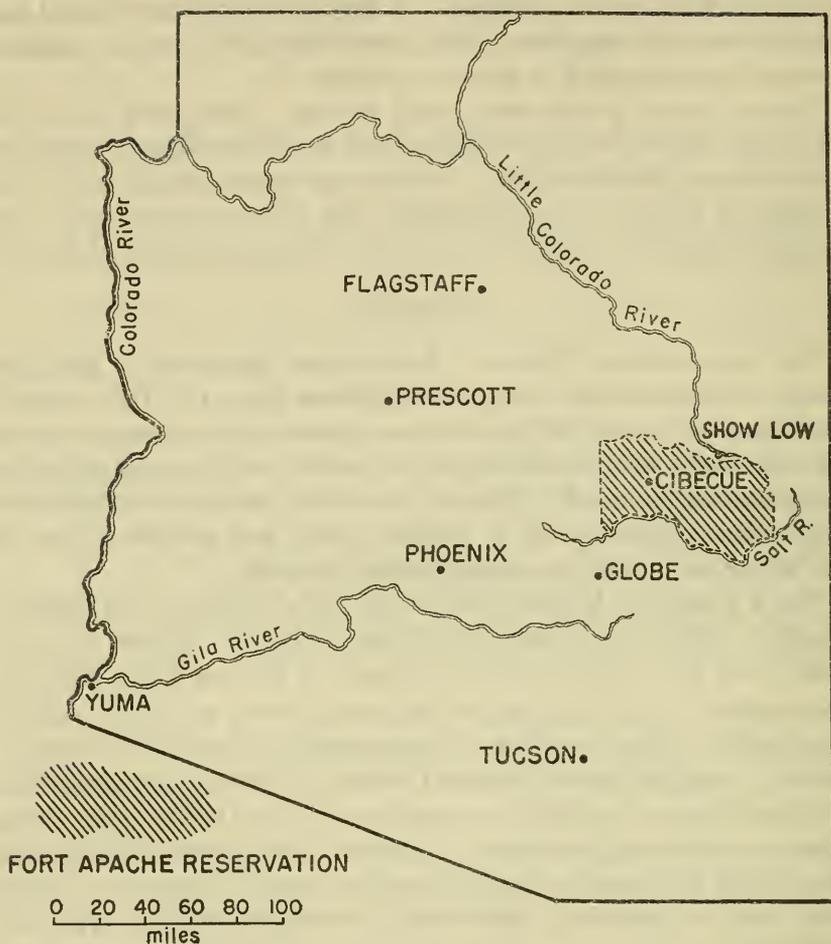
The community of Cibecue is located near the center of the Fort Apache Reservation in east-central Arizona (map 1). It is a small settlement of nearly 700 inhabitants whose dwellings are scattered on both sides of Cibecue Creek, a narrow stream originating in mountains to the north. The soil is red and not particularly fertile. Vegetation consists mostly of juniper, piñon, and ponderosa pine in the higher areas, and cottonwood along the creeks.

Not a great deal is known about the early history of the Cibecue Apache. Their first unwarlike relations with the Whites came in 1859, when they traveled to Camp Grant on the San Pedro River to draw rations. In 1875, the majority were forced to move south to San Carlos. Three years later, they returned to their homeland and, in 1881, engaged in the historic Cibecue Massacre during which a number of troops belonging to a regiment of the United States Sixth Cavalry under the command of General Crook were killed while attempting to arrest an Apache medicine man. As far as I have been able to determine, this encounter ended hostilities with the military.

A large number of Apaches now regard Cibecue as the most old-fashioned settlement on the reservation. The arguments used to support this opinion usually include one or more of the following:

1. A majority of the people at Cibecue still live in old-style grass wickiups. Comparatively few have built cabins.
2. Cibecue has more medicine men presently active than any other community.
3. More ceremonies are held in Cibecue than anywhere else.

Cibecue's conservatism would seem to be directly related to its geographical isolation. The nearest White town, Show Low, Ariz., is nearly 50 miles away. Few Indians have reason to travel there, and, as a result, Cibecue people rarely come into prolonged contact with White society. Two years ago, I drove a 10-year-old boy to Show Low; it was only the second time he had been there.



MAP 1.—Fort Apache Reservation.

FIELD METHODS AND DATA

When I began to live in Cibecue I was regarded as something of a curiosity. What could possibly lure a "rich" White man to Cibecue, the people wanted to know. Was he working for the Government? Why did he come alone, without wife or relatives? Why did he ask to be taught Apache words? And why was he so willing to give away cigarettes? At first, the Apache's attitude toward me was one of moderately hostile resignation. As long as I did nothing to interrupt their daily routine, I was left to my own devices.

However, as the people got used to my presence, they grew friendlier and less aloof. Before long I was driving them to other parts of the reservation, and was visiting their camps in Cibecue. Questions

about kinship terminology and clan organization were answered in a matter-of-fact manner, but inquiries about religion were generally brushed aside with "I don't know" or "it has always been that way." As the summer progressed, I began to herd cattle with Cibecue cowboys and, in this way, made several close friends who later turned into first-rate informants.

In Cibecue, I lived in the home of Dick Cooley, who is part Apache himself, and a stockman for the Cibecue cattle district. Mr. Cooley speaks fluent Apache and is known and trusted by Indians all over the reservation. I benefited greatly from my association with him.

When I returned to Cibecue in 1961 the people seemed glad to see me. They answered my questions willingly and were no longer reluctant to talk about religion. I continued to live with Mr. Cooley, offer transportation, and, though less frequently than during the previous year, work with the cowboys. To my surprise, I was able to pick up the language more rapidly than before and, obviously, this facilitated communication with Apaches who spoke no English. In addition, I was able to enlist the aid of a close friend as interpreter. My notebooks began to swell with detailed information on a wide variety of subjects. Although I never paid my informants with money, I frequently gave them "presents" of cigarettes and beer.

The data on which this paper is based were collected at Cibecue during the summer months of 1960 and 1961. During this time, I observed the preparations and performance of four girl's puberty rites. In addition, I had 57 long interviews (ranging from half an hour to 2 hours) about the ceremony with 16 different informants. All but two of these were over 40 years of age. Three were women. Following the method outlined by Kluckhohn (1944, p. 10), I used my most trusted informants as a check group against which to gage the testimonies of others. Five individuals (four men and a woman) comprised this test group. Of my 57 interviews, 29 were held with them.

Of approximately 170 pages of field notes bearing on the girl's puberty rite, I estimate that a little over one-third were written in the presence of informants, the rest being written immediately after interviews had concluded. Forty-seven conversations were carried on through an interpreter.

I was able to obtain what information I did because of a number of factors. Two of these, however, were of particular significance and deserve special mention here.

1. Apaches are more apt to speak candidly and truthfully about the girl's puberty rite than any other ceremony. The reason for this is that it is not concerned with sickness, a subject which the people fear greatly and are always reticent to mention.

2. Because of my age (21), I was able to ask the older people to "teach" me about the ceremony. In a very real sense this approach was in keeping with the Apache pattern of young men asking elders for instruction in the higher matters of religion.

APACHE WORDS

Apache words in the text are written in terms of the broad phonetic transcription indicated below. Phonemic interpretation awaits further investigation.

i	= [ɪ]
ih	= [ɪ]
e	= [e]
eh	= [e]
a	= [ɑ]
ah	= [ɑ]
o	= [o]
oh	= [o]
u	= [ʊ]
uh	= [u]
p, t, k	= voiceless stops
b, d, g	= voiced stops
tz	= [tʃ]
x	= [x]
ł	= [ɫ]
ay	= [aɪ]
v	= nasalized vowel

PRELIMINARIES

At one point in history, probably not more than 70 years ago, almost every Western Apache girl had a puberty ceremony, or *na ih es* ('preparing her,' or 'getting her ready').⁵ Today this is no longer true. In Cibecue, the ceremony is held only two or three times a year and, in a number of other settlements on the Fort Apache Reservation, it is not performed at all. Two reasons for this decline are readily apparent. First, as a result of inroads made on the traditional religion by missionaries, some Apaches no longer believe in the effectiveness of *na ih es*, that it will assure the pubescent girl, among other things, of long life and prosperity. However, this attitude is opposed by many older persons, notably those of the present grandparental generation, who still consider *na ih es* an extremely important ceremony, and one from which the entire community,

⁵ Throughout Arizona, and in a great deal of the popular literature, *na ih es* is frequently referred to as the "sunrise dance," a term which Apaches themselves use when speaking to Whites.

as well as the pubescent girl, will benefit. A second reason that *na ih es* is held less and less is its prohibitive cost. As will be shown below, the amount of money and work required is staggering, and this condition makes the ceremony impossible for most people. In fact, Apaches say "only rich people give *na ih es*."

The decision to hold *na ih es* is usually made before a girl has her first menses. When she is 11 or 12 years old, her parents and grandparents discuss the possibilities of having a dance. If, as occasionally happens, parents are hesitant, a grandparent will supply the incentive to follow the "old ways." One informant recalled:

I wasn't sure about having a dance. My wife wanted to because she had one when she was a girl. Now, some people think it's old-fashioned and the medicine men don't have the power. It costs a lot, too. We didn't know what to do. Then it came close to when my daughter was to bleed for the first time, so we had to get going. Then my mother came to my camp and said, "I hear you won't give my granddaughter *na ih es*. Why don't you have her one? I am an old lady but I am still strong. *Na ih es* did that." We decided it was good to have *na ih es*.

Another man said:

I wanted my daughter to have one [*na ih es*]. Some people say it doesn't mean anything, but I think it is good. It sure was good for the old people. Maybe they had more power than today.

Still another informant, of a different opinion, related:

Two years ago, my daughter had her first [period] and some people said I should have *na ih es* for her. But I don't believe in those superstitions so I said no.

A girl's parents will not contemplate *na ih es* unless they can afford it. Although clan relatives relieve some of the burden with gifts of food and money, the financial expense of the ceremony falls in large part on members of the girl's extended family.

A father, who recently gave *na ih es* for his daughter, said:

Me and my wife started saving money about 6 months before she [his daughter] had her first [period]. I saved on gas and my wife didn't buy as many things at the store [trading post]. My brother and his wife tried to save a little. So did my wife's parents, but they didn't save very much. We did most of it. When she had her first we had about \$200 saved up, but it wasn't enough and just before the dance my wife had to borrow another \$50 from her brother to buy flour and sugar with. It was a long time 'til we could pay him back.

Relations between the girl's family and their blood kin must be unstrained because, without the contributions of kinsmen, there would be too much work for an extended family, even a large one, to accommodate. If, for any reason, serious tensions exist between them, plans for the dance are postponed until the difficulties can be resolved. If this is impossible, the idea of holding *na ih es* may be completely abandoned.

An informant commented on this problem in the following way:

When I have *na ih es* for my daughter, I had trouble at first. A lot of people were mad at my wife because she got drunk one night and got into a fight with my brother's wife. She hit her with a bottle and had to go to jail in Whiteriver for 60 days. They said to me: "We won't help you get ready for *na ih es* because your wife drinks too much and acts crazy." Even my clan relatives were mad. They said: "Why does your wife fight with your brother's wife? He has been friendly with her. It is because she drinks all the time. Maybe she would get drunk and fight with us." I was really scared for a while, because I didn't know if anybody would help us at the dance. Then my wife apologized and cut down on drinking, and we got help. But some people were still mad, and did nothing for us.

Occasionally, nonrelatives offer to help, particularly when the dance ground is being prepared. It is rare, however, for persons who are not related in some way to one or more members of the girl's extended family to take a large part in the preliminaries.

One man said:

Relatives do most of the work, but sometimes friends help out. They know it's good to help, and they might get some food for helping. A friend of mine let me use his pickup [truck] three times to haul groceries from Whiteriver. My wife borrowed two *te tza* [baskets] from her friend. Neither of these people are related to us, but they just wanted to help out. When they get the place [dance ground] ready and have social dancing until midnight, young men come and work during the day. They go to the dance at night. I guess that's why they do it.

Another informant commented:

People who aren't related to the girl don't work as hard as her relatives. If you help your relatives out, then when you want something they will help you.

In most instances, no ceremony of any kind accompanies a girl's first menstruation. However, sometimes an elderly person, often a maternal grandmother, will sprinkle *hadn tin* ('yellow powder') in the four cardinal directions, saying to the pubescent girl as she does so: "It is good this way. Now you will have *na ih es*."⁶

If the girl is too shy to tell her parents of her first menstruation, she may inform her grandmother who conveys the news. It sometimes happens that a girl is not told that she can have *na ih es* until after her first period has occurred.

When she has her first one, they may tell her about giving *na ih es*. They say it will make her strong and keep her from getting sick and make her lead a good life and stay out of trouble. Sometimes they don't tell her that she has to dance in front of all the people, because if she is bashful she might not want the dance. But most girls that age have seen *na ih es* and know about it. They say no at first because they are bashful. But they change their minds.

⁶ *Hadn tin* is made from corn and/or cat tail pollen. It is ubiquitous at all Apache religious ceremonies, and is often called "holy" powder.

When, for one reason or another, a girl decides that she does not want to have a dance, she makes her feelings known and, if she persists, plans for *na ih es* are discontinued. The father of an unwilling girl said:

My daughter didn't want a dance. She said she was bashful and that her friends would tease her. So my wife talked to her, but she didn't change her mind. My wife and my wife's parents were sure mad. We never had the dance. It wouldn't be good to make her have the dance if she didn't want it.

It is not until the girl has her first period that actual preparations are begun. With the girl's consent to participate willingly in *na ih es*, enough money to finance a large portion of the expenses, and amicable relations with relatives, the girl's parents embark on preliminaries.

NDEH GUHYANEH

(‘wise people’)

Immediately after a girl's first menstruation, her parents select a group of older persons, called *ndeh guhyaneh*, with whom it is decided when and where the dance will be held and, most important of all, who will be the girl's *na ihl esn* (‘she makes her ready,’ ‘she prepares her’), or sponsor. *Ndeh guhyaneh* usually consist of at least one set of grandparents and other close blood kin; but it is by no means uncommon for nonrelatives, respected for their age and familiarity with ceremonial proceedings, to be chosen. Normally, there are from five to eight *ndeh guhyaneh*, the parents of the pubescent girl included. Said one man:

When we have *na ih es* we had eight *ndeh guhyaneh*. There was my wife's father and her oldest brother and my brother, too. We also asked PP [a medicine man who does not know the songs for *na ih es*] and his wife to help us. We asked him because he is old and his wife is a very good lady. He has seen lots of *na ih es*, even though he doesn't do that [particular ceremony]. His wife would know about who is good for *na ihl esn*.

One man, usually a grandfather of the girl, is appointed head or *nan tan* (literally ‘chief,’ but here meaning ‘foreman’ or ‘boss’) of the proceedings; he is second in command to the girl's father. His main functions are: (1) To supervise preparations for the dance, particularly those concerned with clearing the dance ground and erecting temporary dwellings there; (2) to act as a speaker for the girl's family in offering the role of *na ihl esn* to the woman nominated by the *ndeh guhyaneh*; and (3) to give a speech before *na ih es* reminding all present of the solemnity of the occasion and cautioning them to be on their best behavior.

The problem of selecting a good day on which to hold *na ih es* is not a pressing one for the *ndeh guhyaneh*. Regardless of when the

girl has her first period, the ceremony is held in July or August, usually the latter. (It is interesting to note that parents welcome their daughter's first menstruation in the fall or winter because this gives them ample time to save up enough money for the dance.) The Apache give two main reasons for preferring the summer months. First, the evenings and nights are warm—ideal for the social dancing which accompanies *na ih es*. Second, more people, notably high school students, will be in Cibecue to attend the dance during the summer than at any other time. Therefore, the *ndeh guhyaneh* merely decide on an appropriate weekend, which must then be approved by the tribal council at Whiteriver.⁷ One informant said:

I wanted a weekend when there are lots of people. We [the *ndeh guhyaneh*] talked about it for a while and thought the weekend of the rodeo in Cibecue was good. There would be lots of people there from Whiteriver and Cedar Creek. Some San Carlos people might come too. Some White cowboys ride in that rodeo and they come sometimes. I went to see the tribal council and they said it was o.k. to have it then.

Once a date has been selected, the task of picking a site at which to hold *na ih es* confronts the *ndeh guhyaneh*. Necessary requisites include an abundant source of water close at hand; proximity to a large supply of wood; and ample space for the dance area, the dwellings of the girl's close kin, and the close kin of *na ihl esn*. If the girl's own camp or dwelling place is lacking, a location outside the community is chosen, usually to the north (where there is more wood) and near Cibecue Creek.

One woman, who had given *na ih es* for her daughter, recalled:

Our camp was no good for *na ih es*. It wasn't big enough to have a dance, and there wasn't flat ground there. So we had it at "where the road crosses the creek." That was a good place. There wasn't many stones or weeds there and it was easy to make a place to dance. Trees were so we could use them as part of the shades and the places we kept the *tulipay*⁸ and groceries. [Another thing] was that the cattle were close to that place so it was easy to get them to be butchered. . . .

SELECTION OF A MEDICINE MAN

Another responsibility of the *ndeh guhyaneh* is the selection of a medicine man or *di' yin* ('one who has power') to sing *na ih es*.⁹ Here, a unique problem faces the people of Cibecue because there are no medicine men left alive in the community who know the ceremony. Therefore, a medicine man must be secured from elsewhere.

⁷ Practically all large ceremonials, such as *na ih es*, are held on weekends, enabling persons who hold jobs outside of Cibecue to return and attend them. A favorite weekend for *na ih es* is July 4, when an all-Indian rodeo is held.

⁸ *Tulipay* is a native liquor made from the fermented pulp of mashed corn shoots.

⁹ There are a few female shamans on the Apache reservations today, but these never sing *na ih es*.

Na ih es is performed alone (as opposed to being combined with a second ceremony called *nja njleesh*, meaning 'she is painted') in only two other communities on the Fort Apache Reservation besides Cibecue—Cedar Creek and Carrizo. The two medicine men from Cedar Creek who know *na ih es* are thought well of in Cibecue. They are highly respected for their strong power, which, in this case, refers to their ability to make *na ih es* effective. On the other hand, there is only one medicine man in Carrizo who knows the ceremony, and, for reasons which I was unable to ascertain, he is much less popular. Consequently, for the past few years, *na ih es* has been performed in Cibecue by Cedar Creek medicine men. Cibecue Apaches are quick to say that the Cedar Creek version of *na ih es* differs little from the way their own used to be performed. There are only a few minor variations and these are attributed to the medicine man's individual style, rather than to significant regional differences in ideology. Said one man from Cibecue:

They [the Cedar Creek people] do it almost like we do. When LA [a Cedar Creek medicine man] comes over here it's not hardly any different from the man who sang here. Some of the songs are a little different but not many. It means all the same thing. It's never bothered people here. They know that LA sure has got power. Besides, LA was born in Cibecue. He just learned [the songs for *na ih es*] from a Cedar Creek medicine man.

Once a medicine man has been chosen by the *ndeh guhyaneh* it remains for the girl's father to visit him and ask him to sing. This may be done as long as a month after the girl's initial menstruation, but is usually taken care of much sooner. First, the girl's father acquires certain items to be given to the medicine man. These include the tail feather of an eagle, to the base of which a turquoise is attached with deer sinew, and a small container of holy powder. With these in hand, and enough money to pay the medicine man's fee, the father sets out early in the morning. He must arrive at the medicine man's camp before sunrise.

I got there real early and waited in my pickup until the sun came up. I didn't see anything so I just sat there. Then his wife came out of her wickiup and threw some water away she had in a cooking pot. She saw the truck but she didn't say anything and went back inside. Then the medicine man came out and went behind the wickiup to make water. When he came back I got out of my truck and went to where he was. I took all the stuff with me that I would give him. He had sung *na ih es* for my daughter 4 years ago, so I already knew him and how much he would charge. When I got to where he was sitting he held out his left hand, inside [palm] up. He held it like this and I opened the jar and took out some powder. I made a cross with it on his hand in the four directions. Then I put the feather on his hand with the blue stone [turquoise] where the cross came together. Then after I did this he took the feather and put it in his pocket. Then I took out \$50 from my wallet and put it in his hand. Then I said, "Will you sing *na ih es* for my daughter?" He said, "Yes." Then I told him what day

it was [to be held] and he said that was good and that he would be there 2 days early, so to have everything ready then. Then he put the \$50 in his pocket. I went home after that and told *ndeh guhyaneh* what he said. They were glad he said yes and would sing.

SELECTION OF NA IHL ESN

Ndeh guhyaneh also choose a woman to be the pubescent girl's 'sponsor' or *na ihl esn*. The most important criterion for a *na ihl esn* is that she belong to a clan which is not related to the girl's clan or to the girl's father's clan, or to any clan to which these are related. In order to understand this proscription, one must know something of the relationships between clans.

A clan is made up of persons who consider themselves related to each other through the maternal line but who are unable to trace the specific genealogical ties involved in these relationships. In the same way, every clan has assumed matrilineal relationships with certain other clans. Together, these related clans comprise what Goodwin (1942) calls a "clan set." Restating the above proscription in these terms, a *na ihl esn* must come from a clan which is not related to any clan in the girl's clan set or to any clan in the girl's father's clan set (fig. 1). The sociological importance of this limitation will become apparent later on, but for the time being it is instructive to see how it applies in terms of actual Western Apache clans.

On August 20, 1961, *na ih es* was held for W.G. whose clan is *iya aiye* ('*iya ai* people').¹⁰ *Iya aiye* is related to *t ua gaidn* ('white water people'), *t udil xili* ('black water people'), *t e na dolja ge* ('*t e na dolja ge* people'), *tset e an* ('rock-jutting-into-water people'), *nd nde zn* ('tall people'), *ducdo e* ('fly-infested-soup people'), *tc ilda ditl uge* ('bushes-sloping-up-growing-thickly people'), *iya hadjin* ('mesquites-extending-out-darkly people'), *na da bilna ditin* ('mescal-with-road-across people') and *sai e digaidn* ('line-of-white-sand-joining people'). Thus, *na ihl esn* could not belong to any of these clans, because all of them are members of the girl's clan set. Similarly, *na ihl esn* could not be related to any of the clans which made up W.G.'s father's clan set, which included *na wadesgijn* ('between-two-hills people'), *t i sle dnt i nd* ('cottonwoods joining people'), *tc ilndi yena dn aiye* ('walnut trees people'), *k aintci dn* ('reddened willows people'), *t e go tsudn* ('yellow-streak-running-out-from-the-water people'), *t i sk adn* ('cottonwood standing people'), *sag na* [meaning unclear], *h k aye* [meaning unclear], *na gon an* ('bridge across people'), *k isde stci na ditin* ('trail-through-horizontally-red-alders people'), *gad o ahn* ('juniper-standing-alone people'), *tea tci dn* ('red-rock-strata people'). Thus, including all the clans in these 2 clan sets, there were 26 clans from which *na ihl esn*

¹⁰ Clan names are here written in accordance with Goodwin's (1942) orthographic system.

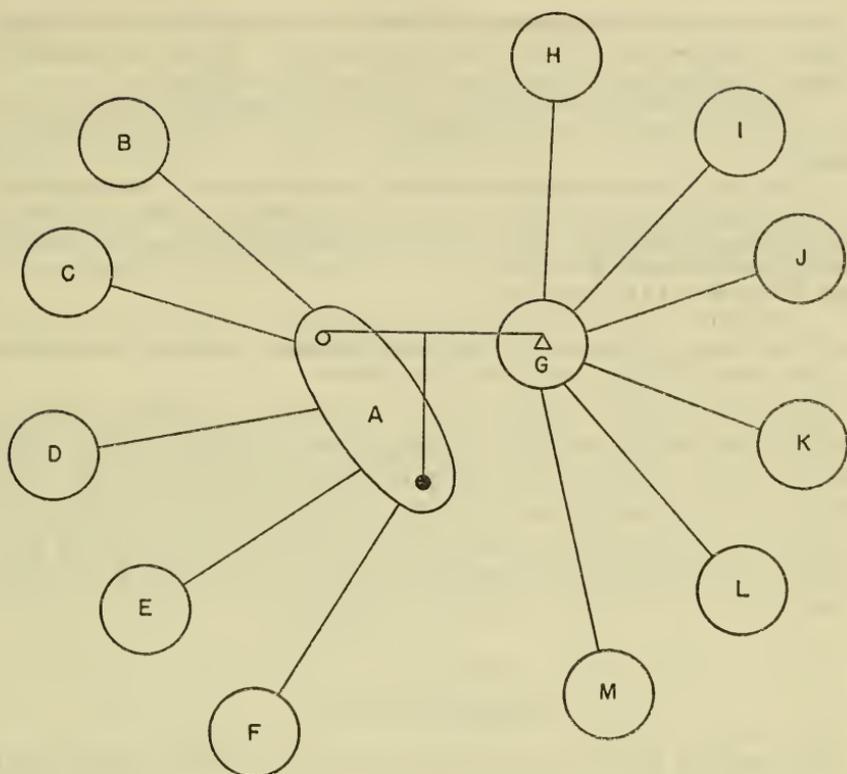


FIGURE 1.—Clan relationships. The pubescent girl's clan (and her mother's clan) is Clan A, which is related to Clans B-F. Clans A-F make up the girl's clan set. The girl's father's clan is Clan G which is related to Clans H-M. Clans G-M make up his clan set. *Na ihl esn* must come from a clan which is not related to any of the clans in these two clan sets.

could not come. The woman selected was from *ci tc iltco sik a dn* ('Gambel's-oak-standing people').

Once the *ndeh guhyaneh* have singled out all the women in the community who are eligible (by clan) for the position of *na ihl esn*, they make their final decision on the basis of character and wealth. Apaches say that character is the most important, but I recall one case where it was freely admitted that the *na ihl esn* was a "bad person." She had been chosen, I was told, because she was rich enough to afford the expenses entailed. In all other instances, however, the *na ihl esn* was a woman of highly esteemed reputation. The following statements indicate the qualities on which such reputations are commonly based.

Na ihl esn must be a good person. She must be strong and work hard and never be lazy. Also she shouldn't drink too much or act crazy. She shouldn't say mean things that will make other people mad at her and fight with her.

. . . must be friendly with people and not make them fight with her. She should be pretty old and wise about things. All the time she says nice things to people.

. . . It's good if she had a *na ih es* when she was a girl herself. That way she is wise and knows about the things in *na ih es* and it makes her strong and healthy and easy to get along with. If she had *na ih es* she won't act crazy or drink too much or get in trouble or bother people. That's why it is best to get someone who had *na ih es* to be *na ihl esn*.¹¹

. . . should not be sick very much but strong so she can work hard and make a good clean camp. It's good if she has lots of children. Part of *na ih es* is so the girl has children easily and won't die [in childbirth].

Ih' tsos ba hihl tza ('eagle feather, it is given') is the Apache phrase used to describe the procedure of asking a woman to be *na ihl esn*. The *nan tan* goes to the woman's camp before sunrise and asks her to fill the role. If she and her husband (who usually makes the final decision) accept, the *nan tan* gives them an eagle feather, turquoise, and holy powder. Then he invites them to come to the camp of the girl's parents—to drink tulipay and discuss details.

SHI TI KE

('my good friend')

The meeting after *ih' tsos ba hihl tza* is an extremely important event. It inaugurates a formal relationship between the girl, her parents, and *na ihl esn* and her husband—a relationship which is binding for life, and one which is marked by the adoption of hitherto unused terms of address. Henceforth, the girl and her parents call *na ihl esn* and her husband by the term *shi ti ke*, and vice versa. By extension, *shi ti ke* means 'all that I have belongs to you,' and this principle constitutes the basis of a new set of reciprocal obligations incumbent on the persons involved. In fine, the *shi ti ke* relationship means that they must help each other for whatever reason and whenever the need may arise. The significance of this bond lies in the fact that it is almost as demanding as an actual blood relationship. Said one informant:

When you call someone *shi ti ke* you always help him out. It's good to have someone like that because he will help you. When my baby girl died last year, the woman who was my wife's *na ihl esn* sure helped us out. She gave us food and made her brother kill a beef for us. My wife gives her presents now and then too. Last year I think my wife gave her some cloth for a dress. Whenever you get in trouble it's good to have someone like that. There was a man who had a son who got put in jail in Whiteriver on a fornication charge. The woman who was

¹¹ My data show that it is not imperative for *na ihl esn* to have had *na ih es* herself. However, a definite preference is expressed for women who have.

na ihl esn for that man's daughter gave him some money to help bail the boy out of jail.

Once a woman has agreed to be *na ihl esn*, she prepares for *na ih es* in much the same way as the girl's parents, relying heavily on the support of close kin. Since *na ihl esn* need not concern herself with the preparation of the dance ground, her major task is to procure enough food to feed her relatives during the ceremonial proceedings, and to give the girl's relatives a large feast on the day before *na ih es*.

NA E TLANH

(‘have drinking,’ or ‘goes before drinking’)

About a month prior to *na ih es*, the girl's family, also concerned about an adequate food supply, hold *na e tlanh*. This is an informal affair at which the girl's family presents clan relatives (and relatives of related clans) with tulipay, in return for which the latter promise to contribute meat or groceries (fig. 2). A clan member need not state precisely what he will contribute, or even how much, but it is understood that in accepting the tulipay he obligates himself to reciprocate with a fairly substantial gift.

Usually, *na e tlanh* is held at midday at the girl's camp. Inside a shade,¹² gallon cans filled with tulipay are set out in rows. When enough relatives have arrived, the girl's father stands up and starts the proceedings with a short speech, an example of which follows:

I appreciate your coming here at this time. I asked you all to come over for drinks so you would help us out by buying groceries. You were not forced to come, you were invited. You came of your own accord, because you wanted to help out in the dance. It has always been done this way—helping each other out for the dance, we relatives.

After this, the tulipay is distributed, and the rest of the afternoon is spent drinking it and talking about the forthcoming dance.¹³

Thus, having enlisted a medicine man, appointed a *na ihl esn*, inaugurated the *shi ti ke* relationship, and assured themselves of the support of relatives, the girl's family turns its attention to preparing the dance ground.

PREPARATIONS

Apaches attach a great deal of importance to ceremonial preparations, and negligence in carrying them out is sternly rebuked. To a large extent, the effectiveness of a ritual is thought to be dependent on its being flawlessly performed, in precise coincidence with its established pattern. Anything which disturbs or alters this pattern

¹² Shades, in which the women do most of their work, are large rectangular structures, made from cedar posts and cottonwood boughs. They closely resemble Spanish ramadas.

¹³ *Na e tlanh* is a wonderful excuse for the men to get drunk, and they almost always take advantage of it.

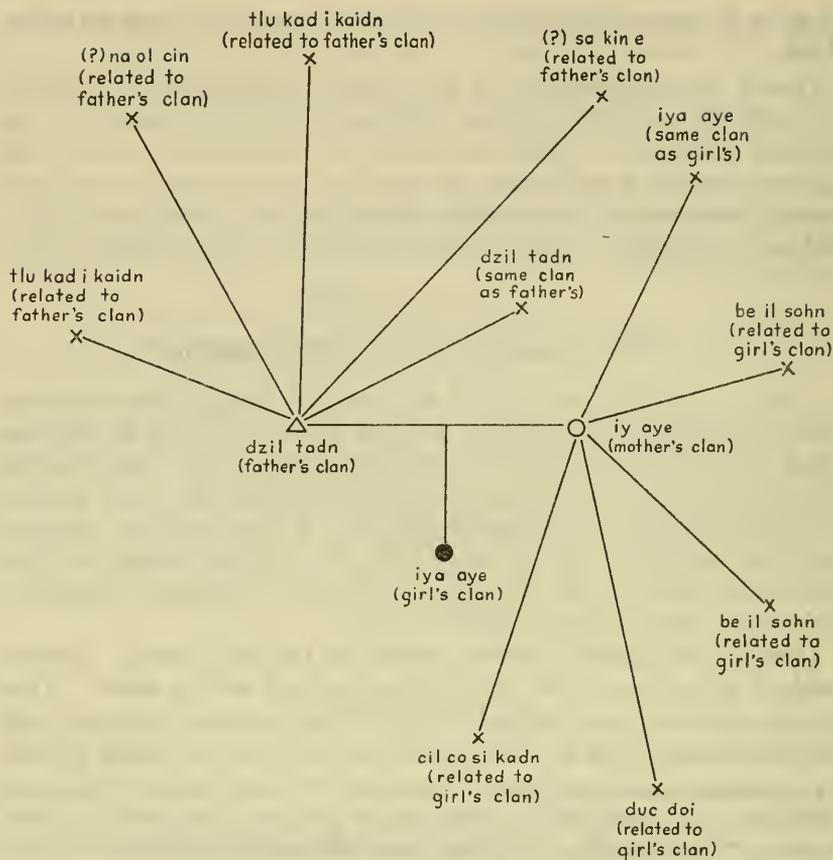


FIGURE 2.—Clan relatives at *na e tlank*. Diagram showing clan relatives (to the pubescent girl and her parents) at a *na e tlank* held in Cibecue on July 15, 1961. Note: Clan names are written here in accordance with Goodwin's (1942) orthographic system.

is inauspicious and feared; it is taken as a sign that something is out of order. For example, if, as sometimes happens at curing ceremonies, there is not enough food to go around, those present become nervous. "Something is wrong," they say, "there should be food." It is important to view the elaborate preparations which *na ih es* and other ceremonies entail as the Apaches do—as precautions taken against the occurrence of incidents, such as the one mentioned above, which inject an unexpected and unwelcome element of disorder into a ceremony and, in so doing, reduce the possibilities of its success. One man said:

Everything should be ready before it starts. You shouldn't have to do any work while it's going on. There should be enough food and tulipay for everybody,

and the place should be clean. I was at a sing one time and they hadn't cleaned up the place. There were bottles and paper and tin cans lying around. The medicine man picked up a can and threw it away real hard. He was mad because the place wasn't clean. He sang but he was mad. They should have cleaned up.

THE DANCE GROUND

As related in the section on *ndeh guhyaneh*, *na ih es* may be held at the pubescent girl's own camp, or if this location does not offer the requisite features, elsewhere, usually some distance beyond the residential limits of Cibecue. Apaches prefer to give *na ih es* at home because less work is required since it is not necessary to build wickiups, shades, or food shelters. A tent may be set up, or a shade enlarged, to accommodate the large stores of food but, ordinarily, the family structures suffice for this purpose.

At a site beyond the community, four to seven structures are erected. These always include a semipermanent wickiup in which the girl and the members of her family live until 4 days after *na ih es*, large shades in which great quantities of food are prepared, and small corrallike food shelters for the storage of food, tulipay, etc. (fig. 3).

Characteristically, these structures are built in two separate groups, always some distance apart, and occasionally facing each other across the dance area (fig. 4). One such camp (at the minimum consisting of one cooking shade and one food shelter) is used by *na ihl esn* and her kin, the other by the relatives of the pubescent girl. All preparations are in the hands of the latter, and *na ihl esn* does not arrive (nor do any of her relatives) at the dance ground until her shades and food shelters have been built.

The following account, which describes in some detail preparations for a dance ground located about 2 miles north of Cibecue, is quite typical and indicates clearly the three stages through which the work progresses. Shades and food shelters for the girl and her relatives are built, and then those for *na ihl esn* and her kin. Finally, about a week before *na ih es*, the dance area is cleared, firewood hauled, and food prepared. By the beginning of the last stage, *na ihl esn* has arrived at the site with her relatives and *bi goh ji tal* ('half-night dance'), which is discussed later in this chapter, has begun.

Stage One—July 17, 1960:

I took my family up there and the first night we slept in tents. The next day my son and me and my wife made a big wickiup for my family. It had to be big because I have lots of children. When that was finished, it was good for the whole family. The next day, two of my brothers came up there and so did my wife's father and my parents. The brothers didn't spend the night, but the old people did, and they moved into the tents we had been using before. We didn't do much that day. After that, when my brothers came back, we started

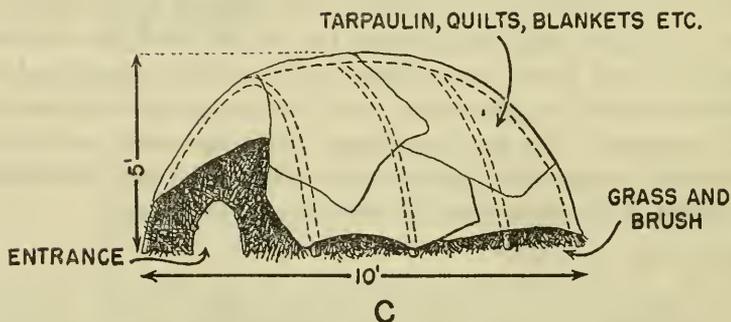
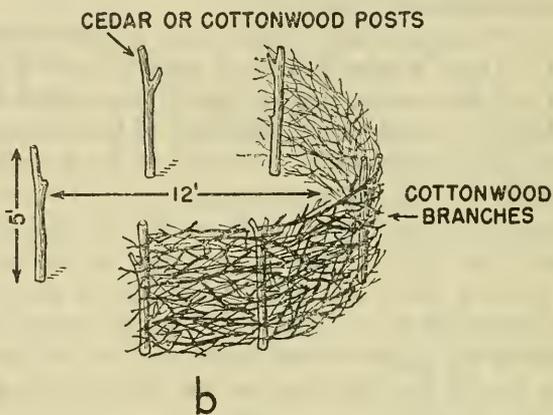
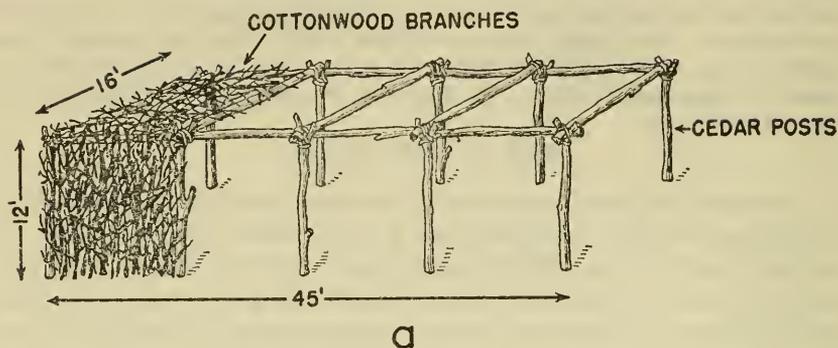


FIGURE 3.—*Na ih es* structures. a, Cooking shade; b, food shelter; c, wickiup.

building a big shade for cooking and making tulipay. It sure was a big one—we had lots to do. We had to get long posts and there weren't any close by, so my son and two brothers took my pickup and went to get some up by White Springs.

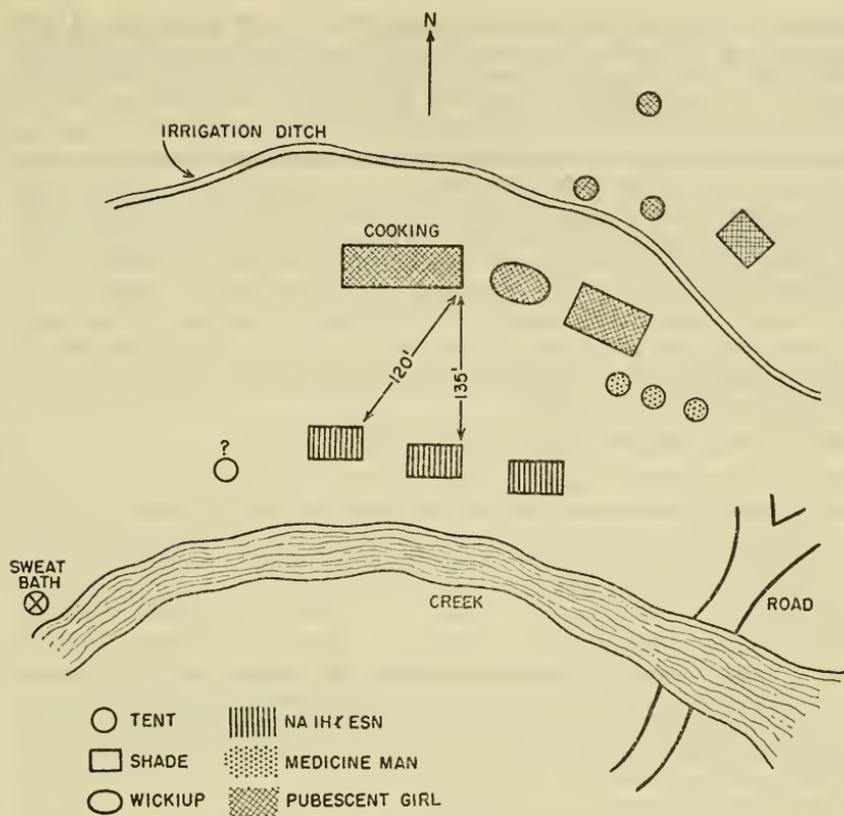


FIGURE 4.—*Na ih es* dance ground.

They cut down a lot of trees and made them the right length and brought them back. Then we made the shade. The men put in the posts and made the top and the women made the sides mostly. It sure took us a long time to make that shade. About a week, I think. We didn't do it all alone because some more relatives came and helped us out. My wife's brother and his wife came, and so did my sister and her husband. They didn't have to come. I didn't ask them. But they sure wanted to help me out. All those people went home at night but they came back in the morning. We always gave them some food and tulipay when they finished working. When that big shade was all over, we started on food shelters. They're easy to make, because you don't need big logs for posts. We made two of them in about 2 days, but we took it easy. After that we brought some food up there. We didn't bring all we bought for *na ih es*, just enough to last until *bi goh ji tal*. About this time my cross-cousin went to see what yearlings we should butcher. He and some others got them and put them in the bull pasture by Cowboy Springs. We didn't butcher until 2 days before *na ih es* so we left them there.

Stage Two—July 30, 1960:

Our camp was finished up there and more people came to help us make shades for *na ihl esn*. We built them on the other side of the dance area from where

ours were. It's usually like this when you have *na ih es* out of Cibecue. I don't know why it is. We made a big shade for *na ihl esn* to stay in and a big shade for cooking too. That shade wasn't as big as ours because they don't have so many people to help with cooking. After we made these my cross-cousin said we should build another one because *na ihl esn* had lots of people coming with her. So we did. Over there we didn't make food shelters. Just covered-over places inside the shades. That took a long time and we sure had to get a lot of wood. All along other people helped. My brother came from Whiteriver with his son. He only stayed 2 days but his son didn't go home. My wife's brother came too. He's pretty old but he can still work hard. He is still strong. He didn't stay there at night, but we gave him food and tulipay when he went home. After that, I went to *na ihl esn's* camp [in Cibecue] and told her that we were ready. She came there the next day with her husband and about 20 other people. They were her relatives. I knew most of them because they live in Cibecue, but some had come from San Carlos.

Stage Three—August 9, 1960; 6 days before *na ih es*:

Then we had a lot of people up there, and the work got a little easier. We cleared away all the weeds and stones from where they would sing and dance at *bi goh ji tal*. We needed lots of firewood and the men did that with pickups. The women put the food and candy away and made tulipay. Pretty soon everything was ready. All we had to do was make a tent for the medicine man and we did that 2 days before he came up there from Cedar Creek. We had *bi goh ji tal* every night, and there was lots of dancing. One night everybody got drunk and my cousin got into a fight with a boy from San Carlos. He didn't get hurt and we stopped the fight. I went and got groceries twice from Show Low and once from Whiteriver. We had lots of flour and coffee and sugar and potatoes. So we were just about ready. Two days before *na ih es* I went to Cedar Creek and got the medicine man and his wife.

A dance ground in preparation is a scene of great activity. Hauling wood or unloading food from pickup trucks, the men joke constantly and there is much laughter. Women, some with babies in cradleboards strapped to their backs, put the finishing touches on the shades or bend over their manos and metates grinding corn shoots into pulp for tulipay. Young children race about wildly playing tag and lassoing dogs. The older people, always keeping somewhat apart from the others, watch the proceedings quietly, occasionally calling out bits of advice. Few activities bring so many relatives together in one place and the atmosphere is one of relaxation and congeniality. The bonds of blood kinship are reinforced with the bond of a common religious purpose.

BI GOH JI TAE

(‘half-night dance’)

Apaches do not have a phrase in their language precisely equivalent to “social dancing.” However, when talking with Whites, they use it to describe the series of dances which begin 4 or 5 nights before *na ih es*, and which are held every night up until the eve of the ceremony.

The Apache word for one of these affairs is *bi goh ji tal*. It is so called because, unlike ceremonies designed to cure the sick, it does not last all night, ending at midnight or shortly afterward.

The kind of dancing at *bi goh ji tal* is exactly like that which accompanies most curing ceremonies. But, in the strict sense of the word, *bi goh ji tal* is not a religious ceremony. It has no connection with a specific body of songs (songs from different ceremonies are sung interchangeably) and, more indicatively, a medicine man does not sing. Social dances are given for enjoyment, and are a primary way in which the father of the pubescent girl rewards all those persons who have helped in the preparation of the dance ground.

After darkness, a large bonfire is started in the middle of the dance area, and the 15-30 men who take turns leading the songs and drumming sit down on logs placed nearby.¹⁴ Most of these are older men who have witnessed many ceremonies, and have memorized some of the songs, which they like to sing. It is by no means unusual, however, for younger men, eager to display their vocal talents before a large number of people, to join in the singing and occasionally even initiate a song.

At *bi goh ji tal*, as at all ceremonies where there is social dancing, women select partners. Unmarried girls may shyly ask a boy to dance, or tap him gently on the shoulder instead. Married women, on the other hand, are seldom so reticent. Usually, they simply grasp the wrist of the man with whom they wish to dance and, laughing as they do so, drag him toward the fire. A married woman dancing with a man other than her husband is considered humorous in its irregularity. Very often, spectators will "joke" with a man or woman whose spouse is dancing with someone else by saying: "You better watch out. Your wife [husband] is dancing with another man [woman]. I don't think she likes you any more. Pretty soon she will run away from home."

In social dancing, an individual simply locks elbows with a partner (male or female) at his side who may or may not have locked elbows with someone else. In this way, lines of dancers are formed, consisting of from two to eight or nine persons. Then, in time with the beat of the drums, four or five steps are taken forward, the dancers bouncing lightly on the balls of their feet. Immediately following the last step forward, four or five steps are taken backward and diagonally to the left (fig. 5). Because of the diagonal direction of the backward steps, the line does not move back and forth in the same place. Instead, it slowly circles the fire. At a *bi goh ji tal* attended by many people, there

¹⁴ The drums used at *bi goh ji tal* are metal cooking kettles across which are stretched pieces of buckskin or canvas, secured in place with strips of rubber from discarded inner tubes. Very resonant, they are struck with a small branch, one end of which is looped over and tied with a piece of deer sinew or string.



FIRE

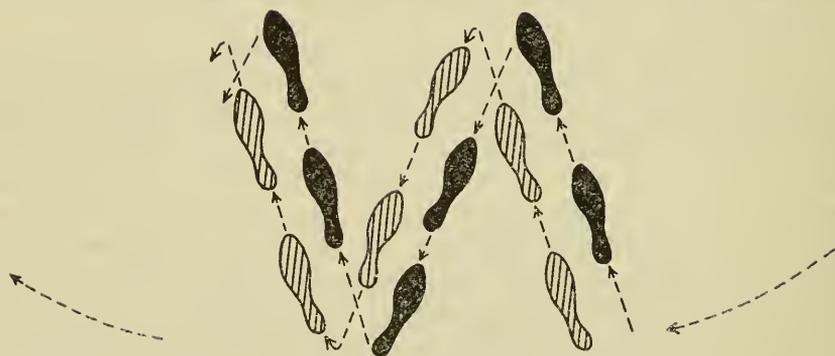


FIGURE 5.—Social dancing.

may be as many as 10 or 12 long lines of dancers. Not infrequently, one line, moving backward, collides with another line going forward. This is expected. It is not harshly criticized and usually causes much laughter.

For unmarried persons, *bi goh ji tal* is a time for courting. Boys and girls arrive at the dance with several members of their own sex, but very little time lapses before they have either paired off or formed dance lines. Older Apaches say that much lovemaking goes on at *bi goh ji tal*. It is easy for the younger people to get liquor, they say, and when slightly drunk, their inhibitions dissolve. I have no way of knowing whether or not this is true, but several things suggest its possibility. First, young people, particularly girls, find it easy to

escape from the watchful eyes of parents and relatives. Second, tulipay and beer are easily obtained. Third, because there are so many people at *bi goh ji tal*, and so much noise and activity, it is easy to wander away from the dance ground unnoticed.

Although *bi goh ji tal* is a festive event, serious trouble can result from too much drinking. Violent quarrels and fights may occur, a source of deep concern to all the people directly connected with *na ih es*. The girl's father and *na ihl esn* try to anticipate trouble, but often this is impossible; they are glad when the last *bi goh ji tal* comes to a close.

Throughout the preparation of the dance ground, the pubescent girl has been inconspicuous. She may help with the cooking, and dance a little at *bi goh ji tal*, but she does not exert herself. *Na ih es* is near and she has been told to conserve her strength.

THE DAY BEFORE NA IH ES

On the day before *na ih es*, four important events take place at or close to the dance ground. In order of their occurrence, these are:

Gish ih zha ha aldeh ('cane, it is made')—a sweat bath, held in the morning, which is attended by male relatives of the pubescent girl and *na ihl esn*, and at which the medicine man, assisted by two or three old men, makes the ritual paraphernalia for *na ih es*.

Nit sla ih ka ('food, exchanged')—a substantial gift of prepared food, presented in the early afternoon to the relatives of the pubescent girl by those of *na ihl esn*. The following day, directly after *na ih es*, the girl's relatives reciprocate by making a similar gift to *na ihl esn*.

Bi keh ihl ze' ('she is dressed up')—a short ceremony, at dusk, at which the medicine man sings four songs and, with the help of *na ihl esn*, presents the pubescent girl with the paraphernalia she carries and wears during *na ih es*.

Bi til tih ('night before dance')—a half-night dance, differing from *bi goh ji tal* in that the medicine man sings 12 or more songs, and the pubescent girl joins in the dancing, fully clothed in the costume she wears for *na ih es*.

GISH IH ZHA HA ALDEH

('cane, it is made')

The Apache sweat bath—called *ta chih*—is by no means associated only with the preparation of paraphernalia for *na ih es*. It is held on many occasions, sometimes purely for enjoyment, but usually to get clean before a major religious ceremony. Regardless of its purposes, the procedure at *ta chih* never varies.

Four to six men, stripped of all clothing except their shorts, enter a specially prepared sweat house where one of them causes hot steam to form by pouring water over a pile of heated stones. The men remain within until they have sung four songs, after which they come out and lie down on the ground or swim in the nearby creek.¹⁵ The length of one 4-song set varies, depending on the duration of the songs and the time between them, but it rarely exceeds 12 minutes. *Gish ih zha ha aldeh*, the sweat bath before *na ih es*, begins about 8 o'clock in the morning. It consists of from 9 to 12 song sets (in which only songs from the *na ih es* corpus are sung) and generally lasts about 3 hours.

While the medicine man, and those who are called his helpers, work on the ritual paraphernalia, 20 to 30 male relatives of the pubescent girl and *na ihl esn* take sweat baths. They welcome *gish ih zha ha aldeh* as an opportunity to get away from the women (who are never permitted to attend *ta chih*) and there is much joking and laughter. At least four times during the proceedings the medicine man stops working and enters the sweat house where he starts each of the four songs.¹⁶ His helpers, on the other hand, wait until their work on the paraphernalia is nearly finished before going inside.

Seated on the ground around a large tarpaulin, they work quietly and deliberately. They do not participate very much in the joking which goes on about them. Selected by the girl's father and the medicine man, they are fully aware that the hurried or shoddy manufacture of ritual items would render *na ih es* grossly incomplete and ineffective. One informant said:

Each one of those things has to be perfect. They are what the girl prays with. If they are messy or fall apart or something goes wrong with them, the prayer won't be any good.

Before *na ih es*, the paraphernalia is not considered "holy." It becomes so only during *na ih es* and for 4 days thereafter, when the pubescent girl has power.¹⁷

Around 11 o'clock a man comes from the dance ground and tells the men who have taken sweat baths, most of whom are now lounging around almost completely naked, to get dressed. Presently, a line of women appears, carrying cans of tulipay, beef, corn, potatoes, and coffee. This procession is led by the pubescent girl who presents a basket full of freshly made tortillas to the medicine man. In return, she is given the ritual paraphernalia and is told to take it directly to

¹⁵ *Gish ih zha ha aldeh* is generally held on the bank of Cibecue Creek, some 400-500 yards from the dance ground.

¹⁶ The medicine man does not take sweat baths at regularly spaced intervals. He enters the sweat house whenever he chooses.

¹⁷ That the ritual items have no power until *na ih es* may account for the relaxed and joking nature of *gish ih zha ha aldeh*. Apaches act differently around paraphernalia which has been used in a ceremony. They become nervous and tense and almost always dispose of the items right away.

her wickiup. If, as sometimes happens, the ritual items are not ready, the girl returns to the dance ground and receives them later in the day. This meal (which the men enjoy alone since the women depart immediately) signifies the end of *gish ih zha ha aldeh*.

THE RITUAL PARAPHERNALIA

Longevity, the most important quality bestowed on the pubescent girl, is symbolized by a decorated wooden staff, called *gish ih zha ha* ('cane'), with which the girl dances throughout the ceremony and which, years later, she uses as a walking stick (fig. 6, left).¹⁸

During *na ih es*, she dances with that to make her live many years. After *na ih es* she keeps it in her wickiup and when she gets old, and has trouble walking long ways, she uses it to help her out in that.

Resembling a modern walking cane in appearance, *gish ih zha ha* is made from a hardwood (sycamore or oak) ". . . so it won't snap when she gets old." It is painted yellow and may vary in length from 32 to 50 inches. Three or four days before *gish ih zha ha aldeh*, one of the girl's male relatives cuts a straight stick of wood. He strips off the bark and fashions the crook by bending over one end and fastening it securely with a rawhide thong. At *gish ih zha ha aldeh*, the medicine man or one of his helpers covers the cane with a mixture of yellow ocher and water.¹⁹ When this paint is dry, two eagle tail feathers are tied to the rawhide thong, which has been left in place. To the base of one feather a turquoise bead is attached; to the other, two orange oriole feathers. The eagle feathers are intended to protect the girl from certain kinds of sickness. The oriole feathers serve a different purpose. The oriole, Apaches think, is an exceptional bird because, as one man put it:

It never says bad words and is happy all the time. It always talks good, and minds its own business and never gets into fights. Every day, the same way with that bird. Always acting good. It is thought that the oriole feathers will cause the girl to have a good disposition when she grows up.

Turquoise is ubiquitous at all ceremonies. Equally omnipresent, at *na ih es*, are the four ribbons (black, green, yellow, and tan) which symbolize the cardinal directions, and which are attached to the rawhide thong on the cane. All informants had difficulty in stating the precise meaning of these items. A typical comment follows.

I don't know what those things are in *na ih es*. We always carry turquoise with us. We pray with that. Everybody has one. In all dances [ceremonies]

¹⁸ Decorated for *na ih es*, the cane is called *gish ih zha ha*. Unadorned, and used as a walking stick, it is called *zu kish*.

¹⁹ The yellow ocher from which this paint is made comes from a small salt spring in Salt River Canyon, about 40 miles by car from Cibecue. In order to extract the "yellow mud," the following procedure is observed. A small piece of turquoise is thrown into the spring, after which the ocher may be scooped out with the right hand. Apaches claim if they tried to collect the ocher without first putting a turquoise in the spring, a rattlesnake would emerge from it and strike them.

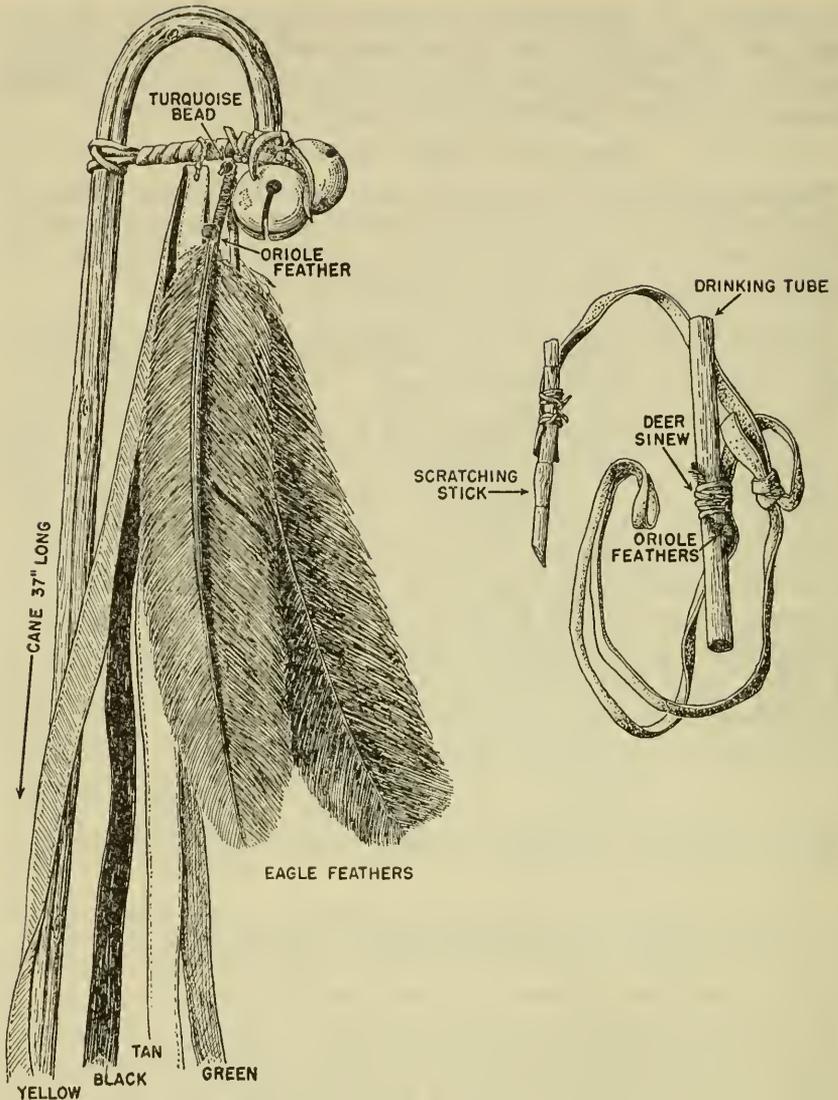


FIGURE 6.—Ritual paraphernalia.

there is turquoise, and they make the four ways, too. I don't know why that is. It makes the power good. We've always done that way. Ever since the earth was set up, it has been that way. I don't know why. It's been that way since Apaches learned to pray.

Turquoise and the four directions may be thought of as agents of prayer. As one medicine man said, "they make medicine strong." An Apache ceremony without turquoise and some symbolic represen-

tation of the four cardinal points would be as irregular as a Catholic service without a cross.

After the ribbons have been fastened to the cane, two bells are attached. These resemble the small bells used on sleighs. As far as I could determine, they have no symbolic significance. This is supported by numerous testimonies from older people, who claim that bells are a recent addition and were never used in the old times. Bells are put on the cane, I was told, because they jingle when the girl dances.

Two other items of singular importance, which are made directly after the cane, are the drinking tube and the scratching stick (fig. 6, *right*). Unlike the cane, these items do not function significantly in *na ih es*. They become important during the 4 days after the ceremony when the girl has power and is holy. At this time she must drink only through the tube (no container may touch her lips) and scratch herself only with the stick (never with her fingernails). The drinking tube and scratching stick have symbolic value as well. For 4 days after *na ih es*, the girl wears them wherever she goes. They symbolize her sacred state.

The drinking tube is fashioned from a species of reed that grows in Cibecue Creek. It is about 2 inches long, painted yellow like the cane, and may have an oriole feather (serving the same purpose as those on the eagle feathers) tied to it. The scratching stick, somewhat longer than the drinking tube, is also covered with ocher and is made from sycamore, oak, or cottonwood. It is pointed at one end and may be carved on the other. Both items are attached to a strip of rawhide which the pubescent girl wears around her neck.

The other pieces of paraphernalia prepared at *gish ih zha ha aldeh* include:

1. A small pendant of abalone shell which is tied to the girl's hair in such a way that it dangles over her forehead. The shell identifies her as *ih sta nedlekeh* (sometimes called White-Shell-Woman or White-Bead-Woman but commonly referred to as Changing Woman), a mythological figure, whom the girl personifies during the opening phases of *na ih es*.

2. A feather taken from the breast of an eagle and four ribbons (the same colors as those on the cane) which are fastened to the girl's hair and hang down behind her. The eagle feather is nearly white, and Apaches say it will cause the girl to live until her hair matches its color.

3. A fringed and beaded buckskin serape, made by the girl's mother or grandmother. At *gish ih zha ha aldeh*, the medicine man covers the outside of the serape with yellow paint and attaches a

downy eagle feather to each of its shoulders. This is done to enable the girl to dance as lightly as feathers fall to the ground.

4. A large buckskin, the forward part of which is painted yellow, to which an eagle feather is tied. Throughout *na ih es* the girl dances on this buckskin. It is thought that by doing so she will never be hungry; there will always be a plentiful supply of deer.

NIL SLA IH KA

('food, exchanged')

Nil sla ih ka is a symbolic affirmation of the *shi ti ke* relationship inaugurated at the very beginning of the *na ih es* proceedings (see pp. 132-133). As has been mentioned, it is an uncomplicated ritual involving gifts of prepared food. On the day before *na ih es*, shortly after the termination of *gish ih zha ha aldeh*, *na ihl esn* and her relatives bring their gift to the pubescent girl's camp. On the next day, the girl's skin reciprocate.²⁰ The same procedure is followed by both camps.

Carrying cans or pots filled with tulipay, coffee, tortillas, beef, corn, and potatoes, 20 or 25 members of a camp line up two abreast and walk across the dance ground led by two men beating drums. There is no singing. When the procession reaches the other camp, it is greeted by the mother or father of the pubescent girl (if *na ihl esn* is giving the feast)²¹ or *na ihl esn* (if the girl's relatives are the first to make the exchange). After the food is deposited, the men with the drums begin to sing, and five or six of the girl's close relatives (always including her mother and father) dance with *na ihl esn*, her husband, and a few of their close kin. Similar to the dancing at *bi goh ji tal*, it lasts for 12 to 16 songs, after which the persons who brought the food return to their camp, leaving the recipients to eat by themselves. The pubescent girl, although always present, takes no defined part in the *nil sla ih ka* proceedings.

The presentation of food at *nil sla ih ka* is witnessed by all the members of both camps and excites much comment. A great deal of importance is attached to the size of the gifts. A large amount of food, which provides for seconds and thirds, is taken as a clear indication of wealth, and results in increased prestige for the donors. A large feast is also a sign that clan relatives have been generous which, in turn, indicates that the clan members have been willing

²⁰ I have witnessed one *nil sla ih ka* at which this pattern was reversed; the girl's camp gave the first feast and *na ihl esn* gave the second. When questioned, informants expressed a definite dislike for this procedure but added, "it didn't really matter," so long as the camp that gave the first feast received one in return the following day.

²¹ These gifts of food, among the Cibecue Apaches, are called "feasts."

to help each other. Thus, a large feast at *nil sla ih ka* may reflect clan unity. As one man said:

When they have a big feed it's because all their relatives have given food or money. All their relatives wanted to help out. Most clan relatives give food because they don't help out on the dance ground. When there is a real big feed they gave a lot of food. Everybody is happy. That happens when they feel like helping each other and are friendly.

Nil sla ih ka ritually and symbolically joins *na ihl esn*, her family, her clan, and her clan set to those of the pubescent girl in a supposedly everlasting reciprocal relationship. In exchanging food, the fundamental premise of *shi ti ke*—"all that I have belongs to you"—is vividly portrayed. *Nil sla ih ka* is a solemnization of future obligations. After *na ih es*, the extended families of *na ihl esn* and the pubescent girl are required to help each other in whatever way they can. Even if no crisis arises in which they can be of assistance, small gifts are exchanged from time to time. In the words of one old man, this custom "keeps *shi ti ke* alive."

In a society where so much importance is attached to persons whose aid can be enlisted in times of hardship, *nil sla ih ka* serves a unique purpose. In affirming the *shi ti ke* relationship it creates the only artificial bond of reciprocal obligation in Apache culture. All others depend on actual or imputed blood ties or bonds of marriage. *Nil sla ih ka* makes "kinsmen" of totally unrelated families and clans.

BI KEH IHL ZE'

('she is dressed up')

At dusk, some 5 or 6 hours after the *nil sla ih ka* exchange, *bi keh ihl ze'* takes place. This is a brief ceremony, consisting of four songs.²² Here, the pubescent girl appears for the first time dressed in the costume she will wear for *na ih es*, and is given the ritual paraphernalia and instructed how to use it.

To begin with, and before the girl appears, a large blanket or tarpaulin is spread on the ground outside the girl's wickiup and four drums (two from *na ihl esn's* camp; two from the girl's) are laid nearby. A small bowl of holy powder and five ritual items are then placed on the blanket; the abalone shell, the eagle feather, four ribbons, the drinking tube, and the scratching stick. When these preparations have been made, the girl, clad in a new camp dress and the buckskin serape, comes out of her wickiup and goes to the blanket. She is followed by the medicine man who carries the decorated cane, and by one or two of his assistants—the men who helped him make the paraphernalia at *gish ih zha ha aldeh* earlier in the day.

²² The number four and multiples thereof are the Apache holy numbers.

After instructing the girl to stand next to *na ihl esn*, the medicine man gives a brief speech requesting all in attendance to gather around the blanket.²³ Following this, *na ihl esn* gives the girl the abalone shell, then the eagle feather and ribbons, then the drinking tube and scratching stick, and finally the cane.²⁴ After the presentation she walks once around the girl, counterclockwise. Throughout this "dressing" procedure, the medicine man or one of his assistants explains what the paraphernalia means and tells the girl how it must be employed during and after *na ih es*.

After the girl has been given the cane, the medicine man sings the first of four songs, all of which derive from the *na ih es* corpus. With four drummers, he stands behind *na ihl esn* and the girl, who dance side by side on the blanket. They do not lock elbows, as at *bi goh ji tal*, but simply bounce lightly—first on one foot, then on the other—in time to the beat of the drums. The girl is instructed to accentuate the rhythm further by striking the bottom of the cane (held in her right hand just below the crook) against the ground causing its bells to jingle in unison with the drums.

After the first song, a few older people, particularly close relatives of the girl, begin to dance around the blanket in conventional fashion. They continue to do so until the start of the fourth song when the medicine man's assistants sprinkle holy powder over the girl's head and shoulders and her cane. When the medicine man finishes the fourth and final song, he repeats this blessing, thus concluding *bi keh ihl ze'*. The girl, still carrying her cane, retires to her wickiup, and the crowd disbands.

At *bi keh ihl ze'* the pubescent girl becomes the focus of attention for the first time in weeks of preparation for *na ih es*. The reason for this is quite plain. In the eyes of the Apache, *bi keh ihl ze'* readies her for the new and crucial role she must play during *na ih es*. Fully clad and equipped with her paraphernalia, she ceases to be "just another girl." She represents *ih sta nedlekeh* (Changing Woman) the mythological figure whom she will portray during the opening stages of *na ih es*, and upon whose power the success of *na ih es* depends. The girl's new character is symbolized most clearly by the white abalone shell on her forehead.

Apaches make it plain that *bi keh ihl ze'* does not make the girl holy. Nor does it give her power; this will come at *na ih es*. *Bi keh ihl ze'* prepares the girl for the reception of power; it prepares her

²³ The girl stands to the right of *na ihl esn* on the blanket. Both face toward the east throughout the entire ceremony.

²⁴ *Na ihl esn*, directed by the medicine man, ties the abalone shell and the eagle feather and the ribbons in the girl's hair. She places the drinking tube and scratching stick (attached to a leather thong) around the girl's neck. With the cane, *na ihl esn* does no more than hand it to the girl who takes it in her right hand.

for holiness. She emerges from *bi keh ihl ze'* in a unique transitional state. Although ready for the power which will elevate her above everyone else, she is as yet without it. Nevertheless, she is accorded great respect and deference.

Said one old woman: "*Bi keh ihl ze'* shows everybody who *ih sta nedlekeh* [the girl] is. It shows everybody that tomorrow she will be at the head of her people."

BI TIL TIH

('night before dance')

Whereas *bi keh ihl ze'* readies the pubescent girl to assume the role of Changing Woman, *bi til tih* announces to the community at large that she is ready to fulfill this duty. A half-night dance, *bi til tih* differs from *bi goh ji tal* (see pp. 138-141) in that songs are sung by a medicine man, and the pubescent girl dances clad in her ceremonial costume. She dances in the conventional fashion with two girls (one on either side) who are roughly her age.²⁵ At no time during the proceedings does she dance with a male partner. "The cane is her partner," the people say.

By the time darkness comes, and a large bonfire has been started in the middle of the dance area, the crowd has swelled to include persons from most of the other communities on the reservation. They have come by any available means—truck, car, horse—and will spend the night at Cibecue in order to be on hand for the beginning of *na ih es* the next morning. At a large *bi til tih* three or four hundred persons may be present. *Bi til tih* offers many people their first opportunity to see the pubescent girl dressed for *na ih es*; and for all there is social dancing. One reason *bi til tih* is held, said a number of informants, is to welcome all visitors to the dance ground.

While the medicine man sings, the girl and her two companions dance with expressionless faces and downcast eyes. Contrasting sharply with their solemnity is the gaiety of the other persons, who laugh and joke. Beyond the light cast by the fire, partially obscured by the darkness, the spectators gossip and drink and watch the dancers.

Bi til tih is usually more restrained than *bi goh ji tal*. There is less drinking and rarely any violence. The presence of the pubescent girl curbs boisterous behavior. Said one informant:

At *bi til tih* everyone is friendly. Nobody gets mad or gets into trouble. She [the pubescent girl] is there, that's why. Everyone knows she will have *na ih*

²⁵ The girls who dance with the pubescent girl at *bi til tih* are usually her cousins (parallel or cross, no preference expressed) or her sisters. They dance with her because, in the words of one old woman, if they did not, ". . . the girl would be too bashful to dance alone."

es and get power. If somebody gets mad or into a fight she may not use her power for him when he blesses her.

Another man commented:

She will use her power at *na ih es* for everybody. They respect her because she can have the power to do this. Nobody gets in trouble around her.

The pubescent girl and her two partners dance until the medicine man stops singing. Then they leave the dance area and retire to their wickiups. Some of the older people say that "in the old days" medicine men sang 32 songs at *bi til tih*. Now they sing only 12 or 24. This is to permit the girl to go to sleep early and save her strength for the next day. After the medicine man departs (he, too, must conserve his energy) anyone may sing in his place. In this fashion, dancing continues until around midnight, when *bi til tih* comes to a close.

Bi til tih is primarily a social affair at which all in attendance are "introduced" to the girl who will impersonate Changing Woman. But it is more than that. In a sense, *bi til tih* prepares the spectators for *na ih es*. The girl, clad in her buckskin and carrying her cane, is a moving sight to many Apaches, one which touches something deep in their nature and to which they respond with great emotion. But at the same time they are mildly apprehensive, knowing that soon she will have power. The prospect of power—even Changing Woman's beneficent power—creates a certain tension which, in turn, inspires the sobriety and good behavior considered proper at *na ih es*.

NA IH ES

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the foregoing discussion, frequent mention has been made of power, songs, and the mythological figure known as Changing Woman. These topics should be somewhat expanded before proceeding any further.

Power.—When asked to translate the expression *di yih*, Apaches say 'power.' But this is only an approximation; there is no word in English that accurately can be substituted for *di yih*. "Power," in its *di yih* meaning, is a supernatural force which men may obtain under certain conditions from all phenomena of the Apache universe, including mythological figures, animals, plants, stones, shells, etc. When used properly, *di yih* serves as a vital tool, not only as an aid to the individual in his day-to-day existence, but also as a safeguard against the very source from which it is derived. To ward off lightning, one needs lightning power; to kill bear, bear power; to cure snake sickness, snake power. Certain powers are more potent than others and, as

Goodwin (1938, p. 28) suggests, the strength of each can be roughly gaged by the number of times it is employed ceremonially. The Sun, Lightning, and Deer are referred to countless times, whereas certain birds are mentioned very rarely.

Songs.—In ceremonies, songs are the means by which power is solicited from its particular source and then subsequently controlled. The 32 or more songs sung at *na ih es* are believed to have first been sung by Changing Woman, and are collectively called *goh jon sinh'* ('full-of-great-happiness songs'). With these songs the medicine man first calls forth and then directs Changing Woman's power into the pubescent girl. It resides in her person for 4 days, making her ritual paraphernalia potent. During this period, the pubescent girl personifies Changing Woman and is said to be "sacred." She is able to perform marvelous deeds, even to the extent of curing the sick and bringing rain.

Changing Woman.—Long ago, according to the myths, Changing Woman lived all alone. One day she had sexual intercourse with the Sun, and as a result of this union brought forth *nay en ez gane* ('Slayer-of-Monsters'), the foremost Western Apache culture hero. Four days later, Changing Woman became pregnant by Water-Old-Man and gave birth to *tuh ba tes chine* ('Born-of-Water-Old-Man'). The old people say that these half-brothers, or twins, were the first Apaches. As they matured, Changing Woman taught them all the things Apaches needed to know. As soon as they were old enough, Slayer-of-Monsters and Born-of-Water-Old-Man left home. Making constant use of Changing Woman's advice, they rid the earth of much that was evil.

Along with her sons, Changing Woman is thought of as one of the founders of Apache culture (some informants said the *only* founder) and, as such, is regarded with great fondness and admiration. Myths dealing with her teachings and exploits are still recounted, and a part of one of these myths—her sexual intercourse with the Sun—is enacted by the pubescent girl at *na ih es*.²⁶

Changing Woman's power grants longevity. This is because Changing Woman, unlike other mythological figures, has "never died." Although she grows old, she is always able to recapture her youth. Two different accounts of how this is accomplished were related to me:

Like everybody, she gets old and has a hard time. But when she gets old she doesn't like it. So she walks toward the east and turns around [counterclockwise] four times. Then she is like a young girl all over again.

When Changing Woman gets to be a certain old age, she goes walking toward the east. After a while she sees herself in the distance looking like a young girl walking toward her. They both walk until they come together and after that there is only one. She is like a young girl again.

²⁶ The best recorded myths of the life of Changing Woman are found in Goodwin (1939) and Goddard (1920).

Changing Woman will give the pubescent girl long life. This is the fundamental theme of *na ih es*. During the ceremony, and for 4 days thereafter, the girl is called *sa ni bi ti gishih*, which means 'old age beckoning to her.' "Changing Woman is calling her," the people say. "Changing Woman makes *na ih es*."

PREPARATIONS

Around 7 a.m. on the day of *na ih es*, two or three of the pubescent girl's male relatives make the few preparations that the ceremony requires. They spread a large tarpaulin (10×10 feet) on the ground near the center of the dance area, on which they pile 8 to 12 blankets, one on top of the other. The ceremonial buckskin is then placed on the uppermost blanket, with the forward part of the buckskin pointing east. From the cooking shade of the pubescent girl's camp, the same men bring six or eight cardboard cartons or *te tza* ('burden baskets') filled with candy, chewing gum, popcorn, and fruit, which they arrange in two rows directly in front of the buckskin. Then two small baskets, one filled with cigarettes, the other with holy powder, and four drums are placed in an arc to the west of the buckskin.

Shortly before the beginning of *na ih es*, some 45 minutes after the blankets have been "laid out," the *nan tan* of the pubescent girl's camp walks out of his shade and moves to the edge of the dance area where he addresses the people. A typical address follows:

It is time that you should all be awake. Pretty soon *na ih es* will start up. Don't be lazy. We want you all to see this dance. It will be a good one. Everybody should behave real good, and don't get into any trouble. Wear good clothes and get real clean. Don't drink or make any disturbance. We have spent a lot on this dance and we want you to like it. So do us a favor and don't get into trouble. And watch out for your children. There will be lots of people milling around and driving their trucks. Last week over at Canyon Day a little boy got run over because his mother wasn't watching he was behind a truck. Don't let that happen here, please. We want everyone to have a good time. I have said what I have said.

When the *nan tan* has concluded, the medicine man and four drummers walk onto the dance area and take their places directly behind the buckskin, facing east. Suddenly, the medicine man begins to sing and, seconds later, the drums join in. As the song gathers momentum, the pubescent girl comes out of her wickiup, dressed as she was for *bi til tih*, and carrying her cane.²⁷ She is closely followed by one of her maternal relatives (almost always a maternal aunt) clad in a new camp dress. The crowd, which has gathered around the tarpaulin, parts silently and lets them pass. Directed by the

²⁷ The girl may wear a different dress than the one she wore at *bi til tih*. Also she may have on an elaborate multicolored bead collar, which is a very full necklace. Aside from this, and with particular regard to her ritual paraphernalia, she is dressed exactly as she was for *bi keh ihl ze'* and *bi til tih*.

medicine man (who has stopped singing), the girl takes her place on the buckskin in front of the medicine man and his drummers. She faces east, toward the rising sun. Her maternal relative follows her example, standing on her left. The crowd draws closer. *Na ih es* is about to begin.

PHASES

As performed in Cibecue today, *na ih es* is made up of eight distinct parts or "phases." Each phase has a unique meaning, name, and set of ritual actions; each is initiated, perpetuated, and terminated by a group of songs, or "song set." The Apaches do not conceive of *na ih es* as an unbroken continuum, but rather tend to emphasize and stress its different parts.

Each medicine man arranges the 32 or more *goh jon sink'* songs which comprise *na ih es* to fit his own stylistic scheme. This produces great variation as to the number of songs in a given phase. But the sequence of phases is a stable pattern from which there is rarely any deviation. For example, one medicine man may sing 12 songs in phase I, while another may sing 8 or 16. Nevertheless, phase I always precedes phase II. In short, regardless of the number of songs in a phase, the order of the phases never changes.

I. BIHL DE NIL KE

('all alone, she dances')

During the first phase of *na ih es*, which may consist of 8, 12, or 16 songs, the pubescent girl dances on the buckskin with her companion.²⁸ In all respects, the method of dancing is identical to that at *bi keh ihl ze'*. The dancers bounce lightly, first on one foot, then on the other, always in time to the drums. With each beat, the girl strikes the bottom of her cane on the buckskin, causing the bells attached to the cross thong to jingle loudly. Her face is expressionless, her eyes fixed on the buckskin. At the end of each song, the medicine man and his drummers pause briefly, while the older woman wipes the girl's face with a handkerchief or smooths her hair.

The songs sung in phase I deal primarily with the Western Apache Creation or, as the people say, "when the earth was set up." Changing Woman is mentioned frequently. With his songs, the medicine man asks for Changing Woman's power (*goh jon sink' di yih*) on behalf of the pubescent girl. Apparently, there is no given point (or song) at which this force enters her. It is understood, however, that she

²⁸ I attended one *na ih es* at which phase I lasted for 23 songs. Everyone I questioned admitted this to be highly unusual. The reason discovered later was that *na ihl esn*, who makes her appearance at the beginning of phase II, was sick. Thus, it was felt necessary to continue phase I until she recovered. Throughout, the girl danced in place with her maternal relative.

receives it before the end of phase I. At the beginning of the fifth, sixth, or seventh song, the medicine man tells the girl to pray to Changing Woman. One informant said: "She couldn't make that prayer if she didn't have power." The girl's prayer is a short one—*da ha zhe'esh dali. Ih sta nedl'eh'eh* ('Long life, no trouble, Changing Woman').

II. NIZTAH

('sitting')

At the end of phase I, which may have lasted as long as 45 minutes if 16 songs were sung, the singing and dancing cease. Five or ten minutes elapse before the start of phase II. During this recess, the medicine man and his drummers take a drink of tulipay (from a can or pot provided by the girl's camp) or smoke a cigarette. They do not move from their positions behind the girl. Welcoming this chance to rest, she remains on the buckskin.

Shortly before the first song in phase II, *na ihl esn* makes her first formal appearance of the day.²⁹ She comes out of her shade and walks unescorted toward the center of the dance area. She is dressed in a spotless new camp dress. Her loose unbraided hair has been freshly washed. As she approaches the buckskin, the woman with whom the girl has been dancing in phase I departs. For the remainder of *na ih es*, *na ihl esn* will be the girl's partner.

Unlike the pubescent girl, *na ihl esn* does not personify a mythological character. Her function is to instruct the girl throughout *na ih es*, nothing more. She does not receive power and consequently is never considered holy. As was explained to me:

Na ihl esn tells the girl what to do, and not to be scared or bashful. The girl does not know what to do next, and someone must tell her. That's what she [*na ihl esn*] does. She doesn't have any power at all, and the reason she does that [instruct the girl] is because she helped put on the dance, and because they are not relatives.

For the two or four songs that make up the structure of phase II, the pubescent girl recreates the impregnation of Changing Woman by the Sun. In 1920, P. E. Goddard (1920, pp. 426-427) was given the following version of this incident.³⁰

²⁹ At one *na ih es*, *na ihl esn* did not take the place of the maternal relative until after two songs in phase II had been sung. This was because, until that point, she had felt ill.

³⁰ Unfortunately, Goddard does not make clear the exact identity of his informants, beyond saying that they were White Mountain Apache. However, further in the account from which the above quote is taken, he mentions the *gan* dance. If my informants are correct in saying that Cibecue and Carrizo never performed *gan* in connection with *na ih es*, we can be reasonably certain that Goddard's informant was not of either of these bands.

This maiden [Changing Woman when she was young] running as you say the sun began it they say. Then in this fashion sun toward this way she sat they say. Then sun from it shone in rays it was they say. Then in here it shone it became they say.

Goodwin's (1939, p. 17) account, taken from a man named Bane Tithla of the Eastern White Mountain Apache band (see also Goodwin, 1942, ch. 1) relates:

Then as the Sun came up she pulled up her dress toward Sun and spread her legs apart, so that Sun shone between her legs. When Sun came up one of his beams went right into her, a red one. Then she got her menstrual period and the blood started to come. After that she became pregnant.

A somewhat fuller description of this episode was told to me by a Cibecue Apache named Teddy Peaches, who is nearly 60 years old.

This way I heard it from my grandfather. He was from Carrizo, but they tell it always the same way over here [at Cibecue]. She was living all by herself and went out one day for berries to get. It was before the Sun came up that she went out. Then when the Sun came up, she felt tired and sat down. She looked at the Sun and kneeled down like the girl does in *na ih es* in front of it. When she did that one of the Sun's red rays came and went in there. After that she noticed that she was bleeding from there and she didn't know what it meant because it was her first time. When it stopped she found out she was pregnant. That's all I know about that part of the story. I don't think there is any more to it.

Before the first song in phase II, *na ihl esn* takes the girl's cane and places it upright between the two baskets or boxes farthest from the buckskin. Then the girl takes a kneeling position, with her knees some 20-25 inches apart. As the song begins, she raises her hands to the level of her shoulder, and then, looking into the rising sun, begins to sway from side to side not necessarily following the beat of the drums. *Na ihl esn* dances beside her.

The emphasis of phase II is on Changing Woman's first menstruation, and not on the conception of *nay en ez gane*. The all important fact that the pubescent girl has recently had her first period is given a vivid symbolic portrayal by her assumption of the posture in which Changing Woman is generally believed to have experienced her initial menstruation. Pubescent girl and mythological figure "share" this in common during phase II, and never is their identification with each other more thorough.

Despite the unmistakable sexual nature of phase II, it is not intended to promote the girl's fertility. Apaches assume that any girl who menstruates is fertile and, moreover, that this quality cannot be heightened effectively by supernatural means.

PHASE III. NIZTI

('lying')

Phase III of *na ih es* is based on the belief that certain parts of the girl's body are made strong by ritualistic massage. The reasoning behind this belief is explained in the following quotation.

Changing Woman's power is in the girl and makes her soft, like a lump of wet clay. Like clay, she can be put into different shapes. *Na ihl esn* puts her in the right shape and Changing Woman's power in the girl makes her grow up that way, in that same shape. When *na ihl esn* rubs her the right way, she will grow up strong and hard and never get tired.

Shortly after the end of phase II, the medicine man instructs the girl to lie prone on the buckskin, with her arms at her sides and her legs together. (She may also be told to raise her head and stare into the sun.) During phase III, which consists of one or two songs, the girl remains in this position while *na ihl esn* kneads the muscles in her legs, back, and shoulders.

Na ihl esn rubs her legs so she will never have any trouble walking long ways. Also, so she can stand up for long time and never get tired. She rubs her back so that when she gets to be really old age she won't bend over and not straighten up. Her shoulders . . . so she can carry heavy things for her camp and never get tired doing that either; carry wood and water and groceries long ways.

Na ihl esn rubs her back and legs so she can always work hard for a long time and never get tired out.

Na ihl esn does that for her so she will grow up strong and in good shape and always be able to help out at her camp and whenever her relatives need help.

IV. GISH IH ZHA HA YINDA SLE DĪ IHLYE

('cane set out for her, she runs around it')

During the pause (8-12 minutes) between phase III and phase IV, the pubescent girl remains on the buckskin and the medicine man and his drummers relax. The cane, which has been lodged between two baskets or cardboard cartons in phases II and III, is retrieved by *na ihl esn*. Directly east of the buckskin, and approximately 25 feet from it, one of the medicine man's assistants makes a shallow cylindrical hole in the earth with a crowbar. Here, *na ihl esn* inserts the cane, standing it upright.

When the opening song of phase IV begins, the girl runs to the cane, circles it once, and runs back again. She is closely followed by *na ihl esn* who, after going around the cane, takes it from the hole and returns with it to the buckskin. There, she hands it to the girl, and the remainder of the song is danced in place.

This procedure is repeated during each of the three additional songs that comprise phase IV. At the start of each, the cane is placed

farther away from the buckskin, thereby increasing the distance the girl has to run. In song II, the cane is about 35 feet from the buckskin; in song III, about 50 feet; and in song IV, 65 feet.

Each of the four "runs" in phase IV symbolizes a stage of life through which the pubescent girl has passed, or hopes to pass in the future. The first and shortest is childhood. The second represents young womanhood. The third run symbolizes adulthood and the fourth, which is the longest, is old age. Apaches believe that as soon as the girl circles the cane, she "owns" the stage of life it stands for. Thus, after completing the final run, the girl has symbolically passed through all the stages of life and is assured of living until she is very old. This is the gift of Changing Woman, and the essence of *na ih es*. If the girl trips and falls while making one of the four "runs" she is required to return to the buckskin and repeat the entire sequence. Such a mishap is not viewed with alarm, nor is it interpreted as symbolic of early death.

For the girl, that is the most important part. That is where she prays for long life. She has the power to make herself very old when she runs around the cane that way. Each time she runs around the cane that way she will live to be that age. That way, after she makes the last time—when it is far away—she will live until a very old lady.

She goes through her life running around that cane. Changing Woman did that one time and it made her very old. The girl has her power to grow up to a long age.

V.

The structure of phase V³¹ does not differ greatly from that of phase IV, and its alleged function is similar to phase III. Before the first four songs, the cane is placed in a hole about 20 feet east of the buckskin. When the singing begins, the pubescent girl and *na ihl esn* run to the cane and circle it, just as they did in phase IV. For the second song, the cane is placed south of the buckskin. Again, the girl runs around it, followed by *na ihl esn*. During song III, they run to the west, and in song IV, to the north.

Whereas phase III is thought to strengthen the pubescent girl's body, phase V supposedly enables her to run fast without feeling fatigue.

After she runs around the cane in the four ways, she will never get tired and will always be able to run fast. Changing Woman gives her power to the girl and that is why it happens this way.

She runs in the four ways so she will never get tired. Changing Woman ran fast long time ago, they say. That is why the girl runs so fast around [the cane]. She wants to be like Changing Woman and run good.

³¹ In searching my notes, I have been unable to find any information concerning the Apache term used to describe phase V. That it does have a name is certain. That it cannot be recorded here is due only to my negligence.

VI. SHA NAL DIHL

('candy, it is poured')

In phases I-V, only the pubescent girl profits from Changing Woman's power. However, in phases VI and VII it is used to the advantage of everyone at the dance ground.

Phase VI begins when the medicine man blesses the girl by sprinkling a small amount of holy powder over her head and shoulders, and on the crook of her cane. He may be followed in this by one or two of his assistants, or by some of the girl's old male relatives. Next, the medicine man picks up a small basket filled with candy, corn kernels, and coins of low denomination. Standing on the buckskin, directly in front of the girl, he pours these contents over her head. As the candy and corn fall to the ground, spectators nearby scramble wildly to pick it up.

After he pours it over her head, everything in all the baskets gets holy. Not just the stuff from the basket he pours over her. All the baskets, even the big ones near the buckskin. Because it is holy, all those things, everybody wants it. If you get a piece of candy, you will have plenty food all the time. If you take one of those corns home and plant it, you have plenty corn to bring in later on. You get some money, that means you get rich and never be poor. The girl's power makes all those things holy and good to have.

Following the "pouring of the basket," the other cartons and baskets containing candy, fruit, etc. are carried through the crowd by several of the girl's male relatives who encourage everyone to reach in and take as much as they can. When all the baskets are empty, they are placed in front of the girl on the buckskin. This concludes phase VI. There has been no singing.

VII. BA NA IHL DIH

('blessing her')

Phase VII begins when the medicine man blesses the pubescent girl and *na ihl esn* with holy powder. At this point, all the adults at the dance ground take a small pinch of powder from a basket held by one of the medicine man's assistants, and line up to repeat the blessing for themselves.³² Singing continues until everyone has done so. I have witnessed one *na ih es*, attended by an unusually large number of people, at which phase VII lasted for 23 songs and approximately 50 minutes.

The significance of phase VII for the community is enormous, for

³² By adults I mean persons 18 years or older. Although children may accompany their parents in line, they never sprinkle powder on *na ihl esn* or the pubescent girl.

Apaches believe that whatever wish is made while blessing the girl is certain to come true. "She has power to do that." In phase VII, the girl's power—Changing Woman's power—becomes a means by which anyone may attain his own personal ends. It functions in as many ways as there are individual wishes. A few of these are recorded below.

- . . . to have a good crop of corn and beans.
- . . . to make my sick wife get better.
- . . . my cattle, to get fat for sale time.
- . . . to cure up my daughter's face. [In reference to a severe case of acne.]
- . . . rain.
- . . . my son in Dallas learning to be a barber, not get into any trouble.

VIII. GIHX IĒ KE

('blankets, she throws them off')

Phase VIII begins shortly after the end of phase VII. It usually is made up of four songs (sometimes six), three of which are danced in place by *na ihl esn* and the pubescent girl. During the final song, the girl steps off the buckskin, picks it up with both hands, shakes it, and then throws it 3 or 4 feet towards the east. Following this, she throws a blanket in each of the three other cardinal directions, to the south, then to the west, and finally to the north.

She does this for two reasons. She throws the blanket so she can always have blankets, plenty of them, in her camp when she gets old. She shakes them out, like if they had dust in them, so her blankets and camp will always be clean. The buckskin she throws so there will always be deermeat in her camp, and good hunting for everyone.

Phase VIII concludes *na ih es*. Immediately after the last song, the girl and *na ihl esn* retire to their wickiups. The medicine man and his drummers leave the dance area in search of shade and a drink. When most of the crowd has dispersed, two or three men from the girl's camp gather up the buckskin, blankets, baskets, and tarpaulin and carry them away. Presently, the girl's relatives will complete *nil sla ih ka* by bringing food to *na ihl esn's* camp.

FOUR "HOLY" DAYS

Throughout most of *na ih es*, the girl's power is used to benefit herself. However, immediately after the ceremony, it becomes available to anyone. It is not incorrect, though perhaps an oversimplification, to say that during the 4 days which follow *na ih es* the girl's power is public property.

At this time she is considered holy and continues to live at the dance ground with her family. She is not obliged to stay there all

the time, however, and is free to return to Cibecue during the day or to accompany her parents on trips to other parts of the reservation.

Throughout the 4 days, the girl must observe certain taboos. She may not wash herself, for it is thought that by doing so she would sacrifice her power. She may drink only through her drinking tube. If she were to drink from a container, whiskers would grow around her mouth. A third restriction, and the one I am told is the most difficult to maintain, dictates that the girl not touch her skin with her fingernails. She may scratch herself only with a scratching stick. Apaches say that if she did otherwise, ugly sores (and subsequent scars) would appear where she touched herself.

Wherever she goes, the girl wears her drinking tube and scratching stick around her neck. The four colored ribbons and the eagle feather and the abalone shell are still in her hair, but she has discarded the buckskin serape and has left her cane in the wickiup at the dance ground.

During the 4 holy days, the girl's power is believed to be strong enough to cure the sick.³³ To be healed, a sick person stands facing the girl, who extends her arms in front of her (palms up) and then raises them quickly to shoulder level. She repeats this gesture four times. At no point does she touch the patient. If, after such a blessing, the sick person feels relieved, then the girl's power is considered exceptional in its strength and she is henceforth called *ba koh di yi* ('she-can-perform-miracles').

In addition to healing, the girl's power may be used to bring rain. I have never witnessed the rainmaking ritual, but received the following description of it from a trustworthy informant.

Inside her wickiup, they stand her cane in the ground. Then she takes water and sprinkles it over the cane. They say rain will come that way. There is a medicine man in there and he sings songs when they do it. Four songs, I think.

Around noon on the fourth day after *na ih es*, *na ihl esn* unties the ribbons and the feather in the girl's hair and takes the drinking tube and scratching stick from around her neck. Upon the removal of this paraphernalia, the girl no longer has the ability to cure the sick or bring rain, and her taboos are ended.

NA IH ES AND "LIFE OBJECTIVES"

For the pubescent girl, the function of *na ih es* is largely an educative one. By means of symbols and symbolic actions, *na ih es* isolates four all-important "life objectives" toward which, now

³³ A pubescent girl cures a child with bowed legs. See Goodwin, 1942, p. 443.

that she is a young adult, she should aspire.³⁴ These are physical strength, a good disposition, prosperity, and, finally, a sound, healthy, uncrippled, old age. To understand why these particular life objectives are emphasized, it will be necessary to show their relevance to other aspects of Western Apache culture—the supernatural world, the role of women in the native economy, kinship obligations, witchcraft belief, and the natural environment. It will be seen that the significance of achieving the life objectives is apparent only when the consequences and implications of failing to achieve them are understood.

OLD AGE

Attaining old age is closely connected with triumph over the malevolence of the supernatural world. The Western Apache universe, like that of the Navaho, is thought to be filled with a large number of capricious forces which, unless treated with extreme care and respect, may well cause sickness and death (Goodwin, 1938, p. 28). Perhaps the greatest single source of anxiety for an Apache is that he has unwittingly offended such a force and that disaster is close at hand. Life may be seriously disrupted or ended altogether as a result of such transgressions, and the innumerable curing ceremonies held by Apaches are but attempts to neutralize them.

The people say it is possible to stay on good terms with the supernatural. However, this is difficult and requires a rigid observance of taboos, prayers, and the possession of strong individual power. A man must never boil the stomach of a deer he has killed, nor let the hair loosened by brushing a horse's tail touch the ground. Women must grind corn in a special manner, and take care that water never falls on an eagle feather. Prayers should be offered on a variety of occasions—at the birth of a child, when a new wickiup is built, before the hunt, and prior to a long journey. By adhering to proscriptions such as these, an amicable and "safe" relationship with supernatural forces can be maintained. Apaches are quick to add, however, that there are times when, despite all precautionary efforts, the adverse forces are antagonized, in which case obeying taboos and offering prayers have little protective value. An additional safeguard is needed—personal or individual power. One who possesses such power can avoid sickness and prolong life.

As symbolized by the four runs in phase IV of *na ih es*, Apaches divide life into a clearly defined progression of stages: childhood,

³⁴ "Life objectives" refers to those aims in life which, either declared or implied, are considered most desirable and worthy of achievement and which, because of their fundamental nature, stimulate activity and regulate behavior.

In preparing this definition, I was greatly aided by the writings of Opler (1945, pp. 198-206), Linton (1945, pp. 111-113), Kluckhohn and Murray (1961, pp. 58-60), and F. Kluckhohn (1961, pp. 348-361).

young adulthood, adulthood, and old age. It is firmly believed that old age is within the reach of anyone as long as he does nothing to provoke a supernatural force to kill him. The immediate and apparently inevitable reaction to the death of a young person is "He did something wrong," or "His power was weak." Death before old age is feared because it is unexpected and because it reinforces the belief in a basically hostile universe. Death during old age is "as it should be" because what is desired has become a reality, and something approaching victory over evil has been accomplished. Thus, the enviable old person is one who has avoided crippling illness and death by staying on good terms with the supernatural. Conversely, he who is constantly sick or comes to an early end has obviously failed in this respect. Apaches do not dread old age; they consider it an achievement.

Old people are treated with great respect. It is thought best not to provoke them into using their assumed power in a vengeful way, and their advice is sought regularly on matters of importance. They also enjoy the leisure that comes with economic security. (In virtually every case, old people are supported by their daughter's families.) In addition, the aged fill prestigious ceremonial and social roles. Old men assume such positions as imputed clan leaders, *nan tan* at *na ih es*, or head drummer at curing ceremonies. Old women take an active part in family and clan affairs and may be chosen to be *na ihl esn*. In brief, Western Apache culture rewards longevity. By instructing the pubescent girl how to live safely in a world of threatening supernatural forces—by giving her power, and by stressing the need for prayers and taboo observance—*na ih es* shows her how this reward may be attained.

The power to reach old age is vested in the girl through a complex set of symbols. She is provided with a walking cane to use when, as an old woman, she has difficulty getting about. The downy eagle feather in her hair will cause her to live until she herself turns gray. In phase V, she passes through the stages of life by running around the cane four times. Most important of all, she herself becomes Changing Woman; the recognized source and giver of "many years."

The eagle feathers attached to the cane protect the girl from certain illnesses, and the turquoise will cause her prayers "to be heard." Throughout *na ih es* she is instructed to pray to Changing Woman for long life; thus, the crucial connection between prayers and attaining longevity is established.

The need for taboo observance is emphasized during the four holy days that follow *na ih es*, when the girl is not permitted to wash, scratch herself, nor drink from a container. These restrictions are symbolic of countless others she will have to obey as an adult. She

is made to understand that taboos will constitute a very significant, trying, part of her life, and that any violation of them is a serious matter. In explicit, although negative terms, she is told to fear the supernatural. "Do *not* break taboos."

PHYSICAL STRENGTH

Since life in Cibecue makes heavy demands on women, it is essential that they be physically strong. Despite the harsh living conditions—sickness, a poor diet, and insufficient protection from the cold—women nevertheless fill the strenuous roles imposed on them by the native economy.

They do most of the work connected with agriculture: planting, weeding, irrigating, and harvesting. They also attend to a variety of arduous household tasks: preparing huge quantities of food, helping build wickiups and shades, collecting and chopping firewood, and transporting food and water. Few families in Cibecue own trucks (only one owns a car), and it is not at all unusual for a woman to walk over 2 miles from her camp to the trading post and return, often carrying 20 or 30 pounds of goods. Occasionally, though not nearly as often as during prereservation days, women go on long overland treks in search of wild plant foods such as mescal tubers, piñon nuts, and acorns. Hard work is expected of all adult women. Without the physical strength it requires, they place the survival of themselves and their families in considerable jeopardy.

A girl's economic education begins in childhood with a few easy domestic chores. At the age of 5 or 6, she helps shuck corn and carries an empty bottle to the trading post, receiving a few pennies of deposit money in return. At 10 or 11, she is given instruction in the techniques of agriculture, wild plant gathering, and wickiup construction. Consequently, by the time she reaches puberty, a girl is thoroughly acquainted with the duties that await her as an adult.

Na ih es symbolically awards her the qualities of physical strength and endurance she will need to fulfill these duties. In phase III, *na ihl esn* massages the girl's legs, back, and shoulders in order to make them strong. By running in the four directions during phase V, she acquires endurance. Throughout the entire ceremony, the eagle feathers on the shoulders of her buckskin serape invoke a lightness of foot.

GOOD DISPOSITION

Na ih es prepares the pubescent girl for life in society by symbolically granting her that quality considered most necessary for the maintenance of friendly relations with other people—a good disposition.

To understand the significance of this "gift," something must first be said about kinship obligations and witchcraft belief.

It is difficult to overemphasize the importance of kin and clan ties in Western Apache culture. In a very real sense, the Apache categorizes all other human beings on the basis of whether or not they are related to him. As individuals with whom he lives, works, and participates in ceremonial activities, relatives stand fundamentally opposed to nonrelatives, who are generally distrusted and approached with cautious formality. Whenever serious difficulty arises (lack of food, funds, or transportation), or when a major ceremonial is undertaken, the Apache relies exclusively on his relatives for support. Thus it is imperative that he do everything possible to stay on friendly terms with them.

I have seen an Apache go to considerable lengths to help a clan member who lived miles away from Cibecue. But as he himself explained, he did so for a practical reason. "I helped him because he is related to me. Our clans are close together. When I give *na ih es* for my daughter next summer, he will be glad to help me." The principle of reciprocity which underscores all kin ties is reflected in the kinship terminology. Outside the nuclear family, all consanguineal kinship terms are self-reciprocal (Goodwin, 1942, p. 193).

As the following example shows, the consequences of antagonizing relatives can be dire indeed. A woman who drank heavily refused to work around her camp. She roamed about at night looking for liquor. Occasionally, she got into fights. One night, when drunk, she went to the camp of her female parallel cousin. While there she was discovered trying to steal some tulipay belonging to her cousin's husband. A violent quarrel ensued, and she was forcibly expelled from the camp. Some days later, while on her way to the trading post, the same woman tripped in an irrigation ditch and broke her ankle. She was near her cousin's camp and called for help. The latter refused, recalling the liquor incident. The injured woman, unable to move, was left alone for nearly an hour before a nonrelative took pity on her.

One need only consider the part clan relatives play in presenting *na ih es* to understand the importance of keeping on good terms with them. If clan kin should refuse to contribute food, or help with the preparation of the dance ground, it would be impossible for the pubescent girl's family to hold the ceremony.

The possibility of being "witched" makes offending nonrelatives just as dangerous, if not more so, as antagonizing relatives. Witches (*il kashn*) are people who are believed to use their power to harm others. They cause sickness and death, seduce women, and kill livestock. With their surreptitious techniques, they are active mostly

at night. Witches are seldom seen or heard. They are said to be easily angered and frequently act out of jealousy. Apaches say: "You never know who might witch you if they get mad. You must be careful with everyone and try to be friendly. Don't make anybody mad at you."

Although sparse and quite possibly illusory, my data on witchcraft show that the accused witch is usually not related to the victim. Nonrelatives were suspected in four of the five cases of which I have record. The single exception was an old woman who claimed to have been witched by a distant clan member whom she had not seen in over 10 years. This evidence was further corroborated by general statements from informants such as: "Witches don't like to witch their relatives," or "Relatives don't often witch you." Whether or not anyone (relative or nonrelative) actually practices witchcraft is immaterial for the moment. The important thing is that the fear of being witched constitutes a very real source of anxiety.

Western Apache culture places a high value on the passive personality—the personality disinclined toward such displays of hostile feelings as might anger a relative or upset a potential witch. A highly esteemed person is one who is friendly, generous, and adroit enough to avoid situations which might result in interpersonal conflict. Such a person goes out of his way to mask signs of aggression, and is always reluctant to pry into other people's affairs. In *na ih es*, these qualities are symbolically bestowed on the pubescent girl by the orange oriole feathers attached both to the eagle feathers on her cane and to her drinking tube. She is ritually awarded those character traits which her culture considers virtuous and a prerequisite for smooth social interaction. In addition, she is provided with a living model of good conduct—the oriole—to emulate.

PROSPERITY

One of the aims of *na ih es* is to assure the pubescent girl of prosperity. In Western Apache culture, prosperity corresponds in large part to the abundance of nature. More materialistically, it means having enough food and money to withstand times of severe privation. For most Apaches, making a living is difficult and uncertain. Their plots of corn and beans rarely bear an extensive yield, and inclement weather often results in no yield at all. Some years bring rain. Others bring drought, or heavy downpours that uproot seedling plants. Sudden frosts in the early fall ruin near-grown corn, and lightning kills livestock. For all but a few families, private income is low and credit at the trading post soon runs out. It is not surprising that Apaches think of the prosperous man as one who is always free

from hunger. In phase VI of *na ih es*, the pubescent girl is symbolically protected against famine by the corn, the candy (Apaches dearly love sweets), and the fruit which is cascaded over her head. The buckskin on which she dances throughout the ceremony stands as a guarantee of a plentiful supply of meat.

In recent years Apaches have come to place a high value on some of the things money can buy. Trucks, for instance, are a welcome means of transportation, opening up wide areas of mobility, and even the simplest cabin offers protection from the cold. Moreover, the wealthy are able to hold frequent ceremonials, and most important of all, money acts as a safeguard against the economic losses caused by the natural environment. Within the past few decades, the practice of pouring a few small coins (along with the corn, candy, and fruit) over the girl's head has been added to *na ih es*. Supposedly, she is thus assured of wealth as an adult. Old informants point out, however, that in their youth men reckoned wealth in terms of horses, women in terms of blankets. The traditional symbol of wealth, they say, occurs in phase VIII, when the girl throws a blanket in each of the cardinal directions.

It will be immediately understood that the realization of any one of the life objectives defined in *na ih es* increases the possibility of achieving others. Two specific examples of this interrelationship follow:

The attainment of old age depends in large part upon an observance of the proscriptions which mollify the anger of supernatural forces, and thereby bring about good health. Good health is obviously required for physical strength, a life objective in itself.

To maintain a good disposition—again a specific life objective—is to escape antagonizing another and to cause him to seek revenge by employing witchcraft. One result of witchcraft is sickness, which, by definition, makes physical strength impossible.

It is clear that the four life objectives stressed in *na ih es* are not always separate from one another; rather, they may be mutually dependent, forming a "life objective complex."

The foregoing discussion may have left the impression that Apaches conceive of the life objectives as explicitly formulated principles. Actually, these are culturally determined attitudes which are understood implicitly and rarely articulated. Their significance for the pubescent girl is that they define patterns of behavior which lessen the hazards and tensions in those areas of life most filled with uncertainty, and in which failure may result in disastrous consequences. If these patterns are carefully followed, they contribute immeasurably to the equilibrium of society and the psychological well-being of the individual.

NA IH ES AND CIBECUE

Having spoken of what *na ih es* does for the pubescent girl, I will now discuss a few of the things it does for the community. In doing so, I will make use of the ideas of adaptive and adjustive response set forth by Kluckhohn.

My basic postulate . . . is that no cultural forms survive unless they constitute responses which are adaptive or adjustive, in some sense, for the members of the society or for the society considered as a unit. "Adaptive" is a purely descriptive term referring to the fact that certain types of behavior result in survival (for the individual or for society as a whole). "Adjustive" refers to those responses which bring about an adjustment of the individual, Thus suicide is adjustive but not adaptive. [Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 46.]

Kluckhohn's approach differs from that of the older functionalists (Radcliffe-Brown in particular) in emphasis but not in basic theory. Whereas the latter were primarily interested in showing the relations between abstracted elements of culture, Kluckhohn directs his attention to the contributions culture makes toward the preservation of the equilibrium of individuals.

In his interpretation of Navaho myth and ritual, Kluckhohn (1942) found the concepts of adaptive and adjustive response could be used to good advantage. He concluded that from the standpoint of society at large, rituals were "storehouses" of adaptive responses. In the following discussion, I shall attempt to show that *na ih es* functions adaptively; it contributes to the survival of Western Apache society.

Unfortunately, I am unable to explain clearly how *na ih es* functions adjustively. This would require a thorough knowledge of "motivation stimulating the individual" that I do not have at the present time. I know that Apaches cope daily with a wide variety of tensions, frustrations, and anxieties which sometimes result in explosive and violent behavior. But I am not at all sure about the precise nature of these feelings, nor of the cultural and social conditions which foster them. Consequently, in those instances where *na ih es* may function adjustively as well as adaptively, I can do little more than suggest the possibility.

Na ih es brings clan relatives together.—As indicated earlier, a Western Apache clan is not a localized kin group. Its members live in different communities, scattered over the entire reservation. Consequently, certain members of the same clan may see each other very infrequently. *Na ih es* is unique in that it unites large numbers of clan kin at the same place and provides them with a welcome opportunity to visit and work together.

For most Apaches, *na ih es* is the most festive and sociable occasion of the year. It is a time of activity, excitement, and social dances; a time of generosity and abundance with food and drink for everyone.

It is a time when individuals no longer living on the reservation come back to see their relatives and old friends. It is a time for gossip, bartering, and announcing forthcoming events. For the young people, it is a time for courting. People come to *na ih es* to "see the dance and take it easy for a while and have a good time." One man said that, for him, *na ih es* was "like a vacation."

When surrounded by relatives, as he is at *na ih es*, the Apache feels more secure than at any other time. He knows that if trouble should befall, support is close at hand. He shares common interests with his kinsmen and there is always a great deal to talk about. He is relaxed and at ease. He jokes and boasts in a good-natured way. He is cordial. He has a definite sense of belonging, a heightened awareness of those ties which bind him to specific segments of the social organization. One of the major adaptive functions of *na ih es* is that it contributes significantly (if temporarily) to the psychological well-being of the individual by creating an atmosphere conducive to the affirmation of rapport between clan relatives. This results in an increased sense of social membership and reinforced clan loyalties.

Na ih es strengthens kinship obligations.—During the days that precede *na ih es*, the reciprocal obligations which clan kinship entails are put to a crucial test. Without assistance from clan relatives, the ceremony cannot be held. Members of the pubescent girl's clan and clan set are expected to contribute large quantities of food and help make ready the dance ground. *Na ihl esn's* clan relatives are counted on to give food and small sums of money. Preparation for the ceremony stresses the need for economic cooperation between relatives and forces them to recognize their mutual dependency. By demonstrating the *practical* benefits to be had from the fulfillments of kinship obligations, *na ih es* confirms the effectiveness of the existing social order, and encourages the individual to adhere all the more strongly to established patterns of kinship behavior. This has the obvious adaptive function of promoting clan unity.

Na ih es establishes reciprocal obligations between unrelated persons.—Apaches say that one of the most important aspects of *na ih es* is the affirmation of the *shi ti ke* relationship. As previously noted, this bond requires the members of the pubescent girl's family, clan, and (theoretically) clan set to help those of *na ihl esn* whenever the need arises, and vice versa.

Ordinarily, such obligations exist only between blood and clan relatives. *Shi ti ke* functions adaptively by creating reciprocities between nonrelatives, thus greatly increasing the number of persons who can be relied on for support. The *shi ti ke* relationship makes "kinsmen" of individuals who are totally unrelated to each other.

Na ih es relieves anxieties.—Anthropologists have observed that one of the primary functions of rituals everywhere is to give systematic protection against the unpredictable, the unforeseen, and the perilous. Malinowski (1931, p. 624) wrote that ritual was “nothing else but an institution which fixes, organizes, and imposes upon the members of a society the positive solution in those inevitable conflicts which arise out of human impotence in dealing with all hazardous issues by mere knowledge and technical ability.” Kluckhohn has commented that rituals help mask the vast role of “luck” in human life. In general, ritual may be thought of as a response to the anxieties of existence, a response which satisfies the individual’s demands for a stable, coercible, and comprehensible world and which thereby enables him to maintain inner security against the threat of disaster.

By investing the pubescent girl with Changing Woman’s power, *na ih es* protects the members of the community against sickness, drought, famine, and poverty. The people feel that, if used effectively, this power can cause good health, rain, an abundance of food, and material wealth. In a sense, a girl’s puberty is merely an excuse to invoke Changing Woman’s prophylactic benevolence and bring good fortune to Cibecue. Apaches say over and over again that everyone “gets something” from *na ih es*. The ceremony does much more than prepare the pubescent girl for adult life. It brings “good luck” to the entire populace.

Four 4 days after *na ih es*, the girl is “like a medicine man.” With a simple gesture, she can cure the sick. In addition, she can bring abundance. For anyone fortunate enough to pick them up, the corn kernels and coins which are poured over her head in phase VI guarantee good crops and wealth. The fruit and candy which is distributed to all the spectators protects them against hunger. By dancing on the buckskin, the girl assures a plentiful supply of deer. And finally, by pouring water over her cane, she can cause rain.³⁵

Changing Woman’s power, acting through the pubescent girl, brings the “good things in life” within the reach of everyone. As mentioned before, the good things pertain directly to those areas of life where Apaches can least tolerate insecurity and about which they are the most anxious. *Na ih es* relieves much of this anxiety by promising “better times.” It provides the community with a strong weapon—Changing Woman’s power—with which to combat natural catastrophe. Thus, for the individual, *na ih es* has an important adjustive function; it reduces the fear of disaster. With regard to the community, however, the ceremony functions adaptively. By forcing community concerns into bold relief, it makes the people acutely

³⁵ Besides relieving the anxieties common to everyone in the community, *na ih es* functions adaptively to ease strictly personal worries. It will be recalled that in phase VII, the girl makes private wishes come true.

aware of the interests, aspirations, and solitudes they share with one another. *Na ih es* strengthens communal solidarity by uniting the people under the aegis of a common system of sentiments.

Na ih es encourages "moral" behavior.—Apaches think that the achievement of life objectives is wholly "honorable" and "good." Consequently, *na ih es*, which isolates four all-important life objectives, has a profound effect on the moral attitudes of the community. At *na ih es*, parents tell their children: "It is good to have those things so you can grow up to be old. Be strong and friendly. People will always like you if you grow up old that way." In stressing the need for "virtuousness," *na ih es* incites compliance with the normative standards of ethical behavior. Once, after attending *na ih es*, a young Apache told me: "I've been getting into trouble lately, but I'll behave good from now on. I sure liked that dance. I'll be like that girl who got that power." In the absence of a codified system of ethics, *na ih es* serves a vital purpose. It strengthens belief in those values which are the most important for the smooth integration of Apache society and the psychological stability of the individual.

Na ih es is symbolic of an ideal state of happiness which Apaches claim actually existed long ago in mythological times. "In those days," the people say, "everything was good." The myth of Changing Woman, and her personification by the pubescent girl, link *na ih es* to the past and thus provide the *raison d'être* for its existence in the present. The ultimate justification and sanction for *na ih es* come not from the ceremony itself but from the long cultural tradition of which it is a product. An old man said to me: "Changing Woman never died and she will always live."

GLOSSARY OF APACHE TERMS

- ba koh di yi* ('She can perform miracles')—term applied to the pubescent girl when, after *na ih es*, she heals a sick person.
- ba na ihl dih* ('blessing her')—phase VII of *na ih es*, during which all spectators bless the pubescent girl and *na ihl esn* by sprinkling holy powder on them.
- bi goh ji tal* ('half-night dance')—social dances which precede *na ih es*, held at the dance ground.
- bihl de nil ke* ('all alone, she dances')—phase I of *na ih es*, during which the pubescent girl receives Changing Woman's power.
- bi keh ihl ze'* ('she is dressed up')—brief ceremony on the evening before *na ih es*, at which the medicine man bestows the ritual paraphernalia on the pubescent girl.
- bi til tih* ('night before dance')—social dance preceding *na ih es*, at which the pubescent girl dances clad in her ceremonial attire.

- da ha zhe esh dali. Ih sta nedleheh* ('long life, no trouble, Changing Woman')—prayer uttered by pubescent girl in phase I of *na ih es*.
- di yih* ('power')—Apache term for supernatural power.
- di yin* ('one who has power')—Apache term for medicine man or shaman.
- gan* ('mountain spirits')—also applied to the curing ceremony at which masked dancers impersonate these supernaturals.
- gihx il ke* ('blankets, she throws them off')—eighth and final phase of *na ih es*, during which the pubescent girl throws the ceremonial buckskin to the east, and a blanket in each of the three other cardinal directions.
- gish ih zha ha* ('cane')—the decorated staff with which the pubescent girl dances at *bi til tih* and *na ih es*.
- gish ih zha ha aldeh* ('cane, it is made')—sweat bath, attended by male relatives of the pubescent girl and *na ihl esn*, at which the medicine man and his assistants make the ritual paraphernalia for *na ih es*.
- gish ih zha ha yinda ste dil ihtye* ('cane set out for her, she runs around it')—phase IV of *na ih es*, during which the pubescent girl, followed by *na ihl esn*, runs and circles the cane which stands upright in the ground.
- goh jon sink'* ('full of great happiness')—specifically the name given to Changing Woman's power; the songs sung at *na ih es* are collectively referred to by this term.
- hadn tin* ('holy powder, yellow powder')—cattail and/or corn pollen considered sacred by Apaches and used in all ceremonies.
- ih sta nedleheh* ('Changing Woman')—the mythological figure whom the pubescent girl personifies during *na ih es* and whose power is believed to grant long life.
- ih' tsos ba hihl tza* ('eagle feather, it is given')—term for the procedure of asking a woman to be *na ihl esn*.
- il kashn* ('witch')—Apache term for witch.
- na e tlank* ('have drinking,' or 'goes before drinking')—informal gathering at which clan relatives of the pubescent girl's family pledge gifts of food and drink (for *na ih es*) in return for being given tulipay.
- na ih es* ('preparing her,' or 'getting her ready')—Western Apache term for girl's puberty rite.
- na ihl esn* ('one who prepares her,' or 'one who gets her ready')—woman who dances with the pubescent girl in *na ih es* and with whom the girl's family makes the *shi ti ke* contract.
- nan tan* ('chief' or 'boss')—prominent member of *ndeh guhyaneh* who supervises the preparation of the dance ground and who formally asks a woman to be *na ihl esn*.

- nay en ez gane* ('Slayer-of-Monsters')—Changing Woman's first child; his father was the Sun.
- ndeh guhyaneh* ('wise people')—group of older people who select a time and place for *na ih es*; they also choose a medicine man and nominate a woman for the role of *na ihl esn*.
- nił sla ih ka* ('food, exchanged')—the exchange of gifts of food which takes place between the families and relatives of the pubescent girl and those of *na ihl esn*.
- niztah* ('sitting')—phase II of *na ih es*, during which the pubescent girl reenacts Changing Woman's impregnation by the Sun.
- nizti* ('lying')—phase III of *na ih es*, during which *na ihl esn* massages the legs, back, and shoulders of the pubescent girl.
- nja njleesh* ('she is painted')—ceremony combined with *na ih es* in communities other than Cibecue, Cedar Creek, and Carrizo.
- sa ni bi ti gishih* ('old age beckoning to her')—term used with reference to the pubescent girl prior, during, and 4 days after *na ih es*.
- sha nal dihl* ('candy, it is poured')—phase VI of *na ih es*, during which the medicine man pours candy, fruit, and corn kernels over the pubescent girl's head.
- shi ti ke* ('my good friend')—term denoting the bond of reciprocal obligation which is contracted between the extended family and clans of the pubescent girl and *na ihl esn*.
- ta chih* ('sweat bath')—sweat bath.
- te tza* ('carrying basket')—a large basket, generally with buckskin fringe.
- tuh ba tes chine* ('Born-of-Water-Old-Man')—Changing Woman's second son; his father was the mythological figure Water-Old-Man.
- tulipay* (? 'gray water')—Western Apache liquor; made from the fermented pulp of mashed corn shoots.
- zú kish* (?)—term for the pubescent girl's cane when it is used as a walking stick, and not as an item of ritual paraphernalia.

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