

Tape #232
SANTA ANA PUEBLO
Porferio Montoya
February 27, 1969
By DENNIS STANFORD
Sides One & Two, Tape 2

Various forms of politeness
Relationships among families
Adopted kinship system
Personal history

Q. Well...

A. I guess we will have to start from, well let's start from inside, coming into the house...when a person enters a house, according to the old ways, you don't have to knock, you simply open the door and go inside and right here you say "Gu Aat Se nah," and then the people inside there would say "nou eah" the greeting I said would be, they make a greeting back to me the opposite you see, and then you are welcome and then they will say ---- come in and sit down and then I went and sat down and start to tell what I came for...And then when I am ready to leave I will say again, I'll say I am going now, I am leaving now --- means I am leaving now and they say, all right ---- and then I say, ---- means sort of a goodbye...--- same to you...and then I walk, I left the house. Or if the people were again, when I come in, I go through the same thing see but if they were having their meals, then I would say ---- means, are you eating and then they will say, yes, come on and have something to eat, --- then if I don't want to eat, if I am on an errand, you see, from house to house...then I want to finish up then I will say, I will say, thank you.

Q. No, thank you...

A. Yeah, no, thank you...---- I would say and they would say ---- to me...---- is when they are eating, same as you are welcome here. While I say thank you that's my way of thanking men while a lady when she is finished her meal she would say ---- the lady...

Q. What was that again?

A. ----- but the answer would be ----, the same as a male's answer that I used a while ago. And anything that the person is doing inside, anything, making moccasins maybe, and I came in the same way again, then I would say, are you making moccasins? -----, see, and then he would say, yes...---- meaning, yes, I am making moccasins here, -----sit down he says, and if I just came in for a message you know...

then I might sit down there and then I start up a conversation for whatever I came for...or if I came in for some purpose, then I will give a message to him you see...And then I will leave the same way as I did the first time you see...and the lady too the same way, whatever she is doing, either a male or a female would come in and see her probably making tortillas...() and she would say, yes, ().

Q. Okay, she said, are you making tortillas?

A. Yes...

Q. And the answer is yes.

A. Yeah.

Q. Now, what does (Hah) mean?

A. Yes...right then if she already had two, three of them already taken off the grill, and the woman would say (), meaning, have some to eat...and the woman would say right there ().

Q. Now can anybody just walk in at any time, day and night, into the house?

A. Yes, if it's before bedtime...

Q. But they can't after bedtime?

A. After bedtime, he can only come in when he is performing some special errand you see...some officer of the pueblo, or from some higher authority in the pueblo and then he will have to knock then...and call...and make it known that this is, he came for some purpose... you see...

Q. And then the people that live in the house, he would have to wait for their recognition of him?

A. Yeah.

Q. Now, what about classes of people such as outsiders...of the pueblo, who would happen to, you know, happen to come over and want to trade with you or something?

- A. They will answer the same way as I did...
- Q. He won't knock either?
- A. He won't...and then if he is invited to sit down, you see, then he or she would make it known why they are around...you see, if they have something to trade then he'll open up and maybe he has got a bunch of buckskin or something you know rolled up in the bag or something and he will open up and say, I have got this one for trade...in case you are interested in trading...you see.
- Q. Yeah, and what if you are not interested, how would you politely say, what would you do then?
- A. You would just tell him that they are nice, but we are not interested in it today, maybe next time...
- Q. You never say no, I am not interested, period? You always say maybe next time...maybe I will go with you next time...but what you really mean is, you don't want anything at all?
- A. Yeah, that is right.
- Q. But in order not to offend the person, you are giving him an indefinite answer.
- A. Yeah, that is right...
- Q. And if he is particularly perceptive, he will know not to bother you again?
- A. Yeah, that is right.
- Q. How would you make a distinction, when you really wanted him to come back later, but you couldn't deal with him now? How would you state that, not now?
- A. Well that is about the only thing, he may not come back, not for the time being that he was there you see...because he has already visited there, but maybe later, I don't know, when he will or not,

I don't know, but...

- Q. What about non-Indians? When they come into the pueblo..what sort of courtesy treatment do they get?
- A. Same way, only in Spanish...same way...for them
- Q. But they can't enter without knocking though?
- A. Yeah, without knocking...yeah, unless he is well known in the village see, but in the past there were quite a few of them that live in Bernalillo that were very well known in the village and they are treated as friends and we talk...maybe of trade, or maybe of something, or maybe just visit...you know...it will be in Spanish, a people that well, he can't talk Indian anyway...
- Q. Well it wouldn't be very polite for me to come and see you and Dora and just come in, you would expect me to knock first...
- A. Well, yeah, I would, of course I wouldn't know who it was unless I saw you, sometimes I do that before you even knock, come in, come in, because I know the person, but otherwise it is best to just knock now...you know.
- Q. The old customs aren't...being followed, I imagine even now that Indians within the pueblo knock too?
- A. Yeah they do nowadays they do...Let's go outside, out in the open space, suppose I was going to Bernalillo by foot, I was walking down the road, maybe I overtook somebody...then if I want to pat him on the back or just you know, greet him, are you going to town... or just saying, are you going...Well it doesn't sound right in English, but in Indian it does...() meaning, are you going somewhere? I never...I didn't know where he was going...
- Q. Does this mean, is this just a greeting, or do you want to know where he is going?
- A. No, not exactly you don't want to know where he is going, but it is just a greeting, that he overtook him, you see...you overtook him and then he will answer...() if he wants to say, it is up to him, he don't have to say...unless if you went along then

with him () meaning, let's go together...then he will say where he was going, if he is going to the same place that you are going, then he will accept, but if not, if he has to go off in another direction, he'll say just some place, I will turn off here... or if another person comes from the opposite, then if even I or the other person, whoever sees first, he will say, (), meaning are you coming? Or are you coming back whatever way, this does not fit right to me, does it?

Q. No.

A. Of course in Indian it is just fits in...good you know and then, I don't want to say no more than just yes...I can say () and mean () means yes...() If I want to say that too...

Q. Which means?

A. I'm going...

Q. Yes, I'm going.

A. Or, suppose it was irrigating, anywhere out in the field out there where there is water running and somebody came by, and they didn't want to stop, maybe if he wanted to mention my name he would, if not, then he would just say "are you irrigating" see... and then I would tell him, "Yes" () yes, I am irrigating... and he would go on, unless he wants to chat for a while, then he will stop, or if I was hoeing...he will say "are you hoeing?" () and many times I am chopping wood there, and somebody comes by, maybe a man came by and here he probably don't know what relation I am you know, see, in Indian of course relation is lots in the Indian way...it doesn't mean that you are real father, just because you say son, daddy, the relation is just that way right there...

Q. Could you explain that to me a little more? How many people would you call father? And are there particular people that you would call father...as opposed to...?

A. Yeah, like for instance my brother...my brother has a son you see, and he would call me daddy too, you see...or a daughter...she would call me dad...or, even though if it is three or four generation ahead...from that offspring of my mother, her sister and her sister and her sister you see...and then she will call me father too...

- Q. Your mother's sisters?
- A. My father...I mean...
- Q. Your father's sisters...her children...
- A. They will call me son...if my father had a sister you see, she would call me "my son."
- Q. Okay, now what about her children, they would be...
- A. Then they would call me uncle...I guess that is the way, I don't know...but, or nephew...would be...
- Q. Now these individuals are the same age that you are...
- A. I don't care how little they are or how big they are, how old they are, the relation doesn't change...
- Q. They would call you nephew...? Okay, now what other classes of people would they call nephew?
- A. Well, I guess just in that class and then there is a, I guess I think there is, I don't know about the others, how they put that, the other kind...Grandpa is another one again you see...I won't have to have a daughter or a son with the offspring of that kinfolk but I am in some way related, he calls me daddy you see...or the lady calls me daddy for some unknown reason, that the relation came that way...so they would call me grandpa you see...that is why most of these are, they call me that way and they call each other that way too.
- Q. Now who would call you uncle?
- A. That is the one I can't place. I don't know where it belongs...
- Q. An uncle to me is any of my father's brothers...or any of my mother's brothers...Now, these classes of people, who would you call uncle? Well let us put it better this way, what would you call your father's brothers...you would call them father?
- A. I would call them father too.

Q. And your mother's brothers?

A. My mother's brothers? They will call me son too.

Q. And you would call them father?

A. Maybe the next one...that would be the place where it goes...
I don't know...

Q. All right, what word, what Indian word do you call your father's brother?

A. Well...

Q. Or your father?

A. I don't know, that relation is kind of out of place for me...

Q. Well, how would you say father?

A. () when I want to say daddy, I say (), if I am telling somebody that he's my Dad, I would say (), wait a minute, the only one I know is that my sister has a daughter, she has three of them and one of them has a boy and the other one has a little girl, the boy, they call me nephew, I mean nephew or I don't know... which...

Q. Now this is your sister's daughter's boy...calls you nephew?

A. I don't know if it is right in English or not...

Q. Well what is important is the Indian word...

A. The Indian is ().

Q. Okay now, what other kinds of people would you call ()?

A. Just that kind of people in, whatever and this other one that has a daughter she calls me (), just like a niece...maybe that is a niece, I don't know...that is another one...

Q. Okay, go through that one again...what other one that has a daughter?

A. Three girls...my sisters, and this one has a boy and this one has a girl and I said this one he calls me () and this one, she calls

me ().

Q. Now what is the difference between those two terms?

A. Well for one it is a girl and the other is a boy...

Q. Yeah, but you are a boy...regardless of who is talking to you...

A. Yeah, but then the girl have to use that term, of course sometimes in some places, there are two words, one is used by the female and one is used by the male...

Q. I see...

A. Now what I said a while ago, thank you see, I said () I am a boy. Okay, and when a woman says thank you she will say () see, just that way too...

Q. (Inaudible)

A. That is one thing that I hate to talk about is relations...

Q. Sorry...Dr. Ellis likes to talk about relations...

A. Yeah, when she brings up that, I say, oh forget about relations...

Q. Did she ever draw a map for you?

A. No.

Q. Okay, now this is going to be you, right here, and you have your father, and your mother...and you will have your father's father... and his mother...Now how many brothers did your father have? Did your grandfather have? Do you know?

A. Ha, ha, ha...that is really something...which is me...

Q. This is you..let's do it this way, how many brothers did your father have?

A. He had two...

Q. Two brothers...okay...how many sisters?

A. I think she said one...

- Q. Okay, now...Now how many sisters did your mother have?
- A. Two...
- Q. And how many brothers?
- A. I don't know, she never told me...
- Q. Okay, let's say she had one, with a question mark beside it...
Okay, now...she got married and he got married and she married...someone...and okay...now, this is your uncle or your father as the case may be, now how many children did your first father's brother have?
- A. I think only one.
- Q. Male or female?
- A. Male.
- Q. Okay.
- A. The other ones, I don't know...I only know he had three brothers... and the other ones, I don't know...the ones that...
- Q. Okay, the ones that I am not going to color in are fictive and we will put it this way...Now, how many brothers do you have?
- A. Now there are only three of us...
- Q. Originally there were?
- A. Originally there were five of us.
- Q. Three brothers and two sisters?
- A. One sister...
- Q. Oh, now my map isn't far enough down...
- A. No, I think we were six of us...because there...
- Q. Three brothers and one sister...okay...Now, this is Dora. How many brothers and sisters does Dora have?

A. One.

Q. One brother and no sisters?

A. Not living, but she had two of them...

Q. Did they get married and have children?

A. Yeah.

Q. Okay, now how many children did your sister have?

A. My sister had three...girls...

Q. Did they have any children?

A. One boy and one girl.

Q. And the other isn't married?

A. Yeah.

Q. Okay, now let's just take one of your brothers, how many children does one of them have?

A. You already got one...let's see...my brothers, two of them that are alive, and one has been married in California...

Q. Okay, how many children...

A. I don't know how many he has, he has about five of them...

Q. Okay, let's say one boy and one girl...

A. They are all boys...I think.

Q. Okay, this is just...how many children do you have?

A. Just one.

Q. One boy...okay...let's take Dora's brother...

A. Not married...

Q. Okay, if he were married, let me put one child...

- A. Oh boy...now I can't even understand that one...
- Q. Okay, is one of Dora's sisters married?
- A. Both of them...
- Q. Okay, just take one of them, how many children?
- A. She has I think three, one girl and two boys...and the other one has two...one boy and one girl...
- Q. Okay, are there any grandchildren here?
- A. One that one, yeah...
- Q. Which? This is the girl and these are the two boys...
- A. Which one is Dora's sisters, which are they?
- Q. These are the two sisters...
- A. This one...let's mark in (2), one boy and one girl...
- Q. Okay...now...All right are either of these two people married?
- A. Well, the boy is married now...and the girl is married too, both of them.
- Q. Okay, now do either one of them have kids?
- A. Yeah.
- Q. Okay, does the boy have kids?
- A. Yeah, he has a whole bunch of them.
- Q. Well, let's just give him two, a boy and a girl...
- Q. What about the girl?
- A. Same one...
- Q. Okay, then one is enough.
- A. Well, the only one that I can explain is this one...because I don't know if I can figure out the others...

- Q. Okay, this is pretty messed up right now, so let's redraw it... bigger so we can understand it and I want you to do some writing on it...
- A. Ha, ha...I get confused...
- Q. Let me see...
- A. Oh, boy, you give me a really tough job...I have to sit down.
- Q. Sorry about that...Okay, now the only thing that you have to remember is the triangles...are boys and the circles are girls... and those little equal signs means that they are married to each other...Okay, now let's put your brothers in there, did it wrong...
- A. Why, white man has to make a mistake...ha, ha, ha...
- Q. Okay, now let's go up to your father...and your mother...I'll finish it...And I want you to write for me, the Indian word for each of these people...
- A. I can't write Indian word...
- Q. You can't?
- A. No...
- Q. Okay, well I will write it...
- A. I can't make all of it, I can only use one example that is just about all...andlet's see...which of the two sisters that Dora had... those two...
- Q. Right here...
- A. Those two, huh?
- Q. What, what do you call her?
- A. In the first place she was...suppose to be like a granddaughter, see?

- Q. To you?
- A. Yeah, in the first place...
- Q. Dora's sister?
- A. Yeah, Dora and her other two sisters...before I got married see?
- Q. They were your granddaughters?
- A. Yeah, I don't know why it has to be that word...but they use it that way...and then here is, which is a boy I mean from the offspring of one of them?
- Q. Oh, this is a boy here, and that is a girl.
- A. Then when I got married, of course then the relation seems to all change, this would have to be my children, you see, by marriage...
- Q. Oh, I see...how would you call this one? What is the male term for this one?
- A. Oh, ().
- Q. Okay, now would you call him the same thing?
- A. These two offsprings are the ones that I am talking about...this is a boy and this is a girl too.
- Q. What would you call her, the same?
- A. No, my daughter...()
- Q. Okay, now what would you call his wife? () too?
- A. Yeah, call her () too.
- Q. And you would call her husband ().
- A. Yeah, yeah...
- Q. Okay...
- A. Then the two offsprings from the girl here, one is a boy and one is a girl, then ()how to say it...yeah, yeah, I can't

place it...wait a minute...I am really confused over here...can't think of it, this one, there is three boys you see, three boys and two girls...now, just because of marriage that the relations change and so now, this will be, call me daddy, both of them, see?

- Q. They both call you daddy...okay.
- A. Then this is a girl, right? Then her children which are now.... living right next door to us...they call us grandparents...
- Q. How do you say that?
- A. Ba ba...
- Q. And this is same?
- A. Yes, same for both of them...
- Q. Okay, now what do you call them?
- A. I call them the same thing...
- Q. It would be the same thing?
- A. Yes, the same thing.
- Q. Whether it is a boy or a girl?
- A. Yeah...
- Q. You would not have any differentiation?
- A. Yeah.
- Q. Yet, at this level you differentiate between sex? Now after two generations you don't...
- A. No...this is where Harry comes from right in here...these, two three boys here...
- Q. Oh, Harry is one of those...now...your own son, you call him ().

- A. Yeah, () my own son, ().
- Q. ().
- A. () is just one word...
- Q. Yeah, okay...
- A. I am just saying yes...
- Q. Well I wanted to see if some way if there was a difference in those two names? That if you were talking about this man, somebody else would realize you were talking about your own biological son rather than a fictive son...
- A. Yeah...I come across like that and by golly, I am going back home and get that thing straightened out...or else I will forget...here I am, never was able to get it, I have to get it because too many times somebody asks me...even Dr. Ellis keeps asking me...well...
- Q. What would be easiest for you to do is make one of these maps instead of drawing circles for each person's name and who they are married to...Now you say that originally Dora was your granddaughter... Now, why did you marry Dora?
- A. Well, it is just a distant, a way distant than maybe related in some way, maybe by just ceremonial her parents are the ones that caused it that way.
- Q. Now the reason that you married Dora was because of her parents and their relationship to your parents?
- A. No...
- Q. Their relationship to you? Now what do you call her parents? What term? Do you call them ()?
- A. Well in the first place...I can't explain...Now I have to go clear back to Dora's parents...find out where he was...
- Q. That would be very interesting...
- A. Of course, I am not certain today, why we have to call it that... that is why I am confused every time somebody tries to get to the

relationship part...it's the hardest thing...

Q. Well while we got off on this, is there any differences in attitude in respect and politeness between any of these classes of people?

A. Oh yeah, if you want to make a full relationship, mean you can do it too, I mean, not just to mention what he is doing, if you overtook him, see. If it was your brother why you can say (), rather if you are there, or grandfather...Are you coming back or are you going, see...just what you know about the relationship. How would you call them you see, actually you are not blood relations... because maybe their parents by some change in, or some change in religious side that made it that way, of course it takes place like that...

Q. Now you can be related through religion?

A. Yeah...like for instance, this, if somebody got, or he is not feeling well, he doesn't know that he has got inside trouble or something like that, he thinks that it is just a mental problem and he is not happy and all that you know, well, if I find another person that can be responsible...for my health that is what I think I'd rather do, if it is that way and if he is still with a wife or father or somebody in the family that lives together yet, when he gets stronger, you present this to his people in the family...I am looking at that man or that family...or the man and wife of that family...to be here, something like...guardian or maybe, how you would say, in religion godfather...that's more relatives because that's the way he is...going to ask, maybe his spirit, of course I see that they are in good health, maybe they too can help me...so, if they if it is agreeable with all these in the immediate family, then they get the medicine man to make that sacred corn for them...So they can go to the person that they want to make a goddaughter or a godson... out of them. First he will send a messenger from outside relatives to his new mother or father, see...but the relatives that are living outside they all come together and they will go out and notify the parents if they can accept this and usually they are willing to, so then if everything is ready, then the medicine man makes that sacred corn meal for them and the four times that he ask them, if he really means it.

Q. Four times?

A. Yeah, if he really means it for the purpose of himself, and to respect

his parents...and so if he accepts that, on that condition, then the medicine man will make it and then they will present it to one of the male persons that are gathered there, or they call in the family for those person and then they tell them the reason for the ceremony... then the other family ask if they will respect them as their own son would too, and then they will be accepted, and then that is accomplished, the corn is presented to him and then they of course go through ceremony to accept them...Sometime they take them to their house...and welcome to their house, anytime you feel that you want to come and visit us, well it is open to you as you are part of the family, and that kind of a relationship begins right here you see.

- Q. Everyone within that family would be affected?
- A. Yeah...no, just this one person...yeah...then the offspring would start another term.
- Q. How about his godparents? What about their relatives?
- A. No, they still that way whenever that relationship is still that way.
- Q. I see...okay, now what ages is this done?
- A. What ages...any age, they don't... there's no limit to age.
- Q. Now what if a man is very old?
- A. Yeah, you can still do it.
- Q. He would go to a younger family.
- A. Yeah...and then they are responsible for him...through prayer...
- Q. Just exactly how does this being adopted into a new family help one's health?
- A. He will stay at his own house yet, you see, he is not actually taken to this person's house only in what they call spirits you see...
- Q. So it is his spirits...
- A. Yeah...but he will remain at his house there...

- Q. But it is his spirit as well?
- A. Yeah, but the only thing I would say, maybe a new...that way only by prayer see, or maybe once in awhile they can take him food to eat, or get him to have supper with them. Of course that is what he is after, that the food that they eat, that is maybe the reason that they are in good health.
- Q. The one would choose someone that they thought was exemplary? In health...
- A. Yeah, and a lot of them do that, because when they go visiting with them, nothing but that you know, they talk of health and clean talk is there you see, will make you happy, telling about things and stories maybe.
- Q. So the actual physical advantage of being adopted is that it gives you another class of people to help keep you in health.
- A. Yeah.
- Q. Through their prayers, and through all material things that they have...
- A. Well, he in turn feels that he is just as much, that he feels that he is well and he gains his health so he thinks that he is just that much responsible to help this family. If he, if he saw the man out in the field working, feeling happy over what the results is then he will go over there and help him, no charge or nothing.
- Q. So there are reciprocal obligations for being adopted? You would essentially behave as a natural son?
- A. Yeah...and...
- Q. And then you superimpose that kinship on top of the real kinship system?
- A. Yeah, I think...
- Q. Now is this done quite a bit?
- A. Well, it used to be, but not now, since the doctors in the big hospital, they depend on that more now, it is hardly done, except for

marriages and baptisms...

- Q. Now there is a godparent that is given at baptisms, he is another set of godparents?
- A. Yeah.
- Q. So now, do you have godparents that are given when a child is born?
- A. When he is supposed to be baptized, just then.
- Q. And then when he wants to because of health.
- A. Yeah.
- Q. And so you could have two sets of godparents?
- A. Yeah.
- Q. Now, we are getting back to this discussion that we had a couple of months ago, how does this affect the law, are there particular laws that go with these reciprocal obligations?
- A. I didn't get that, how we could we fit it into the law?
- Q. Into your bylaws yes...
- A. Well, I don't think it would, as I of course this doesn't make no records of it...for the state to know, you see, it is just among our own people.
- Q. Yeah, but you amongst your own people you have laws...governing this.
- A. Yes, but as I will say for the time being yet...of course, it does not really, the family...godparents' family does not really obligate the person to be responsible to...to help them you see as they might help him. So I don't think that there is any need for there to be a law too...either, just this spiritual side of it. After all, this is

just what it was intended to be...but not for public, how would you put it, not for public use...of course it is not just a common thing for public...

- Q. You mean most of the time nobody knows that this relationship exists?
- A. They know, but it is not made for...
- Q. It is not official is what you mean?
- A. It is official but it is not the kind, the official kind that you enforce this person to do such things as to help the other person, that he has been helping, it is just for the spiritual side of health you see...that is what I mean, and so that is the reason that I don't put it that way you see...
- Q. Okay, just so I get things cleared up...okay...Now I wish we had something like that but it does get legal when you go to get married?
- A. Well, it doesn't really, it is not necessary for them to say yes or no, but it is actually closer family relations, they are the ones, of course, although it is spiritual, a marriage is spiritual you see...together, you get together you see, but it does not obligate the other person to say yes or no...you see, it is him or the family that's where he is living in, if they accept him, then they say okay and naturally these people are going to say okay, they won't have nothing to say if the next of kin that is living right in the family, maybe a brother or a sister, or grandparent, if they want to call him in, they can call him in but, they all they would say is (), after all, marriage is marriage....
- Q. But still within your own rules, your own native rules, you have defined classes of people who are either preferred or eligible to be marriage partners, right? That is about as clear...as...
- A. Well it used to be but not now, these youngsters are sort of getting away from that...
- Q. Well what did it used to be?
- A. You mean, say it again?

- Q. In the old days you had classes of people who, groups, populations, which were prescribed, or who were eligible marriage partners...
- A. Oh, you mean clans? Cause clans have to do more or less like it, see?
- Q. Oh, okay, so what do clans have to do with marriage partners?
- A. Well not clan, but it is more closely related in the family ties...
- Q. Now these...go ahead...
- A. After maybe three generations from the start, during that seem to change that, according to the way that they are looking at it now... or all right then this is if a girl or boy starts right now and he grew up here, he is, his tie is not too close no more you see, it is for the third generation or maybe the fourth generation, that's where he was tied in and so naturally then, same way to the other side you see, and even the first time it was that way too, then they...I think the people are doing it but really close together is not yet the second or the first generation from the newlyweds...
- Q. But now there are certain groups within the third generation who are more preferred for marriage partners?
- A. No, just it is really up to the two persons...if they like each other, fine...
- Q. Has it always been like this?
- A. Always, according to my understanding...they say that a father and a mother had nothing to do with selecting, maybe beyond that, maybe that was then, but they also, my father used, he doesn't know anything about it, he said and the rest of them, whatever I tell them anything like that they always say well as long as you are not ashamed of one another, and have and look up on each other as to mate each other and so, well no relations go in...no more...
- Q. So in your case, the reason that you and Dora got married was because you liked each other?
- A. Yeah.

- Q. No other reason at all?
- A. No other reason...that's all.
- Q. Well that is pretty important.
- A. Yeah, I think so, to like each other, because not only my father, but two oldest where I had been, the best man at the wedding well they have express that same thing...
- Q. Well now...
- A. I lost that what I wanted to say, what did you say a while ago?
- Q. Oh, I see, so the reason that you and Dora got married was because you loved each other and there was no other reason?
- A. Yeah...I have lost it again. I have one thing that I have always wanted to say to you, and I can't find it...oh...My father always said, it is not proper for me and your mother to pick your wife, because we don't know who we are going to pick, you see, and you might not like her and she might not like you...that is, best that you two decide who you like one another. I've heard it lots of places and I think that was best, it is better than someone telling you.
- Q. Well lot of people in the world get told and have no choice...
- A. It is no good that way.
- Q. So you and Dora decided that you wanted to get married...what did you do then, tell your father?
- A. Oh yeah...
- Q. And your mother and did you ask her parents?
- A. No, she did, when it was okayed by them...Then I was sent to ask and tell her parents you see.
- Q. You were sent to tell Dora's folks? That it was all right with your folks? But they already knew that you were planning to do this?

- A. Yeah, and so then we got together, my folks and her folks...and plan when the set time would be. And how it would be and where it would be, see.
- Q. Okay, now did the families exchange gifts?
- A. No.
- Q. Okay, did the families give you or Dora gifts when you got married?
- A. Oh yes, they gave shawls and blankets...my folks gave the gifts for me to give like shawl and blankets...
- Q. To give to Dora...
- A. I am the one that furnished them.
- Q. Now then Dora had a bunch of equipment to be a wife, that her family furnished?
- A. Yeah, she had some.
- Q. And this would be considered her dowry?
- A. Yeah, I think so.
- Q. But there is no other exchange of gifts except between the bride and groom?
- A. Yeah.
- Q. Now then did you have a house, or did you move in with her parents?
- A. Well, I lived with her parents, yeah...but understanding that whenever I was able to build me a house, we could start on our own. That is what we did.
- Q. There is no prescribed length of time...
- A. No.
- Q. Do most young boys live with their parents?

- A. Some of them do and there is some that still doing it.
- Q. Are there ever cases where the girl lives with the boy's parents?
- A. Yeah.
- Q. There are?
- A. Yeah.
- Q. Or you don't have to live with either of them? Just if the boy happens to have a house.
- A. Yeah.
- Q. Why would you choose to go and live with Dora's parents?
- A. Oh, I couldn't go to my house, my father had a big family, he had no more...
- Q. And Dora's family wasn't as big.
- A. Not just because of no room, of course, not because I didn't want to live with them, but I was thinking of the future you see, if I was lucky and got me a job, everything that I buy, it would belong to us see. Of course, as I see it in places and my father he himself told me, if you live in the in-law's house and you buy things and somebody in there that is not working yet, or is working, there is going to be a friction as to who really owns the things you see, and I believe that it is best you sweat it out and you get what you want, that is your own, nobody can say it is mine or the parents can say it belongs to her...and I can't say it belongs to me, because you two had been working side by side to get those things...see. That is the way that I did...so we moved out a little early, of course they gave us a room no bigger than this room here...I had to put up a board shack on the north side to keep my harness and implements, but I worked and worked and I was lucky that I got this job from the conservacy and there was a lot of work up and down the river, make money there.
- Q. Did you build the house?

A. I bought adobes and got some boys to make them for me...and I bought lumber and built the house up on the hill, yeah...

Q. The one you have now?

A. Yeah, 1940, we were down on this side, just more space to turn into, so everything that we make is ours, and hers and the boys' and my way of looking at it, we got married because we were obligated to, and as long as you are there to furnish him clothes when he was a boy yet, and maybe when you grow up and get married then you will make a house for him see...that way part of the things belongs to him...but we're lucky he got married.

Q. Now Harry is your own son? Or your...

A. Yeah, from that one there...grandson we call him...

Q. How are we doing on our tapes...we got lots of tapes.

A. We need some more tape, the sun is going down...and if they ask as to why you didn't finish the tape, tell them the sun went down... So that is the way that I look at it.

Q. Now while you were living at your in-law's house, what sort of respect, politeness did you use towards your in-laws?

A. Well I respect that same thing as we used over there, well of course I'm part of the family, I don't have to, every time that I come back into you are still greeted, you see. Yeah, and then if they were already eating, sometimes it is polite not to say that they were eating.

Q. Well is there any, did you ever feel shy or embarrassed say in front of your mother-in-law?

A. Well sometimes she...

-----TELEPHONE RINGING-----

Q. Well what I was trying to get at, was there any particular set of rules that you followed for your mother-in-law that you wouldn't follow for anybody else...? Because she was your mother-in-law?

- A. Well the got all the respect that my parents got too, you see... after all I joined them by marriage you see, and they are due that much respect too, in all ways that I can be of help to them you see. Of course they didn't have nobody to help them you see, their what they call grandfather was too old you see. I help him, and I support them you see, we fed the boy had quit school and had came back home, that is Dora's brother, he started working and I said, well if one man can help to support, I think he can do that too, and so let me start on my own...And then when we decided, that both of us agree, such a time that we start to live for ourselves, then we told them that this is what we are going to do, two weeks from now and they agreed, there was nothing, not disagree and then the grandfather, the one that owned that one roomed house...he told us that, of course he already told Dora that whenever we got ready that he would let us have it...so when we told him that we were ready to go out like that, and so he said that we can have it. If we want to stay there it is all right with him. That was it, that is what we did then. Before we, the day before we pull out why we had pretty good start at least, we bought some flour, 100 lb. of sugar, that wasn't that much in those days, it didn't cost very much...and maybe about 300 lbs. of flour and lard, coffee, we gave them 100 lb. of that sugar and then coffee, we split half and half...large one, that could maybe about 12 lbs. of lard, the major things you see, the ones that you have to have. And we started out for our home, we didn't have but maybe three acres...that is all we got, from that place...
- Q. That is not much...
- A. No, but there was jobs around, there was working for the conservancy, and working for the conservancy, I was able to work, especially in the summertime, that is a long time before quit work, before the sun goes down, go home and eat something and then you go out in the fields and work. Especially the garden, in there I raised tomatoes and chili and green corn for early eating and Dora she likes tomatoes very much and she put some up, those things that were. And we bought chickens...oh, we had about 36 hens, real good layers too with white kind of meat, just on the edge of our chicken (?) right there they were really laying and that helped us out too...cause we can't eat all those eggs, every time they lay, we usually get about three dozen a day, they were fed good and built house for them, we took care of them. There was a trade, I mean there was a little store right there at the triangle...between the 85 and the 44 right there, that used to be a store right there, and we took all of our eggs down there to sell, and I raised my own beans, and so what is the use of buying beans.

- Q. You're right.
- A. Well, I had at least about five head of cows...and usually we take about one or two bull calf, and then the steer and then that helps out too. Selling steers too, and I had my own horses too.
- Q. Now Porferio, when a man and a woman are together, say walking downtown...is there any preferred position that one takes relative to another? Physical position, like should a man always walk to the outside, towards the traffic?
- A. No, I don't think so, but then we always do it because of fear, for her safety I always let her get to the outside you see...
- Q. Outside?
- A. Yeah, the...
- Q. The sides towards the building?
- A. I don't know, you mean the road or what?
- Q. Yeah, say you are walking down the road...
- A. Yeah, when you are walking down the road, let her walk on the outside...of course, I will be walking on the inside of the road.
- Q. Should a man open the door for the lady and allow her to go through first?
- A. I learned more of that politeness in school than I use it...and I think it is probably the same way on the Indian side too.
- Q. Okay, what about sitting at a table, is there any prescribed...say you are setting down for supper say a group of people, what is the polite conduct, if you have no guest...who would start eating first say?
- A. Well, a man is suppose to because maybe the woman still remembers to put something on the table again...and the man is suppose to not, when a woman says, come on it is ready, then your breakfast

is ready, then if you don't respond quick enough, they say you are delaying your success to whatever you are going to do, like maybe you are expecting a good crop for the year you see, you are delaying that success for a good crop, by not responding, they consider a woman much more powerful in spiritually in making things successful for you.

Q. So you are always very respectful of a woman? For this reason and as well for the fact that she is just plain a woman...

A. Yeah. Unless if you are, if when I was given, was in my family you see, with my folks, we are like I said, we are six of us. And maybe I will be late coming back from the fields, or maybe the other boy will be late too, we come in at different times...the others are late too well when the mealtime has already come... and they will eat we come back late, that is an excuse, because we're out to work you see. But if we were just there all together you see, then we had not gone off someplace, then we just come in all together and then begin the meal, be set and ready, then mother will say, come on let's have our eats, in case if father see one of them not responding, as he thinks he should be and he will get after us, don't slow things down he would tell us...and then he would tell us just what he meant by that...he always kept telling me. Sometimes that is why my brother makes me mad, after all he knows all of our ways of father and mother says. Yet he drags behind, even though he is right there...and at the last minute he would get up and go to the toilet...And so over vacation I told him that I didn't like it that way he never did say nothing, I don't know if he still believes in that.

Q. Is that the brother that I met at Christmas?

A. The one that stayed over at the house.

Q. What is his name again?

A. Huh?

Q. What is his name?

A. Albert, he is the last one...

Q. He is a real nice guy.

- A. Yeah, he is nice, but...yeah, and he is always telling me what Mom and Dad says, and when they were alive, but he doesn't keep up sometimes...
- Q. Do as I say, not as I do...Would a man hold a chair for a woman?
- A. No, I don't...
- Q. Or let her sit down by herself?
- A. Yeah.
- Q. What would happen if a woman came into a room, would you stand up? Or just remain sitting, doing what you were doing when she came in...
- A. Yeah, just to greet her that is all.
- Q. You would just say yes, I am sewing or things I making pottery, or whatever I am doing?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What sort of arrangements are there for let's say somebody has given you something, what is the proper way to acknowledge a gift?
- A. Well, I will say first place, thank you and you could say, may the spirit offer you more, may the spirit give you lot more, of whatever you want, see...and they would do that.
- Q. Would you say, arrange to return a gift?
- A. No.
- Q. You wouldn't do that, huh?
- A. No.
- Q. Well...
- A. You could, after a time maybe when he forgets it, you know a person feels that if he does it because of politeness or good gesture and then

Tape #232
SANTA ANA PUEBLO
By Dennis Stanford
February 27, 1969
Side Two, Tape 2

- A. What was the last question?
- Q. Okay, you were saying that you wouldn't ever return a gift right away...
- A. Yeah, of course if a person feels that maybe because of relation or maybe because of relation by their children or just of thoughtfulness from you that they brought something over you see that they were giving you as a gift you know, do not expect any pay back, if you give them something right then and there, back they think that you are repaying them you see...paying them back and that is not a good gesture, you should accept something like that is a friendly gesture towards offering of that kind and then later on if you have something that you thought you have more of or that they didn't have, then you could give them, that will more better please the people that is the way they feel and I think that is right too, myself.
- Q. Yeah, I would agree with that. What say a guy came over and helped you, maybe bail your hay, would you give him a gift for this, as an expression of thank you or...do you think the words would be enough?
- A. Well...no, I invite him over say if it got towards evening and he probably finish late towards evening...I would take him home, then give him his meal so he won't have to go hungry and of course, if he don't have a way to take his hay, then I will take the hay for him, the hay that he earned from his bales, unless he just help without the machine, just came with a pitchfork. If I thought that he needed some feed, then I would give him some you see, couple of bales of hay, or whatever I think it's worth, his time.
- Q. Then say would you be more or less expected to help him in his fields some day?
- A. Yeah, maybe he need it then I would help, I feel that way...
- Q. Would he ask you or would you volunteer?

- A. I volunteer the way that he did..I volunteer and then when evening comes, I, he invite me to have a lunch with me I'll take the lunch but not the gift, not in payment. I'll tell him no, I just came to help you that is all, thank you for offering that, you see...
- Q. Okay, can you think of any other forms...of politeness?
- A. Well the way we are raised up, not the ways that are right there, say maybe some person was carrying a load of wood you see, and if you think that he needs the help, then you could help him to carry.
- Q. I don't exactly know what she wants...I wish that I did. I think I have done a pretty good job of covering all types of respecting... politeness, don't you?
- A. Well just up to this point, we were talking about it at Santa Fe... the last time we were there, maybe a week or so ago, maybe that is what she wanted.
- Q. Oh, what was that?
- A. The things that we covered about politeness.
- Q. Oh, what we covered today?
- A. Yeah.
- Q. I didn't know, she just talked to me two days ago and said that she thought that she would like to put this on tape...so now I know why...Well there were several things too that I wanted to get in today too, but if you have to get on back...
- A. When did you say you were leaving?
- Q. I am leaving Wednesday.
- A. Next Wednesday?
- Q. Yeah.
- A. How long will you be gone?
- Q. Oh, about 10 days, 2 weeks...should we begin again on Tuesday or should we let it go until I get back?

A. I think if I can find out about this on Monday, the only trouble is I can't, me no talk wire...ha, ha, ha...

Q. You won't do that again, huh?

A. I can't really get that thing straight...

Q. Well, I will tell you what, well if you can come in Tuesday, come in, and I'll stay here all morning and if you don't show up, you don't show up...

A. Yeah.

END OF TAPE

if you offer him to...give it to him...

END OF TAPE