

“Don't Even Talk to Me if You're Kinya'áanii [Towering House]”: Adopted Clans, Kinship, and “Blood” in Navajo Country

Author(s): Kristina Jacobsen and Shirley Ann Bowman

Source: *Native American and Indigenous Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2019), pp. 43-76

Published by: University of Minnesota Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/natiindistudj.6.1.0043>

---

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



University of Minnesota Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Native American and Indigenous Studies*

JSTOR

“Don’t Even Talk to Me if You’re  
Kinya’áanii [Towering House]”:  
Adopted Clans, Kinship,  
and “Blood” in Navajo Country

*For citizens of the Navajo diaspora*

Diné comedy duo James and Ernie perform in the Navajo reservation border-town of Farmington, New Mexico.<sup>1</sup> In the routine, we are in a smoky bar: a Diné country western band, Aces Wild, is playing a popular song (“The Aces Wild Song”), Navajo couples are two-stepping to the music, and various Diné men are trying unsuccessfully to pick up women in the bar. “Hey baby, what’s your CLAN?” one man asks with exaggerated intonation of the woman sitting next to him. With an air of impatience, the woman rolls her eyes and tells off the inquiring man: “Don’t even TALK to me if you’re Kinya’áanii!”<sup>2</sup>

**HOW DO CLANS FIGURE INTO** contemporary Navajo life, and what personality traits might be attached to, say, Kinya’áaniis, or members of the Towering House clan, that would make individuals from this clan more or less attractive as potential mates? What can we learn about Navajo or Diné histories of cultural mixture, belonging, and inclusion through the many “adopted” Navajo clan names?<sup>3</sup> Given that close to half of all Diné citizens now live off the Navajo Nation, what might a contemporary ethnography of Navajo kinship, a topic so tirelessly explored by early anthropologists to Navajo country (see Reichard 1928; Franciscan Fathers 1910, 424; Matthews 1894, 1897), look like?<sup>4</sup>

This article examines ideologies surrounding the Diné kinship system, or *k’é*, in which Diné people are connected to one another through an elaborate matrilineal descent network of systems of obligation and reciprocity, otherwise known as the clan system (*dóone’é*).<sup>5</sup> As elsewhere, kinship in Diné contexts is culturally specific, cultivated through daily use, and not a given, natural fact. As Gary Witherspoon noted over forty years ago, “The point here is that there is no set of biological or sexual ties unless they are said by the culture to exist. The nature of these ties, if they exist, is culturally explained, and the meaning attributed to such ties is culturally derived and assigned. Each culture independently explains the nature and meaning of kinship” (1975, 12). Using oral histories, interviews, archival materials,

humorous memes, comedy routines, data from Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian census rolls, and contemporary scholarship from Diné scholars, we foreground the story of so-called adopted clans, or clans that reveal the Diné practice of adopting and incorporating non-Diné peoples into Navajo society as a way to solidify kin relationships. For example, out of some fifty-three clans identified by anthropologist Gladys Reichard in 1928, twenty-one, or over one-third, are listed as adopted clans or as clan names created for individuals or other Pueblo or Mexican groups that originally came from outside the Navajo Nation (1928, 16). Putting these various sources in conversation with one another, we attend to the “floating gap” (Vansina 1985, 23; cf. Gardner 2015) that exists between the “mythic time” of clan histories and the “calendrical time” of Diné settler-colonial histories from Spanish contact (ca. 1539) onward, dwelling in the space of possibility between the two histories. Using clans as a window into the ways Diné society historically included and incorporated non-Navajos into the fabric of the Navajo Nation, we probe what implications these stories might have for a Diné politics of citizenship and belonging today.

Our goal is not to focus on clan histories and clan-internal stories *per se*—this is neither the appropriate medium nor the forum to share such typically private and culturally intimate stories—but rather to foreground Diné adoptive practices in order to broaden what we currently perceive as a discourse of “purism” around blood quantum and “being Navajo” experienced by many, including coauthor Bowman, in Navajo communities both on the reservation and off today (Barker 2011; Cody 2016; Denetdale 2006; Kauanui 2008; L. Lee 2007; Jacobsen-Bia 2014; Spruhan 2007, 2018; Webster 2015). Moreover, by suggesting that Navajos were remarkably open to a variety of categories of citizenship, we do not mean to indicate that being Navajo, then or now, is up for grabs or that one can simply wake up and proclaim oneself to be Native or Navajo.<sup>6</sup> Nor do we mean to imply, as many anthropologists have before us, that this in any way makes Navajo citizens less “authentically” Indigenous or that fluid identities are unique to the Navajo Nation among other North American Indigenous communities. To the contrary, clans and kinship are deeply embedded, intricate, and continue to be guidelines for many as to how the world should be ordered; methods of incorporation were (and often still are) strategic and premised on extant relationships, senses of connection, and shared history, and those who became “Navajo” had to visibly demonstrate their investment in a Navajo polity through their actions and ability to act, socialize, and speak in Diné ways. We also understand Native identity primarily as a political rather than a racial assignation, and being enrolled in a federally or state-recognized tribe is an important part of this process. Finally, our framing

of Navajo Nation here crucially includes Diné citizens living both on and off the formal Navajo Nation; this includes the many Diné citizens living in southwestern “bordertowns” such as Albuquerque, New Mexico, and Phoenix and Flagstaff, Arizona, but also Denver, Los Angeles, and Chicago (Navajo Division of Health and Navajo Epidemiology Center 2013). It also includes the many Diné citizens across the United States—over 10 percent of Diné citizenry—who currently serve in the military (Jacobsen 2017; Denetdale 2006; Schilling 2014).

We conclude by reflecting on settler colonialism’s impact on relationships between and among Navajos with the advent of the first Indian census in 1885 and the creation of the Navajo Nation Adoption Law in 1934, when the Navajo Tribal Council stipulated that a person cannot become a member of the Navajo Nation by adoption (Austin 2007, 193). While the Spanish colonial period (1539–1821) is acknowledged as the driving force behind increased tensions and divisions between Diné, Pueblo, and Ute peoples (Zolbrod 1984; Forbes 1960), the advent of the American occupation of the Southwest (1848 to the present) and the practice of taking a “census” not only exacerbated these same tensions but also created new Navajo-internal divisions, many of them based on enrollment, land allotment, and, in more recent decades, the measuring of someone’s percentage or degree of “Indian blood,” also known as blood quantum.<sup>7</sup> Crucially, the creation of a census seems to be linked to the cessation of adoption practices and the creation of new clans. Although Reichard recorded two new clans (both Pueblo or pre-Puebloan in origin) that appear to have been created postcensus, between 1890 (when Washington Matthews recorded his list of forty-four clans) and 1910, these seem to be some of the last formally designated new clans added to the current clan structure within Diné society; today, they are formally included and colloquially referred to on the reservation as “adopted” clans, despite what Reichard notes as the very common “principle of adoption of a foreign people” within Diné society (1928, 27–28). Thus, the creation of a census signaled the beginning of the end of the existing elasticity within Diné kinship structures to create new clans for outside groups with whom Diné peoples came into contact.

## Diné Clan Characteristics

Today there are over seventy active clans on the Navajo Nation, and clans are further divided into nine major clan groupings (Lapahie 2001; Littleben 2010), creating numerous taboos as to whom one can and cannot marry or date (dating someone with whom you share a first or second clan is considered akin to incest, since that means you are brother/sister).<sup>8</sup> The role

of clans is threefold, including exogamy, or marrying outside one's primary clan groups, hospitality, and ceremonial practices. As Witherspoon articulated this, "Two persons who have the same matrilineal descent identity *should not marry or experience sexual intercourse, should provide food and lodging for each other while one or the other is traveling away from home, and should help each other during a ceremony for one or the other.* These acts of solidarity realize the affective and functional meanings of the concept of matrilineal descent" (1975, 42, italics added).

However, not all Diné people go by or believe in the clan system, for example, Diné citizens who belong to one of the many Navajo-led neo-Pentecostal churches on the reservation (Marshall 2016a, 2016b). Some urban-identified Diné, including some of our students at the University of New Mexico and at Diné College, Crownpoint, also do not follow the clan system or "know" their clans. For those who do adhere to the clan system, being related to someone by clan is a strong bond, and certain clans are associated—historically and contemporarily—with specific areas of the Navajo reservation and are territorially restricted (Reichard 1928, 20). For example, the New Mexico reservation town of Tohatchi is known for clans such as Bit'ahnii (Folded Arms People) and Tódich'í'nii (Bitterwater People), while many members of the Towering House clan, the clan mentioned by James and Ernie in their routine at the beginning of this piece, reside in the town of Crownpoint (T'iis Ts'óóz Ndeeshgiizh), the location where one iteration of this clan is said to originate.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the Deeshch'í'nii clan, understood to be Apache in origin, is named after a canyon in the Cibecue area of Western Apache country (Lapahie 2001).

Clans also carry certain professional, phenotypic, and psychological traits and taboos, and some clans are assigned more prestige than others. For example, in coauthor Bowman's experience, Kinya'áaniis are a high-status clan known for their leadership and rhetorical skills and for often holding powerful positions within Navajo society. Numerous Navajo Nation Council delegates are Kinya'áaniis. Folded Arms People (Bit'ahnii) are known for being harsh, scolding, and sometimes self-centered; they are also known for sometimes having a lighter skin tone compared to other Diné clan groups. Bit'ahnii also have high expectations for those around them, emphasizing the Diné belief that "t'áá áko ajit'éego" (if it is to be, then it's up to me), and this raises the bar for anyone related to a Bit'ahnii. Members of the Bitterwater clan (Tódich'í'nii) also hold significant Diné cultural capital and are known primarily as educators, philosophers, counselors, and Medicine People, or traditional healers. Sleep Rock people (Tsénahabiñii) are known for being very caring and for "making you feel like you belong" (Bowman 2016). They are also linguistically demonstrative, using lots of kinship terms for

those they care about, such as *shiyázhí* (my little one) and *she'awéé'* (my baby/sweetheart). Water Comes Together (Tó Aheedlíinii) clan members can be flirtatious, “jollied out” (Bowman 2016), and sometimes fickle in nature. Salt clan (Áshjìhí) members originate from Salt Woman, who is known for her generosity and for having made the first baby laugh. Therefore, they are often happy-go-lucky and always smiling, and they also love to laugh, known in Navajo as *ayóo badahozhó*.

There are four clans created by the Diné deity known as Asdzáá Nádleehí, or Changing Woman (Zolbrod 1984; Lapahie 2001): Towering House (Kin-ya'áanii), Bitterwater (Tódich'í'í'nii), Mud (Hashtl'ishnii), and One Who Walks Around (Honaghaahnii) (see Lapahie 2001). These clans form the basis for the Western Water clans, and although they are colloquially referred to as the four “original” clans, these clans likely came into formation around the same time that clans in the eastern part of Diné Bikéyah were also first forming (Thompson 2017). Crucially, in a Diné cosmology, one is an equal balance of all four clans (Bowman 2011), and one should never let one clan—or that one clan’s characteristics—dominate the others.

If a Diné person has four Navajo grandparents, then they will have four Diné clans—maternal, paternal, mother’s father, and father’s father, and typically presented in this order.<sup>10</sup> The first or maternal clan is considered to be the most important in being identified (and identifying oneself) as Diné.<sup>11</sup> Having a Navajo clan connects one to a much larger group of people and is a central way not only of signifying Diné identity but of immediately establishing a relationship to others in one’s clan group. Indeed, some Diné introduce their clans before introducing themselves by name or even identifying themselves as Native or Navajo: the clan identification takes precedence.<sup>12</sup> Sharing kinship means that everywhere one travels where there are other Navajos, one gains not only a relative but also a sense of belonging.<sup>13</sup> For example, contrasting current rhetoric where “full Navajo” means a “full-blooded,” “4/4,” or someone who has four Navajo grandparents, acknowledging kinship and “knowing” one’s clans is what makes someone, according to a traditional Diné perspective, a “full Navajo” (Bowman 2016).

Contrasting a Navajo discourse where Diné clans are portrayed as “always” having come exclusively from within Diné society (Tribal Employee Blogspot 2015; Tom 1997), we know from both clan histories and historical records that as many as one-third of Navajo clans are in fact “adopted” clans (Lapahie 2001; Bowman 2009; Reichard 1928; Lapahie 2001). In many cases, adopted clans were created after non-Diné women and children were brought back to the Navajo Nation through various encounters during the Journey Narrative and, later, after raids and hostage taking.<sup>14</sup> Crucially, whatever the method of contact, these groups were typically and then

actively incorporated into Diné society through the creation of a Navajo clan (Thompson 2009).

Clan names themselves originate typically from place-names, as referenced earlier, but also from characteristics of certain individuals belonging to a clan group whose prominence is marked by a renaming of that clan to honor them and from names of outside groups—typically Pueblo, Apache, Ute, or Mexican—or specific clans of members from outside groups (Reichard 1928). Speaking to this diversity of clan origins, Reichard further demarcated four groupings for the origins of clan names, including (1) local or place-names, (2) Pueblo names or Pueblo clan names, (3) nicknames belonging to individuals that become clan names, and (4) names of “alien” tribes (1928, 16). Importantly, clan stories vary significantly from clan to clan and family to family; thus, there is not always common agreement on the elements, for example, of the Diné Bahane’, nor is there one set agreed-upon narrative (L. Lee 2012; Bauman 2009). Thus, clan origin stories themselves are yet another example of the internal diversity—and the space that is made and allowed for multiple versions of a single narrative to coexist—with Diné social spaces both historically and in the present moment.

### *“Adopted” and “Related” Navajo Clans: Methods of Incorporation and Social Elasticity*

Diné society has adopted groups from outside Navajo society from the beginning; this is documented in part 4, the final section of the Diné Journey Narrative and Creation Scriptures, also known as the Gathering of the Clans (Zolbrod 1984; L. Lee 2012; Denetdale 2006).<sup>15</sup> Because of the diversity represented in this final section, Diné society has also been referred to as the “first melting pot culture” (Zolbrod 2016).<sup>16</sup> For example, clans were often created when descendants of Ute, Apache, Pueblo, Spanish, and Mexican war captives were incorporated into Diné society (Thompson 2009, 134). Alternately, clans of Athabaskan-speaking peoples from as far west as the Pacific Ocean also migrated into Navajo country seeking their kin and eventually became Navajos (Matthews 1897; Thompson 2017). According to Harrison Lapahie (2001), many of these clans either were imprisoned with Diné people at Hwéeldi (Fort Sumner) and traveled back with them to Dinétah, such as the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apaches, or were groups with whom Diné met up on the way back from the long walk en route to Dinétah.<sup>17</sup> This includes present-day clans such as the Mexican People Clan (Naakaii Dine’é), Ute clan (Nóoda’í Dine’é), and Apache clans such as the White Mountain Apache Clan (Dziłgha’í Dine’é), Mescalero Apache Clan (Naashgalí Dine’é), and Chiricahua Apache Clan (Chishí Dine’é). Adopted Pueblo clans include the Hopi clan

(Kíis'áanii), Tewa clan (Naashashí, i.e., the Tewa-speaking peoples of New Mexico), the Zuni clan (Naasht'ézhí) and the Zia (Weaver) clan (T'ógi).<sup>18</sup>

Interestingly, there is also documentation of some groups wishing to become a part of the fabric of Diné society but not being accorded this status. Typically, this seems to have been based on geographic proximity and that group's willingness to culturally become Diné rather than premised on them being outsiders. For example, in Diné historian Lapahie's (2001) version of the years following the return from Fort Sumner and migration patterns of Dine'é, he notes:

As the years passed, most of the people of Dinétah started moving around from place to place, and other American Indian tribal bands were adopted into the Navajo tribe. When the Diné moved back from Hwéeldi (Ft. Sumner), New Mexico, in the 1860s, some newcomers joined them on their walk back home. These people had also been imprisoned and now formed their own clans, the Chíshí Dine'é (Chiricahua Apache Clan) and Naashgalí Dine'é (Mescalero Apache Clan). *It is said that these people tried, but were not accepted by many Diné.* The Beiyóodzine' [text missing here] (Paiutes) from Naatsis'áán (Navajo Mountain) were adopted but were left there because of differences over religious matters. The people (Diné) then moved down toward the south, where they left the Chíshí (Chiricahua Apaches), and adopted the Mexicans (Naakaii). Then they went to the east, where the Naashgalí (Mescalero Apaches) decided to stay. The Mescaleros now live from Albuquerque (Be'eldíildahsinil) all the way down to the home of the Naakaii (Mexicans). From there, the Diné again moved to the vicinity of Dibé Nitsaa (La Plata Mountains), where the Beehai (Jicarilla Apaches) eventually settled. (Lapahie 2001, italics added)

In the Gathering of the Clans, stories also chronicle the multitude of ways that these outsiders became a part of the fabric of contemporary Diné society. What is striking about each narrative in the Gathering of the Clans is the variety of methods for incorporation and inherent flexibility within Diné society to allow new social groups the level of autonomy—or integration—that they desired once they came into contact with Diné society. Also of note is the extensive contact between Navajos and Puebloan and Apachean groups and how relatively recently many of these outside groups joined the Navajo Nation and were given adopted or related clan status. In other words, while clan adoption is a practice going back to the Diné Creation Stories, it also was used as a standard method of incorporation until quite recently.<sup>19</sup>

In these stories, identities are fluid, based less on “ethnicity” and more on the ability to behave in a cooperative manner and successfully integrate oneself socially. Clans, regardless of origin, are egalitarian. Clan names are given based on place of origin, method of encounter, behaviors associated with that group, and even the perceived physical appearance of said group. Thus, kinship is created based on a sense of *k'é*, or relatedness between groups, rather than by shared ethnicity or “blood” per se.

The specific origins or nature of encounter with the adopted “outside” group also seems to play a role in the designation of “real” versus “slave” adopted clans. However, those who descend from so-called slave clans do not identify with this designation. As Reichard poignantly states: “Some also claim that some branches of adopted clans are ‘real’ while others are ‘slave’ clans. We found numerous members of the ‘real’ clan but no one among 3500 souls who confessedly belonged to a ‘slave’ branch—consequently in practice all are ‘real’! There is little doubt that captives were often slaves, but since Navajo social organization did not tend to encourage the institution of slavery as it is commonly understood those individuals became acknowledged members of the Navajo tribe with a few generations” (1928, 15–16).

Environmental determinism also plays a role in clan characteristics. For example, an offshoot of the Kinya’ániis, Kinya’ánii Dzift’ahnii (Towering House Mountain Cove People), originated in the Chuska Mountains, two hours west of the Kinya’ániis from Crownpoint. As rugged mountain people, they are known for their independence, their can-do spirit, and their ability to make do with whatever comes their way.

While clans have equal status in relation to one another, they vary in their degree of “firstness,” or proximity to the four original clans created by Changing Woman. This, in turn, determines how they are grouped in a contemporary Navajo clan chart showing relationality between the various clans. Thus, different groups were adopted and incorporated to varying degrees and with differing levels of cultural independence, something we can see by looking at a clan chart showing contemporary relations between clans. In many of these charts (e.g., Lapahie 2001), we see a fourfold hierarchy of clans based on degree of firstness or connections to firstness, where the four “original” clans come first, followed by clans “related” to the original clan and included in that clan grouping. Next we see clans “adopted” into one of the nine primary clan groups, followed by “other” clan groups that are acknowledged but have not been adopted into a clan relationship (clan groups 10–21) but are listed as clan groups in their own right (Lapahie 2001). These include the Tewa (Naashashí), Ute (Nóoda’í Dine’é), and Mescalero Apache (Naashgalí) clans. Finally, we have groups, including other nationalities, not included in the clan charts at all.

What clan charts fail to show us, however, is the actual fluidity in terms of adoption practices, practices that were in fact anything but linear, finite, and fixed. Outside groups merged with Diné society, retained their own clans, merged clans, left for long periods of time, and returned, and adoption was not an overnight process. So the boundaries of Diné society, while cohesive and coherent, were also porous.

Another factor in determining which clans are “related” and which

clans are “adopted,” for example, is geographic proximity and intermarriage. Tribes and communities that lived or live in close proximity to Diné Bikéyah—an area spanning the Four Corners region and enclosed by the four Sacred Mountains—were more likely to acquire their own Navajo clan. Additionally, individuals or communities that intermarried with Navajos, for example, Mą’ii Deeshgiiznii (Jemez / Coyote Pass clan), Naakai Dine’é (Mexican People Clan), or Nasht’ézhí Dine’é (Zuni Clan), were also more likely to be given a “Navajo” clan. For example, Gladys Reichard noted that citizens of Zuni Pueblo at that time noted that Navajos of Zuni origin “still retain the language of the mother tribe (i.e., the Zuni language)” and are “counted among the best blanket-makers and artisans of the Navajo” (1928, 15).

Looking from yet another perspective, however, it is also possible to say that all Diné clans are “adopted” clans and that a demarcation between “us”—Navajos—and “them”—non-Navajos—really only began with the incorporation of the Ute clan. As Diné archaeologist Kerry Thompson notes, according to the stories collected by anthropologist Washington Matthews in the nineteenth century, “one could argue that all clans are ‘adopted’—the narratives he’s collected describe a gathering of people and it isn’t until the Ute clan comes into being that there is a distinction between the way ‘we’ act and the way ‘they’ act” (2017). Thus, terms such as “incorporation” and “social elasticity” might be more productive than a term such as “adoption” to describe processes where newer social groups—Athabaskan clans, other Native tribes, and non-Native groups—are incorporated into Diné society.

Clans also help us to understand contemporary indigeneity in North America, including the location of other present-day Athabaskan or Dené communities as a part of the Navajo diaspora in the Fourth World. For example, Changing Woman, the deity who created the first four clans descending from the Western Water clans, spent many years living on the West Coast, allegedly near present-day Santa Barbara, California, which would explain why speakers of related Athabaskan (Dené) languages are also found in California today (Zolbrod 1984).<sup>20</sup> Similarly, in the Journey Narratives we see stories of an Apache scout who got lost and eventually took his people far northward, becoming the Diné Nááhódlóonii (Other Navajo People), explaining an Athabaskan presence in western Canada and Alaska from a Diné perspective (Ives 2003; Ruhlen 1998; Wilson 1970; Zolbrod 1984). Using the Journey Narratives as the means for understanding the extent to which Navajo and non-Navajo groups became interconnected—the gradation—we gain deeper insight into contemporary forms of Diné identity and belonging.

## *“What’s Your Chart Number?”: The Navajo Census, Tribal Enrollment, and Blood Quantum*

James and Ernie are now on a different stage, this time depicting a scene in an Indian Health Service (IHS) clinic on the reservation. As James enters the clinic and signs in for his appointment, a matronly BIA employee (Ernie) at the service window asks him in an irritated voice, as if he has already done something to offend her: “What’s your CHART number?” Laughter erupts from the mostly Navajo crowd attending the show.<sup>21</sup>

“Chart numbers” are often used in addition to names and birth dates at publicly funded health care facilities in Indian Country for purposes of identification. IHS (and BIA) desk clerks are notoriously grumpy and, in this comedy routine, relish reinforcing the red tape associated with unwieldy federal agencies ostensibly designed to serve Indian people. In this case, chart numbers are also linked to census numbers, or the number a Native American or Navajo is assigned verifying his or her political identity as an “Indian” at the federal level.<sup>22</sup> In places like IHS facilities, census numbers are also sometimes bureaucratically linked to an individual’s CDIB, or Certificate Degree of Indian Blood, and in some cases a person’s CDIB is required before an individual can apply for tribal citizenship (Spruhan 2018, 175). Thus, “chart number” in this comedy routine acts as a generic stand-in phrase for a variety of identification numbers and gatekeeping mechanisms used to designate, quantify, and verify an individual’s identity as an “Indian” in ways that are, depending on whom you ask, seen as either tedious yet necessary or ridiculous, pointless, and diminishing. So while having a census number is separate and distinct from being enrolled in one’s tribal nation—one can have a census number, for example, but not be enrolled in a tribal nation and vice versa—what we argue here is that both the taking of the census and tribal enrollment practices have equally affected the ability to continue to incorporate outside groups into Navajo communities.

Referred in local parlance on the Navajo Nation as simply a CIB, the Diné-specific version of the CDIB—the Certificate of Navajo Indian Blood, or CNIB—is a legal document issued by the Navajo Nation Office of Vital Records and Information (NNOVRI) to quantify the percentage of Navajo “blood” an individual possesses (Begay in L. Lee 2014; Thompson, forthcoming). In the case of the Navajo Nation, which, like all federally recognized tribes, determines its own enrollment criteria, one must possess one-quarter or more “Navajo” blood, and ancestry must be traced to one of two BIA rolls, one from 1928 and one from 1940, in order for someone to be enrolled as a Navajo citizen. In the case of the Navajo Nation, the CNIB is a nonlaminated 8½-by-11 green piece of paper (Spruhan 2018, 170).

CNIBs create a dividing line between those who have one and those who do not. As Paul Spruhan notes, a CNIB is “the key that unlocks educational loans, medical services, employment preference, or other federal benefits unique to Native Americans” (2018, 171); a CNIB is required, for example, to vote in Navajo Nation elections and apply for Navajo Nation scholarships, and it acts as the bureaucratic standard of documentation for many other services available only to individuals enrolled in the Navajo Nation.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, while some tribes issue two different documents, or a CDIB for federal purposes and a tribal membership document for tribal purposes, the Navajo Nation uses the CNIB for both, thus blurring the boundaries between blood quantum, tribal citizenship, and the relationship between the two (Spruhan 2018, 176).

The BIA rolls to which an enrolled Navajo must trace their ancestry were instituted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs beginning with the first Navajo BIA roll in 1928. The second roll, created in 1940, is the roll to which new enrollees are added by the NNOVRI, even today. In this case, blood quantum for today’s enrollees is calculated based on the blood quantum of the original enrollees on the 1928 or 1940 roll to which one’s ancestry is traced. As Indigenous studies scholar J. Kehaulani Kauanui (Kanaka Maoli) describes the process of quantifying “Indian” blood percentages, “Blood quantum is a fractionalizing measurement—a calculation of ‘distance’ in relation to some supposed purity to mark one’s proximity to a ‘full-blood’ forebear” (2008, 2).

Further complicating our understanding of clans and kinship, when the NNOVRI assesses Navajo “blood quantum” or percentage of “Navajo” blood and issues a CNIB to a Navajo citizen (Begay 2011; Spruhan 2017), adopted clans such as Mexican People Clan (Naakai Dine’é) and Jemez / Coyote Pass clan (Mą’ii Deeshgiizhnii) are counted as “Navajo” blood, despite origin narratives and historical references offered explicitly to the contrary. Groups incorporated after the 1880s, by contrast, are by and large not given Diné clan names and thus are treated as “non-Navajo” and not counted on a CNIB as “Navajo” blood. Thus, a contemporary CNIB represents in microcosm many of the internal contradictions and historical demarcations in the shifting landscape of Diné kinship, adoption, and blood quantum.

Enumeration and quantification of Navajo bodies and Navajo “blood” by both the tribe and the federal government in the form of the census number and the CDIB—and the sheer ridiculousness of the bureaucracy that accompanies this world and the futility of actually measuring Navajo blood in the biological sense—are part of what James and Ernie are making fun of in this skit.

## *The Navajo Census*

Following the removal period to Hwéeldi (Bosque Redondo in Fort Sumner, New Mexico), known as the Long Walk (1864–68), Navajo people returned to a portion of their original homeland in the American Southwest, Diné Bikéyah. Less than twenty years after their return, in 1885, the first Navajo census was conducted, a practice designed to enumerate Navajo bodies.<sup>24</sup> It planted the seeds for the concept of “enrollment” in a federally recognized tribe as part of what it meant to be counted as “Indian.”<sup>25</sup>

With the creation of the census, the more organic practice of adopting clans seems to have largely stopped, and from this point forward outside groups that interacted with Diné society were given Navajo names indicating separate and demarcated tribal and ethnic groups existing outside of the kinship system, or what Reichard referred to as “alien” clans (Thompson 2016; Lapahie 2001; Reichard 1928, 29). Even so, in a Navajo census conducted as late as 1915 by BIA Superintendent Peter Paquette (Diné) for the Navajo Agency, maternal clans, although not required by the US Census Bureau, are listed for each of the 11,915 Navajos documented in the census (Paquette 1915, A-1, 56), showing the continued importance of kinship not only for Diné people but also for BIA administrators and enumerators. A Navajo clerk working for the agency, John Walker, was hired exclusively to attend to the documentation of names and clans for everyone listed in the census (Paquette 1915, B-11). Moreover, attesting to continued forms of adoption in some form, in the enumeration of Diné families in this census, adopted children were matter-of-factly given the mother’s Navajo clan (Paquette 1915, 56).

Blood quantum as part of the Indian census came much later, between 1928 and 1930, and a minimum blood quantum of one-quarter “Navajo” blood—the criterion used today to determine Diné citizenship—wasn’t adopted by the Navajo Nation until 1953 (Spruhan 2007; Thompson, forthcoming). Indian agents were first required to include degree of Indian “blood” in Indian census documentation in 1928, but the criteria changed frequently thereafter: initial requirements were general and vague, and subsequent criteria became more and more concerned with minutiae and “precision” (Indian Census Rolls). For example, in 1930 agents had to compress a person’s blood quantum into one of three categories, even if that person didn’t technically fit into these categories: “F” for “full blood”; “ $\frac{1}{4}+$ ” for one-quarter or more Indian blood; and “ $\frac{1}{4}-$ ” for less than one-quarter. By 1933 these categories were expanded to include “F,” “ $\frac{3}{4}$ ,” “ $\frac{1}{2}$ ,” “ $\frac{1}{4}$ ,” and “ $\frac{1}{8}$ ,” and later still, all agents were encouraged to be “exact if possible” (Indian Census Rolls). However, as the US Census Bureau acknowledges, “If someone

used the 1930 blood quantum information in retrospect it could lead to mistakes, since it is *not* possible to start from an artificially compressed category and then *accurately* return with greater detail” (Indian Census Rolls). Blood quantum in the case of the census is not—and never was—grounded in scientific fact, and it is historically discordant with systems used prior to its invention to assess Indigenous belonging (Bond, Brough, and Cox 2014; Perdue 2010; TallBear 2013; Villazor 2008).

After the institution of the census and census blood quantum requirements, the method of naming outside groups also changed, shifting to names that became based more on physical descriptions and less on the nature of the kinship relationship between Navajo and non-Navajo groups. In stark contrast to the flexible nature of prior methods of incorporation, these names chronicle the initial nature of encounter—often military in nature—and reflect broader American xenophobic discourse about said groups. For example, in examining a list of Navajo names for contemporary nationalities, many of them created during World War II, the current word for Russian is *Bi’ée’ Daalchii’ii*, or the Ones with the Red Shirts, a reference to Communist era, Cold War relations between the United States and Russia.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, Germans are called *Béesh Bich’ahii*, or “Metal Helmets,” a reference to World War II and Diné encounters with German soldiers. Chinese people are *Bináá’ádaalts’ózi*, or “Narrow Slit-Eyed People” (Young and Morgan 1987). It is significant to note that although there is significant intermarriage, there is no existing adopted clan for Anglo people, or *Bilagáanas*.

Today, blood quantum and enrollment have permeated Diné modes of thinking and being, including the ideas held by some citizens that all “real” Navajos have a census number and a CNIB and are enrolled in the Navajo Nation. Some believe that the more Navajo “blood” one has, the more “Navajo” one is. Like many other tribes, the Navajo Nation has adopted BIA rolls as the base rolls for determining citizenship, where ancestry is traced back using lineal descent to a specific roll, in this case from 1928 or 1940 (Spruhan 2008).<sup>27</sup> Thus, anyone not on these rolls or who happened to be living off the reservation for employment at the time a particular roll count was taken was not included on the rolls and therefore may not “count” as Navajo. Like most identity formations (Hall 2000; Hall and Bucholtz 2012), blood quantum is socially constructed, yet it continues to hold much social power in Diné social spaces today. Lenape scholar Joanne Barker has expanded upon the social construction of blood quantum and the power it holds, particularly for the ways in which a higher blood degree is linked to perceptions of social isolation, lack of Euro-American cultural assimilation, and biological “purity”: “Language fluency and blood quantum were used as special tools for measuring isolation and, hence, authenticity against the

presumed historical forces of assimilation that resulted in language loss and compromised blood degrees” (2011, 4). Linking this argument to settler colonialism’s reach, Kauanui extends this analysis to the ways “blood dilution” can be used to delegitimize and ultimately dispossess Indigenous peoples, where “the ‘inauthentic’ status of Natives is a condition for sovereign dispossession in the service of settler colonialism” (2008, 25).

Contemporary Diné citizenship based on blood quantum is based on a calcified idea of “Indianness” that runs counter to historical and clan-based ideologies of Diné community building and social incorporation. As Thompson has noted, “Blood quantum bears no cultural relationship to the Navajo clan system. . . . The practices of census taking and ‘measuring’ blood quantum has ‘fixed’ the Navajo clan system at a moment in time. Adoption of new clans is no longer practiced, therefore, anyone who appears on the Navajo census roll has inherited a minimum of one clan that existed at the time the census became the rigid enumeration of membership we recognize today” (Thompson, forthcoming).

### *Becoming Diné: Methods of Incorporation and Adoption in Diné Bahane’*

Looking at the history of Diné methods of incorporation and adoption, we see a very different story. The most common method of adoption in the Navajo Creation Scriptures and Journey Narratives—the Diné Bahane’—is for a new, exogamous group to be adopted by an already existing Diné clan. This clan, in turn, creates a new “adopted” clan for that group, where the new and old clan groups are henceforth considered “related” and can no longer marry one another; instead, they see one another henceforward as *k’éí*, or extended family. Thus, within the clan groups provided by Lapahie (2001) and Reichard (1928), we see clan groupings and then various related clans grouped within those clans. Significantly, once a woman had children with someone within a Diné clan group, she herself was given a new clan and considered to be Diné. This is seen, for example, in one version of the creation of the Kinlich’íí’nii clan, a Puebloan group living along the Rio Grande that was attacked by members of the Diné clan group known as Tsi’naajinii, or Black Horizontal Forest People. One of the Tsi’naajinii warriors who conducted the raid took a Kinlich’íí’nii woman for his wife during the raid, presumably by force. However, once the couple had children, she and the children were given a new clan, Kin Kinlich’íí’nii, and at the end of her life she died as a Diné woman. As Zolbrod chronicles this event, “She became his wife and in time gave birth often. So it was that she also became the mother of many children and finally died at a ripe old age as a respected Navajo woman. From

her descends the clan known as Kin Kinłich'í'í'nii, which means Red House Clan in the language spoken by Bilagáana today" (1984, 308).<sup>28</sup> Thus, in this telling of this story, bearing children and being given a clan are what gives someone a Diné clan.

An alternate method of incorporation was for the children of a Pueblo woman and a Diné father to be assigned the mother's Pueblo clan name rather than her tribal origin name, which was sometimes then combined with the father's clan, creating a new synthetic clan combining the two names (Reichard 1928, 17–18). For example, if the Diné father was Tachí'í'nii and the Pueblo mother's clan was Tobacco clan, then the child might then be Tobacco-Tachí'í'nii (18). Thus, "a few concrete examples show the change from pueblo to Navajo type of clan names depending upon which group the female participant in the marriage belongs to" (19). The tendency for relating clans and creating alliances, even where none existed before, is seen as a prevalent feature of Diné society: "Pueblo women who married into the tribe gave their pueblo names to their children and thus clans with pueblo names originated. Or, it may be that in a tribe like the Navajo *where the tendency for relating clans was extremely strong* the woman was adopted into a Navajo clan and she and her children thereafter had a Navajo clan name" (17, italics added).

In other cases, moving to Navajo land from elsewhere on a voluntary basis and wanting to become Diné is enough to make a new group Navajo. As Zolbrod notes about one version of the arrival of a group of Apaches from south of the San Juan Valley to Diné Bikéyah, a group later adopted by the Tábaḡahá, or Water's Edge clan: "They had left the land of the Apaches forever, and they now wanted to become Navajos" (1984, 306).<sup>29</sup> As with Kin Kinłich'í'í'nii and Tsi'naajiniis, these two groups became so close that marrying someone from the other clan group is now considered taboo.

Linguistic histories are also foregrounded in the Gathering of the Clans and in the Diné Journey Narratives. In one story, the origin of the Navajo language, or Diné Bizaad, is actually brought by one of the most central clans in this section, the Water's Edge clan, or Tábaḡahá, a clan that is considered to be Pueblo rather than Diné in origin: "The language that the people of Tábaḡahá the Water's Edge Clan spoke was more like the modern Navajo language spoken today than that which members of the other clans spoke. For at this time their respective languages were not alike. Nor were they like languages spoken today. So less could be understood among them than is understood now" (Zolbrod 1984, 301). Tábaḡahá introduced their language as a lingua franca that all gravitate toward, and Navajos as a group eventually agreed to allow this version of the language to become the one they regarded as "the" Navajo language.

Behavior and willingness to become a part of a larger entity within Diné society are also factors in determining how integrated an outside group becomes. Navajos and Utes have a long history of raiding one another, and even today there is sometimes tension between these two groups because of this history (Whyte 2010). In the following passage, we see perhaps some of the residual perceptions Diné people had of Ute people based on raids already conducted: “At first they (Utes) lived apart from the Navajos, for they were unruly and rude. But by and by *they learned to conduct themselves acceptably and they gradually merged into the Navajo nation.* They formed the Nóóda’í Dine’é Clan, which means Ute People in the language that Bilagáana the White Man speaks” (Zolbrod 1984, 309, italics added). Once Utes adopted the common cultural practices of Diné people, they were permitted to join the Navajo Nation, and that subgroup (phratry) of Utes was then considered Diné.

Clans are also given as a status marker, and in some cases phenotype and the desire on the part of a Diné clan member to bestow a new clan upon another also determines the clan creation. In the story of the Yellow People clan, a young Tábaḡahá woman becomes close with an Apache man whose band is visiting for the large winter ceremony, the Naachid. Together they leave to go back to Apache country, until her Navajo kinfolk, many years later, find her and convince her and her family to return to Diné Bikéyah. By this time, she has three grown daughters, who were “beautiful maidens by then with light skin and fair hair” (Zolbrod 1984, 310). In this case, their Apache father, now in Navajo country and with three Diné daughters, is bestowed proximate kinship and also dies as a Diné man. Zolbrod notes about the Tábaḡahá grandmother of the three girls: “Their grandmother, who admired them when she saw them for the first time, desired that they should become the founders of a new clan. Soon they were married, and as they raised families of their own their offspring became known as *litso dine’é.* That name means Yellow People in the language of *Bilagáana* the White Man. *The father of those three women lived to a ripe old age and finally died as a respected Navajo*” (1984, 310-11, italics added).

Non-Navajos can also bestow clans on other Navajos as an indication of shared history and where naming of a clan is also a display of respect and an explicit demonstration of relationality between the namer and the named. For example, members of a then nameless clan from the west lived in Apache country, south of Diné Bikéyah, for a total of seven years. After finally deciding to return north to join other Navajos, they were named by an older Apache woman, who begins walking around them to demonstrate and embody the name she will soon give them:

“You came to live with us without a name,” she said to them.  
 “And for seven years you have dwelt among us without a name.  
 “Without a name you have been our good friends. Without a name you  
 have exchanged stories with our own people.  
 “Well, you should not leave us unnamed.  
 “That is why I have walked around you.  
 “From now on you shall be known as Honágháahnii the He Walks Around  
 One Clan. Henceforth you shall no longer be nameless.” (Zolbrod 1984,  
 334–35)

Also striking in the process of out-group incorporation is the degree of flexibility in how belonging and affiliation are determined. For example, in the case of Tábaḡáhá incorporation of members of the Paiute tribe, Paiutes desired both inclusion and the ability to retain some of their cultural practices, which are recognized and granted.<sup>30</sup> “At about the same time a band of Paiutes came and were likewise adopted. They too are members of that clan Tábaḡáhá to this very day, although *it is still understood that they are of a different origin and they retain some of their own traditions*” (Zolbrod 1984, 337, italics added). In this case, clan incorporation includes the ability to still assert difference and retain expressive practices considered central to that group’s cultural identity.

Perhaps most essential to our analysis, the Gathering of the Clans provides clear evidence that adding outside groups to the polity known as the Navajo Nation was seen as an almost uniformly positive event, a strength-in-numbers approach in which equilibrium between and among groups was easily achievable: “Earlier the Navajos had been a small and a weak people. But now they found themselves numerous and strong” (Zolbrod 1984, 307). As the Franciscan Fathers, some of the earliest visitors to Navajo land to write about Diné language, clans, and history, noted in 1910, “The numerical increase of the clans is not due to the process of segmentation of existing clans, but to one of adoption of new peoples which were met in the course of the journey to the present habitat of the tribe. Accordingly, the phratry is eliminated, in fact, it is unknown to the Navajo, who makes no such distinction. *Each clan, therefore, forms a separate whole, which is socially the equal of others with whom it is perchance affiliated by consanguinity or adoption*” (quoted in Zolbrod 1984, 416n26, italics added).<sup>31</sup>

Another way to understand the elasticity of kinship and Diné willingness to create new clans is through the lens of how ceremonial and culturally specific knowledge is passed down in Diné society. This contrasts greatly to how ceremonial knowledge is passed down, for example, in neighboring Pueblo communities. Whereas in many Pueblo societies ceremonial stories, songs, and dances are exclusively passed down through one’s clan, and thus

extinction of a clan indicates the death of the stories themselves, in Diné society this knowledge is passed down through clans and one's relationship to clans. Songs can also be transmitted to those who express sustained interest, whether they are affiliated by clan or not. For Diné people, more flexibility is built into the transmission of this knowledge. Thus, "although Navajo clans have powerful social and economic functions, such as regulating marriage and consequent friendly affiliation and serving to keep individual property within the clan" (Reichard 1928, 32), ceremonial stories can remain vital and alive even if a clan that bore that knowledge is no longer an active clan.

One final framework for understanding the willingness to create new clans where none existed before is the fundamentally Diné desire to shift from more general kinship-based forms of solidarity and cooperation, known as *k'é*, to the more specific kind of solidarity that is experienced between and among kinspeople of the same descent group, known as *k'éí*. Creating clans that are considered "related" to Diné clans creates *k'éí* expeditiously and often within one generation. As Witherspoon notes on the distinction between *k'é* and *k'éí*,

"K'ei" [now more commonly spelled with a high tone as *k'éí*] refers to a special kind of solidarity which exists among those related according to Navajo concepts and categories of descent. The suffixing of an "i" on "k'e" [now more commonly spelled with a high tone as *k'é*] is the same kind of linguistic phenomenon as the suffixing of an "e" on "dine." It means in this case a particular or special kind of *k'e*. Thus when a Navajo says "shik'ei" ("my relatives by descent") he is identifying an exclusive group of people with whom he especially relates according to the concepts of ideals of *k'e*. (1975, 120)

In applying the histories of new clan creation to contemporary Navajo Nation law, we see numerous discrepancies between these histories and what exists in the Navajo Tribal Code. Significantly, the creation of such clans from the Creation Scriptures and Journey Narratives up through the early twentieth century directly contradicts the language of a resolution passed in 1934 by the newly formed Navajo Tribal Council explicitly stating that non-Diné persons could not be adopted into the Navajo Nation.<sup>32</sup> More formally codified into law in 2005 as 1 N.N.C. § 702, the law states that "no Navajo law or custom has ever existed or exists now, by which anyone can ever become a Navajo, either by adoption, or otherwise, except by birth" (quoted in Austin 2007, 194). It then goes on to state that "all those individuals who claim to be a member of the Navajo Nation by adoption are declared to be in no possible way an adopted or honorary member of the Navajo People" (195). Interestingly, this law, adopted to prevent non-Indian claims of Navajo adoption, particularly from movie stars working on Navajo land at that time, was not concerned with the prevention of adopted clans per se

(Spruhan 2007, 2017). Regardless, this resolution seems to solidify and provide yet another endpoint to the cessation of new clan adoption begun by the creation of the census.

However, as legal scholar Raymond Austin (Diné) crucially notes, “This law obviously ignores the heterogeneity of the Navajo people. Several Navajo clans trace their roots to members of surrounding Indian tribes (e.g., Pueblos, Zuni, Jemez, Hopi, Ute, and Apache and even Mexican) who were adopted by Navajos. *The statement that no Navajo custom has ever existed that permitted non-Navajos to be adopted into the Navajo Nation is patently false*” (2007, 194, italics added).

### *Contemporary Diné Kinship: “FUNNY Navajo MEMES”*

Today, kinship and ideas of *k'é* continue to hold weight and significance in Diné social spaces, albeit differentially and often determined by age, place of residence, and to what extent one may be either Christian or urban identified, among various other criteria. However, one way in which clans continue to hold social power and to circulate among younger Dine'é is through humor shared on social media. Questions of kinship, blood quantum, and belonging surface through humorous Diné memes, where humor can be a powerful way to foreground sensitive thematics in ways that provoke conversation. Nowhere, perhaps, are these thematics of kinship addressed more directly than in the anonymous Diné humorists for the Facebook page “FUNNY Navajo MEMES.”<sup>33</sup> Written using intentionally colloquial, everyday language and sometimes employing what is referred to as a “rez” accent to represent specific Diné speaker types and class affiliations, these memes represent a microcosm of contemporary Navajo political and cultural issues that are top of mind to Diné citizens. Delivered through the lens of humor through social media, memes not only allow multiple frames of interpretation and analysis but also, significantly, create space for dialogue and critical reflection around often raw and sensitive topics (see Jacobsen and Thompson, forthcoming). Indeed, because these memes can be controversial, the authors of “FUNNY Navajo MEMES” choose to remain anonymous in order to give themselves the artistic freedom to post memes about what they really feel without fear of repercussion (“FUNNY Navajo MEMES” 2017a).

In one meme, we see a dating scenario in which a man is asked for his clans by a potential partner to determine his dating eligibility (Figure 1). In the meme we are brought into the intellectual headspace of this man assessing whether he wants to date the person asking the question and then deciding whether he should give his “real clans,” which presumably aren’t related to the person asking and make him dating-eligible, or his “fake clans,” selected



**FIGURE 1.** “‘Real’ Clans and ‘Fake’ Clans.” Courtesy of “FUNNY Navajo MEMES,” copyright 2017.

in order to ward off further interest. (The assumption is that his “fake clans” would be the same as those of the person asking the question, thus making these two people ineligible to date.) As he wipes his sweating brow, emphasis is placed on the anxiety created through having to make these decisions as part of early dating protocol and the parallels this might have with contemporary Diné citizens having to make similar assessments in the very early stages of dating another Diné individual. Thus, although the image shows the man selecting his “fake” clans, as the viewers we don’t know the final outcome of this scenario, and thus the palpable sense of anxiety and prevarication is foregrounded.

In a second meme, we see a photo of George W. Bush with his “bluff” face on, and above the image we read: “When someone asks for your clans but you don’t know it” (Figure 2). Here again the implication is that even for perhaps more urban-identified and younger Diné who may not “know” their clans or may not use clans to navigate their own senses of connection to other Diné people or for dating parameters, clans are part of one’s cultural patrimony as a Diné person, and one should still “know” them, regardless. A more sinister interpretation offered to us by some of our students who read this meme is that the person asking the question—perhaps an older Navajo-language speaker—may know that the younger person doesn’t know her or his clans but is asking the question anyway, thus using the question as a form of culture shaming. Therefore, the chagrined face of “W” stands in for a Diné individual’s own potential sense of embarrassment or the sense of a need to “fake it” when this question—“What are your clans?” or “há’áát’íí ádóone’é nilí?”—about kinship and belonging inevitably arises or is posed to them by other Diné-identified individuals.

A third meme that powerfully and controversially drives home perceptions

When someone asks for your clans but you don't know it



**FIGURE 2.** “Knowing Your Clans.” Courtesy of “FUNNY Navajo MEMES,” copyright 2017.

between phenotype, blood quantum, enrollment, and the inchoate but powerful desire to belong to a human community, whether politically or symbolically, is exemplified in the following image, which reads: “How that 1/16th Navajo looks when they qualify for that C.I.B.” (Figure 3). The image, referencing a well-known moment from the film *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* (2005), shows the facial expression of the protagonist when he learns that he has been given the coveted and elusive “golden ticket” to enter the chocolate factory, his life’s dream. This meme, open to multiple interpretations, shows a phenotypically Anglo protagonist ostensibly looking not at his golden ticket but at his CNIB, the piece of paper that grants him enrollment status in the Navajo Nation. Thus, the CNIB is made analogous to a sort of entry prize or secret membership, something that is perhaps based more on chance than on circumstances, akin to winning the lottery. One of the implications here, therefore, is that the less Navajo “blood” one has, the less phenotypically Navajo one appears to be, or that the “1/16th Navajo,” by definition, looks less “Navajo” than a Navajo with a higher blood quantum. A second implication, however—and one that is seemingly framed very much from the perspective of someone who has “more” Navajo blood and who identifies as Diné—is that those who supposedly want “in” on this exclusive club—of citizenship and belonging to the Navajo Nation—are overjoyed when they finally feel like they belong, marked here by the possession of a singular piece of paper, the CNIB, expressed through the joyful countenance of the blonde-haired young protagonist.

How that 1/16 Navajo looks when they qualify for that C.I.B. . .



**FIGURE 3.** “How That 1/16 Navajo Looks When They Qualify for That C.I.B.” Courtesy of “FUNNY Navajo MEMES,” copyright 2017.

Alternately, and less charitably, the joyful expression could be interpreted as that of a noncitizen, a “1/16th Navajo” who is delighted because he has “fooled” the system by claiming to be one-quarter Navajo, the minimum blood quantum required for enrollment in the Navajo Nation. This meme is also a powerful commentary on the ways that ideas of blood and blood quantum have overtaken kinship in determining belonging and social citizenship, where having a primary Navajo clan is no longer necessarily the primary marker of what makes one Diné; instead, the primary marker is the possession of a CIB.

A final meme circulating as of December 2017 on social media and accessed through the Facebook page “Diné Rights and Politics” (2018) beautifully encapsulates the shifting landscapes of blood quantum, tribal identification, and aesthetics, in this case through hairstyle and how this signifies

differing Native identities in the contemporary moment (Figure 4). It also emphasizes how early socialization into differing Native identities begins and how ideas of social difference play out between peers in institutional spaces such as schools. In this meme, a note is being passed by two young grade school girls in a classroom. The note receiver, who is presumably Navajo, at first looks excited to be receiving a clandestine note in the space of the classroom and wears a big smile on her face. In the second image, her facial expression has shifted to one of irritation and perhaps dismay as she reads the contents of the note: “Guuur! you’re full Navajo why you got Hopi bangs.”

Here, a traditional “Hopi” hairstyle, where bangs that are cut straight across the front of one’s forehead are sometimes a prominent feature for more traditionally oriented Hopi citizens, is being juxtaposed against the blood quantum of the Navajo girl, referenced in the note as being “full Navajo.” More specifically, bangs play a key role in Hopi ceremonial life, where a young woman participating in the Hopi Butterfly dance, for example, grows out her bangs (or has artificial ones affixed) in order to affix her ceremonial headdress, known as a *kopatsoki*, to them (Lomahaftewa 2018).<sup>34</sup> Thus, the note writer is conflating cultural identity with blood quantum, where having four Navajo grandparents, or being “full Navajo,” indicates the note writer’s belief that her classmate is more Navajo than someone with a lower blood quantum. The implication, therefore, is that

someone with a “4/4” Navajo blood quantum should not be presenting themselves in any way that could ambiguously be coded as anything other than Navajo. This, despite the fact that the Hopi Nation is surrounded by the Navajo Nation and that the Hopi clan (*Kiis’áanii*), referenced earlier, is a prominent Navajo adopted clan. Thus, one way to interpret this meme is as a commentary on contemporary Diné boundary policing along the lines of tribal identity, adopted clans, and how these identifications are performed through dressing style, haircut, ceremonial practices, and blood quantum.



**FIGURE 4.** “Hopi Bangs.” Courtesy of “Diné Rights and Politics,” copyright 2017.

As Joanne Barker has noted about the all-too-common exchange in which a non-Native

meeting an American Indian for perhaps the first time in a public space asks them immediately “how much Native” they are in order to assess their Indigenous authenticity, “Questions and remarks about blood and appearance are not merely breaches in decorum—a faux pas of social etiquette or

arrogance. They are interpersonal instances of deeply entrenched social ideologies and identificatory practices of race within the United States” (2011, 3). Similarly, in these Diné-created memes, we gain insight into the central roles of kinship, blood quantum, social ideologies, and the politics of authenticity in contemporary Diné identity formation, as well as the role that phenotype, hair color, and even hairstyle play not only in dating practices but also in assessments of political and social belonging.

### *Kinship Today: New Clans?*

Today, while possibilities for formal clan incorporation are more constrained, the practice of clan adoption continues in a variety of ways. On an informal, family-by-family basis, author and nurse practitioner Ursula Knoki-Wilson has adopted non-Navajos into her family (Schulz, Knoki, and Knoki-Wilson 1999), and many non-Native anthropologists working on the Navajo Nation tell of being “given” a clan, although typically this is a clan belonging to the bestower rather than a new clan created for that outside person (Marshall 2016b; Mitchell and Frisbie 2001). In other cases, Navajo speakers use kinship terms such as mother, daughter, son, and father (*shimá*, *shitsi’/shich’é’é*, *shiyé’/shiyáázh*, and *shizhé’é*) to address non-Navajos to whom they are not technically related but feel close or connected to in some way as a way to establish kinship.

More formally, singer, activist, and former Miss Navajo Radmilla Cody has advocated for the renaming and active creation of a new clan for African American people. Cody, the first biracial Navajo / African American Miss Navajo, now uses a new term for her paternal clan, Naahííí, which was given to her by a Diné medicine man and is now being used more broadly across the reservation (Lapahie 2001; Jacobsen-Bia 2014; Jacobsen 2017). As she notes on her website, “The term Naahííí is a new term that was passed down to Radmilla from a Dine’ practitioner when she inquired about a more positive, respectful, and empowering term to identify those whom she is born for, the African Americans. The following is a Dine’ description of the term Naahííí/ Nahííí: ‘Na(a)’—Those who have come across. ‘híí’—dark, calm, have overcome, persevered and we have come to like. ‘íí’—oneness” (Cody 2017). Cody is now actively working to change language use on the reservation, encouraging Diné citizens to use the term Naahííí rather than the more disparaging and racially charged term that also refers to African Americans, Naakai Łizhiinii.<sup>35</sup> By providing a new name that stems from a ceremonial context, Radmilla as a Diné woman is in effect arguing for a new adopted clan—and a new form of relationality through descent, or *k’éí*—for African American people on the Navajo Nation.

We find legacies of mixture between Diné and non-Diné peoples not only on the Navajo Nation but also away from Navajo land. Today, in present-day New Mexico, there is growing acknowledgment and awareness of communities known as *genízaros*: Native and Navajo war captives assimilated as slaves into New Mexico Hispanic communities between the 1740s and 1790s (Avery 2008; Chavez 1979; LaMadrid and Gonzales 2017; Gonzales 2014; Silverman 2011; Burnett 2016).<sup>36</sup> As this recent scholarship reveals, cultural mixture and incorporation in the Southwest and among Diné communities are indeed defining aspects of Diné and southwestern experience, but these relationships are defined differently within various southwestern Indigenous communities. In fact, the practice of slave taking was so prevalent that by the late 1700s, one-third of the population of New Mexico were *genízaros* (Burnett 2016). As folklorist Enrique LaMadrid notes about the commonality of slave taking and the trafficking of Indigenous children in Spanish households, “In the 1770s, if you were going to get married, one of the best wedding presents you could get is a little Indian kid who becomes part of your household. They took on your own last name, and they became part of the family” (LaMadrid in Burnett 2016). As Moisés Gonzales notes, one thing the new *genízaro* scholarship does is “smash the conventional notion that New Mexican identity is somehow defined as either the noble Spaniard or the proud Pueblo Indian” (Gonzales in Burnett 2016); Diné histories of mixture are part and parcel of that same history.

## Conclusion

Today what is perhaps most remarkable about Diné practices of adoption is how unremarkable it was, until at least the late 1800s, for Navajos to incorporate groups from elsewhere into the central fabric of Diné society. If kinship is “a set of concepts, beliefs, and attitudes about solidarity which are embodied in symbols,” then these symbols are indeed still palpable and real today, embodied through memes, new clan names, and continued contemporary practices of adoption (Witherspoon 1975, 14). Navajos were an incorporative and inclusive polity, and this didn’t make them less Diné, it made them more so. As historian William Lyon notes, “They (Diné people) recognized the contributions made by the Pueblos and Mexicans to Navajo life, realized that their relationships were often one of conflict, but they possessed societal mechanisms to incorporate these others into their own way of life” (2000, 147). Rather than Navajos being “cultural borrowers” (Bsumek 2004) who lacked a distinctly Diné cultural core, this openness and these extant categories for incorporation were (and are) uniquely Diné in their own right (Denetdale 2006). As our own Diné students from myriad clans,

Native nations, and ethnicities attest when they introduce themselves in Navajo, in English, and in Spanish in our classrooms, this history of mixture, albeit with a fundamentally Diné identity, continues today.

Adopted clans not only show us Diné historical inclusivity but also give us a unique window into the ruptures caused by US settler colonialism on Diné senses of self and how constructions of the “other” have changed relatively recently in Diné history (Iverson and Roessel 2002; Denetdale 2006; L. Lee 2012; T. Lee 2009). The institution both of a census and of BIA rolls created a freeze-frame of Diné society at a given moment in time that today, however inaccurate it may be, has in many ways become the litmus test for assessing Diné membership and belonging.

Diné poet Sherwin Bitsui (Tódich’í’níi) makes this same point through another means, where primary identity is always through one’s mother’s clan and not through a more racialized identification with a people group known as “American Indian” or the biologized idea of blood quantum as the determinant for what makes one Native. For example, in a performance of the poem “Northern Sun” in Washington, DC, Bitsui described how he identified with his maternal clan over and above not only his name but also over identifying as American Indian or Diné. Leading by introducing your clans rather than your name also ensures that anywhere you go where there are other Navajos, you will always encounter a relative and thus be known: “The cab driver asks if I’m American Indian.” Refusing the categorization and racialization implied in the very question posed, Bitsui responded: “And I said, ‘No, I’m of the Bitterwater People’” (Bitsui 2003).

**KRISTINA JACOBSEN** is a cultural anthropologist, ethnographer, and songwriter who teaches classes on country music, Diné expressive culture, and the anthropology of music and language at the University of New Mexico. Her primary Navajo language teacher is the late Shirley Ann Bowman.

Originally from Tohatchi, New Mexico, the late **SHIRLEY ANN BOWMAN** is of the Tsénahabíńii (Sleep Rock People), Bit’ahnii (Within His Cover), Áshìjìhí (Salt), and Tódich’í’níi (Bitterwater) clans. She was an esteemed teacher of Navajo language and culture in Navajo Nation’s eastern agency, mentoring students at Diné college, Crownpoint, and in the public school system in Crownpoint for much of her rich and diverse teaching career.

## Notes

The authors wish to thank Paul Zolbrod, Bidtah Becker, Paul Spruhan, Lloyd Lee, and Kerry Thompson for their feedback on this article and stimulating conversations on this topic over the years. We also wish to thank the anonymous authors of “FUNNY Navajo MEMES” for their permission to reprint their memes here and graduate assistant Renata Yazzie for bringing our attention to these memes.

This article engages with the Fourth Part of the Diné Journey Narrative, the Gathering of the Clans, stories typically told orally during the winter months. If it is outside the winter season, you may want to wait to read this article until the appropriate time of year.

Fieldwork for this project was permitted through a Class C Ethnographic Permit issued by the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department (Jacobsen) under the guidance of Ron Maldonado and Ora Marek-Martinez. This research was also supported through a Wenner-Gren dissertation fieldwork grant (Jacobsen).

1. James June and Ernest Tsosie III. See <https://search.yahoo.com/yhs/search?p=james+and+ernie+youtube&ei=UTF-8&hsparm=mozilla&hsimp=yhs-002>, accessed November 27, 2015.

2. Traditionally, marrying someone who shares a first or second clan is considered a form of incest, so establishing that you aren't related often occurs fairly early on in dating situations. This clan name is pronounced “Kee-uh-aw-nee,” Towering House clan, one of the four original clans. This comment implies that Towering House should be the man's primary, or maternal, clan.

3. “Adopted” is the local terminology used to describe the ways in which individuals and groups outside of Diné society have been incorporated into Diné kinship structures and social worlds. To be clear, this article focuses on a set of practices completely separate from the twentieth-century practice of non-Natives claiming they have been “adopted” by a Native American tribe or being given a so-called Indian name (Deloria 1998; Green 1988; Strong 1998; Sturm 2011).

4. According to the 2010 US census there are 332,129 enrolled citizens of the Navajo Nation. Of this number, 173,667 (52.3 percent) are residents of the Navajo Nation, or 158,512 enrolled citizens who live *off* the Navajo Nation (this includes the three satellite reservations). The largest population of Navajo Nation residents is under the age of twenty (37.4 percent), and the smallest populations are age groups 60–69 (7.1 percent) and 70–85+ (6.5 percent). Given these data, the outlook for language retention is unclear (see footnote 35 in Jacobsen and Thompson forthcoming, taken from Navajo Division of Health and Navajo Epidemiology Center 2013).

5. In general, if you are related to someone by clan you might refer to them as *shik'éí*, or “my relative.” There are different forms of address depending on precisely how you are related to someone else by clan and also determined by age and gender. (Keep in mind that some people are related through more than one clan.) For example, two persons who share a first clan (maternal parallel

cousins) and are of the same generation would refer to one another as brother or sister.

6. One needs to be enrolled in a federally or state-recognized tribal nation in order to be considered a citizen of that nation; criteria for membership are determined by tribes themselves and therefore vary widely.

7. Spanish period (1539–1821), Mexican period (1821–48), American military period (1846–68), American period (1868 to the present) (timeline taken from Thompson 2009). As Zolbrod notes, “The Athabascans of the Southwest, rather than being warlike, were more inclined to trade and carry on fairly heavy commerce with the sedentary Pueblos, who relied on them for hides to be used for blankets and clothing. The Apaches and Navajos seem to have cultivated their aggressive ways only as a reaction to Spanish oppression and atrocities” (1984, 413n14). Allotments were given only to male heads of household.

8. The number seventy is disputed. Some say there are as few as thirty-five active clans, while others say there are as many as ninety (Bowman 2016; Lapahie 2001; Lee 2016). For example, Witherspoon (1975, 119) lists sixty active clans; Matthews (1897) recorded fifty-one; the Franciscan Fathers (1910) recorded fifty-eight; Reichard (1928, 13) identified forty-nine; and Lapahie (2001) identifies ninety. Navajo clans are divided into nine major clan groupings, each with its own characteristics: (1) Kinyaa’áanii (Towering House clan), (2) Honágháahnii (One Who Walks Around clan), (3) Tódich’íí’nii (Bitterwater clan), (4) Hasht’ishnii (Mud clan), (5) Tábaḡahá (Water’s Edge clan), (6) Táchii’nii (Red Running into Water clan), (7) Tsé Níjikiní (Cliff Dwelling clan), (8) Tó’aheedlíinii (Water Flows Together clan), and (9) Tsi’naajinii (Black Streaked Wood People) (Lapahie 2001).

9. Towering House clan (one of the four original clans) originated in Crownpoint, New Mexico, and is named after a structure on the east side of town called Kin Ya’á.

10. For example, Bowman introduces her clans as Tsénahabiñnii nishłí (I am born to the Sleep Rock People), Bit’ahnii báshíshchíín (I am born for the Within His Cover clan), Áshjìhí dashicheii (my maternal grandfather is of the Salt clan), and Tódich’íí’nii dashinálí (my paternal grandfather is of the Bitterwater clan).

11. From a kinship and belonging perspective, having a Navajo mother (the primary clan one is born to) holds greater weight than having a Navajo father (the second clan one is born for). One is born to one’s mother’s clan and born for one’s father’s clan.

12. From one perspective, giving your name to someone gives them power over you and hence gives the potential for someone else to bring harm upon you. This is why, in her Navajo language introduction, Jacobsen was encouraged by Bowman to say, “Kristina Jacobsen dashijini,” or “they call me Kristina Jacobsen,” rather than using the first-person verb for “I am called” and saying “Kristina Jacobsen yinishyé.”

13. We have also seen this extend to kinship recognition—based on acknowledged, shared adopted clans—with other Pueblo and Apache groups.

14. Prior to the American occupation, Diné people had significant clout in

the Southwest vis-à-vis other Native nations. Since the Navajos are the second largest tribe in the United States, this continues to be the case today.

15. Following scholar Lloyd Lee (2012, 279), to foreground the complexity of these oral narratives and to emphasize their equivalence with written texts such as the Christian Bible, we also refer to these stories as Journey Narratives and Creation Scriptures. There are as many versions of the Journey Narratives as there are clans, and the variations between the stories are substantial (e.g., some clan groups believe there are five worlds, while others believe there are four). For our discussion of the Gathering of the Clans, we rely primarily on Zolbrod's published synthesis of these narratives gathered from practitioners in Northern and Eastern Agencies in his monumental work *Diné Bahane': The Navajo Creation Story* (1984).

16. Zolbrod's point is to emphasize the diversity of Diné culture and the ways that it presages the diversity of US society at large. However, it is also important to note that among Indigenous tribes in the United States, Diné people were certainly not the only ones to intermarry and adopt people from other tribal nations.

17. Lapahie (2001) notes, "As the years passed, most of the people of Dinétah started moving around from place to place, and other American Indian tribal bands were adopted into the Navajo tribe. When the Diné moved back from Hwéeldí (Ft. Sumner), New Mexico, in the 1860s, some newcomers joined them on their walk back home. These people had also been imprisoned and now formed their own clans, the Chíshí Dine'é (Chiricahua Apache Clan) and Naashgalí Dine'é (Mescalero Apache Clan)."

18. Although it is the specific word for "Hopi," Kiis'aanii is also an umbrella term used to refer to all Pueblo peoples in Navajo.

19. As Thompson and others have pointed out, "adoption" may be misleading as a term here, since many of these processes occurred gradually and not through a set, fixed, and demarcated event with a clear before and after (Thompson 2017).

20. This includes the Athabaskan (Dené) languages spoken by Hupa, Eel River, Mattole (Bear River), and Tolowa citizens.

21. The Indian Health Service (IHS), an agency within the Department of Health and Human Services, is responsible for providing federal health services to American Indians and Alaska Natives. The IHS provides comprehensive health care for approximately 2.2 million American Indians and Alaska Natives who belong to 573 federally recognized tribes in thirty-six states. It is also arguably the only form of large-scale socialized medicine offered in the United States (<https://www.ihs.gov/aboutihs/>).

22. Census numbers are not automatically assigned; rather, the parents of the child must affirmatively apply for enrollment with the Office of Vital Records and Identification to receive a census number (Spruhan 2017).

23. Enrolled members and descendants of enrolled members are eligible to receive services from Indian Health Services facilities located on the Navajo Nation (email communication with an IHS employee in Chinle, November 6, 2017).

24. Known as roll 272 and listed as “Navajo: (Moqui Pueblo, or Hopi, and Navajo Indians).”

25. For example, the National Archives online database states that “only persons who maintained a formal affiliation with a tribe under federal supervision are listed on these census rolls” (<https://www.archives.gov/research/census/native-americans/1885-1940.html>). The first Indian census was taken shortly before the passage of the Allotment or Dawes Act (1887–1934), a law legislating the privatization of Indian land and drastically reducing Native landholdings nationwide. Allotments were only given to male heads of household (Deloria and Lytle [1985] 1998; Iverson and Roessel 2002), and one had to be listed on an Indian census roll in order to be considered “competent” enough to be allotted land or given the ability to vote. Unlike in most other contexts, allotment was not used on the Navajo Nation to break up existing landholdings but to provide land rights to landless off-reservations Navajos who were seen as “squatting” on public land (Spruhan 2017). In theory, American Indians gained suffrage nationwide in 1924. In practice, in the Southwest and on the Navajo Nation, many citizens were first able to cast their vote after World War II, in 1948.

26. Nationalities are often substituted for clans when non-Navajos or those of “mixed” Navajo/non-Navajo descent are learning to introduce themselves in Navajo.

27. CNIBs for new enrollees refer specifically to the 1940 roll (Spruhan 2017).

28. These different processes of incorporation are often oral-formulaic and employ repetitive devices throughout the text to demonstrate continuity between one story and another.

29. Throughout the Journey Narrative, there are multiple references to “Apaches.” In some cases, specific tribes are mentioned—Mescalero and Jicarilla in particular—but in many cases they are referred to as simply Apache.

30. No specification is made here as to which band of Paiutes these might have been.

31. The Franciscan Fathers also created the orthography still used for the Navajo language today.

32. The Navajo Tribal Council formed in 1923 for the purpose of signing oil and gas leases for off-reservation entities.

33. “Memes” are images and videos combined with pieces of often-humorous text that are copied (often with slight variations) and spread rapidly via social media by Internet users.

34. Our thanks to Renata Yazzie for pointing out the connection between hair and Hopi ceremonial practices.

35. Often shortened to “zhinii,” this is a stigmatizing term in Navajo for African Americans, comparable to English use of the n-word.

36. “Taken from the Spanish term, ‘janissary,’ in the 18th and 19th centuries, Native American women and children captured in warfare were bought, converted to Catholicism, taught Spanish and held in servitude by New Mexican families. Ultimately, these nontribal, Hispanicized Indians assimilated into New Mexican society” (Burnett).

## Works Cited

- Austin, Raymond D. 2007. "Navajo Courts and Navajo Common Law." PhD diss., University of Arizona.
- Avery, Doris S. 2008. "Into the Den of Evils: The Genízaros in Colonial New Mexico." Master's thesis, University of Montana.
- Barker, Joanne. 2011. *Native Acts: Law, Recognition, and Cultural Authenticity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Begay, Yolynda. 2011. "Historic and Demographic Changes That Impact the Future of the Diné and Developing Community-Based Policy." PhD diss., University of New Mexico.
- . 2014. "Historic and Demographic Changes That Impact the Future of the Diné and the Development of Community-Based Policy." In *Diné Perspectives: Revitalizing and Reclaiming Navajo Thought*, edited by Lloyd L. Lee, 105–28. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Berard, Father, OFM. 1932. Review of *Social Life of the Navajo Indians* by Gladys A. Reichard. *American Anthropologist* 34: 711–17.
- Bitsui, Sherwin. 2003. "Northern Sun." In *Shapeshift*, 52. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Bond, C., M. Brough, and L. Cox. 2014. "Blood in Our Hearts or Blood on Our Hands? The Viscosity, Vitality and Validity of Aboriginal 'Blood Talk.'" *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies* 7, no. 2: 2–14.
- Bowman, Shirley Ann. 2009. Interview. Crownpoint, Navajo Nation. July 23.
- . 2009. Personal correspondence. September 15.
- . 2010. Personal correspondence. October 1.
- . 2011. Personal correspondence. December 15.
- . 2016. Personal correspondence. June 15.
- Bsumek, Erika. 2004. "The Navajos as Borrowers: Stewart Culin and the Genesis of an Ethnographic Theory." *New Mexico Historical Review* 79, no. 3: 319–51.
- Burnett, John. 2016. "Descendants of Native American Slaves in New Mexico Emerge from Obscurity." *All Things Considered*. Podcast audio, December 29. <http://www.npr.org/2016/12/29/505271148/descendants-of-native-american-slaves-in-new-mexico-emerge-from-obscurity/>.
- Chavez, F. A. 1979. "Genízaros." In *Southwest*, edited by Alfonso Ortiz, 198–200. Vol. 9 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, edited by William A. Sturtevant. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Cody, Radmilla. 2016. Personal correspondence. July 9.
- . 2017. <http://radmillacody.net/biography.html>. Accessed November 23.
- Deloria, Philip J. 1998. *Playing Indian*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Deloria, V., and C. M. Lytle. (1985) 1998. *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Denetdale, Jennifer. 2006. "Chairmen, Presidents, and Princesses: The Navajo Nation, Gender, and the Politics of Tradition." *Wicazo Sa Review* 21, no. 1: 9–28.

- . 2008. “Carving Navajo National Boundaries: Patriotism, Tradition, and the Diné Marriage Act of 2005.” *American Quarterly* 60, no. 2: 289–94.
- “Diné Rights and Politics.” 2018. <https://www.facebook.com/DineRightsnPolitics/>. Accessed June 13.
- Forbes, Jack D. 1960. *Apache, Navajo, and Spaniard*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Franciscan Fathers. 1910. *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navajo Language*. St. Michaels, AZ: St. Michael’s Press.
- “FUNNY Navajo MEMES.” 2017a. Facebook Messenger, personal communication, November 14.
- . 2017b. Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/FUNNY-Navajo-MEMES-163300343833676/>. Accessed June 13, 2018.
- Gardner, Johanna. 2015. “Mythological Story Structure and Neurology: Re-imagining the Floating Gap.” Seminar paper written for Native Mythologies of the Americas, taught by Paul Zolbrod. Pacifica University.
- Gonzales, Moisés. 2014. “The Genízaro Land Grant Settlements of New Mexico.” *Journal of the Southwest* 56, no. 4: 583–602.
- Green, Rayna. 1988. “The Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in America and Europe.” *Folklore* 99, no. 1: 30–55.
- Hall, Kira, and Mary Bucholtz, eds. 2012. *Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self*. New York: Routledge.
- Hall, Stuart. 2000. “New Ethnicities.” In *Writing Black Britain 1948–1998: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, edited by James Procter, 441–49. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Indian Census Rolls, 1885–1940. National Archives. <https://www.archives.gov/research/census/native-americans/1885-1940.html>.
- Iverson, Peter. 1994. *When Indians Became Cowboys*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Iverson, Peter, and Monty Roessel. 2002. *Diné: A History of the Navajos*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Ives, John W. 2003. “Alberta, Athapaskans, and Apachean Origins.” In *Archaeology in Alberta: A View from the New Millennium*, edited by J. W. Brink and J. F. Dormaar. Medicine Hat: Archaeological Society of Alberta.
- Jacobsen, Kristina. 2017. *The Sound of Navajo Country: Music, Language, and Diné Belonging*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Jacobsen, Kristina, and Kerry Thompson. Forthcoming. “‘The Right to Belong’: Navajo Language, Translanguaging, and Diné Presidential Politics.” *Journal of Sociolinguistics*.
- Jacobsen-Bia, Kristina. 2014. “Radmilla’s Voice: Music Genre, Blood Quantum, and Belonging on the Navajo Nation.” *Cultural Anthropology* 29, no. 2: 385–410.
- Kauanui, J. Kehaulani. 2008. *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- LaMadrid, Enrique, and Moisés Gonzales. 2017. *Genízaro Nation*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Lapahie, Harrison. 2001. “Diné Dóone’é / Navajo Clans. [http://www.lapahie.com/dine\\_clans.cfm](http://www.lapahie.com/dine_clans.cfm). As of June 12, 2018, this website is no longer accessible.

- Lee, Lloyd L. 2007. "The Future of Navajo Nationalism." *Wicazo Sa Review* 22, no. 1: 53-68.
- . 2012. "Gender, Navajo Leadership and 'Retrospective Falsification.'" *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* 8, no. 3: 277.
- , ed. 2014. *Diné Perspectives: Revitalizing and Reclaiming Navajo Thought*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- . 2016. "Traditional Navajo Identity Markers in a 21st Century World." *American Journal of Indigenous Studies* 1: B1-B8.
- Lee, Tiffany S. 2009. "Language, Identity, and Power: Navajo and Pueblo Young Adults' Perspectives and Experiences with Competing Language Ideologies." *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* 8, no. 5: 307-20.
- Littleben, Thomas. 2010. "Navajo Language 201." Diné College, Tsaile. Course materials.
- Lomahaftewa, Gloria. 2018. "Hopi Butterfly Dance." In *Circle of Dance*, October 6, 2012–October 8, 2017. National Museum of the American Indian in New York. Curated by Cécile R. Ganteaume. <http://nmai.si.edu/exhibitions/circleofdance/hopi.html>.
- Lyon, William H. 2000. "Americans and Other Aliens in the Navajo Historical Imagination in the Nineteenth Century." *American Indian Quarterly* 24, no. 1: 142-61.
- Marshall, Kimberly. 2016a. Personal correspondence. December 15.
- . 2016b. *Upward, Not Sunwise: Resonant Rupture in Navajo Neo-Pentecostalism*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Matthews, Washington. 1894. "Songs of Sequence of the Navajos." *Journal of American Folklore* 7, no. 26: 185-94.
- . 1897. *Navaho Legends*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company.
- McAllester, David P., and Charlotte J. Frisbie. 1992. *Navajo Songs: Recorded by Laura Boulton in 1933 and 1940*. Smithsonian Folkways.
- McAllester, David P., and Douglas F. Mitchell. 1983. "Navajo Music." In *Southwest*, edited by Alfonso Ortiz, 605-23. Vol. 10 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, edited by William A. Sturtevant. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Mitchell, Rose, and Charlotte Johnson Frisbie. 2001. *Tall Woman: The Life Story of Rose Mitchell, a Navajo Woman, circa 1874-1977*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Navajo Division of Health and Navajo Epidemiology Center. 2013. *Navajo Population Profile: 2010 U.S. Census*. Window Rock: Navajo Nation Planning and Development.
- Paquette, Peter. 1915. Census of the Navajo Reservation-with letter by Peter Paquette. Film no. 579,683. Microfilm Division, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.
- Perdue, Theda. 2010. *Mixed Blood Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Reichard, Gladys A. 1928. *Social Life of the Navajo Indians: With Some Attention to Minor Ceremonies*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Ruhlen, Merritt. 1998. "The Origin of the Na-Dene." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 95, no. 23: 13994–96.
- Schilling, Vincent. 2014. "Natives & the Military: 10 Facts You Might Not Know." *Indian Country Today*, January 9. <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/veterans/natives-the-military-10-facts-you-might-not-know/>.
- Schulz, Amy, Faye Knoki, and Ursula Knoki-Wilson. 1999. "How Would You Write about That?: Identity, Language, and Knowledge in the Narratives of Two Navajo Women." In *Women's Untold Stories: Breaking Silence, Talking Back, Voicing Complexity*, edited by M. Romero and A. J. Stewart, 174–91. New York: Psychology Press.
- Silverman, Jason. 2011. "Indian Slavery: The Genízaros of New Mexico." *Native Peoples Magazine*, July–August: 50–53.
- Spruhan, Paul. 2006. "Legal History of Blood Quantum in Federal Indian Law to 1935." *South Dakota Law Review* 51, no. 1: 1–31.
- . 2007. "The Origins, Current Status, and Future Prospects of Blood Quantum as the Definition of Membership in the Navajo Nation." *Tribal Law Journal* 8, no. 1: 1–17.
- . 2017. Personal correspondence. December 19.
- . 2018. "CDIB: The Role of the Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood in Defining Native American Legal Identity." *American Indian Law Journal* 6, no. 2: 169–96.
- Strong, Pauline T. 1998. "Playing Indian in the 1990s: Pocahontas and the Indian in the Cupboard." In *Hollywood's Indian: The Portrayal of the Native American in Film*, edited by Peter Rollins and John E. O'Connor, 187–205. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- Strong, Pauline T., and Barrik Van Winkle. 1996. "Indian Blood: Reflections on the Reckoning and Refiguring of Native North American Identity." *Cultural Anthropology* 11, no. 4: 547–76.
- Sturm, Circe. 2002. *Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 2011. *Becoming Indian: The Struggle over Cherokee Identity in the Twenty-First Century*. Santa Fe, NM: School of Advanced Research Press.
- TallBear, Kimberly. 2003. "DNA, Blood, and Racializing the Tribe." *Wicazo Sa Review* 18, no. 1: 81–107.
- . 2013. *Native American DNA: Tribal Belonging and the False Promise of Genetic Science*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Thompson, Kerry. 2009. "Ałk'idááđáá' hooghanéę (They Used to Live Here): An Archeological Study of Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Navajo Hogan Households and Federal Indian Policy." PhD diss., University of Arizona.
- . 2016a. Personal correspondence. August 5.
- . 2016b. Personal correspondence. December 5.
- . 2017. Personal correspondence. November 16.
- . Forthcoming. "The Landscape of Navajo Identities." In *Engaged Archaeology in the Southwest/Northwest: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by

- Kelley Hays-Gilpin, Sarah Herr, and Patrick Lyons. Boulder: University of Colorado Press.
- Tom, Orlando. 1997. "Sense of Identity." *Navajo Times*, December 23.
- Tribal Employee Blogspot. 2015. "Blood Quantum." <http://tribalemployee.blogspot.com/search/label/language%20and%20culture>.
- Vansina, Jan. 1985. *Oral Tradition as History*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Villazor, Rose C. 2008. "Blood Quantum Land Laws and the Race versus Political Identity Dilemma." *California Law Review* 96, no. 3: 801–37.
- Webster, Anthony. 2015. *Intimate Grammars: An Ethnography of Navajo Poetry*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Whyte, Don. 2010. Personal correspondence. Chaco Culture National Historic Park. July 15.
- Wilson, C. Roderick. 1970. "Navajos, Apaches, and Western Canada—Introduction." *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 2: 176.
- Witherspoon, Gary. 1975. *Navajo Kinship and Marriage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Young, Robert W., and William H. Morgan. 1987. *The Navajo Language: A Grammar and Colloquial Dictionary*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Zolbrod, Paul G. 1984. *Diné Bahane': The Navajo Creation Story*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- . 2016. Personal correspondence. December 19.