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full expression of the essentially tragic nature of that event. As Black Elk said when he described his great vision to Neihardt, the West is the direction of autumn, and, as Northrop Frye has said, autumn symbolizes tragedy. The American West, in spite of its pull on the American imagination and in spite of the many successes achieved there by so many, is a tragic scene in our country's historical drama. Welch's book is a contribution to what we must hope will be an increased awareness of this fact in the American consciousness.

Robert L. Berner

Language, History, and Identity: Ethnolinguistic Studies of the Arizona Tewa. By Paul V. Kroskrity. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993. 289 pages. \$50.00 cloth.

This book is essential reading for scholars who are interested in the languages of Native America. Based on an unusually long period of fieldwork (three-and-one-half years in the field over a fifteen-year period) among Tewa speakers living on and near First Mesa on the Hopi Reservation of northeastern Arizona, the volume is an exemplary treatment of the many ways in which people live through language. It is one of the very few such broad treatments for any speech community, and the only one for the important Pueblo Indian communities of the U.S. Southwest. Furthermore, it is an important demonstration of the ways that linguistic data can shed light on questions of broad historical and ethnological interest.

The Arizona Tewa constitute the westernmost community to speak a Kiowa-Tanoan language. They left their home communities near Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1696—either to escape Spanish retribution for their role in the Pueblo uprising of that year (the story preferred by Anglo historians) or to give military assistance to the Hopi against the Ute (the story preferred by the Tewa themselves). During the succeeding three hundred years of residence among the Hopi, the Tewa have remained a distinctive ethnic enclave, preserving their own language and ceremonial traditions in spite of extensive interaction in every dimension of their lives with both Hopi and Navajo. Kroskrity's principal consultant, the late Dewey Healing, spoke both these languages as well as English, and nearly all Tewa are at least trilingual.

Kroskrity, a leading student of "language ideology," introduces his volume with a chapter suggesting how Tewa ideas about language—their "ethnolinguistic frames"—have been a principal force in the continuity of their tradition. Tewa see language as a creative performance through which both individual and community history and life are accomplished; indeed, the language is history and life and cannot be understood apart from these. The ceremonial register of the language, the speech of the kiva, models the way in which the Tewa "speak the past" while creating a uniquely Tewa future. Kiva speech is not, however, discussed in the volume beyond this assessment of its centrality, since Arizona Tewa, like other Pueblo people, prefer that knowledge of ceremonial forms be restricted to initiates. Instead, the discussions of language focus on the ways that people speak Tewa in everyday conversation and in storytelling.

A striking property of the Tewa language, given the multilingualism of the community, is the paucity of borrowed materials in it. However, by comparing Arizona Tewa with the closely related languages spoken in the upper Rio Grande region and to other Tanoan languages (an appendix includes lexical lists comparing Arizona and Rio Grande Tewa), Kroskrity is able, in a chapter entitled "Language as History," to pinpoint evidence of their historical odyssey in the form of scattered loan elements. Although only a few loan words from the Apachean languages are found in Tewa, this is consistent with a linguistic ideology that favors "compartmentalization" of the several languages in their linguistic repertoire. Evidence for Apache-Tewa multilingualism in the pre-Spanish period is provided by Kroskrity's identification of an Apachean possessive morpheme /-b/ which occurs in both Arizona and Rio Grande Tewa. Linguists believe that borrowed morphology of this type occurs only in contexts of quite intensive and widespread multilingualism. Furthermore, Kroskrity finds a similar picture for loan elements from Hopi, where it is known that, throughout the historic period, nearly all Tewa have been speakers of that language. Arizona Tewa has only two loan words from Hopi. But evidence of contact with Hopi does occur in the form of a series of palatalized velar stops: the Hopi sound /ky/ has been assimilated to the Tewa sound system with its distinction between plain, aspirated, and glottalized stops. Furthermore, Tewa has borrowed a Hopi passive verb suffix (a loan-translation using Tewa lexical materials) and an evidential particle meaning "so they say," which marks the genre

of traditional narrative in the same way as the Hopi reportative. Again, the lexical materials are different: While the Hopi form is *yaw*, the Tewa use *ba*. One of Kroskrity's chapters, "How to 'Speak the Past,'" develops an extensive analysis of this particle and other techniques of narrative.

Why do we find this curious distribution of loan materials, with an extreme paucity of borrowed lexical items but clear evidence of contact at the phonological, syntactic, and discourse levels? Kroskrity suggests that this occurs because the ideology of compartmentalization is more effective when it is focused on "words" and less effective at other linguistic levels that may operate largely below the consciousness of speakers and so are less accessible both to self-monitoring and to censure by others. This is an important point, suggesting that scholars who use linguistic evidence as a "way to prehistory" must attend closely to local ideologies. Attention to loan words, however, does yield one very interesting result: Kroskrity identifies only seventeen Spanish loan words in Arizona Tewa. These are restricted to "material innovations" (such as "coffee" and "cow") and absolutely lack the religious vocabulary, such as words for "godfather" and "confession," documented for the Rio Grande Tewa. This is good evidence for the rejection of Catholicism by the ancestral community.

At the heart of Kroskrity's book are two chapters on language variation, "On the Social Distribution of Linguistic Knowledge in the Arizona Tewa Speech Community" and "Exceptionally Instructive Individuals in the Tewa Speech Community." In the first of these, Kroskrity is especially interested in assessing the influence of English. He confirms the concerns of the Tewa themselves by finding quite extensive influence from English on the Tewa speech of people under thirty years of age. For several grammatical variables, young speakers are most likely to use Tewa constructions that converge with English, a pattern that, in some cases, seems to have required reanalysis of Tewa materials on the part of these speakers. Similar evidence of convergence is shown for phonology, but Kroskrity shows that morphological change is not so clearly due to language contact.

Careful analysis of language variation and change is especially important in the case of a language such as Arizona Tewa, given the terrible history of the loss of native languages in Native American communities in the past one hundred years. A grammatical approach that attends only to a single norm cannot help communities evaluate the status of their language and determine

what they want to do in the way of education and development work. However, Kroskirty concludes that it is not at all clear that Arizona Tewa is endangered; at the time of his study, children still routinely learned the language, and evidence of convergence and simplification may very well be part of the normal processes of language change in a multilingual community.

In the chapter on "exceptionally instructive individuals," Kroskirty continues his attention to variation, showing how fine details of the life histories of the three male speakers he discusses account for differences in their attitudes toward Tewa tradition and for their different kinds of language competencies. Kroskirty finds no support in these life histories for a "conflict model": that high competence in Tewa and high competence in English cannot coexist. Instead, the stories seem to suggest that a confident command of Tewa language and culture is likely to enhance English-language potential. Kroskirty suggests that traditional Pueblo socialization techniques may be quite congruent with what students encounter in English-language classrooms. In his treatment of kin and other social network issues, Kroskirty again insists on sensitivity to the local context. He points out that the strong presence of ceremonial parents (ritual sponsors) and a wide range of clan relatives in the lives of these men means that they are exposed to considerable ideological diversity. Indeed, Kroskirty's cases suggest that the age-set peer group, often suggested to be the primary focus of linguistic socialization, may be less important than the influence of significant elders for Tewa speakers. However, even for elders, Tewa "traditionalism" is not a global stance (Tewa have been notably receptive to new technologies and have, for many years, served as brokers between the Hopi and Anglo institutions) but a position that is focused in the domain of ceremonial practice. Kroskirty's attention to the details of contextualization yields an interesting perspective on ethnicity, developed in a chapter entitled "An Evolving Ethnicity among the Arizona Tewa," which focuses on the contexts for code-switching between the several available languages. Kroskirty sees ethnicity as a "repertoire of identities" that people produce in interaction in specifically contextualized circumstances.

Space precludes attention to all of the topics that Kroskirty takes up in this richly developed monograph. In addition to the chapters discussed above, introductory and concluding sections address the general implications of the Tewa situation for the study of the indigenous Southwest and for anthropological and

linguistic theory more generally. The material in this exemplary monograph is of interest for a broad range of scholarly concerns in anthropology, history, language and literature, and multicultural education; it could be used with profit in upper-division and graduate classes in anthropology and Native American studies. Unfortunately, no paperback edition is available. However, those who decide to acquire the volume will find that their money is well spent. *Language, History, and Identity* is an enduring contribution that should serve for many years as a model and inspiration for the holistic study of language.

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Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education. By Gregory Cajete. Durango, Colorado: Kiviaki Press, 1994. 243 pages, \$16.95 paper.

Look To The Mountain draws from a wide range of tribal traditions to describe commonalities, integrate concepts, and create a model for teaching from an eclectic indigenous foundation. This book explores the need to implement traditional teaching and learning methods into modern-day education curriculums for teaching.

Cajete's "foundations of tribal education" center around a "spiritual ecology" common to all tribal groups in Native America. Emanating from this center are two interconnected triads or foundations of tribal education. The first triad consists of the mythic, visionary, and artistic foundations. A second triad is formed by the environmental, affective, and communal foundations of indigenous education.

In defining the metaphorical nature of indigenous teaching and learning, the author provides numerous examples. One, in particular, comes from the Tewa word for learning, *ha q'*, which, in the context of this Tanoan Pueblo language, means "to learn," yet the literal translation is "to breathe in" (p. 34). According to Cajete, breathing is a metaphor for learning, in the following way: "The interrelationship of water, thought (wind), and breath personifies the elemental relationships emanating from 'the place that Indians talk about,' that place of the Center where all things are Created" (p. 42).