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Practicing Living and Being Hopi: Language and Cultural Practices of Contemporary Hopi Youth

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Introduction

The Hopi, an Indigenous people numbering about 14,000, continue to reside in both villages and small communities on a portion of their aboriginal lands known to them as *Hopitutskwa,* Hopi lands, in the United States Southwest, and more specifically in the northeast part of Arizona. According to the Hopi, they have lived in this region since time immemorial, and they assert that "Over the centuries, we have survived as a tribe, and to this day have managed to retain our culture, language and religion despite influences from the outside world" (The Hopi Tribe n.d.). Withstanding perpetual change, they maintain a steadfast commitment to carrying out ancestral traditions in their village communities following an annual ceremonial calendar. At the time of writing, preparations were under way in the villages for one such tradition, *Mosayurtiitikive,* Buffalo Dances. The brief description below affords the opportunity to situate the notion of

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practicing living and being Hopi in the contemporary Hopi context and the significance of this ritual performance:

> The dancing and performance regalia of the Buffalo dancers—males dressed to represent the buffalo and the [unmarried] females carrying a sun shield on their back—bring together the buffalo's winter breath and the sun's breath (rays) in a symbolic gesture of warming. The dancers' lively footsteps are in time with the robust rhythm and beat of the drum and song. They work to drive the moisture of the melting snow deep into the soil in preparation for the spring planting of corn so as to nurture its growth. By extension, the Hopi people will be nourished physically and spiritually. (McCarty et al. 2015, p. 234)

Through this ceremony, publicly performed in the village plaza, the Hopi people assist in symbolically awakening Mother Earth from her winter sleep and in reviving the land from its frozen state. Such ritual performances also serve as mechanisms (Fishman 1991) for the community to maintain and reinforce the kinship relations—paternal aunt/grandmother and her clan nephew—between the dancers. These are ascribed roles acquired at birth in the Hopi clan/kinship-based matrilineal society. The Buffalo Dance is performed during *Paamuya*, a time during the Hopi ceremonial cycle coinciding with the Euro-American calendar month of January. It is one of a host of efficacious ritual performances and traditions that have transported epistemological and ontological principles across time and space. These principles purport a moral existence within the natural world, promise the "good things of life"—health, happiness, family, and physical and spiritual sustenance—and forefront the essentiality of cohesiveness and unity in a communal and oral society. This culture model (Gee 2008; Ogbu 1991) has provided the Hopi people with the most reliable resource for cultural survival and persistence.

Ancestral traditions extend to customary subsistence activities such as *natwani,* the practice of "planting corn by hand" (the Hopi way of life) and "kiva[1] activities" that consist of participation in ceremonies and religious societies (Nicholas 2008). Such traditions that continue to be practiced in the secular and esoteric domains are connected with and

through the language and link to the formation of a Hopi identity. The words of a contemporary Hopi farmer/father express this philosophical understanding:

> *I'pi itaahimuningwu, Hopihiita, taawi, i'uuyi itamuy tsaamimani; I' soosoy lavayit ak namiwiwta.* All of this, our cultural practices, will lead us along [toward our spiritual destiny]; these [practices, like] song, my cornfield are connected by means of the language. *Put hak ak tuuqayte, put hak ak aw Hopisinoniwtingwu.* When one learns by means of that [the Hopi language], one becomes Hopi—good, well-mannered, a human being[2]—by means of it. (Nicholas 2008, p. 290)

Language is not separate from the practice of culture. Hopi elder and research anthropologist Emory Sekaquaptewa asserts that "There are many ways that one can experience culture; [spoken] language only being one of them" (Nicholas 2008, p. 212). He contends that language has a home in the context of culture, "in the course of daily activities, in social institutions such as [baby] and marriage activities; they have meaning within these contexts" (cited in Nicholas 2005, p. 31). Thus, the Hopi view active participation and increasing involvement in one's cultural life as "tak[ing] the place of [spoken] language to instill the sense of belonging and connection" (Sekaquaptewa, cited in Nicholas 2008, p. 363). *Experiencing*, or *living* these cultural forms through practice, the individual comes to perceive and internalize them as "culture." I have articulated this Hopi ideology of language, culture, and identity in the notion of *language as cultural practice* (Nicholas 2008).

Thus, Hopilavayi, the Hopi language,[3] a member of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic family, is maintained in the practice of such cultural traditions that constitute the ancestral Hopi way of life. In turn, the Hopi way of life is conveyed, experienced, and lived through myriad forms of oral tradition (song, dance, symbolism, cultural institutions, etc.). These are efficacious transmission mechanisms (Fishman 1991; Whiteley 1998) and semiotic processes (Gee 2008), contributing to what Hall (1976) refers to as the "total communicative framework." Hence, adherence to the practice of cultural traditions remains relevant for the Hopi people. These primordial Hopi notions of language and identity, language as

cultural practice, language socialization, and language ideologies, of "being-doing" (Gee 2008, p. 156) Hopi are substantiated in the literature.

I draw primarily from Gee's (2008) conceptual framework of *discourses*. Gee argues:

> Discourses are ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing, that are accepted instantiations of particular identities … Discourses are ways of being "people like us". They are "ways of being in the world". They are "forms of life". They are socially situated identities. They are, thus, always and everywhere social products of social histories. (2008, p. 3)

More recently, in *Tools of Inquiry and Discourses,* Gee elaborates:

> People build identities and activities not just through language but by using language together with other "stuff" that isn't language…. I use the term 'Discourse', with a capital 'D,' for ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity. (2014, p. 142)

This volume seeks to illuminate the community, family language and cultural practices that youth experience, and their effect in transitioning *from home to school*. The contribution of this chapter draws from the larger inter-/multi-generational case study of three Hopi families (Nicholas 2008) to ascertain the role of the Hopi language in the lives of contemporary Hopi youth amid significant language shift. Overarching concerns were:

- When Hopi youth are no longer socialized through their heritage language, are they still learning the culturally appropriate social, cultural, and esoteric knowledge that will carry the Hopi people into the future as distinctly Hopi?
- How are the contemporary Hopi youth defining/redefining what constitutes a Hopi identity?
- What is the role of the Hopi language?

The study provides insight into the home and family practices of Hopi language maintenance and shift manifested in the varying degrees of fluency acquired by each of the three focal youth: Dorian, Jared, and Justin.[4] Especially noteworthy is that the parent members of the study, having ventured into mainstream society, made a conscious decision/choice to return to Hopi with the birth of their first child, and remained thereafter. Overall, this is unlike the previous generations of Hopi, who having left Hopi for schooling (boarding schools) often remained in urban areas through adulthood for economic or education opportunities. Collectively, the parents of these youth were drawn back to Hopi by a sense of responsibility and/or obligation to fulfill as parents and members of clan, family, religious and village communities, and Hopi society more broadly. They prefaced motivation for their return with expressions such as: "I was destined to do this [follow a cultural path] …", "That's how I grew up and that's what I'm gonna do … for my family" and "Because of my [cultural] responsibility in raising [my children] ….". In addition, a middle and secondary school was constructed on the reservation in 1985 that allowed their children to participate in culture along with getting an education.

I begin by describing the contemporary Hopi linguistic ecology through the observations and perceptions of change voiced by community members. I follow with a discussion of two significant findings emerging from the larger study. Specifically, I focus on distinguishing between the Hopi perspective of a *distinctly Hopi identity* and acquiring a *complete sense of being Hopi* rooted in Hopi epistemological origins. Against this backdrop, I direct attention to the Hopi experience with Western education through parent accounts to explicate the basis of change in traditional family cultural and linguistic practices in the home. Salient patterns of the traditional childrearing practices are revealed from conversations about the roles of household and extended family members. I follow with a discussion of the divergent ways each family adheres to cultivating and nurturing the desire to "be Hopi", emphasizing experiencing and living Hopi through practicing ancestral traditions. The "missing piece" of language compelled these youth to look to the Hopi language classes to address their linguistic void. I highlight the opportunities, the outcomes and challenges their experiences revealed. I conclude

with a brief commentary on the fact that the Hopi "cultural map" remains the most reliable guide for navigating life and the cyclical nature of transitioning from home to school and from school to home. Finally, I provide a postscript about how these focal youth are faring as Hopi adults today.

Contemporary Hopi Linguistic Ecology

The Hopi people continue to voice concerns about the vitality of the Hopi language. It is perceived as threatened by the waning practices of intergenerational linguistic transmission, particularly evident in everyday communication and interactions. Increasing awareness has led older speaker-users[5] of Hopi to characterize the younger generation as "no longer behaving humbly" or as "not having respect for anything" (Nicholas 2008, p. 33).[6] They perceive a direct link to increasing instances of more troubling *qa hopi* (unhopi) behaviors (domestic violence, gang affiliation, and substance abuse). Moreover, they openly acknowledge that *they themselves* use English rather than Hopi to speak to their own children and grandchildren. As such, older Hopi who are active in the cultural traditions voice worrying concerns about maintaining the integrity of language as cultural practice through their observations of youth participants. Those who do not speak Hopi are frequently described as merely "going through the motions", or in pursuit of material gain (gifts of reciprocity) in "taking part" (e.g. as dancers in ritual performances such as the Buffalo Dance). They are observed as not exhibiting an understanding of why or for what purpose they are participating nor of the significance of the ceremony; youth are collectively characterized as having "not yet become Hopi."

I turn to Gee, here, who states that "'Language' can be a misleading term" (2008, p. 150). As such, applying Gee's perspective to the Hopi sociolinguistic context exemplifies that the community discussions are about *more* than just the language. On the part of the individual, it is about "being able to engage in a distinctive sort of 'dance'" that involves, among other factors, "certain ways of using the language, certain attitudes and beliefs, allegiance to a certain lifestyle, and certain ways of

interacting with others" (2008, p. 155) integrated around what is recognized, in the Hopi case, as a Hopi identity. Thus, Hopi youth have not yet engaged in, nor are they able to recognize, the 'dance' to become recognized as Hopi.

The 1977 Hopi Tribe Language Assessment Project confirmed a significant language shift from Hopi to English in the households.[7] Among the category of Hopi youth from 2–19 years of age, only 23.8% had acquired Hopi as a first language. After starting school, only 12.6% maintained use of this ability (HLAP 1997, p. 15).[8] The contemporary Hopi cultural and linguistic ecology underscores the contributing role of schools. Conversely, schools have become important sites for language reclamation efforts on Hopi (Fishman 1991).

An Intergenerational/Multi-generation Case Study

The cultural and linguistic experiences of three Hopi youth—Dorian, Jared, and Justin—provided the context and data for exploration of the phenomenon of Hopi language shift and vitality. I draw from the life history narratives of these youth and their parents for this chapter. The study both confirms an upheaval of the traditional enculturation process and affirms the strength of culture—"what of the traditions remain salient, and why as well" (Nicholas 2008, p. 23).

Two key findings emerged from the study. First, that cultural experiences were critical to developing a *distinctly Hopi identity*, but a linguistic proficiency in Hopi, especially in the ceremonial contexts, was fundamental to acquiring a *complete sense of being Hopi*. A "distinct Hopi identity" is expressed in the Hopi language as *Itam Hopìit* (we are [the] Hopi people). The expression establishes the origin of a people commencing at a specific time (Emergence) and place (*Sípàapuni*, the symbolic place of Emergence in the Grand Canyon, known by Hopi as *Öngtupqa*). There is an inherent reference to an enduring transformative process of *becoming hopi,* "one who is mannered, civilized, peaceable, polite, who adheres to the Hopi way, [a] human being" (*Hopìikwa Lavàtutuveni*/Hopi Dictionary (Hopi Dictionary Project 1998, p. 99)) through the practice of

natwani—planting the short blue ear of corn by hand. This genesis narrative, which is beyond the scope of this paper, is recounted in the Hopi Emergence Story and is intimately tied to a region of high, arid plateau lands. It is a practice that has its epistemological origins in this place and from which stems a distinct Hopi identity. This landscape has produced a people who have devised a reciprocal, ethical, and spiritual relationship with this environment from a "sense of being personally involved in the functioning of this natural world" (Deloria 1991, p. 17) (McCarty et al. 2012, p. 52; see also Nequatewa 1967; Nicholas 2008; Whiteley and Masayesva 1998).

The "sense of being Hopi" or making the Hopi individual "complete [whole, spiritually fulfilled]" (Yava 1978) is associated with initiation/rite of passage at adulthood into higher-order female and male religious societies through ritual, ceremony, and ritual language. It is "in those kiva groups that a person learned the traditions of the clans and the ceremonial cycles on which Hopi life is based," (Courlander, cited in Yava 1978, p. vii). Initiation requires that one has been culturally and linguistically prepared since infancy—acquired and learned (Gee 2008) the knowledge through an array of language forms—in order to access a more specialized esoteric knowledge and its highly sophisticated forms of language. Jared makes this clear, stating "Now that I want to be [an initiate] … I need to know [how] to speak Hopi. I need to know [the Hopi language] real good."

A second finding pointed to the rapidity of modernity along with continuing language shifting that initiated a move away from collective maintenance of *language as cultural practice* to a familial and individual level of choice in adherence (degrees of attending and attention) to the practicing of culture.

Investigating the phenomenon of Hopi language shift and vitality in my home community is also personal and resonates deeply with the tensions embedded in the link between language and identity expressed by these Hopi youth. I was born into the Hopi culture, and Hopi was my acquired first language. However, at the age of eight and coinciding with entering public school off the reservation, I ceased speaking Hopi although I retained a receptive ability. As an adult, I experienced a rude awakening to the fact that I could no longer think in or speak Hopi. My

mother, astonished by my struggle to resurface the Hopi I spoke with ease as a child, said to me (in Hopi), "When you were a child, you were fully Hopi." My literal interpretation of her comment asserted an intimate link between language and identity; I now questioned whether I could claim a Hopi identity. An invitation by Emory Sekaquaptewa, research anthropologist and my clan uncle and mentor, to assist in his work in Hopi literacy, presented the catalyst for the study. Delivering Hopi literacy instruction to students enrolled in high school Hopi language classes were a central aspect of his work.[9] This work revealed that despite being immersed in their Hopi world from infancy to young adulthood, many Hopi youth were not acquiring the Hopi language in the home and community. As such, they looked to the school for help to learn their heritage language (Dorian and Jared), and "not to forget it" (Justin).

From Home to School Transitions

Here, I turn to the sociohistorical role of schools in dramatically interrupting the traditional process of enculturation/"apprenticeship" (Gee 2008)/socialization (Ochs 1988) through family cultural and linguistic practices. I also entertain Gee's use of primary and secondary Discourses—"ways of recognizing and getting recognized as certain sorts of whos doing certain sorts of whats" (2008, p. 156)—to substantiate the Hopi perspective of the Hopi identity formation process. "Participating along with others in the Hopi way of life, one becomes Hopi" (Nicholas 2008, p. 190).

Gee claims there is an endless array of Discourses in the world: nearly all humans acquire an initial Discourse. Discourses transform, additional Discourses are acquired later in life, and all Discourses are "recognition processes." Our initial Discourse, our *primary Discourse*, begins early in life and involves acquiring and learning a culturally distinctive way of being within whatever constitutes the primary socializing unit. We gain an initial and enduring sense of self and set the foundation for our "culturally specific vernacular identity" (Gee 2008, p. 156)—the language in which we speak and act as "everyday" people.

As we are being socialized early in life (into our *primary Discourse*), *secondary Discourses* can come into play aligning with or against other Discourses, thus shaped by or shaping other Discourses. Alignment and allegiance between the primary and secondary Discourses is achieved by incorporating certain "valued" aspects of the practices of secondary Discourses into the early socialization process of children. Moreover, secondary Discourses acquired later in life, and beyond the primary Discourse, occur in more public spheres, for example, schools, businesses, governments. "Alignment" becomes an extremely important mechanism whereby aspects of a valued community and public identity are incorporated into the child's identity. Accordingly, Gee writes, "Social groups that are deeply affiliated with formal schooling often incorporate into the socialization of their children practices that resonate with later school-based secondary Discourses" (2008, p. 157). Gee stresses that "alignment" involves complex relationships between peoples' primary Discourses and their developing secondary Discourses, and that it "crucially affects" what happens to people in the process. Effects manifest in "forms of resistance, opposition, domination on the one hand, or of alliance and complicity, on the other, among Discourses" (2008, p. 158). In the following, using Gee's framing, I illuminate the crucial effects of alignment in the Hopi experience with Western schooling.

Schooling: "Becoming Accustomed to Speaking English"

> Before you go to school, that's how they [family members] speak to you, in Hopi … but when you go to school [kindergarten], it's like it [communication and interaction in Hopi] just stops 'cuz you're expected to learn English. *Dorian*

> I would mostly speak it [Hopi] until I go[t] into school [Head Start] … in kindergarten [we] just dropped … Hopi language. *Justin*

Dorian and Justin illuminate first that the Hopi language was the primary language of the home and the first language each was acquiring prior to

entering "school" (kindergarten and Head Start). Secondly, they communicate that the linguistic transition from home to school was both abrupt and perplexing and demanded a significant adjustment borne at a very young age. Lastly, that the sociohistorical changes brought to Hopi through Euro-American contact, beginning with the imposition of Western education and schooling and later by a wage economy, have had lasting consequences.

On the one hand, Western schools and schooling practices have been cited as playing a primary role in the current linguistic ecology in contemporary Hopi life. On the other hand, compliance with the Western education agenda—to teach Hopi youth to live like the White man—was premised in a view that coexistence with the dominant culture would ensure cultural survival (Kuwanwisiwma, in Gilbert 2007), and later, economic survival and the benefits of a wage economy. This view is traced back to the 1890s when generations of Hopi were subjected to compulsory Western education implemented through a military design of discipline and regimentation, and teaching practices with the goal of erasure of culture, language, and identity. "Such schools," writes Quechua scholar Sandy Grande, "worked explicitly with the U.S. government to implement federal polices servicing the campaign to 'kill the Indian, to save the man'" (2004, p. 14). The early Hopi experience with Western education and schooling is recounted in the published autobiographies of older generations of Hopi (Nequatewa 1967; Qoyawayma 1964; Simmons 1971; Udall 1985; Yava 1978) and more recent sociohistorical scholarship (Gilbert 2005, 2007). Similar experiences are a prominent theme throughout the life histories of the parents and grandparents in this study. How the essentiality of English and Western education was experienced and internalized is better understood in the following parent accounts.

Charlene, Marshall, and Anna, having acquired Hopi as their first language—primarily from grandparents using Hopi exclusively with them—spent their childhoods culturally and linguistically immersed in the Hopi world. However, when Charlene entered school, the language she brought as her only form of communication received a traumatic response:

> If we did [use Hopi], they [teachers] would put soap in our mouth … They would cut them in half and put them on our tongue and we had to sit like that for a whole hour…. Either that or we get swatted on our hands or

> behind our knees … so I had a hard time [in school]…. I'd say until fourth grade, they were doing that to us. Some parents just didn't let their kids go to school anymore 'cuz we would all get sick; we'd be throwing up 'cuz that soap melts in your mouth. That's what they would do to us.

Charlene left Hopi to complete her education. The loneliness remains entrenched in her memory and the long absences from home substantially disrupted opportunities for her to maintain her Hopi-speaking ability. She stated, "When we went off to high school, we all kind of lost out on all that [further development of their heritage language]. It just seemed like it just kind of drifted off [out of use]."

Marshall was sent to Utah at age 7 or 8 with two older siblings to attend school. Thrust into the white man's world abruptly and completely, he recalled:

> I had to make that change where I had to shut my Hopi tongue off completely and then *pay pas Pahan'yu'a'a'ta* [just be speaking English]…. I wasn't exactly told, but then just by the actions [facial expressions, body language] I knew I wasn't to speak any Hopi. I couldn't anyway because I didn't have anyone to talk to. So then, I just got accustomed to speaking English.

Anna also recalled subtle but strong messages about using Hopi: "They [the teachers] never really said, 'Don't speak Hopi,' or 'You can't speak Hopi' … [so] we talked Hopi. [But] I don't think they really liked it [that we spoke Hopi in school] in the elementary level."

Lillian and Doran were raised as "town people" situating English as their first language. Doran stated:

> I never really learned Hopi. When I was growing up … it was never really encouraged for me to learn Hopi.… My mom always talked English; she never talked Hopi to us. She would go home and she would talk Hopi to her brothers and her parents and to the older people, but when she talked to us, she would turn to us and … talk English. My uncles, both of them, talked English to us. One [uncle] more or less talked broken English, but he spoke English to us.

Anticipating parenthood, these Hopi parents returned to Hopi to raise their children, but change was starkly evident. Anna proclaimed "We're living the life of a *Pahaana* [White man's lifestyle on Hopi] now … We've got[ten] so accustomed to speaking the English language and it's hard reverting back to talking in only Hopi."

The crucial effect was that of "becoming accustomed to speaking English" as the medium of intergenerational language practices by primary caretakers. Both Anna and Charlene acknowledged their own, and their mothers', roles in facilitating this shift with their children's entry into school. Anna stated, "My mom started talking to them in English … [and] I guess it was easier for me to speak in English [to them also] since that's how they [my children] spoke … I don't speak [Hopi] to my kids now. It's hard to do that."

Schools have become established social institutions within Hopi. However, they continue to stand for a way of life different from that of Hopi, and one that requires a different language. Schools also continue to initiate a move *away* from the Hopi language and culture. Anna spoke of the profound and swift shift from Hopi to English of a Hopi boy who started school as a monolingual speaker of Hopi.

> As soon as he hit school, he started speaking English. Now you can't get him to [to speak Hopi] … He just won't talk it, even to us [Hopi-speaking school personnel] … I think even at home, he's already into that [speaking English] … *but he continues to sing a lot. He's always singing Hopi songs* [my emphasis].

Anna's reflection draws attention to song as a powerful language form that remains salient within the shift from the *spoken* use of Hopi in everyday life. This asserts the notion of language as cultural practice and finds support from Brice Heath who point to the "importance of recognizing that oral language performance stands within an array of other communication forms … other symbol systems [that] hold different levels and types of influence in different societies" (in Ochs 1988, p. ix). Collectively, the youth in the study attached particular importance to Hopi songs indicating that songs still emit a powerful influence on the Hopi people.

These parent members, compelled to repel the crucial effects of change for their own children, proceeded to instill in them a desire to "choose to be Hopi" because as Anna recalled, "… [M]y mom always said … 'No matter where you go, you're always going to be a Hopi.'" In the following, I provide a portrait of the culture-based linguistic family practices instituted across the three households that reveal both cohesive and divergent features of child-rearing.

Family Patterns of Cultural and Linguistic Upbringing

By birthright, Dorian, Jared, and Justin had each acquired "cultural markers of identity"—maternal clan identity, maternal village affiliation, and birth and ceremonial names—and the privileges of participation in the Hopi culture and society. These identity markers serve to "root" the individual in Hopi society. Each confirmed "experiencing" their rootedness and social place in the Hopi clan/kinship-based matrilineal world. At birth, they also acquired ascribed roles of kinship inherent with responsibilities founded on the Hopi core principles of industry, humility, cooperation and reciprocity. The clan/kinship system is the mechanism that defines the individual's role in terms of conduct and obligations to others within and beyond the immediate family in daily life as well as formal interactions such as ritual performances and ceremonies (e.g. the Buffalo Dance). These kinship associations also establish allegiance to the larger Hopi community and the sense of communalism. The traditional identity formation/socialization process—a lifespan experience (Ochs 1988)—leads to understanding and fulfilling the expectations of one's kinship and social role in the community according to long-established cultural standards. This understanding is expressed in the Hopi phrase, *Hopiqatsit ang nuutum hintsakme', Hopisinoniwtingwu* (Participating along with others in the Hopi way of life, one becomes Hopi).

At the immediate family level, each confirmed that both mother and grandmother—for Jared, it was also his great-grandmother—were primary caretakers during their early childhoods; this indicated that the

Hopi childrearing tradition and household remain salient. Anthropologist Alice Schlegel (1999) writes:

> In earlier times, young husbands generally moved in with their wives and her parents, and the children were born in the house belonging to the mother's mother. Even those children whose parents had a house of their own were in constant contact with this grandmother … The matrilocal sentiment is still strong, even in this day of preferred nuclear-family residence, and mothers and adult daughters move back and forth freely between their dwellings. Because of this frequent and close association, grandmothers are an important part of the social world of the Hopi child (cited in Nicholas 2008, p. 127).

All recall the strong presence and influence of their maternal grandmothers, for whom each later assumed some of the caretaking responsibilities. As predominant speakers of Hopi, the *early* grandmother/great-grandmother language of influence was Hopi; this confirmed that Hopi was the first language they were exposed to and were acquiring before going to school. Each retained strong memories of them and their words of wisdom: Jared stated, "I really admire my great-grandmother; she was a strong woman … [she] raised a lot of us." Justin remembered his grandmother telling him, "Keep going to the [corn] field; don't let it go [unattended and] always help people because … all [your] life, somebody will help you." Dorian recalled her grandmother's loving attentiveness, the childhood memories she shared about growing up on Hopi, instructing her on how to make a sifter basket, *tutsaya*, and parched corn kernels, *kutuki*, and lasting words of advice—"Don't be mean to anybody … [because] you never know if that person might help you out [one day] … [D]on't hold a grudge against anybody 'cause when you do that … you get yourself sick." The influence of these women in their lives cultivated and nurtured a strong allegiance to their heritage.

While the above suggests that Dorian and Jared had a degree of receptive ability, each expressed a sense of vulnerability as non-speakers of Hopi, captured in Jared's words: "If you don't know how to say anything in Hopi, then you're not [Hopi/being Hopi]; you feel like you're not [Hopi/being Hopi]." As young adults, they stated they only understood

words and phrases of Hopi and were unable to carry on interactive conversations in Hopi with others. Although Justin described himself as a speaker with "about 75 percent" fluency, he found it challenging to use Hopi as the medium of everyday interactions with other speaker-users or in helping his younger sibling acquire Hopi.

Nevertheless, from experiencing and living Hopi, each asserted that "being Hopi" is *demonstrated* through practicing living and being Hopi as part of everyday life that assumes both responsibility for personal well-being and accountability and commitment to collective well-being and cultural continuity. Dorian defined "living" Hopi in this way:

> … [I]t's important to speak [Hopi] but that's not all that counts. Because a *Pahaana* (Anglo/White person) can learn how to speak it, speak the language, but they don't know the meaning behind it, or the actual culture, the in-depth stuff; [so] then they're not Hopi. They don't practice our religious ceremony[ies] and they don't live Hopi; [so] then they're not Hopi.

How "experiencing and living" Hopi with and through the language—language as cultural practice—is instituted in each household is illuminated in the following family profiles.

"Every Household Has Their Own Way": Divergent Family Patterns of Practice

Cultivating and nurturing a commitment to the Hopi way of life within contemporary sociocultural and sociolinguistic change and challenges has been foremost in the parenting roles of these parents. One change was that for the most part, they were "accustomed to" using English, as confirmed by Dorian who said she was "learning the basic things we [Hopi] do in English." A second change was that they found themselves in competition for their children's time, attention, and interest in adhering to the practice of culture because of the presence of various distractions—the television, school, youth activities, and sports events—as well as the lure of detrimental influences. Nevertheless, according to Marshall, "every household has their own way … to pull them back [to tradition]"

through *parenting*—modeling, guiding, encouraging, and reminding their children what being Hopi is. This involves active participation and involvement in the "cultural doings" embedded with the teaching of respect for one another, helping one another, and of doing things together as [a] people.

Dorian

The second of three children, Dorian was living with her mother, a teacher assistant in a community school, and her younger brother. Although divorced, Dorian's parents maintained an amicable relationship; thus, her father, a business entrepreneur, was a vital presence at all family events and played an active role in his children's participation in cultural practices.

In this post-secondary year, Dorian was attending to her duties and community projects as the reigning Miss Indian Arizona, postponing employment and higher education. She explained that, for her, it was essential to remain on the reservation so as to authentically represent the Hopi Tribe in her role as "ambassador" for Indian people. "I thought I was right to stay here as long as I hold the title, to stay rooted and grounded," she asserted. The title entailed public speaking duties before tribal audiences in her travels to Arizona's tribal communities. While these events were conducted in English, they offered opportunities for Dorian to use and build on her rudimentary speaking ability and writing knowledge of Hopi. With help from her immediate and extended family, she learned to deliver opening prayers, introduce herself, and sing the songs composed for her *in Hopi* along with including Hopi in her speeches. She also implored many of her young audiences to use their language if they knew it. Learning to read and write Hopi was instrumental in transcribing the Hopi prayers and songs that were composed for her, and she turned to her father for help with presentations on various cultural topics. Notably, her parents used Hopi more frequently in their interactions with her during this year.

Throughout their upbringing, Dorian and her sister were participants in all the cultural doings their mother was engaged in—helping prepare food

for the ceremonies, weddings, baby namings (social institutions). They were consistently reminded of their female responsibilities to their clan male kin in cultural practices. Anna ensured that her children would learn the Hopi knowledge of life and making a living, *qatsitwi*. For her daughters, for example, it was making bread, making *piiki* (blue corn wafer bread), *poota* (coiled plaque), and for her son, Hopi dry farming. Dorian's reflection attests to how her mother's efforts have left a strong imprint:

> The way my mother taught us [was that] you should be up there [at the village]; you have a responsibility … There's a reason why these things are going on and you need to be up there to learn. So we would go up, [it was an] everyday routine. No one person can actually make it … alone. That's what the Hopi has been about, help[ing] other people. You have to learn how to help others first. Just like with weddings, everybody comes together, everybody brings food … everybody helps out; everybody comes. That way, when it's [our] turn, we know that we'll have that support as well.

Encouraged and supported since childhood to participate in the ritualized performances of *social dancing* (the Buffalo Dance is one example), Dorian articulated a strong understanding of the esoteric aspects of the Hopi world acquired through these experiences: "We're doing it [dancing] for a reason … for rain, prayers, for life [physical and spiritual survival] … You're not just doing this for entertainment … When that drum goes … you feel it inside; it gets your heart beating the same way as everyone else." Social dances are the formal vehicle for learning the "complex tangle of relationships" (Yava 1978, p. 2) of the Hopi clan/kinship connections and behaviors. Children are also exposed to and begin to gain an awareness of the religious aspects of Hopi culture embedded within. Preparation and rehearsal occur in the kiva environment where participants are immersed in the "whole complex of performance vehicles" (Sekaquaptewa, cited in Nicholas 2008, p. 322)—rhythm and beat of the drum, song words, dance motions, and associated activities and paraphernalia. In turn, performing before the community in the village plaza, the dancers remind and engage the people in conjuring up images of a beautiful world and prosperity brought about by essential rains. Later, Dorian also gained membership into the women's *Lalkont* Society

and participated in their Basket Dances. Although able to learn and sing the words to the distinct rhythm, she turned to an aunt to tell her the meaning of the songs as interpreted through English.

Dorian's father points out that nurturing a child's cultural identity requires a parent to spend time with them—to do things with them, to be patient with them so that they "start to figure you out,"—your level of commitment to them. The significance of "taking part" with an attitude and behavior of "respect" were conveyed to her through many of her kin—her parents, grandmother, maternal uncles, and maternal uncles: "I was taught what things meant; why we do this; why we do that. I had [learned] respect," she said. Dorian was certain that her knowledge of her people and culture was the determining factor in winning the Miss Indian Arizona title. Her experience also afforded a comparative look at the cultural vitality of other tribes. She noted:

> … [C]ompared to us, they don't have [traditional] dances … traditional puberty [rites of passage] or traditional weddings … a year-round [ceremonial] calendar like us. Yeah, it's good to know [the] modern [world] and the education, *but* … to represent a Native tribe, they [pageant contestants] have to have that [cultural] knowledge … what the roots [of their people] are, not just [say] 'We're the Piipash[10] people; we do the Bird Dance.'

Here, Dorian refers to the potential consequence of cultural loss as one of maintaining an ethnic identity in name or label only; an identity that has not been practiced or experienced and is therefore devoid of its ancestral origins, knowledge, history, and fundamental guiding principles and values.

Jared

Jared is the youngest of four children. He was "home" on one of his frequent return trips to his mother's home and village community from his first semester at a community college. His maternal grandmother lived nearby. Jared stated that his mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother were predominant figures in his upbringing. Parenting as a single mother,

Charlene endeavored to develop and maintain a strong bond of unconditional love and support given in the form of firm parental guidance and discipline. This extended to transmitting important Hopi cultural values—"to respect others … [to] be humble" premised on an underlying philosophy that "what makes you Hopi is [that] you work hard for what you get out of life [because] nothing comes easy."

Moreover, Charlene remains highly cognizant of the social expectations that if one is to live as Hopi, one must "behave" accordingly. She makes this clear in strongly stating, "It's like … a requirement of you to do something [be present and actively involved]…. To be a Hopi, you have to do a lot of hard work … to be recognized for your status … [O]ut here, you have to present yourself to the public to earn that respect." She consistently conveyed these tenets of obligation and commitment to participating in cultural traditions to her children.

Routinely participating in kiva activities, Jared was most affected by the messages conveyed through Hopi songs, particularly within the kiva spaces. He reflected, "I like learning [*katsina*][11] songs in the kiva … [and] just being around older [Hopi men] like your uncle, your grandfather, your ceremonial father…. [The songs are] mostly [about] everything in nature, the clouds, fields of corn … everybody being happy." Hopi katsina songs represent the Hopi language in its most "spiritually powerful forms" and provide the mechanism through which the Hopi people "come in touch with the preordained world of Hopi" (Sekaquaptewa, cited in Nicholas 2009, p. 332). In the *spiritual* world of Hopi, *katsinam* (pl) are central figures.[12] Through their songs, the katsinam metaphorically remind, inform, advise, admonish, and inspire the Hopi people about adhering to their chosen way of life.

Justin

Justin was living at home with his biological mother, stepfather, and younger sister all awaiting the arrival of a new sibling. He had been accepted to community college but succumbed to a strong pull to remain with the family and tend to his and the family's cornfields, work with his stepfather, and to continue with kiva activities. He stated, "For me, leav-

ing this place, my farming, the culture … that just got to me…. So I just left that [plan] just to stay out here."

Marshall, Justin's stepfather and whom he calls "father," came into the household when Justin was three years old and has played a prominent role in his life. Having accompanied his father and his male kin to the cornfields since early childhood, Justin acquired an acute knowledge of the tradition of planting corn by hand referred to as Hopi dry farming. As a result of his lifelong experience in the cornfields, he conveyed a special relationship with and commitment to the family's corn and stated, "You can talk to the plants; they're like your children. [You tell them] 'Just be strong as you're growing up. Don't let anything bother you.' And they'll hear you." As such, by tending to one's "corn children," a young male learns and assumes a father/parent role and practices a lifelong commitment to both his corn and biological children; this includes using nurturing words and song to encourage growth (see also Black 1984).

For Marshall, it was essential for one's children to *see* each member of the family involved in their "cultural doings," and practicing these in the household because "they're the ones that should be instilling the respect for culture." He likened the process to "feeding" one's children: "They won't take it all in [at once], but those are the learning blocks they're absorbing … just little crumbs you're feeding them. And as they think on that, as the years go by, then they'll be asking for more and then you just keep feeding them."

As a Hopi speaker in the household, Marshall described how he cultivated the Hopi language in the home: "I talk to them in Hopi. I try to name things … and ask them, 'What's this?' 'Where are you going?' I direct them to do this and that …. Now and then, they'll get it [appear to understand]." Marshall and Justin's mother also call their children by their Hopi names and use Hopi kinship terms to refer to or talk about their relatives. He felt rewarded when he heard Justin using Hopi in the kiva, his daughter singing along with Hopi songs on CDs, and when his wife and daughter made concerted efforts to use Hopi.

Parents continue to be the primary agents for instilling in their children the respect and integrity for the traditions, modeling exemplary Hopi behavior in adhering to traditions for their children. However, Dorian's expression below expresses a critical consciousness, what Lee

(2014) calls an Indigenous critical consciousness, about pursuing the "missing piece"—the language—and so turned to the Hopi language classes:

> Our elders and our parents … are counting on us to keep the traditions going … [but] I don't think it's fully complete without the language, the tongue, the speaking. The language is supposed to be on the parents' efforts. It's always been passed on … orally … from parent to child, for forever!

Hopi Language Classes: "When Someone Was Willing to *Teach Us*…"

The course title implied that students would learn to speak, however Dorian recalled that "… it was more culture … than it was actual learning the language."[13] But she also asserted, "… [W]hat I got out of it, was learning to read and write it." This was particularly beneficial during her reign as Miss Indian Arizona—recording and transcribing prayers, songs, and speeches prepared for her by parents and kin.

The course was a four-semester elective emphasizing literacy development (Hopi Language I and II)[14] and a focus on cultural knowledge/topics (III and IV): men's and women's roles, weather, plants, hunting, reading petroglyphs, how clans are related, and about Hopi weddings. Overall, Jared stated that the course supported the cultural knowledge he had acquired as an active participant in cultural practices. Composing Hopi songs, weaving a *pitkuna* (a Hopi kilt), and creating a poster project of the Hopi woman's life cycle were projects Dorian remembered. The poster project greatly assisted her in creating a cultural and public image of herself in her role as Miss Indian Arizona. For Justin, the "best part" of the courses was learning about the different dialects of the Hopi language and the history of the Hopi people.

Using Hopi to speak to the teacher and to classmates was a component of the class routine. Each revealed how this approach to language teaching/language learning either encouraged or further marginalized students.

Speaking Hopi as a Classroom Routine

For Dorian, this further accentuated her inability to speak Hopi. She recalled, "… [T]he ones that could speak and understand [Hopi] were the ones that kept [speaking with each other] back and forth. But the rest of us [non-speakers of Hopi] didn't understand or couldn't speak back; we kind of felt left out." According to Dorian, these Hopi speakers wholly influenced the dynamics of the class establishing it as one in which speakers generally interacted *in Hopi* with each other while noting that it was not their intention to marginalize or silence non-speakers. On a positive note, the speaker students were the linguistic resources to whom Dorian and others looked to for help, and received it. Nevertheless, she stated, "You still felt uncomfortable, like you should already know it [the language]."

Jared affirmed that students, both speakers and non-speakers, were willing to comply with this linguistic expectation of the course "…'cuz, they [we] wanted to learn, you know, get it out." Here, Jared suggests that through early exposure to the heritage language in the home and community, many of his classmates did in fact understand and/or could speak Hopi. Further, the Hopi language classroom provided the conditions (a supportive and encouraging classroom space) for a latent linguistic ability or proficiency to surface or "get out." He added that practice and rising confidence encouraged use:

> Once you really got that [speaking] going, once you got out of class … you go out into the hallways and talk to your friends in Hopi. They'd be teasing you again, but it's like you don't care … from then on, you kind of get into a playful conversation with Hopi, but at least you're speaking …

His confidence boosted, Jared engaged in playful conversations with school employees—bus driver, janitors, cooks—who were Hopi speaker-users. Especially positive interactions with the bus driver further motivated him to be first on the school bus in order to engage in conversation about cultural activities with questions such as, "Are you going to the kiva tonight? Are you going to help out this weekend?" Jared extended his growing confidence with using Hopi to engage his maternal grandmother

and great-grandmother, cousins, and older sister and brothers. He even found himself initiating conversations in Hopi with individuals to determine whether *they* were speakers or not! Watching television offered ample opportunities with language through silly commentary in Hopi about what was being televised. As such, Jared established himself as a linguistic resource for his immediate family.

Justin's experience confirmed that despite being a speaker of Hopi with "75% fluency," a "safe" space to practice speaking Hopi was a critical benefit of the program. However, his words also illuminate attitudes held by youth about their own linguistic insecurities:

> Instead of being shy, you had to do that [speak Hopi] in the class … I guess we were all shy [about] how we said it. I guess we were scared about people … saying, 'That's not how to say it.' But, I think we got over that feeling 'cuz we were in there for the whole year. We got used to each other so it was more fun.

Justin's commentary reveals a critical consciousness about their use of Hopi in the community; the thought of being subjected to criticism highlighted their linguistic shortcomings, especially against the proficiency level of older Hopi speakers. Dorian's vulnerability was expressed as, "People might make fun of me. Even though they say they don't, they still kind of laugh at you a little bit, giggle" and Jared was confronted with, "How are you Hopi if you can't speak it?" All describe such community reactions as *teasing*.

Teasing is pervasive in Hopi society, however such expressions meted out by speakers of Hopi to a non-speaker of Hopi are not the Hopi form of teasing. Rather their experiences point to a fundamental difference between the intent and use of "teasing" on the one hand, and its various interpretations on the other—a crucial effect of language shift. Sekaquaptewa defines Hopi teasing as the "vernacular of social interaction expressing a form of humility" (cited in Nicholas 2008, p. 312). It is premised in and involves a highly sophisticated understanding of one's social and ritual standing in the clan, kin, and ceremonial associations and connections established by birth, marriage, and initiations. Therefore, the verbal interplay of teasing occurs in the context of reciprocal relation-

ships between individuals and involves the use of compliment, criticism, humor, and metaphor as the forms of interaction and expression (Nicholas 2008). This kind of teasing is a form of "overt socialization" (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986, p. 9; see also Eisenberg 1986; Schieffelin 1986) among both Hopi speakers and non-speakers alike.

Thus, such expressions meted out by a speaker of Hopi to a non-speaker of Hopi are viewed as emanating from "a lack of understanding of an individual's circumstances, ignorance of the customs or from the influence of certain social practices outside Hopi" (Nicholas 2008, p. 334). Non-speakers such as Dorian and Jared interpret this form of teasing as voiced with the intent to reveal the weakness or shortcomings of others in a hurtful way—to taunt, laugh at, torment, or goad, and so on. Justin, on the other hand, viewed such teasing and criticism as remarks of "encouragement to learn more" *or* as an admonition[15] or a scolding—a form of Hopi instruction about how one should behave, in this case a strong reminder that "being Hopi" means that they *should* speak Hopi.

Balancing Acquisition and Learning

Collectively, Dorian's, Jared's and Justin's experiences in the Hopi language class reveal that amid sociocultural and sociolinguistic change, Hopi youth *do* acquire culture-based cultural and linguistic "funds of knowledge" (González et al. 2005). They do so as participants in ancestral traditions experienced as language as cultural practice. This attests to the value of "acquisition" in Hopi society (Gee 2008); it remains a salient aspect of cultural continuity. Namely, that while participating in cultural practices along with others, the individual is "acquiring something"—meaningful and functional aspects of the Hopi way of life—"(usually, subconsciously) by exposure to models, a process of trial and error, and practice within social groups, without formal teaching" (Pinker, cited in Gee 2008, p. 169). Thus, these youth have been "performing" what they have acquired, mastering the Hopi Discourse—"ways of recognizing and getting recognized as certain sorts of *whos* doing certain sorts of *whats*" (Gee 2008, p. 156). Gee asserts that "we are better at performing what we acquire" (p. 170).

Extending this to *language* acquisition, Gee posits that "acquirers" intuit as well as desire to function linguistically within this meaningful and functional context. The Hopi language classes offer this possibility dependent on understanding the intersection of teaching with the "balancing of acquisition and learning" in the formal context of the classroom. Such understanding is premised on the view that "learning is a process that involves conscious knowledge gained through teaching … or certain life experiences that trigger conscious reflection … some degree of meta-knowledge about the matter" (Pinker, cited in Gee 2008, p. 170). In the Hopi language classes, it is the triggering of conscious reflection on certain life experiences acquired outside school and "taught" as cultural topics (e.g. men's and women's roles in weddings) that initiated the learning process. Gee explains this as "what prototypically counts as 'teaching' in our [Western] culture … [and] involves breaking down what is to be taught into analytic bits and getting learners to learn it in such a way that they can 'talk about,' 'describe,' 'explain' it … 'meta-knowledge' and 'meta-talk'" (pp. 171–172).

Using Hopi as a classroom routine, then, is understood on the one hand as providing access to the social practice, a process of "apprenticeship into social practices through scaffolded and supported interaction with people who have already mastered the Discourse" (Gee 2008, p. 170). On the other, Dorian's experience of further marginalization exemplifies what Gee describes as "privileging those students who have already begun the acquisition process outside the school" (p. 171)—an improper balancing of acquisition and learning. The instances of linguistic insecurities that Dorian and Justin describe evidence a critical consciousness and reflection on their inability to accommodate or adapt to what they are being called upon to do but also provide critical "insights into the workings of these Discourses or cultures" (p. 172). Finally, in the Hopi culture, a culture where there is "no such overt analytical teaching", "good classroom instruction" is necessary to develop meta-knowledge and meta-talk. Meta-knowledge, according to Gee, involves leading learners "to seeing how the Discourses you've already got (not just the languages) relate to those you are attempting to acquire, and how the ones you are trying to acquire relate to self and society" (p. 172). Learning facilitates meta-knowledge.

"That's the Way I Was Brought Up"

For each of these youth, birthright assured a fundamental sense of belonging and identity. Forming a Hopi identity is a process of becoming Hopi through understanding one's role and position in the community and fulfilling its expectations through language as cultural practice. Experiencing the myriad cultural practices with and through the Hopi oral tradition, each of these youth implicitly understood that one asserts her/his Hopi identity through *demonstration—practicing living and being Hopi.* Justin's words—"Since you're Hopi, you're brought up that way; you can't let it go"—suggest that Hopi youth, particularly those raised in the Hopi culture and environment, confirm that the Hopi cultural map continues to be the most reliable source for navigating life and the transitions from *home to school* and from *school to home*.

Postscript: 2017

Dorian is now 33 years old and has a 12-year-old son. She has found a career in medical administration. The family household is comprised of Dorian and her son, her parents, and younger brother. The family resides in an urban setting necessitated by employment opportunities. It is a six-hour drive from Hopi and has significantly limited her involvement in cultural traditions. However, the household context for maintaining the vitality of the Hopi language and family adherence to Hopi practices remain strong. Hopi is the language of interaction between her parents and other Hopi speakers. This "everyday language practice" allows Dorian, her brother, and her son to "hear" Hopi on a consistent basis so that they are developing and maintaining a receptive ability. Dorian states she regularly listens to Hopi songs her father records for her; recordings that she transcribes in order to learn the meanings of words and songs in discussions with her parents. Moreover, her parents have played, and continue to play, a primary role as caretakers of Dorian's son, their grandson. He accompanies his grandparents on regular trips to Hopi for ceremonies and for longer periods during the summer.

Justin is also 33 years old. Currently, he resides with his partner of 10 years in a border town at the northernmost boundary of the Hopi Reservation, about 45 minutes away from his maternal village. For the previous 10 years, because of needed employment, Justin lived in an urban setting in close proximity to Hopi—90 miles away. Finding employment closer to Hopi, his roles in a federal contract grant school include: classroom monitor, teacher assistant, tutor for an after-school program, and assistant football coach for middle-school students. The student population is primarily of Navajo/Diné[16] heritage with Hopi students only few in number. While Navajo Language classes are a curricular offering, Hopi is not. However, Justin, who is a fluent speaker of Hopi, states he frequently uses Hopi to speak to the Hopi students. Most, he says, have a receptive ability. In close proximity to his maternal village, he is able to maintain his involvement in kiva activities as well as in the upkeep of his own cornfield (and "corn children") with assistance from his maternal uncle. In this context, Hopi is the medium of communication. Justin has also established new connections with his partner's family and kiva; Hopi is the language of use among family members. One of his two younger siblings has children to whom he has strong clan responsibilities; as well, through his kiva activities, he has accepted the role and lifelong commitment to a godson, which extends to the godson's son. Respectively, in these "kinship" connections, he assumes the roles of maternal uncle (*taha*), father (*itana*), and grandfather (*kwa'a*). He asserts a strong allegiance to his heritage, community, culture, and language stating, "I just want to influence as many people as I can."

Jared currently resides in an urban center approximately a three-hour drive away from Hopi. Nevertheless, his job limits his trips home to one or two times a month; this has significantly impacted his involvement in kiva activities and upkeep of the family's cornfield. This circumstance is directly linked to lack of job opportunities in the Hopi community generally and more specifically to his acquired skills and expertise in the field of motorcycle mechanics. On a positive note, his long-term relationship is moving toward marriage. In the initial study, Jared described himself as a non-speaker of Hopi, but found the Hopi language classes helped him strengthen his receptive ability. His partner plays a key role in maintaining this ability; despite the fact that Tewa[17] is her heritage language, they

make conscious daily attempts to use Hopi in their interactions. Jared also stated that social media kept him connected to Hopi and family. An especially moving memory was of spending one year on Hopi. During this time, having participated in an important ceremony, he recalled the "gift" of heavy rains and a subsequent bountiful harvest for all those who planted corn, including Jared. He said planting corn for his mother, grandmother, his extended maternal family, and himself "brought my heart back to peace; it felt good." Jared also stated that he and his partner are ready to have a family. This became especially important with the recent passing of his grandmother; he wants his own children to experience, like he did, the gift of time spent with a grandmother.

Notes

1. A kiva is an underground chamber used for ceremonial purposes and other cultural activities throughout the Hopi ceremonial calendar.
2. The Hopi related terms, *Hopisino,* a Hopi person; *hópinìwti,* 1. become transformed into Hopis; 2. become transformed into human beings; *Hopisinoniwtingwu* with suffix *-ngwu*. indicating the "habitual" tense, describing customary behavior or occurrence. *Hopìikwa Lavàtutuveni*, *Hopi Dictionary: A Hopi-English Dictionary of the Third Mesa Dialect* (1998). P. 100, 324.
3. While the Hopi language is mutually intelligible across the three mesas, most Hopi speakers regard the language as having three dialects: First Mesa Hopi, Second Mesa Hopi, and Third Mesa Hopi. The dialectal differences are apparent in the pronunciation of syllables containing the vowels with a grave accent (à, è, ì, ò, ù). In Third Mesa speech, these syllables have a falling tone. In the First Mesa speech and the Second Mesa village of Musangnuvi, most of these syllables end in aspiration or in an *h*-like sound. In the Second Mesa speech communities of Supawlavi and Songoopavi, these syllables are pronounced as if having no grave accent. Uto-Aztecan Language Specialist, Dr. Kenneth Hill, provides a technical linguistic description which depicts four language varieties in *Hopìikwa Lavàtutuveni*, *Hopi Dictionary: A Hopi-English Dictionary of the Third Mesa Dialect* (1998).
4. With the exception of Dorian and her parents, all participant names are pseudonyms. Dorian and her father, Doran expressed their wish to have their actual names used. Anna, Dorian's mother, gave permission as well.

5. A "speaker-user" of Hopi—one who actively uses the Hopi language in daily and cultural life—is distinguished from a Hopi "speaker," one who has a linguistic fluency but does not "use" this fluency.
6. The Hopi Tribe's Culture and Preservation Office held a series of community public forums, January 1996–1997, which were recorded and transcribed.
7. The Hopi Tribe's Culture Preservation Office conducted a tribal assessment of the vitality of the Hopi language funded by a grant from the Administration for Native Americans. The results are based on 1,293 households surveyed.
8. Hopi acquired as a first language and Hopi maintained after starting school for adult age categories were: Age 60 and above: 97.6% and 79.7%; Age 40 to 59: 82.6% and 54.2%; Age 20 to 39: 23.8% and 12.6% (HLAP 1997: 15).
9. Through this work, I have reclaimed a Hopi-speaking fluency that has been fundamental to my current scholarship and work as a language educator in the field of Indigenous language revitalization.
10. One of the two tribes of the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Community located in the urban area of Phoenix, Arizona. http://www.srpmic-nsn.gov/community/.
11. In Hopi belief, *katsina* (sg) is a spirit being and "for their part have control over the rains" (*Hopìikwa Lavàtutuveni*/Hopi Dictionary (Hopi Dictionary Project 1998: 334)).
12. "The katsinam come to the Hopi villages, the earthly world, of the Hopi, in response to the prayers of the people; a reciprocal exchange between the katsinam and the Hopi people. If the people have prepared their prayers with and from an attitude of sincerity, and have been living a good life in the Hopi way—a moral existence and by ethical conduct—then the people have demonstrated that they are "deserving" of their coming [from their spiritual location, *Nuvatukwi'ovi*, "place of the stacked snow" or *Nuvatukya'ovi*, "the awesome place" known today as the San Francisco Peaks located in Flagstaff, Arizona, USA]. The image visualized is that of the katsinam, spirit beings, who come in the form of rain, to provide the essential moisture for the corn—the means of survival for a way of life and a people. They come with the promise of all things—bountiful harvest, harmony, life—to be realized" (Nicholas 2008: 323).
13. A review of the course goals in a field study report (Nicholas 2000) noted short-term goals of building a speaking vocabulary, sentence formation based in real-life situational activities, comprehension of spoken Hopi,

and an introduction to Hopi literacy. Long-term goals included an awareness of Hopi identity through language, a basic knowledge of the language to provide motivation toward a speaking ability, and encouragement of the use of language in the home and with family members and in the classroom. The course was co-taught by a certified instructor who was not a speaker-user of the language, and a non-certified Hopi school employee who was a speaker-user of Hopi assigned as a part-time co-instructor.

14. Although the Hopi language has a written history and a tribally adopted orthography, the number of Hopi community members who are literate in the writing system is minimal. Additionally, written materials are minimal, and there currently exist no formal uses of written Hopi.
15. Admonitions are given using the third person [impersonal] pronoun *hak* 'one,' to "prompt the conscious" of the individual about what is right or wrong in his behavior. Although, the recipient of the admonishment may not respond immediately or even positively, the words, once uttered, will remain in the individual's consciousness, to resurface at a later time when the words take on their intended meaning. Without a firm command of the Hopi language, understanding these cultural nuances is lost to those Hopi youth who are non-speakers; it becomes difficult and confusing to distinguish between what is a social cultural practice and what is not (Nicholas 2008: 335).
16. The Navajo Indians are the largest federally recognized Native American Indian tribe in the United States. Their reservation is spread out throughout the four corners of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado. The Navajo use the name Diné because it refers to a term from the Navajo language that means people. See http://www.navajoindian.net/.
17. See http://www.experiencehopi.com/walpi-village.

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