

**A Final Report on Hopi Lavayi Early Childhood  
Assessment Project for the Coconino Regional  
Partnership Council and the Hopi Tribal Council**

The Hopi Tribe contracted and partnered with First Things First to conduct this early language assessment project in order to “increase regional understanding of early literacy issues among Hopi children birth to age five and subsequently to implement a successful early literacy program (the Hopi Lavayi Early Childhood Model Program) on Hopi, which will be based on the recommendation of the assessment.”

The Coconino Regional Partnership Council provided the funding for this early childhood assessment project and the project was approved by the Hopi Tribal Council. The Tribe then subcontracted with LaVerne Jeanne, PhD, to conduct the assessment and serve as the project director.

LaVerne Jeanne has a PhD in linguistics and is a retired professor from the University of Nevada. She taught classes in introductory linguistics and anthropological linguistics classes for 30 years. Dr. Jeanne’s area of specialty and research interest is in Native American Languages and Linguistics and in particular Hopi Syntax. She grew up on the Hopi Reservation in Hotevilla at a time when Hopi was the primary language; everyone spoke Hopi. Dr. Jeanne developed an interest in the Hopi Language after taking an anthropology class and that interest intensified when she was invited to participate in weekend seminars on Arizona Native languages spoken in Arizona, including Hopi, Navajo, Hualapai, Apache, Tohono O’odham, Yavapai, and Supai. Dr. Jeanne has experience working with tribal groups engaged in language revival programs including:

- Consulting with the Washiw Language Immersion School (1997- 2002)
- Directing the Hotevilla-Bacavi Community School Biliteracy Program, Hopi Reservation, Hotevilla (1981 - 1983)
- Consulting with the Hualapai Bilingual and Bicultural Program, Peach Springs; ideas for Hualapai Language Teaching (1978)
- Conducting an Orthography workshop for the Tohono O’odham Nation (1978)

Dr. Jeanne is knowledgeable and informed about the issues and challenges facing tribal groups in their efforts to renew/revive their languages and understands that for endangered languages, many of these issues are not unique to tribal groups in the US and Canada. She has attended national conferences and participated in workshops with language activists and educators representing different countries. She understands that language loss is a global concern. Small languages (a language with less than 10,000 speakers) like Hopi, are dying at an alarming rate all over the world. To reverse language loss in a highly technological society is a challenge that concerns all those who lament the loss of the diversity of languages.

Dr. Jeanne conducted the Hopi Lavayi Early Childhood Model Assessment which includes specific recommendations for infusing Hopi language in a sustainable early childhood model program for Hopi families with children birth to age 5 and represents the viewpoints of Hopi village residents. This assessment was presented to the Hopi Tribal Council and will be presented to the Coconino Regional Partnership Council. In addition, Dr. Noreen Sakiestewa, Director, Hopi Department of Education and a member of the Coconino Regional Partnership Council, consulted with Dr. Jeanne on this project as well.

Literacy, in the traditional view, is synonymous with the written word. Literacy is intrinsically associated with the formal western style of education and its' goal is to teach reading and writing. Literacy is highly valued, especially in western society. Reading (books) and writing (letters) are learned skills; that is, one has to be taught to read and write. A person who possesses such skills is said to be literate. It is for this reason that parents engage in literacy activities with infants shortly after they are born and reading children's books is one such activity. Parents engage in this activity for the purpose of giving their children an early start on learning to read. So the bedtime story is not just a story and not just meant to be entertainment. They are also a way for parents to teach literacy skills.

According to the First Things First **Policy Brief - Read All About It: School Success Rooted in Early Language and Literacy**, learning and literacy efforts begin at birth. Research demonstrates that reading, singing and talking with infants, toddlers and preschoolers supports early and lifelong reading success. If we wait until kindergarten to introduce the foundations of reading and writing, our children may never reach their fullest potential. In Arizona, the stakes are especially high. The mandatory retention of third graders who do not read to grade-level should further compel Arizonans to start supporting the development of literacy skills in early childhood.

But what about children from households where two languages are spoken, as would be the case on Hopi? In a bilingual situation, according to the Harvard Education Letter (May/June, 2008), it was reported that literacy skills learned in a child's first language are later transferred into the dominant language. If Hopi children are taught, for example, reading in Hopi, those literacy skills learned at home will later transfer into English. Several questions arise the most important of which is; what is the primary language in the household? Other questions include: Are Hopi children read to and what is it that they read? Are children read books that are written in Hopi? How do Hopi parents/caregivers view literacy in both English and Hopi? Except for the question on primary language, these are some of the literacy issues that will be examined.

According to the 2010 US Census, 56% of the population ages 5 and over spoke Hopi at home. However, census data on language questions in native communities is highly unreliable. This is well known among native language researchers. Perhaps a more accurate representation of the language situation on Hopi is provided by the results of an assessment carried out in 1997 by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office. A goal of the project was to determine the status of Hopi Language fluency in all of the 12 villages. A major finding is that "The English language is a primary language in at least half of the households." (1998 *Hopi Language Education and Preservation Plan*, p. 15.) It appears that language shift from Hopi to English was well on its' way in 1997.

Literacy in the traditional view is restrictive in that it pertains only to the written word. Views on literacy have changed. More recently literacy now includes oral language, hence the term, oral literacy. The impact of this change is significant for many native communities including the Hopi. Hopi has a rich oral tradition, as do all native groups. Hopi is rich in stories and song. Writing Hopi, on the other hand, is a very recent development. At the grassroots level, Hopi individuals are just beginning to write Hopi.

Missionaries to the Hopi were among the first to write Hopi. Their legacy is a Hopi bible and a Hopi hymnal.

A more inclusive view of literacy has prompted a shift in focus for this project as well. The emphasis has shifted from written to oral literacy. This entails a closer look at the oral traditions of the Hopi as it is found in stories and song. But it also means taking a look at the Hopi language itself. Herein lies a different set of problems, one of them that Hopi seems to have been replaced by English in the home. How do the Hopi feel about this, and in particular, the parents of the children? Do Hopi people believe that the Hopi Language should be brought back, revived, so that it becomes the first language in the home? How do we bring back the language? Does bringing back the language include literacy skills that are inclusive of reading and writing of Hopi?

Throughout the discussion, I use the word “*speak*” to refer to both comprehension and production so that an individual “who speaks Hopi” is one who understands and also speaks Hopi. A non-speaker is used in two ways. It refers to one who understands but doesn’t speak and one who neither understands nor speaks.

The purpose of this study was to understand the assessment of Hopi language use in 2012 and how to identify a process of maintaining the Hopi language for young children and future generations.

## **METHODOLOGY**

The research method used in this study is qualitative which seeks out the ‘why’, not the ‘how’ of its topic through the analysis of unstructured information-things like interview transcripts and open ended survey responses. It does not solely rely on statistics or numbers, which are the domain of quantitative research. Qualitative research is used to gain insight into people's attitudes, behaviors, value systems, concerns, motivations, aspirations, culture or lifestyles. It is used to inform decisions, and policy formation.

Qualitative researchers typically rely on the following methods for gathering information: *Participant Observation, Non-participant Observation, Field Notes, Reflexive Journals, Structured Interview, Semi-structured Interview, Unstructured Interview, and Analysis of documents and materials.*

The approach taken for this project is largely historical. Historical research allows one to discuss past and present events in the context of the present condition, and allows one to reflect and provide possible answers to current issues and problems. Historical research helps us in answering questions such as: Where have we come from? Where are we now? Who are we now? Where are we going?

The most common analysis of qualitative data is observer impression. That is, an expert or bystander observer examines the data, interprets the data via forming an impression and reports their impression in a structured and sometimes quantitative form. Coding is an interpretive technique that both organizes the data and provides a means to

introduce the interpretations of it. Most coding requires the analyst to read the data and mark quotes and segments within it.

It was important for the project that the perspectives of the Hopi people on the state of their language be heard. In keeping with this the project, the staff prepared a questionnaire/survey which consisted of 24 questions in Hopi together with its' English equivalents. The survey/questionnaire was then used to conduct one-on-one interviews with individuals from each of the 12 villages and Spider Mound, a newly established community. (Hereafter Spider Mound will also be referred to as a village, although technically it is not considered a village.) The survey questionnaire is attached to this report.

The project proposal called for interviewing a minimum of 6 individuals from each of the 13 communities for a total of 78. As it was conceived originally, 2 individuals from each of the three age groups – young parent, middle age, and elder – were to be interviewed. The genders were to be equally represented as well. A total of 59 individuals were interviewed with the women outnumbering the men:

Female: 42    Male 17  
Young Parents: 19    Middle Age: 26    Elder: 14

However, 4 of the interviews were not transcribed due to time constraints. The survey forms were not used with two elderly women as they preferred to talk and one of these elders declined the request to be audiotaped. For this report, only the responses of those individuals who answered the survey questions and whose interviews were transcribed will be analyzed.

The villages are not equally represented. For example, ten individuals from Hotevilla were interviewed but only one person from Kykotsmovi was interviewed. However, all the villages were represented with at least one member from each of the villages.

Upper Moenkopi	5	Mishongnovi	1
Lower Moenkopi	4	Sipaulavi	3
Hotevilla	10	Walpi	3
Bacavi	6	Sichom'ovi	6
Orayvi	2	Tewa	7
Kykotsmovi	1	Spider Mound	3
Songoopavi	8		

The Tribal Council requested that in order to conduct the interviews, project staff had to meet with each of the 13 village boards to inform them about the project and obtain permission from each village before moving forward with the interviews. Village presentations occurred at 10 of the 12 villages. Kykotsmovi was the last village to schedule the presentation (April 10, 2012) and although 3 interviews were scheduled from this village, only one interview was completed. Village presentations were not made at two of the villages. The Acting Community Service Administrator for Mishongnovi made several attempts to schedule a meeting but with no success. A village member from Orayvi was contacted for advice on how and where to hold a meeting. It was

suggested that someone's home might be a possible meeting place but there was no time to pursue this option for Orayvi. However, two individuals from Orayvi were interviewed.

Typically, village presentations concluded with a request for volunteers. Hotevilla alone had the most number of individuals that volunteered to be interviewed. I am from Hotevilla and this might explain the high number for Hotevilla.

There were logistical issues with outreach and scheduling for the interviews. Most of the Hopis contacted were eager to discuss the language but when asked to participate in the formal survey many of them declined to participate, often due to negative experiences that they had with previous surveys. Interview appointments were often not kept. Young parents were the most difficult to persuade to participate. Some that agreed to the interview later declined. Much time was spent on driving from one village to another to locate interviewees.

The time required for transcribing the interviews was seriously underestimated. Most of the interviews were audio taped and then transcribed, verbatim as agreed in the contract implementation plan. This was a time-consuming activity and even more so when interviews are conducted primarily in Hopi.

Staffing was a serious problem. There were only two people that worked on the project. A third person was hired at the start of the project but worked on the project for a short time. The impact of losing this individual was enormous as he was especially qualified to perform two of the duties so critical to the project, interviewing and transcribing audiotapes. Had this individual not resigned, he might have had more success in persuading more men to participate. It was pointed out earlier that the women respondents outnumbered the men. A decision was made not to hire a replacement for several reasons. The possibility of finding an individual with the skills required, especially the ability to write Hopi, was highly unlikely. There was a concern that hiring a replacement would be a lengthy process as the preparation and signing of tribal contracts often takes time for completion.

Navigating the protocol for the Hopi village's governing boards was challenging. As reported earlier, presentations to the village boards was necessary prior to conducting the one-on-one interviews with village members. Scheduling these presentations was challenging, due to meeting cancellations, weather related factors, power outages, etc. It was necessary to work around the ceremonial calendar as religious activities often prohibited a village gathering.

The survey itself was informal and open-ended which allowed the respondents to discuss the questions without time constraints. It was, therefore, not always possible to ask the questions as they were listed numerically in the survey. Often a specific question elicited a lengthy response which would include clear references to a question that came much later. Another point to keep in mind is that our results could be skewed in that the individuals who agreed to be interviewed did so because they held strong views on the survival of the Hopi Language. More individuals were contacted than were actually interviewed and it is possible that those who chose not to participate held contrary views.

## KEY SURVEY RESPONSES AND FINDINGS

### What did they say?

I will now discuss the responses to the 25 survey questions asked of the participants. The survey questions are not repeated verbatim in this report; rather they are identified in an abbreviated form; for example, (Q3) refers to question number 3. Also, where similar questions were asked, I considered both questions together as well as the responses. The responses presented in this report represent the views of those who were interviewed and it is their views that make up much of the report presentation. Comments and suggestions also came from attendees at the village presentations where the program was first introduced. Presentations to the reservation-wide elderly committee and the Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team (CRATT) also generated comments and viewpoints.

### What is the state of the Hopi Language?

How do the Hopi feel about their language (Q6)? That is, what is their thinking on the condition of Hopi as it exists now? This question is at the heart of the assessment and the responses to it were by far the longest. It is a very general question but it led to other questions that were not asked on the survey instrument. For example, what are the reasons why we have stopped speaking in Hopi? Another question that emerged was, what do you lose when you lose a language? These are questions that evolved from the responses to (Q6) and will be considered in this report.

The participants in the survey were reminded repeatedly of the target population, children ages birth to age 5, as it sometimes made a difference in the response. What is the situation with very young children? That is, do Hopi children speak Hopi? This is an important question for language endangerment activists and educators, in that the status of a language is measured by the number of children who still speak the local language. That is, if the children are brought up in homes where the local language is no longer the primary language, the language will not survive. It will die within a generation. Such a language is said to be endangered by language researchers and activists. On the other hand, a safe language is the reverse of an endangered language. It is one where the local language is used by all generations, from the old to the young, and it is used in all domains as the people go about their daily activities.

This assessment focuses on young children, often overlooked in language discussions on Hopi that have focused primarily on school-age children. We now understand that the foundation of early language begins in early childhood.

According to the First Things First **Policy Brief - Read All About It: School Success Rooted in Early Language and Literacy**, the seminal work of Hart and Risley provides a deeper understanding of the critical role the early years play in developing literacy skills. Their work shows that the foundations of literacy are established early, and that **later interventions in school (even after the age of 3) may be too late to close gaps caused by the lack of early literacy experiences**. Hart and Risley studied and carefully recorded the number of words spoken in the homes

of very young children. Their findings show significant differences in both the quantity and quality of words adults spoke with children.

In a typical hour, children from highly communicative families will hear over 2,000 words including 32 positive/encouraging words. In that same hour, children in less communicative families may hear only about 600 words, only five of which are positive/encouraging.

Over the course of a child's early life, these differences become staggering. Hart and Risley found that, on average, the child of a highly communicative family will hear 45 million words in four years, while a child from a less communicative family will hear only 13 million. Early language experiences have a profound impact on vocabulary. **By the time they reach the age of 3, children in highly communicative families will have a vocabulary of 1,100 words, while the child in a less communicative family will have a vocabulary of less than half of that (500 words).** And research tells us these early differences are compounded when the child begins school.

### **Hopi Use in the Home**

Do Hopi children hear Hopi spoken in the home? To gain insight into Hopi language use in the home, three questions were asked beginning with one (Q1) that establishes whether or not the survey participant speaks Hopi. The responses for all participants are as follows, keeping in mind that most of the participants came from the middle-aged and elder age categories.

Yes: 32      No: 12      A Little: 9

It is not clear what *a little* means and it was offered by the young parents and one elder.

Survey participants were asked if they lived alone or were there others living in the same household (Q2). The survey results show that nuclear households are rare whereas extended family households are very common. It was not uncommon to find three generations residing in the same household. This was an especially important finding, especially for the young parents. Young parents with children typically reside with parents or a parent and sometimes a grandparent. Given this, one would expect that with a grandparent or parent present, the opportunity for the children to hear Hopi spoken in the home are excellent. Yet, as the following discussion will show, this is far from what is expected.

### **ENGLISH IS NOW THE PRIMARY LANGUAGE USED AT HOME.**

The all important question about the primary language used in the home (Q3) was asked together with questions about who in the home spoke Hopi and if it is still spoken (Q4). It appears that English is overwhelmingly the primary language used in the home. Significantly, the language that the children hear in the home is primarily English.

Primarily English: 40      Hopi: 5      Both: 4      Live Alone (with no children) = 4



While our assessment is based on a very small sample, as compared to the 1997 survey, it confirms that in 2012, 15 years later, English is the primary language used in the homes. It appears that language shift is complete for some children.

A surprising fact is that even in homes where both parents are speakers of Hopi, their children reportedly have a limited comprehension of Hopi and speaking ability is gone. Apparently, some of these children did in fact speak Hopi prior to entering school. It seems that as soon as English was introduced, Hopi was dropped in favor of English. In one household, the respondent (#6HMM) commented that although both he and his wife are speakers, they rarely speak to each other in Hopi. They are grandparents and are the caregivers of their grandchildren.

One individual (#9HMF) summarized the current situation in the following way. Those approximately 40 years and older (which would include the elder and middle age category) still speak Hopi. There are degrees of fluency as might be expected, especially with the middle age group; however, all are able to carry on a conversation in Hopi. The children of the middle age individuals understand but no longer speak Hopi and now their children, that is, the young children (birth through age 5) of what we are labeling young parents, neither understand nor speak Hopi. Several middle aged respondents did report that their grandchildren who attended Hopi Head Start were starting to speak Hopi, citing as examples that they knew their colors and numbers in Hopi.

If English is the primary language in the home, as the findings show, we can conclude that Hopi is not heard in the home. Or, if it is heard, it is heard infrequently and because children do not hear Hopi, they do not speak Hopi. Our sample size is very small however, and there may be a few children that still speak Hopi as suggested by the following individual:

*... the language may be lost to most of the population niikyan pay  
naat anqe suskya [tuuqayyuηwa]. (#9HMF)*

The expectation that the language will survive because some still speak the language seems to be unrealistic, as another individual said:

*Even if some are still speaking- it's gone; everybody has to be  
speaking. (#6SMM)*

## **LANGUAGE AWARENESS: LANGUAGE LOSS IS REAL**

The responses to (Q6) show that there is now a general recognition that the loss of the Hopi language is a real possibility. Except for two individuals, both young parents, all the respondents stated that the language will be lost.

The first step to solving a problem is to acknowledge its' existence and from the responses, this is clearly what has happened as the following quotes show.

*'itàmöm 'itàatim qa yu'a'atotaq oovi pam hapi qa tuvos'iwta.  
Itam hapi sumataq put kwayyaniq, niikyan ayanqwwatniq itam  
haqawat ... um yep pituq, nu' yepniq, pay nu' piw anqe' isinmuy*

*amùupa, ikwacmuy anqe' yu'a'atimumñwuniq, pay as navotiiyuñwa. Niiqa pay put aw wuuwantota, pu' wuuhaniiqam. Niq pam hapi nukwanñhinta. Itam hapi as put panwat pas put öqaltote' 'it itaa lavayiy haak qa kwayyani. (#5BMF)*

(Translation) Our children and our grandchildren no longer speak the Hopi language so it's future is questionable. I think we will lose it. On the other hand, you're here, I'm here, and then there are my people that I visit, my friends- they know [about the current situation of our language]. More people are giving it some thought. This is good. We need to encourage it [the use of our language]. We do not want to surrender our language.

*I think we're becoming more aware that we're losing it and that there is some effort that's being made to try to revive it. (#4SEF)*

*Honestly, there won't be future for a Hopi Language ... because you know you go around and all you hear is English. The only Hopi you do hear is from elders ... and they're not going to be around much longer. (#6BYPF)*

Several of the elders had this to say:

*We are losing it fast. (#4SEF)*

*Pay ... itaalavayi haqamini. (#1SEF)*

(Translation) Our language will go away.

“Endangered” is not a term that the respondents used in articulating their views on the state of the Hopi language. This is a term that is widely used by linguists in the discourse on disappearing languages. Linguists also use the expression “dying languages” to refer to endangered languages as if languages were people. This is, of course, a metaphorical expression. We know that languages do not die; rather, languages disappear when its' speakers no longer speak the language. Nevertheless, it was interesting to hear how the respondents described language loss. With the exception of two individuals, the death metaphor was not used to describe Hopi. Instead, as Hopi people, we can “lose our language” (*ñastatoti*); we can “forget it” (*süutokya*) or “leave it behind” (*uunatotini*) as well as “give it up” (*kwayya*). A language can “go away” (*haqamini*) or “be no more” (*sulawti*). Language use can also “slide down” (*sirokiwma*) or diminish. The Hopi expressions, on careful examination, are metaphors as well.

## **LANGUAGE LOSS IS REAL BUT THERE IS HOPE**

All respondents (except two) accept that the Hopi Language will soon be lost but all remain hopeful that the language will survive and will continue to be used. The phrase *isn't too late* was used often to express the theme of hope. A theme of hopefulness is evident in the quotes following:

*If we speak only Hopi to the children and if we try hard it will continue. (#5HMF)*

*I don't think it's too late. We are losing it but I don't think it's ever too late .... There's always a possibility of ... bringing it back ... (#4SEF)*

But the language does require serious attention and all the respondents thought that something should be done to revive the language (Q7). So if it isn't too late for the Hopi language what should be done to bring back the language (Q8)? What must be done to reverse language loss? *We all need to start talking Hopi again* was a common response. But whom does 'we' refer to? This question will be examined later in the report.

Are there places or situations where Hopi is still spoken (Q9)? The responses here differed. Young parents identified the *kiva* as a place where Hopi was still spoken. The *kiva* is an underground structure where Hopi ceremonies are held. Another location is the village plaza during a ceremony. Hopi is still spoken at traditional Hopi weddings and baby naming events, according to some young parents. Some middle age individuals disagreed saying that this was true in the past.

*It used to be the kiva but not anymore- English [is] everywhere. (#7HMM)*

*Tricky question- at ceremonies expect to be all Hopi but this is no longer the case. (#4SEF)*

*Paypi as anca hakim nàayat, uylalwe' it mö'öñ hi'ta pu' pasva ... Pay pam pu' sulawti so pay nu kur hin pas pañqawni haqam naat pam pas mòopeqiwtá. ... hikis kivapa enañ. Pay pu' Pahanvewatsa hiihi'mu pasiwyuñwa. (#9HMF)*

(Translation) It is true that [Hopi was used more] at weddings, [in the fields] planting [crops] ... but that is all gone now so I can't say for sure where Hopi is [used]...even in the kivas. Now everything is done in English.

Several individuals expressed the view that the *kiva* is one place where the use of Hopi should be mandatory. The problem however is that of enforcement. Other respondents reported that they have taken it upon themselves to remind those in the *kiva* to speak Hopi especially if preparations are being made for a dance.

There is an interesting situation where the use of Hopi is mandatory. When the topic being discussed is of a religious nature, adults will talk exclusively in Hopi if an uninitiated child is present.

*The nephew doesn't know everything ... so when you're talking about something that's related to what knowledge he shouldn't know yet it will be spoken in Hopi (#6SMM).*

This individual was talking about his nephew who had not yet gone through an initiation ceremony and therefore was excluded from the conversation.

## **WHY HAVE WE STOPPED TALKING HOPI?**

This question was not asked in the survey but it was explained earlier how this question evolved. *Stop talking* is a phrase that was used often by the respondents. This does not mean that Hopi is no longer spoken. Rather this phrase captures the idea of the diminishing use of Hopi. That is, less Hopi is spoken now than in the past.

### **Prophecy**

That the language is destined to end is a Hopi prophecy. Several individuals made reference to the prophecy. It is said that there will come a time when the Hopi people will be divided into two groups based on the ability to speak the Hopi language. Those that speak the language will be allowed to continue on their journey presumably to the next world. Those that do not speak the language will not be allowed to continue; in essence, they will be banned. There is a version whereby the non-speakers will be beheaded. Another version has it that the banned ones will be thrown into a fire pit.

The prophecy can be viewed in two ways. It can be seen as a foregone conclusion and therefore not much can be done to “save” the language. This view is best described as defeatist. As one individual (#2OMF) pointed out, those who hold this view use the prophecy to excuse themselves from any responsibility for the demise of the Hopi Language. A second view is represented in the words of yet another individual (#6HMM):

*... maybe in our children's or maybe our grandchildren's time the language will cease to exist. This is tough to accept and you wonder if this is true.”*

He went on to say

*“No one can say for certain when the language will cease to exist.”*

There followed a lengthy discussion on how the Hopi Language is important to a Hopi way of life and why his children and grandchildren must know the language. In this view, the prophecy is viewed more as a cautionary tale.

### **Language in Schools**

*Pahaanat tutuqaykiyat itamuy aw taηalalwaq paypi put paηqaqwa  
pam mōopeqti.*

We were put into the *Pahaanat* (White man's) school and now it is our first language. (#4BEM)

The Education system in schools has contributed to the decline of the Hopi language over time. Children were required to attend schools where the use of the English language was mandatory and the use of Hopi discouraged. Physical punishment was used to discourage the use of Hopi. A few of the middle age and elder age respondents recall being punished for speaking Hopi in school.

Schools were not alone in discouraging the use of Hopi. Some parents too would admonish a child for speaking Hopi. One respondent recalled “going to town” with his parents. On the drive there he and his brothers spoke in Hopi but as they approached the town they were told to stop talking in Hopi. Was it out of shame or embarrassment that they were told to stop? Were they supposed to be ashamed of their language? Or was it the parents who didn’t want to be embarrassed by their children speaking Hopi so they made the boys stop?

If we want the language to survive, we will all have to start speaking Hopi. But speaking alone will not be enough. We must also continue to practice the Hopi way.

*’itaatupciwniy itam hapi put qa pevewintotiq, ‘i’ pay naat son haqamini. Pu’ peetu pipay ‘it hapi suryawnen pay ‘i’iyaltoti, itaaqacy maqsonit hapiy itam hincackya. (#6HMM)*

This individual is saying that if we believe in the Hopi way of life and continue to practice it then our language too will continue. It is only when we begin to doubt our ways that the language will disappear. Some have abandoned the Hopi way because it is a difficult life. It should be pointed out that for this individual, language and culture are interconnected; they play off of each other (*yaayalawu*).

### **Culture and Language Changes over Time**

*A long time ago, we used to speak nothing but Hopi because that is what we are named for. ... That’s why we should teach this to our children. This is our job to teach the Hopi language in our homes, to teach our children, but we like the Pahana way of life and for that reason we reached this point. (elder, CRATT meeting; Kykotsmovi; Oct. 20, 2012)*

Some middle age and elder respondents in expressing dismay at the current situation of the Hopi language, attributed the declining use of the language to changes in the culture. In so doing they described how children growing up in the villages today differ dramatically from their own experiences as children. Children from an early age were expected to assist family members in activities that provided food and shelter. Farming was a major activity and boys were expected to assist family members in planting, thinning, and harvesting the corn. Some boys herded sheep. Food preparation, for both family and ceremonial use, was carried out by the women assisted by young girls. There was no running water in the villages and hauling water from a spring using buckets occupied much of the children’s time, both boys and girls. In the villages ceremonies are held year round. Children participated in all these as spectators and later as participants. For the young men, much of their time was spent in the *kiva* where they

were taught not just ordinary but ceremonial knowledge as well. There were no televisions so children played outdoors, after they had completed their chores. Leisurely trips to nearby towns were unheard of as few people owned cars.

The activities that children took part in was accompanied by much talk. That is, Hopi was used to instruct children on how to carry out certain activities. Play was conducted in Hopi. The children heard Hopi and also used Hopi.

This was also a time when everyone spoke Hopi. It was a time characterized by an intergenerational use of the language; that is, language was used by all the generations. Children understood and spoke with parents as well as grandparents. Grandparents, in turn, talked to the children and the children understood and reciprocated. Most of the children attended schools where they were introduced to English. They were immersed in the English language while at school but on returning to the villages at the end of the school day, reverted to speaking Hopi.

### **Showing Language Versus Teaching Language**

*We don't really teach at home. We just speak Hopi all day and they learn. (#3ShYPM)*

The quote above is from a young parent who describes himself as one who speaks “a little Hopi” and he lives with others who speak primarily English in the home, although they are speakers of Hopi. In this comment, he is not describing a situation that exists at his home; rather his comment reflects his view on how Hopi is acquired by children naturally. But he is also describing how Hopi must have been acquired by children at a time when, according to the elder quoted above, “everyone spoke nothing but Hopi.” Hopi children were not taught Hopi the way that English grammar, for example, is taught in school; rather they were “shown” language and the “showers” were all the people with whom they interacted daily, including children. The showing took place everywhere as individuals went about their daily business. The language that the children heard was highly contextualized. In other words, language learning took place in context. But they were doing more than just hearing language. They were also using language that was appropriate for the situations they were in. As well, hand gestures and body language complemented verbal language. Showing language can be encapsulated in a phrase, *real people using real language to do real things*. It is this approach to language learning that is central to the model proposed for Hopi, one that will be described later.

### **Language and Culture Are Inextricably Linked.**

From the Hopi point of view language and culture are inextricably linked. That is, language cannot be separated from the culture. Language is culture. Therefore, changes in the culture will impact the language. The reverse is equally likely - changes in the language will impact the culture.

Language loss is often due to the loss of cultural contexts for the natural use of language. For the Hopi, the cultural contexts for language use have changed but they have not been lost entirely. The Hopi still adhere to the ceremonial calendar and so

ceremonies are held year-round. Farming is still practiced although some plant corn using tractors rather than a planting stick. *Piiki* is a traditional food and some women still make *piiki* but it is now done on a grill rather than a *piiki* stone. These activities or places where only Hopi was once used exclusively, that has changed considerably. Even in special dwellings, such as a *kiva*, where one would expect the Hopi language to be used, even here English intrudes.

Social, economic, and political forces from the outside have impacted all facets of the Hopi way of life. Technological changes, in particular, have had profound effects on the culture. Satellite dishes can be found on many rooftops making television programs available in nearly all the homes. Electricity is not available in some villages (including my village of Hotevilla), yet televisions are found powered by solar energy. Many have cell phones or more recently Smart phones which are more than just phones. It is not unusual to see children at ceremonies with earphones in place seemingly oblivious to the events taking place.

How the Hopi entertain themselves has also changed. Electronic gadgets are preferred over playing outdoors.

*Pu' 'i' Pahan hìimu put aqwsa naatiitaptotaηwu. Put aqwsa itam caacakmuy oknìiyuηwa (#4BEM).*

(Translation) They entertain themselves with *Pahaana* (White Man) things [electronic gadgets]. We babysit children with these things.

Televisions have become babysitters. Instead of singing to a child that is finicky, the child is put in front of a television.

Electronic gadgets were cited as a cause of language loss for Hopi youth. When asked how we could work on Hopi so that it doesn't end, this is what one individual said.

*Get rid of games and TV. Computers. Nuyniq put itam pay as qa pas pan haqam amumi no'i'yuηni'. Ispi puma putsa aw pu' ayanyuηwa, ayancackya. 'ii'it hìita puma awsa yukìiyuηqa oovi it itàa Hopi lavayiy itàa Hopi qaciy qa aw pu' unantavìiyuηwa. (#5BMF).*

(Translation) Get rid of games and TV. Computers. We should not give them [children] free use of these things. Now that is all they do. They are so engrossed in it that they do not support our language and our way of life.

A young parent confirmed what was said above.

[There is] *too much technology that is keeping us from paying attention to learning and speaking Hopi (#5SYPM).*

Another individual, an elder (#1SEF) appears to embrace technology. She thinks that technology, in particular, an *i-pad*, can be put to use to teach Hopi to the children. In fact, "We should try all kinds of things." If one can download the Cherokee language on

an *i-phone*, for the purpose of learning Cherokee, we can do the same for Hopi. New uses for Hopi are one way to bring the language forward. It should be kept in mind however, that there is no substitute for the human voice when it comes to language learning, especially when there is still a speaker base to draw from. Electronic gadgets can be used to supplement the human voice.

Returning to the quote above, the elder makes the point that "...we like the *Pahaana* (White Man) way of life." It is the White Man's way that the majority of Hopis have come to embrace. Not only have we adopted the White Man's lifestyle, we have also embraced his language, English. It is now the primary language. *Kwiivi* is a Hopi word that is sometimes used to describe a person that has adopted the lifestyle of the *Pahaana*. Several elders used this word in explaining why we prefer to use English and not Hopi.

### **What is Lost When a Language is Lost?**

That the Hopi Language is priceless, that it is special was articulated by several middle- age and elder Hopi. The following quote typifies what was said:

*‘i’ pas himu’u. Yaη itam naat katsinat hincackya. Mee... kacinam ökiηwu no? Pu’ taawiy aqw hakimuy tayawnayaηwu. Pu’ hak Hopiituqayte’ hak aw maamacηwu. Hiita anca itamuy aawinta. Haqami itam ökiniqat, hiita itam aqw nöösiwqat hin hapiy hak näasastaηwu, yooyokniqat ... Qa tuuqaytaq kur pam itamumi himuni. Itam pay pàasat Pahaanam. Pahaanam kisonve yesni.*  
(male elder, Reservation-wide Elderly Committee Meeting, Moenkopi, Dec. 10, 2011).

A partial paraphrase of the quote above is as follows. The Hopi Language is special. We still perform our ceremonies, the *kacina* dance being one. The *kacinam* come and with song they reassure. And when you know the Hopi language you understand the messages that they bring. They are messages intended for our wellbeing; rain for the crops and our sustenance. But if you do not know the language the songs are meaningless. At that point we will have become White. We will be White people sitting in the plaza.

It was said earlier that there is a close relationship between language and culture such that a change in the culture will initiate a change in the other. When a language is lost, much more is lost than just a way of communicating.

*The Hopi Language is very critical to all our ceremonies, our cultural activities. Without the language ... you can't really do much. (#3LMMM)*

*...our ceremonies revolve around our language too and if we don't have that, then how are we gonna do our dances and stuff? (#3UMYPF)*



The Hopi way of life is transmitted through the language. Hopi ideals and values as well as customs are all communicated through the language. In essence, how to be Hopi is transmitted through language. Young men learned the meaning of ceremonies from observation and from listening to what is said in the *kiva*. They learned from their parents, uncles and godfathers.

It is said of Hopi young men that while they are eager to participate in Hopi ceremonies they do not know the meaning behind the dances they perform.

[Puma] *kiisonve paysoq pocacatototani. Ispi tsaatsayom hiita aw qa navoti'yurɥwa hiita puma hincackyaqe, qa tuuqayyuɥwa. Haktonsa nu'tumyaɥwu.* (participant; Hopi Elderly Committee meeting; Moenkopi Village; Dec. 10, 2011)

(Translation) Not knowing the meaning behind what they are doing, they simply stomp their feet. They don't know [because they don't speak Hopi]. [They] participate but for no purpose.]

That young men do not know the meaning of the dances they perform is a point that was made often in interviews and at the elderly meetings. Young men do not know because they do not speak Hopi. Parents, uncles and anyone that should be teaching them the meaning of the dances are unable to explain because they [young men] do not speak Hopi. The explanations could be given in English but there are limitations.

*And you can only explain the purpose of a ceremony so far in English. But in Hopi you can go into greater detail as to why things are this way or ... We need more depth and understanding.* (#3UMYP)

A complete understanding of the meaning behind the dances can only come with knowing and speaking Hopi.

### **Identity**

Language is the primary symbol of identity. It defines us; it is who we are. Our existence resides in our language.

*Itam hapi itàa lavayi ... aqw ... maaciwyuɥwa.*

(Translation) We identify ourselves through our language. (#4BEM)

*Language is our unique identifier, it's our language, it ties everything together, our ceremonies, our prayers, our stories, our history, and when that's gone... then we put ourselves in the predicament that who are we identified as? Do we just hold on to... okay... it's now just a museum of who we hold ourselves as?* (#6SMM)

Our *cultural identity* resides in our language and when our language is lost then... *we'll just be like any other ordinary American.* (#6HMM)



## **DO YOU HAVE TO SPEAK HOPI TO BE HOPI?**

*That's one thing my Taha told me. Hinoq oovi um Hopi? Um qa Hopi yu'a'ata. Pamsa Hopi. (#2SipMM)*

(Translation) That's one thing my Taha [uncle] told me. Why are you Hopi? You don't speak Hopi. That's the only way you can be Hopi.

*That's what makes Hopi Hopi. It makes us who we are. And we lose that? What do we have after that? (#3UMYPF)*

Apparently, to identify as Hopi, one must speak the language. Those that do not speak Hopi are not Hopi. Hopi elders are more likely to hold this position. Some Hopi youth have a different understanding of what it means to identify as Hopi. For them speaking Hopi is not the only way to be Hopi. *Living Hopi* which includes active participation in Hopi ceremonies and dances is another way to be Hopi (Nicholas 2009). These young men are Hopi despite the fact that they do not speak Hopi. You do not have to speak Hopi to be Hopi.

A young parent, who understands Hopi but doesn't speak, would disagree.

*It's not like you can pick one over the other and choose the ceremonies and customs but not the language. They go hand in hand. So you need both of them (#3UMYPF).*

There is another group of young adults who are highly motivated to learn Hopi according to several respondents. They were referred to as *half-breeds* by those making this observation. These are individuals who are part Hopi and they are contrasted with *full bloods*. An explanation for the half-breeds motivation to learn Hopi was offered by one individual (#7HMM). Their motivation is driven by a need to prove that they are Hopi and the proof is their ability to speak Hopi. This is a reaction to having been called *half-breeds* often. *Full bloods*, on the other, whom you would expect to know Hopi do not speak Hopi.

## **WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR TEACHING HOPI LANGUAGE?**

There are conflicting perceptions of who is responsible for the decline of the Hopi language as well whose responsibility it is to teach the language to young children. It is clear from the following quotes that the responsibility is placed squarely on the young parents. The following quotes are from three elders and it is their view that children today do not know Hopi because their parents do not know Hopi. If the parents knew Hopi, they would teach their children Hopi.

*Children don't talk [Hopi] because parents don't. (#2SEF)*

*They [young parents] are the ones that are having these kids now and they need to know [Hopi]. (elder; Hopi Elderly Committee meeting, Moenkopi, Dec. 10, 2011).*

*It's the parent's responsibility so I think that we need to start with the young parents. Talk with the young parents, amumi lavaytoniy hintiq itam it qa suutokyaniqat naanawakna. I think that's where we need to start is from the parents and not from the kids because if we get the parents to understand why we don't want the language to disappear then maybe they will take the initiative to talk to their kids that way. (Elder; Hopi Elderly Committee meeting, Moenkopi, Dec. 10, 2011)*

What do the young parents say? Hopi youth do want to learn Hopi. But it seems that the ones who do speak Hopi have stopped talking.

*... that [Hopi] is supposed to be passed on orally in the home by your grandparents. But you know sometimes our parents or even our grandparents don't speak it as much and sometimes you do get frustrated (#5TYPF)*

*It's too late because ....mostly everything is not spoken in Hopi nowadays. And the only ones that speak Hopi are mostly the elders and most of them don't teach the young parents ... (#7TYPF)*

The following quote is from an unmarried young adult.

*We want to learn. We have the ambition and drive. The only thing, like in my case ... is that the people at my household, the fluent speakers [could] speak it but they don't and for whatever reason ... I don't know why. (#1KMM)*

It appears that Hopi youth do want to learn Hopi contrary to what some parents and grandparents believe.

The following narrative illustrates especially well how some young parents are sincere in their desire to learn Hopi. This parent (#4UMYPF) is using the circumstances surrounding her son to show why she needs to know Hopi.

*.... My son, he's really into our culture. He tries to ... he listens to when people talk. He tries to copy the words. And like his singing, he'll make up songs. He'll try to make up words to the songs.*

She went on to say:

*And he's always trying to talk in Hopi. But we don't know if he's saying it right. That's the good thing with my father-in-law cause he tells him how to say it.*

She reported being unable to help her son with Hopi because she doesn't know the language, but shared that there is at least one individual in the household who does speak Hopi and does help. She ended with the following:

*I want my children to know the language. I myself want to learn the language. But there's no one really here to teach us.*

That the Hopi youth no longer hear much Hopi is confirmed by some elders as can be seen in the following quotes:

*Paypi itam naap itàatimuy qa amumi pan yu'a'atota. Itam caacakmuy amumi Pahankwasa yu'a'atota* (elder; Hopi Elderly Committee meeting; Moenkopi, Dec. 10, 2011).  
(Translation) We do not talk to our children in Hopi; instead we talk to them in English.

*Hikis itam wuuwuyoyq niikyanη pansa yu'a'atota* (elder, Hopi Elderly Committee meeting, Moenkopi, Dec. 10, 2011).  
Even we as elders speak [English] habitually.

*We are doing this to ourselves because we do not speak Hopi to our children.* (Elder, Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team; Kykotsmovi, Oct. 20, 2011)

*ï' pi pay as itaahimu. Itam yumat itaa mömuy, itaa timuy pay tsayηaq* [amumi] *Hopi yu'a'atotaq so'onqa as puma tuuqayyuηni.*  
(Translation) This is our responsibility as *yumat* (parents, grandparents, aunts). If we had talked to our children in Hopi when they were still infants they would know Hopi now.

### **We Are All Responsible**

*Itam qa aw unanηatveq 'i' [Hopi Lavayi] sootiniqw pam hapi itamuupeni. Itamuy nawus tukopnayani.* (#1ShMM)

The quote above is from a middle age male and in it he has taken personal responsibility by saying that if the Hopi language ends, he and others like him, that is, those who speak the language, will be held accountable for it's failure. It was their responsibility to transmit the language to the next generation but they failed to live up to that responsibility when they stopped speaking Hopi. Of course the language hasn't ended but all the signs are there for it's eventual demise. One sure sign is that very young children no longer speak the language.

## **WE ALL NEED TO START SPEAKING HOPI AGAIN**

Ultimately, it is everyone's responsibility to pass on the language. *Everyone* includes all those who speak the language. They need to speak again. Young parents, in particular need to hear Hopi spoken in the home. They need to hear it and begin to learn the language. Eventually, these young parents will come to know the language and then "teach" their own children.

The point that everyone has to start talking Hopi was articulated by a young parent:

*Grandparents and parents need to talk Hopi to us all the time at home. We all have to talk to each other even if we have to answer with one word first. Everyone in the villages have to talk to each other. (#5SYPM)*

Hopi should be heard all the time and should not be restricted to certain times of the year.

*Younger ... generations they don't hear it throughout the year... they only hear it at times when things are happening (#6SMM)*

For this individual, Hopi is used only when certain events are taking place. Not only do young parents need to hear the language at all times but they also need to be encouraged.

*Those that know Hopi should speak and maybe it will encourage those of us who don't speak it to do so. (#5SYPM)*

Finally, young adults want to hear Hopi but in return they too have to start speaking, especially if they are among those who understand but don't talk.

*We want elders to talk to us but we have to talk to them too. (#5SYPM)*

## **SOME UNDERSTAND BUT DON'T SPEAK HOPI**

It was reported by at least a third of the survey participants that there are some young adults who understand but do not speak Hopi. For the participants reporting this, there is hope and it rests with these young adults. After all, the language is not entirely lost for them. However, for the Hopi language to continue, these young adults will have to transmit what they know to their children. Passing on the language requires that they use the language. The challenge is how to motivate the young adults to start talking.

Some insight into why the young adults are reluctant to speak can be gained by reflecting on one's personal experiences with taking a foreign language class in college. Production is typically much more difficult than comprehension. I took Spanish classes and had great difficulty with articulating the different *r*'s that are found in Spanish. When asked to speak, I recall moments of intense anxiety over saying the different *r*'s correctly.

Similarly, young adults might be under intense pressure to get things “right”. One young parent gave the following explanation for her difficulty in speaking:

*We may understand .... we don't trust ourselves to talk that way.  
We might say the wrong thing. (#1MYPF)*

Then there are the young parent participants that spoke about being “scared” to talk:

*... So you know we're all learning with him [father] too and we know certain or majority of the words, but it's just putting the words together and trying to speak and not being scared. (#5TYPF)*

*And I know for a lot of people it's scary to try and learn it because people make fun of you. I don't mind the teasing because you make mistakes when you're trying to pronounce stuff but just teach me how to say it right way. You can make fun of me but teach me the right way afterwards. (#3UMYPF)*

There is the question of how much these young adults really understand since they do not speak Hopi. We get some idea of the level of understanding from another young parent:

*I can understand but when they use the hard long words then I get lost (#5SYPM).*

It isn't clear what is meant by “hard long words” but my guess is that it is a word packed with multiple suffixes indicating number, tense, aspect, and so on. So their understanding is possibly limited to simple sentences.

Another individual, a middle-aged male (#2SipMM), gave the following explanation for not speaking:

*I'm afraid of saying it wrong.*

He continues,

*I think too long about it and it just don't come our right ...*

When asked if it mattered whom he was speaking with, he replied:

*Yeah, usually it matters. Like, around my old friends, we can talk, no problem. But if somebody [is] older than us and there's that kind of pause.*

This bears some similarity to a situation when speaking with someone of a high status, for example a doctor, one is hyper aware of how one talks.

It may be that for some a certain level of maturity has to be reached before they are motivated to speak.

*Ima pu' yaṅsayomtīqe pu', I think he's a junior in high school, 'i' pu' pan unāṅtīqe pu' as oovi pu' hakiy aw pay suskomuy yu'a'aykuṅwu. (#5BME)*

This woman's grandson is a junior in high school. He recently decided to start talking in Hopi and when they have a conversation he uses what he knows, mostly words.

Another individual (participant; Hopi Elderly Committee Meeting; Dec. 10, 2011) shared her story of when and how she arrived at the decision to start speaking Hopi. As a child she spoke only English- but she understood Hopi. She married a Hopi man and it was he who motivated her to begin talking. She was approximately 25 years old. Now she speaks Hopi regularly. When asked how she did this, that is, learned to speak, she replied, *I just tell them that's up to you if you want to learn.*

## **SWITCHING TO ENGLISH WHEN CHILDREN PRESENT**

Earlier in this report, the question was asked about what kinds of things we should be doing to bring back the language. The other side of this question is, "What should we stop doing?"

A pattern that is very common among speakers and often cited relates to switching languages. Speakers, when among other speakers, converse easily in Hopi but as soon as a child appears the talk switches to English. One explanation given was that switching is done for the benefit of the child as we assume that the child does not know Hopi. It seems that children are a powerful force for language shift.

A young mother (#5UMYPPF) reported that her grandmother and uncle "*talk to the baby in Hopi*" but when they talk to her, the baby's mother, they speak English!

## **TEACHING THE CHILDREN**

This section summarizes the comments and suggestions that were made on teaching Hopi to the children.

### **Hopi vs. English**

It was important to hear from the respondents what they thought about Hopi (Q10) and English (Q11). These questions were posed to participants: Should children know Hopi and why? What about English? Should Hopi children know English and why?

Overwhelmingly the response was "yes" to both English and Hopi. Hopi children need to know both. However, for approximately half of the respondents, Hopi is a top priority; that is, Hopi children need to learn Hopi first. English can be taught later in school. Several made the point that English does not have to be taught to very young children.

*I don't think we necessarily have to focus on teaching English. Cause everyone speaks it. They're going to pick it up. Even just watching TV or the cartoons that*



*they watch. They learn from there. They already have that pretty much handed to them, the English language. But Hopi is something you have to work for. (#3UMYPF)*

When asked to give reasons why Hopi children need to know English, the responses were all similar:

- Knowing English gets you a job for which you are paid.
- The way we live now, we need money. We need money to buy the things we need, even things we need for our ceremonies.
- Tourists come to Hopi to buy arts and crafts. We don't want to be taken advantage of when engaged in a transaction.
- English is the language of commerce. We go to nearby towns and cities, such as Winslow, Flagstaff and Phoenix. English is required to make transactions.

In their responses, it was assumed that the children are now adults. It was interesting to see how quickly the respondents came up with reasons for why Hopi children should know English but the reasons for knowing Hopi took longer.

Hopi children should know Hopi because it is their identity. They need to know who they are and be proud of who they are. This was the most common response and cited by almost all the respondents. One middle age individual echoing the theme of identity had this to say.

*If you're going to call yourself Hopi you need to learn how to speak your language because it's part of us. Our Hopi way of life, our life, our beliefs, our language. You can't separate that. Being Hopi is not a piece of paper. (#1UMMF)*

The piece of paper is a reference to an enrollment card that identifies one as a member of the Hopi Tribe.

Other reasons given for why Hopi children should know Hopi were as follows:

- So the Hopi language and culture can continue. (#2LMMF)
- So they can learn Hopi values such as respect (*and wake up some of the older people who are not showing respect*) (#5SYPM).

One individual (#3LMMM) stated that for young adult men, knowing Hopi will allow them to develop a deeper understanding of the ceremonies and songs when they do participate in ceremonies. He went on to say that knowing Hopi will help them become better citizens in both the Hopi and *Pahaana* worlds as he thought that “ kids that speak Hopi are a little more well-behaved.”

There are also advantages to knowing both Hopi and English and this was pointed out by several individuals.

*If you can speak two languages you're that much more better off at learning and you can learn another language easier. (#8HMM)*

[Knowing two languages] ... *translates to success in other academic areas.* (#3LMMM)

### **Language has to have a use**

We use language to get things done. For example when thirsty, we use language to express a condition *I'm thirsty* and we use language to satisfy that need: *Get me some water*. In other words, every language has a purpose. There are reasons for using a language. Consider now what one individual said about Hopi:

*Pay hikiyom pu' put lavaayit pas aqw moḥvasya.* (#9HMF)  
(Translation) Now (today) few people benefit from the exclusive use of Hopi.

Another individual made the case for why Hopi children must know Hopi:

*Maybe they may not use it in school, on the job, but just because we're Hopi* (#1UMMF).

What are the benefits of using Hopi today? Do Hopi children need to know Hopi to survive? What does survival mean in a culture that has changed significantly? Is “just because we're Hopi” a justifiable reason for Hopi children to want to know Hopi? Children must have a reason for using Hopi.

An important function of language is suggested in the following quote:

*When [we] get together to do Hopi things [piktote', kivàape, nàayat], [we] talk in Hopi and we're very happy. We laugh a lot.* (#1SEF)

Language works to bring people together. This is an important function of language. The idea of having fun when speaking in Hopi is noticed by non-speakers and they do comment on it: *When you guys get together and talk in Hopi, you seem to be having a lot of fun.*

### **Hopi belongs in the home and in the village; English belongs at school**

When asked the question where Hopi should be taught (Q13), approximately half of the respondents said “home” with almost all the young parents in agreement with this response. However, the picture that has emerged from this assessment is that Hopi is no longer taught in the home. Therefore, the response “home” should be interpreted to mean that ideally, home is where Hopi should be taught. The home theme is captured nicely in the following quote:

*Pam kiive nawus pan yayniwḥwu. It begins at home.* (#9HMF)

The same individual went on to say,

*If language is missing at the home, itàa Hopi lavayi pep kiive  
sulawniq, pam pay kur hintañwu.*

(Translation) If Hopi is missing [not taught] at home, the future of Hopi is uncertain.

For some respondents, English, on the other hand, should be taught at school. It should be kept in mind that some respondents come from homes where learning Hopi at home is not an option as there are no Hopi speakers present. In a situation like this, the community or village is the next best place to learn Hopi. Schools were also mentioned by some as another place where Hopi could be taught. It is taught in some of the schools now and that should continue. For one elder, it makes her happy to see Hopi taught in the schools as she is reminded of a time when the use of Hopi was forbidden in schools.

### **Limitations to teaching Hopi in an institutional setting**

There is a key difference between learning the local language in an institution, such as schools, and learning it at home. Schools are where Hopi language instruction is occurring at the present time. But schools alone are not sufficient to reverse language shift. According to Hinton (2001:182), “Bringing the language back as the first language of the home is the true heart of language revitalization. No school can make that happen; only families can.”

This is not to say that language learning does not have a place in the schools. Hopi should continue to be taught in the schools. For the language to survive, Hopi must be used in all domains, including schools.

Several individuals that I spoke with are teachers but they were not interviewed for our project. They spoke about some of the limitations to school-based teaching. Their comments are summarized below:

- There is not enough time given to Hopi language instruction. Typically class time runs from 30 – 45 minutes a day and the class is taught only twice a week.
- Hopi is not a top priority in any school setting. It is generally part of an enrichment program so that, for example, if a school day is shortened due to snow, it is Hopi that is dropped. As a result, students are not taught a Hopi lesson that day.
- Hopi is taught as a lesson and what is taught is contrived. The teacher decides what is to be taught and develops a lesson plan and a strategy on how it is to be taught. This is the way it has to be in a school setting that has its own culture.
- Parents of the children are not supportive.

The following comment was made by an elder:

*We are the ones who are not teaching them ourselves. I guess they are only teaching this [Hopi] in the school system. When they get home, they speak English Language again. (elder, CRATT meeting; Kykotsmovi; Oct. 20, 2012)*

This comment suggests that for some, the responsibility for teaching Hopi has shifted from the home to the schools. If so, this would absolve the parents/caregivers from any responsibility for teaching the language at home.

## **DIALECTS: WE DON'T ALL TALK ALIKE**

It is commonly known that the Hopi Language is represented by three dialects and some say a fourth dialect is represented by the western-most village of Moenkopi. There are also Tewa speakers who reside on the Hopi Reservation but this is a language very different from Hopi. Some see dialects as an issue when Hopi is taught in the schools. Children are sometimes taught in a dialect other than the local dialect when a teacher representing a different dialect instructs the children. Parents and others however can teach their children in their own dialect if Hopi is taught in the home and in the villages.

One individual (#6SMM) shared his view on dialects, *"It's not a big deal."* He goes on to say that dialects are used by some to argue against teaching Hopi in the schools but for him *"... if we're going to have it in the school, we gotta let that bias go"*. In a school situation, a good and observant teacher can acknowledge dialect differences and do so skillfully. I observed a Hopi class at an elementary school where the teacher pointed out a dialect difference by simply saying to the students *"This is how I would say this in my village but this is how you say it in your village."*

That the dialect issue is not so easily resolved by home "teaching" is explained by a comment made at a village meeting (Lower Moenkopi,...) *"We're all mixed up now."* The mixing up refers to marriage patterns. In the past marriages between individuals from different villages (speaking different dialects) was taboo; however, such unions are common today.

The dialect issue is a non-issue for some. For these individuals, they acknowledge the existence of dialects but as one individual (#5BMF) pointed out, the differences are minor so that she is able to understand and communicate conversationally with someone from a different village. There are some vocabulary differences but words are always used in context making comprehension possible. One participant commented, *"And if you don't understand, you ask"*. (#5BMF)

It may be that dialect boundaries are becoming fuzzy but it should not be overlooked that dialects, that is, speaking a different dialect, is part of one's identity. It marks one as coming from a certain village and it is something to be proud of.

## **"JUST TALK"**

*... Parents and grandparents and in their homes- talk daily to them and they'll learn. That's how you learn a language, by hearing it all day. (#1SEF)*

"Just talk" is how half of the respondents answered the question of what should children be taught (Q15) and how it should be taught (Q16). *Talk*, however, is not taught but rather shown, as was explained earlier. Conversational Hopi is a high priority for many of the respondents and it is this that should be shown to the children.

Children must hear Hopi from all those around them. Some added that the children should also be engaged in some physical activity accompanied by a lot of talk. For example, take the children for a walk and point out objects seen but do this in Hopi. Teaching plant and animal names in context is preferable to simply having the children memorize plant and animal names.

*Teach them through song and dance* was a common response. It was suggested by almost all the respondents. This was not surprising and the responses to the question about singing to your children (Q21) were overwhelmingly *yes*. As to who sings to the children, it isn't just parents who sing but also uncles and older brothers.

There is a compact disk that was composed by Anita Poleahla and Ferrell Sekakuku for teaching purposes. It is entitled *Teaching Hopi Through Songs*. The songs are sung entirely in Hopi. It is an excellent resource that addresses precisely how music can be used to teach Hopi.

Hopi culture is replete with dances of all kinds that are performed year round. Most Hopi children are captivated by what they see and hear as it is not uncommon to see children mimicking a dance immediately following a performance in the village plaza. I see this almost everyday from the kitchen window. I see a little boy exit a bus. He adjusts his backpack and starts to walk towards his home. But he doesn't walk. He dances his way home and he sings loudly as he does so. He wakes up the neighborhood dogs and they join him in singing!

Young adult males too can also be enthralled with song and dance. One respondent who is a teacher at a high school reported that during *Powamuya*, the Bean Dance month, teaching practically comes to a halt. Attendance is down and the students that do come to school are distracted. Their minds, he said, are not on school matters. Rather, what appears to be foremost in their minds are the events that transpired in the *kiva* the previous night. The talk he hears is about the dance that they will perform during *Powamuya* and the songs that they will sing. Some "practice" dance in the classroom and in the hallways. Very little academic learning takes place during this month.

Teach the children colors, numbers, shapes, was another suggestion offered by several respondents. Simple sentences should be taught, for example, *Sit down*, *Walk*, and *Close the door*.

Hopi can also be taught through stories and storytelling. Puppets can be used in the storytelling. I will say more on storytelling later.

Other recommendations offered were not appropriate for this age level, for example, teaching Hopi culture and history. Telling clan stories along with speaking the children's Hopi names were also suggested.

Several comments that are relevant to how Hopi should be taught to both children and adults came from two individuals.

*Just make it fun where it's not just strictly teaching. You gotta make it fun for the kids to be interested.* (Participant; Upper Moenkopi Village presentation; Nov. 21, 2011)

*They [language teachers] have to make it fun and laugh as they are helping us to learn to speak. We have to make it fun for ourselves too and not give up (#5SYPM).*

Language learning is serious business but it should also be entertaining. Often in language revitalization programs the serious side of language is emphasized at the expense of the playful nature of language. In Hopi culture verbal jousting plays a central role in some events. During traditional Hopi weddings, there is much teasing and with it much laughter. Recently however, I attended a wedding where I heard very little of this but I did see some verbal signs, in English, of some mocking of the bride (a common Hopi tradition).

The following is an important point made by a respondent but it is one that can be troubling to potential language teachers.

*Somebody might know how to speak fluent Hopi but they might not have the personality ... (#2UMMF)*

In other words, just knowing the language and knowing it well is not enough to qualify one as a teacher. Most teachers will agree that teaching children is not easy (*qa tuvosi*). Teaching is part entertainment and the best teachers are performers. I think that this is part of what this individual is saying about *having the personality*.

### **Literacy Issues: Reading and Writing Hopi**

Seven questions were asked which directly addressed both written and oral literacy. These questions were intended primarily for the young parents but some middle age participants also responded to these questions, answering as it applied to their own children when they were growing up. This question was not asked of the elders and middle-age participants if no children were living in the household.

The respondents were first asked if children are read to (Q18) and if so who read to the children (Q19). Just about everyone who lived in a household where there were children reported that children were read to. However, one respondent, an elder, is of the opinion that in general Hopi children were read to infrequently in the home. She may have been a retired schoolteacher. The question of what was read was also asked, although this question is not listed in the survey. Most read children's books but when asked for specific titles were unable to provide any. Several reported receiving books when attending programs intended for children and those were the books that were read.

When asked if children were read books that were written in Hopi, the response overwhelmingly was *no* and the reason is that they were not aware of any children's books written in Hopi. Several reported having seen a book *Field Mouse Goes to War/Tusan Homichi: A Bilingual Tale* that was published in 1944 by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The book is in English and phonetic Hopi and it contains a pronunciation guide. But no one reported having a copy of this book. Several parents reported that their children sometimes come home with books on the Hopi but these are not written in Hopi. A German linguist, Ekkehart Malotki has published several books on Hopi tales but these are not appropriate for very young children. At least one person was aware of these books. There is a more recent book, *Coyote & The Winnowing Birds*, published in 1994 and it is like *Field Mouse* written in both Hopi and English. It was not mentioned by any of the respondents.

This was followed by the question of whether the teaching of reading and writing in Hopi should be taught to (Q16) young children and where (Q17). Reading and writing are important skills and children must be taught both. This is the position of the young parents and the middle age respondents. When asked if children should be taught these skills, approximately half of the respondents said “no” especially when they were reminded of the target population, ages 0-5. Reading and writing can come later when the child starts school. A priority is the oral language, “just talk”. These individuals want the children to understand and speak Hopi.

The responses to the question of where these skills should be taught were not very informative. Most respondents did not answer this question. The adults were also asked if there was an interest for them to learn to read and write Hopi (Q24). All the participants, except some of the elders answered in the affirmative. There is a strong interest in having adult community classes on reading and writing in Hopi. Most assume that the language will be written unlike a few elders who seemed to question the wisdom of writing the language:

*You are writing all languages now. ...I don't really like that because they forget it and they don't store it. A long time ago, we store all this in our brains, our songs, everything. That's why, the sacred songs are not written. It is stored in our brains/head.* (elder, CRATT meeting; Kykotsmovi; Oct. 20, 2012)

He continued:

*Now that we are learning how to write, I believe that is messing up the children. Maybe it is good. When we compose a song some people can write the songs and they can read it. However, we cannot take it to the plaza, if we forget the song. We can't look at the paper to remember because we are Hopis.* (elder, CRATT meeting; Kykotsmovi; Oct. 20, 2012)

Another elder, also at the same meeting made the comment that the Hopi sold the language by writing it.

*Paypi itam itáalavayiy huyaya itam put peenayaqa.* (elder, CRATT meeting; Kykotsmovi; Oct. 20, 2012)

The point this individual is making is that the Hopi Language is exclusively for the Hopi people. Only the Hopi can know the Hopi Language. But when the language was written, this made the language accessible to anyone; that is, anyone can learn Hopi now.

There are different views on the desirability of teaching reading and writing a local language. Communities engaged in renewal efforts often assume that reading and writing are a necessary part of the efforts to renew the languages. There are many issues that come with reading and writing a local language and often these have not been carefully examined before a literacy program is implemented.

One argument for writing the language is that it will ultimately enable the local language to continue. Written documents become available for future language learners when a language is written. But as we have seen (above), some elders have definite positions on this. Another argument is that it will give the language prestige. Those who advocate this position say that a written language is needed to counter some racist ideas about languages that do not have a writing system. English is a written language with an established or standardized writing system. We teach children the alphabet (English) and the correct way to spell words. Numerous grammar books and dictionaries are available on English. The majority of Native American languages, including Hopi, are not written and few grammars (none for most) exist for these languages. The grammars that are available are written by linguists and they write these for their own use. Many uninformed people would say if a language is not written (no dictionaries, grammars) it is not a language. These same people forget that English too, at some time in the past, was not a written language. And it is for this reason that some favor writing the local language.

The argument for writing a local language whereby it gains prestige is a convincing one. It is for me as I have had personal experiences with explaining Hopi grammar to some uninformed people, including teachers. It is important for Hopi children, especially, to see their language in print. And when they are taught to write in the local language, even if it is just their Hopi name, they come to own literacy. It is now a part of their identity. I recall working with the Washiw in Nevada where the elders were taught to write Washiw. What I witnessed was pure joy with the realization that they were writing a language that they had heretofore known only orally and most importantly they were writing a language that they had been taught to be ashamed of and were punished for, for speaking. Giving the language prestige is also one way to interest children in learning Hopi.

### **Standardization**

Several respondents that have begun to write Hopi, expressed concern that their way of writing is wrong. Among Hopi people that are beginning to write in Hopi, there is this idea that there are “wrong” and “right” ways of writing Hopi. Here we are faced with the issue of language standardization. Writing Hopi is a recent development. More people now are experimenting with writing Hopi. Prior to establishing a standard, much more practice in writing Hopi is necessary. Informed decisions about the best way to write Hopi can only come with practice. Of those participants who say they write Hopi, most say they do so phonetically, that is, they write what they hear. This is reminiscent of the time we were first introduced to literacy. We wrote what we thought we were hearing. It was only later that we were taught the standard or “correct” ways.

There are also the technical details that come with writing Hopi as anyone who has attempted to write Hopi knows. For example, it is still primarily an oral language and there is the question of what is a word? How does one determine the beginning and ending of a word as Hopi is replete with particles (such as *pi*) that seem to move around? There is an orthography that is being utilized in some schools; however, this orthography has not been approved for widespread use. Eventually a standard orthography must be established and approved across Hopi, but if it is to succeed, it has to be supported by the majority of the Hopi community.



## Stories and Storytelling

*No one or very few tell stories now. (#8HMM)*

It was said earlier that Hopi has a rich oral tradition; it is rich in stories and song. It made sense then to ask about storytelling in the home (Q22). Does anyone tell stories (in Hopi) to the children- *tùutuwwuc ɪwuwu*? Overwhelmingly, the answer was *no*. Storytelling appears to be a lost tradition, at least in the homes of the respondents. The respondents (middle age and elder) that said *yes* to this question were remembering a time in the past when storytelling was common. Some had fond memories of grandfathers telling stories during the winter months. This was yet another way in which one learned Hopi, by listening to stories.

*And for men and initiated boys, storytelling often took place in the kiva. But now men don't go to the kiva just to listen to stories. (#8HMM)*

Storytelling is a genre which comes with its own customs and rules of etiquette. It is done only during the winter months, for example. The rules have relevance in a contemporary society. *Be quiet* is one rule and it is also a rule found in classrooms. Some respondents reported that Hopi values are not being taught as they should be. One way to teach Hopi values is through stories and storytelling. Storytelling should be revived but it can be modernized to accommodate the lifestyle today.

## Linguistic Changes

There is no question that the culture has changed and along with it the language. When asked the question, “do you think the language has changed? (Q23)”, the majority of the respondents answered *yes*. When asked to give examples of how the language has changed, the responses given were examples of cultural changes. For example, Pow Wows are not a part of Hopi culture. Yet, some Hopis seem to have adopted them as their own, singing lyrics in Hopi, and now Pow Wows are more common on the Hopi reservation.

When asked if they thought that Hopi language is used in new ways, many examples were given. Now there are posters from different programs advertising their services and informational pamphlets that are written in Hopi. The menu at Hopi Cultural Center is written in Hopi. Several respondents reported hearing about the existence of a Hopi dictionary but they had not seen it. One individual reported receiving the dictionary as a gift. Those that have seen the dictionary and have attempted to use it voiced their feelings about the dictionary: *I don't like it. It's a different dialect* (#1SEF). Another individual (#3HEM) stated that the dictionary was not useful for ordinary people saying that it was meant for language specialists. More Hopi music is available on CD's and now Hopi is heard on the radio (KUYI). Middle age individuals and elders enjoy listening to the radio but a complaint made was that they hear less Hopi now. In the past, programs on different aspects of Hopi culture were presented in Hopi.

When asked about linguistic changes some used very general terms to describe what they saw as changes. Most were unable to give specific examples.

*We kind of just do a short cut (#5ShYPF).*

*Some elders use long words when they are talking. They say we use short words (#5SYPM).*

Another young parent described what she saw as a change.

*.... my generation that actually speak it it's kinda more in a Whiteman's version. Like it don't have so much of an accent no more. (#5UMYPF)*

*Pay itam haq'iwyuṅwa panwat itaa lavayiy. Ispi itam put àani alōṅtotaq oovi. Pu' itam naap peehut hīita ayawayat aw yuykuya. Hak aw hin wuuwat pan ayawtoynaṅwu. (#2HEM)*

(Translation) Our language is far along in moving towards extinction. We have changed our language so much. Now we take any suffix and attach them to some word. You think about what you want to say and then randomly attach a suffix.

*Ayawat* refers to suffixes. A Hopi word can have multiple suffixes that indicate tense, number, aspect, and so on. But there is a pattern to how these suffixes are attached to a stem or base word. That is, suffixes do not attach randomly. Now, younger speakers either leave off the suffixes, restricting a suffix to one, or they make up a new word by attaching a suffix that is not typically attached to the verb used. When young speakers say that words now are shortened or reduced, they could be referring to affixes. That is, there may be speakers that no longer know how to use the different affixes and this has resulted in shortened forms.

*Young people don't say the words right (#4HMF).* This individual listens to the radio frequently and for her, what she hears is amusing. She gave examples illustrating what she meant. I am using her examples to explain the differences in the articulation of the sounds. *Aṅakcina* is a type of *kacina*. She heard this as *anakcina* where the alveolar nasal [n] is replaced by the velar nasal [ŋ]. The velar stop [q] as in *qalèetaqa*, one-horned priest, is replaced by a velar stop and now articulated as *kalèetaqa*. Finally, the high front rounded vowel [ö] as in *ööṅa* 'salt' is said without the rounding of the vowel. These are all sounds not found in English making it difficult for young speakers to say these words. Children, growing up in a Hopi speaking environment however, would have no difficulty saying these sounds.

The following is a dialogue that occurred at a rest home where the individual (#1ShMM) telling the story was previously employed. I include it because it gives us a glimpse of how much the Hopi language has changed without the use of a specific linguistic example. (A is the middle age man and B is the elder.)

A: *Nu' put wuutaqat aw yu'a'atarɁwu Hotvelpeq XXX. Put nu' aw yu'a'atarɁwuniq. Pam hakiy aw ... pas hisatniq pu' hakiy huuwanaɁwu. Pu' pam inumi paɁqawu.*

(Translation) I would talk to the old man [from] Hotevilla, XXX. I would talk to him. But his response would come much later. And then he said to me.

B: *Pay as um Hopi yu'a'atakyaɁ pas nu' uɁ qa maamaɁɁwu. Pas uma pu' hin Hopi tuqayyuɁwa.*

(Translation) You are speaking Hopi but I don't understand you. Now you [younger generation] know [and speak] a different kind of Hopi.

A: *Pam inumi kita.*

(Translation) This is what he said to me.

### Prescriptive vs. Descriptive Grammar

*Itam pay oovi àani haqiwyuɁwa. Niq oovi nu' Pahankwa paɁqawniniq itam hapi pay slang Hopit pùu yu'a'atota. (#3HEM)*

According to this individual we now speak “slang Hopi.” There were others who also spoke about slang Hopi. Again, no examples of slang Hopi were given. Apparently, there is an older Hopi variety called *ewhaklavayi* (archaic Hopi) that is disappearing.

There is another individual who talked about *proper Hopi* (#6HMM) and he does give an example. He contrasts the following forms, all of which mean *Yes* in response to a question that has been asked, for example, *Are you hungry?*.

*owi*, *oyo*, and *oho*.

*Owi* is the “proper form”. This would be an example of formal Hopi. Then *oyo* replaced *owi* for some speakers and more recently he heard *oho*. But the correct form is *owi* and it is truly a Hopi word, according to this individual. By using the word *proper*, he is also suggesting that there are *improper forms*. In other words, there is correct Hopi as well as incorrect Hopi.

The question on change also addresses another issue, that of the usefulness of language. If a language is to survive it must be useful and it has to adapt to the changes in the culture. When new things are introduced to a culture new ways have to be found to communicate about these things. We can invent new words or we can simply adopt the English words for the things introduced. Hopi does the latter for the words: computer, laptop, and so on. Concepts and ideas have also been introduced.

Some Hopi have come up with a new expression “*LomatalöɁva*” for the English greeting *Good Morning*. Several individuals however, commented on the necessity of coining the new word, a greeting. In fact there are more languages that do not have an expression like the English phrase, *Good morning*, but this doesn't mean that these languages are deficient in some way. Some words/ expressions found in English are not

found in other languages and vice versa. There are several ways to look at this. It may be that the language/culture has no need for such an expression and so has not come up with one. Another consideration relates to the expression, *Good morning*. This is what is called a “formulaic expression”. Such expressions do not have meaning as such, but we use the expression to acknowledge each other’s presence. There are a number of ways to do in English and in Hopi: in English *You’re up early* or *It’s cold today*; in Hopi *Um piw iits waynuma* or *Um pay hawto*.

## CONCLUSION

It is not too late to prevent the loss of the Hopi language. Hopi language use however is declining rapidly. We are fortunate in that we still have a fairly large speaker base so that we do hear Hopi in the villages, maybe in some villages more than others, but it is still there. And the contexts for the spontaneous and natural use of Hopi is not entirely gone. Our revival efforts must build on what is still available to us. But the key to reviving the language is to bring Hopi back to the home. There is no other way to “save” the language but to have Hopi spoken in the home again by all those who still speak Hopi. Home is where a child is introduced to his/her first language and it is in the home where language learning begins. Children are our future language and culture bearers and all revival efforts must begin with the children, the very young children. The parents of these children too must be included in these efforts.

Language revitalization is sometimes misunderstood, that revival efforts are an attempt at returning to the “good old days”; that is, bringing language back to how it was once used. The Hopi language will never be fully restored such as it existed at an earlier time. We live in different times and the culture has changed significantly. Rather, we should view Hopi language revival as an attempt to bring the language forward to new users and uses. That is, we need to think about how we can continue to use Hopi in new ways, both oral and written Hopi.

Language revitalization work is difficult but it can also be empowering. The model that I am proposing is based on the recommendations that came from the individuals who participated in the survey, whether directly or indirectly. Clearly, the Hopi language and its’ survival is important for these individuals and they were given an opportunity to voice what they think can be done to ensure its’ continuation. And by giving voice they have come to own the model. The model is really their work. This is how it should be. I also think that by participating in the project that this has allowed each person to examine their own views about their language. The solution to the problem of language loss is quite simple: everyone has to speak Hopi. Whether the language survives or not is really up to each person. And it is up to him or her to assume responsibility for the revitalization of the Hopi language.

### **Recommended Language Revitalization Models and Teaching Methods**

A variation of the Language Nest model is recommended for the Hopi Lavayi revitalization project. In addition, there are two recommended language teaching methods - Immersion and Total Physical Response (TRP) along with some other recommended key components.

The envisioned model incorporates nearly all the suggestions that came from the respondents. It builds on what was outlined above in the section on Showing vs. Teaching Language. Very young children (ages 0- 5) can learn a language effortlessly and spontaneously without much overt instruction but only if the language input that is provided is a rich one.

### **Hopi Language Nest**

Language learning begins at home but it appears that this is no longer working for the Hopi. As a result, very young children, birth to age 5, no longer understand and speak Hopi. The ability to speak and understand Hopi fully is also absent for most of the parents of these children. The model that I am proposing addresses the need to revive the language so that Hopi becomes the first language for both the children and parents. Literacy in both Hopi and English are long-range goals.

The model is called a *Language Nest* (King, 2001). The model was developed by Maori language activists in New Zealand for the revitalization of the Maori language. A Language Nest recreates an environment where the local language as well as the culture are conveyed in much the same way that they were in the home. It is a return to the conditions under which natural language transmission and learning take place. Children are exposed to the local language by elders fluent in the local language. The most successful ones are found in New Zealand for the Maori language (founded in 1982) and in Hawaii (founded in 1983). The model has been implemented on several reservations in the US. For example, language nests are found in Montana for the Blackfeet and in Wisconsin for the Winnebago (Ho-Chunk). The Mohawk Nation at Kahnawà:ke (New York state) instituted, independently, a preschool program similar to the language nest.

In the Hopi Language Nest model, there is a fluent speaker. There are two apprentices, a child and a parent/caregiver. Parent and child will learn Hopi together. There can be as many as four teams (four nests) in one location. Language learning is provided by the fluent speaker who is from the same village as the parent and child. In this way a child will learn the local dialect.

The Hopi teacher has the responsibility of showing/teaching the language. This can be done through talk combined with gestures. Puppets can be used to model a conversation and also tell a story. Visual aids can be utilized.

Workshops on the method of teaching (Language Nest) will be provided, and immersion and Total Physical Response (TPR) training will be held for the master teachers. TPR is defined below. Master teachers will be required to complete these workshops. As the program progresses, the master teachers will also be involved in planning language activities. The participants for the language nest will be selected by members of an advisory committee and the project director. In addition, these master teachers will be provided ongoing supervision and support for this work. Families participating in this program should also be provided ongoing family support services.

A language nest will also include a recorder. A recorder will take notes on the events taking place in the nest. The recorder will also write down the Hopi utterances or phrases that the master teacher used in showing the language. This individual will put together a Hopi phrase book that will be given to the parents. The hope is that a parent, upon returning home will practice the phrases learned with his/her child. The phrases can

also be recorded using digital recorders. Finally, there will be a videographer. The videos that are produced can be used later in training sessions for the next team.

### **Teaching methods**

There are two teaching methods that are used in Language Nests programs; immersion and Total Physical Response (TRP).

#### **Immersion**

This method involves children that are immersed in a local language. That is, language learning is conducted entirely in the local language. The emphasis is on communication-based teaching and learning so that there is little if any direct teaching of grammar and vocabulary. Language is acquired through meaningful interactions with the speakers of the local language. Understanding is accomplished not only through language but also through hand gestures, mimicking, physical movements, the use of visual aids, and so on.

Language learning in the Hopi Language Nest will be accomplished using the immersion approach. It will be a Hopi only environment so that English will not be allowed in the nest. As well, no translations from Hopi to English will be provided. Interestingly “a full immersion program for kindergarten” is stated as a long term goal for Hopi children in a document entitled 1998 *Hopi Language Education and Preservation Plan* (p. 46). This model would help to support that goal.

#### **Total Physical Response**

Total Physical Response (TPR) is a teaching method that was popularized in the 1960s and 1970s by James Asher (1977). It is a method whereby a language is taught accompanied by physical activity. The method combines both verbal and physical commands. Students respond to verbal commands that require physical action. An example of a command/imperative is “Stand up.” Students respond by standing. This method works especially well in the early stages of language learning. There are two problems with this approach. One is that it does not address speaking which would be a high priority for the language nest. Another is that the method uses only commands (e.g. for teaching. TPR method can also be used for storytelling (Ray and Seely, 1997)

#### **Activity oriented**

The language is learned in context which simply means that children learn as they are engaged in activities. This means that all the sessions will be activity oriented and Hopi will be shown (taught) through these activities. Some examples are playing with cars; taking the children for a walk; preparing snacks. The children can also be shown traditional play activities such as *kiki'ya*. All the activities are accompanied by copious amounts of talk. The master is providing the language input using gestures where appropriate. The parent apprentices observe, listen, and repeat what is being said.

#### **Setting**

The recommended setting is the community center. Each village has one except for Orayvi. Ideally, language teaching should take place in the village. Participants may not want or be willing to have the sessions in their homes. So the next best place would be the community center. Within the community center, a section or room will be set aside

for the language nest sessions. This is where language learning will take place. Anyone wishing to enter this space must ask for permission to enter but this must be done in Hopi.

### **Review Session**

Every formal session should have a review component. The reviews are mandatory for the parents, master teachers, and the recorder. The purpose of this session is to review what took place and what they learned. They will review what new words and phrases the parent and child learned, what went well in the session, what issues/concerns came up and what they can improve at the next session. Participants will be reminded that the goal is to show the language to the children so that they become speakers.

### **Project Design and Advisory Committees**

I recommend that a project design committee for the Hopi Language Nest project be formed immediately upon approval of this assessment to design the project parameters. This could be a short-term committee, made up of village representatives, school staff, Hopi language speakers and FTF staff.

Once the pilot project begins, an on-going advisory committee will meet regularly to provide ongoing oversight for the program and other ongoing Hopilavayi projects. This committee would require much more involvement and could be made up of the same people as the project design committee.

### **Project Feedback**

I recommend including in the project design a component that will help provide feedback on the model program and assist with the initial learning process required to clearly define the model program and make sure the program is well adapted for success on Hopi and in the Hopi villages. This feedback process can also set the stage for later work to look at how well the approach strengthens literacy development of Hopi children. One suggested approach for getting this feedback is to use a participatory evaluation, engaging program participants and members of the village, while also providing support to enhance credibility and validity.

### **Funding Recommendation**

I recommend that First Things First funds be utilized initially to implement the Hopi Language Nest pilot project. Once the pilot project is completed, First Things First funds can then be used to help fund the implementation of the full Hopi Language Nest program. The FTF funding decision for the full implementation of the program will be determined by the Coconino Regional Partnership Council, with those allocated funds supporting a language nest program focused on children birth through age five and their parents and based on the results of the pilot project.

### **Other Recommendations**

- 1) **Hopi classes.** There is a high demand for language classes for the adults. Young parents, in particular, want evening classes taught in their respective communities. Funding must be found to make this possible. I suggest that each village allocate funds for language teaching Hopi in the villages. These classes must be taught using

the immersion approach. This will necessitate a workshop on the immersion approach for the individuals selected to teach the classes.

- 2) **They understand but don't speak.** There are some young Hopi adults and teenagers, as I have discussed earlier, who seem to understand but do not speak Hopi. It appears that some of them did speak Hopi as children but stopped speaking shortly after entering school. So the language is not entirely lost for these young adults and teenagers. My impression is that this population is huge. The young adults are also often parents of young children. Children born to this age group will either speak Hopi or not. That will depend on what these young people do now. The problem seems to be one of motivation as pointed out earlier. How do we motivate these young people to start speaking? One idea is to implement a master-apprentice program for this group. The emphasis here would be on speaking Hopi. Maybe something could be worked out with the local high school whereby the apprentices receive credit for participating in such a program. The credit earned could be used to fulfill a language requirement, for example, or even a social studies requirement. At the same time, these individuals could be put to work assisting teachers who are teaching the Hopi Language in the schools. They would be paid a small salary and this could well be the motivating factor. This arrangement would work something like a work-study program that is found in universities.
- 3) **Children's books.** There is a serious lack of good quality and interesting books that are written in Hopi. Experienced storytellers are needed to write children's books in Hopi. There are also a great number of young talented artists on Hopi. There are carvers, painters, and musicians to name a few. However, very few of these artists are speakers of Hopi. Here again, it might be possible to form a master apprentice team for the purpose of writing a children's book. A fluent speaker (master) could be paired with a young artist (apprentice) and together they write a children's book in Hopi. The end product is a book but in the interim the apprentice is also learning Hopi from the master.
- 4) **Hopi Story and Music CDs.** A CD on Hopi lullabies were used as an incentive for participants in this assessment and all those receiving one were very grateful. Except for a few individuals, most respondents were not aware of these CD's. The young parents, all of whom had children, were especially grateful. The CD is the work of a group of women from First Mesa that came together and agreed to record the lullabies which I assume they learned as children. More CDs like this that are geared towards children are needed. A group effort such as this can be duplicated in all the villages, if the elders are agreeable. But there is a sense of urgency to this type of project as all the elders who know the songs as well as stories will be gone. Young people, with the assistance of a fluent speaker, could also compose new nursery songs.
- 5) **Reading and Writing Hopi.** Except for the elders, all those interviewed expressed a desire to read and write Hopi. Several individuals suggested that community funds be used to subsidize classes teaching such skills. However, these classes should be more



than just the teaching of literacy skills. This would be a good time for the community to discuss literacy issues that include some or all of the following questions:

- What does it mean to write a language?
- What does it mean for Hopi, which up until recently, was only spoken?
- Why do we want to write the language?
- What are the arguments for and against writing the language?
- Is there a “best” way to write Hopi?
- How are the different writing systems alike and how are they different?
- Do we want our children to learn to read and write along with “learning” to speak Hopi?

## **7) Surveys**

In talking to individuals in the Hopi community, it has been suggested that a follow-up to the survey done in 1997 by the Office of Cultural Preservation might be in order. I believe comparing the language situation in 1997 to the present situation would be very informative. But I’m reminded of how the general public reacted when told about our assessment project. “Another survey!” I got the distinct impression that Hopis believe they have been surveyed to death. There are several other reasons why I would argue against another survey at this time. The Hopi tribal government has limited funds for such surveys. Where would we get the money to conduct another survey? On the other hand, if such funds could be found, I would like to see that money go towards programs that are actively engaged in teaching Hopi language to parents and their young children (birth to age 5), other young adults and high school students following the recommendations above. The funds could be used to teach language classes in the villages. There is a sense of urgency in that very soon the good speakers of the language will no longer be around to lead and direct us in teaching the Hopi language.

## **8) Hopi Code Talkers Events**

I was dismayed at the poor attendance at the recent event honoring the Hopi Code talkers. Especially bothersome was the absence of school children, especially the Middle and High School students. I think that we missed the opportunity to “sell” the Hopi language, especially to those young people who think that Hopi has no value in a contemporary world. Hopi played a central role in saving so many lives. This is an important part of our history and our children need to know this. If there are plans for a second conference on the Hopi Code Talkers, I’d like to see some students take this on as a history project under the supervision of teachers. This could be a very meaningful, and of course, a personal project for participating students. Maybe the organizers could find some way to honor the work of these students at the next event.

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*Pay yuk polo.* And that is the end of my story.

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