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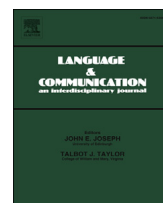
On recognizing persistence in the Indigenous language ideologies of multilingualism in two Native American Communities

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ABSTRACT

Based on original and long-term research in two ideologically divergent Native American linguistic communities, I want to demonstrate the surprising persistence of Indigenous language ideologies associated with multilingualism and how differences in these ideologies have manifested in divergent patterns of language shift and, more recently, in the nature and scope of language revitalization efforts. The Village of Tewa (NE Arizona) still partially retains a multilingual adaptation in all generations except the youth and young adults (Kroskrity, 1993, 2014). The Western Mono (Central California) of such towns as North Fork and Auberry were traditionally multilingual with neighboring languages of the Yokuts and Southern Sierra Miwok groups (Kroskrity 2009). Though both groups were historically multilingual, the practice of multilingualism was differentially influenced by distinctive language ideologies such as those regarding purism/syncretism and the expressive/utilitarian functions of language. I will demonstrate that divergent indigenous ideological complexes associated with multilingualism have shaped distinctive patterns of language shift—a process significantly more totalizing among the Western Mono. In addition to language shift, these indigenous ideological complexes also appear to significantly influence such language revitalization practices as the private curation vs. publication of language renewal materials (Debenport, 2015). I facilitate this contrast and highlight patterns of persistence by developing the notion of *language ideological assemblage.*

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1. Introduction: recognizing Indigenous multilingualism

As Michael Silverstein (1996a) has effectively demonstrated, many if not most treatments of Native American linguistic communities have been excessively influenced by US linguistic nationalism and its singular, if not obsessive, preoccupation with monoglot Standard English (Silverstein, 1996b). Such analyses falsify or even erase the multilingualism and pervasive linguistic diversity that was characteristic of most Native American communities. Based on original and long-term research in two language-ideologically divergent Native American linguistic communities, I want to demonstrate the persistence of Indigenous language ideologies associated with Indigenous multilingualism and how differences in these ideologies have manifested in divergent patterns of language shift and current language revitalization practices. The Western Mono (Central California) of such towns as North Fork and Auberry were traditionally multilingual with neighboring languages of the Yokuts

and Southern Sierra Miwok groups (Kroskrity, 2009a, 2009b). The Village of Tewa (NE Arizona) still partially retains a multilingual adaptation (with Hopi and English) in all generations except the youth and young adults (Kroskrity, 1993, 2014).[1]

Though both groups were historically multilingual, their ideologies and practices of multilingualism were and are quite distinctive. These communities were differentially influenced by distinctive language ideologies such as those regarding purism/syncretism and the expressive/utilitarian functions of language. I will demonstrate that divergent Indigenous *language ideological assemblages (LIA)* associated with multilingualisms have shaped distinctive patterns of language shift—a process significantly more totalizing among the Western Mono. By introducing the conceptual framework of LIA, I want to emphasize that the proper appreciation of Indigenous multilingualisms is to understand their component language ideologies as part of a larger complex of relevant beliefs and feelings, both Indigenous and externally imposed, that may complement, contest, or otherwise dynamically interact with each other to modify language ideologies and linguistic practices. Frustrated by language ideological research that often looks at a single ideology—say that associated with purism or standardization—I am attempting to redirect attention to the interaction of clusters of ideologies that occur within or across linguistic communities. Though the notion of assemblage exists in Latour's (2007) network theory, I find more of a basis for analogical extension from ecological theory. As represented by the cultural anthropologist Anna Tsing (2015, 22), "Ecologists turned to assemblages to get around the sometimes fixed and bounded connotations of ecological 'community'." How do various species inhabiting the same ecozone, for example, influence each other? I ask analogous questions about the coexistence of language ideologies. I am attracted to their assemblages because "They show us potential histories in the making…; they are sites for watching how political economy works" (Tsing, 2015, 23). To rethink the importance of Indigenous multilingualisms within an LIA approach is to assert the necessity of understanding such multilingualisms within the complex of language beliefs, feelings, and practices that actually contextualize them. In addition to the form and extent of language shift, these LIA also appear to significantly influence such language revitalization practices as the "exclusive", or counter-public, curation vs. the more "inclusive" publication of language renewal materials (Debenport, 2015; Kroskrity and Meek, 2017).

But for speakers of Mono and Tewa, as for those of most of the world's embattled Indigenous languages, the need for the continuity represented by the "authenticity" of Indigenous languages and speech practices necessarily confronts the often equally felt need for "adaptability" to political-economic and other historical changes.[2] Both external and internal advocates of language revitalization agree that any thriving language cannot only "speak the past," it must also "push the envelope" of the language and develop new forms, and contexts of use that fit it to the ever-changing communicative needs of speakers in the present. But certainly some of the most relevant, yet often neglected, contexts and practices are the community's language ideologies about and actual practices regarding multilingualism. Importantly, I contend, though authenticity has been ubiquitously used to understand how speakers confer meaning and authority on particular languages (e.g. Catalan (Woolard, 2016); Corsican (Jaffe, 2001); Galician (O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2013); Welsh (Coupland, 2010)) it has always been applied to one language at a time. What I want to explore here is that for communities with a long history of multilingualism, such as the two Indigenous communities detailed here, their linguistic repertoires may be the more useful locus of authenticity rather than the conventional but limited focus on a single, heritage language. Deferring a more complete discussion of the theoretical implications of this enlargement of scope until the concluding section, I will proceed by delineating the ideological assemblages of each of these multilingual communities and how they have shaped the current patterns of language shift there.

In order to do this, I will explore the importance of ideologies of authentic language use in two Native American multilingual communities—the Village of Tewa in Northern Arizona and the Western Mono of Central California. Due to space limitations, I will emphasize more widely manifested ideologies in each of the communities rather than fully exploring ideological contestation within them. Despite the fact that these communities experienced somewhat similar patterns of political domination and colonization since the late nineteenth century, and more recently a common influence of US hegemonic institutions, their very different Indigenous linguistic cultures have promoted distinctive language ideologies, contrastive patterns of language shift, and more recently correspondingly divergent adaptations to documentation and revitalization. Both Western Mono and Arizona Tewa would be classified as "endangered languages" in typologies like that of Krauss (2007). But whereas Mono is somewhere between severely and critically endangered, Tewa, as spoken in the Village of Tewa, would be identified as "definitively endangered" in that typology because of the greater number of middle-aged speakers and the presence of some younger speakers.

2. Western Mono in context

Western Mono was traditionally spoken in California's central San Joaquin Valley and adjacent foothill areas though members of the group trace themselves back to an earlier homeland on the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada Mountains near Mono Lake. Their language, like many Great Basin languages in their previous homeland, is from the Numic branch of the Uto-

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[1] In characterizing the youth of the Village of Tewa it would be wrong to assume that they have been somehow irresponsible, insensitive, or disinterested in heritage language and culture transmission. Like the Hopi youth, described by Nicholas (2014) they are "living" Tewa even if they cannot speak it fluently. I agree with Wyman et al. (2014) that the agency and creativity of Indigenous youth who are striving for successful multilingual adaptations needs to be appreciated as a positive development rather than condemned as a form of failed maintenance for which they are responsible.

[2] I use the notion of authenticity here to signify what members of the Western Mono and Village of Tewa speech communities overtly evaluate as culturally appropriate speech in their respective heritage languages. To further clarify, these are members' evaluations and not some evaluation imposed by a sociolinguistic expert (of the type critiqued by Bucholtz, 2003).

Aztecan language family. Today the Western Mono, by their own reckoning, number about 1800 in North Fork, Auberry, and other Central California communities. This total includes less than thirty fluent speakers, most eighty years of age or older (Carly Tex, personal communication). For the past thirty-five years, various language documentation projects and language revitalization efforts have supported a renewal of interest in the heritage language by community members. This has mostly taken the form of "language and culture" classes taught by more fluent speakers to adult learners of various ages. These classes, offered by various people, have been taken by as many as three hundred members from a variety of towns, rancherias, and even suburban locations. But this pattern of language shift, language endangerment, and revitalization that sets the historical stage for the present study has a deeper history. Elsewhere I have treated the history of language contact, shift, and language ideological change in the region (Kroskrity, 2009a, 2009b) in more detail than would be appropriate here. Western Mono language communities went from a classic residual zone in Nichols's (1999) sense—an adaptation involving multilingualism, seasonal movement, and intermarriage—to one that featured the aggressive spread of English, forceful suppression of Indigenous languages, a hegemonic push to use English, and later a limited revalorization of Western Mono as a heritage although second language (Kroskrity, 2009a, 2009b). But instead of presenting a more detailed chronology from precolonial through post-colonial periods as I did in an earlier study (Kroskrity, 2009a, 2009b) here I will selectively present some language ideologies that have shaped its history of usage by Mono speakers in this traditionally multilingual community (Spier, 1978, 426).

3. Western Mono ideologies and practices of multilingualism

For the Western Mono most, if not all, of the Indigenous beliefs and multilingual practices about their languages conferred an adaptive capacity that paradoxically offered little resistance to language shift but provided a flexibility that is especially valuable in language revitalization efforts. For example, the emphasis on multilingualism and the lack of an Indigenous emblematization, or iconization (Irvine and Gal, 2000), of the Western Mono language from the community's linguistic repertoire muted use of the heritage language as either an emblem of identity or as a singularly appropriate instrument of resistance. Since no particular language was singled out for such cultural investment, as I have illustrated elsewhere (Kroskrity, 2009a, 2009b), Indigenous language ideologies that might promote a linguistic ethnonationalism were not emphasized. Indeed because of a long history of cultural contact and intermarriage with neighboring groups—both Indigenous and non-Indigenous—there was more interest in developing linguistic adaptations to serve boundary crossing rather than boundary creation. In the Mono communities of North Fork and Auberry, for example, significant trilingualism existed within tribelets—small, village like units typical of Indigenous California—of neighboring Yokuts and Southern Sierra Miwok communities. All three groups shared an otherwise regionally unique moiety system of social organization. Intermarriage between members of these communities was commonplace as attested by the Mono word, *maksi*, meaning "co-in-laws"—a word that is shared with and demonstrably borrowed from Southern Sierra Miwok. Because Indigenous multilingualism had become almost non-existent when I began to research Western Mono in 1980, explicit native metacommentary was exceedingly rare but what I heard from the very oldest members of the community was that their parents had some knowledge of three or more languages and that they found this useful for political, social, and economic reasons such as alliances against other bands, intermarriage, and sharing information relevant to their hunting and gathering economies as attested by Mono historian Gaylen Lee (1998).

For the Western Mono, this Indigenous valorization of multilingualism and general language ideological support of both multilingualism and linguistic hybridity was further promoted by Indigenous language ideologies of syncretism and utilitarianism. Syncretism manifests in widespread linguistic borrowing from neighboring Indigenous languages (like Yokuts and Miwok). Even though multilingualism was more often remembered rather than practiced when I began Mono research in 1980, many loanwords clearly establish a cultural practice of syncretism that would help them adapt to their new location in the Western Sierra foothills. Mono words like *awonno* ('boat' >Miwok *owon*), *eebisi* ('trout' > Yokuts *epis*), *soyonno* ('elk' >Yokuts *soyol*), are among the many loanwords Mono speakers acquired from their Indigenous neighbors (Loether, 1998). Syncretism was not limited to Indigenous languages, however, and the Mono borrowed more than eighty loanwords from Spanish and several dozen from English (see Kroskrity and Reinhardt, 1984) though many of these were imparted to Western Mono through other Indigenous languages.

Utilitarianism had two relevant aspects. One, it foregrounded the practical economic adaptations offered by particular languages while deemphasizing linguistic contributions to personal and group identity. Two, it encouraged use of new technologies for transportation, acorn-grinding, and even Indigenous ritual. Regarding the last of these, when a ceremonial practitioner needed to perform an Indigenous ritual normally requiring many singing voices, she resorted to a backup plan of electronic amplification of the few singers who could actually attend. As Mono participation in an ever more encompassing cash economy increased and required more extensive use of English, Monos were also required to reduce the seasonal round of their annual hunting and gathering cycle. In the early 20th Century, as seasonal migration was replaced by sedentary lifeways imposed by the state, Monos of the parenting and grand-parenting generations encouraged their children to learn "the new man's language" as an economic adaptation. This may well have led to a more stable and traditional multilingual practice were it not for the hegemonic institutions of the state, especially its schools, and their role in stigmatizing Mono speaking students and in promoting marginalizing racial projects designed to subordinate Monos and other California Natives as a denigrated under-class.[3] Certainly another casualty of

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[3] The schooling experience of most Mono children, like those from other California Native groups, exposed them to ethnocidal curricula and pedagogies. Even as an elder, Rosalie Bethel still clearly recalled the sting of racializing stigma that constructed her, in the North Fork public school, as an "untouchable" Indian (Kroskrity, 2009a, 197). The practice was also common in boarding schools that California Native students were forced to attend (Hinton 1994, 175–179).

state influence was multilingualism itself since the standard language ideology represented by the state's educational policies valorized English while stigmatizing all Indigenous languages and, by association, local patterns of Indigenous multilingualism—a typical target of the monoglot standardist regimes of many nation-states (Dorian, 1998).

Another language ideology that can be ascribed to the Western Mono communities is one that I have termed variationism (Kroskrity, 2009a, 2009b). Western Monos celebrate internal diversity and naturalize it as the expected outcome of different family patterns. This is traceable, both for the Mono and for the many California and Great Basin Indians that display a form of it, to the lack of stratification in these largely egalitarian communities (Silver and Miller, 1998). The absence of a hierarchized social order to which linguistic variation can be indexed produces a corresponding acceptance and adequation of all forms of linguistic variation. No register of Mono emerges in association with political or religious elites and reproduces their power and prestige. But this rejection of a linguistic orthodoxy also provided few semiotic resources to resist language shift to English. Though clearly Euro-American policies of linguistic intolerance played a significant role in imposing a language shift, Indigenous language ideologies like variationism, the absence of an Indigenous linguistic orthodoxy, and the comparative lack of an emblematic role for the Mono language all certainly contributed to that process and to the situation today of only about thirty highly fluent speakers, all at a very advanced age. But if the hegemonic practices of the state were responsible for stigmatizing Mono and other Indigenous languages and suppressing their use both in public space as well as in domestic contexts, they are also somewhat responsible for the revalorization of specific tribal languages that monoglot state policies viewed as the singular heritage language very much in accord with its own prevailing linguistic nationalism. As I have
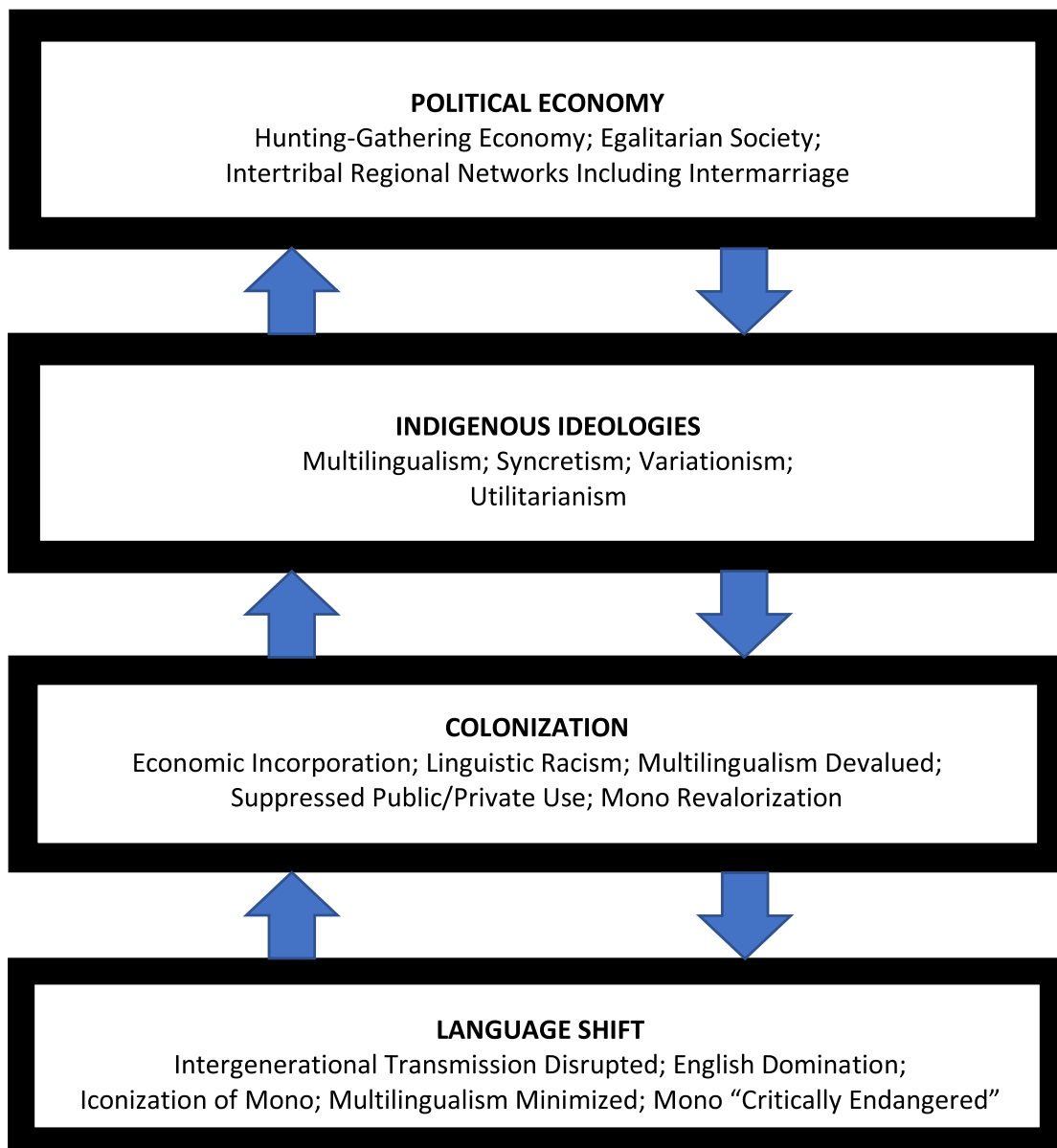

POLITICAL ECONOMY
Hunting-Gathering Economy; Egalitarian Society;
Intertribal Regional Networks Including Intermarriage

INDIGENOUS IDEOLOGIES
Multilingualism; Syncretism; Variationism;
Utilitarianism

COLONIZATION
Economic Incorporation; Linguistic Racism; Multilingualism Devalued;
Suppressed Public/Private Use; Mono Revalorization

LANGUAGE SHIFT
Intergenerational Transmission Disrupted; English Domination;
Iconization of Mono; Multilingualism Minimized; Mono "Critically Endangered"

Fig. 1. Some features of Western Mono language ideological assemblage.

previously established (Kroskrity, 2009a, 2009b), hegemonic influences experienced through new educational policies dating back to the 1970's, federal recognition practices, and also the passage of the Native American Language Act all contributed to Indigenous efforts to revalorize the Mono language by iconizing it to tribal identity in the latter half of the 20th century. While this reversal of hegemonic influence could not undo the disruption of intergenerational communication and restore Mono as a language of the home, it did provide via the semiotic process of fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal, 2000) a context for reinterpreting the value of the Mono language as an important expression of tribal identity that erased the stigma of the earlier, colonial period.

Fig. 1 summarizes the articulation of features of social organization, political economy, language ideologies, and the extent of language shift that I have discussed here. This will serve as a basis for comparing Mono and Tewa multilingualisms and LIA in the concluding section. Here it important to note that Mono ideologies of multingualism are bundled with both variationism and utilitarianism and related to a regional intertribal identity. Also in contrast to the Tewa data, the Monos—perhaps because of greater contact with mainstream US society and its institutionalized racism and hegemonic influence—confronted greater pressures to suppress public use and to use other languages in their linguistic repertoire that would provide greater economic advantage.

4. The Village of Tewa in context

Like the Western Mono, the community ancestral to the Village of Tewa moved from an earlier homeland. Vacating their eastern Pueblo homeland in the Galisteo Basin along the Rio Grande River in what is today Northern New Mexico in the wake of the Second Pueblo Revolt of 1696 (Dozier, 1954; Kroskrity, 1993), their Southern Tewa (*Thanuge'in T'owa*) ancestors followed invitations by the Hopi to move to their current lands and to pacify the region. Though they spoke Tewa, a Kiowa-Tanoan language, and the Hopis spoke a Uto-Aztecan language, their cultural adaptations were otherwise quite similar. Like the Hopi, the Tewa were agriculturalists though they would need to learn "dry-farming" technology from their new neighbors since their new home would not contain any permanently flowing rivers that could be used for irrigation. Like the Hopi, the Tewa had a stratified society in which those highest in the ceremonial orders also possessed considerable political power in their communities. Though the traditional Southern Tewa social organization featured a moiety system that was common to almost all Eastern Pueblo communities, they would quickly adopt a clan organization based on the model of their Hopi neighbors. Though considerable accommodation to the Hopi and their environment was inevitable, the Tewa—unlike almost all of the many dozen groups of the Pueblo Diaspora resulting from Spanish conquest and reconquest (after each Pueblo Revolt)—would never lose their language. Though they would learn Hopi, and later English, the Tewa language often masked new cultural features and erased other evidence of apparent change. The word for "clan"—a prominent feature of Hopi society but not Tewa was a semantic extension of the Tewa word for "people"—*T'owa*. Many clans were named similarly to Hopi totemic names—Bear, Sun, Corn, etc.—but encoded in familiar Tewa vocabulary rather than Hopi. Though the Tewa encountered some difficulties in their adjustment to their Hopi neighbors that resulted in the "linguistic curse" Tewa put on the Hopi, the groups eventually managed to live together and cooperate successfully. This, now three-centuries-old, "curse" was a form of Tewa cultural revenge on the Hopi for failure to show appropriate gratitude for Tewa military service against Hopi enemies. In the wake of the Second Pueblo Revolt against the Spanish in 1696, Hopi First Mesa clans had invited the Southern Tewa (ancestors of the current Village of Tewa community) who abandoned their Rio Grande River Valley pueblos and their warfare with the Spanish colonial regime to move three hundred miles west to Hopi territory. According to the agreement, the Tewa would come and defeat Hopi enemies and be rewarded with land and other resources. But when the Tewa decisively defeated Ute marauders, Hopis failed to honor the agreement. The Tewa responded by placing a curse on the Hopi. This episode is recounted in narratives in which the speech of Tewa leaders to their Hopi counterparts is dramatically reconstructed as in the following translation (Dozier, 1954, 292):

> Because you have behaved in a manner unbecoming to human beings, we have sealed knowledge of our language and our way of life from you. You and your descendants will never learn our language and our ceremonies, but we will learn yours. We will ridicule you in both your language and our own.

As a metalinguistic statement about language and identity, the curse is multiply meaningful. It is remarkable in the powerful way it emblematizes the Tewa language to group identity but it is also especially noteworthy as a valorization of Tewa asymmetrical bilingualism. Rather than view their need to learn Hopi as a consequence of their status as a displaced minority, the Tewa account views their asymmetrical bilingualism as a willful cultural achievement and as persisting evidence of Tewa moral superiority. The "curse" narrative is a critical part of Tewa initiation ceremonies and it is materialized in a petrified wood marker, serving as a monument of sorts, between the Village of Tewa and the adjacent Hopi Village of Sichomovi, where the historical curse occurred.

Though this narrative reflects tensions between the groups during the period immediately after the arrival of the Tewa around 1700, relations between Hopi and Tewa communities improved markedly since then. Many marriages in the First Mesa area—where the Village of Tewa reside—are intermarriages with Hopi spouses. These are still regulated in accord with the matrilineal system of the Hopi where men will move to their wife's village. In addition to intermarriage, the Tewa now also developed a ceremonial cycle in which each clan "owns" a particular ceremony and supplies the leadership for that event. As with the Hopi, Tewa individuals work to support the ceremonial performances of other clans and expect members of those other clans to do the same when it is time for their own clan's ceremony.

5. Village of Tewa ideologies and practices of multilingualism

Locating the Village of Tewa in the classification of endangered languages in Krauss (2007, 1), Tewa would qualify as *definitively* endangered because most parents have some speaking knowledge of Tewa even if they choose not to make it the language of their home. When I accepted the community's invitation by a number of college age young adults to return to the site of my dissertation research (and a total of 20 years of various research activities) to develop revitalization materials, I certainly was aware of the controversial nature of most linguistic research. But I was still surprised by the five year process it took for me to finally obtain official approval from the community in September, 2012—a process involving four public presentations at the new Village of Tewa Community Center and about a dozen meetings with various configurations of clan leaders, community service workers, and other members of the Village. While a dictionary project has been approved and a preliminary dictionary has actually been produced in part through new research, in part by mining my previously recorded materials, its circulation—in accord with local language ideologies that will be discussed shortly—is very limited. As I intend to show, though the community supports language documentation, it still struggles with new technologies of transmission—such as Indigenous literacy—and attempts to use them in accord with language ideologies that carefully regulate the flow of information in face-to-face oral communication.

The key contrast between Mono and Tewa Indigenous ideologies emerge from the more stratified nature of Pueblo societies as well as the enregisterment (Agha, 2003; Silverstein, 2003) of a culturally prominent form of speech known as kiva speech (*te'e hiili*) and its influence on other linguistic forms. Historical linguistic studies indicated that the linguistic purism that scholars such as Dozier (1956) had noted was not created in the crucible of Spanish colonization, but rather preexisted it, not just for Tewa but for many, if not all, Pueblo groups (Kroskrity 1982, 1993, 2017a). Loanwords from other Indigenous languages, spoken by neighboring groups for hundreds, if not thousands, of years, were exceedingly rare. This long-standing and consistent cultural preference for "Indigenous purism" manifested as a dispreference for loanwords from *all* other languages and a strong preference for extending native vocabulary to fill lexical gaps. For the Village of Tewa, there is extremely minimal borrowing from Spanish (17 words) and Hopi (2 words), despite long periods of past or current multilingualism (Kroskrity, 1993). The practice of Indigenous purism coexists with multilingualism to encourage a multilingual adaptation with little or no code-switching. This ideal is naturalized by some as a linguistic version of a strategy that combines the ideologies of purism and compartmentalization—such as the growing of six distinct colors and cultural categories of corn by growing them in separated fields. Though taken-for-granted by most Tewa, an awareness of these interconnected ideologies is clearly a part of their discursive consciousness as when one clan leader remarked (Kroskrity, 2000, 330):

> That's why we have so many fields far from one another. Same way our languages. If you mix them they are no longer as good and useful. The corn is like our languages—we work to keep them separate.

Strict compartmentalization may be opposed to syncretism and/or hybridity, because it attempts to regulate contextualized language. Much as Newman (1955) observed more than a half century ago for the Zuni, registers of sacred, slang, Indigenous and other, languages have sharply demarcated contexts of use. Just as languages must be kept uniform in accord with Indigenous purism so specific languages and registers must be properly contextualized on the model of kiva speech. Speaking something other than kiva speech during a ceremony violates explicit cultural ideals. But speaking kiva speech anywhere but during a ceremony is also a violation and a cause for increasingly greater concern for many speakers whose lack of knowledge of the boundary between sacred and profane speech creates great anxiety about correct usage. Thus the register of kiva speech, because of its invocation of a ceremonially based indexical order regulates linguistic form and practice for the Tewa in a manner that is very unlike that for the Western Mono where language is neither a regulated substance or practice.

But tying language to ceremonial activity creates an incentive for Village of Tewa people to learn their heritage language that is lacking for the Western Mono—whose ceremonies are largely conducted in English with Mono songs consisting solely of vocables—though, as we shall see, it also makes the process of documentation and revitalization more controversial and contested. "Regulation by convention" (Newman, 1955) and linguistic indexing of identity are other pervasive attributes of Tewa discourse that are traceable to the power and influence of kiva speech—the ceremonial register associated with a theocratic elite who held both religious authority and political power. Though this pattern has been demonstrated in more detail elsewhere (Kroskrity, 1998), it is useful to review and exemplify these features so as to emphasize the importance of kiva speech as a model for more mundane genres and as a key factor in shaping Indigenous patterns of multilingualism. Newman's (1955) "regulation by convention" should be reinterpreted as what Bauman (1992) has termed *traditionalization*—linguistic and discursive strategies designed to tie a text or a performance to a traditional model. Elsewhere I have illustrated how the "sacred chants", performed by chanter-chiefs to announce forthcoming ceremonies, have provided a model for mundane work-party, grievance, or birth announcements (Kroskrity, 1992). But the most powerful, as well as succinct, example occurs in Tewa storytelling as in 1) below—a representative opening sentence in a traditional Tewa narrative.

1) *Owae;heyam-ba*   long ago-*ba*   Long ago, so they say
    Bayaena-seno ba   Coyote-elder-*ba*   Old Man Coyote, so they say
    na-tha.   3:sg-live   he was living.

In this sentence, *traditionalization* is achieved through a generically prescribed over-use of the evidential particle *ba*—'so they say'. While only one of these is grammatically necessary to convey evidential meaning, narrators typically use two or more per clause to perform the voice of the storyteller and establish the chain of authentication to ancestral sources. Though I have only offered two examples, many others could be provided to show the strong preference for using traditional models.

This focus on language as especially powerful and important is based on a more performative view of language—language as a shaper of, rather than a set of labels for, reality—that is itself ceremonially based and extends to the areas of identity. Much as a practitioner's ceremonial identities and the special names for these identities emerge in ceremonies, so other linguistic forms are associated with other indexed identities. Both a ceremonial emphasis on linguistically constructed identities and a folk history that clearly connects Tewa identity to the Tewa language combine to make the heritage language an emblem of identity and an explicit topic of Indigenous discourses of language and identity. In contrast to the Mono case, Tewa metalinguistics involving language and identity is especially well-developed. Older Tewa have a saying, "*Naabi hiili naabi woowatsi na-mu*" "My language is my life" which is widely used with either a singular or non-singular first-person pronoun. In its singular form, the saying usually conveys a recognition that one's biographical choices leave a linguistic trace. The non-singular version is most often used to express pride in the purity of the local Tewa language by contrasting it with Rio Grande Tewa which is characterized as riddled with Spanish influence.[4] But in addition to relating a particular language to identity, the Tewa also use "the linguistic curse" as a celebration of their asymmetrical bilingualism with Hopis who are said not to be able to learn Tewa because of the efficacy of the curse.

Kiva speech is important as the register associated with both religious authority and theocratic power. Thus, it occupies a position in a stratified, theocratic Tewa society analogous to commodified Standard English in the U.S. – a linguistic model indexed to the upper middle class and the hegemonic institutions of the capitalist state, especially its educational institutions (Bourdieu, 1991; Silverstein, 1996a, 1996b). Though fluency in kiva speech and the privilege of speaking it are socially distributed, all members have at least some passive knowledge of its forms and norms. In kiva speech, for example, Indigenous purism is an explicit rule in community members' discursive consciousness, even though few will trace the connection and influence of this aspect of kiva speech to the norms of language contact and linguistic borrowing in everyday Tewa. It is also important to remember that kiva speech is multiply indexed not only to displays of Indigenous authority and power, but also to sacred ceremonial performance in which the social inequalities of clan and class (ritual elites vs. common people) are ideologically erased in order to create the imagined, unified Village of Tewa in ceremonial performance (Irvine and Gal, 2000).

So, in contrast to most Mono language ideologies, Tewa language ideologies seemed to promote both maintenance and resistance to language shift either to Hopi and, at least initially, to English as well. Like the Mono, the Tewa also had very positive language ideologies regarding multilingualism and also had a comparable experience of adapting to a new natural and social environment. But unlike the Mono, Tewas had to rationalize a pattern of asymmetrical bilingualism with the Hopi and this required considerable metadiscursive attention. As a relocated minority, the Tewa who moved to First Mesa, needed to learn Hopi to understand the initially unfamiliar natural and social environments to which they now had to adapt. But Hopis did not need to learn Tewa. Instead of viewing this as the fate of most linguistic minorities, Tewa Villagers in their folk histories interpreted the asymmetrical bilingualism as a product of their own agency—the need to revenge failures by Hopi hosts to reward their mercenary Tewa ancestors for saving their settlements from marauding Utes in accord with the terms of their invitation by Hopis to exchange protection for land, food, and peaceful coexistence. This revenge, in the Tewa view, was designed to punish the Hopi by denying them the benefits of Tewa language and culture (Dozier, 1954, 292; Kroskrity, 1993, 11).

Clearly this account reveals a very strong cultural emphasis on language as a requirement of group identity by making the Tewa language an emblem of Tewa identity as well as the exclusive medium of ceremonial performance. Persisting into the late 20th C, Tewa practices of Indigenous purism and strict compartmentalization had allowed them to maintain a trilingual adaptation. But this pattern of linguistic maintenance has now started a gradual, generation by generation, breakdown due in part to economic changes emphasizing ever greater participation in the English based cash economy as well as related changes in household composition—moving from matrilocal to neolocal residence and changing marriage patterns such that most marriages are intermarriages with Hopi spouses. The net effect is the rarity of Tewa being used as a socializing language of the home. Increased English language use in that context and its dominance in all economic pursuits, and in hegemonic institutions such as formal education and the mass media has had a powerful impact. Over the past 40 years this pattern shifted toward more and more English usage and fewer young adults, adolescents, and children growing up in home and community environments in which Tewa is spoken. Still, even with the in-progress language shift, it is useful to recall what many Tewa Villagers consider to be a point of great pride—they are the only post-Pueblo Revolt (of either 1680 or 1696) diasporic Pueblo group (of about 100) that has relocated yet retained its heritage language.[5]

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[4] See Albert Yava's (1978) comparison of his "pure" Tewa (Arizona) in contrast to the "mixed" Rio Grande Tewa language. Yava's valorization of Village of Tewa resistance notwithstanding, most would regard Rio Grande Tewa as providing a strong example of historical compartmentalization (Dozier, 1956).

[5] They are unaware of Ysleta del Sur—a Tiwa heritage language community in El Paso, Texas, with some speakers albeit not nearly as many as the Village of Tewa. Tiwa, like Kiowa and Towa (Jemez) are the other living languages of the Kiowa-Tanoan language family.

These features of the Tewa LIA as discussed above are summarized in Fig. 2. Most notable here are three important differences between the Mono and the Tewa patterns. In contrast to the Mono regional network and its role in developing a syncretic multilingualism influenced by variationist and utilitarian language ideologies, the Tewa pattern features a multilingualism that is profoundly influenced by Indigenous purism and theocratic hierarchy. Unlike the Mono pattern in which Indigenous ideologies of language and identity do not differentiate a single language as an emblem of tribal identity, the Tewa pattern features a longstanding cultural awareness of the emblematic status of the heritage language. Also relevant is the contrast of Mono utilitarianism with Tewa language ideologies that emphasize compartmentalization of specific languages that are viewed as regulated cultural properties.
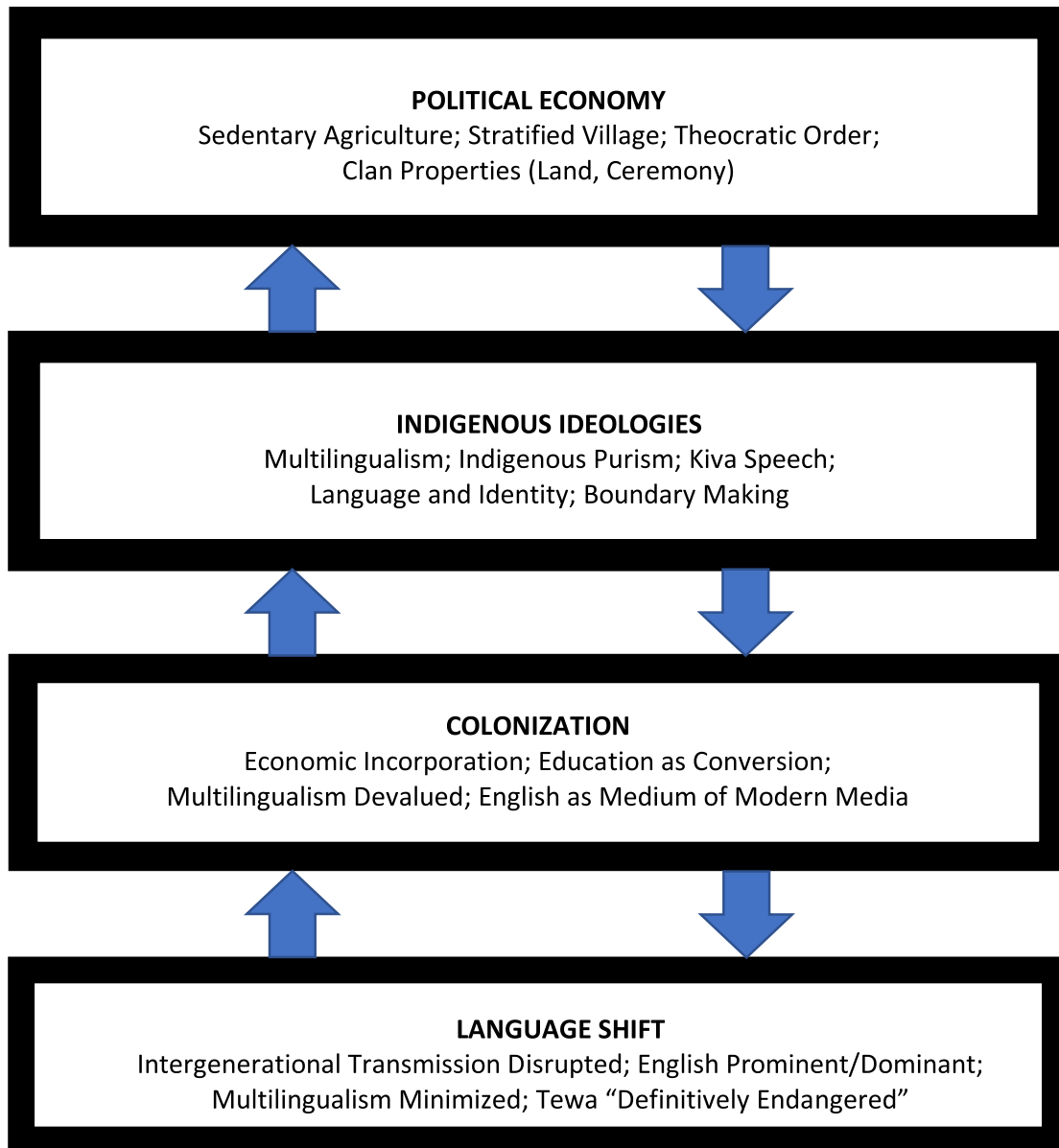
POLITICAL ECONOMY
Sedentary Agriculture; Stratified Village; Theocratic Order;
Clan Properties (Land, Ceremony)

INDIGENOUS IDEOLOGIES
Multilingualism; Indigenous Purism; Kiva Speech;
Language and Identity; Boundary Making

COLONIZATION
Economic Incorporation; Education as Conversion;
Multilingualism Devalued; English as Medium of Modern Media

LANGUAGE SHIFT
Intergenerational Transmission Disrupted; English Prominent/Dominant;
Multilingualism Minimized; Tewa "Definitively Endangered"

Fig. 2. Some features of the Tewa language ideological assemblage.

6. Patterns of language revitalization compared

Fig. 3 provides a useful summary of differences in language ideological assemblages and their apparent influence on language revitalization goals and practices in the two communities.

Four dimensions of contrast deserve attention. The first of these relates to the acceptance of new technologies associated with heritage language instruction and this is often connected with a second dimension involving issues of textual circulation.

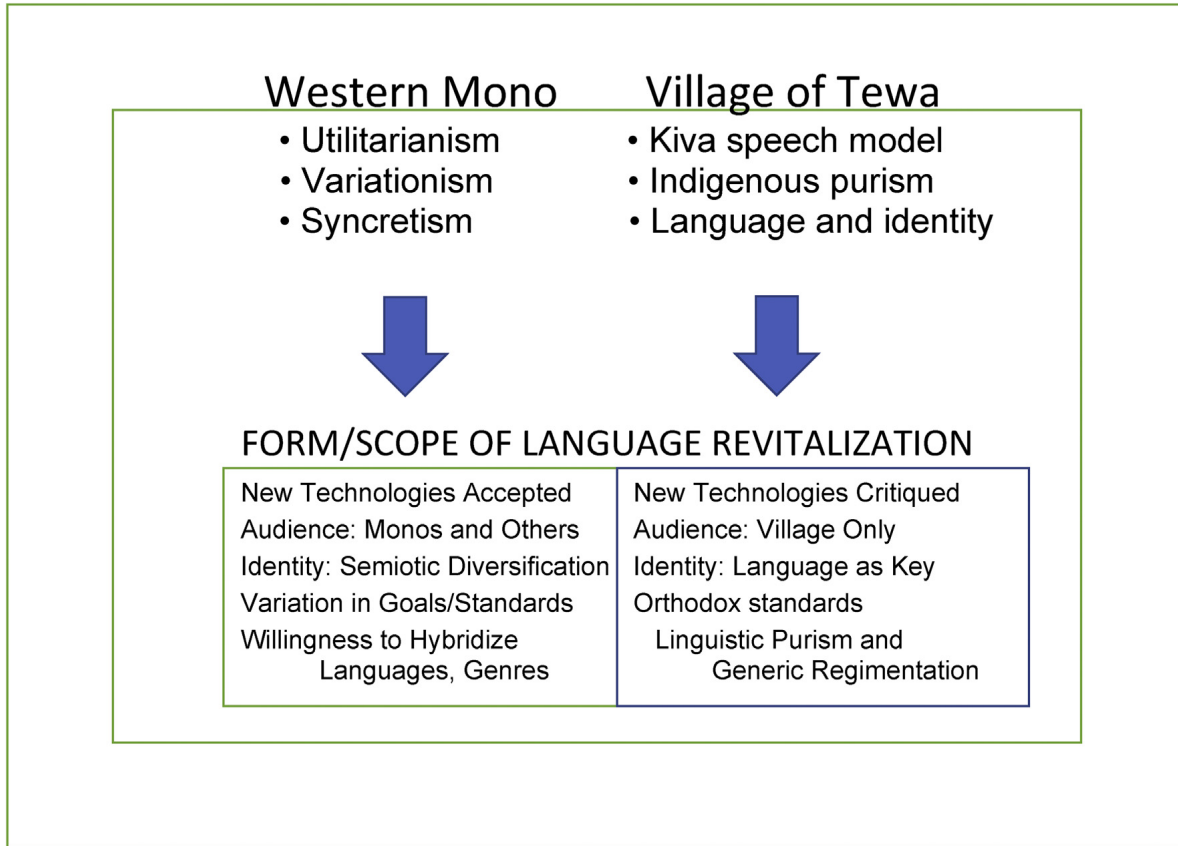## LANGUAGE IDEOLOGICAL ASSEMBLAGES

Fig. 3. Language ideological assemblages and their influence on language revitalization.

Since neither Mono or Tewa is learned in the traditional setting of the home, "new" speakers must acquire the language through more formal education and this typically requires an Indigenous writing system, the production of heritage language texts, and perhaps other digital resources. For the Western Mono, the acceptance of such new technologies amounted to an unqualified embrace of such resources. Starting with the UCLA Mono Language Project in 1982 and extending to the present, the Mono community has supported efforts to document the language—such as the collaboratively produced Practical Dictionary of Western Mono that was originally published in 1984. Though the UCLA researchers, including myself encountered the community's lack of familiarity with Mono literacy and we engaged in a number of meetings with the Mono academy to find more user-friendly alternatives to the very linguistic—more IPA-based—orthography with which we began, we never experienced any reluctance to try the new technology or any sentiment that Mono should remain only in the oral tradition. This willingness to embrace new technologies later extended to the production of a collaboratively produced, interactive multimedia CD-ROM *Taitaduhaan:Western Mono Ways of Speaking*. The 2002 publication of that CD-ROM demonstrated both Mono utilitarianism in its willingness to borrow new technologies as well as a comparative disinterest in controlling the circulation of works in the Mono language. Rather, community members seemed to welcome the potential of reaching an increasingly dispersed Mono public and even a larger non-Mono reading/viewing public. Mono community members wanted that audience to know they existed, and to educate that public that they had an Indigenous language and culture (Kroskrity, 2017b).

In contrast, the Tewa community's response to the new technology of Indigenous literacy and the prospect of writing Tewa can only be characterized as reluctant, guarded, and contingent. Many older Tewa rejected both literacy and any language documentation effort that would use a recording technology. Instead of documentation efforts, they strongly advocated for a return to speaking Tewa as a language of the home, or for young learners to find a fluent relative who could speak to them. For them writing should be opposed both because it was not the manner in which Tewa had ever been historically transmitted and also because it could potentially expose the language to non-Tewa others who, in their view, should not learn it. This view of the Tewa language requiring curation and protection from outsiders is part pan-Puebloan (see Erin Debenport's (2015) *Fixing the Books*) and part culturally and historically specific to the Village of Tewa. Like other Pueblo groups, many in the Village of Tewa now regulate the everyday language much like the sacred register of kiva speech. Even for those who concede the need for Indigenous literacy, conserving the language consists of both producing documentary works like dictionaries but also in keeping these documents out of the hands of outsiders—especially Hopis—who might somehow abuse the heritage

language. The circulation of language documentation is definitely not free—both violating neoliberal norms of free circulation and complicating the distribution of pedagogical materials. This distribution is highly regulated and restricted to specific contexts—as it is with kiva speech. But rather than a linguistic free market for Mono instruction, those who teach Tewa must use language materials exclusively with Tewa students. Regulating the flow of information in face to face communications rather than through a more inclusive circulation of reference dictionaries and pedagogical texts, reproduces the regulation associated with kiva speech even though literacy materials are involved.

A third dimension of contrast involves the relationship of heritage language and identity. Young Tewas know that knowledge of their heritage language functions as a gatekeeping mechanism in either admitting or blocking them from passage into ceremonial life beyond mere childhood initiation. Whereas speaking Mono to any degree has become a value-added to any communicative activity, for Tewas it is essential if one wants to participate fully in community life. They also know that the community has lived by the saying *Naavi hiili naavi woowatsi na mu*—my language is my life. But even though knowing the language and knowing it at a higher level of fluency than would be necessary for most Monos is very important, the highly regulated and contested production of literacy materials, teaching classes, and otherwise engaging in revitalization activities is more often contested and critiqued rather than fully supported. Whereas young Monos receive encouragement and praise for minimal but culturally significant language production—such as greetings, kinship terms, Native food names—young Tewas know their learning activities are not universally supported in their own community and that any efforts that show hybridity are vulnerable to critique within the community. Despite the contestation and controversy, dozens of Tewa youth still attempt to learn their heritage language because of its personal and cultural significance to them and their families. For them, in accord with the Tewa saying mentioned above, the Tewa language is the main way to express their cultural identity whereas for Western Monos it is one of many semiotic resources—including basket-making, other Native ecological technologies such as "burning", or gathering medicinal plants—that are equally valued ways of expressing Mono identity.

A final contrast between the flexibility afforded by Mono ideologies of variationism and utilitarianism, on the one hand, and Tewa linguistic orthodoxy, on the other, is also noteworthy. Mono variationism underlies a pattern in which there is no single tribal program but rather several Mono individuals who give adult classes or enrichment programs to the North Fork schools. These individuals use different strategies and different writing systems as well. The variety of classes, instructors, and approaches is complemented by the very utilitarian approach to the heritage language. Not aiming for fluency, most of these classes want to introduce culturally important words and practices—greetings, kin terms, food names, etc.—so that people can feel more connected to their heritage languages. The goal in these classes is not to restore fluency at either an individual or a group level, but to resource Mono "new speakers." Being able to use these resources and to introduce oneself or Nativize a talk by giving a memorized personal introduction (similar to the use of Native Language as Identity Marker (NLIM) as in Ahlers (2002, 62)) provides an especially valuable cultural resource. This is an efficient way of recruiting the identity work of a heritage language without engaging in the labor of language learning that might lead to greater fluency. In the Mono case then, the community's historical concern not for a single language but for a useful linguistic repertoire in which languages would be selected and alternated primarily on utilitarian rather than identity-related criteria continues to display a residual emphasis on a multilingual adaptation that provides a circumscribed basis for Mono language revitalization. The same is definitely not true for the Tewa where the expectations of linguistic orthodoxy and generic regimentation (Kroskrity, 2009b) promote contestation and conflict, making most language revitalization activities both controversial and contentious.

7. Conclusion: multilingualisms within their language ideological assemblages

The two extended case studies that I have briefly summarized and even more briefly compared, strongly suggest the importance of understanding the role of longstanding traditions of multilingualism as formative factors in contemporary and future linguistic adaptations of Indigenous communities. While an emphasis on multilingualism, as an alternative to the hegemonic obsession with a single state standard, is necessary and appropriate as a corrective, it also seems to require further complication in the form of a relevant typology of multilingualisms.

As with the contemporary literature on authenticity (e.g. Benjamin, 1969; Field, 2009; Fenigsen and Wilce, 2012) the need for recognizing multiplicity, contingency, contextualization, and more encompassing semiotic displays is certainly relevant as the research focus sharpens on multilingual repertoires rather than single languages. While surely a more refined typology must await a larger ethnographic sampling of Indigenous multilingualisms, based on further research that attends to both practices and ideologies, I can begin by suggesting some clearly relevant distinctions that emerge from the research reported here.

One key dimension to consider is how communities use languages in acts of identification. I think an important difference, for example, between Western Mono and Tewa multilingualisms, has to do with the way the former construct a local identity that is distributed across several languages. Being a member of the community is displayed not by use of a single language but through the use of multiple languages that are part of what Sankoff (1980, 8–9) called an "egalitarian multilingualism". But for the Village of Tewa, instead of a repertoire of languages being indexed to a regional identity, there is a special semiotic investment in one language within the linguistic repertoire as emblematic of the group. For Tewa, the emphasis on compartmentalization rather than convergence enables a cultivation of linguistic difference such that particular languages are indexed to specific group identities in the community's "repertoire of identity" (Kroskrity, 1993) with one identity being

valorized over others. This differential mapping of identities to language is surely relevant in influencing both the effects of language shift and the distinctive Indigenous regimes of revitalization.

Today, for example, an analyst lacking knowledge of these ethnographic and ethnohistorical differences in multilingual practices might note the superficial resemblance of contemporary Western Mono and Village of Tewa communities in that some speakers in both communities will claim that a single heritage language represents their tribal identity as either Mono or Tewa. But in the Mono case, this is largely the result of the hegemonic influence of the state both in undermining Indigenous multilingualism and replacing all other Indigenous languages with English, in promoting massive language shift toward English, and in refiguring language and identity relationships, via an imposed fractal recursivity in which Mono has become the emblem of Mono Tribal identity on analogy to English and U.S. national identity—a language ideological change that I have elsewhere (Kroskrity, 2009a) traced back to only about 50 years ago. So the emergence of Mono as an emblem of tribal identity is quite recent when compared to the Tewa pattern of Indigenous emblematization of the heritage language. And quite significantly it is the persistence of the older pattern of multilingualism that has shaped both the form and extent of language shift and prefigured the culturally preferred patterns of language revitalization in these communities. Though Western Mono has but a handful of fluent speakers, the community's language and culture class approach and its unregulated use of public internet access to language materials (such as an on-line, open access Mono Dictionary) has equipped many with at least some linguistic knowledge of cultural routines, and for most this is a satisfactory adaptation. In contrast, the Village of Tewa has many speakers who are middle-aged and older. Language shift and frequent intermarriages with Hopis have undercut Tewa use in the home and made it difficult for youth to learn and use their heritage language in this most familiar site of language socialization. Still, in accord with traditional patterns of multilingualism and local models of ethnolinguistic identity, most youth are highly motivated to learn their heritage language. But now that traditional transmission of Tewa in the home has been disrupted, the need for teaching the language produces new problems. The creation and distribution of resource materials within the community is complicated by clan and community leaders who strongly feel that language must be carefully regulated and who contest not only the circulation of written resources but also the practice of writing the language down at all (Kroskrity, 2014).

Though I have focused much more on practices and ideologies that are widely displayed in these groups rather than on their internal language ideological debates (Kroskrity, 2014) it is nevertheless clear that what is authentic language for the Tewa will be based on their history and cultural resources and will necessarily differ from criteria preferred by Monos. While it is important theoretically to restore a focus on multilingualism for those many communities for whom this is a longstanding cultural practice, it is perhaps even more important to recognize the practical significance of Indigenous patterns of multi-lingualism and the prescriptive force they exercise on contemporary and future linguistic adaptations of these communities. The resilience of Indigenous linguistic ideological assemblages that I have described here strongly suggests that such patterns provide important Indigenous models for language revitalization projects directed at endangered heritage languages.

Acknowledgements

Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data related to this article can be found at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2018.04.012.

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