

**HOPI: SONGS OF THE FOURTH WORLD
A RESOURCE HANDBOOK**



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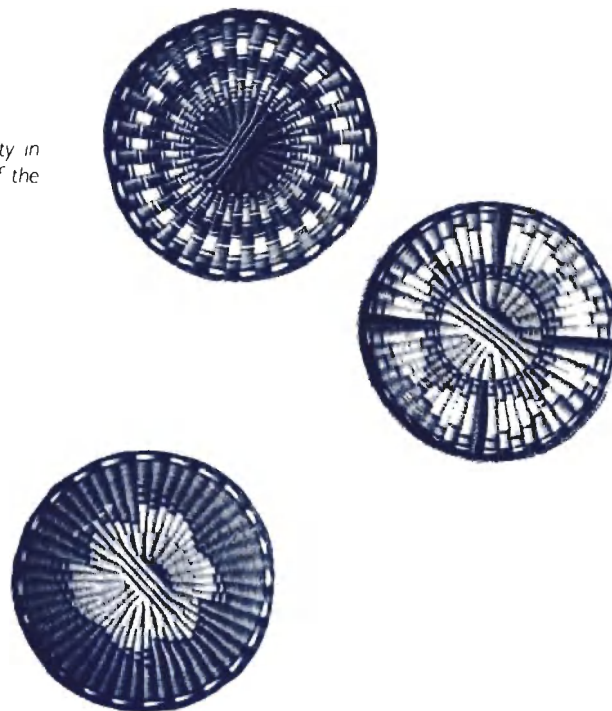
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I. PREFACE: A FILMMAKER'S JOURNEY

Pat Ferrero

As a filmmaker, I am often asked "how long" it took me to make the film about Hopi. Was it the four years I was actually in production, making at least half a dozen research and production trips to Hopi? Or did it begin when, as a child, I was first taken to Pueblo ceremonials along the Rio Grande near my birthplace, Santa Fe? I know that a deep interest in the people and culture of Hopi was rekindled during a visit to the Southwest in 1968, when I met many Pueblo artists. Over the next decade, it was to Hopi that I returned, making friends and attending ceremonials and being deeply moved by the great beauty and integration of their art, philosophy, and daily life.

In 1978, after ten years of making films about artists outside of the mainstream—grass-roots folk artists, children, traditional quilters—the time seemed promising for me to make a film at Hopi. My first idea was to do a film on women's work at Hopi—pottery, basketry and food preparation. I began with a short film on the making of piki—that miraculous, wafer-thin blue bread unique to Hopi. Having had the privilege of working both as student and colleague with visual anthropologists John Collier Jr. (*Visual Anthropology*) and John Adair (*Through Navajo Eyes*), I was aware of and concerned about the issue of community feedback and involvement. I made the decision to return to Hopi with the footage and rough cuts of the film.

The piki film had numerous community showings, and was warmly received. But the Hopi consensus was that the film was really about corn and I needed to go into the fields. At this point, I realized I must engage in a truly collaborative process—that the film should emerge and be shaped by the network of Hopi willing to share some aspect of their life and work with me. The image of Spider Grandmother, weaving her web, became the inspiration and consolation as I decided to let go of a preconceived film and proceeded to let the story tell itself through Hopi voices.

For two years, with the guidance and facilitation of many Hopi, I filmed the land and the villages, the fields

and the seasons, and many aspects of work. Slowly, I began to get a feel for the pace and rhythm of life at Hopi. In the third year, I was ready to hear the film's voice. I went to the University of Arizona at Tucson to show my work in progress to Emory Sekaquaptewa.

I asked if he would help, and he agreed. His clarity brought the film into focus and he gave the project its philosophical resonance and voice. Images of working with Emory flood back: the two of us with the crew, going into the fields with him to film the planting. Emory, always the consummate teacher, wants everyone to experience the planting first; then we can observe and film. I see again director, camera and sound persons—all of us—on our knees, walking, kneeling, digging, planting, walking. I remember gestures of prayer, small flashes of insight. We return over the seasons to follow the journey of our seeds.

Other memories of that time come back: I am working with Japanese-American cinematographer Emiko Omori. Looking as if she might be a Hopi daughter, a family asks her if she has ever been to Hopi before. "Well, close," is her response. She and her family had been confined in the Poston internment camp near the Hopi borders, during World War II. "Oh yes," the family replies, "we used to go down and talk to the people and pass piki through the fences."

During the making of the film, I was deeply aware of being an outsider. In many ways, my outside status gave me the freedom to move across mesa villages and among the clans—a mobility not always comfortable for the Hopi themselves. And, still, I knew and accepted that aspects of the culture and certain knowledge and experience would always be opaque—out of focus—for me. I accepted this limitation and tried to understand and reflect on what was offered. What the Hopi chose to share was generous indeed.

At the end of four years, I had followed the cycle of corn through a complete season, and it was time to begin final editing. Over the years, I had shared raw footage and rough cuts with the Hopi, seeking their advice and feedback. Now, I was told by Hopi friends, "It's a film, you're a filmmaker, go make the film." And so for the next year, with Emory as guide, editor Jennifer Chinlund and I worked to spin the web and bring form to the story.

In the spring of 1982, the film premiered at the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona, before an audience that represented a microcosm of Hopi society. I was anxious about how the final film would be received by the larger community—what the consensus would be.

The first person to speak was a woman who sat in the front row. She identified herself to the audience as Corn clan and said to them, "I am the Corn Mother and this film speaks deeply to what I know about and it is beautiful." The next speaker, way in the back of the room, was a young Snake clan priest who fulfilled his role as priest by pointing out that the origin myth in the film was not his clan's version. Another man, a young Hopi linguist, spoke eloquently. He said the film brought Hopi together and emphasized harmony and not divisiveness, and that was good for Hopi. The two tribal government officials present, who represented conflicting factions within Hopi tribal government, stood along opposite walls and did not speak publicly. The Hopi audience hooted in amusement when an Anglo man advertised the health-food store in Phoenix where one could buy Hopi blue corn. Many other people spoke. The film made its premiere.

In the ensuing years, the film has been used at Hopi, not only by many individuals but also in the museum and schools, and by the health system including the Keams Canyon hospital waiting and recovery rooms. For me, as the filmmaker, it is very satisfying to know that the generosity of all the people at Hopi who helped make the film possible can be reciprocated, as the film, hopefully, takes back to that community a spirit of healing. It is Dextra who says in the middle of the film, "We are like pottery shards right now, all broken up... but when we get together, we are all one."

This resource book represents still another part of the larger mosaic this film project has become. I hope it will provide you an opportunity to see more fully the complex and beautiful world that is Hopi.

Pat Ferrero
Filmmaker
Winter, 1986



II. INTRODUCTION TO THE FILM

Emory Sekaquaptewa



This film depicts the world of Hopi through the eyes of people who have experienced life in that world. It is also a film that does not attempt to define Hopi culture, as many films have, by drawing contrasts between the traditional world and the modern world of the Hopi

people. If anything, this film tries to show Hopi culture as an adaptive and viable force that has sustained the Hopis, as a people, from time immemorial. It is a film that focuses on the historic continuity of Hopism, even as it has undergone change in response to both internal cultural needs and external contacts with other peoples.

For many decades now, the Hopi world has held the interest and imagination of onlookers. These onlookers have filled thousands of pages, attempting to document this world through word and picture. Innumerable items, representing the material culture of Hopi, fill storage rooms of museums and private collectors. The central endeavor in all these efforts is to preserve and interpret the world of Hopi. For the most part, the Hopi people have not been involved in this process of preservation and interpretation, especially when the process demands the skills of modern technology that may be acquired only through intensive formal training. For theirs has not been a technical reconstruction of Hopi life; theirs is the practice of living life according to the Hopi way, passed to them from the prior generation.

The Hopi people do the things of their culture because doing them has meaning and value in their personal lives. By doing them, they are also preserving the forms of their culture. They are walking the Hopi Path of Life that teaches them, as the "new generation" (*qatsivaptsi-wyanggam*), to accept their share of the cultural duty to keep Hopi "on course" toward its final destiny. To do this, each generation must take heed of the exhortations in Hopi teachings that to make right choices along this path, the people must possess the dual powers of judgment (*somatsi*) and ingenuity (*tuhisa*). Generations of Hopi have called on these powers, again and again, as they face changing times and new conditions of life.

Today, Hopi life is greatly influenced by the *Pahaana*

(White man). There is not a single Hopi living today who is not caught up with some aspect of the White man's world. This is especially true with the material things of *Pahaana* life. But each Hopi must deal with this according to his or her own conscience. Each must come to terms with reconciling the Hopi Way with the *Pahaana* world. After all, among other things that Hopi tradition teaches is that in the context of the Hopi Way, not all things of the White man are bad (*itsehe'e*). The Hopi do have a choice. Using their powers of judgment and ingenuity they can enjoy the best of the *Pahaana* world, yet still maintain their fidelity to Hopism.

This film, then, tries to show that the Hopi people today are really no different, in many ways, from their Hopi predecessors. They still cope with the influences of passing time and contact with the outside. And, they continue to maintain Hopi perceptions about the outside world and ascribe Hopi meanings to that other world. Thus, the Hopi Way of Life persists and this film offers one way of looking at that phenomenon of cultural persistence.



PHOTOGRAPH: EMRY KOPTA / MUSEUM OF NORTHERN ARIZONA

III. INTRODUCTORY NOTES ON HOPI

Hartman Lomawaima



HOPI ORAL TRADITION

Events in the Hopi world are thought to be cyclical. Some events may occur only once in a millenium, but ritual and oral tradition provide vehicles for new generations of Hopis to learn and, to an extent, experience their history. The Emergence Story—part of which is heard in the film—is a good example of this tradition.

The telling of stories and clan histories is an important wintertime activity. People assemble in kivas and clan houses to listen to the storytellers. The stories are told in such vivid detail that every listener is drawn into the story and shares the experiences of the story's main characters. Stories recall both happy moments and sad ones. Some stories serve to document historic events, while others are meant as pure entertainment.

Every story has a message and, throughout the winter months, these messages combine to remind the people what it means to be Hopi.

THE MATRILINEAL/MATRILocal TRADITION

In Hopi storytelling, Spider Woman is a central figure. The spirit of Spider Woman represents all earthly knowledge. Spider Woman was instrumental in making the world habitable for humans. She is believed to be the driving force behind discovery and invention. The spirit and prominence of Spider Woman is manifested in the Hopi matrilineal tradition, where everything is of the woman's house—children, household goods and equipment, artistry, farming plots, orchards, etc.

The Hopi are a matrilineal, as well as a matrilineal, people. In the Hopi world, the family unit consists of all blood-related and clan-related members—the clans themselves being large extended families. Since the Hopi have a matrilineal kinship system, clan identification is passed along to the children through the mother's side of the family. If your mother is Sun clan, for example, then you are a Sun clan member. Hopi clans are also exogamous, which means that a member of a given clan cannot marry a member of the same clan.

There are approximately forty clans represented in

Hopi culture today. All clans share basic Hopi philosophy, but each clan has its own history, principles of child-rearing and socialization, ritual knowledge, and sources of power. Each clan also has its own duties to perform within the community. For example, village leadership and administration is held by members of the Bear clan. Each clan, then, contributes to the general welfare of all village members and to the larger world community.

KATSIN TIHU: THE KATSINA DOLL

Part of learning about the larger world community is learning about the katsinas. In Hopi culture, the *Tihu* is a prayer stick and educational tool used by Hopi elders to impart knowledge and understanding about katsinas to Hopi children. The carvings vary in size and detail from the *putskatih* (flat doll presented to infants) to the larger and more elaborately carved dolls presented to Hopi girls. In every instance, the presentations are made by katsina dancers, usually during the *Niman* ceremony (the ceremony marking the time when the katsina spirits return to their home in the San Francisco Peaks).

The *Tihu* serves to open up new channels of inquiry and understanding as children ask their elders about katsina colors, garments and types. As the children grow, it is the girls who are the lucky recipients of *Tihus*, while the boys receive bows and arrows from the katsinas. This contact with the katsinas, which begins at infancy and continues throughout the person's life, creates a strong spiritual bond.

Delving deeper into this process, we find the creation of another bond: the one which is formed between the child and his or her maternal Uncle. Uncles figure prominently in the rearing and training of Hopi children, and

they continue to serve as respected advisors well into adulthood. And, it is the maternal Uncle who acts as the katsina's aide by crafting, with great love and precision, the *Tihu* that the child will receive.

The *Tihu* he crafts is handcarved from seasoned cottonwood root. The intricacy of design and application varies considerably and is a result of individual skill and preference. The *Tihu* is probably one of the most readily recognized artifacts in all of American Indian material culture.

CORN

Corn is integral to what it means to be Hopi. Corn is basic to Hopi life. Corn was grown and eaten by the prehistoric ancestors of the Hopi and is still considered by the Hopi as their staff of life. In addition to its nutritional value, corn also holds symbolic value. In the film, the narrator speaks of the four colors of corn as representing the four cardinal directions. The colors—red, black, yellow and white—also symbolize the races of people of the world.

Over time, a wide array of foodstuffs has been introduced into the Hopi area. Yet, corn still remains the principal food. It continues to sustain the physical and spiritual growth of the Hopi, despite incursions from the outside.

EUROPEAN ARRIVALS

Needing little more impetus than pursuing the fabled "Seven Cities of Gold," the first Europeans entered the southwest in the 16th century. A group, led by the Franciscan Friar Marcos de Niza, was dispatched from Mexico by the Viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza. In 1539, Friar Marcos' guide, a Moor named Esteván, entered

the Zuñi village of Hawaikuh. This marked the beginning of Spanish occupation of the southwest, which was to last for over a century.

News of Esteván and Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, who arrived a year later with his 300 soldiers, traveled quickly through the region. The Hopi got their first glimpse of the Europeans when Pedro de Tovar, one of Coronado's soldiers, entered their towns in 1541.

In 1595, the king of Spain decided to colonize New Mexico and appointed Juan de Onate as its administrator. Onate's first base of operations was near present day El Paso. The first capital was established at San Juan Pueblo. In 1610 Peralta moved the capital to Santa Fe, now the capital city of the state of New Mexico.

Onate's first policy regarding the local native population came in the form of the "Act of Obedience and Vassalage." The date was November 1598. For the next eighty years, the native people—Hopis included—were to learn the true meaning of the act. Incidents of enslavement, torture and punishment by death were legion throughout the area. Spanish missions were built by native slave labor and atrocities committed against the native populations were done in the name of Christianity. Violence met with more violence, until it was abundantly clear to the native people that an all-or-nothing measure had to be taken.

In August of 1680, an all-out rebellion against the Spanish took place. Participants included the Taos to the north, the Isleta to the south, and nearly everyone in between. The Acoma, Laguna, Zuñi and Hopi peoples also joined the effort. In the Hopi area, the missions were destroyed and several missionaries and soldiers were killed. Spanish survivors retreated to the south, and, for a while, the native people assumed control over their affairs.

The Spanish regrouped and returned to the area once again. By 1700, many towns were recaptured. The Spanish also returned to the Hopi village of Awatovi and remained there until the village was attacked and razed by Hopi warriors who were adamant about eradicating all elements of the new religion, and any among the Hopi who sympathized with that alien religion. The fall of Awatovi was the final chapter of Spanish missionary activity of any consequence in the Hopi area.



PHOTOGRAPH: EMBRY KOPTA / MUSEUM OF NORTHERN ARIZONA



IV. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

John Connelly



The Hopi are considered one of the Pueblo peoples for they have lived, primarily, in homes clustered together, with fields and flocks some distance removed from their major homesites. These clustered homes have been called "pueblos" or "towns" in the older literature.

At present, there are twelve or thirteen—now commonly called villages.

However it is important to recognize that the Euro-American perception of a village is quite different from the Hopi perception of a small town. The first connotes a political entity, with authority to act for the members of the community, and often with individuals empowered to act or speak for the aggregate of the residents—for example, a town council, a police chief or a mayor. Hopis perceive their places, or residency sites, quite differently. They are identified simply as locations, rather than as political entities. "Place" is the meaning of the ending *-vi*, *-pi*, or *-bi* which occurs in the majority of the Hopi names for their residency sites.¹ Such a site, or community, does have a number of authorities, but, traditionally, no one is empowered to speak or act individually on behalf of all members of the community.

This differing perception of social organization has been a great stumbling block to outsiders, such as agents of the government, the military, or missionary churches, who were expected to negotiate or otherwise deal with the Hopi communities. There were no recognized "chiefs" with whom to deal.

The operating dynamic within the Hopi social order is not authority, but a complex web of interrelationships and obligations which involve individuals in patterns of commitment, sharing, and orderly behavior. To fail to fulfill one's obligations is to subject oneself to heavy criticism. Since all of one's natal kin will also be criticized, there is considerable pressure on the individual to avoid doing anything of which the community disapproves.

These obligations operate not only between one individual and another, but also between one group and another. The most important group is the clan. The

literature on the Hopi contains information on more than forty clans. The clans, which carry names such as Bear, Strap or Rope, Corn, Sun, Water, Kachina, Snake, Reed, Sand, Squash, Eagle, Badger, and Spider, contribute to Hopi life and ritual in different, yet complementary ways. The clans reputed to be oldest in a residency site have a higher status. The greater a clan's status, the greater its responsibilities within the community. Every clan has its own lore to account for its migrations after the Emergence, how it acquired its name, and its relationship to certain other clans. A group of clans that consider themselves related is termed by social scientists a "phratry."

Every Hopi individual belongs to a clan, and is not permitted to marry anyone belonging to that clan, or any other clan within the same phratry. All Hopis learn this societal rule of exogamy. Most of the extant clans have members living in a number of different Hopi communities or residency sites, as well as in towns and cities elsewhere. Their clan membership links all of these individuals together, and the rule of exogamy applies wherever they live.

One automatically belongs to one's mother's clan. In this matrilineal, matrilocal society, the continuity of the Hopi is through the women. Clans claim ownership of the land, including the residency sites, and the houses belong to the women; a man who marries comes to live in his wife's house, or builds a house for her. If they divorce, the man departs with only what he personally owns. Property such as livestock, bank accounts and automobiles are usually the individual property of one or the other.

Hopis grow up continually reminded of their relationship to a host of other people, both within and beyond their clan. Children know who their biological mothers are, but all their mothers' sisters are also referred to as mothers. Likewise, a woman recognizes her sisters' children as belonging to her. A woman, her daughters and her daughters' children may form a single extended household. Husbands, though residing in the household, belong outside of this group.

A man's place in the social order begins with his identity in his own clan, and his primary home throughout his life remains the household of his mother and/or sisters.

As a father, his relationship with his children is more affectional than authoritative. However, he may be asked to act as disciplinarian to his sister's children; to his own children he is a counselor and supporter.

To children, their father's brothers are all fathers. But, as stated above, the mother's brothers—the Uncles—are in a very different relationship to the child. These distinctive relationships apply to all one's mother's and all one's father's kin—whatever their age or generation. In addition to these kin, individuals who participate in the religious life of the community acquire, as we shall see, other in-lieu parent-child relationships.

Thus individuals find themselves having a multiplicity of relatives by virtue of birth, marriage or marriages, and religion. One may cultivate any of these relationships by interacting with the relative through frequent visits, gifts (mainly food), and services (e.g., assistance with household chores, ceremonial food, transportation, child care, or harvesting); or one can allow the relationship to remain dormant, though always acknowledged. Usually an individual attending a ceremony in another community can choose to stay with any one of several relatives. The visitor is free to come and go, eat, rest, and generally enjoy the comforts of the household, even though she or he may have had infrequent contact with these relatives.

On the other hand, one is obligated to provide service or other help to a relative when needed, and at certain prescribed times. For example, the mother and sisters of the father of a newborn baby must care for the baby and its mother, provide clothing, and give the child names on the proper day.

Different relationships require quite different behaviors between individuals. For example, a boy's aunts (the father's sisters who named him) are expected to tease him as he grows up—but this does not apply to other relatives, or to girls. A mother-in-law does not speak or refer to her daughter-in-law by name, but only by a special kinship term. Their relationship is usually friendly and cooperative, often affectional, and they are expected to perform very specific services in support of each other throughout the duration of the younger woman's marriage.

In addition to the kinship ties described, Hopis are affiliated through religious societies, which operate within the residency site. These societies include members from a range of clans.² In the Hopi social order, clans insure the maintenance and perpetuation of kinship; the religious societies, ceremonial life.

The great wealth of ceremony in Hopi life derives from the contributions made by different clans as they migrated into the Hopi area at various times throughout prehistory. A promise to provide an effective ceremony (or other service, such as guardianship) is said to have been the basis for admission of a new clan into a community.³ A ceremony may be said to "belong" to a certain clan, and that clan preserves the ritual paraphernalia in its prime clan house, in the care of the senior clan woman.

Though such a clan may have responsibility for the conduct of a given ceremony (e.g., insuring that appropriate functionaries perform, that proper foods are provided, etc.), the actual performance of the ceremony is carried out by a religious society. If it is a large and elaborate ceremony, such as the *Pawamu* ("Bean Dance"), several societies may cooperate in the performance.

There are—or have been—four major men's societies and three major women's societies. Some of their members may also belong to still another set of societies (e.g., the Flute, Antelope or Snake Societies), which carry out specific ceremonies. The complement of religious societies varies greatly from one community to another. In no present-day residency site do all the religious societies exist.

The major societies, in the communities where they do exist, conduct a wide variety of ceremonies throughout the year, typically lasting from four to sixteen days. Much of each ceremony is inside the kiva—many of the ceremonies are secret—but most culminate in a public ceremony open to all, including non-Hopis.⁴

It should be noted that certain portions of the rituals conducted by the men's societies must be performed by women, some of them specific women who have inherited these ceremonial roles. Similarly, in ceremonies conducted by the women's societies, certain roles must be performed by men qualified to do so by their ceremonial offices.

The society to which one belongs is a decision made by one's parents, and depends on a variety of social, political and kinship factors. Ideally, each society conducts its initiation for male and/or female members sometime during their young adulthood. Over the years, however, the religious societies have diminished in number and at the newer residency sites they have never existed.⁵ Therefore, an increasing number of young Hopi individuals remain uninitiated into the adult ceremonial organization.

In recent decades, the katsina sect (which exists in every recognized residency site) has gained ceremonial ascendancy in Hopi life, as the older, traditional religious societies, and their ceremonies, have waned in scope and visibility.⁶ The katsina initiation readies children of both sexes for young adulthood. Usually this ceremony occurs shortly before puberty, sometimes as early as eight or nine years of age. Through the katsina initiation, children learn the mysteries behind the katsina dances, the lessons taught by the disciplinary katsinas, and the meaning of the gifts they have received from the dancers since infancy. They now become eligible to participate in the numerous katsina dances held during the year.

At the time of any initiation, including the childhood katsina initiation, young Hopis gain new relatives—chiefly a ceremonial mother for a girl or a father for a boy. This new relative, chosen from a clan outside the household, is responsible for guiding the young person's spiritual training, so he or she can take part in the religious life of the community. In return, both initiate and parents are expected to give food and other gifts to the sponsor from that time on.

Though there exists a very complex network of interactions which constitute the basis of Hopi society, it should be noted that not everybody maintains all of these relationships all of the time. The intensity of one's involvement may vary considerably during different periods in one's life. As noted, the religious societies do not exist in the more recently formed communities. Thus, many of the people who do not have the adult initiations available to them may feel denied full participation in Hopi-ness, and may seek to compensate by strengthening their other kinship ties. Or they may eagerly participate in the katsina sect ceremonies, which are held in all the communities.

Always, the basic clan-kinship ties remain strong, and have sustained the Hopis over time and across distance. This enduring kinship system connects Hopi to Hopi across any lines—whether a person is deeply traditional, agnostic, or Christianized, whether one is living and working on the Mesas, or living hundreds of miles away, and arranging to get "out home" at the right time to carry out one's obligations to relatives. They are, indeed, the ties that bind.



FOOTNOTES

1. The names and English meanings for present-day residency sites are: *Oraibi* (o RYE bi)—a place of *orai*, a type of rock; *Bakabi* (PA ca bi or BA ca vi)—place of *baka*, a type of reed; *Moenkopi* (MUN cop i)—place where water flows; *Walpi* (WALL pi)—place of a gap in the rock; *Hotevilla* (HOAT villa)—a slope of junipers; *Shipaulovi* (si POW lo vi)—place of mosquitos; *Sichomovi* (sit SO mo vi)—place of a hill where flowers grow; *Mishongnovi* (mi SONG no vi)—place of black people; *Shungopavi* (song OH pa vi)—place of water where reeds grow; *Kyakotsmovi* (kya COTS mo vi)—place of a hill of ruins; *Hano* (HA no)—Hopi name for the Tewa, the Hopi place name is *Aanoki* (AH no ki)—houses of an eastern people; *Polacca*, sometimes considered a village, (po LOCK ca)—name of a Hopi individual who lived at this site.

2. Some writers identify a hierarchy among the clans, but the inter-clan composition of each community and multi-clan membership of each religious society within any community, provide a system of checks and balances, serving to prevent a concentration of power in any one clan or phratry.

3. At First Mesa there is an example of such an arrangement during historic times. A Tewa-speaking group from New Mexico moved into the area, promising to act as buffers to protect the Hopi communities and their religious activities from outside intrusion. The Tewa group has maintained its identity and its commitment to serve as a "buffer."

When threat of raiding parties and military attacks subsided, the Tewa developed a different buffer role. Being already bi-lingual (normally a Tewa individual grew up speaking both Tewa and Hopi) the Tewa fostered the idea of being especially competent in language, able to learn English, Navajo, bureaucratese—whatever was needed for dealing with outsiders. It has been observed that a majority of the interpreters for the Hopi early in this century were Tewa.

4. The Flute society conducts a modest ceremony in late summer, every other year. The Antelope and Snake societies join to produce the Snake Dance scheduled in the alternate years—a dance which attracted much unwanted, sensational attention from outsiders for many years. Indeed, this irreligious attention, and the massive

crowds the ceremony attracted, have contributed to its no longer being performed in a number of communities. It was not thought of as one of the major ceremonies in the Hopi calendar.

5. It should be noted, however, that ceremonial life continues. It may be performed on a less elaborate level—but it still prevails.

6. The katsina sect provides service to the major religious societies in a number of their ceremonies. It also produces the spectacular masked dances, during the first half of each year. These are the dances outsiders most often associate with the Hopi, and for which they are now most famous. The dances are of varying degrees of religious importance.

SUGGESTED READINGS FOR SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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V. CORN & LINGUISTICS: TWO ACCOUNTS

Emory Sekaquaptewa
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CORN

Emory Sekaquaptewa

Corn, in the Hopi tradition, originates simultaneously with the privilege to live on the land—a privilege granted to the Hopi by Maasaw at the time of the Emergence. Thus, the physical and cultural survival of the Hopi

people in the Fourth World of earthly existence derives from the duality—yet the unity—of land and corn. The planting cycle occurs twice during the year in commemoration of this unified duality. The *Powamuy* ceremony in midwinter is celebrated by, among other things, the planting of beans in the kivas. They sprout to about twelve inches, and are used in the ritual to signify a bountiful harvest, to symbolically portend a prosperous season to come. And, of course, the natural planting season follows as soon as the sun warms the earth in the spring.

These two planting events are among many that mark the Hopi's choice of the short ear of corn after the Emergence to sustain them "in the hard but enduring life," and the acceptance—and privilege—of living on the land and caring for it. The Hopi word *Natwani* (literally "to discover oneself, or to try one's own skill at a task") is used to refer to the *Powamuy* celebration, the planting of the crops in the spring and the produce thereof.

The various colors of corn signify the cardinal directions of the Hopi world: beginning always with yellow corn for the northwesterly point, and moving counterclockwise with blue-green for the southwesterly point, red for the southeasterly point, and white for the northeasterly point. These points are called, respectively, *Kwiningyaq*, *Taavang*, *Tatkyaaq*, and *Hoopaq*.

Corn, of course, is the staple food and is prepared for eating in several different ways—from its fresh state to its preserved dry state. Spiritually, corn is used to "feed" the katsinas by sprinkling cornmeal on them, as well as to consecrate a pathway on which the katsinas enter the village. It is also used to carry the message of prayer, when it is deposited at the appropriate shrine for a ceremony.

Corn and land are symbolized in Hopi songs and prayer rituals as Mother, possessing the gift of nourishment from whom all life on earth receives sustenance. The terms *Qa'ömanatu* (corn maidens) and *Tuwapongtumsi* (earth maiden) are typical words in songs to describe the female powers of fertility.

The katsinas who are masters of *Natwani* (or the art of raising corn and other plants) come to visit the Hopi people, through ceremonies, from midwinter through midsummer. Their songs admonish the people, if they are wanting in their reverential attitude toward the essence of *Natwani*, and the Hopi are prompted by these songs to recall the traditional teachings and to hearken unto them. Through these songs, the katsinas help the people to experience a renewed faith in the good and long life, and to aspire to Hopi ideals of compassion, cooperation, and humility.

LINGUISTICS

Emory Sekaquaptewa

The Hopi language has been classified by linguists as a member of the Uto-Aztecan language family. This language family is divided into several branches, with each branch having within it several language groups. Hopi is a branch unto itself and, therefore, is a language different from any of the other members of this language family.

There are essentially three dialects of Hopi spoken, respectively, at First, Second, and Third Mesa villages. The dialectal differences are mainly confined to differences in pronunciation and some tonal variations; thus these dialects are understood by all villagers. Various writing systems have been proposed to represent Hopi. Though one among them is more widely used than others, any one of these systems could be used to adequately represent Hopi.

Today, the Hopi language survives despite pressures from a host of sources: the school system which requires the use of English, continual exposure to English in the conduct of daily affairs, and the impact of English-language commercial television and radio on the Hopi community. Perhaps one reason for its viability is that the Hopi language is the exclusive language used to conduct the many traditional, religious and customary ceremonies within the culture. Also contributing to the

survival of the Hopi language is the fact that the Hopi have maintained a geographically and culturally intact community, from prehistoric times to the present.

The language, as it comes to represent the Hopi cosmos, draws on long-standing Hopi connections with the natural environment, as well as the spiritual connotations the environment holds for the people. For example, place names abound in the Hopi world. The names are derived from historic events, from points on the horizon that mark sunrise and sunset (and determine times for ceremonies and phases of the growing season), from distant natural and cultural phenomena. Some of these place names are seen as marking the geographical boundaries of the Hopi country. Within this country, and even beyond, Hopis have walked the land and have acquired vast knowledge about that land—its resources, its life-giving potential, its cycles. The Hopi language thus embraces all the Hopi experiences of their physical and spiritual associations with their country.

Spoken, not written, language is the primary vehicle for the transmission of Hopi culture, through oral traditions, through ritual language forms and through songs. There is a popular notion that all Indian songs or chants are old, passed down from time immemorial. While many Hopi songs are passed down through the generations because they have historical and religious significance, the majority of songs used in both religious and social dances are new songs, composed by men and women whose talents are recognized by the contemporary Hopi community. This has been the custom, particularly with katsina and social dances, for as long as Hopis can remember.

Much has been written about the Hopi language: its structure, its semantic domains, its representation of time and space, its specialized terminology for such phenomena as architecture, anatomy, weaving, healing, agriculture and ceremonialism. As we see in the following essay, Hopi language and culture are intimately intertwined, binding corn, people and the land together.



MAIDENS AND MOTHERS: AN ANALYSIS OF HOPI CORN METAPHORS*

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The importance of corn in Hopi culture is acknowledged in many ways. Along with beans and squash, corn has provided the basis of unirrigated cultivation in a region that appears to be too arid for farming. As the staple food, it is served in some form at every meal and so figures prominently in traditional food-preparing activities. It also has an important place in ritual activities: "Corn appears in virtually every Hopi ceremony either as corn meal, or as an actual ear of corn or as a symbolic painting" (Fewkes 1901:214). Archaeologists suggest that the Hopi received maize cultivation around three thousand years ago from casual contacts with nomadic bands from Mexico (Ford 1982:10). The Hopi say, instead, that Maasawu, who greeted the Hopi on their emergence into the Fourth World, gave them corn and the digging stick for planting it at that time, saying "*Pay nu' panis sooyayta*," "I have only the digging stick; if you want to live my way, that's the way you have to live."

In the Hopi lexicon, the importance of corn is reflected in the large number of terms that refer to types of corn, parts of the plant, stages in plant development, stages in the grinding of cornmeal, and corn-based dishes. Additionally, corn figures in a number of metaphors that appear regularly in speech; frequently, but not exclusively, in the context of ritual song. Two of the most prevalent Hopi metaphors pertaining to corn—"People are corn" and "Corn plants are females"—will be analyzed in this essay, with some attention given to related conceptualizations. The aim of the essay is also to demonstrate the underlying coherence of the metaphors and show how they relate to various aspects of Hopi culture and to other dominant symbols. The analysis will draw on Hopi texts recorded in the ethnographic literature, videotaped interviews (Evers 1979), and songs related to the author by Professor Emory Sekaquaptewa, who has aided greatly in the translation of the Hopi texts.

THE "PEOPLE ARE CORN" METAPHOR

How are we to make sense of the Hopi statement, "People are corn"—a metaphor reflected also in such statements as, "*Um hapi qaa'oniwiti*," "Truly you have become corn."? The equation of the two object classes—people and plants—becomes meaningful when their similarities are compared in (1) the developmental cycles of corn plants and humans, from birth through death, (2) structural attributes, or parts of the body of both humans and corn, and (3) appropriate behaviors and attitudes toward others.

Developmental Cycles of Corn Plants and Humans

Metaphors of personification are not unusual in the world's languages, and for good reason: they help us to understand "otherness" by encouraging comparison with that about which we know or feel the most, ourselves. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:33) state:

Perhaps the most obvious ontological metaphors are those where the physical object is further specified as being a person. This allows us to comprehend a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of motivation, characteristics and activities.

The life cycle similarities of humans and corn are perhaps best expressed in a typical speech following the Wuwutsim initiation ceremony, cited in Kennard (1972). The Hopi text has here been changed to Third Mesa dialect for ease of translation, and the English translation presented is in parts significantly different from that supplied by Kennard (1972:471).

When the ceremony is over, frequently the father speaks to his son, and tells him the following: *um hapi qaa'oniwiti* 'You really have become corn'; *um put toko'y-taqe'e hintiqw nu' put toko'ya* 'If you have that as flesh, why do I have that as flesh?' *qa pas pipas um qaa'oniw'iwta*. 'It is not that you really have become corn'; *um hapi itangu tsoonanta*. *Hapi yep soosoy himu atkyangaqwsa a'aniwna*. 'You have been nursing (sucking) on our mother (earth) for everything here grows up from

below.' *Put um paalayata akw yep haqam qatu*. 'By means of its moisture you survive here.' *Hak poosit uuyngwu pu' pam tsiyakngwu*. 'Whenever one plants seeds, they sprout; *paasato kuyvangwu*. 'After a while it appears above ground' *pu' aw yokvaq'o put paalayata akw naawungwnangwu*. 'Then when it rains on it, with its juice (moisture) it grows; *pu' poosi'yve'e, aamtiwiqw'o*. 'When it has eyes (kernels), it becomes ripe; *put akw hak naatokotangwu*. 'One makes his flesh with that; *pangso hak ahoy nimangwu, i' hakiy qatungwu 'ota*. 'When one goes back home (to earth, by dying) this (body) is a stalk; *pamsa pipay nukwsiwtingwu*. 'Only it becomes worn out, spent; *niqw aapiyniqa hikwsi aniwiqa*. 'That which continues is the breath that is perfected; *pam hapi sutsep qatungwu*. 'That is what always lives; *put um hapi uqatsiniqata aw no'sas-lawu*. 'That is what will be your life, and is what you are preparing for.'

Several points of comparison are revealed in this text: 1. Emergence/birth. As humans are believed to have emerged from below to gain access to this world, so do corn sprouts emerge from their point of origin in the ground. Everything in this world is said to have grown up from below, originating as a seed in *itangu*, our mother, or our mother the earth.

2. Taking sustenance. Humans are said to nurse on the mother, *itangu*, in several senses: they take sustenance from nursing on their natural human mother (*ingu*, my mother, or *itangu*, our mother); symbolically they are said to nurse on *itangu* or *tsotsmingwu*, both terms apply to the perfectly formed ear of corn given to them shortly after birth with which they are named; and they are nourished indirectly from *itangu*, our mother earth, which receives the rainwater and so nurtures all growing things that feed us. So, too, the young corn plants take water/juice/moisture/sustenance (*paalayata*) from *itangu*, the earth mother.

3. "To see is to live." Humans are said to be fully alive if their eyes (*poosi'am*) can see (*tayta*). The plant is also said to become mature when it has *poosi*, referring in

this case to its "eyes" which are also kernels or the seed grains that will ensure the continuation of life. It is said of a corn ear not yet deemed mature or ready for harvesting that it is *qa poosi'yta*, does not yet have eyes, or *pam naat qa tayta*, it cannot yet look (out on the world).

4. *Qatungwu/soona* dichotomy. When a person dies, it is said that she or he goes home, *nimangwu*, but that his/her body is left here as a lifeless, useless thing, *qatungwu*, the corpse, or "that which held life." *Qatungwu* also applies to the corn plant that has been harvested of ears, and so is without life. The lifeless bodies of both are said to be without *soona*, the substance of life (and the complement of *qatungwu* in the sense of form versus substance) or "that which makes life viable." In fact, corn and *soona* are sometimes equated in Hopi, as corn, being the gift that Maasawu promised, is sufficient to sustain the Hopi throughout the path of time.

5. The continuation/perfection of *hikwsi*. The *hikwsi* (roughly, the breath, soul or spirit) of both humans and corn plants is said to *aniwiti* (become perfected, or continue to become perfected) after death, when it is released from the burden of the body and continues on. This is not said of other plants, and may apply to corn only when it is in the form of *hooma*, ceremonial cornmeal, which, when combined with the *paaho* (prayer feather), helps carry the good intentions and prayers of the Hopi to the cloud chief.

Thus, humans and corn are said to share common characteristics and critical stages in their life cycles: at birth, in taking sustenance from the world, in reaching maturity, at death, and beyond, when the spirit achieves perfection.

Structural Attributes, or Parts of the Body Common to Humans and Corn

Although *qatungwu*, *soona* and *hikwsi* are the most important and encompassing elements of the body, other elements share common morphemes in Hopi:

1. *qatungwu*: the form of the body; that which, without *soona* and *hikwsi*, is lifeless.
2. *soona*: the substance of the body; that which makes life viable.
3. *hikwsi*: the breath, spirit or soul.
4. *ööqa'at*: "its backbone;" literally, the spine of the human or any other living being, or the main stalk of the plant.

5. *maa'at*: "its hand;" applies to human hands. Similarly, when the corn plant reaches the stage of development when it appears to be mostly a cluster of leaves emerging from and resting on the ground, with most of its stalk (*ööqa'at*) underground, it is said to be *uuyi matyawta*, or *matya uyungwa*—the "plant resting on the ground with its hands."

Appropriate Behaviors and Attitudes toward Others

Appropriate human behavior toward growing corn plants parallels the behavior expected of adults towards children; gently exhorting them to do their best and encouraging their growth. In the videotape *Natwanaiwaa: a Hopi Philosophical Statement* (Evers 1979), George Nasoftie makes the following comments: "When one goes [to tend the plants] one can talk humbly to them. One can humbly encourage the plants, saying, 'You will exert yourselves.' One says this to his plants as he reflects on his children and his grandchildren. For them, one sacrifices in his fields."

In addition to talking humbly to the plants, a respectful attitude is also reflected in the use of the prefix *tuu-* (others) in reference to both people and corn. With people, it is affixed to a stative verb describing a group's particular condition or activity; it applies also to corn in several states:

1. *tuqyakni*; "others killed" (*tuu-* + *qöya*, pl. form of to kill + *-kna*)—kernels of corn pounded into coarse bits before grinding.
2. *tulakna*; "others which are dried/roasted"—*tuqyakni* which has been ground to the consistency of yellow cornmeal, then roasted before being finely ground.
3. *tuu'öyi*; "others placed"—the stacked corn in storage.



CORN AS A FEMALE ENTITY

Metaphors for corn as a female entity (themselves subsets of the People-are-corn metaphor) rely on two principal metaphors, "Young corn plants are maidens," and "Corn is our mother."

Young Corn Plants are Maidens

During ceremonials, corn plants are almost always referred to in song as *manatu*, unmarried girls or maidens, instead of as *humi'uui*, corn plants. *Manatu* may be prefixed by the color of the corn crop, as in the song

below, or by other descriptions. The Long Hair katsina song tells of the rains it is hoped will be coming during the hot summer growing season.

Qötsaq'a'ömana

<i>Qöotsap qaa'öö maanatu</i>	White corn maidens
<i>sakwaap qaa'öö manatuu</i>	blue corn maidens
<i>Umuungem natuuwaniwa taal'aangwnawita</i>	for your benefit they are raised in the growing season.
<i>Uraa aawupoq yookvaaniqöö</i>	As you know, when it is going to rain all over the land,
<i>aatkyaaw suuvuuyoyangw uumumii pew</i>	from down below, a steady rain comes falling to you here
<i>yooyhoyooyootaangwu</i>	the rain moving along steadily.

Similarly, in the next song, recorded by Natalie Curtis (1907:482; here amended in spelling and in translation), the corn plants are referred to as *uuyi manatu*, maiden plants awaiting the rain, who in their clusters help one

another to grow. The song refers to *ngötiwa*, a traditional game played after the Flute Dance, when boys tease the girls with treats that they hold up for them to chase after and wrestle for.

Poliitiva Tawi

<i>Humisit singöytilawawu</i>	Wrestling for the corn blooms
<i>Morisit singöytilawawu</i>	wrestling for the bean flowers
<i>Itam tootim niikyangw</i>	Since we are boys
<i>Uysonaq ngöytilawawu</i>	we go along in the field playing
<i>Tuvevolmanatuy amumi</i>	and teasing toward the colorful butterfly maidens
<i>Pew, pew</i>	To here, here
<i>Umumutani, tayayatani</i>	the storms will come thundering, the ground will tremble
<i>uuyi manatu oomi naawungwinani</i>	Upward the corn maiden plants will help each other to grow

The complete etymology of the word "paavönmana" is not certain (*paa*, rain + ? + *mana*, girl; Curtis (1907) translated the term as "shower maidens"); but it applies to corn plants in their natural state up to the time they are harvested and, occasionally, to Hopi maidens, as in the second stanza of the following song excerpted from Curtis (1907:487; spelling and translation again modified) as sung by Masahongva. The song refers to the

tradition of men and boys going through the village at dawn, calling to the inhabitants to rise and pour water down on them from the house and terrace tops, a challenge readily taken up by the Hopi girls. Curtis (1907:486) explains that "the custom is a symbolic invocation for rain. For even as the Hopi women pour water from the house-tops on the men, so will those above pour water on the Hopi fields."

Heveve Tawi

Heeveeveeta peewi'i wuta, wuta

"Come to us here and delight in the water pouring down, pouring down

*qöyangwuntaalawti
sikyangwuntaalawti*

"Now comes the white light of dawn
now comes the yellow light of dawn

*tuhiyongvato
nahiyongvato*

"They come to please others
they come to please themselves,"

Yanikitiwa

In this manner

pavönmanatu

the shower maidens speak.

iiyo iiyo

Ouch, it's cold!

Once the plants reach the state of development known as *talaa kuyva* (tassles emerging), they are seen to be like virgins awaiting fertilization/pollination. In *Korosta Katsina Tawi*, another katsina song recorded by Curtis

(1907:484; amended below), the corn plants are referred to as *humisi manatu*, "seed corn flower"- or "pollen"-bearing maidens:

Korowista Katsin Tawi

sikyavolimu humisi manatuy

Yellow butterflies, while going along
beautifying themselves

talasiyamuy pitsangwatimakyangw

with the tassel flowers of the corn
pollen maidens

tuvenagöyimani

colorfully chase each other

sakwawolimu morisi manatuy

Blue butterflies, while going along paint-
ing themselves

talasiyamuy pitsangwatimakyangw

with the tassel flowers of the bean pollen
maidens

tuvenangöyimani

colorfully chase each other

humisi manatuy amunawita

Among the corn pollen maidens

<i>laatangayatu, töökiyuuyuwintani</i>	the bees will hum and do their dance
<i>morisi manatuy amunawita</i>	Among the bean pollen maidens
<i>taatangayatu, töökiyuuyuwintani</i>	the bees will hum and do their dance
<i>umuu uuyiy amunawita</i> <i>yoy'umtimani taawanawit</i>	Among your plants all day long the thundering rain will fall
<i>umuu uuyiy amunawita</i> <i>yoy'umtimani taawanawit</i>	Among your plants all day long the thundering rain will fall

The fertility theme is emphasized symbolically in ritual, particularly in the women's Maraw ceremonies, which take place a few weeks before the harvesting of the corn crop in the fall. In his discussion of prevalent themes in Hopi ceremonials, Bradfield (1973:183–184) states:

The "corn" and the "fertility" elements are intimately linked: corn is referred to as "mother;" the *ke'le pa'ho* [kyelevaho, the initiate's prayer stick] is based on a corn ear; when the novice steps inside the yucca ring, Mu'yinwu [Muy'ingwa, the guardian of germination] is called upon to make her a fruitful mother, and prayers are again addressed to that deity when the two "rain ring" *paaha*(s) are cast into the main spring on the afternoon of the fourth day. Even the rain-making element is assimilated to the fertility motif; the action of the "archers," in shooting at the bundle of vines on the last morning of the Marau, is said to typify lightning striking in the corn field, and the striking of a field by lightning is believed to impart fertility to the field. . . .

As to the idea underlying the link between rain, corn growth and fertility, an old Hopi explaining the mysteries to Stephen seventy years ago, said: [Stephen 1936:626] "all these ceremonies are for rain to fall to water the earth, that planted things may ripen and grow large; that the male elements of the above, the Ye, may

impregnate the female earth virgin, the Naasun."

The fertility theme underlying conceptualizations about women and corn is further evidenced by the use of the term *poshumi* in reference to both. It refers to both the kernels of corn retained and used for germinating future crops, and to the young women of a clan that are capable of bearing children, who assure the continuation of the matrilineal line.

Corn is our Mother

When the ears of corn begin to develop, it is said that the plant is *timu'yva* (has come to have children), the ears being *timat* (its children). Thus, in a sense, the plant reaches womanhood.

The following discussion between Curtis and an unidentified Hopi man (Curtis 1907:481) provides a telescoped view of the process of corn development from maidenhood to maturity. In answer to her question about the reason for the Butterfly Dance, the man responds:

"So the thunder will come," he explained, "so the rain will come, that the corn maidens may grow high."

"The 'corn maidens'?"

"Yes, the little corn-plants are corn maidens. When the corn is no longer little but grown. . . then come the corn ears and these are the children of the corn. We call the corn 'mother.' It nourishes us, it gives us life,— is it not our mother? Tawa-

kwaptiwa's song Poli Tiwa Tawi [recorded above] tells how we want the rain, that the little corn-plant maidens may help one another to grow tall."

A symbiotic and complementary relationship is seen to pertain to corn and humans. Young plants are cared for as children by people; if they are properly cared for, encouraged and prayed for, they are able to mature from maidenhood to maturity. After "bearing children" and being harvested, the plants die, become corpses (*qatungwu*). Their lines of life are carried on in the ears of corn, some of which become *poshumi* for the next germination cycle. The rest become "mother" to the humans who cared for them—in the literal sense of actual nourishment, and figuratively as *tsotsmingwu*, the perfect ears of corn that are "mother" to initiates and infants. The nourishment and energy received from corn in turn allow the humans to continue to care for the young plants. Humans may die, become *qatungwu*, but the continuation of human life is assured by *poshumi*, and sustained by nourishment from the corn mother. Thus the life cycles of corn and humans complement one another and repeat through the ages. Is it any wonder, then, that the mutual interdependence of corn and humankind is represented and emphasized so frequently and powerfully in ritual?



ASSOCIATED METAPHORS

Since corn is such a dominant and important symbol in Hopi culture, it is not surprising that corn metaphors extend beyond an equation of corn with people or femaleness. More comprehensively, corn is equated at times with life itself—as the energy by which things move, happen and endure. According to Don Talayesva (1942:52), writing in his autobiography:

The importance of food was a lesson I learned early. My mother taught me never to waste it or play with it carelessly. Corn seemed to be the most important. A common saying was, "Corn is life and pick-

[blue cornmeal wafer bread] is the perfect food."

The overarching importance of corn is repeated again and again in the literature and in Hopi sayings, for example:

With it [corn] we are alive, our eyes see (Evers 1979).

Some families put a taste of blue cornmeal into the baby's mouth, saying, 'This corn is your life's strength. Eat this and grow strong and have a long, happy life' (Kavena 1980:13).

By examining the use of metaphor with dominant cultural symbols, such as corn, it is possible to gain an insight into aspects of the most important factors of Hopi life associated with it: rain, fertility and sustenance. In ritual life, as well as in verbal expression, these themes predominate. According to Bradfield (1973:55), "All Hopi ceremonies are, in a general sense, for rain, fertility and growth of crops...."

Metaphors that stress an association of corn with these other themes are not inherently contradictory, but provide more links in the overall conceptual framework for our understanding by highlighting different aspects of meaning that pertain to the symbol. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:152) say:

New metaphors, by virtue of their entailments, pick out a range of experiences by highlighting, downplaying and hiding. The metaphor then characterizes a similarity between the entire range of highlighted experiences and some other range of experiences.



CONCLUSION

Turner (1977:190) has pointed out the utility of ritual symbols in nonliterate societies:

The advantages of communication by means of rituals in nonliterate societies are clearly great, for the individual symbols and the patterned relations between them have a mnemonic function. The symbolic vocabulary and grammar to some extent make up for the lack of written records.

It may well be that metaphor too serves a mnemonic function. Here, the creative aspect of metaphor plays an important role. According to Basso (1976:111):

The maker of metaphor speaks in semantic contradictions and extends to his audience an invitation to resolve them. If the invitation is accepted and if attempts at resolution are successful, the result is the acquisition of a concept that is in a very real sense unspeakable.

The effort required of the listener in making the conceptual leap to resolve the problem focuses strong attention on the metaphor and may help to internalize the conceptualization.

Rather than viewing metaphor as a hindrance to semantic understanding, linguistically-oriented anthropologists and ethnographers would do well to seek out metaphors and examine them closely, thereby helping themselves to gain access to extended ranges of meanings and an understanding of interrelationships between cultural domains. It appears that, at least in Hopi, much understanding is to be gained by attending to metaphor in the analysis of song or speech, and much may be lost by taking a strictly literal approach.

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VI. THE HOPI ENVIRONMENTAL ETHOS*

Judith Todd



The Hopi have an acute awareness of humankind's interrelationship with the rest of nature, including not only plants and animals, but such seemingly inanimate entities as stones and far-away planets and stars. This awareness is reflected in their choice of clan names,

in which they claim entities such as the sun, corn, and snow as their kin, along with animals such as the bear, badger and spider. The Hopi sense of interconnectedness with the forces and cycles of nature not only inspires awesome seasonal ceremonies, but also informs their daily activities.

The traditional Hopi way of planting, growing, harvesting and eating corn, for example, reflects this awareness and sense of respect for the plant and its cycles. Hopi men plant corn in a peaceful, reverential frame of mind. They tend it lovingly, singing to the plants, encouraging them to grow. The corn is then ritually harvested and eaten with similar appreciation.

In the days when hunting was a crucial part of the Hopi lifeway, hunters approached animals in a prescribed manner. The first animal sighted was left alone and only the second, or subsequent, animal could be killed. One result of this practice was to insure the perpetuation of wildlife. With similar care, a hunter gave thanks to the dead animal, apologizing for the deed and explaining the necessity of taking its life.

Hopi quests for salt were similarly reverential. A salt expedition was a sacred journey, and the salt had to be approached and taken by men whose attitude was respectful of this wonderful gift from Mother Earth (e.g., see Talayesva, pp. 232-46; 252-55; 433-35).

The Hopi sense of reverence for the Earth is further demonstrated by their opposition to strip-mining of coal and other attempts to exploit and defile the land. Many traditional Hopi people have worked to halt exploitation of the Four Corners area by speaking in court and at other forums. For example, the following is excerpted from a statement drawn up by six Hopi elders to accompany the 1971 Hopi lawsuit filed against

Peabody Coal Company in an attempt to halt strip-mining on Black Mesa:

Hopi land is held in trust in a spiritual way for the Great Spirit, Massau'u. . . .

The area we call "Tukunavi" [which includes Black Mesa] is part of the heart of our Mother Earth. Within this heart, the Hopi has left his seal by leaving religious items and clan markings and plantings and ancient burial grounds as his landmarks and shrines. . . .

This land was granted to the Hopi by a power greater than man can explain. Title is vested in the whole makeup of Hopi life. . . . The land is sacred and if the land is abused, the sacredness of Hopi life will disappear and all other life as well (In Clemmer, 1978, p. 29).

While the Hopi consider themselves very much a part of the Earth—not set apart from it as observers and manipulators—they also see themselves as having a very important role to play that other creatures do not. This responsibility is apparent in their ceremonies, the major function of which is to keep the world in balance. The Hopi see their rituals as a way to maintain an intimate contact with nature that helps to keep the natural forces (e.g., rainfall, lightning, the seasons, the Earth's gravitational forces) in harmonious balance for the sake of all life forms.

Let us consider the Snake Dance, whose focus is to bring rain to the sun-parched mesas. All Hopi people attending the dance pray for rain. When the rain comes, they understand that they have played an integral part in bringing about the rainfall. However, this does not mean that the Snake Dancers are trying to "make it rain" or that the dance "makes it rain." That kind of "explanation" assumes that the ritual is meant to control the forces of nature—an interpretation that is a misapplied projection of Western motivations and world-view.

Control, mastery, dominance of nature is foreign to the Hopi ethos. It can be said that they work with and within nature, but not in any way that sets them apart

from or in opposition to it, as the notion of control must. Rather than "making it rain," the Snake Dancers and other Hopi attending the dance set themselves in right relation to the forces of nature—and the rain comes. The Hopi play their role in the great interrelationship of natural processes, and so do the rain clouds. The tremendous efforts that Hopi people expend in performing these rituals constitute a gift—their contribution back to the natural entities who give them their life. (For an excellent discussion of the ceremonies, see Thompson, 1945.)

These efforts toward balance include not only the observable ceremonies, not only the many days of ritual preparation for the events, but also the appropriate mental/emotional attitude during the preparation and the ceremony itself. It is thus imperative to stay cheerful, happy, and hopeful for the rain to come. An angry thought or petty resentment can adversely influence the forces of nature. So each Hopi person has a great responsibility to keep a pure heart and mind during these ceremonies, for the sake not only of the Hopi people, but of all life.

For those of us concerned about current environmental problems, it is tempting to look for a way to translate the Hopi attitude toward nature into ideas that are both graspable and workable in the non-Hopi world. This task may be more difficult than it first appears to be. Since attitudes grow out of beliefs about the nature of reality, attitudes and actions cannot be grafted onto a belief system with contrary implications. For example, the pervasive contemporary Western assumption that there is a clear distinction between animate and inanimate objects is deeply ingrained—so much so that to suggest that rocks are living may arouse not only disbelief but derision. That same assumption makes it more difficult (though not impossible) for the Westerner to act in a respectful way towards rocks, coal, uranium, and other Earth elements.

But the animate/inanimate distinction is related to even deeper, less conscious, Western root assumptions that also differ from Hopi beliefs. One such assumption is that mind and matter are dichotomous. An important corollary is that mind influences matter only through the physical manipulations of a living body in which it is completely contained. According to this view, a hunter

can influence an animal to die only by catching it unaware and shooting it; wishes, prayers, thoughts, and expectations have nothing to do with it. Similarly, a person cannot influence a rain cloud to move a centimeter by willing it to move, even if hundreds of other people willed the same thing. Clearly, the Hopi have different beliefs about the power of human mental/emotional processes.

A related assumption prevalent in contemporary Western culture is that the world is made up primarily of *things*, or discrete objects, and that *events* are the result of the activities and interactions of these things. Analysis of the Hopi ethos suggests that, in their view, the opposite is true. The world is constructed of events, or processes, some of which take on the temporary appearance of being a thing. As indicated above, the Hopi are acutely aware of the cycles of nature: for example, the changes and transformations of a corn seed, combined with Earth, water, sunlight, and loving care into a seedling, then into a mature plant with ears of corn, and then into a dried cornstalk that falls back to the Earth. Such cycles, or processes, are emphasized over the specific segments of the process that modern Westerners might more likely isolate as the *thing*, e.g., the ear of corn that is eaten.

This emphasis on processes and events is reflected in the Hopi language, according to the controversial, yet still provocative, writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf. Whorf contends that the Hopi language encourages its speaker to see the world more in terms of events than of things. Whorf claims that the Hopi language emphasizes verbs over nouns, in contrast to English and other European-derived languages which emphasize nouns. The Hopi language permits sentences with only verbs and no nouns. Moreover, certain Hopi verb forms demand that the speaker attend to types of vibratory or wave-like motion just to formulate a sentence.

Whorf, a chemical engineer before becoming a linguist, suggests that the Hopi language would thus be better suited than English for expressing the conclusions of contemporary physics. With progress in modern physics, we now understand that the world which is "made up of" atoms is considerably less solid and "thinglike" than it appears in our common sense world. For example, some of the composite parts of the atom (e.g.,

the electron) are more wave-like than particle-like in their behavior. Objects, then, are ultimately not solid but consist of trillions of wave-like/particle-like events. But our language lags behind our understanding of physics, and we still talk about objects as though they are not undergoing constant change. What would it be like to see the world in terms not of interacting solid objects but of interacting events? Is it possible—and, if so, is it desirable—to see the world as processes, events, and relationships?

If contemporary physicists and the Hopi are on the right track in seeing nature as composed of processes and events rather than objects, the question is, what does this have to do with our relationship with the environment? It stands to reason that a worldview that approximates reality less well will lead its adherents to make more frequent and/or more serious blunders as they relate to their environments than would a worldview that is better aligned with the way nature actually functions. To the extent that our understanding of nature actually corresponds with natural processes, we are more likely to act in accordance with her laws rather than in opposition to them. This means, practically speaking, that we would make lifestyle decisions that would result in less pollution and destruction of our environment. In short, worldviews determine actions, which in turn affect the environment, and holding a worldview that corresponds more closely with the way the world actually works is thus more likely to result in our acting in appropriate ways in relation to nature.

But, even if a process/event oriented worldview such as the Hopi's were no more accurate than a thing/object based worldview—that is, if both approximations correspond about equally well with the nature of reality—the process ethos would still be likely to result in a healthier, less polluting, less destructive relationship with the environment.

In a thing-oriented worldview, one sees oneself as a discrete entity, separate from other things in the environment—or as a "higher being" who uses and manipulates other "lower" forms of life and inanimate objects. In a process worldview one must see oneself as a process also (e.g., coming into being, growing, dying, breaking down into elemental parts), as part of many other larger processes. This understanding would tend

to prevent an excessive emphasis on one's own ego and its concerns. For like the corn which can be seen as soil, air, water, and sunlight temporarily organized into a particular pattern, we who eat it are similarly soil, air, water, and sunlight temporarily organized into a particular pattern.

A number of people in the film draw an analogy between the planting of the human and the corn seed: its embryonic development and birth, its growth through reproductive life, old age (a time when both types of beings "lean on Mother Earth for support") and death, when the life force abandons the material body and leaves it as a mere shell to decay back into the earth. We in Western culture only become vaguely aware of this at times of the death of a loved one, but push this awareness from our minds as quickly as possible.

In an event worldview, the ego is not a substantial thing, standing in relation to external objects that can be manipulated to suit one's will, but a process among processes, all changing. Trying to grasp and hold something forever—whether a fleeting moment, or wealth, or an apparent object—is understood as futile, because everything is in constant flux. Instead, it is in one's own interest—as well as others'—to facilitate and enhance the processes of which one is a part. This is precisely what the Hopi ceremonies accomplish.

These brief comments should be taken as my personal interpretation of some of the environmentally-relevant aspects of the Hopi ethos. For a fuller understanding, readers should begin by studying literature by and about the Hopi. In so doing, the Westerner may begin to bridge the gap between the Hopi worldview and views of the dominant Euro-American culture. Tapping these resources can be useful in translating Hopi beliefs, attitudes, and actions into forms that are meaningful to non-Hopi people—a translation that could contribute significantly to bringing human life back into harmonious balance with the rest of nature.



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*The phrase "environmental ethos" is used here instead of "environmental ethic" to emphasize the point that a respectful, reverential attitude toward the non-human environment is an integral part of the Hopi lifeway rather than an intellectually derived set of moral principles, as the term "ethic" may imply.

VII. SONGS OF THE FOURTH WORLD

Carlotta Connelly





The sound track which accompanies this film offers a small sampling of the variety of vocal music to be heard in Hopi life. Hopi music is probably less well-documented than most other elements of Hopi culture. Music is difficult to present except through actual

sound recording, and the recording of much Hopi music is not acceptable to the Hopi people who feel that its religious significance would not be fully understood by other people.¹

In the film, a recurring cadence is the sound of a crier's call—an intoned proclamation. This intonation is the form used in general by the *Tsa'akmongwi*, who might be compared to an early American village crier, except that among the Hopi the office of crier is a part of the priesthood. The announcements are sung out from rooftops in the old parts of traditional residency sites, usually at sunup, although the crier may also make announcements at other times of day, sometimes as part of the drama of a ceremony. For example, prescribed proclamations announce the date of a scheduled ceremony, and remind the people of their ceremonial duties, such as bringing in water and wood, grinding corn, and going to the kiva at sundown. As the ceremonial day approaches, additional announcements mark each stage of preparation.

A *Tsa'akmongwi* may also be asked to announce unscheduled events, such as the gathering of a fire-fighting crew to be flown to a distant forest fire, or a community meeting with a visiting government official. Or the call may be to the entire community, inviting them to the festive breakfast served after an infant has been given names in the pre-dawn naming ceremony. In this announcement, the crier must proclaim all the names—maybe a dozen or more—which the infant has received.

The announcement heard in this film calls for a community rabbit hunt. Men and boys are urged to assemble out in the cornfield areas, to encircle, drive out and kill the rabbit population which threatens the crops. Girls are urged to join the hunt—to bring food—but,

more importantly, to socialize with the boys. In the old days, the hunt was where girl met boy, and courtship began.

One of the women's songs heard in the film is a Hopi-Tewa grinding song, part of the traditional song lore. Such a song would have been sung by young girls, grinding in the evenings and hoping for their chosen boys to come to their peepholes, as in the courting scenes nostalgically recalled by Helen Sekaqaptewa in the film. Another traditional woman's song heard in the film, at the point where the colors of the corn are enumerated, is a lullaby, this one concerning a black beetle which stands on its head.

Women's songs compose a category in Hopi music separate from men's songs.² Among women's songs are those which are composed by women for certain public dances, included as part of the women's societies' ceremonies. These songs poke fun at one particular men's society—the *Wuwtsin*—and at individual men by name. The humor is often quite ribald. On the other hand, the ceremonies of the women's societies also require the singing of traditional religious songs, including sacred songs, sung during the secret portions of the ceremonies.

Hopi songs range from the purely secular, to the semi-religious and religious, to the deeply revered ancient songs. Though the words of the songs may be archaic, the participants endeavor to perform them accurately to ensure the power of the ceremony.

The crucial elements of a ceremony are its songs. Many important songs are sung with no costume, or no dance, and little or no prescribed movements. In ceremonies that involve dance, the costume and the dance movements are interdependent with the music, and especially with the words, which carry the meaning and power of the ceremony, whether it be deeply religious or semi-secular. Some sacred songs must be sung only in esoteric rituals. Others must be sung so softly as to be virtually inaudible. Then, they cannot be learned and misused by persons ignorant of the right use of their power.

Among the secular songs, we find children's songs, which have no religious significance, but are often accompanied by ritualized movements, comparable to

"Ring-Around-the-Rosie" or "One-Potato-Two-Potato." Other secular songs include choral songs. These are sung by the men and boys and accompany the yearly social dances, such as the Buffalo and Butterfly dances, as well as the small wintertime social dances, such as the Eagle dance.

Choral songs also accompany costumed dances representing Navajo, Paiute, Supai or other peoples.³ A song for such a dance may often be a "borrowed" song—composed in imitation of the other people's music or including words, and possibly whole segments of song, learned by an individual who has visited others' dances and "brought back" a song. Such a borrowing is reshaped and incorporated into the song form needed for the Hopi dance.⁴

Any source may be used for a song. Commercially-recorded Hopi social dance songs include a fragment of song heard on a juke box in San Diego by a Hopi soldier, or segments from a song popular in Japan after the war.

There are limits, however, on the freedom to borrow songs. It would be unethical to simply memorize and take home a complete dance song from another community. One should ask for the song, be taught it properly, and give something in return. This exchange may be a song of one's own, or an item of traditional trade value, such as natural salt, piki, ceremonial clothing, or jewelry.

The half-year cycle of katsina ceremonies embraces the largest body of Hopi music. The music ranges from certain very sacred ritual songs, through a few traditional songs belonging to specific katsina forms or ceremonial events, through a great number of newly-composed dance songs, to the highly secular songs of the clowns who accompany the katsina lines in plaza dances. The songs composed and sung by the line dancers, while considered religious songs, do, nevertheless, share some attributes of popular music.

Members of the Hopi audience may find certain songs especially moving or satisfying, and praise the originators of those songs. In the winter night dances, when small groups of katsina dancers circulate through the village, dancing in each kiva in turn, it often happens that a woman (or group of related women) will make a

request for a katsina group, which they have especially enjoyed, to dance again during the plaza dance season at the larger ceremonies.

This is a request not to be made lightly, as the woman and her relatives, male and female, are now sponsors of the plaza dance. They will be the ones primarily responsible for people providing special food for the performers throughout the preparation period, as well as feast day food for all guests, and quantities of gift foods to be distributed to the crowd. They must also be sure that there is an appropriate man to make the prayer feathers and do the associated praying—a “father” to be host to the katsinas on behalf of the people—and a man to “carry the rattle” (lead the songs as center man in the dance line). Finally, there need to be enough song-makers to compose up to fifteen new songs to add to the song which initially motivated this production.

Although there is a general pattern and structure common to all katsina songs (see Rhodes), there are also specific melodic and/or rhythmic patterns, types of percussive accompaniment, and often special musical phrases, which identify the songs of specific katsinas. The new songs must be in the appropriate style for the katsinas who are dancing. In the film we hear portions of song belonging to two katsinas—the *Ang’aktsina* (Long Hair) and the *Tsa’kwayna* (no literal translation).

Thus, song is at the very core of Hopi life, expressing the sacred, the profane, the secular and the contemporary within its music and words—all parts of the Hopi experience in the Fourth World.



FOOTNOTES

1. Robert Rhodes' booklet *Hopi Music and Dance* (1977), is a very readable examination of Hopi forms of music and dance, and a sensitive explanation of their religious significance.
2. The Hopi language contains many words which are the specific vocabulary of women, or of men. It is not that such words or expressions are forbidden to the other sex, but using a term belonging to the other sex is cause for amusement.
3. There are also katsina forms which are named after such peoples. These are dancing katsinas only; they do not appear in the more religious ceremonies, as do other katsinas which are older in Hopi tradition.
4. See Rhodes (1977), pp. 14–17, for a detailed description of how Hopi songs are composed.

SUGGESTED READINGS ON MUSIC

Kurath, B. P., and A. Garcia. *Music and Dance of the Tewa Pueblos*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1970.

Although not touching on Hopi, this study of the Eastern Pueblo ceremonies contains descriptions and many photos which give the reader a general feeling for the social dances of the Hopi.

Lomakema, Milland and Mark Lamayestewa. *Two Hopi Song Poets*. Copyright, 1978. (Available through the Hopi Art & Crafts Co-op Guild, Second Mesa, Arizona, 386043. Price \$2.00.)

Rhodes, Robert. *Hopi Music and Dance*. Navajo Community College Press, Tsale, Arizona, 1977. (This publication includes a representative discography of Hopi music.)

VIII. SCRIPT ANNOTATIONS

Tsianina Lomawaima

"We chose the smallest ear of blue corn."

Archaeological evidence indicates that corn was domesticated as early as 5000 B.C. in the central valleys of Mexico, and cultivated widely there to 3500 B.C. Natives in what is now the American Southwest were cultivating corn, or maize, as early as 2000 B.C. Varieties grown today were developed over centuries of selection to be particularly adapted to local conditions, such as aridity and length of the growing season.

"... Hopi and their Tewa neighbors..."

The Tewa, who live at First Mesa, traditionally in the village of Hano ("Hano" is the Hopi term for the Tewa) sought refuge among the Hopi during the time of the Spanish invasion and occupation of the Southwest. They speak a distinctly different language from the Hopi, similar to the dialect spoken at the New Mexico Rio Grande pueblo of San Juan. Among the Hopi, Tewa women are noted for their skill in making pottery, and it is said that it was this skill that the Hopi valued when they consented to the Tewa's request to live among them.

"... oldest continuously inhabited settlements..."

Old Oraibi is generally agreed to be the oldest continuously occupied settlement, the present site of the village having been occupied since at least A.D. 1150. According to Hopi tradition, the Second Mesa village of Shungopovi is older, but the village location was moved in the 15th century as a response to the encroachment of the Spanish. During this time of Spanish occupation, the village of Shipaulovi was founded by members of Shungopovi as a daughter village. An excellent account of the founding and history of the Hopi villages can be found in Harry C. James' *Pages From Hopi History*.

"... the Hopi have chosen to use some new tools of technology."

Over the centuries, many Native American cultures have adopted, from other peoples, crops, technologies—even belief systems—that they perceived as advantageous. Trade routes stretched across the continent before the arrival of Europeans. Native groups were just as willing to adopt some materials and ideas from

European sources as they were from each other. This cultural adaptability and flexibility have persisted to the present day, hand in hand with the continuity of traditional cultural patterns.

"... where the sandy soil protects moisture... and in the flood plains..."

The record of changing weather patterns in the arid Southwest is gradually being revealed through the studies of archaeologists, paleontologists, meteorologists and others. It seems clear that rainfall patterns and aridity have fluctuated over the past several centuries, with a gradual trend toward rainfall becoming more sporadic, more torrential and more erosive. Hopi land that is semi-arid today is known to have supported a much denser grass cover as late as the early 1900s. Livestock grazing and depletion of aquifers by slurry coal mining are other possible factors in environmental change in this area. Rainfall averages six inches or less per year.

Still photos depicting women's hairstyles.

Women's hairstyles indicate their marital status. Married women have bangs, with longer bangs cut in front of the ears. Their hair is worn loose, or straight pigtails over each shoulder are wrapped with black yarn. Young maidens eligible for marriage wore their hair dressed in the elaborate whorled design that represents flower blossoms. Young girls might have their hair tied up in small buns, one on each side, representing flower buds.

"The door is latched and the mother sees that no one comes in."

Special rooms with a range of grinding stones (rough to fine) are separate from the living quarters and used only to grind corn. Several families might share the use and maintenance of these rooms.

"... you have the blue cornmeal and the ashes..."

Culinary ashes, according to Juanita Kavena in *Hopi Cookery*, are the 'charred remains of certain plants. Hopis prefer to use the four-winged saltbush (chamisa) because of its ability to color foods blue...' a result of the green plant's high alkaline content. Mrs. Kavena presents an excellent discussion of the uses and benefits (high mineral content) of culinary ashes.

"When I put my first touch on the stone, it's hot."

The valuable piki stones undergo a long and laborious process of treating and seasoning to prepare their

smooth surface. They are considered heirlooms and a good piki stone will be cherished for generations. While making piki, Hopi women can use various agents to grease the stone, including sheep brains, deer spinal cord, watermelon seeds or (more recently) peanut butter.

"... powerful spirit forces called katsinas."

Katsinas are the spiritual guardians of Hopi life. A katsina may represent the spirit of an animal, plant, person, tribe, atmospheric or stellar manifestation (sun, moon, rain, snow, etc.). Katsina spirits may be impersonated by eligible village members in ceremonies that transmit blessings and messages through prayer, dance, and song. In turn, these tangible images of the katsina spirits may be reproduced in the form of katsina dolls, or "tihu." Valued as collector's items, these "dolls" are educational tools, and are not the katsinas themselves.

"I got started painting when I was at Santa Fe."

Fred Kabotie was one of a group of Indian artists residing in the Santa Fe area in the early 30s. These artists were important in defining and developing a "new" style of representational art, oriented toward the tourist market. One of the centers of this developing style in Santa Fe at this time was "The Studio," founded by Dorothy Dunne in 1932. Well known Native American artists active at the studio were Harrison Begay (Navajo) and Oscar Howe (Sioux). (From a lecture on the History of Indian Art by George Longfish, reprinted in "Native Vision," arts newsletter published by the American Indian Contemporary Arts Gallery in San Francisco, Vol. 2, No. 4, July/October 1985.)

"Painting... it's very traditional."

Excellent illustrations of mural art from kiva walls, documented at the excavated site of Awatovi and dating from approximately A.D. 1300 to 1400, can be found in the publication by Watson Smith, (1952), *Kiva Mural Decorations at Awatovi and Kawaika-a: with a survey of other wall-paintings in the pueblo southwest*. Cambridge: Peabody Museum Papers. Vol. 37.

"... pottery has always been made by the women..."

There is a differentiation in crafts and arts skills among the Hopi mesas and villages. Women at First Mesa are traditionally the makers of pottery. Women from the villages of Second Mesa are known for their fine coiled

basketry, known as "poota." Wickerwork basketry plaques and bowls, simpler, more utilitarian, sifter baskets known as "tuchaiya" are made on all the Mesas, and men may assist in mounting the basketry mat on an applewood ring or rim. Men on all three Mesas are the weavers at Hopi, although the men at Hotevilla, Third Mesa, are particularly well known for the quality of their weaving. Men are also the carvers of katsina dolls. In their role as maternal uncles they carve them as gifts for their family and clan nieces.

"... pottery shards from an archaeological excavation..."

Her husband and other family members were employed as diggers by the Harvard Excavation crew, led by Jesse Fewkes, that excavated the historic site known as Sikyatki, located just west of First Mesa. Pottery shards found at the site were covered with finely wrought abstract and representational designs in a style that was unknown to potters of this century. Findings of this archaeological dig are reported in *Designs on Hopi Pottery*, by Jesse Walter Fewkes.

"Kidnapped and taken to school at Keams Canyon."

Hopi children today are educated at local day schools and elementary schools located near the various Mesas. Until the present time, young Hopis had to leave the reservation to attend high school. They either lived with relatives or in dormitories in towns just off the reservation, such as Winslow; or they went to boarding schools, such as the schools run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Phoenix, Arizona or Riverside, California. A new junior and senior high school is scheduled for completion in 1986, and will offer an important alternative for young Hopis interested in obtaining a high school degree.

"The army, they came, they surrounded the camp before dawn..."

To add to the element of surprise, the Cavalry used only black troops for this roundup of Hopi children, as Hopis had seen few blacks. Of those who resisted this enforced schooling, a number of Hopi men were sent to federal prison at Alcatraz, near San Francisco, where they spent several years incarcerated.

"... the spirits of the six directions..."

North, south, east, west, zenith and nadir.

"It's very sweet, you know, it's nice, really."

After roasting and husking, the corn is strung up and dried. During the year, you can see garlands of dried sweet corn hanging under the eaves of Hopi homes. When needed, the corn is boiled, or ground into meal.



IX. ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY: SELECTED READINGS

Judith Todd

There is a vast body of literature pertaining to the many aspects of Hopi culture. This bibliography is highly selective; the readings have been chosen with the intention of providing entry points for those interested in particular topics related to the Hopi. Selection criteria for the readings include quality, breadth and depth of coverage, accessibility in English, availability at university and public libraries, and inclusion of a bibliography which leads the reader to other sources.

1. Hopi Bibliographies

Dobyns, Henry F. and Robert C. Euler. *Indians of the Southwest: A Critical Bibliography*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980.

Only six pages (pp. 45-51) of this narrative bibliography are devoted specifically to the Hopi, but it directs the reader to some of the key resources in the field and provides an excellent grounding for those who are just entering the field of Hopi scholarship. It is also especially useful for those interested in the relationship of the Hopi to other Pueblo groups.

Laird, David W. *Hopi Bibliography: Comprehensive and Annotated*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1977. 735 pp.

This massive volume of nearly 3,000 annotated items was ten years in the making. The entries are arranged by author, and there is a title as well as a detailed subject index. This is the most comprehensive bibliography on Hopi material to date.

Ortiz, Alfonso, ed. *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 9, Southwest*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1979.

The *Handbook's* complete bibliography includes nearly 1000 citations on Hopi and other Pueblo publications. The index refers specifically to the Hopi entries listing them by such detailed categories as "ceremonies," "kin," "social organization," and also by such specific headings as "clothing," "environment," "games," and "technology."

2. Biographies

Ooyawayma, Polingayesi. *No Turning Back: A Hopi In-*

dian Woman's Struggle to Live in Two Worlds. As told to Vada F. Carlson. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1977 (1964). 180 pp.

The author was among the first Hopi children sent to "white" schools, and she became the first Hopi to teach in Hopi schools. The book portrays her insistence on learning about the Anglo culture, which fascinated her even as a small child, and her determination to retain, simultaneously, elements of her original culture.

Sekaquaptewa, Helen. *Me and Mine: The Life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa*. As told to Louise Udall. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1969. 262 pp.

The author describes her childhood and experience in "white" schools, her move to and work in Idaho, her marriage and family, her conversion to the Mormon Church and her maintenance of Hopi beliefs.

Talayasva, Don. *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian*. Leo W. Simmons, ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942. 456 pp.

This mid-20th century biography has become something of a classic. Southwestern anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn said of it: "This is the most satisfactory presentation of a personal document from a nonliterate society yet to appear. . . . Unquestionably a major contribution."

3. Prehistory

Brew, J.O. "Hopi Prehistory and History to 1850," in Ortiz, ed., pp. 514-523.

Perhaps the most authoritative recent account, this essay discusses agriculture, mural and pottery painting, and coal mining in Hopi prehistory and concludes with a very valuable bibliography. (See also in the same volume, essays by Cynthia Irwin-Williams on post-Pleistocene archeology, pp. 31-42; Richard B. Woodbury on an introduction to Pueblo prehistory, pp. 22-30; and Fred Plog on the prehistory of the Western Anasazi, pp. 108-130.)

Cordell, Linda S. *Prehistory of the Southwest*. Illus., index, 32 p. bibliog. New York: Academic Press, 1984. 409 pp.

The stated purpose of this book is to "provide an up-to-date synthesis of Southwestern pre-history for students, scholars, and other interested readers," and to "serve as an introduction to primary sources and to the intellectual context of contemporary research issues."

Pike, Donald G. *Anasazi: Ancient People of the Rock*. With photographs by David Muench. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc. 1974. 191 pp.

The ancestors of the Hopi, the "Hitsan Sinom" (meaning "Those Who Came Before") are still called by the Navajo term, "Anasazi," in most of the literature. As Woodbury's essay (cited above) indicates, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to sort out conclusively which prehistoric communities spawned which historic tribes. The superb color photographs of "Anasazi" architecture and pottery included here inevitably portray the handiwork not only of Hopi ancestors but of other Pueblo tribes as well.

4. History

Dockstader, Frederick J. "Hopi History, 1850-1940," pp. 524-533; and Richard O. Clemmer, "Hopi History, 1940-1970," pp. 533-538. In Ortiz, ed.

Taken together, these articles are an invaluable resource. Discussion includes such topics as the role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Hopi history, factionalism, the Hopi Tribal Council, land issues, and economic development.

Ellis, Florence Hawley. *The Hopi: Their History and Use of Lands*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1974. pp. 25-277. (Bound with *Hopi Ethnobotany and Archaeological History*, by Harold S. Colton.)

A very well documented discussion of Hopi history with particular focus on tenure and use of land.

James, Harry C. *Pages from Hopi History*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1974. 258 pp.

An account of Hopi history based largely on stories from the author's Hopi friends, as well as on library and museum research.

5. Ethnographies

Stephen, Alexander. *Hopi Journal of Alexander M. Stephen*. Elsie Clews Parsons, ed. 2 vols. Illus. (some color), maps, bibliog., index. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. 1417 pp.

An invaluable source for all aspects of Hopi scholarship, but especially for those interested in the ceremonies and other religious activities. Includes a 128-page glossary, a brief bibliography, and a detailed, 86-page index.

Titiev, Mischa. *The Hopi Indians of Old Oraibi: Change and Continuity*. Illus., bibliog., index. Ann Arbor: The

University of Michigan Press, 1972. 379 pp.

This volume includes Titiev's diary of his stay in Oraibi from 1933-34, and includes notes from subsequent visits regarding changes and similarities. It is a good source for study of Hopi societies, ceremony, kin and clan systems.

6. Religion and Ceremonies

Parsons, Elsie Clews. *Pueblo Indian Religion*. 2 vols. Illus., plates, bibliog. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. 1275 pp.

This compendium addresses not only Hopi religion but other Pueblo religions as well. Index entries for Hopi and names of specific Hopi villages lead the reader to discussions of Hopi religious beliefs and practices. This is a particularly valuable source for comparative research. (For a briefer introduction, see Parsons' summary account, "The Religion of the Pueblo Indians," *International Congress of Americanists, Proceedings*, Vol. 21, 1924, pp. 140-161. See also Parsons' *Hopi and Zuni Ceremonialism, Memoirs, Amer. Anthr. Assoc.*, No. 39, 1933, 108 pp.)

Tyler, Hamilton. *Pueblo Gods and Myths*. Index, bibliog. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964. 316 pp.

Although covering other Pueblo deities and myths as well, this book has a wealth of material on Hopi mythology, gods and goddesses. The author's interest in Greek mythology adds a valuable comparative element.

Waters, Frank. *Book of the Hopi*. Drawings and source material recorded by Oswald White Bear Fredericks. New York: Ballantine Books, 1963. 423 pp.

This volume includes 40 photos, with several turn-of-the-century photographs by H.R. Voth. Although criticized by many Hopi as inaccurate on various points, this is a beautifully written account of Hopi myths, legends, ceremonies and history which contains the most accessible information on the subject for a lay public. It is also readily available in paperback.

7. Social Organization

Connelly, John C. "Hopi Social Organization," in Ortiz, ed., pp. 539-553.

A concise discussion of Hopi communities, phratries and clans, households and lineages, ceremonial societies and kinship. This work includes several photos and illustrations, and a synonymy comparing dialects of First, Second and Third Mesas.

Eggen, Fred. "The Social Organization of the Hopi Indians," Chapter II, in *Social Organization of the Western Pueblos*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950, pp. 17–138.

A very thorough and detailed analysis of the Hopi kinship system, function of clans, lineages, political and ceremonial organizations, and classification of nature, by one of the foremost 20th century Hopi scholars.

Schlegel, Alice. "Male and Female in Hopi Thought and Action," in *Sexual Stratification: A Cross-Cultural View*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1977, pp. 245–269.

Schlegel's essay is among the few which focuses on Hopi sexual stratification and attitudes toward gender.

8. Agriculture

Bradfield, Maitland. "The Changing Pattern of Hopi Agriculture," *Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Occasional Paper No. 30*. Illus., maps. London, 1971. 66 pp.

Using an historical approach covering prehistoric times to the present, Bradfield discusses changes in Hopi choice of field location, the economic and social consequences of the dissection of the Oraibi Wash, and the effects on farming resulting from the introduction of European animals and technology.

Forde, Daryl C. "Hopi Agriculture and Land Ownership," *Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland Journal*, Vol. 61. Illus., plates, maps. 1931, pp. 357–405.

A less recent publication than Bradfield's, this discusses agriculture and land tenure based on study of First and Second Mesas. The author demonstrates Hopi techniques for ameliorating the severity of their arid climate, and also discusses the role which ritual and social organization play in Hopi agriculture.

9. Hopi Clowns

Parsons, Elsie Clews and Ralph L. Beals. "The Sacred Clowns of the Pueblo and Mayo-Yaqui Indians," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 36, No. 4, Oct.–Dec., 1934, pp. 491–514.

Although not devoted solely to Hopi, Parsons' material on Pueblo clowns specifically includes information about Hopi First and Third Mesa clowns. Also included is a very helpful table of "Traits of Pueblo Clowns," comparing sponsoring organization, outfit, behavior and

origin myth, and function of several clowns among the First Mesa Hopi, Zuni, Keres, Tewa, Jemez, Isleta, and Taos Pueblos.

Sekaquaptewa, Emory. "Hopi Indian Ceremonies," in *Seeing With A Native Eye: Essays on Native American Religions*, Walter Holden Capps, ed. New York: Harper and Row, 1976, pp. 35–43.

Linguist and Hopi spokesperson Emory Sekaquaptewa discusses Hopi ceremonies from his own personal perspective; his essay is particularly helpful in understanding the nature and role of Hopi clowns in the ceremonies.

Tedlock, Barbara. "The Clown's Way," in *Teachings from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy*, Dennis Tedlock and Barbara Tedlock, eds. New York: Live-right, 1975, pp. 105–118.

This essay discusses Hopi clowning, among that of others, such as Zuni and Sioux. Though it does not focus specifically on the Hopi, its insights pertain cross-culturally. It gives the reader a very good sense of why, as Emory Sekaquaptewa says in the film, "A smile is sacred."

10. Pottery

Fewkes, J. Walter. *Designs on Prehistoric Hopi Pottery*. Illus., bibliog. New York: Dover, 1973. 181 pp. (Reprinted from his 1898 and 1919 publications in *The Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Reports*, 17th and 33rd.)

Ample illustrations and knowledgeable text contribute to this authoritative source on prehistoric Hopi ceramics. Available in paperback.

Wade, Edwin L. and Lea S. McChesney. *Historic Hopi Ceramics*. (The Thomas V. Kean Collection of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard Univ.) Illus., text, pp. 1–20; illus., pp. 21–597; bibliog., pp. 599–603. Cambridge: Peabody Museum Press, 1981. 603 pp.

Based on studies of nearly 1500 pieces of pottery created from 1540–1900, the authors conclude that the radical changes in both design and form of Hopi pottery can be traced to immigration of other Puebloans into this area and to influence from the Spanish. The Hopi chose to combine the various traditions, resulting in a distinctive Hopi ceramic tradition.

11. Hopi Silver

Adair, John. *The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths*. Illus.,

bibliog., index. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944. 220 pp.

Material specific to Hopi silver is not emphasized in this book, but discussions of the economic aspects of the craft supplement the brief section devoted to Hopi silversmiths.

Farrell-Colton, Mary Russell. "Hopi Silversmithing—Its Background and Future," *Plateau*, Vol. 12, No. 1, July 1939, pp. 1–7. (Reprinted in *Hopi Indian Arts and Crafts*, Museum of Northern Arizona, Reprint Series No. 3, Flagstaff: Northern Ariz. Soc. of Science and Art, 1951, pp. 31–37.)

A good summary discussion which includes photos and a list of contemporary Hopi silversmiths.

Wright, Margaret N. *Hopi Silver: The History and Hallmarks of Hopi Silversmithing*. Rev. ed. With Hopi hallmark drawings by Barton Wright. 113 pp. 2-p. bibliog. Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1982.

Well-illustrated with both photographs and careful line drawings, this high quality work provides both authoritative text on historical and contemporary silversmiths and an index of over 100 Hopi silversmiths.

12. Weaving/Basketry

Breunig, Robert. "Cultural Fiber—Function and Symbolism in Hopi Basketry," *Plateau*, Vol. 53, No. 4, pp. 8–13.

Working closely with Hopi linguist Michael Lomatuwayma, the author investigates the names of wicker baskets which reflect the use and design symbolism. Well illustrated with color plates.

Pendleton, Mary. *Navajo and Hopi Weaving Techniques*. Illus. (some color). New York: Collier Books, 1974. 158 pp.

While it emphasizes Navajo weaving, the last 58 pages are devoted to Hopi techniques. This well-illustrated work is primarily a "how-to" manual, presenting specifics on materials and tools, how to assemble a warping frame, yarn selection, etc.

13. Architecture

Mindeleff, Victor. *A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola*, 8th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C., 1891.

Scully, Vincent. *Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance*. Illus., bibliog., index. New York: Viking, 1972. 398 pp.

Amplly illustrated with both contemporary and historical photographs, this well-known architectural historian analyzes the full range of Pueblo architecture. One of the seven chapters is devoted to comparing Hopi pueblos with Navajo architecture. Scully writes sensitively about the role of architecture in Hopi daily life and ceremonies. (For a briefer account, see his "Man and Nature in Pueblo Architecture," in *American Indian Art: Form and Tradition*, Walker Art Center, New York: E. P. Dutton, 1972, pp. 35-41.)

14. Contemporary Hopi Art and Life

Broder, Patricia J. *Hopi Painting: The World of the Hopis*. Illus. (some color), 6-p. bibliog. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1978. 319 pp.

Amplly illustrated resource book on painting, pottery and craft design with an emphasis on the work of contemporary Hopi painters.

Harvey, Byron. *Ritual in Pueblo Art: Hopi Life in Hopi Painting*. Text plus 185 plates, some col. illus., bibliog. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1970. 81 pp.

This work reveals ritual, religion, and other aspects of Hopi ethos through works of five Hopi painters. Each plate is documented and discussed.

Kabotie, Fred. *Fred Kabotie, Hopi Indian Artist: An Autobiography Told with Bill Belknap*. Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1977.

Excellent biography on the internationally honored painter whose work illuminates ceremonial and daily life at Hopi.

Page, Susanne and Jake. *Hopi*. New York: Abrams, 1982. 224 pp.

Lavishly illustrated with 137 color plates and 169 illustrations, the book provides a rare view into the daily activities and ritual life of contemporary Hopi and their traditional ways.

15. Contemporary Politics

Clemmer, Richard O. "Black Mesa and the Hopi," in *Native Americans and Energy Development*. Cambridge: Anthropology Resource Center, 1978, pp. 17-34.

Clemmer aided in the process and the recording of many Hopi Traditionalists' struggle to spare Black Mesa from being strip-mined. This valuable essay presents the contemporary situation in terms of the history of U.S.-Hopi relations.

Kammer, Jerry. *The Second Long Walk: The Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute*. Index, maps, illus. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980. 239 pp.

Kammer traces the history of Navajo-Hopi boundary conflicts, the Congressional attempts to resolve the struggle, and the contemporary situation.

Page, Jake. "Inside the Sacred Hopi Homeland." Photographs by Susanne Page. *National Geographic*, Nov. 1982.

16. Language

Kalectaca, Milo. *Lessons in Hopi*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1978. 234 pp.

This represents a rare opportunity to acquire a rudimentary knowledge of Hopi. It teaches the dialect of Songoopave, of Second Mesa. It covers basic aspects of Hopi grammar and pronunciation, and includes exercises.

Malotki, Ekkehart. *Hopi Time: A Linguistic Analysis of the Temporal Concepts in the Hopi Language*. Bibliog. New York: Mouton, 1983. 677 pp.

Partially in response to one of Whorf's claims about the Hopi language, Malotki sets forth the ways in which Hopi represents temporal concepts. Chapter headings include "Horizon-based Sun time," "Stellar Orientation," "The Ceremonial Calendar," and "Timekeeping Devices." The author terms his presentation of actual Hopi language data to be the "central contribution" of this substantial work.

Whorf, Benjamin Lee. *Language, Thought & Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. John B. Carroll, ed., bibliog. Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1956. 278 pp.

Most of the essays in this collection address issues in Hopi language study. Many of Whorf's claims about Hopi are controversial. However, his insights into the relationship between thought and language, based on his study of Hopi, are at the very least thought-provoking.

17. Kachinas/Katsinas

Kennard, Edward A. *Hopi Kachinas*. With original paintings by Edwin Earle. 2nd, rev. ed., 28 col. plates, bibliog. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1971. 50 pp.

Kennard's text covers the role of katsinas in Hopi life, the materials used, the annual katsina cycle at Oraibi, and the nature and significance of katsina

dances. It also describes, in great detail, the Niman Katsina ceremony. Earle's paintings benefited from comments, corrections and suggestions by Hopi people.

Washburn, Dorothy K., ed. *Hopi Kachina: Spirit of Life*. Illus., 16 col. plates, bibliog. California Academy of Sciences, in conjunction with the exhibition "Hopi Kachinas: Spirit of Life," 1980. 158 pp.

In addition to the catalog of the exhibition, this handsome volume includes: an essay on Hopi social organization by renowned Hopi scholar John Connelly; Watson Smith's discussion of "Mural Decorations from Ancient Hopi Kivas"; the editor's essay on Hopi katsinas; and two discussions of Hopi painting and crafts.

Wright, Barton. *Kachinas: A Hopi Artist's Documentary*. With original paintings by Cliff Bahnimptewa. Color illus., bibliog. Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1973. 262 pp.

High quality color reproductions of over 120 realistic katsina paintings, done with careful attention to the minutest details, accompany the text which names and describes each katsina's ceremonial role.



X. GUIDE TO MUSEUMS

The following museums contain outstanding Hopi collections. Entrance to collections varies from institution to institution:

Arizona

Arizona State Museum
University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721
(602) 621-6281

The Heard Museum
22 E. Monte Vista Rd., Phoenix, AZ 85004
(602) 252-8848

Museum of Northern Arizona
Fort Valley Rd., Route 4 Box 720, Flagstaff, AZ 86001
(602) 774-5211

California

Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology
103 Kroeber Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720; (415) 642-3681

Southwest Museum
234 Museum Dr., Los Angeles, CA 90065
(213) 221-2164
Mailing address: P.O. Box 128, Los Angeles, CA 90042

Colorado

Denver Museum of Natural History
City Park 2001, Colorado Blvd., Denver, CO 80205
(303) 370-6347

District of Columbia

Smithsonian Institution
1000 Jefferson Dr. S.W., Washington, D.C. 20560
(202) 357-1300
Mailing address: Office of Public Affairs, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC 20560

Illinois

Field Museum of Natural History
Roosevelt Rd. at Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, IL 60605
(312) 922-9410

Massachusetts

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology
11 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138; (617) 495-2248

New Mexico

Maxwell Museum of Anthropology
University and Ash N.E., Albuquerque, NM 87131
(505) 277-4404

Museum of New Mexico
113 Lincoln Ave., Santa Fe, NM 87501; (505) 827-6450
Mailing address: P.O. Box 2087, Santa Fe, NM 87503
School of American Research
660 Garcia St., Santa Fe, NM 87501 (505) 982-3584
Mailing address: P.O. Box 2188, Santa Fe, NM 87501

New York

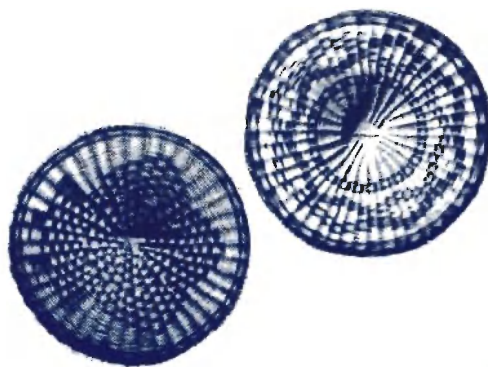
American Museum of Natural History
79th St. and Central Park West, New York, NY 10024
(212) 873-1300

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation
Broadway at 155th St., New York, NY 10032
(212) 283-2420

Pennsylvania

Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Carnegie Institute
4400 Forbes Ave., Pittsburgh, PA 15213
(412) 622-3243

The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania
33rd and Spruce Streets, Philadelphia, PA 19104
(215) 898-4000



XI. CONTRIBUTORS

Mary E. Black M.A., Anthropology, University of Arizona. She is currently one of the editors on a new Hopi-English/English-Hopi dictionary project.

Carlotta and John Connelly. The Connellys spent a decade at Hopi as teachers at the Second Mesa elementary school. John is an emeritus professor of Education, San Francisco State University.

Pat Ferrero. Filmmaker and professor in the Center for Experimental and Interdisciplinary Arts, San Francisco State University. She is currently in production on a film that looks at the social history of 19th century women and quilts.

Hartman Lomawaima. M.A. Harvard, additional study Stanford University. He is currently Assistant Director of the Lowie Museum, University of California, Berkeley where he just returned from presenting an exhibit of Hopi art and a program of contemporary Hopi artists to the people of Delhi, India.

Tsianina Lomawaima. Stanford University doctoral candidate in Education. Her interest is in the Native American experience of BIA education.

Emory Sekaquaptewa. Director of the American Indian Studies Program at the University of Arizona, Tucson and lecturer in anthropology and linguistics. Co-principal with Ekkehardt Molotki and Jeanne Masayesva on a new Hopi dictionary project.

Judith Todd. Instructor, University of California, Santa Cruz where she recently received her doctorate in the History of Consciousness program.

