

Language Ideologies and Orthographic Development for Than Ówîngeh Tewa

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Research Questions

- What are the factors motivating a resistance to or acceptance of the use of writing to represent the heritage language at Than Ówîngeh?
- If community members have agreed to use writing to represent the heritage language, what factors motivate the decision to use one such system (e.g., alphabet, syllabary) over another?
- If a particular writing system has been agreed upon, what are the factors that motivate sound/concept-symbol correspondences?

Confidentiality

Pseudonyms are used for most Tewa-speaking communities as well as for all Tewa consultants.

Pueblos

- Than Ówîngeh
- K'uu Owingeh
- Okhuwa Owingeh
- P'óe Owingeh
- Makówá Owingeh
- Ohkay Owingeh

Consultants

- Ogowée T'ún
- Póví Kweeyo
- Múusa Kwee
- Kó'óe Chaenu

Language Ideologies

- "... any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein 1979:193)
- "... ingrained, unquestioned beliefs about the way the world is, the way it should be, and the way it has to be with respect to language" (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2005: 9)
- "... the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine 1989: 255)

Kinds of Language Ideologies

- **Language Contact**: involves "a value on linguistic borrowing from neighboring languages" (Kroskrity 2009: 192)
- **Language as a Tool**: The view that language represents a communicative tool, de-emphasizing its sociocultural and emotional import (Kroskrity 2009: 192-4)
- **Variationism**: The view that dialectal variation, usually based on individual and family differences, is the expected norm (Kroskrity 2009)

Than Ówîngeh

- One of 19 federally recognized Pueblos in New Mexico
- Located about 20 miles north of Santa Fe, NM
- One of 6 Tewa-speaking Pueblos in NM
- 640 tribal members (internal records, 2006)



Photograph by Ogowée T'ún, 2001

Than Ówîngêh Tewa

- Than Ówîngêh remaining (~1000 Tewa speakers remaining)
- Agglutinative morphology
- Extensive noun incorporation
- Unmarked SOV word order
- Complex Pronominal Verbal Prefix System

Kiowa-Tanoan family, with a focus on Rio Grande Tewa (based on Speirs 1966)

Than Ówîngêh Tewa (cont'd)

Phonemic contrasts

- Tone (high, falling, low)
p'ôe 'moon/month'
p'ôe 'road'
p'ôe 'water'
- Long vs. short vowels
tay 'cottonwood'
te 'container'
- Nasal vs. oral vowels
sâa 'feces'
sâa 'skunk'

Photograph by Ogowîe T'ân, 2001

Than Ówîngêh Tewa (cont'd)

1. *nâa* *oe* *kongê-nû'* *o* *thaa*
 1s.TOP DIST arroyo-nearby 1s.INT live(IMPF)
 'I live near the arroyo.'
2. *don* *aa* *owîdî-ndê'*
 1s.DITRANS REFL clothes wash-IMPF
 'I am washing clothes.'
3. *ó* *pûn* *unbî* *îve*
 2s.IMP go(IMP) 2sPOSS room
 'Go to your room.'
4. *hânho'* *haé'í'* *bay* *pôoi* *hééwî.* *na* *sun*
 a lot DIST apple flower good 3sINT smell(STAT)
 'That apple blossom smells good.'
5. *khu'* *dí=dá* *agóyó'* *ba'áa* *na* *k'ee-t'oe*
 night=only star belt 3sINT see-POT
 'Orion is only seen at night.'

Than Ówîngêh Language Program

- Began in 2003 with language survey
- Received Tribal Permission in 2004
- Received NSF-NEH grant in 2005
- TOLP led by 4 women, assisted by UNMers
- Program Goals
 - Developing class materials and curricula
 - Constructing an online database
 - Producing interactive media
 - Creating a dictionary of Than Ówîngêh Tewa

On the Resistance to Writing

5 factors give rise to a general resistance to the use of writing to represent the heritage language. They involve views of writing as:

- Removing the spirit of the spoken language
- Undermining traditional norms of information acquisition
- Allowing for the appropriation of the heritage language by outsiders
- Inhibiting the language learning process
- Posing a logistical problem

Writing viewed as a "centrifugal force" (Bakhtin 1981)

On the Acceptance of Writing

4 factors give rise to a general acceptance of the use of writing to represent the heritage language. They involve views of writing as:

- Aiding in the preservation of the language
- Facilitating the language learning process
- Increasing domains of use for the language
- Enhancing the legitimacy of the language

Writing viewed as a "centripetal force" (Bakhtin 1981)

San Juan Tewa Dictionary



TOLP members decided to employ the orthography used in the *San Juan Pueblo Tewa Dictionary* as the basis for the Than Ówíngeh Tewa orthography.

- Published by the San Juan Pueblo Bilingual Program, led by Esther Martinez, in 1983
- The first known Tewa dictionary of its time, with an extensive lexicon of Tewa forms
- Serves as the foundation for the forthcoming Than Ówíngeh Tewa Dictionary

Sound-Symbol Correspondences

<u>Consonants</u> IPA symbol	Ohkay Owíngeh	Than Ówíngeh
[ʔ]	ʔ	
[b]	b	
[ʃ]	ch	
[ʃʰ]	chʰ	
[d]	d	
[ɖ]	ɖ	f
[t]	ph	
[g]	g	
[h]	h	
[k]	k	
[kʰ]	kʰ	
[x]	kh	
[kʷ]	kw	
[kʷʰ]	kwʰ	
[m]	m	
[n]	n	
[ɲ]	ɲ	
[p]	p	
[pʰ]	pʰ	
[s]	s	
[ʃ]	sh	
[t]	t	
[tʰ]	tʰ	
[θ]	th	
[ts]	ts	
[tʃ]	tsʰ	
[v]	v	
[w]	wh	
[j]	y	

Sound-Symbol Correspondences

<u>Vowels</u> IPA symbol	Ohkay Owíngeh	Than Ówíngeh
[e]/[ɛ]	a	
[eː]/[ɛː]	aa	
[æ]	ä	æ / ae
[æː]	ää	ææ / aeae
[ɛ]/[e]	e	
[ɛː]/[eː]	ey	
[i]	i	
[iː]	ee	
[o]	o	
[oː]	oe	
[u]	u	
[uː]	uu	
<u>Tones</u>		
High tone	˘	
Falling tone	ˆ	
Low tone	(unmarked)	
<u>Nasality</u>		
Nasal vowels	˙	

Note: Oral vowels are unmarked, both in the Ohkay Owíngeh and Than Ówíngeh orthographies

Guiding Principles

The development of the Than Ówíngeh orthography was founded on 3 principles (see Grenoble & Whaley 2006):

- *Learnability*: any and every strategy should be employed to facilitate the reading (decoding) process
- *Transparency*: orthographic conventions should coincide with those of the language of broader use
- *Acceptability*: orthography must be acceptable to all stakeholders (requires establishing “prior ideological clarification” [Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998: 63])

Syncretism in the use of the Than Ówíngeh Orthography

- The use of an alphabetic writing system
- The use of the Latin script
- Left-to-right, top-down orientation of the written text
- Borrowing of formal features (paragraph indentations, line spacing)
- Notions of “word”-iness
- Spelling conventions borrowed from English
- Surface-level features borrowed from English (e.g., punctuation)

Utilitarianism in the Use of the Than Ówíngeh Tewa Orthography

- The use of the orthography should only serve to supplement, not replace, the spoken language
- Students in Tewa class encouraged to use written Tewa for their own purposes
- Students in Tewa class encouraged to write Tewa how they want

Variationism in the Use of the Than Ówîngeh Tewa Orthography

- Inclusion/exclusion of graphemes based not only on technical considerations but on aesthetic ones (i.e., the need for the Than Ówîngeh to look different). For example, [ʔ] vs [ʔ̥]
- Students in Tewa class encouraged to write Tewa how they want
- In the dictionary, variant entries will be included to reflect variant forms within Than Ówîngeh Tewa.

Summary



- Factors motivating a resistance to the use of writing can be viewed as *centrifugal*, whereas factors motivating an acceptance of the use of writing can be viewed as *centripetal*
- The principles of *learnability*, *transparency*, and *acceptability* guided the TOLP's decision to use an alphabetic writing system and to establish the particular sound-symbol correspondences in the Than Ówîngeh orthography
- The language ideologies of *syncretism*, *utilitarianism*, and *variationism* served to underlie these principles

kú'daawó'háa!

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