Leslie Marmon Silko

Language and Literature from
a Pueblo Indian Perspective

Poet and fiction writer Leslie Marmon Silko grew up on the Laguna Pueblo Reservation in New Mexico. She is author of a collection of poetry, several novels, and a collection of essays, Yellow Woman and a Beauty of the Spirit: Essays on Native American Life Today (1996), which addresses the cultural and social contexts that shape her poetry and fiction. The following essay began as a speech and first appeared in print in English Literature: Opening Up the Canon (1979), edited by Leslie A. Fiedler and Houston A. Baker. As you read, notice how Silko organizes her analysis and incorporates sample narratives to demonstrate the weblike, nonlinear pattern of Pueblo narratives.

Where I Come From, the words most highly valued are those spoken from the heart, unpremeditated and unrehearsed. Among the Pueblo people, a written speech or statement is highly suspect because the true feelings of the speaker remain hidden as she reads words that are detached from the occasion and the audience. I have intentionally not written a formal paper because I want you to hear and to experience English in a structure that follows patterns from the oral tradition. For those of you accustomed to being taken from point A to point B to point C, this presentation may be somewhat difficult to follow. Pueblo expression resembles something like a spider’s web — with many little threads radiating from the center, crisscrossing each other. As with the web, the structure emerges as it is made and you must simply listen and trust, as the Pueblo people do, that meaning will be made.

My task is a formidable one: I ask you to set aside a number of basic approaches that you have been using, and probably will continue to use, and instead, to approach language from the Pueblo perspective, one that embraces the whole of creation and the whole of history and time.

What changes would Pueblo writers make to English as a language for literature? I have some examples of stories in English that I will use
to address this question. At the same time, I would like to explain the
importance of storytelling and how it relates to a Pueblo theory of
language.

So I will begin, appropriately enough, with the Pueblo Creation story,
an all-inclusive story of how life began. In this story, Tséitsinako, Thought
Woman, by thinking of her sisters, and together with her sisters, thought
of everything that is. In this way, the world was created. Everything in
this world was a part of the original creation; the people at home under­
stood that far away there were other human beings, also a part of this
world. The Creation story even includes a prophecy, which describes the
origin of European and African peoples and also refers to Asians.

This story, I think, suggests something about why the Pueblo peo­
ple are more concerned with story and communication and less con­
cerned with a particular language. There are at least six, possibly seven,
distinct languages among the twenty pueblos of the southwestern
United States, for example, Zuñi and Hopi. And from mesa to mesa there
are subtle differences in language. But the particular language spoken
isn't as important as what a speaker is trying to say, and this empha­
sis on the story itself stems, I believe, from a view of narrative particu­
lar to the Pueblo and other Native American peoples — that is, that
language is story.

I will try to clarify this statement. At Laguna Pueblo, for example,
many individual words have their own stories. So when one is telling a
story, and one is using words to tell the story, each word that one is
speaking has a story of its own, too. Often the speakers or tellers will
go into these word-stories, creating an elaborate structure of stories­
within-stories. This structure, which becomes very apparent in the
actual telling of a story, informs contemporary Pueblo writing and
storytelling as well as the traditional narratives. This perspective on nar­
rative — of story within story, the idea that one story is only the begin­
ing of many stories, and the sense that stories never truly end — repre­
sents an important contribution of Native American cultures to the
English language.

Many people think of storytelling as something that is done at bed­
time, that it is something done for small children. But when I use the
term storytelling, I'm talking about something much bigger than that. I'm talking about something that comes out of an experience and an understanding of that original view of creation — that we are all part of a whole; we do not differentiate or fragment stories and experiences. In the beginning, Tséitsínako, Thought Woman, thought of all things, and all of these things are held together as one holds many things together in a single thought.

So in the telling (and you will hear a few of the dimensions of this telling) first of all, as mentioned earlier, the storytelling always includes the audience, the listeners. In fact, a great deal of the story is believed to be inside the listener; the storyteller's role is to draw the story out of the listeners. The storytelling continues from generation to generation.

Basically, the origin story constructs our identity — within this story, we know who we are. We are the Lagunas. This is where we come from. We came this way. We came by this place. And so from the time we are very young, we hear these stories, so that when we go out into the world, when one asks who we are, or where we are from, we immediately know: we are the people who came from the north. We are the people of these stories.

In the Creation story, Antelope says that he will help knock a hole in the earth so that the people can come up, out into the next world. Antelope tries and tries; he uses his hooves, but is unable to break through. It is then that Badger says, "Let me help you." And Badger very patiently uses his claws and digs a way through, bringing the people into the world. When the Badger clan people think of themselves, or when the Antelope people think of themselves, it is as people who are of this story, and this is our place, and we fit into the very beginning when the people first came, before we began our journey south.

Within the clans there are stories that identify the clan. One moves, then, from the idea of one's identity as a tribal person into clan identity, then to one's identity as a member of an extended family. And it is the notion of "extended family" that has produced a kind of story that some distinguish from other Pueblo stories, though Pueblo people do not. Anthropologists and ethnologists have, for a long time, differentiated the types of stories the Pueblos tell. They tended to elevate the old,
sacred, and traditional stories and to brush aside family stories, the family's account of itself. But in Pueblo culture, these family stories are given equal recognition. There is no definite, present pattern for the way one will hear the stories of one's own family, but it is a very critical part of one's childhood, and the storytelling continues throughout one's life. One will hear stories of importance to the family — sometimes wonderful stories — stories about the time a maternal uncle got the biggest deer that was ever seen and brought it back from the mountains. And so an individual's identity will extend from the identity constructed around the family — "I am from the family of my uncle who brought in this wonderful deer and it was a wonderful hunt."

Family accounts include negative stories, too; perhaps an uncle did something unacceptable. It is very important that one keep track of all these stories — both positive and not so positive — about one's own family and other families. Because even when there is no way around it — old Uncle Pete did do a terrible thing — by knowing the stories that originate in other families, one is able to deal with terrible sorts of things that might happen within one's own family. If a member of the family does something that cannot be excused, one always knows stories about similar inexcusable things done by a member of another family. But this knowledge is not communicated for malicious reasons. It is very important to understand this. Keeping track of all the stories within the community gives us all a certain distance, a useful perspective, that brings incidents down to a level we can deal with. If others have done it before, it cannot be so terrible. If others have endured, so can we.

The stories are always bringing us together, keeping this whole together, keeping this family together, keeping this clan together. "Don't go away, don't isolate yourself, but come here, because we have all had these kinds of experiences." And so there is this constant pulling together to resist the tendency to run or hide or separate oneself during a traumatic emotional experience. This separation not only endangers the group but the individual as well — one does not recover by oneself.

Because storytelling lies at the heart of Pueblo culture, it is absurd to attempt to fix the stories in time. "When did they tell the stories?"
or “What time of day does the storytelling take place?” — these questions are nonsensical from a Pueblo perspective, because our storytelling goes on constantly: as some old grandmother puts on the shoes of a child and tells her the story of a little girl who didn’t wear her shoes, for instance, or someone comes into the house for coffee to talk with a teenage boy who has just been in a lot of trouble, to reassure him that someone else’s son has been in that kind of trouble, too. Storytelling is an ongoing process, working on many different levels.

Here’s one story that is often told at a time of individual crisis (and I want to remind you that we make no distinctions between types of story — historical, sacred, plain gossip — because these distinctions are not useful when discussing the Pueblo experience of language). There was a young man who, when he came back from the war in Vietnam, had saved up his army pay and bought a beautiful red Volkswagen. He was very proud of it. One night he drove up to a place called the King’s Bar right across the reservation line. The bar is notorious for many reasons, particularly for the deep arroyo* located behind it. The young man ran in to pick up a cold six-pack, but he forgot to put on his emergency brake. And his little red Volkswagen rolled back into the arroyo and was all smashed up. He felt very bad about it, but within a few days everybody had come to him with stories about other people who had lost cars and family members to that arroyo, for instance, George Day’s station wagon, with his mother-in-law and kids inside. So everybody was saying, “Well, at least your mother-in-law and kids weren’t in the car when it rolled in,” and one can’t argue with that kind of story. The story of the young man and his smashed-up Volkswagen was now joined with all the other stories of cars that fell into that arroyo.

Now I want to tell you a very beautiful little story. It is a very old story that is sometimes told to people who suffer great family or personal loss. This story was told by my Aunt Susie. She is one of the first generation of people at Laguna who began experimenting with English — who began working to make English speak for us — that is, to speak from the heart. (I come from a family intent on getting the stories told.)

*Arroyo: ravine (Spanish). [Editor’s note]
As you read the story, I think you will hear that. And here and there, I think, you will also hear the influence of the Indian school* at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where my Aunt Susie was sent (like being sent to prison) for six years.

This scene is set partly in Acoma, partly in Laguna. Waithea was a little girl living in Acoma and one day she said, "Mother, I would like to have some yashtoah to eat." Yashtoah is the hardened crust of corn mush that curls up. Yashtoah literally means "curled up." She said, "I would like to have some yashtoah," and her mother said, "My dear little girl, I can't make you any yashtoah because we haven't any wood, but if you will go down off the mesa, down below, and pick up some pieces of wood and bring them home, I will make you some yashtoah." So Waithea was glad and ran down the precipitous cliff of Acoma mesa. Down below, just as her mother had told her, there were pieces of wood, some curled, some crooked in shape, that she was to pick up and take home. She found just such wood as these.

She brought them home in a little wicker basket. First she called to her mother as she got home, "Nayah, deeni! Mother, upstairs!" The Pueblo people always called "upstairs" because long ago their homes were two, three stories, and they entered from the top. She said, "Deeni! UPSTAIRS!" and her mother came. The little girl said, "I have brought the wood you wanted me to bring." And she opened her little wicker basket to lay out the pieces of wood but here they were snakes. They were snakes instead of crooked sticks of wood. And her mother said, "Oh my dear child, you have brought snakes instead!" She said, "Go take them back and put them back just where you got them." And the little girl ran down the mesa again, down below to the flats. And she put those snakes back just where she got them. They were snakes instead and she was very hurt about this and so she said, "I'm not going home. I'm going to Kawaik, the beautiful lake place, Kawaik, and drown myself in the lake, byn'yah'nah [the "west lake"]. I will go there and drown myself."

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*Indian school: the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, federally supported boarding school attended by more than 15,000 Native American children from 1879 to 1918. [Editor's note]
So she started off, and as she passed the Enchanted Mesa near Acoma she met an old man, very aged, and he saw her running, and he said, “My dear child, where are you going?” “I’m going to Kawaik and jump into the lake there.” “Why?” “Well, because,” she said, “my mother didn’t want to make any yashtoah for me.” The old man said, “Oh, no! You must not go my child. Come with me and I will take you home,” He tried to catch her, but she was very light and skipped along. And every time he would try to grab her she would skip faster away from him.

The old man was coming home with some wood strapped to his back and tied with yucca. He just let the strap go and let the wood drop. He went as fast as he could up the cliff to the little girl’s home. When he got to the place where she lived, he called to her mother. “Deeni!” “Come on up!” And he said, “I can’t. I just came to bring you a message. Your little daughter is running away. She is going to Kawaik to drown herself in the lake there.” “Oh my dear little girl!” the mother said. So she busied herself with making the yashtoah her little girl liked so much. Corn mush curled at the top. (She must have found enough wood to boil the corn meal and make the yashtoah.)

While the mush was cooking off, she got the little girl’s clothing, her manta dress* and buckskin moccasins and all her other garments, and put them in a bundle — probably a yucca bag. And she started down as fast as she could on the east side of Acoma. (There used to be a trail there, you know. It’s gone now, but it was accessible in those days.) She saw her daughter way at a distance and she kept calling: “Stsamaku! My daughter! Come back! I’ve got your yashtoah for you.” But the little girl would not turn. She kept on ahead and she cried: “My mother, my mother, she didn’t want me to have any yashtoah. So now I’m going to Kawaik and drown myself.” Her mother heard her cry and said, “My little daughter, come back here!” “No,” and she kept a distance away from her. And they came nearer and nearer to the lake. And she could see her daughter now, very plain. “Come back, my daughter! I have your yashtoah.” But no, she kept on, and finally she reached the lake and she stood on the edge.

*Manta: square, blanketlike cloth used as a cloak. [Editor’s note]
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She had tied a little feather in her hair, which is traditional (in death they tie this feather on the head). She carried a feather, the little girl did, and she tied it in her hair with a piece of string, right on top of her head she put the feather. Just as her mother was about to reach her, she jumped into the lake. The little feather was whirling around and around in the depths below. Of course the mother was very sad. She went, grieved, back to Acoma and climbed her mesa home. She stood on the edge of the mesa and scattered her daughter's clothing, the little moccasins, the yashtoah. She scattered them to the east, to the west, to the north, to the south. And the pieces of clothing and the moccasins and yashtoah, all turned into butterflies. And today they say that Acoma has more beautiful butterflies: red ones, white ones, blue ones, yellow ones. They came from this little girl's clothing.

Now this is a story anthropologists would consider very old. The version I have given you is just as Aunt Susie tells it. You can occasionally hear some English she picked up at Carlisle — words like "precipitous." You will also notice that there is a great deal of repetition, and a little reminder about yashtoah, and how it is made. There is a remark about the cliff trail at Acoma — that it was once there, but is there no longer. This story may be told at a time of sadness or loss, but within this story many other elements are brought together. Things are not separated out and categorized; all things are brought together. So that the reminder about the yashtoah is valuable information that is repeated — a recipe, if you will. The information about the old trail at Acoma reveals that stories are, in a sense, maps, since even to this day there is little information or material about trails that is passed around with writing. In the structure of this story the repetitions are, of course, designed to help you remember. It is repeated again and again, and then it moves on.

The next story I would like to tell is by Simon Ortiz, from Acoma Pueblo. He is a wonderful poet who also works in narrative. One of the things I find very interesting in this short story is that if you listen very closely, you begin to hear what I was talking about in terms of a story never beginning at the beginning, and certainly never ending. As the Hopis sometimes say, "Well, it has gone this far for a while." There is always that implication of a continuing. The other thing I want you to
listen for is the many stories within one story. Listen to the kinds of stories contained within the main story — stories that give one a family identity and an individual identity, for example. This story is called “Home Country”:

“Well, it’s been a while. I think in 1947 was when I left. My husband had been killed in Okinawa* some years before. And so I had no more husband. And I had to make a living. O I guess I could have looked for another man but I didn’t want to. It looked like the war had made some of them into a bad way anyway. I saw some of them come home like that. They either got drunk or just stayed around a while or couldn’t seem to be satisfied anymore with what was there. I guess now that I think about it, that happened to me although I wasn’t in the war not in the Army or even much off the reservation just that several years at the Indian School. Well there was that feeling things were changing not only the men the boys, but things were changing.

“One day the home nurse the nurse that came from the Indian health service was at my mother’s home my mother was getting near the end real sick and she said that she had been meaning to ask me a question. I said what is the question. And the home nurse said well your mother is getting real sick and after she is no longer around for you to take care of, what will you be doing you and her are the only ones here. And I said I don’t know. But I was thinking about it what she said made me think about it. And then the next time she came she said to me Eloise the government is hiring Indians now in the Indian schools to take care of the boys and girls I heard one of the supervisors saying that Indians are hard workers but you have to supervise them a lot and I thought of you well because you’ve been taking care of your mother real good and you follow all my instructions. She said I thought of you because you’re a good Indian girl and you would be the kind of person for that job. I didn’t say anything I had not ever really thought about a job but I kept thinking about it.

“Well my mother she died and we buried her up at the old place the cemetery there it’s real nice on the east side of the hill

*Okinawa: southernmost Japanese island, site of fierce fighting between Japanese and American forces in World War II. [Editor’s note]
where the sun shines warm and the wind doesn't blow too much sand around right there. Well I was sad we were all sad for a while but you know how things are. One of my aunties came over and she advised me and warned me about being too sorry about it and all that she wished me that I would not worry too much about it because old folks they go along pretty soon life is that way and then she said that maybe I ought to take in one of my aunties kids or two because there was a lot of them kids and I was all by myself now. But I was so young and I thought that I might do that you know take care of someone but I had been thinking too of what the home nurse said to me about working. Hardly anybody at our home was working at something like that no woman anyway. And I would have to move away.

“Well I did just that. I remember that day very well. I told my aunties and they were all crying and we all went up to the old highway where the bus to town passes by every day. I was wearing an old kind of bluish sweater that was kind of big that one of my cousins who was older had got from a white person a tourist one summer in trade for something she had made a real pretty basket. She gave me that and I used to have a picture of me with it on it's kind of real ugly. Yeah that was the day I left wearing a baggy sweater and carrying a suitcase that someone gave me too I think or maybe it was the home nurse there wasn't much in it anyway either. I was scared and everybody seemed to be sad I was so young and skinny then. My aunties said one of them who was real fat you make sure you eat now make your own tortillas drink the milk and stuff like candies is no good she learned that from the nurse. Make sure you got your letter my auntie said. I had it folded into my purse. Yes I have one too a brown one that my husband when he was still alive one time on furlough he brought it on my birthday it was a nice purse and still looked new because I never used it.

“The letter said that I had a job at Keams Canyon the boarding school there but I would have to go to the Agency first for some papers to be filled and that's where I was going first. The Agency. And then they would send me out to Keams Canyon. I didn't even know where it was except that someone of our relatives said that it was near Hopi. My uncles teased me about watching out for the Hopi men and boys don't let them get too close they said well you
know how they are and they were pretty strict too about those things and then they were joking and then they were not too and so I said aw they won't get near to me I'm too ugly and I promised I would be careful anyway.

“So we all gathered for a while at my last auntie's house and then the old man my grandfather brought his wagon and horses to the door and we all got in and sat there for a while until my auntie told her father okay father let's go and shook his elbow because the poor old man was old by then and kind of going to sleep all the time you had to talk to him real loud. I had about ten dollars I think that was a lot of money more than it is now you know and when we got to the highway where the Indian road which is just a dirt road goes off the pave road my grandfather reached into his blue jeans and pulled out a silver dollar and put it into my hand. I was so shocked. We were all so shocked. We all looked around at each other we didn't know where the old man had gotten it because we were real poor two of my uncles had to borrow on their accounts at the trading store for the money I had in my purse but there it was a silver dollar so big and shrinking in my grandfather's hand and then in my hand.

“Well I was so shocked and everybody was so shocked that we all started crying right there at the junction of that Indian road and the pave highway I wanted to be a little girl again running after the old man when he hurried with his long legs to the cornfields or went for water down to the river. He was old then and his eye was turned gray and he didn’t do much anymore except drive the wagon and chop a little bit of wood but I just held him and I just held him so tightly.

“Later on I don’t know what happened to the silver dollar it had a date of 1907 on it but I kept it for a long time because I guess I wanted to have it to remember when I left my home country. What I did in between then and now is another story but that’s the time I moved away,”

is what she said.¹

There are a great many parallels between Pueblo experiences and those of African and Caribbean peoples — one is that we have all had the conqueror’s language imposed on us. But our experience with English has been somewhat different in that the Bureau of Indian Affairs
schools were not interested in teaching us the canon of Western classics. For instance, we never heard of Shakespeare. We were given Dick and Jane,* and I can remember reading that the robins were heading south for the winter. It took me a long time to figure out what was going on. I worried for quite a while about our robins in Laguna because they didn't leave in the winter, until I finally realized that all the big textbook companies are up in Boston and their robins do go south in the winter. But in a way, this dreadful formal education freed us by encouraging us to maintain our narratives. Whatever literature we were exposed to at school (which was damn little), at home the storytelling, the special regard for telling and bringing together through the telling, was going on constantly.

And as the old people say, "If you can remember the stories, you will be all right. Just remember the stories." When I returned to Laguna Pueblo after attending college, I wondered how the storytelling was continuing (anthropologists say that Laguna Pueblo is one of the more acculturated pueblos), so I visited an English class at Laguna Acoma High School. I knew the students had cassette tape recorders in their lockers and stereos at home, and that they listened to Kiss and Led Zeppelin and were all informed about popular culture in general. I had with me an anthology of short stories by Native American writers, The Man to Send Rain Clouds. One story in the book is about the killing of a state policeman in New Mexico by three Acoma Pueblo men in the early 1950s.2 I asked the students how many had heard this story and steeled myself for the possibility that the anthropologists were right, that the old traditions were indeed dying out and the students would be ignorant of the story. But instead, all but one or two raised their hands—they had heard the story, just as I had heard it when I was young, some in English, some in Laguna.

One of the other advantages that we Pueblos have enjoyed is that we have always been able to stay with the land. Our stories cannot be separated from their geographical locations, from actual physical places

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*Dick and Jane: characters in an early-reading series common in American schools from the 1930s through the 1960s. [Editor's note]
on the land. We were not relocated like so many Native American groups who were torn away from their ancestral land. And our stories are so much a part of these places that it is almost impossible for future generations to lose them — there is a story connected with every place, every object in the landscape.

Dennis Brutus has talked about the "yet unborn" as well as "those from the past," and how we are still all in this place, and language — the storytelling — is our way of passing through or being with them, or being together again. When Aunt Susie told her stories, she would tell a younger child to go open the door so that our esteemed predecessors might bring in their gifts to us. "They are out there," Aunt Susie would say. "Let them come in. They're here, they're here with us within the stories."

A few years ago, when Aunt Susie was 106, I paid her a visit, and while I was there she said, "Well, I'll be leaving here soon. I think I'll be leaving here next week, and I will be going over to the Cliff House." She said, "It's going to be real good to get back over there." I was listening, and I was thinking that she must be talking about our house at Paguate Village, just north of Laguna. And she went on, "Well, my mother's sister (and she gave her Indian name) will be there. She has been living there. She will be there and we will be over there, and I will get a chance to write down these stories I've been telling you." Now you must understand, of course, that Aunt Susie's mother's sister, a great storyteller herself, has long since passed over into the land of the dead. But then I realized, too, that Aunt Susie wasn't talking about death the way most of us do. She was talking about "going over" as a journey, a journey that perhaps we can only begin to understand through an appreciation for the boundless capacity of language that, through storytelling, brings us together, despite great distances between cultures, despite great distances in time.

Notes