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THE LITERACY EVENT HORIZON: EXAMINING ORALITY
AND LITERACY IN LESLIE MARMON SILKO'S
CEREMONY

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts,
in
English Composition:
Teaching English as a Second Language
English Composition

by
Andréa Diane Davis

December 2005

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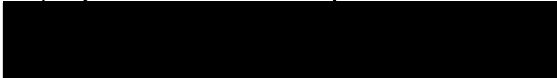
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ABSTRACT

Leslie Marmon Silko's novel *Ceremony* interweaves oral traditions and tribal folklore into the narrative form, creating a hybrid text. The novel thematizes the conflict between oral and literate ways of knowing that researchers in literacy and composition have been debating for the past forty years. While the text highlights conflicts between social, cultural, and identity issues associated with orality and literacy, ultimately Silko's creation of a hybrid text and the use of themes of hybridity provide evidence for the coexisting relationship of orality and literacy and advocate hybrid identity.

This thesis examines orality and literacy in *Ceremony*, first applying James Gee's concept of Discourses to illustrate how literacy and orality thematically constitute hybrid identity in the novel. Additionally, through examining the conflicts between Discourses, Gee's framework helps to highlight the hybrid identity Silko promotes.

The thesis then applies Wallace Chafe's linguistic framework of integration and involvement showing that the novel is a linguistic hybrid, not just a text that thematically elevates hybridity.

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Additionally I would like to acknowledge my graduate thesis committee -- Suzanne Lane, Mary Boland, and Sunny Hyon -- for their extended time, effort and concentration in helping me to complete this project over the distance of many states.

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CHAPTER ONE

ORALITY, LITERACY AND HYBRIDITY

Introduction

Ever since anthropologists, sociologists and other researchers began to report on their field work in primary oral cultures, the question of the differences between orality and literacy has been prominent in research surrounding language, social behavior, psychology and many other fields. One reason that interest remains high in this subject is because notions of orality and literacy cut through complex issues of social values, identity formation, functions of memory, social structures of society, language development, and other such related humanistic issues. As researchers have considered the effects of literacy on oral cultures, the implications of orality and literacy have carried over into literary scholarship as well.

Literary criticisms of Leslie Marmon Silko's novel, *Ceremony*, have remarked over the years at its extraordinary ability to combine elements of orality, through the use of embedded oral traditions, with the narrative prose of the novel. Initially, because Silko's novel highlights

conflicts between social, cultural, and identity issues associated with orality and literacy, the reader may interpret Silko as suggesting that either orality or literacy must ultimately be valued over the other in order to successfully integrate them. However, through the creation of an oral and literate hybrid text, Silko provides evidence for the coexisting relationship of orality and literacy along with their inherent identities. Silko creates many layers of this rich, hybrid experience through the use of themes of hybridity as well through creating a linguistic hybrid. In Silko's worldview, Native American identity is complicated and hybrid for myriad reasons; her novel suggests that embracing hybridity is a mechanism of survival and growth for both the Native American and the non-native American alike.

The hybrid nature of *Ceremony* can be further considered through frameworks from literacy studies and linguistics. This thesis will use such frameworks to examine the relationship between orality and literacy within the novel, demonstrating how Silko artfully manipulates the written text in ways that value the hybrid identity through mixing the oral and literate modes. Specifically, this thesis will apply James Gee's concept of

Discourses [author's use of capitalization] to illustrate how literacy and orality thematically constitute hybrid identity in the novel. Additionally, this thesis applies Wallace Chafe's linguistic framework of integration and involvement demonstrating that the novel is also a linguistic hybrid, not just a text that thematically valorizes hybridity.

Ceremony As An Oral-Literate Hybrid

Ceremony integrates the story of Tayo, a mixedblood Laguna Indian suffering Post Traumatic Stress Disorder after WWII, with ritual stories of creation and healing, placing the oral tradition in conflict with the more modern "literate" worldview that is represented through Tayo's doctors, former teachers, his aunt, and other characters. Tayo must learn to reinsert himself into his communal culture in order to become whole by participating in an oral ceremony. Like Tayo, the ceremony itself is a hybrid, incorporating elements of Western literate culture such as calendars and phone books. Many critics argue that the novel itself is a hybrid; Marilyn Miller (2000), for instance, claims, "Silko's text displays a deep belief in the text's power to successfully represent "mythic" and

"real" worlds in a single epistemological system available to Indian and non-Indian readers alike" (p. 158). Thus, by creating a hybrid on many levels, Silko is able to convey the coexisting relationship between oral and literate ways of knowing as a system of belief which offers something to all readers. In other words, rather than merely reclaiming traditional stories, Silko employs the oral stories in her novel to both enact and offer examples of hybridity. A richer understanding of orality and literacy and a better appreciation of some of the ways Silko treats oral-literate hybridity can be discerned through examining literary critiques of her novel.

Literary texts that address issues of orality and literacy can reflect ways that oral and literate discourses exist in hybrid relationship to one another. With respect to Silko's *Ceremony*, for example, a number of scholars have explored how oral storytelling is incorporated textually within the literate prose. For example, Dickinson (1994) found that many Indigenous authors deliberately mix oral

and literate modes of communication, which he refers to as genres¹:

And yet for Indigenous writers [...] for whom the question of genre, like the question of literacy, has long been that of an absence speaking silence, their texts at once "participate" in a given genre and exceed the boundaries of any fixed and stable system of categorization or "belonging." This relates once again to orality, for it is precisely the presence of oral features such as dialogue/dialect, embedded narratives, and storytelling within the hybridized and mixed texts [...] which makes them resistant to easy aesthetic or formalist treatment. (p. 330)

Citing anthropologist Ruth Finnegan, Dickinson suggests² that orality and literacy are not separate concepts, but "form part of one larger dynamic in which both written and oral forms interact" (1994, p.321). This dynamic is based on both social and cultural context and places orality and literacy on a continuum rather than in a dichotomy. The

¹ The term hybrid genre in this case is referring to mixing modes of communication and should not be confused with the larger body of "genre studies."

² Other researchers who support this claim include Tannen, Chafe, Heath and Gee.

dynamic that Dickinson refers to is the intersection of orality and literacy -- a hybrid form. He further states, "These inherently hybrid texts at once give voice to Indigenous memory systems long silenced by the history of imperialism, and transform the usually solitary reading experience into a more cooperative and responsive act of listening" (p. 320).

Silko takes this cooperative and responsive act a step further. By not commenting on or explaining the mythologies and folklore embedded in the novel, Silko invites the reader into the story, involving the reader in much the way the oral performance would involve the listener. In other words, the reader must contribute to the story by providing his or her own meaning for the embedded folklore because Silko gives no real context or explanation. The reader provides the context through his or her own experience and therefore interpretation of the embedded story. Citing research from Scollon and Scollon, Dickinson explains that storytelling requires the "reader/listener to engage in a reciprocity of perspectives/positions, to negotiate with the writer/speaker by providing "new information" to the story, matching the "background material" with "foregrounded material"" (Dickinson, 1994, p. 333). To

restate, Dickinson claims that both readers of and listeners to oral stories are required to interact with the text (oral or written) in such a way that their own experiences and knowledge becomes the lens through which they interpret and understand the story, thus providing new information to the story.

Not only the cultural analyses of scholars like Dickinson, but literary critiques of the novel have also addressed reader/listener interaction. In discussing this involvement role of the listener/reader, Elaine Jahner (1981) reveals a particular insight from interviewing Silko:

Ceremony engages the reader as a participant in shaping the story. Its transitions are sometimes unexpected and a willingness to go along with the protagonist in seeking the connections between place, time, and event is a precondition of sharing. It accomplishes its commentary on art's ancient function of healing and of shaping human condition primarily because Silko maintains descriptive contact with the concrete physical details that make a story work. (p. 49)

In Jahner's view, Silko is very successful in adopting the oral aspect of involving the audience. In the article "Language and Literature from a Pueblo Indian Perspective," Silko claims that the involvement creates a shared experience, which "grows out of a strong community base" (p. 23).

There is a paradox in the stories because they are both the memories of past tribal experience and the creation of new experience. The most powerful stories begin, as *Ceremony* does, by invoking the creation story. Silko's novel requires the reader to become part of the ceremony through the eyes of Tayo; "As readers and rememberers, we participate in one of the key facets of the story. Through our activity we help to create the narrative universe" (Keyes, 1999, p. 130).

Not only does Silko involve the reader experientially, she also employs different visual modes to create a more interactive and multi-layered experience for the reader. Silko offsets sections of the novel in terms of how they are represented with spacing, centering, and typesetting. As Robert M. Nelson's (2001) examinations of the embedded

oral stories reveals³, the folk tales are presented on the page in the same manner that poetry might be, using space on the page to set the story apart as well as the words. For example, on the very first page of the novel, Silko writes:

Ts'its'tsi'nako, Thought-Woman,
is sitting in her room
and whatever she thinks about
appears.

She thought of her sisters,
Nau'ts'ity'i and I'tcts'ity'i,
and together they created the Universe
this world
and the four worlds below.

Thought-Woman, the spider,
named things and
as she named them
they appeared.

She is sitting in her room
Thinking of a story now

I'm telling you the story
she is thinking.

Silko makes use of space on the page to show the importance of the words. The lines are shorter, like verse, and centered on the page horizontally. By highlighting certain

³ I mainly attribute my analysis of Silko's text to Robert Nelson, but it should be noted that Gregory Salyer (1997) also provides a discussion of some of these structural features in his book, *Leslie Marmon Silko*.

sections of the novel in this way, Silko creates many dimensions in the text.

For some of the offset text like the initial bracketing⁴ of the word "Sunrise," Silko places the word at the horizon of the page as if the sun were, indeed, rising at the top of the page. This contrasts sharply with the beginning of the prose text, wrapped end to end, at the bottom of the next page and indented halfway into the page (Nelson, 2001).


Additionally, the text of the long, nine-part story sequence of departure and recovery referred to by Nelson as the "backbone" of the novel is even typeset to visually resemble skeletal vertebrae (see *Appendix A* for full text). As Nelson states:

And finally, of course, this retexturing of the Boas transcriptions also suggests the arrangement of the vertebrae of a backbone, embedded within and giving distinctively human form to the fleshed-out body of Tayo's prose narrative story. And in case we miss the forest here, Silko sees to it that we can see the same point in each

⁴ The concept of Sunrise as initial bracketing and discussion of vertebrae arrangement comes from Robert M. Nelson (2001) in his essay "Rewriting Ethnography: The Embedded Texts in Leslie Silko's Ceremony."

tree: each of the fragments, center-justified on the page but composed of lines of varying lengths, takes on a suggestively skeletal appearance. Lives within lives, backbones within backbones. (Nelson, 2001, p. 54)

Table 1. Backbone Imagery

<i>Sample selection of text</i>	<i>Image of human vertebrae</i>
<p>One time Old Woman K'yo's son came in from Reedleaf town up north. His name was Pa'caya'nyi and he didn't know who his father was.</p> <p>He asked the people "You people want to learn some magic?" and the people said "Yes, we can always use some."</p> <p>Ma'see'wi and Ou'yu'ye'wi the twin brothers were caring for the mother corn altar, but they got interested in this magic too.</p>	

Although words themselves may form a visual image, Silko uses space and placement as an additional form of visual representation for the reader, providing emphasis in a way that parallels an oral telling of the same information.

A final instance of the visual mode is the inclusion of the star map on page 179. Nelson (2001) claims that the

novel. Citing Native American author and critic Paula Gunn Allen, Nelson explains that the term "hama-ha" means something along the lines of "long ago, so far." These are clan stories or even tribe stories telling of important events and often include the theme of departure and recovery. Some portions of the novel serve more than one function. For example, while the nine-part sequence of "One Time" visually represents skeletal vertebrae, it also functions as a backbone of the novel, connecting various parts of the novel with the reader's vicarious experiences. In further describing this strand of embedded oral story, Nelson claims that Silko:

sequences the nine blocks of this text [the oral story known as "One Time"] from one end of the body of the prose narrative to the other, like trail markers for the reader who needs periodic reassurance that the direction of Tayo's story is staying congruent with the story of Our Mother's ceremonial recovery that ontologically precedes it. (para. 14)

The sections of the hama-ha stories are artfully woven throughout the prose story of Tayo, providing an oral-like

telling of departure and recovery as a "backbone" to the literate text of Tayo's quest.

In fact, the hama-ha stories are not only markers of orality features, but they also contain markers of oral performance within the embedded text. For example, in some sections of embedded story, Silko employs authorial asides placing the information in squared brackets: "[he said]" (p. 2). Moreover, the "he" in this embedded text speaks directly to the reader/listener, addressing him or her in the first person: "Here, put your hand on it/See, it is moving" (p. 2). In other places where Silko is merely reporting dialog, it is noted within quotation marks, but quotes are absent from these lines illustrating the directed speech, which encapsulates an oral telling. It is common in oral storytelling for a speaker to give asides and to directly address the audience at times. By recreating these techniques in a textual environment, Silko provides a parallel to the oral storytelling.

Like the Indigenous writers of Dickinson's study, which examined how Indigenous writers from around the world may use oral features as deliberate techniques, Silko also employs oral features as intentional narrative strategies. Dickinson's study of Indigenous writers reveals an

important impetus for mixing strategies: "the incorporation of oral/aural speech patterns in contemporary [...] texts constitutes a conscious attempt on the part of Indigenous writers [...] to recuperate stories and methods of storytelling hitherto devalued as backward or unsophisticated by dominant White culture" (p. 333). Robert Nelson (2001) examined Silko's work in a similar vein and determined that she intentionally mixes strategies in this way to "repatriate" the texts and contexts of stories written down by ethnographers to breath new life into them and make them live again. As Nelson states it in his article, *Rewriting Ethnography*:

This, it seems to me, is what Silko's presentation of these same materials amounts to: an act of repatriation, putting those Laguna bones collected by the ethnographers back to their original use - to serve as backbone for a Laguna story about Laguna life in Laguna country.

(p. 55)

In response to the unconscious bias against "non-literates," Silko mixes genres, or modes, in ways that valorize the oral traditions even in literate formats.

Nelson's study of Silko speaks of this in terms of a reciprocal relationship:

Properly speaking, in the structure of *Ceremony* the context for Laguna story is Laguna story: the "traditional" story involving Pacayanyi and Hummingbird Man traditionalizes the "now'day" story of Emo and Tayo while simultaneously the prose narrative context revives the backbone of embedded text. In this way, the embedded texts become part of the "now'day" performance, in the process becoming as *au courant* and contemporary as the narrative skin they are in. (p. 55)

Thus, Silko hybridizes oral and literate modes of language and creates a reciprocal and coexisting relationship between them.

Early Notions of Orality and Literacy

Thus far, this thesis has shown the ways in which Silko engages in hybridizing oral and literate modes of language by embedding oral stories into the narrative prose of *Ceremony*. The discussion has revealed how critics have examined the novel to reveal that, indeed, the stories intertwined throughout the novel are oral stories and

behave like oral stories despite being written.

Consequently, the following section will provide an overview of research into orality and literacy to help further distinguish those features of language associated with orality and literacy and help set up the discussion of Silko's hybrid novel.

In 1982, Walter J. Ong published *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* in which he examined how early and contemporary research and field work in various disciplines has resulted in a greater understanding of the "oral character of language" and "some of the deeper implications of the contrasts between orality and writing" (p. 5). His purpose in producing this text was to illuminate the social, cultural, and literary effects of writing, print and even electronic technologies.

As he examined the work of researchers like Marshal McLuhan, Jack Goody, Eric Havelock, and others, Ong developed a broad definition of both orality and literacy, paying particular attention to what some call "oral literature." Although Ong was not satisfied with the implications of this term, he used it to describe the form of oral tradition like a proverb or other story that is organized and handed down from speaker to speaker in a

ritualized fashion. Ong stated, "Oral cultures indeed produce powerful and beautiful verbal performances of high artistic human worth, which are no longer even possible once writing has taken possession of the psyche" (p. 14). Ong contrasted this with literacy, which is marked by cultures who use some kind of writing to record words or information. While some early researchers such as Saussure claimed that writing was merely a representation of spoken word, Ong claimed that the technology of writing actually changed the cognitive structure and abilities of its users, creating significant differences between oral language and written language.

Ong claimed specific cognitive differences between oral or "preliterate" cultures and literate cultures, forming what came to be known as the "great divide" hypothesis. Ong's own research positioned him as a spearhead for the great divide theory, which "posits that writing makes possible verbatim memory and abstract and sequentially logical thought, and that written discourse is decontextualized or autonomous, whereas nonliterate culture is associated with constructive memory and concrete rhapsodic thought, and that spoken discourse is context-bound" (Chafe and Tannen, 1987, pp. 391-392).

More specifically, the great divide theory holds that the transient and personal nature of oral language means that it is dependant on context, interaction and formulaic structure in order to remember it and pass it on. Ong stated, "In an oral culture, knowledge, once acquired, had to be constantly repeated or it would be lost: fixed, formulaic thought patterns were essential for wisdom and effective administration" (p. 23). Oral composition depends on formulaic and mnemonic constructions, building one thought upon another to reproduce information which relies on social context and shared meaning for retelling.

By contrast, Ong claimed, writing restructures thought; literate composition is analytical, sequential and linear, and no longer relies on social context or repetition and formulaic encoding. As Patricia Gillikin (1993) explained, "Because writing is visual, it allows for analysis, division into parts, and reconsideration of what has been written in a way that oral/aural performances/acts make more difficult" (p. 89). Ong further defines the dichotomy of orality and literacy stating that oral thought is additive rather than subordinate, aggregate rather than

analytic, empathic and participatory rather than objective and distanced, and situational rather than abstract⁵.

Orality and Literacy in *Ceremony*

In producing an oral-literate hybrid novel, Silko resists such a dichotomous view of language and the inherent ways of knowing. One way Silko's resistance can be seen is by applying Ong's own definitions of orality and literacy to confirm the oralness of the textual representations of the embedded oral stories. In many ways, the sections of embedded oral story (the hama-ha stories) that Silko presents fit the characterization of oral features Ong posits. For example, Ong asserts that oral cultures must use mnemonic devices or markers for memory and these devices must be acquired through a kind of apprenticeship:

They learn by apprenticeship - hunting with experienced hunters, for example - by discipleship, which is a kind of apprenticeship, by listening, by repeating what they hear, by mastering proverbs and ways of combining and

⁵ For a more thorough discussion and examples of each bifurcated pair, see Ong's book, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (1982).

recombining them, by assimilating other formulary materials, by participation in a kind of corporate retrospective - not by study in the strict sense. (p. 9)

The reader of *Ceremony* can see this apprenticeship in action as Tayo's childhood memories reveal that his Uncle Josiah told him many stories to explain life and the world around them. Although the reader is not told what all of those stories were, the stories are identified as a source of conflict because "[Tayo] had believed in the stories for a long time, until the teachers at Indian school taught him not to believe in that kind of 'nonsense'" (Silko, 1977, p. 19). Yet, Tayo deeply loved his uncle and wanted to believe in him. This conflict is resolved by the end of the story; just as Ong claims an oral culture must pass on its information through formulas and stories, Silko portrays Tayo at the end of the novel telling his story to the elders of Laguna, providing markers in the story about time of day and the direction where things occurred.

Silko further incorporates what Ong considers oral features of language through the use of mnemonic devices such as line breaks and verse structures. Often associated with songs or chanting, many oral speech acts are heavily

rhythmic in nature and depend on word choice and word-shape for remembrance. Linguists, Tannen and Chafe (1987)

explain:

Line and verse structure characterizes all spoken discourse, corresponding to the intonational and episodic chunking Chafe has demonstrated in spoken narrative. It is not that narratives or conversations are poetry but that poetry uses line and verse breaks to capture in print qualities characteristic of speaking that are lost or muted in written prose. (p. 396)

By employing line breaks and verse structure in the embedded oral story, but not in the narrative prose text, Silko creates decidedly oral-like language in a textual environment. Examples of this can be seen in the earlier discussion of the ways in which Silko employs various visual modes within the novel.

While Ong focused solely on the words themselves as mnemonic markers for the passing and preserving of knowledge and events, other researchers have examined the influence of related factors. For example, Jan Assmann (1992) discussed what he called "cultural memory," remarking the following:

Cultural memory resembles a founding memory, pointing to events in the distant past. It is preserved and even objectivized [*sic*] not only in language, but also in nonlinguistic artifacts. Its primary places are ritual and festive celebrations. Its reproduction and preservation require (a) a poetic form, (b) a multi-media ritual performance, and (c) collective participation. (p. 388)

An important footnote to the term "multi-media" performance is that such may include "dances, games, rhythm, melodies, eating and drinking, places, spaces, tatoos, weapons," and any other thing that contextualizes the information (p. 388). In re-telling the oral stories within the narrative prose, Silko crafts an interactive, contextualized, multi-mediated text that employs cultural memory. Hence, her novel illustrates how the interactive nature of oral language is not only the required face-to-face interaction, but can also include the physical activities associated with the telling of the event. Moreover, Silko successfully represents these distinctly oral features in the written text of the novel, thereby resisting the dichotomy of

orality and literacy associated with Ong's great divide theory.

In addition to mnemonic markers and related factors, repetition is another important feature distinguishing the difference between oral and written language. Silko further represents the oralness of the embedded stories by employing repetition in her novel differently for the embedded oral stories than she does for the written prose of the narrative. In the prose story of Tayo, Silko relates that old Grandma tried to care for Tayo when he was sick. "She held his head in her lap and she cried with him, saying "A'moo'oh, a'moo'oh" over and over again" (p. 33). However, in the embedded oral text of one of the hama-ha stories, Silko does not merely tell us that the words were repeated; instead, she actually provides the repeated lines:

Cover the jar with a/new buckskin/and say this
over the jar/and sing this softly above the
jar:/After four days/you will be alive/After four
days/you will be alive/After four days/you will
be alive/ After four days/you will be alive. (pp.
71-72)

By using such oral features as mnemonic markers, line structure, and repetition, Silko successfully depicts orality and distinguishes it from the literate prose of the novel even as she crafts the stories in print.

Another feature of orality present in *Ceremony*, matching Ong's description of oral features, is formulaic encoding. By this, Ong refers to the repeated use of set phrases or expression such as proverbs or epithets (p. 25). This may also be seen in the use of patterns or traditional tropes. Silko not only employs what Robert M. Nelson (2001) calls a traditional Keresan trope of departure and recovery, but she also uses initial bracketing⁶. Nelson's detailed and highly interesting analysis of the use of the Sunrise trope in *Ceremony* reveals that Silko utilizes bracketing in two places.

The first bracketing is the opening verse of the novel with Silko's narrative voice telling the reader (or perhaps listener) that this story is Thought-Woman's story and the narrator is telling us the story that Thought-Woman is thinking right now. The use of this verbal framing device establishes authority, signals the reader/listener that a

⁶ In a series of articles, Robert M. Nelson (2001) discusses conventions of oral storytelling in Laguna.

story is about to begin and, "for a Keresan-speaking audience the phrase not only cues the beginning of a storytelling performance, but it also locates the event of the coming story in the spatial and temporal vicinity of origin-ality" (Nelson, 2001, para. 9). Nelson also states, "One of the functions of the pretext in the novel is to provide, for the prose narrative, an anchor in traditional Keresan motifs" (para. 13). Providing an oral story as an anchor for the rest of the action in the novel may be seen as one of the ways that orality is valued over literacy, and yet, Silko constructs these oral stories in a textual environment, thereby further advancing the notion of hybridity.

The second initial bracket that Silko employs is the use of the word "Sunrise" to orient the reader as to place and time. In his discussion of the "Sunrise" trope, Robert Nelson (2001) explains that this word in the novel takes the place of the more traditional Keresan term "hama-ha." Nelson compares this with the Western literate use of the phrase, "once upon a time," which signals the reader/listener that a story is about to begin. Further in Nelson's discussion, he relates that by substituting "Sunrise" for "hama-ha," Silko accomplishes two tasks.

First, Silko orients the reader/listener to not just "long ago," but specifically to the origin of all life associated with the sunrise. Furthermore, she also demonstrates how these stories can be changed over time and are dynamic rather than static, which further advocates hybridity.

Mnemonic devices, repetition, and tropes are not the only features of orality in *Ceremony*. The novel also presents the concept that words have power. Because words must be produced through a sounding, and because they must be said by a person, speaking, Ong claimed, is a powerful act. Ong stated, "The fact that oral peoples commonly and in all likelihood universally consider words to have magical potency is clearly tied in, at least unconsciously, with their sense of the word as necessarily spoken, sounded, and hence power-driven" (p. 32). Very often, primary oral societies do not distinguish between the speaker and the words, but see a very close relationship between the two. Words are seen as living organisms - as dynamic. Dickinson's (1994) study of orality in literacy in Indigenous writing supports this assertion. In citing the work of Indigenous writer, Lee Maracle, Dickinson claims that oratory is both a "place of prayer" and a method of persuasion:

Words are not objects to be wasted. They represent the accumulated knowledge, cultural values, the vision of an entire people or peoples. We believe the proof of a thing or idea is in the doing. Doing requires some form of social interaction and thus, story is the most persuasive and sensible way to present the accumulated thoughts and values of a people.

(Maracle, 1990, pp. 322-323)

The idea of words as power and the importance of story are also intimately tied with Ong's concept of orality being conservative and closely tied to the human lifeworld. In one of the embedded story sections, Silko illustrates the belief that words have power and are embodied in the people (the human lifeworld):

I will tell you something about stories,/[he said]/They aren't just entertainment./Don't be fooled./ They are all we have, you see,/all we have to fight off/illness and death./You don't have anything/if you don't have the stories./Their evil is mighty/but it can't stand up to our stories./So they try and destroy the stories/let the stories be confused or

forgotten./They would like that/They would be
happy/Because we would be defenseless then./He
rubbed his belly./I keep them here/[he
said]/Here, put your hand on it/See, it is
moving./There is life here for the people./And in
the belly of this story/the rituals and the
ceremony/are still growing. (p. 2)

Silko depicts the stories as living entities, which are kept safe in the belly of the storyteller, growing like a baby in the womb. And like the birth of a child, with each telling of a story, the life of the people is reborn and renewed.

Developing Notions of Orality and Literacy

Hybrid texts like *Ceremony*, which clearly contain elements of both orality and literacy as defined by Ong, point to a need for more inclusive and cooperative models of orality and literacy. The oral and literate hybrid text challenges Ong's notions of orality and literacy and exemplifies some of the issues that Ong's challengers have raised. Many of these challengers, such as Brian Street, James Gee, Shirley Brice Heath and others, have claimed that Ong's dichotomy is too simplistic and that other

factors such as social, political, and cultural dynamics necessitate a more context-based analysis of language use. Some researchers who have criticized Ong's dichotomy have claimed that his notion of literacy as a neutral technology⁷ creates a false and dangerously unconscious bias against "non-literates." For example, Jan Swearingen (1986) stated that such simplistic categorizing, "is, indeed, dangerous because on the one hand, it promotes a romantization [*sic*] of orality that is reductive and condescending and, on the other hand, it fosters a valorization of literacy that ignores positive and complex qualities of orality" (as cited in Gillikin, 1993, p. 91).

Furthermore, Beth Daniell (1986) was particularly concerned with how such overgeneralizations of literacy negatively influence composition studies. Daniell contended that the great divide hypothesis and its supporters "privilege Western/literate ideas of intelligence" because of the tendency to conflate abstract thinking with intelligence (as cited in Gillikin, 1993, p. 91). One of the major objections to the great divide theory is how the dichotomy tends to create an either/or concept of literacy

⁷ Ong claimed that writing is a completely artificial, alien, and neutral technology.

and hence intelligence. In other words, in speaking of "literate" and "pre-literate" cultures, there is an often unconscious tendency to consider "pre" or "non-literates" as somehow less intelligent than peoples who have literacy.

Other opponents⁸ of Ong's dichotomy object that Ong's definitions of literacy failed to account for variations in literacy caused by context and purpose. In essence, Ong's definitions are seen as flat and reductive. As Chafe and Tannen (1987) explain it, "the dominant view of literacy as encoding and decoding skills belies its true nature and complexity..." (p. 392). Such objections to Ong's dichotomy are based on the fact that Ong completely decontextualized writing, viewing it as a neutral skill, and failed, in the eyes of many researchers, to take into account the important and complex factors of both oral and written language production including social factors and language acquisition.

Current Research Into Orality and Literacy

In response to the "great divide," many researchers⁹ have concentrated on the social constraints of literacy and

⁸ For example, see Brian Street (1984).

⁹ Some of these include Brian Street, Shirley Brice Heath, Deborah Tannen, James Gee, and many others. Further discussion of social

language and their relationship with identity. More current research studies that examine the social factors have brought many researchers to reject Ong's "great divide" between orality and literacy and instead claim that these lie on a continuum, or that there is a coexisting relationship between orality and literacy. In order to study the social factors that influence the relationship between orality and literacy, many researchers engage in ethnographic studies of the literate practices and events of various communities and contexts. For example, Shirley Brice Heath (1982) performed literacy ethnographies in two small communities, Trackton and Roadville, in the Carolinas, where she examined the contexts and social practices of individuals. Her studies revealed that oral and written language forms work together to form competency, hence the concept of a continuum of orality and literacy rather than an oppositional relation.

This concept of a continuum for oral and literate language has led to the development of the concept of "multiple literacies." In his address to the 1996 World Conference on Literacy, Richard Kelder observed, "This

constructions of literacy can be found in *Literacy: A Critical Sourcebook* (2001).

research [into the coexisting relationship between language forms] contributes to an understanding of the nature of "multiple literacies" that exist in the intersection of the contexts of language, culture, society, politics and ideology" (Literacy Theories and Methodology section, para. 1). Thus this chapter provides an overview of current research into hybrid language forms and structures. While none of the researchers opposing Ong's dichotomy have examined hybrid texts like *Ceremony*, it is clear that Silko's novel provides evidence for the kind of continuum they speak of. By including forms and structures associated with orality within the textual environment of the novel, Silko demonstrates the intersections of oral and literate ways of knowing.

Various researchers opposing the great divide theory also claim that continuum of orality and literacy examines the intersection of language, culture, politics, and identity issues. Therefore, Chapter Two further explores issues of identity and oral and literate ways of knowing through language, literacy and discourses, which James Gee (1989) terms Literacy Studies. Concerning both literacy and linguistics, Gee proposes that social practices should be the focus of research. Gee's particular focus examines not

only what people say, but how they say it and what they are doing and being while they say it. In other words, Gee examines the social context of language use, both written and oral, in order to determine a type of "identity kit" that reveals values, beliefs, attitudes, and so forth. Therefore, this chapter will provide an in depth analysis of the identity kits associated with the main characters of *Ceremony*, showing how their underlying values and beliefs, coupled with Silko's thematic representation of hybridity, ultimately promote hybridity.

Chapter Three of this thesis applies a linguistic framework of integration and involvement, demonstrating that *Ceremony* is a linguistic hybrid as well as advocating hybridity through its themes and content. Studies of multiple literacies and linguistics have led researchers like Chafe and Tannen (1987) to examine a variety of discourses, besides the typical conversation or written essay, which combine spoken and written discourse elements. Chafe and Tannen summarize the findings of several studies¹⁰, which found that linguistic "strategies associated with writing could be found in spoken language"

¹⁰ Chafe and Tannen summarized research by Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, Gilmore, & Michaels. For a more thorough discussion of this research see *The Relation Between Written and Spoken Language* (1987).

and "certain ways of speaking could be a preparation for expository writing, and that strategies associated with orality could be found in writing" (p. 394). Chafe (1982, 1985, 2002) did further research into linguistic features of language and developed concepts he calls integration and involvement. Writing is more integrated and detached whereas speaking is more fragmented and involved. However, in his studies of data ranging from informal spoken language to formal academic written language, Chafe concluded that some forms of language may contain linguistic features of both. For example, in studying the ritualized speech of Seneca Indians, Chafe found some hybrid features in language use. Therefore, it is likely that Silko's use of ritualized oral stories will also demonstrate linguistic hybridity.

To conclude this thesis, Chapter Four will provide further analysis of the presence of hybridity within the novel. The chapter will also serve as a summary of the applications.

CHAPTER TWO
ORALITY, LITERACY AND THE
HYBRID IDENTITY

Discovering, defining, and negotiating identity is a central theme in *Ceremony*. Recalling from Chapter One, Silko employs a traditional trope of departure and recovery, which highlights the issues of identity. The fundamental idea is that someone from the tribe must always venture out to discover their identity and come to terms with the values and beliefs constructing their identity. In performing this quest, the person becomes changed by the forces "out there" and must learn how to integrate these new changes within the cultural identity of the tribe. The process of change and integration is vital to the growth and survival of the tribe as a whole as each quest brings new knowledge and practices into the tribe. Furthermore, by creating a half-breed protagonist, Silko valorizes values and beliefs intrinsic to this hybrid identity.

James Gee's (1989) model of Discourses (author's use of capitalization) as identity kits, as well as his analysis of how individuals negotiate multiple, dynamic, and sometimes conflicting identity kits, is useful for

examining characters in literature such as those in *Ceremony* who engage with and embody complex Discourses and experience the challenges of hybrid identity. Applying Gee's notion of Discourses to examine how *Ceremony* thematizes the agitation between oral and literate ways of knowing will help to illuminate the "saying-doing-being-valuing-believing" combinations that constitute hybrid identity (Gee, p. 526). Not only does the half-breed protagonist, Tayo, embody hybrid identity and often contentious Discourses, but the full-blood antagonist, Emo, also faces conflicted Discourses illustrating that complete enculturation into a single Discourse is not a viable option, and therefore ultimately suggesting that hybridity offers a key for survival and growth. While the recurring theme of returning to communal ways may be seen as valuing those communal ways over other ways of knowing, the novel's resolution points to a balance found only in hybrid identity. By combining literary criticisms of theme with Gee's framework of Discourses from Literacy Studies, this chapter will explore the hybrid identity Silko advocates through Tayo and the hybrid healing ceremony, which teaches him to blend oral and literate identity kits.

Discourses As Identity Kits

Discourses are a concept offered by James Gee. In 1989, Gee claimed that a new field of study using both "psycho" and "socio" approaches to language was emerging; he called this field Literacy Studies. In this he argues that "the focus of literacy studies or applied linguistics should *not* be language, or literacy, but *social practices*" [author's emphasis] (p. 525). Accordingly, Gee is not only interested in what people say, but how they say it and what they are doing and being while they say it. Examining the relationship between literacy and linguistics, Gee claims that Discourses are "identity kits" that "integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, and social identities..." (p. 526). These identity kits are important because communication is more than just language use; it is a combination of factors that involve what you say along with who you are and what you are doing and being while you say it. That is to say, Discourses are a combination of "saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing" (p. 526). These combinations are what Gee refers to as Discourses with a capital "D." Gee differentiates Discourses from lower-case discourses, which he views as merely coherent strings of language that make sense. Hence he views discourses as part

of Discourses (p. 526). Furthermore, these identity kits come "complete with the appropriate costume and instructions on how to act, talk, and often write, so as to take on a particular role that others will recognize" (Gee, p. 526). Examples of Discourses constituting identity kits might include such roles as: man, woman, American, Russian, a member of a sewing circle, a factory worker, and so forth. These examples illustrate the multiple layers involved in being-saying-doing-believing needed to actively participate in Discourses (p. 526). Gee also claims that we each have multiple Discourses, which we acquire through a process of apprenticeship.

These multiple Discourses lead to what Gee refers to as Primary and Secondary Discourses. Primary Discourses are the ones we are socialized into early in life in our home and peer groups. "This is our socio-culturally determined way of using our native language in face-to-face communication with intimates [...] sometimes referred to as 'the oral mode'" (p. 541.) Discourses are always acquired through enculturation and so this home-based Discourse is how we learn to initially make sense of things and how we define identity (p. 527). Secondary Discourses are those acquired through social institutions and other

environments. Sometimes the secondary Discourse is more socially dominant than the primary Discourse, and thus causes friction between Discourses. In Tayo's situation, he not only must face this particular dynamic, the secondary Discourse being dominant, but he must also learn to cope with the fact that he is, at the beginning of the novel, still being socialized into his primary home and secondary dominant Discourses and each Discourse is very complex.

Discourses In *Ceremony*

Although recognizing the identity kits at play is often difficult because there is no clear-cut definition of any one Discourse, this is especially true in *Ceremony* where Perhaps as a means of persuading the audience to suspend judgment or preference for oral or literate ways of knowing until the reader has come to understand hybrid Discourses, Silko creates Discourses in conflict with one another. Silko creates an array of characters who have internalized a variety of Discourses. She reassigns the stereotypical behavior to the opposite type character; the half-breeds are more Indian, some of the full-bloods are

more acculturated¹. But unlike the acculturated full-bloods, Tayo's Uncle Josiah and old Grandma are clear representations of the home (primary), Indian, Discourse. Josiah raises Tayo when he is abandoned by his mother and teaches him the "acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, and social identities" (Gee, p. 526) of their home Discourse by inculcating Tayo with the oral traditions of their tribe. In the course of Tayo's memory sequences, we learn that Josiah taught Tayo the "saying-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations" (p. 526) associated with how to hunt, clean, prepare, and give thanks for the deer that sacrificed itself for their meal. When Josiah discovers young Tayo with a pile of flies he has killed, Josiah tells Tayo a story about the green bottle fly who went to save the people, using the mythic story to explain why Tayo should not kill flies. Thus Tayo is instructed through stories. However, Tayo is conflicted because the teachers at school, who represent the literate ideologies of the secondary, dominant Discourse, told him flies are bad and carry disease; yet, now he learns from Josiah that the people have an oral story (primary, non-dominant, home

¹ Arturo Aldama (1996) provides a post-colonial, post-structuralist critique of the role of mixedbloods and other characters in the novel.

Discourse) for the goodness of the fly and respect for its life.

Tayo's aunt ("Auntie") represents the dominant, Western literate Discourse. She is Christian and tries very hard to discourage the family from participating in the old ways that embarrass her. She sends her son, Rocky, to school, encouraging him to become fluent in the dominant, literate Discourse.

Emo, Tayo's nemesis, is a purebred Laguna, but he fully embodies the dominant Western Discourse and is a source of conflict because his access to this Discourse community has been cut off. However, Silko's characters are not always a complete mirror image; she assigns other roles in ways that support promotion of hybridity. The many other characters of the book also take on qualities of different Discourses highlighting the conflicting ways of saying-doing-believing.

Protagonist Discourses

The central Discourse conflict of the novel takes place through the novel's protagonist, Tayo, who is the illegitimate son of a Laguna woman and a white man. The book describes him only as being a mixedblood with hazel

eyes. It is significant to the novel that Tayo's hybrid identity is a source of divergence and is not clearly defined. Tayo's character, at the beginning of the novel, has not completed an apprenticeship into either Indian or white ways of saying-doing-believing and while Gee might interpret such conflicts between Discourses as inhibiting mastery over either one, Silko's emphasis on the conflict between Discourses suggests that there are benefits to inhabiting the liminal spaces between Discourses -- in creating a hybrid Discourse.

One way that Silko displays Tayo's conflict with his Discourses is through the incoherent thoughts and emotions brought on by his WWII experiences and how his flashbacks become entangled with childhood memories. In introducing the reader to Tayo's disjointed sense of identity, Silko provides no gentle introduction to the novel or Tayo's character. In many ways, the strands of memory and flashback represent conflicts with Tayo's Discourses and display his lack of enculturation into either his primary oral-based Discourse or his secondary, literate-based Discourses. For example, at the immediate beginning of prose in the novel, the reader is shown Tayo's nightmare world of WWII flashbacks mixed with incoherent images from

his past. The description and imagery rolls the reader back and forth between the nightmare realm and reality as the narrator describes Tayo's condition and the thoughts and images in his mind:

He tossed in the old iron bed, and the coiled springs kept squeaking even after he lay still again, calling up humid dreams of black night and loud voices rolling him over and over again like debris caught in a flood. (p. 5)

These loud voices may be considered a metaphor for Tayo's inability to completely understand the dominant Discourse and also represents his conflict with its value system and that of his primary home (non-dominant) Discourse. Gee explains that tension or conflict between Discourses is common. Moreover, he claims that some people tend to exhibit "more overt" conflicts between Discourses than do others (p. 528). Gee further asserts that this conflict has a direct effect on acquisition or mastery of the Discourses:

I argue that when such conflict or tension exists, it can deter acquisition of one or the other or both of the conflicting Discourses, or, at least, affect the fluency of a mastered

Discourse on certain occasions of use (e.g., in stressful situations such as interviews). (p. 528)

Tayo's internal conflict brought about by his WWII experiences and the flashbacks of his resulting Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) are symbolic of his internal conflict with the dominant Discourse and can be seen as juxtaposed with his childhood memories.

Tayo's nightmares spark a series of memories from his childhood that flood into the pages with the same fluidity as his dreams. The memories are interwoven throughout the text like the strands of a spider's web². One strand of a flashback leads to another strand of memory, which is crossed by another strand of war flashback. In order to heal himself, Tayo must learn to untangle the memories and not only remember his cultural heritage through the oral traditions and stories, but also integrate his experiences from the literate-based dominant culture. Learning to heal himself is representative of learning to successfully negotiate the various Discourses to gain fluency.

Tayo's conflict between the dominant, or Western literate Discourse and his primary, orality-based home

² Silko (1997) uses the metaphor of a spider's web to describe the structure of Native American stories. The metaphor has also been used by many critics to describe Silko's work.

Discourse, can be interpreted in the opening lines of the novel's prose: "Tonight the singing had come first, squeaking out of the iron bed, a man singing in Spanish, the melody of a familiar love song, two words again and again, 'Y volveré'" (p. 6). A basic translation of the Spanish meaning "And I will return," echoes the departure and recovery trope discussed in Chapter One. That the words are in Spanish may reflect the fact that Tayo has not yet gained fluency in his primary home Discourse, so the concept of returning is still in a foreign language. Furthermore, as Silko's description of Tayo's nightmare continues, the reader sees that there are other voices entangled with the Spanish: "Sometimes the Japanese voices came first, angry and loud, pushing the song far away, and then he could hear the shift in his dreaming, [...] and the voices would become Laguna voices, and he could hear Uncle Josiah calling him..." (p. 6). These additional voices may be representative of other secondary Discourses that Tayo must learn to negotiate along with the Laguna voices, which are Tayo's primary home Discourse.

Tayo is four years old when Josiah begins to raise him and enculturate him into the primary home Discourse over the next several years of his life. While Silko does not

explicitly explain Tayo's lack of language prior to his time with Josiah and Auntie, she does imply it through her story of Tayo as a small boy living in homeless squalor in Gallup with his mother. During this memory sequence, Tayo cries on several occasions but is not seen as speaking or comprehending language. The one and only word Tayo speaks during this memory sequence is a half-articulated, "Muh!" (p. 109). Likewise, Silko does not explicitly state that Laguna is Tayo's primary Discourse, but as Gee describes primary Discourses as those of our home or family, it may be assumed that Laguna is Tayo's home Discourse. Gee asserts, "We acquire this primary Discourse, not by overt instruction, but by being a member of a primary socializing group (family, clan, peer group)" (p. 527). It is significant that Tayo only begins enculturation into "saying-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations" (p. 526) of the home Discourse at four, because he is already at a disadvantage from other members of the home Discourse who begin socialization at birth. Gee's work suggests that Discourses "cannot readily be mastered late in the game" (p. 531), so extra effort and exposure is required for Tayo to become fully enculturated into his primary home Discourse. Nevertheless, even as Josiah enculturates Tayo

with the oral stories and traditions of their primary home Discourse, Tayo is hindered from full access to this Discourse because he does not have fluency in the Laguna language. Tayo knows enough of the Laguna language to understand what is said to him, but cannot converse in it. In this way Silko avoids suggesting that Tayo's return should be one to purely tribal ways.

At the same time that Tayo is being socialized into his oral-based home Discourse, he also begins acquiring the dominant, literate-based Western Discourses through his schooling and then, later, through his enlistment into military service during WWII. In many ways, his exposure to the social institutions of school and military disrupt his enculturation into the oral, primary home discourse, which Tayo had not fully completed yet. Gee explains acquiring secondary Discourses by using the metaphor of second language acquisition. Tayo's exposure to the social institutions of school and military can thus be seen as acquisition of his secondary, literate-based dominant Discourses.

After our initial socialization into our home community, each of us interacts with various non-home-based social institutions [...] Each of

these social institutions commands and demands one or more Discourses and we acquire these fluently to the extent that we are given access to these institutions and are allowed apprenticeships within them. (Gee, p. 527)

For Tayo, the issue of access and apprenticeship is a major concern.

Not only does Tayo begin apprenticeship into his oral-based home Discourse later than most members, but during his school years, Auntie hampers Tayo's ability to master the secondary, literate-based dominant Discourses by intentionally limiting his access and apprenticeship in order to prevent him from obtaining the benefits of full acculturation that she wanted for her son, Rocky. Moreover, going into the military does not complete Tayo's acculturation into the dominant Discourses, either, because of the horrific events in the war³ and the eventual end of the war, which also shut off access to the social institutions. Even as Silko sets up the conflict between

³ Silko stages Tayo and his cousin Rocky as Japanese prisoners of war during the famous Bataan Death March. According to research reports citing numerous historical documents and first-hand reports of POW survivors, at least one person died every 45 minutes. Approximately 24,000 soldiers were killed on the 100-mile march and many thousands followed at the POW camps during the following years. It is during this march that Silko sets Rocky's death.

Discourses that Tayo must face as part of his ceremony, she hints that moving beyond either the primary home Discourse or the dominant secondary Discourse will allow for something greater. Tayo's ceremony will lead him to create hybrid Discourse that benefits from each the home and primary Discourses, but moves beyond them.

In addition to the conflict Tayo experiences in trying to master the primary and secondary Discourses, Tayo's mixedblood identity also provides an insight into the process of negotiating the various Discourses. Several critics of the novel discuss the theme of mixedblood identity and highlight the "doing-being-valuing-believing" combinations at work. To illustrate, Patricia Riley⁴ (2002) explains, "most writers of Indian novels create mixed blood or half-breed protagonists, treating the theme of cultural conflict by incorporating it into the psychological and social being of the characters" (p. 61). Mixedbloods are often perceived as a bridge between cultures⁵ or as interpreters between not only "the red and white worlds," but also between the spiritual and mythic traditions. Rather than merely create a bridge between cultures,

⁴ Citing mixedblood author and critic Paula Gunn Allen.

⁵ Patricia Riley (2002) offers an excellent discussion of the historical role of mixedbloods as interpreters between worlds.

though, Silko creates a half-breed protagonist to valorize the values and beliefs associated with hybridity.

The fact that Silko deliberately creates a mixedblood character is viewed by critics as a political statement and as a way to redefine identity for the Laguna⁶.

Mixedbloodedness is important to both whites and Indians because the quantity of Indian blood is often used as a means of control for land and other rights. As a mixedblood, Tayo must learn to create his own identity as he negotiates issues of acculturation, assimilation and identity between multiple cultures⁷.

As Tayo negotiates the various "saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing" (p. 526) factors that constitute his Discourses, the struggle he experiences between his oral-based home Discourse and the dominant, literate-based, secondary Discourses is also thematized throughout the novel. Gee's concept of Discourses underscores the source of this conflict. Gee claims:

The various Discourses which constitute each of us as persons are changing and often are not

⁶ See Arturo Aldama (1996) for a discussion of the political implications of mixedblood characters.

⁷ Marilyn Miller (2000) offers a critique of the role mixedbloods must play in mediating identity and how this mediation is reflected through the various landscape motifs in the novel.

fully consistent with each other; there is often conflict and tension between the values, beliefs, attitudes, interactional styles, uses of language, and ways of being in the world which two or more Discourses represent. (p. 527)

The contention between the inherent values and attitudes of the literate-based dominant and oral-based, non-dominant Discourses causes Tayo to experience acute conflict. Gee further notes that such tension between Discourses can deter the acquisition of any two Discourses, although this is particularly difficult when the two Discourses in conflict are the primary home Discourse and a dominant secondary Discourse (p. 528). Such conflicts are thematized in the struggles Tayo experiences throughout *Ceremony*.

One instance where conflict between Discourses manifests is during the war. Tayo's strife with mastering the "saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations" (p. 526) inherent in the literate dominant Discourses becomes manifest in objection to the value systems of the literate-based dominant Discourses. For example, in his military service Tayo is ordered by his military commanders to execute Japanese soldiers, who were held prisoner and unarmed, but he is unable to do so.

When the sergeant told them to kill all the Japanese soldiers lined up in front of the cave with their hands on their heads, Tayo could not pull the trigger. The fever made him shiver, and the sweat was stinging his eyes and he couldn't see clearly; in that instant he saw Josiah standing there... Tayo started screaming because it wasn't a Jap, it was Josiah...they told [Tayo] to sleep, and the next day they all acted as though nothing had happened. They called it battle fatigue, and they said hallucinations were common with malarial fever. (Silko, pp. 7-8)

Applying Gee's analysis indicates that Tayo's failure is an inability to actively comply with conflicting values. Gee states, "true acquisition of many mainstream Discourses involves, at least while being in them, active complicity with the values that conflict with one's home-and community-based Discourses" (p. 532). Thus, this failure stems from discord with the saying-doing-valuing-believing combinations in his primary, oral-based home Discourse that taught him to respect all life and to give thanks and appreciation to the fallen, whether they be animals they hunted or even their enemies.

The failure to comply with dominant values may also be seen in terms of what Gee calls interference; "Two Discourses can *interfere* with one another, like two languages..." [author's emphasis] (p. 528). Tayo's confusion concerning the Japanese soldiers is also illustrative of Gee's interference. Tayo is supposed to regard the Japanese soldiers as his enemy, and his orders are to kill them; however, the narrator reveals that Tayo begins to identify with the Japanese soldiers and thus experiences inner turmoil:

That was the first time Tayo realized that the man's skin was not much different from his own. The skin. He saw the skin of the corpses again and again, in ditches on either side of the long muddy road - skin that was stretched shiny and dark over bloated hands; even white men were darker after death. There was no difference when they were swollen and covered with flies. That had become the worst thing for Tayo: they looked too familiar even when they were alive. (p. 7)

Whether a delusion brought on by war fatigue, or the inability to successfully bridge the literate world-view represented by the dominate Discourses with his own more

oral-based and communal world-view of his primary Discourse, Tayo collapsed believing one of the Japanese he was forced to kill was his Uncle Josiah. Had Tayo been able to carry out his orders successfully, this would have indicated a kind of fluency in the dominant Discourses; he would have become complacent with the actions, values and beliefs inherent in the literate-based dominant Discourse of the military. Nevertheless, Tayo is not able to display full fluency in this dominant secondary Discourse and the strife between Discourses is thematized in his inner turmoil and the resulting PTSD that Tayo suffers through most of the novel. This particular flashback that Tayo experiences is just one strand of memory that he must disentangle to complete his healing ceremony. He must learn to integrate this horrific war experience and come to terms with the values and beliefs of the literate-based dominant Discourses and his oral-based home Discourse, which often interfere and even compete with each other.

Another example of competing or interfering Discourses is when Tayo is in the Veteran's hospital following the war. The white doctors in the VA hospital "had yelled at him - that he had to think only of himself, and not about the others, that he would never get well as long as he used

words like 'we' and 'us'" (p. 125). Tayo's primary, oral-based home Discourse is one of inclusion that emphasizes the communal concept of "we" and "us," but the dominant secondary literate Discourses are ones that accentuate the individual, creating discord for Tayo in his "saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations" (p. 526). Gee speaks of this kind of tension between the primary home Discourse and the dominant secondary Discourses as a sort of test of fluency, "they are gates to exclude "non-natives" (people whose very conflicts with dominant Discourses show they were not, in fact "born" to them)" (p. 528). Tayo was unable to master the literate-based dominant discourse during the war and his inability to kill the Japanese soldiers (acting in accordance with the dominant discourse) caused Tayo to become physically ill.

A final example of the conflict between Tayo's Discourses in *Ceremony* can be seen in the theme of hybrid cattle. Tayo and his Uncle Josiah wanted to purchase some Mexican cattle to cross-breed them with the Hereford cattle they owned. The new breed they wanted to establish would be heartier and more drought resistant and would also be smart enough to find their own water during a drought instead of

waiting by the water troughs like the more domesticated Herefords.

The fray between the literate-based dominant Discourse, in this case the secondary Discourse of academe, and the primary, oral-based home Discourse becomes most evident in the frustration that Tayo and Josiah experience with the textbooks that Tayo brings home for them to study cross-breeding. The textbooks provide guidance on other types of cross-breeds, but do not specifically address the breeds that Tayo and Josiah are working with. "The problem was the books were written by white people who did not think about drought or winter blizzards or dry thistles, which the cattle had to live with" (p. 75). The textbooks are artifacts of literacy and hence are symbolic of the literate-based dominant Discourse; moreover, the textbooks do not consider the same values that the primary, oral-based home Discourse needs them to consider and therefore are at odds with Tayo's needs. In other words, the textbooks function as the kind of gate to which Gee refers.

Further highlighting tensions between this literate-based, secondary, dominant Discourse and the oral-based, primary home Discourse is the reaction of Tayo's cousin, Rocky. As mentioned earlier, Rocky is one of the characters

Silko created who is a full-blood Native American, but he has fully mastered the secondary dominant Discourses and become fluent in them. Rocky claims that the crossbreeding between the Mexican cattle and the Herefords cannot be accomplished since the textbooks do not list such crossbreeding techniques. In other words, Rocky has acquired the "ways of talking, acting, thinking, valuing, etc." (Gee, p. 530) that are associated with the literate-based, secondary Discourse of school and thus he argues that if the textbooks do not contain information on crossbreeding Mexican cattle with Herefords, then breeding them is not inside the realm of possibility.

However, in negotiating the Discourses, Tayo and Josiah decide that the books are simply inadequate and they trust that the cross-breeding is possible despite the lack of information from the dominant Discourse. In Gee's discussion, he terms this kind of action "mushfake." Citing Mack, Gee claims that mushfake means "making do with something less when the real thing is not available" (p. 533). Moreover to participate in mushfake Discourse means, "partial acquisition coupled with meta-knowledge and strategies to make do" (p. 533). Gee claims that having awareness of language use and enough information about the

Discourse, one can gain entry into the dominant Discourse even if the apprenticeship has ceased. Gee calls this a benefit of being "socially maladapted," although one might also claim it is a benefit of hybridity. Tayo and Josiah appropriate enough of the literate, dominant Discourse to learn about general crossbreeding techniques and apply that knowledge to their own situation of the Mexican and Hereford cattle. In this way, Tayo is performing the departure and recovery trope discussed previously. The appropriation of literate Discourses shows Tayo becoming changed by the forces "out there," and bringing this knowledge back to the tribe in the form of textbooks and integrating this knowledge demonstrates the recovery aspect of the trope.

It is interesting to note that the crossbreeding is not immediately successful. This may be symbolic of the negotiation between the Discourses that Tayo must still complete. While Tayo is away at war, Josiah ends up dying and the cattle escape. As part of Tayo's healing ceremony, he must recapture the cattle and learn to control the herd. Metaphorically, the successful completion of the healing ceremony may be seen to represent successful integration or mastery of the various Discourses. Only at the end of the

novel when Tayo has learned to successfully negotiate his primary, oral-based, home Discourse and the secondary, literate-based, dominant Discourses does he discover that the cattle have, indeed, crossbred and multiplied their numbers.

Antagonist Discourses

Emo, the antagonist of *Ceremony*, is a full-blood Laguna; but, unlike other full-bloods in the novel such as Josiah, Emo embodies many aspects of the literate dominant Discourse making him an excellent foil against Tayo. Emo's destructive and aggressive promotion of the literate dominant Discourse (especially the Discourse associated with the social institution of the military), and his desire to fully assimilate is important to the novel because it helps the reader to see the value in hybridity by demonstrating that complete assimilation into the dominant Discourse is a negative force. Ultimately, Tayo must learn to create a hybrid Discourse to fit his hybrid identity, and to do so, he must overcome the destructive force represented in Emo.

Like Tayo, Emo was also in WWII, but on Wake Island where his experience was the opposite of Tayo's. Whereas

Tayo was unable to comply with the "saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations" (p. 526) as represented by his orders to execute Japanese soldiers, Emo not only complied with his orders, but enjoyed killing:

Emo had liked what they showed him: big mortar shells that blew tanks and big trucks to pieces; jagged steel flakes that exploded from the grenades; the way the flame thrower melted a rifle into a shapeless lump. He understood them right away; he knew what they wanted. He was the best, they told him; some men didn't like the quiver of the man they were killing; some men got sick when they smelled the blood. But he was the best; he was one of them. The best. United States Army. (Silko, p. 62)

Emo is complacent with and enculturates into the dominant, literate-based Discourse of the military during WWII. As the passage states, Emo understands them right away; he is able to adopt the identity kit of this Discourse and display the "saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations" (Gee, p. 526).

Emo revels in his war experiences; he tells his stories over and over again, showing off the teeth of dead

Japanese soldiers as souvenirs. He wanted that dominant secondary Discourse, "the mastery of which, at a particular place and time, brings with it the (potential) acquisition of social "goods" (money, prestige, status, etc.)" (Gee, p. 528). To try to recapture his sense of belonging, Emo armed himself with the accoutrement he associated with the dominant, literate-based Discourse. For example, he bought a car, drank more expensive whiskey instead of the beer the others drank.

Emo's apprenticeship into the dominant secondary Discourse associated with the military was cut off as soon as the war ended, leaving him without either the social goods he desired or the means of obtaining them. Gee explains this using the metaphor of linguistic fossilization. "If you've fossilized in the acquisition of a Discourse prior to "fluency" (and are no longer in the process of apprenticeship), then your very lack of fluency marks you as a *non-member* of the group that controls this Discourse" [author's emphasis] (p. 529). In terms of the dominant, literate Discourse that Emo sought access to, he had been relegated to the status of "outsider" because of his Indianness and was unable to maintain the social role that Gee claims is the basis of a Discourse (p. 529).

Emo's conflict with Tayo and with his Discourses is further complicated by Emo's rejection of his primary, oral-based home Discourse. As Tayo speaks with the Navajo medicine man, Betonie, he recounts Emo's rejection:

[Emo] says Indians have nothing compared to white people. He talks about their cities and all the machines and food they have. He says the land is no good, and we must go after what they have, and take it from them. (Silko, p. 132)

This contention between Emo and Tayo occurs early on in the novel as well with Tayo representing a return to nature and the oral and communal ways while Emo seeks to destroy that life. The narrator further reveals this through Emo's rejection of the "saying-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations" (p. 526) associated with his primary, oral-based Discourse:

Emo liked to point to the restless dusty wind and the cloudless skies, to the bony horses chewing on fence posts beside the highway; Emo liked to say, "Look what is here for us. Look. Here's the Indian's mother earth! Old dried-up thing!" (Silko, p. 25)

Emo's rejection of his primary, oral-based home Discourse and failure to gain fluency in the literate-based dominant Discourse is commensurate with Tayo's identity crisis. Gee explains that lack of fluency in a Discourse is lack of identity. "Discourses are connected with displays of identity; failing to fully display an identity is tantamount to announcing you don't have that identity, that at best you're a pretender or a beginner" (p. 529). That is, one way that Emo seeks to find access to the dominant secondary Discourse and the inherent social goods is through the rejection of his primary home Discourse. Emo seems to believe that in order to fully embrace the dominant, literate-based culture he desires, he must reject the beliefs, values and ways of thinking associated with his oral-based home Discourse. Gee's discussion of dominant Discourses helps to shed light on this as well when he states, "These Discourses empower those groups who have the fewest conflicts with their other Discourses when they use them" (p. 539). Hence, unlike Tayo who seeks to find healing through integration of Discourses, when Emo fails to find a sense of belonging in either the dominant or home community, he becomes, instead, an agent of the destructive

forces that seek to thwart life for all peoples, non-Natives and Natives alike.

The Ceremony As Hybrid

Since Silko's purpose is to promote the values and beliefs inherent in hybrid identity, the ceremony itself is a hybrid. When the Laguna medicine man, old Ku'oosh, is unable to help Tayo, they (the community) decide that Betonie, a mixedblood Navajo medicine man, should help Tayo. Betonie is unconventional in many ways and frightens Tayo. Betonie is half-Navajo, half-Mexican and lives above the Gallup Ceremonial Grounds, near the dump. He collects many items and objects of Western literate culture, has traveled on the trains, was educated in Riverside, California, and speaks good English (Silko, p. 117). His accomplishments and hybrid identity suggest that Betonie has fully mastered both the dominant, literate-based Discourse and the primary, oral-based home Discourse. Because Betonie has successfully integrated the Discourses of both literate and oral cultures, he is able to take on the role of teacher for Tayo by showing him how to take what he has learned from the Western literate culture (secondary dominant Discourse) and integrate it into his

own cultural identity (primary home Discourse). Gee describes how one might teach a Discourse this way:

When I say "teach" here, I mean "apprentice someone in a master-apprentice relationship in a social practice (Discourse) wherein you scaffold their growing ability to say, do, value, believe, and so forth, within that Discourse, through demonstrating your mastery and supporting theirs even when it barely exists [...] (p. 530)

Therefore it may be said that Betonie picks up Tayo's apprenticeship where not only Josiah left off, but also where Tayo's secondary dominant Discourse of his education left off. Betonie continues Tayo's apprenticeship into both sets of Discourses, teaching him how to integrate and hybridize the "saying-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations" associated with the various Discourses.

Hybridizing this identity is another way that Tayo performs the departure and recovery trope discussed previously. In learning to hybridize the oral and literate Discourses through apprenticeship with Betonie, Tayo again is being changed by the forces "out there" and then integrates the new knowledge and practices in his own home culture.

Betonie's ability to apprentice Tayo is represented by the various artifacts he has acquired from these Discourses. As Tayo looks around the medicine man's hogan, he sees Woolworth bags, bundles of newspapers, piles of telephone books, and Coke bottles along side pouches and leather bags filled with sage and herbs.

They were a medicine man's paraphernalia, laid beside the painted gourd rattles and deer-hoof clackers of the ceremony. But with this old man it did not end there; under the medicine bags and bundles of rawhide on the walls, he saw layers of old calendars [...] (p. 120)

Betonie explains the strange combination of items and objects to Tayo telling him that modern times required a mixing of old and "new" -- of Indian and white -- of oral and literate. "You see, [said Betonie,] in many ways, the ceremonies have always been changing [...] after the white people came, elements in this world began to shift; and it became necessary to create new ceremonies" (p. 126).

Betonie continues to explain to Tayo, "things which don't shift and grow are dead things" (p. 126). This idea of shifting, growing, changing, and learning to appropriate the dominant language and objects is a message to readers

in the value of hybridity. Furthermore, Betonie's advice to Tayo shows that he has also performed the departure and recovery. He left his tribe and lands to go to California and study, he has traveled extensively and he has acquired the literate practices of speaking good English, which all demonstrate how Betonie was changed by the forces "out there," and now he has brought home new knowledge and practices, which he has integrated into the oral ceremony.

Learning to negotiate two or more Discourses as Tayo must do requires a changing set of values, beliefs, actions, and language to accommodate both worlds or Discourses. Betonie has figured this out and learned to adjust the ceremony to accommodate such changes, but Tayo must learn to do so as he proceeds through his apprenticeship of the ceremony. Tayo must learn to integrate the literate practices of the dominant Discourses and their inherent "saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations" (p. 526) into his primary, oral-based home Discourse in order to create a new hybrid identity. Silko accomplishes this and continues to promote hybrid identity by having Tayo successfully overcome the destructive forces represented by Emo and by completing the ceremony in the novel. Furthermore, Silko provides evidence

of the new hybrid Discourse by having the novel end with Tayo speaking to the elders and telling them his story.

CHAPTER THREE
LINGUISTIC HYBRIDITY

Recent contributions to studies of language and literacies highlight that multiple literacies exist and are often greatly influenced by oral language. Literary criticisms help to show how Silko's novel, *Ceremony*, thematizes the conflicts between oral and literate ways of knowing along with the political and social ideologies and power structures inherent in the identities typically associated with oral or written language. In addition to thematic hybridity, Silko's novel fuses oral and written language features through the use of embedded oral stories, which transgress the expected conventions, underscoring the presence of hybridity in her text. Wallace Chafe's (1982, 1985, 2002) study of oral and literate features of language illustrates how Silko's use of these embedded stories helps construct a hybrid text.

In the areas of linguistic studies and discourse analysis, Chafe has examined how orality and literacy are reflected through linguistic features in spoken and written texts, showing that written language tends to have greater integration and detachment than spoken language. Chafe

links integration with the ability to think ahead and edit, and to the "packing of more information into an idea unit than the rapid pace of spoken language would normally allow" (1982, p. 39). The process of thinking is so much faster than the process of writing that the mind can easily move ahead to consider other ideas and ways of expressing them so that the series of concepts can be incorporated together as one complex and coherent linguistic unit. The quality of detachment in writing is evident through "devices which serve to distance the language from specific concrete states and events" (1982, p. 45). The use of passive voice is an example of how a writer creates distance from the action or event.

In contrast to written language, spoken discourse¹ tends to have greater fragmentation and involvement than written discourse. Because speaking occurs at roughly the same pace as thinking (but faster than writing), a speaker generally is only able to produce one idea at a time and is not able to develop a series of ideas into a single linguistic unit in the same way that writing allows for (Chafe, 2002). Speaking also tends to be more involved

¹ In this chapter, linguistic discourse is used in the same sense that James Gee refers to discourse with a lower-case 'd': "connected stretches of language that make sense" (p. 526).

because it is typically done face to face. This means that the speaker and listener likely share knowledge about the immediate environment of the speech event. Also, the speaker can monitor his or her speech along with the listener's reception and adjust to the listener's needs accordingly. Perhaps most importantly, though, a speaker is generally less concerned with coherently organizing his or her ideas than with adhering to expected norms of conversation (Chafe, 1982).

Chafe's initial 1982 research compared extreme ends of the spoken-written spectrum -- written academic English with informal conversational speech. Chafe acknowledged that varying degrees of overlap of oral and written features may occur depending on the social interaction, the purpose, and the context of each event. Chafe notes that "Very different styles of speaking may be associated with conversing, telling stories, lecturing, orating, reciting rituals, and so on, and there may be marked individual differences among conversationalists, storytellers, lecturers, orators, and ritualists" (2002, p. 45).

Regarding overlap, Chafe refers to the presence of structures typically associated with writing, such as integration devices, being present in speech and vice

versa. Chafe states, "There are other styles of speaking which are more in the direction of writing, and other styles of writing which are more like speech" (1982, p. 49). Chafe (1982) notes that he had studied such in-between forms of communication as formal spoken language from lectures and informal written language from letters. These types of discourse may more readily exhibit a mixture of oral and literate features. Additionally, in observing the Seneca language of the Iroquois, Chafe concluded that ritual language as seen in the "oral literature"² performed by the Iroquois is similar in many ways to written language because the oral stories or ritual utterances are ones that were already composed by generations of authors and the current author/storyteller is re-telling the utterance with his or her own changes and adaptations for the current context. "The same oral ritual is presented again and again, not verbatim, to be sure, but with a content, style, and formulaic structure which remain constant from performance to performance" (1982, p. 49).

Similar to the oral literature of the Iroquois, the oral stories of the Laguna that Silko weaves into her novel

² Oral literature is a term Chafe uses to describe the ritualized utterances of Seneca, an Iroquois language that has no written tradition.

contain written features. Gee (1989) suggests in his literacy studies of identity through Discourses, that "the very form and structure of language, and the linguistic devices used, carry an *ideological message* [author's emphasis]" (p. 536). And indeed, in her advocacy of hybridity and performing repatriation of the early oral stories collected by Franz Boas, Silko deliberately constructs a re-telling of the oral stories within the written format of *Ceremony*.

The extensive critiques and analyses of Silko's work suggest that she has consciously constructed a hybrid text on many levels. She has thematized hybridity through her characters, the ceremony, and other elements within the novel, and therefore it is likely that she has also intentionally constructed a linguistic hybrid, perhaps in hopes of demonstrating a coexisting relationship between orality and literacy that points to the ways hybridity can be achieved within the individual.

Method and Data

This chapter applies Chafe's theory to the nine-part "backbone" sequence of embedded oral story³ in *Ceremony*,

³ See *Appendix A* for the full text of the nine-part sequence.

further exploring Silko's blending of oral and literate ways of knowing. As discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, the long, nine-part sequence of the hama-ha story runs throughout the novel in a manner and typography prompting Robert Nelson to refer to this sequence as the "backbone" of the novel. This particular oral story within *Ceremony* can also be found in Silko's subsequent novel, *Storyteller*, and is a Laguna tribal story referred to as "One Time." In his description of this oral story Robert Nelson (2001) stated:

This is the departure/recovery story that features as antagonist Pa'caya'nyi, whose introduction of Ck'o'yo medicine into the lives of the People drives our Mother Nau'ts'ity'i out of the Fifth World and down below, and as protagonist Hummingbird, who along with his sidekick Green Fly works tirelessly on behalf of the People to help effect our Mother's return.

(para. 11)

This story incorporates a traditional Laguna trope of departure and recovery, but also is a story for declaring the ancient origins of the Laguna Keres tribe. It is believed to have been collected and transcribed by Franz

Boas⁴ between 1919 and 1921. Nelson's critique suggests that Silko places the story in the nine-part sequence to emphasize the damaging effect of colonizing forces. Moreover, Silko changes the order of the stories from Boas' collection and recuperates them in such a way that the subtext of the story runs throughout the narrative, appearing to support the narrative text as a backbone supports a person. Boas' collection lists these fragments of story separately, but Silko reconstitutes them into a single, coherent story.

I refer to the remainder of the novel as "prose" text. In addition to the visual differences between the embedded oral stories and the prose text as discussed in Chapter One, the narrator in the embedded oral sequences is often palpably different from Silko's narrative voice in the prose story of Tayo. I was interested in comparing the discourse features of the oral story to those in the prose text in light of Chafe's findings that ritualized oral performances blend both written and spoken features. A comparative analysis of spoken and written properties in the two texts might thus demonstrate ways that Silko's

⁴ See Robert M. Nelson's article, *Rewriting Ethnography*, for a full discussion of Silko's use of the ethnographic records collected by Franz Boas.

novel includes discourses that reflect linguistic hybridity, both within each type of text and through the juxtaposition of the texts in the novel.

Since the embedded story sequence contains 1045 words, a comparable, random selection of 1042 words of prose from pages 34-36⁵ was selected from *Ceremony* for comparison. In this selection of narrative prose, the narrator is recounting Tayo's steps in seeking healing from the debilitating illness he suffers as a result of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder following WWII. The prose segment begins with Old Grandma and Auntie's dialog discussing the need to call a medicine man in for Tayo. The passage then moves into the detail of describing the medicine man's visit to Tayo and includes some dialog along with the narrative description. The passage selection ends with some of Tayo's dialog interspersed in the description and memory sequences sparked by the medicine man's visit. It is interesting to note that in the sample section of prose text, the narrator is telling the thoughts of the central character, so while the words being spoken are not direct dialog, and are not set off with quotation marks, the

⁵ See *Appendix B* for the sample prose data selected from these pages of the novel.

reader is, nonetheless, told what the old man said. In other words, in this scene, the narrator begins to tell what is happening and the words that old Ku'oosh speaks to Tayo are set off in quotation marks. However, the focus of the scene shifts to Tayo's version of what is happening and so Ku'oosh's words are no longer quoted, but instead Tayo gives an account of Ku'oosh's words.

Differences in Spoken and Written Language Products

Oral language products are different from the products of written language because the two processes are so different, especially as the processes relate to time. For example, the process of speaking "is faster than writing" and in this process "speakers interact with their audiences directly, whereas writers do not" (Chafe, 1982, p. 36). Speaking and listening occur at approximately the same pace; however, reading is faster while writing is much slower. For example, Chafe claims that writing occurs at approximately 18-20 words per minute, speaking at approximately 180 words per minute, and reading at approximately 200-400 words per minute⁶. The speed at which

⁶ Chafe also suggests that thinking occurs at approximately 360 words per minute. He further discusses typing at the average of 60 words per

these processes occur is important because they relate to what Chafe terms "idea units." The idea units of spoken language production occur in spurts of approximately two seconds and usually contain about six words each.

Therefore, speech is more fragmented than writing because the speaker is thinking much faster than he or she can produce speech and hence is only able to produce shorter, less complex segments of language.

In analyzing the embedded oral story sequence and the sample of prose text for fragmentation and integration, this analysis found that both texts contain features associated with each of Chafe's properties. While the sample of prose text has more of the qualities typically associated with integration in writing than the embedded oral story sequence does, the presence, or overlap, of both linguistic features in the samples may suggest similarities between ritualized oral stories and narrative prose. In Chafe's analysis he suggested that "language which has no written tradition may nevertheless have different styles which in some ways parallel the differences between spoken and written language; how 'oral literature,' that is, may

minute, claiming that this subcategory of writing is still significantly slower than speaking to support his theory (Chafe, 1985, pp. 36-37).

justifiedly [*sic*] be considered 'literary'" (1982, p. 36). Moreover, Chafe states that ritualized oral language may contain "something like the integration of written language, as opposed to the fragmentation of spoken" (1982, p. 50). Properties of both written and oral language are present in the prose text and the embedded oral story examined here, suggesting that the embedded oral story is the kind of ritualized oral language which Chafe speaks of and suggesting that the style associated with narrative prose is also hybrid or overlapping in its features.

Fragmentation

Although Chafe outlines two main structures in which fragmentation is evident, some fragmentation can be seen in instances of what are often termed disfluencies. Chafe states that disfluencies are either positive or negative with "false starts, afterthoughts, repetitions, corrections, and fumbings" comprising the negative disfluencies (1985, p. 113). By negative, this does not refer to the disfluency as a deficiency; it is a negative consequence of the rapid speaking rate. This linguistic phenomenon is related to the speaker's need to gauge the audience and adjust pace or flow of information according

to various paralinguistic signals. Moreover, Chafe states that "These phenomena are present only in writing that mimics the process of composing speech" (1985, p. 113).

42 He struck the middle of the north wall
43 He took a piece of flint and
44 he struck the middle of the north wall.

Silko does not punctuate the sentence on line 42; instead, she starts the sentence again, indicated by a capitalization of "He" in 43, and then continues the line with the previously stated material, demonstrating fragmentation of speech.

With regard to the two main structures Chafe outlines, according to Chafe's observation of oral and written production of language, there are two main structures that illustrate fragmentation, especially in spoken discourse. The first is "stringing together idea units without connectives" (1982, p. 38). The result is a series of short, choppy sentences that may only loosely be related. The second is that, in speaking, "idea units are also frequently introduced with coordinating conjunctions," usually "and." There is also frequent use of other conjunctions such as "but," "so," or "because" (Chafe, 1982, p. 38). An example of fragmentation through the lack

of connective devices can be seen in stanza six of the embedded story; line 28 begins a new idea unit without the use of a connective device:

23 "Tonight we'll see
24 if you have magical power," they told him.

25 So that night
26 Pa'caya'nyi
27 came with his mountain lion.
28 He undressed
29 he painted his body

The other main structure illustrating fragmentation in speaking is introducing idea units with coordinating conjunctions such as "and," "but," or "so." Although writing often contains a few such features, speaking contains approximately four times more initial coordinating conjunctions in idea units (Chafe, 1982, p. 39). The difference between the use of these conjunctions in fragmentation is that they are used at the beginning of an idea unit whereas in integration, conjunctions of all types are used along with other devices throughout "for incorporating additional elements into an idea unit" (1982, p.39). The following excerpt illustrates initial coordinating conjunctions as fragmentation feature:

196 But there was no tobacco
 197 so Fly and Hummingbird had to fly
 198 all the way back down

Line 196 uses the conjunction "but" to begin a new idea unit, which is followed by another new idea unit beginning with "so" on line 197. Within the embedded oral story, there were thirteen instances of this structure per the 1045 words in the data. Interestingly, the prose text selection displays this feature only slightly less than the embedded oral section, containing ten such instances in 1042 words.

This data can more clearly be seen in the following table followed by the table of Chafe's data for comparison:

Table 2. Comparison of Initial Coordinating Conjunctions in Idea Units

	<i>Embedded story</i>	<i>Prose text</i>
<i>and</i>	5	3
<i>but</i>	2	6
<i>so</i>	6	0
<i>or</i>	0	1
Combined	13	10

This table shows the information from *Ceremony* as compared with Chafe's data below:

Table 3. Chafe's Data for Fragmentation (Occurrences per 1000 Words)

	<i>Spoken</i>	<i>Written</i>
<i>And</i>	44.2	10.1
<i>But</i>	9.8	4.1
<i>So</i>	7.4	0.0
<i>Or</i>	4.7	1.5
Combined	66.0	15.8

Although the ratio of initial coordinating conjunctions in the oral story to those in the prose text is not as high as Chafe's analysis showed, the embedded story contains slightly more of this particular feature common in speech than does the prose text, indicating that the embedded story contains more oral structures.

Integration

Integrated language is different from fragmented language in the devices used. Rather than presenting a single and simplistic idea of about six words per idea unit, integrated language is longer and incorporates additional elements (Chafe, 1982, p. 39). The devices used for integration include nominalizations, participles, attributive adjectives, conjoined phrases, sequences of prepositional phrases, and a few others (Chafe, 1982, p. 39).

Nominalizations are the most common device used to create integration and they occur when verbs or adjectives are used as nouns, thus "making room" in the predicate for more propositional content. An example might include using "introduction" instead of "introduce." In Chafe's analysis of informal spoken discourse, he found approximately five nominalizations per thousand words, whereas the written academic sample contained approximately fifty-five nominalizations. Nominalizations occurred approximately eleven and a half times more often in written language than in spoken (1982, p. 40).

While neither text displays the same degree of integration that Chafe found in written academic essays, the prose text of Silko's novel is more integrated linguistically than the embedded story. Specifically, the oral discourse sample in *Ceremony* contained zero nominalizations and the prose sample contained only four nominalizations. The following prose from paragraph six of the sample text illustrates a nominalization: "That was the responsibility that went with being human [...] (Silko, p. 35). In this sentence, "the responsibility" is used as a nominalization of "responsible." The fact that there were fewer nominalizations in the embedded oral story than in

the prose text of the novel suggests that the story may have a more spoken quality. Moreover, the fact that the prose text of the novel contains so few nominalizations suggests another way that Silko constructs a hybrid. In other words, the lack of nominalizations in the written embedded story confirms that it has an oral quality and the relatively small number of nominalizations in the narrative prose of the text suggests that it too is a hybrid in that it exhibits a property more aligned with the informal speech of Chafe's study than with the formal academic essays. The following tables illustrate this property.

Table 4. Nominalizations in *Ceremony* (per 1042 Words)

<i>Embedded story</i>	<i>Prose text</i>
0	4

Table 5. Chafe's Data for Nominalizations (per 1000 Words)

<i>Spoken</i>	<i>Written</i>
4.8	55.5

Attributive adjectives, those that come before a noun, but not after a copula verb, are another device used to show integration. Chafe claims that these devices allow "states to be expressed as modifiers rather than assertions and [are] thus another integrative device" (1982, p. 41). Attributive adjectives are the "single most prevalent feature of written language" occurring approximately four times more often than in spoken language (1982, p. 42). In the embedded oral story, the following examples of attributive adjectives occur:

24 if you have magical power," they told him.
89 No baby animals were born.
146 and a big green fly
147 with yellow feelers on his head

In line 24, "magical" is the attributive adjective modifying power; in line 89, "baby" modifies animals; in line 146, "big" and "green" both modify fly; and in line 147, "yellow" modifies feelers. Similar examples can also be found in the prose text:

Old Grandma stood up straight when she said this
and stared at Auntie with milky cataract eyes.
Old Grandma pulled the chair from the foot of the
bed, and the old man sat down. (p. 34)

In the first sentence, "milky" and "cataract" are attributive adjectives modifying eyes. And in the second sentence, "old" modifies man. Although "Old" could also be an attributive adjective modifying Grandma, the fact that "Old" is usually capitalized throughout the sentences when referring to Grandma suggests that this is a form of honorific rather than merely an adjective.

Table 6. Attributive Adjectives in Ceremony

<i>Embedded story</i>	<i>Prose text</i>
26	43

Table 7. Attributive Adjectives in Chafe's Data

<i>Spoken</i>	<i>Written</i>
33.5	134.9

Although the ratio of attributive adjectives in the narrative prose to those in the ritualized spoken language is not as large as Chafe's study showed, it is still nearly

2:1. Despite this ratio, it should be noted that the written prose text, as does the embedded oral story, contains a feature count that is most similar to Chafe's count in oral language. In other words, even though attributive adjectives occur more often in Silko's written prose text than they do in the embedded oral story, the feature is not nearly as prevalent in the written prose text as Chafe's study suggests it should be. This smaller count of attributive adjectives in the written prose text further supports the hybrid nature of *Ceremony* because the number of attributive adjectives in the written prose is in line with the expected presence of attributive adjectives in oral language.

The creation of parallel structures through conjoining verb phrases, adjective phrases, and noun phrases is another device for integration. By creating conjoined phrases, the speaker or writer can present more information in a single idea unit. For example, in the embedded oral story, the following can be seen:

45	Water poured out of the wall
46	and flowed down
47	toward the south.

In the lines above the verb phrase, "poured out of the wall" is conjoined with the verb phrase "flowed down toward the south" using "and" to conjoin them. Similarly, in the prose text the following example can be seen: "They were careful of the snakes that came out hunting after dark, and they sneaked up to the cave very quietly and waited for the bats to fly out" (p. 35). Here "and" serves to conjoin the two clauses, but the second "and" conjoins two verb phrases, "sneaked up to the cave" with "waited for the bats to fly out."

Table 8. Conjoined Phrases in *Ceremony*

<i>Embedded story</i>	<i>Prose text</i>
30	41

Table 9. Conjoined Phrases in Chafe's Analysis

<i>Spoken</i>	<i>Written</i>
5.8	23.8

While the majority of features explored in the embedded oral story sequence and narrative prose text of *Ceremony* have continued to show that the oral stories have more in common linguistically with spoken language, the high number of occurrences of conjoined phrases in the embedded oral story suggests that it may also share features which are associated with written language. Thus, this further supports the notion of *Ceremony* as a linguistic hybrid internally as well as juxtaposing the embedded oral stories with the narrative prose.

The next device of integration is the sequence of prepositional phrases. Prepositional phrases chained together in a single idea unit help to consolidate information. Generally, this occurs in writing much more often than in speaking because of the ability to revise and structure thought linearly as opposed to the episodic nature of spoken language. Chafe found that this device was used nine times more often in written language than in spoken. In the prose text, the following example illustrates prepositional phrases:

The word he chose to express "fragile" was filled with the intricacies of a continuing process, and with a strength inherent in spider webs woven

across paths through sand hills where early in the morning the sun becomes entangled in each filament of web. (p. 35)

This single sentence contains a string of prepositional phrases such as "with the intricacies," "of a continuing," "with a strength," "in spider webs," and so forth.

A sample from the embedded oral story also shows prepositional phrases:

62	From that time on
63	they were
64	so busy
65	playing around with that
66	Ck'o'yo magic

The stanza begins with "From that time on" and also includes "with that Ck'o'yo magic."

Table 10. Prepositional Phrase Sequences in *Ceremony*

<i>Embedded story</i>	<i>Prose text</i>
18	19

The frequency of prepositional phrases found in narrative prose compared to that in the ritualized spoken language suggests that each form uses this device an approximately equal number of times. This is different from Chafe's

study, which suggests that written text is much more likely to contain such prevalence of this device. This comparison can be seen with the table below:

Table 11. Prepositional Phrase Sequences in Chafe's Study

<i>Spoken</i>	<i>Written</i>
1.8	16.2

Therefore these results may further suggest the hybrid nature of *Ceremony*.

The last examined device of integration is the use of complement clauses. Complement clauses utilize "that" or "to" to embed an entire clause of information in an idea unit. In his analysis, Chafe determined that complement clauses occur approximately twice as often in form written language than in spoken (1982, p. 44). An example of a "to" complement clause from the embedded oral story can be seen in the following lines:

197 so Fly and Hummingbird had to fly
 198 all the way back down
 199 to the fourth world below
 200 to ask our mother where
 201 they could get some tobacco.

In this example, line 200 contains the complement clause of "to ask our mother..." whereas the previous "to" in line 199 is prepositional phrase.

The following is an example of a "that" complement clause from the prose text: "They didn't care what the people were saying about their family, or that the village officers had a meeting one time and talked about running Sis off the reservation for good" (p. 34).

Table 12. Complement Clauses in *Ceremony*

	<i>Embedded story</i>	<i>Prose text</i>
<i>that complements</i>	1	4
<i>to complements</i>	1	0
Combined	2	4

Table 13. Complement Clauses in Chafe's Analysis

	<i>Spoken</i>	<i>Written</i>
<i>that complements</i>	6.0	10.4
<i>to complements</i>	2.9	8.8
Combined	8.9	19.2

In Chafe's analysis, the ratio of occurrences was much larger, hence it can be stated that the small ratio of 1:2 in the sample from Silko's text further supports the novel as a linguistic hybrid.

Detachment

Aside from the linguistic structures associated with fragmentation and integration, another area of difference between the spoken and written language products is the level of involvement with the audience. Because spoken language is, by nature, spoken to someone, it naturally follows that a speaker would have more interaction or involvement with the audience. In this instance, a speaker is much more concerned with the context in which the utterance is produced. Conversely, a writer does not have any way to gauge his or her audience and therefore does not need to be as interested in the "experiential involvement" (Chafe, 1982, p. 45). In examining these differences, Chafe determined a series of features associated with involvement in speaking and detachment in writing.

The detachment in writing reflects distance between the writer, specific events or states, and the audience - a discourse effect a writer strives for in order to produce

something that is consistent regardless of the time or place of his or her readers (Chafe, 1982, p. 45). One of the primary devices to achieve this distance or detachment in writing is the use of passive voice. Sentences written in passive voice show the subject of the sentence receiving the action; or, in other words, the subject is acted upon. Passive voice tends to be wordier, indirect and less concise than active voice. An example of this language feature from the prose text is as follows: "But her tone of voice was one of temporary defeat, and she was already thinking ahead to some possible satisfaction later on, when something went wrong and it could be traced back to this decision" (p. 34). In the embedded oral story, no examples were found using this feature.

In Chafe's survey, he determined that the passive construction occurred approximately five times more often in written language than in spoken.

Table 14. Passive Voice Construction in *Ceremony*

<i>Embedded story</i>	<i>Prose text</i>
0	3

Table 15. Passive Voice Construction in Chafe's Study

<i>Spoken</i>	<i>Written</i>
5.0	25.4

With respect to passive voice, the results shown in Table 8 indicate that both the narrative prose and the embedded oral story are closer to oral language than to formal written academic text. The fact that the narrative prose includes only three occurrences of this feature in a sample of 1042 words indicates its similarity to spoken language in terms of this feature.

Invovement

Several linguistic features are associated with involvement, which is most prevalent in speaking; however, many of those features are absent from Silko's embedded oral texts. Additionally, while Chafe's analysis found that some features of involvement are present in formal written text, these linguistic properties are missing from Silko's prose text. For example, the first linguistic feature examined here is first person involvement. In this situation, the speaker may utter many statements with frequent reference to him- or herself. Chafe's analysis of

informal spoken language showed approximately sixty-two such occurrences per thousand words, whereas the formal written language contained only four. In the samples examined from *Ceremony*, neither the oral story nor the written prose contained any first person referents.

Another linguistic feature associated with involvement is the speaker's mental processes. Chafe claims that in informal spoken language, there are frequent references to the speaker's thought processes. For example, in his data he provides the following illustration: "(26c) and I thought...am I alive?" (1982, p. 46). The speaker refers to what he or she thought at the time, follows with a pause indicated by the ellipses, and then expresses the thought. Chafe's data shows that this occurred approximately seven times in the spoken data and none in the written data. In *Ceremony*, there were no instances of the speaker's mental processes in either data sample. Further analyses of ritualized oral language and written language is needed before the significance of this finding can be determined with respect to this feature.

One final linguistic property associated with involvement, which this chapter examines is what Chafe calls involvement with the hearer. In this situation, the

involvement can be seen in the use of the second person pronoun. Although this feature was absent from the narrative prose in *Ceremony*, in the embedded oral story there are two instances of this feature. Both of the occurrences take place in bracketed asides directed to the listener/reader.

189 (You see, it wasn't easy.)
190 Fly and Hummingbird
191 had to fly back to town again.
210 (See, these things were complicated...)
211 They called outside his house
212 "You downstairs, how are things?"

In line 189, the anonymous speaker directs the information to the listener of the story. In line 210, the "you" that the speaker is directing the information to is implied. If one were to diagram the sentence in line 210, "you" would be in parentheses, indicating an implied subject.

Chafe indicates that the absence or low occurrence of involvement features in ritualized oral language should be expected:

The performance, value, and polish of an oral text may lead to a more integrated, less fragmented kind of language than that found in spontaneous conversation, and the detachment of a reciter from his [or her] audience may produce a

kind of language lacking the involvement of colloquial speech. (1982, p. 52)

Therefore the absence of this feature of involvement in the embedded oral story of *Ceremony* fits with the expectations Chafe suggests for ritualized oral language.

Conclusion

Chafe claims that the difference in rate and process creates a difference in the products of oral and written language. These distinctions can be observed through language features associated with fragmentation in spoken language and integration in written language. Additional distinctions can be observed in detachment in writing and involvement in speaking. However, the exception to this may be seen in products which are more hybrid in nature. For example, the ritualized oral language such as that of the Iroquois or the embedded oral Laguna story found in Silko's novel *Ceremony* contains many features associated with fragmentation, integration, detachment and involvement while at the same time, the narrative prose text of the novel contains many features associated with oral language.

This examination of fragmentation presents three ways in which fragmentation occurs: disfluencies such as

repetition or correction, the lack of connective devices between idea units and use of coordinating conjunctions in the initial position of an idea unit. The presence of these features suggests that the embedded oral story shares a strong commonality with written language production while still exhibiting features of oral language production.

A similar commonality of features can be seen in integration features. Although integration occurs more often in written language than in oral language, in *Ceremony*, integration devices such as nominalizations, attributive adjectives, conjoined phrases, and others are found in both the embedded oral story and the written prose text. Despite the presence of these features in both samples of text, overall, both the embedded oral story and narrative prose contained fewer instances of integration with respect to Chafe's analysis of formal academic writing. Both the narrative prose and the embedded oral stories display more oral-like features in their nominalizations, attributive adjectives and complement clauses showing an overall similarity with Chafe's results for informal oral language. Yet, both samples of text are hybrid in that they display more features in common with

written language in relation to the conjoined phrases and prepositional phrases.

Distinctions between written and oral language can also be observed through detachment in writing and involvement in speaking. These features relate to the process of the language production with respect to the audience in terms of involvement and distance. It is an accepted convention that writers work in solitude while speakers must, of course, interact with their interlocutors. The primary manner in which writers display detachment is through the use of passive voice. With respect to Chafe's study, both the embedded oral story and the narrative prose text of *Ceremony* have more features in common with informal oral language. Chafe finds that passive voice occurs more than five times as often in writing than in speaking, and yet the two samples of text in the novel exhibit this feature even fewer times than the informal spoken language of Chafe's study. By creating a written text that displays features in common with oral language production, Silko creates a hybrid novel.

While Silko's novel has more common features with oral language in terms of detachment, the involvement features typically associated with oral language occur very few

times or are altogether absent from both the embedded oral story and the narrative prose of the novel. Once again, Silko creates a hybrid text through manipulating the expected conventions of language. In many ways the two samples of text behave more similar to oral language, and yet they also contain linguistic features associated with written language and the medium of print in which they occur.

What this suggests is that, while the ritualized oral language of the embedded stories shares a strong commonality with features present in writing, the narrative prose has features which are more characteristic of oral language than with formal academic writing. In addition to how the two samples of text relate to each other, the novel as a whole displays more features associated with oral language than with written, even though the novel is clearly a written product. Thus, *Ceremony* may be seen as linguistically hybrid in nature.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

Since its publication in 1977, Leslie Marmon Silko's novel, *Ceremony*, has been the focus of many critics who have analyzed the text applying a variety of literary theories. Within this, a great number of interesting and informative critiques have helped us to understand how Silko's novel treats issues of Native American culture, the half-breed character of Tayo, and the structure of the text with its hybrid of oral and literate features. *Ceremony* complicates simplistic notions of the oral/literate split by thrusting us deep into the contemporary world of Native American identity, suggesting that the hybrid identity is an emergent identity that Natives and non-Natives alike should seek to integrate. Over the years, Indian identity has become complicated and one of its features is hybridity. However, hybridity is not an easy identity to adopt because it represents different and often oppositional identities and Discourses.

In constructing her novel, however, Silko is not just telling a story about a hybrid character. Silko's novel creates a kind of meta-text, allowing the reader to

simultaneously read about and participate in issues of hybrid identity. The reader not only reads about the ceremony of the novel, but also enacts the ceremony by reading. The reader co-creates the narrative by reading and making meaning through the process of Tayo's ceremony. As discussed in Chapter One, *Silko* involves the reader as a co-constructor in meaning by having him or her tease out an understanding of the embedded oral stories woven through the novel's prose.

Like Tayo, the reader must also enact the departure and recovery. The reader must answer the question "who am I?" in order to make sense of the embedded oral stories within the novel. In the process, he or she becomes changed by the forces he or she reads about and experiences through Tayo, and the reader then brings this new information back and integrates it. In this sense, both Tayo and the reader become part of what Cyrus Patell calls an emergent culture, "capable of challenging and reforming the mainstream" (1997, p. 3). Citing Marxist theorist Raymond Williams, Patell claims that hybridity or emergent culture, "serves as the site or set of sites where 'new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships and kinds of relationships are continually being created'" (1997, p. 3). Rather than

being merely a "message" to Native readers, Silko's novel advocates this hybrid identity or emergent culture for Natives and non-Natives alike.

Without integration, there is no emergent culture. Unlike other native authors who create half-breed characters merely as bridges between two cultures, Silko creates Tayo as an embodiment of this emergent culture -- a true hybrid. However, in order to prevent any readers from mistaking this ceremony as merely a return to communal or tribal cultural views and practices, Silko creates the antagonist, Emo, as a full-blood Native, showing that integration is necessary to successfully navigate life.

In order to understand the aspects of this emergent culture as it plays out in the language of *Ceremony*, Chapter One of this thesis explored the ways in which the novel contains oral elements within the written text. The chapter begins with Walter Ong's dichotomy of orality and literacy outlining the features of the novel, which illustrate its distinctly oral stories embedded within the prose of the novel.

Once the distinctions in linguistic features of the embedded oral stories and the narrative prose text were established, Chapter Two applied James Gee's framework of

Discourses to the novel, especially to the hybrid character of Tayo with a comparison to the antagonist, Emo, to the themes of hybridity present in the novel, and to the hybrid ceremony itself in order to tease out the "saying-doing-being-valuing-believing" combinations inherent in the hybrid identity Silko advances. The reader both reads about and participates in a co-creation of the main characters as well as through the other various features of the novel's hybridity. The reader becomes changed by the forces faced vicariously through Tayo; he or she participates in the meaning-making of Tayo's experiences as a hybrid and discovers at the novel's conclusion that the values, beliefs and practices associated with hybridity make it possible to complete the ceremony successfully.

While the structure and themes of *Ceremony* clearly mark it as an oral and literate hybrid and demonstrate Silko's promotion of hybrid identity, the linguistic elements in the novel also reveal its hybrid nature. James Gee claims, "linguistic aspects of Discourses can never be isolated from nonlinguistic aspects like values, assumptions, and beliefs" (Gee, p. 536). In order to examine the linguistic elements of the novel, Wallace Chafe's framework of fragmentation and involvement in

speaking and integration and detachment in writing were applied. By integrating the linguistic features of oral stories within the written text, Silko creates a politically charged statement, arguing for hybridity as an emergent culture.

Ceremony's embedded oral stories share some linguistic features with the narrative prose of the novel. At the same time, the narrative prose of the novel contains more linguistic qualities typically associated with oral language than with more formal academic writing. Thus while the juxtaposition of the more oral-like embedded story and written-like narrative prose creates linguistic hybridity, the two texts are internally hybrid as well.

On the whole, through its structural elements, thematic representations and linguistic properties of integration and involvement, Silko's novel, like her main character Tayo, illustrates and advocates hybrid identity. The junction of values, practices and beliefs inherent in this identity are complex and delicate, yet Silko expresses them and even advances the emergent culture through integrating oral and literate practices within the novel. As Ellen Arnold, editor of a collection of interviews with Leslie Marmon Silko affirmed, Silko is:

a writer who understands her work to be positioned in the complex intersection of multiple fields of influence -- historical and cultural, social, psychological, and spiritual -- that both shape and are given expression in her texts. (2000, p. xi)

While many Native American authors create hybrid characters to simply straddle or bridge the gap between two competing ideologies, Silko creates a hybrid character and hybrid novel, allowing the reader to both read about and participate in creating a hybrid identity, a new emergent culture through which the values, practices and beliefs of both mainstream and "other" Discourses can be expressed and integrated.

APPENDIX A

ONE TIME

One Time

1 One time
2 Old Woman K'yo's
3 son came in
4 from Reedleaf town
5 up north.
6 His name was Pa'caya'nyi
7 and he didn't know who his father was.

8 He asked the people
9 "You people want to learn some magic?"
10 and the people said
11 "Yes, we can always use some."

12 Ma'see'wi and Ou'yu'ye'wi
13 the twin brothers
14 were caring for the
15 mother corn altar,
16 but they got interested
17 in this magic too.

18 "What kind of medicine man
19 are you,
20 anyway?" they asked him.
21 "A Ck'o'yo medicine man,"
22 he said.

23 "Tonight we'll see
24 if you have magical power," they told him.

25 So that night
26 Pa'caya'nyi
27 came with his mountain lion.
28 He undressed
29 he painted his body
30 the whorls of flesh
31 the soles of his feet

32 the palms of his hands
33 the top of his head.

34 He made an altar
35 with cactus spines
36 and purple locoweed flowers.
37 He lighted four cactus torches
38 at each corner.
39 He made the mountain lion lie
40 down in front and
41 then he was ready for his magic.

42 He struck the middle of the north wall
43 He took a piece of flint and
44 he struck the middle of the north wall.
45 Water poured out of the wall
46 and flowed down
47 toward the south.

48 He said "What does this look like?
49 Is that magic power?"
50 He struck the middle of the west wall
51 and from the east wall
52 a bear came out.
53 "What do you call this?"
54 he said again.

55 "Yes, it looks like magic all right,"
56 Ma'see'wi said.
57 So it was finished
58 and Ma'see'wi and Ou'yu'ye'wi
59 and all the people were fooled by
60 that Ck'o'yo medicine man,
61 Pa'caya'nyi.

62 From that time on
63 they were
64 so busy

65 playing around with that
66 Ck'o'yo magic
67 they neglected the mother corn altar.

68 They thought they didn't have to worry
69 about anything
70 They thought this magic
71 could give life to plants
72 and animals.
73 They didn't know it was just a trick.

74 Our mother
75 Nau'ts'ity'i
76 was very angry
77 over this
78 over the way
79 all of them
80 even Ma'see'wi and Ou'yu'ye'wi
81 fooled around with this
82 magic.

83 "I've had enough of that,"
84 she said,
85 "If they like that magic so much
86 let them live off it."

87 So she took
88 the plants and grass from them.
89 No baby animals were born.
90 She took the
91 rainclouds with her.

92 The wind stirred the dust.
93 The people were starving.

94 "She's angry with us,"
95 the people said.

96 "Maybe because of that
97 Ck'o'yo magic
98 we were fooling with.
99 We better send someone
100 to ask our forgiveness."

101 They noticed hummingbird
102 was fat and shiny
103 he had plenty to eat.
104 They asked him how come he
105 looked so good.

106 He said
107 Down below
108 Three worlds below this one
109 everything is
110 green
111 all the plants are growing
112 all the flowers are blooming.
113 I go down there
114 and eat.

115 "So that's where our mother went.
116 How can we get down there?"

117 Hummingbird looked at all the
118 skinny people.
119 He felt sorry for them.
120 He said, "You need a messenger.
121 Listen, I'll tell you
122 what to do":

123 Bring a beautiful pottery jar
124 painted with parrots and big
125 flowers.
126 Mix black mountain dirt

127 some sweet corn flour
128 and a little water.

129 Cover the jar with a
130 new buckskin
131 and say this over the jar
132 and sing this softly
133 above the jar:
134 After four days
135 you will be alive
136 After four days
137 you will be alive
138 After four days
139 you will be alive
140 After four days
141 you will be alive

142 On the fourth day
143 something buzzed around
144 inside the jar.

145 They lifted the buckskin
146 and a big green fly
147 with yellow feelers on his head
148 flew out of the jar.

149 "Fly will go with me," Hummingbird said.
150 "We'll go see
151 what she wants."

152 They flew to the fourth world
153 below.
154 Down there
155 was another kind of daylight
156 everything was blooming
157 and growing
158 everything was so beautiful.

159 Fly started sucking on
160 sweet things so
161 Hummingbird had to tell him
162 to wait:
163 "Wait until we see our mother."
164 They found her.
165 They gave her turquoise beads
166 they gave her prayer sticks.

167 "I suppose you want something," she said.
168 "Yes, we want food and storm clouds."
169 "You get old Buzzard to purify
170 your town first
171 and then, maybe, I will send you people
172 food and rain again."

173 Fly and Hummingbird
174 flew back up.

175 They told the town people
176 that old Buzzard had to purify
177 the town.

178 They took more pollen,
179 more beads, and more prayer sticks
180 and they went to see old Buzzard.

181 They arrived at his place in the east.
182 "Who's out there?
183 Nobody ever came here before."
184 "It's us, Hummingbird and Fly."
185 "Oh. What do you want?"
186 "We need you to purify our town."
187 "Well, look here. Your offering isn't
188 complete. Where's the tobacco?"

189 (You see, it wasn't easy.)
190 Fly and Hummingbird

191 had to fly back to town again.

192 The people asked
193 "Did you find him?"
194 "Yes, but we forgot something.
195 Tobacco."
196 But there was no tobacco
197 so Fly and Hummingbird had to fly
198 all the way back down
199 to the fourth world below
200 to ask our mother where
201 they could get some tobacco.

202 "We came back again,"
203 they told our mother.
204 "Maybe you need something?"
205 "Tobacco."
206 "Go ask caterpillar."

207 So they flew
208 all the way up again.
209 They went to a place in the West

210 (See, these things were complicated...)
211 They called outside his house
212 "You downstairs, how are things?"
213 "Okay," he said "come down."
214 They went down inside.
215 "Maybe you want something?"
216 "Yes. We need tobacco."
217 Caterpillar spread out
218 dry corn husks on the floor.
219 He rubbed his hands together
220 and tobacco fell into the corn husks.
221 Then he folded up the husks
222 and gave the tobacco to them.
223 Hummingbird and Fly thanked him.
224 They took the tobacco to old Buzzard.

225 "Here it is. We finally got it but it
226 sure wasn't very easy."
227 "Okay," Buzzard said
228 "Go back and tell them
229 I'll purify the town."

230 And he did --
231 first to the east
232 then to the south
233 then to the west
234 and finally to the north.
235 Everything was set straight again
236 after all that ck'o'yo magic.

237 The storm clouds returned
238 the grass and plants started growing again.
239 There was food
240 and the people were happy again.

241 So she told them
242 "Stay out of trouble
243 from now on.

244 It isn't very easy
245 to fix up things again.
246 Remember that
247 next time
248 some ck'o'yo magician
249 comes to town."

APPENDIX B

CEREMONY, PAGES 34-36

Ceremony, pages 34-36

Let them talk. By planting time they'll forget." Old Grandma stood up straight when she said this and stared at Auntie with milky cataract eyes.

"You know what the Army doctor said: 'No Indian medicine.' Old Ku'oosh will bring his bag of weeds and dust. The doctor won't like it." But her tone of voice was one of temporary defeat, and she was already thinking ahead to some possible satisfaction later on, when something went wrong and it could be traced back to this decision. Like the night she tried to tell them not to keep the little boy for Sis any more; by then she was even running round with colored men, and she was always drunk. She came that night to leave the little boy with them. They could have refused then. They could have told her not to come around any more. But they didn't listen to her then either; later on though, they saw, and she used to say to then, "See, I tried to tell you." But they didn't care. Her brother, Josiah, and her mother. They didn't care what the people were saying about their family, or that the village officers had a meeting one time and talked about running Sis off the reservation for good.

Old Grandma pulled the chair from the foot of the bed, and the old man sat down. He nodded at Tayo but didn't say anything; Tayo didn't understand what he was waiting for until he saw old Grandma wearing her coat and wool scarf, waiting while Auntie put on her coat. They left, and old Ku'oosh waited until the voices of the women could no longer be heard before he moved the chair

closer to the bed. He smelled like mutton tallow and mountain sagebrush. He spoke softly, using the old dialect full of sentences that were involuted with explanations of their own origins, as if nothing the old man said were his own but all had been said before and he was only there to repeat it. Tayo had to strain to catch the meaning, dense with place names he had never heard. His language was childish, interspersed with English words, and he could feel shame tightening in his throat; but then he heard the old man describe the cave, a deep lava cave north-east of Laguna where bats flew out on summer evenings. He pushed himself up against the pillows and felt the iron bed frame against his back. He knew this cave. The rattlesnakes like to lie there in the early spring, when the days were still cool and the sun warmed the black lava rock first; the snakes went there to restore life to themselves. The old man gestured to the northeast, and Tayo turned his head that way and remembered the wide round hole, so deep that even lying on his belly beside Rocky, he had never been able to see bottom. He remembered the small rocks they had nudged over the edge and how they had listened for some sound when the rocks hit bottom. But the cave was deeper than the sound. Auntie told them that she would whip them if they didn't stay away from that place, because there were snakes around there and they might fall in. But they went anyway, on summer nights after supper, when the crickets smelled the coolness and started singing. They were careful of the snakes that came out hunting after sundown, and they sneaked up to the cave very quietly and waited for the bats to fly out. He nodded to the old man because he knew this place. People said back in the

old days they took the scalps and threw them down there. Tayo knew what the old man had come for.

Ku'oosh continued slowly, in a soft chanting voice, saying, "Maybe you don't know some of these things," vaguely acknowledging the distant circumstances of an absent white father. He called Josiah by his Indian name and said, "If he had known then maybe he could have told you before you went to the white people's big war." He hesitated then and looked at Tayo's eyes.

"But you know, grandson, this world is fragile."

The word he chose to express "fragile" was filled with the intricacies of a continuing process, and with a strength inherent in spider webs woven across paths through sand hills where early in the morning the sun becomes entangled in each filament of web. It took a long time to explain the fragility and intricacy because no word exists alone, and the reason for choosing each word had to be explained with a story about why it must be said this certain way. That was the responsibility that went with being human, old Ku'oosh said, the story behind each word must be told so there could be no mistake in the meaning of what had been said; and this demanded great patience and love. More than an hour went by before Ku'oosh asked him.

"You were with the others," he said, "the ones who went to the white people's war?"

Tayo nodded.

"There is something they have sent me to ask you. Something you need, now that you are home."

Tayo was listening to the wind outside; late in the afternoon it would begin to die down.

“You understand, don’t you?” It is important to all of us. Not only for your sake, but for this fragile world.”

He didn’t know how to explain what had happened. He did not know how to tell him that he had not killed any enemy or that he did not think he had. But that he had done things far worse, and the effects were everywhere in the cloudless sky, on the dry brown hills, shrinking skin and hide taut over sharp bone. The old man was waiting for him to answer.

Tayo reached down for the slop jar and pulled it closer.

“I’m sick,” he said, turning away from the old man to vomit. “I’m sick,” but I never killed any enemy. I never even touched them.” He was shivering and sweating when he sat up.

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