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Being a Grandmother in the Tewa World

SUE-ELLEN JACOBS

INTRODUCTION

This paper summarizes the descriptions of “grandmotherhood” provided to me by approximately 25 percent of women of various ages at San Juan Pueblo. It also includes observations I have recorded concerning use of kinship terms and other kin-based behaviors. In my attempts to understand the range of grandmotherhood, I use the concept of grandmother to denote both an achieved and an ascribed status: achieved by living long enough to raise a child healthy enough to have a child; ascribed by custom when a child of a child is born. One cannot change these biological facts. One can choose whether or not to engage in the behaviors expected of persons in this life stage.¹

This paper is based on analysis of oral history materials I have collected; my reading of Doris Duke archival materials; formal interviews with a range of tribal members; and informal discussions and participant observations of more than three hundred members of a Tewa² extended family with whom I have worked annually for various lengths of time over the course of twenty-three years.³ The full extended family represents approximately one-half of the Tewa who live at San Juan Pueblo.⁴

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CULTURAL CONTEXT

The Tewa of San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico, are bilateral,⁵ with dual organization consisting of two moieties:⁶ Winter and Summer. In everyday language, people refer to the "side" they are born into, marry into, or are initiated into. Whether by birth, marriage or initiation, all Tewa are on either the Winter or the Summer side; they count, fulfill, recount, and transmit their ceremonial and everyday life obligations accordingly. Moiety membership is sometimes inherited through the mother but usually through the father. Moiety membership for females may not be fixed for life; women who marry outside their side customarily join their husband's side. When this happens, children belong to the side of both their father and mother. If the mother does not join the father's side, the children belong to their mother's side. In the process of fulfilling their many roles viz-à-viz children, grandmothers must keep in mind the side to which each of their grandchildren belongs and carry out (especially) socialization and other childrearing activities accordingly.⁷

Formerly subsistence farmers, for the past fifty to sixty years most Tewa families have depended on wages received for work, on or off the reservation, to meet basic needs. Members of extended families consisting of three or four generations used to live in the same household or, if not under the same roof, in close proximity to one another, their residential units divided by walls in the classic "apartment" type of dwellings characteristic of Pueblo people until recently.⁸ Modern homes tend to be more widely dispersed, built for and occupied by either nuclear or simple extended families.⁹

In daily life, great emphasis is placed on family structure and organization.¹⁰ Childrearing is a common topic in everyday conversation and influences the organization of household as well as extradomestic work. From the birth of their own children to the ends of their lives, women (and most men) will be engaged in childrearing, along with other work and responsibilities. Thus, if one is to discuss grandmothers in this part of the Tewa world, one is drawn to focus on the work and roles women play in childrearing.

BIOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL CRITERIA AND LINGUISTIC MARKERS

If they have children and live long enough, most women at San Juan Pueblo achieve the status of grandmother. It is a biological,

social, and ordinary eventuality of most women's lives. The English term *grandmother* used in the Tewa context denotes a kinship relationship and connotes the roles women play in the social reproduction of their extended families. The term is also used respectfully when addressing unrelated older women in the community.¹¹ The comparable English term of respect for old men is *grandfather*. *Grandmother* is not synonymous with female elder. The Tewa term for grandmother is *sa'yâa*; the term for grandfather is *thehtay*. When asked for the Tewa term for elder, several people have said it is *kwiyo*. When asked what this word means in English, they have said "old person." This is the same word used for "old woman" and "wife" (see table below). Red Clay Basket¹² (whom you will meet in subsequent paragraphs) says that *kwiyo* is used for old women and men and "for a lady, old or young; but if you really want to talk about an old man, you can say '*kwiyo sedo*'"¹³ (an old woman's husband), which is also the term for old age.¹⁴

Older Tewa women also occupy the role of tribal elder, but to consider Tewa women as elders, as opposed to grandmothers, requires a wider context for analysis. The status of grandmother is assigned when one's children have children; I have known grandmothers as young as thirty-six; for some women, the chronological age at which this occurred has been as young as thirty-two. Elders are all over fifty. The status of knowledgeable or respected elder is achieved by practicing traditions and sharing cultural knowledge and skills. Thus, although many Tewa grandmothers also achieve the status of elder, grandmother is not automatically synonymous with female elder.

Roles played by women elders in community organization include (but are not limited to) preparing and carrying out aspects of sodality (or "clan") and other tribal affairs they or their husbands and fathers engage in, and serving on advisory committees set up by the tribal council, the Senior Citizens Program, and other community programs. Until one has achieved the status of old person, she is considered to be green (*p'oeseewi*), or unripened, meaning she does not know enough about traditions, language, and life in general to be involved in community decision-making. Notwithstanding the fact that, for most older women, the categories overlap, the focus of my paper is grandmotherhood, not elderhood.

At San Juan Pueblo, grandmothers are addressed as *T'saeyah* (older spelling), *Saya* (colloquial spelling), or *Sa'yâa*.¹⁵ Sometimes children refer to specific grandmothers and great-grandmothers by adding the first names or nicknames of these individuals to

Sa'yâa (e.g., Sayah Rita). The *San Juan Pueblo Tewa Dictionary* gives the following terms:

Tewa	English
<i>yíyá</i> ¹⁶	mother
<i>sa'yâa</i> ¹⁷	grandmother
<i>pahpâa sa'yâa</i>	great-grandmother
<i>yíyá kwiyo</i> ¹⁸	great, great-grandmother
<i>kú'gûu sa'yâa</i>	great, great, great-grandmother
<i>kwiyo</i>	old woman, wife
<i>sa'yâ'ay</i>	grandchild of a grandmother
<i>kó'ôe, nána</i> ¹⁹	aunt

Esther Martinez, bilingual educator (and compiler and editor of the *San Juan Pueblo Tewa Dictionary*) at San Juan Pueblo says that most children use the word *sa'yâa* for all their grandmothers, even though they may know the terms that differentiate between degrees of grandmotherhood. I have observed that children who otherwise speak no Tewa most often address and refer to their grandparents using the Tewa terms *Sa'yâa* and *Thehtay* (grandfather). A woman elder may be addressed by any of the respect terms: *yíyá* (mother), *sa'yâa* (grandmother), *yíyá kwiyo* (literally, "mother old woman" or "mother wife"), or *kó'ôe* (aunt).

The age range for grandmothers referred to in this paper is thirty-six to eighty-five. The average age at which women first acquire the status of grandmother in this community appears to be forty, the beginning of the final decade of their biological reproductive cycle—the age that marks the onset of what is now called "middle age." Many factors contribute to how they respond to this new status, but grandmothers whom I have come to know have all told me they were very happy when their "first grandchild came along." They say that each subsequent grandchild has "added to [their] happiness." They also say that sometimes these children have also added to their workload and consequently are "a mixed blessing."

SOME ROLES OF FOUR TEWA GRANDMOTHERS²⁰

Red Clay Basket was born in 1900. She is an elder and a grandmother. Her own grandmother taught her how to cook and sew;

how to identify and collect raw materials for making pottery and how to make the pottery itself; how to process the harvest of corn, squash, wheat, and other produce grown in the family fields; and how to identify and use various wild roots, berries, and leaves for cooking and medicine. These skills and knowledge were important for Red Clay Basket's future roles as wife of Sun Moving (who was later to become a sodality head), mother of five children, foster mother of six additional children (whom she raised after her sister died), grandmother of twenty-two, great-grandmother of twenty-seven, and great-great-grandmother of four.

After marriage and the birth of her first several children, Red Clay Basket periodically worked for wages as a housekeeper at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, and she regularly made and sold pottery. The family depended in part on her cash income to meet the expenses of daily living. In the 1980s, her grandchildren (and she) benefited from her earlier years of employment at Los Alamos through the Social Security checks she and Sun Moving received.

Over the course of fourteen years, I have observed Red Clay Basket in her interactions with most of her grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and one great-great-grandchild. She says, "I have raised all my grandchildren," as a way of announcing that she has taken a major role in their early rearing. Her daughters, some of her nieces and nephews whom she took into her home when their mother died, and some of her grandchildren also say, "She raised all my children." The activities that I have observed include those that some scholars now refer to as "childminding" (called "babysitting" by Red Clay Basket). That is, children are left with their grandmother (or great-grandmother) for feeding and general care while the parents are engaged in work for wages. Sometimes, the parents of the child pay Red Clay Basket a fee for babysitting. Now, as part of a relatively new program, parents may apply to the tribe for child care subsidies that will be paid directly to the caretaker. In order to qualify as a recipient of the tribal funds, caretakers must have homes that meet federally defined minimal requirements of health and safety. Some older homes do not meet these requirements. In one instance, I noted that the denial of subsidy did not stop a mother from leaving her son with his great-grandmother for care; Red Clay Basket was just paid less by the mother than she would have been by the tribal program.

Irrespective of the externally defined regulations regarding home safety standards for subsidized child care, everyone under-

stands that part of the responsibility of child caregivers (babysitters or childminders) is to protect children from harm. Women who grew up in the older religious traditions explain that harm can come from spirit forces as well as from living forces. It is relatively easy to see and prevent harm from living forces, but spirit forces are not so easily seen. They might even approach on a gentle breeze and enter infants or young children who are not properly protected. An infant or young child in Red Clay Basket's care is never left unattended. If, for one reason or another, she must leave the child asleep and alone in a room, she places a protective sacred object on the blanket covering the sleeping child. At home, the children's parents do not always take these precautions. When I have asked the parents why not, I have been told that they "don't believe in those superstitious things." Yet, when the children become ill—for example, if they have digestive problems or a cold or need other health care—the parents often seek Red Clay Basket's advice before (and sometimes after) going to the health clinic.

Red Clay Basket is well known for her curing abilities. Sick children and infants are brought to her not only from San Juan but from other pueblos, too. Most frequently, however, it is her relatives who come to her for cures. If she decides that the solution to the health problem is beyond her knowledge and capabilities, she will provide preliminary treatment and then recommend that the child be taken to the medicine man; otherwise, she undertakes full curing, which usually requires four separate sessions.

Red Clay Basket employs a range of healing practices. She uses herbs, roots, ash, salt, soda, and other sources of medicine for a variety of adult and child afflictions. For example, she is often asked to help with care of an infant's drying umbilical cord. Using dust from the vigas (exposed round roof beams) in the kitchen, ash from the wood stove, salt and powder from crushed pottery sherds (if available), she makes a poultice and applies it to the umbilicus, which is then covered with an abdominal binding cloth. The mother or both parents of the infant will be instructed not to remove the covering for four days.

Parents of infants and young children call on Red Clay Basket's traditional knowledge for other purposes, too. For example, she has performed the naming ceremony for many of her great-grandchildren, one great-great-grandchild, and some of her grandchildren. In previous times, the "naming mother"²¹ (customarily an elder who is a member of one of the parents' extended families)

would perform the ceremony at dawn on the fourth day following birth. Most births now take place in hospitals. If all goes well, the mother and infant leave the hospital in time for the ceremony to take place on the fourth day; however, when this is not possible, the naming ceremony is performed at the earliest convenient time after the child is brought home to the pueblo.

Children and grandchildren depend on Red Clay Basket for advice and support in matters related to performance of traditional ceremonials. She will lend garments and jewelry from her store of these for her relatives' participation in ceremonies. On the day of these ceremonies, she often dresses her granddaughters and great-granddaughters and explains to them the attitudes they should have regarding the ceremony. She sometimes also describes the experiences she had when she took part in ceremonies in years past. Since most ceremonies also involve dance and song, she may also show the young women how the steps go and/or how the song is or used to be sung.

Children and grandchildren also call upon Red Clay Basket for economic support. Most of the time, she lends money to those who ask, but she warns them sternly that she must be repaid by a certain date or they will not be given further loans. Sometimes she has referred to herself as "the family banker." At other times, she provides work for the young people and pays them an agreed upon sum.

Red Clay Basket stopped working on pottery in about 1982. Prior to that time, she had taught her techniques to her daughters and some of her granddaughters. Two daughters became potters; no granddaughters have become potters. I have observed Red Clay Basket's grandchildren and great-grandchildren of both sexes forming pottery pieces while in their *sa'yâa'*s care. When their pottery pieces were finished, they were included among the bowls, plates, and other items she either took to the Santa Fe Indian Market or sold to the traders who used to come to the house to buy pottery and carvings. The money was given to the children.

One daughter and several granddaughters have worked as domestics in Los Alamos. Now most granddaughters have full-time employment commensurate with their level of education. Most of those who have children leave them in the care of their mothers or with Red Clay Basket until they are old enough for school. The school-age grandchildren come on the school bus to Red Clay Basket's house after school each weekday, where they

have a snack, do some homework or watch television (but usually go outside to play), and wait for their parents to come home from work.

Rita (pseudonym), Red Clay Basket's youngest daughter, first became a grandmother at age thirty-six and now has six grandchildren. She has hosted baby showers for her daughter and daughters-in-law; has held feasts following the Catholic baptism of each grandchild and following the first Holy Communion of her first grandchild; and engages in other activities that will assure weekly contact with her grandchildren. Because she works full time at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory during the week and has an unmarried, school-age child still at home, she does not serve as a childminder for her children's children; but she provides financial and social support for them on a regular basis, and her oldest granddaughter (now twelve) occasionally spends the weekend with her.

Agnes (pseudonym), in her late fifties, is Red Clay Basket's daughter-in-law. When Agnes's husband retired from industry in the Midwest at age fifty-five, she resigned her job as a special education teacher, and they moved back to the reservation with four of their ten children. In the Midwest, Agnes had taken full responsibility for raising her first grandchild, who was incorporated into Agnes's home as a daughter. Subsequent children of children were incorporated as grandchildren. When Agnes and her husband moved west, all of these grandchildren stayed in the Midwest with their biological parents.

After settling into life in New Mexico, Agnes's husband began farming his parents' fields, and both he and Agnes became active in community affairs. They are members of the Senior Citizen Program advisory committee, serve on several church committees, and participate in tribal affairs. Agnes also began work as the tribal librarian, writing and administering grants for the development of a community lending library. The family's main sources of income are her husband's retirement money, Agnes's income from work as tribal librarian, and contributions to household expenses (food and utilities) made by the employed children who live at home. Over the past two years, Agnes's husband's farming has been yielding larger quantities of high-quality produce, stimulating an increased demand for it among local people. An expanded harvest requires a related increase in processing the harvest—a task that largely falls to Agnes, dramatically increasing her household chores during this season.

In a recent year, two new grandchildren were added to the family. Agnes held baby showers and then provided feasts to celebrate each infant's baptism. The mother of one lived with Agnes and her husband. She found it desirable to take a job when her child was about six months old. Agnes became her childminder while also working part-time at the library, writing grants, processing the harvest, serving on committees, and managing her household. Her husband could be called on to watch the baby when she needed to leave home to shop for groceries, pay bills, open the library for a limited number of hours, or engage in other necessary activities. Agnes and her husband have also assumed major responsibility for taking care of Red Clay Basket and Sun Moving, who live in a separate but nearby home.

Elsie (pseudonym), in her mid-fifties, is Red Clay Basket's other living daughter. Her husband works full-time, and she manages their home. They have two children and three grandchildren. Their first grandchild is being raised by their son's mother-in-law. Their daughter and her husband work full time. The daughter's children (a girl and a boy) were left with Elsie for care during their infancy. Over the years, the granddaughter has spent an increasing amount of time with her grandparents. Elsie has crippling arthritis and has become increasingly dependent on her granddaughter, who, by about the age of seven, had learned to cook, clean house, and help her grandmother with the laundry. Now, at age nine, the granddaughter rarely sleeps at her parents' home; occasionally, she spends the day with her mother's maternal grandmother (i.e., her great-grandmother, Red Clay Basket), who taught her how to make pottery when she was about four years old. Elsie and her husband provide their granddaughter with clothes, school supplies, toys, trips to the zoo in Albuquerque and other outings, and many other economic, social, and affective benefits. As with the other grandparents mentioned, Elsie and her husband express a great deal of love for this granddaughter and her brother.

All four grandmothers have described their feelings of love for their grandchildren, but Red Clay Basket warns that "it is dangerous to pet them too much" because "life is hard and they have to learn their lessons for when you are gone, when they are on their own." Still, she admits to having favorites among her grandchildren, those she "wishes to please." To these grandchildren she gives extra attention in the form of actual time and conversation, as well as money, clothing, jewelry, and other material goods.

CHANGING ROLES OF GRANDMOTHERS THROUGH THE GENERATIONS

To be a grandmother in the Tewa world basically means that one has had children and has lived long enough to participate in the social education of one's children's children. The following overview of some childrearing activities of four grandmothers within one segment of a large, extended family may contribute to an understanding of the range of behaviors that can ensure a community's survival. For their children and grandchildren, these women

1. informally teach basic skills and knowledge;
2. collaborate with parents in childrearing through daily care for limited or extended periods of time;
3. furnish ceremonial clothes, jewelry, and knowledge;
4. care for sick infants and children;
5. provide cash and material support in the form of loans, gifts, wages;
6. sponsor or conduct fourth-day naming ceremonies;
7. provision new parents who live within their households;
8. hold showers before, and baptism feasts after, the birth of a child, as rites of recognition and incorporation to which family and friends are invited;
9. provide love, and
10. participate in other activities, as needed, for meeting family, moiety, and community responsibilities (e.g., helping with cooking for feast days and baking bread, pies, and cookies for weddings, feasts, and other events).

Being a grandmother in the Tewa world may mean doing all of these things for one's children and one's children's children and on down the generations; these activities, of course, add to the work a grandmother does and the responsibilities she holds for her own household and the community-at-large. For some women, when grandmotherhood includes direct involvement in child care, it means an increase in an already heavy workload, as in Agnes's case during harvest season. For others (such as Elsie, Rita, and Red Clay Basket), it has meant developing friendships across the generations, as well as (for Elsie and Red Clay Basket) resuming desirable primary care of young people in one's middle to later years.

Through their second-, third- and fourth-generation childrearing activities, most Tewa grandmothers have participated in the perpetuation and maintenance of their community's traditional values and customs. By providing child day care for working parents, they have also helped improve their children's economic conditions. Under these circumstances, cultural, social, and biological advantages seem to accrue to all generations in a family and to the whole community. But, as in other communities where emphasis has shifted to single-family households and wage labor economies, changes that have occurred over the generations, affecting the traditional socialization processes, may make this observation very conditional. These changes have to do with several things: first, an overall increase in life expectancy for members of the community; and second, an increase in secured wage labor by women, with retirement coming some twenty to thirty years (i.e., at age sixty-two to sixty-five) after an individual achieves the biological and cultural status of grandmother. Indeed, it is beginning to be clear that if one is going to depend on relatives for child care, one must hope for a great-grandmother, because she is the one most likely to be freed from the workforce and able (if she is willing) to make an investment in the rearing of her children's children's children.²²

At the time of this writing, Red Clay Basket was eighty-five years old. In her generation, women first became grandmothers in their mid- to late thirties. Most women did not work off the reservation but rather remained in the domestic sphere of the pueblo, making pottery, tending to gardens, processing the harvests, and undertaking other tasks that allowed them to care for children simultaneously, including spending large portions of each day preparing and cooking food for all household members. They may have worked off the reservation sporadically; when they did, they left their children in the care of their mothers (if they were still alive) or other kin. People lived in close proximity to one another and shared in childrearing. With the birth of her first great-grandchild when she was about age fifty-five, Red Clay Basket began her involvement in rearing the third generation of her descendants. Her oldest daughter, Ellen (pseudonym), helped with the rearing of this child and then with others as they came along. Agnes, in her mid-fifties, has no great-grandchildren. She has engaged in childrearing with more than half of her grandchildren but not as intensively as Red Clay Basket did in raising her grandchildren. Rita has not been a childminder for any of her

children, while Elsie has taken a major role in rearing her daughter's children. Gloria (pseudonym), Red Clay Basket's other daughter, had no children but assumed large financial and other responsibilities for Rita's sons. The diverse patterns found in the child-rearing roles of these six women can be considered characteristic of those found throughout the reservation.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the Tewa world, as in many other places, grandmotherhood is defined biologically. It is also defined culturally. Old women are addressed respectfully as *Sa'yâa* or Grandmother, irrespective of biological relatedness. When a woman becomes a grandmother, her status may change; she decides whether her familial and community roles will change at that time or later. Thus, becoming a grandmother is, at first, a biological event, occurring when a child of a child is born, then culturally and socially constructed. Three generations of biologically linked people are required for this new status to be achieved. Perceived biological change is another basis for becoming a grandmother, but in a fully sociocultural fashion (i.e., no biological link is required): A woman ages, and, whether she has grandchildren or not, when she is perceived to be "old," she will be called *Sa'yâa* (Grandmother) or *Kwiyó* (mother old woman)—highly respectful terms used for old women who are or are not related.²³

Since grandmotherhood is a status defined at the outset in relationship to childbearing, it is not surprising that the expected associated roles include participation of grandmothers in rearing of their grandchildren. However, changes in work and living arrangements at San Juan Pueblo are leading to changes in role performance. Previously, grandmothers could care for grandchildren while doing their work, freeing mothers to have more children and to concentrate on nurturing the youngest children in turn. In Red Clay Basket's younger years, there were more extended family households than there are now, and childrearing tended to be a collective endeavor, with grandmothers taking a major role in socialization of their grandchildren. Now there are fewer grandmothers available for childrearing, as more mothers and grandmothers work off the reservation until the Social Security and union retirement age of sixty-two to sixty-five (or younger, if they have civil service jobs). This leaves the care of many young

children to day care centers, professional babysitters, and other non-kin who are paid to mind small children during the day; others may be cared for by their great-grandmothers.

The Tewa definition of *grandmother* includes an expectation of significant socialization of grandchildren, which contemporary grandmothers strive to meet. Some grandmothers experience conflict, because their roles as household managers require them to provide all the domestic services (such as processing the harvest, in Agnes's case) once performed by younger adult women, who now must contribute to their own household economies by wage labor outside the home, often off the reservation. Those who cannot meet the socialization expectations themselves may provide monetary or other support for grandchildren, or they may encourage their children to avail themselves of the help their mothers can provide (i.e., the great-grandmothers become the primary childminders). Thus it appears that, with extended longevity, a specific "great-grandmother role" has developed, devoted to childminding as well as informal instruction in traditional culture (e.g., language, stories, pottery-making, cooking, and ceremonial matters). Many grandmothers now specialize in household management, tribal affairs, and full-time employment, while most mothers are expected to bear children and spend most of their working day in wage labor.²⁴ Today, being a grandmother in the Tewa world is much more complex (and involves less direct participation in the lives of grandchildren) than it used to be, but the status is aspired to by all the women I know at San Juan Pueblo.

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NOTES

1. This is an aspect of grandparenthood discussed by others who have studied life cycling cross-culturally; namely, that not all grandparents are willing or able to fulfill societal expectations. Joan Weibel-Orlando reports a similar finding from her research with South Dakota reservation and Los Angeles urban Siouan grandparents; however, her overall schemata of five grandparenting styles ("distanced grandparent," "ceremonial grandparent," "fictive grandparent," "custodial grandparent," and "cultural conservator grandparent") are not categories of persons found at San Juan Pueblo. Perhaps the five styles she reports are as clearly demarcated in the communities where she has lived, and her generalizations may fit other Plains societies as well. However, for this Pueblo world, in the practice of everyday life, sociocultural roles are seldom so easily categorized or clearly differentiated. At San Juan Pueblo, people may assume full cultural expectations for being grandmothers when it first happens to them, or they may wait until they have achieved elder status before meeting all objectives. This emphasis is made as a comparative issue in response to the suggestion of one of the anonymous readers of my paper. Although she did not cite my work, Weibel-Orlando had read a copy of the full version of my paper when she published "Grandparenting Styles: Native American Perspectives" in *The Cultural Context of Aging: Worldwide Perspectives*, ed. Jay Sokolovsky (New York: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, 1990), 109-25. Her discussion in that article provides an interesting parallel/contrasting point of view.

2. *Tewa* refers to the six linguistically related, yet autonomous, Rio Grande Indian pueblos located in north-central New Mexico, and their ancestors. In addition, it includes the language of the native peoples who reside in those pueblos. As with the terms *Navajo*, *Apache*, *Cherokee*, or *American*, it also refers to tribal or national identity and should therefore always be capitalized.

3. Members of the family, including the four grandmothers described and most of their female kin, have read this paper and have given permission for its publication.

4. This estimation takes into account all lineal and collateral consanguineal (blood) and affinal (in-law) relations. Senior family members estimated that "over a thousand of our relatives" attended a party honoring the oldest community elder on the occasion of his one-hundredth birthday. The 1986 total Tewa residential figures were projected by a tribal official to be "around 1,850," while the total tribal enrollment was projected to be "around 2,500" (which means that about 650 enrolled tribal members do not live on the reservation).

5. The term *bilateral* refers to the fact that people determine their kinship relationships through both their mother and their father.

6. The term *moiety* refers to the division of a society into two lineal kinship parts (or "sides"), each having specified responsibility for community social, political, economic, and religious organizations and functions. In the Tewa world, Winter people are responsible for these matters from approximately the autumnal equinox to the spring equinox; people on the Summer side have these responsibilities from approximately the spring equinox to the autumnal equinox. The above is a gross simplification of a very complex social order; for detailed information, see Alfonso Ortiz, *The Tewa World: Space, Time, Being and Becoming in a Pueblo Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

7. For details on differences between Winter and Summer people, their everyday and ceremonial obligations, and seasonal rounds, see Ortiz, *The Tewa World*.

8. These complex housing structures, which were found throughout the American Southwest at the time of the Spanish arrival in 1540, have been retained in only a few locales. Old Taos Pueblo is probably the best known, since it is open to the public (for a fee) and often appears in tourist promotional photographs from New Mexico.

9. The adjective *simple* is the term anthropologists and other social scientists use to refer to small extended families, which usually consist of one grandparental generation, one set of parents and these parents' children. Anyone who has grown up in or has resided as a teenager or adult in such a household knows that they are by no means "simple" in terms of interpersonal relations, economics, and other aspects of managing everyday life.

10. This is noted in several ways: (a) In conversations, people frequently discuss aspects of affinal and consanguineal relationships and reciprocal obligations and privileges associated with these; and (b) in my observations, I note that people talk about and organize their work patterns in ways that allow them to meet familial responsibilities, e.g., taking off from work to bake bread, prepare the house, purchase the "give-away" or "basket" items, and attend to additional matters associated with special family or village feasts and other events.

11. Older women and men are sometimes also referred to as "senior citizens," a practice that came into being in the late 1970s as a result of the establishment of the Tribal Senior Citizen Program.

12. The names Red Clay Basket and Sun Moving are the ones approved for use by the elders before their deaths in 1990 and 1989, respectively. For this and subsequent papers, they preferred that I use the English translations of their

Tewa names rather than initials for their English/Spanish names, as we had done in an earlier paper. It is inappropriate to use people's Tewa names without their explicit permission to do so. Other personal names that appear are pseudonyms I chose; these were subsequently approved (humorously) by the individuals to whom they refer.

13. The quote is from my 1986 field notes. The use of an inclusive, unmarked term for "old person" and "woman" is similar to Alfonso Ortiz's observation that *sa'yâaing* is inclusive of grandparents and grandmothers (personal communication, 1986). At the request of the anonymous Tewa reviewer of this paper, I asked a San Juan Pueblo native speaker and linguist, Blue Water, about current usage of *kwiyo* at San Juan Pueblo. She replied that *kwiyo* is still used as a formal term of respect when addressing certain elders; it can mean "old person" but is now rarely used in everyday conversational settings (personal communication, 1995).

14. *San Juan Pueblo Tewa Dictionary* (Portales, NM: Bishop Publishing Company, 1983).

15. This is the spelling used in the *San Juan Pueblo Tewa Dictionary*, *op. cit.*, which is based on Summer Institute of Linguistics phonetics. In letters and notes I have seen written to grandmothers, I have never seen either the older spelling or the dictionary spelling; it has always been *Sayah*.

16. Also used as a term of respect.

17. Also used as a term of respect.

18. Also used as a term of respect.

19. Also used as a term of respect; "[i]n school[,] children address teachers and resource people as *kó'ôe*. . ." *Ibid.*, 66.

20. This paper was first written as a draft almost fifteen years ago. Ten years ago, the elders referred to in this and other papers were still able to respond to writings about them. They and their family members gave permission to publish materials submitted to them for approval. Red Clay Basket and Sun Moving were among the last elders who retained strict Tewa traditions within their home, while simultaneously enjoying improved material conditions (from indoor plumbing in 1970 to acquisition of their first telephone and first television in 1978, and a double hotplate for cooking instead of "always having to use our winter wood" for cooking, among others). Emphasis on Red Clay Basket in this article reflects the family's desire for my research to be on that generation whose members are now all deceased (1993). The biographies I am writing about these elders are done with the hope that their grandchildren and subsequent generations will appreciate the elders' lives and the changes they experienced. This article manifests a biographical focus on Red Clay Basket because she epitomizes her generation's style of "grandmothering." Her daughters and daughter-in-law are sketched briefly as representatives of "modern Tewa grandmothers." The emphasis on change is deliberately contrastive. This is the paper that, in 1988, we all agreed addressed the issues of "being a grandmother in the Tewa world."

21. This is the English term used for the woman elder who will give the child its first Tewa name. For details on the traditional naming ceremony, see Ortiz, *The Tewa World*, 30–31.

22. I am particularly indebted to Pamela Amoss for deducing this from information I presented in an early draft of this paper.

23. In 1984, some children who had called me *Kô'ôe* (aunt) for as long as I had known them began tentatively addressing me as *Sa'yâa* (Grandmother). It had been a year since I had seen them, and my hair was grayer, my face, neck, and hands more wrinkled. They experimented with addressing me this way for several weeks, then resumed calling me *Kô'ôe*—I am not sure why. I have noticed that *Kô'ôe* is sometimes used for addressing both old and young women, irrespective of biological relatedness.

24. I am particularly indebted to Pamela Amoss for deducing this from information I presented in an early draft of this paper.