ENGAGING NATIVE AMERICAN PUBLICS

LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGY IN A COLLABORATIVE KEY

EDITED BY PAUL V. KROSKRITY AND BARBRA A. MEEK

Engaging Native American Publics

Engaging Native American Publics considers the increasing influence of Indigenous groups as key audiences, collaborators, and authors with regards to their own linguistic documentation and representation. The chapters critically examine a variety of North American case studies to reflect on the forms and effects of new collaborations between language researchers and Indigenous communities, as well as the types and uses of products that emerge with notions of cultural maintenance and linguistic revitalization in mind. In assessing the nature and degree of change from an early period of "salvage" research to a period of greater Indigenous "self-determination," the volume addresses whether increased empowerment and accountability has truly transformed the terms of engagement and what the implications for the future might be.

Paul V. Kroskrity is a Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, Los Angeles, United States. He served as Chair of the Interdepartmental Program in American Indian Studies and is a past President of the Society for Linguistic Anthropology.

Barbra A. Meek is an Associate Professor of Anthropology and Linguistics at the University of Michigan, United States.

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Contributors

Jane Anderson is Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Museum Studies at New York University. Her work is focused on the philosophical and practical problems of intellectual property law, repatriation, and Indigenous rights. She works with a variety of Native American communities negotiating control and ownership over tribal knowledge resources and cultural heritage held within archives and museums. Her most recent project with Kim Christen is Local Contexts (www.localcontexts.org). This project includes the new Traditional Knowledge (TK) Labels as an educational intervention to address the needs of Indigenous communities to manage their intellectual property rights and cultural heritage specifically within the digital environment. This project just received a three-year award from the National Endowment for the Humanities. She is co-editor with Haidy Geismar on the forthcoming *Routledge Companion to Cultural Property* and is working on the manuscript *The Memory of Property: Decolonial Futures for Ethnographic Collections*.

Erin Debenport, a linguistic anthropologist, is Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, Los Angeles. Her book, *Fixing the Books: Secrecy, Literacy, and Perfectibility in Indigenous New Mexico* (SAR, 2015), ethnographically explores the creation and control of written texts in a Pueblo community. Her new project, based in the United States–Mexico border region, looks at the inverse: how language is used to render political groups visible and viable. Since 2003 she has contributed to language documentation and revitalization programs in Kiowa-Tanoan speaking communities, collaborating with community members on creating archives and pedagogical materials. Her work has appeared in journals that include *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*; *Language & Communication*; *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*; and *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*.

Margaret Field is a linguist by training and Professor of American Indian Studies at San Diego State University. Her recent work focuses on language documentation as well as sociolinguistics, pragmatics, and language ideologies in American Indian communities. Since 2008 she has been working in Kumiai and Ko'alh communities of Baja California Norte documenting language

variation and oral literature. Together with Paul V. Kroskrity she edited *Native American Language Ideologies: Language Beliefs, Practices, and Struggles in Indian Country* and she is currently collaborating with Amy Miller and others on a volume of Kumiai oral literature.

Paul V. Kroskrity is Professor of Anthropology and American Indian Studies at UCLA. He received his B.A. from Columbia and earned his Ph.D. in Anthropology from Indiana University in 1977. He has worked extensively with the Arizona Tewa and Western Mono communities since 1973 and 1980, respectively, and engaged in a variety of linguistic, sociolinguistic, language renewal, and language ideological studies. This research resulted in numerous articles and books on these topics including: *Language, History, and Identity: Ethnolinguistic Studies of the Arizona Tewa* (1993); the edited volumes *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Polities, and Identities* (2000) and *Telling Stories in the Face of Danger: Language Renewal in Native American Communities* (2012); the co-authored interactive multimedia CD-ROM *Taitaduhaan: Western Mono Ways of Speaking* (2002); and the book, co-edited with Margaret Field, *Native American Language Ideologies: Beliefs, Practices, and Struggles in Indian Country* (2009). He is a past President of the Society for Linguistic Anthropology.

Hannah McElgunn is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago, also pursuing a joint degree with the Department of Linguistics. Her research considers the relationship between language, property, and knowledge. She is particularly interested in the way that historical language documentation work and contemporary language revitalization efforts intersect with legal regime of intellectual property in regards to the Hopi language.

Barbra A. Meek, a Comanche citizen and professionally trained linguist and anthropologist, is Associate Professor of Anthropology and Linguistics and Faculty Affiliate of the Native American Studies Program at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. She has published on language endangerment, revitalization and the interplay of language and racial-ethnic difference in popular film. She is the author of *"We Are Our Language": An Ethnography of Language Revitalization in a Northern Athabaskan Community* (University of Arizona Press, 2010). Her scholarship also addresses issues of inequality through subtle and not-so-subtle acts of discrimination in interaction and representation. She is currently collaborating with Patrick Moore, the Kaska First Nations, and the Yukon Department of Education to develop an online Kaska "talking" dictionary and grammar funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (Canada).

M. Eleanor Nevins is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Middlebury College, Vermont, United States. She is author of *Lessons from Fort Apache: Beyond Language Endangerment and Maintenance* and contributing editor for *Worldmaking Stories: Maidu Language, Landscape and Community Renewal.* She conducted three years of ethnographic fieldwork with members of the

White Mountain Apache Tribe on the Fort Apache reservation. She has also worked as linguistic consultant to language revitalization projects in two different Native American communities: the *Ndee Biyáti* / Apache Language Project and the *Weje-ebis Majdym* / Keep Speaking Maidu Language Revitalization Project. A specialist in linguistic anthropology, her work addresses the interplay of poetics, education, religion, globalization, and environment. She teaches courses in linguistic anthropology, Indigenous studies, and environmental studies. Her work has appeared in edited volumes as well as in the journals *Language in Society*; *Language and Communication*; *Heritage Management*; *Journal of Folklore Research*; and *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*.

Gus Palmer, Jr. is Associate Professor of Anthropology and Native American Studies at the University of Oklahoma. A linguistic anthropologist whose main area of concentration is the Kiowa language, Gus has worked and is still working on a Kiowa language dictionary with the few Kiowa speakers living in Oklahoma. A fluent speaker of Kiowa, Gus has taught Kiowa in the Native Language Program at OU. In addition to Kiowa, he spent several summers working with the Pawnee Nation language revitalization and preservation program, producing curricula and updating original South Band and Skiri digital sound recordings for use by tribal members. Gus has published one book, *Telling Stories the Kiowa Way* (2003), and also poems and fiction in several anthologies and literary magazines. He is currently editing a volume of Native literature for The Native Literatures of the Americas Series, the University of Nebraska Press, and he is also working with his son on a documentary film on the life and art of N. Scott Momaday, Kiowa poet, writer and painter, for PBS's *American Masters* which documents the lives and works of famous American artists and writers.

Bernard C. Perley is a member of the Maliseet Nation from Tobique First Nation, New Brunswick, Canada. He teaches linguistic anthropology and American Indian Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Perley's ongoing research is dedicated toward revitalizing Indigenous languages identified by language experts as "endangered." His monograph *Defying Maliseet Language Death: Emergent Vitalities of Language, Culture, and Identity in Eastern Canada* (2011) critically evaluates expert prognostications of imminent Maliseet language death as well as community attitudes towards the vitality of their language. The ethnography offers a hopeful perspective for Maliseet language vitality. His co-edited volume *Responses to Language Endangerment: In Honor of Mickey Noonin. New Directions in Language Documentation and Revitalization* (2013) provides diagnostic essays as well as case studies reflecting state-of-the-science approaches toward language documentation and revitalization from a global perspective. Perley also integrates art, language, and spirituality in collaborative installation pieces that provide alternative documentation strategies that emphasize community collaboration and creativity. The goal of the collaborative art installation pieces is to promote emerging language vitalities for Indigenous communities as practices of Indigenous linguistic sovereignty.

Leighton C. Peterson is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Miami University and a documentary film producer for public television. Leighton's scholarship has engaged the practice and study of Indigenous language media in the United States, and he has published numerous articles on the relationships of Native American languages to representational practices and media culture. Leighton's numerous film credits include producer of acclaimed documentary film *Weaving Worlds* (2008), earning an Award of Commendation from the Society for Visual Anthropology among other prominent accolades. His production *Columbus Day Legacy* (2011) was awarded Best Documentary Short winner at the American Indian Film Festival and a Special Jury Prize for Bridging Cultures at the Arizona International Film Festival.

Justin Richland is Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Chicago and Research Professor at the American Bar Foundation. His research explores the intersections of culture, language, and law in contemporary Native American and U.S. settler colonial governance. He is the author of two books, *Arguing with Tradition, The Language of Law in Hopi Tribal Court* (University of Chicago Press, 2008) and *Introduction to Tribal Legal Studies, 3rd Edition* (with Sarah Deer, Rowman and Littlefield Press, 2015) as well as articles in various scholarly journals including *American Ethnologist*; *Annual Review of Anthropology*; *Discourse & Society*; *Law and Social Inquiry*; and *Law & Society Review*. In addition to his research, he also serves as Associate Justice of the Hopi Appellate Court, the highest court of the Hopi Nation. In 2016, he was named a John Simon Guggenheim Fellow.

Anthony K. Webster is a linguistic anthropologist and author of the books *Explorations in Navajo Poetry and Poetics* (UNM, 2009) and *Intimate Grammars: An Ethnography of Navajo Poetry* (Arizona, 2015). His research focuses on the interplay between language, culture, the individual, and the imagination. He has published articles on Navajo ethnopoetics and Navajo language and culture in, among others, *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*; *International Journal of American Linguistics*; *Anthropological Linguistics*; *Language in Society*; *Anthropology and Humanism*; *Journal of Anthropological Research*; *Semiotica*; and *Journal of American Folklore*. He is currently working on a book on translating contemporary Navajo poetry.

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Introduction

1 Native American languages and linguistic anthropology

From the legacy of salvage anthropology to the promise of linguistic self-determination

Barbra A. Meek

Bolstered by socioeconomic development, growing political power, tribally run schools, and expressions of their cultural sovereignty such as tribal law and language revitalization, Native American communities have never exerted more influence on form, content, and manner of their cultural and linguistic representation in white public space (e.g. Champagne 2006; Cattelino 2008; Den Ouden and O'Brien 2013, 2015). Whereas in the not-so-distant past, such European-derived, text-based techniques of cultural and linguistic documentation were tasks performed and managed by non-Native experts for other professional elites, typically they were neither community-based nor community-driven. Currently these forms of representation are often collaborative, funded by federal and/or tribal programs designed to serve Native American communities and undertaken with Indigenous publics as one of the most, if not the most, important audiences for these works. Since the mid-twentieth century national policies concerning Indigenous peoples across the liberal democratic settler states have shifted away from ethnic assimilation models and towards increasing legal provisions for minority linguistic and cultural rights (Merlan 1998; Hornberger 1998). In the United States, the passage of the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act of 1975 (Wilkinson 2005) signaled a dramatic change toward the recognition of Native American cultural rights and increased authority by Native Nations over the socioeconomic and cultural lives of tribal citizens.

Along with this, national (public) research programs have shifted from salvage documentation to projects that accommodate, albeit often imperfectly, Indigenous concerns for contemporaneous recognition, sovereignty, and decolonization (Perley 2012; Tuhiwai-Smith 1999). The contributors to this book show how Indigenous language research, from fieldwork to the production of books, articles and other products of scholarship, to their circulation across institutions and audiences, is now subject to negotiation with and intervention by members of the Native American communities concerned. However, while the politics of research have shifted, there persists a recursive relation between current efforts to support Indigenous languages and prior work in salvage documentation. This is because mainstream public recognition of Indigenous identity is at least

partially contingent upon past documentary research and on the circulation of its objects (dictionaries, text collections, ethnographies, and field notes) amongst scholars, libraries, and government bureaucracies (and ultimately their uptake and redistribution in and through more popular media like Hollywood films or internet jokes (Meek 2013)). Or, as influential literary critic, social theorist, and public intellectual Michael Warner (2002) points out, there is a temporality to all publics, a history of interdiscursiveness that facilitates a public's constitution; it gets their attention. Without such historical antecedents, recognition by a self-determining public would fail. These disciplinary products and their patterns of public circulation have reference points (with their own political entailments) through which claims to indigeneity are now recognized within the political institutions of the settler state (Povinelli 2002; see also Castile 1996, Strong 2012, Strong and Van Winkle 1996). Therefore, calls to support Indigenous languages often suggest new uses for old research objects as much as they suggest changes in the production and circulation of new research.

One way to distinguish, however imperfectly, the present emphasis across the language disciplines on Indigenous language documentation and cultural representation from the research practices of the salvage era of the early to mid-twentieth century, is to observe that researchers, both Native American and otherwise, and the Native Americans who collaboratively work with them now are much more likely to consider future Indigenous publics among their intended audiences. Salvage era anthropologists and linguists created representations designed for circulation among academic elites and archived for an imagined future public in which Indigenous persons were expected to have assimilated to the modern, cosmopolitan nation state (Kroskrity 2013; Nevins 2013a; Carr and Meek 2013). As it turns out, this expectation has not been met; Indigenous (counter)publics remain.[1] As the actual future public has unfolded, indigeneity has exceeded the role imagined for it by the settler public of the salvage era. Today, language researchers continue to create representations of Indigenous languages; but on different terms and with different futures in mind.

Now it is more common to find Native American language researchers engaged in collaborative projects with members of the disenfranchised communities, producing products designed to be consumed by Indigenous audiences with community-based notions of cultural maintenance and linguistic revitalization in mind. Linguistic engagement with embattled heritage languages is now more directed to Indigenous publics; and this redirection—ranging from recipient design and community-driven research to new technologies and production capacities—has the potential to truly change the process of representation and the circulation of these documentary materials as well as to alter their form and content to reflect the priorities of Indigenous communities.

The purpose of this book is to explore recent cutting-edge research on the ongoing articulations of Indigenous publics with linguistic and cultural disciplines occasioned by their mutual orientation to the future of Indigenous languages and cultures. What kinds of new collaborations are occurring and how do these reshape inquiry and representation? What kinds of products emerge

from these collaborations, and what new uses, conflicts, and institutionalizations do these products occasion? We address the question of whether mutual commitments to the future of a heritage language, however conceived, afford opportunities for Indigenous control over engagements with settler-state regulating and authenticating institutions, including language research and education. We also ask, alternately, whether some of the colonial premises of salvage documentation linger in the cause of revitalizing languages and constrain Indigenous empowerment with respect to research institutions, granting agencies, and linguistic archives in unintended ways.

As an avenue of approach this book explores, via ethnographic, linguistic, and anthropological philological investigation, the dialogic emergence of documentary objects (grammars, dictionaries, poetry, narrative collections, and new media representations) and their subsequent readings and uses among Indigenous, disciplinary, national, and international publics. In case studies of a variety of Native American languages and communities, the authors examine the collaborative productions mentioned above as well as the circulation and recirculation of "recycled" older forms of documentation.

These case studies demonstrate the various forms that Native American language collaborations take, from the Northeast through the Southern Plains to California and the Southwest. In some of these cases, the research partnerships "flip the script," relinquishing entire control of a project to the tribal institution that regulates and oversees research. Other partnerships share control and distribute participation in relation to skills and interests related to project goals. And then some partnerships, though anchored in a researcher's orientation (and largely documentary in nature), intentionally promote an Indigenous agenda. Across all of these cases, there is a privileging of an imagined Indigenous public that demands engagement. The cases here exemplify a range of language projects through which concerns for future Indigenous publics have been articulated and they display a variety of Indigenous representations and engagements that have emerged through academy–community involvements. In this variety, each case reveals strategies for hailing current and future Indigenous publics and recognizes these strategies as expressions of Indigenous self-determination.

We also look at the production, circulation, and uptake of new and recycled language and media projects by these Native American communities. The individual studies examine attempts to control the circulation of linguistic representation from situations where Native American communities seek to restrict its flow outside the heritage community to those communities in which this type of wide circulation is sought and encouraged. Conceptualizing and/or commoditizing their language products as intellectual property, some Native American communities—such as the Hopi described here—deploy property law in an attempt to better control circulation of linguistic and cultural knowledge. In addition our authors include studies of Native American development and use of new media such as a Western Mono multimedia CD-ROM and the use of Navajo in social media (e.g. Twitter). In these cases, different tensions arise that constrain circulation, from technological anachronisms to anonymous and imagined acts

of scrutiny. These constraints on circulation consequently temper the capacity of these linguistic efforts to (renewably) engage current publics and to address—call into being—future publics.

Collaborative linguistic anthropology

While this book is surely "about" the Native American communities discussed in the case studies provided here, it is also inevitably a reflection on the enterprise of linguistic anthropology and the researchers who draw from this scholarly tradition. From its beginnings, linguistic anthropology was built upon histories of engagement between anthropological researchers and the speakers of Indigenous North American languages who worked with them. These early engagements continue to provide valuable though problematic resources which the contributors to this book draw upon (Bauman and Briggs 2003). Arguably Franz Boas's first major anthropological project, his *Handbook of North American Indian Languages* (Boas 1911), was a landmark work in defining the collaborative baseline in research by linguistic anthropologists on Native American languages. While Boas deserves credit for discarding the Latin-based model of description and for promoting detailed studies of particular languages "in their own terms" that would prove conclusive in destroying scientific racist expectations of either primitivity or a monolithic structure attributable to all Native American languages, he also deserves considerable blame for his "direct method" in which Native American language speakers were viewed as reliable sources for the production of linguistic data but not for its interpretation. Boas's cognitivist prioritization of linguistic categories as materialized thought dismissed the "secondary rationalizations" of native speakers as a kind of culturally distorted misrecognition of actual grammatical structures. But his own professional language ideology—one he would impose on the field for many decades—constructed the linguistic expert as the only research participant with a valid analytical perspective.

Later developments in linguistic anthropology challenged the Boasian "direct method"—and its limitation of the role of the heritage speaker—in a variety of ways in order to better recognize the agency, intertextuality, cultural contextualization, and language ideologies of speakers of Native American languages. Using Hopi and other Native American examples, Dell Hymes (1966), for example, rationalized what was to become the Ethnography of Communication, as the need to go beyond the relativity of linguistic structures to explore the cultural diversity of language use. Ken Hale (1972), in a chapter in Hymes's *Reinventing Anthropology*, interrogated conventional practice in anthropological linguistics, and revalorized the role of native speakers of Native American and other Indigenous languages, calling for them to play a much greater role in the academic study of those languages. The ethnopoetics movement ushered in a new emphasis on the agency of cultural actors. Based on research with Zuni and Quiché Maya storytellers, Dennis Tedlock (1983) discussed the need for a "dialogical anthropology" in which Natives and Anthropologists could both be articulate within

the same work. Scholars in this movement, such as Berman (1992) critiqued the failure of Boasian methods to understand intertextuality and provided models for interpreting the situated agency of storytellers such as Victoria Howard (Chinook) rather than viewing them as mere replicants of a common oral culture (Hymes 1981). They also employed a disciplinary toolkit honed to examine the dialogic and intertextual qualities of research encounters (e.g. Tedlock and Mannheim 1995). However, neither disciplinary period fully addressed the assumption of the inevitability of the disappearance of Native American languages (and cultures). A preservationist orientation remained part of the underlying motivation for these efforts, though no longer exclusively the moral high ground of academic elites but a growing apprehension within Indigenous communities as more local concerns for cultural and linguistic revitalization became priorities.

Later language ideological approaches (Silverstein 1979; Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity 1998; Silverstein and Urban 1996) would call for exploration of those cultural beliefs about language that Boas had earlier proscribed as a means of exploring speakers' selective awareness of their linguistic structures and communicative practices. And researchers in this school of thought would understand both the explicit and implicit language ideologies of speakers as related to dominant institutions and contexts of social inequality and the convergence and conflict of language ideologies—including those of the researcher (Kroskrity 2000; Bauman and Briggs 2003)—that pervade issues of documentation, representation, collaboration, and circulation.

This reflexivity combined with an emphasis on social engagement traceable at least back to Dell Hymes's critical anthropology collection, *Reinventing Anthropology*, and to his programmatic exposition of the need for "mediative" research (1996) that transported relevant linguistic expertise to minority language communities so that those communities might better get their "voices" heard. He contrasted this style of research to "extractive" research that fails to exchange anything for the linguistic knowledge it takes and often removes from those communities. These precedents enabled linguistic researchers to be more open to collaboration given developments that had both elevated the importance of the speakers of Native American languages and problematized the knowledge and perspective of researchers as—not scientific truth—as much as another set of language ideologies to be analyzed. For linguistic anthropologists, especially those working in Native American communities, this emphasis on community-based research and the construction of research agendas inflected for advocacy rather than for purely academic objectives, had already been strongly voiced by the Dakota scholar Vine Deloria, Jr. (1969) in his widely read *Custer Died for Your Sins*. Using cultural anthropologists as his foil, he illustrated the folly of conducting studies in which Native Americans would play no role in research design but only stock roles in research narratives that were predetermined by academic theories. His critique, combined with those of Hale and Hymes, strongly suggested the need for enabling Native American communities and individuals to exercise a greater voice in the research process and to participate in—if not control—more truly community-derived projects.

Unlike Linguistics, a field in which some of its practitioners have recognized the importance of documenting endangered languages but have also retained theoretical and professional stances that both limit collaboration and partially reproduce colonial relationships (Shulist 2013), linguistic anthropology has benefited from participating in discourses associated with critical anthropology, reflexivity, and collaborative anthropology (Kroskrity 2000; Field 2008; Meek 2011; Nevins 2013b). Certainly some linguists have significantly contributed to a new spirit of collaborative linguistic documentation and representation (e.g. Macri 2010; Dobrin and Berson 2011; Czaykowski-Higgins 2009). But the authors in this book draw upon resources from linguistic anthropology as a field that is comparatively well positioned to further develop these resources through engagement with the increasingly important and comparatively untreated topic of future Native American audiences and publics. Note that this simple phrase encodes at least two major departures from the professional practice of Native American linguistic representation—both involving recipient design. As a target audience, "future *Native American* publics" reprioritizes the goals of research, privileging the needs of heritage language speakers and users over those of academics, and by specifying *future* Native publics, this phrase promotes a consideration of the language representational needs of future Native American generations and underscores that there is a future for Native Americans.

Organization of the book

This book is organized into two sections. The first section focuses on traditions of documentation and collaboration and the particular ways in which these traditions have influenced Indigenous language efforts today. They investigate how contemporary interventions have emerged in response to the particular histories of language research and in relation to current Native American orientations toward the state of their heritage language(s). They demonstrate both the range of engagement, real and envisioned, for making manifest Indigenous language futures and the particular linguistic elements that become part of the representational repertoire through these engagements. The development and manufacture of linguistic artifacts (grammars, CD-ROMs, narratives, dictionaries) characterize not only linguistic form, they occasion different styles of interaction in their production and circulation. To that end, each chapter examines a particular aspect of language manufacture in order to unpack the cultural provenance that characterizes both the linguistic product(s) and its intended audience. Unlike Boasian-inflected "salvage" work, present-day acts of preservation and revitalization recognizably reflect Indigenous participation in textual production and resonate more fully with the contemporary politics of Indigenous nations. Similarly, these chapters reveal a dialogism that would have previously been erased, and may still be partially obscured in static typeface (and even then, these artifacts are not as static as we might assume, with scribbles in margins, doodles on blank sections, and folded corners). These collaborations reveal an unfolding dynamic intended to carry the Indigenous language into some possible

future for some imagined publics of speakers and non-speakers, of linguists and non-linguists, of strangers and intimates. Furthermore, these chapters not only demonstrate the ways in which representations change as a result of collaborative reorientations toward a Native American audience and possible future publics, but they make an argument for "deep" collaboration and for shifts in control away from U.S. institutions (sites of control on a national scale) toward those of Native Nations.

"Deep" collaboration

This theme of collaboration is taken up by the authors of the first four chapters in a variety of ways. Chapter 2, Gus Palmer, Jr.'s "There's no easy way to talk about language change or language loss: the difficulties and rewards of linguistic collaboration," provides an especially fitting way of discussing the difficulties and rewards of collaboration. As a native speaker of Kiowa and a Professor of Linguistic Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma where his duties include leading the language revitalization programs for Kiowa and other Native American languages of Oklahoma, he speaks from experience to provide words of encouragement about the importance of this work. Echoing sentiments expressed by the Dauenhauers about the struggle to revitalize languages in the Alaskan panhandle (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998)—one of the first articles to show the dark side of revitalization projects—Palmer confronts the difficulties of collaboration between academic and Native American communities. As Vine Deloria, Jr. (1969) and Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (1999) have amply illustrated in such works as *Custer Died for Your Sins* and *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Native American and other Indigenous communities often have no historical basis for trusting academic researchers. But as Palmer suggests, the current state of language endangerment for most Native American languages—including his own Kiowa language—has produced a new environment that seems not only to urge greater cooperation, but indeed demands it. It can be shown that speaking groups in Indian communities were and still are inclined to work closer with the academic community and personnel than the opposite. As Palmer suggests, what is needed nowadays is for academic communities and cohorts to make a more decisive and direct gesture toward Indian speech communities in order to speed up meaningful partnerships and plans for language documentation and revitalization. This call for more collaboration, and his depiction of the potential rewards of that partnership, distinguish this chapter from some of Palmer's previous reflections on this topic (Palmer 2012). But the real heart of this chapter, and the means by which Palmer indigenizes his message, is the presentation of the Talking Rock story. Providing an incentive for readers to know more about Native American narratives and storytelling and to demonstrate the magical power of stories and the oral traditions they come from, Palmer reminds us through a very Kiowa-influenced conversational style of storytelling that globalization may have a good side in the promotion of collaboration across groups and the sharing of best practices that might lead to better research of Native American languages and their rich oral traditions (Palmer 2003).

Chapter 3, Margaret Field's "Recontextualizing Kumeyaay oral literature for the twenty-first century," provides powerful examples of the kinds of benefits that collaboration can provide with regard to oral literature. Unlike Palmer who focused on the magical realism of Kiowa folktales as well as the cultural style of their exposition, Field is especially concerned with the content of the myths of the Kumeyaay (or Diegueño) people of San Diego and Baja California, of which there are 18 distinct communities spread across both sides of the transnational border between Mexico and the United States. Not all of these communities share identical versions of the creation story, just as they also have many dialect differences across the region. In reporting the results of a large-scale project which allows for comparative and collaborative research with both the U.S. Kumeyaay communities and the Kumiai of Mexico, this chapter examines multiple earlier versions of the creation story recorded at the turn of the twentieth century in various U.S. Kumeyaay communities as well as a version still being told in the Mexican Kumeyaay community of Nejí, Baja California Norte. Making new uses of "old" previously collected texts, Field observes that a problem with most (if not all) of the earlier versions is that they are extremely opaque, being classic examples of "salvage ethnography" by researchers who did not take the time to ask their linguistic consultants relevant questions about the stories they collected and published. A comparison of several of them, together with annotation by current Nejí Kumeyaay storytellers, helps to clarify some of the more opaque references. A main goal of this chapter is to present a version of the Kumeyaay creation story which is as coherent and complete as possible, for at least one community. A secondary goal is to point out how the audiences for published versions of American Indian oral literature have changed over the past century. Whereas the "salvage" versions may have been "good enough" for anthropological projects of motif analysis or as linguistic specimens in 1910, they are so simplistic as to border on being offensive to today's students of American Indian literature, many of whom are California Indians and Kumeyaay people themselves. While some of this may be attributable to the lack of field recording technologies in the early twentieth century, some of it—such as the denigrating comment by Kroeber cited by Field—is perhaps attributable to the covert racism of the salvage era anthropological gaze (Kroskrity 2013). But the collaborative efforts of Field and her associates demonstrate the potential and promise of collaborative research both to resolve the unsolved problems of past scholarship—such as the origin of the Dying God myth—while also providing richer and more useful representations of the heritage languages and their narrative traditions (Field 2012).

In Chapter 4, "'You shall not become this kind of people': Indigenous political argument in Maidu linguistic text collections," M. Eleanor Nevins provides another case study of a meaningful collaboration stemming from her participation as a linguistic anthropologist working with Susanville Rancheria (Northern California) tribal members for their *Weye-ibis* Keep Speaking Maidu education project. Her chapter traces a 100-year text trajectory of Hac'ibijym's Maidu creation narratives as they have been recontextualized for different imagined publics via performance, documentation, retranslation, and use across Maidu individuals,

linguists, and artists. What is interesting about these stories is that they serve as a focus of mutual articulation between successive generations of linguists and Maidu persons, appropriated and repurposed by each, with qualities introduced through successive repurposing bundled into subsequent uses. This places the history of disciplinary appropriations of Hac'ibijym's stories alongside reappropriations of these documented and published materials by Maidu people and Susanville Rancheria tribal members with respect to their own purposes and concerns. Successive print publications cast the stories first, in 1905, as emblems of Maidu language and culture; second, in 1986 as eco-literature, or bioregional art; and third, in 2003 as book-art in an elite small batch artisanal print run. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the opportunities and constraints these texts present to the contemporary *Weye-ibis* Keep Speaking Maidu education effort as they work to repurpose these stories for Maidu language education and with Northern California Native American audiences, as well as more general audiences, in mind. Nevins deftly contrasts the indexical-stripping metadiscursive strategies of both salvage anthropologists like Dixon and the romantic preconceptions of the Beat literary scene with contemporary collaborative text collections that aim to restore the voices of individual storytellers as well as the political economic contexts—ideologically erased (Irvine and Gal 2000) by earlier text-making regimes—in which they performed.

Continuing the theme of collaboration on the representation of Native American narratives is Paul V. Kroskrity's "To 'we' [+inclusive] or not to 'we' [–inclusive]: the CD-ROM *Taitaduhaan* (our language) and Western Mono future publics," the fifth chapter of this book. Drawing on data from past and current research projects in the North Fork Mono (Central California) community, this chapter explores the operation of the UCLA-Mono Language Project during the last two decades of the twentieth century. That collaborative project joined the participation of academic and Native American community members—especially Mono elder Rosalie Bethel—toward the production of materials (like a practical dictionary and a multimedia, interactive CD-ROM of various narrative performances) designed both for Mono people as well as a wider public. Kroskrity details the collaborative role of Mono people in providing data, shaping its content, co-editing, providing feedback, performing exemplary stories and songs in innovative ways, attending to these published works, and deciding to circulate these publications as widely as possible. As suggested by Kroskrity's title, an underlying concern with circulation is succinctly illustrated in the use of an "inclusive" first person plural possessive pronoun in the Mono title of the CD-ROM *Taitaduhaan* "Our Language." Choice of *Tai-* (inclusive) vs. *Ni-* (exclusive) provides speakers with a pronominal form that groups the knowing Mono speaker with (all) the addressee(s). In accord with the linguistic inclusion, the material product (CD-ROM) was published and distributed by a university press aimed at including many publics (Mono, pan-Indian, and non-Indian general publics). Reflecting on the documentary process, this chapter explores whether decolonizing efforts that attempt to target the products of linguistic documentary research for a future Indigenous public can succeed in providing a

distinct alternative to hegemonic domination or merely reproduce the colonizing relationships of an earlier "salvage" anthropology. Though Kroskrity considers the possibility of the distorting external gaze of a general public, he concludes that the close alignment of Mono and general publics is better understood as consistent with the Mono community's own language ideologies (Kroskrity 2009).

These chapters reveal the variety of audiences that Indigenous efforts have attempted to capture through the subtle boundary work entextualized in these acts of preservation and "transcendence" (Nevins 2013b). Yet, they accomplish these revelations in vastly different ways. The first four chapters directly engage with dialogic encounters in relation to a history of textual practice and narrative reiterations. While each case begins by recognizing orientations toward some elite intellectual circle, they expand these original readerships by reimagining the public(s) they are addressing and possible future dialogues. They achieve these shifts through collaboration and an alignment of research-driven and community-driven goals. Both Margaret Field and M. Eleanor Nevins examine new treatments of traditional story texts, tracing differences from the colonial period to the present in Kumeyaay traditional narratives and Maidu creation stories respectively. Their chapters show how the alignment of goals can be relevant to multiple audiences, Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike. They also reveal the importance of, and the need for, revisiting and revitalizing older representations. Such revitalizations both expand upon the older representation and make them relevant for current and future publics. In expanding the discursive domain, laminating new interpretations onto old, or changing the discourse itself to validate alternative/new perspectives, new publics become recruitable. In these two cases, Indigenous publics are included alongside non-Indigenous elite ones. Furthermore, oral narratives change over time, made relevant by the storyteller at a particular socio-historical moment. The Kumeyaay and Maidu projects demonstrate how such an oral model is crucial for written, elite, academic genres as well. As with the changing tides of discourses (and narratives), so too change the technologies used to preserve and promote them. Paul V. Kroskrity reflects on his experiences working to document and develop language materials for Western Mono communities, focusing in particular on the collaboration that resulted in a CD-ROM for Mono language learning with Rosalie Bethel who recognized the potential for reaching multiple audiences, Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike, and for carrying the language forward. As his chapter title highlights, even the choice of a pronoun is complicated because of the opportunity for person deixis to index multiple publics for engaging with (purchasing, listening to, teaching with) digital Indigenous language products. Even in such complexity, the public being hailed by this discursive manoeuver is being called to imagine a future of/for Mono speakers, and a more linguistically inclusive future at that. In a similar vein, Gus Palmer details an approach, and an argument, for developing cross-institutional collaborations that he provocatively demonstrates through his retelling of a Kiowa narrative. He points out that even those things that seem inert (like rocks, institutions, "dying" languages) might have some agency—ability to move and grow—and thus a role in Indigenous language efforts. His chapter in

particular critically challenges the reader invested in maintaining an historical separation of Indigenous and academic. All of these chapters reveal the transformation of past practices, of linguistic representation and a future orientation that imagines Indigenous languages in glorious, unbounded circulation rather than as historical tokens of an extinguished existence best suited for dusty old archives and museums.

Circulation

But should circulation be unbounded? Can it be? Warner reminds us that publics, like sociality, are to some extent prefigured by the cultural frameworks and discourses from which they emerge. Instead, then, how do Indigenous language materials (and discourses) circulate, and what affects their circulation? The second section addresses the uptake and circulation of documentary efforts across various media platforms and in relation to other acts of preservation and other institutional frameworks. These chapters investigate these questions of uptake and circulation from different vantage points. In Chapter 6, "Future imperfect: advocacy, rhetoric, and public anxiety over Maliseet language life and death," Bernard C. Perley interrogates the concept of "language death" through a history of Maliseet language "salvage" efforts and then proceeds by challenging the Maliseet language community's commitment to or investment in Maliseet language "life." The chapter begins by pointing out that 100 years ago non-Maliseet commentators and scholars predicted the extinction of the Maliseet peoples as early as the 1950s, bolstering the early efforts of "salvage" ethnographers to save Maliseet stories "in the raw" for the benefit of later "ethnologists." Maliseet communities have outlived that prognosis. However, by the 1990s Maliseet activist-scholars joined the chorus of expert voices sounding the alarm that the Maliseet language was in grave danger of becoming extinct, thus initiating a fresh round of "salvage" efforts by both non-Maliseet and Maliseet language and cultural advocates. What was once an anxiety for non-Maliseet experts became a shared anxiety for Maliseet communities as parents and grandparents become aware their children and grandchildren no longer acquired Maliseet as their first language. This chapter has two purposes. First, it is an examination of the current anxieties expressed by those who have invested significant time, resources, and imagination into providing practical interventions to promote Maliseet language futures. Perley shows how these anxieties constitute a public that imagines death and dying as the condition for Maliseet. From this, a series of critical questions are posed. Is it possible to reconceive the issue of language extinction in terms of language life instead of death? How will the diverse Maliseet language advocacy publics negotiate practical interventions to assure possible Maliseet futures among themselves? Will those futures be grounded, shared, and experienced *with* and *in* the Maliseet language? These questions are designed to provoke Maliseet communities to move beyond salvage documentation and work toward relieving public anxieties by initiating socially inclusive solutions to promote Maliseet language life. It is a call for inclusivity and action; it is a call intended to reconstitute the public invested in the Maliseet language.

By contrast, Erin Debenport's chapter, "Perfecting publics: future audiences and the aesthetics of refinement," shows how community internal divisions and social protocol work to delimit and control audience participation in the maintenance of the Keiwa language. She focuses on literacy in particular and the role of revision in the management of knowledge, and thus challenges academic conceptualizations of "public" that overlook practices of revision in the assembling of knowledge. In this pseudonymic Keiwa community, these documentary efforts are not intended for widespread dissemination or use, but, rather like the documentarians of old, their textual efforts are ends in and of themselves and for their uptake only. During the last ten years, community members at San Antonio Pueblo, New Mexico, have debated about, and experimented with, the introduction of Indigenous language literacy to promote Keiwa language learning. Instead of producing written materials with widespread circulations, authors of the community dictionary, adult language curriculum, personal stories, and other Keiwa materials have concentrated on crafting and editing works with extremely limited readerships. In contrast to the other chapters, a seemingly implicit goal of these Keiwa language experts is to have no public for the documents they produce, revise, and reproduce; publics are for spoken texts, not written. As Debenport shows, these Indigenous language texts are not widely released, but instead are continuously edited and perfected, and are only given to specific community members at particular times. By taking literacy to be a technology of control and refinement, Debenport's analysis complicates an understanding of Indigenous publics as homogeneous and a conception of imagined audiences as having equal access. Furthermore, she argues that theorists of the public sphere missed a large part of what literacy is all about: the ability to revise. By studying the aesthetics of Pueblo writing, she reveals that literacy also has the potential to regulate and control the circulation of cultural knowledge and, in turn, both reflects and reinforces local models of interaction, political participation, and personhood that privilege indirectness.

Debenport's own skill at accommodating changing circumstances and respecting tribal constraints on her own research exemplifies both the challenges that may arise during research and an appropriate way to address them; that is, relinquishing control of the research to the tribe. She also illustrates a means for collaboration in such a restrictive environment by serving as scribe for the San Antonio language committee and acting as co-editor of "John's" transcribed and translated dialogue. Collaborative entextualization—here radically different from the Boasian approach (exactingly detailed and critiqued in Briggs and Bauman's 1999 article as well as later work)—continues to be a theme throughout these chapters.

Scaling publics

The next three chapters shift our attention to opportunities for expanding uptake and networks of circulation while at the same time considering how such expansions are constrained by language choices, representational styles, and

institutionalized frameworks of control. While Perley's and Debenport's chapters also consider frameworks of control (the first appealing for greater involvement and thus an expansion of control of Maliseet language practices, while the second emphasized the opposite), the three chapters by Webster, Peterson, and Anderson et al. examine the negotiation of control and the possibilities for directing networks of circulation in relation to multiple audiences and the creation of new publics.

In Chapter 8, "'I don't write Navajo poetry, I just speak the poetry in Navajo': ethical listeners, poetic communion, and the imagined future publics of Navajo poetry," Anthony K. Webster takes up discussions of Navajo in various media contexts to show how a hegemonic standard language ideal undermines grassroots Navajo productions of poetry. The chapter considers the future publics of Navajo poets who write poetry in Navajo and how the audience(s) they imagine for their artistry inclines them to compose their poems in Navajo. As Webster shows, however, the potential public that may emerge from such imaginings extends or exceeds any ethnolinguistic framing that might be presupposed in the exclusive use of the Navajo language for these creative endeavors. That is, as long as there are "ethical listeners" and ethical readers, then the potential for Navajo poetry in Navajo to constitute a public can be realized. One of the interesting dimensions of his discussion of different poets and the paths of circulation their poems take pertains to differences in scale, or the scaling of circulation. There is a tacit assumption that an ability to read Navajo will set the boundaries of a poem's circulation. Given that very few people, Navajo and non-Navajo, read (or write) Navajo, the imaginable public is already severely delimited from the outset. Webster's discussion of Rex Lee Jim's poetry illustrates this possibility in its minimal presence as published text on the Navajo reservation, in local public libraries, or anywhere else. Though Jim may imagine a broader audience, a more amorphous public, and a potential for greater circulation, the actual emergent public as constituted by his poetry remains, according to Webster, at the horizon of coming into being (though a public is being constituted via the internet). By contrast, his discussion of the Navajo language teacher demonstrates an intentional delimiting of some future public; she imagines only her grandchildren, her grandchildren's children, and so forth as being the future stranger-public that will attend to her poems. Another constraint that Webster highlights as contributing to the constitution, or lack thereof, of some Navajo poetry public arises in relation to standardization, especially in terms of spelling conventions, and the tension this poses for a "language ideology of variationism" (Kroskrity 2009) that had been the norm prior to boarding school. The goal of creating a Navajo literature, and attending public, have been hampered by the imposition of a standardized register for writing Navajo and the corresponding practices of scrutiny and correction, of critical evaluation and the scaling of achievement.

Moving beyond poetic dissemination by text, and its orthographic encumbrances, poetic performances via the internet provide new opportunities for recruiting listeners, and constituting a public for future iterations. The potential critical audiences of written Navajo poetry seem to have led to the emergence

of poetry composed and orally performed in Navajo on YouTube, bypassing the problematics of writing. This recent trend echoes a thought experiment that one Navajo poet suggested to Webster in 2010: "It could be a way of resistance: I don't write Navajo poetry, I just speak the poetry in Navajo" (Webster, this volume, 159). The Navajo poet in China who teaches English as a Second Language does just that, or at least, posts the spoken poetry for some stranger-public comprised of a few Navajo listeners, a non-Navajo learner, hundreds of unknown attendees, and Webster. The public being realized through this poet's posts on YouTube, according to Webster, is a counterpublic of ethical listeners, strangers engaged in appreciation of the performance of poetry—regardless perhaps of the form itself. In fact, if we are to apply Warner's rubric straightforwardly, then for any public to come into being through discourse there must be some history of discourse that allows for discursive recognition and attention. For non-readers and non-parsers of Navajo, what interdiscursive tendrils might these Navajo poetic YouTube performances provide? Through such reflections, Webster follows the (unintended) consequences of Navajo poets' choices in relation to the publics and critics they imagine and, through a subtle decoupling of language and identity, he suggests that perhaps some poets want to be known as poets first.

While Webster traces Navajo poets' linguistic and performative variances, Leighton C. Peterson in Chapter 9, "Reflections on Navajo publics, 'new' media, and documentary futures," illustrates the empowering effects of "old" and "new" media for Indigenous language practices and the creation of new publics. His chapter begins with a discussion of an innovative 1960s filmmaking project that was simultaneously documentation and media experimentation by Navajo filmmakers and non-Indian anthropologists. Of interest to Peterson is the attention to language and the emphasis on linguistic purism, an attitude that has remained in relation to contemporary radio programming. However, as Peterson shows through his analysis of tweets, such purist tendencies become tempered. He shows how the constraints of standardization dissolve, replaced by discussions of representational style, and how opportunities to expand domains of use (and creativity) are realized through these online platforms. In particular, Peterson points out that as cultural productions and ethnographic objects, Indigenous-language media texts are linguistic representations inherently geared for multiple publics. By using online social media sites such as Twitter and Facebook or creating audiovisual content for broadcast on YouTube or for screenings in movie theaters, Indigenous language users are simultaneously engaging and documenting their own languages in multiplatform, multimediated contexts. As these ways of speaking and writing become objects of scrutiny and reflection for users, activists, and scholars alike, they are also instances of fleeting language use that become permanently searchable or viewable (inscribed) on the Web. Through an exploration of specific acts of mediation among Navajo media makers, Peterson illustrates the tensions and potentials of uptake and circulation across different audiences and users. These practices push at what is potentially documentable, how documentation occurs, and how the tension between

linguistic form and audience expectation plays out in relation to real and potential publics. Essential to this discussion is the scaling of publics, which include non-speakers and non-Native audiences, as recipients for (consumers of) Indigenous language content. In the earliest documentary efforts, the scaling of publics for scholarly texts remained fairly simple, a dichotomy that distinguished between a ("white") elite educated public and everyone else. As Peterson suggests, the political economy that supported this basic scale has since become more fluid and complicated by "new" media. These new domains of Navajo language use are facilitating shifts in the privileging of certain publics and new centers of power and control.

In a similar vein, changes in the legal landscape surrounding American Indian governance have also provided new opportunities for challenging and re-imagining the publics served (by certain legislation) and shifts in who has access to and control of certain media, especially language media. In Chapter 10, Jane Anderson, Hannah McElgunn, and Justin Richland detail the complex terrain of control and dissemination through recent Hopi tribal events. They frame their discussion in relation to the broader salvage operation that resulted in the museological collections housed by academic and government-funded institutions, an operation spearheaded often by Boas himself. Accompanying these collections were recordings, texts, and documents also capturing Native American histories, traditions, and languages. As they point out, a watershed moment in the transformation of Native American relationships with such institutions and the management of access to these artifacts and documents was the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in 1990. Tribes finally gained a legal footing for reclaiming control over the circulation and interpretation of heritage materials, including the right to demand their return to direct tribal control. However, the two Hopi cases they discuss—a scholarly manuscript and the Hopi dictionary—reveal some of the complications that arise when linguistic objects are the focus of control. As Nevins (2013b) discussed in relation to the prohibition against the use of sacred terms in Western Apache language classrooms, local norms and values can, and do, constrain heritage language practices. This is a dilemma faced by many educators and researchers in their efforts to document and teach Indigenous languages. Language, or certain domains of language, often fall within this category, though ideas about the boundaries of this knowledge often vary between individuals. Furthermore, as Anderson and coauthors highlight, the overarching Euro-American legal framework that can accommodate shifting control over material objects from museums to tribes has a more difficult time facilitating the control (ownership) of "immaterial" objects, and language in particular.

These chapters also usefully relate language to other networks of cultural practice (Anderson et al., Debenport) and other networks of (language) users (Webster, Peterson, Perley). The second section also encourages us to consider the kinds of listeners that Indigenous authors might choose to recruit and the boundaries they might draw, or not, in relation to potential publics (Debenport, Perley, Webster) and to engage with the notion of public (as "relation among strangers") through

the actions of American Indian producers and alternative material frameworks either in relation to tangible heritage (Anderson et al.) or in relation to new (and older) opportunities for materializing and regenerating language (Debenport, Perley, Webster, Peterson).

Engaging the future

In 2007, Keren Rice, a noted linguist who has extensively documented and theorized Athabaskan languages, gave the keynote address at that year's *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium*, a conference that brings together Indigenous scholars, aboriginal language teachers and advocates, and academics. Her talk was entitled "Must there be two solitudes?,"[2] an allusion to the historical division between French- and English-speaking citizens in Canada. For Rice, the division was between linguists and Indigenous communities. She focused on whether or not linguists and Indigenous communities, especially community-internal language activists, could work together, and how they could productively work together, beginning with mutually recognizing the need to collaborate in their quests to document and revitalize Indigenous languages. These chapters take this position from the outset and approach collaborative engagement either directly as models (as with Palmer's and Perley's chapters) or indirectly as ethnographic engagement (as with Nevins's, Field's, Kroskrity's, and Debenport's chapters) and practical application (Anderson, McElgunn and Richland). Each chapter highlights entanglements that arise in such collaborative ventures, but none of them backs away from their respective challenges; instead each considers opportunities for engaging and resolving them.

What does it mean to collaborate? For the salvage ethnographers of old, collaboration seemed to mean managing the production of texts in order to appeal to some discerning and elite European-descended public and potential investors (philanthropists, sponsors). It also meant adhering to the standards of scientific inquiry and particular models of knowledge making. As Grenoble and Whitecloud aptly state, "[o]ne of the key differences between Western scientific knowledge and local knowledge is the principle of measurements and testing that that science entails. This is in direct contrast to many Indigenous knowledge systems, which include experience and culture as a means of defining what is known" (2014: 340). While remnants of this Western managerial model remain today along with its structures of knowing, each of these chapters illustrates and promotes a more mutual and community-integrated approach to research and representation between academics and Indigenous communities rather than the top-down institutional approach of earlier (modernist) traditions. Palmer's chapter suggests strategies to promote co-equalness between the "two" solitudes: linguist/researcher/external language advocate and language speakers/teachers/internal advocates. Palmer emphasizes the need to work together across institutional lines (tribal, academic) and draw from each other's experiences to fruitfully document Indigenous endangered languages and, in so doing, to strategically and usefully map out a future for these languages, to encourage the stream to become a river

rather than a dried up delta (cf. Muehlmann 2012). Debenport, on the other hand, reveals an un-equalness where scripts are rewritten and changed continuously by speakers (a privileged few) and the researcher-linguist is at the mercy of their desires and their protocols, along with the rest of the Keiwa community. Kroskrity shows how even in productive collaborative contexts, imagined futures and audiences can be interrupted by changes beyond our control, dammed up by rapidly changing technologies and supported, or unsupported, formats. However, our concern with collaboration raises two considerations that are central to constituting present and future publics: 1) the question of audience (or rather, dimensions of participation and how participation gets "scaled"); and 2) the issue of textual/documentary manufacture as a process of dialogic emergence. If we accept that public discourses both characterize the emergent publics they hail and are characterized by the past publics that were hailed, then any change in the participant structure of language media production would result in a change in public discourse (via the circulation of this media) and in the public(s) hailed. Yet, if there is no uptake, no public of strangers that finds itself addressed by the new discourse, what then?

Along with focusing on the details of production and the negotiations that production entails, these chapters also raise the question of uptake: how do the texts, media, apps, ethnographies, articles, and so forth become resurrected for and taken up by diverse audiences? Each chapter shows that through an expansion of participation, new publics are called into being, emanating out from a core group of actively engaged language advocates (or a single poet). Similarly, they also demonstrate the central role of certain kinds of technologies in the constitution of publics through the emanation of public discourses. Borrowing from Silverstein (2013), emanation allows for differences of attention or activity and degrees of significance and relationalness. For example, a linguist working on documenting an endangered language and the speakers with whom she works will be far more committed and actively attentive to the public discourses of endangerment, of Indigenous languages, and so forth than her relative working as a nurse in Chicago, though both might post news links to issues of language endangerment on their Facebook pages. Even though both the nurse and the linguist might be "hailed" by the same public discourse, and constitute a public concerned with the plight of these languages, the duration of their attention, their active uptake and reproduction of the discourse, their relationship to the discourse will vary. In this way, a discourse will emanate differently across different audiences and across the different strangers that make up some publics. Or as Silverstein states, "emanation defines an overall structure of tiered nodes in a network of sites of practice" (2013: 363) such that the people interacting at a particular moment (or "node") will have a different relationship to some discursively emergent form than two people who take up that discourse at some other spatio-temporal point. This difference suggests a tiered nature. Peterson's chapter, in particular, hints that such differences might begin to scale publics even though Warner claims that "a member's material existence or social position" is of no consequence to the constitution of some public (Warner 2002: 61). It may well be that material existence and social position have

no direct effect on a public's constitution, but the "indirect" circumstances of an individual might limit an opportunity to attend, and to secure membership in some public. To briefly exemplify, Peterson analyzes tweets that use Navajo words and references. But just to tweet, let alone in Navajo, requires several components: an account, a device for accessing the account (a cell phone), facility with the device (know how to use the keyboard or number pad, know how to use Twitter), capacity to "tweet" and read "tweets" (fingers, sight, literacy), etc. Failure to acquire any of these components could very well limit an individual's opportunity to attend to the discourses circulating via Twitter and the public(s) thus constituted. There is a political economy that undergirds and influences the characterization of the publics emerging from the circulating, culturally mediated discourses. Or, in the case of salvage ethnography, only certain individuals and institutions—a very small, elite public—had access to and read the texts created by anthropologists and linguists working to preserve Indian cultures. The cases in these chapters show that together changes in technology (and access to technology) and expanding participation are facilitating changes in the constitution and characterization of emergent publics addressed by contemporary iterations of Indigenous language material. Changes in the political-economic circumstances of tribes are supporting changes in the discourses and the Indigenous publics that are coming into being.

Furthermore, the on-going emergence of these materials and their constantly changing functionality suggest a discursive shift away from a static, Boasian object and an institutional shift away from "universal," non-Indigenous ownership and control (Anderson, McElgunn, and Richland's chapter). For collaborations to be productive, scholars, advocates, and Indigenous groups need to ride the current rather than struggle to contain it because if containing the course of the flow (or the structuring of the text-object) is the approach, then a possible future might be to end up like Shaylih Muehlmann's Colorado River delta, dried up and quantified into non-existence.

In addition to issues of collaboration and uptake, one final dimension of publics that meanders through all of these chapters is that of aesthetics, or as Warner puts it, "poetic world-making" (2002: 82). It is the recognition of a performative dimension to public discourse; "all discourse or performance addressed to a public must characterize the world in which it attempts to circulate, projecting for that world a concrete and livable shape, and attempting to realize that world through address" (Warner 2002: 81). The chapter by Field and Nevins shows how a particular history of discourse influenced the representation of Indigenous narrative at the time of documentation. Yet they also illustrate how contemporary efforts are updating those representations, mediated by a different (Indigenous) discourse. These remediations not only make apparent the "world-making" valences of the past documenters, they reveal the poetics of contemporary practice. Their current collaborations to reclaim Indigenous language materials exemplify Indigenous discursive characterizations of the world that provide a "concrete and livable shape" for contemporary Kumeyaay and Maidu audiences. In relation to technological advances, the chapters by Perley, Kroskrity, and Webster demonstrate how Indigenous authors and artists participate in public flows, not to engage in the persuasive propositional discourse

of a Habermasian "public sphere" but to experimentally deploy new communicative technologies to hail emergent Native and non-Native publics that provide aesthetic experiences partially rooted in oral traditions and associated semiotic practices. Furthermore, *all* of the chapters bridge the discursive divide initially erected by the salvage era scholars. Underscored by the emphasis on the experience of speaking and performing an Indigenous language, the authors here have integrated discourses that at the very least hail both Indigenous and academic audiences.

Individually, and collectively, these chapters help us assess—using grounded, qualitative analysis—the nature and degree of change from a period of salvage research that typified the early history of linguistic anthropology to a period of greater Indigenous self-determination, and shifts in disciplinary ethics and responsibilities in areas of linguistic and cultural representation. Has accountability to Native communities, and to these imagined future publics, truly transformed the terms of engagement? As our chapters demonstrate, no singular answer is possible given the diverse interests and cultural and historical differences that distinguish these studies even though a common focus on collaboration, structures of inequality, and novel forms of representation create a shared focus and basis for forging a new critical and comparative understanding. What they have shown is a transformation from old world text-mediated acts of dominion to new world multi-mediated acts of "poetic world making." Who knows, some day Nava-nese just might be a dialect in China.

Notes

1 Following Warner (2002), a counterpublic is a self-determining public that not only "invents and circulates counterdiscourses" á la Nancy Fraser (1992), but it assumes a subordinate positionality and/or a history of stigmatization in relation to dominant discourses and publics (Warner 2002: 85–86).
2 The two "solitudes" in this case refers to the relationship between English-speaking and French-speaking Canada, derived from the title of a 1945 novel by Hugh MacLennan (Rice 2009: 37).

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Part I

Collaboration

2 There's no easy way to talk about language change or language loss

The difficulties and rewards of linguistic collaboration

Gus Palmer, Jr.

There's no easy way to talk about language change or language loss. Fact of the matter, there's no easy way to talk about any area of the human enterprise. Almost everything we do as researchers requires some negotiating skills when we work with cultural groups who might not be as cooperative as we wish they were. Since the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s there has been a resurgence of self-determination and tribal sovereignty in the Indian community as a whole. This overall change of life in Indian America has significantly impacted the academic work between Indians and non-Indians. Where once it was relatively easy to approach the Indian community to undertake fieldwork of one kind or another, nowadays, unless a personal relationship exists with consultants, researchers may be confronted with a barrier of resistance. We may interpret this reluctance to work with us as obstinate, stubborn, or just plain ungrateful. It is more realistically speaking the fact that Indian communities and individuals have far more options to decide whether they want to work with outside sources than in former times.

Things just aren't that easy anymore.

I am a speaker of my native Kiowa language and also work in Native language revitalization. Of the approximately 12,000 enrolled Kiowa tribal members, there are less than 100 fluent speakers, all over the age of 70.[1] When speakers die, there are no new speakers to replace them. With new interest in Kiowa among younger tribal members, there is some hope that a new generation of speakers will arise and fill the language void. But there is no guarantee that this will be the case unless language workers continue working diligently to save what languages are left. We all know we are facing very difficult decisions and plans for doing language work. When tribes work with academic language resources and linguists, there is a higher probability heritage languages can revive. It has been pretty well established that many, if not most American Indian languages, will not be restored to their former condition no matter how hard we work. Still, much work and cooperation needs to be undertaken by professional language workers and speakers in order for progress to be made. This is perhaps the most challenging aspect of language work in this country, or anywhere else in the world, for that matter.

So let us imagine for a moment the resourcefulness of the spoken word and how it can manifest itself in human experience in the following story. This story illustrates the magical power of the spoken word. What I want to emphasize here is the power of human speech. The important thing to remember is that we should not take any communicative exchanges for granted because spoken words can change or even save lives.

Cauigu a ci:dê. Long ago, there were children at play in the Kiowa camp. We don't know exactly where this took place. All we know is it was a long time ago, when unusual things took place and people took these matters very seriously. There was the presence of forces and events we would nowadays refer to as magical.

Before we go on let me explain something about the formulaic storytelling opening, *Cauigu a ci:dê.* It roughly translates, "The Kiowas were camping." This is a formulaic opening Kiowas used when they told stories. I say "used" because you hardly hear that expression anymore. Most Kiowa stories are told in English these days. The formulaic opening of a story was an effective storytelling device that let listeners know something important was going to be recounted, something that might have happened long, long ago, when the earth was young. Moreover, the opening sort of set the stage like *Once upon a time* does in English.

It's kind of nice and makes storytelling interesting, doesn't it?

Once upon a time the earth was void and without light.

When I was a boy my grandfather would open a story, oftentimes right in the middle of ordinary conversation, and without warning. My grandfather was a superb Kiowa storyteller. He liked to use Kiowa in the most remarkable way when recounting human experiences and events.

But let's get back to our story.

Those Kiowa children wanted to play bear, but nobody wanted to be the bear. You see, the people had a taboo about bears. It was even forbidden to utter the word bear. The irony is many tribal members, men in particular, were given names of bears, such names as Sitting Bear, White Bear, and so on. It seems the people feared the word bear just as much as they were fascinated about that fearsome animal. It was this ambiguous relationship of fear and attraction that makes playing bear one of the interesting themes in this story. In this way, it gives you clues about what the people thought or believed. What's more, it makes you wonder why they might challenge or play around like those children did just to see what would happen. Consider this fact: many people do things just like this even nowadays without even thinking about the possible consequences or outcomes. Human beings seem to like to take dangerous risks, or tease or even mock danger. This is an interesting idea and I would like to return to and develop it. But that is another story.

In any event, these children were at play, whereupon someone suggested they play bear. So they asked around about who would be the bear. That was the idea. Somebody had to play the role of a bear in order for everybody to be afraid and get chased by a bear. One of the children asked the oldest girl, *Setàlmà* (Bear Chasing Woman), if she would play the part of the bear.

Hau:nê! No! She protested. Setàlmà was adamant. *À ci:dàu!* I am afraid. Let somebody else be the bear. Besides, we aren't even supposed to play such a game. Imagine what our parents would say if they knew what we were doing.

She had a good point, because no one of sound mind in the tribe—not even a kid—would do such a stupid thing.

So, it went on like that for some time. Somebody asking, someone else begging Bear Chasing Woman to be the bear. So on and so forth. They could have been going back and forth begging and arguing all day long till late afternoon.

What is interesting here is that this girl even had the name of a bear. *Bear Chasing Woman*. Now, that doesn't even make sense. That's that peculiarity we were talking about earlier, that these people feared bears, but actively named themselves after a bear, one kind or another. It was like they were doing this on a dare. It might have been a way for them to face their fear of bears head-on, like some people do when they are afraid of, say, snakes, but read about them and collect pictures of deadly cobras and black mambas. Some people even hold snakes in their bare hands, and do a deadly dance with snakes. All in the name of religious fervor and faith, some people do this. It's downright scary. Right? These kinds of things don't make much sense, but that is how human nature is sometimes, and we just have to live with it, I suppose. It is probably the same kind of behavior exhibited when people bungee jump or skydive. Consider for a moment how both thrill and fear merge together to produce exhilaration beyond explanation. This behavior has been researched by psychologists and other human behaviorists. There are no easy answers. People keep doing crazy things and even die doing them.

The children begged Setàlmà over and over, until finally she must have just plain got tired and so she gave in. So pretending to be a bear, Setàlmà dropped down on all fours and began to growl and run about, chasing the others around and around. That is when something very strange happened. Suddenly the children noticed fur growing out of her hands and arms. There were also bear's claws on the ends of her fingers. Setàlmà began to make an awful noise like a bear and began to attack and tear the children apart and eat them. Soon the bear started to attack everybody in the camp. There must have been awful scenes and sounds in the camp.

The children ran around and around in blind desperation. They ran into one another, into trees. They dashed about like scared rabbits. They finally wound up in the deep woods whereupon a large, flat rock sitting in the middle of the wooded path cried out to them.

Holde! Holde! Hurry! Hurry! The rock shouted. "Circle around me four times and jump on top of me! There's no time to waste!"

Four times.

It must have been a huge rock, more a boulder than anything—talking like a human being!

"Four times," said the big rock.

There's another Kiowa peculiarity. *The number four*. Always four. Kiowas and lots of other tribes value the number four. Four primary directions. Four circles before entering the tipi.

Four this, four that. So on and so forth.

Kiowa belief systems. Cosmology.

For Kiowas, the number four was and still is value-laden. For example, smoke the pipe four times, sing a song four times. You get the idea.

The children did as the rock bade them and the big rock began to rise into the sky. It might have shot skyward like an Apollo moon rocket. Up! Up! It must have looked like a roman candle going off into a Fourth of July sky.

Everything lighting up like a great fireball.

The great monolith shot skyward!

Meanwhile on the ground, Setàlmà, who had been closing in on the children, arrived at the base of the huge monolith and began to leap onto the rock as it rose into the sky. With powerful claws, Setàlmà scored the sides of the monolithic rock all about. Even as the bear assaulted the monolith it rose and rose until reaching the heavens.

You might notice the rock formation resembles Devil's Tower. It does because it is Devil's Tower. That is the story the Kiowas created at the base of that rock formation in northeast Wyoming. *Xoa:dàu* "Rock Tree" the Kiowas called it. That is the big rock the children were carried upon skyward, arriving at a place where they could disembark and where they still reside today, according to legend.

Good story, isn't it?

Some artist did a painting of the *Legend of the Star Girls*. The scene is in the likeness of a great, primordial bear standing upright at the base of the rock tower, clawing menacingly at the basalt monolith, upon whose surface just out of reach seven tiny figures are assembled (see Figure 2.1). They appear to be casting stones and shooting arrows down at the fearsome creature. You get the impression you are looking at something that actually took place and was real, not mythical.

Now many years have passed. When Kiowas look into the winter sky, they say they can see the seven girls who make up the Pleiades star constellation. It is a place in the sky where the big rock brought the little girls to safety, but they couldn't get back down. The story ends with those little girls reaching the heavens aboard that great rock that carried them skyward away from danger. In one version they are boys. In another version they are girls and boys. There are other versions of the same story with a combination of both boys and girls. It doesn't matter all that much, though, because being a storyteller allows "poetic license" or some such idea to make any part of a story the storyteller's own creation. The point is storytellers just want to tell a story and it can be a better story when you can do it on your own terms, so to speak. Much storytelling is just plain fun. That's probably why people like stories. There's a kind of freedom in it. It's fun and kind of scary at the same time.

Telling stories.

And so it was these seven little girls were borne into the heavens on top of *Xoêl*, a huge monolithic rock that could talk.

Think about it.

A talking rock.

Figure 2.1 The Legend of Devil's Tower as represented in a painting by Herbert A. Collins in 1936 exhibited at the Visitor's Center to the Devil's Tower National Monument, Wyoming.

You might ask: what kind of crazy notion is that? Still, the idea that things otherwise inanimate like rocks, trees, mountains, and rivers can talk gives us pause. To reflect on things such as language. How important language is. And perhaps how we take such things as language for granted.

There are countless other such stories about people and their dependency on language. It is as if language possesses magical qualities so that at the mere utterance of a single word like *freedom* or *love* or *hate* or *peace* everything can change. That is how powerful language is.

Language.

A great human accomplishment.

Consider this: next to water and food, we humans rely on language for almost everything we do. People have to talk and listen to each other in order to get things done. People have to express themselves so that other people can understand them and fulfill expectations and wants and wishes. We humans are a species dependent on language. A long, long time ago humans invented language and changed the whole world. Sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse. The point is people started talking, and things began to happen. Somebody said let's go over there. They went and their whole way of life changed forever. Maybe they just pointed at some random animal or thing and said that's a rock, that's a deer or a mountain. Maybe they just motioned with their hand or gestured with their lips at something and made up a name for it, something to call it by. If my grandpa and grandma didn't know the name of something, they would often point their lips at it and you would know what they were trying to make sense out of. That was the old Kiowa way.

No words, just gestures.

That's all it took. Communicating like this—with words or gestures—made all the difference.

Well, let's explore talking rocks now. If you're not used to it, you might be wondering what on earth a rock was doing talking. But, just like we said, we have to remember that there were a lot of talking things long ago. It's true. We all have stories about such things, don't we? We just have to remember stories like the serpent in the Garden of Eden, for example.

Remember him? In Genesis?

Now, that reptile was also the smartest living creature known in the world. At least in that story he was. It reasoned out that it could get humans to do something they were forbidden to do. You've got to realize it takes a bit of smarts for an animal, any animal, to pull off something like that. But that happened a very long time ago, we are told. We have read about it in a pretty important book. The entire account of supernatural things is recorded in a big sacred book that millions—no, billions—read. People have been reading sacred books for over a couple thousand years or more. Maybe even longer than that. Because we know before they were written down in words the stories in the Bible were recounted orally (all if not most of them were). That's pretty impressive. That's how important words and languages were and are.

First, it was told in a story. *Genesis.* It was oral tradition, a telling. People probably sat around a fire at night and talked about how things came to be in this or that place long ago. It was a way of explaining origins.

About giving things meaning, and so on.

Of how things began.

Every human society has an origin story or myth about itself and life. People have to account for the beginning of things, a beginning of themselves as human beings living in the world. Yes, human beings are rational, talking animals that want to know who they are. They want to know what life is all about. It's natural. It helps to clear up the darkness that surrounds existence and being. So it isn't so strange after all that even a talking rock plays a meaningful relationship with humans, to the stars and heavenly bodies. The universe is a good place for humans to connect. It's huge and eternal, beyond anything imaginable. Ancient peoples believed in their close relationship with the heavenly bodies. They wanted to know how things ticked out there. They couldn't help themselves. They relied on everything around them to learn and to know. They wanted to be in the loop about things, and they found out about things by talking among themselves and with everything. They wanted meaning in their existence, and they found it in the world around them.

That sounds pretty profound, doesn't it? Meaning, that is. But that's how we human beings are. We want to get down to the rock bottom of things so that we can prepare, plan, and forge out a way to live in this world.

It's a pretty interesting idea, that. It sounds good and it makes things so much easier to understand. We don't even have to think about it that hard or ask questions like why. We don't even have to think it's stupid not to ask those questions because to do so, according to some tribal beliefs, was to admit we had not paid close attention to the stories we were told. It was proof we had not listened at all. Being a poor listener was to show a lack of respect to the person who was speaking. We are told human knowledge or epistemology occurred in the experiences of every living person in the tribe. That these experiences were often collected in stories and handed down became known as and referred to as the oral tradition. To be sure, these human experiences became the collective body of the tribal knowledge. But the best thing about it is that each time the stories were recounted they evoked the human experiences of the people. Preeminently, these stories served the people in significant and enduring ways. Indeed, the recounting of the events in the life of the people helped them to endure difficulty and survive the hardships that seemed to threaten life at every turn.

Stories.

The idea of stories is pretty reassuring. Stories can sustain us. We can make up stories out of our own minds, our own imaginations. We can do this and make almost anything believable. That is the magical element found in stories and the telling of stories.

Thomas King, a Cherokee writer born in the United States and now residing in Canada, has written that we are the stories we tell.[2] King writes that stories sustain us and can even save our lives. Stories explain to us who we are, where we're going and sometimes why. We can make up stories like this. We can change them any time we want to suit the occasion.

We live our lives through our stories. Really. We do.

Without stories we would live in a pretty dull world. Nothing going on. Nothing to look forward to. Nothing to reaffirm our lives.

Elie Wiesel, a famous Jewish storyteller who survived in the concentration camps in World War II, wrote that God created man because he loved stories. That is a pretty profound statement. It shows how important stories are to us humans, but it also recognizes the human gift of stories and storytelling.

Well, that is a strong case for the story about the children playing bear, don't you think? But, to be sure, it also raises some pretty good questions about language and the power of language itself. Stories like this one remind us how language can save our lives. Like that rock talking to the children so they could climb on top of it and be carried into the heavens to live forever. So that every time someone looks up at the night sky he or she can see the constellation named in honor of that event long ago. It's like you have relatives in the sky and that makes all the difference. It's meaningful, too. You feel closer to something that is bigger than you or me. It is something that fills the void around us.

Indeed, it fills the entire universe. *Universe.* What a large word it is.

Or, maybe it is just the wonder of it all.

If that big rock hadn't spoken to those kids they might have gotten eaten up by the bear. But they didn't. And it was all because there were words spoken and everything changed.

These are the kinds of stories that appeal especially to children. That is why one of the mothers in a Kiowa children's language program compiled a book of fantastic stories. Magical stories. Magical realism.[3]

She had heard these stories when she was a little girl. They were stories her grandmother told her. Those stories were told to her in Kiowa. Now they are in a book written in Kiowa and translated into English.[4] The children in that program read those stories and fill their minds with the wonder and magic that is found in stories. I'm sure the children remember the Kiowa words much better and longer because they are written in the heritage language.

And all of this language learning strategy was brought about by the collaboration of people intent on keeping the Kiowa language alive.

I know this is a long way to get around to what I originally said I was going to discuss, which is language loss, change, and revitalization. Moreover, I had in mind to mention the hard work and efforts done by language workers, tribal speakers and speech communities that keep languages alive or at least the good intentions of keeping languages alive. I just wanted to add this old Kiowa story to make a point about language, words, magic, and the things that make us do things together.

Pretty simple, that. Right?

Without taking care of things that are important to us and that help us live in our world, we would be as helpless as that magical rock might have been in our little story. What that story tries to show us is all things, living and non-living, can work together to get things done. The story makes us believe we can all make things happen even when faced with impossible odds. Like the impossibility of escaping that great bear.

It is a story really about hope, I believe. The hope that can help us escape imminent danger. Perhaps to create an even better world.

You can see right away that the big rock in the story was no ordinary rock. It became useful. It talked. It saved those children by rising into the heavens and setting them out as a constellation that blazes up in the eternal night sky.

So in story we can describe trees, rocks, the earth, and the sky as essential to us humans. Since listening to that bear-chasing, rock-talking story we can reason out pretty clearly that rocks are important, too, and a great value to us—because in Kiowa cosmological tradition, many otherwise inanimate things possess powers beyond our wildest imaginings. And they make a difference in how we look at our world and how we try to figure out things. When we tell these stories to others, they too can benefit and that's what I am getting at here.

We see in the illustration of a talking rock, that many things were possible to extend the imagination and the lives of a people long ago. There are many other such stories. They are all a part of the oral tradition of people wherever they evolved to where they are today. These stories in heritage languages help to illustrate the power of words and how these words inform what we know about human languages worldwide. There are many spoken languages in the world. We know, for example, there are approximately 6,000–7,000 spoken languages in the world.[5] According to linguist Asya Pereltsvaig:

> it is difficult to precisely or accurately note the largest spoken language in the world. Part of the reason is people are born and die, and children can be considered as speakers of a given language at a certain age, depending on their rate of development. But there are even more serious problems in figuring out just how many people speak any given language. One of the issues is whether to include only native speakers or also people who speak a given language as a second (or third, etc.) language. This is particularly problematic for languages that serve as a lingua franca in various parts of the world, including English, Spanish, Swahili and many others. Finally, not for all languages is such demographic information readily available or reliable. This is true even for countries with a developed census system such as the US, where the population census includes a question about the language spoken by the respondent, but one can supply any label one chooses, so that the results list both "Mandarin" and "Chinese" as distinct languages, even though the latter is an unlikely term for several languages, including Mandarin.
>
> (Pereltsvaig 2012: 11)

We do know that Chinese, a group of related but in many cases mutually unintelligible language varieties, is a branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family, that it represents roughly 1.2 billion people (around 16 percent of the world's population) who speak some form of Chinese as their first language. However, as Pereltsvaig explains:

> But whatever the precise numbers of speakers for the various languages are, it is clear that there is a great deal of unevenness among the world's

> languages: some languages are 'small,' spoken by a few hundred or even just a few speakers, while other languages are 'giants' with millions of speakers. Thus, about 14 percent of the world's population speaks the world's largest language, Mandarin Chinese, while at the other end of the spectrum about 14 percent of the world's population speak one of 3,346 'small' languages.
>
> (Pereltsvaig 2012: 12)

A member of the Athabascan language group, Navajo is the most active of the American Indian languages. According to Pereltsvaig and others, approximately 178,000 speakers of Navajo or Diné reside in New Mexico and Arizona. We can't make a distinction between first or second language speakers, nor does it list the age of speakers. But most sources list Navajo as the largest-speaking Native American group in all age groups. It has been argued that Navajo is the only Native language increasing in the number of speakers, but some reports indicate Navajo is on the decease.[6] In Oklahoma, Cherokee lists around 10,000 total speakers, including children, with North Carolina numbering less than 1,000 speakers.[7] As noted earlier, my native Kiowa has around 100 fluent speakers.[8] Along with all of these spoken languages there are countless stories, memoirs, histories, and other oral accounts that tell us in their own way about the people, who they are and so on.

Working in close quarters together

In consideration of these matters we also must think about the very practical applications we rely on to carry out language work. For example, without the combined efforts between professionally trained language workers and community language teachers and students few advances would be made in language revitalization. Because many Indigenous languages are unwritten, linguists are helping language groups without writing systems create orthographies. With systems to write their heritage languages, Indian tribes don't only document their language, but also use writing to teach their language to the young. It is through this joint effort and spirit between trained language people and speakers that some American Indian languages are being revitalized today. In Oklahoma the *Kiowa Kids Language Program* is a good example of this new and useful kind of work being carried out. Parents and their children attend regular language sessions, including language immersion in this central Oklahoma community where many Kiowas have relocated from Kiowa Country.[9] These language activities take place at the Jacobson House, at a local Methodist Church facility, and in private homes. Singing, listening to guest speakers, preparing special tribal foods, and creating artworks, sculpture, and painting are among the many activities for language learning. There are at least two dozen Kiowa and non-Kiowa families actively involved in this unique language renewal effort, functioning almost entirely on volunteers and donations. Partnerships that grow out of all of this, like the new wave of enthusiasm in Indian country to renew and continue Yuchi, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Plains Apache, and many other Oklahoma Indian tribal groups, are

an indication that hard work and significant language workers have joined hands for the future of heritage languages. Like Xoêl in The Star Girls Story, everybody pitches in and helps in the cause of human language and culture.[10]

According to modern Indian philosopher, Brian Yazzie Burkhart, when we do things together in our human communities, we assemble a knowledge system out of which we can make sense out of our world. Indigenous knowledge is a recent epistemological development in Native intellectual circles and gaining in popularity. Most if not all Western thought is based on Aristotelian logic (Cordova 2004b: 174).[11] This form of logic is achieved through a chain of reasoning for its verification. Epistemology, or "knowledge," follows a propositional pattern as a way to arrive at solving a problem or a solution to questions. Indian philosopher Burkhart (2004: 19) argues:

> Propositional knowledge is knowledge of the form 'that something is so.' It is the kind of knowledge that can be written down that can be directly conveyed through statements or propositions. This kind of knowledge is thought to have permanence. If we make true and justified claims that something is so, those claims will continue to be true for eternity.

In Western thought, this kind of knowledge is generally thought to be the pinnacle of philosophy (Burkhart 2004: 19). But on the other hand, Burkhart (2004: 19) also argues that the American Indian approach to epistemology or knowledge is based on experience. He (2004: 19) observes:

> In contrast to propositional knowledge, which seems to be designed to outlast us, to take on a life of its own, to be something eternal, knowledge in human experience is the kind of knowledge we carry with us. This is the kind of knowledge that allows us to function in the world, to carry on our daily tasks, to live our lives. This knowledge is embodied knowledge.

We might do well to call this knowledge "lived knowledge." It is knowledge based on the experience of the children playing bear and then climbing on top of a huge rock that grows into the sky. The Star Girls Story is part of the Kiowa origin cycle of stories. It is much, much longer and tells about the genesis of the Kiowa people from earth to sky and back to earth. The point I want to make here is that in many tribal legends humans and creatures are often found working together to solve problems. When the Kiowas, for example, created the Storm Spirit, *Màunkaui:*, a powerful creature constructed of disparate animal parts, they brought it to life with fire and talked to it. For Kiowas, *Màunkaui:* is not an ordinary animal. He's mythical. Much like the Jewish hero, Golem, *Màunkaui:* was created from otherwise non-living objects and various bodily animal parts, such as turtle shells, leg bones, fur, and the tail of a fish.[12] Golem was created from clay, while *Màunkaui:* is assembled with clay, sticks, bones, and body parts from other things. Like Golem, *Màunkaui:* comes to life, responds to the people in need, but then is released into the heavens because he becomes too unruly and difficult for the people to handle.

Unlike *Màunkaui:*, *Xoêl* responds to the children and rescues them from certain harm. We have to remember that these cultural heroes are figures created in stories. Yet their presence is crucial to the real-life situations of the people with whom they are conveniently affiliated. What I believe was taking place in these stories is the imparting of Indigenous knowledge, via interaction between humans and otherwise nonhuman entities. What is significant here is the result of the union between people and things, the ideological belief that life is in everything everywhere. The beauty here is that through the collaboration of very different things, difficult problems are solved; positive results occur. Because of this union of things living and non-living, something extraordinary takes place in historical human experience; hence, something learned and passed down the generations.

Without seeing the value of Indigenous knowledge as a natural byproduct of language, there seems little reason for us to want to rescue living languages from extinction. Rapid language extinction in the twenty-first century is one of our biggest human concerns. The experts say we will lose over half of the spoken languages of the world by the end of the century.[13] This is astounding news. Globalization in the economy, education, social exchange, and tolerance are at record growth. This is because of modern technology and other accumulating resources. Many of the nations of the world are in closer contact with one another than the century before. More resources are making a smaller world. Nations can now depend on one another in new and unique ways unheard of less than 20 years ago. This means that groups working together and depending on one another for all kinds of reasons is also on the rise. One country or group of people working with another group, so forth and so on. This is a kind of popular trend, and we language workers should take advantage of it, seeing that more things are accomplished better this way. This is where Indigenous knowledge and language fit in.[14] This is where Indian people can work closer with other people who are interested in both heritage languages and the tribal knowledge base.

Notes

1 A few years back the age group of speakers was 60 and older. As speakers die each decade, the number replacing them also dwindles simultaneously until there are no more speakers left. This occurrence is worldwide. To remedy this there is a worldwide movement of Indigenous people searching, planning, and establishing ways and means to reverse language shift and loss.

2 For more, see King (2003).

3 Magic Realism or Magical Realism is a worldwide twentieth-century tendency in the graphic and literary arts, especially painting and prose fiction. The frame or surface of the work may be conventionally realistic, but contrasting elements—such as the supernatural, myth, dream, and fantasy—invade the realism and change the whole basis of the art. Magical Realism in literature enjoyed popularity in many parts of the world just after World War II, with such influential exemplars as Jorge Luis Borges and Gabriel Marquez in South America, Gunter Gras in Germany, and Italo Calvino and Umberto Eco in Italy. Among the writing in English, quite a few novelists show some affinity with magical realism: John Fowles, John Barth, Thomas Pynchon, Emma Tennant, Don DeLillo, and Salman Rushdie. See, for instance, Harmon and Holman (1997).

Among Native American writers employing some forms of Magic Realism are novelists Louise Erdrich, Gerald Vizenor, N. Scott Momaday, Leslie Silko, to name a few. See also Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (1989).

4 Alicia Keahbone Gonzales taught courses in Kiowa at USAO for a number of years and retired for health reasons (Gonzales 2005). She developed a Kiowa writing system used for many of the students she taught.

5 Harrison (2007: 3–4) notes, "In the year 2001, as the second millennium came to a close, at least 6,912 distinct languages were spoken worldwide."

6 It is difficult to find any substantial research figures to prove the number of speakers either way. Recent studies show that not only Navajo but all Native languages are in decline nationwide, and also in Canada.

7 For the most reliable current figures for many Native languages, see Marianne Mithun (1999).

8 For more information on Oklahoma tribal languages, visit website *Wordpath Society*, by linguist Alice Anderton in Norman, Oklahoma. Anderton has worked with Oklahoma Indian languages, particularly Comanche. Kiowa is listed to have approximately 400 speakers in 1990, a rather large number by recent standards.

9 "Kiowa Country" refers essentially to the area where the largest concentration of Kiowas reside. In this case, this area is southwestern Oklahoma in Kiowa Caddo and Comanche counties, respectively. These areas are the historical Kiowa, Comanche, Apache reservation until the General Allotment Act in 1884 when individuals 18 and older were allotted 160-acre allotments, breaking up old territorial boundaries. Many tribal members still reside on the original allotments of their grandparents and parents.

10 See King (2003: 19).

11 Cordova writes about Aristotle's philosophical influence on Western thought and thinking. See also Cordova (2004a).

12 Golem, protector of the Jews from anti-Semitic violence in Eastern Europe, was created in the likeness of a clay giant who magically came alive. In a note David Wisniewski (1996), author of the story of Golem, writes, "Out of this unspeakable disaster grew the impetus to establish a Jewish state. The nation of Israel was founded in 1948. Historian Jay Gonen observed in his *Psychohistory of Zionism* that, like Golem, Israel was created to protect the physical safety of Jews through the use of physical power (Gonen 1976). In this allegorical fashion, Golem still lives." Similarly, *Xoêl*, as a hero and protector, lives in the imaginations of the Kiowas.

13 This is more or less a general statement of language change and loss. David W. Lightfoot, Assistant Director, National Science Foundation, asserts, "Depending on how one counts, it is likely that half of the world's languages will be lost over the next thirty years, a dramatic change in human history."

14 For an in-depth exploration of American Indian values, beliefs, and epistemology, see Waters (2004). This collection of essays, focusing on American Indian philosophies, offers some good insights into Indian tribal peoples by drawing contrasts between selected and widely shared core human values.

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3 Recontextualizing Kumeyaay oral literature for the twenty-first century

Margaret Field

This chapter provides missing context and details needed to better understand the Kumeyaay creation story, based on a synthesis of what is known from early versions (including information from some neighboring Yuman cultures), as well as additional details and commentary from some members of the Meza family of the Kumeyaay community of Ja'a in Juntas de Nejí, Baja California, who still remember and tell parts of this epic example of oral literature. Since 2008, my colleague Amy Miller and I have been collaborating with speakers of Kumeyaay in Baja California to document the Mexican dialects of Kumeyaay and archive as many types of spoken language as possible, including some traditional stories.[1] In the community of Ja'a, Emilia Meza and her sister Aurora have been the main storytellers, and together with their sisters Norma and Yolanda we have been transcribing and translating these stories for future generations as well as anyone else interested in learning about Kumeyaay language and literature. The texts we have recorded will be translated twice—into Spanish and English—so that they can be understood by audiences on both sides of the border, and made available through an open access website hosted by the Endangered Languages Archive at the University of London.

Kumeyaay (also known as Diegueño) people live in the border region of Southern California, extending well into Baja California Norte. Kumeyaay is part of the Yuman language family, which in turn belongs to the Hokan language stock, one of the oldest in California, dating to approximately 10,000 years ago (Hale and Harris 1979; Kaufman 1988; Foster 1996). The term Kumeyaay has relatively recently been embraced as one which unites all of the 12 U.S. tribes as well as the five Mexican communities, all of which speak related dialects belonging to the Yuman language family, some of which are non-mutually intelligible (Field 2011). The many Kumeyaay communities may also be grouped into two larger dialect groups which have slightly different histories of contact as well as oral traditions: 'Iipay, north of the San Diego river, and Tiipay, to the south of it and extending into Baja California (Langdon 1991; Field 2011). The map in Figure 3.1 shows their various locations.

In addition to a great degree of dialect variation, Kumeyaay people, being separated as they are by an international border, must cope with the reality of two

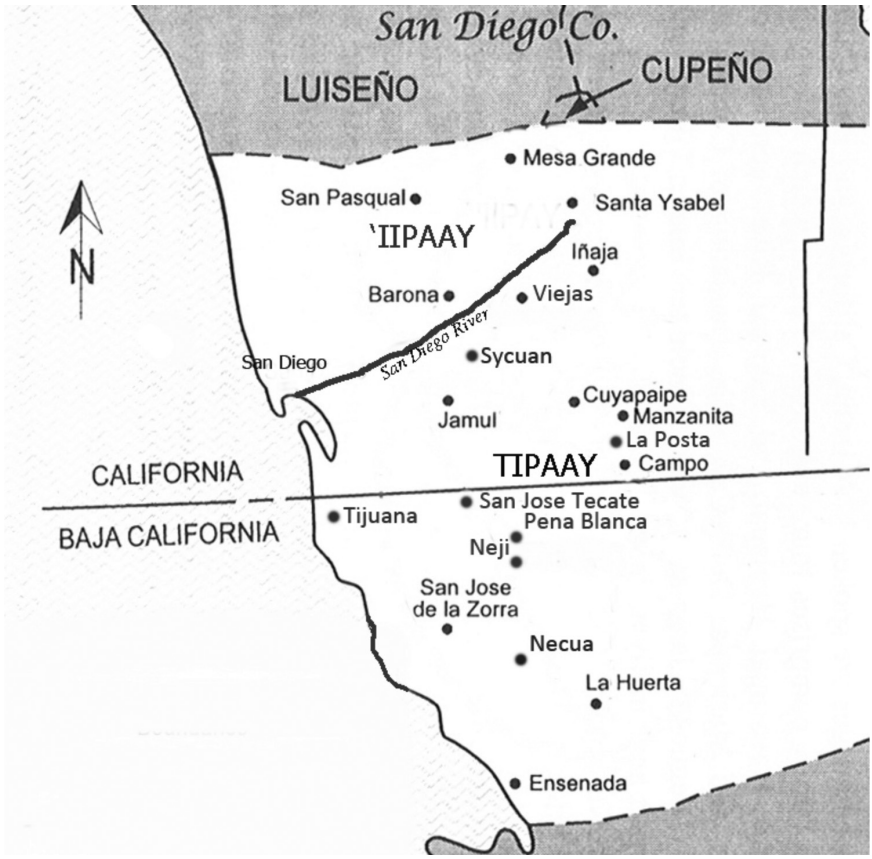

Figure 3.1 Map of Kumeyaay communities.

dominant linguacultures—English and Spanish. The international border creates a huge physical and economic barrier separating Kumeyaay communities, but the invisible barrier imposed by these two settler-state languages may actually be even harder to overcome, making it difficult for Kumeyaay people from different sides of the border to communicate at all, now that so few speakers of the Kumeyaay language remain (most of them living in Mexico).

This book is particularly concerned with the question of intended and imagined audiences, or following Warner (2002), future *publics*. As discussed in the chapter by Webster, one of Warner's useful observations is that in order for an imagined public to exist, discourse must first circulate. Since the beginning of our project, it has been evident to us that due to the English vs. Spanish divide, there has not been much discourse at all circulating between the U.S. and Mexican Kumeyaay communities, so we hope that the stories we are translating and archiving may actually help to bridge this divide by providing a multilingual point of contact. In contrast

to the imagined audiences of anthropologists of the salvage era, whose research was "extractive" and written for academic audiences (Kroskrity 2013), our project is aimed at multiple audiences. Being able to see and hear multimedia recordings will be useful for language learners on both sides of the border, as well as students of American Indian oral traditions, as they can see the stories being contextualized with aspects of performance like voice quality and facial expression.

However, given the reality at the moment that access to the internet is almost non-existent in Mexican Kumeyaay communities, for the speakers who contributed them, these texts at the moment serve yet another function: they help to draw attention to their communities, to make them more visible to local government agencies, as well as to U.S. Kumeyaay communities, both of whom have the power to lend assistance to language revitalization efforts. The Mexican government provides some assistance by establishing occasional workshops, but there is much more that needs to be done if the language is to survive. The greatest and most urgent need at this point is to fund a *language nest*, or preschool where fluent speakers can pass on the language to very young children.[2] Of the five Kumeyaay communities in Mexico, only two are large enough to have their own school, and neither of these offers bilingual education. They need all the help and attention they can get and our language documentation project helps them remind the larger society of this fact. As they grapple with legal battles such as squatters and other peoples' livestock on their traditional lands, being able to speak their language and demonstrate their indigeneity in as many contexts as possible helps them to retain their rights as Indigenous people in Mexico. As discussed by Debenport in this book, language documentation can be an important part of a political statement that reinforces tribal autonomy.

Another example of how American and Mexican Kumeyaay realities differ lies in the fact that U.S. Kumeyaay people have a longer history of formal schooling and familiarity with literacy than Mexican Kumeyaay people. While historical U.S. efforts to eradicate American Indian languages and cultures meant that U.S. Kumeyaay people were forced to attend schools, learn English, and become literate in English at the expense of their own language, Mexican Kumeyaay people typically grew up in isolated rural communities where no one spoke Spanish (at least until the 1960s). School was often hours away by horseback, and many of them simply did not go. The creation story discussed in the rest of this paper was passed down orally up until the present day, in at least one Mexican Kumeyaay community: Juntas de Nejí. The speakers who know it and have helped us to write it down are now (after eight years of collaboration) also able to read it in Kumeyaay, but they have never read it in Spanish. They grew up hearing it told as a folktale along with stories about Coyote, Wildcat, and all the other First People who could speak to each other long before humans appeared on the scene. This is a very different experience from that of most U.S. Kumeyaay, who, like many other American Indian communities, often learn about their traditional literatures in English, and from the "salvage ethnography" versions (discussed later) which are so brief, opaque, and impenetrable that I prefer not to even introduce them in my Oral Literature class. Previous written versions of creation stories told by Kumeyaay

storytellers all date to the early twentieth century, and most are unfortunately very short, as typically found in the "salvage ethnography" approach which permeated anthropology in California at the time. Most anthropologists neglected to identify the teller or his clan, and left many details unexplained. In addition, many of these early twentieth-century attempts at capturing oral tradition also contain judgmental or disrespectful comments exemplifying the "covert linguistic racism" (Hill 2008) which is commonly found in salvage-era research.[3] As a professor who teaches in Kumeyaay country, I have found most of these previous versions to be inappropriate for use in my classes. Whereas the majority of anthropologists in the last century wrote their abbreviated versions for imagined audiences consisting of other white, male academics, today, working on Indigenous oral tradition is a collaborative effort in which the future audiences must be discussed and negotiated, and in most cases tribal consent obtained, before a tape recorder is ever turned on.[4] In my own work with Mexican Kumeyaay speakers, since the ultimate goal is language documentation and revitalization, speakers have always agreed from the beginning that all transcriptions and recordings would be shared with any and all interested audiences through placing them at open-access archives (at the Universities of Texas and London). Indeed, the funding for the documentation was contingent on this agreement. The speakers I have worked with are all proud of their language and literature and are eager to share it, especially if doing so will help to raise consciousness about the current endangered state of the language. It is also worth pointing out that traditional Kumeyaay language ideology, like that of many Pacific coast as well as Mexican Indigenous cultures, may be described as variationist (Kroskrity 2002, 2009; Field 2011), or as valuing dialectal variation across communities over any notions of "correctness," such as those associated with a standard or prestige dialect. Similarly, variation across communities is also seen in traditional stories and song, as noted over a century ago by DuBois (1908). Variationist ideology is very different from that seen in the Pueblo Southwest where tribal governments sometimes seek to control cultural property including language and traditional literature, as discussed elsewhere in this book (Anderson, McElgunn, Richland). In the Californias, narrative "localism" has long been the norm (O'Neill 2008) and each of the (currently 17) Kumeyaay communities retains autonomy (in the United States this includes tribal sovereignty) and views its linguistic variety as a distinct language; each storyteller retains rights to their story, which are typically slightly varied. For the Meza sisters of Ja'a, the traditional stories they chose to share were told to them when they were young by their grandparents. They may have analogues in the extremely opaque and more sacred bird songs sung by men in all Yuman communities (Apodaca 1999; Elster 2010), but the stories they shared with the documentation project are meant to be told to children and there is no proscription against telling them to outsiders.

Other historical sources

In addition to collaborative fieldwork I also collected and compared as many published versions of the Kumeyaay creation story as I could find (discussed later),

identifying what they have in common, where they were recorded, and who the tellers were, in order to reconstruct a more inclusive version while noting regional differences. I also reviewed as many sources of unpublished fieldnotes as I could gain access to, in order to discover the names of storytellers as well as what community they belonged to. This was important because I expected that any major differences in content between story versions would probably be found between the two groups ʻIipay and Tiipay, as the social networks, language ideologies and political organization of these two groups of Kumeyaay people also differed somewhat (Field 2011).[5]

If any of the previously published versions were dictated in Kumeyaay, the anthropologists who transcribed them did not make this clear. I assume they interviewed Spanish and/or English speakers as well as Kumeyaay speakers in each community, and had local help with translation if needed. None of them transcribed the story in Kumeyaay, but rather took notes in English and wrote them up later. The contemporary versions we have recorded and archived were dictated and transcribed in both Kumeyaay and Spanish and then translated into English.

In the fieldnotes of J.P. Harrington and Edward H. Davis, I also found many examples of oral tradition which were told *about* the creation story and/or the creators, in the form of anecdotes about the local terrain and its relationship to local deities. This kind of traditional knowledge was undoubtedly passed down not only through storytelling and song but also through the moral discourse of initiation ceremonies, which included instruction about local geography, astronomy, and mythical explanations for sacred places, with reference to their locations on ground paintings. Ground paintings served as maps orienting each initiate to their village as his/her "center of the universe," with the caveat that "the danger of uncontrolled power" was believed to increase the farther one moved away from their social universe (i.e. territorial range) (Bean 1976; Cohen 1987).

Previous misconceptions

The Kumeyaay creation story shares much of its content with other Yuman cultures as well as some neighboring Uto-Aztecan ones, such as the "dying god" motif in which the creator's death and cremation set an example for the important annual mourning ceremony shared by many Southern California tribes, including Cahuilla, Luiseño, and Serrano (Morris 1974; DuBois 1905; Hooper 1920; Boynton 1943) as well as other Yuman cultures in Arizona, including Yavapai, Walapai, Havasupai, Maricopa, Mojave, Quechan, and Cocopa.[6] In his well-known *Handbook of the Indians of California* (1925), Alfred Kroeber mistakenly concluded that most of the Kumeyaay creation story, especially the dying god motif, was outright borrowed from their Uto-Aztecan neighbors to the north. He gives very little evidence for this, but states that in his opinion two other Yuman cultures, Mojave and Quechan "most largely developed the non-Yuman elements of the tradition . . . because they were more inclined to mythologize. The difference is one between the comparatively active and specialized culture of the river

tribes and a more generic, simple, and apathetic civilization among the Diegueño" (1925: 791). This is exactly the type of obnoxious comment which pervades most of the extant written versions of the Kumeyaay creation story. He goes on to note:

> Some Diegueño versions omit the death of [the Creator] and consequently Coyote's theft [of his heart] also. This may be mere incompleteness of record; but as the myths in question are all southerly Diegueño it is not impossible that there existed a south Yuman area, centering in Baja California, in which these episodes were dispensed with. This would indicate . . . a Shoshonean rather than Yuman origin for the [dying god concept] and its principal associations.
> (Kroeber 1925: 792)

Kroeber did not consider the possibility that perhaps it was his colleagues who might have been the "apathetic" ones responsible for the missing pieces of the story, or that he himself might be guilty of an "inclination to mythologize" in the absence of hard data. More importantly, he neglected to consider some obvious facts that suggest there are serious problems with his hypothesis:

1 That Diegueño (or Kumeyaay) cultures, living closer to the coast, suffered a much greater impact from colonization than other inland Yuman cultures did such as the Mojave and the Quechan. One obvious result of this is that their oral tradition was less well remembered than that of tribes who were able to completely retain their languages and cultures well into the nineteenth century.
2 All Kumeyaay cultures, in Baja as well as the United States, until the past half century or so, continued to hold the very important annual mourning ceremony known as the *wa keruk,* for which the dying god motif of the creation story provides an important rationale. As in all cultures, rituals and their accompanying ceremonial language provide explanations for each other. It makes no sense that Kumeyaay peoples would practise the ceremony (which is shared by tribes all over Southern California) but would lack the mythic rationale behind it.
3 At least one of the consultants who recorded a version of the creation story *without* the dying god motif told another version of it which *did* include it, to a different researcher.[7] This suggests it was the first researcher, Edward Gifford, who left something out.

Patrick Morris's dissertation (1974) examines the various forms that the dying god motif takes in the oral tradition of every Yuman culture for which it has been recorded and published. Morris found that the dying god motif exists in slightly different form in all of them, including Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Mojave, Quechan, Maricopa, Kamia, and Kumeyaay (although at the time he wrote his dissertation, not much was known about the oral literature of Mexican Kumeyaay communities). The dying god motif also exists in several neighboring Uto-Aztecan cultures: Luiseño and Serrano, located just to the north of Kumeyaay people, as well as O'odham (Bahr 2001), to the East of current Yuman territory.[8]

The only extant Yuman culture which lacks this particular motif is Kiliwa, the most divergent and southernmost of all the Yuman languages, located at the bottom of Yuman territory in Baja California. This is pretty solid evidence for the Yuman origin of the dying god motif, although it appears to have developed after the Proto-Yuman diaspora out of Baja California, approximately 4000–2000 BC (Foster 1996; Kaufman 1988), as it is not shared with Kiliwa.[9]

Linguistic evidence indicates that Uto-Aztecan cultures (particularly speakers of Proto-Takic, ancestral to Luiseño, Cahuilla and Serrano cultures) moved into Proto-Yuman territory about 2,000 years ago (Hinton 1991; Shaul 2014), intermarrying with them and developing societal bilingualism to the extent that Proto-Takic was structurally changed as it absorbed some phonemes from Proto-Yuman. A very similar scenario also applies to the prehistory of Tepiman languages, including Tohono O'odham. Linguistic evidence from the study of Tepiman languages in Arizona tells us that Yuman groups were *also* closely intertwined with Tepiman-speaking peoples as part of the Hohokam civilization from about 500–1500 AD (Shaul and Andresen 1982; Shaul and Hill 1998). The fact that this motif is shared with these closely connected, neighboring Uto-Aztecan cultures should not surprise us, for as we all know, everyone likes a good story, and oral tradition has a long-established habit of spreading across cultures. But the evidence suggests that these Uto-Aztecan cultures absorbed the story from their Yuman neighbors, and not the other way around, as Kroeber thought.

Kumeyaay oral tradition: creation

Most of the versions of the creation story recorded in the early twentieth century came from Tiipay tellers. All of those were recorded at Campo, the easternmost Kumeyaay community in San Diego county. Two of these came from the same storyteller, Jim McCarty, recorded in 1918 and 1923, another from a teller identified only as "Chimalh" in Waterman's 1910 fieldnotes, and a fourth was told to Malcolm Rogers in 1925 by Santos Lopez.

In addition to these earlier versions I was able to add another Tiipay version from the Meza family in Ja'a, Baja California, together with another related story about the "heavenly snake" who also plays an important role in Yuman oral tradition. I found only two versions of the Creation story from Northeastern 'Iipay speakers—one from Mesa Grande, told by Cinon Duro in 1901 to Constance DuBois, and another told by Jose LaChappa to Edward Curtis in 1907. I am assuming the previous versions were told in English; the stories from Baja were told in both Kumeyaay and Spanish.

All of the versions involve twin creators who emerge from water to create the world. In every version, the younger brother is blind, and in some versions, he is purposely blinded by his older brother, who tricks him into opening his eyes underwater. In the Tiipay versions, ants assist them in creating land by digging holes to drain water; this detail is missing from 'Iipay versions. In one 'Iipay version, they use their feet to raise the water up until it *becomes* the sky. The contemporary version from the Meza family is reminiscent of this, in that the

brothers must use their feet to push the sky up and away from the water as the two were stuck together. The Meza family version also includes the details that the brothers make the moon and the sun and throw them up into the sky, pinning them there with hairs from their mustaches. In every single version, they create the first people from clay. The younger brother does a better job at this than the elder, and they quarrel, after which the younger leaves. In the 'Iipay versions, he goes to the West, or to the sky. In the Tiipay versions, he goes underground or back into the ocean. As the Meza family tells the story, he dives into the ground after creating everything good (in addition to people with eyes and mouths, he creates rabbits and deer and things good to eat), and then predicts his own death. He tells his older brother to bury him, but the elder leaves a big toe sticking out of the ground. Through this hole between the planes of the supernatural and the world humans inhabit, issues all disease, and when earthquakes are felt, they are due to his moving around underground.

The dying god motif is one of several ensuing events, but as mentioned previously, for some storytellers is considered a separate story. The elder twin, whose name varies in almost every story,[10] goes on to become a more paternal figure, who cares for his people but ultimately runs afoul of his daughter, Frog, whom he wittingly or unwittingly offends by touching in an inappropriate way.[11] She uses witchcraft to poison him, and he predicts his death, telling people that they should prepare for the first cremation, and also send for the Heavenly Snake, *Maayxa-Awiity*.

Two versions from Campo (told by different speakers in 1910 and 1918) did not include mention of the dying god and this part of the story is also left out of the contemporary version I transcribed.[12] However, the five other versions all included it, and more importantly, all of the versions recorded earlier in the century included a first cremation.

Three versions, both 'Iipay and Tiipay, mention Coyote's theft of the creator's heart. This part of the story is also shared with some neighboring non-Yuman cultures (DuBois 1901, 1905) and is still remembered and told by the Meza family, but as a separate tale. In most versions, Coyote is sent by all of the other "people," most of them being animals and birds, to go fetch fire for the first cremation. Their real motivation in sending him away, however, is to conduct the cremation without him, as none of them trust him to behave himself. When he returns and finds all of them standing in a circle around the burning pyre, he jumps over the shortest man (badger, in most versions) and steals the Creator's heart, in most cases eating it. In Upland Yuman cultures (Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai), all of whom are more dependent on agriculture than their Californian neighbors, this results in the loss of a promised "marvelous maize plant" which the Creator predicted would sprout from his ashes.[13] Some California cultures, including non-Yuman neighbors who share this story, attribute their reliance on wild plants over agriculture to this theft of the heart (Morris 1974).

Regional variation is also seen in the existence of prior deities Earth and Sky, or Earth and Water, in the 'Iipay versions. These deities are not present

in any of the Tiipay accounts. This difference is no doubt due to influence of neighboring Luiseño and Cahuilla oral tradition, since the Uto-Aztecan creation story (at least the Takic branch) begins with Earth and Sky as primordial entities (DuBois 1901, 1905).

Some minor differences exist in other details as well; however, all of the versions (except the contemporary one recorded a century after the others) include mention of *Wikami* as the place where the first cremation takes place, and other important events, specifically the arrival of *Maayxa-Awiity*, the Heavenly Snake, followed by the migration of all peoples to their present locations.

The Heavenly Snake

Next to the creation of people from earth, the episode which appears to be the most consistent, occurring in every version, concerns the great "Sky Snake," *Maayxa Awiity*.[14] He also appears in other Yuman cultures' literature, including Quechan (Harrington 1908; Forde 1931) Mojave (Kroeber 1906, 1972) and Cocopa (Gifford 1933; Kelly 1977), but is not seen in neighboring Uto-Aztecan creation stories.[15] Ethnographic information about the "Heavenly Snake" abounds. In all Yuman stories he is a great shaman and the source of all sacred cultural knowledge such as songs and ceremonies. When he is killed by the people at the first cremation, this knowledge literally explodes from his corporeal body and is shared with all the Yuman tribes—each one of them gets a little bit of it, explaining why different peoples speak different languages and each tribe sings different songs. His association with both water and the sky is apparent from his name. Forde's 1931 Quechan ethnography helps to shed more light on this "sky-water" association: he explains that heaven was considered to be a watery place, filled with fog. Gifford's 1933 Cocopa ethnography similarly identifies a heaven which is a "watery-foggy-place." A connection between water and sky is also seen in the 'Iipay version of the story recorded by Curtis, in which the creator twins push the water up off the land until it *becomes* the sky and the twins are standing on dry earth. The name for the creator "*Maayxa*" (literally "sky-water") which is still used today by Tiipay speakers to refer to God, perhaps comes from his association with heaven, a watery place.

The Heavenly Snake also figures prominently in a story still told in the Meza family, "Coyote and the Little Birds." Although most creation stories recorded in the last century describe him as a "monster," in the Neji version he is very much the opposite of a monster. He is described as "white and luminous" and "sounding beautiful." He is made of butterflies. In this related story, the birds wait for him to arrive so they can pass on their songs (since songs are the traditional vehicle for passing down cultural knowledge) to the people who will inhabit the next world in the next epoch, as the world changes from one state into another. He arrives on a shooting star, and the birds hear music coming from his tail, shaped like a rattle. The storyteller, Emilia Meza, describes his movement as he flies through the air as "glittering and fluttering" (in Spanish). In Kumeyaay, she said:

Maay uttap
the sky exploded

tumeeeee, puy eskalapa kwalhyow mshap.
eeee, there were many white butterflies

tuntun, kwinkwin, awii lhyui,
white and luminous, twirling upon itself, like a snake (it appeared)

guatey yamak-
(and something) large followed behind (it-)

yetty,
seeds,

shahuk maay huwak teniiw,
twelve were coming along,

pshelhy-pshelhy tucheñ ijaan kinus warr.
rattles sounding very beautiful.

The verb "*kwinkwin*" here is especially informative, indicating a helixical manner of movement. This description of the Heavenly Snake perhaps helps to explain what Malcolm Rogers' consultant Santos Lopez meant when he described the snake as a "like a centipede" in his version of the story.[16] According to Emilia Meza, the verb *kwinkwin* is also commonly used to describe the shape of honeysuckle, or *kwak uyulhy* "deer's antler" in Tiipay (Wilken 2012) (see Figure 3.2).

A similar configuration appears in a petroglyph which has also been dubbed "the centipede" (Hedges 1970), found just south of Neji, in traditional Baja Kumeyaay territory, suggesting that the "butterfly snake" is an ancient one, at least for Tiipay people (see Figure 3.3).

Given this new information it would seem that the designation "monster" is not appropriate for this important Kumeyaay deity, who is shared with all other Yuman tribes, and very likely shares a common ancestor with other plumed and flying serpents found in the Indigenous art and literature of many Southwestern cultures (Schaafsma 2000; Mathiowetz 2011; Field 2014). Most of the stories from the last century include more details about him which are confusing or at least contradict the descriptor "monster," as both Waterman's and Rogers' versions do. For example, both of these stories, collected 15 years apart, from different tellers (but in the same location, Campo) include almost verbatim the following conversation between the messenger sent to bring him, and *Maayxa Awiity*:

When the snake saw him he called out: "*Mampich enyewa mexap meyaw*?"
Who is there coming in to my house?
"Nyaach eyaw enewi."
It is I, Uncle.[17]

Figure 3.2 Kwak Uyulhy "Deer's Antler" (honeysuckle).

Figure 3.3 "The Centipede" adapted from J.A. Hedges' An Analysis of Diegueno Pictographs (M.A. Thesis, Anthropology, San Diego State University).

> "Tell me what you want."
>
> "I came over from Wikami, said the man. "They are trying to make a *Wa Keruk* ceremony there, but they don't know how to sing or dance."
>
> "All right," said the snake. "I will come and teach them. You go ahead and I will come slowly."

This conversation, including the messenger's use of the honorific term "uncle," as well as the great snake's immediate acquiescence, is hard to reconcile with the label "monster." Both stories also offer the explanation that the people at Wikami became alarmed at his great size, so they set fire to the roof of the *Wa Keruk* (the house where the effigy of the deceased lay, waiting to be burned). Rogers' version adds the detail: "he went into it and coiled himself up in it. Then some fool threw a lighted stick on the roof and it burnt up with *Maayxa Awiity* in it" (Hedges 1970: 31).

The creation myths of the related Yuman tribes, Quechan and Mojave, also include the great snake, and ethnographers Forde and Kroeber, who worked on those literatures, both offer a slightly different perspective on why *Maayxa Awiity* may have been passed down with such a negative reputation: he was a shaman, or *kusiyaay,* with knowledge of the occult:

> The people knew that the snake was an evil spirit . . . [someone] set fire to the building, which flared up. The Heavenly Snake coiled closer for it could not escape and avoid the heat . . . the heat of the fire was so great that the snake burst open and was destroyed. The powers with which it was filled, the power to cause evil and death, to cure, to give songs, and many others, all these were scattered over the country and settled in the mountains, whence men obtain such powers to the present day.
>
> (Forde 1931: 220)

The Mohave version is similar:

> Far in the South in the ocean, in a house of hair, lived *Humasereha*, an immense snake . . . he came northward, rattling with his tail and making rain and thunder . . . [his head] was cut off and he died. Therefore it is that medicine men, who are thought to be the cause of almost all disease and death, are killed by the Mojave.
>
> (Kroeber 1925: 316)

Footsteps in the rocks

Although every version recorded in the last century placed these mythological events at a place called *Wikami* (which literally translates "Foot Rock" or "Foot Mountain") the actual location of *Wikami* is not clear. Although some anthropologists—especially Waterman and Harrington—were particularly concerned

with mapping place names from stories, they were apparently stymied by the fact that when they tried to pin consultants down on where exactly such places were, received vague or contradictory replies. Curtis, in 1905, states that *Wikami* is "the *Avikwame* of Mojave mythology, a mountain identified with a peak in southern Nevada." Curtis possibly took this from Kroeber, who identified *Avikwame* as "Dead or Newberry Mountain" (Curtis 1926 [1906]: 315). Gifford states: "[*Wikami* is] identified by my informant with Chimney Peak, near the Colorado River Imperial County, California (East of San Diego county)" (Gifford 1918: 171). Spier worked with the same consultant, Jim McCarty, who told him *Wikami* was "east of the Chimney Peak (*Picacho*) and west of the Parker reservation." We should probably not be surprised that such confusion exists, given the meaning of the place name, "Foot Mountain," which could apply to many locations on the land where something akin to a foot or footprint in rock may be seen. In other words, the place name may be better considered relational, rather than absolute. When literature which is thousands of years old is passed down to generations which are migrating from place to place, the name remains the same, but the reference point may change.

Some versions also go on to include mention of other associated sacred places and place names now long forgotten, where the clans stopped on their migrations away from *Wikami*, identifying locations on the land where mythic events occurred—creating what Stoffle, Halmo, and Austin (1997) call a "storyscape":

> Indian myths, like those of the Navajo, occur along a storyscape that topographically represents what the story conveys . . . were one to pass along the path of a story, the landscape would be marked with story or song points. Moving from point to point permits a living person to physically re-enact and directly experience the story or song.
>
> (1997: 236)

Kumeyaay storyscapes are marked with references to places where various deities, including the creator twins as well as Coyote and Wildcat, all left marks on the land in the form of footsteps, handprints, or other parts of their anatomy, which turned to stone. Both J.P. Harrington and Edward Davis recorded several descriptions of landmarks and storyscapes from Kumeyaay people on both sides of the border. For example, J.P. Harrington's notes from Angel Quilp at Mesa Grande (1925) are typical:

> At a place called *awily su'mi*[18] they made a fiesta[19] and fire which you can still see signs of today. Tears were running down their faces. They told the tribes to go '*pa ya y paya y paya* . . .' They came with the Dieguenos to Jacumba and to Tiajuana. They saw that the land there was no good, near the sea. *En la pura punta de la sierra de Lateqwan*[20] *llegaron*, but it did not please them and they came to San Dieguito. There Yokomat y Tuchaipa separated from the rest and went to the mountains . . . below San Bernardino . . . From there they went to the top of the mountain and

Figure 3.4 Travels described in Kumeyaay song cycles.

> the pine trees are now there in a great circle and thence to *Laguna de los Machados*[21] but it did not please them. So they came back to Rincon and up to . . . *Mataguay* (San Felipe) and settled there.[22]

The map in Figure 3.4 shows all of the places named by Angel Quilp, some of which are in Tiipay territory, some in 'Iipay, and some Luiseño. Mt. San Jacinto, which is likely the mountain referred to as "below San Bernardino" is also sacred for Cahuilla and Serrano peoples. These travels are described in the song cycles which accompany the mythology of most Southern California tribes (DuBois 1905; Waterman 1910). Many sacred places overlap in these various tribal oral traditions, as they are held sacred by more than one group, such as the "footprint rock" near San Felipe, called *Tochaipa 'amp*[23] by Kumeyaay people, but another name by Luiseños (DuBois 1908). Other examples are illustrated in the following quote from Harrington's fieldnotes on an interview with Isidro Nejo:

> When Tochaipa walked here, it is like a tray where he washed himself with *matxwaay*.[24] The rock is still painted from that white earth. Also the mark of the foot of Tochaipa on a rock there—when he was washing his head there he put one grindstone as he was washing with *matxwaay*. And farther that way is another rock, big, where he or someone else washed acorn mush *'asay hwik* and from that rock Tochaipa gave only one step to Mt. Woodson and . . . between the two there he put his foot and made the gap. From there he went to the coast.[25]

Edward Davis noted the same story in Mesa Grande:[26]

> On a large flat granite rock a mile below Morton Smith's place [is] a depression where [he] placed his knee, scooped out a hollow [which was] filled with water which he drank and washed his hair in, then stood up and planted his left foot on the rock, which left a very fine impression. [He] placed his other foot after a big step on top of Woodson Mtn (*awii shalsha*).[27] From there [he] stepped into the sea and disappeared. There are many folklore tales and legends hanging around this being. All the Indians know about it. The old San Pasqual trail passes right by it. The granite shows the place where [his] knee rested and another hollow where he washed his hair. A few feet away [is] the deep impression of a large left foot, eroded out of the granite. Its proportions are perfect although print of the toes are missing. The footprint toward Woodson Mtn 8 miles or so distant in the west. The Indians regard this footprint as sacred.

For Kumeyaay and other Yuman peoples, certain mountains also represent deities themselves, including Mt. San Bernardino and Mt. San Jacinto, which, for 'Iipay people, respectively embodied the older and younger creator twins (Waterman 1910). For Tiipay communities, Mount *Kuchamaa*[28] is the sacred mountain, which from the top of its highest peak presents a view of a giant face on the landscape (Shipek 1985), with *Kuchamaa* the forehead, nearby Otay mountain the nose, and San Diego bay the mouth. Obviously, each of these sacred mountains are of great importance individually, but taken altogether, they are all parts of the Kumeyaay creation storyscape.

Conclusion

An adequate recontextualization of the Kumeyaay creation story for the twenty-first century should include a culturally sensitive description of each aspect of the creation story, noting variations where relevant and acknowledging the authors and their communities. Each storyteller, or singer, traditionally owned his own version of the songs which accompany creation stories, as pointed out by Constance DuBois over a century ago: "as the songs are part of the story, the rigid separation of songs among family groups must have resulted in certain differences in the transmission of traditions" (1908: 128).

There is also a great deal of variation due to its antiquity. The creation story is likely older than the Kumeyaay language, or any contemporary Yuman language for that matter, since it is shared by all Yuman speech communities. The names of the creators vary, as do the names of some sacred mountains. In some versions Coyote successfully manages to steal the creator's heart and eat it; in others he is turned to stone when he tries to bite into it. In some versions the elder twin leads people away from the sacred mountain *Wikami*; in others it is Wildcat who does this. In some stories the pursuant events involving the heavenly snake *Maayxa-Awiity* are included, in others they are left for another day.

Such differences in the telling are to be expected, given the antiquity of this epic tale, and the number of different speech communities who have inherited it.

As a professor of American Indian Studies who has many Kumeyaay students, I consider it important to have a better understanding of Kumeyaay oral literature in order to present it alongside examples from other Indigenous cultures of the Americas. My students are my intended audience. I don't have to imagine them; I know what their questions are. I am also extraordinarily fortunate to be able to collaborate with Kumeyaay people like the Meza family who have such in-depth knowledge of Kumeyaay oral tradition, so that their perspectives on these stories can help to reframe them as completely and knowledgeably as possible, and told from a Kumeyaay perspective and erasing academic biases and misconceptions left over from an era when anthropologists had largely written off Kumeyaay culture as obsolete. Being able to connect my language documentation work in Kumeyaay communities with my teaching brings my work full circle and, for me, gives it true meaning.

Hopefully this chapter has helped to clarify what the various versions have in common, as well as its Yuman origin, in spite of Alfred Kroeber's (and some of his contemporaries) unjustified musings on the subject. We are only now starting to understand Yuman prehistory, through a synthesis of continued archaeological and linguistic fieldwork (McGuire and Schiffer 1982; Shaul and Andresen 1989; Shaul and Hill 1998; Wilcox et al. 2008; Mathiowetz 2011; Shaul 2014). The scientific knowledge resulting from all of this contemporary research casts new light on our understanding of Yuman prehistory, as we come to more fully understand its true depth and breadth, as a great prehistoric civilization which stretched from the Pacific coast to points east of the Colorado river, into the Mexican northwest and the Pueblo Southwest. An understanding of Yuman oral literature in all its complexity is equally crucial to understanding Yuman prehistory, and this is an ongoing process for everyone involved, from members of Indigenous communities to academic scholars (and those two communities are no longer mutually exclusive).

Just as the continued collaboration of speakers and academics in linguistic fieldwork may lead to a better understanding of a speech community's oral tradition, the integration of Indigenous and academic audiences for this work also results in a more insightful understanding of Indigenous history and literature. As Whiteley tells us in his appeal for more dialogue between objective science and oral tradition: the need for dialogue is important not just as a matter of multicultural diplomacy, but for the enhancement of scientific explanation itself (2002: 405). Efforts toward such a reframing of American prehistory are important not only for Indigenous self-determination, and for holding academia accountable to its responsibility to include Indigenous perspectives, but for all future audiences and publics, Indigenous or otherwise.

Notes

1 Sponsored by the National Science Foundation Grant No. # BCS-0753853 and the Hans Rausing Foundation's Endangered Languages Documentation Program Grant # MDP0291.

2 This term is a direct translation of the Maori term *kohanga reo*. Language nests have been very successful in maintaining the Maori language as well as Hawaiian.
3 See Kroskrity 2013 for a thorough discussion of this subject.
4 Some Mexican Kumeyaay communities, such as Ja'a, are so small as not to have truly functional tribal governments. Since the number of speakers is so small we instead were able to ask each of them individually for their consent to document the language.
5 'Iipay speech communities were more closely aligned with their northern Uto-Aztecan neighbors, the Luiseno and Cahuilla, and their social networks were more closed, indicating a "localist" stance in terms of language ideology whereas Tiipay communities share a more "distributed" stance. Dialect variation also exists between 'Iipay and Tiipay to the extent that they were most likely not mutually intelligible.
6 Linguists and anthropologists agree that Yuman peoples predate neighboring Uto-Aztecan groups in Southern California, including Luiseño, Cupeño, and Cahuilla in San Diego county (although these groups share some aspects of their oral traditions).
7 According to Davis (1919) Jim McCarty was the last *kuseyaay* (medicine man) on the U.S. side of the border with knowledge of how to conduct this ceremony. He also provided two of the extant written versions of the story—one including the death of the creator (recorded by Spier), and one without (recorded by Gifford).
8 But importantly, it is not found in other Uto-Aztecan cultures' mythology, of which there are many, as this language family extends from Idaho far down into Mexico. Tribes just north of the Serrano, i.e. Chemehuevi and Tubatulabal, do not share it either (Kroeber 1908; Voegelin 1935).
9 The contemporary Yuman languages spoken today evolved about 1,500 years ago (Hale and Harris 1979; Golla 2011).
10 From *Maayxa* (at Campo) to various versions of a word that looks like it was once a compound noun for "woman-man" *che'ak + ipa,* plus in some cases a suffix for "of earth"—*kumatt.*
11 It would seem to be more in character with previous events in the story that he did this on purpose.
12 Although the Meza sisters are familiar with it.
13 The "marvelous plant" was immortal and produced fruit all year round (Morris 1974).
14 Literally, the "sky-water snake."
15 Although plumed or horned serpent deities associated with water *are* found in the mythology of many Mesoamerican and Southwestern cultures, including Hopi, Zuni, O'odham, Cora, Huichol, Mixtec, Aztec, and Mayan, among others. Most of these cultures are also agricultural, and their plumed, horned, or flying snakes are mainly associated with rain which brings water to crops (Mathiowetz 2011).
16 I am indebted to Ken Hedges and Kelly Revak at the San Diego Museum of Man, for helping me track down Rogers' fieldnotes and clarifying for me who his consultant was.
17 "Uncle" here is father's older brother, in 'Iipay.
18 *wii-ly suum mii* "rock-in younger brother foot/footprint" or "younger brother's footprint," a reference to the younger of the creator twins.
19 Several consultants to Harrington and Davis identified this mythic fiesta as having been held at Jataluy (Smelly Water), an alternate name for Los Conejos, near present-day Viejas.
20 "At the very tip of the sierra of *Lateqwan* they arrived"—i.e. at the end of the Tijuana river watershed. The Tiipay word "*tekwan*" means "turn around." The name Tijuana appears to come from this word in Kumeyaay, to which the Spanish article "la" has been prefixed ("the turn-around"). Thus it would appear that this particular storyscape, which is found in multiple places in Harrington's notes, is likely the source of the place name "Tijuana." In his notes from Baja CA, Harrington wrote: "Although Feliciano sometimes says Latiqwan and Latiqwana, he now usually says Tiqwan and when talking with Cosillo said as follows when asked meaning: the Indians there called a big fiesta and the chiefs consulted how to name it and said that they would call the place

Tiqwan, meaning a good place (to invite people to). My impression is that it is an old Indian placename, not from Spanish, but San Diego mission books have Tia Juana."
21 Lake Elsinore was previously owned by Augustin Machado.
22 JPH notes box 681.
23 "*Tochaipa*'s step"; *Tochaipa* being the 'Iipay name for one of the Creator twins.
24 Clay used in face painting (Miller and Langdon 2008).
25 JPH notes 1927 box 682.
26 EH Davis notebook 5 San Diego Historical Center.
27 Literally "barefoot rock."
28 This means "the sleeping one" *ku-chemaa* in Tiipay (Jon Meza, p.c.).

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4 "You shall not become this kind of people"

Indigenous political argument in Maidu linguistic text collections

M. Eleanor Nevins

Linguistic anthropology and its precursor in the linguistic focus of Boasian anthropology has unfolded at the confluence of national and Indigenous publics. The discipline played a significant role in their political articulation with one another. That role has shifted with changes in international Indigenous politics and with changes in the discipline. To illuminate these, I trace a 150-year history of Maidu text collections, their repurposing, recontextualization and reuse. Taking this Maidu work as an example, I argue that the transcripts of native speech in text collections comprise a record that is unique in the annals of the settler state. Their uniqueness lay in the pressure that documentary standards exert on researchers to reproduce traces of their native interlocutors' verbal contextualizing strategies. Contrary to the ethnological conceit of the text collection, field consultants' speech is inevitably addressed to the research encounter and to relations between Indian and non-Indian. Some of this is recoverable in the transcript. Therefore I argue that it is both despite and *because of* the colonial scientific status of ethnolinguistic text collections (Bauman and Briggs 2003) that they carry affordances for Indigenous language revitalization movements today.

Maidu stories and the manner in which they have been collected are part of the United States national story. It was they who bore the brunt of three key events of nineteenth-century nation building. First, the 1849 gold rush occurred in their homeland, bringing a flood of new immigrants and altering the landscape. Second, Maidu country was the site of the Central Pacific Railway as it grew into the transcontinental railway. Third, Maidu, alongside other disrupted and displaced California Indigenous peoples, were the subjects of new ethnolinguistic scientific documentation methods. Stephen Powers published accounts of Maidu language and culture in 1877 under the editorship of John Wesley Powell, director of the US Geological Survey and of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology (Powers 1877). A more extensive, and more professionalized, record was established in 1898–1903 by Roland Dixon, as a Ph.D. student under Franz Boas in the Columbia Anthropology Program, the first of its kind in the United States.

Gus Palmer (this book) suggests that rather than thinking of ourselves as saving language, we might think of language as having the power to save us. He then locates the redemptive power of language in stories. However, in order for

stories to save us, they must involve us in risk, in taking up a dare. He shows how participating in stories is an edgy affair inviting the unknown into the familiar. Native American stories have travelled along edges of ascending scale: between persons, across landscapes, kin networks, across juxtaposed dialect and language networks (see Field, this book, for Kumeyay and Takic examples), and extending across Indigenous and settler regimes.

This chapter treats Maidu stories that have made their way into ethno-linguistic text collections compiled by Dixon (1912) and Shipley (1963), to be later recontextualized in literary publications (Shipley 1991, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005) and still later repurposed for language maintenance projects (Nevins 2017). The Maidu people with whom I worked described themselves as "Mountain Maidu" or *Jamani Maidym*. They have a longstanding claim to the valleys extending southeast from Mt. Lassen. In language revitalization, Mountain Maidu find common cause with descendants of the speakers of other Maiduan dialects: Konkow to their west extending to Oroville, and Nisenan along the Sacramento and American rivers to the south. Taking the transformation of Maidu stories over successive re-entextualizations as an example, I suggest that there is redemptive power bundled into Americanist linguistic text collections. However, in order to tap into that power it is necessary to read these transcripts for risky moments of address in the field encounter, for bids cast by the Indigenous speaker to figure personal, cultural and political boundaries in their own way and to their own purposes.

Sketch of a text trajectory

The texts with which we are concerned can be traced through four successive episodes of entextualization and publication. Each was also a conversion of function and audience design. The first can be traced to 1902 and 1903 when Roland Dixon travelled to Genesee, CA, under the aegis of the Huntington Expedition to California of the American Museum of Natural History where he worked with storyteller Tom Young. Young can be presumed to have brought to that encounter his own purposes and strategies and a linguistic repertoire he acquired and employed at the edge of Indigenous and settler networks. Through narrative performances and transcription sessions, translational interviews and annotations, through textual selection, assembly and publication, Dixon the anthropologist converted the dialogic field encounter with Tom Young into scientific documents of Maidu language and culture. Funded and published by the American Museum of Natural History (1902, 1905) and later with the American Ethnological Society (1911, 1912), the text collection functioned as an ethnolinguistic object designed for an academic and bureaucratic specialist audience. The text and its pattern of public circulation figure the (Maidu) people associated with it as aspects of a precolonial Natural History of the United States.

A second entextualization that concerns us occurred 80 years later with linguist William Shipley, who republished Tom Young's stories from the 1912 "Maidu Texts," in his own English language "literary translation" in trade paperback entitled *The Maidu Myths and Tales of Hanc'ibyjim* (1991). Prior to this, with

support from the University of California, Berkeley's Survey of American Indian Languages, in 1955 and 1956 Shipley had conducted his own Maidu linguistic field research in the town of Susanville and published "Maidu Texts and Lexicon" in 1963 in the University of California Series in Linguistics from his fieldwork. But from the beginning of his fieldwork he also concerned himself with Tom Young's narratives in Dixon's 1912 collection, which he brought to his closest consultants.[1]

His primary consultant, Maym Benner Gallagher, helped him transliterate (bringing it in line with 1962 phonological transcription standards) and retranslate the 1912 text collection. Gallagher had heard about Tom Young, and shared with Shipley what she identified as Tom Young's "Indian name": Hanc'ibyjim, which Shipley included in the trade paperback title. Shipley's translational style was influenced by his participation in Bay Area theatrical and poetic circles. Gary Snyder, beat poet and deep ecology author with a history of adapting narrative figures obtained through Native American ethnology to his literary writings, wrote the foreword for the book, widening its readership. So, in the 1991 re-entextualization the texts were converted from ethnolinguistic science to literary art, from objects in Natural History to a deep-ecology myth from the primordial California past. The stories were converted from cultural sample in the national ethnological inventory to the verbal artistry of an authentic Maidu master storyteller rendered by a linguistically expert translator for a broad public literary readership.

The third re-entextualization that concerns us occurred a decade later, when Shipley collaborated with visual artist Daniel Stolpe to publish his literary translation of the first section of Dixon's text collection, labeled "Maidu Creation," along with the transliterated Maidu language text and accompanied by handcrafted illustrations. They published these in a large, linen-bound four-volume set, with English-Maidu bilingual columns accompanied by facing page illustrations by Stolpe. Across the four volumes, Stolpe matched successive episodes of Maidu creation with successive techniques in printmaking. He used wood block prints for the first volume: *The Creation as the Maidu Told It—pu'ktim* (2002); lithographs for the second: *The Adversaries—hómpajtotokyc'om* (2003); intaglio for the third: *Love and Death—hybý'ym masý wónom* (2004); and serigraphs for the fourth: *Coyote the Spoiler—wépam wasátykim* (2005). The volume set is priced at just under $10,000, and these sets can be found in the archives of select colleges and universities, and in the collections of private book-art collectors. In this way the text collection was converted to a contemporary rare and precious book, the sumptuously illustrated primordial poetry of Native American California, in limited circulation to an elite art and literary market. It is not, to the author's knowledge, in the collection of any of the northern California Rancheria libraries.

The author of this chapter is engaged in a fourth re-entextualization, with the *Weye-ebis Majdym* / Keep Speaking Maidu language revitalization project. The project was funded by the Administration for Native Americans, administered through Susanville Indian Rancheria, and designed and distributed by a network of intertribal Maidu language advocates and educators. The *Weye-ebis* team are reassembling and republishing Shipley and Stolpe's illustrated Maidu Texts and as we

do so we are restoring to them some features of Tom Young's speech originally published in Dixon's collection but edited out of Shipley's literary publication. We are restoring their accessibility to Indigenous Californian and Maidu publics as well, publishing them in an affordable paperback format for use by the Maidu heritage community. As we do this, we find ourselves attending to aspects of the texts that are readily discernable to community members, but which had been out of focus in the presentational format of Dixon's collection and edited out of Shipley's presentation. To be specific, we feature how Tom Young / Hanc'ibyjim addressed himself to the researcher and to prospective audiences to whom his words might travel, performing Maidu acts of belonging with respect to the surrounding landscape and with respect to the history of settler depredations and land expropriation.[2]

We can feature these because they are "already there" in Tom Young's speech as transcribed by Dixon, albeit previously obscured by the temporal assumptions built into colonial era text collections (Bauman and Briggs 2003; Errington 2007). To elaborate this restoration it is necessary to fill in the macro-context of Dixon and Young's turn-of-the-century ethnographic field encounter.

Tom Young (Hanc'ibyjim) and Roland Dixon at the boundary of Indigenous and settler publics

In Genesee, Plumas County, CA, in summers from 1898 to 1903, the young discipline of American anthropology intersected with Maidu persons displaced and dispossessed over that past 60 years by the California Gold rush, cattle ranching, disease, vigilante Indian hunters rewarded by the California state treasury for bringing in Indian scalps and heads, the adoption of Indigenous children as unpaid laborers through California's apprentice system (Smith 2013), and the Union Pacific railroad (Hurtado 1988). In the wake of these difficult disruptions, Roland Dixon, a student of Franz Boas at Harvard, began transcribing and translating stories with Tom Young, who Dixon describes as "half Maidu and half Atsugewi" (Pit River). As noted above, they worked together under the aegis of the Huntington California Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History.

The expedition's benefactor, C.P. Huntington, had made his early fortune selling tools for the gold rush, and leveraged that to become one of the big four financial powers (including Leland Stanford) behind the Central Pacific, and later Union Pacific, Railroad company (White 1998, 2003). Therefore, Huntington's name attached to the project inserts a close economic and symbolic association between the documentation of California Indians and the accumulated capital that had been contingent upon their displacement and dispossession. Also part of the colonial frame is the placement of Maidu collections with the American Museum of Natural History, which was then under the directorship of Morris Ketchum Jesup, familiar to anthropologists for the North Pacific Expedition led by Franz Boas. Like American anthropology, the American Museum of Natural History was still in its founding years (Brown 1910). Jesup was also one of the founders of the YMCA and contributed to other organizations designed to assimilate freedmen and eastern

European immigrants (Merlan 2009) according to assimilationist logic, consistent with that of Indian boarding schools.

In 1903 most of the present-day Rancherias in northern California were yet to be established, and there were few supports for Indigenous livelihoods or expressions of political voice—but Dixon's work provides us with evidence of continuing Indigenous communication networks. The movement of 1890s ghost dances and dream dances along the railroads (Ruuska 2011) and highways in northern California and across the Sierras to Nevada (DuBois 1939), is testament to the fact that Indigenous networks were as much part of the backdrop to Dixon's fieldwork as were the railroads, timber mills and gold rush. We can find traces of contemporaneous Indigenous networks in Dixon's own account of following leads from one Maidu person to the next across small Californian towns. We have traces in the persons and places (Genesee, Chico, Mooretown and Nashville) attributed with "Maidu myths" in his 1902 publication of the same name (Dixon 1902). Tom Young's fame as a storyteller and ceremonial leader is a reflection of how he engaged with these broader conditions. It was the fact that his name was already known across a broad network of Indian and Settler relations that would bring Dixon to him.

For his part, Tom Young uses the term *ac'ójʔam* at the end of every line of the stories that he shares with Dixon. With *ac'ójʔam* Young links his performance to his contemporaries in extended Indigenous networks as they responded to the influx of settlers and to changes in the conditions of their survival and livelihood. The fieldwork encounter and terms of expression employed within it are evidence of a network of displaced Maidu persons who knew of one another even while lacking reservations or federal recognition and who were piecing together a living working at various forms of wage labor available to them (Bauer 2012).

From ethnographic encounter to object of ethno-linguistic science

Dixon's research, his disciplinary practice, reflects a foundational moment in the establishment of American Anthropology. He was in his Maidu work a faithful student of Boas' linguistic philological model for the study of American Indian languages and cultures. As Bauman and Briggs have argued, for Boas linguistic text collections were important to establishing anthropology as a science:

> Texts could turn a unique, private encounter into something that was public and permanent . . . The phonetic table ensured that fieldworkers would record accurately exactly what was said . . . Their publication . . . transformed the texts into stable, publicly accessible observations that could be subjected to scrutiny, analysis, and comparison.
>
> (Bauman and Briggs 2003: 272)

To work as science, text collections were shaped by twin concerns—first empirical fidelity to the field source, traced through transcription; and second,

ethnologic abstraction—minimizing individuals' contingencies and focusing upon representations of shared collective knowledge.

In Maidu Texts, one device for abstracting story performances from their contingency in the field encounter was Dixon's selection and arrangement of the stories as a rational sequence and a system. In his introduction, Dixon says:

> The order of arrangement followed, places first the Creation Myth, obtained in two parts in successive years. The various tales relating particularly to Coyote come next, after which the order is in general dependent on relative importance, or wideness of relationship. The nineteen myths given form but a small part of those known to the Maidu of this region, but are apparently those most commonly told, and best known to the stock as a whole.
>
> (Dixon 1912: 1–2)

Dixon abstracts the stories from the conditions of their performance with his arrangement, lending them the coherence of a whole cultural pattern, consistent with itself. And while he does attribute the texts to Tom Young in his preface (fidelity to source), he presents Young's words in their capacity as a representation of what is collectively shared, those "most commonly told and best known to the stock as a whole."

Dixon maneuvers between abstracting out from the performance context and fidelity to source in his Maidu to English translation strategy, which he describes as follows:

> In the translation an attempt has been made to give a reasonably free rendering, redundant words or repetitions being occasionally omitted, and words needed to complete the sense being supplied . . . The paragraphs and sentences in text and translation correspond in all cases.
>
> (Dixon 1912: 2)

He preserves sentence and paragraph correspondences but represents redundancies and repetitions of the source discourse only in the Maidu transcription, omitting them in his English translation. Most notably, he omits the regular sentence-final, or line-final, reported speech particle, *ac'ójʔam* "so it's said" where *c'* is a deictic prefix indexing speech a remove, or distance, from the speaker. So indicating something said not only by the speaker or by proximate persons but also by persons at a distance and not directly known. Its omission leaves untranslated the most prominent metadiscursive contextualization cue linking the story performance to broader Indigenous contexts of telling.

Dixon constructs ethnologic authenticity in a way that helps to establish standards for the emerging discipline as a whole. He established an identity for the texts in disciplinary terms. Through use of phonetic transcription, he poses the texts as an accurate rendering of Tom Young's speech obtained through field research. At the same time he defined the source of the speech and the narratives spoken with the Maidu "stock as a whole," a legacy from an imagined

primordial, pre-colonial world. And whatever the total communications he might have received from Tom Young and the other Maidu persons during his summers in turn-of-the-century California, Dixon's publications describe a pre-colonial Maidu world, excluding those portions of what he received from Maidu persons that evidenced recognizable Indigenous engagement with settler colonialism (Gruber 1970). Tom Young's speech was by this means packaged as a scientific and folkloric documentary object.

Dixon completed his dissertation on Maidu grammar in 1900, published his initial Maidu findings with the museum (Dixon 1902, 1905), and later published a selection of his transcriptions from the stories he transcribed in 1912 with the American Ethnological society (Dixon 1912), under Boas' editorship.

The patterns of circulation for the documentary objects fashioned through Dixon's participation in the Huntington Expedition include *Bulletins of the American Museum of Natural History*, *Journal of American Folklore* and *The American Ethnological Society*. That these texts were circulating so early in the institutional history of these organizations underscores the importance of encounters with Maidu and other California Indigenous people to the establishment of national scholarly and governmental bodies and to the composition of publics for whom claims to knowledge about Indigenous peoples extend. Ethnological journals and their readership purified Tom Young's statements of colonial history and materialized them, and Maidu people themselves, as monuments to the past. Given its placement in the history of the discipline and the nation, documenting Maidu and other California Indian peoples articulated directly with the establishment of the United States as an industrial and scientific power, its educational institutions and with the composition of its dominant publics.

From object of science to primordial Native American literature

The historic bundle Dixon published as "Maidu Texts" underwent a further re-entextualization through the linguistic and literary career of William Shipley. This was contingent upon Shipley's 60-year plus relationship with the family of Lena Thomas Benner, in Susanville; his linguistic training (as a student of Mary Haas at UC Berkeley); and his involvements with Beat literary, artistic and theatrical circles during his tenure at UCSC.

Shipley's linguistic career is one of greater disciplinary specialization than Dixon's. By the end of Dixon's life, Kroeber felt compelled to note that Dixon's dissertation on Maidu grammar reflected a lack of explicit linguistic training (Tozzer and Kroeber 1945: 3). By contrast, Shipley's training with Mary Haas incorporated changes, understood as advances, in linguistics that occurred in the intervening years. Like Dixon, Shipley published a text collection as well as a grammatical description. However, he presents the content of this collection as linguistic rather than ethnological data. This review by Carl Voegelin, a leading figure in the history of Americanist linguistics and ethnology, makes this clear:[3]

> In 92 pages, Shipley has described a language previously described by Dixon in 56 pages. But Shipley says much more about Maidu than Dixon did. To say how much more would be worth the space in any relevant journal, because it would constitute a reliable measure of advance in linguistic theory—closer approximation to exhaustiveness in the description of a system and its operation.
>
> (Voegelin 1965: 1340)

Shipley was understood by his disciplinary peers to command Maidu as a system in a more exhaustive manner than was the case for Dixon. This gives Shipley license to return to Dixon's materials for reanalysis and retranslation, which he does with the continued language mentoring of Lenna Thomas Benner's niece, Maym Hannah Benner Gallagher.

In 1991 Shipley published his own literary English translation of the texts in Dixon's collection as *The Maidu Indian Myths and Stories of Han'ibyjim*. Shipley's republication of Maidu Texts capitalizes upon definitions and values established for Maidu language and stories by Dixon. Like Dixon, Shipley figures the stories as primordial and pre-colonial. Shipley states: "Though the evidence is fragmentary, the stories lead one to some perception of the old original Maidu world-view, now for so long lost in time" (1991: 4). In this way, Shipley maintains the temporal and ethnological frame established by Dixon.

In fact, Shipley characterizes his primary challenges as a literary translator in terms of an unbridgeable gap between traditional and modern:

> the vast abyss lying between the matrix of traditional Maidu culture and that of late twentieth-century western civilization. Further, Maidu literary devices present massive difficulties when one sets out to find artful, faithful and interesting English equivalents . . . the good storytellers of preliterate societies were closer to our actors and singers than to our writers. And, like actors and singers, they seldom wrote their own plots. They delivered but did not invent the stories they told.
>
> (Shipley 1988: 706)

Here Shipley assigns to Tom Young / Hanc'ibyjim a purely iterative role from another time: that of a "preliterate storyteller." Shipley makes it clear that such a person expected to perform, but not to invent, precluding any consideration of Tom Young / Hanc'ibyjim's expression of political voice.

The difference Shipley introduces to the record already established by Dixon is to repackage Dixon's "Maidu Texts" from ethnolinguistic science to works of dramatic poetry delivered by a master of performative art. Shipley also calls the storyteller by his "Indian name," previously unrevealed in the Dixon manuscripts. Here Shipley (1991: 3) describes how the "real Indian name" of the storyteller was revealed to him:

> I took this book of Dixon's with me to Maym in 1956, at the beginning of my second summer of work with her. She had not known about the book, but she knew very well who Tom Young had been—the last great Maidu storyteller. His real Indian name, I found out, had been Hanc'ibyjim.

That Tom Young / Hanc'byjim is a person of local renown among Shipley's consultants both authenticates Dixon's judgment in selecting these stories and this storyteller as representative of those widely known, even as it threatens to upset the relation of temporal succession implicit to the salvage project. Including "Hanc'ibyjim" in the title of his paperback serves multiple purposes at once. In the context of literary publication, naming the individual artist establishes authorship and provenance in a way that fits the genre. In the context of the Native American art market, the inclusion of a "real Indian Name" further purified the text of colonial intrusion and helps deepens his authenticity claim.

Shipley does not include a Maidu transcript in the 1991 paperback. In its place, he appeals to notions of orality and theatricality, saying, "I have constantly been at pains to maintain this oral, theatrical quality of the originals" (1991: 3). However, he does not draw upon the ethnopoetic programs of either Hymes (1981) or Tedlock (1983) in doing so. Nor does he specify what he means by maintaining the oral quality of the originals. He does not, for example, carry over repeated or parallel patterns from the Maidu composition to his English translation. The line-by-line repetitions of *ac'ójʔam* "so it's said" are left unrepresented and mostly untranslated in his work as in Dixon's. Shipley also leaves out repetitions of what he terms line initial "connectors," what Hymes described as line defining "initial particles."

Further, Shipley departs from the line-by-line and paragraph-by-paragraph correspondences between Maidu text and English translation established by Dixon whenever he thought it improved the appeal of the English language presentation. His most notable and egregious distortion of the Maidu text is his omission of the Northwest direction from a repeated and invariant sequence of five directions: West, Northwest, North, East and South, presumably because this would be more familiar to his anticipated audience (more on this later).

And finally, in passages characterized by nested quotations (the storyteller quotes a character as that character is quoting yet another character) Shipley converts direct reported speech to indirect reported speech. For example, this passage features two characters: *Wépam* / Coyote and *K'ódojapem*, who Shipley translates as "Earthmaker." *K'ódojapem* has enlisted people from the five directions to kill *Wépam*. They seem to be on the point of accomplishing that when Wépam speaks (is quoted by the storyteller) to *K'ódojapem* in this passage, from the Dixon–Young translation in the 1912 publication:

> "And you"—turning to him—"from every corner of the world it will be bad: 'He is the cleverest,' they will say of you."

Shipley translates it as:

> "And *you*," said Coyote to Earthmaker,
> "People from everywhere will say bad things about you.
> They will say that *you* are the cleverest."

He does this despite the fact that Maidu language does not conventionally encode indirect discourse in relative clauses, using nested quotes / projected speech instead.[4] The difference between the two is that the Maidu passage with nested quotes is *emplaced* and involves the audience in prospective shifts of footing. "From every corner of the world" is spoken from a deictic center occupied by the imagined speaker (Coyote), and "it will be bad" is spoken from Coyote's interpretive perspective. The direct (rather than indirect) anticipated speech coming from the corners of the world: "He is the cleverest" introduces new, dispersed hypothetical deictic centers in the imagined speech of people from the corners of the world and shifts participant roles in the storytelling and listening event. Using it involves the audience to the story as potential speakers of that line, in a common dialogic change with the story protagonist and storyteller.

In making the change to indirect discourse Shipley works against the pragmatics of the Maidu source text.[5] In doing so he further stabilizes the temporal boundary established in Dixon's publication between the storytelling world of Hanc'ibyjim in pre-colonial past, and the modern present occupied by the translator and reader.

From literary paperback to elite visual and literary art for limited circulation

In addition to Stolpe's images and Shipley's transliterated version of Dixon's Maidu language source text, there are three other important differences introduced with the $10,000 illustrated English-Maidu bilingual four-volume set. The first is the removal of the Northwest direction from the Maidu transcription as well as the English translation. Lines present in Dixon corresponding to the northwest in the directional sequence are regularly omitted in the Shipley–Stolpe volumes.

The second is the organization of stories into four volumes and the addition of English language and Maidu language titles (Shipley's own compositions) for each of the four volumes. In the title of the fourth volume they choose to emphasize the trickster with the title "Coyote the Spoiler—*wépam wasatykim*," despite the fact that the majority of stories in that volume concern the other primary character: K'ódojapem, who Shipley translates as "Earthmaker."[6]

The third difference is an asymmetry in the typographic relationship between English translation and Maidu transcript. English lines appear first, in the left column, with corresponding Maidu lines appearing in matching columns to the right. And while the English lines exhibit features such as capitalization at the beginning of a sentence and for proper names, the Maidu lines lack these features. This, together with Shipley's tendency to only loosely adhere to line-by-line

correspondence, accords primacy to the English literary translation while opening up unaccounted-for gaps between the Maidu expressions and their counterparts in that translation.

Fourth conversion to Indigenous projects (relevance of precision in the human sciences)[7]

Maidu voices like Tom Young's within Dixon's texts were obscured by their appropriation to the ethnological and linguistic project. But there is also redemptive value in Dixon's text collection attributable to its status as scientific documentation. This is because its standing as such depends upon a line of contingency traceable back to its field source (compare with Star and Griesemer 1989; Bauman and Briggs 2003; Latour 1993). And text collections, because they are necessarily full of talk about talk, also allow us to trace that contingency-to-source as a dialogic chain (Bakhtin 1986). As a result, components of Tom Young's presentation that Dixon and later Shipley would find difficult to translate are retained in the record. Bakhtin defined "precision in the human sciences" as consisting in "surmounting the otherness of the other without transforming him into purely one's own" (1986: 169). In this respect text collections, in their details, represent a record that is often more precise than other components of the ethnographic record. Therefore the Americanist Tradition stands as a repository relevant to contemporary Indigenous global politics, in addition to its value as samples of Indigenous languages. As a science of language attending to extended utterances addressed to the boundary of Indigenous and settler publics at crucial moments of nation building, that tradition holds unique affordances for attending to hitherto hidden histories of Indigenous political voice.

As we adapt the Shipley–Stolpe's illustrated stories for paperback publication for the *Weye-ebis* project, we turn to Dixon's transcript as well as other archival and Maidu community sources to recover Tom Young's stories and political voice. Three recovered features will serve to illustrate this. First, we restore the five directions that are repeated regularly throughout the texts and that place Tom Young in an extended Indigenous network on a particular landscape. Second, we restore the sentence-final narrative "so it's said" particle that links every line of the stories to other contexts of Indigenous speech, and provides a principal through which to restore line-by-line correspondence between the Maidu source text and English translation. Third, we give the Maidu language source text left-column reading primacy in the bilingual presentation. Fourth, we include *K'okojapem* in the title for Volume IV, for which he is the principal character. I will show how restoring these features to the texts situates the stories, teller and Maidu intertribal public in a particular landscape and within an Indigenous-settler politics of belonging with respect to that landscape.

First, across the creation stories in Dixon's 1912 text collection there is a regular directional sequence, in which action proceeds in a sun-wise fashion across five directions. The *Weye-ebis* project utilized Dixon's work to restore the five directions to the illustrated texts. The following passage is one such example:

“Mí ynóp mym k’ódojdi,” ac’ojʔam.	“You there, go to that country,” ac’ójʔam.
“Pok’ók’i hínc’onokydi ynóp,” ac’ójʔam.	“You, go to the West,” ac’ójʔam.
“K’ódom c’ándi ynóp,” ac’ójʔam.	“And you other, go to the northwest,” ac’ójʔam.
“Májdyk’i bískym t’ik’ójdi ynóp,” ac’ójʔam.	“Go to where people live,” ac’ójʔam.
“Mí uním k’ódom beléwdi ysítop.” ac’ójʔam.	“And you go along to the north.” ac’ójʔam.
“Májdyk’i bískym t’ik’ójdi ynóp,” ac’ójʔam.	“Go to where people live,” ac’ójʔam.
“Mí uním ékdadojkydi ynóp.” ac’ójʔam.	“You, go this way toward the east,” ac’ójʔam.
“Uním pok’ók’i hínk’omónantedi.	“You, go this way to the south,
uním ekím pok’óm hiná yt’ákym	to where the sun turns to go down,
k’anájwositodi ynópi,” ac’ójʔam.	to where it goes straight over,” ac’ójʔam.
“Wónom májdyk’i bískym k’ódo yt’ájmenwet,	“Go, and overlook no place where people live,”
ynópada,” ac’ójʔam.	ac’ójʔam.
Adóm, jepónim wéjec’ojʔam.	So the leader spoke, ac’ójʔam.
“C’ebó nik’í “ ac’ójʔam.	“Let them come see me,” ac’ójʔam.
“Japájtotok’así,” ac’ójʔam.	“I would talk with them,” ac’ójʔam.

Here the leader counts off the projected path of runners to villages in five directions, to call them for a meeting. In other passages K’ódojapem stretches the land in the same five directions as he forms the extent of the world.

Two directions: northwest and north point to landforms:

k’ódom c’ándi	at the land beside [of ‘us’]	northwest
k’ódom beléwdi	at the land beside [of that land]	north

The remaining directions: east, south and west, describe the movement of the sun:

ékdadojkydi	where the dawn rises	east
pok’ók’i hínk’omónantedi	where the sun goes across	south
pok’ók’i Hínc’onokydi	where the sun sets	west

To help us understand the significance of the northwest as a cardinal direction, we turn to a statement made in 1999 by a respected Maidu community member Leonard Lowry.[8] Lowry was the grandson of Susi Jack, a renowned traditional Maidu spiritual leader and healer. He says:

> But very significantly, the Mountain Maidu had five cardinal direction points. They had your north, south, east, west; and then they had northwest. Indian Valley is the hub of the Mountain Maidu, and northwest from Indian Valley is Kum Yamani, Snow Mountain. And then the five is the lucky number for the Mountain Maidu.
>
> (Lowry 1999: 80)

Here Lowry shows how orientation to five directions (also attested in Dixon 1905, Riddell 1978) places the Mountain Maidu in a particular cluster of valleys, with Indian Valley, known as *Tosin Koyo* at the hub. Other major mountain valleys include *Nakam Koyo* / Big Meadows (now Lake Almanor), *Hanylekim Koyo* / Honeylake Valley, *Silom Koyo* / American Valley, and *Tosim Koyo*, and *Tasman Koyo* / Humbug Valley.[9] Northwest to them all is *Kom Yamani*, the tallest mountain visible on the horizon and a recently active volcano. In this way the five directions in Hanc'ibyjim's stories place the network of people that told, listened to and learned from these stories in this particular landscape. The settler name for the same mountain is "Mt. Lassen," after a Danish settler who established a controversial immigrant trail during the gold-rush era. Since 1916 it has been the focal point for Lassen Volcanic National Park. Placed within the northern California landscape, features of the texts establish Indigenous position and perspective with respect to this national public landmark. Tom Young's stories and their uptake among the contemporary Maidu community are relevant to ongoing conversations about names for national parks, and to the goal of including Indigenous publics in the manner in which national parks institutionalize historical memory.

Second, Tom Young uses the distant personal quotative "*ac'ójʔam*," "so it's said," at the end of nearly every line of his narrative. It is a regular feature of all the Maidu language stories in Dixon's corpus and establishes a metadiscursive frame, cueing listeners to the story as something that the speaker knows by virtue of having been told by others because it is circulated widely. With this, he aligns his telling of the story with innumerable shadow conversations (Irvine 1996) that extend beyond the people that he knows, to an extended world of others who also tell and have told this story. Use of *ac'ójʔam* also implies a discursive chain linking the moment of telling to the speech of ancestors.[10] In fact, the scope of the imagined network of people who tell the story approaches the scope of the narrative's subject matter—extensions of land beyond the horizon at several days' journey, and the people living on it.

Third, we establish the Maidu source text as the primary, left-column reading text, with accompanying English language translation. We decided to include the *ac'ój'am* particle at its corresponding position in the English language line to encapsulate the English translation and to render the Maidu corresponding lines more transparent for community language learners. We hope this serves to give primacy of place to the Maidu utterance, communicates some of the pragmatics of that utterance and assists in community language and culture education projects.

Fourth, we renamed the last volume "*K'ódojapem Bo* / Worldmaker's Trail" to reflect the relative prominence of *K'ódojapem* in the narratives and we translate this character as "World-maker" rather than Shipley's choice of "Earth-maker" in keeping with Maidu community conventions and with their choices in representing these stories for the broader visiting public in the form of a document entitled "World-maker's Trail." Tom Young makes Maidu claims to place specific by

naming particular places in *K'ódojapem's* journey as he formed the surrounding landscape. These include:

C'uc'újedi	Pissing place, "Chu'chu'ya," or Soda Rock
Hanýlekem Kojó	He Carries It Over, or Honeylake Valley
Jakúkim Jamándi	Canoe Mountain, or Kedie Ridge
K'ódom Éstodi	Middle of the World
Nákam Kojó	Big Meadows, now Lake Almanor
Papádi	Place of the Little White Root
Ujdi Myjím Momí	Hut of the Water Serpent

Many of the places named in his stories were contested places in the Indigenous-settler landscape in Tom Young's day and continue to be the focus of environmental controversies and conflicting stewardship, ownership and use claims today (see Middleton 2001, 2010).

The following passage makes Tom Young's political argument:

"Mí unídi bísmaʔamkano," ac'ójʔam.	"You shall remain here," *ac'ójʔam*.
"Mínk'i k'ódok'an	"You and your country
jakýpem mamáʔamkano," ac'ójʔam.	will be ones who have names," *ac'ójʔam*.
"Núktim tetémenim k'ódojdi maʔát bíswet,	"Staying in a country that is little, indeed not big,
wémt'ikmaʔamkano," ac'ójʔam.	it will be enough for you," *ac'ójʔam*.
Uním: "Sówonowonos,	This: "Once I have left,
amám díwebisim, díwebisim,	you will keep growing, keep growing,
hesánbem k'úmmenim wosípdom,	how many winters passing,
tetét pím k'úmmenim wosípdom,	a great many winters passing,
tetét pím ekím wosípdom,	a great many days passing,
díbosmaʔamkano," ac'ójʔam.	you will have grown enough," *ac'ójʔam*.
"Adóm, kaʔámkano díbospem púkmapem,"	"Then, when you have grown enough, you shall be
ac'ójʔam.	born," *ac'ójʔam*.
"Anímmyni, mínk'i pekým,	"At that time, your food,
c'ájc'ajnom pekým,	different kinds of food,
homóbokitmenim pekým dímak'an;	any kind of food, shall grow;
amýni, kaʔámkano wémt'ik'i húkespem púkdom,	and you, having been born with enough intelligence,
hónwenumapem," ac'ójʔam.	shall survive," *ac'ójʔam*.
Awéten,	Having so done,
k'adótkitc'ojʔam.	he shoved them under the ground, *ac'ójʔam*.
Awetén, béjby wéjec'ojʔam.	Having so done, he spoke again, *ac'ójʔam*.
"Mí béjby, béjby núktim k'ódokypem	"You, in turn, will also be ones who have a small
mamáʔamkano," ac'ójʔam.	country," *ac'ójʔam*
'Héw! uním k'ódojnan c'ájnap!'	"'Hey! Clear out of your country!'
adóm batásipdom c'ájim kojóna,	thereby driving others from their valleys,
batác'ono totomenkym májdym mamáʔamkano."	you shall not become this kind of people."

This is an excerpt adapted from Roland Dixon's (1912: 18–20) "Maidu Texts," within a text labeled "1. Creation Myth, Part I." While Dixon selected against examples of what would be recognized as "non-traditional" stories, a political argument peeks through the ethnological curtain in this passage.

During 1898–1902, the time of Dixon's visit, there were no Rancherias or other lands set aside for Maidu in their homeland, but the Auxiliary for Indian Women and BIA had cooperated to establish a mission site and boarding school at Greenville, defined as a safe zone for Indians from settler depredations.[11] Therefore, there were arguments about Indian lands and persons, critiques of unchecked settler violence among settler and Indian religious leadership, and a high likelihood that Tom Young was involved in some of these discussions.

Tom Young projects the voice of *K'ódojapem*, "World-maker," as he addresses people who are yet to be born. *K'ódojapem* addresses himself to Tom Young's ancestors directly. He establishes their claim there, and projects an unfolding future of involvement between a specific people and a specific, small, not big, land.

Nested quotes are common throughout the stories. In this example, storyteller Tom Young quotes K'ódojapem as the latter addresses himself to Maidu ancestors. Within this address, K'ódojapem quotes, or projects the hypothetical speech of, an invading peoples: "'Hey! Clear out of your country!' driving others from their valleys, you shall not be this kind of people." K'ódojapem presents the voice of another kind of people—white invaders—as a cautionary negative example. Through nested layers of projected speech (Tom Young projecting the voice of *K'ódojapem* as he projects the hypothetical voice of an invading people), Tom Young enacts a boundary between his (and *K'ódojapem*'s) own people and other kinds of people. With this he establishes a contrast, and a difference of moral footing, between his own people, the predecessors of whom are *K'ódojapem*'s direct addressees, and the invading settlers.[12]

Placing this utterance within the context of the fieldwork encounter and Young's words temporalizes Indigenous-settler relations in a way that differs markedly from that of Dixon's ethnological project. As Dixon sits and transcribes, Young does not confine himself to describing the origin of what Dixon would write about as "Maidu culture" exclusive of settler colonialism.[13] Instead, he portrays an originary moment from which the settler-colonial landscape around them has come into being. *K'ódojapem*'s speech anticipates a pattern of events that has been unfolding ever since, and that extends to Young's exchange with Dixon, and to still unfolding Indigenous-settler futures on a shared landscape. This passage is an example of how the philological tradition's commitment to accuracy in transcribing source materials allows us to recognize rhetorical strategies on the part of Indigenous contributors that run counter to those of colonial modernity. Tom Young's creation stories are full of moral claims, intensified through repetition, through depictions of preparation, maturation, born, growing and dwelling, naming and knowing places in the surrounding landscape.

The cosmopolitical status of Tom Young / Hánc'ibyjim's evocation of K'ódojapem is further born out in Shipley's 1963 text collection, recorded 50 years after Dixon's California field research. Included in it are contributions from speakers who would have been Tom Young's / Hanc'ibyjim's contemporaries in 1903. One of his texts is a conversation among his consultants Leone Morales, Maym Gallagher and George Peconom, as they attempted to elicit a story or song from Roxy Peconom, a centagenarian, their eldest and most reticent participant. After repeated encouragement to speak, she offers this salvo:

Jesus-*im ha'áj kak'án nisé,*	Jesus is with us.
Ísk'a, K'ódojapem uním k'awí	So, Worldmaker, these lands,
méjwonom.	he gave them to us.
Amádi haj ka'émk'es.	Therefore this is where we belong.
Amá nisé Wólem béj,	But White people
Take 'em away jahák'an béj.	want to *take 'em away* from us.
—Roxie Peconom	

(Adapted from Shipley 1963: 66–67)

This short excerpt underscores the political statement in Hanc'ibyjim's stories of *K'ódojapem*. As Roxie Peconom makes clear, to invoke *K'ódojapem* as Tom Young / Hánc'ibyjim has done, is to invoke longstanding Maidu claims to the surrounding landscape. In her characterization of *Wólem*, or 'White,' intentions with respect to Maidu land, she is clearly doing more than offering up language examples. She is addressing herself to an audience that includes her own community members as well as *Wólem* / White people. Her choice of topic and her use of the English phrase "take 'em away" is part of that address.

Colonial linguistics, text collections and decolonization

I have followed the history of Maidu text publications and shown that while the conversion of Maidu voices to documentary objects, and the conversion of Maidu contemporary address to "tradition" and to the super-ceded past was indeed part of the colonial project, it was also more than that. Text collections, together with other items in the documentary record, established distinct identities for Maidu language, culture and lands in the national record that, with changes in the status of Indigenous politics over time, have been returned to and repurposed. What I have shown so far is that Shipley's republication of Dixon's text collection reproduced some parts of the colonial bundle intact, particularly the primordial status established for Maidu stories, while changing others. New revaluations of indigeneity motivated by a cultural conversation informed by criticisms of colonial dispossession and violence, as well as criticisms concerning the adverse ecological effects of unrestrained industrial development, provided for a revaluation of the previously established identity between Indigenous people and preindustrial state of natural ecosystems. The fact that an illustrated set has been put together, even at elite market prices, makes it possible for the language project that I work

with to republish and re-appropriate that set for community members. As we—members of the *Weye'ebis* language project and the author—repurpose it, we have drawn upon some established relations while shifting others.

As we have done so, we have seized upon an affordance of Indigenous text collections that is often overlooked: the evidence of political voice extended in the research encounter by Indigenous speakers. To recover voices from a text implies not only the recognition of poetic art (Hymes 1981; Shipley 1991), but also of diplomatic and rhetorical strategies their contributors employed (Hymes 1975, 1981; Silverstein 1996). To do so is to place language documentation in the history of Indigenous political struggle. It is part of recognizing that language revitalization projects are not just about grammar and lexicon, but comprise a complicated Indigenous and disciplinary politics (Nevins 2013; Moore 2006; Kroskrity and Field 2009; Meek 2011). The voices recoverable from text collections are part of the dialogic context of that politics.

My argument has been in three parts. First, tradition and salvage have their own hidden affordances, baked into in their connections to science and colonialism. While the notion of cultural tradition ensured the misrecognition of Indigenous political voices, it also provided justification for their inclusion in the public record. Salvage documentation allowed for an ambivalent inclusion of diverse voices in national and international archives and at moments in United States history when Indigenous speakers were not accorded other means of political voice. Collecting spoken data requires dialogue, mutual address, and exchange between researcher and speaker. Therefore, ethnolinguistic documentation carries with it an intrinsically composite history because any documentary object is derived from prior dialogic relations—and can be read from both sides of the research exchange.

A documented word is a converted word (in the sense of Hanks 2010), transposed from the prior contexts to which they were addressed, or in which they were requested and offered—and transformed into an imagined monologic voice of culture or tradition (Mannheim and Tedlock 1995). This is a mode of recontextualization that imposes a change of function upon documented discourse (Keane 1995), reifies language and culture, and recasts utterances as emblems of a traditional past. This is the colonial work accomplished in text collections, at least as long as the monologic frame holds as the controlling context, or as long as precedence is interpreted through the assumption of hierarchal succession of the modern.

Second, I have shown that text collections nonetheless hold traces of their source dialogue because they are transcriptions of the extended speech of an Indigenous speaker addressed to a researcher. They are complex examples of "speech within speech, utterance within utterance and at the same time *speech about speech, utterance about utterance*" (Voloshinov 1973: 115). And because so much of speech is meta-discursive, an accurately transcribed text can also preserve speakers' contextualization cues and make the political voices of contributors recognizable as such in the text documentary record.

Third, as objects invested with symbolic value at the juncture of Indigenous and settler identities, text collections are multifunctional attractors, amenable to

repurposing and reuse. I show how Dixon's text collection assembled an elaborate set of Indigenous-settler relations and located that bundle at a symbolically significant place in the formation and self-narrative of the modern U.S. nation-state. As disciplinary and cultural conversations concerning Native Americans have shifted, Maidu text collections occupy a position in the archive from which they have been repurposed and reused, seizing upon different potentialities bundled into them, continuing some relations established in prior publication while altering others. I identify two strategies that have been applied. One, by Shipley, revalues the Indigenous past, repurposing texts as literary art—but maintaining the separation between the Maidu world and the modern. Another strategy, underway with the *Weye-ebis* Maidu language revitalization program, incorporates the valorization of Hanc'ibyjim's stories as art, but also recognizes his political voice in the texts and establishes, through moral claims to land and environment, the stories' continued relevance to Maidu and other Indigenous communities today.

This suggests another way that text collections are valuable to language revitalization movements, beyond serving as exemplary models of "language in use." They are useful for the opportunities they afford for latter-day recognitions of political voice previously hidden in the text collection record—for filling in a previously overlooked history to Indigenous politics and revitalization movements. The fact that we can find them here when we look is reason enough to return to colonial documentary items, to open up documentation and recast its products as having always been laden with equivocal meanings because they are produced and taken up from people on either side of a dialogic encounter. If we rethink language field research as irreducibly dialogic, as a still open form of social mediation, this promises to feed back into our engagements with Indigenous publics.

Notes

1 In the early twentieth century, publication of the texts as components of natural history and ethnologic science overlapped with literary, folkloric philological modes of assigning value to them. Although Dixon collected narratives from more than ten Maidu informants, he chose only those performed by Tom Young for his 1912 publication "Maidu Texts," citing Young's virtuosity as a storyteller, the thematic and sequential unity of his stories among the reasons for the selection (Dixon 1912).
2 See Cruikshank (1997).
3 Voegelin was a student of Kroeber and a postdoctoral student with Boas, Bloomfield, and Sapir. At Indiana, he trained more Americanists than anyone except Haas. His students included Dell Hymes, Ken Hale, and Paul V. Kroskrity. He was the first editor of the *International Journal of American Linguistics* after Boas and held that editorial position for several decades.
4 See Rumsey 1990.
5 See Scollon and Scollon (1981) and Heath (1983) on the socio-pragmatic construction of literary subjects.
6 Presenting the English translation in Capitalized plain text and the Maidu in lowercase italics reflect the conventions adopted by Shipley and Stolpe.
7 Bakhtin (1986: 169) defined precision in the human sciences as consisting in "surmounting the otherness of the other without transforming him into purely one's own."

8 Born in 1920 and raised in Susanville, CA, Mr. Lowry's heritage included Mountain Maidu, Washoe and Hammawi Pit River. His grandmother, Suzi Jack, was a traditional Maidu doctor. His mother was a linguist. He had a distinguished career in the military and, prior to that, in the civilian conservation core.
9 "The late Dan Williams told William Shipley (personal communication 1995) that Hanylekim was a Maidu name for the lake and that the English name is a corrupted borrowing from Maidu. According to Shipley (personal communication 1995), it could mean something like 'carrying something quickly along.'" From www.honeylakemaidu.org.
10 See Kroskrity (1993).
11 See www.greenvillerancheria.com/maidu_tribe_history.aspx.
12 At this point in the performance, Tom Young himself shifts footing for a moment, omitting the ac'ójʔam particle. He flickers into oratory as he gives voice to K'ódojapem addressing the ancestors of his own group, establishing their longstanding claim to the lands around them, and marking a difference from claims of more recent invaders.
13 Dixon made wax cylinder recordings of Tom Young singing songs, but not, as far as we can discover, of Tom Young telling stories. Transcription during storytelling performance was a common method, followed by extended interviews for translation and refinement of the transcription. Dixon reportedly destroyed his field notes after consolidating them into notebooks that are archived at the Harvard University's Peabody Museum.

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5 To "we" (+inclusive) or not to "we" (–inclusive)

The CD-ROM *Taitaduhaan* (our language) and Western Mono future publics

Paul V. Kroskrity

I begin my chapter by unpacking its potentially mysterious and somewhat poetic title. The "we" in the title denotes a grammatical choice in first person, plural pronouns made available by the grammar of Western Mono to its speakers.[1] The choice between inclusive we and exclusive we has the effect of grouping the speaker, or the reader, with two distinct groups. *Tai*—the inclusive form—groups the speaker with the hearer whereas *ni*—the exclusive counterpart—groups the speaker with some others that do not include the addressee. In English there is only the lexically ambiguous "we" and its equally ambiguous possessive "our" but in a language with a contrastive first-person plural pronoun, the choice can create a meaningful framing of the event or genre in which it is used. So it is with the Western Mono CD-ROM *Taitaduhaan: Western Mono Ways of Speaking* (Kroskrity, Bethel, and Reynolds 2002) which conspicuously uses the inclusive form in its Western Mono title: *Tai-taduhaan* "our (+inclusive) language." But who is included in "inclusive" we—is it strictly a Western Mono public or does it include others outside the group—a larger public? In addition to these denotational properties of first-person plural pronouns, the title also exploits a poetic indexicality of a trope extending back to Shakespeare's depiction of a troubled Hamlet and his "To be or not to be" soliloquy and meaningfully includes Silverstein's (1985: 220) linguistic ideological study of grammatical change involving "generic he"—"to 'he' or not to 'he.'" Though my poetic license may suggest a playful use, my indexical connections were also intended to highlight the seriousness of this question. While a choice between pronouns is not truly a matter of life and death, it may represent, in linguistic microculture, the pervasive and impactful reach of political economic forces and their shaping influence on the kinds of imaginable future publics, especially for Indigenous communities like the Western Mono. For speakers of languages with a grammatically marked choice between an inclusive vs. exclusive "we," do political economic factors impose a particular pragmatic selection? Are these political economic factors ones which speak to the resilience of Mono cultural sovereignty or to the domination of the settler state?

This is, in part, a tale of the origin and short life of a revitalization product—the CD-ROM *Taitaduhaan: Western Mono Ways of Speaking* (Kroskrity, Bethel, and Reynolds 2002). This work was produced as part of a language revitalization effort

in the Indigenous community of North Fork located in the Central Sierra Foothills of California. In this chapter I will explore the intercultural dialogical emergence of this interactive media product that was designed for an Indigenous public by a team that included a native speaker/community member as well as two UCLA linguistic anthropologists (including the author). But in addition to providing an ethnographic account of the collaborative production of this resource for language renewal, this chapter addresses some questions about the role of Indigenous publics and about the impact of technologies of literacy and postliteracy (Kroskrity 2002). I use the term postliteracy as a lexical catch-all for the affordances of digital technologies, such as interactive multimedia CD-ROMs and interactive internet applications and websites that move beyond merely literate representations. Interactive digital representations are especially important because while "mere attention" constructs potential publics, in Michael Warner's (2002: 61) sense, most of these interactive digital representations require a user who displays more than the passive attention of a spectator. Users of these interactive programs must provide the very tangible uptake of more active participation through navigation of the program. *Taitaduhaan* requires its users to actively select among program options, making choices about relevant foreground and background as well as the level of detail for linguistic representations (from mere English translations to levels that permit morpheme by morpheme Mono language details).

Does this feature of recipient-design for an Indigenous audience necessarily transform the linguistic products that are the fruit of collaborations between linguists, native speaker and non-native speaker, and Native American communities like the Western Mono? Another way of asking this question is to inquire whether or not research being done in today's presumably more enlightened era of collaboration with Native communities—taking what Dell Hymes (1996: 60) called a "mediative" stance in directing scholarly research toward local community needs—produces better results than the "extractive" research of the salvage period in which language documentation was a process that excluded Indigenous communities as a target audience, preferring instead to create grammars, text collections, and dictionaries for the consumption of elite scholars. But it is possible to argue that the present emphasis on language endangerment and linguistic revitalization actually resembles salvage-era research in its emphasis on finality and emergency (Cameron 2007; Hill 2002; Kroskrity 2012b). Even though most anthropologists have moved beyond Boasian models that posited fragile relationships between language, culture, and social change, it is clear these models are all too alive and well in a variety of contemporary national and international contexts, where such beliefs and practices continue to have a negative influence (Cameron 2007; Moore 2006; Muehlmann 2008). Just as the Boasian model delegitimated projects of linguistic syncretism and pathologized social change, contemporary reincarnations of those organicist models now equate "authentic" language with state-endorsed regimes of linguistic purity (Muehlmann 2008) and require researchers and language communities who seek endangered-language funding to deploy tropes like the consubstantiality of language:culture:identity in the rhetoric of their grantsmanship (Moore 2006). And though the contemporary period features a

discourse of language rights that was unthinkable during the assimilationism of U.S. Indian policy of the 1940s, today's multicultural policies—with their appeals to (universal) language rights—often amount to the imposition of a Eurocentric one-size-fits-all model that both flattens linguistic diversity and presupposes neoliberal norms of textual circulation that are anathema to those communities whose linguistic cultures are predicated on a flow of information regulated by representatives of traditional regimes (Debenport 2010, 2015; Errington 2003; Whiteley 2003). Thus despite sweeping changes in national policy over the past 75 years, a case can be made that contemporary multiculturalism merely reproduces many of the problems for Indigenous languages that can be found in assimilationist practices of the past.

For this case study, then, this chapter asks just how transformative is the role of Native American communities, and Indigenous communities more generally, in the production of language documentation and revitalization resources and in its reception as an Indigenous public? Literacy has often been linked to the creation of publics (e.g. Habermas 1989; Anderson 1991) but what about digital multimedia designed to promote an Indigenous literacy but also to provide a "postliterate" (Kroskrity 2002) reconnection to features of the oral tradition that are more available in the form of digitized movies than as conventional literacy texts? Following on Michael Warner's (2002: 82) observation of the "poetic world making" potential of public discourse and building upon Anthony K. Webster's (this book) treatment of Jonas's YouTube poetry, it is important to understand the significance of these representational technologies and their potential impacts on various publics. For some Navajos and Western Monos, literacy has been problematically linked to the creation of publics. In the case of Navajo poets, as described by Webster, the linkage of literacy with standardization is a source of struggle. In the case of the Western Mono, the "schooled literacy" of salvage-era linguists and folklorists, as I (Kroskrity 2013) have previously demonstrated, provided a means of both excluding them from an academic reading public, and denigrating their cultural narratives. But for both groups, the use of new technologies—YouTube, multimedia CDs—provides a new alternative to redirect public attention to the oldest technology—the oral tradition—replete with all its multimodal features and alternative aesthetics. While a full discussion of the value of such representations (e.g. Nathan 2006; Golumbia 2011), especially for communities promoting language revitalization, is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is useful here to indicate just how important such performative "poetic world making" acts are as expressions of aesthetic self-determination.

The Western Mono communities of Central California

Western Mono was traditionally spoken in California's central San Joaquin Valley and adjacent foothill areas, though members of the group trace themselves back to an earlier homeland on the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada Mountains near Mono Lake. Their language is from the Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family. Today the Western Mono, by their own reckoning, number

about 1,800 in North Fork, Auberry, and other Central California communities. This total includes less than 30 fluent speakers, most 80 years of age or older (Carly Tex, personal communication), making it a severely endangered language according to Krauss's (2007) classification of endangered languages. For the past 35 years, various language documentation projects and language revitalization efforts have supported a renewal of interest in the heritage language by community members. This has mostly taken the form of "language and culture" classes taught by more fluent speakers to adult learners of various ages. These classes, offered by various people, have been taken by as many as 300 members from a variety of towns, rancherias, and even suburban locations.

But this pattern of language shift, language endangerment, and revitalization that sets the historical stage for the present study has a deeper history. Elsewhere I have treated the history of language contact, shift, and language ideological change in the region (Kroskrity 2009) in more detail than would be appropriate here. Western Mono language communities went from a classic residual zone in Nichols's (1999) sense—an adaptation involving multilingualism, seasonal movement, and intermarriage—to one that featured the aggressive spread of English, forceful suppression of Indigenous languages, and a hegemonic push to use English, and later a limited revalorization of Western Mono as a heritage, but second, language (Kroskrity 2009). But instead of presenting a detailed chronology from precolonial through postcolonial periods as I did in an earlier study (Kroskrity 2009), here I will selectively present some language ideologies that have shaped its history of usage by Mono speakers.

For this chapter it is especially relevant to analytically divide these ideologies into two categories based on their origins—Indigenous and exogenous. Among the most relevant of the Indigenous ideologies—traceable to their residual zone development—are syncretism, multilingualism, utilitarianism, and variationism (Kroskrity 2009: 192–193). A historical pattern of linguistic borrowing from neighboring languages fitted an adaptation that featured cultural sharing and intermarriage with neighboring Yokuts and Southern Sierra Miwok groups.[2] Pervasive multilingualism in several languages promoted group identification with neighboring tribal bands in adapting to a common econiche rather than identifying with a single language. Utilitarianism is a label for a language ideology that primarily valued languages for their practical benefit rather than for some less material value (such as their contribution to identity or their association with religious ceremonies). Variationism is a language ideology, perhaps traceable comparatively to the unstratified nature of Western Mono society, in which dialectal variation is "not hierarchized but rather is instead naturalized as the expected outcome of family and individual differences" (Kroskrity 2009: 193). These ideologies do not provide many resources for resistance to language shift. Rather one could argue that they incentivize it. As Western Monos were incorporated into the cash economy of the dominant society and gave up their pattern of seasonal movement at the turn of the twentieth century, Mono elders encouraged their youth to learn and use the lingua franca that would permit them the most participation in an economy based on the "new man's language"—English.[3] This move was consistent with

language ideologies that promoted cultural and linguistic hybridity and with a pattern of embracing new useful languages that were spoken in their area.

But the Euro-American society that Monos encountered was unlike any Indigenous group that had previously provided their only experiences with culture contact. Unlike those Indigenous groups, Euro-Americans developed hegemonic control over the state institutions that increasingly dominated Mono lives and introduced a racial hierarchy that subordinated California Natives as an under-class. While Euro-American institutions, including schools, prohibited the Mono language and even punished those who dared to speak it, the state economy rewarded the use of English with paying jobs such as logging, ranching, construction, and farm labor. Consistent exposure to the linguistic nationalism of the United States made it quite clear to Monos that the dominant society strongly identified with only a single language and this was a pattern Monos later extended to their heritage language via an ideological process of fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal 2000). Just as English had become emblematic of national identity, so Mono, in a nested replication of this pattern, had become emblematic of Western Mono tribal identity. Of course this process of re-ideologization of language and identity was not a sudden process but rather a gradual transformation based on the experience of tribal members as they participated in dominant institutions in the final quarter of the twentieth century. These institutions, such as the schools (which now welcomed heritage language lessons), the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) process of federal recognition, and the Congressional passage of the Native American Language Acts of 1990, 1992, and 2006 (Kroskrity 2009, 2014) all confirmed the critical linkage of Western Mono communities to their heritage language.

This re-ideologization is partially responsible for the revalorization of the Mono language and the emergence of Mono language adult education classes. These classes meet in a variety of venues including the Sierra Mono Museum, the Northfork Elementary School, and people's individual homes and most are open not only to Mono tribal members but to other interested learners from Northfork and other neighboring towns. Even though the Mono language is now viewed as an emblem of local identity by Monos, little or no effort is made—in contrast to groups like the Keiwa (Debenport, this book) to restrict classes to tribal members in accord with a language ideology of inclusion that seems to celebrate public usage rather than to restrict speaking rights to or within the Western Mono community. Though Mono is now regarded as a heritage language, most classes are not designed to promote fluency as much as to provide a "language and culture" familiarity with kinship terms, traditional foods, gathering practices, and culturally important routines like greetings.

As might be expected with the community's variationist language ideologies, there is a profusion of orthographies in use both in materials in language classes and in the linguistic landscape of towns with significant Mono populations like Northfork and Auberry. No term illustrates this better than the very term of self-reference for the Mono people—a word, like many self-designations, that also means "the people." In the othrography developed by the UCLA Mono language

Figure 5.1 Mono orthographic variationism—an example from the Sierra Mono Museum (www.sierramonomuseum.org).

project, we wrote this term as *N*ɨ*mm*ɨ expressing a final unstressed, voiceless vowel and using a non-Roman alphabet letter (ɨ,"barred i") for the mid-front, unrounded vowel. But other representations are also seen in publications, advertising, and signage by tribal members (see Figure 5.1). These include *N*ɨ*m*, *Nym*, *Neum*, and *Nium*. Clearly at this time Mono language literacy approximates the heterographia of groups like the Kiowa (Neely and Palmer 2009) rather than a regime of standardization analogous to the hegemonic treatment of English in the United States (Silverstein 1996).

Taitaduhaan: Western Mono ways of speaking (a CD-ROM)

Against this backdrop of language ideological contact, contention, and syncretism, a collaboration of Western Mono community members and UCLA-based linguistic anthropologists emerged in 1982 with the beginning of the UCLA Mono Language Project. This collaboration would eventually lead to the publication of an interactive multimedia CD-ROM titled *Taitaduhaan: Western Mono Ways of Speaking* (Kroskrity, Bethel, and Reynolds 2002) that was co-authored by a collaborative team that included: myself, an Anthropology professor; Rosalie Bethel, a Mono elder who had taken on the role of language activist in order to document and revitalize her heritage language; and Jennifer Reynolds, then an advanced graduate student in linguistic anthropology. Though *Taitaduhaan* was created in part to address the marginalization of Mono verbal art, it emerged not as one of the first products of the UCLA Mono Language Project but actually as its last. In other publications, Jennifer Reynolds and I (Kroskrity and Reynolds 2001; Kroskrity 2002) have talked about the place of such digital resources in revitalization efforts and detailed the creation of this early, though not quite pioneering, digital multimedia work.[4] Here I will convey only some relevant historical and political economic background.

The story of *Taitaduhaan* begins about 1980 when shortly after taking a job in UCLA's Anthropology Department, I was contacted by a film student at UCLA

who was the niece of Rosalie Bethel—the woman who would be the very center, the core, and linchpin of the UCLA-Mono language project. Sent as a messenger, the niece relayed her aunt's wish to work with me, as a linguistic anthropologist specializing in Native American languages, to help her document the Mono language. Shortly thereafter the project began, supported by UCLA American Indian Studies Center funding, with its first goal of creating a practical dictionary for the community. The decision to prioritize the dictionary came from both an academic assessment of previous scholarship on the language as well as from Mono community members. Regarding grammar and lexicon, Sydney Lamb's (1958) unpublished UC-Berkeley doctoral dissertation "A Grammar of Mono" provided one of very few works on Mono grammar. But Lamb's grammar was very limited in scope—treating phonology and morphophonemics—and written for other professional linguists in an orthography that was readable only by specialists and in a technical professional language that was inaccessible to community members even if they could access the unpublished dissertation. Lamb also archived a "word-list" type manuscript dictionary in the Survey of California Indian Languages at UC-Berkeley but community members including Rosalie Bethel were unaware that this work even existed.[5] Whether it was Lamb's linguistic description or earlier research on Mono traditional narratives by the folklorist Anna H. Gayton (Gayton 1935), the salvage research paradigm provided no readily available materials about the Mono language at all and none that were communicated to members of the Mono communities or designed for their use. In other research (Kroskrity 2013), I have even suggested that some of this salvage work, especially that of Gayton, inappropriately produced a deficit image of Mono narratives and further contributed to their professional marginalization and to academic complicity in state assimilationist policies of Indigenous erasure.

As an activist folk linguist and recruited by powerful feelings that her heritage language was disappearing, Rosalie Bethel had filled two shoe boxes with index cards, each bearing a word in Mono, written with an inconsistent but vaguely English-based orthography, with an English translation. The task of the UCLA linguists, documenting Bethel's and other Mono language community members' knowledge, was to standardize the transcription, re-elicit all these vocabulary items, to place them in larger syntactic or discursive contexts, to add more lexical items, and to compile a dictionary that could be used by community members. The result was the first and second editions of the *Practical Dictionary of Western Mono* (Bethel et al. 1984). Our first team of UCLA-based linguists, consisting of Chris Loether, Greg Reinhardt, and myself, met occasionally with community members to make the orthography more useful and acceptable. For example, we went from one that was more International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)-based to one that meshed better with the English literacy skills that almost all Monos had already acquired in their schooling. But those changes were still deemed inadequate to overcome an apparent barrier—most Mono community members were so unfamiliar with seeing Mono written that they were mystified about how to pronounce Mono words written in that orthography. The project team circulated drafts and sample pages and these

early forms of Mono Indigenous literacy did engage the attention of many people in the community. But because of the lack of a tradition of Native literacy and because those orthographies inevitably required the use of some new symbols corresponding to phonological distinctions that were critical in Mono yet unimportant in English, the published dictionary enjoyed only limited uptake in the community. Though this "Practical" dictionary had been designed for community members as the primary users, many members found it difficult to use. Pronunciation keys of various types seemed only partially successful and many elders who attended the planning meetings seemed to want a dictionary in which the orthography was self-pronouncing in some way. Some suggested that each entry be accompanied by a practical phonetic representation of the term (as in some English language dictionaries). But this did not dispel the novelty of written Mono or fully demystify how each letter of an adequate writing system for Mono was to be pronounced. In 2014, the North Fork Rancheria of Mono Indians produced an online dictionary of the second edition by copying the pages of that publication to its tribal website.[6] In order to clarify the pronunciation of the orthography, the tribe is posting audio files provided by former Mono Language Project participant Chris Loether—now a linguistic anthropologist at Idaho State University—corresponding to the linguistic examples contained in the dictionary.

From the time of our first edition of *A Practical Dictionary of Western Mono*—produced on a gargantuan but, by today's standards, low-power IBM computer that could deftly manipulate text, alphabetize entries and produce a quick English finder's list for a dictionary arranged in Western Mono alphabetical order—to the mid-1990s and the possibility of an interactive CD-ROM with subtitled movies, technological resources for language documentation/revitalization had changed radically. Brenda Farnell published *Wiyuta:* with University of Texas Press in 1995. The next year, Rosalie Bethel, Jennifer Reynolds, and I attended the Iowa Multimedia Workshop for Endangered Languages (IMWEL) at the University of Iowa, under the direction of Farnell, and we learned how to make a cross-platform, interactive CD-ROM for Western Mono. This looked like a way both to solve an old problem and to open up a new dimension of representation by being able to "capture" performance details in digitized movies. The old problem was trying to demystify the writing system that now could be exemplified in sample words for each letter represented both by the new Mono orthography and in a quick-time movie of our Mono language expert, Rosalie Bethel, who provided recorded word examples for each consonant and vowel. Not only did this provide us with a way of clearly tying our orthography to exemplary pronunciation, but the visual images were also useful for conveying Mono's most frequently occurring vowel—the barred i [ɨ] which all but the comparatively few fluent speakers tended to pronounce with lip-rounding like English back vowel u rather than as the distinctive and Indigenous Central, unrounded vowel. The digitized movies clearly conveyed the lack of lip-rounding and made a great introduction to the orthography more generally.

The other breakthrough feature of the interactive CD-ROM technology was the ability to make exemplary performances in the Western Mono language into

digital movie representations, allowing the possibility of archiving examples of different genres that would allow language learners to analyze and to work on performance aesthetics and discourse genres in addition to the usual focus on lexicon and grammar. Though many linguists pay lip service to the importance of verbal art, few actually mention it when the subject of language documentation is raised.[7]

When we knew we needed discourse content for the CD-ROM, we did not specify to Rosalie, as the only Mono member of our production team, what form it should take other than suggesting that—because of the goals of language documentation and revitalization—it should be performed exclusively in the Western Mono language. Had I exercised more conventional anthropological influence, I might have suggested retelling some traditional Mono stories and songs but this was not Rosalie Bethel's idea of how to proceed. I knew that she had considerable experience in making language presentations to children as well as young adults and that her local expertise should play the determining role in evaluating content rather than my more formal academic agenda. Though she, like the rest of the project team, initially had little technological understanding about what we were doing, Rosalie Bethel had a sense that video-recorded performances would be seen by a non-present audience similar to those for whom she had performed in both English and Mono over the past several decades. Such audiences routinely included both Monos and non-Native Central Californians. Certainly her choice of performances to record seemed at least partially related to the need for pedagogical language materials—two stories, a children's song with Mono lyrics, a public prayer—all performed exclusively in Mono. These four performances are accompanied by supplementary screens featuring information about the community, its language, and the orthography as well as analytical sections in which each sentence appeared with three lines of text: Mono language representation, morpheme by morpheme linguistic analysis, and free translation. Though this trilinear form of representation reflects fairly traditional professional linguistic practice, the research team thought it was appropriate as long as it was accompanied both by alternative representations, supplementary materials, and an ongoing help button that would attempt to demystify and explain any linguistic abbreviation or metalinguistic term that might not be widely known to more vernacular users.

By making the CD-ROM interactive, Reynolds and I created a program that could be navigated in a variety of ways depending upon how much Mono language, and in what modalities, the user wanted. Least intensively, users could listen to the complete, uninterrupted versions of each of these four performances attending to the English subtitles for content. Alternatively, those seeking to learn more details about the Mono language could use the EXAMINE MODE versions of the performance that presented each sentence as a separate movie and used the more detailed trilinear linguistic representation previously mentioned.

The choice of English as the navigational, matrix language of the program was briefly discussed by the team. Certainly there are good reasons to challenge the authority of dominant languages in the representation of minority languages (e.g. Errington 1998; Fabian 1986; Jaffe 1999; Meek 2010; Nevins 2013), but our project team could find no practical alternative in a community with so few

heritage language speakers. We quickly concluded that because of language shift, English was the only reasonable choice. Only the very oldest speakers, 70 years of age and older, were fluent enough in Mono to make it a possible choice but none of these speakers were conversant with Mono language literacy. For them, a Mono post-literacy breakthrough seemed unlikely if not impossible. Even Rosalie Bethel, who was 80 during the 1996 Iowa Multimedia Workshop for Endangered Languages, confided in me and Jennifer Reynolds, saying that she was pleased to make something that younger people in the Mono community could use but unlikely to ever use it herself.

While the choice of a matrix language conceded the symbolic domination of English, content choices made by Rosalie Bethel attempted to assert Indigenous strategies of teaching, not by drill or by test, but rather through teaching by example and using Indigenous, if syncretized, genres of verbal art performance. Two of the performances are Mono stories and they provide a culturally preferred form of teaching Mono language and culture. While the focus on performance and storytelling was suggested by Brenda Farnell's pioneering CD-ROM on Assiniboine (Farnell 1995), it was reinforced by other concerns in the project team. For Rosalie Bethel, this was the assertion of an Indigenous cultural preference for styles of teaching. For me, it was a way of using the unique properties of the medium to capture aspects of performance (e.g. embodiment, prosody) that have rarely been adequately represented. This had implications for providing models not just of vocabulary and sentence structure, but for Indigenous genres of verbal art as well. Thus despite the concession of English language domination, the choice of Indigenous or indigenized genres contributed to the possibility of a counter-hegemonic Mono discourse.

Though the basic plan for the CD-ROM was collaboratively developed during the 1996 Iowa Multimedia Workshop for Endangered Languages and all the movies were assembled and digitized, a considerable portion of the detailed work remained to be done. The task of linking all the movies to text boxes and creating a series of "hot text" links that provided interactively available "explanations" of grammatical details or discourse conventions still remained to be done (Kroskrity and Reynolds 2001). In addition other problems emerged as Kroskrity and Reynolds returned to UCLA to find that Apple was no longer supporting the Apple Media Tool application that they had donated to all participants in the IMWEL institute. One problem of special concern involved making the CD-ROM navigable in a variety of ways in order to support various users and the kinds of varied interests they might want to see in the linguistic representations in the program. In contrast to earlier salvage linguistic representations, *Taitaduhaan* was designed to reach a wider viewing public and one that might simply want to see the subtitled performances or possibly use its representations as a means of learning more about the structure and use of Western Mono. The rapid speech of Mono storytelling presented a technical challenge since the authors needed three lines of subtitling to get the content across in "real time" and yet the Apple Media Tool Program only allowed two. Fortunately, a network of Apple Media Tool users in Francophone Canada as well as France

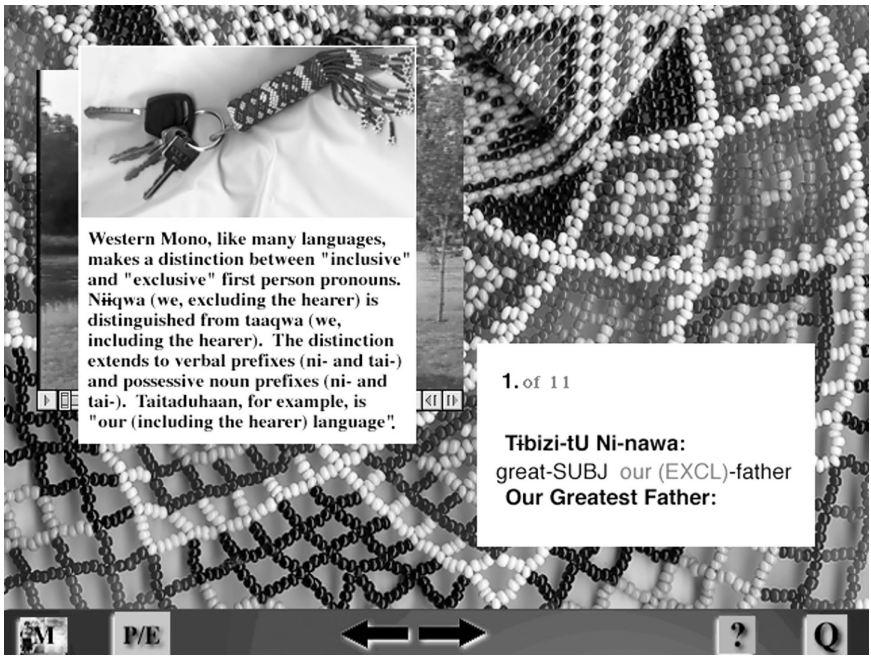

Figure 5.2 HOT TEXT example from a Pop-up Screen in *Taitaduhaan.* When the user touches the "hot text" in the word-by-word translation line for [our (EXCL)], the explanatory screen to the left pops up with the following text: "Western Mono, like many languages, makes a distinction between 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' first person pronouns. N̈ïqwa (we, excluding the hearer) is distinguished from taaqwa (we, including the hearer). The distinction extends to verbal prefixes (ni- and tai-) and possessive noun prefixes (ni- and tai-). *Taitaduhaan*, for example is 'our (including the hearer) language.'"

had solved the problem and communicated the work-around to us. In addition to producing content for those interested more in the semantics and performance features, we wanted to permit a possible navigation that provided an optional pathway to linguistic representations that included screens for each sentence in which there would be the kind of detail in both Mono and English in the trilinear format mentioned above. This was made available, as an alternative to full-length subtitled performances, in a set of screens in EXAMINE MODE. In addition, *Taitaduhaan* featured optional HOT TEXT that could be clicked on to reveal further explanations of grammatical features (such as inclusive/exclusive "we") and discourse conventions (like formulaic conclusions).

These clickable HOT TEXT options provided users with a further level of explanation directed at a non-professional-linguistic audience that opened the representation to a wider audience including, of course, Mono language community members themselves (see Figure 5.2).

Nevertheless, because of the part-time nature of our multimedia work that had to be fitted into our other academic agendas, we did not complete the CD-ROM project until 2000 when we were able to begin circulating Beta versions of the program to both Mac and PC users to test. Those tests helped us revise our final version and secure an agreement from the University of Oklahoma Press to publish a limited edition of it.[8] The CD-ROM played on Macs from 2002 until about 2007 when the operating systems no longer supported applications based on OS 9 technology. Since Windows operating systems on PCs changed about the same time, the usable life-span of *Taitaduhaan* was limited to a mere four to five years. In recent years some of the digitized movies in the media folder have had a second life in some language classes but the CD-ROM itself is rarely used because it needs to be upgraded to current operating system levels.[9]

Despite the short-lived heyday of *Taitaduhaan*, the UCLA Mono Language Project managed to decolonize some aspects of the salvage linguistic regime that had previously prevailed in the linguistic representation of Mono. One significant dimension of contrast is in the area of Mono collaboration. The salvage linguistic program relied on the knowledge and linguistic expertise of highly fluent speakers but treated them only as sources of linguistic documentation rather than also as relevant stakeholders to be included in decisions about what forms of linguistic documentation to produce or as a future public for those works. Whereas salvage-era researchers like Lamb and Gayton produced research to be archived or consumed by other scholars, the project team, including a community member, designed both the *Practical Dictionary of Western Mono* and *Taitaduhaan* for the Mono community and for a larger public that was also targeted by the Mono tribal leaders. Thus Mono people served in various capacities as consultants, co-authors and decision-makers, and as a present and future public for the language revitalization works produced.[10] In addition, the more equal collaboration of Native speaker experts from the community with non-Native linguists and a shared interest in addressing materials for present and future Mono publics created a participation structure of inclusiveness that enabled the team to better imagine the needs and interests of multiple publics to be addressed in representations of "our (inclusive) language."

Emergent publics: a Mono public and multiple publics

Having established the collaborative production of *Taitaduhaan*, I want to explore another area in which Mono participation might prove transformative—as the imagined public for this work. As Gal and Woolard (1995: 1) observe, "the work of linguistic representation produces not only individualized speakers and hearers as the agents of communication, but also larger imagined social groupings including . . . publics." While it is tempting to view Western Mono linguistic communities as traditional, face-to-face communities, tightly wound together through networks of interpersonal interaction, this is hardly the case. As one of California's largest tribal American Indian linguistic communities, 1,900 Mono tribal members live dispersed across several Central California towns and Rancherias as well

as in suburbs of Fresno and Madera. This community does form a Mono "public" in that "it exists by virtue of being addressed" (Warner 2005: 67) and is arguably "a relation among strangers" (Warner 2005: 74) because many members are anonymous others even if they do share tribal membership.

The title Rosalie Bethel suggested for the CD-ROM, as previously mentioned, was *Taitaduhaan*—meaning "Our (including the hearer) Language." While it can be argued that the more inclusive form would be the likely title choice for a pedagogically oriented language-learning CD, it is certainly not an automatic one. Rosalie Bethel thought of her recorded performances as models of various Mono genres but she did not envision possible use of these videos in repeated viewings as part of drill-based language instruction. In other words, this is not a typical language learning program in which the learner-clients are implicitly asked to identify with the language they are learning. In addition there are performances on the CD-ROM such as the prayer in which Bethel uses exclusive, second-person, plural pronouns to invoke a contrast of Mono/Native American "we" as opposed to one that would be more inclusive. So given the alternation available to Rosalie between *Tai-taduhaan* (our +incl) language and *Ni-taduhaan* (our –incl) language, this choice is significant in suggesting an intended topic and an intended audience. As Figure 5.3 demonstrates, the Western Mono language provides speakers with a choice of second person plural pronominal prefixes that encode different participant groupings.

But does Rosalie Bethel's use of inclusive "our" project an imagined Mono public or does it represent a more fictive extension of the "we group" to a larger public perhaps, even appealing to the trope of universal ownership (Hill 2002)? Does this title represent Rosalie's attempt to grammatically evoke a Mono public audience or is this a concession to the gaze of the dominant society?

Like many questions on the general topic of Native American language revitalization, this one is more complicated than it first appears. Certainly both the content of *Taitaduhaan* and the way it is framed as well as the metadiscourse of project members about making something "for" the Mono community, provide strong evidence of an attempt to engage a present and future Mono (ethnolinguistically defined) public. In an early screen that automatically appears in an opening sequence as the credit titles run, Rosalie Bethel is depicted holding a ceremonial

ni- N PREF

"our (not including the hearer)" (first person plural exclusive, possessive prefix
Ex. Ni-nobi "our house"
Ex. Ni-piya mowa kima-t. "Our mother is coming now."
tai- N PREF

"our (inclusive of hearer)" first person plural inclusive possessive prefix
Ex. Tai-paya kusibɨsi'i. "Our water is murky."

Figure 5.3 Inclusive/exclusive "we" in Western Mono.
Source: Adapted from *A Practical Dictionary of Western Mono* (pp. 87, 182)

rattle and a text box appears in which she is quoted in English as saying that the Mono language is important so that "we don't forget who we are." Clearly this appeal to the emblematic identity of the Mono language is aimed primarily at other Monos, particularly those who are not speakers.

But while a Mono public is optimistically constructed, it is also possible to argue that the work is aimed at multiple publics—a possibility that scholars of the public sphere readily recognize today and ever since Kant's recognition that publics need not correspond with polities (Warner 2005: 45). Since the 1970s Mono language programs directed at the North Fork schools—programs in which Bethel participated both as a teacher's aid and later as an advisor—were presented to all children, whether Mono or not. Also relevant is Bethel's long history as a storyteller not just in the Mono community but also in intercultural venues in which the stories were often performed in English. In addition it is important to observe that the Mono community, since the 1970s, had in general attempted to attract more public awareness and federal attention through such activities as its summer Indian Fair Days, the federal recognition process, and the cultural tourism promoted by Sierra Mono Museum and the Mono community. So it is possible to suggest that Rosalie's inclusive "we" was part of this trend for her and her community to rhetorically align themselves with the dominant society and its hegemonic institutions—institutions that had the power to recognize, terminate, and "restore" recognition.[11]

But there is also internal evidence from the CD-ROM that might bear on the interpretation of this inclusive "we." In the public prayer, for example, the very first line involves an exclusive we:

> *Tibiztu ni-nawa*, Our (exclusive) Great Father . . .

This pronoun choice co-occurs with self-reference to "Mono Indians" making it clear that this religious expression, even if syncretic in form, is to be understood as internal to the Mono community. The exclusive pronoun here constructs we-ness ("we alone") as a group consisting of Rosalie and other Monos (not any non-Native user of *Taitaduhaan*). Choice of the inclusive *Tai-* here would, in contrast, construct a "we (all)" consisting of Rosalie and all addressees. But before we view this as a definitive contrast/correlation of inclusive/exclusive with external/Indigenous, it is important to note that in Rosalie Bethel's recorded story "Coyote and Mole," she adds a novel and explanatory coda (in Mono) (Kroskrity 2009). Her post-performance explanation for why she had done this involved an appeal to the needs of younger Mono listeners who would not know the story already and who would therefore need the story's ending "spelled out." This strongly suggests that the imagined public for the CD-ROM includes the next generation of Mono speakers—ones just now participating in language revitalization activities that might utilize these stories as texts, these recorded storytellings as performance models of verbal art. These imagined youthful learners, not so plentiful in actual pedagogical practice, were the audience—the future Mono public—that Rosalie oriented to not only in her performance of "Coyote

Races Mole" but also for "Blue Jay Song," a children's song with words, not just vocables (as would be the norm in most Indigenous California songs) that could be used in pre-K and other elementary school classrooms.

Even though there is sufficient evidence to suggest that an imagined Indigenous audience is the locutionary target—the relevant non-speakers who are incorporated in the inclusive "we"—it is also possible to think of this, as my previous comments may have suggested, as invoking multiple audiences including both members of the Indigenous communities and those from the outside. Both the tribal cosmopolitanism/syncretism of California's Indigenous tribelets as well as the political economic interests of Western Monos combine to make this an attractive, even strategic possibility. Placed in a more contemporary historical context, Western Mono communities have succeeded in regaining recognition by the federal government but continue to need public approval to acquire land and to develop their tribal economy. In 2014, California Proposition 48 (Referendum on Indian Gaming Compacts) was defeated by California voters, thus failing to ratify a gaming compact between the state of California and the North Fork Rancheria of Mono Indians. Had it passed it would have allowed the tribe to acquire land in the Central Valley and to build a casino on that site. Opposition discourses represented the measure as a terrible precedent that would allow California Indians to acquire land and build casinos anywhere in the state. Monos emphasized that they only wanted to acquire land that was part of their former territory and to run a casino that was otherwise state approved. Several tribal members whom I talked with felt that they were not successful in reaching the wider public with this message. They suggested to me that it demonstrates how important it is for Mono people to have their history and culture better understood by the larger non-Indian society and emphasized the positive value of circulating knowledge about their language and culture that would have been prohibited and/or stigmatized in the early and mid-twentieth century. For Monos then, the uptake of their cultural representations by a larger non-Native public has real value both in educating that public and in authenticating Mono claims to the rights of California Indians as a manifestation of their cultural sovereignty (Coffey and Tsosie 2001). Though Rosalie Bethel did not live to see the political referendum, she was a strong believer in the importance of teaching about her culture to Indians and non-Indians alike. She delighted in the fact that the North Fork Public School encouraged her and other community members to teach Mono lessons to all the children, Indian and non-Indian and she enjoyed telling Mono stories, in translation, to non-Indian audiences as a kind of cultural outreach. Why? In a personal explanation she once gave me, she said that it felt good to know that the stigma that was once imposed on her, as a student, in that school was now removed and even reversed through revalorization of Native American cultures. This observation clearly suggests that Rosalie Bethel's title was meant to convey an inclusive stance that now serves multiple interests and represents not a contradiction as much as a form of alignment in an act of taking a stance.

In Figure 5.4, *Taitadhaan*, and the Mono language more generally, is used as what DuBois (2007) has called the stance object. Rosalie Bethel's evaluation of her emblematic language, revealed explicitly through her recorded comments

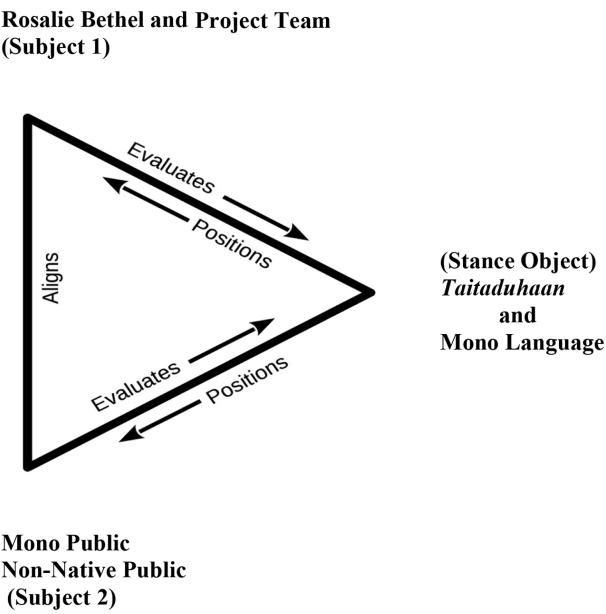

Figure 5.4 A mediatized version of the stancetaking triangle and *Taitaduhaan*.
Source: Adapted from the Stance Triangle (based on DuBois 2007: 163).

as a linguistic expert but also implicitly as a master storyteller in Mono, aligns with both a Mono public as well as a larger, more anonymous public that can access the work as a publication. This positioning of the speaking and performing self with *Taitaduahaan* constructs Rosalie Bethel as expert and exemplar, constructs Monos as people having a proper interest in their revalorized language and culture, and constructs non-Mono publics as responsibly informed citizens who, through re-education, have acquired a concern for and interest in California's Indigenous people.

Conclusions

But is there a problem if these published Mono language performances circulate not only to a Mono public but also to a non-Indigenous public as well? Does the external gaze somehow de-authenticate, re-colonize, or diminish the Mono cultural project through this orienting to the non-Mono public? Do Mono people lose some aspect of their "cultural sovereignty"—their right to manifest cultural difference—by taking an inclusive stance? Richland (2008), for example, has argued that the gaze of hegemonic U.S. law acts continuously to potentially delegitmate the practice of a distinctive Hopi Tribal law. So does the inclusion of this non-Native public require compromises in the production of documentation or revitalization materials that might undermine such activities?

Certainly the pattern of circulation of Mono language documentation materials contrasts markedly with the Pueblo pattern of controlled circulation to a counter-public defined in part by the privilege of access (Debenport, this book, 2010, 2015; Kroskrity 1998, 2012a). But the Mono pattern should not be interpreted as evidence of that community's lack of concern about their emblematic language but rather viewed as the consequence of a different set of concerns based on a different history of language ideological development, contact, and change. For the Mono, no Indigenous language ideologies that strongly link language and identity or that regulate, restrict, and compartmentalize Indigenous speech forms within and outside the language community provided the basis for the kind of "language economy" found in most Pueblo groups. But for the Mono, and Indigenous groups like them, the Native patterns of multilingualism, syncretism, variationism, and utilitarianism—as they are currently practised and discussed by many Monos—emphasize a nostalgic but selective remembering of their traditional language and culture, one that provides efficient resources for affirming Mono and adding it to an existing repertoire of identities, not one that requires exclusivity or even necessarily priority.

As far as I know, no Mono voices have ever expressed anxieties about the openly available CD-ROM. At the time of publication, Rosalie Bethel and many other community members were pleased that *Taitaduhaan: Western Mono Ways of Speaking*, would be advertised and published by University of Oklahoma Press, adding a second work in addition to Gaylen Lee's (North Fork Mono) (1998) *Walking Where We Lived*, on the Western Mono to that press's backlist. The CD-ROMs were sold not only at the Sierra Mono Museum but also at nearby Yosemite National Park and other tourist meccas of Central California, through the University of Oklahoma Press, and later, of course, Amazon. In a state in which most Indigenous languages had few or no L1 speakers, Western Mono had several dozen speaking elders and at least one of them who could be recorded in the real time of the present. Showing your living language to your youth as well as to outside others was doubly significant. The former audience served the interest of language maintenance and cultural continuity, while the latter served to educate non-Indigenous neighbors and politically relevant others that Monos maintained cultural differences, including linguistic ones, in a chain of authentication that culminated in their (limited) political sovereignty.[12]

Despite the potential appearance of attending to outsiders, *Taitaduhaan* does exhibit priorities of the collaborative production team for which the future Mono public came first (as the most tangible audience). The strongest evidence for this comes from comments made by Rosalie Bethel herself in discussion with other members of the production team. For her the public she could best imagine were the children, young adults, and adults who no longer spoke their heritage language. Other potential audiences for her various examples of speech and song genres were viewed as much less significant and spoken about more as secondary, as "people who wanted to learn something" but not those who needed to do so. Rosalie Bethel's metacommentary about audiences matched quite closely sentiments most often expressed by non-production team community members who understood *Taitaduhaan* as primarily speaking to their community but as useful

for non-Monos to learn from. But sadly circulation throughout the Western Mono community largely ended within several years of publication as operating systems on both Mac OS and Windows evolved, leaving this product created on Apple Media Tool unplayable on all but the oldest computers. Today the North Fork Mono community is considering a suggestion to expand the original product by adding additional performances and by making it a web-based program hosted on a tribal website. Though still in the planning stages, it would appear that Mono tribal officials and other Mono folks are still open to a situation with minimal security on the website—a continuation of the inclusive approach. So perhaps the Mono case that I've briefly outlined here suggests that some revitalization efforts—e.g. those in which the terms of funding do not violate local language ideologies regarding ownership and circulation—can achieve a measure of success without replicating the colonial relations that are the political economic undoing of Indigenous languages. Perhaps for some Indigenous groups it is especially wrong to think that attention to the outside gaze of a non-Indigenous public is necessarily inattention to Indigenous interests and values. While this inclusive stance on the part of the Western Mono can be interpreted as part of a contemporary political adaptation, it is also important to recognize its basis in such pre-colonial language ideologies as syncretism, utilitarianism, variationism, and Indigenous patterns of identity based on multilingualism. In this Mono case study, the act of putting a future Mono public first still leaves room for the effective—and under some circumstances, even necessary—inclusion of an additional, non-Native public.

A useful way to rethink these multiple publics for Western Mono language revitalization products is to view them as part of the semiotic model of cultural processes proposed by Silverstein (2013). Though models of discursive cultural production, including those of Sherzer (1987), Urban (1991), and even Warner (2005) have certainly provided precedents for locating the discursive basis for cultural production, Silverstein's tripartite semiotic model of signification, circulation, and emanation provide an especially valuable means of understanding the linkages of these productive processes. Here I find Silverstein's notion of *emanation*, "tiered structures of emanation from certain centers of value production that anchor particular trajectories of circulation . . . at ever new sites of experience and interaction" (Silverstein 2013: 329) to be useful in analytically linking the emanating point of cultural production of Mono discursive forms with successive reverberations, first to a Mono public, and later—and less intensely—to a more peripheral general public. In so doing, the priorities of the production team constrained the temporality of circulation within and across Native American and other publics, present and future.

Notes

1 I am grateful to the following organizations for support: the Institute of American Cultures; UCLA for grants administered by the UCLA American Indian Studies Center; and the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Fund of the Whatcom Museum of Science and Art. In addition, I am also grateful to the many people from the Mono communities of North Fork, Auberry, and Cold Springs for their assistance at various

times and for various research activities. Finally, I want to thank Barbra A. Meek, Tony Webster, and an anonymous reviewer for their valuable comments on earlier drafts. Of course, I alone bear responsibilities for any errors of omission or interpretation.

2 This pattern of Mono linguistic borrowing, especially from their Yokuts and Southern Sierra Miwok neighbors, in the form of loanwords, is well attested. See Loether (1998) for borrowings of plant names and animals. See Kroskrity and Reinhardt (1984) for a discussion of diffusional chains of Spanish loanwords that link Western Mono to neighboring Indigenous groups including the Mono and Yokuts. See also Kroskrity (2002: 173) for discussion of loanwords reflecting intermarriage patterns between Western Mono and Southern Sierra Miwok speakers.

3 This was how our oldest consultants understood their parents' expressed language ideologies. This group included the late Ida Bishop who, at the time of the UCLA Mono Language Project in 1980, was in her mid-80s. Elders then had a custom of identifying people by their characteristic foods. For example, Mono Lake Paiutes, near Mono Lake, were known as *Kwizabidɨka* (larvae-eaters) because they consumed the brine shrimp of that lake. Western Monos who had become part of the Euro-American-introduced cash economy were *Kumasa'tika* (bread-eaters). According to Mono elders, this term did not reflect any disparagement of the new adaptation by their parents but rather their pragmatic understanding of this as a necessary adjustment to changing times.

4 Brenda Farnell's (1995) *Wiyuta* was the first interactive multimedia CD-ROM that used this new technology as a means of language documentation and preservation. Not only did it serve as an inspirational model for me but Brenda Farnell also lead the Iowa Multimedia Workshop for Endangered Languages in 1966 that was attended by the *Taitaduhaan* project team.

5 Lamb like many, if not most, UC-B Linguistics graduate students of Mary Haas, followed a requirement of supported research by the Survey of California Indian Languages that included a tripartite program of documentation: grammar, dictionary, and text collection. Due to the theoretical emphasis of the time that Lamb wrote, his treatment of grammar is limited to phonology and morphology. There are no examples of syntactic constructions. Lamb's archived dictionary is a word list of about 1,800 items. Though these works are archived and some are available online today to community members, this was not the case during the period of the UCLA Mono Language Project (1982–2002). According to Andrew Garrett, the current Director of the Survey, approximately 15 percent of the 3,173 catalogued items are either digitized or partially digitized and these became available online around 2008. This is probably when Lamb's manuscript dictionary first became widely available.

6 The URL for the online version of the Western Mono Dictionary is: http://northforkrancheria-nsn.gov/our-people/language/mono-dictionary. Significantly there are no security restrictions in order to maximize availability.

7 But see Sherzer (2002), Harrison (2007), and Dobrin (2012) for notable exceptions.

8 It is appropriate to note that Oklahoma University Press was attracted to *Taitaduhaan* both because of the press's extraordinary commitment to publishing on Native American languages and cultures but also because they had recently published *Walking Where We Lived*, a work by Mono author Gaylen Lee (1998) which is an ethnographically informed autobiographical work. These works were marketed together by the press.

9 The approximate date after which *Taitaduhaan* was no longer playable on Macs corresponded with the 10.4.4 update to the Tiger OS and the dropping of the "Classic" environment on Intel machines.

10 For both the dictionary and the CD-ROM, Rosalie Bethel was a co-author. For the dictionary, members of the project team met on several occasions during the data collection stages and with a panel of Mono community members to receive feedback on the form of the dictionary. For the CD-ROM, Rosalie Bethel represented the Mono community in decisions about what to record and analyze and gathered relevant feedback and information from other community members after her return from the IMWEL institute.

11 The Northfork Rancheria of Mono Indians was again federally recognized in 1983 after being terminated in 1958 when the U.S. Congress passed the Rancheria Act terminating trusteeship and recognition of 41 California Tribes. In 1916, 80 acres of land had been placed in trust for the use of the Northfork Band of Mono Indians.
12 As the Northfork Rancheria of Mono Indians learned in its 2014 political setback in the failure of California Proposition 48—a proposition that would have allowed them to build and operate a casino on an alternate land base other than their tribal land—political success often rests with being able to educate non-Natives about the history and rights of Indigenous California groups.

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Part II
Circulation

6 Future imperfect

Advocacy, rhetoric, and public anxiety over Maliseet language life and death

Bernard C. Perley

I begin this chapter with a confession. I confess that I am deliberately attempting to configure a future Maliseet public that would become more assertive in their efforts to use their heritage language on a daily basis. Maliseet is an eastern Algonquian language spoken in eastern Maine and along the St. John River in New Brunswick, Canada. The most recent prognosis for Maliseet language vitality from language experts is either "shifting"[1] or "severely endangered."[2] In either case the implied trajectory for the Maliseet language is toward extinction. However, Maliseet language extinction is not a foregone conclusion. That is why I am configuring a future Maliseet public—a public that will use the Maliseet language on a daily basis. I do so because, as a member of the Maliseet community of Tobique First Nation, New Brunswick, Canada, I do not want to witness the extinction of the Maliseet language. I know what the loss of a heritage language entails. It is the profoundly alienating moment when everything that I understood and believed about the world was rendered mute, meaningless, and irrelevant (Perley 2012c: 133). As a 6-year-old I did not know why my Maliseet world was taken from me. Today, I understand the reasons why my heritage language was relegated to background knowledge and experience but I am also able to return to my heritage language with a different perspective; a perspective that celebrates the creativity and the knowledge it offers. I work to share my perspective with other Maliseet community members so that together we can ensure Maliseet language vitality into the future. This is not a simple task and it is not merely a Maliseet specific task. The broad concerns and implication of how conceptualization of future publics for Indigenous language futures will influence and be influenced by specific heritage languages and their communities may benefit all language communities. There is a wide range of language advocacy efforts from more secretive efforts such as those described by Debenport (this book) to community elder initiated multimedia projects described by Kroskrity (this book) to the global cosmopolitan dissemination of Navajo poetry described by Webster (this book). All these cases share a deep concern for the relationship between their respective languages and the forms of representation to their past, current, and future publics.

For this chapter I present a Maliseet case study. My understanding of the severity of Maliseet language endangerment compels me to promote future Maliseet-speaking publics by critically appraising the expert rhetoric on "endangered" languages, reconceptualizing temporal understanding, and promoting collaboration among language advocates. The first section addresses expert rhetoric to discern the kinds of actions and advocacy that rhetoric promotes and/or influences. I argue that the rhetoric must shift from "language death" to "language life" if a Maliseet-speaking public is to be achieved. I also argue that we must broaden our understanding of language vitality to facilitate the uptake of the Maliseet language in its many forms. The second section examines the constraints imposed on language advocates by temporal models and the trajectories implied by those models. I argue that we need to reconfigure temporality away from linear progression and think in terms of contemporaneity. Doing so will open the prospects for Indigenous futures. The third section develops the role that ethnography can play in promoting future publics. I argue and exercise collaboration among language advocates as a means of establishing a foundation for future Indigenous publics. This book is one such collaboration. This three-fold strategy for Maliseet language advocacy will alleviate much of the anxiety over Maliseet language death and reconfigure possible futures for the Maliseet language.

Public anxiety and Maliseet language death

The expert prognoses that the Maliseet language is on a trajectory toward extinction should provoke a sense of anxiety from the community regarding Maliseet language death. Unfortunately, the honest appraisal is that the majority of the community members of Tobique First Nation do not display any anxiety over Maliseet language death. My monograph (Perley 2011) discussed at length why this may be the case and what the implications are for such ambivalence and/or disinterest. Yet, there are a small number of community members who have expressed their own anxieties over Maliseet language loss. These community members are typically speakers of the language who are either in their middle age and/or elder generations who emphasize the importance of Maliseet cultural traditions. Jeffery Bear is a prominent documentary film producer who has worked with Indigenous storytellers and leaders on issues from storytelling to environmental issues, most notably water. Bear is also distinguished for his use of the Maliseet language for programming that has been broadcast across Canada on the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN)[3] (see Perley 2013 for a description of Bear's "versioning" project). Bear's standing as a respected member of the Tobique community and his capacity as a speaker of Maliseet make him a perfect person to consult regarding his impression of the future of the Maliseet language. When asked if he was concerned about the future of the language, his short answer was "Of course." I also asked him to describe those concerns. His response anticipates a terminal future: "My concern rests on the possibility of the language dying when I do, albeit I am only one speaker but

there are no others younger than I (I am 61)" (personal communication). He also added a critical insight when he shared his thoughts about surviving speakers:

> Those of us who were raised in the language still use it as often as we can. My use of the language has been confined to speaking to my family members. I also have the added advantage of working in the language when we version our English TV documentaries into the language.
>
> (Personal communication, January 12 2016)

His other concerns echoed much of my earlier characterization of the lack of support or concern from the community. Bear also pointed to the lack of centralized efforts in the community to promote language use on a daily basis: "There is hardly any institutional support to have the language become a language in use." Bear points to examples such as "Imagine if the band council conducted all or part of their meetings in the language? Imagine if the schools made it mandatory for teachers to learn the language? Imagine if we had radio stations using the language throughout the day?" His concerns are closely aligned with internationally recognized artist Dozay (Arlene) Christmas, also from Tobique First Nation. I asked her to share her thoughts regarding the projected extinction of the Maliseet language. "I really can't see any future with our language in my community," she said, "because it isn't taught enough at home or around friends" (personal communication, January 18 2016). Christmas' responses to follow-up questions echoed many of Bear's concerns as well as mine. Like Bear, Christmas imagines possible solutions such as "I think more programs should be brought out to promote our language, even at the healing lodge and youth and community centers." Both of them identified the failure to teach the younger generations as a key reason for impending Maliseet language extinction, the worry that only the older generations know and use the language, and the lack of concerted efforts by tribal leadership to promote language use. These three factors are enough to promote public anxiety over the future viability of the Maliseet language for Tobique First Nation. To reiterate, first, there are at least three generations of Maliseet youth that acquire English as their first language: the current pre-school generation; the elementary and high school generation; and the current college/university generation. Unfortunately the parents of these generations are predominantly English-first speakers as well. However, the *Ethnologue* language status for Maliseet is "shifting" and is explained as "the child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children."[4] Unfortunately, the *Ethnologue* evaluation is generalized diagnostic across languages and not specific to the Tobique case where such an evaluation is inaccurate. *Ethnologue* fails to convey the reality that the child-bearing generation who did speak to one another in Maliseet has shifted to their 50s and 60s and are more likely to be grandparents. Second, the Tobique community is losing elder speakers at an alarming rate. Third, Tobique does not have a centralized coordinated effort to maintain and revitalize the

Maliseet language. As a scholar and a community member I share that anxiety but I also foment Maliseet public anxiety to enlist community action in support of Maliseet language use.

Maliseet public anxiety and paralysis

I am in the difficult subjective position of having acquired Maliseet as my first language but have since experienced the practical silencing of Maliseet in favor of English as the linguistic medium for everyday and scholarly communication. My generation is the critical generation where the Indigenous language shifts from viable to endangered. The precarious survival of spoken Maliseet in the early decades of the twenty-first century can be attributed to the knowledge and use of all ages of the community population as late as 1957 (Wallis and Wallis 1957: 16). Wallis and Wallis note, "At Tobique, backward conditions were prolonged by isolation, which existed until the road across the new dam was built (the hydro-electric project was completed in 1953)" (ibid.: 51). Unfortunately, the year 1953 may be the moment of Maliseet language shift toward obsolescence (Perley 2011: 37). There are many reasons for why such a shift takes place (Dorian 1981, 1989; Schmidt 1990; Kulick 1992; Grenoble and Whaley 1998; Errington 1998; Nettle and Romaine 2000; Perley 2011). One seldom-discussed contributing factor to language shift is the unwitting reification of language experts and their rhetorical strategies of diagnosing the endangerment of many Indigenous languages (Hill 2002; Patrick 2007; Perley 2012a, 2013). For example, during my field research in the mid-1990s I attended a community language immersion meeting at Tobique First Nation. Attending the meeting was the organizer, the native language teacher, head start teachers, and a couple of parents (with their children). During the event the organizer distributed a number of photocopied newspaper articles discussing Aboriginal language endangerment in Canada. One such article proclaimed that within the next 20 years only three Aboriginal languages will be spoken in Canada—Inuktitut, Ojibwa, and Cree. Maliseet was not one of the three. A significant contributing factor to the destabilization of the Maliseet language at Tobique First Nation was the insistence of teaching and speaking English in the school operated by the nuns and priests. One Maliseet elder recalls her experience at the Tobique school: "When I first went to school at Tobique, I spoke all Maliseet. I couldn't speak a word of English, except maybe a few words that I had learned from my grandmother. That is a very hard situation for a child to go through. As time goes on and with the teachers' discouragement of speaking Maliseet at school, you sure learn the English language pretty fast" (quoted in Leavitt 1995: 58). The elder also points out that "[p]eople began to stop speaking Maliseet to their children when their children began to attend provincial schools, in the 1950s" (ibid: 59). Tragically, it would seem that from the mid-1950s to today the Maliseet language has spiraled into increasingly endangered status. Currently, the Maliseet language is assessed as "severely endangered" by the UNESCO interactive atlas of the world's endangered languages. According to UNESCO "severely endangered" means "language is spoken by grandparents

and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves."[5] My own fieldwork on Tobique First Nation echoes the UNESCO description (Perley 2011). The UNESCO assessment suggests an "imperfect future" of the Maliseet language. Unfortunately the language advocates, their rhetoric used to promote language revitalization, and resultant discourses/actions have exacerbated public anxiety over Maliseet language life and death. The conclusions and predictions of these experts and their discourses suggest there will be no future Maliseet publics for the Maliseet language because there will be no Maliseet language spoken. Furthermore, current popular media outlets contribute to the anxiety of Maliseet language life and death by reifying expert rhetoric and practice regarding the global crisis of Indigenous language endangerment to the detriment of Indigenous language publics. Take for example the newspaper article predicting the extinction of all but three Aboriginal languages in Canada. I recall the first response from community members at the language immersion meeting was shock as they realized that they might witness the extinction of their heritage language within their lifetimes. After the initial shock dissipated an uneasy feeling permeated the room as community members contemplated whether or not the odds were too great to be able to reverse the trajectory toward language extinction. Maliseet public anxiety was two-fold: first, the community members in attendance felt the ominous sense of impending doom; and second, they felt the expert prognostication would become a reality. Expert certitude of the Maliseet language future rendered Maliseet community members as mere spectators. As spectators, they were paralyzed with an inability to change the present to influence the future (Virno 2015: 8), condemning them to passively observe the demise of their heritage language.[6] The outside expert prognoses of impending language death exacerbate community anxieties by projecting outsider ideologies of concomitant cultural death (Harrison 2007) onto those language communities. The expert impulse is to "save" what they regard as a static linguistic/cultural object rather than promote the vitality of emergent linguistic and cultural practices.

Maliseet intervention and guarded optimism

Despite the uncertainty of Maliseet linguistic futures I can report that the Maliseet language continues to be spoken today at Tobique First Nation. The prediction that Maliseet along with many other Aboriginal languages in Canada would become extinct within a two-decade span has been proven erroneous. Herein lies the danger of prognosticatory practices—reading everyday signs and symbols to interpret future states and publics is an imperfect practice that predicts imperfect futures. The experts' interpretation of community heritage language speaker statistics, formal grammatical transformations as evidence of language decline, and ideologies of scientific certainty can lead to imperfect results with potentially devastating consequences. However, this need not be the legacy of expert rhetoric and prognostication. A critical appraisal of such rhetoric provides opportunities for reimagining future linguistic states and publics (Hill 2002; Patrick

2007; Perley 2013, 2014; Warner 2002; Gal 2005). It is not enough to be critical of expert rhetoric. The expert rhetoric can prompt the community into engaging various modes of intervention on behalf of the language. The necessary work of imagining Maliseet language futures is a practice shared by the community.

> It was a Tuesday evening at the elders' language nest and there were grandparents, parents, and children gathering in the long conference room at the new Wellness Center. The evening began as a potluck featuring many of the traditional favorites such as potpie, salmon, fiddleheads, corn soup, and frybread. There were many conversations and teasing across and up-and-down the table. When the feasting was over the clean-up was quick. Everyone then settled down to play Maliseet language bingo. The organizer made sure that everyone had bingo cards and poker chips to use on the cards. The bingo cards were distinguished from regular bingo cards by displaying, instead of numbers, varying configurations of illustrations in tiny squares including plants, animals, food, clothing, etc. Once the cards and markers were distributed the organizer then asked for volunteers from among the children to come up and draw from a paper bag an image to present before the bingo players. The images corresponded to the tiny images on the bingo cards. On the back of the images from the paper bag was the corresponding text. The child would come up to the front and announce the kind of bingo pattern to be played: postage stamp, large square, small square, diagonal line, etc. The volunteer would then pick out a small piece of paper with an image printed on it out of the bag and announce the word to the players. For example, the child would pick out of the bag an image of a dog and announce "olomus." The players would look for the olomus image on their cards and cover it. The organizer would then ask for another volunteer. This would be repeated until one (or more) player(s) shout "BINGO!" At that point the winner(s) is(are) awarded the prize(s). Everyone clears their cards and a new game begins. This continues until all prizes are awarded or when time has expired for the typical two-hour session.
>
> (Perley, personal fieldnotes, n.d.)

Maliseet language bingo is one of the activities of the elders' language nest. The organizers used "language nest" to describe the weekly activity. The actual practice differs from Hawaiian and Maori models of their respective "language nests" in that the Hawaiian and Maori models emphasize language immersion in an intimate setting such as a community member's home. The Tobique Maliseet "language nest" takes place in a public space with an open participatory membership and heavily conducted in English. Despite the difference between "language nest" practices their common goal is to encourage heritage language use. What was particularly delightful about the bingo evening was the cross-generational socializing while sharing Maliseet language usage. For a couple of hours on a Tuesday evening there were no anxieties about the life and death of the Maliseet language at Tobique First Nation. The only anxiety that was discernable was the

uncertainty or lack of knowledge of Maliseet words for the images represented on the slips of paper. That uncertainty and/or lack of knowledge was shared by adults as well as children. Even those moments were characterized more by laughter than any anxiety or embarrassment. All the children who wanted to participate enjoyed being the center of attention among all the adults as they showed off their Maliseet language knowledge. When they did not know the proper word they were gently aided by the adults and encouraged to repeat the Maliseet word. At one point during the evening there was one Maliseet word that presented some difficulty in pronunciation for the children as well as the adults. This was another moment for laughter and learning. The elder's language nest was not restricted to elders. Elders were present but it is critical to recognize that participation also included parents and children as well. Maliseet language was present in the form of texts and images but it was also being spoken by all generations. The language practice was also both instructional as well as entertaining. The most critical aspect of the event was the social relationships that the event promoted. It was a community event and those who attended engaged in novel Maliseet language usage across generations. As I participated and observed the event I was delighted to learn that one of the students who I observed in the elementary school native language class during my early fieldwork (mid-1990s) was the organizer of the event. The language nest is a response to community anxiety over expert predictions of Maliseet language extinction but the event was a clear antidote to such public anxiety. The language nest also brought into focus a constellation of publics: community elders, parents, and children as well as a non-Maliseet woman excited about learning Maliseet. An additional benefit of the elders' language nest was the embedding of the Maliseet language in multiple public domains of social relationships such as dinner with traditional foods, cross-generational interactions, and multiple genres of discursive practice.

The language nest offers some optimism for the future of the Maliseet language. However, the level of Maliseet language use was limited mostly to children saying Maliseet words isolated from sentential or conversational structures. The children did not exercise any conversational practice. Maliseet conversations only occurred among the elders during dinner conversation. Despite the conviviality of the language nest and limited Maliseet language usage, it is necessary to balance optimism with a critical assessment of the conditions that promote possible futures for the Maliseet language, culture, and identity. The language nest does provide insights into potential interventions for Maliseet publics and language. Significant developments in language advocacy and documentary linguistics has given rise to alternative approaches to documentation that may assure the Maliseet language and other Indigenous languages a "'survival' into the future" (Himmelmann 1998; Mühlhäusler 1996, 2003; Bird and Simmons 2003; Eisenlohr 2004; Penfield et al. 2006; Berez and Holton 2006). The prevailing model for linguistic documentation had been focused on saving endangered languages through "systematic questioning and the recording and transcribing of whatever stories the speaker wishes to tell, into at least a trilogy of grammar, texts, and a dictionary" (Evans 2010: xviii). The practice was to produce

artifacts of language use rather than the active promotion of continued use. However, language documentarians are now shifting their focus to participatory research where the interests of the community and professional ethical and moral obligations are integrated in the research as well as the dissemination of that research (Himmelmann 1998; Mühlhäusler 1996, 2003; Grenoble and Whaley 1998; Perley 2013). Furthermore, as more Indigenous language activists and their collaborators become involved in language revitalization efforts, their deliberate re-conceptualization of "language extinction" to "language life" and "sleeping languages" make it possible to re-conceive the issue of language extinction in terms that will promote alternative forms of language survival (Hinton 2001; Miami Nation of Oklahoma 2008; Baldwin and Olds 2007; Perley 2011, 2012a, 2013). This important perceptual shift in the biological metaphor and concomitant discourses and the ontological states of language gives greater agency to community language activists/advocates. This is reflected in the Maliseet case as the diverse Maliseet language advocacy publics are poised to negotiate practical interventions to assure possible Maliseet futures among themselves. However, it remains to be seen whether or not those futures will be grounded, shared, and experienced *with* and *in* the Maliseet language.

Imaginaries of the future

Imagining or predicting the future may be best left to the futurologists. However, that has never prevented intrepid scholars from dabbling in the art of futurology. Eric Hobsbawm recently quipped, "Actually it is inappropriate to ask a historian what culture will look like in the new millennium. We are experts of the past" (Hobsbawm 2013: 9). Despite Hobsbawm's caveat he ventures into the art of futurology with the justification "a historian may venture into the field of futurology. After all, despite all upheavals, past, present, and future do form an indivisible continuum" (2013: 9). In another lecture Hobsbawm continues his dabbling in futurology by stating, "The historian leaves futurology to others. But he has an advantage over the futurologist. History helps him, if not to predict the future, then to recognize the historically new in the present—and thus perhaps throw light on the future" (2013: 20). Hobsbawm makes the case that the historian can draw from the expertise in the past to see the new in the present to predict or "throw light on the future." In the act of making predictions, Hobsbawm models an "indivisible continuum" that links artifacts of the past through the present to an indeterminate future. Such modeling of temporal linearity obscures the reality that the past and the future only exist in the present, the moment of imagining. How does this practice work in the Maliseet context?

I am re-interpreting expert rhetoric on language endangerment and associated documentary products to observe the conditions of possible futures of Maliseet language and community. My interpretive practice "in the present" is a reconceptualization of linear temporality that renders the past, the present, and the future as contemporaneous and mutually influential temporal states. My re-interpretation of the given semiotic systems is not necessarily the intended semantic properties the

sign systems are configured to represent (see Webster, this book, for his analysis of the tensions between Navajo poetic practices, publics, and the "affective and expressive dimensions" and the "semantico-referential content"). I also add that my observations are more about social relationships and less about the sign systems themselves. These re-interpretations draw attention to three critical aspects of Maliseet futures. First, such futurological and re-interpretative practices are always cotemporaneous states that purport to observe fixed destinies while simultaneously creating the conditions to permit subjects to imagine possible worlds. For example, if we consider a Maliseet language past with a trajectory into the present contraction of language use, we can plot the trajectory toward language extinction much as the experts have asserted. Yet, if the temporal states of the past, present, and future are cotemporaneous then all trajectories from the past and toward the future are constructed in the present. This makes all imaginable trajectories and outcomes a condition of probability rather than certainty. Probability and uncertainly leads to indefinite but possible worlds. Second, "observing the future" in everyday objects is a semiotic process that imbues those objects with a latency that is linked to future oriented subjectivities. This "futuring" is not a fixed trajectory but a constantly negotiated probability (see Webster, this book, for ideologies of poetic form, publics, and futures; and Kroskrity, this book, for emergent language forms through technology). Third, the contemporaneity of worlds is by necessity an imperfect juxtaposition that can be both restrictive as well as liberating. The restrictive aspect of this process is illustrated by the predominant discourse and practice of language salvage work. The trajectory of endangerment, decline, and anticipated extinction of language is a powerful narrative that reifies expert pronouncements and prescribes specific actions (such as documentation of last words before last gasps). But, as previously discussed, the deliberate re-assessment of trajectories away from "extinction" and toward "life" or "sleep" creates opportunities that liberate Indigenous language advocates from the ideologies of experts. Rather than being constrained by documentation-as-salvage-work heritage, language activists can create new domains and ontologies for their languages (again, see Webster and Kroskrity, this book). These three aspects of Maliseet futures are critical but cautionary positions for understanding the vitality and viability of Maliseet language, culture, and identity relative to the Maliseet language publics of Tobique First Nation, expert publics of academe, and Indigenous publics as well (more on this later). The key concern that pulls these publics together into a common domain of discourse is whether or not there will be future publics for "endangered" Maliseet language.

Publics and practices

Documentary linguistics differentiates itself from other modes of linguistic documentation by articulating a commitment to participatory research where the rights and interests of the subject communities are moral and ethical obligations (Himmelmann 1998). However, despite their moral and ethical stance, documentary linguists still privilege the code over the social relationships that are mediated

by the code. Their intervention to "save" languages from extinction is to produce artifacts of language use before the last speaker dies. Their concession to their moral mandate to accommodate the interests of the communities in which they work seems to supersede the "code first" practice. However, those artifacts of the code often become the loci for language advocacy publics, be they linguists, anthropologists, or community members. Compounding this morally motivated objectification is the process of "reflexification" that depoliticizes the concept of culture, ideologically commits to logocentrism, and appeals to preexisting universalist human rights discourses (Whiteley 2003: 713). Whiteley argues that the ideologies behind the moral ground for language rights often create contradictory and conflicting stances and practices: "Fourth World peoples—many of whom, as small-scale, non-literate groups, have a remote relationship to the State—are not the ideological driving force of this discourse" (ibid.). Ideologies of language documentation create similar tensions for similar "endangered language" communities. Furthermore, language documentation as a practice requires imagining a future public that will use and benefit from the documentary works produced by contemporary language advocacy publics. Michael Warner's analysis of "publics" is especially instructive (2002). Warner is not concerned with "the public" that has a particular identifiable population. Rather, Warner is positing "a public" of readers who will seek out and voluntarily engage texts. Similarly, linguistic documentarians also produce texts for "a public" of interested readers. Those readers may constitute other linguists but they also constitute the language communities as well. The authors of texts cannot know with certainty who will constitute "a public" their texts will attract but they do imagine and target particular reading public(s). The key question here is whether or not documentarians anticipate and plan for "the public" or "the publics" who may transform the texts into interdiscursive practices. Ideally, those publics will include the heritage language communities. The distinction to be made is the privileging of the texts that document the linguistic code under scrutiny and analysis rather than the community of speakers whose language is being entextualized. For example, many linguists focus on the recording and documentation of the last words of the last speakers to "save" linguistic data for linguistics and/or related language sciences (Harrison 2007; Nettle and Romaine 2000; Grenoble and Furbee 2010; Evans 2010; Brenzinger 2007). How does the Maliseet case reflect this practice?

Maliseet entextualization and determining "a public"

The University of Maine Press published a Maliseet-Passamaquoddy dictionary in 2008. It is a large 1,198-page text whose intended purpose it "to provide the tools and methodology" that would allow "the next generation" of Maliseet and Passamaquoddy to exercise "their own creativity in future endeavors" (Newell 2008: xii). The bilingual dictionary has Maliseet-Passamaquoddy entries in the first half of the book and English entries in the second half. The introduction presents a short historical outline and a short grammatical description. The entries provide words, their grammatical roles, and sample sentences. For example:

> **lakomakon.** *Noun animate.* Round-headed wooden mallet (Ma). *pl* lakomakonok. *poss* ‘tolakomakonol. Wolessu lakomkon naka lakonis pessikhomon keq. A wooden mallet and a wedge are handy when you are splitting something (*see also pokomakon*).
>
> This noun entry indicates that lakomakon is a word used mainly in Maliseet communities. The note at the end makes reference to another word, for comparison: pokomakon, meaning ‘heavy stick used for pounding’.
>
> (Francis and Leavitt 2008: 29)

An additional example:

> **‘t-acehlal**. *verb ta 31*. s/he changes h/, transforms h/; s/he changes h/diaper. *stem 1* –acehl-. Pihce Koluskap yaq kisi-mili-acehlosu. Long ago, it is said Koluskap could change himself into many forms. Tpinuwan! ‘Koti-acehlal olomussol ansa psuwis. Watch him! He’s going to change the dog into a cat. Acehlan wasis; puccokpe. Change the baby; he’s wet. (*verb ai 1*) Pihce Koluskap yaq ksis-mili- acehlosu. Long ago, it is said Koluskap could change himself into many forms. (*compare ‘t-atekewhutolal, ‘t-atekonal*)
>
> In this verb all the stems (1, 2, and 3) are identical. In the final sentence the reflexive form of the entry verb (*acehlesu*) is used; like all reflexives, this is an *ai* verb whose form appears in conjuction chart 1. It is included within this entry because it is formed from a *ta* verb.
>
> (Francis and Leavitt 2008: 33)

The dictionary, a collaborative effort of Maliseet and Passamaquoddy speakers and non-native scholars, was ceremoniously unveiled in the Maliseet and Passamaquoddy communities. Robert Leavitt (a non-native consultant and advocate), co-editor with Passamaquoddy elder David Francis had been working on Maliseet-Passamaquoddy materials for decades first as a consultant for the Passamaquoddy bilingual program at Indian Township in the 1970s then as director of the Mi’kmaq-Maliseet Institute. His Maliseet language documentary production includes storybooks, teaching materials, grammars, a high school textbook, an online Maliseet dictionary, and the recently published dictionary. In 1985, Leavitt published an article expressing anxiety over the continued decline in Maliseet language use that echoed 100 years of academic anxiety from Maliseet language extinction (Leavitt 1985). I had a chance to catch up with Robert in the spring of 2013. We talked about family, his retirement, and the dictionary he co-authored with David Francis. He described how he would visit the Maliseet and Passamaquoddy communities to introduce the dictionary in public gatherings.[7] The reception had been great and he was encouraged by the interest and pride expressed by community members toward the work. The dictionary (and other documents) was the focal point for bringing a variety of interested publics together, such as Maliseet and Passamaquoddy community members from the different Maliseet and Passamaquoddy communities and the principle authors of the dictionary. As Warner points out, the discourse

surrounding the texts is the generative field where publics are self-organized, brings strangers together, addresses public and personal, a social space created by reflexive engagement, etc. In this case, Leavitt and Francis were addressing Warner's "a public" while they compiled the information that eventually became the dictionary. But, when the publication became available both Leavitt and Francis presented the texts to *the* Maliseet-Passamaquoddy *publics*. Warner's contention that publics are "poetic world-making" entities suggests that a reading public can exercise agency in their textual interactions across citations, commentaries, and other textual engagements. Once the text, in this case the Maliseet-Passamaquoddy dictionary, became publically available, Leavitt and Francis expanded their public engagement to include "the public." Their strategy of entextualization followed by interdiscursive engagement brought together both publics.

This may seem like good news but there is a danger that "a public" of readers may prevail over engagement with "the public" of language users. Most language experts do not expect the Maliseet language to be spoken in the Maliseet communities by the end of this century. Despite the welcome and positive reception the dictionary received, the dictionary can't "save" the Maliseet language. The community must do that. In short, Warner's "a public" of readers may become the dictionary's primary public while community members increasingly privilege English language usage for all communicative practices. Even so, as Warner points out, "a public" that uptakes texts only becomes a public when such texts are engaged by readers. The Maliseet-Passamaquoddy dictionary is a beautiful and significant contribution to Maliseet language vitality but if the community does not engage the text for interdiscursive practice in Maliseet, then the dictionary will have neither "a public" nor "the public." In order for any text to initiate "poetic world-making" beyond the textual domain it will require the means to engage both publics—"a public" of readers as well as "the public" of interdiscursive community members. How then, can "a public" of readers and "the public" of community members be configured to overlap one another? Can such an overlap promote Maliseet language life? Warner offers his insight into this possibility in his section "5—a public is the social space created by the reflexive circulation of discourse" (Warner 2002: 62). He elaborates by stating:

> No single text can create a public. Nor can a single voice, a single genre, or even a single medium. All are insufficient to create the kind of reflexivity that we call a public, since a public is understood to be an ongoing space of encounter for discourse. It is not texts themselves that create publics, but the concatenation of texts through time. Only when a previously existing discourse can be supposed, and a responding discourse be postulated, can a text address a public.
>
> (Warner 2002: 62)

Leavitt and Francis made a concerted effort to enable such an overlap by creating the social space in which public discourses centered on the dictionary are activated.

It remains to be seen whether or not the public presentation of the dictionary will become the catalyst for the conjunction of "a public" of dictionary readers with "the public" of Maliseet language learners and speakers.

Ethnographic interventions: imagining Maliseet futures

Susan Gal's 2005 essay on language ideologies and metaphors of public/private draws much from Warner's *Publics and Counterpublics* (2002). She argues that Warner's insight that "most things are private in one sense, public in another" is "telling, [but] fails to provide an analysis of the phenomenon" (Gal 2005: 26). Gal offers her "ideologies of differentiation" approach focusing on "two . . . parts of the semiotic process: fractal recursivity and erasure." Doing so will reveal how "the semiotic form of the public/private distinction is politically consequential: it disguises power relations, evokes characteristic anxieties, and sometimes shapes novel political imaginings" (Gal 2005: 25). The same could be said of comparisons between the distinctions of academic/heritage community publics for language documentation projects. I have argued in my monograph and elsewhere (Perley 2011, 2012a, 2013) that the metaphors used by language experts unwittingly prevent community activists from forming creative approaches to language revitalization. For example, I had a conversation with a Tuscarora language teacher who expressed his frustration over a linguist's admonition that they record the elders' discourses to document their language use before the elders passed away. The teacher complained that they could not document every word their elders said and teach the students in their school the Tuscarora language. There was only so much time and resources to go around. Later in the conversation he was sharing with me his delight in observing how his students were using Tuscarora numbers in a card game. There is no question that it is important to record the speech of the elders, but if that was the only intervention available to the teacher he would not have witnessed the creative use of Tuscarora numbers by the younger generation in a new domain of language use (see Perley 2012a for a more detailed description of this event). The dominant ideology of documentation over language practice could have undermined Tuscarora language innovation and social life. The dominant ideology of documentation would have produced valuable artifacts of language use but it would have undermined emergent language vitality (Perley 2011) and furthered the erasure of spoken Tuscarora among the younger generations. These constraints reproduce the semiotic processes of recursion (reifying the ideology of documentation) and erasure (documentation at the expense of teaching the younger generation) in documentation programs designed to "save" endangered Indigenous languages. The emphasis on producing the artifacts of language use, such as texts, videos, audio files, etc., over the cultivation of the relationships that allow such documentation projects is further evidence of recursion and erasure. There is a way forward, though. Both Warner and Gal argue that we need to pay attention to the counterpublics (Warner) and "anti-politics" (Gal 2005: 33) to see "publics as action" (Warner 2002: 68) and shaping "novel political imaginings" (Gal 2005: 25). The chapters in this book provide excellent examples on the variety of ways that publics can

be sources for both actions and imaginings. Kroskrity's collaboration with Mono speakers to create innovative multimedia language resources and Tony Webster's dialogs with Navajo poets are clear examples that text artifacts can have agentive properties in promoting future Indigenous publics. These examples of current linguistic anthropological engagements imagine future Indigenous publics represented in ethnographic representation.

Ethnography is often understood as textual representations of in-the-field experiences contextualized in theoretical and/or practical anthropological concerns. As Johannes Fabian famously noted:

> Anthropology has its empirical foundation in ethnographic research, inquiries which even hard-nosed practitioners (the kind who like to think of their field as a scientific laboratory) carry out as communicative interaction. The sharing of time that such interaction requires demands that ethnographers recognize the people whom they study as their coevals. However—and this is where the contradiction arises—when the same ethnographers represent their knowledge in teaching and writing they do this in terms of a discourse that consistently places those who are talked about in a time other than that of the one who talks.
>
> (Fabian 1983: 22)

In a later publication Fabian argues for a shift in ethnographic practice that would promote "anthropological agency" to provide the conditions for anthropological knowledge to "grow." Fabian states:

> Ethnographic authority may be said to rest on "having been there," that is, on our presence. But what would our presence count if it were not matched by the presence of those whom we study? Neither presence, ours or theirs, is a natural physical fact (nor is intersubjectivity as a condition of communicative interaction); it must be achieved and it is always precarious.
>
> (Fabian 2007: 5)

Without "agency" in anthropology we may be faced with the prospect that ethnographic texts conform to Warner's "a public" of readers as the only "public" for ethnographic texts. Those texts will also perpetuate the temporal displacement of "others" with the added burden of "ideologies of differentiation." But they need not be limited by such constraints. Warner and Gal state texts are artifacts that have potential to inspire, influence, or regulate political as well as social action. Fabian asserts:

> What enables us to communicate with and represent other practices is not (only) our command of contents, which count as data or as our findings; it is our ability to converse with knowers, and that conversation includes confronting each other, arguing with each other, negotiating agreements, stating disagreements, as well as conceiving common projects.
>
> (2007: 15)

Fabian's last point is what allows texts to become artifacts imbued with the potential to empower Indigenous communities toward political and social action. How might this be actualized? I offer two examples: first, ethnography as intervention; and second, ethnography as social action.

Ethnography as intervention: turning words into deeds

The Maliseet-Passamaquoddy dictionary is one of the latest publications that documented the words of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy speakers. Wayne A. Newell, Director of Native Language and Cultural Services, Indian Township School, Maine, suggests that the intent behind the dictionary is creative world making: "For nearly half a century many individuals, including myself, have been committed to making sure the next generation has the tools and methodology essential to their own creativity in future endeavors" (2008: xii). The efforts of the authors/editors and consultants have been rewarded by community uptake. For example, I use the dictionary for looking up words and definitions, but also for critical commentary. Recently, I compared the dictionary definition of the Maliseet culture hero *Koluskap* with my own understanding of how the community members imagine and understand *Koluskap* (Perley 2013) in a critical essay. Jeffery Bear has also told me that he uses the dictionary during his "versioning" projects. Similarly, my own professional production of book chapters, journal articles, edited volumes, and monograph is also texts awaiting "a public" of readers to engage the texts with similar goals for uptake and generative discourse. However, I distinguished my monograph from the dictionary with the assertion that the dictionary awaits action while my monograph calls for action. But, is my call for action enough? In the meantime, how am I turning words into deeds?

I have been active in creating texts that address a variety of audiences in an effort to encourage Maliseet language usage. I regard those texts as alternative ethnographic representations with equal status as my professional publications and I value the potential that all texts have in becoming interventions promoting the vitality of Indigenous peoples, languages, cultures, and identities. Rather than producing artifacts with descriptive value to "a public," I deliberately promote my texts as bridges between Indigenous publics and non-Indigenous publics, academic publics and general publics, as well as those unanticipated publics who find and engage my work. The interrelatedness of my texts also reinforces my contention that language is an integrated cultural resource (Perley 2011) that serves as the medium for fostering vital and viable social relations. For example, I designed a graphic novel but it is not a typical page-by-page book. It is an unfolding single page that the reader can join end-to-end and become immersed in Maliseet "mythic" time. The "reader" becomes an "experiencer" as s/he actively constructs and becomes immersed into the realm of Maliseet oral traditions. I also created a Maliseet prayer installation (see Figure 6.1). The installation also creates an immersive experience. The twelve 3 feet by 7 feet panels create Maliseet sacred space, Maliseet primordial landscape, and surrounds the viewer with Maliseet language,

Figure 6.1 Maliseet prayer as ethnographic intervention.

landscape, oral tradition, and spirituality. Key to the Maliseet prayer immersive space is my open invitation to anyone interested in sharing Maliseet worlds.

Ethnography as social action: turning deeds into Indigenous futures

The Maliseet prayer installation is one aspect of Maliseet poetic world-making that serves as an example of turning words into deeds. But the Maliseet prayer installation as a physical space for experiential poetic world-making did not stop there. I shared the project with colleagues who are working on their own language revitalization projects.

We agreed there was a need to coordinate our interventions so that we could provide a collective and collaborative Indigenous voice to repatriate our cultural sovereignty over our heritage languages, cultures, landscapes, and spiritualities. This strategy to repatriate cultural sovereignty through language maintenance and revitalization efforts expands the range of "publics" these interventions can engage. The expanded "publics" beyond Indigenous public have the possible benefit of promoting recognition and cultural sovereignty for Indigenous peoples as reflected in the Western Mono multimedia production (see Kroskrity, this book) and the Navajo You Tube poetry postings (see Webster, this book).

Repatriating Indigenous cultural sovereignty was the impetus for conversations with my American Indian faculty colleagues Margaret Noodin (English), Kimberly Blaeser (English), Cary Miller (History), and Chris Cornelius (Architecture). Together we organized the 2014 group exhibit titled "Visualizing Sovereignty." I displayed a variation of the Maliseet prayer project in the exhibit. The new installation prompted conversations among us about the possibility of displaying the

installation in other venues. My colleagues were excited to use the installation as a platform to discuss Native American history, language, spirituality, and landscape to audiences for the Wisconsin Indian Education Association (WIEA) 2015 conference and the Educator's Network for Social Justice (ENSJ) 2015 conference. The Educator's network for Social Justice held their conference at the Indian Community School in Franklin, Wisconsin. My colleagues and I saw great potential for the installation to promote student awareness of colonial history and its impact on Indigenous communities. I also saw the opportunity to facilitate the translation of the Maliseet prayer into three local Native American languages: Anishinaabemowin, Menominee, and Oneida. The language teachers[8] of each respective language became excited about the project. In the months before the installation was displayed at the Indian Community School during the ENSJ conference I worked with the three language teachers in finalizing the translations. The installation became a collaborative project (see Figure 6.2) that not only had "a public" of readers but it was the catalyst for face-to-face conversations with educators in the state of Wisconsin. The installation also served as the catalyst for the language teachers of Anishinaabemowin, Menominee, and Oneida to begin work on prayers of thanksgiving in their respective languages. It also became a powerful catalyst for Native American poetic world-making in four different languages, and the installation was an alternative ethnographic space that not only provided the grounds for translating the prayer into three additional languages but also for

Figure 6.2 Ethnographic installation as social action.

creating the conditions for imagining future Indigenous publics who will learn to say a prayer of thanksgiving in their respective heritage languages.

Potentiating Indigenous futures

The installation as social action project is intertextual, intermediated, and interdiscursive. These concepts are drawn from my anthropological experience and are coordinated to utilize semiotic systems broadly to contribute to social actions that can turn words into deeds (Perley 2012b). The installation also draws from my native experience of Maliseet language, Maliseet stories, and the Maliseet landscape. That last installation was a collaborative effort with Anishinaabe, Menominee, and Oneida colleagues. It is a collaborative poetic recreation of my experiences as a member of Tobique First Nation of the Maliseets in New Brunswick as well as the experience of my Native American colleagues. Together we were able to actualize the bridging of various publics including but not limited to the following Warner's "a public" with "the public"; the academic and language documentation publics; the Native American revitalization and counter-colonial publics; the Wisconsin State teachers and the Native American students at the Indian community school; colleagues from History, Anthropology, and English; and the teachers of Anishinaabemowin, Menominee, and Oneida. Nobody from any of the publics who engaged the installation was making any explicit predictions about future Indigenous publics. However, during the many conversations across publics there were ideas being shared regarding pedagogy, curriculum, and developing resources to teach students about American colonial history vis-à-vis the native peoples of North America while celebrating the vitality of those Native American languages and cultures threatened by ongoing colonial processes. It may seem to be a perspective that focuses on the past to deal with the present but it is more critically a stance that seeks to work toward social justice on behalf of America's Indigenous populations. In doing so, the conversations conceptualized the potential for the continued vitality of Native American languages and cultures. The collective publics were potentiating future Indigenous publics. The response to this collaborative project has been tremendously positive. We've received requests to have the installation piece displayed at conferences, libraries, and other universities. The participant comments from the WIEA and ENSJ have been equally positive such as "Loved this presentation! This history/information is so important to know about and share. Keep this presentation going and bring it back to WIEA again!" and "This was truly and excellent workshop and conversation" (April 11 2015).

If the installation did not generate the critical conversations among participating publics the installation would be a passive artifact confined to the abstraction of Warner's "a public" of readers for texts. Such a limited public engagement perpetuates the semiotics of differentiation and continues to recursively erase Native American worlds from colonial imaginaries. However, the conversations serve as catalysts for engaging "the public" whereby Warner's "counterpublics" and Gal's "publics as action" provide the stimulus for imagining future Indigenous publics.

Fabian argues that we must recognize that our intersubjective discursive engagements are the crucial grounds from which anthropological knowledge will grow. Our texts, then, must serve as critical interventions and catalysts for social action. To address a public ethnographic texts must circulate within existing discourses that postulate responsive publics. Warner asserts "Circulation . . . has enormous consequences. It allows us to understand publics as scenes of self-activity, of historical rather than timeless belonging, and of active participation rather than ascriptive belonging. Under the right conditions, it even allows us to attribute agency to a public, even though that public has no institutional being or concrete manifestation" (ibid. 62). By imagining and engaging a public discourse through the circulation of their texts, ethnographers can conceive, configure, and contribute to imagining and potentiating future Indigenous publics. As this book shows, there are a variety of approaches to addressing future Indigenous publics and each particular case requires its own conceptualization and implementation strategies. Each, though, is an ethnographic representation. Ethnography is not a predictive science but it can provide the generative conditions that will make imaginaries of the future possible.

Conclusion: future imperfect

The late twentieth century has become a period of salvage operations deployed to "save" the Maliseet language. Thankfully, the prediction of Maliseet language extinction by 2010 has proven to be premature. It can be argued from the perspective of bilingual Maliseet speakers that the trajectory toward extinction is a forgone conclusion. Perhaps not today, but in the near future. But that sentiment buys into the prevailing documentation ideology that privileges a particular linguistic form and practice. That is why expert rhetoric still haunts the Maliseet communities with the constant refrain of language endangerment and cultural loss. Expert predictions of extinction are based on demographics, comparative analyses, and formal linguistic markers of language attrition. The data presents a compelling predictive discourse accompanied by graphs, charts, and numbers. Lost in all those tools for analysis and prognostication are the community members who use the language, learn the language, and teach the language. The documentarian strategy to entextualize spoken Maliseet to "save" it is a debilitating trajectory from "the public" of speakers to "a public" of readers following Hobsbawm's "indivisible continuum" toward "extinct public" of speakers. The rhetoric of endangerment and death exacerbates the situation by paralyzing community members into inaction that in turn makes Maliseet language extinction inevitable and a self-fulfilling prophecy. This approach imagines no future for the Maliseet language.

I appreciate the value of documentation as an important form of preserving endangered languages. However, documentation need not be the privileged practice. It can serve as the catalyst for interdiscursive engagements between publics. If we shift our perspective away from language death and toward language life we create possibilities for Maliseet futures. That is why I work to create the conditions that will emphasize the excitement of emergent vitalities of

Maliseet language, culture, and identity. There is growing interest among some linguists in researching "emerging languages" as Indigenous advocates/activists are awakening and/or reclaiming their heritage languages (Perley 2013). Both publics can change the rhetoric of documentation ideologies that currently constrain the creativity of language users. Both publics will see the value of emergent forms of language and modes of being as mutual poetic forms of world-making. We must switch from predicting the extinction of Indigenous languages and cultures and the concomitant semiotics of erasure of Indigenous experiences and turn toward inscribing Indigenous creative worlds in our everyday practices. If we can accomplish this with our ethnographic representations then the prospects of Indigenous future publics are encouraging. I imagine those future publics will be a discursive space where Indigenous languages continue to be used in everyday communication across traditional as well as new domains of usage. All our efforts at producing the documentation to "save" endangered languages will not merely be inert texts/documents waiting to become part of that world-making, they will be the catalysts for bringing future publics together or creating new publics. Those publics will emerge from everyday conversations and innovations in language use and uptakes of new entextualizations. I cannot predict how those publics will be configured but I can do everything I can to promote discourses for Indigenous futures. It's not a perfect solution but it is an Indigenous future we can work toward.

Notes

1 See Ethnologue's entry for Malecite-Passamaquoddy. Accessed January 17 2016 at www.ethnologue.com/language/pqm. Ethnologue provides the following commentary on language use: "Middle-aged or elderly. Mildly positive attitudes. Increasing interest in the language in some places. English [eng] preferred by most youth."

2 See UNESCO's interactive atlas on endangered languages at www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/en/atlasmap.html. Accessed January 17, 2016.

3 Jeff Bear's production studio created a series of documentaries that focus on indigenous relationship with water in *Samaqan*. See www.samaqan.ca/ for more information. The episodes were broadcast on APTN (Aboriginal Peoples Television Network) which states their mission as "sharing our Peoples' journey, celebrating our cultures, inspiring our children and honouring the wisdom of our Elders." Accessed on June 6 2016 at http://aptn.ca/corporate2/. Jeff Bear translated the English language version of the *Samaqan* series into Maliseet as his "versioning" project, thereby providing APTN with significant Aboriginal language content to help fulfill one of the network's goals. For Maliseet communities it also provided greater distribution and access to the Maliseet language.

4 See Ethnologue at www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status. Accessed January 17, 2016.

5 See ww.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/index.php?hl=en&page=atlasmap. Accessed November 9, 2013.

6 Paulo Virno is discussing the constraint on the individual to exercise any will to change the present to influence the future in moments of *déjà vu*. *Déjà vu* is argued to create an unsettling paralysis experienced by the subject upon recognition that "'remembering the present' suggests that all moments of the 'present' were experienced in the 'past,'

therefore rending all perceived events as already determined where "the distinction between 'before' and 'after,' 'cause' and 'effect,' seems futile." I use this example to highlight a similar constraint expert rhetoric places on community members who find themselves faced with the seeming inevitable extinction of their heritage languages.

7 See also his MPBS interview April 21 2010, http://video.mpbn.net/video/1479029151/

8 The Menominee and the Oneida language teachers teach their respective heritage languages at the Milwaukee Indian Community School at Franklin, Wisconsin.

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7 Perfecting publics

Future audiences and the aesthetics of refinement

Erin Debenport

During the last ten years, community members at San Ramón Pueblo, New Mexico, have debated about, and experimented with, the introduction of Indigenous language literacy to promote Keiwa language learning.[1] Instead of producing written materials with widespread circulations as is typical of literacy practices in the West, authors of the community dictionary, adult language curriculum, and other Keiwa texts have concentrated on crafting and editing works with extremely limited readerships, adhering to local language ideologies privileging concealment and indirectness. These Indigenous language texts are not widely released, but instead are continuously edited and perfected, and are only given to specific community members at particular times, including the community English/Keiwa Dictionary that continues to be edited and may only be accessed by a few tribal members.

By closely engaging with Michael Warner's (2002) analysis of the differences between various understandings of "publics," in this chapter I use ethnographic examples from San Ramón Pueblo in two ways. First, I contrast current and future Indigenous language audiences with those non-Indigenous, academic audiences from the salvage era, a central concern of the chapters in this book. As part of considering such future publics, I analyze language revitalization efforts as inherently nostalgic and hopeful social projects that rely on the temporal displacement of current audiences in the service of imagining and enacting language change. Second, I draw on popular and scholarly understandings of publics as modern, imagined groups constituted through literacy practices in order to critique characterizations of writing in the West that hinge on the unregulated, anonymous circulation of identical text objects, using Pueblo writing as an example of political participation through private sphere interpellation (Althusser 1971),[2] or, the summoning of audiences by various methods. This makes clear that there are not only private sphere and "counterpublic" (Warner 2002) practices with texts that figure in the creation of groups and forms of political practice, but also the presence of counter-privates, forged in response to private sphere practices with literacy and other technologies of circulation.

Pueblo secrecy and San Ramón Keiwa literacy

San Ramón is one of the 19 federally recognized tribes in New Mexico often referred to collectively as the "Rio Grande Pueblos." The Pueblos also share

many cultural and linguistic practices with the Hopi, a tribe living in Northeastern Arizona. In addition, two Pueblo communities are located outside of New Mexico: Ysleta del Sur Pueblo in El Paso, Texas, and a Tewa-speaking Pueblo located on the Hopi reservation. Four different Indigenous language families are represented among these communities: Kiowa-Tanoan and Uto-Aztecan, and Keresan and Zuni, language isolates, making the Pueblos an exceptionally linguistically diverse group. However, all of these communities also share a recent history of language shift, with English replacing Native languages (and in some cases, also Spanish) as the dominant code.

Like the other Pueblos, San Ramón has a history of closely guarding access to cultural materials, including the ability to see or hear the Keiwa language. The concern that the wrong audiences might be able to inappropriately use the language applies not only to non-Indians but also to groups or individuals in the community or neighboring Pueblos who are not sanctioned to know particular words, songs, or phrases in order to correctly uphold the religious structure. Tribal leaders at San Ramón, like many other Pueblos, decided to incorporate Indigenous language literacy into their language revitalization programs, a difficult choice given the potential for written materials to breach confidentiality and fly in the face of local ideologies privileging secrecy and orality. After a decade of working collaboratively to produce learning materials, the leadership at the Pueblo decided to forego Indigenous language literacy. However, this policy has recently been replaced by the reintroduction of writing systems by individual language teachers and learners. As such, Keiwa literacy remains a controversial but highly productive resource to potentially aid language learning, but also as a way to talk about and enact stances involving intellectual property, tribal membership, and San Ramón subjectivities.

Pueblo publics: current and imagined audiences

In his book and associated paper "Publics and Counterpublics," Warner begins by pulling apart various understandings of the former term, starting with his first definition, "the public is a kind of social totality" (Warner 2002: 49), going on to list "nation," "Christendom," and "humanity" as examples. However, it is his two remaining definitions that help to frame the Pueblo practices with texts I want to focus on in this chapter, beginning with the second, which he defines as "a concrete audience, a crowd witnessing itself in a visible space, as with a theatrical public" (Warner 2002: 50).

Following this characterization, I want to consider who the current and imagined audiences are for both the Indigenous language materials being created in Pueblo contexts and for talk about such literacy practices, including academic pieces like the ones contained in this book. After developing a Keiwa orthography 12 years ago, the members of the language committee at San Ramón created a Keiwa/English dictionary, an adult curriculum, and numerous other dialogues and stories. As I have described previously (Debenport 2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2012, 2015), in each of these cases the circulation of Keiwa language texts was highly

constrained. For example, only tribal members were issued copies of the written adult curriculum and accompanying CD filled with Keiwa dialogues. Enrolled members who were interested in obtaining the materials had to come to the language program office, sign their name to get a copy, and agree not to duplicate or circulate the volume and recordings. A stern warning appeared on the cover of the materials, which enumerated the potential repercussions of sharing the curriculum, including employment termination and "disciplinary action" (Debenport 2015: 44).

In addition to institutionalized limits, controlling the circulation of written language materials at San Ramón is accomplished through gossip and indirect commentary. After one of the students in the young adult classroom accidentally left a copy of her curriculum in her high school's library, her inattention was held up as an example of improper stewardship of cultural materials, and was used as an example to instruct other students about the importance of controlling access to written resources. As is clear from these examples, the imagined and realized audiences for Keiwa texts are extremely small, limited to tribal members who appropriately adhere to restrictions on their circulation. What must be stressed though, is that this Indigenous public—tribal members at San Ramón Pueblo—is not homogenous in terms of members' access to cultural objects nor is it continuous through time. The right to see, possess, or create texts is determined by religious position, a highly gendered system also limited to older tribal members, and, due to recent disenrollment practices, tribal membership is not necessarily constant over individuals' lifetimes, mitigating who is eligible to participate in the language program and access written Keiwa materials. Finally, the immediate political climate at the Pueblo enables and constrains particular audiences for written texts, with writing in Keiwa slowing down or halted completely when it is felt to be too controversial and resumed again when the political climate shifts on the reservation.

Concomitantly, academic and popular audiences for talk about language policy and use are also highly constrained. As part of my ongoing agreement with my colleagues at San Ramón and the two other Pueblos where I work, I do not replicate any Keiwa examples I have access to, but publish only English translations. Especially in the San Ramón case, academic audiences must be addressed in circuitous ways—hence the use of a pseudonym for San Ramón, and the lack of linguistic examples, pictures, or detailed maps within my published materials and as part of public presentations. Recent political developments at San Ramón have also led to me repatriating the digital language materials that I had previously been archiving for members of the language committee. As Susan Gal has argued, we should not assume the presence of "stable boundaries between the public and private" (Gal 2002: 78), as evidenced by the constantly changing nature of Pueblo attitudes towards written Keiwa and its circulation.

Similar limitations on audience are apparent in interactions with non- and intra-tribal Pueblo publics (in Warner's second sense) that do not center on Indigenous language literacy. For example, audiences for ceremonial feast days at San Ramón are carefully kept apart from ritual activities that are limited to

particular clans or kivas even as access to the dances is public, with audiences from Albuquerque, Santa Fe, neighboring Hispanic villages, the Navajo reservation, and other Pueblo communities in attendance. Audiences are instructed that cameras will be confiscated and legal action will be taken against those engaging in illegal recording, mirroring the warnings on San Ramón curricular materials. While the dances are performed throughout the day this vigilance continues, with a person placed in charge of continuously scanning the crowd to prevent the production of audio or video recordings. At the end of the day the dancers and their families gossip about the piles of cell phones that were confiscated and the reactions of the angry tourists that did not follow the rules posted at the Pueblo's entrance.

Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, a community where I also conduct linguistic and ethnographic fieldwork, provides an interesting counter example, further complicating the picture of current Pueblo audiences. Even though Ysleta del Sur and San Ramón Pueblos historically speak similar languages and share concerns about language loss, different audiences for Native language texts and talk about language policy are imagined and addressed. While publication and unbridled circulation of language materials is also prohibited in this community, there is talk about integrating heritage language instruction in area public schools, pseudonyms are not required when speaking publicly about language policy, and tribal rolls are being greatly expanded due to a recent federal ruling revising prior blood quantum requirements.[3] This variation between current Pueblo audiences illustrates not only how Indigenous publics vary (certainly a major point of the chapters in this book) but that there is considerable variation within and among groups popularly thought of in New Mexico as sharing similar language ideologies and membership practices.

In the Pueblo examples presented here, there is also a marked difference between current audiences, both tribal and non-tribal, and imagined future publics. In short, future audiences are envisioned as considerably more expansive than current incarnations. For instance, even though members of the San Ramón dictionary committee completed an entire draft of the lexicon, it has never been released to tribal members, either in printed or electronic form. For several years I worked as a scribe while speakers edited the entries and refined the example sentences until the entire project and collaboration was put on hold because of the local political situation. Interestingly, the majority of dictionary example sentences were addressed to future San Ramón listeners, imploring them to "Learn to speak Indian," and detailing current conditions on the reservation as archival material for future readers to learn about the history of the Pueblo.

Imagined future audiences that include non-pueblo and non-tribal members are also larger. Discussing the fraught political climate and my hiatus from the language program, my friend and colleague Michelle recently told me, "It won't always be like this, Erin, you'll teach here again. And my grandchildren will use that dictionary you all did." Even though I am not imagined as part of a future audience by virtue of not being a tribal member, the possibility that more people in the future will be able to either view or be connected to local literacy

projects is held up as contrasting with current individuals and groups who have access to such materials. By displacing these texts and practices with Indigenous languages in time (a tactic I discuss in the following section), more extensive audiences become possible. In fact, imagined future audiences are in some sense the only truly appropriate audiences currently envisioned by tribal members at San Ramón, with approaches to promoting the increased use of Keiwa remaining so controversial. People at the Pueblo not only envision these audiences as comprised of the next generation of tribal members, but that there is a possibility that access will be opened to a larger group, one that may include audiences from other pueblos or more space to partner with non-Native collaborators.

Even though writing, disseminating texts, and partnering with non-Native academics is not as controversial at Ysleta del Sur Pueblo as it is at San Ramón, this focus on enlarging future audiences is still evident. When I work with Andrew, the director of the tribal language program, on verb paradigms or memorizing pronominal prefixes, talk turns to imminent, potential publics: pre-school children, students in the El Paso schools, tribal members from the New Mexico Pueblos, or Alabama Coushatta or Kickapoo audiences, the other two federally recognized tribes in the State of Texas. While an unbridled, unconstrained approach to audience building is still considered dangerous and inappropriate, new spaces for addressing greater numbers of listeners are seen as part of what the future holds for community members, especially those involved in language revitalization efforts.

These current Pueblo practices with Indigenous language texts and other forms of cultural knowledge circulation signal a clear shift from the expectations and practices of the salvage era. Crucially, community members at San Ramón and Ysleta del Sur exert much greater control over *who* they talk to *in* Native languages and *how* they talk *about* language and cultural policies. Tribal gaming revenues, which can lead to greater political power and economic autonomy; the legal means to pursue intellectual property violations and instigate the repatriation of cultural property in the NAGPRA era; as well as an increase in popular acceptance of multilingual and "multicultural" polities and subjectivities, have all contributed to tribes' increased ability to decide who their audiences are and will be.

The idea of interpellation—Althusser's notion that ideologies, working through state institutions "hail" certain kinds of subjects—helps explain how the summoning of audiences is central to political formation and subjectivity. In addition, the official, sanctioned, public interpellation of an audience is also an act of sovereignty—sometimes figured at the individual level or the level of tribe, and increasingly relevant in contexts where membership is a contentious issue. The ability of tribal members at San Ramón to craft their own audiences draws on local language ideologies that privilege purism, control, and indirectness. As Althusser reminds us, "ideology hails or interpellates individuals as subjects," making clear that changing attitudes about Indigenous subjectivities, the state(s), and political stances shape the way audiences are imagined, hailed, and described. Tribes' and

Indigenous individuals' capacity to insist on controlling the potential publics for Indigenous languages indicates that interactions with academics, collaborators, and the state are vastly different than during the salvage era, relationships typified by linguist John Peabody Harrington's insistence that he and others that he worked with should refuse to "take no for an answer" when collecting data on California languages in the early part of the twentieth century (Moore 2006). Elizabeth Povinelli's (1999, 2002) and James Clifford's (1988) work shows that, in contexts of recognition, the state has historically been in control of determining and summoning audiences in legal contexts, which often involves the presentation or performance of Indigenous language texts. Similarly, the state has had the power to decide who "counts" as an Indigenous subject, often relying on language ideologies about speakers of Indigenous languages as part of this pursuit that imagines Indigenous people as having to speak Indigenous languages rather than dominant languages such as Spanish or English (Muehlmann 2008, 2013). Obviously, the stakes involved in the outcomes of these kinds of performances are enormous: the gain or loss of individual and familial housing, health care, and educational benefits, along with the incalculable emotional, social, and political costs of being on or off the membership rolls or gaining or losing federal recognition.

The greater ability of tribes and Indigenous individuals to control access to Indigenous language materials and determine the makeup of audiences hinges on small and large acts of refusal, analogous to Audra Simpson's description of "ethnographic refusals" (Simpson 2014). In her study of Mohawk interactions with anthropologists, border patrol officers, and other interlocutors, she reflexively points to her own writing process as an example of Native people refusing to circulate particular types of knowledge in unconstrained, uncritical ways, practices with writing not present in the work of Lewis Henry Morgan and other anthropologists working in the salvage era that she chronicles. San Ramón and Ysleta del Sur's insistence that they have the sovereign right to interpellate discrete publics stands in opposition to prior interactions with the settler state that envisioned non-Natives holding particular institutional positions as possessing the sole right to summon audiences and determine the viewership of Indigenous language texts.

Hopeful nostalgia and future Indigenous publics

Concentrating on imminent publics rather than current audiences at San Ramón Pueblo is not just a way around contemporary political constraints or a means of enacting sovereignty, but accomplishes additional social work involving what cultural anthropologist Hirokazu Miyazaki calls "the method of hope" (Miyazaki 2004). Like the examples of hopeful projects that he describes, including gift exchange and petitioning the Fijian government for land, language revitalization efforts can be productively understood as similarly forward-thinking endeavors, whose continuation depends on hoping for the success of the language program while the difficult work of documenting, learning, and teaching Indigenous

languages goes on in the present. At the same time, there is a seemingly contradictory focus during discussions of language learning at San Ramón: the emphasis on describing past practices and the formerly robust state of the Keiwa language. Community members who were tasked with creating written Indigenous language materials overwhelmingly chronicled the history of the Pueblo and the loss of local technologies, land, and language fluency, a move that seems out of step with the utopian project of creating future Indigenous publics.

During my time working with speakers to produce Keiwa texts, there were numerous examples of authors privileging the past, both within written materials and during discussions about language policy and community politics. Language committee members, who, importantly, were all elderly, would regularly discuss how "everything here has changed," and "things were different before we had a casino." This focus on the past was also evident in the favored grammatical constructions in the dictionary, whose authors overwhelmingly relied on habitual past aspectual forms when constructing example sentences, seen in the entries below (Keiwa has been omitted):

(1) *blackbird*
A long time ago they used to eat blackbirds.

(2) *sinew, ligament*
Sew your moccasins with sinew, like a long time ago.

(3) *grapes*
They used to make wine out of grapes.

(4) *to smoke*
They used to smoke us with cedar a long time ago.

This reliance on the past recalls Paul V. Kroskrity's analysis of the Arizona Tewa speech genre of "traditional tale" which includes "speaking the past" (Kroskrity 1993), a way of speaking that relies on the invocation of past practices to offer moral instruction. Keiwa speakers, even within individual dictionary example sentences, offered similar moral direction by overwhelmingly using perfective and habitual past aspectual forms.

Keiwa speakers and authors constructing longer texts for the language program also favored the description of past events within the content of their stories. For example, one Keiwa author devoted an entire lesson to describing how people "used to" hunt on San Ramón Mountain in places now swallowed up by suburban subdivisions, how they "used to" know how to properly skin and transport deer and rabbit carcasses, and how community members "used to" signal a successful hunt with a single gunshot, alerting their neighbors that they had meat to share. Before eating, the author described how they "used to" thank the animals who were killed, turning the past habitual form into an almost poetic feature through its repeated invocation. In another story, a speaker uses the past practice of a family eating out of one bowl as a metaphor to critique what he saw

as the ongoing, moral and spiritual decline of the Pueblo, a text I have analyzed at length elsewhere (Debenport 2012, 2015). In most of these nostalgic moments, the return of spoken Keiwa to the Pueblo was held up as the way to bring the past into alignment with the imagined future, creating a vision of community built on collective Indigenous language fluency.

Works by scholars looking at the functions of nostalgia often overlap with writings in linguistic anthropology that analyze the privileging of the past. In her study of post-Soviet nostalgia in Eastern Europe, literary theorist Svetlana Boym (2007) identifies one type of nostalgia, the "restorative," that is often present in articulations of political power or social critique. As she explains, restorative nostalgia "does not think of itself as nostalgia, but rather as truth and tradition" (Boym 2007: 13). Cultural anthropologist Kathleen Stewart also describes nostalgia as a potentially productive method in her work with Appalachian communities experiencing intense economic and social change. Rather than assume that nostalgia is simply a collection of past images and memories, she asserts that nostalgia is "a cultural practice, not a given content; its forms, meanings, and effects shift with the context—it depends on where the speaker stands in the landscape of the present" (Stewart 1988: 227). Within linguistic anthropology, Jane Hill's (1992) analysis of Mexicano discourses of nostalgia as indexes of political stances that favor the interests of particular groups, and Robert E. Moore's (2006) explanation of "regenerative" orientations to written Indigenous language materials by language learners in heritage communities, make clear the potentially productive power of talk about the past and the linguistic archive, respectively. In all of these works, nostalgia isn't really about the past, but is instead a discursive resource that can be used to enact stances and perform subjectivities. In the San Ramón case, speakers and writers that rely on such depictions share the goal of interpellating specific types of future audiences, Keiwa-speaking publics that can enact an idealized form of morality and community.

Nostalgic discourses at San Ramón are often accompanied by explicit invocations of the future. For example, in the story about eating from one bowl, the author also relies on future aspectual forms to bring the listener/reader out of the problems of the present ("Our people are getting more greedy and stingy") with a vision of the future community, seen in the excerpt below:

(5) Maybe we need to be careful so that once again we can be together, so that everyone in the community is of use and is a contributor, of one mind, heart, and effort.

(Debenport 2015: 94, lines 44–47)

This invocation of future audiences makes possible the continuation of hopeful projects, including encouraging the reintroduction of past practices, a focus on sharing resources, or increasing the use of Keiwa, all of which rely on temporal disjuncture between the past and future, and what Miyazaki calls "the abeyance of agency" (Miyazaki 2000, 2004). For hopeful projects to be successful, and for hope to be iteratively replicated regardless of the outcome of hoped-for

goals, individual social actors must place individual agency on hold, utilizing a temporal break to hope for social projects that rely on the collectivity for their fulfilment.

What appears at first as an apparent disjuncture—invoking the past while hopefully envisioning the future—makes possible the very difficult task of reversing language shift. San Ramón authors invoke the past in order to bring about a refined, imagined future characterized by widespread fluency in Keiwa and the wholeness of the community. As Webster points out in his chapter in this book, creating language materials with nostalgic content, like poetry, can be seen to be "transformative of sociality" (Webster, this volume: 162). Nostalgic and future discourses serve as additional resources for refinement, enabling people to perfect their language and community by temporally removing themselves from the unfinished, contested present.

The politics of pueblo public and private spheres

Moving from the idea of a public as a particular audience to Warner's third definition, I want to consider what kinds of political possibilities or group formations are inherent in Pueblo practices with Indigenous language texts, or, what kinds of "publics" are being created. Warner starts out by defining this kind of grouping as "the kind of public that comes into being only in relation to texts and their circulation" (Warner 2002: 50), going on to list the seven qualities that also characterize this type, which I list due to space considerations: "A public is self-organized" (50); "A public is a relation among strangers" (55); "The address of public speech is both personal and impersonal" (57); "A public is constituted through mere attention" (60); "A public is the social space created by the reflexive circulation of discourse" (62); "Publics act historically according to the temporality of their circulation" (68); and, "A public is poetic world-making" (82). Using various examples, Warner illustrates how this type of group making has been central to the formation of political collectivities and the imagination and condition of modernity, all themes central to the literature on public and private spheres.

Aspects of this definition of publics are also evident in other scholarship that considers the political and social implications of textual circulation. In Jürgen Habermas's work on the public sphere (1989), he argues that the circulation of certain types of texts played a central role in creating an informed, rational group of readers poised to become ideal political subjects. Similarly, in *Imagined Communities* (1991), Benedict Anderson describes the centrality of serialized texts and secular language novels as necessary in creating the conditions that made it possible to invent the idea of the modern nation state. If we read Walter Benjamin's piece "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1968) as a work that also analyzes the circulation of texts, it is clear that the depiction of written or other visual materials in this and other accounts assumes that the circulated objects are identical, and are not aimed at individual readers or viewers. In these works and others, reading and viewing publics are formed

"through relations with texts and their circulation" (Warner 2002: 50), groups that are seen as necessary components of modernity and as spaces for the formation of particular varieties of liberal democracy and other forms of political mobilization that are possible under capitalism.

The kinds of groups created through practices with writing depicted in these works and others contrast with the political formations that are constituted by the uses of written San Ramón Keiwa. This can be illustrated by returning to the example of the story about one family eating out of a single bowl; specifically, how this text was edited and circulated. As I detailed earlier, the story began as a pedagogical language dialogue to be used in the summer language classes for young adults held at the Pueblo. The author, John, and I were working to gather recordings from various speakers that we could use as raw material to generate practice activities for the students. John, one of the youngest speakers of Keiwa in his late 60s, and a respected community leader, had been instrumental in jump-starting the tribe's language program several years earlier. That afternoon, after we finished a spate of recordings and were deciding which ones to translate, he kept returning to his story about the bowl, then, after we transcribed and translated it, he put the larger project on hold so he could spend time "correcting" the written version, fixing spelling mistakes and adding or subtracting nasal underlines from my typed transcription. During this process, he was not interested in replaying the original recording; if there was a question about a particular sound or expression, he used his knowledge as a native speaker of what it "should" be. After these changes were made and I typed up a revised copy, he said he wanted to continue working on the story. I asked him if he wanted to make a new recording, but he declined, asking if I "could just write it and we could add it to what we already had."

The process of creating the many subsequent versions of this text took place over the next several days. We would start by John speaking Keiwa and me transcribing the additions to the text, followed by me reading the story back to him, and him providing a free translation that I then transcribed in English. I would then type up the additional lines, which John would insert into the story, all the while refining the content and adjusting the spelling of individual sentences. What emerged from these sessions was a highly polished, even more trenchant critique of San Ramón membership policies that contained subtle allusions to Pueblo history and local political issues. After he finished refining the text, he printed a copy to show to particular individuals in the community who, as he said, "might learn to see things my way." Discussing it afterward, I didn't ask him how he chose to circulate the text, knowing that would be highly inappropriate. However, several months later he casually mentioned that he was still in the process of "showing it to the right people."

This, and other examples of San Ramón uses of Keiwa writing differ in important ways from Warner's third definition of publics and other characterizations that appear in works by Habermas, Anderson, and Benjamin. Three aspects of Pueblo approaches to writing stand out as not only different from these depictions, but also as having potential implications for how future Indigenous publics may be formed: the focus on perfectibility and refinement; the emphasis on secrecy; and language ideologies concerning textual reproducibility. In addition,

the divergences between accounts by Western theorists and Pueblo practices point to important ways that texts are implicated in the formation of groups in broader contexts.

Warner, Anderson, Habermas, Benjamin, and others' depictions of textual circulations lead us to imagine written language and other cultural objects as a collection of fixed forms. While writing Keiwa, community members at San Ramón Pueblo emphasized using writing for editing and refinement, whether it was editing the dictionary example sentences or perfecting pedagogical/political texts. For example, the majority of the dictionary committee meetings that took place in the San Ramón tribal library were devoted to perfecting the document's example sentences, with the small group of elderly authors spending hours discussing the poetics of certain words and constructions, moving sentences from entry to entry, or even deciding that they were not "good enough" and moving them out of the document altogether. During occasions like this where editing was taking place, the library became a space to discuss the local political scene, rather than the coffee house or public square, examples given by Western theorists as places where liberal democracy was born. Instead, political subjectivities were formed, challenged, and strengthened within a tribal space with a very select group of people through explicit discussions of the texts themselves. A future Indigenous public at San Ramón, or group that comes into being as a result of practices with texts, could exist through subsequent gatherings where community members discuss the poetics of the Keiwa language and work to perfect written versions of pedagogical materials.

A second aspect of Pueblo practices with texts that might influence the kinds of future publics that are possible is the San Ramón emphasis on secrecy. While Habermas has been criticized for failing to discuss issues of access to written texts and the resulting public sphere (i.e. Calhoun 1992; Fraser 1992), the idea that access to written materials can sometimes be explicitly forbidden is absent in these accounts, although it can productively be theorized by looking at historical notions of gender, class, and race. At San Ramón Pueblo, concealment is perhaps the central means of performing Pueblo subjectivities and articulating group boundaries. Examples of how community members at San Ramón practice "discretion" abound (Mahmud 2012, 2014),[4] from limiting the use of Keiwa around outsiders to controlling the use of technology at ceremonial dances. In fact, it is this shared focus on information control that is constitutive of the religious and political system itself, maintaining a proper distribution of cultural and linguistic knowledge within ritual and political spaces alike. Spending the time to control access to cultural knowledge positions everything associated with and contained within controlled texts, interactions, and objects as precious and whole, showing that secrecy is a value-producing practice that works, as Graham Jones asserts, "through both the exclusion of outsiders and the inclusion of insiders" (Jones 2014: 54). Secrecy can also enable community members to feel a deep sense of belonging by virtue of being the ratified owners of the Keiwa language and its new, material manifestations, an observation borne out of comments made by supporters of San Ramón Keiwa writing. A future Indigenous public,

in Warner's third sense, might also consist of groups that are formed through the shared goal of controlling access to texts, whether they are concerned with limiting access for non-tribal members or for particular groups and individuals within the Pueblo. Like the semi-anonymous authors of the dictionary or the bowl story, I could anticipate that members of such publics would remain officially unidentified, obvious to other community members but appropriately observing the local emphasis on indirectness and veiling through their concealed participation.

A final facet of San Ramón literacy that contrasts with Western approaches to theorizing publics is the attitude toward reproducibility. Because of the emphasis on discretionary practices and editing, the ability to produce and disseminate identical texts isn't foregrounded as an advantage of writing in this community, serving as a counter model to mass production. Instead, authors primarily use the Keiwa orthography to make their own sets of flashcards or other mnemonic tools. Even in situations where longer texts were created for a reading public, such as the dictionary or pedagogical texts like the bowl story, writing was not used to make numerous copies of identical texts, and in the dictionary case, was never reproduced from its original electronic draft. This emphasis was also noticeable in community members' attitudes about putting any Keiwa online, even in secure spaces that could only be accessed with a password. "Someone could just cut and paste the Indian [Keiwa] and the next thing you know, our language is all over the Internet," one of my colleagues once remarked, the other dictionary committee members nodding in agreement at this anti-intertextual, -decontextual, and -recontextual stance. Not a case of a standardized object creating a shared public, or a sacred object, such as a Bible, being deritualized before being made public and then circulating widely; writing at San Ramón Pueblo is the reverse of Benjamin's analysis, involving the creation of ritualized objects with limited circulations. Publics, according to Warner and others, require certain technologies, like writing, and rituals require secrecy to be successful. Community members at San Ramón are doing both as part of forming current and future Indigenous publics through shared language ideologies regarding the reproducibility of texts and the sacredness of written materials as cultural objects. These current and future Pueblo publics are not "self-organized" (Warner 2002: 50), nor are they "a relation among strangers" (55). At San Ramón, writing works both as a fixative for transforming language and culture into heritable cultural property and as a tool for revising objects that can continue to be curated, managed, and perfected.

Despite the differences between San Ramón writing and the ways literacy has predominantly been analyzed in the social science literature, groups at San Ramón constituted through reading and writing, including the dictionary committee and the group of individuals who were shown a copy of the bowl story, do possess several of Warner's other criteria. The address of Keiwa writing is "both personal and impersonal" (Warner 2002: 57), with written materials being directed to imagined future audiences made up of tribal members, a public that will also be "constituted through mere attention" (60). The tribal library and private homes where language is used and discussed are certainly "social spaces" (62) partially created through discursive circulations. The ways that reading

and writing publics are being formed at San Ramón are directly related "to the temporality of their circulation" (68); the controversial decision to begin writing Keiwa was predicated on the feeling that "desperate times call for desperate measures," as one community member put it, and that language shift would be irreversible if literacy was not introduced. Finally, Warner's assertions that "[a] public is poetic world-making" and "a subjunctive creative project" (82) also mirror groups at San Ramón who create a vision of the future, perfected Pueblo through the creation and consumption of Indigenous language texts.

Looking at this imperfect fit between Warner's "publics" and San Ramón literacy, a question arises related to another part of his argument: are these groups better thought of as publics, or could they be analyzed as counterpublics? Defining this type of group, Warner states: "[M]any such scenes have organized themselves as publics, and because they differ markedly in one way or another from the premises that allow the dominant culture to understand itself as a public, they have come to be called counterpublics" (Warner 2002: 33). Within the piece and the larger book, he illustrates the concept of counterpublic by examining queer activism and visibility in relation to other dominant political and social groups. This understanding of groupness seems to apply, considering that many attitudes toward secrecy at San Ramón are expressed as incompatible with the way scholars, the press, and the general public (in Warner's first sense) conceive of writing and its ability to circulate. This also echoes the types of refusals I discussed in the second section, instances where the right to choose particular audiences is often articulated as a response to how things were done in the past, with community members previously not being able to control audiences during the salvage era. And, like hopeful social projects including language revitalization efforts, there is a feeling at San Ramón that practices with writing and controlling textual circulation should "be tranformative, not replicative merely (88)," paving the way for a more equitable, moral community.

Perhaps, as other critics have observed (Calhoun 1992), it could instead be productive to recognize Pueblo (counter)publics as private spheres where political work can also be imagined and accomplished. In such a model, equal attention could be afforded to how practices with texts among select groups of known individuals can also be generative sites for political action and debate, rather than elevating the forms of political participation associated with Western definitions of publics to idealized and universal positions. This also enables the prospect of theorizing a different kind of group altogether: the counterprivate, associations that are articulated as reactions to controlled practices with texts, such as Ysleta del Sur's decision to expand audiences and the critiques of current private sphere practices by community members at San Ramón.

Conclusion

To unite the two senses of publics I have discussed here—audiences and groups—the following ethnographic example is illustrative of how various (counter)publics and (counter)privates as well as different understandings of what is public and

what is private co-exist within and outside of Pueblo contexts. I recently ran into a friend from San Ramón in a doctor's waiting room right after my book came out. We hugged, and briefly caught up on our respective families and recent events at the Pueblo. "Everybody's talking about your book at the Pueblo," she suddenly burst out, uncomfortably. "Um, it seems really impressive," she added nervously. I got her address and promised to send her a copy. Thanking me quickly, she deftly changed the subject back to more "public" topics.

First, what this clarifies is that I cannot expect to be part of the future *audience* for talk about community matters, including how this book written about the Pueblo was received. Like the Keiwa language materials that were produced for use in the language program, I am not part of the intended audience for discussions about my book, even as I figure centrally in its creation. At the same time, I could imagine that the book might be used in similar ways to the mobilization of Keiwa texts within and among groups at San Ramón. Perhaps it too will serve as a way to talk about the (in)appropriate circulation of cultural knowledge, the future of the community, and as a way of illustrating particular political points of view, strengthening and challenging the formation of future Indigenous publics, counterpublics, privates, and counterprivates.

This vignette and the other examples outlined here show that in Pueblo contexts, "publics" in Warner's second sense, remain highly constrained groups whose membership is constantly shifting in response to current political realities and language ideologies shaping practices with cultural knowledge and materials. Interpellation of current and future audiences, including choosing not to talk about academic depictions of Indigenous communities, is one way to render tribal sovereignty visible for community members at San Ramón, Ysleta del Sur, and for other groups, moving against the model of the federal government as the solitary, necessary audience and instead addressing local publics/privates made up of fellow Indigenous language speakers and learners.

This case also illustrates that Pueblo groups created through the circulation of texts are quite different than the kinds of publics described by theorists of Western literacy practices, showing that theorists of the public sphere missed a large part of what literacy is about: the ability to revise and to constrain. By studying the aesthetics of Pueblo writing, I show that literacy also has the potential to regulate and control the circulation of cultural knowledge and, in turn, both reflects and reinforces local models of interaction, political participation, and personhood that privilege indirectness and seek targeted readerships. At San Ramón Pueblo, literacy is a technology capable not only of spreading information (although rarely used in this way), but also of controlling it in two ways: first, through regulating the circulation of cultural materials and, second, by shaping their formation during processes of editing and negotiation. The potential obstacles to achieving the goal of speaking Keiwa in the present, including fear of making mistakes, local political difficulties, and time constraints, make it hard to maintain such a hopeful, imminent goal. The invocation of the past as part of this and other language revitalization projects allows for the temporal displacement of the present, invoking an idealized past to bring about a perfected future community.

Lastly, we can also locate the augmentation, creation, and transformation of private and counterprivate spheres, groups that exist partially through the tight control of written materials and reactions to such practices of a dominant group. Just as salvage anthropologists and linguists participated in discourses about modernity, progress, and "saving" evidence of the so-called "vanishing Indian" as part of linguistic and ethnographic projects, previous attempts to describe the implications of writing and circulation practices in the West have also been aligned with incomplete understandings of the connection between texts, modernity, and anonymous publics. This is not only useful for analyses of current and future language uses, policies, and audiences in Pueblo contexts and other Indigenous communities, but shows how practices with texts and their circulations, whether seen as public or private, reflect and create variable conditions of possibility for performances of personhood and social change.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1 The name of the Pueblo as well as the name of the language spoken there ("Keiwa") are both pseudonyms.
2 This chapter contains condensed versions of several of the central arguments in my book, *Fixing the Books: Secrecy, Literacy, and Perfectibility in Indigenous New Mexico* (2015), School of Advanced Research Press, Santa Fe.
3 After years of lobbying, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo was granted the right to determine their own membership requirements, a right shared by all federally recognized tribes but withheld from Ysleta del Sur by the State of Texas. For more information on the history of this issue, see https://nnidatabase.org/video/carlos-hisa-and-esequiel-zeke-garcia-ysleta-del-sur-pueblo-redefining-citizenship.
4 In her study of Italian Freemasons, Mahmud uses the concept of "discretion" to extend her analyses outside the boundaries of formally "secret" societies. She writes, "I ask how an anthropological analysis of discretion may help reveal not just forms of cultural practice deemed 'secret' but also the interpretive art of decoding that underlies the very process of knowledge formation among Freemasons" (Mahmud 2012: 426).

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Part III

Scaling publics

8 "I don't write Navajo poetry, I just speak the poetry in Navajo"

Ethical listeners, poetic communion, and the imagined future publics of Navajo poetry

Anthony K. Webster

"The cinema is little more than a fad. It's canned drama. What audiences really want to see is flesh and blood on the stage" (Sennett [1954] 2000: 157). So goes Mack Sennett's voicing of Charlie Chaplin's famous prediction about future publics and their desires. Chaplin, of course, wasn't wrong so much about cinema, he was wrong about people and how he imagined a future public desirous of "flesh and blood on the stage." Perhaps Chaplin's own work in film reconfigured that future public? This chapter considers the future publics for Navajos who compose their poetry in Navajo. Following Michael Warner (2002), I argue that all future publics are acts of active imaginations, that they are possible futures, and that our acts of imagining these possible futures are often informed by our presents (or what we take to be our present conditions). To understand this imaginative work, I'll discuss some of the motivations that some Navajos have for writing in Navajo and the kinds of audiences that they imagine will read or hear and ultimately understand their poetry.

In thinking about the question of future publics, I have been inspired by Warner's (2002) discussion of publics and counterpublics. As Warner (2002: 55) notes, publics—for poetry and other such genres—"are essentially imaginary, which is not to say unreal . . . They exist by virtue of their address." It is this imaginary quality—this imagining of a future kind of public—that I want to explore in this chapter. Likewise, and this becomes crucial as we look at the work of Navajo poets writing in Navajo, "a public is always in excess of its known social basis" (Warner 2002: 55). In fact, it is this excess of a known social basis that becomes key in the ways that Navajo poets who write in Navajo imagine that future public. Stated simply, the current known social basis concerning literacy in Navajo on the Navajo Nation, as I describe below, is still relatively limited. Part of the work of these poets then, is to create the conditions for a broader social basis. Related to this is the question of uptake. As Warner (2002: 61) states, "publics are only realized through active uptake." Without an uptake of poetry written in Navajo, the imagined future public of Navajo readers does not come into being (it is always a potential future public). This is, as Warner (2002: 76) notes, a public of strangers (imagined readers we have not met and will never meet) and because the poetry is written in Navajo, it seems "natural"—given the ways that speaking Navajo has

been iconically linked with being Navajo (see Webster 2009; Field 2009)—that these strangers will be Navajos. At the end of this chapter, I'll argue that "naturalness" may not be the imagined future public of all the Navajo poets I've worked with who compose in Navajo. Finally, like the discourse-centered approach to language and culture articulated by Greg Urban (1991) and Joel Sherzer (1987), Warner argues that for a public to exist, discourse must circulate. It is the circulation of discourse and its active uptake that creates a public.

Poetry, I should also note at the beginning, is a challenge to the Lockean inherited language ideology described by Warner (2002: 82–83) and Charles Hirschkind (2006: 106)—"rational-critical dialogue, a universal speech form unhindered by conventions of affect and expressivity"—that licenses the fiction of a modern public (see Bauman and Briggs 2003 on the formation of this Lockean perspective). Poetry, predicated on indexical and iconic functions, is a "cheat and abuse" (John Locke quoted in Bauman and Briggs 2003: 36) that defies a *monotelic* view of language as merely or essentially semantico-referential meaning (see Jakobson 1960; Hymes 1968; Silverstein 1979; Friedrich 1986; Leavitt 2011).[1] Poetry, in distinction from Grice's conversational maxims, begins with the maxim: *be ambiguous*. And while poetry is not immune to such monotelic visions of language, its emphasis on affect and expressivity might provide a hint as to why poetry is often found in language and community revitalization movements (see Webster 2009, 2012; Cavanaugh 2009; Faudree 2013, 2015; Barrett 2014). The poetic function and the phatic function (or phatic communion [Malinowski 1953]) of language are here crucial. As Warner (2002: 81) suggests, "public discourse, in other words, is poetic. By this I mean . . . that all discourse or performance addressed to a public must characterize the world which it attempts to circulate, projecting for that world a concrete and livable shape, and attempting to realize that world through address." Culture, as Sherzer (1987) long ago noted, exists in and through discourse (see also Urban 1991; Silverstein 2013). It is the attempts to realize that world—an imagined future public—through poetry that I am concerned with in what follows.

Imagining a modern Navajo: a brief history of Navajo literacy

Let me, as an orienting maneuver, first sketch out something of the contours of a brief history of Navajo literacy. For Robert Young (1993), an interested party to the development of the current Navajo orthography, has sketched out some of the important moments of writing Navajo by Western graphic means (i.e. the alphabet). Young (1993) describes how first explorers and the military wrote down various Navajo words, followed by the introduction of missionaries and attempts to translate the Bible into Navajo. Finally, Young (1993) describes the work of anthropological linguists like Edward Sapir and Harry Hoijer and his own involvement with the federal government in the creation of the current Navajo orthography. The "orthographic norm" on the Navajo Nation for writing Navajo is the orthography found in Young and William Morgan's (1987) grammar and dictionary, *The Navajo Language* (see also Holm 1996; Peery 2012). Morgan, as

many Navajos were quick to mention to me, was Navajo. One Navajo educator I spoke with called the orthographic norm the "Morgan standard"—others call it the "YounganMorgan standard" (see Holm 1996). However, while there is pride in Morgan's role in creating the orthography, there is also recognition that the orthography was the product of the federal government. The orthography—which was developed in the 1940s—led to an initial burst of written Navajo materials produced by the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) and other governmental agencies. It did not, however, lead to widespread literacy in Navajo. I think it is clear that one impetus for promoting the orthographic norm was a kind of Andersonian writing equals national identity calculus (Anderson 1991). As Bernard Spolsky and Lorraine Boomer (1983) note, the rise of an orthographic norm ("standardization" in their terms) was conjoined with the rise of the Navajo Nation and its political infrastructure and a sense of "modernizing." Many of the early bilingual publications in Navajo and English were produced by the United States Government and the BIA and often had overtly nationalistic and Protestant work-ethic inspired themes (see Lomawaima and McCarty 2006). As Young (1993: 53) notes, after this initial burst of interest by the federal government in Navajo literacy and written materials in the 1940s, by 1956, "literacy in Navajo ended, so far as Federal programs were concerned." Indeed, federal policy toward the Navajo language, especially in boarding schools, became antagonistic (Young 1993). The focus shifted to the coercive teaching of standard English literacy at the expense of or as a replacement of Navajo language skills.

Historically, as anthropologist Gladys Reichard (1945: 167) noted with regard to her 1934 "Hogan School" conducted on the Navajo Reservation and which meant to create a Navajo writing system (see also Young 1993: 52; Lockard 1995: 26), there was a good deal of linguistic diversity among Navajos and this diversity was not considered "wrong," but linked with a speaker's clans and with a respect for individual autonomy and thus reflective of what Paul V. Kroskrity (2009: 193) has termed "a language ideology of variationism." Reichard's (1945) "Hogan School" was done largely before Navajos went to boarding schools in large numbers in the 1950s. In 2007, a Navajo writer and former boarding-school student, commenting on the influence of the boarding school on Navajos, said to me that the worst thing—the most insidious thing—that the boarding school taught Navajos about language was that "you could tell someone they were wrong." For this consultant it was not just that Navajos were beaten or punished for speaking Navajo, but that you could tell someone that their use of language was "wrong." As Margaret Field (2009) has noted, Navajo language ideologies have been neither unitary nor have they been static over time. What my consultant was hinting at here was that some Navajos, through the influence of the boarding schools, had shifted from a variationist language ideology, one that respected individual and clan language difference, to an ideology focused on "linguistic nationalism" and a "standard" and "orthographic norms" (see Anderson 1991; Silverstein 2000; Milroy 2001; Blommaert 2008; Kroskrity 2009). Spolsky and Boomer (1983: 247–250) make this point explicit when they discuss efforts at the "standardization" of Navajo writing in conjunction with the "modernization of Navajo." Char

Peery (2012: 122) argues that Young was actively attempting to create a standard Navajo and this was linked to an ideal modern Navajo (see also Dinwoodie 2003). In fact, Peery (2012: 122) quotes Young's view that the next step in the modernizing of a standard Navajo was a "Navajo literature." This is a view that both some Navajo poets and non-poets mentioned as an important result of poetry written in Navajo. Young's view—echoed by many Navajos—was that "a language without a literature has a poor chance of survival" (quoted in Peery 2012: 122); this was *literature as literacy*. It goes without saying (but say it I will) that Navajos have a rich literature—kept language meant to be shared (see Bahr 1994)—outside of literacy. The creation of a Navajo literature (conjoined here with literacy) implicitly has a vision of a future public of literate and educated Navajos (one can see this most clearly in the publication of Navajo language articles and poetry in the short-lived *Journal of Navajo Education* (see Anon 1995).

On the other hand, Daniel McLaughlin (1992) has provided a "sociolinguistics of Navajo literacy." McLaughlin (1992) suggests through ethnography of literacy practices in a Navajo community that literacy—both in English and in Navajo—can be "empowering" for local community members. McLaughlin (1992: 151) argues that in the community where he worked (which had a robust bilingual program), Navajo literacy had gone through "processes of indigenization" where Navajos used Navajo literacy for personally satisfying and empowering reasons. McLaughlin (1992: 151) describes how "vernacular literacy" was used "in traditional domains, to record ceremonial procedures, for example, and in the home, to write letters, lists, journals, and notes." Especially important was the discussion of Clara Tom who had written notes to herself in Navajo (McLaughlin 1992: 119). Here the audience was also the author. Empowerment and satisfaction of using Navajo also were reasons that some Navajo poets gave for writing in Navajo. For example, the most recent Poet Laureate of the Navajo Nation (as of 2015), Laura Tohe—fluent in Navajo—went to Diné College and took classes in writing Navajo so that she might be able to write poetry in the official Navajo orthography. She did this both so that she might be a part of creating that Navajo literature, but also because she wanted to say certain things in Navajo (see Webster 2009). Rex Lee Jim, another Navajo poet, also said that he wrote poetry in Navajo or English depending on what language he felt best captured what he was trying to say. This felt connection to writing in Navajo is an important component of the creation of that future public. It is a public that may too feel (or come to feel) the importance of saying or writing something in Navajo (Webster 2015a).

Creating a future public for Navajo poetry

The question of future publics for Navajo poetry was a topic that I often asked Navajo poets during my fieldwork on the Navajo Nation from 2000 to 2001. The question was often framed in terms of who the audience was for their work. But as simple as the questions appear: Who are you writing your poetry for? Who is the audience for your poetry? Who would you like to read this in the future? The questions hinged on the ways that Navajo poets imagined that future audience and that

future world. As it turns out, that future world and that future public were sometimes intimately linked with the work of the poet. One Navajo poet, Blackhorse Mitchell, who writes poetry primarily in English, said that he wrote his poetry for "anyone who could pick it up and listen." His poetry was meant to be heard (that is, actively contemplated) by a broad potential audience (see Webster 2015a). This would be a public that would be concerned with the environmental issues on the Navajo Nation. Most Navajo poetry—that is poetry written by Navajos—is written in English (Webster 2009). Some of this poetry, though, does use Navajo lexical items or entire stretches of Navajo in otherwise English-language dominant poetry (this English may be aligned with a more dominant variety or with the local Navajo English variety) (Webster 2009, 2015a).

When I asked poets who wrote poetry primarily in Navajo what kind of future audience they were writing to, they often imagined a world where there were, indeed, literate Navajos reading their poetry. For a poet like Rex Lee Jim, fluent and literate in Navajo, that meant imagining a canon of Navajo literature that future Navajos could look at as a sign of the legitimacy of the language. It also meant inspiring other Navajos to work toward creating that canon of written Navajo literature. It meant too a world where those future Navajos could reflect on the images within his poetry and gain some understanding of themselves. One goal for Jim of writing poetry in Navajo was to create the beginnings of a canon of written Navajo language literature (not in the sense, as Jim explained to me, as "being against Western" literature, but being co-present with that literature). As Jim once told me, sitting in the kitchen of a mutual friend in the winter of 2000, writing in Navajo was not political, but that the politics were to be found in the poetry. Here the goal was that the poetry that Jim wrote was meant to encourage Navajos to reflect on themselves and the world. In such reflections, moral ways of orienting to the world would be discerned.

When I asked other Navajo poets, like the older Navajo woman who wrote poetry in Navajo and kept it in a three-ring binder to give to her grandchildren, she saw the future public as her grandchildren and their children. She saw her poetry as a "gift" for her grandchildren and "trips down memory lane" for them, so that they might come to know something about her and her sisters (especially a recently deceased sister) and her parents and grandparents. I found this image, of her grandchildren reading her poetry in Navajo and coming to know something of this poet and her life a compelling one. When I then asked this older Navajo woman if her grandchildren spoke and read Navajo, she told me no, they did not. She hoped, however, that in writing her poetry in Navajo she might inspire them to learn Navajo. Here, writing poetry in Navajo was an attempt to help create an imagined literate Navajo future public. Her poetry wasn't just directed to that future public, it was also about creating that future public. Her poetry was—in this sense—constitutive of that future public; it was meant to inspire uptake, to create the conditions of that uptake. This poet was a long-time educator and, specifically, a long-time Navajo language educator and yet her grandchildren, aged 10 and younger, did not speak or write Navajo. Their grandmother, of course, was an anomaly; not just a speaker of Navajo, but also literate in Navajo and

literate in what is seen as the YounganMorgan standard. A standard, I might add, that she had actively been promoting for several years. Yet, here again, is a pattern well documented of the three-generation language shift even in the family of a committed language activist. This language-educator poet is reminiscent of Erin Debenport's (this book) discussion of the link between nostalgia ("trips down memory lanes") and a hopeful view found in language revitalization efforts. Indeed, poetry, for both Jim and this poet, imagined and hoped to help create a Navajo literate future public. For Jim the strangers are Navajo; for the older Navajo woman these "strangers" would be, first, her grandchildren and later their children and grandchildren (here, certainly, these descendants would be both strangers and relatives). As one Navajo poet once noted, it would be a shame if someone like me—a non-Navajo—was the only audience for Navajo poetry written in Navajo.

While some Navajo poets do write in Navajo to create a future public of Navajo readers, it should be noted that much of that writing is not widely available. For the older Navajo woman it is a single three-ring binder and the future public is a small and intimate one where the familial intimacy would inspire active uptake. Jim's (1989, 1995, and 1998) books of poetry are not widely available on the Navajo Nation. The books were published, respectively, by the Princeton Collections of Western Americana (which doesn't seem to have the same distribution infrastructure as, say, the University of Arizona Press) and by An Clochán in Beal Feirste, Ireland (the book is a trilingual collection in Navajo, English and Gaelic). They are not regularly sold, for example, at the Navajo Nation Museum in Window Rock, Arizona. The Museum does sell books of poetry by other Navajo poets, but those books are predominately in English. Though Tohe's (2005) *Tséyi: Deep in the Rock* does have some Navajo language poems in it and was available for sale there as recently as 2014. I purchased my copy of Jim's (1995) *saad* from him after a poetry performance at the Museum in 2001 (as recently as 2017, Jim was still selling copies of *saad* after poetry readings). Tohe's book can also be bought on various internet websites. These include the University of Arizona Press, which published the book, and places like Barnes and Noble, and Amazon.com. Jim's books are less available for purchase online (though one can track down some of the books that way). In this way, there are limits on the public—as created through the circulation of discourse—of Jim's poetry (this seems partly a result of the venues where Jim published).

Tohe's book, through its potential for circulation, has a potentially wider public (recall that such publics are constituted not just by circulation, but by uptake as well). When I asked Tohe who her imagined audience was in October 2000, she replied first that she hoped Navajos would read her work, then Indian people more generally, and finally she hoped other people as well would come to her work. The accessibility of her books—at the Tribal Museum and other venues on the Navajo Nation as well as wider venues like the internet—acknowledges the possibility of that wider public. Though, as the young Navajo man who worked the counter at the gift shop at the Tribal Museum told me, most people who buy books there are Anglos and not Navajos. Indeed, as I have described elsewhere

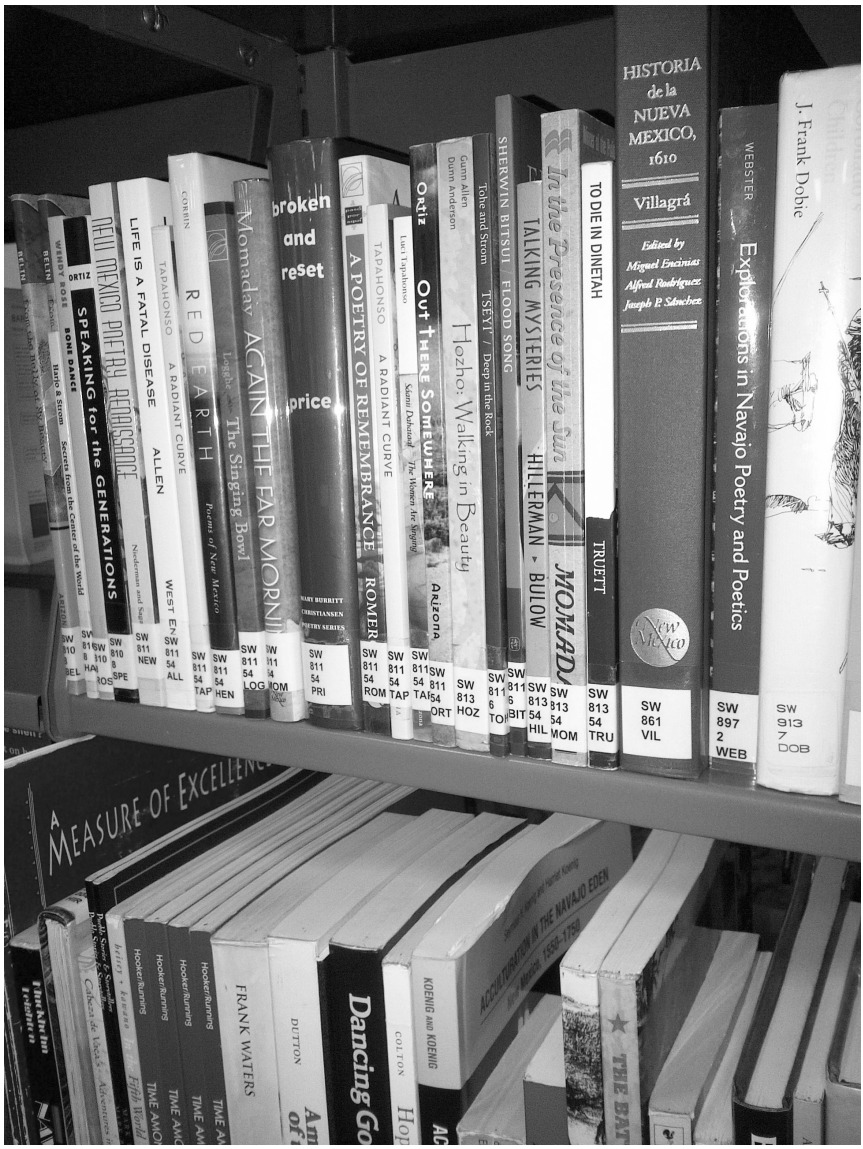

Figure 8.1 Books of Navajo poetry at Shiprock Public Library.

(Webster 2015a), books by Navajo authors often circulate from person to person and books are not normally accumulated (though many of the poets that I have worked with would be exceptions to such a generalization). As one Navajo writer explained to me, "Navajos don't buy books." Of course that Navajo writer has a large collection of books. My point here is that circulation does not equal the

number of books purchased. Indeed, libraries on the Navajo Nation, like the public library in Shiprock, New Mexico, do have a number of books of Navajo poetry (including Tohe's 2005 collection, but not Rex Lee Jim's books) (see Figure 8.1).

"Oh you spelled it wrong"

If the older Navajo woman and Rex Lee Jim are examples of the constitutive power of poetry to create an imagined future public, it is not without its tensions. Writing in Navajo can be a highly charged site of ideological struggle over standards and what, after all, a writing system should and should not represent. For example, while Jim was often praised for writing his poetry almost exclusively in Navajo, in the next breath Navajos would often also remark that he often misspelled words. Sometimes, these were copy-editing errors, where a glottal stop (represented as <'> in the practical orthography) was inadvertently left out of a word and what was one word with a medial glottal stop became, instead, two words (sometimes with unfortunate consequences). Other times, it was misrecognition or a denial on the part of the reader of what were relevant linguistic features in Navajo. I have, for example, written elsewhere about Jim's use of the insertion of the velar fricative ([x], [gh]) as an expressive device in his poetry (Mitchell and Webster 2011; Webster 2015a). So, for example, a word that might normally be written as:

1) *nániichaad* "to swell up again, to become full"[2]

was poetically and creatively written as:

2) *nániichxaad* "to become too full."

To highlight the lack of control and disorderliness of the actions and to evoke the moral precept *hóchxǫ'* "lack of control, disorderly, ugly, evil." *Hóchxǫ'* is normally pronounced and written with the expressive velar fricative [x]. The use of (the written form) in this poem presents an invitation both for the physicality of voice (the production of the velar fricative when reading) and the expressive satisfaction of voice (saying something in satisfying form) (Webster 2013; see also, on the twin notions of voice, Weidman 2014 and Harkness 2014). The use by Jim of the velar fricative in the written version of the poem elicited statements that Jim had misspelled those words because they are not normally written that way in the YounganMorgan standard. Though, I might add, Young and Morgan (1987) do discuss the expressive work of the velar fricative in Navajo. This was a reading that disregarded the poetics of this poem in favor of fidelity to spelling conventions and a focus on semantico-referential meaning. Let me add, though, that I have not heard Navajos criticize the spoken versions of this poem for the insertion of the velar fricative.

The critique of Jim's spelling was not an isolated incident. Over the years, a number of Navajo consultants and acquaintances have pointed me to misspellings

they see not just in the poetry of other Navajos, but all around the Navajo Nation. In my own social world, there is often a pleasure, for example, in pointing out the misspellings on homemade signs at anti-immigration rallies and the like (*are* for *our* being a common example), highlighting the ironies of those who claim "American-ness" and railing about the need to "learn English." Such activities, while in the service of critique of anti-immigration rhetoric and thus satisfying to some degree, also work to, implicitly at a minimum, police a "monoglot standard" that elsewhere one might readily question. This pleasure and policing is found among Navajos as well. One cannot go to a conference on the Navajo language and not hear some member of the audience decry the Navajo spoken on KTNN (the radio station run by the Navajo Nation). Such criticisms miss, as Klain and Peterson (2000) have noted, the differences between everyday Navajo and the radio (or broadcast) register for Navajo. Public sphere Navajo, Navajo that circulates publicly on the Navajo Nation—written or not—is often subject to scrutiny by Navajos (Webster 2010, 2014, 2015a).

Literacy, as I noted, is a site for such policing. One Navajo I've worked with for years, took me to the regional Indian Health Service Hospital to show me the inscription on a statue there. The inscription, he noted, is supposed to be in Navajo, but—crucially—the nasal hooks had been left off the inscription and so the words were misspelled (including, for example, *hózhǫ́* being written as *hózhó*). Some public sphere signs that are ostensibly written in Navajo on the Navajo Nation do defy the phonology and orthography of Navajo creating, as one consultant put it, "impossible words" in Navajo. For example, in Figure 8.2, we have a street sign that reads *Dif' G'one'*. This form is most likely meant to represent *dį́į́' góne'* or the ordinal "fourth." *F* is present neither in the current Navajo orthography, nor is it a phoneme in Navajo (see Young and Morgan 1987; McDonough 2003). The form *Dif' G'one'* suggests a lack of familiarity on the part of whoever set the type for the sign (possibly mistaking the high tone nasal <*į*>for an <*f*>) (see Webster 2014). Some Navajos that I talked with about this sign saw it as an indication of the lack of seriousness on the part of the Tribal Government concerning the promotion of the Navajo language (here understood as linked with writing and orthographic fidelity) (see Webster 2014).

Some Navajos are acutely aware of these forms of policing; these forms of scrutiny (see Webster 2010, 2015a). Some Navajo poets that I have worked with go to the Young and Morgan (1987) dictionary to check on the spelling of words. Some Navajos have asked me how certain forms are spelled. Some Navajo poets spell words in their own grassroots manner, seeing the need to write a word or concept in Navajo as too important to let unfamiliar spelling conventions limit their creativity and expressivity. Many of these poets have not taken formal classes in Navajo writing and reject the need to write in the standard. Today, when Navajo poets write in Navajo their poetry is often opened up to criticism for being "spelled incorrectly." One Navajo student I knew in 2000–2001 showed me a poem he had written in Navajo for a creative writing class that was replete with red marks indicating all his spelling errors. As he noted, nothing had been said about the content of the poem. It was my impression that this had discouraged him

Figure 8.2 Street sign near Fort Defiance, Arizona.

from writing in Navajo. In discussing a poem written in Navajo by a Navajo poet with two Navajos literate in Navajo, one of the Navajo consultants (Consultant A) was highly critical of that poet's abilities to write Navajo (the poet was not present). The other Navajo (Consultant B) told Consultant A that he sounded like a teacher from the boarding school. Consultant A conceded that point and tried to couch his criticism of the writing in Navajo in a more positive frame. The chastisement by Consultant B that Consultant A sounded like a boarding-school teacher seemed to clearly resonate with Consultant A. Where Consultant A had claimed that the poem was completely incomprehensible, Consultant B had said he could read the poem. Consultant A ultimately conceded that he too could read the poem, but that it was still "spelled incorrectly." However, Consultant A still had a hard time moving beyond treating the poem as a test of whether or not the poet could write the orthographic norm to discussing the poem as a poem. As Consultant A later told me, "how the language is used and spelled is very important." The importance wasn't just in spelling things correctly for the sake of spelling things correctly, but, rather, also a matter of treating Navajo with respect because to do otherwise would be "dangerous." For some Navajo, including both Consultants A and B, speaking Navajo in a controlled manner is important, because speaking Navajo carelessly or in an uncontrolled manner can lead to negative consequences in the world. This language ideology is the creative and enactive power of speech

so often remarked for Navajos (see Reichard [1950] 1963; Witherspoon 1977; McAllester 1980; Toelken 1987; Webster 2015a). For Consultant A, the power also seemed to be associated with proper ways of writing as well. Consultant B, however, disagreed with this view. I have not heard similar comments about writing in English. It is also interesting to note that Consultant B is significantly younger than Consultant A.

Many Navajo poets resist the notion of evaluating their written Navajo poetry by the criteria of the orthographic norm. Indeed, they are often frustrated by Navajos who seem overly fixated on the orthographic norms and on their (the poets) success or failure in aligning with that norm. These poets encourage other Navajo poets to write in Navajo no matter the orthography, because writing in Navajo is important to them and allows them to express important ideas, emotions, cultural knowledge, place-names and the like in Navajo. As one Navajo poet expressed it to me in 2010 (lines are segmented to indicate breath pause structuring):

3) I always have Navajos say to me, "oh you spelled it wrong"
Who says this is spelled wrong?
. . .
"Oh you didn't put the accent or the tone" or the whatever the heck.

Here the future public is one that is hyper-critical of violations in the norms of spelling Navajo; a regime of standard language ideology (Milroy 2001; Silverstein 2000). Some Navajo poets do hesitate to write in Navajo because of that concern with a future public that will read their work not as poetry but as fidelity or lack of fidelity to spelling conventions. My poet friend went on to suggest—given this hyper-concern with spelling conventions—that perhaps the way around this would be to find a way to bypass "writing Navajo poetry." As she said (lines again are segmented to indicate breath pause and thus highlight something of the rhetorical structuring of this comment):

4) It could be a way of resistance
I don't write Navajo poetry
I just speak the poetry in Navajo.

Related to this, it must be noted, is the almost complete absence in contemporary written Navajo poetry of what is called by some Navajos, "Navalish" or "Navlish" or "Navadlish" (Webster 2009). In such examples, Navajo morphology is attached to English lexical items (for example, *shiheart* 'my heart' or *plaza'góó* 'toward the plaza') (see Schaengold 2003; Webster 2009). This is a relatively common way of speaking on the Navajo Nation (see Schaengold 2003; Field 2009; Webster 2009; Peterson and Webster 2013). It is spoken by both older and younger Navajos—though it is often claimed by some Navajos that only younger Navajos speak *Navalish* and this is seen as an indication of the decline of Navajo. Yet, the imagined future public—the kind of Navajos being addressed—is a future

public that does not read *Navalish*. *Navalish* remains unnatural in this imagined future public (linked, as I have noted elsewhere [Webster 2009], with Indigenous purism and Navajo ethnonationalism).

Imagining a future public: Navajo as world language

As a way of concluding, I want to look at how such a vision of Navajo poetry—of speaking the poetry in Navajo—might be realized and what that might mean, as well, for an imagined future public. Here I turn to the poetry of "Jonas de Lioncourt" (this is a pseudonym used by the poet). Jonas has posted five poems in Navajo to YouTube. I first came across them wholly by accident (I was searching for some of Rex Lee Jim's poetry). The poems actually are written, but the written versions are not posted to YouTube. Jonas and I have corresponded via email since 2013. It turns out that Jonas and I have a number of mutual acquaintances (some of them other poets). Raised on the Navajo Nation, Jonas learned to write Navajo fairly early and attended bilingual schools. He was very much influenced by the work of Rex Lee Jim. But the desire to start writing poetry actually came when a Navajo poet came and read to his class at the University of Arizona in the mid-2000s. After the reading, the poet encouraged questions and Jonas asked the poet why he didn't write in Navajo. The poet responded that he didn't write in Navajo because he didn't really know the language. And while, according to Jonas, the class was uncomfortable with the response, he actually found inspiration in it. He did know the language and as he wrote to me, "the field of Navajo poetry was very much unexplored."

Posting on YouTube came about from encouragement from a friend a couple of years ago—partly as a way to promote Navajo. The poems are often briefly introduced by Jonas underneath the video. Here he explains the theme of the poem, but he does not write the poem in Navajo, nor does he provide an English translation. These are poems in Navajo. The video is usually a static image—related in some manner to the content of the poem (a poem that deals with the return of the *Diyin Dine'é* "Holy People" has a vibrantly colored painting of the "Holy People"; a poem about a love of Navajoland has a black-and-white photo of Monument Valley)—and Jonas reading the poem. The poems are short—all around a minute in length. Since 2007, Jonas has lived in China and taught English at the college level and, informally, taught Navajo as well. He continues to write poetry in Navajo and would like—when he finds the time—to post more poems to YouTube. Jonas's YouTube postings of Navajo poetry here, then, can be imagined, following Bernard C. Perley's (2011) terminology, as an "emergent vitality"—a site of possibility and delight in language use. Such emergent vitalities are crucial for understanding the ongoing value of and felt attachments to Indigenous languages.

Now, YouTube is not the same as publishing a book of poetry (as Jonas noted), especially when it comes to the cultural capital of being a "published poet," but there is an audience there of both Navajos who understand spoken Navajo and others (both Navajo and non-Navajo) who might be interested in hearing or

learning Navajo. There are no English versions that Jonas has created. Blackhorse Mitchell and I did transcribe the poems in Navajo and then translated the poems into English. When I told Jonas about this he was flattered that Mitchell (who he knew from his music CDs) had taken an interest in his poetry, but he was also clear that while he understood the "necessity" of translating them into English, he preferred the poems in Navajo (he wrote *Diné Bizaad*). And while the YouTube views of Jonas's poetry pages are not to the levels of cute cats, darling bears, or otters holding "hands," there is nevertheless potential (he has, respectively, 292, 475, 392, 218, and 1,249 page views for the five poems—as of October 27 2015[3]). Indeed, given the fact that many academic publishers have print runs of 500 copies, there appears to be a significant audience for Jonas's orally performed poems that are then circulated by way of YouTube. In many ways, Jonas's YouTube poetry is much more readily available than Jim's book *saad* (which, as I discussed previously, is not readily available on the Navajo Nation or more generally). So far, the majority of comments about Jonas's poetry have come from a non-Navajo trying to learn Navajo. There is also a curious comment that refers to Jonas as an "apple" concerning his poem about the return of the *Diyin Dine'é*. Jonas responds to the comment, but completely ignores that use of the insult ("apple," which finds its origins in the American Indian Movement of the 1970s, is sometimes used by Native people to describe other Native people who are "red on the outside, white on the inside"—in Navajo the term is *bilasáana* "apple" and Navajos can use it as an insult—though it is sometimes playfully used in teasing as well, but always with the potential to be heard as an insult).[4] It is a curious insult, since the poem flips the image of the Second Coming, and rather is about the countdown to the return of the Navajo *Diyin Dine'é*. It seems unclear whether or not the commenter understands Navajo at all.

Jonas has not received much feedback from Navajos who have watched and listened to his poetry videos. Though it appears that there has been some recent commentary—as of October 27 2015—that suggests some Navajos have found the poem "beautiful." And, again, he was quite pleased to get feedback from Blackhorse Mitchell about his poetry. The major feedback he has received is from a non-Navajo trying to learn Navajo and a linguistic anthropologist who works on issues concerning Navajo poetry. But encouraging non-Navajos to become a future public knowledgeable in Navajo doesn't seem to be a negative for Jonas—who, after all, is a language teacher. This might be the most radical (and utopian) of imagined future publics, a future public knowledgeable and literate in Navajo that includes both Navajos and non-Navajos (and here, these non-Navajos, like the Navajos imagined here, would be an audience of people—academics and non-academics alike—interested in poetry on its own terms in Navajo).

The image of Navajo literature, at least since Young, and articulated by some Navajos, is one of written poetry aligned with a standard. What is at issue here is the tenacity of a way of imagining a modern Navajo-reading public through the creation of Navajo literature linked as it is to a standard language ideology that is simultaneously dismissive of poetic and performative functions of language. Navajo literacy remains a contested site for ideological struggle.

The issue, as my consultant put it in 2007, was the radical shift to being able to "tell someone they were wrong" that was fostered at the boarding school and other Western regimes of knowledge—a shift from a variationist language ideology to a standard language ideology. Here we see, as A.L. Becker (1995: 197) so eloquently noted, that "one of the most subtle forces of colonialism, ancient or modern, is the undermining of not just the substance but the framework of someone's learning." This framework of a standard language ideology was perpetuated—as Peery (2012) argues—in the very language documentation project of Young. This too, for Young, was a vision of a future public of literate and modern Navajos. But note too just how much of this gets linked to a vision of Navajo linguistic nationalism, where a language and a people are laminated on top of each other. While Navajo poet Esther Belin, for example, has argued that it is time to consider "English as a Diné language," few imagine—especially in the context of current concerns about language shift (see House 2002)—a future public of Navajo language users that includes both Navajos and non-Navajos.

Jonas's poetry, it seems, envisions an imaginary future public that will come to these poems in Navajo and desire to engage in an active uptake in Navajo. This future public is, I would be inclined to imagine, founded on "ethical listeners"—intimate and engaged sociability and "informed by a language ideology emphasizing the poetic and performative dimensions of speech" (Hirschkind 2006: 107; see also Kunreuther 2014). As Perley (this book) argues, there must be a move to go beyond ideologies "that currently constrain[s] the creativity of language users." Jonas's YouTube poems defy the limits and conflicts that are entangled in Navajo literacies by positing a future public not of ethical readers, but rather *ethical listeners*. In distinction to the listening practices of KTNN—linked with the imaginings of Young's modern Navajo—and focused on referential content, these are listeners who will hear this poem for its poetics—its affective and expressive dimensions—and not merely for semantico-referential content.[5] Such listening, it should be noted, resonates with a key way that some Navajos suggest knowledge should be properly acquired: through repeated acts of listening (recall Mitchell's desire for his poetry to be read by people who would "pick it up and listen") (Webster 2015a; see also Nevins 2004; Meek 2007). Call this, if you like (following Malinowski 1953), ethical listening as *poetic communion* (where the poetic functioning of language inspires social connections). Or, in a more Burkean (1974) spirit, we can think of *poetry as equipment for living*—providing ways of knowing, acting, and delighting—for ethical listeners (see Becker 1999).[6] Hirschkind (2006: 107) calls a world of such ethical listeners a counterpublic. For Warner (2002: 87–88), "counterpublics are 'counter' to the extent that they try to supply different ways of imagining stranger-sociability and its reflexivity." A bit further on, Warner (2002: 87) adds that "counterpublics are spaces of circulation in which it is hoped that poesis of scene making will be transformative, not replicative merely." This, I have argued, is the work of Jonas's YouTube poetry: poetry as transformative of sociality and sociability. It is an invitation to cross a boundary or to not see it as a boundary at all.

Some Navajo poets reject the alignment with the standard and seek a written Navajo that is satisfying regardless of its alignment with the standard. Jonas's YouTube poetry challenges the need, in the end, for Navajo poetry to be written. Jonas does write his poetry (not readily available), but he also speaks the poetry in Navajo and it is the YouTube versions that are potentially most accessible. As I have noted elsewhere (Webster 2009), most Navajos come to Navajo poetry written in Navajo as an oral phenomenon. So this isn't novel, YouTube just makes it potentially more accessible. While many Navajo poets envision a Navajo future public as the audience for poetry in Navajo, Jonas seems to imagine that future public not just of Navajos, but of non-Navajos understanding poetry in Navajo. Navajo becomes here a world language (not a colonizing language, nor a global language, but a language of interest to flesh and blood human beings). And it isn't the internet that'll cause that, but people—human beings—and that's a vision of the future and of a future public (as ethical listeners), I think, at least worth imagining and imagining deeply.

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Notes

1 *Monotelic* is borrowed from Hymes (1968: 362; 2000: 334): *mono* "single" and *telic* "purpose, function." This could be contrasted, a la Jakobson (1960), with a vision of language as *polytelic* (many functions or purposes). As Hymes (2000: 334) notes, "'Monotelic' is a suitably obscure word for this [describing language as having a single function] with a nice ring."

2 In this chapter, I follow the orthography found in Young and Morgan's (1987) *The Navajo Language.* Special diacritics and typography for phonemic contrasts that occur in this paper can be explained as follows: a hook under a vowel indicates a nasal vowel,

i.e. /ą/; an acute accent indicates high tone, i.e. /á/; a doubling of the vowel indicates a long vowel, i.e. /aa/); /ʼ/ is a glottal stop. Following standard linguistic tradition / / indicates a phoneme, [ ] a phone, and < > a writing convention.

3 I should add, parenthetically, that I may be driving up the numbers of views somewhat. I have presented this paper as a talk at AAA, at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, and at Indiana Purdue Ft. Wayne (IPFW) in Ft. Wayne, Indiana, and have circulated the manuscript to various Navajo poets. In all those cases, there is certainly the possibility (and some confirmation from people I have asked and from requests for the web address from people at the talks) that I have inspired people to go and look at the YouTube poems by Jonas and thus aided in the constitution of that public (aided in the uptake).

4 The issue of "apples" and *bilasáana* has been taken up by some Navajo poets. Navajo poet Lenora Enoah (1994: 18) writes the following in her poem "Nucleus of an apple" (note that /à/ here appears to indicate high tone; * and + indicate footnotes):

> Termed bilagàana*
> equally with bilasàana+.
> Externally Native American,
> internally Caucasian-American.
> A stereotype
> with all the hype.

The footnotes are * Navajo term for Caucasian and + Navajo term for apple (Enoah 1994: 18). This poem seems a reflection on the harm that can be done by labeling a person as an apple or *bilasáana*. At the time that Enoah wrote the poem, she was living in Chicago and going to school at the University of Illinois at Chicago where she was studying English literature (Enoah 1994: 17). I have never met Enoah. I thank Bill Nichols for first showing me this poem.

In Rex Lee Jim's (1998: 63, 62) *Haʼasídi* "I'm Just Observing," Jim is playing with the notion of apple as a potential insult, but also as it is related to the Biblical story concerning the Garden of Eden. In the beginning of the poem he evokes both *bilagáana* and *bilasáana* and then urges the reader/listener (in my reading a *bilagáana*) to not pick up the *bilasáana* because of prior bad experiences with apples. The poem was originally published in Jim's (1989) all-Navajo volume and did not have an English translation. In the 1998 volume, the poem is in Navajo, English, and Gaelic. It is interesting to note that the addressee in the poem appears to be a white person or *bilagáana*—who may or may not understand Navajo.

Bilagáana and *bilasáana* share a sonic resemblance which adds to the saliency of their connection and both are considered to be loan words into Navajo from Spanish: *bilagáana* from *Americano* and *bilasáana* from *manzana* (Young and Morgan 1987: 386). Though, as Peterson and Webster (2013: 109) note, there are also counter or local etymologies for *bilagáana* that challenge its status as a loan word.

5 There is some evidence that this kind of ethical listener already exists. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, Rex Lee Jim sometimes read his poetry on KTNN and the Navajos I talked with about his performances of his poetry never criticized how he read his poetry. They did sometimes criticize the content of his poems. That was true as well when he performed before an audience (see Webster 2015a).

6 So far as I know, Andrew Becker (1999) was the first to rephrase Burke's (1974: 293) "literature as equipment for living" as "poetry as equipment for living." My use of "knowing, acting, and delighting" is meant to capture both the Roman theory of rhetoric of *docere* (to teach), *movere* (to move to action), and *delectare* (to please), but also something of a Navajo view on the work of Navajo poetry (see Webster 2015a). I take up the issue of Navajo poetry as equipment for living in more detail in Webster (2015b, 2016).

I note as well that Becker's formulation also seems to produce ethical listeners. Here is how Becker (1999: 22) concludes his discussion of poetry as equipment for living and Virgil's eclogue:

> When read through the lenses of Kenneth Burke's essay and the rhetorical functions of stylised speech in Rome, Vergil's *Eclogue* 9 can become a lesson in particularity, and individual humaneness—for his fellow Romans, for Octavian, for us. It is a lesson in compassion on a personal scale, ostensibly futile, that is nevertheless needed to build any kind of compassion on a political scale.

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9 Reflections on Navajo publics, "new" media, and documentary futures

Leighton C. Peterson

Since the salvage era, the latest media recording technologies have been deployed to document Indigenous languages and stories, and devices such as the phonograph and wax cylinders were integral for at least a few salvage-era ethnographers and linguists (Brady 1999). While shunned by early scholars as not being "scientific," these recordings and mediated texts have become invaluable resources for some Native communities engaged in linguacultural renewal. Likewise, early motion picture technologies facilitated the production of quasi-ethnographic films such as Edward Curtis' *In The Land of the Headhunters* (1914) or Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* (1922). Such docunarrative film classics have become vital in refiguring cultural continuity among, for example, the Kwakwaka'wakw (Glass 2007) and the Inuit (Raheja 2007), respectively. In contrast to the documentary aims of salvage-era recordings of stories or song, these films were intended primarily as entertainment for non-Native audiences. Yet they nonetheless became vital documents of the past. The audiences and publics for such media objects has changed over time, geared towards more Indigenous concerns and interpretations of the Indigenous communities who were subjects of the celluloid gaze.

These tools of modernity were not only the purview of Euro-American scholars and artistes. Native peoples also engaged the latest media technologies, such as Ute chief Red Hat's gramophone message sent to Washington via Frances Densmore (Brady 1999); Inuit involvement with Flaherty's production; and scores of Indigenous-produced cinematic works in the early days of Hollywood (Raheja 2010; Deloria 2004). More recently these engagements have grown to include Indigenous language social media postings in the twenty-first century. These ways of speaking, writing, and representing Indigenous lives can become objects of scrutiny and reflection for users, activists, and scholars alike. While "new" media technologies have been used in language revitalization projects (Eisenlohr 2004; Kroskrity 2009; Kroskrity, Bethel, and Reynolds 2002), there continue to be dramatic transformations in media potentials, which are not necessarily as "new" as we may imagine (Armbrust 2012). Social media texts and objects are instances of fleeting imagery or language use meant for a range of publics that become permanently documented in libraries, archives, or on web-based social media sites. If a "public" is in part a "relation among strangers," as

Warner (2002: 55) suggests, then such mediated forms create relations among large, disparate groups of strangers across time and space that transcend any "stable boundaries" between personal and impersonal, or public and private (Gal 2002). No media maker can completely determine their future audience or public as subsequent iterations and recontextualizations of media objects among multiple publics are not exhaustively imaginable.

By using online social media sites such as Twitter and Facebook or creating audiovisual content for broadcast or YouTube, Indigenous language media makers are simultaneously entextualizing, recontextualizing, and documenting their own languages in processes of multiplatform mediation.[1] For filmmakers, this is often for the expressed purpose of storytelling and sharing audiovisual work with a variety of audiences. In the case of social media, producers are at once sharing with the entire online or networked public while targeting messages for specific publics. With Twitter, they are engaging in a kind of social organization, shared temporality, and representational activism made possible by the platform itself (Bonilla and Rosa 2015). Twitter represents an interesting departure from its predecessors such as film and other, more stable kinds of media and technological representations. Unlike the films under consideration here, in theory, Twitter is instantly public, meant for a broad audience. And it is ephemeral, thus not immediately subject to temporal reiterations or the "authenticity" inscribed in documentary film or salvage-era texts.

In this chapter I present two case studies of "new" media-making among Navajo community members. First, I look at the documentary potentials of the groundbreaking Navajo Film Project, and explore how its publics and contexts have changed since newfound film technologies were deployed to study filmic language. I then turn to more contemporary Navajo filmmakers and examine the language ideologies embedded in the process of entextualization. Finally, I explore Navajo "tweets," 140-character social media messages, and look at the ways in which users imagine their publics and negotiate identities. Tweets are both a means of immediate communication and documentations of contemporary Native language use whose future publics are unknowable.

While films and tweets may seem incongruent, I would argue that there are more similarities than differences in these mediated forms. They share the traits of having been considered at one time "new" media and of having unpredicted outcomes that relate to linguacultural documentation. Both forms also communicate with—and engage—a variety of publics and audiences. By looking at specific filmic practices and social media interactions, we can see the ways in which tensions and potentials of entextualization play in the mediation of communities. We can also see the relationship between language ideologies and media makers as they imagine language and address multiple publics. Here I draw from Mazzarella's (2004: 346) discussion of mediation as "a material framework, both enabling and constraining, for a given set of social practices." These emergent practices are tied to technological transformations of "new" media, which may not be so "new." They also push at what is potentially documentable and how

documentation occurs, and they elucidate the ways in which media objects are created for imagined publics.

Filmic documentation and dialogic audiences

Filmic documentation projects have focused extensively on Navajo peoples, including a seminal documentary project engaged with Navajo "filmic language," the Navajo Film Project (Worth and Adair 1972). In this months-long film experiment in 1966, Sol Worth and John Adair documented Navajo film auteurs engaging what were considered new technologies, seeking to understand cross-cultural grammars of "filmic language" and Indigenous narrative structures with what were considered to be "unacculturated" members of Navajo communities. At the same time however, the Navajo filmmakers were documenting their own lives and their own communities with technology that was certainly previously unavailable to the community. For the scholars, the filmmakers' alteric use of space, sequencing, and narrative structures of "motion" and "eventing" indexed a uniquely Navajo filmic grammar. The filmmakers were understood to have documented their own group in constant motion and in balance and harmony with their environment, mirroring classic anthropological interpretations of Navajo language and culture.[2] This analysis was supported by long shots in some of the films of "journeys" on foot—to find silver for jewelry, gather plants for wool dyes, herd sheep, or to collect medicine for ceremonies that were considered intertextual references to journey-centric creation stories.[3]

As I have illustrated elsewhere (Peterson 2013), there were disparate understandings of audience and publics between the Navajo participants and the project organizers. For the Navajo filmmakers, the cultural productions were not ethnographic data to be analyzed through the frameworks of sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication, or visual studies. They were—among other things—a fun activity for the summer months, an exploration of personal artistic sensibilities, a chance to document and correct etic misrepresentations; ways to market jewelry and rugs and lessons in traditional cultural practices. As with contemporary Navajo film producers (Peterson 2011, 2013), the filmmakers were also acutely aware of their local Navajo audience and the sociocultural expectations of production, negotiating kinship relations during shooting and displaying an acute awareness towards appropriate filmic topics and visual elements in a process Ginsburg (1994) labels "embedded aesthetics." That is, they were aware of the potential for multiple publics, including Navajo and non-Native audiences.

The project produced six films that screened in cultural and academic venues worldwide, facilitated early on by the Museum of Modern Art in New York. In 2002 the films were added to the National Film Registry, cementing the films' reputation "as works of enduring importance to American culture" (Navajo Nation Museum 2011). In 2007 they were given to the Library of Congress in Washington, DC for repair, preservation, and digitization, and in 2012 they were re-premiered in special screenings at the Navajo Nation Museum in Window

Rock, Arizona, that I attended.[4] The films were presented that day as historical "documents" and "documentaries" by the museum staff in charge of the event, not as products of an ethnographic and cognitive experiment. Participants, including some of the original filmmakers, talked of how important the films were for "our children," and how the films would benefit them in learning "Navajo ways" (*Diné k'éjí*). They also spoke of the "teachings" in the film as they relate to sheep, wool, and dying, and hoped they could be used to perpetuate rug weaving. One participant noted that:

> these are a documentary of our traditional ways of life and arts. It is important what this documentary is telling us . . . about jewelry, paintings, rugs . . . hopefully the children will want to learn. Hopefully it will make the children want to learn the language. We should encourage them to speak it . . . we don't educate our young people. These films are treasures.

As with previous docunarrative films from the salvage era, both the audience and purpose for these media objects have shifted. Margaret Mead once suggested that visual documentations such as the Navajo films "will permit the descendants to repossess their cultural heritage (and, indeed, will permit present generations to incorporate it into their emerging styles)" (Mead 2003: 7–8). Indeed, the repatriation of visual and material cultural products has sparked community reengagements with histories that resonate in contemporary practices, a hallmark of Indigenous media as currently debated (Glass 2007; Raheja 2010; Morris 1994). Teresa Montoya, a Navajo filmmaker-activist-anthropologist, made a film to document the return of the works to Pine Springs, Arizona, the location of the original experiment. Her 2013 film *Doing the Sheep Good* represents how documentation and research have shifted to reflect more community-based concerns.

Other contemporary Navajo filmmakers also imagine their audiences in a multitude of ways, also with unknowable potentials. Indigenous filmmakers refigure stories for dominant media institutions and ideologies while simultaneously engaging the concerns of local communities, which often means engaging with Indigenous languages and ways of speaking, for purposes of documentation, aesthetics, "authenticity," or practicality (Peterson 2011). As younger community members, these filmmakers are challenging the tropes and ideologies regarding linguistic vitality and the younger generations' relationship with "traditional" modes, including language. At the same time, they may feel compelled to adhere to extant ideologies and tropes surrounding the Navajo language as they create their films. Many studies have shown how both ideologies and practices among Navajo speakers have shifted over time (i.e. Field 2009; Peterson and Webster 2013), which can include accommodation or rejection of "recent" practices such as mixed codes or grammatical shifts, as well as a variety of attitudes towards language shift to English.[5] There is also disagreement and misrecognition on what constitutes "Navajo," as competencies and practices from a wide range of speakers include elements from Navajo, English, Navajo English, and "bilingual

codes," sometimes called "Navlish."[6] Speaking Navajo, of course, is many things. It is codeswitching, mixed codes, Navajo English, and "English." It also includes representations of "real," authentic Navajo, an idealized form tied to processes of iconization and traditionalization; in this case, of particular ways of imagining spoken Navajo in the past.

Nanobah Becker's short narrative film *Conversion* (2002) illustrates how Navajo filmmakers imagine language and negotiate linguistic ideologies. In Becker's film, a period piece set in the 1930s that premiered at the Sundance Film Festival, a little Navajo girl's curiosity to discover the outside world puts her at odds with members of her family. Regarding the film's linguistic performances, Becker emphasized historical accuracy, noting that "[i]t would take an audience out of it if it was really horrible. Like if you see a movie and someone speaks bad Navajo, just awful, it totally takes you out of it . . . You kind of have to believe this is a period piece. If you're Navajo you know that everyone was speaking Navajo back then. That was my audience." For Becker and other filmmakers, "the 1930s Navajo dialect," based on the final filmic representation, means neither loanwords nor codeswitching into English. To represent history, accuracy counts; in these cases "history" happens in Navajo. Navajo audiences have this expectation, integral to the representation and traditionalization of particular ways of speaking (Bauman 1992). That is, cultural producers are imagining historic language, and at the same time, they are encoding both the language and the story with new legitimacy while documenting this imagined language for future audiences.

Films are documentations. They also possess a great deal of symbolic power that can transform and engage publics in linguistic vitality. In the documentary *Weaving Worlds*, which began airing on U.S. public television in late 2008, audiences inevitably comment on the language used by characters. This film, which I produced and Bennie Klain directed, illustrates the ties between Navajo weavers, reservation traders and art dealers, and the global market for Navajo rugs, one of the most iconic and commodified symbols of Navajo culture. The film portrays numerous Navajo voices in the Navajo language, again due to the fact that the director was a Navajo speaker, and some of the participants were either monolingual or more comfortable—or more consciously aware of—speaking Navajo on film.

After a screening I attended in Santa Fe, New Mexico, a young Navajo woman who grew up off of the Reservation got up during the Q and A session after the film and started crying. She told the audience, "I never learned my language. Watching this film makes me want to learn more." Klain, the director of the film also in attendance, was struck. Such reactions were not the intent of the film, but they speak in part to unexpected audience reactions, if not the symbolic power of the language *in* film. As Klain elaborated later, "[i]n and around the Southwest area, there's always someone in the audience who has a similar reaction."[7] When asked about the impact of the film, Klain said: "[I] just wanted to get the weavers' stories, and the most authentic way to get the weavers' stories was to do it in Navajo. I didn't go into it saying, 'I'm going to save my people,' I didn't go into it

thinking that. In hindsight, I see those dynamics taking place . . . In hindsight it's having more implications than I thought."[8]

All of these films were intended for multiple audiences, Indigenous and nonindigenous, even though the reception of the films may, and did, vary. As documentaries, they were intended for some public that either already valued or would be amenable to valuing indigenous practices and histories. They were also expected to have an enduring presence, and, as with the Navajo Film Project, the potential to constitute (attract) new audiences over time. Furthermore, by preserving a particular historical representation, they projected a particular scale of accounting, for evaluating future linguistic performances framed as "Navajo."

Mediating #Navajo publics

While publics are essentially imaginary, if not unreal (Warner 2002: 55), the elusive embodiment of publics can sometimes be found in the discourses of media producers. For example, Navajo language radio broadcasters often imagine their audiences as they entertain or translate English-language copy into spoken Broadcast Navajo (Peterson 1997). Announcers often speak of their audience as "on the *hooghan* [traditional Navajo dwelling] level," "out on the Rez," or "in the remote areas." As one announcer noted, "I guess my focus whenever I'm looking at translating something is, OK, how can a 70 year-old grandma who's never left the Reservation, sitting in her *hooghan*, how can that make her understand what the story is about" (Klain and Peterson 2000: 125). Likewise, those imagined publics are indeed "real," and they are integral to the enforcement of language ideologies. As it is owned and operated by the Navajo Nation and known as "The Voice of the Navajo Nation,"[9] KTNN possessed a great deal of symbolic power, which held announcers to a higher standard of language use than so-called "everyday" Navajo interactions (Schaengold 2006; Field 2009) or even other Navajo media outlets. That announcers regularly deviated from perceived standards was often a point of friction between the audience and the station, which received constant complaints about language use. Audience members often looked to KTNN as a source of correct usage. Such scrutiny illustrates the recursive relationship between media production and "real" and "imagined" audiences. The emergence of internet streaming for stations such as KTNN opened new possibilities for publics, for language standards, and for documentation.

Twitter, a "microblogging" and social networking communications interface, lets users post (at the time of writing) 140-character messages, or tweets. Tweets are sent to the main Twitter "feed" and/or to one's "followers" who subscribe to a particular user's tweets, and they are seen on the follower's homepage "feed," shown on a Twitter home page, accessed via internet connection or received as a text message along with the tweets of any other users one may follow—all in reverse chronological order. Tweets, if created by a user who made their account public, could be viewed or searched by anyone on the site, including other Twitter users, defined as someone who has simply registered for the service.

EXAMPLE 1

dmyazzie8 @ScorpioLove81 kwe'e #navajo
ScorpioLove81 Where are all my people @!?! Shout out!! #Navajo #Native #Diné

Twitter feeds can be deceptively simple. Any given tweet is potentially an extremely complex written utterance that also has the potential to become a conversation-like interaction among multiple users. In order to create or understand many Twitter feeds and interactions, a user must possess at least minimal competency in multiple codes, including the semiotics and shifting structure and interface of Twitter; the language and symbols of English-based online interactions; and any other codes in use, in the case of this study, Navajo, Navlish, Navajo English, and English. This is the heteroglossic nature of tweeting. In Example 1, the user ScorpioLove81 asks a question posted to the general Twitter audience, "Where are all my people at?" While the question is general, the tweet is presumably geared for a more specific audience. It has been *hashtagged* ("marked") Navajo, Native, and *Diné*, the Navajo word for Navajo often glossed as "the People," by the sender. User dmyazzie8 responded in Navajo to ScorpioLove81, *kwe'é* ("here") albeit without the diacritics usually found in the Navajo *kwe'é*—the glottal / ʼ/ is visible but the high tone /é/ is not. The response has also been hashtagged with the term "Navajo."

In this response, the hashtag is metapragmatic, used to overtly mark the tweet as Navajo despite the presence of a Navajo language phrase. We also see two different grammatical uses of /@/ in this interaction, as a marker of address marking the tweet from dmyazzie8 as a reply to ScorpioLove81, and as a locational "at" in ScorpioLove81's original tweet (see Honeycutt and Herring 2009). Furthermore, tweets, retweets, and replies were posted in chronological order as they were sent from the bottom upward, so the response to the initial query appears in the first line.

Therefore, Example 1 would be reordered and glossed as:

Scorpiolove81: Where are all my Navajo people at!?! Shout out!
Dmyazzie8: Here.

How this virtual response compares to the same interaction in an inter-subjective context is certainly an interesting question, as one would not necessarily expect the response *kwe'e* or "here." But what is salient about this interaction is that dmyazzie8 culled ScorpioLove81's tweet from the hundreds of millions of tweets posted daily to the Twitter blogosphere, as ScopioLove81 hashtagged her tweet Navajo, Native, and Diné, allowing other users to search the terms specifically if they chose to, narrowing down an otherwise overwhelming number of posts.[10] Hashtags, created when one adds /#/ to any word in a tweet, turns the word into a searchable, intertextual hyperlink. According to boyd (2010), only 5 percent of English-language tweets in 2010 contained a hashtag, so the act was significant as hashtags were only created through an active decision

by the user. Example 1 also suggests something significant about the interactional potentials of Twitter, namely that dmyazzie8 searched #Navajo posts, and actively replied to ScorpioLove81 while allowing #Navajo to be retained in the default Twitter "reply" syntax.[11] "Retweeting," another important feature at this time, involved taking another user's tweet and reposting it so one's followers can view it directly. This could either be done automatically by clicking the "retweet" button linked to a posted tweet, or by a copy/paste action adding "RT @user1" to the beginning of the reposted tweet.

The use of hashtags presupposes a particular public, and with the use of Navajo, serves to "scale" the potential public. Public replying and retweeting are more significant than forwarding messages, as "the practice contributes to a conversational ecology in which conversations are composed of a public interplay of voices that give rise to an emotional sense of shared conversational context" (boyd 2010: 1). However, some users are not participating in the "interplay of voices" due to the potential regimenting functions of particular grammars or indexicals. Competent interlocutors manipulate the grammatical features available to them to scale their publics and target their audiences. Again, this point is salient as such interactions are occurring within the context of hundreds of millions of daily public tweets in a multitude of codes, and yet still provide the potential for interaction.

EXAMPLE 2

1)	REZwoman:	OMG!! Even better . . . With a pic of a Maii . . . RT @ MrQuotez: should have been 'Im the #Navajo your #cheii warned you about' hehe.
2)	REZwoman:	LMFAO . . . I want that shirt!! RT @MrQuotez: #tshirts logan 'Im the #Native your mother warned you about!'
3)	MrQuotez:	"I'm the Native your mother warned you about!" (topic: t-shirt slogans)

Reordered and Glossed:

1)	REZwoman:	(Laughing my fucking ass off) . . . I want that shirt!!
2)	MrQuotez:	Should have been "I'm the Navajo your grandfather warned you about" hehe (sly laugh).
3)	REZwoman:	Oh my god!! Even better . . . With a picture of a coyote (Coyote?) . . .

Codeswitching as a feature of speech play can be an important indexical of hybrid identities (Sherzer 2002). MrQuotez and REZwoman, through conversing via Twitter, take a hypothetical t-shirt idea and transform it from something that regiments a general "Native" identity to one that is specifically Navajo through the use of specific Navajo terms. *Che'ii* (maternal grandfather) and *ma'ii* (coyote) are words that can be iconic of Navajo culture in public forms by providing intertextual links to other Navajo genres (Webster 2009) or to "basic" and aesthetically pleasing sounds, cultural markers, and knowledge of Navajo.

Providing translations and explaining indexicals would not likely fit within Twitter's character limit.

Also, by choosing to write in Navajo, these users are reflecting the local language ideology that there is an "inherent incommensurability between English and Navajo" (Webster 2009: 97), a layered bivalency that is actualized in various ways in different interpersonal, mediated, online and offline contexts. That is, they are reflecting a belief that English words do not have the same indexicality that the Navajo words in this example do. They also reflect the kinds of Navajo words that "non-speakers" may know: kinship terms and honorifics, animal terms such as "coyote," introductions, politeness markers, and greetings and closings. Using Navajo and appropriate hashtags also serves to create an in-group that keeps other Twitter users out, but they may also act as a "cultural signifier" to attract the right publics, in this case those with at least some knowledge of contemporary Navajo communities.

EXAMPLE 3

1) ejohns02 :) RT @nKLRZ: 'ahéhee' RT @keeeebz: (Close, Ahe' hee) RT @desbah A' he' hee??? RT @ejohns02 How do u spell thank u n #navajo
2) nKLRZ 'ahéhee' RT @keeeebz: (Close, Ahe' hee) RT @desbah A' he' hee??? RT @ejohns02 How do u spell thank u n #navajo
3) ejohns02 Lol thanks . . . Or ahe'ee RT @keeeebz: (Close, Ahe' hee) RT @desbah A' he' hee??? RT @ejohns02 How do u spell thank u n #navajo
4) keeeebz (Close, Ahe' hee) RT @desbah A' he' hee??? RT @ejohns02 How do u spell thank u n #navajo
5) desbah A' he' hee??? RT @ejohns02 How do u spell thank u n #navajo
6) ejohns02 How do u spell thank u n #navajo

Reordered and Glossed:

1) ejohns02: How do you spell "thank you" in Navajo?
2) desbah: A'he'hee?
3) keeeebz: Close, Ahe'hee. (as an aside directed at desbah)
4) ejohns02: Ha (lit: "Laugh out loud"). Thanks . . . Or ahe'ee (directed at keeeebz)
5) nKLRZ: 'ahéhee' (directed at keeeebz)
6) ejohns02: (smiles at nKLRZ)

Multi-user interactions can exemplify a range of language ideologies. In Example 1, ejohns02's question, "How do u spell thank u n navajo" may seem simple, but both literacy and standard Navajo are not practices or ideologies shared by all community members (see Webster 2009; House 2002). The first replier tries to help, but seems quite unsure of her answer. desbah's "A' he' hee" is "close," but not quite correct according to keeeebz. The original poster thanks her repliers and adds her own interpretation of the spelling of "thank you," but

nKLRZ's "'ahéhee'" is what seems to be accepted as the correct answer to ejohns02's question, due both to the requester's closure of the conversation and the drop in subsequent posts on the topic.

nKLRZ's use of the antiquated word-initial glottal stop, however, most likely indicates he referenced an older glossary or dictionary. It also has enough diacritics and glottal markers to seem plausibly correct, important markers that have become iconic of written Navajo, and indeed this was accepted as the final answer. It is clear in this discussion that not all participants are familiar with the "standard" Navajo orthography that some say should be followed. Often, when trying to write Navajo without formal training, speakers will map their knowledge of Navajo onto the phonology-orthography of English (McLaughlin 1992), which is indeed the case in the multiple replies in (10). Focusing on proper Navajo orthography, however, reflects the sense that Navajo literacy is of value and may be aspired to (Webster 2009). Despite the fact that not every response is "correct," no one's reply is outright rejected or critiqued. Instead of erasing the previous tweeters' response, the users instead choose to manually retweet all of the contributions that came before their own.

In this constitution of a "public," everyone's input is valuable, and the full conversation as it progresses is spread to various followers for review and potential retweet. Within a couple of hours,[12] the initial poster's question was answered and the discussion came to a conclusion. Other Navajo twitter users jumped in right away to help ejohns02 with her question.[13] Despite the ephemerality of the specific practices and of web-enhanced communication interfaces themselves, a focus on Twitter practices illustrates how mediated practices link to other sociocultural processes and communicative modes (Wilson and Peterson 2002; Jones and Schieffelin 2009; Gershon 2010). However, just as social media are ephemeral, they are again documentable by users, search engines, and archives of the World Wide Web. But there are benefits beyond documentation: popular social networking platforms such as Twitter serve as hubs where, in the case examined here, some Navajo community members actively reflect and recreate indexical and iconic aspects of Navajo ways of speaking and writing.

Conclusion

As cultural productions and ethnographic objects, Indigenous-language media texts dialogically emergent through radio, films, social media, and the internet are linguistic representations inherently geared for multiple publics. They are—just as their salvage-era predecessors—at once documentations of contemporary practice and objects of future scrutiny. Unlike the stability (and inherent preservation) in film, Twitter is immediate and dynamic. Like salvage-era texts, films, tweets, and other social media interactions could be repurposed and preserved to serve as a historical recourse for future generations looking for the authentic. In the case of social media or films, media objects circulate widely but can be regimented or targeted in various ways, blurring the lines of "public" and "private" at any given moment. In this book, Debenport shows how the

distinction for Pueblo community members between audience and group is salient, and "different understandings of what is public and what is private co-exist within and outside of Pueblo contexts."

Mediated audiences often articulate in Warner's sense of publics as both "groups" and "concrete audiences" that organize in "natural" ways. It is perhaps natural, as Webster (this book) illustrates, to assume that the "united strangers" reading Navajo poetry will be Navajo. This is not, as he shows, necessarily the case in Native communities, as Kroskrity (this book) also reveals. Navajo filmmakers imagine their Navajo audiences, who are often their primary concern, but simultaneously seek to showcase their works in international venues. Likewise, while it may seem "natural" that tweets in Navajo are geared for Navajo publics, there is nothing inherent about a tweet finding particular audiences. However, while Navajo language tweets circulate among large, disparate global audiences, one can speak to strangers in marked forms, creating smaller communities with shared interests and concerns through specific linguistic practices. Tweets blur the dichotomy of public and private, and precisely because they are ephemeral, create through language those fluid imagined communities that transcend geography.

Warner's assertions that "[a] public is poetic world-making" and "a subjunctive creative project" (2002: 82) are reflected in social media practices. Following heteroglossic Navajo tweets through the blogosphere reveals the complexity of participating as competent interlocutors. Likewise, traditionalization may operate as particular linguistic features of Navajo, i.e. high tones and glottal stops become iconic of correct Navajo language use in such interactions. Risking audience critique, users engage new mediated worlds in Navajo, indexing particular ideologies about Navajoness, language, and technology itself. The creation and circulation of tweets involves a range of social choices and linguistic competencies, including the desire to engage the interface at all; the acts of posting, marking, and searching tweets; and competency in the grammar of tweets exhibiting multiple codes in a variety of forms. Tweeters are using all their preferred expressive resources, and Twitter—like other mediated, multiplatform communications tools—becomes a nexus for agency and linguistic vitality as users challenge the tropes of language loss and disengagement from traditional modes so often heard about Indigenous languages, speakers, and writers (Kroskrity 2009).

With an increasing number of Navajos living away from the geographic spaces of the Navajo Nation, community is maintained and mediated by communications technologies. It is in these instances of interaction—emailing, calling, watching audiovisual content—that cultural continuity and kinship ties are maintained. These examples highlight the fact that community is as much an "activity" as it is a "place," and as an activity, community is "done" by social actors, by community members, in a variety of ways and in a variety of contexts (Urban 1991). These activities are increasingly documented in large global networks of server farms and data storage facilities, searchable on the internet, facilitating a new kind of digital dataset surpassing the imaginings of the most prolific salvage-era recorders. Warner (2002) notes how each medium embodies its own temporality or immediacy, and the temporal and social expectations of the medium and message are

inherently linked. However, as media objects transition from interactions and community building to objects of scrutiny, such time-mode expectations are de-linked, and future iterations and recontextualizations of mediated forms become unknowable. These emergent media practices challenge us to rethink what is potentially documentable, how documentation is negotiated and scrutinized, and how the tension among symbolic and linguistic form and audience expectations plays out with future publics. They are also a reminder to us that "new" media worlds are not necessarily so new.

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Notes

1 On *entextualization*, *decontextualization*, and *recontextualization* as used here, see Bauman and Briggs (1990: 73). For more recent applications that link media and film studies and anthropology, see Gershon and Malitsky (2011); Erin Debenport (2011).
2 See for example Hoijer (1951) on "motion."
3 For a critique of the culture/personality analyses of the films in *Through Navajo Eyes*, see M. Peterson (2003: 198–204). For a much broader critique, see Pack (2012).
4 A full DVD set of the repaired films, including new interviews with filmmakers and community members and previously unseen footage, was released in late 2012. A DVD release party and public screening of the films was held in Pine Springs on January 18 2013, organized by Teresa Montoya, Mark Deschinny, and Eunice Kahn. The DVD collection is available through Vision Maker Media, http://www.visionmaker.org. For more up-to-date information on the films' background, screenings, and future plans, see www.penn.museum/sites/navajofilmthemselves.
5 See, for example, Field (2009), House (2002), and Parsons-Yazzie (1996).
6 Such misrecognitions are aptly illustrated in this book by Webster's analysis of Navajo English; see also Anthony K. Webster, "On Intimate Grammars with Examples from Navajo English, Navlish, and Navajo," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 66 (2010): 187–208. For discussions of the ideological implications of codeswitching and code mixing, as well as numerous examples, see also Schaengold (2003).
7 While audience reactions are never predictable, they are often insightful. Klain noted that "I was most surprised when it screened at NMAI [National Museum of the American Indian] in DC, and the woman who was leading the discussion, her first comment when she started the Q and A session was 'I call myself a fifth-generation weaver, but after seeing this film and growing up in Phoenix, I didn't realize people still live like that.'" Klain, Interview.
8 Klain, Interview.

9 KTNN Radio Station Enterprise was established in 1984 as an "enterprise" of the Navajo Nation, a for-profit organization owned but not controlled by the Navajo Nation government.
10 A note on usernames and gender: where gender is specifically marked in this discussion, the user has provided that information on their public Twitter homepage. While many usernames in this discussion are marked Navajo (i.e. "yazzie" in dmyazzie8 is a common last name), some are not (i.e. monstrrr). One cannot make the assumption that marking usernames equates to offline identity, thus only the practices beyond the username requiring other sociocultural and linguistic knowledge were analyzed.
11 In the Twitter interface in use at the time, parsing "replies" vs. "retweets" was complex: if for example user1 (where user1 = online persona) added "@user2" to the beginning of their tweet, it was only sent as a reply to user2's feed, user1's main profile page, and to the feed of anyone who followed both user1 and user2 whether public or private. One could also "direct message" another user and send them a private tweet only viewable by both users. If a user did not follow both, the reply is only visible if one views the replier's page specifically.
12 The timestamp on all tweets at time of collection was "about 2 hours ago."
13 As of March 18 2011, all of the participants in this example together had 1640 followers. This means that other than curious people searching via the #navajo hashtag, nearly 2000 Twitter users could have seen this discussion unfold without a search.

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10 Labeling knowledge

The semiotics of immaterial cultural property and the production of new Indigenous publics

Jane Anderson, Hannah McElgunn, and Justin Richland

Museums, archives and universities are key sites from which ideas about Indigenous peoples and cultures emanate. Given the size, wealth and central location of these institutions in many of the world's major metropolitan centers, and the collections of Indigenous cultural materials they hold, they are very often the *only* place where non-native publics ever encounter any aspect of the lives and ways of Indigenous peoples. At the same time, it is often the case that these collections, and thus the ideas they generate, are premised largely on Euro-American traditions of scholarly inquiry that inform the institutions that house them. The Indigenous logics that give the collected materials their significance for the Indigenous communities to whom they belong are treated as part of the information to be exhibited—objects of inquiry and exhibition themselves—and much more seldom taken into consideration by their host institutions to inform how Indigenous cultural materials can and should be exhibited in the first place. These collections and their exhibition remain largely unchanged since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the prevailing theories of social evolution led to the conclusion that these objects represented Indigenous cultures on the brink of the unstoppable march of Euro-American style industrialization and market capitalism across the globe (Deloria 1969, 2004; Cole 1985; Smith 1999; Thomas 1999; Kreps 2012; Bennett 2004).

Yet, starting in the last decade of the twentieth century, efforts on multiple fronts—Indigenous, anthropological, museological and legal—suggest the beginnings of some rethinking of the relationships expressed in ethnological collections. A watershed moment came in 1990 with the enactment in the United States of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) (Fine-Dare 2002). This legislation introduced a process for museums and other federally funded institutions and agencies to return "human remains," "funerary items," "sacred objects" and "objects of cultural patrimony" to lineal descendants and "culturally affiliated" tribes. It legitimized a sentiment among some Native Americans concerned about their ancestors and belongings that had, until then, remained largely unrecognized. NAGPRA intervened to dismantle structural exclusions within these largely non-Native institutions, and, at the same time, made visible a diverse and politically invigorated Indigenous public. Not only are Indigenous peoples still

"here," many argued, and not only are they not wearing feathers and buckskins, they are also not all of the same mind about the representations of their histories, cultures and peoples as depicted by Euro-American scholarly logics. As those peoples and cultures once presumed to be the "subjects" of Euro-American scholarly inquiry and collection became some of its key interlocutors, a fundamental shift took place in just who it was that constituted the "public" addressed by these collections. The effect has been something of a shockwave, rattling the pillars of scientific objectivity that undergirds the organizational logics of these institutions, and requiring a rethinking of the very nature of what engaging with and deriving meaning from its collections of Indigenous cultural material can and should mean.

As such, while NAGRPA remains an important landmark for Indigenous rights both in legal as well as political terms, it is only the near edge of what is a much deeper horizon of significance entailed in the ethnographic collection and representation of Indigenous cultural materials. It is thus necessary to consider not only this deeper significance, but what also sits beyond NAGPRA more generally—what it does not and indeed, cannot, address.

Among the vast amounts of Native American cultural material collected by non-Indigenous scholars and institutions over the years, a substantial portion is not "funerary," in nature, nor even "material," in the typical sense of the term. Much of the information about Indigenous peoples housed in non-native institutions is what has been recorded in film, song and text-artifacts of scholars, amateur collectors, Indian agents, missionaries and other governmental officials. These detail the musical, narrative and religious practices and values that constitute vital cultural heritage central to ongoing transmissions of cultural knowledge and practice (Anderson 2005). Immaterial "materials" like these, in the last ten years or so, have become an increasingly central focus of claims made by Indigenous communities seeking to intervene on their use and handling by non-native institutions. And while these claims are undoubtedly influenced by the passage of NAGPRA, none of these (im)materials are actually covered by the law. They are either protected by copyright law or copyright has expired and these materials have entered the public domain where no special permissions or rights for re-use are necessary.

It is on this "intangible" cultural material, and how it is being claimed, policed and protected outside of NAGPRA that this chapter focuses. In particular, we focus on Indigenous languages. This is in part because of the importance these languages, and their documentation, hold for Indigenous peoples, including those endeavoring to reverse the effects of language decline or loss. The claims Indigenous peoples can make as publics who use language materials speak back powerfully to the practices that have led to language fragility in the first place. They not only stand against a particular politics of erasure and appropriation, they also show precisely why important debates about access to, control of and ownership of language and other kinds of immaterial culture are occurring in so many Native contexts.

For many Native American nations, including Pueblo peoples of the American Southwest, languages are part of a larger complex of sacred knowledge that undergird an esoteric ceremonial system whose efficacy is premised on restrictions placed on who can access such information and why (cf. Debenport 2015; Richland

2009; Kroskrity 1993; Ortiz 1972). In these communities the materials typically associated with language preservation and revitalization—grammars, dictionaries, teaching guides, audio recordings and transcripts—thus become the object of close scrutiny. This scrutiny is partly about who legally owns and controls these texts, and partly about balancing the needs of those in the community seeking access to them to learn and/or preserve their language, against those who feel religious restrictions on the distribution of knowledge prohibits such use (see also Whiteley 1998; Brandt 1980; Innes 2010).

In what follows, we consider how these tensions emerged in two examples from the Hopi tribe and its efforts, largely through its Hopi Cultural Preservation Office (HCPO), to control access to and dissemination of Hopi language materials. Both examples feature materials produced with an eye toward preserving and disseminating Hopi language, but which were later seen to conflict with interests some Hopi leaders had in protecting Hopi esoteric knowledge (in Hopi, *navoti*). In considering these two examples, we discuss one strategy that has more recently been explored for protecting Indigenous interests in "immaterial" cultural objects like language, namely intellectual property regimes from Euro-American legal traditions. We will consider some of the possibilities and limits for such regimes to address the issues like those that faced Hopi leaders. Of particular interest will be the semiotic ideologies that shape Hopi understandings of language and knowledge and how those compare to the ideologies that underwrite U.S. intellectual property law. As we will argue, the understandings that Hopi have about language, communication, and their role in the dissemination of traditional knowledge pose challenges that, whatever their solution, are not adequately addressed by intellectual property laws which are actually designed to foster, rather than limit, the dissemination of intangible intellectual material (Coombe 1998; Anderson 2009, 2015).

While intellectual property laws in themselves are not necessarily adequate to the kinds of issues that Hopi and other Indigenous people face in relation to their cultural material, they nonetheless provide a framework that can be potentially turned towards Indigenous ends. *Local Contexts*, an initiative established by one of us, Jane Anderson (with Kim Christen and many tribal and institutional partners; see Anderson and Christen 2013), attempts to address this intellectual property lacunae through an extralegal set of forms called the Traditional Knowledge (TK) Labels. This initiative activates a social rather than juridical form of recognition/protection for Indigenous knowledge/heritage through the use of metapragmatic forms that simultaneously point to the historical exclusions of copyright and allow for the identification of Indigenous peoples' interests in the circulation, access and future use for their intangible cultural materials, even when they are outside their immediate legal control.

Beyond copyright: *Local Contexts* and the Traditional Knowledge Labels

Local Contexts (see www.localcontexts.org) is an online platform developed to address the needs that Native, First Nations, Aboriginal and Indigenous peoples in

largely settler-colonial contexts have expressed around intellectual property and the protection of their intangible digital cultural heritage in museums, archives and libraries. Unlike other collections of cultural heritage, Indigenous material is caught up in various legal regimes of protection that are difficult to understand and untangle, even for the most seasoned legal counsel. Moreover, in their increasing movement into digital formats, the new rights that are generated only compound the problems of responding to Native/First Nations concerns about ownership and circulation of materials. These legal entanglements impede access and use. They make already difficult negotiations with institutions and other rights holders even harder. There are currently no services available for helping communities navigate the terrain of copyright ownership and no tools that actively work to correct or augment the public historical record according to cultural sensitivities and responsibilities in practice. *Local Contexts* was developed as an attempt to practically address these concerns about Euro-American property laws, their colonial conditions of exclusion, and the difficulties in trying to rehabilitate them for use by those who were deliberately and structurally excluded.

The project started as a licence and rights management tool for those members and advocates of Australian Aboriginal cultural heritage who were actively using a new digital content management system called *Mukurtu* (www.mukurtu.org) which had been developed to aid in the management of intangible cultural heritage that had been returned and repatriated in digital form (Christen 2015). *Local Contexts*, like *Mukurtu* itself, is thus an applied anthropological practice in which a series of decolonial theoretical problematics are being mobilized through a specific set of tools designed for their deployment by advocates themselves. What *Local Contexts* looks like today is the product of its co-development during the last three years in partnership with members of Native and First Nations across North America, including the Musqueam Indian Band and the Stó:lō First Nation in British Columbia, the Karuk Tribe in California and the Penobscot Nation and the Passamaquoddy Tribe of Indians in Maine. Each has beta-tested, modified, and refined new strands of this platform and contributed to the building out of its emerging digital technology for tribal needs. But *Local Contexts* is also the product of collaboration with non-native institutions housing intangible cultural materials, including Library of Congress and the Chicago Field Museum, both of which hold some of the world's largest and most valuable collections of Native American and First Nations cultural heritage materials.

In light of its ongoing development, the aims of *Local Contexts* have grown beyond its original deployment as an educational and digital image circulation and management tool. Today it stands for the very possibility that partnerships like these can stage a collaborative rethinking of the ways in which Indigenous materials are understood and interpreted within their current institutional contexts, as well as in models for making such material available in their intangible forms.

One of the key devices through which *Local Contexts* addresses the concerns of Indigenous peoples is through the Traditional Knowledge (TK) Licenses and Labels which combines legal (TK Licenses) and educational (TK Labels)

interventions. This initiative, which just received a multi-year grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (Division of Preservation and Access), is part of the social movement made possible through repatriation collaborations initiated by NAGPRA (Montenegro 2015). It recognizes the benefits that arise for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples when Indigenous peoples own, represent and classify their cultural representations and cultural knowledges.

The TK Licenses, motivated largely by Creative Commons licenses, are an extension of existing copyright/contract law and are meant to be legally defensible across multiple jurisdictions. TK Licenses allow communities (variously defined) to extend the terms of use of their copyrighted works to suit their own cultural parameters and cultural protocols. But to do this they must be already recognized as the copyright holders of the work. The TK Licenses address gaps in both standard copyright protections and in other licensing options offered by Creative Commons by flexibly incorporating culturally specific terms for use and re-use. By focusing on the *kinds of use* that communities are interested in, while including a recognition for differing cultural expectations and obligations around use and control, TK Licenses offer a specific tool for communities using copyright, but who find it lacking in certain ways.

As the project developed it became clear that licensing was a very limited option that very few communities could use because they are largely not the legal owners or rights holders of their recorded cultural heritage. Researchers and the people who did the documenting hold this position of "author" (Anderson 2013). Thus this initiative uses both licensing *and* labeling strategies when addressing Indigenous peoples' concerns to control the circulation of their immaterial culture. While licensing can work when Indigenous peoples are the holders of copyright over the materials in question, many (ethnographic) collections that are significant and vital to Indigenous communities are in the public domain and either have no copyright protection or are owned by third parties. This is the case for an abundance of "intangible" Indigenous cultural heritage housed in museums, archives and libraries, from linguistic documentation, to fieldnotes, to sound recordings.

In response to this problem, the TK Labels were created as interventions that endeavor to educate publics and institutions about the concerns that Indigenous peoples have over the dissemination of such materials now beyond their legal reach. This is especially for material already in the public domain. Each Label (there are currently 15) has two parts—a fixed visual icon and a textual description. What is unique about the TK Labels, and perhaps why there is such enthusiasm for them within the 17 tribal contexts testing them thus far, is that they have been developed in a way that allows each community to adapt and customize the textual description to suit their specific needs. While communities can ask institutions individually to put up specific provisions for use, this is haphazard and institutionally specific. Moreover, this information rarely adds to the metadata of the item either in the institutional catalogue itself or online. The way in which the TK Labels have been designed, including their technological development, places Indigenous perspectives directly into the metadata of an item.

The Labels bring a contemporary Indigenous presence into the archive, which is carried forward as the digital heritage item circulates. This is an intervention that sidesteps copyright law. As an educational intervention it changes how this material can be understood by providing previously missing information about cultural rules and responsibilities about future use and circulation.

While the kinds of concerns that communities have are manifold, we focus here on two case studies that illustrate the efforts of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office (HCPO) to influence the access, circulation and management of Hopi "intangible" cultural material. These examples illustrate the norms about the distribution and disclosure of knowledge that animate Hopi ceremonial and everyday life, and the ways in which intellectual property rights are an appealing but inadequate proxy for them. In attending to the way Hopi norms rub up against the kinds of protection offered by traditional intellectual property rights, these case studies illustrate the kinds of paradoxes that Indigenous communities face in this post-NAGPRA era. After presenting these case studies, and in light of the issues they raise, we move on to consider the application of the TK Labels in more detail and the kinds of use they can be put to as a productive intervention, but not a cure-all for Indigenous community engagement with intellectual property.

Intellectual property and Indigenous knowledge: Ekkehart Malotki's Hopi salt trail manuscript and the Hopi Dictionary/*Hopiikwa Lavaytutuveni*

The year that NAGPRA was passed, 1990, was a watershed year for Hopi cultural preservation activity. But this was only one expression of a much larger trend toward rethinking the rights that Indigenous peoples retain in relation to their cultural property, both material and immaterial. Starting in the late 1960s, Native Americans increasingly began to press back against the ongoing, colonial misappropriation and misrepresentation of their communities and cultures by non-Natives, including anthropologists and linguists, whose research was built on disseminating information about the lives and cultures of Native peoples who often saw little of the benefit gained from such work. This colonial legacy, which informed the passage of NAGPRA was also part of the same concerns that inspired, a few years earlier, the establishment of a Hopi Cultural Preservation Office (HCPO) and its development of one of the first and most comprehensive attempts in the United States to establish a tribal regulatory framework for responsible research on tribal territories.

At first the HCPO had largely focused its energies on managing archaeological resources on the reservation, protecting against the looting of sites by illegal pot-hunting which had ravaged a number of well-known sites in the area. By the end of the 1980s, however, Hopi tribal leadership became concerned about other, less tangible, but no less real, threats to their preservation of Hopi culture, ones that they felt had the same impact of misappropriation and misuse of Hopi material. Then Hopi Tribal Chairman Vernon Masayesva appointed Leigh Jenkins

(now Kuwanwisiwma) to the position of Hopi Cultural Preservation Officer, and directed him to take action against the misappropriation of Hopi symbols, songs, dances and ritual practices, whether accurate or inaccurate, as a violation of Hopi rights to their cultural patrimony.

An early intervention on the part of the HCPO, and one of the first times that intellectual property came to the fore as a potentially fruitful avenue for asserting rights over "intangible" cultural patrimony, concerns a manuscript that Ekkehart Maltoki, a linguist at Northern Arizona University, set out to publish with the University of Nebraska Press. This manuscript presented a volume of stories that had been told to Malotki by Hopi consultants, in Hopi, and which he had transcribed and translated into English. By the time this manuscript was going to press in 1990, Malotki was a world-renowned "expert" on Hopi language, having penned eight volumes of scholarly and popular scholarship on the Hopi language and oral literature. The book on the Hopi salt trail was to be different, however. In it, Malotki proposed to provide a detailed transcription and translation of Hopi stories concerning their "salt trail" pilgrimages, an arduous journey across *Hopitutskwa* (Hopi ancestral territory) and a key part of men's initiation into important, secret, Hopi ritual societies. Unlike some of the earlier manuscripts that Malotki had published with little comment or controversy, this volume was met with strenuous resistance almost as soon as representatives of the Hopi tribe heard about it.

The tribe's specific worry about the salt trail manuscript was that it would reveal closely held esoteric ceremonial knowledge, little of which had ever been disclosed before, including even to other Hopis who were not initiated in the ceremonies to which it pertained. Indeed, Hopi leaders argued the very efficacy of the ceremonial activities being described was in part dependent on it being kept secret from non-initiates. In a story that ran in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* at the time, Loris Minkler, an assistant to chairman Masayesva, was described as explaining that disclosure of information about the Hopi salt trail would "strike at the roots of Hopi religion, which is based on distinctions about who has access to sacred rituals and ceremonies" (Raymond 1990).

The distinction about access to sacred knowledge is a vital aspect of Hopi ceremonialism. As has been elaborated elsewhere (Whiteley 1998; Richland 2008, 2009) Hopi ceremonialism is grounded in a conceptualization of traditional knowledge, or *navoti*, which, generally speaking, is understood as that information, essential for the performance of clan-based activites that promote the welfare of the entire Hopi community (and even the world). *Navoti* encompasses *wimnavoti,* a kind of esoteric knowledge that is passed only to those persons initiated into the ceremony or to members of specific clans understood as "owning" the ceremony being performed (for more on this distinction between *navoti* and *wiimi* see Cohwell-Chanthaphonh and Koyiyumptewa 2011). *Navoti* instantiates a radically decentralized Hopi theocratic order, giving the different clans and ceremonial societies that make up Hopi society an important, but different, role to play in the welfare of the community as a whole. As Hopi historian Lomayumptewa Ishii explains it, "this lack of centralized knowledge ensures that different clans and societies must carry their weight in order for Hopi life to exist" (Ishii 2001: 145).

Hopi leaders felt that sharing information about Hopi salt trails to the world, as Malotki's book was poised to do, was a double threat to Hopi cultural patrimony. Not only would such disclosures reveal information about the actual whereabouts of sacred sites, exposing them to substantial degradation, but even worse, their spiritual efficacy of these sites would be compromised as well. Much as Kroskrity (1993) has described with the language prohibitions of village of Tewa, the Hopi similarly feared that such acts of disclosure in whatever form, threaten to upset the delicate balance of ceremonial efficacies and obligations that animate Hopi social and ceremonial life.

In mounting their protest to Malotki's salt trail manuscript, the Hopi Tribe had fired a shot across the bow of any and all academic knowledge dissemination that attempts to make their own use of Hopi intangible property without their knowledge, consent and participation. In a bellwether speech at Northern Arizona University, when it still seemed that the tribe would not be able to block Malotki's manuscript going to print, chairman Masayesva drove the point home:

> Although the [Salt Trail] research wears the cloak of scholarly enterprise, its publication denotes to us a lack of sensitivity to our religious values and the way we organize and conceptualize our sacred traditions . . . Together we need to examine the issue of research and the manner in which scholars will conduct research so that Indian views will be respected. I propose an inclusive agenda . . . However, let me caution you again that any university-sponsored project, regardless of how noble its aim might be, will surely fail if consultation with Indian tribes is not part of the planning process from the project's inception.
>
> (January 23, 1991, cited in Whiteley 1993: 178)

Eventually The University of Nebraska Press retracted their agreement to publish the Hopi Salt Trail manuscript, despite having seen it all the way to the final stages of production. But the victory proved to be limited, and the underlying problem of how to manage the access to and circulation of knowledge in accordance with Hopi ceremonial norms emerged again. This time, intellectual property protections came to the fore as a potential strategy for both translating these norms to outsiders, and attempting to uphold them. The history of the 1997 publication of the Hopi Dictionary/*Hopiikwa Lavaytutuveni* illustrates both the potential and drawbacks of intellectual property protection for Indigenous languages, and provides a backdrop for our discussion of these issues in relation to the *Local Contexts* initiative.

A comprehensive Hopi dictionary was originally the idea of Emory Sekaquaptewa, a member of the Hopi tribe, from the Third Mesa village of Hotevilla, Chief Justice of the Hopi Appellate Court, and Professor of Anthropology at the University of Arizona. For decades, Professor Sekaquaptewa had been developing Hopi word lists with the idea of creating a grammar and dictionary of its Third Mesa dialect, one that could be taught to Hopi children in the reservation primary and secondary schools. After joining up with two non-Hopis—Dr. Kenneth Hill

and Dr. Mary E. Black (the former a linguist, the latter a library scientist)—the effort became more formal. While Hill and Black set to work on analyzing the existing literature on Hopi language resources, and reworking their disparate orthographies and grammars into a single unified system, Sekaquaptewa formed a team of Hopi elders, mostly men from Third Mesa, who would serve as Hopi language consultants. They helped in fine-tuning the meanings attributed to different Hopi terms, but also assisted the project in steering clear from revealing any sensitive ceremonial information. The effort, ongoing for many years, was not without its challenges, including issues of disclosure that parallel those raised by the Malotki manuscript controversy.

Hill describes the setbacks and discussions that ensued as the dictionary was going to press (Hill 2002). Leading up to publication, the team worked to background individual authorship, which they perceived to be "in line with Hopi cultural prescriptions" against endeavoring for praise (303); additionally, any content that could be seen to "compromise the Hopis' sense of religious propriety" was vetted by the Hopi usage panel (303). But despite these precautions, issues remained. Among these issues was the assignation of copyright in the dictionary as a whole, and a concern that broad publication of the dictionary would limit any capacity to restrict non-Hopis from accessing it.

The question of copyright emerged when the matter of the dictionary's publication was taken up more seriously by the University of Arizona Press, as the dictionary's drafting came close to finalization. At that time the question arose whether the Hopi Tribe itself, who the authors had agreed would be the recipient of all proceeds they were to receive from sales of the dictionary, should also be a holder of the copyright.

But the HCPO's request that copyright be vested with the Tribe was dismissed by the publisher. As the Director of the University of Arizona Press, Stephen Cox, explained, copyright merely protects "the dictionary as a particular written expression," rather than signaling ownership of the language (Hill 2002: 309). This is a standard copyright argument within Anglo-American law, in which the dictionary is only one written expression. But, the Hopi argued, this ignores the extent to which the dictionary, like the Salt Trail manuscript before it, also operates within a paradigm of Hopi rights and responsibilities towards the transmission of the Hopi language, as well as the history and politics of misappropriation coloring the concerns of the HCPO. One can appreciate why the HCPO thus balked at the University of Arizona's initial refusal to recognize the Hopi tribe's interest in copyright to the dictionary. It is true that copyright law and the arguments that copyright is only concerned with "particular written expression[s]" rather than the flow of intangible cultural property rights through those expressions. It is also true that the very act of creating ownership in specific expressions establishes new circulatory routes for ownership of the written language form, one that makes it possible for non-Hopi to take up and use the language in ways that are unimaginable—ethically and ontologically—from the perspective of the Hopi tribe. The possibilities that such flows could

and would unfold from this "particular written expression" constituted by the Hopi dictionary was something that seemed foreclosed by the Press's initial, blanket rejection of the HCPO's copyright claims. Just as chairman Masayesva had anticipated in his speech at NAU, even the most noble of research projects, which the dictionary surely was, would fail, on many levels, if it didn't come from genuine consultation with the Hopi Tribe at its earliest stages.

Eventually copyright was arranged to be transferred back to the Hopi Tribe after the dictionary had been in publication for ten years. So, in this instance, copyright was not merely a question of arcane legal technicalities. For both the Press and the Hopi it represented the value inherent in maintaining control over rights not just in the content of cultural knowledge but in its very disclosure and thus its (future) circulation. And this was true whether such value got rendered in the sacral terms of Hopi ceremonial responsibility and obligation, or in the seemingly secular terms of publication market value. For if copyright only protected interests in one specific instance of linguistic expression—a dictionary of Hopi language—why would it have been so important for the Hopi to have it, and for the Press to resist giving it up, and then to ultimately agree to its transfer to the tribe after ten years?[1]

It is also true that copyright alone would not prevent the problems that the HCPO were most concerned about, the circulation of *navoti* to those unauthorized to receive it. As scholars of intellectual property have duly noted (cf. Brown 2003; Lange 1993) copyright was always intended to be a limited right, one that would expire after a certain amount of time. Once the copyright expired, the material it covered would enter into what is now called the "public domain" (or "the commons")—that arena of creative material that is imagined as available to all for use, re-use and repurposing by future generations. Copyright law has always been oriented towards increasing the material in the public domain rather than constraining it. In the market-based logics of today's global capitalist system, both the creation and the expiration of copyright—the taking something out of the public domain, protecting it for a time so that a commodity can be made of it, and then its ultimate return to the commons—are all understood to motivate (profitable) creativity and innovation. So, from this perspective, intellectual property protections and the public domain are co-constitutive.

The appropriation of this particular tool of intellectual property by Hopi actors, however, is oriented towards diametrically different ends: "the commons" does not exist within Hopi epistemology, which, as described earlier, depends on an intricate system of checks and balances. Gaining copyright, of course, did not simply resolve the issues the dictionary presented, and the problems of disclosure and circulation emerged again once the dictionary appeared in print. Though efforts were taken to give priority to exclusive Hopi access to the dictionary—the dictionary was made available to Hopis at a reduced price, and a limited run was published—this was not entirely adequate to address Hopi concerns. As Hill (2002) himself explained, the problem was not just one that divides access to the language between Hopi and non-Hopi, but also among the Hopi as well. Just as with *navoti* and *wimnavoti*, Hill explained, Hopis perceive their language to

"com[e] out of the unique history of the Hopi clans and is part of their privileged clan inheritance" (Hill 2002: 307). Such a view poses a challenge to a Hopi dictionary that would attempt to standardize its syntax, grammar and semantics, even one that is as sensitive to such issues as the dictionary was. Indeed, one has to ask how the preservation, dissemination and even standardization projects of the sort that would seem to almost always underwrite the compiling of any dictionary (but see Debenport 2015 and this book) could ever escape running afoul of the radically pluralized conceptualization that Hopi understand their language to be. As a kind of clan property, it is the privilege and responsibility of clan and lineage relations to pass down the language at home. The idea that the language might be learned from a dictionary or other school-based pedagogical tools threatened to upset this social order.

Indeed, one can ask in any of these challenges around Hopi intangible property claims, how can this kind of hereditary relationship to the language and its uses, as properties always already imbued with rights and responsibility integral to Hopi existence itself, be recognized in any project that would generalize a representation of Hopi language that ignores the unique claims of the different Hopi clans? Is it possible to provide any support within Euro-American legal frameworks for claims like these? Or are those Hopi who hope to have their intangible cultural property rights protected as rights inherent in each of the 15 or more clans that make up each of the 12 Hopi villages, doomed to be frustrated in their attempts?

One thought rests in the fact that, in addition to seeking to hold copyrights, the HCPO has made the broader claim that the Hopi language constitutes their "intellectual property." There is an important shift that happens here and for conventional intellectual property lawyers; it is one that can offer a very specific anxiety. For what is being evoked by Hopi in the term "intellectual property" is the meta-meaning that implies some kind of property in culture. The HCPO is using Western laws in a way that requires them to accommodate a different cultural sense of what is owned, by whom and under what conditions. Hill (2002) expresses a number of problems with this notion, ones which echo those a conventional intellectual property lawyer would raise, and thus show some of the dilemmas of marshaling intellectual property to Hopi ends. He writes, "since the Hopi language was devised by no individual, living or dead, but solely by linguistic evolution within a whole community, the legal notion of an intellectual property right within American jurisprudence seems inappropriate" (2002: 307). This is certainly a valid point about the Enlightenment-based notions of innovation and authorship embedded in IP law. And it suggests the challenges of repositioning Euro-American forms of liberal individualism through the property paradigm, into an Indigenous context. This is especially true of the often unintended consequences that work to make something a "property"—that is, an exclusionary possession of the sort that is ultimately antithetical to the specific cultural rules of obligation, responsibility and circulation that Hopi ground notions of knowledge transmission that conventional IP law cannot acknowledge.

But there is a bigger issue here, and this is in the misrecognition of the various ways in which language can be made into a form of property, through its tokenization and representation as texts. Language—particularly in the kinds of Indigenous language manuscripts previously described in the two Hopi examples—enters into a field of property relations as a text-artifact with attribution to some select number of identifiable author(s) or authorities, in ways that inevitably occlude and exclude others up and down the chain of transmission. The question of how far the notion of property extends is open. To which dimension of language would copyright protection pertain—a soundwave; a set of grammatical rules; a phoneme inventory; rights to graphic inscription? If all these are rendered in some tangible, recorded or documented form, then yes, copyright protection is automatically activated. From a Hopi standpoint, however, the question really is can intellectual property be used to control the access and circulation of language understood as esoteric knowledge—that is, not only the token instantiation of language protected under copyright, but the typified knowledge expressed therein? And this seems to be something perpetually beyond the scope of intellectual property, since it is the circulation, and not the instantiation, that is at issue.

These questions about the limits and power of intellectual property protections, especially in the confrontation of Indigenous systems of esoteric knowledge, are at the heart of Traditional Knowledge (TK) Licenses and Labels we discussed in the previous section. In the space that remains, we consider further the non-legal device of the Labels, and then one of these Labels in particular, the "Secret/Sacred" Label. We explore how some of the semiotic ideologies undergirding the labeling tool might pertain to Hopi efforts to control access to their intangible cultural property, and end by querying what this might reveal about the future roles of Indigenous publics in the circulations of these types of cultural representations.

The semiotics of TK Labels and the production of new Indigenous publics

Although TK Labels lack legal enforceability, they are more uniquely malleable and offer themselves as social guides for action and proper use from the point of view of Indigenous communities. In this section, we explore the kinds of intervention TK Labels afford. In considering the TK Labels as semiotic and pragmatic forms, we are brought to see how they work and act both within the ideological domain of intellectual property—in particular copyright—but also beyond it, critiquing its reach, indexing different authorities, and bringing a differentiated form of juridical authority into conversation with other modes of legitimation, and even different concepts of materiality. Let's think first about the Attribution Label (see Figure 10.1).

Of the 15 different TK Labels, this Label is the most frequently selected as it speaks directly to the problem of misattribution, historical mistakes and the erasure of Indigenous names (at an individual, family, clan and tribal level) from

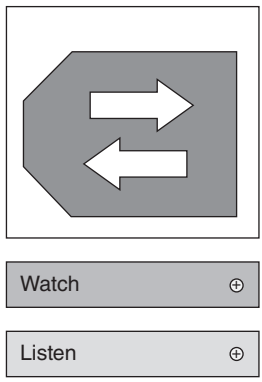

Figure 10.1 TK Attribution Label as it appears on www.localcontexts.org.

the historical record. Attribution draws from the idea found in moral rights legislation of maintaining a continued connection of a (author's) name with a work, or in this case, the custodians and/or those with appropriate responsibility. Were these Labels to be taken up in relation to Hopi material, for example, they could point back to the Tribe at large. Yet, the Tribe is not necessarily the ultimate authorizing body for all cultural material circulating in institutions and contexts beyond Hopi territory. The 12 villages at Hopi function autonomously, and rights of access, use, and control over cultural material generally lies with clans and families, rather than the village or Tribe as a whole. Through Attribution Labels, the Hopi could explain this as well as develop a series of labels that point to this multiplicity, rather than being stuck in a singularity of authority that does not adequately represent the complex responsibility structures that exist. On the other hand, it could offer a *unified* authoritative source that the Labels point back to as a particular kind of agent bearing specific responsibility for the care and ongoing circulatory life of the materials, for example, the Hopi Tribal Council or the HCPO. But they can also be developed in ways that reflect the unique social divisions of (intellectual and other) labor, responsibility and stewardship embedded within the material itself and that continue to affect its desired routes of circulation, such as that which persist among the several Hopi clans over different aspects of immaterial culture, including language.

As the concerns over publishing the Hopi dictionary above illustrate, Indigenous regimes concerning the control and securing of intangible cultural property are not necessarily premised on the market logics that undergird Euro-American style intellectual property regimes. As such, and, unlike copyright, TK Labels are premised on opening up the spectrum of use from the conventionally more dichotomized view of materials as either wholly available (public domain) or limited with restrictions (copyright). A spectrum of access, partial openings, partial closings, and the way it affects matters of control, access, and fair use is impossible

to get at through existing intellectual property law and any licensing framework. Labels can impart more nuanced and culturally diverse ideas in the spectrum of open-ness and closed-ness, but also what constitutes ideas of "fair use" and access as well.

From a semiotic and pragmatic perspective, these TK Labels are what we might describe as "citational" forms (Nakassis 2013; see also Goodman, Tomlinson, and Richland 2014). As Nakassis explains, "the canonical citation re-presents some semiotic act, but always marked with a difference and a disavowal" (2013: 67). Following this, TK Labels can be seen to share something with copyright (their positing of authorship/attribution, their claim to mediate between an author and the public), yet also bracket copyright and, by extension, critique the system under which copyright gains significance. They do this by holding both copyright and its market logics out as potentially effective, but not necessarily so. They argue for understanding the materials they index as forms whose value can emerge as instances of intellectual property, but also something else, holding copyright in abeyance, while introducing a different mode of legitimation and authorization.

But this then begs the question—what difference can these Labels, and does labeling in general, introduce? These Labels instruct their addressee that the cultural heritage material is subject to certain restrictions that are determined by its content. They introduce a whole new indexical and cultural system, which includes the significance of place and locality, overlaid upon that which is invoked by copyright. They start to get at some of the troubles that the unfettered circulation of public domain Indigenous materials found largely within institutional contexts pose but do so precisely by disclosing *more* cultural information, albeit this time of a more meta-pragmatic variety (Innes 2010).

This can be illustrated by the Secret/Sacred Label. Think initially of the irony embedded in the very idea that something like a "Secret/Sacred" Label would be needed. To whom is such a label directed? Those who have legitimate access to the material would not need to be told it was secret/sacred. The secret, sacral nature of the materials so identified would seem to point toward restricting the access of others. And this is precisely the point. Since TK Labels are used for material that is either in the public domain or in copyright to someone other than the source community, this secret or sacred material is frequently already circulating available for viewing, hearing, or sharing with the non-initiated public. In this case, the Secret/Sacred Label serves both as a warning, but also as a corrective, foregrounding different cultural practices of knowledge circulation, and announcing to these other regimes of value. They ask that one adhere to the norms of cultural practice that shape how and when the knowledge carried by these things should be seen, heard, shared (Christen 2015). They call on the addressee, for instance, to understand that an image, a song or a manuscript carries with it a range of knowledge that is not immediately translatable or accessible. It offers a warning that this material is powerful and has very specific conditions associated with it.

Further, the Secret/Sacred Label positions one as a non-initiate, as, for example, in the Sq'éwlets community (a Band of the Stó:lō First Nation) adoption

of it. While unfortunately we are unable to reproduce a screenshot of this Label, it can be viewed on their site here: www.digitalsqewlets.ca. In this instance, Secret/Sacred is translated into Halkemelem as XA:XA. This is further elaborated in the following way:

> In our Stó:lō culture, certain types of knowledge are restricted in some way. This knowledge is considered sacred, secret, potent and/or private, and only certain people or families can and should have access to them. We call this xa:xa in our language. This label indicates that there is additional knowledge about a certain subject that cannot be shared on the website.

After this description, the website points to examples where the Label is being used, including sections relating to "Community Archaeology," "Ancestor Mounds," "Afterlife Belongings," "Caring for Ancestors," "Taking Care of Ancestors" and "Repatriation." In general the Label indicates instances on the website where there is more knowledge that exists, but cannot be shared because of its restricted nature. In perhaps one of the most striking uses, the Label icon itself is placed over what would otherwise be images of ancestors (human remains). The clear point being made is that for the Sq'éwlets there is no instance where photographs or images of this kind are acceptable. Thus the Sq'éwlets cultural standpoint is elevated as the primary authority. It also works to disrupt an uncritical assumption that anything can be seen at any time.

This Label positions the viewer in the role of a non-initiate, both extending Stó:lō cultural practices of knowledge dissemination and sharing and encompassing the viewer within them. In so doing, the use of the Label effectively reinscribes the public into an Indigenous public, by instructing outsiders of their status as non-initiates. So, while the Secret/Sacred Label may introduce more information about certain cultural material than a hearer, viewer or reader may have known without the presence of the Label, in so doing the Label positions the non-initiate in the appropriate relationship vis-à-vis this cultural material. The Label thus restores something of the social relations that underlie tribal distinctions about access to knowledge. Herzfeld (2009) writes that secrecy "must itself be performed in a public fashion in order to be realized" (135). In other words, secrecy may be less about the content of a given secret, than it is about rights to index one's knowledge of the secret, to initiate others into the secret, and to exclude others. The Label, in performing this secrecy, shapes the audience into a particular kind of public, one that is ordered by the Sq'éwlets and the Stó:lō communities.

So, what the TK Labels then protect is not necessarily the token instantiation of the cultural material—that which, in this instance, may or may not be actually protected by copyright. Rather, they function in support of maintaining the integrity of the system of knowledge control and access of the source community. Recall Minkler's (paraphrased) words in relation to Malotki's manuscript: Hopi religion (and much of cultural life) "is based on distinctions about who has access to sacred rituals and ceremonies" (Raymond 1990). It is precisely these kinds of

distinctions that the Secret/Sacred Label, as well as the other Labels that have been developed, strive to extend.

Intellectual property and Indigenous languages

Many scholars have questioned the validity of property as a form of protection of Indigenous cultural expression (Brown 2003; Mezey 2007). Until recently, little theoretical attention has been paid to Indigenous *language* in particular as the object of intellectual property protection. Hill (2002) presents some imaginable objections to this idea in his response to the HCPO's claim that the Hopi language is the intellectual property of the tribe. Recall that according to Hill, since the Hopi "language was devised by no individual but . . . solely by linguistic evolution within a whole community, the legal notion of an intellectual property right within American jurisprudence seems inappropriate" (307). Initiatives like the TK Labels move beyond protecting token instantiations (say, a story, word list, or image), and strive instead to incorporate something of the originary cultural systems of knowledge in which these tokens are embedded, but not necessarily as a singular form of "property." Intellectual property law is historically uninterested in the *content* that makes up the property. But for Indigenous peoples it is precisely the copyrighted content that matters. It is the content where the rules of access and circulation are embedded, and the Labels seek to find a path back to this as the site of meaning and significance.

With this in mind, we may be better able to understand some of the concerns about publishing the Salt Trail manuscript or the Hopi Dictionary. Regardless of the consent documentation obtained, and the care taken to ensure that no sacred information was unduly shared, the issue remains that simply through its entextualization of the Hopi language into the form of a dictionary, entails the language undergoing just this kind of "transformation" (Silverstein 2003). The Hopi language enters into a different indexical system, where the entries may be understood as tokens that point to semantico-grammatical regularities, rather than immanent cultural norms (cf. Silverstein 2015 for more on potential danger of transformation in relation to repatriation of archival linguistic data). As such, and regardless of how much it may be desired or needed, it is not clear that something like the dictionary could have been created without violating the indexical system of the transmission of knowledge (*navoti*), or put more optimistically, proffering another contextualization of the language.

At the same time, it is possible that something like the Hopi Dictionary is actually more Janus-faced, insofar as that, while it might threaten to undercut a system of cultural transmission on one side, it can also be seen as generative, in the way it expands the horizon of possible Indigenous publics. The Secret/Sacred Label in the *Local Contexts* initiative, offers the possibility for other categories of knowledge organization that reflect more localized Indigenous epistemological framing. In signaling that there is a secret and sacred component, the Hopi dictionary potentially invites a new audience to differently appreciate such a text-artifact through a Hopi-normed public sphere?

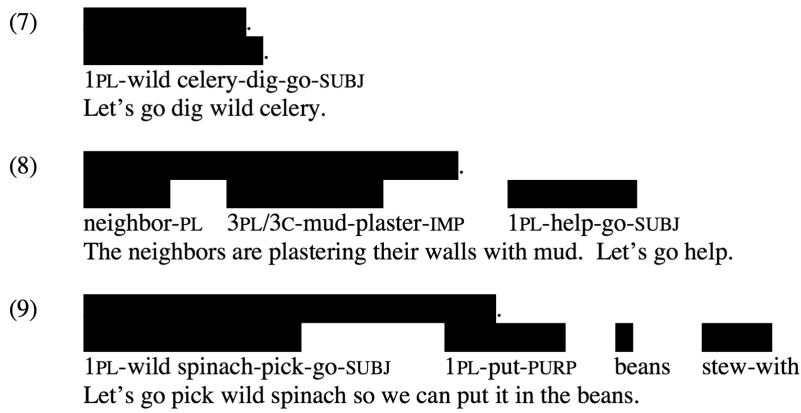

Figure 10.2 Example of obscured tokens in Debenport (2009: 153).

This reordering can of course be entailed through a multitude of semiotic interventions. Consider, for example, Erin Debenport's (2009) innovative method of treating her Keiwa language data in her dissertation. As illustrated in Figure 10.2, Debenport blackens out all tokens of Keiwa language, leaving only their English interlinear glosses and English translations.

Note that this "erasure" is actually a two-part process. It is not the case that a token Indigenous language utterance is simply not presented; the utterances are first graphically inscribed, and then actively blotted out, underlining the fact that they are not for the readers' eyes. Like the TK Labels, the obscuring of the utterances challenges their wholesale subsumption within a different indexical system (where, as tokens, they index grammatico-semantic regularities), and at the same time introduces and extends the metasemiotic norms of the originary speech community, and in so doing, brings the language back into the fold.

Conclusion

In the 25 years since NAGRPA was first enacted, cultural property has become a prevailing logic and transidiomatic discourse through which to view Indigenous cultural material, and also through which to think through the relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups that inhere in this material. In this chapter, we have expanded this conversation to focus more centrally on intellectual property and Indigenous language. As we suggest, objections that the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office leveled against Ekkehart Malotki, and his efforts to publish a translation of stories concerning certain parts of their esoteric ceremonial activities, marked a watershed moment in the tribal nation's willingness to advocate on behalf of what they saw as their rights to control Hopi intangible cultural property. Against the objections regarding academic freedom leveled by

their opponents, Hopi officials stood fast in their claim that the book threatened to disclose certain elements of Hopi esoteric knowledge, the access to which is closely controlled by certain Hopi tribal members—initiates and clan members—against unauthorized disclosure to others, especially other Hopi. We then explored how a similar set of competing ethics shaped the controversy that erupted over the publication of the Hopi Dictionary/*Hopiikwa Lavaytutuveni* (1997). Insofar as the dictionary, co-produced with significant input from certain members, scholars and elders of the Hopi tribe itself, was the object of similar objections, we considered how the Hopi Cultural Preservation's Office's commitments to non-disclosure of their sacred knowledge extended to the language itself, and whether the Hopi language could be understood as a kind of intellectual cultural material.

Our focus in this chapter on these matters was prompted largely in response to our collective observations that Euro-American legal and conceptual frameworks of intellectual property are increasingly being taken up by certain Native communities as one specific strategy to protect their newly generated and older language resources.

We have focused primarily on the Hopi, in which control over the circulation of knowledge is paramount to social relationships within the community, and also between the community and outside groups, a condition which brings these issues to the foreground (but, see Nyah 2015 for examples from Chile). But we think the tension on display in these instances have their resonances across a variety of contexts where Indigenous material and immaterial properties are finding their ways into non-Indigenous databases, archives and other institutions both virtual and actual. And what we have been struck by is the way in which the negotiation itself constitutes not just a tension—a site of conflict—but also of promise, and potential. Indeed, one of the greatest ironies revealed by all of these encounters is precisely the vitality that remains in the social force and efficacy that native peoples' ethical and normative commitments to their cultural property still have. Though intellectual property tools are nominally invoked in each of these contexts, we discover that, in the end, those tools often have less legal bite than they do a deep ethical and moral suasion. In a way then, we might say that the ethical sphere shaping community relationships vis-à-vis *navoti* was actually expanded, rather than contracted, by these controversies, and with it a particular, uniquely Hopi ethic, relationship of duties and obligations forged by and through the co-managed use (or non-use, as the case may be) of this intangible cultural property.

It is this co-management that we feel to be the fertile ground within which the issues over ownership that NAGRPA brought to the fore and continue to be played out in non-NAGPRA contexts. This is exemplified by the efforts of one of us, Anderson, to realize a structured, practical application of this potentiality. The TK Labels provide one instantiation of the challenges and promises that the life of Indigenous cultural property since NAGPRA engenders. In focusing on the TK Labels as a citational semiotic form that bridges the logics of intellectual property and Indigenous regimes of proprietary knowledge, we have highlighted the Janus-faced nature of such an intervention. This intervention, and others like it, potentially undercut received modes of cultural transmission and knowledge

dissemination, and at the same time introduce new, and perhaps unexpected domains for future Indigenous publics. As such, and in no small sense, we believe that the rise of systems like the TK Labels, along with the other negotiations over matters of Indigenous intangible cultural property and its dissemination and access, are suggestive of the ways in which the publics of those materials are, if not themselves indigenized, nonetheless tied up in nascent Indigenous webs of relationship, duty, authority and obligation that we hope are taken up more responsibly and respectfully.

Acknowledgments

Thanks to Stewart Koyiyumptewa of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office for his review of this chapter. All mistakes are our own.

Note

1 The lack of accessible documents detailing this agreement does not allow us to give a clear sense of why the period of ten years was negotiated.

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