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REVIEWS IN ADVANCE

Some Recent Trends in the Linguistic Anthropology of Native North America

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Abstract

Although the languages of Native North America and the linguistic communities that spoke these languages once provided the key data for American anthropology's early agenda under Boas, linguistic anthropologists continue their study in a manner inflected to contemporary political economic realities and theoretical concerns. One area of scholarship that displays some continuity with earlier research is the study of Native American place-names, but even here contemporary researchers have explored the ethnographic surround of naming practices, including the multilingualism and multiculturalism of today's indigenous communities. Other research topics that have had less precedent include verbal art, language ideologies, and linguistic racism. Recent research in Native North American verbal art has advanced the appreciation of indigenous poetics but also developed a "critical" ethnopoetics that attends to a larger political economic context. Recent research on language ideologies has explored such topics as new patterns of language and identity and the role of ideologies in language revitalization.

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INTRODUCTION

More than a century has passed since Franz Boas published his *Handbook of North American Indian Languages* in 1911. As presented both in his programmatic introduction and in the grammatical sketches of various indigenous languages, this landmark work appreciated Native American languages for the way they contributed to many of Boas's anthropological projects. One of these projects involved demonstrating the grammatical intricacies and complexities of Native American languages to many in the academy who assumed their structural inferiority. Another argued for linguistic categories to be a scientific means of exploring the thought worlds of different cultural groups. And yet another argued for the special place of linguistic phenomena—in contrast to other ethnological phenomena—by understanding their "unconscious character." This work amounted to the claim "that linguistic phenomena never rise to the consciousness of primitive man, while all other ethnological phenomena are more or less clearly subjects of conscious thought" (Boas 1911, p. 65). A century later, even though the languages and cultures of Native America no longer take the center stage they once did in American anthropology's first few decades, they remain a vital topic for more recent generations of linguistic anthropologists who have both greatly extended and considerably revised the Boasian agenda.

Although some continuities can certainly be found in the projects of scholarship in these two different periods, the overall pattern is one of dramatic reprioritization. Recent research does retain an interest in linguistic structure, but contemporary linguistic anthropologists, influenced by the ethnography of communication and interactional sociolinguistics, are more concerned with viewing Native American languages in their cultural context rather than as windows to Native cognition. Similarly, Boasian assumptions about the relatively unconscious character of linguistic phenomena have been challenged by research in the ethnography of communication and language ideologies. This research has explored explicit and more tacit beliefs by considering language ideologies from both indigenous metadiscourse and embodied communicative practice.

PLACE-NAMES AND NEW SENSES OF PLACE

One of the oldest preoccupations of linguistic anthropology concerned the analysis of Native American place-names. In the early years of anthropology, works such as Franz Boas's (1934) *Geographical Names of the Kwakiutl Indians* and J. P. Harrington's (1916) *Ethnogeography of the Tewa* represented scholarly interest in documenting indigenous place-names as focal concerns of the fledgling discipline. But in the years that followed, this interest was comparatively neglected until a series of studies of Cibecue Apache place-names by Keith Basso (1984, 1996)—some later collected in his *Wisdom Sits in Places*. This work was remarkable not only for its rekindling of interest in the morphology and etymology of place-names but also for its innovative inclusion of place-name usage in its Apache cultural context, such as in the genre of historical narratives. Through ethnographic studies of actual Apache usage, Basso observed how the narratives began and concluded with place-names. Each of these narratives conveys a moral message that can be "shot" into unsuspecting family members who listen to the stories and realize that they are the locutionary targets, the ones being critiqued by ancestral wisdom.

Basso's linkage of place-names, cultural knowledge, and moral practice is continued in more recent scholarship where attention is also directed to the massive sociopolitical change that has occurred in all Native American communities. In Meadows's (2008) *Kiowa Ethnogeography*, the author takes a diachronic approach to this Plains Indian group's place-names as a window for viewing dramatic changes in concepts of place, homeland, sacred sites, and locations for ceremonial practice. Similarly, Collins's (1998b) volume, *Understanding Tolowa Histories*, offers an extensive treatment

of place-names, place-based narratives, and discourses of place in which contemporary Tolowa (Northern California) express ownership of their land and resist hegemonic histories that would erase their presence. Moving from the political to the more personal dimension of culture conflict and change, Palmer (2005) contrasts Secwepemc (also known as Shuswap) (British Columbia) indigenous life-history narratives with those introduced by 12-step programs such as Alcoholics Anonymous (AA). Whereas the indigenous narratives of this traditional hunting-and-gathering group were nonlinear episodes told to relatives in the context of specific gathering places, AA life histories had a formulaic structure that was modeled on the public displays of salvation narratives. In a study of how White Mountain Apaches use English-language mass media as a source for place-names for newly constructed neighborhoods on the reservation, Nevins (2008) demonstrates an indigenous strategy that is simultaneously playful and humorous but also compartmentalizing. Using their linguistic repertoire, White Mountain Apaches use English names from mass-media sources, such as *Lonesome Dove*, to identify new, nontraditional developments. This practice both celebrates an Apache participation in a national media discourse and preserves the integrity of reserving Apache place-names for more indigenous sites. Webster (2014) contributes a Native American case study to the growing comparative literature on linguistic landscape and its focal emphasis on signage. Revealing the complexity of new reservation programs of public Navajo signage, Webster explores both intentional and accidental causes of diverse signage. Intentional strategies include creating authenticating signs for areas of cultural tourism by outsiders or marking places as more exclusively Navajo (when English translations are not provided). But Webster also indicates that a general lack of indigenous literacy in Navajo, coupled with its complex orthography (including secondary symbols for tone, nasality, glottalization, etc.), often creates signage with spectacular errors—an indirect reflection of the growing diversity of the Navajo Reservation. As with studies of personal naming, such as Whiteley's (1992) study of the artistry of Hopi personal names, contemporary research explicitly treats Native American speakers as actively and thoughtfully negotiating their dual participation in multiple and unequal linguistic regimes.

VERBAL ART

Although Boas, as early as his 1917 editorial introduction to the *International Journal of American Linguistics*, was among the first to suggest the importance of understanding Native American verbal art, this topic was largely neglected until the ethnopoetics movement much later in the century. Publishing articles on poems, stories, and songs of various Northwest Coast groups, Hymes (1981) later collected these writings in his *"In Vain I Tried to Tell You": Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics*. Using mostly Native language texts collected by earlier scholars, Hymes attended to both the linguistic and rhetorical structures of the original to find an indigenous basis for organization and representation into Western literary and poetic units such as lines, verses, stanzas, and acts. Tedlock (1972) in his *Finding the Center* also found the conventions of poetic representation more suited to capturing the rhetorical force of Zuni storytellers. Extending this analysis to California Indian languages, Bright (1984) syncretized both approaches in representations of indigenous narratives that aimed to better convey their artistic qualities rather than to treat them solely as linguistic documentation.

Attracting considerably more scholarly attention to this area, ethnopoetics research continued to push in several new directions, foreshadowed by the earlier work of its founders who remained highly productive (e.g., Hymes 2003, Tedlock 1983). In one of these directions, researchers sought a linguistically grounded (e.g., Sherzer & Woodbury 1987; Woodbury 1985, 1998) and detailed look at how indigenous narrators deployed specific resources. For example, Bunte (2002) explored how Southern Paiute narrators used reduplication as a traditionalizing stylistic device. Silverstein

(1985) detailed the role of clause linkages in Chinookan narratives, and Kroskrity (2010) described how inverse constructions are deployed to create contrastive topic chains, opposing "good" and "bad" characters (such as trickster Old Man Coyote). In addition, Collins (1987), Kroskrity (1993), and Shaul (2002) examined the productive use of quotative evidentials and represented speech in Navajo, Arizona Tewa, and Hopi, respectively. Silverstein (1994) examined sound symbolism in Chinookan, and Webster (2008b, 2009) details how Navajo poets delight in this resource. Adding a temporal dimension, Moore (1993) compares and contrasts the representations of the "voices" of characters in a Wasco narrator's five versions of "Coyote and the Five Sisters" from 1958 through 1986, noting remarkable consistency of characters' reported speech, even though plot structure and sequence showed considerable variation.

Another direction of more recent research built on earlier approaches from the ethnography of communication, such as Darnell's (1974) study of a traditional Cree narrative performance and Tedlock's (1983) later work on Zuni storytelling performances. These works signaled a more ethnographic approach emphasizing actual narrative performances rather than analyzing texts. This emphasis on looking at narratives in context also appears in the work of O'Neil (2008), who examines processes of narrative convergence across three unrelated indigenous languages of Northern California—Karok, Hupa, and Wiyot. He notes that while convergence in the narrative traditions has occurred in terms of certain discourse features, narrators for each group appear to strive to maintain distinguishing features of content in addition to the distinctive languages in which these narratives are performed. Farther North in the Canadian Yukon, ethnographic approaches detailed the living and changing practices of traditional storytelling. Cruikshank's (1998) *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory* explores the variety and varied uses of traditional narratives. Although she examines the more traditional genre of prophecy narrative, she also attends to the new venues open to traditional storytellers who attended the International Storytelling Festivals and to the strategies they adopted for authenticating their cultural identities. In another volume on a First Nations group, Ridington & Ridington (2006) provide imaginative studies of the Dane-zaa (Beaver)—a Northern Athabaskan group. Their research highlights the syncretic aspects of Dane-zaa oral traditions as they integrate elements from surrounding cultures and provide insights into the way traditional narratives provide cultural knowledge and a means of intergenerational transmission for this hunting-and-gathering group.

Taking the perspective of a Native ethnographer, Palmer (2003), in his *Telling Stories the Kiowa Way*, explores the interactive art of performing traditional Kiowa narratives. Palmer conveys his quest to learn more about his Kiowa linguistic and narrative heritage as a discursive flow of ethnographically contextualized stories and storytelling episodes that beautifully reproduce and unpack many of the traditional Kiowa storytelling features he finds. Also taking an ethnographic perspective, Webster (2008a, 2010) explores the artistry of Navajo poets such as Laura Tohe, not just as literature but as performance, by noting the improvisational differences in her recontextualizations of the same poem before different audiences of Navajos and non-Navajos. Webster's (2015) *Intimate Grammars: An Ethnography of Navajo Poetry* pushes further this work with Navajo poets such as Blackhorse Mitchell and Rex Lee Jim by exploring what Samuels (2004) has called "feelingful iconicity" in his own work on contemporary Apache expressive culture—the felt, emotional attachment to linguistic and musical forms. Webster explores the emotional attachment not only to Navajo and English but also to Navlish—a mixed code that has affective significance for many Navajos as an especially valued, hybrid form with its own evocative power. From the perspective of Navajo poets, all these languages are either indigenous or indigenized through poets' individual experiences of using them.

In addition to the elaboration of expressive language, however, contemporary research, harkening back to Hymes's (1996) notion of "narrative inequality," has also become what may be called a

critical ethnopoetics in that it problematizes power relations and their influence on the representation of verbal art. Although there were early precedents for a critical ethnopoetics in Berman's (1992) critique of Boas's tone deafness to indexicality and intertextuality in some of his Kwakawala mythography and even in works by Hymes (1981) and Tedlock (1983) themselves, more recent research dials this up considerably and in various ways. Certainly Hymes (1981), in his classic study of Victoria Howard's (Chinook) narrative of "The Wife Who Goes Out Like a Man," critiques the homophobic interpretation earlier offered by Melville Jacobs, who originally collected the narrative, and defends an alternative feminist interpretation; more recent research amplifies and extends this critical gaze. Moore (2013), for example, calls for a "reinvention" of ethnopoetics and offers representational frames that are better suited to capture the dexterous footing changes that multilingual Chinookan narrators deploy. Such an approach attends to the contemporary reality "that we are dealing with verbal genres that are being transformed under conditions of language shift" (Moore 2013, p. 36).

Behind the language shift of most, if not all, Native American languages is the oppression by the dominant society and its historical suppression of indigenous languages (Hinton 1994, pp. 173—79; House 2002; Kroskrity & Field 2009, pp. 11–18; Zepeda & Hill 1991). Several authors explicitly include the larger context of colonization and symbolic domination in research on verbal art. Webster (2015, chapter 3) reveals how Blackhorse Mitchell—a pioneering Navajo author, whose writing of the poem entitled "The Drifting Lonely Seed," published later in the 1967 semiautobiographical book *Miracle Hill: The Story of a Navaho Boy*—was strongly influenced by his teacher-editor who influenced the work in terms of content and language. Protesting the oppressive environment of the boarding school, Mitchell constructed an image of a student near a barricaded school window who was blowing a seed into the air and delighting in its "airy freedom." Though his teacher-editor did help Mitchell get the work published, she also suppressed details that exposed the dark side of boarding schools and "corrected" all Mitchell's Navajo-English innovations as mistakes, ignoring his intentional, poetically driven goal of using a local register with all its attendant indexicalities.

Nevins also moves her ethnopoetic interpretation of indigenous stories and texts in a more critical, political direction. In her chapter "What No Coyote Story Means" in *Lessons from Fort Apache* (Nevins 2013b) and in her journal article "Grow With This, Walk With That" (Nevins 2013a), Nevins revisits Apache texts collected by the linguistic anthropologist Harry Hoijer. She examines the implicit colonial politics of text collecting that often reframed the decontextualized narratives as specimens of traditional Apache culture. She also explores the intertextuality of Apache stories in a reservation community where almost all Apache are Christian converts who are likely to use Eurocentric moral fables and even the Bible itself as narrative resources, and critiques salvage anthropologists for misrecognizing the political voice of narrators who often framed their narratives as a form of protest against loss of land and political subordination. In recent work, Nevins (2017) extends this recovery of indigenous political voices from previously collected texts in collaborative research with a Maidu (California) community. In her forthcoming article on this topic, "You Shall Not Be this Kind of People," she examines how various historical paradigms of representation have erased not only the artistic voice of the indigenous narrators but also their political messages in order to indulge their own ideological predilection for understanding texts as "colonial" narratives of traditional (premodern) practices or as romantic expressions of others who are more intimately involved with the natural world. Kroskrity's (2013) research on historical scholarship on the indigenous narratives of Central California groups such as the Yokuts and Mono demonstrates how the "salvage paradigm," with its refusal to understand indigenous discourse patterns of performance and insistence on imposing ethnocentric frames from schooled literacy, promoted the erasure of these narrative traditions and unintentionally fostered national

policies of assimilation and erasure required by the settler-colonial state. Yet, whereas contemporary research on poetics and power critically assesses the appropriation of indigenous narrative and the radically decontextualized translation of early scholars such as Schoolcraft (Bauman & Briggs 2003) and the salvage linguists mentioned above, it also examines the attempts by many Native American communities to turn to their narrative traditions as a source for indigenizing school curricula and revitalizing their heritage languages. Case studies anthologized in *Telling Stories in Face of Danger* (Kroskrity 2012) present success stories in pedagogical innovation for some Kiowa classrooms (Neely 2012), for the development of Kumeyaay (Southern California) (Field 2012) curricular resources, and for Southern Paiute storytelling workshops (Bunte 2012), but they also document struggles between generations in such communities as the White Mountain Apache (Nevins & Nevins 2012). Carr & Meek (2013) provide a case study of how members of the Kaska (Yukon Athabaskan) community have creatively adapted and used indigenous poetics in their revitalization efforts. This last article, and others derived from a special 2011 American Anthropological Association (AAA) double session inspired by Hymes's pioneering work, is anthologized in Kroskrity & Webster's (2015) tribute volume, *The Legacy of Dell Hymes: Ethnopoetics, Narrative Inequality, and Voice*.

NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

One topic that has attracted considerable scholarly attention in the twenty-first century is the topic of Native American language ideologies, or beliefs, feelings, and practices regarding language(s). Boas explicitly excluded such "secondary rationalizations" because they were, for him, culturally contaminated views of Native linguistic categories best interpreted solely by linguistic anthropological experts. This proscription on folk theories of language continued until the 1970s when scholars working in the ethnography of communication or symbolic anthropology began to reopen this topic. Foster (1974) analyzed the performative quality of an indigenous Iroquois theory of ritual speech acts based on several long house ceremonial events. Witherspoon (1977) explored Navajo language philosophy as gleaned from Navajo mythology, Navajo ritual practitioners, and Navajo grammar. Using ethnographic interviews to interpret Apache communicative practices such as the use of silence, avoidance of mutual gaze, and verbosity, Basso (1972, 1979, 1990) illustrated that many of his Apache consultants could explicate many of their speech practices and reveal their underlying cultural logics.

Apart from these precedents, however, the most significant breakthroughs in this area came in the late 1990s and early twenty-first century with the language ideologies movement itself. One of the first major collections of language ideologies, *Language Ideology: Practice and Theory* (Schieffelin et al. 1998), featured two articles that addressed Native North America. In "Our Ideologies and Theirs," Collins (1998a) examined the differences between academic and indigenous modes of authentication of Tolowa fluency, and in "Arizona Tewa Kiva Speech," Kroskrity (1998) revealed the influence of ceremonial norms of speech on everyday usage in a Western Pueblo group. Other scholarship found language ideologies useful in examining language socialization practices for Navajo indirection (Field 2001) and San Juan Paiute socializing practices designed to develop a child's sense of autonomy and self-control (Bunte 2009), which harkens back to earlier work in this area on Warm Springs Indian socialization by Philips (1983).

In other research, Richland (2008, 2009) used language ideological emphases to understand how the Hopi language was represented in Hopi Tribal courts, and Field (2009) demonstrated that contemporary Navajo multilingualism and syncretism seemed to defy earlier somewhat essentialist academic representations that treated Navajo as having a "conservative psychological trait" (p. 32). Many studies, collected in Kroskrity & Field's (2009) *Native American Language*

Ideologies: Beliefs, Practices, and Struggles in Indian Country, described such culture-specific or areal ideologies as Western Mono variationism (Kroskrity 2009a), Shoshoni performative ideologies about naming the sacred mountains (Loether 2009), or Kiowa heterographia (Neely & Palmer 2009), San Juan Paiute (Bunte 2009) socializing emphasis on listening and attending behavior, and Arapaho language ideological change in response to culture change involving spatiotemporal orientation (Anderson 2009).

In addition to these culture-specific ideologies, several patterns emerged that appear to be replicated in a broad range of Native American societies. One of these patterns had to do with the influence of national language policy on tribal languages. In many cases, this influence took the form of a fractal recursivity (Irvine & Gal 2000) in which languages such as Western Mono, Shoshoni, and Southern Paiute become iconized as emblems of tribal identity (Bunte 2009, Kroskrity 2009a, Loether 2009), replicating the model of Standard English in US linguistic nationalism. Representing a second pattern, language ideologies regarding indigenous literacy have focused on community-internal indigenous literacy debates (e.g., Morgan 2009), the identity politics and commodification of literacy for the Oklahoma and Eastern Cherokee (Bender 2002, 2009), and community concerns about the potential dangers of indigenous literacy in terms of maintaining secrecy and controlling circulation in Pueblo groups (e.g., Brandt 1982, Debenport 2015). A third pattern is the scholarly recognition of a pervasive role of language ideologies in processes of linguistic vitality and death and this topic will be treated in the following section.

NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGE RENEWAL AND REVITALIZATION

More than 100 years after Boas's (1911) *Handbook of American Indian Languages* was published, linguistic anthropologists are still concerned with the changing and often diminishing roles of Native American languages in Native American communities (Hale et al. 1992, Zepeda & Hill 1991). But whereas salvage anthropology documented languages for the scientific academy, contemporary efforts, such as Hinton & Hale's (2001) *The Green Book of Language Revitalization*, have assumed a more activist, advocacy stance in working with Native American communities to maintain, revitalize, and renew these languages. Confronting endangerment and revitalization processes has quite understandably become one of the key concerns of the linguistic anthropology of North America, where 90% of the indigenous languages are categorized as severely endangered or worse. Researchers have examined many topics including language shift, the consequences of language loss, and the imagery of the language endangerment literature, and they have developed revitalization practices as well as critiques of models for revitalization based on universalist notions of language rights.

Relatively early on, the boarding schools and missionary or missionary-modeled educational systems were recognized for their destructive impact on indigenous language transmission (e.g., Hinton 1994, House 2002, McCarty 1998, Zepeda & Hill 1991). Leap (1993) also noted how parental use of the dominant society's language—or an Indian English version of Standard English—in places like Tiwa-speaking Isleta, as a language of the home interfered with the transmission of the heritage language. Nora Marks Dauenhauer (Tlingit) and her husband and coauthor Richard wrote the earliest account of just how difficult it is to revitalize a language once it is no longer spoken as the home language (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1998). On the basis of their experience in several endangered-language communities (Tlingit, Haida, Tshimshian) in the Alaskan panhandle, they provided a detailed overview of the many ways that revitalization projects can fail. Their list includes lack of adequate funding, lack of sufficient support by the community, the difficulty of preparing and sequencing appropriate course materials, and the lack of financial incentives for community members. In contrast to the practical, economic motivations that drive

most second-language learning, the authors conclude that learning an indigenous Alaskan language must be driven by "spiritual" motivations such as gaining the ability to say prayers in one's ancestral language.

Hill (2004) reports on a study of Tohono O'odham (Papago) lexical loss, finding that the loss of indigenous terminology is typically accompanied by the loss of associated cultural knowledge rather than it being successfully transferred to the dominant language. Moore (1993) discusses generational differences in the pattern of language obsolescence for speakers of Wasco-Wishram in the Warm Springs (Oregon) community. Whereas, for example, older speakers use the language fluently but only in elevated social events or ceremonies, younger speakers have often limited their usage to an informal code used to regulate the behavior of children and pets but never use the language in public settings. Moving to more political arenas, Native linguistic anthropologist Stephen Greymorning (Arapahoe) (2004) discusses the need for indigenous communities to retain their heritage languages to keep the shape-shifting trickster of hegemonic Western culture "at bay" (p. 3). In a study by University of New Mexico researchers (Gómez de García et al. 2009), the reideologization by indigenous communities of the Southwest as instruments of resistance emerges very clearly. Even though language shift has greatly reduced the number of contexts in which indigenous languages are used, English is declared the "dead language" because of its association with the drab commerce of the practical world and its opposition to (from the Native perspective) the colorful, descriptive, and energetic "verb-based" languages such as Cochiti, Jicarilla Apache, Sandia, and Navajo. Although the shift to English is unabated, the researchers view this revalorization of the indigenous languages as a "strong step forward" in restoring more contexts of use.

Linguistic anthropologists have also offered a number of practical resources and new technologies that can be used in Native American language revitalization efforts by communities. Foremost among these is past Society for Linguistic Anthropology President Leanne Hinton, who has dedicated much of her career to the practical business of language revitalization. Mentioned above, her coedited *The Green Book of Language Revitalization* gathered a wide variety of best practices as represented in various case studies of "the master-apprentice program," the Breath of Life Workshop, Hawaiian immersion schools, and other case studies of mass and new media (Hinton & Hale 2001). Hinton was a creative force behind the "master-apprentice" program—an innovative program of dyadic immersion in which a highly fluent speaker is paired with a novice heritage-language learner. Hinton's (2002) *How to Keep Your Language Alive* is a how-to volume for participants in the master-apprentice program, which suggests joint activities for dyads to do and rules of conduct to follow: no use of English, emphasize the spoken language, use only the heritage language and embodied communication. The book reflects more than a decade of perfecting techniques through use by highly successful apprentices such as Nancy Steele (in Karuk) and Matt Vera (in Yowlumne Yokuts).

The Green Book of Language Revitalization also contains examples of projects developed at the biennial "Breath of Life Language Workshop" for "sleeping" languages formerly classified as extinct or dead. One such example is Linda Yamane's chapter on her efforts, as a nonlinguist heritage-language learner, to reclaim aspects of Rumsien Ohlone from notes left by the eccentric linguist J. P. Harrington. Hinton's treatment of sleeping languages also mentions Daryl Baldwin who, as a heritage learner, has independently used descriptive grammars of the Miami (Myaamia) language decades after the death of the last traditional speaker in the 1960s to begin speaking Myaamia as his family's home language (Baldwin & Olds 2007). Hinton's (2013) most recent volume, *Bringing Our Languages Home*, includes as one of its many case studies the first-person accounts of the successes and difficulties of the Baldwins using Myaamia as the default family language. The volume represents a kind of extension of the master-apprentice program to a more

kin-based unit of transmission and provides case studies in such languages as Hawaiian, Irish, Anishinaabe, Maori, and Wampanoag (Massachusetts).

In addition to these inspiring efforts, which show how much can be accomplished, with minimal financial investment or technological support, by dedicated heritage-language speakers and learners, other studies provide alternative resources and models for revitalization programs. McCarty et al. (2006, 2011) have used critical ethnography and ethnographic interviewing of Native American students, their parents, and teachers in schools on the Navajo, Akimel O'odham (Pima), and Tohono O'odham (Papago) to disclose language ideological contestation and contradiction in the bilingual educational institutions designed to promote the heritage languages. One of their findings suggests a generational divide where many parents and teachers determine that students are uninterested in their heritage languages even though the students self-report that they highly value learning the languages. Another finding is the contradictory ideologies that youth experience in regard to the indexical connections between their heritage languages and English. Although the heritage languages are valued as a gateway to cultural knowledge, youth also seem to regard them as lacking in economic value and as generally "forsaken." Yet while English is viewed as useful and tied to educational success, it is also regarded as colonizing. Citing a variety of case studies, Kroskrity (2009b) treats these ideological contestations and contradictions as appropriate sites for "language ideological clarification"—in which internal ideological disputes within the language community (among generations, school personnel, and community, etc.) can be disclosed, debated, and perhaps reconciled so as to resolve or minimize conflict that would disrupt language revitalization efforts.

Perhaps taking this effort a step further, Loether (2009) recommends "language ideological manipulation" of existing language ideologies on the basis of his extensive experience as codirector of the Shoshoni Language Program at Idaho State University. This approach involves reeducation of those members of the Shoshone community who think that languages should never change or who think Shoshone genetic heritage will somehow make learning the heritage language more effortless for those so endowed. But it also means building on indigenous ideologies that represent language as performative and creative rather than as merely descriptive, as in the largely reflectionist view of language propagated by dominant US language ideologies. He suggests practices that have worked for the program he cocreated with Drusilla Gould (Shoshone) such as creating a Shoshone Language Academy, which would help coin and regulate new words, and developing an indigenous language poetry contest. This latter innovation encourages tribal youth to push their heritage languages into new genres and contributes greatly to their sense of ownership and responsibility to the language. Shifting to the Canadian Yukon, Meek (2009) examines the state-facilitated collaborative construction of guiding language ideologies for First Nations communities there. In contrast with policies in the United States, Canadian language policies have productively brought together traditional elders, professional linguists and educators, and government representatives.

In other research, scholars have addressed the use of mass and new media in the service of Native American language revitalization. In an extraordinary article, Greymorning (2001) discusses the history of his project involving the dubbing of Arapaho voices in the Disney-animated film "Bambi." Reviewing the difficulties in obtaining official permission and in convincing Disney personnel that Arapaho heritage language–speaking children needed to be used rather than nonlocal actors, he also discussed this as an important way to make the heritage language appear both more visible and more valuable to members of his heritage-language community. Using interactive multimedia CD-ROM technology, Farnell's (1995) *Wiyuta: Assiniboine Storytelling with Sign* provided analyzed versions of Assiniboine stories told simultaneously in Assiniboine and Plains Sign Language. Following the model of that pioneering CD-ROM, members of the UCLA–Mono Language Project (Kroskrity et al. 2002) produced *Taitaduhaan: Western Mono Ways of Speaking*

for which the multiple navigational paths provided resources both for those with an interest in narrative and other genres and for those more concerned with grammatical detail. Moving from digital interactive programs to digital archives, Moore (2006) notes how funding by either national scientific or private foundations for endangered language research seems to be accompanied by expectations of digital access, making documentary linguistic data as widely and as efficiently available as possible. Whiteley (2003) contends that many universalist language rights discourses mistakenly view such archival collections as material representations of reified languages rather than following the lead of groups such as the Hopi who feel that documentation should better represent what people do with the language and who find unregulated circulation of linguistic material culturally inappropriate.

Working with a similar Pueblo group, Debenport (2015) has demonstrated how that community deliberately restricts circulation of linguistic materials and views this curation as a moral concern and the associated secrecy as a means of delineating group boundaries. This restriction of circulation manifests in Debenport's publications on that Pueblo language; all indigenous language forms appear as blacked-out morphemes, words, phrases, etc., and only English glosses appear. Returning to archives on this matter of restricted circulation, Innes (2010) calls for greater use of metadata in archiving so that indigenous regimes of circulation might be noted in regard to specific materials. She recounts problems arising from Mvskoke and other indigenous Southeastern languages that were collected by University of California, Berkeley, Linguistics Professor Mary Haas, in which narratives were recorded without any attempt to document any cultural norms that needed to be observed regarding access and playback. When some of these recordings were played back, tribal members were disturbed by apparent violations in protocols that should have restricted access for hearers by tribal, gender, clan, or other relevant identities.

Linguistic anthropologists have also introduced a valuable and critical perspective to research on language endangerment and linguistic revitalization. In an ethnographically based monograph that describes why a school-based Apache language revitalization program failed and how some conventional programs of language documentation and teaching impede Native groups from exercising their linguistic self-determination, Nevins (2013a) provides a powerful critique of conventional revitalization practices. She skillfully discusses how the academic reification of the "Apache language" fails to address the concerns of many traditional people who view the crisis of loss as the loss of contextual learning and the cultural values that are acquired by emphasizing not an atomistic appreciation of its decontextualized parts but rather an understanding of the cultural motives for communicating, including the proper way to display the Apache concept of "respect." Nevins (2004) reminds us that indigenous communities may have a very different view of what counts as language loss. For traditional members of that community, teaching Apache literacy and decontextualized vocabulary is far less important than acquiring the moral value of respect that comes from learning the Apache language from elders and other community leaders in valorized cultural routines.

Hill (2002) has critiqued the rhetoric of language endangerment that appears in scholarship that reaches beyond academic elites to a wider public. In her view, this rhetoric of external experts is characterized by claims of "universal ownership" (Hill 2004, p. 121) hyperbolic valorization, and enumeration that speakers of endangered languages would find offensive. Universal ownership amounts to an appeal to humankind's stock of knowledge and the assertion that the loss of any language diminishes that stock. In addition to Hill, however, Debenport (2010), based on work in a contemporary Pueblo society, notes that some indigenous groups claim exclusive rights to their heritage language and attempt to limit its circulation not only across community boundaries but also within the language community as when a panel of heritage-language speakers is called on to determine whether certain indigenous terms are sufficiently profane to be used in signage related to

cultural tourism. "Hyperbolic valorization" amounts to attempts to use images of material wealth such as intellectual "treasure" (Hill 2004, p. 123) to represent the value of indigenous languages.

This practice is also related to widely used tropes, noted by Moore (2006), that fetishize unusual features of particular indigenous languages and exoticize them, suggesting rarity and value. Enumeration, according to Hill (2002), is the tendency to quantify and use statistics to make a maximally alarming statement such as "ninety percent of the world's indigenous languages might die within this century." Moore et al. (2010) critique the singular focus on bounded distinct languages and suggest the wisdom of an alternative focus on the actual resources used by speakers from their linguistic repertoires. Kroskrity (2011) critiques such conventional demographic strategies for representing language endangerment in the scholarly literature as failing to give readers a close-up view of the felt consequences of language loss through heritage-language speakers' experiential perspective.

In addition to volumes by Nevins (2013b) and Debenport (2015) cited earlier, two other monographs treating endangered Native American communities have provided very significant critiques of revitalization practices and endangerment rhetoric. Meek's (2010) *We Are Our Language: An Ethnography of Language Revitalization in a Northern Athapaskan Community* provides a rich study of the Kaska of the Canadian Yukon that focuses on the disjunctures of indigenous language socialization in Kaska homes and schools. Although programs exist in the schools, Meek observes a number of shortcomings in classroom pedagogies that limit heritage learners to brief fill-in-the-blank responses rather than giving them the opportunity for more extended turns of talk. In addition, Meek observes unintended consequences of state policy that certifies the linguistic expertise of elders and, in effect, transforms their linguistic knowledge into museum objects of spectation rather than more fully interactive resources (Meek 2010, 2007).

As a Native anthropologist working on his home Maliseet community of Tobique in New Brunswick, Canada, Bernard Perley, in several publications, including his monograph *Defying Maliseet Language Death* (Perley 2009, 2011, 2012), has attempted to critically rethink the conceptual language of endangerment. His work challenges both external and internal advocates to rethink the imagery of language death, which can only view the language practices and ideologies of today against benchmarks established in a precontact period. He argues instead for community members and interested scholars to view the "emergent vitalities" of contemporary language revitalization practices not as some degeneration of a golden linguistic past (as equal to a Boasian "ethnographic present") but rather as value added to their contemporary linguistic adaptation as they reintegrate the heritage language into their daily lives.

LINGUISTIC APPROPRIATION AND LINGUISTIC RACISM

One area of scholarship with little precedent is the study of the linguistic appropriation of Native American languages and linguistic racism in both its overt and covert forms. Connecting with a much older scholarly interest in place-names, Bright (2004) and Hill (2008, pp. 158–65) observe the appropriation of place-names such as Massachusetts, Tucson, Pasadena, and many other places where the names are decontextualized from their Native meanings and uses and repurposed into white projects of meaning making that can be read as celebrations of their own domination. Although decontextualizing and appropriating Native American languages in this manner may reflect some insensitivity and inappropriate claims of ownership by the dominant society, such acts certainly represent more of a neocolonial attitude than a racist one.

In contrast, racism against American Indians, though quite neglected until recent scholarship, has a considerable history, as Hinton's (1994, pp. 166–67) discussion of the word "digger" reveals. An analogic epithet modeled on the so-called n-word and meant to denigrate the technologies of

California's indigenous hunters and gatherers, "digger" was used in public space by such notables as Mark Twain to denigrate and to racialize members of the Washoe Tribe. Scholars such as Farnell (2004) and Perley, in his 2015 *Anthropology News* article "Indian Mascots: Naturalized Racism and Anthropology," have graphically demonstrated that overt racism involving mascots does exist and can be defended by fans of offending sports teams as "honoring" even when the terms used are regarded as racial slurs by both Native American communities and lexicographers from the dominant society. Meek (2013) has explored related forms of racism in joking that involve Indian stereotypes as the primitive and intellectually inferior Other against which the "reason" of white people is constructed. She also explores linguistic racism in the representation of the speech of Native characters in film and television, observing the special register of Hollywood Injun English (HIE) and its many linguistic features such as deleting pronouns that would normally be expressed in Standard English, using object pronouns in subject position (e.g., "Me go"), lack of number agreement between subject and verb ("Him make war") (Meek 2006). In passages from *Peter Pan*, Meek demonstrates how the Indian characters are limited to HIE, whereas the Lost Boys, including Peter Pan, effortlessly code-switch between Standard English and HIE forms, suggesting their intellectual superiority. But the most interesting aspect of Meek's conclusions about the overall function of HIE is that, by making indigenous characters speak a form of English that resembles "foreigner talk," these media images attempt to symbolically deauthenticate their indigeneity. Moving from mass public culture to the academic representations of Western Mono and Yokuts traditional narratives, Kroskrity (2013) interpreted some salvage-era scholars' linguistic and folkloristic analyses as a form of covert racism in which no attempt was made to understand an alternative narrative aesthetic but rather only an effort to highlight deficiencies benchmarked from the literate and literacy conventions of a Eurocentric notion of schooled literacy. Using a language ideologically based theory of linguistic racism, as in Hill (2008), Kroskrity explores the specific form of linguistic racism directed at Native Americans that indexically connects the claim of linguistic and/or discursive inferiority with negative stereotypes of primitiveness, failure to adapt, and inevitable disappearance—a form of covert racism well-suited to a settler-colonial society's need to erase the marks of its displacement of indigenous peoples (Kroskrity 2013).

NEW DIRECTIONS

Although linguistic racism certainly qualifies as a very recent topic in the linguistic anthropology of Native North America, many others are worthy of note beyond the several I treat briefly here. The first of these concerns the changing sense of indigenous language communities. The contemporary transformational influences of nationalism, urban migration, globalization, and mass mediatization that Silverstein (1998) noted for many of the world's language communities have also been profoundly influential in Native American language communities. The context of language endangerment in many Native American communities has certainly enhanced the audibility and visibility of heritage languages, even if used primarily as emblems of Native American and/or specific Native national identities (e.g., Ahlers 2006). In contemporary Native American endangered language communities such as Kawaiisu (Central California), Pomo (Northern California) (Ahlers 2014), and the Village of Tewa (Northeast Arizona) (Kroskrity 2014), language and identity discourses relating contemporary communities to authenticating ancestral ones have received considerable attention. A related pattern of rethinking language and identity relationships occurs in many traditionally multilingual Native American communities (Silverstein 1996) that now find hegemonic models of one language: one identity to refigure a single Native American language as the emblem of tribal or Native Nation identity. And even more recent work pursues postnational interests in the creation of publics and examines the potentially paradigm-altering influence of

Native American publics as the main "market" for works of Native American linguistic representation (Kroskrity & Meek 2017).

A second direction that warrants attention here is the growing reflexive interest in collaborative anthropological approaches. Following from Collins's (1998a) analysis of field research as a site of contestation between the ideologies of heritage-language speakers and those of linguistic anthropologists, there has been a renewed interest in collaboration as a necessary condition of all linguistic research in Native American language communities (e.g., Ahlers 2009, Debenport 2015, Kroskrity 2015). Shulist (2013) compares the work of linguists and linguistic anthropologists in this regard and views the proximity of such resources as ethnographic methods, field research ethics, and the reflexivity of the researcher as valuable resources that have enabled and enhanced the collaborative enterprises between linguistic anthropologists and indigenous communities.

A third direction of new research, and one that represents an extension of collaborative research, is the theme of exploring the indigenous sovereignties of Native Nations. In contrast with the preoccupation of Western societies with sovereignty as the expression of formerly kingly powers and as a basis for state-sanctioned violence (Hansen & Stepputat 2006), Native American sovereignty focuses on nation-building according to indigenous culture. Following on earlier work by Richland (2008, 2009), which examined Hopi struggles against hegemonic US law for the "limited sovereignty" manifested by Hopi Tribal Law, speakers in a 2015 AAA panel devoted to the topic of "Indigenous Sovereignties Revisited via Linguistic Anthropology," organized by Hyejin Nah and Sara Snyder, explored educational sovereignty (Sara Snyder on an Eastern Cherokee bilingual program), sovereignty as action that produces recognition (Erin Debenport on Ysleta del Sur), and the moral sovereignty of special people–land relationships (such as acorn-gathering in traditional gathering areas by White Mountain Apache as described by Nevins). Judging from these and other productive directions that new research is taking, linguistic anthropology is indeed alive and well in Native North America.

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