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Multilingual Language Ideological Assemblages: Language Contact, Documentation and Revitalization

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Abstract

Data from long-term research in two ideologically divergent Native American linguistic communities demonstrate the importance, first, of indigenous multilingualisms and, second, of distinctive ideologies of multilingualism in shaping the divergent language contact outcomes and practices of those communities as they adapted to such forces as economic incorporation, colonization, assimilationist policies, and later decolonization and attempted language revitalization. Indigenous ideological differences in these communities were key factors in producing divergent patterns of language shift as well as in community efforts to document and revitalize their respective heritage languages. The Village of Tewa (NE Arizona) still partially retains a multilingual adaptation in all generations except youth and young adults (Kroskrity, 1993; 2014). The Western Mono (Central California) were traditionally multilingual with neighboring languages of the Yokuts and Southern Sierra Miwok groups (Kroskrity, 2009a). Though both groups were historically multilingual, multilingual practices were differentially influenced by distinctive language ideologies such as those emphasizing purism/syncretism and the expressive/utilitarian functions of language. This observation suggests the importance of understanding indigenous multilingualisms and their consequences for language contact within their *language ideological assemblages* (Kroskrity, 2018).

Keywords

language dynamics – language contact – language ideologies – revitalization – documentation – Native North America – Indigenous California – Pueblo Southwest (US)

1 Introduction

As the study of language contact has progressed from a preoccupation with products of contact – such as borrowings and transfers (Weinreich, 1953) – to contact processes, it has necessarily become more entangled with the social worlds of those languages and their speakers. In a review of this development, Donald Winford (2013: 179) cogently observes:

... the motivations for borrowing have to be understood in relation to the sociolinguistics and sociopolitical aspects of the contact between the speakers and the language. Such factors include the pattern of interaction between the groups, the degree of bilingualism, the demographic and power relationships, and attitudes toward the language.

This article addresses and attempts to refine such approaches to language contact by exploring the distinctive influences of their language ideological assemblages on two Native American language communities (Kroskrity, 2018). Language ideologies are the “beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use, which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic, and other interest groups, and nation-states” (Kroskrity, 2010: 192). While sometimes confused with “language attitudes,” language ideologies, as a theoretical concept, more explicitly problematize speakers’ awareness/consciousness as well as the relevance of political economic structures (Schieffelin et al., 1998; Kroskrity, 2000). In addition, language ideologies are properly understood as emerging from social conditions of conflict and contestation, making them especially appropriate conceptual resources for the study of language contact (Kroskrity, 2010). In this article, I will use the enhanced conceptual strategy of *language ideological assemblages* (LIA) to further explore the interaction of ideologies, linguistic structures, group identities, discursive practices, languages, and their speakers across communities in contact. As a theoretical hybrid of language ideological theory and cultural anthropological scholarship emphasizing “assemblages” of various sorts (e.g., Ong and Collier, 2003; Tsing, 2015), language ideological assemblages provide

theoretical guidance to understand the complex situations involving speakers and their communities experiencing language contact and change. Privileging neither an emphasis on top-down political-economic factors nor the micro-cultural worlds of individual language users, LIA attempt a more integrated understanding of their connection. My goal in developing this concept is to redirect theoretical attention to the dynamic juxtaposition of linguistic ideologies, practices, and political-economic structures and to challenge the utility of examining a single linguistic community or particular language ideologies in isolation. It is at once an intensification and re-scaling of a language ideological approach designed to better understand the complex multiplicity of factors that dynamically contribute to language contact, maintenance, and change. By placing language contact in this larger context, I argue, we are better able to understand “the effects that speakers’ bilingual practices have on the languages that they use” (Aalberse and Muysken, 2018: 524).

The two multilingual Native American communities analyzed here are the Western Mono communities of Central California and the Village of Tewa in Northeastern Arizona (see Figure 1). In the sections that follow, I will briefly describe these language communities, their indigenous ideologies, and language contact profiles. Finally, I will contrast the current expression of their language ideological assemblages as represented in the contrastive forms of language revitalization expressed in the two communities.

Two Native American Language Communities

Western Mono (Central CA)

Village of Tewa (Northern AZ)

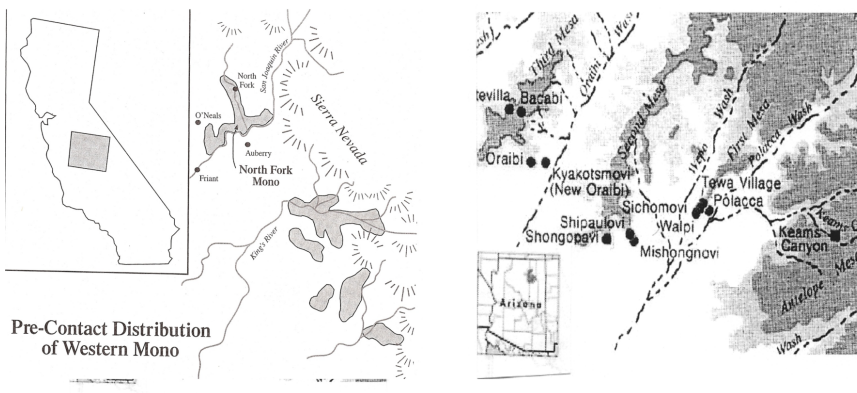


FIGURE 1 Maps of Western Mono and Village of Tewa Communities

2 Two Native American Language Communities : Language Ideologies and Contact Profiles

2.1 *Western Mono (Central California)*

Western Mono was traditionally spoken in California's San Joaquin Valley and adjacent foothill areas though members of the language community trace themselves back to an earlier homeland on the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada Mountains near Mono Lake. Their language, like many Great Basin languages in their previous homeland, is from the Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family (Mithun, 1999: 539). 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 twenty-five fluent speakers, most eighty years of age or older (Carly Tex, personal communication). Over the past thirty-five years, various language documentation projects and language revitalization efforts have emerged to support those community members interested in their heritage language. This has mostly taken the form of occasional "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 three hundred members from a variety of towns, rancherias, and even suburban locations. As this article is being written there are no classes currently being offered in Western Mono community. Eastern Mono – a minimally divergent language spoken on the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, is currently being taught in some communities there.

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, 2009a) in more detail than would be appropriate here. Western Mono language communities went from a classic residual zone in Nichols's (1992) sense – an adaptation involving multilingualism, seasonal movement, and intermarriage – to one that featured the aggressive spread of English, forceful suppression of indigenous languages, and later a limited revalorization of Western Mono as a heritage, albeit a second, language (Kroskrity, 2009a). Here I will selectively present some language ideologies that have shaped its history of usage by Mono speakers in this traditionally multilingual community (Spier, 1978: 426).

For the Western Mono most, if not all, of the indigenous beliefs and multilingual practices about their languages conferred an adaptive capacity that

paradoxically offered little resistance to language shift but provided a flexibility that is especially valuable in language revitalization efforts. For example, the emphasis on multilingualism and the lack of an indigenous emblemization, or iconization (Irvine and Gal, 2000), of the Western Mono language from the community's linguistic repertoire muted use of the heritage language as either an emblem of identity or as a singularly appropriate instrument of resistance. Since no particular language was singled out for such cultural investment, indigenous language ideologies that might promote a linguistic ethnonationalism were not emphasized. Because of a long history of cultural contact and intermarriage with neighboring groups – both indigenous and non-indigenous – there was more interest in developing linguistic adaptations to serve boundary crossing rather than boundary-creation. In the Mono communities of North Fork and Auberry, for example, significant trilingualism existed within tribelets – small, village like units typical of indigenous California – of neighboring Mono, Yokuts, and Southern Sierra Miwok communities.

All three groups shared an otherwise regionally-unique moiety system of social organization. Intermarriage between members of these communities was commonplace as attested by the Mono word, *maksi*, meaning “co-in-laws” – a word that is shared with and demonstrably borrowed from Southern Sierra Miwok. Because indigenous multilingualism had become almost non-existent when I began to research Western Mono in 1980, explicit native metacommentary was exceedingly rare but what I heard from the very oldest members of the community was that their parents had some knowledge of three or more languages and that they found this useful for political, social, and economic reasons such as alliances against other bands, intermarriage, and sharing information relevant to their hunting and gathering economies as attested by North Fork Mono historian Gaylen Lee (1998).

For the Western Mono, this indigenous valorization of multilingualism and general language ideological support of both multilingualism and linguistic hybridity was further promoted by indigenous language ideologies of *syncretism* and *utilitarianism*. Syncretism manifests in widespread linguistic borrowing from neighboring indigenous languages (like Yokuts and Miwok). Even though multilingualism was more often remembered rather than practiced when I began Mono research in 1980, many loanwords clearly establish a cultural practice of syncretism that would have helped them adapt to their new location in the Western Sierra foothills. Mono words like *awonno* (‘boat’ < Miwok *owon*), *eebisi* (‘trout’ < Yokuts *epis*), *soyonno* (‘elk’ < Yokuts *soyol*), are among the many loanwords Mono speakers acquired from their indigenous

neighbors (Loether, 1998).¹ Syncretism was not limited to indigenous languages, however, and the Mono borrowed more than eighty loanwords from Spanish and thirty-one from English (Kroskrity and Reinhardt, 1984).

Neighboring Indigenous languages were not only the source of the lexical borrowing of novel ecological and cultural features, they were also the medium through which Spanish loanwords reached the Western Mono as the endpoint of a diffusional chain extending from the coastal missions to the Western side of the Sierra Nevada mountains (Shipley, 1962; Kroskrity and Reinhardt, 1985). Almost exclusively content nouns, these loanwords reflect a wide range of semantic domains including 1) metal goods (WM *awooha* < SP *aguja* 'needle'; WM *qanipana* < SP *campana* 'bell'); 2) livestock (WM *qawaiiyu* < SP *caballo* 'horse'; WM *poniika* < SP *borrega* 'sheep'). 3) foods (WM *hanoso* < SP *arroz* 'rice'; WM *santiya* < SP *sandía* 'watermelon', *tumaate* < SP *tomate* 'tomato'), 4) clothing (WM *woota* < SP *bota* 'boots'; WM *amaata* < SP *manta* 'vest'; WM *naawasi* < SP *naguas* 'dress, petticoat'), 5) institutions/professions (WM *qapitana* < SP *capitán* 'leader, captain'; WM *paadede* < SP *padre* 'church, priest'; WM *tendeen* < SP *tendero* 'store, town'; WM *wiqenu* < SP *vaquero* 'cowboy'). Since the Monos lacked direct contact with the coastal missions and with Spanish speakers more generally, most of this Spanish-sourced vocabulary was obtained through language contact with contiguous Indigenous groups in South Central California like the Yokuts and Southern Sierra Miwok (Shipley, 1962; Kroskrity and Reinhardt, 1985: 234). Western Mono speakers did not hear Spanish pronunciations of words like *bota* 'boat' and *jarro* 'cup' but instead their Southern Sierra Miwok (*wo:ta*) and Yokuts (*xa:lu*) forms which provided the phonological material for the respective Western Mono loanwords *woota* and *xaanu*. As the previous examples demonstrate, almost all of the eighty Spanish loanwords are content nouns for novel items introduced by the Spanish colonial program. But two verbs are also borrowed and these suggest a more encompassing political economic impact of colonialism and the economic transformation of the region: from SP *trabajar* > WM *tawahani*'it 'to work' and from SP *deber* > WM *teebe*'it 'to owe'. In part because of the mediated contact, language contact with Spanish was limited to the Western Mono lexicon.

Contact with English provides a similar pattern of syncretism but no evidence of diffusion through neighboring languages. In contrast to the eighty Spanish loanwords, there is documentary evidence for only twenty-seven

1 Mono words are written in the practical orthography approved by the North Fork Mono community that is used in Bethel et. al., (1984) – the basis of the community's current on-line dictionary.

loanwords. Like the Spanish loans, these words represented new items like food (*tanaapu'* < turnip; *apikatsi* < apricots), animals (*tsagaasi* < jackass; *kidi'* < kitty), and institutions (*skunu'* < school; *waiya* < wire, telegraph) associated with Anglo-Americans and the expanding reach of the settler state. The smaller number of English loans is clearly related to the addition of English to the linguistic repertoire and the language shift that would eventually make it the most often used language for the community. This shift was ideologically facilitated by a Mono language ideology of utilitarianism (Kroskrity, 2009a) which will be further discussed below. To complete the representation of the linguistic products of English language contact, we should also note that even though there are fewer loanwords from English, multilingualism with English promoted grammatical change involving the innovation of an agent marker modeled on English “by”. Example 1 below illustrates the use of Mono *-baatu* in an agentive passive sentence (Kroskrity and Loether, 1989). Since there is no homologous postposition in other Numic languages or analogous forms in neighboring languages, this appears to be the result of English language contact.

- 1) *I-wana'* *Ini'i-baatu* *na-zaniga-t*.
 1.SG-younger.brother Whites-by PASS-capture-PFV²
 'My younger brother was captured/jailed by White People'.

Both direct contact with English and its speakers as well as their increasing political economic influence made it a more formidable and destabilizing influence. Though the gradual attrition (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006: 17) of Mono is largely due to the impact of Anglo-Americans and English, Mono language ideologies, like utilitarianism, did not provide resources for resistance. Promoting this destabilization, utilitarianism had two relevant aspects. One, it foregrounded the practical economic adaptations offered by particular languages while deemphasizing linguistic contributions to personal and group identity. In addition, it encouraged use of new, and possibly more efficient, technologies for transportation, acorn-grinding, and even indigenous ritual.³ As Mono participation in an ever more encompassing cash economy increased

2 All the examples follow Leipzig Glossing Rules and use the Standard Abbreviations for glossing grammatical morphemes. All examples are written in the practical orthographies that were approved by the communities.

3 Regarding ceremonial use of new technologies: when a ceremonial practitioner needed to perform an indigenous ritual normally requiring many singing voices but lacking a significant number of attendees, she resorted to a backup plan of electronic amplification of the few singers who could actually attend.

and required more extensive use of English, Monos were also required to reduce the seasonal round of their annual hunting and gathering cycle. In the early 20th Century, as seasonal migration was replaced by sedentary lifeways imposed by the state, Monos of the parenting and grand-parenting generations encouraged their children to learn and use “the new man’s language” as an economic adaptation. This may well have led to a more stable and traditional multilingual practice were it not for the hegemonic institutions of the state, especially its schools, and their role in stigmatizing Mono speaking students and in promoting racializing projects designed to subordinate Monos and other California Natives as a denigrated under-class.⁴

Another casualty of state influence was multilingualism itself since the standard language ideology represented by the state’s educational policies valorized English while stigmatizing all indigenous languages and, by association, local patterns of indigenous multilingualism – a typical target of the monoglot standardist regimes of many nation-states (Dorian, 1998; Silverstein, 1996). Another language ideology that can be ascribed to the Western Mono communities is one that I have termed variationism (Kroskrity, 2009a). Western Monos valorize internal diversity and naturalize it as the expected outcome of family differences. This is traceable, both for the Mono and for the many California and Great Basin Indians to the comparative lack of stratification in these largely egalitarian communities (Silver and Miller, 1998). The absence of a hierarchized social order to which linguistic variation can be indexed produces a corresponding acceptance and adequation of most forms of linguistic variation. No register of Mono emerges as indexical of political or religious elites and reproduces their power and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). But this rejection of a linguistic orthodoxy also provided few semiotic resources to resist language shift to English. Though clearly Euro-American policies of linguistic intolerance played a significant role in imposing a language shift, indigenous language ideologies like variationism, the absence of an indigenous linguistic orthodoxy, and the comparative lack of an emblematic role for the Mono language all contributed to the current status of the Mono language as either “critically endangered” (Krauss, 2007) or “moribund” (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006: 18) – according to two classifications of endangered languages.

2.2 *Village of Tewa (N. Arizona)*

Like the Western Mono, the ancestral community of the Village of Tewa moved from a prior homeland. Vacating their eastern Pueblo homeland in the Galisteo

4 For more on the racism experienced by California Indians, (see Hinton 1994: 165–79; Kroskrity, 2018; and Bauer, 2016: 55).

Basin along the Rio Grande River, in what is today Northern New Mexico, in the wake of the Second Pueblo Revolt of 1696 (Dozier, 1966; Kroskrity, 1993), these erstwhile Southern Tewa (*Thanuge'in T'owa*) followed invitations by the Hopi to move to their lands and pacify the region. Though they spoke Tewa, a Kiowa-Tanoan language, and the Hopis spoke a Uto-Aztecan language, their cultural adaptations were otherwise quite similar. Like the Hopi, the Tewa were agriculturalists though they would need to learn “dry-farming” technology from their new neighbors since their new home lacked any permanently flowing rivers that could be used for irrigation. Like the Hopi, the Tewa had a stratified society in which those highest in the ceremonial orders also possessed considerable political power in their communities. Though the traditional Southern Tewa social organization featured a moiety system that was common to almost all Eastern Pueblo communities, they would quickly adopt a clan organization based on the model of their Hopi neighbors. Though considerable accommodation to the Hopi and their environment was inevitable, the Tewa – unlike almost all of the many Pueblo diasporic groups resulting from Spanish conquest and reconquest (after the Pueblo Revolts of 1680 and 1696) – would never lose their language. Though they would learn Hopi, and later English, the Tewa language often masked new cultural features and erased other evidence of apparent change. The word for “clan” – a prominent feature of Hopi society but not Tewa was a semantic extension of the Tewa word for “people” – *T'owa*. Many clans were similarly named to analogous Hopi totemic names – Bear, Sun, Corn, etc. – but encoded in familiar Tewa vocabulary rather than Hopi. Though the Tewa encountered some difficulties in their adjustment to their Hopi neighbors that resulted in the “linguistic curse” Tewa put on the Hopi, the groups eventually managed to live together and cooperate successfully. This now three-centuries-old “curse” was a form of Tewa cultural revenge on the Hopi for failure to show appropriate gratitude for Tewa military service against Hopi enemies. In the wake of the Second Pueblo Revolt against the Spanish in 1696, Hopi First Mesa clans had invited the Southern Tewa (ancestors of the current Village of Tewa community) who abandoned their Rio Grande River Valley pueblos and their warfare with the Spanish colonial regime to move three hundred miles west to Hopi territory. According to the agreement, the Tewa would come and defeat Hopi enemies and be rewarded with land and other resources. But when the Tewa decisively defeated Ute marauders, Hopis failed to fully honor the agreement. The Tewa responded by placing a curse on the Hopi. This episode is recounted in narratives in which the speech of Tewa

leaders to their Hopi counterparts is dramatically reconstructed as in the following translation (Dozier, 1954: 292):

Because you have behaved in a manner unbecoming to human beings, we have sealed knowledge of our language and our way of life from you. You and your descendants will never learn our language and our ceremonies, but we will learn yours. We will ridicule you in both your language and our own.

As a metalinguistic statement about language and identity, the curse is multiply meaningful. It is remarkable in the powerful way it emblemizes the Tewa language to group identity but it is also especially noteworthy as a valorization of Tewa asymmetrical bilingualism. Rather than view their need to learn Hopi as a consequence of their status as a displaced minority, the Tewa account views their asymmetrical bilingualism as a willful cultural achievement and as persisting evidence of Tewa moral superiority. The “curse” narrative is a critical part of Tewa initiation ceremonies and it is materialized in a petrified wood marker, serving as a monument of sorts, between the Village of Tewa and the adjacent Hopi Village of Sichomovi, where the historical curse occurred (Kroskrity, 2014).

Locating the Village of Tewa in the classification of endangered languages in Krauss (2007: 1), Tewa would qualify as “definitely endangered” (Krauss, 2007) or as “disappearing” (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006) because most parents have some speaking knowledge of Tewa even if they choose not to make it the language of their home. When I accepted the community’s invitation by a number of college age young adults to return to the site of my dissertation research (and a total of 20 years of various research activities) to develop revitalization materials, I certainly was aware of the controversial nature of most linguistic research. But I was still surprised by the 5-year process it took for me to finally obtain official approval from the community in September, 2012 – a process involving 4 public presentations at the new Village of Tewa Community Center and about a dozen meetings with various configurations of clan leaders, community service workers, and other members of the Village. While a dictionary project has been approved and a preliminary dictionary has actually been produced in part through new research, in part by mining my previously recorded materials, its circulation – in accord with local language ideologies that will be discussed shortly – is very limited. As I intend to show, though the community is supportive about language documentation, it still struggles with new technologies of transmission – such as indigenous literacy – and attempts to use them in accord with language ideologies that carefully regulate the flow of information in face-to-face oral communication.

A key contrast between Mono and Tewa indigenous ideologies emerges from the more stratified nature of Pueblo societies as well as the enregisterment (Agha, 2003; Silverstein, 2003) of a culturally prominent form of speech known as kiva speech (*te'e hili*) and its influence on other linguistic forms (Kroskrity, 1998). Historical linguistic studies indicated that the linguistic purism that scholars such as Dozier (1956 [1965]) had noted was not created in the crucible of Spanish colonization, but rather preexisted it, not just for Tewa but for many, if not all, Pueblo groups (Kroskrity, 1982; Kroskrity, 1993). Loanwords from other indigenous languages, spoken by neighboring groups for hundreds, if not thousands, of years, were exceedingly rare. This long-standing and consistent cultural preference for “indigenous purism” manifested as a dispreference for loanwords from *all* other languages and a strong preference for extending native vocabulary to fill lexical gaps. For the Village of Tewa, there is extremely minimal borrowing from Spanish (17 words) and Hopi (2 words), despite long periods of past or current multilingualism (Kroskrity, 1993). The practice of indigenous purism coexists with multilingualism to encourage a multilingual adaptation with little or no code-switching and even less lexical borrowing. This ideal is naturalized by some as a linguistic version of a strategy that combines the ideologies of purism and compartmentalization – such as the growing of 6 distinct colors of corn by growing them in separated fields. But while Tewa ideologies of indigenous purism are strictly enforced on the more salient lexicon, some grammatical and discursive phenomena have flown below the ideological radar of Tewa speakers and resulted in instances of convergence.

Examples of grammatical convergence – all unrecognized by Tewa speakers – are rare but evident as a consequence of contact with several languages over the past several centuries. Unlike other Kiowa Tanoan languages, Tewa has innovated a generalized possessive suffix – *bi-* which it has borrowed from Apachean language’s third-person possessive (Kroskrity, 1985) during the 15th or 16th Centuries. During the ongoing period of multilingualism with Hopi dating back to 1700, the Tewa speakers assiduously avoided lexical borrowing but were unaware of convergence in some instances of grammar and discourse. Tewa, as spoken in Arizona, has innovated a passive suffix (exemplified in 2 below) that is analogous to a Hopi suffix (example 3) of similar phonological shape. In an example of discourse convergence, Tewa speakers have retained their indigenous evidential particle *-ba* but they now use it, in genres like storytelling, in the same distribution and frequency that Hopi storytellers use for their analogous evidential particle *yaw* (Kroskrity, 1997) – this genre marking use of multiple evidential particles in the same sentence is not a feature of Rio Grande Tewa storytelling and appears to be a convergence with Hopi discourse patterns while retaining the Tewa lexical item. See Tewa and Hopi examples 4 and 5 below. In a final example of convergence, I have noted (Kroskrity, 1993)

an instance of grammatical convergence with English in the area of phrasal conjunction. When I first began field research in 1972, older speakers used three patterns of phrasal conjunction (NN-adi ; N-adi-N-adi, and N-adi N) but now the only one used in all generations is the last – a form which is isomorphic with the English pattern. See 6 below for an example.

- 2) *P'o na-kuulu-tii.*
 Water 3.SG-pour-PASS.
 'Water was poured'.
- 3) *Taawi yuk-ilti (HOPI)*
 song finish-PASS.
 'The song was finished'. (Kalectaca 1978:132)
- 4) *I-we ba, di-powa-di ba, óóbé-khwooli-mak'a-kánt'o-di...*
 there-at EV 3.PL-arrive-SUB EV 3.PL.INV-fly-teach-intend-SUB
 'To there, so, having arrived, so, they were to be taught to fly'.
- 5) *Noq yaw 'ora:yvi 'atka kiitava yaw piw*
 and EV Oraibi below.south from.village EV also
'ticvo ki'yta (HOPI)
 wren live
 'And so, south of Oraibi, so Wren also lived'. (Seumptewa, Voegelin, and Voegelin 1980)
- 6) *Sen-adi kwiyó di-mae.*
 man-and woman 3.DU-go.PFV
 Then man and the woman went.

These forms of convergence suggest that when language contact phenomena escape Tewa awareness they are not subject to purist ideological treatment. Language ideological theorists have long established the relevance of linguistic salience – especially that of the “unavoidable referentiality” of content nouns – as a factor in language contact and change (Silverstein, 1979; 1981; Kroskrity, 1998).

Strict compartmentalization may be opposed to syncretism and/or hybridity, because it attempts to regulate contextualized language. Much as Newman (1955) observed more than a half century ago for the Zuni, registers of sacred, slang, indigenous and other, languages have sharply demarcated contexts of use. Just as languages must be kept uniform in accord with indigenous purism so specific languages and registers must be properly contextualized on the

model of kiva speech. Speaking something other than kiva speech during a ceremony violates explicit cultural ideals. But speaking kiva speech anywhere but during a ceremony is also a violation and a cause for increasingly greater concern for many speakers whose lack of knowledge of the boundary between sacred and profane speech creates great anxiety about correct usage. Thus the register of kiva speech, because of its invocation of a ceremonially based indexical order regulates linguistic form and practice for the Tewa in a manner that is very unlike that for the Western Mono where language is neither a regulated substance or practice.

Both a ceremonial emphasis on linguistically constructed identities and a folk history that clearly connects Tewa identity to the Tewa language combine to make the heritage language an emblem of identity and an explicit topic of indigenous discourses of language and identity. In contrast to the Mono case, Tewa metalinguistics involving language and identity is especially well-developed. Older Tewa have a saying, “*Naabi hiili naabi woowatsi na-mu*” “My language is my life” which is widely used with either a singular or non-singular first-person pronoun. In its singular form, the saying usually conveys a recognition that one’s biographical choices have a linguistic residue. The non-singular version is most often used to express pride in the purity of the local Tewa language by contrasting it with Rio Grande Tewa which is characterized as riddled with Spanish influence.⁵ But in addition to relating a particular language to identity, the Tewa also use “the linguistic curse” as a celebration of their asymmetrical bilingualism with Hopis who are said not to be able to learn Tewa because of the efficacy of the curse.

3 The Influence of LIA on Patterns of Language Revitalization

In previous sections, I have traced differences in the patterns of language shift experienced by the Western Mono and Village of Tewa both to contrasting impacts of settler colonialism and to distinctive Indigenous elements in their LIA. Though settler colonialism deeply impacted both groups and subordinated them to a settler-state and its associated culture – including state ideologies of language and identity, these impacts assumed very distinct forms for the two groups. For the Western Mono, though they maintained their traditional hunting and gathering economy into the 20th C., their seasonal rounds

5 Village of Tewa speakers valorize the purity of their heritage language and contrast it with Rio Grande Tewa with its larger lexical inventory and phonological influence traceable to Spanish.

which admitted harvest season wage work for White farmers gradually transformed into a year-round incorporation into the cash economy of settler society (Hurtado, 1988: 214). Seasonal movements associated with hunting and gathering were now restricted by the fences and barriers of private property, destroying the possibility of maintaining most of their traditional economic practices. Now sedentary wage workers in towns in which they had become minoritized by incoming Euro-American settlers, Western Monos performed mostly “unskilled” labor for low wages. In addition to being incorporated at the bottom of an encompassing cash economy, Western Monos – like other California Indians – were racialized as “digger” Indians by most Euro-American settlers and their dominant institutions (Hinton, 1994). As a Mono elder who grew up early in the 20th C., Rosalie Bethel still recalled the stigmatizing treatment of Native American students in public schools that routinely punished students for speaking their heritage languages and treated them as untouchables that should not make contact with Euro-American students (Kroskrity, 2009a: 197).

While “Indian Schools” that the Tewa attended were hardly tolerant, they tended to be off-reservation boarding schools that lacked direct influence on the daily lives back on the Hopi Reservation to which the boarding students would return. Though the entire Hopi Reservation was regimented to many forms of political economic subordination, the Tewa were already a minority group among the Hopi and they had well-developed strategies of compartmentalization to limit the impact of Euro-American society and culture. They did not lose land or experience any sudden inability to practice their traditional economy. Less a transformation of their society than a supplementary adaptation, this settler-colonial contact was significantly less disorienting for the Tewa than the Western Mono. The newly imposed cash economy provided many Village of Tewa members with opportunities to experiment with commercial enterprises, ranching, and the paid positions made available by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Indian Health Service, and tribal bureaucracy. Economically many Tewa played the role of “middleman,” often mediating between more conservative Hopi groups and the dominant Euro-American society which seemed to always require change – in economy, political organization, legal authority (Dozier, 1966: 27; Kroskrity, 1993: 23–4). In contrast to the Mono, Village of Tewa residents experienced contact with the settler state and its society as far less disruptive.

Regarding language shift to English, this differential impact of contact with settler society also contributes to contemporary results in language shift. Measured in “traditional speakers,” Western Mono would be regarded as “severely endangered” since all highly fluent speakers, about 20, are in the

grandparent generation or older. In contrast, Tewa, in the Village of Tewa, is still widely spoken, though in increasingly fewer contexts, in all generations except for youth and young adults. Though still “definitively endangered” because it is not being transmitted as a first language, Tewa is now offered in after-school instruction and just beginning to be transmitted as an L2 language to “new speakers” who were not provided with a home context in which the language was regularly spoken. Western Mono has been offered in a wider variety of in-school and adult education classes in various Central California communities. But contrasting situations of vitality are certainly not solely attributable to colonial and hegemonic impacts. The different language ideological assemblages in each of these communities has provided distinctive resources for those communities and for their linguistic adaptation to the increasingly pronounced presence of the dominant society and its culture. For the Western Mono, the utilitarianism and former pattern of egalitarian multilingualism with syncretism worked to promote the use of English as the more economically useful language. As the pattern of indigenous trilingualism broke down under policies of the settler state to suppress and stigmatize Indigenous languages and to valorize the national language, English also assumed a new function as the lingua franca of neighboring indigenous tribes who had for centuries spoken each other’s languages as part of their regional repertoire. In addition, Mono people, owing to an older tradition of egalitarian multilingualism and regional identification, tended not to view Mono as a special emblem of their tribal identity. For members of this community, any traditional cultural practice or engagement with Mono society provided important evidence of belonging to that group. In contrast to the Mono LIA that seemed to facilitate language shift, the Village of Tewa found in its LIA resources for linguistic resistance. Ideologies of indigenous purism combined with compartmentalization to promote a trilingual adaptation in which English would be confined and limited to those contexts in which it was necessary (such as in the workplace, in the institutions of the dominant society, and in the consumption of mass print and broadcast media). Since the Tewa language was still important in the practice of Tewa religion and the production of Tewa identity, these ideologies of language and identity also promoted the heritage language as an indispensable part of a multilingual adaptation by members of the Village of Tewa.

The divergent LIAs of each group not only shaped the distinctive pattern of language shift in each community; they continue to structure many features of each group’s language revitalization efforts. The LIAs provide a language ideological basis for setting goals, engaging with revitalization products and technologies, circulating revitalization materials, and assessing success according

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGICAL ASSEMBLAGES

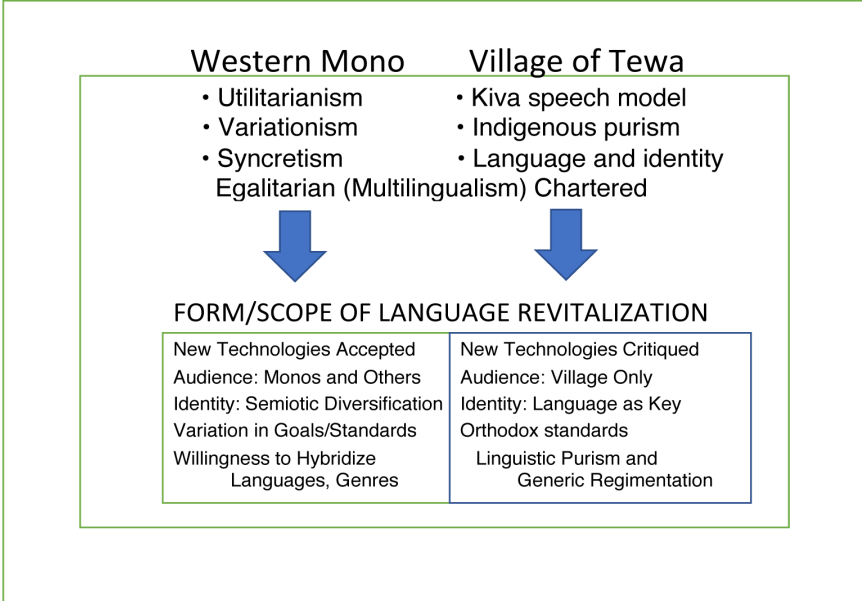


FIGURE 2 Language Ideological Assemblages and their Influence on Language Revitalization

to community values. Figure 2 provides a useful summary of differences in language ideological assemblages and their apparent influence on language revitalization goals and practices in the two communities.

In the sections below I will detail and further elaborate the distinctive forms of these two revitalization efforts. Within each program of revitalization, I will describe five dimensions that reveal their contrastive scope and force (Geertz, 1968: 111; Kroskrity, 1993: 131): 1. Literacy and Postliterate Technologies, 2. Resource Circulation, 3. Language and Identity, 4. Goals/Standards, and 5. Hybridity/Purism.⁶

3.1 Western Mono Language Revitalization

It is possible to trace the beginnings of Western Mono Language revitalization to the early 1970's and the convergence of changing educational philosophies

6 Here I am extending the concepts developed by Clifford Geertz (1968) in his *Islam Observed* from the study of religious phenomena to language ideologies. Scope refers to range of events that are influenced by a particular religious belief or practice. Force invokes an interpretive dimension of the intensity of same. Though Geertz applied them to religious phenomena, I think the concepts are quite useful for linguistic anthropological analysis especially regarding language ideologies.

directed at “under-achieving” minority students in U.S. classrooms with the infusion of federal money through the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. The net-effect for Western Monos was the growing recognition by local schools that their curriculum should include some content from indigenous cultural groups. Once banned from classroom use, the Mono language was now to be included in brief lessons and demonstrations by tribal members who could be hired as aides and consultants. After the surprising reversal of state support, community members began teaching from word lists of animals, body parts, and cultural expressions.

3.1.1 Literacy and Postliterate Technologies

Concerned that her way of writing the heritage language was inaccurate, Mono elder Rosalie Bethel sought out a collaborative relationship with the author and this resulted in the UCLA Mono Language Project which began in 1982. Even though the Mono community did not have an official orthography or any tradition of Mono literacy, all of its members were literate in English and saw no problem with writing Mono. Literacy in Mono was both useful and prestigious although many Monos who wrote the language in the late 20th C. tended to use idiosyncratic systems that were neither phonetically adequate or consistent. Still there was no reluctance to write the language even though the community’s language ideological preference for variationism interfered with the adoption of a standard for the heritage language. Mono utilitarianism promoted the adoption of new technologies. In one of the early Summer meetings of the Mono project team, one participant remarked that adopting Mono literacy was like using an electric Cuisinart for grinding acorns rather than taking them to pounding-rock mortars. The ease and efficiency of such new technologies was always preferred. Starting with the UCLA Mono Language Project in 1982 and extending to the present, the Mono community has consistently supported efforts to document the language – such as the collaboratively produced Practical Dictionary of Western Mono (Bethel et al., 1984) that was originally published in 1984. Though UCLA researchers, including the author, encountered the community’s lack of familiarity with Mono literacy and engaged in a number of meetings with the Mono “academy” of elders to find more user-friendly alternatives to the very linguistic – more IPA-based – orthography with which we began, we never experienced any reluctance to try the new technology or any sentiment that Mono should remain only in the oral tradition. This willingness to embrace new technologies later extended to the production of a collaboratively produced, interactive multimedia CD-ROM *Taitaduhaan: Western Mono Ways of Speaking* (Kroskrity et al., 2002) that included videos of storytelling performances along with their linguistic

analysis. The 2002 publication of that CD-ROM by a university press demonstrated both the application of Mono utilitarianism, in its willingness to adopt new “postliterate” (Kroskrity, 2002) technologies, and an interest in circulation not only to dispersed Mono communities and their members but also to a more general public (Kroskrity, 2017). I will discuss this aspect of Mono revitalization in the next section. I will conclude this section by noting that the North Fork Mono Rancheria has recently used its internet website to post an analog version of the entire *Practical Dictionary of Western Mono*. The community is also considering linking this on-line document to audio files of illustrative examples for the lexical entries. It is also considering the possibility of posting content from *Taitaduhaan* on its website since the CD-ROM is not playable on most current operating systems (Kroskrity et al., 2017).

3.1.2 Resource Circulation

This comfort with new technology for efficient storage and retrieval also extends to the capacity of new technologies to enhance the circulation of the heritage language. At a time when Mono is no longer being transmitted as a language of the home via the oral tradition, the Mono community views native literacy and related technologies as both desirable and necessary to reach both other Monos wanting to learn from these resources and a wider non-Mono public which may be in need of more information about the Tribe. Like other California Indians, many Monos complain that their non-Mono neighbors are often unaware of their existence let alone the details of their history. In their view, the circulation of language materials to a wider regional community is not a problem since they see an educational value in this outreach that can only promote awareness, respect, and understanding. This is useful for the encouragement of cultural tourism and the welcoming of non-Indians to the Sierra Mono Museum and to the annual Indian Fair Days and Pow-wow. It is also useful in attempting to attract wider political support for the Northfork Mono project of establishing their own Tribal Gaming operation.⁷ Since language revitalization efforts make the heritage language more visible to the general public – including both other Native and non-Native audiences – public use of Mono has an educational function consistent with the Mono community’s political and cultural goals.

7 For more on the politics behind the Mono plan to initiate Indian Gaming on the North Fork Rancheria of Mono Indians, see Kroskrity (2017: 101).

3.1.3 Language and Identity

A third dimension of contrast involves the relationship of heritage language and identity. In the wake of a nearly complete language shift to English, the late 20th century produced some encouraging signs for Western Mono. Revalorization of Mono as a heritage language has promoted more classroom language use and the cultivation of a significant group of L2 “new” speakers who now outnumber traditional speakers several times over. Mono “new speakers” receive encouragement and praise for minimal but culturally significant language production—such as greetings, kinship terms, Native food names, and placenames. Like many other California groups who have experienced comparable language shift and heritage language revitalization, many Monos deploy an emblematic use of the language in public settings in which speaking the language is at least partially a display of the heritage language as an “identity marker” (Ahlers, 2002). This amounts to a re-ideologization of language and identity relations and a move from linking identity to a repertoire of regional languages to a single heritage language corresponding to their official Tribal identities. As previously observed, this change amounts to a process of fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal, 2000) in the iconized linkage of English to national identity is now replicated by Mono as the iconization of tribal identity. But within the Mono language ideological assemblage, the linkage is influenced by Mono utilitarianism. Even the occasional use of Mono in certain contexts is sufficient to be viewed as producing a Mono identity. Speakers need not be highly fluent or be able to use the language in a wide range of contexts, to be regarded as speakers. In addition, the heritage language is not necessarily viewed as the most important means of expressing one’s tribal identity. For Western Monos it is one of many semiotic resources – including basket-making, other Native ecological technologies such as “burning” or gathering medicinal plants – that are equally valued ways of expressing Mono identity.

3.1.4 Goals and Standards

As just mentioned, most Monos would like to be able to use their heritage language for its emblematic value without needing to invest a great deal of time in acquiring fluency – an interaction of the utilitarian emphasis with the re-imagination of language and identity relations as mentioned above. Mono variationism also has a powerful influence on the diversity of revitalization programs – both their number and the range of their content. It underlies a pattern in which there is no single tribal program serving any community but rather several Mono individuals who give adult classes or enrichment programs in the North Fork schools, the Sierra Mono Museum, or in various Tribal TANF (Temporary Assistance for Needy Families) Programs at various

locations in Central California.⁸ These individuals use different strategies and often different writing systems as well. There have also been several master-apprentice dyads in North Fork and Auberry and, in accord with the philosophy of that model, an imposed use of Mono only – a decided departure from the English-dominant mode of instruction that is prominent in most of the classes. The variety of classes, instructors, and approaches is complemented by the very utilitarian approach to the heritage language. Apart from the dyadic communication of the master-apprentice program, all other courses are of the type that are often called “language and culture” classes. Not aiming for fluency, most of these classes want to introduce culturally important words and practices – greetings, kin terms, food names, etc. – so that people can feel more connected to their heritage languages.

The goal in these classes is not a renewal or restoration of fluency at either an individual or a group level, but really to better inform those Monos, who did not benefit from the language socialization of a fluent relative, about some key vocabulary and cultural practices. These include knowing appropriate kinship terms, food names, and how to introduce oneself or nativize a talk by giving a Mono greeting or a memorized personal introduction (Ahlers, 2002: 62). Monos regularly engage in cultural and tribal meetings or intertribal events where one can represent the community through a brief Mono language linguistic display that is then translated for the non-Mono audience. This is an efficient way of recruiting the iconizing work of an emblematic heritage language without engaging in the labor of language learning that might lead to greater fluency. Since it accommodates many options for individuals – from those striving to be “new speakers” to those who merely want to know the greetings and closings – Mono variationism works with utilitarianism to set a low bar that will not get in the way of necessary economic activity yet will provide quick access to the value-added by use of the Mono language. In the Mono case then, the community’s historical concern not for a single language but for a useful linguistic repertoire in which languages would be selected and alternated primarily on utilitarian rather than identity-related criteria continues to display a residual emphasis on a multilingual adaptation that provides a circumscribed basis for Mono language revitalization.

8 As mentioned earlier. At the time of writing this chapter there are currently no courses being offered in Western Mono and the communities are actively considering a linguistic re-unification with Eastern Mono speaking communities where there are still some classes being offered. These classes are of the “language and culture” type. Since the two regional varieties are written with different orthographies, this linguistic reunification for the purpose of language revitalization will hardly be seamless.

3.1.5 Hybridity/Purism

I have previously described Western Mono syncretism as a pronounced pre-contact, indigenous language ideology (Kroskrity, 2009a). The Western Mono had a significant history of borrowing from both indigenous neighboring languages like Yokuts and Southern Sierra Miwok (Loether, 1998) as well as from colonial languages like Spanish and English that were often transmitted through areal networks of indigenous languages (Kroskrity and Reinhardt, 1984). This hybridity continues in the community's language revitalization products like *The Practical Dictionary of Western Mono*. In that dictionary, many loanwords are included and explicitly sourced to other languages. For example, the dictionary lists *ewa* 'horse' and notes "From Spanish 'yegua'" (Bethel et al., 1984[1993]: 19). This is one of about 80 loanwords from Spanish but the dictionary also includes loanwords from Owens Valley Paiute, Hawaiian, Southern Sierra Miwok and Chukchansi Yokuts. In addition to loanwords from other contact languages, the dictionary includes examples of geographical dialect variation, noting differences in pronunciation between North Fork and Auberry regional dialects. In Mono Adult Education classes, several teachers have mentioned that though they teach the dialect they know best – either from family or non-kin teachers, they accept classroom responses that show regional variation and new loanwords from English. Only in the very specific context of Master-Apprentice programs, does Mono language instruction adopt the stance of pedagogical purism – an explicit language ideology that is strictly observed by participants: "No English!" But otherwise Mono revitalization products and teaching practices reproduce such aspects of the indigenous language ideological assemblage as syncretism and variationism.

3.2 *Village of Tewa Language Revitalization*

Though systematic documentation of Arizona Tewa began in the 1970's, community-based efforts to produce a practical dictionary linked to its revitalization activities started in 2010. The comparative lateness of these developments may be traced to two factors. One, because the community still has so many adult speakers even late into the 20th C., relatively few people had the perception that there was any heritage language instability. But those in the community more acquainted with youth issues became increasingly aware of language maintenance issues. They knew that many youth who do not hear Tewa spoken as a language of the home needed some type of Tewa instruction and were occasionally vocal in demanding it. In response to these needs, the Village of Tewa has promoted efforts to produce language resources and to make instruction available to Tewa youth learners. But in order to do that, the community had to confront its own internal debates about Tewa language

documentation and instruction – a controversial topic because some in the community regarded the language as something that needed to be carefully regulated and limited to traditional transmission within families (Kroskrity, 2012: 175–7).

3.2.1 Literacy and Postliterate Technologies

In contrast to Mono speakers, the Tewa community's response to the new technology of indigenous literacy and the prospect of writing Tewa can only be characterized as reluctant, guarded, and contingent. Many older Tewa rejected both literacy and any language documentation effort that would use a recording technology. Instead of documentation efforts, they strongly advocated for a return to speaking Tewa as a language of the home, or for young learners to find a fluent relative who could speak to them. For them writing should be opposed both because it was not the manner in which Tewa had ever been historically transmitted and also because it could potentially expose the language to non-Tewa others who, in their view, should not learn it. This view of the Tewa language requiring curation and protection from outsiders is part pan-Puebloan (see Erin Debenport's (2015) *Fixing the Books*) and part culturally and historically specific to the Village of Tewa.

3.2.2 Resource Circulation

Like other Pueblo groups, many in the Village of Tewa now regulate the everyday language much like the sacred register of kiva speech. Even for those who concede the need for indigenous literacy, conserving the language consists of both producing documentary works like dictionaries but also in keeping these documents out of the hands of outsiders – especially Hopis – who might somehow abuse the heritage language. This anxiety about the social harm that outsiders might do to their heritage language is amplified by the historical circumstances that produced the Tewa “linguistic curse” against the Hopi (Dozier, 1954: 292; Kroskrity, 1993: 11). Even though the ceremonial priests who articulated the curse were deploying their spiritual power, the curse has always been observed as a deliberate practice of keeping the heritage language from Hopis. Accordingly, the circulation of language documentation and revitalization materials is definitely not free – both violating neoliberal norms of free circulation and complicating the distribution of pedagogical materials. This distribution is highly regulated and restricted to specific contexts – as it is with kiva speech – and to specific individuals. Those who teach Tewa must use language materials exclusively with Tewa students – these are narrowly defined students whose BIA cards identify them as such. This practice excludes some children of Tewa parents from receiving materials or language instruction that

occurs in one of the Village of Tewa's community buildings. Unlike Hopi, which is offered in the Hopi High School – the only high school on the reservation, Tewa instruction is restricted to sites that are completely under the control of the Tewa community.

3.3.3 Language and Identity

As described above, the Tewa language performs a singularly important role in the production of Tewa identity. Though the kiva speech model that calls attention to the power of language to produce relevant identities is important, the force of that identification is greatly intensified by the special role of the Tewa language, not only in the historically authenticated “linguistic curse” but in the omnipresent role of the Tewa language as an emblem of ethnic differentiation between themselves and the Hopi majority. As Fredrik Barth's (1969) model of ethnic boundary maintenance would explain, the Tewa language, after three centuries of culture contact with Hopis, is one of very few differentiating cultural attributes that remain and has become the most salient and pervasive emblem of a distinct and persisting identity. Given the cultural salience of language and identity issues for the Tewa it is not surprising that they have the metalinguistic saying, “*Naavi hiili naavi woowatsi na-muu*” ‘Our language is our life (story)’ (Kroskrity, 1993: 44). Though the Tewa do use the Hopi language to express other social identities (Kroskrity, 1993: 41; 2000) this is certainly not the egalitarian multilingualism observed for many California Indigenous groups like the Mono. In contrast to the regional identification associated with Mono multilingualism and probably related to the pattern of land use associated with their traditional hunting and gathering economy, the Tewa pattern could be better described as a “chartered multilingualism” in which languages are specialized according to the roles designated for them in Tewa history and myth. The valorization of Tewa as the emblem of Tewa identity is further enforced by the ceremonial system. Any individual wanting to increase their ceremonial status beyond that of their tribal initiation must be able to use the Tewa language well enough to receive esoteric information in it and to greatly expand their knowledge of kiva speech. Some young people depict themselves as restricted because their families do not use Tewa as a language of the home yet their community requires it to engage in its ceremonial life (Kroskrity, 2014).

3.3.4 Goals and Standards

Partially because the language is an important key to opening up deeper involvement in Tewa society and culture, Tewa language learners typically want more than a set of cultural vocabulary words – although those are

regarded as important, too. In contrast to Mono learners who are often satisfied with acquiring two or three dozen of the most important cultural vocabulary items and perhaps also a memorized introduction in Mono, Tewa learners instead understand their goal to be sufficient fluency to understand spoken Tewa from elders and to ask questions from them. Also in contrast to groups like the Mono, the Tewa do not support a decentralized diversity of individuals teaching their heritage language according to their individual preferences. The Tewa community offers after-school classes to youth who are eligible to receive that instruction. They work with a single orthography and from a set of reference materials that have been developed through a community approved committee. While the committee and even the practice of heritage language instruction is not supported by leaders of one of the two kivas in the Village of Tewa, it is supported by the majority of Tewa Villagers and therefore has been approved by its democratically elected Board members. The centralization of language policy, the standardization of language instruction, and other protocols associated with Tewa language revitalization clearly distinguish it from the Mono patterns and illustrate the continuing influence of standardization and institutionalization suggested by the ceremonial system of the Tewa community and its regulated use of kiva speech.

3.3.5 Hybridity/Purism

Though multilingualism is highly valued in the Tewa community, it is practiced in accord with the ideologies of compartmentalization and indigenous purism that are characteristic of the pragmatics and linguistic structures of kiva speech. Apart from a small number of Spanish (<15) and Hopi (<3) loanwords, there is little evidence of any lexical diffusion in the current drafts of the Village of Tewa Dictionary. This pattern reproduces the practice of strict compartmentalization that is a conspicuous feature of kiva speech and one deeply naturalized by Tewa agricultural practice in which Tewa farmers maintain different colors of corn (used in Tewa ceremonies) by planting each field, far apart, and exclusively in a single color. The Dictionary committee, consisting of older adult speakers, has no interest in English inspired loanwords or neologisms that might be in use among Tewa youth. When asked about the possibility of creating new words in Tewa for the new technologies of the digital world, members of the committee thought it best to adhere to traditional vocabulary that would be more readily viewed as authentic by members of the community rather than to innovate new words that might spark debate and critique. Committee members feel they are already pushing the envelope by writing and teaching the language and have opted to avoid what they feel is unnecessary critique. In contrast to Tewa reluctance to innovate, Western Mono language teachers are comfortable with creating neologisms; some

teachers even encourage translanguaging practices (Garcia and Wei, 2014) in which Mono and English are both used. But whereas Mono variationism and hybridity do not provide a strong basis for regimenting a particular form of language that might inhibit language teaching and learning, the same is definitely not true for the Tewa where the expectations of linguistic orthodoxy and generic regimentation (Kroskrity, 2002; 2009b; 2012) promote contestation and conflict, making many language revitalization activities both controversial and contentious.

4 Conclusions

This contrastive examination of two multilingual Native American communities provides several noteworthy observations that I will briefly mention. One concerns the generative role of language ideological contact in most, if not all, language contact situations. An important part of understanding the contact processes that shape the linguistic products of language contact, involves expanding the scope of contact processes to include both the presence of ideological awareness as well as the political economic underpinning of those language ideologies (Thomason, 2007; 2008). Here I have demonstrated how distinctive indigenous attributes of two LIAs have contributed to markedly different outcomes of language shift and the ongoing processes of language revitalization in each of these communities. The bilingual brain, as Weinreich (1953: 71) wrote, may be “the locus of language contact” but only if we fully take into account the mediating role of speakers’ language ideologies and their role in prompting, or suppressing, awareness and in assigning value with reference to political economic positionality. These language ideologies and associated practices provide a basis for the evaluation of the specific languages in contact as sources of cultural (“pride”), economic (“profit”), or often compromised values (Duchene and Heller, 2012).

It is also appropriate to note the multiple ways that language and identity impact language contact. Though scholars of language contact have long recognized the significance and complexity of language and identity issues (Appel and Muysken, 1987: 14–15), the present study is instructive in viewing the multiple connections between linguistic and identity repertoires. The contrast of egalitarian multilingualism of the Western Mono with the chartered multilingualism of the Tewa results in different indigenous norms for relating language and identity (Sankoff, 1980; Kroskrity, 2018). Language groups also have differing metalinguistic resources for connecting languages and identities – the Village of Tewa, for example, having many more resources in this area than the Western Mono. But both indigenous communities, like other

linguistic minorities, are also subject to contact with the dominant language ideologies of the nation-state which either merely reinforce the role of language as emblem of group identity (Village of Tewa) or reshape language and identity relations (Western Mono), via fractal recursive ideologies of language and identity promoted by the nation state (Irvine and Gal, 2000). The attention paid to language contact processes – either their inhibition or promotion – is significantly related to the role that language plays in situations of interethnic contact and processes of ethnic-boundary maintenance and crossing (Barth, 1969; Kroskrity, 2014).

I conclude by noting that the very practice of language revitalization, and documentation, is itself a site of language ideological contact in which indigenous ideologies join those of nation-states and those of the globalized enterprise of language endangerment and revitalization (e.g., Moore, 2006; Whiteley, 2003). Some readers, at an analytical distance, may be prompted to note the similarly powerful role of language shift on both the Indigenous languages described here and discount the ideological differences I have detailed as having any lasting consequence. But my goal is more to understand the dynamics that continue to drive language change and the emergent forms of vitality their heritage language communities can produce than to be preoccupied by the obvious facts of linguistic attrition (Perley, 2011; Leonard, 2017). The forms of language revitalization, mediated by language ideologically informed practices, contribute greatly to whether language contact between a heritage language and the standard language of the state will promote language shift and further convergence or enable maintenance and the resistance to more salient forms of convergence. The importance of the contrast of contact phenomena emerging from the different contexts of language shift and language maintenance has long been recognized (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988). Within such linguistic processes, as noted by Migge and Léglise (2013: 337), language ideologies are everywhere:

In short, ideology is omnipresent: it gives content to discourses, drives social positioning, shapes and constrains linguistic practices and affects all sorts of facts and phenomena, including linguistic repertoires, linguistic variability and finally what we construct as languages and how we describe and document them.

Given the all-pervasive nature of language ideologies, notions like language ideological assemblages will become increasingly useful to scholars researching the complex dynamics of language ideologically-mediated language contact.

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