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colonial New World. Moreover, she demonstrates that the worlds of Allerton, Pocahontas, John Smith, Claiborne, and other intercultural mediators of the early seventeenth century were mostly lost by the end of the century, as Europeans no longer desired or encouraged intercultural alliances as the primary diplomatic association between themselves and others in the New World. By the end of the seventeenth century, European nations increasingly envisioned a map of the New World absent competing nations—European or Native American.

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Cultural Contact and Linguistic Relativity among the Indians of Northwestern California. By Sean O’Neil. 354 pages. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. \$50.00 cloth.

The indigenous languages and cultures of northwestern California have long provided an especially interesting topic for scholars interested in comparative research. For many centuries the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk have embraced similar eco-cultural adaptations yet maintained their distinctive languages even while speaking those of their neighbors. Prior scholarship on these languages has appropriately emphasized two topics: linguistic diffusion and linguistic relativity. Scholars such as William Bright and Joel Sherzer have represented this region as an “ethnolinguistic area” characterized by significant diffusion of linguistic structures across language boundaries.

Edward Sapir and Bright have also showcased the region as a type of living laboratory for gauging the nature and extent of linguistic relativity or what is often called the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis: language profoundly influences the worldview of its speakers. What better place to study this than in northwestern California where speakers from three distinct language families have adapted to a common environment? Because prior scholarship lacks Sean O’Neil’s command of the comparative linguistics of these languages as well as his original field research in each language community, it is no wonder that the author has produced the definitive treatment of this area and, in the process, provided clear, if complex, answers to many of the questions about linguistic diffusion and relativity raised by earlier scholars.

The author announces his general goal, which is “to assess the long term effects of social contact among speakers of diverse languages,” and his temporal emphasis on the traditional cultures of these language communities as they existed from precontact times to just before the 1840s and the massive disruption of indigenous groups that occurred since that time (ix). The book follows a five-part plan. In the two chapters comprising part I, O’Neil provides a firm foundation for the chapters that follow by introducing the linguistic diversity represented by the three languages and by producing a selective but extremely useful review of the considerable scholarly literature on linguistic relativity. Though nonlinguists can be overwhelmed by the apparent structural

complexity of Native American languages, the author provides a remarkably clear treatment of each language, which locates it within its particular family of languages, reviews major scholarship on the language, and provides sample sentences to illustrate grammatical principles. By doing so, O'Neil contextualizes Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk within their genetic-historical relationships to the Athabaskan, Algonquian, and Hokan families, respectively. Though acknowledging that some convergence has occurred across these language boundaries, he importantly emphasizes that geographical and ideological factors appear to have provided competing motivations to retain linguistic diversity. Though the geography of the region "did not prevent trade or intermarriage between the villages, it certainly put a damper on daily exchanges between the groups" (33). In addition, O'Neil contends that "localist" ideologies valued traditions that were distinctive to a given areal niche.

Against this backdrop of linguistic diversity, O'Neil carefully reviews the major literature on linguistic relativity and presents a sophisticated view of the so-called Whorfian hypothesis, which eschews any attempt to simplify the argument by the usual (and wrong) caricature of "language determining culture and/or world view." Instead O'Neil paints a more useful picture of Whorf that depicts a dialectic between language and the world as culturally construed by speakers of a specific language. His discussion of this literature does not only limit itself to the classic formulations by Sapir and Whorf but also extends into more recent attempts to rethink linguistic relativity by scholars such as John Lucy, John Gumperz, and Stephen Levinson. An unfortunate omission in this attempt to examine contemporary scholarship is the work of Michael Silverstein and his argument that Whorf is really one of the first to think of language as involving an ideological level in which speakers' attempts to construe structures of their grammar and lexicon inevitably do so in accord with a cultural logic that skews even the projections of such taken-for-granted phenomena as time and space.

Parts 2 and 3 compare and contrast the spatial and temporal worlds of the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk as represented by their linguistic differences. Given the physical geography of the region and the presence of numerous mountains and rivers, O'Neil notes a shared areal linguistic preference for upriver/downriver and uphill/downhill spatial orientation rather than a reliance on cardinal directions. Though a shared pattern exists, O'Neil's emphasis on balance in his assessments of sharing and diversity enables him to detect interesting gradations in the degree to which this system is linguistically expressed in the neighboring languages. He clearly demonstrates how the system reaches its expressive high point in Karuk directional categories that are pervasive in grammar and vocabulary. In contrast to Karuk speakers, Yurok and Hupa speakers are not "linguistically required to state both the source and goal of an event when reporting its basic directional bearing" (120). In addition, Hupa reckoning of spatial relations is strongly associated with time in a manner quite different from either Yurok or Karuk. In continuing this theme of what I would term, with homage to psychological anthropology, "the sharing of diversity," O'Neil discusses how similar narratives among the different language traditions display distinctive details. The

author systematically compares the linguistic classification of time, noting its greater elaboration in Hupa, which obligatorily projects a detailed series of temporal categories onto all events in reported speech. In contrast both the Karuk and Yurok verbs are relatively timeless in scope unless optionally adorned with specific markers for a desired precision. In an especially interesting chapter for those interested in Native American narratives, O'Neil contrasts the preferred use of temporal orientations in traditional narratives in each of the three linguistic traditions, noting shared and partially shared features, such as grammatical marking peculiar to representing ancient times, as well as clear differences in the use of tense aspect categories like durative, iterative, customary, and intensive.

The two chapters of part 4 explore the classification of experience through language and cultural meaning in everyday vocabulary. In the first of these chapters the author succeeds in a systematic comparison of linguistic classification (mainly the use of classifiers and grammaticalized shape categories) demonstrating the more elaborate systems of Hupa and Yurok and the less differentiated system of Karuk. For Hupa speakers, obligatory temporal and directional dimensions semantically interweave in the semantics of categories. In contrast, Yurok speakers must consider the classifier system only when counting or attributing inherent characteristics to an object (for example, size, color, and texture), and Karuk does not have any grammatical requirement for such classification. Though the grammatical elaboration of classification thus varies dramatically, there are shared semantic categories (for example, living beings, round objects, rope-like shapes, and filled containers). Less successful, in my view, is O'Neil's treatment of everyday vocabulary. Though he talks about a shared poetics of everyday vocabulary in which many lexical items derive their form from references to mythology, folklore, and other cultural practices, he does not produce the balanced consideration of sharing and diversity that are conveyed in the majority of chapters. Here he gives the reader the impression that many norms of speaking are widely shared across the languages and their communities but that little actual lexical borrowing has occurred. Thus, for example, myths and linguistic taboos about the names of the deceased are shared but the actual myth-derived names for things appear to be language-specific and not terms that are borrowed by other communities. Unlike elsewhere in the book, I longed for a more systematic comparison of vocabulary that would provide some crude but illuminating comparison that might provide a more comprehensive picture of apparent sharing and diversity at the level of the lexicon.

The concluding section further explores patterns of language contact, multilingualism, and what the author terms "divergent drift." O'Neil summarizes previous chapters and offers a synthesizing overview. Following the work of Johanna Nichols, he views northwestern California as a "residual zone" featuring maintenance of linguistic diversity despite high degrees of multilingualism and significant convergence. Consistent with data presented throughout the book, he repeatedly concludes that patterns of convergence are often balanced by what he terms *oppositional extremism*, or when a language community maintains distinctive linguistic structures in the service of

“marking identity with language and culture.” O’Neil concludes “the potentially unifying effects of contact have not penetrated the structural kernel of these three neighboring languages,” and he contrasts northwestern California to such well-known examples of linguistic convergence as Kupwar Village (India) where four languages have structurally converged (307). Though I think O’Neil could have used more of a language ideological focus on speaker awareness and what I have called the difference between discursive and practical consciousness and their respective roles in linguistic convergence to explain his findings, I am confident that readers will share my enthusiasm and admiration for this outstanding and innovative rethinking of an ethnolinguistic area we once thought we knew but now know so much better.

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Epidemics and Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492–1715. By Paul Kelton. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007. 314 pages. \$50.00 cloth.

Since the mid-1960s there has been a renewed and sustained interest in the impact of European contact on the health of Native American people. Although there is general agreement among scholars that contact with indigenous societies resulted in a radical alteration of their health status, not all Native American communities were affected similarly. Changes in postcontact health status varied widely between and within various Native societies. In *Epidemics and Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492–1715*, Paul Kelton explores the impact of European contact, specifically early Spanish and English interactions, on the health status of southeastern societies in order to address a fundamental issue: that is, how developing social processes and historical conditions as part of colonialism affect different patterns of morbidity and mortality among southeastern Native American populations.

Drawing on ethnohistorical methods and environmental history, Kelton presents a clearly written, thoughtful examination of the impact of introduced infectious diseases among southeastern Native societies. The book’s central thesis is that outbreaks of introduced European infectious diseases among southeastern Native societies remained relatively localized until the development of colonial institutions—English slave raiding after 1615 in particular—created the necessary conditions in disease ecology to create acute regional epidemics and pandemics.

The author begins with a chapter that synthesizes the disease ecology of the Native Southeast (1000 to 1492), noting that indigenous populations suffered from an array of precontact disease afflictions. By using archaeological, epidemiological, and demographic evidence from living tribal populations, the author assesses the levels of vulnerability and mortality among southeastern indigenous populations prior to the introduction of European infectious diseases.