UCLA
UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title
Broadening the Horizons: A Linguistic Anthropological Case Study of Language and Landscape at Acoma Pueblo

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/42d3559b

Author
Belletto, Vincent Maxwell

Publication Date
2018

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Broadening the Horizons

A Linguistic Anthropological Case Study of Language and Landscape at Acoma Pueblo

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Master of Arts

in Anthropology

by

Vincent Maxwell Belletto

2018

© Copyright by

Vincent Maxwell Belletto

2018

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Broadening the Horizons

A Linguistic Anthropological Case Study of Language and Landscape

at Acoma Pueblo

by

Vincent Maxwell Belletto

Master of Arts in Anthropology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor Paul V. Kroskrity, Chair

The locus of linguistic landscapes scholarship has fallen upon the investigation of macro-level patterns and broad sociopolitical themes (*e.g.* diversity, ecology, economy, hegemony, identity, multilingualism, social solidarity, vitality, etc.) as they are mediated through textual verbal modalities (*e.g.* displayed signage or other publicly accessible digital and print media), approaching analysis through predominantly quantitative, observational, and empirical methods. I present my discussion on the broader topic of linguistic landscapes scholarship, as well as observations from my own research examining the linguistic landscape at Acoma Pueblo in the Southwestern United States. With this, I aim to connect my work to current debates in linguistic anthropology and social theory. I draw on contemporary and classic literature from within the

linguistic anthropological canon, engaging a discourse that covers a dynamic range of relevant theoretical concepts and methodology. I endeavor to reconcile the epistemological divide that exists between a linguistic anthropological approach to linguistic landscapes research and the largely decontextualized quantitative and empirical approaches that pervasively influence the domain of inquiry to date. Therefore, I advocate for adapting an analytic and methodological framework that is oriented toward more ontologically predicated forms of analysis within the field. I also argue to expand the criteria that are used to conceptualize and define the linguistic landscape. I seek to provide a more ethnographically substantiated, contextualized account of the linguistic landscape as it articulates with local language policy and sociocultural practices within an indigenous Puebloan context. Through my examination of policy and practice on the linguistic landscape at the Acoma Pueblo, I attempt to provide basis for a *multimodal language ecological* understanding of the linguistic landscape. Particular to this undertaking, I investigate a variety of ways that members of the local community engage the linguistic landscape—not only through contemporary textual verbal modalities endemic to the conventional purview of linguistic landscapes research, but also through traditional verbal modalities (*e.g.* oral literature and narrative). The linguistic landscape proves to be more than an assemblage of verbal signage displayed in public or community spheres within urban contexts. Rather, the linguistic landscape is a conceptual frame inherent to both literate and preliterate language traditions as a socio-structural phenomenon.

The thesis of Vincent Maxwell Belletto is approved.

Yunxiang Yan

Marjorie Harness Goodwin

Paul V. Kroskrity, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2018

For my dearest Olive

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures vii

Acknowledgements viii

I. Introduction 1

II. Literature Review: Linguistic Landscape Scholarship 5

[1] Landry and Bourhis (1997) 6
[2] Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) 8
[3] Coulmas, Florian (2009) 12
[4] Spolsky, Bernard (2009) 15
[5] Hult, Francis (2009) 19

III. Discussion: Linguistic Landscapes as Linguistic Anthropology 24

[1] Ethnographic Turn 25
[2] Language Ideologies and Habitus 28
[3] Ecology of Language and Linguistic Differentiation 29
[4] Communicative Action and the Social Sphere 32
[5] Chronotope 34

IV. Introduction to the Field: Demography and Language 37

[1] Puebloan Demography 37
[2] Acoma Keres 48

V. Methods: Research Design and Methodology 54

VI. Analysis: Language, Landscape, and Identity at Acoma Pueblo 56

VII. Conclusion: Sites for Future Research 67

References 70

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 4.1	View of Acoma Pueblo from the South ……	37
Fig. 4.2	Entrance to Acoma Pueblo, 1904 ……..……	39
Fig. 4.3	Reflection at Acoma, Central Reservoir ……..……..	41
Fig. 4.4	A Feast Day at Acoma Pueblo ……..……..	43
Fig. 4.5	Acoma Water Girls ……	46
Fig. 4.6	Entrance to Acomita ……	48
Fig. 4.7	Keresan Language Distribution ……	50
Fig. 4.8	Phylogeny of Keresan Languages ……	51
Fig. 6.1	Keresan Sign at Exit 102 ……..…….	57
Fig. 6.2	Sky City Casino Communication Board ……	60
Fig. 6.3	Menu at Yaak'a Café …….	62
Fig. 6.4	Fiesta of San Estevan, Acoma …….	67

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Foremost, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to my advisor Prof. Paul V. Kroskrity for the continuous support of my graduate study and research—for his patience, mentorship, and immense knowledge.

I would also like to thank Profs. Marjorie Goodwin and Pamela Munro for their encouragement, motivation, and insight throughout this process.

And finally, I would like to thank Dr. Derek B. Milne, without whose friendship none of this would have been possible.

I. INTRODUCTION

To begin, the locus of linguistic landscapes scholarship has fallen upon the investigation of macro-level patterns and broad sociopolitical themes (*e.g.* diversity, ecology, economy, hegemony, identity, multilingualism, social solidarity, vitality, etc.) as they are mediated through textual verbal modalities (*e.g*. displayed signage, billets, or other publicly accessible digital and print media), approaching analysis through predominantly quantitative, observational, and empirical methods. Spolsky qualifies the present domain of linguistic landscapes research as "the [sociolinguistic] study of multilingual signage…[displayed] in bilingual or multilingual urban spaces" (2009:25). Accordingly, Ben-Rafael observes "the linguistic landscape constitutes the very scene—made of streets, corners, circuses, parks, buildings—where society's public life takes place…[which] carries crucial *sociosymbolic* importance…as it thus serves as an emblem of societies, communities, and regions" (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 8). Despite the compelling and diverse methodological and analytic implications, adherence to empirical approaches within linguistic landscapes research has placed strict parameters surrounding the conceptual criteria that define the *linguistic landscape* as an object of inquiry. In what is an almost *Chomskyan* preoccupation with abstract structure, and perhaps as a means to differentiate the domain of linguistic landscapes inquiry from broader Semiotics, scholars iteratively conceptualize the linguistic landscape as a top-down [deterministic], social structural phenomenon categorically predicated upon the textual word.

Landry and Bourhis were ostensibly the first to apply the term *linguistic landscape*, which they defined as "[the] visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region" (1997: 23). Similarly, Coulmas, drawing on Habermas (1991), describes the field as "the study of writing on display in the *public sphere*" (2009: 14). Huebner describes

the linguistic landscape as *a barometer of the relationship between language and society* (2009: 83). Cenoz and Gorter expand the criteria for linguistic landscape analysis to include any given establishment that *displays* [textual] language (such as shops, buildings, marketplaces, etc.) (2006: 71). Broadening the scope further yet, Backhaus suggests that the linguistic landscape is constituent of "any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame" (2006:56). Though gradual developments in parameters evidence the need to implement alternative qualitative approaches (Huebner 2009: 70-74), the pervading emphasis on empirical methodologies has obfuscated it (Spolsky 2009: 29-30). Following Hult and others, the primary criterion of linguistics landscape analysis is verbal signage, and data collection is based on direct observational means such as the use of photography to graphically document signage as it demarcates boundaries of social spaces (Shohamy 2006: 110; cf. Hult 2009: 90-91). Thus, primary analytic emphasis has remained upon manifestations of visually situated language within public spaces, providing virtually no exploratory [ontological] treatment of the subjectivities and socialities which produce them.

As a result of this pervading empirical bias within the domain of linguistic landscape inquiry, present approaches frame the linguistic landscape as monolithic; that is, discernable strictly through the vantage point of rigorously set objective criteria (as is the tendency of empirical inquiry). While an empirical appraisal of the linguistic landscape at the level of broader (and even more localized) social structure can offer certain valuable insights into the strategies and structuring processes that shape societal, community, and group organization, it is critical to apprehend the phenomenon qualitatively from the bottom-up, and through other epistemological perspectives. To this point, it is not possible to derive a nuanced understanding of linguistic landscapes [or contingent themes] solely through quantitative renderings of decontextualized data,

and statistical inferences that are framed by narrowly defined parameters. Empirical methodologies are only capable of describing structure, but not the underlying intrinsic *nonstructural* elements. This highlights the insufficiency of current methodological approaches. In order to garner insight into what the linguistic landscape actually *is* (not just was it *does*) it must be understood in context to the constituent subjective perspectives and practices that give it rise, rather than strictly through and objective and interpretive lens. Thus, a methodological reorientation within the domain of linguistic landscape research is requisite.

This necessitates an expansion of the criteria that define the compositional elements of a linguistic landscape to include non-textual verbal modalities (*e.g.* oral traditions and traditional narrative practices). It is important to consider that the advent of literacy and writing is a relatively nascent development, largely associated with the processes of modern nation-states and colonialism (particularly in non-Western contexts). Incidentally, the majority of the world's societies are endemically pre-literate. Thus, the myopic focus on textual modalities is not only analytically delimiting but also ethnocentric, reverberating illicit tones of colonialism, hegemony, and erasure. Suffice it to say that the empirical and quantitative frames pervasive within the domain of linguistic landscapes research are inadequate to conceptualize the linguistic landscape as an autonomous indigenous, pre-literate phenomenon. Therefore, an attempt must be made to redirect the scope of methodological focus within the field that incorporates an *ontological* perspective capable of contextualizing the linguistic landscape in other contexts and through other vantages.

In the sections below, I present my discussion on the broader topic of linguistic landscapes scholarship, as well as observations from my own research examining the linguistic landscape at Acoma Pueblo in the Southwestern United States. With this, I aim to connect my work to current debates in linguistic anthropology and social theory. In my discussion and critique, I draw on

contemporary and classic literature from within the linguistic anthropological [and broader anthropological] canon, engaging a discourse that covers a dynamic range of relevant theoretical concepts and methodology. My objective is twofold. First, I endeavor to reconcile the epistemological divide that exists between a linguistic anthropological approach to linguistic landscapes research and the largely decontextualized [quantitative and empirical] approaches that pervasively influence the domain of inquiry to date. Therefore, I advocate for adapting an analytic and methodological framework that is oriented toward more ontologically predicated forms of analysis within the field. In this, I also argue to expand the verbal and structural criteria that are used to conceptualize and define the linguistic landscape. Second, employing a linguistic anthropological analytic and methodological frame in approaching my own fieldwork and analysis, I seek to provide a more ethnographically substantiated, contextualized account of the linguistic landscape as it articulates with local language policy and sociocultural practices within an indigenous Puebloan context.

Through my examination of policy and practice on the linguistic landscape at the Acoma Pueblo, I attempt to provide basis for a *multimodal language ecological*[1] understanding of the linguistic landscape. Particular to this undertaking, I investigate a variety of ways that members of the local community engage the linguistic landscape—not only through contemporary textual verbal modalities [endemic to the conventional purview of linguistic landscapes research], but also

[1] Spolsky (2009: 32) advances the *multiliterate ecology of cities* in examining urban landscapes. Following Calvet's (1999: 61; cf. Hult 2009) definition of *language ecosystem* as the multidimensional product of a "confluence of factors at various levels: individual language choices, migration, language policies, and media, among others," the *linguistic landscape* is itself a *language ecosystem*—not simply a component of it. In this, I advance the *multimodal language ecological* conceptualization of the linguistic landscape as a multidimensional sphere mediated through verbal language modalities (beyond strictly text-based manifestations) such as traditional narrative practices (oral literature, placenaming, and other verbal art).

through traditional verbal modalities (*e.g.* oral literature and narrative). Using a *social constructionist* framework, I analyze how these engagements are enacted (through official policy and local practice) to reflect both within the community and upon the linguistic landscape itself.[2] In this, I consider how ephemeral elements such as *language ideologies*, language practice, cultural beliefs, and language planning policy operate through contemporary textual as well as traditional verbal modalities to contour the local landscape (cf. Kroskrity 1998; Basso 1997; Landry and Bourhis 1997). More specifically, I investigate the implications of *concealment* over the present landscape at Acoma, taking into account how the current *ideological regime* of *concealment* is instrumented through the linguistic landscape apparatus (cf. Debenport 2015; Kroskrity 1998). I also examine the articulation between concealment practices and the current trend of language loss within the community (cf. Sims 2008).

II. LITERATURE REVIEW: LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE SCHOLARSHIP

In the following section, I background the domain of linguistic landscapes (LL) research through a synthesis of foundational and contemporary selections from within the corpus of LL scholarship that are core to the field. Specifically, I examine core LL research and scholarship through the topics of *ethnolinguistic vitality* (Landry and Bourhis 1997), *language ideologies* (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998), *public sphere* (Coulmas 2009), *sociolinguistic semiotics* (Spolsky 2009), and *ecology of language* (Hult 2009) as these themes are approached within the present domain of

[2] It is important to note the very restrictive and secretive nature of the community in which I conducted my field research for this project. This is due in large to a history of abuses and exploitation at the hands of outside public and private institutional bodies. As a result, the data corpus that I have to draw from is relatively meagre, based upon information and content that could be observed through the limited access I had as an outside researcher. In this, I have done my best to synthesize an accurate record and analysis with only a fractional picture of the dynamic reality that comprises the Acoma linguistic landscape. Thus, I frame this research as a limited case study on the themes, theory, and methodology that I present.

inquiry. With this literary engagement, I seek to highlight a number of key features within present approaches to LL research methodology and analysis that warrant critical review and reconsideration from a linguistic anthropological perspective. Despite the diverse range of implications attendant to the notion of the linguistic landscape as a discursive phenomenon, the epistemological scope of LL inquiry remains predominantly empirical and quantitative. In this, the purview of LL research has been expressly limited to *literate* contexts (primarily Western nation-state and urban) mediated through textual verbal modalities, surrounding themes such as competing language ideologies and hegemony.

[1] Landry and Bourhis (1997): Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality

The sociolinguists Landry and Bourhis (1997) framed the present trajectory of linguistics landscape research with their comparative study of the effects of language planning on ethnolinguistic vitality among (potentially competing) groups within Quebec and Belgium (cf. Spolsky 2009). With this, the authors are first to apply the term *linguistic landscape*—referring to the "visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region" (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 23). Focusing on institutionalized [sanctioned] language, the authors hypothesize that the more prominent a variety or register is within a given [linguistic landscape] sphere, the more likely it is that this language will be used [by speakers] within certain other associated domains (*e.g.* commercial and public institutions) (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 36). They also hypothesize that engagement with official language planning policies as manifested through dominant language within the linguistic landscape holds direct social psychological influence over bilingual development among members of peripheral language groups (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 29-32). The researchers employ an empirical emphasis in their methodology, synthesizing a suite of strictly quantitative methods for data collection and analysis (1997: 39-44).

Specifically, the researchers compiled data through surveys, questionnaires, and tests designed to account for variables such as *ethnolinguistic vitality*, *ethnolinguistic identity, beliefs about language*, and *language behavior*. The collected [decontextualized] data were then used to run a statistical analysis in order to make inferences about various social dynamics and subjective engagements within the linguistic landscape. Their findings suggested a strong correlation between the absence or presence of in-group language in the linguistic landscape and subjective perceptions of [ethno]linguistic vitality (for both in-group and out-group speakers).[3] The findings also indicated a *carryover effect* of the linguistic landscape on individual language behavior in relation to the varieties that speakers use in other domains, thus confirming their hypotheses (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 45). While this analysis serves to provide certain inferences about structural power dynamics and draw implications concerning subjective themes such as language practice and ethnolinguistic identity as they are mediated through the *niches* (cf. Calvert 1999: 35) of dominant and institutional language, it provides no contextualized examination of these conditions as enacted and experienced through the local perspectives and practices to which these inferences and implications refer.

Despite the limitations endemic to their methodology, in examining the linguistic landscape as a site of interplay between structural power and individual agency Landry and Bourhis predicate a dynamic *social constructionist* frame for conceptualizing the linguistic landscape as a phenomenon. They also set a theoretical foundation within the LL domain that primes ethnographic treatment. Through the implications of their analysis, the authors effectively posit the linguistic landscape as a socio-spatial system of social positions. Through their analysis,

[3] *In-group* refers to the dominant language and the attendant group of primary speakers, while *out-group* refers to multilingual speakers who primarily speak a language other than the dominant language.

the linguistic landscape appears to become an institutionalized element of the state apparatus; a conditioning vehicle of the hegemon that drives cultural [and linguistic] assimilation.

Though it is not explicitly addressed within their discussion of backgrounding theory (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 27-35), in conceptualizing the linguistic landscape this way, the authors inexorably engage the *Bourdieuian* notion of *champs* [field][4]. Following Bourdieu, this holds that societal structures (*e.g.* landscape, identities, ideologies, economy, social status) are constructed and ratified through intersubjective engagement, governed by an economy of both material and symbolic capital. This presupposes that no social structure can be understood strictly from the top-down, nor accounted for through a singular vantage. Though the to examine implied dynamics outside of an empirical methodological frame, Landry and Bourhis, perhaps inadvertently, posture the linguistic landscape as a multi-scalar, ontological phenomenon that warrants more qualitative examination.

[2] Blommaert and Verschueren (1998): The Role of Language in European Nationalist Ideologies

From several considerations, the approach taken by Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) mirrors that of Landry and Bourhis (1997). While it is not a part of the traditional LL canon, Blommaert and Verschueren's investigation into the role of public discourse in European nationalist ideologies provides a treatment that stands in line with the conventional scope of LL research with regard to both criteria and general methodology. This research also backgrounds Blommaert's (2006, 2013) later LL scholarship, thus it is included as an example of relevant literature to the LL field. In this, the research seeks to establish an empirically substantiated correlation between broader sociocultural themes such as nationalism, language ideologies, and

[4] Bourdieu, Pierre (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London, UK: Routledge.

[ethnolinguistic] identity and national discourses mediated through the free press. As with Landry and Bourhis above, this research exposes a number of implications that warrant more qualitative examination, and further demonstrates the limitations of a strictly quantitative approach.

Applying a conventional corpus linguistics approach[5], Blommaert and Verschueren collected data by compiling a comprehensive body of popular media articles and editorials from a compendium mainstream media [*free press*] sources from across Europe that effectively represent a diverse variety of target readership audiences. The articles and editorials that were selected for analysis all pertain to discourses surrounding the theme of nationality, reporting on topics such as ethnic conflicts, separatist and *unificational* [sic] movements, minority politics, etc. Selecting for thematically similar but referentially different content across various sources within the context of a broader homogenous public discourse, articles were comparatively analyzed using specific language markers as identifying features to highlight discontinuities between the in-group and out-group perspectives represented by each source. In order to capture an accurate representation of commonly held beliefs and widely shared ideologies, the researchers placed analytic emphasis on *implicit frames of reference* rather than explicit statements within the samples. In attempt to abate bias, no small circulation publications were included as samples for analysis as it is assumed that such sources predominantly represent special interests or extreme views not reflective of mainstream public opinion (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998: 356-358).

[5] Corpus linguistics is a methodological approach to the study of language and society as expressed in corpora [broad samples] of *real world* texts and literature (*e.g*. editorials), combining both qualitative and quantitative methods for analysis. It proposes that reliable analyses [*i.e.* requiring a minimum experimental interference] of themes that surround language and sociality can be produced through textual data collected from within their naturally occurring contexts.

Blommaert and Verschueren frame their analysis in the broader dialectic of *ideologies* (cf. Silverstein 1998). With this, the authors carry forward the notion that nation-state and nationalism are purely ideological constructs and not natural conditions, describing nationalism as "the definition of *imagined communities* along conceptual lines out of touch with *objective reality*" (Blommaert & Verschueren 1998: 189). That is to say, while constituents perceive certain precepts to be *real* (*e.g.* national borders, identity, etc.), the criteria underlying them at base are largely immaterial and arbitrary (*a priori*), naturalized through shared social convention. Essentially, this holds that within nation-state [or hegemonic] paradigms, ideological precepts such as national or ethnolinguistic identity are perpetuated through language (*e.g.* public discourse) and social processes such as enculturation and cultural convention (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977; cf. Woolard 1998). These ideologies further operate to structure dominant institutions and convention (*e.g.* mass media), which systematically reinforce dominance through bias (*e.g.* social, economic, and political asymmetries) (Blommaert & Verschueren 1998: 192-193, 199). Subsequently, peripheral communities are forced to operate within these inherently biased institutions and become instrumental in their own subjugation [and disenfranchisement] (cf. Foucault 2005[1981]).

After analyzing the data, Blommaert and Verschueren infer the following conclusions: a) language creates identities and discontinuities and b) language is intrinsically linked with ethnicity and group identity (1998: 372-375). The findings evidence a statistical correlation between perceptions of ethnolinguistic homogeneity and national identity, suggesting that *Homogenism* is a widely held ideological premise reflected in and guided by national press (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998: 374). Attendant to this, the findings also suggest a direct relationship between [multi]ethnicity (specifically concerning linguistic discontinuity) and perceptions of economic

prosperity, establishing an association between economic problems, xenophobia, and the rise of nationalism (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998: 361-362).

However, this analysis is problematic for a variety of reasons that warrant further scrutiny. Despite the confident presentation of findings, they present a deterministic model and are almost certainly misleading. The analysis is predicated on certain pivotal assumptions [and omissions], drawing credibility into question. Inherent to this point is a reliance on the unsubstantiated [*a priori*] assumption that readership in somehow representative of consensus (or agreement). Additionally, the questions that frame this analysis as well as the implications it provides are ultimately qualitative in nature, which quantitative methods alone are insufficient to assess.

In this analysis Blommaert and Verschueren employ statistics to derive implications from extracted tropes represented by the national press within print discourses as a means to draw qualitative conclusions about language and language ideologies in relation to the formulation of ethnic identity and national solidarity. However, the accuracy of these implications and findings cannot truly be gauged without consulting emic perspectives; thus, the conclusions are tenuous without further ethnographic contextualization. Thus, the nature between language and identity according to these criteria remains ambiguous. Moreover, the researchers fail to take into account the invariably curated nature of the source material used for analysis, or the potential implications of this. Articles and editorials (like signage and other textual verbal modalities) have been mediated through the perspectives and of journalists and editors as well as the broader sociopolitical agendas of the institutions that produced them. Without examining the context in which the media was created, the implications and conclusions drawn through this analysis represent little more than conjecture. Without a more qualitative treatment, this analysis elucidates little more than the strategies employed by Western nation-states to disseminate propaganda.

[3] Coulmas, Florian (2009): Linguistic Landscaping and the Seed of the Public Sphere

Coulmas, a sociolinguist and forward LL scholar, introduces the linguistic landscape as the *seed to the public sphere* (Habermas 1991; cf. Coulmas 2009: 13). Emphasizing the disembodied textual word, the author remarks that the linguistic landscape can be considered as old as writing itself (Coulmas 2009: 11). In this, he describes the domain succinctly as "the study of writing on display in the *public sphere*" (2009: 14). Further, the author holds that writing individualizes and socializes people (Coulmas 2009: 14). Thus, for Coulmas, written text is viewed as a necessary condition, perhaps inalienable to the existence of the linguistic landscape; a view which reifies its position as the primary point of focus within the field (2009: 15).

Following Habermas (1984, 1991), through the dialectical process (syllogistic reasoning, etc.), textual verbal modalities manifest both institutional authority as well as any resistance to it (Coulmas 2009: 15). To this point, some of the earliest forms of writing that have been found are exhibitions of a speech genre best described as official language, such as clay tablets documenting inventory receipts and property lines, and monumental inscriptions cut in stone publicly demarcating boundaries and regulations (*e.g.* the Palette of King Narmer in Egypt, circa 3100 century BCE, or the Stele of Hammurabi in Mesopotamia, circa 1800 BCE, both of which served to publicly display reigning codes of law and moral conduct respectively).

It seems that Coulmas is implying a causal, almost processual relationship between the advent of writing, literacy, and the development of social complexity (upon which the linguistic landscape is contingent). Despite the fact that writing and literacy—where it did develop endemically—was invariably a classist and restrictive enterprise, largely inaccessible to the majority of people until recent times (arguably until the latter half of the 19th century in the West), Coulmas holds that the advent of the written word and its public display represents a *paradigmatic*

shift in broader human consciousness, with marked implications over the ways in which people have come to view their surroundings and the objects therein (2009: 14). This is evidenced, the author notes, in the strong correlation that exists between the advent of writing and urbanization and the development of complexity (Coulmas 2009: 13). It is important to consider the implications that this account of literacy holds over per-literate societies. By this appraisal, the linguistic landscape is apprehended as an attendant (if not automatic) symptom of social complexity for which the development of writing and literacy are requisite; a sociolinguistic encapsulation constituent of a specified community [*public sphere*] as expressed through a shared engagement with an established literary tradition and conventional written modality (such as boundary markers, signage, etc. through which language might be publicly displayed) (Coulmas 2009: 13-14).

From a strictly pragmatic consideration, establishing such narrowly defined criteria through which to apprehend the linguistic landscape is understandably appealing. However, the same limitations still hold. Coulmas' developed approach (which can be considered reflective of current scholarly approaches to LL), is problematic from a linguistic anthropological perspective by a few key considerations. First, and perhaps most significantly, such narrow parameters delimit the type and quality of data that can be considered, which in turns puts significant strictures on qualitative analysis (Himmelmann et al. 2006). Attendant to this is a failure to accommodate (or even acknowledge the existence of other ethnolinguistic strategies).

While it does not begin with Coulmas, this promotes an ethnocentric (Eurocentric) view of the what feasibly constitutes (or seeds the development of) a linguistic landscape that is perhaps endemic to engaging the notion of *public sphere* withal. In its failure to acknowledge both the development of social complexity in pre-literate societal contexts and the [physical and social]

constructive effects of spoken language and oral practices within nonliterary traditions (such as in the Puebloan cultures of the Native Southwest, who have only recently developed orthographic and literary conventions as a coercive result of colonialism), this framework serves to reify the colonial practices such as *erasure* (Irvine and Gal 2000: 38).

Interestingly, in the pursuit to identify the historical origins of the linguistic landscape, Coulmas establishes that present methodological frames for understanding the linguistic landscape are limiting when approaching it from other vantages. Emphasizing the need for expanding research criteria within the field, the author presents a broader encompassing heuristic for the basis of his inquiry that edges at an account for cultural context. This heuristic highlights some key elements for examination and analysis endemic to an anthropological perspective, such as considerations for who produced a given landscape and for what [functional] purpose (Coulmas 2009: 15). Despite the anthropological implications, he attempts a remedy by engaging methods from within the humanities, particularly textual and historical analysis, upholding a textual emphasis. In this attempt to widen the focus of linguistic landscape research to a broader literary [historical] domain, he offers very little in the way of developing a truly contextualized understanding.

Coulmas' characterization of the linguistic landscape holds the notion of *public sphere* (cf. Habermas 1991) as fundamental to understanding the linguistic landscape, which implies the intersubjective and co-constructed nature of the phenomenon. However, it falls short in accounting for the perceptual and agentive (tangible) role that non-written language modalities (*e.g.* oral literature traditions, verbal art, and folk narrative) can hold in establishing and affecting linguistic landscape ecologies integral to an anthropological approach. From this frame, it renders the linguistic landscape into only that which is scaffolded through writing, thus eliding the

interactional and behavioral elements which concomitantly, and in certain contexts solely underlie the formulation of a linguistic landscape (*chronotope,* Bakhtin 1981; cf. *placename,* Basso 1996). Only tangentially, if at all, can the consideration of integrally [linguistic] anthropological factors (*e.g.* language ideologies, oral literatures, practice, etc.) be derived.

In this way, present accounts of the linguistic landscape [such as that outlined by Coulmas] delimit the notion as strictly a literary-predicated (sociolinguistic) phenomenon, and do not promote a truly anthropological analytic approach. Ultimately, Coulmas' account of the linguistic landscape differs very little from that established by Landry and Bourhis (1997), providing very little consideration of the human agency. In this, he maintains analytic emphasis on the written word, placing it as preeminent over the micro contexts of human behavior, subjectivities, and social interaction. With a lack of ethnographic scaffolding, LL analysis employs disembodied (and often decontextualized) written language, which is used as a proxy indicator to infer human behavior (as in Blommaert and Verschueren 1998), which produces tenuous and potentially misleading findings.

[4] Spolsky, Bernard (2009): Prolegomena to a Sociolinguistic Theory to Public Signage

Spolsky seeks to provide a *prolegomenon* to developing a *sociolinguistic theory* of the linguistic landscape in order to provide a more qualitative emphasis with LL domain, and to individuate LL studies from the broader field of Semiotics (2009: 29). He holds that LL methodology should ideally account for factors such as literacy, agency, context, and function. With this, he also advocates to incorporate a more qualitative focus with LL approaches. Spolsky specifies the present domain of linguistic landscape research as "the [sociolinguistic] study of multilingual signage…[displayed] in bilingual or multilingual urban spaces" (2009:25). In this, he describes the linguistic landscape as more or less an assemblage of verbal, often multilingual

public signage representing a *sociolinguistic ecology* within a geographically determined, *multiliterate* speech community. The boundaries within these speech communities can be determined demographically, and are observable through distinct shifts in the public signage from one to the next (Spolsky and Cooper 1991, Huebner 2006; cf. Spolsky 2009:25-26).

To demonstrate this point, Spolsky employs the example of the Navajo Nation, where public signage demonstrated an acceptance of English literacy and a reluctance to embrace native literacy (Spolsky and Holm 1973; cf. Spolsky 2009:27). With this, the author aims to highlight the unique property of public signage to conspicuously reflect locally held policies, language ideologies, and practices (such as vernacular literacy in this case). Further, citing Landry and Bourhis' (1997) comparative study of *Francophone* school children in Quebec and Belgium, he also observes that aside from reflecting language ideologies practices, public signage (both in its presence or absence) can hold direct influence over local language beliefs, [ethnolinguistic] behavior, and perceptions of identity (Spolsky 2009: 27-28). Noting the relative difficulty in deriving the same kinds of observations from spoken language, he emphasizes the *methodological advantage* of limiting LL criteria to textual verbal modalities (Spolsky 2009: 26).

Despite the ostensible advantages of narrowing criteria to textual verbal modalities, Spolsky identifies some key methodological problems regarding the definition of scope that warrant address. Particularly, he draws focus to the issue of literacy, especially considering the state of literacy in *multiliterate community* contexts; notably, a topic which has been scarcely addressed in LL scholarship. For Spolsky, this means taking into consideration variations in *literacy density* between various [linguistic landscape] contexts (*i.e.* public and private spheres) within a given community, as well as the implications that literacy density hold over the quality

(*e.g.* presence of typographic errors) and frequency of verbal signage in a given context (Spolsky 2009:29-30).

However, this consideration is predicated on the very specific assumption that there exist accessible records, containing both currently accurate and demographically isolated information that accounts for local population literacy statistics comparatively by language. In many cases (if not every case) this would be implausible. The topic of literacy also raises a few other relevant semiotic and contextual questions, which Spolsky elides. First, and seemingly obvious, one is left to ask how literacy density can be so readily determined, especially in the context of peripheral or subaltern communities, through an observational and quantitative methodology? This observation alone substantiates the need to expand methodological purview within the field of LL inquiry.

Second, and perhaps most compelling, one is left to ask what the linguistic landscape might mean to participants who are not literate? Further, does a linguistic landscape *exist* for non-literate participants? Following Landry and Bourhis, verbal signage has two primary functions: an informational function to communicate specific content (*e.g.* policy, instructions, rules, etc.), and a symbolic function to express relative value (*e.g.* ownership, status, ethnolinguistic identity, etc.) (1997: 25-29). This raises the question of functionality. What is the function of a verbal sign if it cannot be read? Does it cease to be a sign? What then becomes of the linguistic landscape that the verbal sign reflects? This demonstrates the relative arbitrariness of textual modalities, and the highly contextualized nature of the linguistic landscape. Though he carries forward Coulmas' (2009: 14) assertion that a *paradigmatic shift in human consciousness* occurred following the development of literacy, Spolsky's account of the functional properties of verbal signs can also be logically extended to the broader characteristics of the linguistic landscape as a concept. Thus, concerning pre-literate contexts, does this assume that there were no verbal strategies to imbue the

socio-spatial sphere with informational and symbolic meaning prior to the advent of literacy and writing?

Spolsky continues this assessment of present methodological issues, drawing focus to the theme of agency in public signage. He recognizes that LL analyses have largely ignored the consideration of agency, "attempting to define the meaning of signs without recognizing the process by which a sign is produced" (Spolsky 2009: 30). Intriguingly, the author suggests that signs should be considered the result of a process with several participants (*e.g.* the designer, manufacturer, owner, reader, etc.). In this, there are also considerations of authority and authorization, such as whether a sign is official, institutional, private, etc., and the decision process behind language choice and style. Thus, for Spolsky, in order to understand the true symbolic significance of signage, it is of critical importance to identify the agents responsible for setting the rules (*e.g.* for design and implementation) and for production (Spolsky 2009: 31-32). As in the discussion of literacy, Spolsky invariably maintains analytic emphasis on the textual modality. Even in introducing qualitative themes such as agency and literacy, conditional and contextual appraisal remains focused upon the verbal signage and the broader structural processes surrounding it.

Spolsky determines that a functional *sociolinguistic theory* of the linguistic landscape is a theory of public signage and language management, which specifically takes into account *the existence of independent domains* (*domains* refers to the aforementioned pragmatic and conceptual criteria presented in the discussion above) (2009: 33). In this, he holds that, while verbal signage cannot provide direct qualitative feedback to *monitor communicative effectiveness*, it does provide valuable qualitative insights into language practices (*e.g.* literacy practices, language shift, ethnolinguistic identity, language ideologies, etc.). However, in order for this to be possible,

signage must contain the following *three relevant conditions* (cf. Jackendoff 1983): it must contain verbal language written in a language with a conventional writing system, and it must contain either communicative [informational] value, or symbolic value (or both) (Spolsky 2009: 33). Though an attempt (ostensibly) to incorporate an expanded qualitative methodological emphasis, this appraisal does little more than demonstrate the persisting limitations of present LL methodology. From this account, the linguistic landscape is ultimately little more than the assemblage of signs demarcating it. Remarkably, despite the implications attendant to the themes he engages, Spolsky provides no consideration for the various subjective experiences, perspectives, and social dynamics that give signage rise and meaning.

[5] Hult, Francis (2009): Language Ecology and Linguistic Landscape Analysis

The ecology of language as a concept has existed in various social scientific contexts since the latter half of the last century; though Hult advances the idea specifically as a *sociological* [sociolinguistic] approach to the linguistic landscape (Haugen 1972, Voegelin 1964; cf. Hult 2009: 88-104). Drawing upon the primary theme of past language ecological approaches to research within the broader discipline of sociology, he views the linguistic landscape as a facet of multilingualism (Hult 2009: 89). This also stands in line with views held more generally by other contemporary LL researchers (cf. Shohamy 2006: 110)[6]. Following observations made by Gorter (2006), Hult notes that LL is a relatively recent field, which requires still methodological and analytic development (Hult 2009: 90).

In this, the author holds that adapting a language ecological conceptual orientation toward LL research is beneficial to the field. Specifically, a language ecological orientation synthesizes

[6] Shohamy asserts that "the basic premise of linguistics landscape analysis is that visual language use in public spaces represents observable manifestation of circulating ideas about multilingualism" (2006: 110; cf. Hult 2009).

multiple frames of emphasis, and thus can provide methodological perspective to both macro [societal] and micro [individual] dimensions of inquiry. This, Hult asserts, is necessary to provide a comprehensive understanding of the dynamic *social mechanisms* inherent to multilingualism [and by extension, the linguistic landscape] (Calvet 1999; cf. Hult 2009: 89). Hult is careful to emphasize that the ecology of language represents a conceptual orientation *toward* methodology and not a "method" within itself (2009: 89).

Through this discussion, Hult seeks to appraise methodologies within the field of LL research as well as reexamine the scope of criteria [surrounding data collection and analysis]. From this, the author provides a reassessment of methodologies to establish how best to approach a language ecological [*ecolinguistic*] orientation within LL research. Hult outlines the *core principles*, as he sees them, attendant to adapting a language ecological orientation. The core principles of a language ecological approach include: a) adopting a *multidimensional* conceptualization of the linguistic landscape, and b) adjusting methodological emphases to account for the *nested levels* (niches) of social organization (which comprise a given linguistic landscape [*ecosphere*]) such as individual language choices, migration patterns, language polities, and education, etc. (2009: 88-89). To uphold the core principles of a language ecological orientation as outlined, Hult notes that it is necessary to synthesize a variety of methodological tools from within the discipline of sociology rather than maintaining a singular methodological frame. One particular strategy that the author endorses is the use of *nexus analysis*[7] as a supplement

[7] *Nexus Analysis* is defined as "an ethnographic sociolinguistic approach to studying ways in which discourses operate as cycles across space and time, [focusing] on relationships between language use and the social actions of the individuals that inhabit these ecosystems and construct [the] linguistic landscape" (Hult 2009: 90).

to the narrower objective, top-down frames of contemporary LL analysis, which emphasize visually situated language in public geographic space (2009: 90).

More specifically, Hult stipulates the necessity to adapt an *ethnographic emphasis* (inherent to nexus analysis) into the LL purview, which has heretofore been absent. Incorporating an ethnographic emphasis will serve to provide the methodological scope required to analytically reconcile (disambiguate) the various niches (*i.e.* the individual and societal language beliefs and practices in scalar context) within a given LL ecosphere from the bottom-up (Hult 2009: 90). The author suggests that this is accomplished by expanding the range criteria to include documentation of the situational context of verbal modalities as presented within different scales of organization (*e.g.* handwritten signage within local shops, etc.) (Hult 2009: 91).

Incorporating the notion of *discourse as social action* (Goffman 1981; cf. Scollon and Scollon 2004) with Ben-Rafael's (2006) characterization of the linguistic landscape, Hult specifies that [from an ethnographic perspective] linguistic landscape ecologies are the product of an amalgam of social actions (*e.g.* producing verbal signage) negotiated by "LL-actors" (participant agents), and is contoured over time and space through *cycles of discourse*[8] according to the preferences, choices, and policies of participant agents (cf. Hult 2009: 88-91). This understanding also holds that every social action is mediated through some means of *materiality* (*e.g.* writing instruments, computers, etc.) and *symbolism* (*e.g.* [language] ideologies, qualitative context, etc.). It is in this way that social actions represent *discourses in place*—particularly in the occurrence of verbal signage (Hult 2009: 92). Thus, considered in context of situation and scale (*i.e.* through

[8] *Discourse cycles* refers to the idea that "social actions are not mediated by a single circulating discourse. They are, rather, nexus points for a multitude of discourses, each with its own cycle" (Scollon 2004: 19-20; Cf. Hult 2009: 92).

nexus analysis), verbal signage accurately reflects both individual and group-level social actions such as beliefs, practices, and social positions.

Notwithstanding the promising overtones and dynamic methodological and analytic implications attendant to a language ecological approach, Hult categorically disregards the intersubjective premises endemic to the very themes he raises. In this, considerations of emphasis, scale, and scope refer only to the situational [subjective] settings in which signage is directly found, not to the subjectivities and social contexts which underlie these settings. For Hult, much like Spolsky (2009), an *ethnographic emphasis* in the context of LL inquiry maintains an objective frame. Further, adopting a *multidimensional* conceptualization of the linguistic landscape only concerns the conditions that surround signage itself. To this point, present LL methodological approaches do not incorporate direct observation or consultation with local perspectives in order to explicate and contextualize the signage.

Rather, the key LL analytic method is to employ signage (otherwise decontextualized) as a vehicle through which to make indirect inferences about such intersubjective engagement and experiences. Through statistical and comparative analysis, signage and setting become proxy indicators of intersubjective processes and subjective perspectives. Consequently, these observations are inferential and interpretive. Without direct observation to contextualize this data, the accuracy of the analysis and implications cannot be determined. While qualitative by some measure, this emphasis is not genuinely ethnographic. Thus, methodological emphasis maintains an empirical [objective] bias, differing little from previous LL approaches.

With this discussion, I have outlined the methodological and analytic background of LL inquiry. I have also provided a synthesis and review of foundational and contemporary literary selections that are core to the domain from within the corpus of LL scholarship. Through this

review, I have also attempted to highlight some of the fundamental methodological and analytic limitations within subsequent approaches to the field. To this point, linguistic landscapes scholars view the domain of LL inquiry to be a subfield of sociolinguistics (*e.g.* Ben-Rafael 2009: 40; Hult 2009: 88; Spolsky 2009: 25). In this, the limited methodological purview of LL research has imposed narrow parameters around the epistemological emphasis and scope of criteria. These narrow parameters have served to place a strictly objective focus on textual language modalities within modern, primarily Western urban contexts (*e.g.* Blommaert 2013; Shohamy and Gorter et al. 2009; Backhaus 2006; Ben-Rafael et al. 2006; Shohamy 2006; Gorter 2006).

Despite broad recognition by LL researchers that the robust social implications of LL analyses warrant more qualitative examination, it seems that much has not changed within the field LL scholarship since Landry and Bourhis (1997) first advanced the concept roughly a quarter-century ago (cf. Huebner 2009: 70). Concomitantly, the empirical (objective) emphasis to which present LL methodologies are limited poses a philosophical (epistemological) issue; particularly in the assumption that contextual (qualitative) understandings of subjective nonstructural elements (*e.g.* language ideologies, local language practices and perspectives, social hierarchies, cultural practices, etc.) can be determined indirectly through empirical inference and interpretation of quantitative analysis.

As demonstrated in the preceding discussion concerning the purview of LL scholarship, linguistic landscape inquiry warrants more contextualized and qualitative examinations to both elucidate the diverse micro-socialities (*e.g.* perspectives and traditions, etc.) attendant to the linguistic landscape as well as how the aforementioned interplay via the verbal modalities through which the landscape is manifested and contoured. To reiterate, two of the primary limitations of structuralist analyses [applied broadly within past and present LL research] are emphasis and

scope. Specifically, structuralist approaches have conceptualized the linguistic landscape predominantly from a top-down perspective. As a result, subsequent analyses have tended to emphasize the role of institutionalized structure within the linguistic landscape over the intrinsic (nonstructural) underlying sociocultural processes (cf. Woolard 1985: 742). Further, subsequent analyses have neglected to incorporate contextualized examination of the implications that they produce, and from which qualitative conclusions are drawn. In this way, present methodological and analytic approaches to the linguistic landscape have shown to be insufficient. This is not to insinuate that the findings and implications of conventional LL analyses are somehow irrelevant, or that LL analyses have not been useful as a foundation for further qualitative inquiry. However limited, the domain of linguistic landscapes inquiry has provided compelling insights into the way contemporary communities behave in the face of linguistic diversity and cultural shift.

III. DISCUSSION AND CRITIQUE: LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES AS LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGY

In the following section, I critically engage the linguistics landscape scholarship, providing a synthesis of relevant scholarly discourses on the topics of language and sociality from within the corpus of linguistic anthropological [and broader anthropological] literature. In this discussion and critique, I endeavor to expand the range of praxis within the domain of LL research and reconcile the epistemological divide that exists between a linguistic anthropological approach and present approaches to the field (Woolard 1998; Ochs and Schieffelin 1984). Specifically, I engage the themes of *chronotope* (Bakhtin 1984; cf. Basso 1996), *communicative action* and *social sphere* (Habermas 1984, 1991), *habitus* and *social action* (Scollon and Scollon 2004; Bourdieu 1993, 1991, 1983), *language ecology* (Haugen 1972), *linguistic differentiation* (Irvine and Gal 2000), and *language practice* and *ideologies* (Debenport 2015; Kroskrity 2000, 1998) to provide the theoretical and methodological framework necessary for a linguistic anthropological approach to

LL research. With this, I advance a *multimodal language ecological* conceptualization of the linguistic landscape. This is intended as a qualitative supplement to the otherwise narrowly empirical methodological and analytic purview of LL scholarship to date.

[1] Ethnographic Turn

Given the sociolinguistic parturition of LL inquiry the core analytic underpinnings of the field are fundamentally structuralist (Spolsky 2009: 32). Research has been oriented toward establishing broad-reaching analyses of patterns of language use or the asymmetrical social, cultural, economic, and political structures of power attendant to the landscape through empirical observation (Shohamy 2006: 115; cf. Hult 2009). Resulting qualitative assessments are derived inferentially [indirectly] through the interpretation of statistical trends (Backhaus 2006: 52-54; Shohamy 2006: 110-113; cf. Hult 2009). Thus, treatments of the linguistic landscape have so far produced little more than abstracted and ambiguous accounts of component [non-structural] sociocultural themes.

Despite narrow analytic and methodological parameters, LL research has nonetheless provided compelling implications about the dynamic, socially constructed nature of the linguistic landscape that warrant further qualitative examination (*e.g.* Ben-Rafael 2009). While efforts have been made within sociolinguistics to contextualize linguistics landscape research through more qualitative analyses through the synthesis of broader methodologies (*e.g.* Blommaert 2013; Hult 2009; Malinowski 2009; Spolsky 2009; Backhaus 2006), and the implementation of qualitative heuristics (*e.g.* Coulmas 2009; Huebner 2009; Ben-Rafael et al. 2006; Shohamy 2006; Blommaert and Verschueren 1998), findings have remained relatively abstract due to a persisting empirical methodological bias.

With little exception, ethnographic account of participant agents (*LL-actors*) and social action within the linguistic landscape is conspicuously neglected (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 27; cf. Hult 2009: 92). Thus, an epistemological *ethnographic turn* (Ochs and Schieffelin 1984; Woolard 1998) within the domain of LL research is necessary to subtend the overly quantitative and objective emphasis of present approaches, and elucidate the phenomenon with nuanced, contextualized accounts of componential sociocultural elements. In the context of LL research, ethnography will serve to provide systematic and contextualized descriptions of a practices and beliefs that give the linguistic landscape rise and meaning.

To begin by drawing in an anthropological perspective, it is argued that "[analytic] attention…should be forced back to the effects of primary social relations on the arrangements of everyday living, and the informal structures of experiences in daily life" (Woolard 1985: 742-743). This emphasizes the importance of placing language and sociality scholarship (*e.g.* LL scholarship) within a *grander social theory* (cf. Woolard 1985: 741). To this point, scholars within the field of anthropology such as Woolard have argued that structuralist models tend to ignore intersubjectivity and *over-emphasize* the role of institutions (*e.g.* the linguistic landscape) in structuring socialities, while relying minimally upon ethnographic [qualitative] evidence (Woolard 1985: 740-742). This is certainly evidenced by linguistic landscape scholarship.

To understand the linguistic landscape as a multidimensional, socially constructed phenomenon, it is integral to attend to the notion of intersubjectivity—particularly with regard to the relationship between the linguistic landscape, language ideologies, and practice (cf. Kroskrity 1998, 2000). In this context, *intersubjectivity* refers to the process by which subjective perceptions of reality are derived through *shared understandings of meaning and significance*; co-constructed

through social action (*e.g.* discourse) (Leeds-Hurwitz 2009: 892-895). From this frame, language is the modality through which reality is constructed.

Following *speech act* theory (Searle 1969; cf. Scollon and Scollon 2004: 8-9), language is the *product* of social actions, *manifested in the dynamic interplay between individual actions and forms of social organization*—an idea that has also been carried forward to some extent by sociolinguists within LL research (*e.g.* Ben-Rafael 2006: 27; Blommaert 2005: 92; Scollon and Scollon 2004: 4-5; cf. Hult 2009: 92). However, there exists an epistemological divide between sociolinguistic and anthropological perspectives, particularly as it regards methodological emphasis (cf. Woolard 1985). To adapt a linguistic anthropological approach to the linguistic landscape, language (in any modality) must be thought of within *performative* social context, not solely in terms of the isolated form or function (cf. Kroskrity 1998).

While it is recognized that language and culture remain in a continuous dialectic (*e.g.* Backhaus 2006: 52-54; Shohamy 2006: 110-113; cf. Hult 2009: 91), LL analyses have not considered that the modalities which mediate this dialectic [such as grammar, language convention, and landscapes] are much more glacial to change than subjective or community language practices and beliefs themselves. Without ethnographic contextualization, the extent to which these modalities accurately reflect (and indicate) actual local conditions (*e.g.* beliefs, language practices, social hierarchies, etc.) cannot be determined. The emphasis of conventional LL approaches has been placed on the quantitative frequency and distribution of verbal signage in geographical space to draw qualitative conclusions about local communities without providing further ethnographic examination (Malinowski 2009: 107). In general, these analyses are predicated [at base] on the pivotal assumption that the presence of particular signage is somehow

representative of local ideological consensus, beliefs, or sociocultural practices (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998: 356-358; Landry and Bourhis 1997: 29-32).

[2] Language Ideologies and Habitus

However, invariably within LL inquiry a plethora of valuable qualitative questions arise such as *who is able to read a sign* and *who reads it* (*e.g.* Backhaus 2009; Coulmas 2009; Hult 2009; Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Landry and Bourhis 1997), or *what are the relative symbolic values of signage within the communities* (*e.g.* Hult 2009: 93; Cenoz and Gorter 2009: 58-59), *how does code selections reflect demography in multilingual contexts* (*e.g.* Backhaus 2007: 88; Huebner 2009: 81). To answer such questions warrants more than the indirect (inferential and interpretative) analyses that present methodological approaches engage. Such qualitative questions can only be explicated through comprehensive engagement with emic perspectives, which requires the implementation of an ethnographic methodology and a redefinition of criteria.

Advancing a linguistic anthropological definition (one that is informed by the various findings and implications with present LL research), the linguistic landscape is fundamentally a *socio-spatial* manifestation (*i.e. reality*) of local language or (more broadly) cultural ideologies through verbal language modalities, enacted through contemporary and traditional language practices (*social action*) (cf. Shohamy 2006; Scollon and Scollon 2004; Kroskrity 2000; Silverstein 1998). As Barker and Galasinski spell out, "[it is] through discourse and other semiotic practices that ideologies are formulated, reproduced, and reinforced" (2001: 65).

Thus, it is through shared engagement (intersubjectivity) that ideologies are validated and ratified into practice. Conceptualized in this way, the linguistic landscape is a *social reality* component of highly contextualized and nuanced social, cultural, political and ideological elements (Bourdieu 1983, 1993; cf. Ben-Rafael 2009: 47). Following Lanza and Woldemariam,

"the challenge to analyzing the LL of an area in light of language ideology is to understand the interplay between the language users' choices as a result of their conditioned view of the world through *habitus* or as a result of a rational actor's calculations" (Bourdieu 1991; Elster 1989; cf. Lanza and Woldemariam 2009: 194). To this point, present methodologies have demonstrably failed to sufficiently account for these nuanced social elements.

The analytic scope of LL analyses has been reserved for literary urban settings, and thus primarily Western nation-state contexts. As discussed previously, this vision of the linguistic landscape is conceptually predicated on the notion of *public sphere* (Habermas 1991: 176; cf. Coulmas 2009: 13). This holds that the linguistic landscape cannot exist without mediation through text-based verbal modalities (and literacy) within an organized public space; therefore, linguistic landscapes cannot exist without the institutions of state (Coulmas 2009: 14-22). Implicit to these parameters, the linguistic landscape, which is inherently mediated through hegemonic structures, becomes essentially an institution of colonialism, assimilation, and hegemony. From this frame, there is a clear conceptual connection between the linguistic landscape to the Bourdieu's notion of *champs*, specifically with regard to the dynamics of symbolic power (Bourdieu 1991: 14-15, 1993: 214). In this, the linguistic landscape becomes a sociopolitical vehicle for *linguistic differentiation* (Irvine and Gal 2000: 37-38). Scholars have noted that the linguistic landscape is not only an institutional [hegemonic] mechanism, but also a potential vehicle for social protest, resistance, and sociocultural autonomy (Ben-Rafael 2006: 8; Shohamy 2006: 110; cf. Hult 2009).

[3] Ecology of Language and Linguistic Differentiation

Though the socio-structural implications of the linguistic landscape have been appraised through an empirical lens in the analytic context of literate, post-colonial nation-states (Bourdieu 1983, 1993; cf. Ben-Rafael 2009), linguistic landscapes scholars have failed to reflexively examine

broader socio-structural implications that maintaining such a narrowly objective and empirical analytic emphasis hold (*e.g.* textual verbal modalities in urban spaces). In this, it is important to consider that the advent of literacy and writing is a relatively nascent development, largely associated with the processes of modern nation-states and colonialism (particularly in non-Western contexts). Present analytic frames conceptualize the linguistic landscape expressly as a product of literacy within dominant nation-state contexts (Coulmas 2009: 13-14). As Coulmas describes:

> Yet, even when writing was a specialized skill and literacy restricted, the exhibition of visible language marked a fundamental change in the human habit. It changed the way [that] people saw the world, it changed their attitude towards and awareness of language, and in many ways, it changed the very organization of society. The origin of writing coincided with urbanization, that is, the emergence of complex forms of social organization (2009: 13).

This implies that pre-literate or indigenous communities have no contextually analogous conceptual frame for the linguistic landscape and are perhaps incapable of conceptualizing the phenomenon. Incidentally, the majority of the world's societies are endemically pre-literate. Is it not possible for these communities to contour and shape their environments (both social and physical) through traditional verbal modalities outside of the framework of colonialism? The textual emphasis within the LL domain is not only analytically delimiting but also ethnocentric, reverberating illicit tones of colonialism. This is to say that the objective emphasis which presently frames the domain of LL research is inadequate to conceptualize the linguistic landscape as an autonomous indigenous, pre-literate phenomenon. Thus, resulting from methodological limitations, subsequent LL scholarship has served as an apparatus of *erasure* (cf. Irvine and Gal 2000: 38). Therefore, an attempt must be made to redirect the scope of methodology within the LL

field that incorporates an *ontological* perspective capable of conceptualizing the linguistic landscape in other sociocultural contexts and through other vantages.

The linguist Haugen (1972: 328-329; cf. Hult 2009) first advanced the idea of the *ecology of language* as an analytical framework capable of engaging an intermural dialectic across the social sciences [*particularly, to bridge the discourses between disciplines such as linguistics, linguistic anthropology (ethnography of speaking), and sociology*] to garner a comprehensive conceptual understanding of multilingualism and contingent societal dimensions from a variety of scholarly perspectives. This *ecolinguistic* orientation has become fundamental to current social scientific disciplines; particularly within the fields of sociolinguistics and ethnolinguistics, a subfield of general linguistics that focuses on the study of language in relation to social factors, including differences of regional, class, and/or social dialect, gender, and multilingualism (Hult 2009: 89). Contemporary LL scholars such as Spolsky and Hult advance the *ecolinguistic* orientation into the domain of LL research as a conceptual frame, describing the linguistic landscape as a *multiliterate language ecology* (Spolsky 2009:32; Hult 2009: 91).

According to Hult (2009: 90-91), LL represents a methodological and analytic approach unique to sociolinguistics with which to analyze multidimensional phenomena such as multilingualism, of which the linguistic landscape as presently defined is a *niche* (Calvet 1999: 35; Hult 2009). In this, the linguistic landscape becomes an objectively (methodologically) distilled assemblage of observable, narrowly defined features. Following Calvet's (1999: 61) definition of *language ecosystem* as the *multidimensional* product of a "confluence of factors at various levels: individual language choices, migration, language policies, and media, among others," and eschewing the methodological strictures of the present domain, the *linguistic landscape* is a *language ecosystem*—not simply a component of it. Thus, I advance the idea of a *multimodal*

language ecological conceptualization of the linguistic landscape. In this, the linguistic landscape is a *multimodal ecolinguistic sphere* mediated through *social action* beyond strictly textual verbal modalities such as traditional [pre-literate] discursive practices (*e.g.* indigenous oral literature, placenaming practices, and other forms of verbal art) (cf. Scollon and Scollon 2004; Calvet 1999; Basso 1996).

[4] Communicative Action and the Social Sphere

Invoking the philosophy of Jürgen Habermas, Scollon and Scollon define the notion of *mediated social action* as "any action taken by an individual with reference to a social network...carried out via material and symbolic mediational means (cultural or psychological)" (2004: 11-12; cf. Hult 2009). Habermas states *communicative action* lays the "invisible tracks along which interactions unfold" (1984: 287). Habermas (1984: 285-286) argues that the primary function (*telos*) of language (or really any form of semiotic communication) is to intersubjectively coordinate the subjective actions and social needs of individuals (*individual agents*) in order to establish social (collective) consensus [as a means to communicate these shared needs to broader institutions of power] (*public sphere*, Habermas 1991; cf. Hult 2009).

Essential to this point is Habermas' observation that for an individual agent to apprehend the meaning of a communicative act [and thus *meaningfully* engage], the agent must be able to conceptually render it (*Verständigung*, Habermas 1984: 301). Within the original context of his meaning, this connotes that for there to exist a *public sphere* mediated through *communicative action* (*e.g.* linguistic landscape, cf. Coulmas 2009: 14), communication must be expressed through a conventionalized modality (*e.g.* standardized written language) and participant agents must be able to comprehend the modus of communication (*e.g.* literate). Contextualized this way, Habermas' conditions for success *communicative action* are similar to the verbal signage *value*

conditions outlined by Spolsky (Jackendoff 1983; Spolsky and Cooper 1991; cf. Spolsky 2009:33). This is unsurprising considering Habermas' conceptualization of *communicative action* emphasizes the literary dialectical process.

In the context of mass media (*e.g.* the free press, Blommaert and Verschueren 1998) and broad-reaching media modalities, this was not possible (at least in the West) until the 18th century (Habermas 1991; cf. Coulmas 2009: 13). From here, Habermas establishes a pragmatic theory of the rationality of communication and public discourse (as necessitated by the concept of linguistic landscape), and further reifies (albeit implicitly) the importance of ethnography in excavating communicative patterns, broad or local, as posited by Ochs and Schieffelin (1984), Woolard (1998), Blommaert (2006, 2013) and other scholars.

The focus here becomes the way in which mediated communicative action operates to establish "a shared intersubjective consensus between interlocutors" (*Verständigung*), which structures the ensuing individual actions and interactions between interlocutors (Habermas 1984: 9, 301). As verbal communication holds the ability to structure action and interaction, it also holds the ability to structure sociocultural and physical environments (Habermas 1984: 301-302). In this way, linguistic landscape is *communicative action*. Verbal language modalities (beyond verbal signage) hold the potential to manifest and contour landscapes through intersubjectivity and cultural practice.

The traditional narrative practices endemic to many indigenous communities also represent *communicative actions*. From the perspectives of community participants, these practices meet the conditional value criteria outlined above for literary communication (*e.g.* signage) (Habermas 1991; Spolsky 2009). To this point, traditional narrative practices are mediated through cultural beliefs (ideologies) as well as environmental features (materiality), and contain both informational

and symbolic value (much like verbal signage does). Through conventional language and sociocultural continuity, traditional narrative practices *imprint* salient environmental features to index important sociocultural themes [symbolic value] and pragmatic content [informational value], establishing a sort of *narrative dialectic*. These practices also function to position socialities and index social status (*e.g.* Debenport 2015; Kroskrity 1998; Basso 1996). To community outsiders, the contours that these traditional narrative practices make on the landscape are unapparent and unrecognizable (in the same sense that textual verbal modalities are unrecognizable to those who cannot read them). In this sense, like [verbal] literacy to text [verbal signage], there is *indigenous narrative literacy* attendant to socioculturally *reading* the linguistic landscape in traditional indigenous contexts.

[5] Chronotope

Moving forward, the *Bakhtinian* notion of *chronotop*e is the process through which narrative practices operate to indexically contour the landscape. This holds that chronologies and spatial relationships are intrinsically (and inextricably) linked, instantiated through narrative or other forms of communicative action. *Chronotope* has been applied within linguistic anthropological analysis to conceptualize how traditional narrative practices function to mark physical space in other (closely related) contexts (Basso 1996). It is fundamental to re-conceptualizing the linguistic landscape as a multimodal communicative phenomenon. Bakhtin describes *chronotope* as follows:

> In … chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes … visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history. The intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterizes the … chronotope (1981: 84).

This is demonstrated specifically in the observation that, within the temporal world, chronology (or the aspect of time and duration) cannot be divorced from a transpired action or *event* (*e.g.* manifestations on the landscape). Understood in this context, an *event* is as "a dialogic unit insofar as it is a correlation: something happens only when something else with which it can be compared reveals a change in time and space" (Bakhtin 1981; cf. Holquist 2002: 116). Therefore, all appraisals of language and sociality must be framed within their relevant chronological contexts, and understood as the result of a broader diachronic process carried forward through linguistic practice and tradition. By this account, time and space are understood to be interdependent, and thus the linguistic landscape is diachronic [historiographic] *continuous* phenomenon. In this, *chronotope* is integral to understanding the notion of a *multimodal landscape ecology*, particularly as it relates to indigenous communicative practices and pre-literate linguistic landscapes.

Emerson and Holquist define *chronotope* as "a unit of analysis for studying language according to the ratio and characteristics of the temporal and spatial categories represented in that language" (1981: 425). This places analytic focus upon narrative, and specifically grammatical nuance, in its capacity to function as both a literal account of contemporary and historical experiences that are linked through shared subjectivities (cf. Foucault 2005[1981]; Basso 1996) as well as a metaphoric representation of the temporal parameters and timelines through which subjectivities are (or have come to be) linked. It is inferred that which is considered to be "true for geometries of space" (*e.g.* association, tangibility, etc.) "is also true of chronotope" (Bemong & Borgart 2008: 5). This is to say that chronotope represents a temporal and socioculturally constructive phenomenon as opposed to merely an analytic analogy to orient a reader to a literary

plot (cf. Borghart & DeDobbeleer 2008). It is through *chronotope* that traditional narrative practices manifest on the landscape (*e.g. placename,* Basso 1996)

Basso's (1996) association of *chronotopicity* with the notions of *landscape* and traditional narrative practices (*e.g. placename*) draw upon the *Neo-Kantian* imagery of *linguistic coercion* (cf. Scholz 2003: 155). Understood from a *Kantian* perspective, narrative acts as a function to both contour and coerce nature into specified terms (or sign forms) represented through verbal and written language or other communicative modalities (cf. Scholz 2003; Hamon 1975). Following this, a narrative effectively mirrors 'real' [or historic] timelines through the "use of a coherent series of temporal indicators that allow [the hearer or participant] at any moment to determine perfectly the narrative's temporal progress" (Borghart & DeDobbeleer 2008: 81). In this context *temporal indicators* are best understood as verbal or other semiotic actions in association with another subjective, stative, or abstract condition (*e.g.* landscapes, topographies, concepts, or objects in space, etc.). In this sense, chronotope becomes a sort of phenomenal documentary (even biographic or cosmological) record (*chronotope* Bakhtin 1981; cf. Keunen 2008: 43).

This emphasizes the importance of *chronotope* in understanding how non-textual verbal language can contour the landscape much the same as verbal signage. In this, it is necessary in re-conceptualizing the linguistic landscape as a *multimodal ecolinguistic sphere*. Through *chronotopicity,* traditional narrative practices mediate the linguistic landscape, which (among other things) indexes a histiographic record of a given community within a given spatial or geographical context [informational value] as well as a *continuous* sociocultural engagement [symbolic value]. Thus, traditional narrative practices (much like signage) construct and contour both the social and physical topographies of that community. Through the continuity of traditional

narrative practices, the landscape is a sort of sociocultural repository—a diachronic documentary of socialities and beliefs (about culture, language and reality).

IV. INTRODUCTION TO THE FIELD: PUEBLOAN DEMOGRAPHY AND ACOMA KERES

Fig. 4.1 – ***View of Acoma Pueblo from the South, 1904*** **(Edward S. Curtis, 1904a)**

[1] Puebloan Demography

The tribal Pueblo of Acoma is one of 19 Native American Pueblo Indian reservations located in the Southwestern United States. The Puebloan communities are perhaps most renowned for their rich cultural histories and unique textiles and jewelry. As such, these communities are still home to some of the most highly skilled craftsmen and artisans in the native Southwest. The Acoma Pueblo rests at the southern edge of the Colorado Plateau in northwestern New Mexico (Cibola County) roughly 60 miles (97 km) due west of the city of Albuquerque. Traditionally, the Acoma community speaks a dialectal variety of the indigenous Keresan language (Acoma-Keres),

which is otherwise shared by 6 of the neighboring pueblos (Sims 2008: 63-64, 69). Ostensibly, the Acoma name is derived from a *Hispanicized* variation of the local Keresan nominal form /*ʔáák'u̓u̓m̓é*/[9]. The Acoma Pueblo ancestral village of *Haak'u* (as it is known in the local Keres variety) is seated upon a towering mesa top (roughly 350 ft. above the desert floor), historically inaccessible except through a steep crevasse trail carved into the rocky mesa edifice[10]. Perched high above a rugged, yet serenely captivating desert canvas, *Haak'u* commands dramatic vistas of striped buttes and painted mesas that dot the horizon. The high table scenery is contrasted by deep-cut canyon crevices and arroyos, tracing the wending paths of erstwhile streams and tributaries that once crossed the desiccant landscape but have long since dried. Ensconced beneath *Haak'u* within this arresting high desert setting, the majority of modern Acoma tribal residents live between 5 adjacent satellite townships that surround the mesa; namely North Acomita, South Acomita, Anzacs, Grants and McCartys, which lie roughly 15 miles northwest of the traditional mesa-top pueblo village (Sims 2008: 63).

The average elevation (altitude) at Acoma Pueblo is approximately 7,000 feet (2,100 meters) above sea level. With an average annual precipitation of only 9.39 inches brought year-round by the southwest trade winds, the climate at the pueblo is semiarid; though, the region is prone to sudden and sporadic tempestuous deluges during the annual wet season in Spring (which generally spans from late February to mid-May and sometimes into mid-June). Through the implementation of cisterns and reservoirs to collect runoff, these summer tempests were historically a primary source of water for the mesa-top Pueblo community (whose livelihood relied traditionally upon agriculture), and remain a key water source for the residents who still occupy

[9] Following observations by Miller (1959, 1960) carried forward by Sims (2008: 64).

[10] See *fig. 4.2*, p. 39

the ancestral Pueblo village (Sims 2008: 64-65). Sims estimates the present tribal enrollment figure at Acoma Pueblo to be approximately 3,000 members. However, this estimation is based upon analysis of outmoded data (*1998 Acoma Tribal Census Records*; cf. Sims 2008: 63). According to the most recent U.S. Census Bureau (2010) data, there are presently 4,989 recorded persons claiming Acoma tribal affiliation. These most recent census figures demonstrate a marginal increase over official U.S. Census Bureau (2000) enrollment-count records from a decade prior.

Fig. 4.2 – *Entrance to Acoma Pueblo, 1904* (Edward S. Curtis, 1904b) <<Depicting the old trail entrance to Acoma Pueblo>>

Currently, the sprawling reservation comprises a total land area of roughly a half-million square acres (1600km^2). However, the present boundary figures represent only a fractional 10 percent of the traditional Acoma Pueblo tribal landholdings, following European contact and the

Spanish conquests of the region during the late 16th century[11]. Prior to European arrival in the region Acoma Pueblo tribal landholdings are estimated to have been as vast as 5 million acres (Pritzker 2000: 6). Thus, the contemporary Acoma Pueblo tribal territory presents a stark reminder of the hegemonic plight as well as sociocultural and economic decline that the Acoma community as well as all indigenous people of the Americas have suffered under Western colonialism over the past 500 years (Sim 2008: 64-65). The effects of these dynamics remain to the present day and are reflected within the community by present trends of language decline and sociocultural entropy (Sims 2008: 65-69). Though, since the latter half of the last century the Acoma tribal government has made strategic efforts to gradually regain some the traditional domain piecemeal through land requisition and purchases from private, state, and federal land holders.

The traditional Acoma Pueblo mesa top village of *Haak'u* (also referred to as *Sky City* or *Old Acoma* within the tourist trade) is one of the longest continually inhabited indigenous village sites in North America, rivaling *Old Oraibi* of the Hopi and *Taos Pueblo* of the Tiwa (Waldman 2006: 105; Sims 2008: 63, 65-66). In this, it still serves as the sacred ritual center for traditional indigenous religious observance (Sims 2008: 64). According to a folk etymology offered by one Acoma community consultant during a visit to the pueblo, the village has been inhabited by the Acoma people and their ancestors since *time immemorial,* apparent through the name /*Haak'u*/, meaning "[the] place that always was" (personal correspondence, July 9, 2015). Interestingly, on a separate visit to the pueblo village a different consultant explained that the name means "[the] place of the white rocks" (personal correspondence, December 21, 2016). Either way, it is unquestionable that the Acoma village of *Haak'u* stands as an iconic symbol of indigenous North

[11] *e.g.* The *Acoma Massacre of 1599* at the hands Spanish conquistador, Vicente de Zaldivar, establishing a colonial precedent in the region that would ultimately lead to the *Puebloan Revolt of 1680* in the latter part of the 17th century (Knaut 1995: 68-70).

American Pueblo prehistory. However, separate ethnographic sources such as the broader Puebloan origin mythologies (Miller 2007: 35-49), and archaeological evidence indicate that the site at *Haak'u* has been inhabited since approximately the early 12th century CE; its settlers having migrated southward to the present location from the northern Pajarito Plateau, where they dwelt in the cliffs (Pritzker 2000: 8; Waldman 2006: 129-131).

Fig. 4.3 – *Reflection at Acoma Pueblo* (Ansel Adams, 1938) <<Depicting central reservoir at Acoma Pueblo>>

Considering that the broader majority of the Acoma Pueblo community population resides in the adjacent satellite towns (*i.e.* North and South Acomita, Anzacs, Grants and McCartys), most community members only return to the mesa top village for traditional holidays, festival celebrations, and special tribal occasions, which provide both the primary ceremonial and social contexts in which tribal members hear and speak Acoma-Keres (Sims 2008: 66). One such occasion is the harvest festival of *San Estevan del Rey*, which takes place annually in early

September to honor the patron saint of Acoma Pueblo, Saint Stephen. There are, however, a select few families that still maintain regular residence (primarily family matriarchs and elders) atop the mesa. The present population at *Haak'u* fluctuates between 30 and 50 fulltime residents, depending upon season (personal correspondence, July 9, 2015). As modification and modern construction are forbidden in the old village, residents of *Haak'u* reside in traditional adobe mudbrick multilevel terraced apartment-style dwelling structures (endemic to the Southwestern U.S.), some of which date directly back to the 12th century. Thus, the residents at *Haak'u* appreciate no modern conveniences such as running water, plumbing, natural gas for cooking, or electricity (Sims 2008: 64). As noted previously, water for the community is kept in a large central reservoir[12], collected through the recapture of precipitation in cisterns placed throughout the village and at the base of the mesa. Cooking on the mesa top is done mainly with charcoal or brush kindling through the use of mudbrick ovens and hearths.

The adobe dwelling structures at *Haak'u* are built in three rows around a series of 7 ceremonial ancestral clan kivas (ritual chambers), which are marked by towering spruce or ponderosa wood ladders. As a local consultant explained, the kiva ladders serve a dual purpose. In the material ("real"[sic]) world they are a tool used to "connect things". They are also a cosmological symbol to represent the ascent of "man [sic] onto the earth from the underworld". "During man's [sic] journey out from the underworld, divine ancestral spirits took the forms of various objects and animals to help him on his [sic] way", from which the Acoma tribal clans derive their associations. Climbing the ladders to enter and exit the kiva symbolically replicates this ancestral cosmological journey, and "connects the climber to his [sic] ancestral clan spirits" (personal correspondence, September 2, 2016). The Acoma clans (of which roughly 12 remain)

[12] See *fig. 4.3*, p. 41

are matrilineal (Sims 2008: 64). The Pueblo village is arranged around a central plaza[13], which serves as a public and ceremonial center. The Pueblo religious leaders (*caciques*) use this space to perform public rituals and ceremonies that are core to Acoma socioreligious life.

Fig. 4.4 – *A Feast Day at Acoma* (Edward S. Curtis, 1899) <<Depicting the central plaza and kiva ladders at Acoma Pueblo>>

At *Haak'u* generations of Acoma children are still taught traditional artisan craft skills and subsistence practices, which are conventionally delineated by *gender*. For example, girls learn baking and culinary practices from their aunts and grandmothers (Acoma bread being a true delicacy), while boys are taught seasonal scouting and game hunting techniques from their uncles and grandfathers (Personal correspondence, July 9, 2015). The present Acoma economy is reliant

[13] See *fig. 4.4*, p. 43

heavily upon seasonal tourism and the tourist market, and a major part of the economy are sales of local artisan textile crafts and art. A community artisan explained that craft and artisan apprenticeship are key sites for the transmission of traditional Acoma cultural (and sociolinguistic) practices and values between pueblo elders and younger generations (personal correspondence, August 26, 2015). Nevertheless, many Acoma tribal community members are skilled craftsmen and artisans. Perhaps best known for their resplendent olla pots (traditional Puebloan vessels used for cooking stews or soups), Acoma artisan potters produce some of the most highly coveted Native American pottery on the collector's market.

Acoma pottery is traditionally produced in a wide variety of shapes and sizes with a special clay that is formulated through an admixture or pulverized sherds from the remains of old pottery and local earth, using a regional *hand coiling technique*. This technique produces pottery with delicately thin walls and a unique crisp, earthy scent. In order to provide durability and resilience, traditional hand coiled pottery is kiln-fired at very high temperatures through the use of outdoor pit kilns dug deep into the ground, which are heated for days to build temperature before firing. Acoma pottery is often richly decorated in polychrome with contrasting black and white geometrical patterns, depicting primordial cosmological elements and clan or other symbolically significant mythological themes. The pigments that are used to decorate Acoma pottery are produced using only natural elements found within the environment surrounding the mesa pueblo, such as local minerals, plants, and roots, which are collected, ground and mixed incrementally by the artisan to create the desired color, shade, and hue (Rose Chino Garcia correspondence, cf. Halberstadt 2001).

Acoma society—like most other Southwestern Native American societies—is traditionally agrarian, built up around the cultivation of maize, squash, and beans. The Acoma view the process

of cultivation as a metaphorical dialectic between humanity and creation. In this, cultivation is integral to Acoma sociocultural and socioreligious heritage, and it pervades the organizational structures of traditional secular government as well as religious practices, which are generally inextricably linked (Pritzker 2000: 11; Sims 2008: 65). This means that the pueblo government is theocratic. That said, Acoma is one of the few indigenous North American tribal communities which has retained a continuous pre-colonial tribal government system more or less intact. The Acoma Pueblo is governed by a cabinet of 5 [technically] secular leaders (which, as Sims specifies, include a tribal governor, two lieutenant governors, an interpreter, and a secretary). These cabinet officers are appointed by the local tribal religious authorities, called *caciques*—a rare example of foreign lexicalization in Acoma Keres, remnant of the Spanish colonial influence over traditional Acoma sociocultural systems (Miller 1960, cf. Sims 2008: 64).

Appointments to secular government offices are made yearly (Sims 2008: 65). With this, many traditional agricultural practices are still in use today at *Haak'u*, though the scale of agricultural practice has been significantly reduced in modern contexts as local agriculture is no longer a primary source for Pueblo sustenance. Because of the lapidarian environment, water necessary for crop planting and irrigation often must be hauled down from the mesa top central reservoir, or from its source miles away. As the Acoma did not historically have any domesticated livestock or beasts of burden prior to European contact, water transport is traditionally done by foot, carried in plain large earthenware vessels[14]. This task is generally done early in the morning in consideration of avoiding the glaring midday heat, which inevitably plagues the desert basin during the spring and summer planting seasons. Due to the physically taxing nature of this exercise,

[14] See *fig. 4.5*, p. 46

it is generally reserved for adolescents and young adults (~11 and 20 years) under the supervision of elders (personal correspondence, July 9, 2015).

Fig. 4.5 – *Acoma Water Girls* (Edward S. Curtis, 1926a) <<Depicting traditional Acoma water-carrying practices>>

Though this picture of traditional community life surrounding the Acoma Pueblo mesa may seem idyllic in some respects, the socioeconomic reality that presently faces many in the Acoma tribal community is much more harsh. The median household income at Acoma Pueblo (across all townships, including North and South Acomita[15], Anzacs, Grants and McCartys) is $26,149. This figure is considerably lower than the national household income median of $56,604 (U.S. Census Bureau 2000, 2010). This means that a significant portion (> 30%) of Acoma Pueblo community members live below the national poverty line. Despite a fresh façade of new schools and multiunit apartment developments that dot the roadside, newly paved main roads that extend to the mesa

[15] See *fig. 4.6*, p. 48

from the highway, a bustling casino that draws workers and visitors in to the local community from miles arounds, and an impressive community cultural center and museum, many everyday Acoma struggle to subsist. Nationally funded research and analyses have produced compelling evidence of a direct link between economic hardship, poverty, domestic violence, and drug abuse and alcohol dependency within Native American communities (Compton et al. 2007; Raphael and Tolman 1997). Correspondingly, the statistical figures for drug and alcohol dependency, poverty, and domestic violence within indigenous Pueblo communities are among the highest in the state of New Mexico. According to recent statistics provided by the New Mexico Department of Health (2016), Cibola County (where the Pueblos of Acoma and Laguna are located, as well as surrounding satellites) ranks among the highest for instances of drug and alcohol related complications and death in the state.

Further, due to a pervasive institutional bias that persists within the public education system, Native American children entering primary and secondary education are generally stigmatized and held to be of limited proficiency in English despite many of them speaking English as a first (and often only) language. Broader research indicates that many Native American children are placed into remedial education programs as a result. This has shown to hold a definitive impact on self-motivation among students as well as school performance within indigenous communities (McCarty 2010). A similar historical trend has been identified within the context of Acoma Pueblo public education (Sims 2008: 66-68). Though matriculation and performance statistics are on the rise at Acoma Pueblo primary and secondary schools (Sims 2008), recent figures from standardized test scores at Acoma-Laguna High School (which has a total enrollment of 279 students across all grades) indicate a significant disparity between pueblo student proficiency in the areas of Mathematics and English compared to the national average,

with only between 2 - 4% of enrolled students meeting proficiency expectations (U.S. News, 2018). This is impacted in part by the gripping and pervasive poverty, driven in no small part by the broader economic decline of the region over the course of the past half century (Sims 2008: 66). These figures are likely further impacted by the crippling rates of drug abuse and alcohol dependency among the Puebloan communities. Thus, it is perhaps of little surprise that heritage language [Acoma Keres] proficiency and usage remains in steep decline among the younger generations within the Acoma Pueblo community (Sims 2008: 67-70).

Fig. 4.6 – *Acomita* (fair use, 2004) <<Depicting view entering Acomita township from Indian Services Rte. 25>>

[2] The Keresan Language

Keresan represents a language phylum that contains a cluster of dialects (*Sprachbund*) spoken at 7 of the 19 Puebloan tribal communities of the four-corners and north-central regions in

New Mexico. To specify, aside from Acoma, the remaining 6 Pueblo tribes that speak a Keresan language variety are Cochiti, Laguna, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, and Zia[16]. Combined, these pueblo communities comprise a Keresan language speaker-base of roughly 13,100 people (Ethnologue, Lewis 2009). Despite expostulations of prominent scholars such as Greenberg (1960) and Swadesh (1967) among others, who have variously attributed genetic relationships of Keresan at the phyletic and stock levels with sundry other Indigenous American languages (*e.g.* the Caddoan stock of the Plains Indians languages), present consensus holds that the Keresan language family is a linguistic isolate. Despite geographic and sociocultural proximity to other Southwestern Native American pueblo communities (*e.g.* Hopi, Navajo, Tewa, Zuni, etc.),

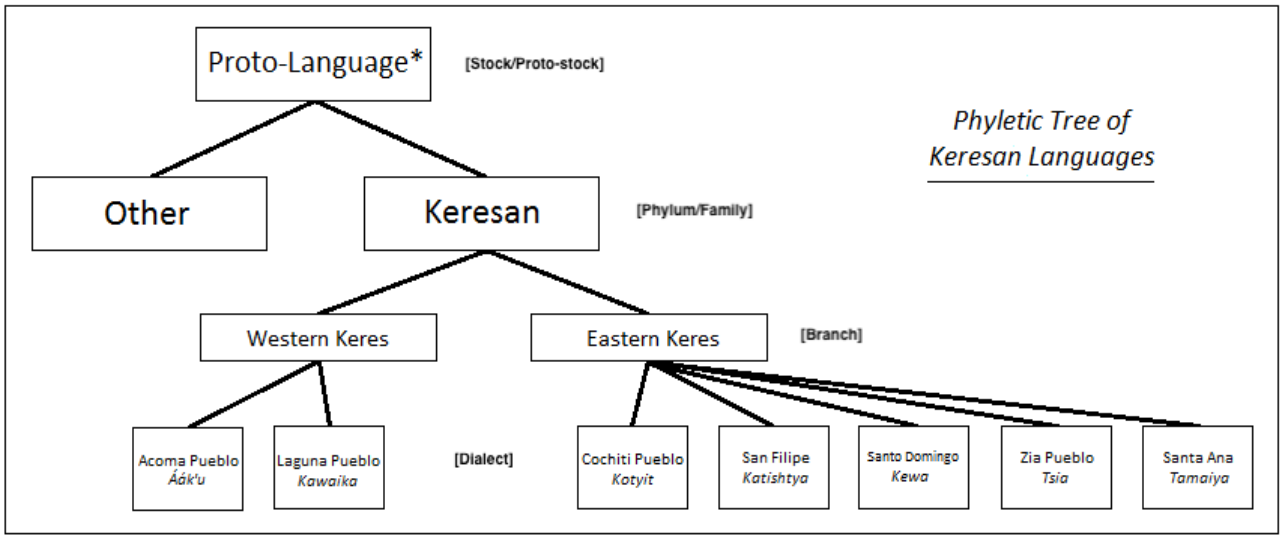

Fig 4.7 - Diagram: Phylogeny of Keresan

the Keresan speaking pueblos are a monolith linguistically with no discernible genealogical relationship to the Uto-Aztecan, Kiowa-Tanoan, and Athapaskan language families, which comprise the majority of the other language varieties spoken within the Puebloan Southwest region (Mithun 2001: 438). Due to the hegemonic pressures of colonialism following European contact

[16] See *fig. 4.8*, p. 51

with the region in the late 16th century and the fact that the Keresan languages have no endemic orthographic convention (*i.e.* they were pre-literate prior to European colonization), the dialectal varieties of Keresan that are officially written presently employ a Latin-based alphabetic orthographic convention (Lewis 2009). This is in no small part due to the influence of Christian missionaries over the region—first the Catholic with the arrival of the Spaniards, and later Protestant with the growth of Anglo-American influence, both of whom used a basic Latin alphabet to transcribe scriptures into local Keresan dialects (Sims 2008: 64-66).

Each respective variety of Keres is mutually intelligible to its closet geographical counterpart among a continuum that spreads upward along the Rio Grande River. However, there is substantial grammatical, lexical, phonemic, and phonotactic divide within Keresan (such as between Cochiti and Acoma, cf. Miller 1965: 1-3). This causes a partition at the sub-phyletic level, thus branching the language family into Eastern Keres and Western Keres. Despite any potential mutual intelligibility, Eastern and Western Keres are generally regarded by linguists to be separate languages (Davis 1959, cf. Mithun 2001: 438; Nichols 1997, 1992)[17]. Though, as indicated by consultants within the Acoma Pueblo community, this bifurcation can arguably be apprehended in part as a sociopolitical and ideological divide rather than a purely featural one (*e.g.* Debenport 2015: 28). Specifically, the Keresan language stock is divided into two subfamily (phyletic) branches: Western Keres (*Queres*) and Eastern Keres (*Sitsime*), which are delineated roughly along geographical boundaries. Western Keres, comprising two Puebloan satellites (which includes the Pueblo of Acoma), is delineated geographically by its notably removed position almost cardinally west of Albuquerque, while Eastern Keres, comprising a relatively close-knit cluster of the other

[17] See *fig. 4.7*, p. 50

five Puebloan communities, is delineated geographically by its north by northeast stretch away from Albuquerque along the Rio Grande and Jemez rivers (Waldman 2006: 129-120).

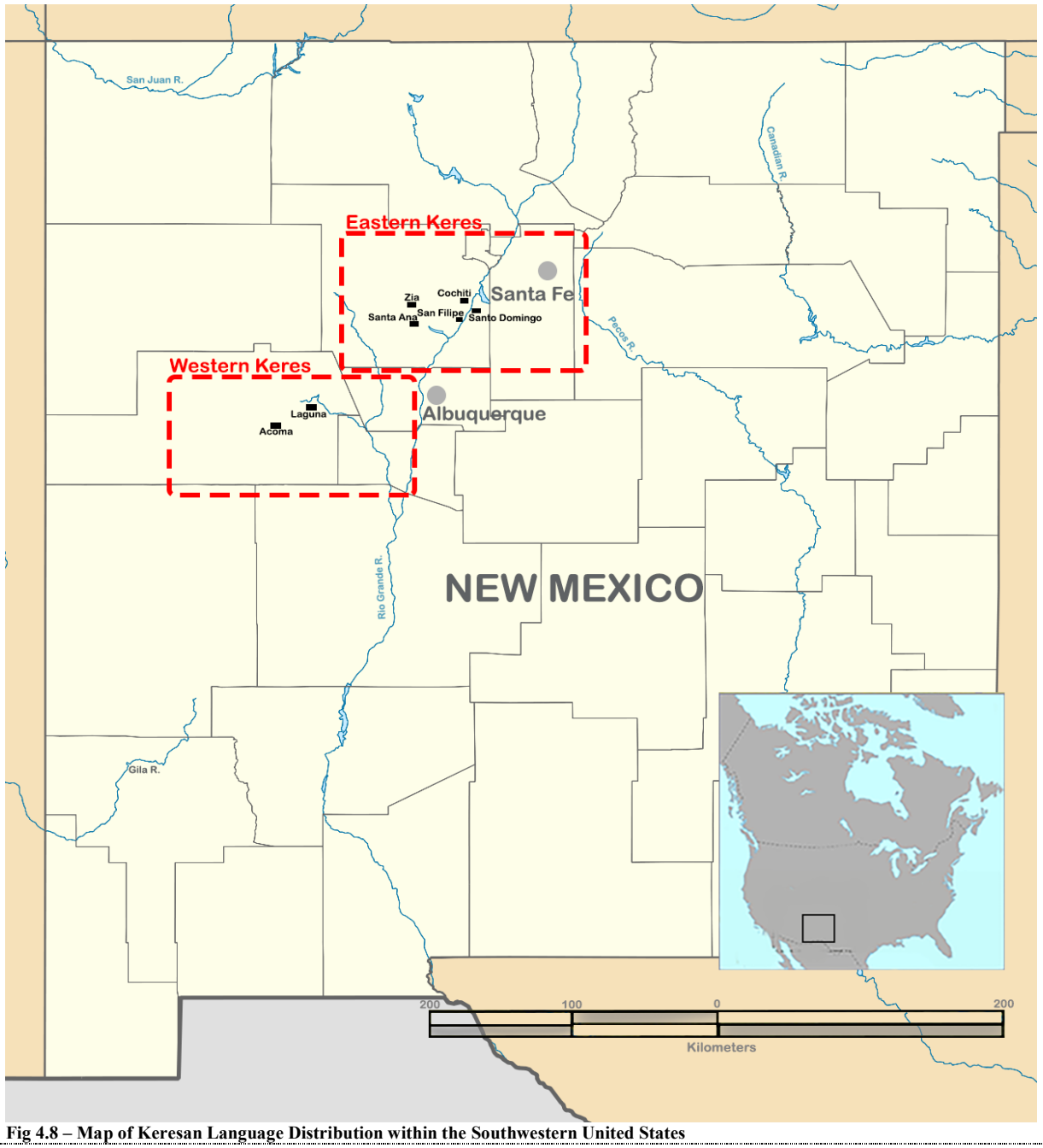

Fig 4.8 – Map of Keresan Language Distribution within the Southwestern United States

Acoma Keres (*Áák'u*) along with the Laguna Keres (*Kawaika*) varieties are categorized under the Western Keres branch, which are characterized from other Keresan varieties by their

marked and complex tonal systems (cf. Miller and Davis 1963; Miller 1965; Silko 1981). According to 2010 United States census records, between the two pueblos (*i.e.* Acoma and Laguna) there are approximately 10, 730 speakers of the respective Western Keres varieties (cf. Lewis 2009); though this number seems to reflect more accurately the total present tribal population rather than a verified speaker-base (in keeping with the observation about general Keresan speakership above). To this point, records indicate that there are no extant monolingual speakers of a Western Keres dialect, no children are actively acquiring a Western Keres dialectal variety as a primary language (L1) in the home, and the average 'native' speaker is over the age of 30 (Lewis 2009). Sims also notes similar findings (2008: 66-67). This data highlights the rapid and drastic decline in speakership and fluency in Acoma Keres since the latter half of the last century, as reported by Miller (1965: 1) wherein "virtually all" Acoma community members were recorded as natively proficient speakers.

According to Krauss' (1992, 2007) criteria for endangered languages[18], these statistics mark the broader Western Keres branch (with its attendant language varieties) as *critically endangered* (moribund). However, specifically among the Laguna Pueblo literacy rates in the local Keres variety among school children are presently (>50%), as for the past 15 years the community has offered primary and secondary-level second language (L2) instruction in Keres as part of their regular curriculum (Ethnologue, Lewis 2009). Unfortunately, the present individuated statistics at Acoma paint a less promising picture. As Sims confirms, heritage language learning at Acoma

[18] Michael Krauss (1992, 2007), in his comparison of languages to endangered biological species (an approach that has been criticized by scholars such as Nancy Dorian (2006; 1980)), defines three categories of languages:

1. *moribund:* 'languages no longer being learned as mother-tongue by children' (4);
2. *endangered:* 'languages which, though now still being learned by children, will--if the present conditions continue--cease to be learned by children during the coming century' (6); and
3. *safe:* languages with 'official state support and very large numbers of speakers' (7).

falls primarily upon the family, and particularly the parents, who express "difficulty reinforcing Acoma language use at home, citing their own lack of understanding or inability to speak the language" (Sims 2008:67).

To this point, Sims (2008) discusses current initiatives within the Acoma Pueblo to stem the trend of language erosion and shift presently observed with the community. This follows an analysis of the results from an official Acoma Pueblo tribal language use survey in 1997, which indicated that the Acoma Keres language was "moving toward a critical point of loss" (2008: 69). The author highlights that the present trends of loss are primarily the result of *salient language attitudes* (*i.e.* language ideologies) among generations of Acoma youth, who seem to view the language as economically inefficient and less relevant compared to English for a variety of reasons (also noted by scholars such as Loether 2009). At Acoma Pueblo, the English language has become a *lingua franca* over the past 150 years (Sims 2008: 65-66). This in turn is due to a lack of exposure to traditional Acoma Keres in everyday contexts and domains of usage. While Acoma Keres is the official language of tribal government and religious practice—thus retaining symbolic sociocultural significance—these contexts of usage are reserved primarily for special occasions with regard to the average Acoma Pueblo community member (Sims 2008: 64, 67). Thus, the language is not seen as practical for everyday activities. This is also driven by an increasing demand to compete in dominant economy. Further, many Acoma tribal members move away from the community to urban centers such as Phoenix, Albuquerque, and Santa Fe in pursuit of higher education, stable employment, or perhaps to join the military (Sims 2008: 65-66). This attrition means that many Acoma are removed from community and cultural life. It also creates distance between traditional sociocultural practices and subsequent generations of Acoma youth. Further investigation confirmed that the majority of Acoma youth were not exposed to heritage language

in the home, due to a lack of performative competence by the parents (who have only limited command of Acoma Keres themselves) (Sims 2008: 67-68).

V. METHODS: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

I approach this research employing a decidedly anthropological method of data collection (primarily through ethnographic interview, and participant observation) along with an interpretive and passive analysis of the data informed by emic perspectives from within the Acoma Pueblo wherever possible. In this, to provide as accurate an interpretation and contextualization as possible of the observational data that I have collected in the field (as most all of it is abstracted from an outsider perspective), I actively conferred with a series of local consultants from within the Acoma Pueblo community as well as with other experts from a variety of attendant fields (such as anthropology, archaeology, education, ethnology, and sociology) on my field notes and observations. The data that I present in this treatment of the Acoma Pueblo community and the attendant linguistic landscape were collected over the course of five field visits from June of 2013 through December of 2016, where I observed and engaged community members to compile field notes on topics of traditional tribal artisan craft, language usage, sociocultural customs (both traditional and contemporary), community and domestic education and enculturation practices, formal educational practices, as well as community organization. While my base for this research was located in Albuquerque, New Mexico, the majority of time for each field visit was spent on site at the Acoma reservation, either at the Acoma Tribal Cultural Center, the traditional mesa top pueblo village of *Haak'u* (Sky City), or in the satellite communities of McCartys, Acomita (North and South, which are ostensibly combined), as well as Anzacs.

Initially, I took a more passive approach to the community. My general method of data collection was observational, pertaining to material that is primarily observable from the public

view (*e.g.* local public signage, frequency and placement of signage, kinds of signage present, and varieties of language that signage contained, etc.). In this, I approached the Acoma Pueblo community as an interested visitor and tourist (which indeed I was), rather than an academic researcher. Over the course of my earlier visits, I purchased a variety of local textiles and pottery, and made social connections with that various community artisans that I engaged. I felt that presenting my research intentions upfront would distract from my objective of understanding the community *in situ*. To develop more concrete connections within the community, however, I was forthright in my pursuits. Over the course of my field visits, I established relationships with 4 consistent individual contacts from within the community (who remain anonymous in this treatment for purposes of confidentiality). My consultants were two elder artisan potters (approximately between 55-65 years of age) from separate families who reside on the mesa top village of *Haak'u* (one male and one female), as well as a middle-aged adult male tour guide (approximately 40 years of age) at the Acoma Pueblo Cultural Center, and a young-adult female page (roughly 22 years in age) at the *Haak'u* Museum within the Acoma Pueblo Cultural Center. I also consulted with various random community members from all walks of Acoma community life during my field trips, including elderly, middle-aged, young adult, and youth, who I happened upon. By design, each consultant with whom I built a rapport was engaged at a different level within the Acoma Pueblo community sphere. In this, my goal was to understand observations and sociocultural practices through various perspectives within the Acoma Pueblo community. The community consultants were generally more than happy to assist or provide clarification to my questions. To this end, data were gathered through a series of daytrips out to the field, where I investigate various elements of the Acoma public, community, and private life in an attempt to

understand (inferentially) how the community organizes itself as well as how local identity is structured and reified through language practices in relationship to the linguistic landscape.

As a basis for my inquiry, I implemented the following heuristics: to what extent does the linguistic landscape reflect on local identities within indigenous community contexts? What are the pragmatic and analytic implications of the linguistic landscape over local lived experiences? How might language and cultural policies effect actual language use and linguistic vitality? How do local language practices and policy effect the linguistic landscape at Acoma? Through this research, I hope to arrive at a better understanding of ethnography in practice as it relates to qualitative approach to LL inquiry, the effects that disruption of traditional language practices or restricted access to certain linguistic capitals have over sociocultural continuity, as well as an insight into language ideologies and traditional language practices within a Puebloan context as they appertain to an indigenized, *multimodal language ecological* understanding of the linguistic landscape as a discursive and socioculturally constructed [sociolinguistic] phenomenon.

VI. ANALYSIS: LANGUAGE, LANDSCAPE, AND IDENTITY AT THE ACOMA PUEBLO

Upon my first visit to Acoma Pueblo in July of 2013, I was struck particularly by the conspicuous display of Acoma Keres throughout the reservation. This stood in contrast to my understanding of both Pueblo and broader Native American linguistic ideologies and practices (*e.g.* Loether 2009; Kroskrity 1998). Just before the off-ramp for exit 102 [*Pueblo Rd.*] off of the I-40 West toward Acoma Pueblo stood a prominent, brightly colored sign written in Acoma Keres[19] welcoming visitors to the Acoma Pueblo. Following the exit, heading southwest on Pueblo Rd. toward the Acoma Pueblo *Haak'u* Cultural Center, the stadium-sized Acoma Sky City Casino digital display

[19] See *fig. 6.1*, p. 57

board flashed a bright neon Acoma Keres welcome /*Guw'aadzi*/[20] to passersby in green, yellow, and orange. In the Acoma *Haak'u* Museum there was an exhibit featuring historical tribal artefacts, including antique pottery as well as other textiles such as shoes, leatherwork, and woven cloth

Fig. 6.1 – Acoma Keres sign on I-40W at exit 102, Pueblo Rd. (July, 2013)

(a rare industry in the Acoma Pueblo). The museum labels for each entry in the exhibit were bilingual, providing a description of the object in English and a traditional Acoma Keres verse or statement. The display also included descriptions of traditional cosmology, heritage agricultural and subsistence strategies, trade history, and traditional poems. A curator gave a guided tour of the exhibit, carefully unpacking the significance of each display. As photography and note-taking within the museum are strictly prohibited without the necessary tribal council permissions, there

[20] See *fig. 6.2*, p. 60

was not an appropriate opportunity to directly document the content on display; however, it was abundant. Similarly, in the Sky City Casino's *Yaak'a* Café, diners were greeted with menus enticing them in Acoma Keres to "eat and enjoy" /*Guw'aadzi Hauba. Srau Nəədra'ape*/[21]. Driving out of Acoma Pueblo *en route* back to the highway, I took a detour through the satellite townships of Acomita and McCartys along Pueblo Road. Disappointingly, aside from the occasional sign demarcating a property line (for cattle and goat grazing) or firewood for sale (all in English), there was little in the way of vibrant Keres (or any) signage in Acomita like I had seen earlier.

In McCartys, I decided to stop and take some pictures of an abandoned pueblo structure. Walking around, I noticed that many of the street signs contained Acoma Keres names. I was unable to determine the orthographic convention used for the signage (*i.e.* whether it was official or community transcription). Examples include: "*Buuraika*" [Butterfly], "*Kashtyaatsi*" [Rainbow], "*Kəəcsi*" [Antelope], "*Kuhaya"* [Bear], "*Kayama*" [Chipmunk], "*Maastu"* [Fox], "*Shduusra*" [Bluejay], "*Cina*" [Turkey], and "*Yaaki"* [Corn][22]. While I was careful to take note of the content on the signs, I failed to record the coordinates of the sign positions on a map (which produces a potential technical issue in retracing the locations of these signs). In any event, one is left to question whether the names presented on these street signs index clans or moiety associations for the families who might reside there, or if they are merely associated with some regime of Keresan signage also networked with development. Perhaps these street signs serve both a symbolic and logistical purpose, designating where community members associated with the ostensible clan

[21] See *fig. 6.3*, p. 62

[22] Note, I have only included examples that could be readily defined using accessible reference material (Miller 1965: 8-107). The stated examples are transcribed in my notes using an academic orthography to record the words I could recognize from the signage.

affiliations build their homes. Though this is not presently substantiated with any data, it seems a plausible hypothesis.

As the display of language through text and signage often reflects local attitudes (as well as politics and policies) toward language and usage, the Acoma Pueblo in the summer of 2013 seemed a compelling site for linguistic landscape research (particularly surrounding the Acoma Casino and *Haak'u* Tribal Cultural Center). Initial observations revealed a potential reservoir of sociolinguistic and sociocultural data with the promise to elucidate [often intentionally] obfuscated sociopolitics of Puebloan cultural life. At this time, the scene at Acoma Pueblo was unbounded by the net of secrecy and concealment so pervasive throughout the Southwestern indigenous communities. However, by the summer of 2014 (during my second fieldtrip to the pueblo community and my initial data collecting phase) there were clear signs of a move towards concealment manifesting in the community public sphere. Upon return to the pueblo in the summer of 2014, much to my chagrin, much of the Acoma linguistic was gone. The differences on the linguistic landscape were stark. Along the highway, the Acoma Keres welcome sign at exit 102 had been taken down completely. At the Sky City Casino, the cafe menu no longer contained Acoma Keres writing, and the flashing neon Acoma Keresan greeting on large stadium sign had been replaced with an English language welcome. Interestingly, even the street signs that I noticed while driving through the surrounding communities seem to have been replaced with generic alpha-numeric street post markers (*e.g.* AR-78) except one that I could still see in McCartys (this requires further investigation). A clerk at the *Haak'u* Cultural Center explained to me (in relative confidence) that there had recently been an appointment of a new tribal council, and the new director of cultural affairs (Melvin Cerecino) had moved toward a policy of removing the Acoma language from public view (*concealment*, Debenport 2015). The clerk also continued that there

has also been a censure on those allowed to participate in the Acoma language program run through the cultural center due to a concern over the potential for outsiders to learn the language (personal correspondence, July 18, 2014). While the intention here seems to be a move to protect Acoma Keres and tradition, given the current trend of language loss, the concern is that such policy will only serve to diminish local awareness of the language and foment further language shift.

Fig 6.2 – Roadside Digital Communication Board at Sky City Casino displaying Acoma Keres language (July, 2013)

While the spoken Acoma Keres language remains an integral part of traditional sociocultural life, it is generally reserved for official and religious functions with limited domains of casual or informal use (Sims 2008: 64). Naturally, as demonstrated by a virtual plethora of examples within the linguistic anthropological canon, such reverence for the traditional spoken word often lends to community apprehensions or reservations surrounding it. These ideologies toward traditional language use hold definite implications over accessibility, both to outsiders as well as insiders, as well as linguistic vitality. This brings to mind the notion of *hyper-valorization* and observations made of similar practices with the Southwest, which have in some cases served

to mitigate traditional language use within certain communities (Gomez de Garcia et al. 2009). Particularly, the analysis of the Arizona Tewa *kiva talk* practices by Kroskrity (1998) demonstrates restrictive beliefs about contextualized ritual language practices can be endemic of broader ideologies surrounding heritage language use (Kroskrity 1998). At Tewa, beliefs that surround language appropriateness and practice within the context of ritual genres (*strict compartmentalization*) are governed by a strict ideological regime of *linguistic purism*, which in turn influences [and delimits the extent of] traditional language usage within other domains (Kroskrity 1998: 104-107). This essentially makes the point that restrictive moderation of language practice along socioculturally conservative ideological lines runs the risk of hampering the natural progress of a language to re-contextualize, which ossifies the language and relegates it to an almost liturgical status.

Conversely, in the context of the Tiwa, Debenport notes that practices of *concealment* are used to emphasize the importance of traditional language learning in establishing indigenous identities (*i.e.* the formation of insider vs. outsider identities), while also providing guidance to appropriate contexts of usage according to register or genre. While seemingly conservative, this practice at once functions to encourage heritage language use, while also maintaining the traditional integrity of the language and appropriate practice (Debenport 2015: 28-29). Thus, heritage language can be a risky enterprise within indigenous communities, especially as it appertains to matters of language ideologies, public display, appropriateness, and practice (*e.g.* Debenport 2015; Kroskrity 1998). It is through such sociocultural [ethnolinguistic] ideological frames that regimes of linguistic concealment are borne, as well as through which strictures of secrecy and purism ascend upon communities. The shift in language policy at Acoma was due primarily to the appointment of a new government cabinet by the tribal *cacique* (the local religious

authorities), which happens yearly, who placed a new sociopolitical regime into place. Thus, changes to policy and practice were swift, especially from the perspective of an outsider with only limited engagements with the Acoma Pueblo community. This shifts toward concealment in Acoma Pueblo made a conventional LL approach to data collection all but impossible.

Fig. 6.3 – Menu at Yaak'a Café, Sky City Casino <<Guw'aadzi Hauba>> (July, 2013)

However, the regime of concealment and secrecy that descended upon Acoma Pueblo did not prevent further inquiry. I worked to build rapport with Acoma locals, and establish connections in the community through regular presence. Specifically, I engaged with various community

members through conversation during my visits to the pueblo, including artisans, artists, school children, employees at the tribal cultural center, museums docents, and tour guides. I was particularly successful in establishing personal connections and networking with local artisans through sponsoring their craft. As a strategy, I used the medium of transaction as a means to establish an initial personal rapport with the artisan. This would often lead to lengthy discussions and subsequent personal visits on the mesa, including meeting and speaking informally with friends and family members of the artisans. Through this, I was able to gain valuable insights into the local community about traditional culture as well as contemporary issues that face the community.

This strategy was moderately successful. The following folk etymology was offered as a personal side note by a local community consultant (estimably late-30's in age) who works as a tour guide at the *Haak'u* Tribal Cultural Center (and is also a self-identified heritage Acoma-Keres speaker) following a tour of *Haak'u*. According to the tour guide, the mesa-top village has been inhabited by the Acoma people and their ancestors since *time immemorial*. This ancestral [sociocultural] history is apparent, he clarified, through the Acoma-Keres nomenclature /ʔáák'u/ (IPA [ʔáːkˈù]), which he holds to mean "[the] place that always was" (personal correspondence, July 9, 2015). A clear example of *chronotope* as marked through a traditional toponymic modality [*placename*], and an indicator that the local landscape is indexed with both symbolic (cosmological) and informational (historical) value through traditional Acoma narrative practices [oral tradition] (Bakhtin 1984; cf. Basso 1996). To this point, the precise interpretation of the name *Haak'u* has been hotly debated by generations of community members, local authorities, and scholars alike. Scholars have asserted various etymological derivations and meanings to the appellation (*e.g.* Goddard 1979; Miller 1960); though, contemporary scholars seem to substantiate

this interpretation of the term (Waldman 2006: 117). While the timeline provided in this recount is certainly apocryphal, the sentiments regarding both place and name demonstrate clearly the close (*chronotopic*) association that the present Acoma people hold between the geographical landscape and their language, sociocultural and socioreligious heritage, and identity. Thus, the *Haak'u* mesa top pueblo village holds an iconographic status that for the Acoma people (and is perhaps an *essentializing* feature in the context of outsider perspective).

In the summer of 2015 I observed the following statement provided by Damian Garcia, the Acoma Pueblo Tribal Secretary, on display as an exhibit at the *Haak'u* Museum in the Acoma Pueblo Tribal Cultural Center. The statement offers a compelling meta-commentary on the gripping effects of language erosion on cultural identity within the Acoma community:

> I try to speak our Keres language to my nieces and nephews as much as I can. Sometimes I get frustrated because I tell them "to come here"—"*Háá w'e ii ma"*—but they look at me like I'm speaking Spanish or a foreign language to them. I want them to understand Acoma was our first language spoken at home. I know sometimes when an elderly person will ask me something; sometimes I am unresponsive because I too am in that dilemma (field notes, August 20, 2015).

Though there is presently an active language revitalization effort within the community of Acoma (Sims 2008), there are very few proficient young speakers of Acoma Keres. One possible explanation for this is that as there exists a strong external economic pressure for younger generations to leave the Pueblo for work or higher education. One local spoke freely about this phenomenon. Having just moved back to the pueblo from Prescott, Arizona, he mentioned that many Acoma youths and young adults seek to leave the Pueblo in search for a "broader horizon" [sic]. From his perspective, many young people in the pueblo have come to view learning about their culture as practically irrelevant. This marginalization reflects the shift away from traditional

language use in Acoma homes toward English, which has resulted in significant heritage language shift and cultural loss (Sims 2008). It also invokes Dorian (1980), who observed that political and economic subordination dominant culture tends to create contempt for oppressed languages, and sometimes by the speakers themselves. The implications lead to partial bilingualism and limited spheres of cultural knowledge (*i.e.* language and cultural shift). Despite this gradual detachment from heritage language, there remains a strong sense of an ethnocultural identity at the Acoma Pueblo.

Subsequently, in the late summer of 2016 I attended the annual *San Estevan del Rey* feast day celebration[23] at *Haak'u* on the invitation of another consultant (an Acoma artisan potter approximately in her late-50's). In the weeks prior, she had invited me to join her family at their traditional mesa top residence for dinner (which was a delicious venison red chili stew) and to enjoy the festivities. After dinner, I asked about feast days at the neighboring Pueblos and inter-tribal celebrations between Puebloan communities. She indicated that Cochiti, Santa Ana, and Santo Domingo tribes (*i.e.* Eastern Keres varietal speaking communities) are generally regarded with some level of apprehension and contempt by Acoma people, and viewed as adulterated or "unpure" [sic]. As she did not qualify this opinion further and I did not exactly press the issue, so the specific implications remain obscure; though it is presumed that her implications are *ethnocultural* (*ethnolinguistic*) and ideological. Interestingly, she expressed a shared fondness between the Laguna and Acoma communities, which lie only a few miles apart (together comprising the Western Keres language branch), and share similar sociocultural and socioreligious practices (Miller 2007). This brings to mind the idea that ethnocultural [ethnolinguistic] identities are often drawn along lines of perceived social, ethnic, or political difference (*e.g.* Irvine and Gal

[23] See *fig. 6.4*, p. 66

2001; Silverstein 2000; Blommaert and Verschueren 1998). Interestingly, a historical recount provided in Miller seems to contrast with this apprehension of the eastern pueblos: "[On] St. Stephen's Day, the second of September, all the Acomas come together. And Anglos and Spanish Americans and others gather together, Isletas, Lagunas, Zuñis, and *those* such as Navajos" (Margaret Lim; cf. Miller 1965: 203). However, within the same volume, this recount is prefaced by the substantiating observation that Cochiti and Acoma stand at two ends of an apparent Keresan continuum, almost unintelligible from one another, where local sociocultural practices also differ accordingly (Miller 1965: 3)[24]. This ostensibly provides an ethnographic precedent for such beliefs.

Following Landry and Bourhis (1997), a correlation could lie between language loss, vitality, and the linguistic landscape. Specifically, the linguistic landscape can operate as a sort of learning device integral in fomenting language and cultural competence. A restrictive regime of language control such as this holds deleterious implications for two reasons (both representing sites for future research in the context of Acoma). First, it holds implications over language learning at the community level in that it potentially serves to reinforce the perception that the heritage language is disappearing by diminishing public awareness of the language (and access to reading it and engaging with it in applied or valorized contexts). If we understand realities to be *co-constructed* through intersubjectivities, then perception holds a very powerful effect over material outcomes. Second, a planned agenda of concealment by cultural authorities could in effect commodify heritage language, instantiating a hierarchical social economy of status and authenticity through the restricted command of (or access to) sensitive or specific linguistic and cultural capital (cf. Debenport 2015). Conceivably, these strictures of secrecy and concealment

[24] See also Fox (1967) for a comparable account of both ethnographic similarity and clinical difference.

practices aimed at preservation actually serve to distance members within the community from their cultural heritage. This in turn holds certain implications over their recognized status and local identities.

Fig. 6.4 – ***Fiesta of San Estevan, Acoma*** **(Edward S. Curtis, 1926b) <<Depicting Acoma procession of the Santo>>**

VII. CONCLUSION: SITES FUTURE RESEARCH

To conclude, the linguistic landscape proves to be more than an assemblage of verbal signage displayed in public or community spheres within urban contexts (*e.g.* Coulmas 2009; Ben-Rafael et al. 2006). Rather, the linguistic landscape as a socio-structural phenomenon is a conceptual frame inherent to both literate and preliterate language traditions. To this point, indigenous heritage language practices are a modality through which participants connect to traditional bodies of [ethno]cultural knowledge. By this consideration the linguistic landscape is composite of a

multimodal ecology of verbal traditions and practices, established within respective contexts of [ethno]cultural tradition and practice. As demonstrated, toponymic associations imbue the landscape (or salient features therein) with [ethno]cultural and informational value as well as [socio]religious and symbolic value for those who can comprehend it. Thus, engagement with the linguistic landscape in preliterate [or indigenized] contexts requires an *ethnocultural fluency.* It is with ethnocultural fluency that participants engage in a continuous sociocultural dialectic through narrative practice and oral tradition (*e.g. chronotope*, Bakhtin 1984; *placename*, Basso 1996). Sociocultural continuity (*i.e.* enculturation and engagement with diachronic sociocultural dialectic) establishes the *cultural literacy* that imbues the landscape with its indexical salience for participants in the same way that textual literacy does for verbal signage and written language in conventionally imaged linguistic landscape spheres.

However, the question remains as to the implications that local language policies and practices such as concealment and language secrecy hold over language vitality and sociocultural continuity (House 2002). Particularly, how might these practices impact access to certain cultural [ethnocultural/linguistic] resources necessary to engage the indigenous linguistic landscape? How might such practices affect cultural ideologies? How do *emergent youth ideologies* (Nichols 2013) surrounding indigenous language and identity in the presence of these practices affect the trajectory of ethnocultural identity and sociocultural [and particularly socioreligious] continuity? I suppose only time can truly tell. Strategies must be developed that carry forward cultural continuity under the looming spectre of limited language comprehension. Though, with regard to conceptualizing an indigenized linguistic landscape, perhaps it is the case that concealment represents a refusal to enter the conventional dominant societal practice of using written language (*e.g.* Debenport 2015; House 2002). Thus, practices of concealment might come to represent a

bulwark against the erosion and loss of the indigenous linguistic landscape under the spectre of hegemonic assimilation. It would be appropriate, if possible, to interview those aligned with policies of concealment as well as the youth growing up in this environment to understand how consequential these practices have been in shaping the emergent youth ideologies of the generation on whom the fate of the language rests. There may be a valorization of oral traditions and preliteracy that needs to be understood both as an indigenous strategy of informational control but also as a form of decolonization and sociocultural autonomy. In this way, perhaps concealment and secrecy practices represent an ideological shift toward counter-hegemonic change within indigenous communities.

REFERENCES

Print Sources

Backhaus, Peter

(2009) Rules and Regulations in Linguistic Landscaping. In: *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery,* E. Shohamy and D. Gorter (eds.), pp. 157-172. New York, NY: Routledge. Print.

(2006) Signs of Multilingualism in Tokyo: A Linguistic Landscape Approach. In *International Journal of Multilingualism,* 3(1), pp. 52-66. Print.

Bakhtin, Mikhail M.

(2002[1986]) *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, C. Emerson and M. Holquist (eds.). Translated from the Russian by V.W. McGee. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press. Print.

(1981) *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin,* M. Holquist (ed.). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press. Print

Barker, C. and D. Galinski

(2001) *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and identity.* London, UK: Sage Publications. Print.

Basso, Keith H.

(1990) Stalking with Stories: Names, Places, and Moral Narratives among the Western Apache. In *Western Apache Language and Culture: Essays in Linguistic Anthropology*, K. Basso (ed.), pp. 99-137. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press. Print.

(1996) *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press. Print.

Bemong, Nele and Pieter Borghart

(2008) Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope: Reflection, Applications, Perspectives. In: *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope: Reflection, Applications, Perspectives*, N. Bemong et al. (eds.), pp. 3-16. Gent, BE: Academia Press. Print.

Ben-Rafael, Eliezer and E. Shohamy (et al.)

(2006) Linguistic Landscape as Symbolic Construction of the Public Space: The Case of Israel. In *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3(1), pp. 7-28. Print.

Blommaert, Jan (ed.)

(2006) *Discourse*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Print.

(2013) *Ethnography, Superdiversity and Linguistic Landscape: Chronicles of Complexity*. Bristol, UK: Short Run Press Ltd. Print.

Blommaert, Jan and J. Verschueren

(1998) *Debating Diversity: Analyzing the Discourse of Tolerance.* London, UK: Routledge. Print.

Borghart, Pieter and Michel DeDobbeleer

(2008) Eulogizing Realism: Documentary Chronotopes in Nineteenth Century Prose Fiction. In: *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope: Reflection, Applications, Perspectives*, N. Bemong et al. (eds.), pp. 77-90. Gent, BE: Academia Press. Print.

Bourdieu, Pierre

(1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Print.

(1990) *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Print.

(1991) *Language & Symbolic Power*. John B. Thompson (ed.), Translated from the French by G. Raymond and M. Adamson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Print.

(1993) *The Field of Cultural Productions: Essays on Art and Literature.* New York, NY: Columbia University Press. Print.

Calvet, Louis-Jean

(1990) Des Mots sur les Murs. Une Comparaison entre Paris et Dakar. In: *Des Langues et des Ville (Actes du Colloque Internationale a Dakar, du 15 au 17 Decembre 1990),* R. Chaudenson (ed.), pp. 73-83. Paris, FR: Agence de Cooperation Culturelle et Technique. Print.

(1999) *Pour une Écologies des Languaes du Monde* [Towards and Ecology of World Languages]. Paris, FR: Plon. Print.

Campbell, Lyle

(1997) *American Indian languages: The Historical Linguistics of Native America*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Print.

Cenoz, J. and Durk Gorter

(2006) Linguistic Landscape and Minority Languages. In *International Journal of Multilingualism,* 3(1), pp. 67-80. Print.

Chomsky, Noam

(1965) *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Print.

Compton, Wilson M. and Y. F. Thomas (et al.)

(2007) Prevalence, Correlates, Disability, and Comorbidity of *DSM-IV* Drug Abuse and Dependence in the United States. In *Arch Gen Psychiatry,* 64, pp. 566-576. Print.

Coulmas, Florian

(2009) Linguistic Landscaping and the Seed of the Public Sphere. In: *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery,* E. Shohamy and D. Gorter (eds.), pp. 13-24. New York, NY: Routledge. Print.

Correa-Chaves, Marciela and A. Roberts

(2012) A Cultural Analysis is Necessary in Understanding Intersubjectivity. In *Culture & Psychology*, 18(1), pp. 99-108. Print.

Dagenais, Diane and D. Moore (et al.)

(2009) Linguistic Landscape and Language Awareness. In: *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery*, E. Shohamy and D. Gorter (eds.), pp. 253-269. New York, NY: Routledge. Print.

Debenport, Erin

(2015) *Fixing the Books: Secrecy, Literacy, and Perfectibility in Indigenous New Mexico.* Santa Fe, NM: SAR Press. Print.

Dorian, Nancy C.

(1980) Language shift in community and individual: The phenomenon of the laggard semi-speaker. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 25, pp. 85-94. Print.

Dreyfus, Hubert L.

(1982) *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structure and Hermeneutics*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. Print.

Dutton, Bertha P.
(1983) *American Indians of the Southwest*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press. Print.

Faubion, James D. and George E. Marcus
(2008) Constructionism in Anthropology. In: *Handbook of Constructionist Research*, J. Holstein and F. Gubrium (eds.), pp. 67-84. New York, NY: The Guildford Press. Print.

Finlayson, James G.
(2005) *Habermas: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Print.

Foucault, Michel
(2005) The Hermeneutics of the Subject: Lectures at the Collège de France 1981—1982. F. Gros (ed.), Translated from the French by G. Burchell. New York, NY: Picador Publishing. Print.

Fox, Robin Lane
(1967) *The Keresan Bridge: A problem in Pueblo Ethnology*. London, UK: Athlone Press. Print.

Goddard, Ives
(1979) Acoma Pueblo: Synonymy. In *Handbook of North American Indian: Southwest*, 9, pp. 464–466. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution. Print.

Gomez de Garcia, J., Jordan Lachler, Melissa Axelrod
(2009) English is the Dead Language: Native Perspectives on Bilingualism. In: *Native American Language Ideologies: Beliefs, Practices, and Struggles in Indian Country*, P. Kroskrity and M. Field (eds.), pp. 99-122. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press. Print.

Gorter, Durk
(2006) Introduction: The Study of the Linguistic Landscape as a New Approach to Multilingualism. In *International Journal of Multilingualism,* 3(1), pp. 1–6. Print.

Habermas, Jürgen
(1984[1981]) *Theory of Communicative Action, Volume 1: Reason and the Rationalization of Society*. Translated from the German by T. McCarthy. Boston, MA: Beacon Press. Print.

Habermas, Jürgen (cont'd.)

(1991[1962]) *the Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere : An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Print.

Hamon, Philippe

(1975) Du Savoir dans le Texte. In *Revue des Sciences Humaines*, 157, pp. 489-499. Print.

Haugen, Einar

(1972) The Ecology of Language. In: *The Ecology of Language: Essays by Einar Haugen,* E. Haugen (ed.), pp. 325-339. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Print.

Hill, Jane

(2006) The Ethnography of Language and Language Documentation. In: *Essentials of Language Documentation*, Jost Gippert et al. (eds.), pp. 113-128. New York, NY: Mouton de Gruyter. Print.

(2008) *The Everyday Language of White Racism.* Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell Publishers. Print.

Himmelmann, Nikolaus P.

(2006) Language Documentation: What is it and what is it good for? In: *Essentials of Language Documentation*, Jost Gippert et al. (eds.), pp. 1-30. New York, NY: Mouton de Gruyter. Print.

Holquist, Michael

(2002) *Dialogism: Bakhtin and His World*. New York, NY: Routledge. Print.

House, Deborah

(2002) *Language Shift Among the Navajos: Identity, Politics, and Cultural Continuity*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press. Print.

Huebner, Thom

(2009) A Framework for the Linguistic Analysis of Linguistic Landscapes. In: *Linguistic Landscapes: Expanding the Scenery,* E. Shohamy and D. Gorter (eds.), pp. 70-87. New York, NY: Routledge. Print.

(2006) Bankok's Linguistic Landscapes: Environmental Print, Code-Mixing, and Language Change. In *International Journal of Multilingualism,* 3(1), pp. 31-51. Print.

Irvine, Judith and Susan Gal
(2000) Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation. In: *Regimes of Language*, P. V. Kroskrity (ed.), pp. 35-83. Houston, TX: SAR Press. Print.

Jackendoff, Ray
(1983) *Semantics and Cognition*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Print.

Knaut, Andrew
(1995) *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680*. Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press: Print.

Krauss, Michael
(1992) The world's languages in crisis. In *Language*, 68(1), pp. 1-42. Print.

(2007) Keynote – Mass Language Extinction and Documentation: The Race Against Time. In *The Vanishing Languages of the Pacific Rim*, O. Miyaoka et al. (eds.), pp. 3–24. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Print

Kroskrity, Paul V.
(1998) Arizona Tewa Kiva Speech as a Manifestation of Dominant Language Ideology. In: *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, Bambi Schieffelin et al. (eds.), pp. 103-122. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Print.

(2000) Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation. In: *Regimes of Language*, Paul V. Kroskrity (ed.), pp. 35-83. Houston, TX: SAR Press. Print.

Lanza, Elizabeth and H. Woldemariam
(2009) Language Ideology and Linguistic Landscape: Language Policy and Globalization in a Regional Capital of Ethiopia. In: *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery,* E. Shohamy and D. Gorter (eds.), pp. 189-205. New York, NY: Routledge. Print.

Landry, Rodrigue and R. Y. Bourhis
(1997) Linguistic Landscape and Ethnographic Vitality: An Empirical Study. In *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 16, pp. 23-49. Print.

Leeds-Hurwitz, Wendy
(2009) Social Construction: Moving From Theory to Research (and Back Again). In: *Socially Constructing Communication*, G. Galanes & W. Leeds-Hurwitz (eds.), Cresskill: NJ: Hampton Press, Inc. Print.

Loether, Christopher

(2009) Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies. In: *Native American Language Ideologies*, P. Kroskrity and M. Fields (eds.), pp. 238-254. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press. Print.

Malinowski, David

(2009) Authorship in the Linguistic Landscape: A Multimodal-Performative View. In: *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery,* E. Shohamy and D. Gorter (eds.), pp. 107-125. New York, NY: Routledge. Print.

Massey, Doreen B.

(1984) *Spatial Division of Labor: Social Structure and the Geography of Production*. New York, NY: Routledge. Print.

McCarty, Teresa L.

(2003) Revitalizing Indigenous Languages in Homogenising Times. In *Comparative Education*, 39(2), pp. 147-163. Print.

Meek, Barbara

(2010) *We Are Our Language: An Ethnography of Language Revitalization in a Northern Athabaskan Community*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press. Print.

Miller, Wick R.

(1959) Spanish Loanwords in Acoma: I. In *International Journal of American Linguistics,* 25(3), pp. 147-153. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press. Print.

(1965) *Acoma Grammar and Texts*, University of California Publications in Linguistics, vol. 40. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Print.

Miller, Wick R. and Irvine Davis

(1963) Proto-Keresan phonology, In *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 29(4), pp. 310–330. Print.

Mithun, Marianne

(2001[1991]) *The Languages of Native North America*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Print.

Naidoo, Rajani

(2004) Field and Institutional Strategy: Bourdieu on the Relationship between Higher Education, Inequality, and Society. In *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 25(4), pp. 457-471. Print.

Nichols, Johanna

(1992) *Linguistic Diversity in Space and Time*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. Print.

(1997) The origin and Prehistory of Linguistic Diversity: Implications for the first settlement in the New World. In: *Language and Prehistory in the Americas*, Allan Taylor (ed.). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Print.

Nichols, Sheila

(2013) "Being" Hopi by "living" Hopi: Redefining and Reasserting Cultural and Linguistic Identity: Emergent Hopi Youth Ideologies. In: *Indigenous Youth and Multilingualism: Language Identity, Ideology, and Practice in Dynamic Cultural Worlds*, pp. 70-89. Milton Park, UK: Taylor and Francis Press. Print.

Ochs, Elinor

(1990) Indexicality and Socialization. In: *Cultural Psychology: Essays on Comparative Human Development*, J. Stigler et al. (eds.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Print.

Ochs, Elinor and Bambi Schieffelin

(1984) Language Acquisition and Socialization: Three Developmental Stories and Their Implications. In: *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self, and Emotion*, R. Schweder and R. LeVine (eds.), pp. 276-320. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Print.

Pritzker, Barry M. (ed.)

(2000) *A Native American Encyclopedia: History, Culture, and Peoples.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Print

Rampton, Ben

(1998) Speech Community. In: *Handbook of Pragmatics*, J. Verscheuren et al. (eds.), pp. 1-34. Amsterdam, NL: John Benjamins. Print.

Raphael, Jody and R. M. Tolman

(1997) *Trapped by Poverty: Trapped by Abuse: New Evidence Documenting the Relationship Between Domestic Violence and Welfare.* Chicago, IL: US Center for Impact Research. Print.

Scholz, Bernhardt

(2003) Bakhtin's Concept of 'Chronotope': The Kantian Connection. In: *Mikhail Bakhtin (Sage Masters of Modern Social Thought)*, Vol. 2, M. Gardiner (ed.), pp. 145-72. London, UK: Sage. Print.

Scollon, R. and S. W. Scollon

(2004) *Nexus Analysis: Discourse and the Emerging Inter-net.* London, UK: Routledge. Print.

Sebba, Mark

(2010) Book review: 'LL: A Comparative Study of Urban Multilingualism in Tokyo', by Peter Backhaus. In *Writing Systems Research*, 2(1), pp. 73–76. Print.

Shohamy, Elana

(2006) *Language Police: Hidden Agendas and New Approaches*. New York, NY: Routledge. Print.

Shohamy, Elana and Durk Gorter (eds.)

(2009) *LL: Expanding the Scenery*. London, UK: Routledge. Print.

Shulist, Sarah

(2013) Collaborating on Language: Contrasting the Theory and Practice of Collaboration in Linguistics and Anthropology. In: *Collaborative Anthropologies,* 1(6), Charles Menzies et al. (eds.), pp. 1-29. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press. Print.

Sims, Christine P.

(2008) *Native Language Planning at Acoma Pueblo.* In: The Green Book of Language Revitalization. L. Hinton and K. Hale (eds.), pp. 63-73. Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing, Ltd. Print.

Silko, Leslie M.

(1996) Landscape, History, and the Pueblo Imagination. In: *The Eco Criticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology*, Cheryll Glotfelty et al. (eds.), pp. 264-275. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press. Print.

Silverstein, Michael

(1998) The Uses and Utilities of Ideology: A commentary. In: *Language Ideologies,* Bambi Schieffelin et al. (eds.), pp. 123-145. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Print.

Spivak, Gayatri C. and Ranajit Guha (eds.)

(1988) *Selected Subaltern Studies*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Print.

Spolsky, Bernard

(2009) Prolegomena to a Sociolinguist Theory of Public Signage. In: *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery,* E. Shohamy and D. Gorter (eds.), pp. 25-39. New York, NY: Routledge. Print.

Spolsky, Bernard and R. L. Cooper

(1991) *The Languages of Jerusalem.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Print.

Voegelin, Carl and F. Voegelin

(1964) Languages of the World: Native America fascicle one. In *Anthropological Linguistics,* 6(6), pp. 2-45. Print.

Waldman, Carl (ed.)

(2006) *Encyclopedia of Native American Tribes, Third Edition*. New York, NY: Checkmark Books, Infobase Publishing. Print.

Wenger, Etienne

(1998) *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Print.

Woolard, Kathryn

(1985) Language Variation and Cultural Hegemony: Toward an Integration of Sociolinguistic and Social Theory. In *American Ethnologist*, 12(4), pp. 738-748. Print.

(1998) Introduction: Language Ideology as a Field of Inquiry. In: *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, Bambi Schieffelin et al. (eds.), pp. 1-50. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Print.

Digital Sources

Halberstadt, Carol Snyder

(2001) Migrations American Indian Arts and Crafts: Pottery: Traditional Acoma Pottery. Newton, MA: Migrations. Web. http://www.migrations.com/traditionalacoma.html, Retrieved December 7, 2015.

Lewis, M. Paul (ed.)
(2009) Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Sixteenth edition. Dallas, TX: SIL International. Web. Retrieved from http://www.ethnologue.com/16**,** March 4, 2016.

Miller, Jay
(2007) *Keresan Pueblos and Chaco Canyon: Speculations on Language Identity, Puebloan Cultures, and Southwestern Prehistory*. Colombus, OH: The Ohio State University. Web. Retrieved from https://kb.osu.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/1811/29276/Keresan_Chaco.pdf, March 4, 2016.

New Mexico Department of Health
(2016) New Mexico Substance Abuse and Epidemiology Profile. Web. Retrieved from https://nmhealth.org/data/view/substance/1862/, May 7, 2017.

U.S. Census Bureau
(2000) Census 2000 American Indian and Alaska Native Summary File (AIANSF) - Sample Data, Pueblo of Acoma, H38. Web. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/doc/aiansf.pdf, June, 6, 2015.

U.S. Census Bureau (cont'd.)
(2010) Census 2010 American Indian and Alaska Native Summary File (AIANSF) - Sample Data, Pueblo of Acoma alone, H38. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/aiansf.pdf, June, 6, 2015.

U.S. News and World Reports
(2018) Education: Best High Schools by District, Cibola County New Mexico. Retrieved from https://clinicahealth.usnews.com/education/best-high-schools/new-mexico/districts/grants-cibola-countyschools/laguna-acoma-high-12950/student-body, January 15, 2018.

Digital Images

Adams, Ansel (Photographer)
(1938) *Reflection at Acoma Pueblo* [digital image]. Web. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ansel_Adams_-_National_Archives_79-AA-A02.jpg, December 28, 2017.

Curtis, Edward S. (Photographer)
(1899) *A Feast Day at Acoma* [digital image]. Web. Retrieved from https://www.loc.gov/collections/Edward-s-curtis/?fa=location%3Aacoma%7Cpartof%3Aprints+and+photographs+division&c=100&st=list, January 15, 2018.

Curtis, Edward S. (Photographer) (cont'd.)

(1904a) *View of Acoma Pueblo from the South, 1904* [digital image]. Web. Retrieved from https://comm ons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Curtis_Acoma_from_the_South_1904.jpg, January 15, 2018.

(1904b) *Entrance to Acoma Pueblo, 1904* [digital image]. Web. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimed ia.org/wiki/File:Curtis_Old_trail_at_Acoma_1904.jpg, January 15, 2018.

(1926a) *Acoma Water Girls* [digital image]. Web. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/ File:Edward_S._Curtis_Collection_People_072.jpg, January 25, 2018.

(1926b) *Fiesta of San Estevan, Acoma* [digital image]. Web. Retrieved from http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/ cdm/search/field/identi/searchterm/Volume13%252Ff_rbm-E-77-C97-V16~359.tif, January 25, 2018.

Photos of Acomita, NM (Unknown)

(2004) *Acomita* [digital image]. Web. Retrieved from http://www.travbuddy.com/ Acomita-travel-guide-77590/photos#1, January 25, 2018.