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Decolonial Vitalities:

Kodiak Alutiiq Language Revitalization as Cultural Reclamation

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Linguistics

by

Julia Coombs Fine

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Professor Lal Zimman, Chair

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June 2021

The dissertation of Julia Coombs Fine is approved.

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May 2021

Decolonial Vitalities:

Kodiak Alutiiq Language Revitalization as Cultural Reclamation

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by

Julia Coombs Fine

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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2019   Fine, Julia Coombs. #MagicResistance: Anti-Trump witchcraft as register circulation. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 30 (1): 68-85.

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ABSTRACT

Decolonial Vitalities:

Alutiiq Language Revitalization as Cultural Reclamation

by

Julia Coombs Fine

Although Indigenous communities and outside institutions have increasingly recognized the need to document and revitalize endangered languages (Hale et al. 1992; Krauss 1992; McCarty et al. 2006; Watahomigie 1998), revitalized languages themselves remain underdocumented and understudied. Purist discourses delegitimize revitalized languages as less valid than their predecessors, implying that authentic Indigeneity is confined to the past rather than relevant in the present (Davis 2017; Hill 2002). To counter these misconceptions, I consider Kodiak Alutiiq language revitalization in the broader context of cultural reclamation in the face of colonialism. Drawing on participant observation, ethnographic interviews, and interactional analysis conducted between 2014 and 2020, I examine linguistic practices that are sometimes disparaged as inauthentic or impure, with a primary focus on translanguaging practices such as code-switching, calquing, and literal translation. I argue that these practices are not passive, involuntary responses to colonial influences, but agentive strategies for reasserting Alutiiq epistemologies in the contemporary world while continuing cultural traditions of humor and language play. I then draw on interview and survey data to

examine Alutiiq language activists' social and emotional experiences of speaking Alutiiq in specific contexts, showing how these situated experiences benefit community well-being, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic. Finally, I illustrate how the Alutiiq language movement transmits environmental values and knowledges that are of key importance in light of the ongoing climate crisis. These results challenge purist discourses that devalue revitalized languages, offer insights into the use of translanguaging as a means of sustaining Indigenous language vitality, and demonstrate the relevance of Indigenous language revitalization to environmental and climate justice.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In the summer of 2014, when I was conducting research and volunteering with the Alutiiq

language movement in Kodiak, Alaska, a filmmaker making a documentary about the Alutiiq

language movement asked me why I was interested in the language. Unprepared, I fumbled

through an answer about Alutiiq being a polysynthetic language, with words as long as other

languages' sentences. "Wrong answer," said my mentor, Dr. April Isiik Laktonen Counceller,

who is an Alutiiq language activist and the director of the Alutiiq Museum and

Archaeological Repository. "It's because of the people." She said it gently and playfully, but

her correction stayed with me.

A few years later, when I was applying to graduate school in linguistics, I visited various

linguistics departments and talked with professors to get a sense of their research and tell

them about my interests. I particularly remember meeting with one non-Indigenous professor

who studied Indigenous languages and social meaning. When I told him I wanted to study

language revitalization from a sociolinguistic perspective, he seemed unsure about the idea.

He told me about a language revitalization community that was using words from their

Indigenous language in combination with English word order, grammar, and pronunciation.

The professor implied that this innovation made the revitalized language more or less

English, and made the language revitalization movement inauthentic.

This professor's comment had several things in common with my answer to the question

about why I was interested in Alutiiq. First, we both focused on Indigenous languages as

abstract structural systems rather than modes of experiencing and influencing the world. Second, we both disconnected Indigenous languages from the people who speak them. Third, we both implicitly judged the value of these languages, positioning ourselves as capable of doing so despite not being Indigenous community members ourselves.

Such evaluations of Indigenous languages by settler researchers are commonplace in my experience. In other conversations, I've heard outsider linguists say that community members were using the "wrong" form of a word. I've heard them say that they were lucky to get to work in a community when there were still "real speakers," as opposed to new speakers. Settler linguists who don't work with Indigenous language movements also often hold problematic ideas about language revitalization. The most common questions I get from settler linguists not involved with Indigenous language movements are (1) *How many speakers are left?* and (2) *Does language revitalization actually work?*

Through the construction *to be left*, the first question assumes that the number of speakers—"real" speakers—is dwindling, not increasing. In an instance of what O'Brien (2010) and Davis (2017) term "lasting," this assumption portrays Native people as vanishing. Speaking in terms of numbers can be reductive, too, as Dobrin, Austin, and Nathan (2007) point out: just because a community has more than a certain number of first language speakers does not mean that they are not being harmed by systems of colonial oppression, and it also doesn't mean that the language is still being transmitted intergenerationally. The people who ask me this question seem impressed, if also saddened, when I tell them the estimated number of Alutiiq speakers (approximately 44 as of a 2012 estimate, according to Counceller 2012:19). Though I have no way of knowing what would happen if I lied and said there were actually thousands of speakers "left," I suspect that they would be taken aback by

my departure from the usual narrative of "endangered" or "dying" Indigenous languages. They might also therefore see supporting the Alutiiq language movement as unnecessary, or at least as a low priority.

The second question—*Does language revitalization actually work?*—assumes a somewhat binary definition of success that involves such criteria as a stable population of fluent speakers, intergenerational transmission from older generations to younger ones, and the preservation of an "authentic" form of language. The well-being of language, not of people, is the focus of this question. In fact, as Leonard (2019) notes in his work on *myaamia eemamwiciki* (The Miami Awakening), the self-determined goals of Indigenous language movements may involve criteria of success that do not focus on fluency, such as strengthening connections between community members and developing a positive Indigenous identity.

These decontextualizations and evaluations of Indigenous language originate in colonial mindsets, and they have the potential to inflict colonial harm on Indigenous communities. As a white settler linguist working with the Kodiak Alutiiq language movement, I've internalized and perpetuated many colonial ideologies about Indigenous language revitalization, and I've used research frameworks that made me as well as community members uncomfortable. However, I've also increasingly tried to identify colonialism both in linguistics and in my work, and to move towards decolonial methods and frameworks (e.g. Smith 2013). In this dissertation, I share the development of my understanding of the Alutiiq language movement, tracing the origins of my misconceptions and mistakes. I offer what I hope are more truthful and just representations, and more ethical and collaborative research

methods. In doing so, I draw on Indigenous scholarship, and particularly on the work of my mentors in the Alutiiq community.

Who is this work for?

I am primarily writing these critical reflections for settler linguists and ethnographic fieldworkers who aren't yet aware of the extent to which colonialism shapes not just the past, but also the present reality of fieldwork in Indigenous contexts. I am addressing you in the hopes that you will not repeat my mistakes and reinforce the harmful legacy of these colonial ideologies, but will instead follow the leadership of Indigenous communities in envisioning better forms of collaboration and service. I am also writing for those who educate and advise linguistic "fieldworkers," and who therefore have the power to at least incrementally shift what "linguistic fieldwork" means, for instance by moving from colonial models of work in a "field" to community-driven models of "homework" (Visweswaran 1994:104). Lastly, I am writing for settler grant reviewers and grant program administrators who may have the same misconceptions of Indigenous language revitalization that I did, in order to advance decolonial grant structures in the place of existing rhetorics of language endangerment. To avoid being patronizing, I am not writing primarily to Alutiiq language activists or language activists in other Indigenous communities, who have greater insight than I do into the themes I discuss. However, I have tried to make this dissertation accessible and welcoming to Indigenous language activists, and I hope the interview and survey data it contains may be of some interest and use to current and future Alutiiq language movement participants, as well as Indigenous language activists in other contexts.

I also want to address settler activists and scholars in environmental movements, many of which have at times misrepresented, tokenized, and erased Indigenous peoples. In Chapter 4, I discuss how environmental ideologies and knowledges are transmitted through the Alutiiq language movement. While I emphasize the importance of Indigenous knowledge and leadership to climate justice, I caution against colonial framings of Indigenous environmental knowledges—for instance, fetishization of Indigenous spiritualities and subordination of Indigenous epistemologies to Western ones. Efforts to advance decolonial frameworks in linguistic and ethnographic fieldwork are applicable to environmental studies, as well. Amidst the intersecting crises of colonialism and climate destruction, I hope to share some of the insights I've learned from members of the Alutiiq community: insights into better ways of doing research, conceptualizing Indigenous language, and representing Indigenous knowledge.

1.2 Motivations

Initial motivations

Over the past seven years, I've worked with the Kodiak Alutiiq language revitalization community as an archivist, researcher, and language volunteer every summer, and I've reflected on my experiences as I've studied sociocultural linguistics at the University of California, Santa Barbara during the rest of the year. The Kodiak Alutiiq language movement is based in Kodiak, Alaska. As of 2021, it has spanned more than forty years, dating back to the creation of Alutiiq language classes and newsletters in the 1980s and 1990s (Counceller 2012:19-20, Drabek 2012:117). In 2000, a series of Administration for Native Americans (ANA) grants supported language planning, and in 2004, the community engaged in a three-

year master-apprentice program (Counceller 2011:21; Hinton 2001). The language movement focuses on the revitalization of the Koniag Alutiiq dialect of the Alutiiq language, which is spoken by an estimated 44 people as of a fall 2012 estimate (Counceller 2012:19). In addition, it is closely related to the revitalization of Alutiiq art, dance, and other cultural traditions, with many community members engaging in both language revitalization and these other forms of cultural reclamation.

For several years, when people asked me how I got involved with the Alutiiq language movement, I would frame it as happenstance, using phrases like "just kind of" and "coincidence." My advisor in my first year of grad school, Dr. Mary Bucholtz, told me this wasn't a good strategy for explaining my research. After all, it wasn't as if I had accidentally gotten on a plane to Alaska. I had made choices along the way. I think Mary intended this in part as advice on how to present myself as a professional making intentional choices, but I also see it as related to the importance of knowing who and what my research is for.

After this conversation, I revised my spiel to frame my involvement with respect to "Where Are Your Keys," a language learning organization that introduced me to the Alutiiq community as an intern in the summer of 2016 (Gardner & Ciotti 2018).[1] This is true, but it isn't the whole truth. It isn't as if "Where Are Your Keys" just happened upon my name while flipping through a phone book, either. The whole truth is hard for me to tell because it touches on some ignorant and inappropriate ideas I had about Indigenous languages, cultures, and peoples—ideas that are at the heart of what's wrong with non-Indigenous linguistic fieldwork.

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[1] https://whereareyourkeys.org/

I was introduced to "Where Are Your Keys" through Stanford University's Language Club. The Language Club consisted of a group of students who were mostly majoring in linguistics and computer science. We used the "Where Are Your Keys" method to learn snippets of whatever the languages group members had knowledge of. I first heard of the Language Club when I met this "Where Are Your Keys" alum, Cedar Edwards, at an event at the Native American Cultural Center.

Why was I, a white student, at the Native American Cultural Center in the first place? One reason is that I was interested in language documentation. I had read David Crystal's *Language Death* (2002) in high school, and—without considering issues such as white saviorhood or the implications of the metaphor of death for discussing contemporary language communities (Leonard 2008:31; Davis 2017:42-43)—envisioned myself working to "save the languages." This enthusiasm can be broken down into the following components:

(1) A romanticized mental image of a linguistic fieldworker

Part of what drew me to linguistics was the idea that linguistic fieldwork was a glamorous, exotic calling. Although I've never watched the Indiana Jones films, my mental image of a linguistic fieldworker was like a cross between him and J. R. R. Tolkien. Both these figures, of course, are white men. Ideas of exotic adventures and white saviorhood almost certainly still influence settler students to pursue careers in linguistic fieldwork and must therefore be addressed in linguistics courses.

Critiquing white archaeologists' defense of the "looting and swashbuckling" Indiana Jones persona, Pyburn (2008) writes that "archaeologists who have bewailed the hegemony of colonial science are endorsing a movie about a white Euro-American stomping into places

that are economically dependent on the US and Europe, where he kicks, shoots and punches the anonymous locals, before making off with a priceless treasure, which he plans to 'protect' in a museum (although in previous movies I think he was planning to sell his 'discoveries')." Without many depictions of linguists in books and films, linguistic fieldworkers may likewise revert to this deeply problematic yet influential Indiana Jones persona and may at some level be attracted to the colonial dynamic of fieldwork that it conveys. To make matters worse, the images of Indigenous people that my generation was exposed to as children were, for the most part, few and flawed: they included Pocohontas, racist mascots, culturally appropriative Halloween costumes, and ludicrously sanitized grade school curriculum units about pilgrims and "Indians" enjoying peaceful Thanksgiving harvests together.

By explicitly discussing these ideas and images with undergraduate students, linguistics educators can help prevent them from going into linguistic fieldwork for the same flawed reasons I did. To the extent that it is necessary or helpful to have outsiders with linguistic training working on language documentation projects—an assumption that has been contested (Speas 2009; Gerdts 2017)—this work can be accomplished through collaboration with Indigenous communities, according to community members' wishes. The risk of extensively training settler fieldworkers in the technicalities of linguistic fieldwork without confronting issues of coloniality is too great to continue such training practices.

The Indiana Jones problem persists not only in my initial motivations for studying Indigenous languages, but also in the form of social benefits that I continue to receive from my status as a white settler linguist working with an Indigenous language community. When I talk to non-Indigenous people about my research, I often have the sense that they see me as the same adventuresome, mysterious persona I used to associate with the word "linguist."

Some people bring up exoticized imaginings of Alaska Native peoples, asking about igloos and the number of words for snow. When I talk to my non-Indigenous friends in academia, it often seems like they're thinking of me as the same kind of person they are—a researcher— and my Alutiiq friends and mentors as something else: their words and voices as data, not as words and voices to be listened to. Through ideologies of differential bilingualism (Aparicio 1998), my limited ability to speak Alutiiq is celebrated as an intellectual accomplishment, while Alutiiq people's language abilities are seen as deficient. Overall, I extract many kinds of social value from the Alutiiq community, getting to be perceived as worldly, intelligent, and benevolent while my Alutiiq friends and mentors are cast as passive victims. Because these harmful perceptions are so widespread, it is important to confront and disrupt them in linguistics classes, at professional meetings, and in other venues where linguists talk about their work with Indigenous communities.

(2) Enthusiasm for rare, old languages

On the face of it, this component might seem less objectionable than the previous one. However, being interested in Indigenous languages and cultures only out of a perception that they are rare or archaic is a way of exoticizing Indigenous people. It plays into narratives that relegate authentic Indigeneity to an imagined, idealized past, thereby erasing contemporary Indigeneity (Davis 2017). This seemingly shy, bookish interest in the old and the forgotten can actually constitute, for settler scholars, a form of colonial hunger for Indigenous obsolence. If only rare and archaic languages are valued, furthermore, then the emergent vitality of modern Indigenous languages becomes not just an unlikelihood but an impossibility in the eyes of the settler linguist; they are compelled to label modern

Indigenous language practices as invalid, because by definition, "authentic" (i.e., desirable) Indigenous languages must be old and vanishing.

(3) A desire to help people

This motivation, like the first, carries undertones of white saviorhood—of a powerful, all-knowing, and typically white settler linguist intervening on behalf of helpless Indigenous people whose languages are "dying." On the other hand, it makes sense that students who learn about colonial nation-states' treatment of Indigenous peoples will be appalled, and that they will want to support Indigenous communities. Maybe there is potential for appropriate and constructive collaborations between outside researchers and Indigenous communities; given my positionality as a white settler researcher, I hope so. However, in light of the harm that has already been done by settler researchers in Indigenous communities, and in view of the colonialism that still permeates settler linguistics, settler linguists should not expect Indigenous communities to want to work with them in the first place, and shouldn't convey such an expectation to students. As a field, linguistics must structure its systems so that Indigenous communities can opt in to working with settler linguists if they so choose, but should not be pressured to do so. Another important step to dealing with this motivation is to discuss ideologies of white saviorhood with students and to read works that underscore the agency and sovereignty of Indigenous peoples (e.g. Viatori & Ushigua 2007; McCarty & Lee 2014; Lee 2015).

(4) Enjoyment of learning languages

I enjoy learning languages for several reasons. One is that I like experiencing new ways of seeing the world. Another is that it gives me the chance to reinvent myself, to take on a new personality through that language. Finally, I enjoy learning languages because I have been told that I am good at it—a skill-based orientation that takes both the individual and the language as bounded objects that can be separated from their cultural contexts and assessed (as good/bad language learners and hard/easy/rare/common languages).

Some aspects of this motivation may not be inherently harmful. For instance, a desire to learn new ways of experiencing the world could lead to increased respect for other cultures and critical insights into the culture or cultures with which one is familiar. A desire to "master" languages, though, is destructive, at least when it comes to settlers learning Indigenous languages. As Mniconjou Lakota writer and Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe member Taté Walker notes, settlers typically learn Indigenous languages for purposes of "personal gain, profit, and/or entitlement" rather than cultural survival; she adds that being able to learn an Indigenous language "however, wherever, and from whomever you like" is "the epitome of privilege" (Walker 2016). Some "Where Are Your Keys" members have cautioned me against this entitled and reductive mentality of language learning, describing it as Pokémon-like mindset in which language-learners try to collect languages like trading cards. Since this extractivist, commodifying "gotta-catch-'em-all" mentality of language learning is common enough that "Where Are Your Keys" members mentioned it to me, it is worth discussing with linguistics students, many of whom are avid language learners.

(5) Being "interested" in languages

Discourses of being "interested" in a particular language—like my "interest" in Alutiiq polysynthesis—rely on a conceptualization of languages as objects of curiosity rather than modes of communication, identity, and spirituality. They also reinforce the idea that dispassionate intellectual curiosity is the main motivation for research. This emphasis on curiosity is exclusionary to Indigenous students working to address their family and community needs, who may not have the luxury of pursuing curiosity over necessity. For me, in any case, there's no such thing as "pure curiosity." For years, I believed that I was inherently interested in language. Recently, however, I have come to think that my "interests" are shaped by what I think I am good at, what I have been taught to value (or romanticize), what my friends are researching, and whatever my advisor at the time suggests as a research topic. The more topics I research, the more I think that anything becomes "interesting" to me once I start to study it in depth. Through my graduate career, I have been encouraged to consider not only "research interests," but the deeper questions of who and what my research is for. In the following sections, I summarize my answers to these questions.

Lasting motivations

When I first visited Kodiak, I stayed with Dr. Alisha Agisaq Drabek, an Alutiiq language activist, author, artist, and educator. As she and her family generously hosted me, they told me about Alutiiq traditions, subsistence hunting practices, and stories. They also told me that the island had a way of drawing visitors in—that people would think they were coming for a short time and end up staying longer. Although I haven't moved to Kodiak, that could be said

to be true of me. And Dr. Counceller was right: what made me want to keep working with the Alutiiq community was the people, not the place or even the language. Elders, new speakers, educators, archivists—everyone I have met in the Alutiiq community has been extremely gracious and patient with me. As a novice researcher and a young person, I have learned a great deal from how Alutiiq language activists approach research and community organizing. What has kept me involved with the Alutiiq community is not just appreciation of the language, but admiration for Alutiiq language activists' work, desire to learn from them, and enjoyment of their company. I hope that this dissertation can serve as a partial expression of my gratitude to the Alutiiq community and provide a useful record of aspects of the language movement.

1.3 Overview and goals of the dissertation

Language revitalization: Colonial frameworks, language ideologies, and misconceptions
In Chapter 2, I focus on the colonial frameworks that shape how settler linguists fund, research, and write about Indigenous language revitalization, drawing on previous decolonial scholarship in linguistics and anthropology (Errington 2001; Hill 2002; Rice 2006; Davis 2017; Czaykowska-Higgins 2009; Leonard & Haynes 2010). One example of a colonial framework is the assumption that the only goal of linguistic research is to further linguistic scholarship and not to contribute to social justice. Other examples include the imposition of a strict division between "traditional" and "modern" language that overlooks how contemporary language practices incorporate elements of earlier ones, the misconception that Elders do not engage in innovative or playful language use, the devaluing of "merely symbolic" language such as routinized phrases, and the erasure of diversity within

Indigenous language movements. As I argue, these assumptions do not accurately or fully describe the Alutiiq language movement. It is difficult, for instance, to strictly divide "traditional" and "modern" language: Alutiiq speakers often create new words and sayings that incorporate elements of earlier forms. Furthermore, Elders, not just new speakers, use the language in innovative and playful ways. As generations work together to make new words from parts of older words, it isn't always clear where to draw boundaries between "old" and "new" language, let alone to write off "new" language as cut off from tradition. In addition to discussing these colonial assumptions about Indigenous language revitalization, I suggest alternative approaches, such as acknowledging diversity within language movements, attending to locally relevant categorizations, and respecting Indigenous linguistic sovereignty.

Alutiiq translanguaging and strategic monolingualism

Having criticized the essentialization of Indigenous language movements, I discuss both translanguaging and strategic monolingualism in Chapter 3 in order to draw attention to the nuances erased by this essentialization and to exemplify the diversity of valid ways of learning, speaking, and orienting to Alutiiq. Translanguaging, or using language in a way that goes "between and beyond" named languages (García & Li Wei 2015; Bayhnam and Lee 2019), is sometimes seen as impure and inauthentic—not only by Indigenous community members, but also by some settler linguists, who may be unaware of the ways in which their own biases impact Indigenous communities. I demonstrate that mixing or switching between Alutiiq and English doesn't necessarily blend Alutiiq and colonial worlds and mindsets together, but can be used to highlight differences between Alutiiq and English worldviews. I

further show that language immersion, which is often seen as distinct from translanguaging, uses implicit translation, and therefore can be considered as closely related to translanguaging. In addition, I examine Alutiiq language activists' attitudes towards both translanguaging and language immersion, showing that these attitudes can be multifaceted or ambivalent, that they may depend on the types of translanguaging or language immersion in question, that they can change over time, and that they can vary depending on interactional context. These results highlight the diversity and ideological complexity within the Alutiiq language movement.

Social and emotional experiences of speaking Alutiiq

As Leonard (2011) points out, Indigenous language reclamation isn't just an effort to "save a language," but a holistic process with many benefits other than fluency. Previous research has linked Indigenous language revitalization with positive physical and mental well-being (Chandler & Lalonde 1998; Hallett 2007; Bals et al. 2011; Fiedeldey-Van Dijk et al. 2017), with many Indigenous scholars seeing language revitalization as a means of healing from colonial violence (Duran & Duran 1994; Brave Heart & DeBruyn 1998; Whitbeck et al. 2004). Counceller (2010) finds that Alutiiq language movement participants experience language work as a form of healing, as well. In Chapter 4, I analyze Alutiiq language activists' social and emotional experiences of speaking Alutiiq in order to further understand this healing effect. Using online survey data and interviews, I begin with a broad consideration of Alutiiq language activists' social and emotional experiences in the language movement overall, considering both the benefits and hardships they have encountered. I further highlight community-determined possibilities for overcoming some of these

hardships through increased funding and other forms of support. I then analyze Alutiiq language activists' emotional and social experiences of speaking Alutiiq within specific interactional contexts, such as language immersion events and public spaces. Alutiiq language activists report that they feel more emotionally invested in learning and speaking Alutiiq than other languages and are able to discuss more emotionally intense and difficult topics when speaking Alutiiq in contrast to English or other languages. Comparing these results to the Emotional Distancing Hypothesis (Bond and Lai 1986; Pavlenko 2002; Harris, Ayçiçeği and Gleason 2003; Iacozza, Costa, and Duñabeita 2017), which states that speakers experience emotional distance from conversational topics when speaking a second as opposed to a first language, I propose that this hypothesis should be reworked for Indigenous and other heritage language learners, who may have an intense emotional connection with their additional, heritage language yet also be able to use it as a means of distancing themselves from their dominant language-speaking mindset. Finally, I consider how Alutiiq language movement participation has benefited language activists during the COVID-19 pandemic, allowing for community connection and spaces to be whole and human in times of intense stress.

Alutiiq language revitalization as deep environmental education
In Chapter 5, I discuss Alutiiq language revitalization within its context of place, relating it to struggles for environmental justice in Kodiak. Drawing on Carothers' (2010) work on the commercialization of fishing and its impact on rural Alutiiq communities, I analyze archival data from the Lost Villages collection housed at the Alutiiq Museum, which shows that commercial overfishing by non-Indigenous companies was a key factor that displaced Alutiiq

people from now-abandoned villages. Interviews with Alutiiq language activists attest to the ongoing environmental injustices now faced by the community: even as settler colonialism has led to many forms of environmental destruction, including the decline of local plants that are important in Alutiiq culture, local officials have inappropriately stopped Alutiiq people from practicing sustainable gathering. The Alutiiq language movement works against environmental injustice in several ways. First, through land-based curricula, it educates participants about the local environment and instills values of responsible stewardship and respect for more-than-human beings. Furthermore, by promoting conversations between Elders and younger language activists, the language movement increases awareness of subsistence lifestyles, which Elders frame not only as hard work, but also in terms of pleasure and abundance. Finally, archival data from the Lost Villages collection shows that, in the wake of environmental disasters such as a 1964 tidal wave, intergenerational connection through Alutiiq language is crucial to community decision-making. The role of the Alutiiq language movement in environmental education and disaster preparedness is of great importance in light of the effects of climate change, which are observable in Kodiak as well as elsewhere.

1.4 Positionality

My positionality, as I have mentioned, is that of a white, settler community outsider. I have Western European ancestry on my mother's side and Ashkenazi Jewish ancestry on my father's. I do not live in Kodiak, and I did not grow up there. Thanks to the graciousness and hospitality of the Alutiiq community, I have had the opportunity to participate in some Alutiiq language movement activities over the past seven years. These activities include

transcribing archival recordings and cataloguing materials at the Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository, attending formal and informal community Alutiiq language events, visiting with Elders, and volunteering at the Alutiit'stun Niuwawik (Alutiiq Language Nest). Over this time, I have gotten to learn many things about the Alutiiq language movement, but my knowledge is constrained by not having Alutiiq heritage and not living in Kodiak. Additionally, I have spent more time with some community members than others, so my point of view overemphasizes some people's perspectives and underrepresents others'.

One question I have grappled with not only throughout my dissertation work, but all throughout graduate school, is whether or not I am the right person (or even *a* right person) to be doing this research. As I have participated in the Alutiiq language movement, I have realized that sometimes my involvement means that a community member does not get the opportunity I am getting. If I visit an Alutiiq Elder on my own to record a conversation, for instance, then a community member might miss out on that Elder's time and energy that day. If I transcribe recordings or receive instruction in Alutiiq, I am taking up those opportunities for employment and education, too. If I write and publish about decoloniality in linguistics and language revitalization, I might be talking over the voices of Indigenous scholars who deserve to be heard more than I do. At the same time, the Alutiiq community and my graduate program have both invested time and effort in training me, and I want to be worthy of these investments. Additionally, the burden of challenging and undoing systems of inequality should not fall solely on Indigenous and otherwise marginalized scholars, but also on privileged scholars who benefit from these systems. I hope that this dissertation is a useful contribution to these efforts, even though it is limited by my positionality as a white settler scholar.

1.5 Inspirations from decolonial scholarship

Within the Alutiiq community

Several scholars within the Alutiiq community have written about aspects of the Alutiiq language and cultural renaissance. Some of the work that has most influenced and educated me includes Drabek's dissertation on core values in Alutiiq literature, Counceller's (2010) dissertation on the Alutiiq New Words Council and her 2012 publication on the Alutiiq language movement as a whole, Sven Haakanson Jr.'s (2010) reflections on his experiences as an Indigenous anthropologist, and Dehrich Isuwiq Chya's (2020) master's thesis on Alutiiq place names.

Drabek's (2010) dissertation in Indigenous Studies and Education is titled *Liitukut Sugpiat'stun (We Are Learning How To Be Real People): Exploring Kodiak Alutiiq Literature Through Core Values.* Drabek's examination of how colonial mistranslations, misinterpretations, and mistaken framings of Alutiiq stories have affected these stories led her to realize that Western literary analysis was inappropriate to her work. Considering her concerns about "unethical and disempowering" research (p. 41), I have sought to represent Alutiiq language activists in ways that recognize their expertise, sharing their experiences without talking over them: the result is more curatorial than analytical. In addition, Drabek's emphasis on how Alutiiq stories affect individual and community well-being, especially in relation to the natural world, inspires my consideration of how other forms of Alutiiq language likewise affect well-being. Finally, Drabek presents a nuanced consideration of colonial impacts on Alutiiq culture. She shows how core Alutiiq belief systems weren't simply extinguished due to first Russian Orthodox and then other Christian colonial oppression, but were transformed and expressed through Russian Orthodoxy and other forms

of Western religion in a process of survivance (Vizenor 1994). This observation shapes my conceptualization of Russian and English influences on contemporary Alutiiq, and how survivance can occur through many valid forms of Alutiiq language use.

In her dissertation, Counceller (2010) discusses problematic research, such as Graeburn (1996) and Lee (2003), that dismisses Alutiiq heritage revitalization as inauthentic invention and superficial performance. She exposes this research as an extension of colonial oppression that seeks to maintain the power of settler researchers over Native people and to enforce strict divisions between the two roles. I observe parallels between these scholars' dismissals of heritage revitalization and settler linguists' dismissal of language revitalization, and I advocate for ways to move beyond this colonial dismissiveness in linguistics. In her 2012 article, Counceller further emphasizes that language revitalization isn't just about language, but about culture and community well-being. I follow Counceller in focusing on how Alutiiq language revitalization impacts community well-being, using survey methods to share how participants have observed these benefits during the COVID-19 pandemic, and using archival research and focus groups to explore the transmission of environmental ideologies and knowledges. Counceller also helped advise Michael Bach, a non-Indigenous participant in the Alutiiq language movement whose 2014 master's thesis research on "micro-language planning" in the Alutiiq Language Club and the colonial forces that led to Alutiiq language loss have further shaped my approaches to these topics.

Additionally, Sven Haakanson Jr.'s critical work on settler-led archaeology has informed my criticisms of settler linguistics. In his 2010 book chapter "Written Voices Become History," Haakanson—an anthropologist, professor, and the former director of the Alutiiq Museum—reflects on his experiences as an Alutiiq archaeologist. He opens with an

objectifying and racist quote from non-Indigenous Smithsonian physical anthropologist Aleš Hrdlicka, in which Hrdlicka (1944) claims that "American Whites […] must always be our main standards" (of body shape and size) and remarks on ways in which "Koniag men" are supposedly physically different from white men. Haakanson then discusses the ways in which similar, if more covert, attitudes of Western superiority are still present in academic research. He discusses the colonial idea that non-Native people are more "objective" about Native cultures, pointing out that non-Native researchers often treat Native people as data sources rather than collaborators who have not only experiential knowledge about their cultures, but also critical perspectives about the history and context of those cultures. Haakanson further points out that non-Native academic research often takes Native people's words and knowledge away from the community, copyrighting it as belonging to non-Native researchers who use it to advance their careers. As a non-Native researcher, I aim to both avoid appropriating Alutiiq knowledge and to challenge the colonial systems still present in linguistics by proposing decolonial methods of research and teaching.

Dehrich Chya's 2020 master's thesis in Alaska Native Studies and Rural Development, which focuses on Alutiiq place names, has further influenced my awareness of the links between Alutiiq language and land. Chya, an Alutiiq language activist, archival researcher, and Alutiiq Museum employee, highlights how European colonizers have distorted and suppressed Alutiiq place names. This awareness of colonial responsibility for cultural and linguistic loss is likewise applicable to language shift. Chya additionally shows how recording and using Alutiiq place names serves as a way of reclaiming the land, reviving knowledge about physical locations and human events that occurred at them, and fostering

cultural pride. These links between land, language, and community well-being closely relate to the themes I discuss in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

Lastly, but no less importantly, I draw on insights from Alutiiq community members that haven't yet been formally published. In response to Haakanson's critique of the tendency to treat Native people as sources of data but not of expertise, I explicitly acknowledge all Alutiiq language activists—whether involved in academic research or not—as experts in Alutiiq language revitalization.

Other Indigenous scholarship on language revitalization and ethnography: Critical perspectives on research in Indigenous contexts

My work is also influenced by that of Indigenous scholars outside the Alutiiq language movement. One such influence, and a renowned figure in Indigenous Studies, is Vine Deloria, Jr., a Siouan scholar-activist who famously critiqued settler misappropriations and misrepresentations of Indigenous cultures. In *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*, Deloria points out white people's tendency to assume knowledge about Indigenous people and to portray Indigenous people as relics of the past. In Chapter 4, "Anthropologists and Other Friends," he argues that settler anthropologists view it as their right to observe and extract knowledge from Indigenous communities, using them to generate useless and reductive theories intended only to advance the anthropologists' careers. Disturbingly, as Maliseet linguistic anthropologist Bernard Perley (2012) notes, the same can be said of many settler linguists.

Indigenous scholars have accordingly called for a rethinking of research in Indigenous contexts. Interdisciplinary scholar and Mvskoke/Creek community member K. Tsianina

Lomawaima (2000) proposes that settler researchers must, at minimum, give something back to Indigenous communities. Lumbee scholar Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy and multiracial Choctaw and European-American researcher Deyhle (2000) further explore the complexities of conducting research as Indigenous community members and outsiders, asking all researchers—both Indigenous and settler, insider and outsider—to consider why they are doing their research and who will benefit from the results. They warn that many Western research methods and ways of representing data conflict with Indigenous cultural norms and values. In addition, they caution against claiming to be objective, arguing that some bias is inevitable in all research and that claims of objectivity may conceal dishonest, unethical behaviors (165). In light of this warning, I do not claim to be an objective observer of the Alutiiq language movement. Instead, I try to make my positionality as clear as possible and to reflect on the methods I have used—both those that worked well and those that did not.

Critical perspectives on settler-colonial ideologies about Indigenous language movements
As part of a movement towards more ethical and culturally appropriate research models, many Indigenous scholars of language have critiqued colonial discourses about Indigenous language movements, exposing the use of commodifying metaphors and problematic portrayals of Indigenous people. Drawing on non-Indigenous anthropologist Jane Hill's (2002) critique of "expert rhetorics" of language endangerment, Chickasaw anthropologist and linguist Jenny Davis (2017) calls attention to three harmful processes in language endangerment discourses: *linguistic extraction*, or the removal of languages and language movements from social context, *erasure of colonial agency*, or claiming that Indigenous people "choose" not to speak their languages instead of acknowledging settlers'

responsibility in oppressing these languages) and *lasting*, or defining American Indians in an extremely limited, purist way, so as to then say that all real American Indians have vanished.

Leonard (2011) offers a related critique of dominant discourses about Indigenous language "extinction" and reclamation. Similarly to Philip Deloria, Leonard notes that dominant ideologies held by settler linguistics frame Native American languages as either frozen in the past or dying. He further observes that purist ideologies about language and culture often originate in colonial oppression, not within Indigenous communities. Citing Comanche linguistic anthropologist Barbra Meek (2011), Leonard highlights the inadequacy and inappropriateness of outside definitions of the "success" of Indigenous language movements. Drawing on his experiences with myaamia language reclamation, Leonard suggests several alternatives to these harmful practices and ideologies, including metaphors of language "dormancy" over language "death," acknowledgments of the diverse backgrounds of Indigenous community members, community-determined definitions of program success, and framings of cultural fluency over language fluency. Leonard uses the term "language reclamation" instead of "language revitalization" to emphasize that Indigenous language learning isn't primarily about generating new fluent speakers, but about reclaiming cultural contexts in which Indigenous languages are valued and transmitted. The concept of language reclamation also includes Indigenous people's right to representational authority—that is, deciding if and how their cultures and languages are portrayed. I use the term "language revitalization," which is preferred by the majority of Alutiiq community members whom I asked about this issue, with the same meaning as "language reclamation." Daryl Baldwin, also a linguist from the myaamia community, discusses the ways in which metaphors of "dormant" or "sleeping" language led to "emergent vitalities" in the

community. In collaboration with non-Indigenous linguist D. H. Whalen and Native scholar Margaret Moss,[2] Baldwin further shows that Indigenous language use correlates with lower rates of suicide, smoking, diabetes, and excessive drug and alcohol use (Whalen, Moss, and Baldwin 2016), demonstrating the importance of Indigenous language programs. When non-Indigenous people ask me whether Indigenous language revitalization "works," I refer them to that paper.

In his 2012 article "Zombie Linguistics: Experts, Endangered Languages, and the Curse of Undead Voices," finally, Perley pushes back against discourses of "saving" languages through language documentation. He argues that these discourses, often termed "salvage linguistics," frame language as primarily a symbolic code instead of a form of culture. He further points out that—in parallel with ideologies about which endangered species deserve "saving"—salvage discourses suggest that only "charismatic" languages, namely, those that settler-colonial culture deems valuable, will be saved. Furthermore, Perley notes that the recordings and documents generated through language documentation aren't a language, but artefacts of one. I have kept Perley's criticisms in mind when documenting Alutiiq language activists' insights and practices, trying to do so in an accessible way that both attests to and lends itself to the vitality of the language movement.

Critiques of rhetorics of "decolonization"

My work is also informed by Indigenous scholars' critiques of academic discourses of decolonization, which have been criticized as insubstantial and rooted in a desire to avoid

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[2] Moss's faculty bio lists her tribal affiliations as Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara Nation as well as Canadian Sioux/Saskatchewan (http://www.buffalo.edu/inclusion/strategic-initiatives/indigenous-inclusion/faculty-fellows.html).

culpability for colonialism. Mohawk political anthropologist Audra Simpson (2007) joins

non-Indigenous anthropologist Errington (2001) and other critics in observing that

anthropological research originates in, and still often serves, colonialism. By observing

cultural "difference" from a dominant norm, she writes, anthropologists may help colonial

powers to subjugate Indigenous peoples. In their article "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor,"

Unangax̂ Critical Race and Indigenous Studies scholar Eve Tuck and Ethnic Studies scholar

K. Wayne Yang (2012) further observe that it has become popular to talk about

"decoloniality" in social justice research, but that these mentions of decoloniality are often

only lip service that do not engage with substantive issues such as Indigenous land

sovereignty. Tuck and Yang note that settlers often use superficial discourses of

decolonization in order to avoid responsibility for the oppression of Native people, calling

these strategies "settler moves to innocence" (p. 9). One example they provide is settlers'

tendency to lump "decolonization" in with other social justice frameworks:

> *The absorption of decolonization by settler social justice frameworks is one way*
> *the settler, disturbed by her own settler status, tries to escape or contain the*
> *unbearable searchlight of complicity, of having harmed others just by being one's*
> *self. The desire to reconcile is just as relentless as the desire to disappear the Native;*
> *it is a desire to not have to deal with this (Indian) problem anymore.*
>
> (2012: 9)

Tuck and Yang further note that, to avoid these overwhelming feelings of guilt, settlers

often lump decolonization in with other forms of social justice; they point out, "'We are all

colonized,' may be a true statement but is deceptively embracive and vague, its inference:

'None of us are settlers'" (2012:17). Another strategy they observe is "settler adoption

fantasies" in which settlers hope to alleviate their guilt by becoming Indigenous:

> *Settler fantasies of adoption alleviate the anxiety of settler un-belonging. He*
> *adopts the love of land and therefore thinks he belongs to the land. He is a first*

*environmentalist and sentimentalist [...] In today's jargon, he could be thought of as
an eco-activist, naturalist, and Indian sympathizer.*

(2012:15-16)

Tuck and Yang's mention of settlers' "love of land" here touches on themes of white

environmentalism and white entitlement within environmental justice movements (Gibson-

Wood & Wakefield 2013; Curnow & Helferty 2018). Relatedly, Tuck and Yang note that

settler scholars often ignore the topic of land repatriation, which is at the heart of

decolonization. Because land repatriation would deeply "unsettle" settlers' lives, they say,

settlers typically stop short of meaningfully supporting Indigenous land rights.

As a settler researcher aspiring towards decolonial frameworks and methods, I see myself

in Tuck and Yang's criticisms. I hope to avoid the superficially decolonial "settler moves to

innocence" they describe. Instead, I hope to work against coloniality in linguistics not in

order to excuse myself from responsibility, but rather to continually confront that

responsibility.

1.6 Frameworks and methods

Choice of research topic and methods

In an effort to move away from colonial frameworks, I have instead, to the best of my ability,

prioritized research methods and frameworks that align with the goals of the Alutiiq language

movement. I determined my research topic in collaboration with Alutiiq community

members through remote participation in language planning meetings as well as through

preliminary surveys, drawing on principles from Community-Based Research (Strand et al

2003) as I sought to conduct research that would speak to community needs. One challenge I

encountered in this process was that no single topic emerged from these conversations;

because the Alutiiq community, like every community, is made up of many different perspectives, it was impossible to get a sense of what "everyone" would like to research. Another challenge was that I had to acknowledge the limits of my training; some proposed topics were beyond my expertise. Therefore, I pursued those topics that were both of interest to community members and approachable to me given my background in sociocultural linguistics.

My choice of methods was also determined through community input, though through a less formal process. Early on in graduate school, I was focused on analyzing speech styles in conversation, and I wanted to record conversational data to see how people changed their speech styles in different social contexts. Eventually, though, I realized that I was making community members (as well as myself) uncomfortable by pulling out my recorder every time they were trying to have fun, socialize, and relax. Since then, I have decided to record only when others are enthusiastic about it rather than asking if it's "okay" to record. Semi-structured conversational interviews have provided a less intrusive and more convivial means of research, and have better enabled me to research Alutiiq language activists' attitudes and experiences in the language movement, as opposed to maintaining a narrow focus on their speech styles. The interviews presented in this dissertation were collected between 2019 and 2020. I interviewed twelve Alutiiq language activists, with multiple repeat interviews. The length of the interviews varied, but the average was approximately one hour. I conducted the 2019 interviews in person, while the 2020 interviews were hosted virtually using Zoom.

In addition, during the COVID-19 pandemic, I participated in virtual Alutiiq language events through the Facebook group "Alutiiq Language Speakers & Learners." In the process, I met Alutiiq language learners who lived in locations other than Kodiak, and with whom I

didn't have pre-existing relationships. In order to represent their experiences of Alutiiq

language movement participation during the COVID-19 pandemic, I invited them to take an

anonymous online survey in summer 2020 and/or participate in a digital interview. I used a

surveys as well as interviews for several reasons. First, the survey allowed participants who

did not have time for an interview to express their perspectives. Second, the survey allowed

me to include insights from language movement participants who might not have been

comfortable participating in an interview. Thirdly, for those survey participants who chose to

follow up with an online interview, encountering the survey questions beforehand gave them

a chance to consider the interview themes so they were less pressured to suddenly come up

with an answer on the spot. While the surveys and interviews, in combination, allowed for

greater flexibility and inclusion than either method alone would have, they still have

limitations: for instance, people with limited internet access and/or digital literacy challenges

were not able to participate in either format. In particular, I would like to note that the voices

of Elders are not represented in the interviews and surveys, in large part because of

limitations resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic, the resulting impossibility of in-person

gatherings, and difficulties of audibility over phone and Zoom.

In order to include the views of Alutiiq Elders, I have draw on observant participation, a

method that—in contrast to the more widely used term *participant observation*—emphasizes

the researcher's co-participation in activities, with observation as secondary to this

participation (Moeran 2009; Wilkinson 2017). That is, I have participated in community

language events during the summers from 2014 to 2019, and taken ethnographic field notes

from 2016 to 2019, always as a outsider participant first and a researcher second. I have also

drawn on analyses of interactions with Elders, as well as younger community members, that I

recorded between 2014 and 2019 as part of research on the semantics of Alutiiq verbs, which I conducted as an undergraduate, and vocal styles in Alutiiq narratives, which was part of my master's thesis work. These interactional excerpts were helpful for illustrating Alutiiq community members' language practices, as well as—to some extent—their attitudes and experiences, though these latter themes came up relatively infrequently outside of interviews.

To understand the broader context of the Alutiiq language movement, and in particular its relationship to environmental justice, I have also drawn on the Lost Villages archival collection.[3] Owned by the Kodiak Area Native Association and housed at the Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository, this collection dates from 1990-1991 and comprises fifteen interviews with Alutiiq community members Anakenti Zeedar, Mike Tunohan, Natalie Simeonoff, Mary Shuravloff, Mary Ann Moris, Moses Larianoff Sr., George Inga Sr., Sven Haakanson Sr., and Susan Frost. The interviewer, Deborah Robinson, was hired by KANA and had pre-existing relationships with some interviewees (including Sven Haakanson Sr.) due to her previous work on salmon weirs and her involvement with Department of Fish and Game subsistence surveys in the wake of the 1989 Exxon Valdez oil spill. The interviews focus on interviewees' memories of Aiaktalik, Afognak, Eagle Harbor, Kaguyak, Kanatak, and Woody Island, villages that were once home to Alutiiq communities, but are now uninhabited or sparsely inhabited. I reference excerpts from the Lost Villages interviews in order to illustrate the importance of environmental knowledge and values in Alutiiq culture and to demonstrate the role of intergenerational communication in response to environmental disaster.

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[3] http://languagearchive.alutiiqmuseum.org/digital-heritage/field_collection/321?search_api_views_fulltext=

Respectful representation

I further considered (de)coloniality in my choice of how to represent Alutiiq community members' practices and insights. Researchers' presentations of data often favor the researchers' subjectivity over those of the people they work with, resulting in the objectification of the research "subject" (Lewis 1973; Acker, Barry, and Essevald 1983; Smith 2013). When I present Alutiiq language activists' insights, I do not intend it as a data analysis in which my views overshadow theirs. Instead, I intend it as something more similar to a literature review, in which I highlight shared themes across authoritative sources. As part of this effort towards respectful representation, the Alutiiq language activists whose insights are featured have reviewed each of my analyses of their words and have provided feedback to ensure that I am not misrepresenting their views and practices. One adjustment I have made as a result of this process is to redact elements of speech that might come across as disfluencies, such as restarts and some discourse markers ("uh," and "um") from transcribed excerpts except in cases in which they provide relevant information about the excerpt. This practice is not the norm in most sociocultural linguistic work, but concerns of respectful representation are more important than concerns of precision in this case, since restarts and discourse markers are not fundamentally important to the phenomena under consideration. In addition, to make transcripts more accessible to audiences who are unfamiliar with discourse transcription systems such as the Santa Barbara system (Du Bois et al. 1993), I've chosen transcription conventions that are similar to those used in English prose: for instance, I use italics to represent emphasis rather than ^, and ((laughter)) to represent laughter rather than @.

Throughout the process of analysis and representation, I have sought to appropriately engage Alutiiq community contributors as co-producers of knowledge while also respecting their digital personal space. This consideration has been especially important during COVID-19, when many within the Alutiiq community, as elsewhere, have been overburdened with constant stress, additional family responsibilities, and physically demanding amounts of screen use. To address this concern, I adopted a less collaborative approach to analysis than I likely would have if I had visited Kodiak in person. For example, I drew on my familiarity with the Alutiiq language to provide translations, which participants were then able to confirm and/or adjust. I also asked participants how they would prefer to be contacted in regards to the project, e.g. if they would like to read rough drafts or only final ones. I am grateful for all contributors' input, and I hope that I have not become an intrusive presence, particularly during the extraordinarily difficult circumstance of COVID-19.

1.7 Conclusion

As I have reflected in this chapter, my positionality is that of a settler researcher working in a colonial field. I am also the fortunate recipient of guidance from my mentors within the Alutiiq community and from other decolonial scholars. In this dissertation, I interrogate the colonial ideologies that have stymied my work with the Alutiiq community and that have led me to fundamentally misunderstand the goals of language revitalization, so that other settler researchers may be better prepared to engage in work that benefits Indigenous communities rather than recreating colonial inequalities and perpetuating reductive approaches. In place of colonial frameworks, I offer alternative understandings of Indigenous language revitalization as decolonial resistance and cultural reclamation. I further examine the many benefits of

language revitalization beyond fluency, including increased community well-being and environmental education. Drawing on my experiences working with the Alutiiq language movement, I argue that Indigenous language programs aren't doomed attempts to preserve lost pasts, but visionary movements towards social and environmental justice. I am grateful to the Alutiiq community for generously sharing their time and insights with me, and I hope that this research will be of use to them as well as to other community leaders, activists, and scholars.

CHAPTER 2
COLONIAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION

2.1 Introduction

At first glance, the study of language might seem like a means of promoting empathy, compassion, and respect across cultures. For instance, American linguist and anthropologist Edward Sapir famously wrote, "When it comes to linguistic form, Plato walks with the Macedonian swineherd, Confucius with the head-hunting savage of Assam" (1921:219). This is often taken to mean that all languages are equal in some sense—equally complex, equally capable of expression, equally worthy of study. Yet at the same time, it rests on the assumption that Plato and Confucius are inherently superior to swineherds and "savages." Along these lines, anthropologist Joseph Errington (2001) points out that though modern linguists might like to imagine that linguistics has always been an equalizing, anti-racist science, it has often served the goals of colonialism. Errington notes that representations of language difference can be used to make colonial inequalities appear natural, and that language description has often been intertwined with missionary and non-missionary attempted conversions "of pagan to Christian, of speech to writing, and of the alien to the comprehensible" (Errington 2001:20).

Linguist Keren Rice (2006) provides more details of how colonial thought has pervaded linguistic fieldwork in the mid-20th century. Examining William Samarin's (1967) *Field Linguistics: A Guide to Linguistic Field Work* and Aleksander Kibrik's (1977) *The Methodology of Field Investigations in Linguistics*, she notes that both authors frame Indigenous language "informants" as ignorant of their languages, and assume that settler linguists will dictate the flow of the work. She quotes, for example, Samarin's claims that

"informants" have "little capacity for abstract reasoning," will "waste the investigator's time with his disinterest," and "may take more liberty in talking about his language than he is qualified to" (Samarin 1967:41-42). Rice also points out how little these linguists prioritized naturalistic speech, in fact viewing it as a drawback: for instance, she quotes Kibrik saying that informants' tendency towards the "uncontrolled use of language for communicative purposes" can be a "real hindrance to the work" (Kibrik 1977:53).

As with the colonial origins that Errington traces, it can be tempting, as a white settler linguist, to dismiss Rice's observations as belonging to the past and not the present. Encouragingly, the past decades have seen some progress towards less colonial models (Leonard 2018:60). For instance, Cameron and her co-authors (1993) critique "ethical" models of linguistic fieldwork (fieldwork *on* participants) and "advocacy" models (fieldwork *for* participants), proposing "empowerment" models (fieldwork *with* participants) in their place. Bucholtz, Casillas, and Lee (2017) subsequently critique empowerment models, arguing that these models carry a patronizing tone and reinforce neoliberal ideologies of marginalized people pulling themselves up by their bootstraps. Instead, they propose an "accompaniment" model in which community members and outside researchers engage in joint activities towards social justice; this model recognizes community members' pre-existing capability and insight and positions research and social action as equally important (2017:27-28). Also in response to patronizing research dynamics and ones that prioritize the viewpoints of outside researchers, Czaykowska-Higgins (2009) and Bowern (2008) critique linguist-focused models in favor of community-focused models, and Leonard and Haynes (2010) suggest methods of collaboration that place an equal focus on outside researchers' and community members' needs. Several scholars, including Jane Hill (2002), Dobrin, Austin,

and Nathan (2007), and Davis (2017) have furthermore critically examined the discourses used by settler linguists to conceptualize language endangerment. While all of these contributions have helped expose and counter the colonial biases in linguistic fieldwork, this work is far from over. As Leonard (2018:58) observes, colonial hierarchies and epistemologies continue to permeate Documentary Linguistics, manifesting for instance in restrictive definitions of what counts as language documentation, decontextualized analyses that reduce languages to a series of puzzles to be solved by academic linguists, and the production of linguist-focused materials that do not serve community needs.

In this chapter, I begin by reflecting on my experiences with colonial models of language documentation and revitalization. I consider several different contexts, including linguistic field methods courses, calls for grant proposals, and norms of academic writing. For each context, I lay out alternative models and norms drawn from decolonial scholarship. Although these suggestions are limited by my positionality as a white scholar, I hope that they will be helpful contributions. I then analyze colonial ideologies about Indigenous language reclamation, including imposed distinctions between "traditional" and "modern" language, erasure of Elders' active and creative language use, criticisms of "merely symbolic" language use, and harmful essentializations of Indigenous people, languages, and cultures. Drawing on interviews with Alutiiq language activists, I show how these imposed categories and assumptions fail to capture the complexities of the Alutiiq language movement and its importance as a form of decolonial resistance.

2.2 Colonial frameworks of language documentation and revitalization

Colonialism permeates not only the history but also the present reality of settler linguists'

work with Indigenous language communities. It is evident, for instance, in the assumption that settler linguists should control how Indigenous language research takes place, in settler linguists' decisions about what kinds of language practices are worthy of documentation, and in the use of the term *linguist* as shorthand for "settler linguist." These assumptions and practices are all grounded in a broader assumption, namely, that the main contribution of linguistic research should be to linguistic scholarship and not to social justice. In the following sections, I critically examine these assumptions, describing how they have manifested in my experiences as a linguistics student and researcher.

Assuming that settler linguists should control how Indigenous language documentation and other research takes place

Colonial research dynamics persist at the interactional level in my linguistics training, with some instructors seeming to take it for granted that outsider linguists, and not community members, will determine how research and education take place. I have taken three field methods courses during graduate school, and in two out of three of them, the Indigenous "language consultant" wasn't consulted as to how the course would be structured—at least, not in the presence of the students. In one of these courses, we were explicitly told (behind the consultant's back) that the consultant liked to talk about topics of interest to him and would lead us off track if we weren't careful. By this point, I had already spent some time working in the Alutiiq language movement, and I had always seen Elders treated with respect. I had also seen Alutiiq Elders treated as active participants in the design of interactions. I was therefore surprised and dismayed to be told to keep an Indigenous language speaker "on track" instead of taking his lead.

Part of the reason I was unhappy to be told this was that I had already become wary of, and dissatisfied with, elicitation methods and other researcher-controlled methods. After my first summer in Kodiak, when I worked as a language intern with "Where Are Your Keys," I searched for funding to return and found an undergraduate research grant. Because it didn't occur to me that I could do sociolinguistic or ethnographic research, let alone community-based research, I asked a professor who researched morphosyntax in non-English languages to advise me. We came up with a project designed to research certain properties of Alutiiq verbs, which involved asking Elders to translate English sentences. This turned out to be awkward, verging on uncomfortable. The sentences I came up with—stilted concoctions along the lines of *The boy says hello to the girl, smiling*—weren't particularly culturally appropriate, nor were they very engaging. Sometimes, they made no sense to the Elders, who apologized and said that they weren't sure. At best, they were graciously taking responsibility for my shortcomings as a researcher. At worst, I was causing them distress by asking them to perform an unnatural, decontextualized language task that may at times have seemed like an attempt to test, and find fault with, their fluency. On the one hand, I had less and less faith in the value of what I was doing. On the other hand, every so often I'd have a nightmare that I came home without having recorded any data. I kept going.

Despite all these problems, I had a good time. This was because the Elders rescued these strange interactions by infusing the elicitation sentences with humor and turning them into stories. The boy and the girl became characters with their own stylized voices—voices I'd go on to study for my master's thesis (Fine 2019). We took breaks, and the Elders would tell me stories about their lives. It was precisely because we got "off track" that I learned, and recorded, anything culturally significant and important to the Alutiiq community. It would, of

course, have been much better to design the research project in collaboration with the Alutiiq community from the beginning.

This experience demonstrates that it is unfounded to assume that settler linguists know how to structure research projects and interactions better than Indigenous community members. Instead, settler linguists should work with Indigenous community experts to design language projects. As Tsikewa (forthcoming) points out, what is needed is substantive collaboration, as opposed to superficial "collaboration" that really consists of unilateral decision-making by settler linguists with some trappings of collaboration through acts such as "giving back to the community" (see also Leonard 2021). Providing survey results that document a severe lack of training in ethics, collaboration, community relationship building, and cultural and interpersonal issues in linguistics field methods courses, Tsikewa further argues that adequate field methods training necessitates "(1) the recognition of linguistics as a discipline rooted in colonization and the implications of this for speakers/community members, (2) the incorporation and explicit discussion of language research frameworks that include Indigenous research methodologies, and (3) the recognition and valorization of Indigenous epistemologies via decolonizing 'language.'" In Tsikewa's proposed model, culturally aware and community-focused collaboration should be, not an optional and often neglected topic, but the foundation of linguistic fieldwork training.

Another way of reshaping the balance of power in linguistic research collaborations is to change requirements for grants. For instance, some grants I've applied for have required a letter of recommendation from at least one person within the community in which the research takes place. This is an important precaution to make sure that the researcher is

designing the project in collaboration with the community, which is a concern especially

when the researcher is an outsider.

Assuming that "language documentation" doesn't include documenting the process of

language reclamation; only valuing "data" from "fluent speakers," not from new speakers

Also relevant to the topic of funding is the question of what kinds of language documentation

are valued. Often, settler linguists value language practices seen to be traditional and

endangered, to the exclusion of the practices of new speakers. Although many scholars have

critiqued discourses of language endangerment (Hill 2002; Dobrin, Austin, and Nathan 2007;

Davis 2017), such discourses are still the norm in language documentation grants. For

instance, the "About Us" section of the Endangered Language Documentation Programme's

website describes its goals in the following way (1).

(1)

> *[The Arcadia Fund] serves humanity by preserving endangered cultural heritage and ecosystems. Because knowledge should belong to all, we also promote open access, seeking to make information available without barriers of cost or distance. For more than a decade we have been dedicated to our mission: the preservation of endangered languages globally. Our mandate is to document and preserve endangered languages by funding scholars worldwide to conduct field work and to archive their documentary collections and make them freely available.*

<div align="right">(Endangered Language Documentation Programme 2020)</div>

In addition to the repeated use of the term *endangered*, ELDP uses the term *preserve,* a

concept that—with its overtones of static embalmment rather than vitality—isn't always

embraced in Indigenous scholarship. Although ELDP's open access policy is admirable in

some ways, their statement that "knowledge should belong to all" evokes discourses of

universal ownership of Indigenous languages (Hill 2002), especially in conjunction with the

term *humanity*. They identify "scholars" rather than "language activists" or "community members" as the people who will receive funding, specifying in their "Documentation Grants" section that potential grant recipients include "anybody with qualifications in linguistic language documentation." This restriction excludes people who do not yet have training in language documentation, such as many Indigenous community members. Finally, their criteria for viable projects also include the "degree of endangerment of the language(s)" and the "urgency of the documentation."

Similarly, the Dynamic Language Infrastructure - Documenting Endangered Languages program (NSF DLI-DEL), a partnership between the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities, uses the terms *endangered* and *at risk* to describe Indigenous languages, framing the main goal of the grant as *advanc[ing] knowledge* (2).

(2)

> *This funding partnership between the National Science Foundation (NSF) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) supports projects to develop and advance knowledge concerning dynamic language infrastructure in the context of endangered human languages—languages that are both understudied and at risk of falling out of use. Made urgent by the imminent loss of roughly half of the approximately 7000 currently used languages, this effort aims to exploit advances in information technology to build computational infrastructure for endangered language research.*
>
> (National Science Foundation 2020: 1-2)

The phrase *imminent loss* replaces *imminent death*, which was used in the earlier 2018 NSF DEL grant program solicitation. This is a substantial improvement because it avoids metaphors of death and violence in relation to Indigenous languages. Settler linguists have used many such metaphors: for instance, Denison (1977) proposes the terms *language suicide, language murder,* and *linguistic cannibalism*. As Leonard (2008) notes, these metaphors run the risk of erasing Indigenous communities' agency to reclaim dormant

languages, and can be inappropriate and even traumatic. *Language loss,* though preferable, still fails to attribute responsibility to colonial oppressors. Combined with the agentless phrase *falling out of use*, this wording presents an opening for settler researchers and media to mistakenly blame Indigenous communities for "choosing" not to speak their language. Furthermore, the overall goal of language work is cast in terms of knowledge, endangerment, and preservation for the benefit of "humans" (and researchers)—not for community well-being. As Grounds (2021:71-72) notes, this emphasis on preservation is linked to a longstanding colonialist perspective in the U.S. that sees a need to document Native languages before their "inevitable" disappearance.

In contrast, the "Where Are Your Keys" framework that first introduced me to the Alutiiq language movement—which was founded by non-Indigenous language educator Evan Gardner—acknowledges colonization as the cause of language endangerment, writing, "Endangered languages are languages on the precipice, with only a handful of speakers left as a result of colonization, and the impact of modern economic culture" (Where Are Your Keys 2021). Though this definition furthers a restrictive expectation that only languages with very few speakers qualify as endangered, it correctly identifies colonization as a main cause of language shift. Furthermore, the "Where Are Your Keys" team notes the intertwinedness of language vitality with community vitality, stating, "By engaging a community, we hope to strengthen a community, as languages cannot survive without a community in which they can live." As a "Where Are Your Keys" intern, I did not always live up to this community-centered view of language revitalization, but was instead narrowly focused on language fluency. My narrow conception of fluency was perhaps in part a consequence of the "Where Are Your Keys" framework's use of American Council on the Teaching of Foreign

Languages (ACTFL) metrics of language fluency, which have been criticized for not originating in culturally relevant conceptualizations of speakerhood (Leonard & Haynes 2010:280). Nevertheless, the framing of language revitalization in the "Where Are Your Keys" statement of purpose focuses more on the colonial causes of language shift and highlights community well-being as a goal of Indigenous language movements, presenting an alternative to dominant discourses in linguistics.

The issues of prioritizing preservation over vitality, and languages over community, aren't just a matter of wording: they influence funding decisions as well. For example, in 2010, the Alutiiq Museum applied for an NSF DEL grant to document new vocabulary and processes of language change, as well as to create an online dictionary, but they were denied, in part on the grounds that the Alutiiq language was already "well-documented." This raises foundational questions of what kinds of Indigenous language are deemed worthy of documenting and why. On the one hand, Indigenous communities often perceive a need to record first language speakers for future study, as well as to learn from them through interaction. Archival materials can also be helpful for reclaiming dormant languages such as Mutsun (Warner, Luna, and Butler 2007) and Myaamia (Leonard 2008). However, attributing value only to Indigenous language practices that meet some threshold of authenticity (as defined by settler grant reviewers) is a recipe for linguistic and cultural purism that can create divisions and cause harm within and between Indigenous communities. It also ignores the validity of documenting interspeaker variation; a narrow focus on "traditional" and "fluent" language use can, for instance, detract from a broader documentation of different linguistic styles, including styles of hesitancy and reticence that may be culturally important and socially useful. Finally, it forecloses the possibility of

documenting Indigenous language programs and language socialization in ways that could aid the design of other language movements. For example, members of the Alutiiq language movement researched other language movements, such as Maori and Hawai'ian contexts, in order to determine their own language planning. Additional documentation of the process of language revitalization across Indigenous communities would aid other communities in language planning and might alleviate concerns about the practices of new speakers by showing that innovative language practices can be part of successful language revitalization (as defined by community-internal metrics).

Settler linguists further impose ideologies about authenticity by claiming the right to identify Indigenous speakerhood—that is, to decide who counts as a "speaker" for purposes of language documentation and other research. Leonard and Haynes (2010) point out the problems inherent to such identifications, discussing the complexities of speakerhood as a social role that varies across cultures. In a 2018 conference presentation, Alutiiq language activist and Alutiiq Museum archivist Dehrich Isuwiq Chya and I further unpack settler linguists' casual assessments of Indigenous speakers' fluency through terms such as "good speaker." We consider the implied hierarchy of speakers by fluency level and contrast it with an alternative view in which speakers each hold different domains of language knowledge and skill, which vary even within individuals according to social situations.

With respect to the issue of speakerhood evaluations, Chya and I see at least one relatively simple solution: settler linguists could refrain from evaluating the fluency of Indigenous community members unless specifically asked to do so. Chya and I consider settler linguists' interactional motivations for evaluating Indigenous people's fluency, such as expressing appreciation for community members and demonstrating knowledge of a

language and culture, and propose alternative ways to achieve these goals. To express appreciation for community members, settler linguists could ask the community what forms of recognition and appreciation would be appropriate. To demonstrate knowledge of the language or cultural context, settler linguists could describe their own experiences learning and/or researching Indigenous languages and provide information about their relationships with Indigenous communities. Unless specifically requested to do so by the community, we argue, settler linguists should avoid evaluating Indigenous speakers' fluency, and should not pursue research that requires such assessments.

With respect to discourses of endangerment, preservation, and universal ownership among granting agencies, the solution is less clear. Certainly these agencies can and should try to use less harmful language, as NSF DLI-DEL has done by changing "imminent death" to "imminent loss." But ultimately, what is needed are several linked changes of focus: from universal ownership to Indigenous sovereignty, from preservation to reclamation, and from the well-being of languages to the well-being of communities. Furthermore, there is a need for structural change such that Indigenous community members are the ones to make grant funding decisions.

Assuming that linguistic experts are outsiders and that communities will want to work with linguists

Another shortcoming of the fieldwork methods courses I've taken is the assumption that the linguist isn't a community member. This assumption also permeates most of the literature on language documentation and revitalization, including decolonial work. For instance, even Rice's (2009) thoughtful and necessary article, "Must There Be Two Solitudes? Language

Activists and Linguists Working Together," assumes that language activists and linguists aren't one and the same. Czaykowska-Higgins' (2009) critique of "linguist-focused" models likewise uses the term *linguist* as shorthand for "settler linguist." However, as Gerdts (2017) points out, Indigenous linguists do exist, and make great contributions to their communities and to linguistic scholarship. Gerdts quotes the observation of Yolanda Pushetonequa, a linguist and member of the Meskawaki tribe, that tribal linguists have unique skills, opportunities, and levels of commitment as community insiders. Benedicto (2007) notes that teams of both "internal" and "external" linguists can carry out important collaborative work, though there may be issues of power imbalance to overcome. In my own experience, I've worked with several Alutiiq language activists who had training in linguistics. Through these experiences, I have learned not only that I am not the expert about Alutiiq language or culture—I don't have a monopoly on linguistics expertise either. Instead of teaching settler students that they should share "their" linguistic knowledge with Indigenous community members, therefore, linguistics instructors should prepare them for a reciprocal exchange of linguistic as well as cultural knowledge.

To overcome the assumption of the non-Indigeneity of "the linguist," as I mention in section 1.6, I use the term *settler linguists* to refer to linguists who do not have Indigenous ancestry, and *linguists* to refer to researchers of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous ancestry. I further use the term *outsider linguist* (Speas 2009) to refer to linguists, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, who are not members of the communities with which they work. The rationale behind these choices is to mark settler linguists' identities as such, and in doing so, denaturalize them (Bucholtz & Hall 2005:601)—to make the combination of *linguist + settler + outsider* not seem like an unremarkable norm. Of course, this superficial

change is only a small part of the efforts that are needed to make linguistics more accessible

and accountable to Indigenous community members. Other needed steps in this direction

include changing undergraduate and graduate coursework and milestone requirements,

adding programs and funding sources for Indigenous students of linguistics, and hiring more

Indigenous scholars. Ideally, these steps will help grow the field of Indigenous-led linguistics

to the extent that students will eventually read the term *linguist* in relation to language

documentation or revitalization and assume that the linguist in question is a member of the

community in question.

Assuming that the main goal of linguistic research is to contribute to linguistic scholarship,
not to work towards social, linguistic, and other forms of justice

The assumption that the primary goal of research is, as NSF DLI-DEL puts it, to "develop

and advance knowledge" is one framework for understanding what research is, but it's not

the only one. Action Research, for example, identifies social justice as the primary goal of

research (Stringer 2014:xii, 1). So do many related frameworks, including Community-Based

Action Research (Stringer 2014:xxi), Indigenous Action Research (Kerr et al. 2010;

Fredericks et al. 2014; Kemmis, McTaggart, and Nixon 2014), and Participatory Action

Research (Kemmis 2000). As Charity-Hudley (2008) notes, there is a long history of

linguists engaging in social justice action through their work. She traces many forms of

advocacy and community-based research over the years, including the efforts of well-known

linguists Dwight Bolinger, William Labov, John Rickford, Walt Wolfram, John Baugh, and

Samy Alim (Charity-Hudley 2008:924-925, 929-930). Within language documentation and

revitalization, programs such as the Breath of Life workshops, the Institute on Collaborative

Language Research (CoLang), and the International Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation (ICLDC) all foreground community-based research and action research to varying extents. Several researchers involved in language documentation and revitalization make use of Action Research frameworks: for instance, Junker (2018) describes how she used Participatory Action Research to collaborate with East Cree and Innu communities on developing digital language resources. Yet funding sources for documentation and revitalization projects often continue to frame the goals of these efforts as knowledge for knowledge's (or rather, academia's) sake. Social justice-focused and community-grounded research frameworks are, by definition, more responsive to community needs than frameworks that only seek to advance knowledge (often abstracted away from its significance to a particular community), and thus deserve greater prioritization in outsider linguists' engagement with Indigenous communities.

The marginalization of community- and justice-focused approaches in the area of Indigenous language research is linked to their marginalization in linguistics more broadly. In his introduction to Critical Applied Linguistics, Pennycook (2001) notes that social justice-focused linguistics evokes anxiety and resistance from some linguists. He bemusedly quotes Alan Davies' (1999) comment that though Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Applied Linguists are "seductive," they "must not be allowed to take over, cuckoo-like" (Davies 1999:142; in Pennycook 2001:iii). "It is not an attempt to take over, cuckoo-like (as if!)" Pennycook replies (2001:xiv). Now, two decades later, social justice-focused linguistics indeed does not appear to have taken over. It is only taught as an optional, additional course, if it is offered at all. Many linguistics departments do not have any professors specializing in

language and social justice—it is typically not seen as necessary in the way that syntax, morphology, semantics, and phonetics/phonology are.

And yet, the current era both facilitates and demands the application of social justice-focused linguistics. The rampant nationalism and white supremacy of the Trump administration and its proponents, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the worsening climate crisis have all caused upheaval in higher education. While teaching a course on language, race, and ethnicity, I had to adjust the curriculum to reflect the rise of militant racism in the United States. As many classes have shifted online due to COVID-19, I've seen many linguistics educators urging each other to prioritize student well-being over academic performance, and others rethinking the purpose of research. The field of linguistics, along with many others, is trending towards action- and justice-focused approaches in response to the many forms of inaction and injustice all around us.

As someone working mainly to address decolonial injustice and the climate crisis through linguistics, I am often asked to explain (primarily in grant and fellowships applications) what my research contributes to the field of linguistics. I am not sure this question is the right one. I do not think we have the luxury, now, of asking what a focus on social and environmental justice can do for linguistics. Instead, we should ask what linguistics can do for social and environmental justice. We have to work now to make our field as engaged, applicable, and resilient as possible in order to weather not only the COVID-19 pandemic, but the many other environmental and human rights emergencies that are likely in store—emergencies that will be worsened or improved by the language we use to conceptualize them.

The change I see and foresee occurring in linguistics is not a "cuckoo-like" takeover, but one that occurs through both organizing among scholars and incentivization at the

institutional level. Necessary institutional changes include substantive acknowledgments of action research, such as tenure requirements of civic engagement and public outreach (Ellison & Eatman 2008). We should also change the structure of academic publications to include positionality statements, broader impacts statements, and summaries of outreach efforts—details that researchers are often asked to provide in grant applications, but rarely elsewhere. With respect to teaching, educators should come together to support marginalized students, and we should especially support student activists' efforts through flexibility, course credit, and research collaborations (see Bucholtz et al. 2014 on students as linguistic experts). Finally, in addition to interdisciplinary and public-facing research, we need to prioritize projects that engage community members in equal participation, for instance through frameworks such as community-based research.

2.3 Colonial ideologies about language revitalization

While a great deal of previous work has examined colonial ideologies of language endangerment (Hill 2002; Dobrin et al. 2007; Perley 2012; Davis 2017), there has been less discussion of settler linguists' colonial ideologies about language revitalization, aside from the observation that settler funding structures are often more supportive of documentation than revitalization (Grounds 2021). In this section, I examine four such ideologies, including (1) settler linguists' assumption of a clear boundary between "traditional" and "contemporary" language, (2) settler linguists' assumption that Elders are passive conduits of "traditional" language and culture, rather than active and creative language users, (3) settler linguists' belittlement of "merely symbolic" language use, and (4) settler linguists' harmful essentialization of Indigenous cultures, communities, and individuals. I refute each of these

colonial ideologies by providing counterexamples from conversations and experiences with Alutiiq language activists.

Assuming a clear boundary between "traditional" and "modern" language

A friend of mine in the Alutiiq community recently shared an article written by America Meredith, an art curator from the Cherokee Nation, about what's wrong with the common practice of categorizing Native art as either "traditional" or "contemporary," Meredith (2020) notes that this is a Western division rife with inconsistencies: for instance, some works of art made with recently introduced materials are labeled "traditional," while some historical techniques (for instance, mass production of ceramics) are assumed to be non-traditional. Furthermore, she comments that divisions between "traditional" and "contemporary" Native art reinforce the stereotype that authentic Native people only live in the past. "From a Native perspective, *traditional* suggests embodying tribal values, speaking one's language, participating in ceremonies and dances, respecting elders, keeping tribal practices alive— basically what most of us see as desirable traits we wish to embody," Meredith writes. "In this context, the opposite of *traditional* is *assimilated*."

Similar problems apply to the division of Indigenous language practices into "traditional" (or "historical," or "old," or "past") and "contemporary" (or "modern," or "innovative," or "creative," or "new"). I've used these terms uncritically in the past, absorbing them from a variety of sources within and beyond linguistics and assuming that distinctions between the past and the present were clear. In general, and without much critical reflection, I assumed that anything in the Alutiiq Museum archives or produced by a current Elder was "traditional," and anything produced by other speakers was "contemporary." At the same

time, I was contributing new recordings to the Alutiiq Museum archives, providing more and more exceptions to my own ad hoc criteria. My categorizations of "traditional" language ended up including a relatively wide time range, from 18th century colonizers' accounts to mid-20th century recordings. Yet a definition of "traditional" language that includes all language use before any given cut-off point won't be suited to every research question, especially not when such a cut-off point is implied rather than clearly defined.

One key problem with these terms is that they uphold colonial power structures. It's widely recognized within linguistic anthropology that beliefs about language are often, at their core, beliefs about people. For instance, Gal (2013) observes that when people describe languages or language varieties using sensory terms such as "hard," "soft," and "sweet" (or even "oily," "sugary," and "bouncing," they're often passing similar judgments on the people who speak those languages. Inoue (2004) traces a process in which Japanese men imagined a pure past form of Japanese women's language in order to imply that modern Japanese women were impure. Rosa (2016) notes that, by linking English to the future and Spanish to the past, popular U.S. media portrayals imply that unassimilated Latinx people themselves have no place in America's future. Davis (2017:39) sees a related process occurring with respect to Indigenous languages and cultures: by dwelling on "last" speakers and "vanishing" languages, settlers overlook current Indigenous language use or dismiss it as inauthentic. By uncritically dividing Indigenous language into "traditional" and "contemporary," settler linguistics enable colonial projects that seek to limit Indigenous people and Indigenous power to the past.

Another issue with the terms *traditional* and *contemporary* is their inaccuracy. Alutiiq language activists often reuse or modify earlier language forms, in a process that García

(2009) terms *recursive bilingualism*. García defines *recursive bilingualism* as a process 'used in situations of reversing language shift, through which speakers take pieces of past language practices to reconstitute new practices that will serve them well in a bilingual future" (García 2009:379). Making new forms from components of old ones is formally acknowledged as a word creation strategy in the Alutiiq New Words Council, a multigenerational group of Alutiiq language activists established in 2007 to coin words for as yet unnamed objects, beings, and concepts (Counceller 2010). A 2007 "Statement of Council Priorities" lists two methods for creating new words from old forms: (1) "adding suffixes, such as -sta ['one who [verb]s'], -sqaq ['[noun]-like one'], -taq/aq [nominalizer], -ruaq/nguaq ['false [noun];' 'kind of like a [noun]'], -sinaq/ngcuk ['big [noun]/little [noun]']" to make new words from older ones, and (2) "research[ing] older words from Historical sources." Examples of new words created from older words and suffixes include *alatiruaq* [Northern style]/*alaciruaq* [Southern style] ('Russian frybread-like thing;' 'donut;' from the Russian loanword *alatiq* (N)/*alaciq* (S)), *cilrayuruaq* ('dragonfly-like thing;' 'helicopter'), *qaliyaruaq* ('traditional shirt-like thing;' 'shirt'), *taangaruaq* ('water-like thing;' 'soda'), and *tangqiguaq* ('light-like thing;' 'flashlight'). By conceptualizing post-contact objects with reference to pre-contact ones, these terms reinforce Alutiiq worldviews in relation to post-contact objects, allowing language activists to explore what some term their "Alutiiq brains." Researching old words for the purposes of creating new ones further allows for an engaged, applicable exploration of archival Alutiiq language materials.

Reclamation of past Alutiiq language occurs in less formal contexts than the Alutiiq New Words Council, as well. For instance, Alutiiq Museum archivist, language activist, and new Alutiiq speaker Dehrich Isuwiq Chya taught me an archaic term for 'rainbow,' *agluryaq,*

which he uses alongside the more widely used Russian loanword, *ʀaatukaaq*. Dehrich and I also began using the rare postbase *luar* ('nicely, properly'), which we learned from Sugt'stun (Chugach Alutiiq) speaker Sperry Ash. The process of reclaiming the *luar* postbase illustrates how new speakers and Elders collaborate to revive old or rare words and morphemes. When Dehrich and I asked about the *luar* postbase to determine whether it was familiar to Kodiak Alutiiq Elders, Pestrikoff not only recognized it, but began to use it with us in our ensuing interactions to familiarize us with it, teaching us phrases such as *Qawaluaqina* ('Sleep well'). Language activists in the Kodiak Alutiiq community as well as the Sugt'stun (Chugach Alutiiq) community also use old and rare morphemes in new ways: for example, Sperry Ash suggested that the term *aneluteka* ('my sibling;' lit. 'my coming out partner') could be used to mean 'my going out buddy,' and Dehrich further extended the *lute* ('partner') postbase to create the form *peklluteka* ('my working partner;' 'my coworker'). Through recursive bilingualism, Alutiiq language activists reclaim older language forms in both formal and informal settings, continuing Alutiiq epistemologies in relation to contemporary life. This example illustrates the extent to which, in Indigenous language revitalization, seemingly new language forms may be deeply intertwined with earlier ones.

In view of these practices, a strict separation of "contemporary" language from its historical components and roots is impractical, if not impossible. It would be more accurate and helpful to explicitly define categories of language use, across time, places, or social groups, and explain how they were defined and why the distinctions are important for the research question at hand. Focusing on locally relevant ways of dividing time might be preferable to imposing externally determined time divisions such as "traditional" versus "contemporary," too. In some cases, generalized time divisions may not be helpful or

applicable, and it may be better to provide as much detail about the time and source of each linguistic detail or moment of interaction as possible.

Implying that Elders can't choose to change or develop the language (because of emphasis on youth language agency)

Closely related to the division between "traditional" and "contemporary" Indigenous language is a division between youth and Elders. A growing body of work describes the agency of Indigenous youth to reclaim their languages (McCarty, Romero, and Zepeda 2006; Meek 2007; McCarty et al. 2009; Tulloch 2013; Huaman, Martin, and Chosa 2016). As García (2009) notes, the focus on Indigenous youth language agency counters ideologies that limit Indigenous language to the past, as well as those that frame youth as responsible for language dormancy. However, as Wyman, McCarty and Zepeda (2013) observe, language revitalization programs are intergenerational, so Elders as well as youth must be included in language movements.

While it's important to acknowledge the linguistic agency of Indigenous youth, it is also important, therefore, to acknowledge the agency of Elders. In many texts on Indigenous language revitalization, Elders are portrayed as "vessels" or "conduits" of language and culture which they "pass down" to youth. While these phrases convey a stance of respect towards Elders that may be appropriate to Indigenous communities' values, they do not suggest that Elders could creatively shape the future of the language. Sometimes Elders are described in an even more passive, almost dehumanizing light. For instance, Fishman (1991: 88) characterizes one advanced stage of language shift as follows: *Most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated old folks and Xish **needs to be re-assembled from their mouths***

and memories [emphasis mine]. This phrasing portrays Elders as uninvolved in the process

of language reassembly—as only mouths and minds from which language will be taken.

In the Alutiiq language movement, though, Elders are active participants who have a

voice in major decisions. They are often creative and playful users of Alutiiq language, not

just transmitters of pure or "traditional" speech styles. For example, Counceller (personal

communication) remembers that Elder Dennis Knagin invented the catchphrase *Inimaluten*

('You hang,' a literal translation of 'Hang in there'). Elders Florence Pestrikoff and Phyllis

Peterson often voice playful dialogues between characters, which serve both as a form of

entertainment and as a way of conveying different Alutiiq speech styles and example

contexts for language forms (Fine 2019). In addition, Elders sometimes lighten moments of

frustration by pretending to propose new coinings that combine English words with Alutiiq

pronunciations. For instance, Florence Pestrikoff jokingly offered the word *taisaq* as an

Alutiiq term for 'dice' at a meeting when no one could remember the existing term, drawing

on phonological wordplay to "Alutiicize" the English word *dice*. In contrast with the

common practice of creating new words through descriptive Alutiiq terms (e.g. *pat'sna'iwik,*

'chilling place,' for 'refrigerator'), this strategy is considered humorously simplistic. Alutiiq

Elders' use of many different forms of Alutiiq language play, humor, and creativity helps to

make Alutiiq language spaces inviting and engaging to community members of all ages.

Through collaborative interactions, younger language activists honor Elders' expertise, and

Elders frequently take up younger language activists' proposed forms.

Additionally, several Alutiiq Elders note that they enjoy learning more about the Alutiiq

language through their involvement in the language movement, troubling the assumption that

Elders can only be transmitters rather than receivers of knowledge. Finally, many Elders and

youth have close relationships with shared language practices, so many speech styles are characteristic of intergenerational social groups, not Elder or youth language per se. One example is the phrase *ili ili,* 'either or,' literally 'or or' (from the Russian loanword или, 'or'); this phrase was coined recently by Elders, and is used by both Elders and younger people. These observations suggest that, while it is important to acknowledge Indigenous youth agency, it is also important to consider Elders' linguistic agency and contributions to language vitality.

Devaluing symbolic language use

An additional way in which settler researchers stigmatize Indigenous language use is by dismissing it as "merely" symbolic. For example, German linguist Hans-Jürgen Sasse (1992) writes the following in a book chapter about so-called "language decay" (3):

(3)

> *What remains of the language in the phase of decay is not a language in the sense properly understood (a structured code), but an amorphous mass of words and word forms, stereotype sentences and phrases, formulaic expressions, idioms and proverbs, which are learned in "chunks," whose forms are imperfectly known and whose functions are poorly understood. When used in actual conversation, these linguistic fossils are put together in some random linear order without fixed syntactic rules (16, 17) [...] In the final phase where the obsolescent speech community consists nearly exclusively of semi-speakers and regular communication in the language stops, residue knowledge is used as a "phatic symbol of identification" (Tsitsipis). As a matter of fact, the remnants of the language are employed to signal in-group identity in songs, rhymes, jokes, toasts, obscene words and phrases, or occasionally as a secret language. On occasion a kind of pseudocommunication is possible with the help of stereotype phrases and formulaic expressions from a fixed stock learnt by heart.*
>
> (Sasse 1992:64)

Sasse frames "phatic" or symbolic use of formulaic expressions and idioms as the last, tragic remnants of language use, not considering that these same expressions could

be among the first sparks of a resurgence of language vitality (and also not acknowledging that all language use symbolically conveys social meaning). Others use the term *language fossilization* to frame a similar type of change from dynamic interaction to rote words and phrases (Moore 1988; Sugita 2007).

At one point, I too held similar views. The "Where Are Your Keys" method cautions language learners not to get too fixated on learning lots of nouns, warning that this approach can prevent them from learning to use the language flexibly. I construed this warning to extend to greetings, idioms, and other socially important phrases as well, valuing "fluid" language use and variation of grammatical forms more than culturally appropriate uses of these phrases.

However, in the Alutiiq language movement, formulaic phrases are important precisely because of their functions as social symbols (O'Reilly 2003), their use as markers of Alutiiq identity (see Ahlers' 2008 discussion of "Native Language as Identity Marker"), and their role in language socialization (Burdelski & Cook 2012). Public use of Alutiiq phrases challenges white public spaces (Hill 1998) where English functions as the "default" language. Although these phrases may be relatively simple at the level of linguistic form, using them therefore takes a great deal of courage and effort. In response to a question about Alutiiq-English language mixing that I asked during an interview, Alutiiq language activist and Alutiit'stun Niuwawik (Alutiiq Language Nest) preschool teacher Mariah Stapleton commented that using Alutiiq phrases such as *Cama'i* ('Hello') in public is difficult and embarrassing, particularly because other people are unlikely to understand (a, lines 23-29).[4]

---

[4] In the discourse excerpts in this dissertation, I divide line breaks not according to intonation units, as is typically in sociocultural discourse analysis, or by turns, which would often be too long to allow for reference to specific parts of the discourse. Instead, I divide them based on prosodic sentences or in some cases sentence

(a)

1 JF;	Have you ever heard people like, kind of a mixture of English and Alutiiq
2	that you can't tell if it's more one than another?
3 MS;	Hm.
4	Not really?
5	I haven't been around a lot of conversations,
6 JF;	Mm, mhm?
7 MS;	but between, people outside of work—
8	So most of the time whenever I have heard people talk one or the other,
9	it's been either like straight Alutiiq or straight English.
10	Which, it's kind of nice that way, because then it doesn't get confused.
11 JF;	Yeah, and with the whole immersion framework.
12 MS;	Mhm.
13	I think that's also the reason why I never really hear people trying to drop
14	English words, is because they want to uphold the immersion.
15 JF;	Makes sense, yeah.
16 MS;	So, yeah, I haven't been around anybody that has a full conversation
17	outside of work.
18	Which also kind of drops my confidence, because me not hearing it
19	outside of work makes it a mentality where it's like, "Okay, I'm done with
20	work, I'm done with Alutiiq,"
21 JF;	Uh-huh?
22	I see what you mean.
23 MS;	So it's difficult to say it in public, like even just "Cama'i" ['Hello']
24	sometimes.
25	It's a little bit difficult for me to just like say—
26	Because I still feel that, like, I've always gotten encouraged with language
27	but I still feel a little bit embarrassed.
28	I don't know why, it's just like, "Oh, this is something they're not going to
29	understand anyway, I don't know why I should say it."

(20190824_Mariah_Stapleton)

While Mariah notes the negative emotions that discourage her from speaking Alutiiq in white public spaces ("it's a little bit difficult"; "I still feel a little bit embarrassed"), she also highlights the importance of public Alutiiq language use for expanding the domain of Alutiiq outside Alutiiq-focused workplaces like the Alutiit'stun Niuwawik (b, cont'd from a). She

---

fragments, determining the boundaries of these sentences based on cues including pauses, speech rhythm, intonation, breath, and laughter.

expresses the intention to start using Alutiiq phrases such as *Cama'i* ('Hello') and *Quyanaa*

('Thank you') in public despite the discomfort it causes her (lines 24-27).

(b)

```
30 JF;    I know what you mean.
31        I've heard some people doing that though, like one time I was grocery
32        shopping I think with Alisha and she said like "Quyanaa" ['Thank you'] or
33        something or like that.
34        And I thought it was cool.
24 MS;    Yeah, like I really want to start doing that though, like just saying
25        "Cama'i" ['Hello'] or "Quyanaa" ['Thank you'] or something outside of
26        work, without anybody that even knows what I'm talking about and then
27        like start up a conversation about it.
28 JF;    Yeah.
29        I was in Walmart the other day, buying batteries, and I was explaining like
30        what I was doing here, and the person who I was talking to was like, "Oh
31        that's so cool, I'm like half Alutiiq but I've never learned the language."
32        So I think, like, it could really drum up interest too.
33 MS;    Yeah, and like I kind of thought about that as well, like if I start talking
34        about it and saying that and prompting it.
35        Like, I know that I don't really look Alutiiq.
36        So if I run into somebody who doesn't seem like they're Native, they
37        could be, or they want to learn, or just anybody who doesn't like have any
38        connection to Alutiiq, they just want to learn, or be interested in it.
39        And I've thought about that before, just the confidence to actually say it.
40        ((laughs))
```
                                                      (20190824_Mariah_Stapleton)

Taking up my assertion that speaking Alutiiq in public spaces could "really drum up

interest" in the language movement (line 32), Mariah agrees that the public use of simple

Alutiiq phrases could directly increase participation in the Alutiiq language movement,

commenting that the difficulty of visually reading ethnoracial identity (see also Alim 2016 on

transracialization) may prevent white-passing people of Native heritage from connecting with

each other in white public spaces. Given Mariah's positionality as someone who, in her

words, doesn't "really look Alutiiq," her public use of Alutiiq could increase visibility and

language movement participation precisely for people who feel that they may not qualify as

"really" Alutiiq because of their physical appearance or mixed Alutiiq and non-Indigenous ancestry.

In addition to greetings and other formulaic phrases, many people in the Alutiiq community use Alutiiq words for certain objects and beings linked to Alutiiq culture when speaking English. Often, these Alutiiq borrowings are place names or animal names. For instance, in the following excerpt from a conversation about her childhood (collected as part of Kartemquin Film's *Keep Talking* documentary of Alutiiq language revitalization), Elder Kathryn Chichenoff intertwines English and Alutiiq (4).

(4)

1 KC; Running water nalluk'gpet.
       We didn't know about running water.

2   But wiiтʀaumek taangangq'rtaallriakut.
       But we had water from a bucket.

3   Cold water.

4   Yeah.

5   Cuumi, you know everybody had their own banyas.
       Back then, you know everybody had their own banyas.

6   So you did in **Ag'waneq**, you banya'd?
       So you did in Afognak, you banya'd?

7   You didn't see no **taquka'aq**?
       You didn't see no bears?

                                                        (Kathryn 7/27/16)

In lines 1 and 2, Kathryn uses the English words *running water* and *but* while speaking Alutiiq; in lines 3 and 4, she speaks English; in line 5, she uses the Alutiiq word *cuumi* ('back then') and then switches back to English; and in lines 6 and 7, she continues to speak English while using the Alutiiq words *Ag'waneq* ('Afognak;' place name) and *taquka'aq* ('bear').

Other kinds of Alutiiq words that are often used in English include terms for Alutiiq foods, tools, clothing, and social practices. For instance, even community members who are not directly involved in the language movement sometimes use Alutiiq words such as *ciiwaq* 'bug,' *ciitaq* 'mashed salmonberries, cream, and sugar,' *akutaq* 'Eskimo [sic] ice cream,' *taariq* 'grass whisk,' *piinaq* 'fermented fish eggs,' and other terms. Commenting on her husband's language use as well as that of others from the same village during an interview with me, Alutiiq language educator Peggy Azuyak observes the use of Alutiiq words relating to animals, seasons, and weather (5, lines 20-22) as well as the words *at'alaq* ('floatplane'), *aq'alarai* ('it jumps them,' an expression said when fish jump), *islluq* ('deaf; hard of hearing'), and *qugmayuq* ('pees one's pants').

(5)

```
1 JF;   Do you ever notice kind of the opposite thing happening, like people using
2       specific Alutiiq words in English conversation?
3 PA;   Yeah, that happens a lot in Old Harbor area, just because so many down there
4       grew up hearing the language, even though the Elders now didn't speak it
5       openly a lot.
6       Like my husband's father's generation heard it in the home, but didn't speak
7       it,
8       but heard it a lot.
9       So then they'll use different terms, like they'll call the float planes "at'alaq,"
10      and they'll say "aq'alarai" for the jumpers.
11      And they have a *lot* of terms, that they'll be speaking English and throw these
12      terms in.
13      My husband does that a lot.
14      For the terms that *he's* heard growing up.
15      And like people who have a hard time hearing, they'll call them "islluk"
16      ['deaf'].
17      And something one of the people in Old Harbor used to say all the time was
18      "qurmayuk," and for him it meant "pee your pants." ((laughs))
19      I don't know, yeah, there's a lot of that.
20      I'm trying to think of other examples, but there's terms for the different
21      animals, maybe, and some of the seasonal, weather type things.
22      They'll just kind of pepper those terms in.
```
                                                                    (20190830_Peggy_Azuyak)

Another theme of borrowings from Alutiiq are terms for Alutiiq concepts with no exact English translation. For example, when I asked an interview question about the use of English words in Alutiiq and vice versa, Dehrich Isuwiq Chya commented on the use of the word *peqiq* 'scavenge; borrow something not in use' (6).

(6)

1 DC; Allrani-ruq allrak, kesiin niitaak'gka su'ut nugtaaluteng "peqiq,"
       Very occasionally maybe, but I've heard people saying "peqiq.

2   "Peqiq" is used a lot by people in the Kodiak community, and I'm sure
3   elsewhere, as a—to like scavenge something, or to borrow something
4   that's not in use.
5   So, you know, you can say, if somebody's got a pen that's sitting on their desk
6   and you want to take it, you say you're gonna "peqiq" it, so that you can put
7   it to use.
8   And the closest translation is "scavenge," but that doesn't really get the
9   message across, because "scavenge" means that it's like a useless thing that
10   you've given use, rather than something that could be used that's not being
11   used.

                                                            (20190822_Dehrich_Chya)

These borrowings contain nuances of meaning that are specific to Alutiiq culture, and therefore work to reassert Alutiiq worldviews even in English-dominant contexts. They can also play an important role in recruiting new Alutiiq language activists: one language activist reports that she was inspired to join the language movement in order to learn the meaning of the term *A'inguallraq* (approximately 'Poor thing'), which her Alutiiq-speaking friend kept calling her.

Such Alutiiq borrowings are not, as Sasse (1992) claims, an "amorphous mass of words and word forms." There are clear themes in the types of words that are used: they highlight important elements of Alutiiq culture and life, including local plants and animals, Alutiiq foods, and Alutiiq concepts. "Symbolic" public Alutiiq language use is key both to

expanding the contexts associated with Alutiiq language use and recruiting new participants to the language movement. These insights are especially striking given that the Alutiiq language community also values creative language use, showing that fixed and fluid forms of language can coexist within a language movement.

As well as using Alutiiq greetings, words, and phrases in conversation, Alutiiq language activists have used public signage and radio programming as a way to make Alutiiq a visible and audible presence in Kodiak. As soon as visitors to Kodiak step off the plane and into the local airport, they're greeted by the Alutiiq message *Asirtuq tailuten* ('It is good that you have come'). Inside the airport, an installation expands this message of welcome to a longer one—*Asirtuq tailuten Alutiit nuniinun*, 'It is good that you have come to the land of the Alutiiq people'—alongside images of petroglyphs and Alutiiq dancers, emphasizing Alutiiq people's connection to the local land.

In addition to displaying these relatively formal messages in fixed locations, Alutiiq language activists have created Alutiiq stickers for use on cars, water bottles, computers, and other personal possessions. For example, Figure 1 and Figure 2 show the Alutiiq stickers that language activists Stevi Frets and Dehrich Isuwiq Chya have used to decorate their water bottles.

Figure 1: *Saqalngatak* ('Butterfly')   Figure 2: *Taangaq* ('Water')

Similarly, the Alutiiq radio program *Alutiiq Word of the Week*, which has aired on KMXT Public Radio in Kodiak since 1998 (Steffian 2012), increases the audibility of Alutiiq in Kodiak. Each episode consists of an Alutiiq word, an Alutiiq Elder pronouncing the word in a sentence, and a brief passage about the cultural significance and history of the word, as well as Alutiiq drumming and singing. For instance, Lesson 2244 presents the word *suaruaq* ('doll') and the sample sentence *Nutaan suarualitaartut ineqsunasqanek* ('Nowadays they make beautiful dolls'), along with information about the types of materials used to make Alutiiq dolls and their functions as toys and hunting amulets. Alutiiq Word of the Week exposes Kodiak residents and visitors to Alutiiq language and culture, which in turn increases participation in and support for the Alutiiq language movement. It also functions as a form of environmental education, as many of the episodes provide cultural knowledge about local plants and animals.

Far from detracting from conversational language use or lessening perceptions of the urgency of language documentation, public Alutiiq signage and radio programming serve as

key strategies in strengthening the language movement. These initiatives co-exist with many other documentation and revitalization efforts, many of which focus on conversational language and narratives as opposed to short phrases. Other studies of Indigenous language signage and radio programming suggest that both can lead to significant advantages for language movements. As Kelly-Holmes (2014:136) notes, the visual presence of a language in a "linguistic landscape" through signage doesn't just reflect the status of the visible language being a "living language," but actively contributes to it. The increased visual presence of a minoritized Indigenous language may generate support for and interest in that language and culture, both among Indigenous individuals and among local settler-owned individuals and organizations. For instance, Wilson, Johnson, and Sallabank (2015) describe how, when Guernesiais language signage was increased, local businesses began to submit requests for translations of phrases into Guernesiais to be displayed. Similar requests have been submitted to the Alutiiq Museum: for example, I was once present at a meeting where the Museum staff were asked to develop a name for a construction crane that had been recently built on the island. Auditory presence of Indigenous language, too, has been shown to strengthen language movements. Klain and Peterson (2000), for example, note the importance of Navajo radio programming as a way to reach younger generations and promote language maintenance. In a study of Basque radio programming, Agirreazkuenaga (2012) writes that the radio station was "instrumental" in establishing a university degree in Basque media studies, and became a symbol of Basque identity. Publicly audible and visible uses of Alutiiq language are symbolic of Alutiiq identity, as well. However, they are neither superficial nor cut off from social reality, as dismissive discourses about "emblematic" language use imply. Instead, they shape social realities by challenging the dominance of

English and whiteness on Kodiak Island and reclaiming space for Alutiiq language and culture.

The importance of symbolic language use to the Alutiiq language movement raises the foundational question of how success is defined in Indigenous language revitalization. While outsider linguists sometimes assume that the goal of Indigenous language revitalization is 'a situation in which the target language is fluently known by a new generation of speakers and used in all domains' (Leonard 2007:41), some Alutiiq language activists instead articulate normalization of Alutiiq as a metric of success. For instance, when I asked Alutiiq language activist and artist Hanna Agasuuq Sholl whether she saw the goals of language movement as fluency or something else, she replied that she "would love to hear it I guess normalized" (7, line 8), "present in our lives" (line 9), and "in households, in grocery stores, and normal, just like normal around" (lines 15-16).

(7)

```
1 JF;   Another thing I've been thinking about is kind of like the whole goals of the language
2       movement.
3       Even in a lot of like, linguistics papers that are coming out still, people are assuming
4       that the goal of language revitalization is fluency, and like that's the end-all be-all.
5       I was curious if you might have any different goals, or see it in a different light than
6       that?
7 HS;   Yeah.
8       I would love to hear it I guess normalized.
9       Not necessarily fluent but like, like to be present enough in our lives to remind us that
10      we are speaking.
11      When stuff is going on and events are going on, and I'm hearing things, and I'm part
12      of things, I speak a ton of Alutiiq in my house to my kids.
13      At a preschool level, but still, they're hearing it and learning.
14      And then when things aren't going on, or I'm discouraged, then I stop completely.
15      And I think that the ultimate goal would be to start encouraging that in households, in
16      grocery stores, and normal, just like normal around.
17      And there's some different reasons why that's problematic, but I think that that's a
18      great way to measure success in a language movement, is how much you hear it in
19      your daily life versus like how perfect are you saying. ((laughs))
```

Hanna notes that the normalization of Alutiiq in public places such as grocery stores and language events helps support her Alutiiq language use ("When stuff is going on and events are going on, and I'm hearing things, and I'm part of things, I speak a ton of Alutiiq in my house to my kids"), while not hearing Alutiiq can be discouraging. Later in the same interview, Hanna comments that Alutiiq language audibility and visibility "in an area we wouldn't necessarily see it" builds on her daughter's Alutiiq language and cultural education to reinforce her sense of Alutiiq identity (8, lines 10-13).

(8)

1 JF;   I was curious—I know you've talked in the past too about the benefits for the
2   immersion preschool students, in terms of not necessarily just language fluency per
3   se, but kind of their sense of identity?
4 HS; Mhm.
5 JF;   I was wondering, following up with that, have you noticed like your kids'
6   experiences, what they might have gotten out of it?
7 HS; With the littler ones, no.
8   But I think that that's because it's not something I can notice right now.
9   It's in them, it's in their head, it's in their identity.
10   My daughter every once in a while, when she hears someone speaking Alutiiq, or
11   when she sees something that's blatantly Alutiiq but out of context, like in an area we
12   wouldn't necessarily see it, she'll come up to me and she'll be like, "Mom, it's
13   Alutiiq." ((laughs))
14   So she has a connection there.
15   And that is the benefit, hands down, of the immersion preschool and the family
16   language night, and the cultural events.
17   All of that is teaching these children that they belong somewhere, and that they have
18   this inside of them, and that they can do this and make better choices.
19   And I know like, I know I've talked a lot about that in the past, and I still really
20   firmly believe that that is a huge benefit to what's going on with the language
21   movement.
22   I think that the kids, they probably benefit most out of any age that's being taught, or
23   learning, or teaching in the language movement now.
24   Not the fact that they may or may not be learning Alutiiq, but the fact that they are
25   being accepted for who they are, and their culture, and having the opportunity to learn
26   these building blocks of their language.

The above results challenge the assumption that symbolic language use comes at the expense of conversational language use, or that it is the final stage of "language decay." Instead, symbolic language use can coexist with efforts towards promoting conversational and narrative language use, and can constitute a beginning rather than an endpoint of language vitality. In light of Hanna's and others' comments, finally, it is clear that symbolic Alutiiq language use is crucial not only to supporting community fluency, but to the success of the Alutiiq language movement as a means of cultural reclamation.

Harmfully essentializing Indigenous cultures, communities, and individuals

In their work on Indigenous youth multilingualism, McCarty et al. (2009) note that Indigenous language communities are 'heteroglossic' environments, meaning that they include many ways of speaking. This is an important point, because many studies seek to generalize about the language practices of a given Indigenous community—or even across several Indigenous communities—rather than considering the variety of different practices across Indigenous cultures, across different Indigenous community members (i.e., interspeaker variation), and within individual Indigenous people across situations (i.e., intraspeaker variation). Generalizations like this, especially when made by settler researchers, risk essentializing Indigenous people and erasing those language practices that do not fit with the theoretical argument being made.

   In her dissertation, Counceller (2010) notes that essentialism of Indigenous language and culture isn't always harmful, however—and that efforts against essentialism can actually undercut Native rights movements. She cites Womack (2000:3-4) describing how he was criticized by a professor for observing commonalities about Native peoples' connections to

the land, and pointing out that there *are* important commonalities across Native peoples' experiences that are crucial to arguments for Native sovereignty and colonial accountability (Counceller 2010:72). It's clear that positionality, purpose, and context all factor into whether generalizations about Indigenous people constitute harmful or strategic essentialism (Spivak 1990; Wolff 2007).

One way in which I, as a settler researcher, hope to avoid harmful essentialization of Alutiiq people is to understand parallels with other Indigenous contexts as results of similar sociohistorical experiences of colonial oppression and decolonial resistance. To use Womack's example, I believe that it is reasonable to observe that many Indigenous communities have strong connections to, and respect for, the land. However, a question arises as to whether these connections should be considered unusual, or whether it is *disconnection* from the land that is strange. Scholars in environmental studies have argued that capitalist and extractivist systems have separated people from the land, destroyed ecosystems, and led to negative physical and mental health effects (Magdoff & Foster 2011; Bratman, Hamilton, & Daily 2012). Many settlers in environmental movements take issue with the portrayal of these systems and ways of life as the default, finding spiritual connections to the land and embracing nature-based values such as ecosophy, or a philosophy based in ecological harmony (Naess 1990; Bron 2001). Even outside of environmental movements, many settlers find fulfillment and psychological restoration in outdoor activities (Weng & Chiang 2014; Mütz & Muller 2016). By considering why Indigenous and settler communities have developed the values they have, it may be possible to limit harmful essentialization of Indigenous people.

Another alternative to essentializing entire Indigenous communities as all thinking, speaking, or acting the same way is to consider communities of practice. Communities of practice, as theorized by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992), consist of groups of people who regularly come together to perform a shared activity. Rather than claiming that an entire Indigenous community shares a language practice, it may be better to describe the shared practices of a specific group within the community, which may also be found in other Indigenous language contexts. This will help to avoid imposing outside social categorizations on the community, shifting the focus to locally meaningful groupings. In addition to considering variation within communities, it is important to acknowledge variation within individuals, or intraspeaker variation. Instead of assuming that each individual in an Indigenous community speaks in a certain style (which is already an improvement from assuming one monolithic Indigenous speech style), it might be helpful to consider the ways in which an individual uses different speech styles in different contexts. While a case study methodology is one way to approach this topic (e.g. Podesva 2007), interviewing people about their language practices is also a valid method, since language activists have a great deal of expertise and awareness of their language use (Lee 2013).

Similarly, care should be taken to acknowledge the complexity of individuals' multiple ethnic identities and social positionality. For instance, I have mainly been focused on the interplay of Alutiiq, Russian, and Northern European heritage, since these are the themes that have arisen most in my previous ethnographic work. However, I recently learned through interviews that several Alutiiq community members have other Alaska Native heritages as well. By asking Alutiiq community members how they identify ethnically, how they see their role in the community, and how they wish to be represented, I've gained a more detailed

understanding of these categorizations than the one I would have imposed. Self-representation isn't just more ethically appropriate than other-representation: it's often more nuanced, as well.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed several boundaries and divisions that settler linguists have imposed on Indigenous communities: fluency versus disfluency, tradition versus modernity, Elders versus youth, experts versus laypeople, and research versus non-research. By attributing value to only some kinds of Indigenous language use, settler linguists have often asserted themselves as dominant experts and ignored the complexities of language revitalization. In the following chapter, I illustrate some of these complexities through an analysis of translanguaging practices in the Alutiiq community, demonstrating the multiplicity of both translanguaging practices and attitudes towards these practices. Instead of perpetuating reductive ways of researching and writing, I propose that settler linguists reflexively examine the ways in which colonial frameworks and ideologies have permeated our understandings of language revitalization, actively work to reject these ideologies and models, and center the expertise and interests of Indigenous community members.

CHAPTER 3

TRANSLANGUAGING AND STRATEGIC MONOLINGUALISM

3.1 Introduction

Previous research has highlighted the many forms, uses, and social organizations of

multilingualism in Indigenous language revitalization contexts (García 2009; McCarty &

Wyman 2009; Wyman, McCarty & Nicholas 2013; Phyak 2016; Pietikäinen 2018). Several

scholars have applied the framework of *translanguaging* (Williams 1994) to Indigenous

multilingualism. According to Bayhnam and Lee (2019), while the more widely used term

code-switching refers to "going between languages," translanguaging refers to "going

between *and* beyond them" (emphasis original). Often used in work on Latinx language

practices, translanguaging is defined by García and Li Wei (2018) not as a mixing of

languages, but as a creation of a new reality (1):

(1)

> *Today, translanguaging refers to the use of language as a dynamic repertoire and not as a system with socially and politically defined boundaries. With the focus on actual language use, translanguaging necessarily goes beyond the named languages such as Chinese, English, or French (García & Li Wei, 2014; Li Wei, 2011, 2018; Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015, 2018). Instead, it privileges the language of speakers as a semiotic system of linguistic and multimodal signs that together make up the speaker's own communicative repertoire. This repertoire does not always correspond to the strict parameters of one named language or another established by grammars, dictionaries, and schools.*
>
> (García & Li Wei 2018:1)

The theory of translanguaging opposes theories that assume clear separations between

languages in bi/multilingual speakers, which may not actually match how these speakers

perceive or enact their language practices (García & Li Wei 2018:4). Furthermore, the theory

of translanguaging draws inspiration from Anzaldúa's (1987) work on linguistic and cultural

borderlands, which in turn was inspired by her experiences living at the border between the

United States and Mexico. This border is the site of great social and racial inequality, most recently with the United States' immigration policies giving way to out-and-out human rights violations as children have been separated from their parents and detained indefinitely (Serwer 2019). In this context, the goal of hegemonic culture is to dehumanize and vilify Latinx immigrants by maintaining the border. Similarly, English-only ideologies and policies impose borders between English and other languages in order to exclude speakers of those languages, an extension of anti-immigration xenophobia and racism (Crawford 1992; Wiley & Lukes 1996).

As Flores and Beardsmore (2015:213-214) argue, translanguaging and other heteroglossic language ideologies are also informed by the rise of globalization, no less than monoglossic language ideologies were influenced by the rise of nation-states. Under this new global paradigm, fluidity and difference are often seen as positive traits rather than deficits. Flores and Beardsmore note that heteroglossic language ideologies must therefore be carefully theorized so as not to reproduce the marginalization of language-minoritized communities. Indigenous language contexts are one such area in which uncritically embracing fluid language practices may marginalize rather than liberate. In Indigenous language revitalization contexts, borders between languages and cultures are not always experienced as oppressive; on the contrary, maintaining borders between Indigenous and colonizing cultures may constitute a form of resistance to forced assimilation. While some Indigenous communities and individuals prefer a "one world" model in which post-colonization objects and knowledges are integrated into Indigenous language use, others prefer a "two world" approach that separates Indigenous and colonial languages and cultures (Wilson & Kamanā 2009). Views of language mixing are often closely tied to views of

cultural contact (Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity 1998); because of the complexity and variedness of Indigenous stances on cultural integration, Indigenous views of translanguaging are likewise varied and complex.

As I show in this chapter, Alutiiq community members' attitudes towards translanguaging vary according to several factors. Sociopolitical context is one key reason for these varying attitudes. Influences from Russian settler-colonialism have been incorporated into Alutiiq cultural heritage, and especially into the Northern style of Alutiiq. Therefore, Alutiiq speakers do not typically object to the presence of Russian loanwords, even though many recognize them as Russian. English loanwords are more controversial because of the ongoing nature of white American settler-colonialism. Interactional context is another factor in determining attitudes towards Alutiiq translanguaging: certain types of translanguaging are preferred in some settings, while Alutiiq monolingualism is preferred in others. Finally, individual language activists express nuanced and ambivalent stances towards translanguaging, noting that their abstract opinions about translanguaging may not match up with their emotional reactions to specific instances of it.

Furthermore, Alutiiq translanguaging practices are themselves varied: in this chapter, I present examples of word borrowing and code-switching, but also literal translation, sociophonetic translanguaging (i.e., pronouncing words from one language in a speech style drawn from another), and orthographic translanguaging (i.e., spelling words from one language in the writing system of another). These findings resonate with Bayhnam and Lee's (2019) observation that translanguaging can involve "myriad processes including code-switching, transliteration, translation, orthographic transitions, phonetic slippage, and even interfacing language and the body." These types of Alutiiq translanguaging serve different

and important functions. Word borrowing and codeswitching can help some speakers to maintain conversational momentum and avoid fatigue, a function also noted by Creese and Blackwell (2010). Literal translation, sociophonetic translation, and orthographic translation are often used to create humor, and so to engage audiences (cf. Creese & Blackwell 2010), navigate tensions of language learning, and strengthen social bonds. Furthermore, these forms of translanguaging—especially literal translation and sociophonetic translanguaging—can also be used to accentuate differences between Alutiiq and American culture by foregrounding humorous translation mismatches.

Alongside these many translanguaging practices, the Alutiiq language movement also at times opts for practices of *strategic monolingualism* (Zhu et al. 2020)—that is, choosing to speak only Alutiiq in certain contexts. In his comments in Zhu and Kramsch's (2020) concluding article "Translating Culture in Global Times: Dialogues," Li Wei, a contributor to their thematic issue, defines strategic monolingualism as 'a tactic, whereby minoritized language users and stereotyped bilinguals and multilinguals temporarily monolingualize themselves to bring forward a specific dimension of their identity to achieve certain goals.' Whereas Li Wei uses the term to refer to speakers choosing to present themselves as speaking only a culturally dominant language, I use it here to refer to Alutiiq speakers' choice to use only Alutiiq for certain purposes. Examples of strategic Alutiiq monolingualism include Alutiiq immersion spaces, the creation of Alutiiq words for post-contact objects and technologies, and some speakers' decisions to use only Alutiiq words for certain objects in the home. Strategic monolingualism is used in tandem with translanguaging to facilitate Alutiiq language learning, index Alutiiq identity, and strengthen social relationships.

Settler linguists have criticized Indigenous communities both for translanguaging practices and for strategic monolingualism. Sometimes, like the professors I quote in Chapter 1, settler linguists make disparaging comments about language mixing. They also sometimes devalue translanguaging through judgments about who is an "authentic" speaker (Leonard & Haynes 2010) and what should be represented in language resources (Huebner & Davis 1999). Yet settler linguists have also argued that language purism is a barrier to language revitalization (Dorian 1994)—sometimes carefully and thoughtfully, and sometimes without adequate attention to the origins of language purism as a response to colonial violence. In this chapter, I hope to help counteract these purist critiques and critiques of purism, demonstrating that both translanguaging and strategic monolingualism can be valid and empowering components of Indigenous language revitalization.

3.2 Forms and functions of translanguaging in the Alutiiq language movement

Code-switching

I use the term *code-switching* here to refer to a type of translanguaging characterized by using English words and phrases when speaking Alutiiq. Many Alutiiq speakers across generations and learning stages make use of code-switching, although, as I will show, some choose to avoid it or use it only in certain situations. The following excerpt from Elder Sophie Shepherd's narrative about going out dancing in the village of Karluk contains examples of code-switching, including the English words and phrases *fishermen, Sunday night, three, four o'clock in the morning, uncle, kitchen,* and *after breakfast* (2).

(2)

1 SS; Kal'uni kesiin asirtaallria.
       It was nice in Karluk though.

2   Kiagmi **fishermen** taiyaqata, aa'i **Sunday night** agnguarluta, gwaspani.
       *In summer when the **fishermen** came, we would dance on **Sunday night**, oh my.*

3   Agnguarluta **three, four o'clock in the morning**.
       *We would dance until **three, four o'clock in the morning**.*

4   Gui kuugngiami **uncle-mni-llu** ikayurtaak'gka.
       *I would help with my **uncle** in the [unknown word]*

5   **Kitchen-mi** pektaallrianga.
       *I worked in the **kitchen**.*

6   **Three, four o'clock** agnguamek anluta.
       *We'd go out after dancing until **three, four o'clock**.*

7   Gui pekcaturlua, **four o'clock**, qawagkunii.
       *I would go to work, **four o'clock**, without sleeping.*

8   **After breakfast, uncle**-ma niu'utaaqiinga, "Qawaryatura."
       ***After breakfast**, **my uncle** would tell me, "Go sleep."*

<div align="right">(Sophie 8/18/17)</div>

There are no noticeable pauses between the English phrases and the rest of the narrative, or shifts in pitch, rhythm, or intonation. This continuity and fluidity is characteristic of code-switching (Gumperz 1977), and suggests that Sophie is not making a slow, effortful shift between languages, but intermingling them with ease. In fact, some scholars of translanguaging have argued that forms that combine words from one language with grammatical markers from another (such as *uncle-mni-llu,* 'with my uncle,' *uncle-ma*, 'my uncle,' and *kitchen-mi*, 'in the kitchen'), are 'heteroglossic' forms that do not fit neatly into either language (Creese & Blackledge 2010).

As has also been found in other analyses of code-switching, Sophie's code-switching is not random, but patterned and systematic (Gumperz 1977; Poplack 1988; Woolard 2004: 74-75; De Fina 2007:383; Jalil 2009). Words and forms drawn from English tend to belong to specific categories, including post-contact places, occupations, time terms, and technologies.

Here, examples include *kitchen* (a room that is distinct from the cooking and storage rooms found in pre-contact *ciqlluaq* or barabaras (Luehrman 2008:25)), *fisherman* (used here to refer to commercial fishing), and time terms (*Sunday night, three, four o'clock, after breakfast*). Sometimes, as in most of these cases, Alutiiq speakers use English words to refer to objects and concepts associated with American-origin culture or lifestyles, similarly to how they use Russian loanwords to refer to objects and concepts introduced through Russian settler-colonialism (i.e., *kas'aq* 'priest,' *pRiistanaq* 'dock,' *faRanaq* 'lantern,' *gleipaq~gliipaq* 'bread').[5] These kinds of borrowing are sometimes called "cultural loans" (Myers-Scotton 1992:28). At other times, the reason for the choice is more subtle. For instance, Elders Sophie Shepherd and Kathryn Chichenoff (both from Karluk, and speakers of the Northern style) systematically borrow certain English kinship terms—such as *uncle-ma,* and elsewhere the words *sister* and *brother*—from English, but use Russian loanwords *maama* ('mother') and *taata(q)* ('father'), and use Alutiiq terms for 'husband,' 'wife,' 'partner,' 'daughter,' 'son,' and 'grandchild.' Without detailed ethnographic evidence of how Alutiiq kinship relations have evolved throughout Russian and American settler-colonialism, it is not clear what motivates this intricate pattern. However, it demonstrates that intercultural contact may influence translanguaging practices in subtle as well as straightforward ways.

Alutiiq speakers report that they code-switch for a variety of reasons, including alleviating mental fatigue and replacing unknown Alutiiq words. Alutiiq Museum archivist and language activist Dehrich Isuwiq Chya notes in an interview with me that he often code-

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[5] In fact, it is not always clear whether the use of English words in Alutiiq is a case of code-switching or loanword borrowing (this is also true more broadly: see Gysels 1992, Myers-Scotton 1992, Poplack 2001, and Lipski 2005 for discussions of the ambiguities and overlap between code-switching and loanword borrowing). However, English words used in Alutiiq are not currently adapted to Alutiiq phonology, as Russian loanwords are, and they are not listed in dictionaries or other texts as Alutiiq words. Therefore, I will refer to their use as code-switching rather than borrowing.

switches when visiting Elders because "ilqupet sakarnga'iut" ('our brains get tired') (3, line

8).

(3)

1 JF; Akuutaagken tamarmek?
      Do you mix them both?

2 DC; Nutaan allrak. Gui pitua. ((laughs))
      Now maybe. I'm doing it. ((laughs))

3 JF; Kesiin,
      But,

4 DC; Gui akuullukek.
      I'm mixing the two.

5 JF; Kesiin allranisinaq?
      But only once in a while?

6 DC; Aa'a. Uh-huh. Well, allrani, kula'irkumta cuqllipet-llu, ta'aten et'aartukut, akuulluki.
      Yes. Uh-huh. Well, sometimes, when we visit with our Elders, we're like that, mixing them.

7   Miʀikaan'saat'stun, Alutiit'stun niugneret.
      English, Alutiiq words.

8   Elliin allrak ilqupet sakarnga'iut.
      Because maybe our brains get tired.

9   Ta'aten cimirlaartaartukut.
      So we switch.

                                                          (20190822_Dehrich_Chya)

Dehrich's comment suggests that English-Alutiiq codeswitching may be a means of

alleviating mental fatigue while speaking Alutiiq, as well as a result of the cultural and

situational associations of certain English and Alutiiq words.

    In the same interview, Dehrich further explains that in his experience, code-switching

does not necessarily involve a shift from an Alutiiq to an English or Western mindset (4,

lines 6-14).

(4)

1 JF; Allʀani-qaa, Alutiit'stun niuwakut, Miʀikaan'saat'stun ilait niugneret aturtaaten-qaa?
Sometimes, if you speak Alutiiq, do you use some English words?

2 DC; Aa'a, Alutiit'stun niuwarkuma Miʀikaan'saat'stun aturlua, nallukuma Alutiit'stun-
nek niuwanerek.
Yeah, if I speak Alutiiq I use English, if I don't know the Alutiiq words.

3 Ta'aten world view aturnayaqa—
I would use the world view like that—

4 Cestun Alutiit'stun-mi nalluwaqa.
I don't know how to say it in Alutiiq.

5 Yeah.
6 I use English in Alutiiq sentences if I don't know how to portray that *in* Alutiiq.
7 And, *I think that that kind of thing is okay*, because you know, you're not necessarily
8 switching to English in your mindset.
9 Even if you use an English word, you still have to use it in the Alutiiq way, you know
10 grammar and sentence structure and all of that.
11 So when I'm speaking immersively, I try not to use an English mindset even if I use an
12 English word.
13 I don't think that that, you know, necessarily means I'm using an American or
English,
14 Western mindset.

(20190822_Dehrich_Chya)

Dehrich's comments raise an important point: though using an English word may indicate an association with American cultural influences, it does not necessarily re-activate that association or shift the speaker's mindset to an Americanized one ("I don't think that that, you know, necessarily means I'm using an American or English, Western mindset"). Individual Alutiiq language activists' comfort with code-switching varies, however, and in some situations—such as the immersion spaces discussed in section 5—Alutiiq language activists try to limit codeswitching in order to support others' Alutiiq language learning.

Calquing, literal translation, sociophonetic translanguaging, and orthographic translanguaging

Other commonly used translanguaging practices include calquing (borrowing English compound words and phrases by translating each component into Alutiiq), literal translation (word-for-word translations of texts from English into Alutiiq), orthographic translanguaging (e.g. spelling English words with Alutiiq letters, or pronouncing English words with Alutiiq speech sounds), and sociophonetic translanguaging (speaking Alutiiq using parodies of American English speech styles for humorous effect). These practices differ from codeswitching in that they are often used with effort and conscious consideration: not backgrounded in the discourse, but oriented to in conversation. Their functions include emphasizing humorous cultural differences, engaging audiences, alleviating the pressures of Alutiiq language learning, and strengthening community relationships.

Calquing

Like code-switching, calquing can be used to replace unknown Alutiiq words and phrases. However, calquing often adds a humorous and playful tone that is not always present in code-switching. In (5), for instance, when I ask an interview question about the use of humor in Alutiiq (lines 1-6), Dehrich mentions a calque, "Pamaani ellpenun" ('It's up to you,' literally 'Up there to you,' lines 8-9), as an example of his humorous Alutiiq language practices.

(5)

1 JF; Do you use humor in Alutiiq? ((laughs))[6]

2 DC; Aa'a. ((laughs))
Yes. ((laughs))

3 Aturtaartukut englarnasqat niugneret.
We use funny words.

4 It's often a play on words, or taking puns or sayings from English and translating
5 them literally under the pretense that we know it's a literal translation and just for
6 fun.
7 Into Alutiit'stun ['Alutiiq'].
8 One of the common ones I hear is "Pamaani ellpenun ['Up there to you']."
9 Which is, uh, "It's up to you." ((laughs))
10 I believe that was started by the Alutiiq Language Nest teachers.
11 Because I don't think we really know how to *say* that in Alutiiq, like, you know,
12 "You make the decision," "You choose."
13 So that's been one of those phrases that's been adopted via Miʀikaan'saat'stun-gun
['through English'].

(20190822_Dehrich_Chya)

I've heard many other humorous calques based on English words and phrases, some used

only in passing, others repeated and oriented to as a shared joke by many community

members. Importantly, given the frequent misrepresentation of Indigenous Elders as

humorless language purists, Alutiiq Elders also engage in humorous calquing. For instance,

as discussed in Chapter 2, Elder Dennis Knagin would often say *Inimaluten* ('Hang in there;'

literally, 'You hang'), and Drabek recalls that he would also say *Ikanisinaq* ('Far out;'

literally 'way over there'). Elders sometimes avoid calquing when coining new words in the

relatively formal context of the New Words Council, however, preferring descriptive words

formed from Alutiiq stems and affixes (for instance, *mayuwarta* 'ski lift; one that climbs,'

as(g)iruangia'aq 'pizza; very nice flat bread,' and *ciisaruaq* 'tofu; cheese-like thing;' see

Counceller 2010). This finding parallels a dispreference for calques in lexical development

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[6] I laugh here because this question is mostly for the record: Chya often uses Alutiiq humor with me, so we both
know that I am aware of its use.

efforts in other endangered language programs (Hornsby 2005; Romaine 2006:457). However, it also reveals that preference or dispreference for calques can vary according to sociocultural context, i.e. formal processes of word creation versus humorous conversation.

Literal translation

Literal translation from English to Alutiiq, like calquing, is dispreferred as a strategy for Alutiiq curriculum-building. However, it is seen as valuable for foregrounding differences between Alutiiq and anglophone worldviews. As Baynham and Lee (2019) propose, translation can be understood as a type of translanguaging insofar as it involves "moment-by-moment flux between languages." In the case of Alutiiq literal translation, this flux does not usually result in seamless intercultural flows, but jarring and often humorous cultural mismatches. Literal translation can therefore serve as a means of emphasizing differences between Alutiiq and Western culture. Recalling an attempt to translate the English Christmas poem "'Twas The Night Before Christmas" with the help of Elder Phyllis Peterson, Drabek explains how the process of literal translation exposed differences between Alutiiq and Western cultures, with a result that struck Peterson as strange, if not sinister (6).

(6)

```
1 JF;    I'm also kind of curious, sometimes it seems like literal translations of things are
2        really funny, and it's hard to like identify exactly what's so funny about them,
3 AD;    Right.
4        It's a story I've told other learners about how translating an English text into
5        Alutiiq is almost futile.
6        You know, it's worth trying, because then you pick up and learn along the way,
7        but generally the point of what you're trying to get to isn't really what you meant
8        in the beginning.
9        And the best example was when I tried—
10       It was back when I was first learning Alutiiq and I was taking little songs.
11       And you know, so a lot of those songs that we teach in this classrooms, now, or at
12       the Nest, in the early days, were—
```

13	It's like, "Oh okay, this is simple, little kids' song, let's make it into Alutiiq,"
14	and I thought I was going to be really brave and do "The Twelve Days of
15	Christmas."
16 JF;	Uh-huh?
17 AD;	And so I did the first stanza with Phyllis Peterson.
18	And she, you know, would feed me—
19	Like I'd say the sentence, she'd feed it to me in Alutiiq, she'd, you know,
20	translate the word, we'd sort of discuss it, I'd write it all out.
21	And then we got to the end of the first couple of lines, and she leans forward, and
22	she said, "So there's a dead mouse in the corner?" ((laughs))
23 JF;	((laughs))
24 AD;	"And a dirty sock is hanging over the stovepipe?"
25	Because there was no word for chimney, they didn't have traditional fireplaces,
26	and if the mouse is silent, to her, that meant it must be dead, because mice *aren't*
27	silent.
28 JF;	Uh-huh?
29 AD;	And so the whole perception of any of the words in English I was trying to say,
30	she had never heard the song or the story in English, so it just was a perfect
31	example of how ridiculous translating can be. ((laughs))

(20190902_Alisha_Drabek)

Through Alisha frames this anecdote as an example of the ridiculousness of literal translation, she notes the value of the process of translation from a language acquisition standpoint ("You pick up and learn along the way"). She also comments that this experience heightened her awareness of the cultural assumptions encoded in even seemingly simple English language materials (line 13). Counceller likewise observes that literal translation can at times provide opportunities for reassertions of Alutiiq culture, for instance by renaming characters in a book about two owls with the names of a well-known Alutiiq couple from Akhiok.

Sociophonetic translanguaging

Alutiiq speakers also juxtapose Alutiiq and colonial cultures through sociophonetic variation, specifically the use of parodies of American English speech styles in combination with Alutiiq words and phrases. One such combination, which educator Peggy Azuyak refers to as

a "snotty teenage voice," is phonetically and prosodically similar to the young, female Californian vocal stereotype labeled "Valley Girl" (Hinton et al. 1987). In an interview with me, Azuyak notes that other Alutiiq language educators and activists Candace Branson and Marya Halvorsen use this voice when teaching high school students, emphasizing its function in enhancing language-learning through increased relatability (7).

(7)

1	JF;	I remember last time I interviewed you, you mentioned this kind of like silly
2		American accent that people will sometimes use, like a snotty teenage voice?
3	PA;	Oh, yeah yeah.
4		Okay, so that was—
5		Candace and Marya would, especially working with the high school, they use a
6		lot of I think humor, and try and be really relatable to the teenagers that they work
7		with.
8		And so some of the learning that we were doing *together*, I think, was probably
9		informed by their experiences working with the high school.
10		But some of the rides in the "Where Are Your Keys" style stuff that we would do
11		definitely had some humor in.
12		And I think you were there when we did the, was it dance club, or something, and
13		the postbase for like "I want you to dance," or something like that,
14	JF;	Oh, "sq?"
15	PA;	Yeah.
16	PA;	"Sqa."
17		Yeah, so that was fun and humorous.
18		In all of those rides there was some of that.
19		But so Marya and Candace had one that was, I'm trying to remember what they
20		called it, but it was like gossiping.
21		Yeah, yeah.
22		So then they would like talk about somebody, and use this really over-the-top
23		voice, ((laughs)) where we would, ((high pitch)) "Oh my God, did you see her
24		hair?" or whatever, ((whisper)) "I heard she likes him and he likes her."
25		That kind of stuff, and just kind of, yeah.
26		Use those snotty teenager voices, and overexaggerate the stereotypes of teenagers
27		gossiping. ((laughs))
28		But, in order to practice the language and have fun doing it.

(20190830_Peggy_Azuyak)

This "snotty teenage voice" combines Alutiiq language with multiple features of the stereotyped Valley Girl accent, including vowel quality, intonation, rhythm, pitch, and

interactional stance. For example, when Azuyak demonstrated the voice for me using the phrase *Una taqmaq kumsugnartuq* ('This dress is disgusting,' she used a rising intonation contour (*Una taqmaq↗*), final lengthening (*taqma::q, kumsugnartu::q)*, a fronted /u/ vowel *(una*), and dynamic pitch. The sample phrase she chose expresses an evaluative stance about a clothing item, linking the "snotty teenager" persona and the linguistic features associated with it to attitudes of materialism and judgmentalness. Likewise, several speakers jokingly use the phrase *Linganaa linganaitua* ('Sorry not sorry'), a calque that is realized with a long, backed initial /l/ in *Linganaa* as well as a sing-song high-high-mid intonational contour. Similarly to humorous literal translation, this "snotty teenage voice" derives its humor from the mismatch of Alutiiq words with an English speech style linked to (among other things) playfulness, immaturity, femininity, and materialism.

Alutiiq language activists also sometimes jokingly combine a stereotypical Southern American accent with Alutiiq words, particularly the word *nutaan* ('now'). Instead of the expected Alutiiq pronunciation of this word, [nuˈtan] (similar to 'noo-TAHN'), Alutiiq language activists sometimes say [nuˈtæn] (similar to 'noo-TAN') or [ˈnutæn] (similar to 'NOO-tan'). When I asked about the origins of this phrase, I was told that it began with non-Indigenous Alutiiq speaker Michael Bach's accidental pronunciation of *nutaan* as /nuˈtæn/ (similar to 'noo-TAN'), and then became a running joke. Language activist Gayla Pedersen comments that, similarly, the word *nuusniik* ('bathroom;' borrowed from Russian нужник 'the can; the john') is often said with a stereotypical Southern accent because of an Alutiiq language learner who was also a speaker of a Southern dialect of American English. These instances of sociophonetic translanguaging rely on both shared insider experiences and

linguistic expertise to achieve their humorous effect, and therefore reinforce intragroup social relationships in conjunction with Alutiiq language knowledge.

Finally, in addition to humorously highlighting cultural differences and facilitating intragroup social ties, sociophonetic translanguaging can be used as a form of self-deprecating humor parodying accidental non-standard pronunciations of Alutiiq words. Humor has been shown to help alleviate emotional barriers to language learning, such as the fear of making mistakes (Askildson 2005:48; Aboudan 2009; Dávila 2019:512). Sociophonetic translanguaging is therefore an important and versatile strategy for both engaging Alutiiq language learners and mitigating the tensions of language learning.

Orthographic translanguaging

Orthographic translanguaging is another type of Alutiiq language play used for enjoyment and humor. Typically, this practice involves pronouncing English words that contain letters also found in the Alutiiq alphabet as if they were Alutiiq words. In response to an interview question I asked about the playful use of English words in Alutiiq, Hanna Sholl explained how she uses humorous orthographic translanguaging in her home and with other language activists (8).

(8)

```
1 JF;      Yeah, so basically like, if you're heard people using English phrases when
2          speaking Alutiiq, or Alutiiq phrases in English, in kind of a playful way?
3 HS;      All the time.
4          I mean we hear it, because we love to laugh, and we hear it all the time, just in
5          general casual conversations.
6          If I had to give you examples, I can't come up with some off the top of my head,
7          ((laughs)) but it's common.
8          For a while there, a couple years ago, I think you were at that strategic planning
9          meeting when we were deciding that we wanted to add stickers, and how we were
10         going to do.
11         And then, we thought of some like kind of funny lines, or how we could add that.
```

12	Ended up not putting that into place, but still things that we do, like,
13	"Tangq'rciqamken Felicia ['Bye Felicia']." ((laughs))
14	And then like my husband's name.
15	Like, in there, we were talking about—
16	So my husband's name is Gage, G A G E, and we call him "Gaagai," because
17	how we would say his name if it was Alutiiq sounds in his name.
18	Just kind of, you know, humorous little stuff.
19	There's a bunch of little examples like that, but it's hard to pull them off, because
20	they do, they happen.
21	We hear our Elders do it all the time.
22	Little things, and you know.
23 JF;	I've been building a list. I'll share it once I'm done.
24 HS;	((laughs)) That would be awesome.
25	Oh, yeah, another thing that my husband came up with, and I use this with
26	teaching, is taking the—
27	Like Sesame Street would say like, you know, "Today is—today's uh, episode is
28	brought to you by the letter," so we do that but we'll do that like, "This lesson is
29	brought to you by the sound ll [ɬ], double L."
30	"This one is brought to you by the sound g [x]." ((laughs))
31	And like do that kind of stuff with it.
32	And yeah, like, I don't know, there's a small cohort of us, we don't say "llama"
33	anymore, we say "llama [ɬama]." ((laughs))
34	And like, it's just, funny little stuff like that.

(20190904_Hanna_Sholl)

In this excerpt, Hanna provides two examples of orthographic translanguaging: *Gage* [ˈxaxɛɪ] (approximately 'HAH hey'), an Alutiicized pronunciation of *Gage*, and *llama* [ˈɬama] (approximately 'hlama'), an Alutiicized pronunciation of *llama*. She links these and other similar practices to specific groups of people: her household, Elders, and a "small cohort" of language activists. Similarly, Dehrich Chya comments that Elder Florence Pestrikoff sometimes jokingly pronounces 'vinegar' as 'WinikeR' ([winikɚ]; approximately WEEN-ee-guhr). Dehrich himself is a font of Alutiiq-English puns and wordplay, which he terms 'Isuwisms' after his Alutiiq name, Isuwiq ('Seal'); I especially associate Aluticiized spellings of non-Alutiiq words (such as *Gawai'i* for 'Hawai'i') with his style of texting. At times, orthographic translanguaging can not only reanalyze English letters as Alutiiq ones, but

English morphemes as Alutiiq ones. For instance, Dehrich once coined the term *ca* [t͡ʃa] or "our *ca*" for *carpet*, jokingly reanalyzing the ending *rpet* as the Alutiiq first person plural possessive form of a singular object.

Humorous translanguaging practices like the ones above constitute a type of speech play. Sherzer (1990; 2002) notes that speech play is often viewed as a peripheral element of language culture, treated as unimportant because of its non-serious quality. However, in view of Alutiiq language activists' observations, humorous translanguaging can be understood as non-serious in one sense, yet crucially important in another. Both as a means of reducing stress and as strategies for audience engagement, humorous translanguaging practices merit further consideration in theorizations of language revitalization and multilingual pedagogy.

3.3 Alutiiq language activists' attitudes towards translanguaging

Alutiiq language activists express a range of attitudes towards translanguaging, attitudes that often vary according to the type of translanguaging and the context. Many language activists take positive stances towards English-Alutiiq codeswitching (i.e., using Alutiiq words when speaking English) as a means of language learning and normalizing Alutiiq (see Chapter 2, section 2.3 on symbolic Alutiiq language use). Many, like Dehrich Chya, also hold positive or neutral stances towards Alutiiq-English code-switching (i.e., using English words when speaking Alutiiq), seeing it as a matter of communicative ease that does not necessarily detract from fluency or signal a shift in worldview. Yet some Alutiiq language activists also report experiencing negative or conflicting emotions in regards to Alutiiq-English translanguaging in light of the context of ongoing colonial oppression of Alutiiq language and culture. These results highlight the multifacetedness and variability of stances towards translanguaging, showing that these stances differ both within language communities and

even for single individuals according to the type of translanguaging, the type of interaction, and the surrounding sociopolitical context.

Stances towards translanguaging as a means of language learning

Several Alutiiq language activists report using translanguaging as a means of Alutiiq language revitalization and language learning. Mariah Stapleton notes that using an English word or sentence can help Elders to remember "fill in the blank" of a corresponding Alutiiq word or sentence (a, line 10).

(a)

1 JF;   Yeah, so, I guess there are several different things that I've come across.
2   Like sometimes when people speak Alutiiq they'll use English words.
3 MS; Mm.
4 JF;   Is that something that you've heard?
5 MS; Definitely.
6   I've heard that a lot with, somewhat Elders, because they'll have problems
7   remembering the Alutiiq word for something, or they won't even have a word for it.
8   And it will sometimes lead down to finding the word again, because one Elder will be
9   like, "Oh, that was this."
10   So it does happen quite a bit.
11   And it helps sometimes to say it in Alutiiq, or like, you say a sentence, and then
12   you're like "Oh, what is this?"
13   So you'll say it in English and then somebody else will be able to fill in the blank for
        you.

                                                        (20190824_Mariah_Stapleton)

Mariah further notes that she uses Alutiiq-English translanguaging as a means of language learning and getting used to speaking Alutiiq (b, cont'd from a).

(b)

14 MS;   Sometimes me learning, I will—((laughs)) like, for certain words like "allrak
15   ['maybe'],"I will drop that once in a while, just so that way my brain starts like
16   replacing that word almost, in my head.
17   Because every time I hear a word in my head that I know in Alutiiq, it'll just
18   come up in my head, but it won't come out my mouth.
19   So I'm trying to like, make it where it's my normal, and so I do try and drop little

90

20	words like that in there.
21	But I have to be careful, because, I asked Raissa one time if that was like—if that
22	would hinder my learning, because of the way that Alutiiq and English sentence
23	structures are different when you string them together.
24	And so I was asking her, I'm like, "If I was talking about my dog in English, and I
25	just mentioned dog in Alutiiq the whole time, would that affect the way that my
26	brain puts it together in Alutiiq?"
27	And it kind of made sense in my head.
28	And she was like, "Well for right now it's fine."
29	Until I learn it.
30	But I was like, it does kind of affect—
31	Because I've noticed that with like "allrak ['maybe']," you can say it either or, in
32	like different places of a sentence, but most of the time it's after, and sometimes
33	in English you'll say it before.
34	So it helps to remember the placement of things.

(20190824_Mariah_Stapleton)

While Mariah comments that using Alutiiq words while speaking English helps her to "make it [Alutiiq] my normal" (line 19) and overcome barriers to speaking Alutiiq ("it won't come out my mouth," line 18), she expresses concerns about how Alutiiq-English translanguaging might affect her cognitive organization of Alutiiq language ("Would that affect the way that my brain puts it together in Alutiiq?"—lines 25-26). Mariah comments that an awareness of the differences between Alutiiq and English syntax is therefore important to "remember the placement of things" (line 34).

Hanna Sholl, similarly, comments that translanguaging can be a resource for normalizing Alutiiq. "I think about it kind of how Spanglish, like in the households, they're speaking Spanish and English—I think that that in general would be beneficial," she notes in a 2020 interview. "In houses, in the movement, everywhere. I think that that is definitely something that should be supported" (20200902_Hanna_Sholl). Like Mariah, Hanna further notes that using Alutiiq words in English can be a means of making Alutiiq language learning more accessible: "People seem to respond really well to that, like 'Just use one word, or two

words.'" Hanna also considers language immersion to be an important learning resource, saying, "The immersion is great because you get to hear people who know how to say these words say them over and over, so can kind of start correcting yourself, and know like when is proper to use them and when is not." Hanna's comments about the importance of both translanguaging and language immersion underscore the possibility of not only coexistence, but synergy between these forms of language use. This view parallels theories of "sustainable translanguaging" (Cenoz & Gorter 2017) in other Indigenous language contexts (Lowman et al. 2007; Otheguy, García, and Reid 2015); for instance, Cenoz & Gorter (2017), similarly to Hanna, emphasize the need to balance translanguaging with "breathing spaces" in which only or mostly the minoritized language is used.

Stances towards humorous translanguaging

Many Alutiiq language activists express positive stances towards humorous translanguaging practices, describing them as enjoyable and important. Peggy Azuyak notes the importance of humor as an Alutiiq cultural value, commenting, "It's part of our culture to use humor and to be playful with each other" (20190830_Peggy_Azuyak). Hanna Sholl similarly comments, "We [Alutiiq people] love to laugh" (20190904_Hanna_Sholl). Drabek (2012:168) names humor as one of fourteen core values: *Englarstaisngukut* ('We like to laugh') is listed alongside *Agayumaukut* ('We are prayerful'). Reflecting on the importance of humor and playfulness in the Alutiiq language movement in a 2019 interview with me, she frames innovative language practices such as playful translanguaging as a means of recovering from the traumas of Alutiiq language learning, yet also notes that these practices are appropriate to informal but not formal social contexts (9).

(9)

1 AD; We're using it to communicate, and to connect, and that's what language is for.
2   So it *does* change.
3   And I think having learners understand how to do that change with respect—
4   It's sort of like, would you go into a diner wearing your hat and no shoes?
5   You know, you should learn the rules of the game with the broader audience, but
6   enjoy and not feel guilty about putting your hat on and taking off your shoes, and just
7   goofing around a lot.
8   Because then you can recover from the traumas.
9   Because it *is*, there is a lot of pressure on you to both become a better speaker, and to
10   do it right, and to preserve it, and yet we have social pressure, family pressure that is
11   inhibiting that.
12   And so having a release valve, and making it light and playful, makes it something
13   you want to go back to the next day.
14   If it was all serious, nobody would do it.

(20190902_Alisha_Drabek)

Alisha's use of the metaphor of wearing appropriate clothes to a diner ("It's sort of like, would you go into a diner wearing your hat and no shoes?"—line 4) highlights the importance of interactional context in determining Alutiiq language activists' attitudes towards humorous translanguaging practices. In formal contexts with "the broader audience" (line 5), which Alisha likens to diners, humorous translanguaging may not be seen as respectful. However, in more informal and private contexts, these practices can serve as a vital "release valve" (line 12) and make language revitalization an emotionally sustainable practice that "you want to go back to the next day" (line 13). As this excerpt illustrates, Alutiiq language activists consider humorous translanguaging to be a vital way of sustaining Alutiiq language learning and cultural traditions, yet see a need to refrain from this practice in formal contexts.

Ambivalent and variable stances towards translanguaging

Alutiiq language activists' views of translanguaging are not only variable across contexts and forms of translanguaging, but may also be multifaceted and ambivalent. For instance, some

language activists note that although they hold positive views towards humorous translanguaging in the abstract, they are uncomfortable with certain instances of it, in part due to concerns about the influence of English pronunciations on Alutiiq language learning. For instance, referring to high school students' use of the phrase *dunk the pumpkin* as a mnemonic for the Alutiiq word *tangq'rciqamken* ('goodbye'), Alisha comments, "I kind of don't like it, but I get that it is a mnemonic device to remember […] It's the same syllable breaks, and some of the same sounds. And it's like, 'Well, okay, if you need to use that to get a couple of words under your belt, we'll let it slide.' […] But you know, of course you do that too much and then the language quality or the pronunciation erodes, if they stop there."

This ambivalence about translanguaging is somewhat similar to that expressed by linguist Margaret "Peggy" Speas, who has worked with the Navajo language movement. Critiquing settler linguists' criticisms of "Indigenous language purism," Speas (2009:28) writes, "I must confess that I correct [my child] when he uses an 'incorrect' verb form (teached instead of taught, brang instead of brought). Isn't it reasonable for parents who speak an endangered language to want their children to speak in a way that elders in the community will find articulate?" As language experts, Indigenous language activists may hold views of translanguaging and other innovative language practices that at times parallel those of settler linguists towards their first or heritage languages: they may find certain practices acceptable or even beneficial in the abstract, but perturbing in some instances.

Alutiiq language activists' stances towards translanguaging do not only vary according to context, but may also change over time. For instance, Dehrich Chya comments that, unlike most Alutiiq language activists, he once avoided even Russian loanwords: "I would try to not even use Alutiiq words that have a Russian etymology, because I felt like those weren't

Alutiiq words. […] Whenever possible I would try to seek out [air quotes] 'more Alutiiq words,' you know, words that didn't come from a foreign language or anything like that" (20200821_Dehrich_Chya). Dehrich further notes that continuing to use the Alutiiq language shifted his perspective on loanwords, as well as "being more educated myself, like how languages work and how they evolve and change." These findings highlight the complexity of attitudes towards translanguaging, such as the possibility for multiple attitudes within individuals and the role of language socialization in influencing these attitudes over time, and suggest that Indigenous language activists should be consulted for full explanations of their beliefs and emotional experiences regarding translanguaging.

Influence of sociopolitical context on attitudes towards translanguaging

As the above results demonstrate, Alutiiq language activists express both positive and negative attitudes towards various forms of English-Alutiiq translanguaging. Alutiiq language activists' associations towards Russian loanwords, however, are typically neutral or even positive—particularly for Alutiiq Elders. Many current Elders' parents spoke Russian fluently, and they fondly remember attending Russian Orthodox church services and singing in Russian. Elder Kathryn Chichenoff comments, "Agayuwagtallriakut. Nutaan awa'i allangapiartuq. Ilanka agan- agayuwan'illpiartut awa'i. MiRikaansaq pingakn'itaat. Kasaakat'stun kesiin umyakaat (*They used to go to church. Now it's really different. My relatives don't go to church anymore. They don't like American [English]. They only remember Russian*)." Chichenoff also remembers her father being laughed at for speaking Alutiiq by Americans and being told not to, and other Elders have been physically punished for speaking Alutiiq by English-speaking teachers. English is the language in which these

forms of trauma have most recently occurred, and English was the language the Elders were forced to speak in school; therefore, English is currently associated with colonial trauma more so than Russian.

In addition, some Russian loanwords have come to be associated with a specific Alutiiq speech style. Kathryn Chichenoff is a speaker of the Northern style of Alutiiq spoken in the villages of Karluk and Larsen Bay, which contains more Russian loanwords than other styles. Among the Russian loanwords that are unique to the Northern style of Alutiiq are *lipiyausqaq* ('donut'), *sauliq* ('salt'), *seRkalaq* ('mirror'), *pisiRkaq* ('bead'), and *tiup'laaq* ('shirt'). Northern-style speakers also frequently use two clause combiners borrowed from Russian: the subordinator *staupi* ('so that;' borrowed from Russian чтобы) and the coordinator *pet'am~pet'a* ('and then;' borrowed from Russian потом). Because most language activists in the Alutiiq community are not speakers of Russian, and the pronunciations of *staupi* and *pet'am* conform to Alutiiq phonology, they may not immediately recognize *staupi* and *pet'am* as Russian loanwords. Even for those who do, *staupi* and *pet'am* are not indexical of Russian heritage per se, but of its intersection with Alutiiq heritage—and specifically, of the speech style of Elders from the village of Karluk. Dehrich Isuwiq Chya comments, "*pet'am* is a Clyda, Sophie, Kathryn thing," linking it to Elders Clyda Christiansen, Sophie Shepherd, and Kathryn Chichenoff (all of whom have lived in Karluk). Dehrich's association of *pet'am* with specific Alutiiq speakers exemplifies how Russian influences have been recontextualized as part of Alutiiq, contributing to rather than detracting from the diversity of Alutiiq language and society. In contrast, none of the language activists I spoke with have so far said that they associated the use of any English words or phrases in Alutiiq speech with a specific speaker. Alutiiq language activists'

different attitudes towards English and Russian influences demonstrate that attitudes towards translanguaging do not originate only within the Alutiiq community, but are influenced by Alutiiq people's varied experiences with English and Russian settler-colonialism.

3.4 Forms and functions of strategic Alutiiq monolingualism

Alongside the forms of translanguaging discussed above, Alutiiq language activists make use of strategic monolingualism, choosing to speak only Alutiiq in certain contexts (such as language immersion events). In the following sections, I examine how Alutiiq immersion is not distinct from, but rather makes use of, translanguaging. I further show how English-Alutiiq codeswitching, which could be analyzed as a form of translanguaging, can also be understood as a form of strategic monolingualism within a given domain.

Alutiiq immersion as strategic monolingualism

In 2013, during my sophomore year of college, I took a plane from Kyoto, where I had been studying abroad, to San Francisco, and then almost immediately to Alaska. I slept for almost 24 hours in a hostel in Anchorage, then flew into Kodiak and got a ride out to an Alutiiq immersion camp-out. Equipped with a copy of the *Alutiiq Picture Dictionary* and a handful of phrases I'd picked up from watching Alutiiq "Where Are Your Keys" language lessons on Vimeo (e.g., *Is this a rock? Yes, this is a rock. Is it a CUP? No, it is a ROCK*), I tried my best to speak only Alutiiq for the duration of the weekend, using facial expressions and props to get across everything I couldn't say. It was a family event, so there were children playing all around. We slept in tents at night, and ate hard-smoked salmon, or "Alutiiq candy." I learned about driftwood carving, making *taariqs* (banya scrubbers), and the game *laptuuk*, "Alutiiq baseball." Much as I enjoyed the Alutiiq language aspect, my understanding of the meaning

of the word *immersion* began to shift from a concept of accelerated school language-learning programs to something more inclusive, culture-based, and relaxed.

Since then, I've been fortunate to be able to participate in many other Alutiiq immersion events. I've helped as a volunteer assistant at Dig Afognak, an Alutiiq cultural camp that increasingly introduces aspects of Alutiiq language as well (https://afognak.org/dig-afognak/). One summer, the community decided that the language assistants would speak only Alutiiq to the camp participants (elementary and middle school students) as much as possible. I was amazed that, by the end of two weeks, the camp participants had picked up commonly used command forms and were using them with each other in unprompted interactions. I could tell they had likely learned these commands from the language assistants because they used the plural forms (e.g. *Taici,* "Come!" [to two or more people]) even when speaking to only one person. Even outside of formal camp activities, the language assistants spoke Alutiiq to each other, and reported that this boosted their fluency even in this short time span.

Another summer, in 2015, I participated in an experimental Alutiiq immersion house with two "Where Are Your Keys" players and two interns from the Koniag corporation, one of whom was Dehrich Chya. We used "Where Are Your Keys" techniques such as repeating the same conversational routines and adding on small pieces to them a little at a time. For instance, we would make tea multiple times a day and talk about it in Alutiiq, asking each other what kind of tea we wanted in more and more elaborate ways. We also came up with ideas that weren't officially part of the "Where Are Your Keys" program, such as watching TV with the sound off and describing what was happening in Alutiiq. Once, we tried to translate the party game *Cards Against Humanity* into Alutiiq, then realized the cultural

references didn't come across as funny when literally translated and made our own version using running jokes from the immersion house itself.

Most recently, in 2019, I've volunteered at the Alutiit'stun Niuwawik (Alutiiq Language Nest). I volunteered at the beginning of the school year, when many of the preschool-aged students were still completely new to the Nest, and watched as they began to pick up words and phrases within only a couple weeks. The Nest instructors and participating parents drew on a wide array of Alutiiq language resources, including Alutiiq language picture books, toys and stuffed animals labelled in Alutiiq, and routines for activities such as lining up, handwashing, and eating meals. Having been present during the careful creation and vetting of individual books and routines during Elders sessions, I was amazed by the amount of work and planning that had gone into the Nest, and how well it was working to support the Nest instructors in speaking only Alutiiq while caring for a roomful of preschoolers.

I analyze these Alutiiq immersion spaces as forms of strategic monolingualism, or intentionally choosing to speak only one language in certain settings (Li Wei 2020). The effectiveness of Alutiiq language immersion for language learning parallels similar findings in other communities. Language immersion models have been celebrated as effective ways to facilitate language acquisition and academic achievement, especially in Indigenous language revitalization contexts, where the term *immersion* is often used to encompass both linguistic and cultural immersion (Harrison 2005; Aguilera & LeCompte 2007; Hermes 2007; Reyhner 2010). Hinton (2001:8) terms language immersion "the best way to jump-start the production of a new generation of fluent speakers" (in McCarty 2003:152). Outside of Indigenous contexts, however, monolingual or "one-way" immersion has been critiqued as overly restrictive by proponents of bilingual education models. For instance, Cummins (2007) draws

on examples of Urdu-English classroom instruction to argue that there is little evidence in

support of monolingual language instruction over ones that include translation, using the

term *two solitudes* to refer to the strict separation of languages. Cummins (237) argues that

translation can be "a powerful tool to develop language and literacy skills and increase

metalinguistic awareness," for instance by helping students identify gaps in their proficiency

in one language and become conscious of the structural differences between languages. Here,

I offer evidence that translation and other translanguaging practices may occur during Alutiiq

immersion spaces, troubling strict divisions between translanguaging and strategic

monolingualism. These findings further suggest that some of the advantages of

translanguaging may be accessible through monolingual immersion.

Translanguaging as a resource for Alutiiq immersion

Though translanguaging is typically theorized as distinct from strategic monolingualism, my

experiences in Alutiiq immersion contexts reveal that translanguaging practices such as

calquing and orthographic translanguaging can be used as resources during monolingual

language immersion. In Alutiiq immersion settings, where most language activists are fluent

in English, language activists often uses calques from English into Alutiiq as a strategy for

communicating concepts when the Alutiiq means of expression is unknown. For instance, in

the following excerpt from a conversation recorded by documentary filmmakers working on

the "Keep Talking" project, Dehrich and I use calques to fill in for the unknown words *smart

phone* (10, lines 4-7) and *Apple* (10, lines 14-16).

(10)

1 DC;   Iku'uk'gken nutaasqaq niuwasuuten?
          You bought a new phone?

2 JF; Aa'a, taatama minaqiinga.
       Yes. My dad gave it to me.

3 DC; Asirtuq.
       Nice.

4   Taugna uswituuq. ((laughs))
       It is smart/wise. ((laughs))

5 JF; ((laughs)) Aa'a, uswituuq.
       ((laughs)) Yes, it is smart/wise.

6 DC; Cestun—"Uswituuq?"
       How [do you say it]— "It is smart/wise?"

7 JF; "Uswituusqaq niuwasuuteq."
       "Smart/wise phone."

8 DC; Asirtuq.
       Nice.

9   Gui cali, uswituuq niuwasuuteq.
       Me too, a smart/wise phone.

10 JF; Aa'a.
        Yes.

11 DC; Niuwasuuteq.
        Phone.

12 JF; Uswituusqamek pingq'rtuten.
        You have a smart/wise one.

13 DC; Mhm.

14   Yaaplamek. ((laughs))
        From the apple. ((laughs))

15 JF; ((laughs)) Yaaplamek?
        From the apple?

16   Gui cali yaaplamek pingq'rtua.
        I also have (one from) an apple.

(Dehrich 7/28/16: 10:00-10:44)

101

Dehrich and I laugh when he proposes the two calques used here, *niuwasuuteq uswituuq* ('smart phone;' literally 'the phone is smart/wise') and *yaaplamek* ('Apple;' literally 'of/from an apple').[7] Other examples of calques from Dehrich's and my conversations are also used playfully, and include *napasqaq yaaplakaaq* ('pineapple;' literally 'tree-like apple'), *Subgun* ('Subway' [a sandwich chain]; literally 'by way of Sub'), *ingalagken neregkwarlukek* ('feast your eyes;' literally 'feed your eyes'), *ap'nartuq* ('questionable;' literally 'causes one to ask'), and *unamken* ('I feel you;' literally 'feel' in the sense of feeling a material). These calques are used along with descriptive strategies for filling in unknown Alutiiq words, such as *nuyalaasqaq* ('turtle;' literally 'one that hides') and *mernusqat atkut* ('pajamas;' literally 'sleepy clothes').

Reflecting on the choice to form calques for some words and use descriptive strategies for others, Dehrich notes that humor often motivates calquing: "If you're trying to formulate a way to say pineapple but we don't have a word for pineapple, one thing you can do is just anglicize it, which a lot of speakers do, and say like "pinaplaq" ([pinaplaq]; approximately "pee-NAH-plaq") or something like that. But I think there's some humor in [literal translation] too. It's almost like a little riddle, like if you literally translate something, you get to watch the other person figure it out and come to the realization of what you said" (20200821_Dehrich_Chya). This riddle-like organization of calquing is evident in (9): typically, a gap of an unknown word arises, someone laughingly volunteers a literal translation, and the other participant or participants laugh(s) to signal their understanding.

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[7] The Alutiiq word for apple is *yaaplakaaq*, from the Russian яблоко. Chya's use of the form *yaaplamek* 'from an apple' instead of *yaaplakaamek* 'from an apple' may be a means of evoking more similarity with the English word Apple.

Though the English versions of calques are typically not spoken aloud, they are oriented to as shared background knowledge, without which the Alutiiq forms could not be recognized as humorous riddles. Orthographic translanguaging is used similarly to Alutiicize English words in immersion settings: for example, during the same conversation as in (9), Dehrich coined the term *ge ce ii* ([xə t͡ʃə i]; approximately "huh chuh ee") for the abbreviation "GCI" (General Communications Inc). This evidence suggests that strategic monolingualism in the form of language immersion is not mutually exclusive with translanguaging practices such as calquing and orthographic translanguaging, but in fact closely intertwined with them. Therefore, the benefits of translation that Cummins (2007) notes may occur through implicit literal translation via calquing in monolingual language immersion.

English-Alutiiq codeswitching as strategic partial monolingualism

The immersion spaces I describe above are conducted in Alutiiq as much as possible, with language activists using strategies such as literal translation and description to replace unknown words and phrases. Another kind of strategic monolingualism occurs not through total immersion, but through intentional choices to use Alutiiq words instead of English ones when speaking English. This practice is closely related to Mariah's and Hanna's observations of English-Alutiiq codeswitching as a resource for language learning, the only difference being that instead of making an effort to "drop in" Alutiiq words from time to time while speaking English, Alutiiq language activists intentionally use only Alutiiq words for a certain domain. For instance, in response to my question about her children's use of Alutiiq, Alutiiq language activist, dancer, and artist Hanna Sholl notes that she only uses Alutiiq names for

certain local animals in her home, such as *taquka'aq* 'bear' (11, line 8) and *amitatuk* 'ermine' (line 13 and 14).

(11)

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1 JF;     Yeah, I'm curious too about like, the kids' language use.
2         Like, do you notice them using particular Alutiiq words more than others, or?
3 HS;     Yeah.
4         And it's all based on what's easy enough for them to do, age-appropriate, and
5         what as a parent I've chosen to emphasize.
6         So there's some words that I just only use in Alutiiq.
7         We don't ever use them in English.
8         And so, like "taquka'aq" ['bear']," that was my two-year-old's first Alutiiq word.
9 JF;     Oh wow.
10 HS;    And like when I say, "Aqumi ['Sit']," and his dad was like, "Why doesn't he
11        listen?" and I was like, "Well try doing it in Alutiiq."
12        So there's some words that they—
13        And then like my daughter, I'm not sure if she even knows what an ermine is.
14        She just knows it as "amitatuk," because that's all it ever is in our house.
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(20190904_Hanna_Sholl)

Several of Hanna's children have attended or are currently enrolled in the Alutiit'stun Niuwawik (Alutiiq Language Nest). Terms for local animals such as bears and ermines are also prevalent in the Alutiit'stun Niuwawik curriculum, and were some of the first Alutiiq words the students acquired when I volunteered there. Hanna's intentional choice to only use Alutiiq words for these animals therefore helps to support her children's Alutiiq language development. This practice could be analyzed as a form of code-switching, yet it can also be considered a form of strategic Alutiiq monolingualism within a certain domain (i.e., the domain of local animal names). Like the use of literal translation and orthographic translanguaging in monolingual Alutiiq immersion spaces, the use of these code-switching practices highlights the degree to which translanguaging can be intertwined with strategic monolingualism in ways that facilitate language learning.

3.5 Conclusion

While the theory of translanguaging offers a way of understanding fluid and counterhegemonic language practices, it has not always been theorized with attention to Indigenous language contexts, in which boundary-reinforcing practices can themselves constitute counterhegemonic forms of resistance to assimilation. Furthermore, while many distinct language practices are recognized as forms of translanguaging, little research has shown how these translanguaging practices are used and conceptualized in Indigenous language movements. My analysis in this chapter highlights the variety and validity of Alutiiq ways of managing interfaces between Alutiiq, Russian, and English languages and cultures. Alutiiq translanguaging practices I have discussed include code-switching, literal translation, sociophonetic translanguaging, and orthographic translanguaging. As I have shown, Alutiiq language activists choose to use these strategies in some contexts but not others, reserving code-switching for non-immersion situations and using humorous translanguaging strategies mainly in informal interactions. Insights from individual Alutiiq language activists further show that, similarly to other language experts, they have complex attitudes towards translanguaging practices that can harbor contradictions between abstract beliefs and reactions to specific practices. I have further shown that strategic monolingualism, or choosing to speak only Alutiiq in certain situations or in relation to certain topics, is not distinct from translanguaging practices but in fact often realized through them. Alutiiq language activists use literal translation and orthographic translanguaging as strategies to fill in for unknown Alutiiq words and phrases, and they use code-switching practices to insert certain domains of Alutiiq vocabulary into English. The use of translanguaging practices as resources for maintaining strategic Alutiiq monolingualism

complicates assumptions that translanguaging is distinct from strategic monolingualism. This further suggests that some of the language-learning benefits offered by translation could occur through implicit literal translation in immersion settings, as well.

In light of these findings, and in response to settler linguists' criticisms of both Indigenous translanguaging and perceived "Indigenous language purism," I advocate for nuanced approaches that consider the variation of translanguaging practices, the complexity of Indigenous people's attitudes towards translanguaging, and the interrelatedness of translanguaging and strategic monolingualism. Because of these complexities, it may be difficult to substantiate claims that a particular form of Indigenous multilingualism is more effective in promoting language revitalization than others across individuals and interactional contexts, let alone across communities. Instead, I suggest that many kinds of Indigenous multilingualism can be fulfilling, empowering, and enjoyable for language activists even within one community, and I argue for the importance of recognizing Indigenous self-determination in regards to language policy and language education. Building on my analysis of the affective functions of translanguaging described here, I focus more specifically on Alutiiq language activists' affective experiences of language revitalization in the following chapter, examining how language movement participation brings up colonial trauma for some participants, yet also enables participants to connect to their ethnoracial heritage, form and strengthen relationships with other Alutiiq community members, and make space for rest and humanization during the COVID-19 pandemic.

CHAPTER 4
SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES OF SPEAKING ALUTIIQ

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters, I critically examined colonial ideologies of Indigenous language revitalization. One such assumption, which is pervasive in settler-led research, education, and funding structures, is that the primary goal of Indigenous language movements must be language fluency. Previous Indigenous scholarship has pointed out that Indigenous communities often articulate different or additional goals, such as reclaiming linguistic and cultural sovereignty and improving community well-being. For instance, Leonard (2007:3) writes, "When one wishes to bring a language back into use, any gaps in the language that impede its communicative ability must be filled in, and that language has to be learned and spoken. However, more fundamental is that a person or community recognize their right to learn, use, and ultimately pass on their language and then claim that right." In her ethnography of Kaska language revitalization, Meek (2012) notes that Kaska community members speak of language as a means of connecting with history, cultural identity, and pride (147-150). Other Indigenous communities frame language revitalization as a way of healing from the intergenerational trauma that has been shown to result from colonial violence (Duran & Duran 1994; Brave Heart & DeBruyn 1998; Whitbeck et al. 2004).

Many Alutiiq language activists similarly see the Alutiiq language movement as a means of healing from trauma. Alisha Drabek comments that "language revitalization is all about healing" (20190902_Alisha_Drabek), and April Counceller (2010:179) cites an Elder's comment that "This language is healing to me." Alutiiq community members' views of language revitalization as a means of healing and cultural reclamation align with research on

Indigenous health and well-being, which has identified Indigenous language knowledge and cultural engagement as protective factors against suicide (Chandler & Lalonde 1998; Hallett 2007), anxiety and depression (Bals et al. 2011), and addiction (Fiedeldey-Van Dijk et al. 2017).

In this chapter, I explore potentially causal links between Indigenous language revitalization and community well-being through an analysis of Alutiiq language activists' social and emotional experiences of speaking Alutiiq. Drawing on interview and survey data, I begin with a broad consideration of Alutiiq language activists' experiences of participating in the language movement, including motivations for participation, benefits, barriers and hardships, and the importance of social connection in determining how engaging in Alutiiq language revitalization impacts participants' well-being. I then explore language activists' experiences of speaking Alutiiq as a means of accessing an alternate worldview, noting how this relates to research on "emotional distancing" effects in second language speaking (Bond and Lai 1986; Pavlenko 2002; Harris, Ayçiçeği and Gleason 2003; Iacozza, Costa, and Duñabeita 2017). Finally, I present Alutiiq language activists' reflections on how learning and speaking Alutiiq creates space for privacy, stress relief, and humanization, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic. I hope that these details about how Alutiiq language revitalization affects participants' well-being, both overall and in specific moments, may be helpful to others seeking to improve community well-being through Indigenous language programs.

Throughout this chapter, I use the terms *social* and *emotional* to highlight different but closely related aspects of Alutiiq language use. I use *social* to refer to relationships between people, including individuals' relationships with family, friends, the Alutiiq community as a

whole, and others from outside the community. I use the term *emotional* to refer to Alutiiq language activists' perceptions of how it feels to engage in Alutiiq language revitalization.[8] I recognize that the social and emotional aspects of language use are intertwined: social experiences evoke emotions, and emotions are "relational" in that they are experienced and conveyed in social ways (Anderson & Harrison 2006). I also consider both social relationships and emotion to be closely linked to identity, or "the social positioning of the self and other" (Bucholtz & Hall 2005:586).

4.2 Broader context: Social and emotional experiences of participating in the Alutiiq language movement

In order to understand Alutiiq language activists' emotional and social experiences of speaking Alutiiq, it also necessary to understand their experiences participating in the language movement as a whole. In this section, I discuss Alutiiq language activists' reported motivations for participating in the language movement, benefits resulting from their participation, emotional and social hardships they have encountered, and the importance of social connection in the face of these hardships.

Motivations for Alutiiq language movement participation: Identity and culture-bearing
Counceller (2010:178-179) finds that Elders are motivated to engage in Alutiiq language revitalization in order to hold onto their Alutiiq identities in the face of social and cultural alienation, as well as to pass down Alutiiq culture to youth. Younger language activists, she

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[8] I use the term *emotional* in preference to the term *affective*, which Ochs and Schieffelin (1989:7) define as relating to "feelings, moods, dispositions, and attitudes associated with persons and/or situations." I chose the term *emotional* both because it is more easily understood by lay audiences and because it has been used to refer to experiences (rather than displays) of emotion (Besnier 1990:420), which is what is important in terms of driving the phenomena under consideration.

finds, report an increased sense of wholeness and community connection through the language movement (181-182). Drabek (2018) also comments on the interconnectedness of Alutiiq language and a sense of identity or 'wholeness.' She quotes Elder Florence Pestrikoff saying, "I don't know how you people who haven't learned our language do not learn it, because without it you are not a whole person."

My research likewise finds that Alutiiq language activists are motivated to participate in the language movement not simply to achieve linguistic competence as an individual, but in order to connect with their Alutiiq cultural heritage and join in community efforts to pass down Alutiiq language and culture. For instance, some reasons survey respondents gave for participating in Alutiiq language activities included not only "to preserve the language and ensure it's spoken by future generations," but also "learning more about and connecting with my heritage," "to help retain my heritage," and "so my kids will learn and be comfortable learning." In an interview, when I asked Mariah Stapleton what made her want to learn Alutiiq, she commented that it was part of an overarching goal to "learn at least a little bit of every part that I am," including her Cherokee and Blackfoot heritage (1).

(1)

```
1 JF;    And so, what made you want to learn?
2 MS;  Mostly to get involved more with my culture.
3           I set a goal for myself a long time ago that I wanted to try and learn at least a
4           little bit of every part that I am.
5           Like, I know that I'm part Cherokee as well, and Blackfoot, so eventually I want to
6           try and learn a little bit of Cherokee.
7           And then recently my friend tried to get me more involved in it, and I got part of the
8           Alutiiq Dancers, and then they gave me the job at the Language Nest, and so that kind
9           of took off from there.
10         And I realized how endangered our language is, and how much of a priority it is now.
```

(20190824_Mariah_Stapleton)

Mariah frames her goal, not in terms of learning language per se, but in terms of learning her ethnoracial heritage ("at least a little bit of every part that I am"). In tracing her motivations to learn Alutiiq, she notes that she was influenced by a friend and by her involvement with the Alutiiq Dancers and the Language Nest (lines 7-9). Finally, in line 10, she describes her realization about the endangered status of Alutiiq and the resulting prioritization of the language movement. Dominant ideologies of language revitalization often assume that the goal is language fluency, and sometimes assume the individual as the unit of analysis (for instance by counting numbers of fluent speakers). Mariah's reflections suggest that at least some Alutiiq language activists are also motivated by social relationships and a desire to connect with their ethnoracial heritage.

Benefits of participation in the Alutiiq language movement: Identity, culture-bearing, and community belonging

Identity, heritage, and culture-bearing also emerged as themes in response to survey and interview questions about the benefits of participating in the Alutiiq language movement. For instance, several respondents noted that learning Alutiiq helps make them feel validated as Alutiiq people in a context of erasure and delegitimation (2-4).

(2) *It helps me with my struggles of ethnic identity/belonging and makes me feel like a more valid tribal member. I love that I am meeting more Alutiiq people (and even some family members!) through the movement.* -Respondent 4

(3) *I chose to learn the language myself because it gave me a sense of identity, it was something to brag about, and it was literally a good idea with no downside as in the worst that could come of learning my language was that I spoke it poorly.* -Respondent 3

(4) *It is helpful in fostering my own sense of identity.* -Respondent 2

Two respondents also noted that Alutiiq language movement participation was especially validating for their sense of Alutiiq identity as mixed-race or white-presenting people, or as Alutiiq people raised outside Alaska (5, 6).

(5) *It identifies me publicly as Alutiiq. As someone who is white presenting, this is powerful.* -Respondent 2

(6) *I think if I weren't learning the language, I would feel like an impostor in the Alutiiq community. I'm a tribal member and Koniag descendant but because I was born and raised outside Alaska, I feel like I'm not very connected to my Alutiiq roots. Learning the language alleviates this. I am meeting so many more Alutiiq people and feel more justified in identifying as Alutiiq. [...] I am mixed race and have always struggled with feeling that I don't fit in anywhere. Learning to speak Alutiiq makes me feel more comfortable with identifying as Alutiiq. And identifying more with being Alutiiq mitigates my identity issues with my other ethnic backgrounds (white and Asian).* -Respondent 4

Survey respondents also commented that Alutiiq language involvement benefited their sense of identity by giving them a sense of pride in their heritage and their ancestors. Respondent 6, who currently lives outside of Kodiak and participates in online language movement gatherings, specifically emphasized cultural pride in two of her responses. Answering a question about how language movement participation affected her overall well-being, Respondent 6 commented, "Taking pride in preserving my heritage." In response to the question, *Does speaking Alutiiq feel different to you than speaking other languages? If so, how so?*, she commented, "There is pride in learning the language my ancestors spoke."

Many respondents further mentioned that the Alutiiq language movement gave them a sense of belonging to a community and fostered positive social relationships. In response to the question *If it [language movement participation] has affected your sense of belonging to a community, how so?*, Respondent 3 and Respondent 5 both reported positive effects of community belonging (7, 8).

(7) *Kodiak, due to its history has become a melting pot with many different communities within the main one. I knew I belonged somewhere, learning the language acted as a compass and pointed me where to go and I definitely made it to my destination.*
-Respondent 3

(8) *Everyone in the Alutiiq language movement has been very welcoming and it really makes me feel like I have a place in the Alutiiq community even if I am not an Alutiiq person.*
-Respondent 5

Respondent 3, who has Alutiiq heritage, describes the effects of the language movement through the metaphors of a melting pot and a compass: in a potentially assimilative "melting pot" of ethnoracial diversity in Kodiak, she states, learning Alutiiq language guided her to a destination of cultural belonging. Respondent 5, who does not have Alutiiq heritage, reports that the Alutiiq language movement made her feel welcome as well. These results illustrate the extent to which the language movement provides cultural belonging for people with Alutiiq heritage and offers community connection even for non-Alutiiq people.

One of the many ways in which Alutiiq language movement participation may increase participants' sense of connection to their community is through naming practices. As Gayla Pedersen (20200905_Gayla_Pedersen) comments, Alutiiq names can both encourage community-oriented behavior and "lend a sense of belonging": "My Alutiiq name is Ikayu, "The Helper." And so it's kind of made me feel like if that's a quality that they saw and valued in me, that maybe I need to not only adhere to that but pursue it. It's like, "Well, maybe I need to focus on that more." I think it also lends a sense of belonging to have a name in a language like that."

Other benefits that participants mentioned included career benefits (9) and an uplifting feeling caused by increased cultural pride and social belonging (10).

(9) *Once I was discovered by the movement itself, my life was literally changed. I am beyond committed, past learning it (still going to continue of course, duh), and have turned my hobby into a career.* -Respondent 3

(10) *It is uplifting to have pride in one's heritage and a feeling of belonging.* -Respondent 6

Respondent 6 offered the comment in (10) in response to the question, *How has participating in the Alutiiq language movement affected your physical health?* This answer, with its focus on emotion (i.e. through the terms *uplifting, pride, feeling of belonging*), suggests that the language movement's positive impacts on cultural pride and social belonging can, in turn, influence physical well-being.

In response to the question, *If it has affected your sense of your identity, how so?* Respondent 3 further noted that language movement increased her confidence and her sense of "having a voice" (11).

(11) *Gah, these questions seem repetitive but that is okay. I'd have to say yes it affected my identity positively. I am a lot more confident. I give myself credit for setting a goal and reaching it. I feel empowered and that I have a voice. If I get talked over in English then I can simply speak in Alutiiq and be heard.* -Respondent 3

Respondent 3's use of the example of being talked over in English and responding in Alutiiq makes it clear that Alutiiq language allows her to "have a voice" not only in a general sense, but in specific interactions. This answer relates to situated uses of Alutiiq language for empowerment and decolonial resistance, which I discuss further in section 4.3.

Table 1 summarizes Alutiiq language activists' reflections on how language movement participation affected their overall well-being, sense of belonging to a community, sense of identity, and physical health. Most respondents reported benefits to their well-being, community belonging, and sense of identity, and slightly under half reported benefits to their physical health.

	Question: How has participating in the Alutiiq language movement affected…	Negative/harmful effect	No effect	Positive/beneficial effect	Total
1	…your overall well-being?	2	1	7	9
2	…your sense of belonging to a community?	1	0	8	9
3	…your sense of your identity?	1	1	7	9
4	…your physical health?	2	4	4	9

Table 1: Benefits of Alutiiq language movement participation

Hanna Sholl's comments in a 2019 interview further illuminate links between Alutiiq language revitalization and youth well-being. Commenting on the prevalence of issues such as drug and alcohol abuse and domestic violence in Kodiak, as well as other communities (12, line 13-16), Hanna identifies the Alutiiq language movement as a means of supporting youth as they navigate these struggles (line 19-25).

(12)

1 JF;   Do you have other thoughts about these kinds of things?
2 HS;   As far as the learning?
3   And the culture?
4   I think that an element that's not really talked about a lot right now that's really
5   important is, we have this generation of little kids who, we are trying to teach them
6   the language, and expose them to the culture, and different elements.
7   And then we have like this generation of like my older kids, who are in elementary
8   school, and middle school, who have had *some* exposure, but not a lot.
9   And then we've got high schoolers—they *have* the opportunity to go to the language
10   class, and college *has* the opportunity, and young adults.
11   And then we have like this generation of young adults who, not just in our
12   community, but especially in our communities around here, who are severely
13   suffering from the opioid crisis, and drug and alcohol abuse, and domestic
14   violence.
15   And then older generations also, they struggle with a lot of that stuff from
16   generational traumas.
17   I think an element that's not touched on a lot is how important it is to give these kids
18   a sense of purpose, and a sense of who they are through their culture, and their
19   language, and song and dance, and whatever element *they* choose to cling to, but like,
20   having those available for them.

21   Because we *are*, we're growing up in a world that's not always very easy to grow up
22   in, and be who we are, and turn into successful humans, and not have these struggles.
        […]
23   I always felt, even from like a young adult or a young child, I always felt out of place,
24   and I wish that I had had like that cul[ture].
25   I knew that I was Native, but I was down south, and I was never involved in anything
26   of substance.
27   So when we talk about things like the immersion preschool and these things, I know
28   it's really easy to be like, "Oh, it's so much work, and it's so hard, and it's a thankless
29   job, and, there's only so many people learning."
30   But it's *so* important.
31   It goes *so* much deeper than even like, saving a language, which in itself is enough.
32   But it goes so much deeper, because these children, they're going to know who they
33   are as they get older.

(20190904_Hanna_Sholl)

In line 19, Hanna contextualizes Alutiiq language learning as related to Alutiiq culture, song, and dance, emphasizing the agency of Alutiiq youth in choosing their engagement with these elements ("whatever element *they* choose to cling to"). Reflecting on her own experiences growing up away from Kodiak and not engaging in cultural practices, and her resulting feelings of being out of place (lines 23-26), Hanna comments that while elements of Alutiiq language programs may at times seem thankless and not immediately have the desired outcomes, the overall effect of the language movement is a deep and important one. She frames this effect not only in terms of Alutiiq language itself ("It goes *so* much deeper than even like, saving a language, which in itself is enough," line 31) but also in terms of Alutiiq youths' sense of identity ("These children, they're going to know who they are as they get older," lines 32-33). These comments speak to the central importance of identity and cultural heritage as impacts of Alutiiq language revitalization, particularly among youth.

Emotional and social hardships of Alutiiq language revitalization: Trauma, frustration, and lack of capacity

Though many participants in the Alutiiq language movement report that their experiences have benefited their well-being, it is also important to acknowledge that engaging in the language movement can present serious hardships. This is apparent in Table 1, in which some respondents reported that language movement participation had both positively and negatively impacted their overall well-being, sense of belonging to a community, sense of identity, and physical health. Respondent 7 ties these negative effects to a sense of inauthenticity and failure, saying, "I feel like I am a bit of a fraud because I don't know much" (in response to a question about whether speaking Alutiiq felt different than speaking other languages) and "I feel like I am failing in learning my language" (in response to a question about how limited language movement participation during COVID-19 had affected her well-being). Other commonly reported hardships include processing the traumas of colonial oppression and becoming exhausted due to lack of time, funding, and people to speak with or learn from.

In interview comments, many Alutiiq language activists note the emotional and social delicacy of language revitalization work. When she commented about language revitalization as a form of healing, Alisha Drabek further said, "They [the Elders] are healing from something awful, so the emotions of it are kind of smoldering under the surface, and we often step through a thin spot" (20190902_Alisha_Drabek). In her analogy, the "thin spot" represents a moment or context in which young language activists inadvertently bring up Elders' traumatic experiences. One survey respondent comments that being involved in the language movement "dredged up a lot of things I was not prepared to process." Hanna

similarly notes that "teaching language is a very delicate process," adding, "In something so vulnerable as learning an Indigenous language that is going away, it's fragile, and so I know that a lot of people get hurt."

Alutiiq language work involves vulnerability both on the part of the Elders, who have been punished and ridiculed for speaking Alutiiq (Counceller 2010:18-19; Drabek 2012:109), and for new Alutiiq speakers, who can experience feelings of shame, frustration, and failure as language learners. In addition to Respondent 7's comments about feelings of fraudulence and failure, Respondent 2 commented, "I'll be intimidated as I'm not a strong speaker" (in response to the question, *If you *don't* speak Alutiiq in public spaces, why not?*). Also in response to this question, Respondent 4 said, "Mostly because I speak at the level of a toddler. But sometimes because I want to fit in or am tired of explaining my mixed-race identity to everyone. I am ashamed that I want to blend in, but that's honestly why I do not always use my Alutiiq personal introduction." Respondent 4's comments highlight an interaction between feelings of inadequate language fluency, one the one hand, and a desire to "fit in" or "blend in" rather than constantly having to explain her ethnoracial identity, on the other, with these two factors combining to limit her Alutiiq language use. Existing Alutiiq language teaching and social support has helped some Alutiiq language learners overcome feelings of embarrassment, frustration, and inadequacy; others note a need for more diverse teaching methods to accommodate different learning styles, and for a range of Alutiiq language gatherings tailored to different fluency levels. Fulfilling these diverse needs is a challenge with limited funding and language teachers.

Parents, in particular, have expressed frustration as language learners due to their children's role in home language policy (McCarty et al. 2009). Some, after working hard to

balance child care and careers with Alutiiq language learning, have found that their children

react negatively to them speaking Alutiiq. For instance, Alisha Drabek comments in an

interview with me that she experienced pressure from her young son to speak English in the

home (13).

(13)

1 JF;		That's something that I've been thinking about a lot too, like the ways that
2		thinking of being able to learn languages as an innate talent can be kind of
3		hindering.
4		Because people believe that they don't have that because they've had bad
5		experiences in classrooms.
6 AD;		Right. Right.
7 JF;		Yeah.
8 AD;		Right, it's a false perception I think.
9		And I think having children was a benefit, because I did bring Fayd, my middle
10		son, with me to those first couple of years, until he became a toddler, and then he
11		was, you know, difficult to contain ((laughs)) in an Elder's house.
12		And then again when Taavi was born, my youngest, he's now seven.
13		And when he was little, I was in the movement.
14		I had moved back, I was healthy again, I was able to engage.
15		And so he came with me.
16		And having a little one that you can chitter-chatter to in the language was a
17		benefit.
18		But the negative, and what happened to me, is, with him, there was something—
19		and I don't remember exactly what it was, but there was something that happened
20		in the language community that upset me, and I stopped speaking Alutiiq for a
21		few weeks.
22		Like I was just blown out and pissed off about something, and when I started back
23		again with him he was right at that cusp of speaking a mix of English and Alutiiq,
24 JF;		Oh wow.
25 AD;		and he understood that I was speaking a language different than his father,
26		different than the house,
27 JF;		Uh-huh.
28 AD;		and he would cry or hit me or yell at me, like, "Stop tricking me," basically.
29 JF;		Huh.
30 AD;		And so I ended up having family pressure from a *toddler*, ((laughs))
31 JF;		Wow.
32 AD;		to not speak it.
33		And that, um, that was sort of the death knell of my advancement, I think, at that
34		point.
35		Now the kids are again curious, they've got their own self-identity, they don't feel
36		threatened, or feel like their mother's trying to push them into something, and so

37		I'm able to do it again.
38		But it was a hard period of time.
39	JF;	Yeah.
40		Huh, I didn't realize that—yeah, that he felt that way about it.
41		Taavi did?
42		Mm.
43	AD;	Yeah.
44		And so I have to be really care when I'm, you know, playing with language at
45		home.
46		He gets full, he gets angry.
47		And so I have to pick my moments and, ((laughs)) yeah.
48	JF;	That's interesting, yeah, you don't really think about—usually people don't talk
49		that much about, you know, like the kids' emotions about it.
50	AD;	Yeah.
51	JF;	And the importance of that too.
52		Yeah.
53	AD;	Yeah.
54		Yeah.
55		That's true.
56		It was an interesting experience.
57	JF;	Mhm?
58	AD;	I wouldn't have ever thought—
59		You know, and you see all of the films and the books written about, you know,
60		"Save your language," and "Teach your children," and "You can grow your own
61		speakers."
62		Well, it's easier said than done.
63		If you have *any* other language being spoken around them, they will make the
64		choice.
65		And you can't—
66		It will be oppressive to *them*, to force them to speak it.
67		So, it affects your relationship with them.

(20190902_Alisha_Drabek)

Related to these problems of trauma, frustration, and shame is that of lack of capacity, or

burnout (Maslach & Leiter 2006). Many people in the Alutiiq language movement volunteer

their time on top of their careers and family responsibilities, leading to exhaustion. As Hanna

Hanna commented in a 2020 interview, "Our people are busy and our Elders are tired."

Alutiiq language careers, such as language teaching and archival work, have been

instrumental in contributing to the language movement and dealing with the problem of

burnout. However, several language activists—like Mariah Stapleton (quoted in Chapter 2, section 3.3)—note that it is also important to dedicate time and funding to Alutiiq language leisure events and gatherings so that Alutiiq language does not become associated only with work.

Particularly for Alutiiq community members living in Kodiak, the COVID-19 pandemic compounded the problems of burnout, stress, and trauma. As regularly scheduled community language events shifted to virtual platforms, Alutiiq language activists were cut off from in-person gatherings, even as Alutiiq language learners living outside of Kodiak gained new opportunities for connection with the language movement. In calling attention to the ways in which the language movement benefited community well-being during the pandemic (as did other Indigenous language movements, according to Chew 2021:243), I do not mean to erase the severity of the pandemic's effects on the language movement and on the Alutiiq community as a whole. I am hopeful that as case rates wane and in-person gatherings become possible, these difficult circumstances will improve.

Some of the above obstacles to Alutiiq language movement participation could be improved by more resources and support. In response to my question about how conflicts between careers, family responsibilities, and language movement participation could be improved with unlimited funding and personnel, Hanna Sholl suggested that establishing an Alutiiq culture center and teaching Alutiiq language in elementary and middle schools could help to deal with these challenges (14).

(14)

1 JF;   With respect to some of the busyness and the difficulties of having a whole
2   family involved, can you think of—like, in a perfect world with unlimited
3   funding and people, of ways that that could be improved?
4 HS;   Yeah. A culture center.

5	Where we could actually have these events that—like churches.
6	They have a room for this age, a room for this age, and then they have the
7	adults.
8	And we're all right there and we're all able to interact, but nobody is made to
9	feel like they're burdening any of those groups.
10	And I know, we don't enough teachers, we don't have enough space.
11	We don't have money.
12	We don't have a culture center.
13	But like, something like that to teach us.
14	And then I also understand that there's not necessarily the huge interest to
15	learn either that would justify something like this.
16	Like, I know that there's people who want to learn and feel guilty for not
17	learning, but there's very few of us who are like, "I will do anything to learn.
18	Just let me learn."
19	So, I think a culture center could definitely help.
20	But until we have the support of all ages and the involvement in the school
21	district, getting rid of other languages and teaching Indigenous language, or
22	adding Indigenous language on there.
23	I know not necessarily getting rid of other languages is a good idea, but I think
24	that maybe cutting down and encouraging learning of the Indigenous
25	language, and maybe incorporating it into our elementary and middle school
26	where it doesn't exist at all, those are all important elements that are like, "We
27	have all these issues, how do we fix them, what do we do?"
28	And we all are kind of like, "Well I'm busy with work, so…" ((laughs))

(20200902_Hanna_Sholl)

It is important to note, as Hanna does here, that the challenges faced by Alutiiq language activists are related to structural problems such as lack of language teachers, space, and funding. These structural problems are interconnected, and many relate back to funding: for instance, more funding could provide a means of hiring more language teachers and accessing more spaces. In a larger sense, the factors that present barriers to Alutiiq language revitalization are the same ones that underlie Alutiiq language loss. The capitalist and colonialist pressures that have suppressed Alutiiq language have also suppressed subsistence lifestyles, making it necessary for Alutiiq community members to spend the majority of their time working in English-dominated jobs. In light of these hardships, the social and cultural benefits of the Alutiiq language movement are all the more important, and it is clear that

community members would benefit from more financial support and policy support for Alutiiq language programs.

The importance of social connection for supporting Alutiiq language activists

Interview and survey responses reveal that social connection and support is vital to Alutiiq language activists' experiences in the language movement, playing a strong role in determining how language activism affects their well-being. Drabek (2012:157-160) identifies social connection as a core element of Alutiiq culture, naming three related cultural values: *Suupet* ('Our people or community; We are responsible for each other and ourselves'), *Cuqllipet* ('Our Elders'), and *Ilaapet* ('Our family; Our family and kinship of ancestors and living relatives'). In light of the centrality of social connection to Alutiiq life, it is perhaps unsurprising that Alutiiq language activists who have experienced significant barriers and frustrations in language learning often mention a lack of people to talk to or practice with, particularly people at a similar fluency level. This lack is often due to conflicting career or family responsibilities and not having enough free time, as well as concerns of being a burden to more advanced language learners as a beginning learner.

Furthermore, Alutiiq language learners who have had positive experiences with language revitalization often attribute their success to strong relationships with other language activists. Alisha Drabek, for instance, notes, "We have a strong bond between learners, from what we have survived together, or struggled for or sought after" (201909092_Alisha_Drabek). These supportive relationships can occur intergenerationally, with younger speakers sometimes teaching older ones as well as the more expected converse. For instance, when I asked what made it easier to speak or learn Alutiiq, Mariah commented

that the support of her father and grandmother was key to increasing her confidence and

motivation to speak (15).

(15)

1 JF; What would you say—I guess that kind of gets to this, but what would you say are
2   some things that make it easier to speak or to learn?
3 MS; Definitely work, because that makes it easier to learn, especially since it's a, what do
4   you call that?
5 JF;   Immersion?
6 MS; Immersion environment, thank you.
7   Also, my family is very very supportive of me, and they want to learn as well.
8   Like my dad has even expressed interest in wanting to try and learn.
9   And he wants to learn from me, but I'm also a new learner, so it's hard for me to.
10   But my grandma also is really proud of me learning and she wants to also kind of
11   understand more.
12   So that kind of gives me more of a confidence boost to actually be more outright with
13   it, and to do it more around them and speak it more around them and like, pass on
14   what I learn.
15   Even if it's kind of backwards. ((laughs))
16   It's like passing it back to my Elders instead of forward.
17   But I don't mind it.

(20190824_Mariah_Stapleton)

These comments demonstrate that social support is not only a benefit of Alutiiq language

movement participation, but a key to experiencing other benefits, such as increased

confidence and cultural pride. This finding underscores the importance of teaching and using

Indigenous language in relational ways (i.e., through social engagement rather than through

less social language learning contexts), which is a prominent focus of the Alutiiq language

movement.

4.3 Alutiiq language activists' social and emotional experiences of speaking Alutiiq

As with their experiences in the language movement as a whole, Alutiiq language activists'

experiences of speaking Alutiiq are varied, yet there are some common themes. Language

activists report that speaking Alutiiq is challenging and emotionally intense, yet also fulfilling, humanizing, and healing. They often link the benefits of learning and speaking Alutiiq to relationships with other community members, to an Alutiiq worldview that provides a critical perspective on Western norms, and to opportunities for private connection in public spaces.

"Filling" and fulfilling

Many new Alutiiq speakers note that speaking Alutiiq, particularly for extended periods of time, can be draining, yet also fulfilling. For example, Dehrich Chya comments that advanced Alutiiq language immersion is both "filling" (a term used in the "Where Are Your Keys" method to describe the feeling that one's brain is "full" from language learning or speaking) and fulfilling (16).

(16)

```
1 JF;   When you do get to do more like advanced conversational immersion, how would
2       you describe the experience, what does it feel like?
3 DC;  Very filling.
4       It very quickly turns—
5       You know, it fills me up fast, which is good.
6       Because it means that I'm struggling.
7       But like, working towards speaking better and all that.
8       It's also very fulfilling to be able to have conversations, especially when I'm speaking
9       with an Elder.
10      And, you know, those rare occasions where they don't have to stop and ask what the
11      heck you're talking about. ((laughs))
12      It's great to be able to just, you know—
13      And I'm sure it's great for them, too, which might be why it feels more fulfilling to
14      talk with an Elder, is that *they* haven't been able to speak with somebody in Alutiiq
15      for who knows how many years.
16      And so I think you get the satisfaction from within yourself that you can do this, and
17      that you're helping keep the language alive and going, and then you get to have the
18      satisfaction for them that they get to speak their language again.
19      I think that our speakers miss being able to do that.
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(20200821_Dehrich_Chya)

Dehrich explains that speaking Alutiiq is fulfilling as an affirmation of personal ability ("you get the satisfaction from within yourself that you can do this"), a feeling of contributing to Alutiiq language vitality ("you're helping keep the language alive and going"), and an empathetic satisfaction on behalf of Elders ("you get to have the satisfaction for them, that they get to speak their language again").

Somewhat similarly, Alutiiq language activist and herbalist Gayla Pedersen notes that speaking Alutiiq feels both more challenging and more fulfilling than speaking other additional languages.[9] She comments that learning French through "Where Are Your Keys" was easier than learning Alutiiq "because there was no emotional aspect" (17, line 7).

(17)

1 JF;	A8nd then, did you find anything that made it hard to learn, or that was an
2	obstacle?
3 GP;	Yes, I found the emotional aspect of it to be the most challenging of the
4	learning process.
5	And I even had an experience—
6	I had a house guest from France staying with me, and so we played "Where
7	Are Your Keys" all the time, so he could teach me French.
8	And it was like butter.
9	It was just easy, and absorbable, and I mean the learning flowed like water.
10	Because there was no emotional aspect.
11 JF;	Huh.
12	Uh-huh?
13	Yeah.
14	So, maybe, if it's not a language that you have a personal stake in, and there's
15	no trauma attached to it, it's just a lot easier to learn?
16 GP;	From my personal experience, I'd say a hundred percent yes.
17	Right now I'm currently learning Spanish because of my in-laws, and we're
18	going to Mexico in the fall, so I'm trying to get pleasantries and stuff like that
19	down.
20	And it's still—I've had no experience in Spanish before this but it's still just
21	much easier.
22	And I find that learning Alutiiq now that it's been so long is also easier,
23	because I feel like a lot of the stuff has been worked through, and I've had a

_____

[9] Following McIvor (2020), I use the term *additional language* in preference to *second language*, a term that was developed outside of Indigenous language contexts, in order to avoid the associations of *second language* that do not apply to Indigenous language learning.

24		nice long break from it.
25		And it's not so intensely desired, like the tipping point has been reached
26		where, I don't know if necessarily that the language is saved, but there's—
27		It has momentum, and volume, and so it's not so fragile and new.
28	JF;	Mm.
29		So there's not as much pressure on the individual learners to be *the* people,
30	GP;	Yeah.
31		You know it's in the schools, and there's the Nest, and yeah.
32		It's just changed a lot.
33		It's wonderful.

(20190906_Gayla_Petersen)

Comparing French language learning to soft, flowing substances and liquids ("it was like butter," line 8; "the learning flowed like water," line 9), Peterson strongly agrees with my suggestion that it was easier to learn a language that was not associated with trauma and in which she did not have a personal stake ("From my personal experience, I'd say a hundred percent yes," line 16). Peterson elaborates that she has had a similarly easy experience learning Spanish relative to Alutiiq (lines 20 and 21). She adds that she also finds it easier to learn Alutiiq because she's had a break from it and the pressure on language learners has decreased due to successes in the movement ("it's not so intensely desired," line 25; "it's not so fragile and new," line 27). These comments suggest that the "emotional aspect" to which Peterson refers includes social pressure on Alutiiq language learners to excel in language learning, similar to the pressures that Alisha Drabek notes in excerpt 13.

Later in the same interview, Peterson further notes that learning Alutiiq is also more difficult because of its connection to her heritage, her home, and her identity as an Alutiiq person (18).

(18)

1	JF;	Would you say—so the process of learning Alutiiq versus other languages felt
2		very different to you?
3	GP;	Yes.

4 JF;	Would you say when you speak Alutiiq, it feels like you think differently
5	about things, or have a…
6 GP;	Well, Alutiiq is definitely the most involved I've been in learning a second
7	language.
8	I had six years of French in school, but due to the learning style I retained
9	very little of it.
10	And because Alutiiq is part of my heritage, and not something—you know,
11	it's a piece of my home, and it's not something foreign, that I definitely *do*
12	invest a lot more thought and wholeness with it than I do like the other
13	languages.
14	Like when I speak French, I'm not trying to be French.
15	And, I'm not necessarily trying to *be* Alutiiq, I *am*.
16	You know, it is a part of me, and so it's very different, yeah.

(20190906_Gayla_Petersen)

Here, Gayla attributes the difficulty of learning Alutiiq not only to social pressure, as

before, but also to its connections to her heritage and identity, which lead her to

"invest a lot more thought and wholeness with it" (line 12). In a follow-up interview,

Gayla comments that learning Alutiiq may have been more difficult because of the

"preciousness" of the language, saying, "I guess I just wanted so badly for it to be

right, and to honor the language with accurate learning." While this emotional

investment, care, and wholeness may make it slower and more difficult to learn

Alutiiq, it may also offer more benefits for well-being through a connection to

heritage, which is also a common theme in the survey responses discussed earlier in

this chapter.

Emotional distancing?

Gayla's comment about the multifaceted emotional intensity of speaking Alutiiq might seem,

on its surface, to conflict with previous psychological research that has proposed that

speaking an additional language creates an "emotional distancing" effect relative to speaking

a language acquired in childhood. Pavlenko (2002), for instance, presents evidence from bilingual writers that they often experience the language(s) they acquired later in life as less emotionally intense than the language(s) they grew up speaking. She quotes Dominican-American author Julia Alvarez reflecting, "Spanish certainly was the language of storytelling, the language of the body and of the senses and of the emotional wiring of the child, so that still, when someone addresses me as 'Hoolia' (Spanish pronunciation of Julia), I feel my emotional self come to the fore. I answer *Sí*, and lean forward to kiss a cheek rather than answer *Yes*, and extend my hand for a handshake. Some deeper or first Julia is being summoned" (Novakovich and Shapard 2000:218; cited in Pavlenko 2002:47-48). Novakovich and Shapard (2000) use the term *stepmother tongue* to label the later-acquired, less emotionally intense language. Experimental research lends further support to the emotional distancing hypothesis. For instance, Bond and Lai (1986) find that first language Cantonese speakers elaborate on embarrassing stories at greater length in English than in Cantonese; Harris, Ayçiçeği and Gleason (2003) find that first language Turkish speakers showed more intense emotional responses (measured by skin-conductance responses) to taboo words and reprimands (e.g. "Shame on you") in Turkish than in English; and Iacozza, Costa, and Duñabeita (2017) find that first language Spanish speakers experienced greater pupil dilation (a measure of physiological arousal) when reading emotionally charged sentences aloud in Spanish than in English.

I was introduced to the concept of the emotional distancing effect through the Alutiiq community, where it has been discussed by April Counceller, Dehrich Chya, and others. Some community members have mentioned that this theory has been a useful lens to understand how Elders at times experience stronger emotional reactions than new speakers to

Alutiiq language use and language-related work. Furthermore, similarly to the participants in the above studies, several Alutiiq language activists report that it is easier to discuss "stressful" or "silly" topics, such as sensitive personal information or risqué jokes, in Alutiiq than English. Dehrich Chya, for example, comments, "For some reason it's easier to talk about certain topics in Alutiiq than it is in English. Whether they're, you know, stressful topics or silly topics or inappropriate topics, it all seems to come out easier in Alutiiq than it does in English" (20200821_Dehrich_Chya). Gayla Pedersen also mentions in a 2019 interview that she is "much more willing to divulge very personal information" in Alutiiq than in English (19, line 2).

(19)

1 GP;	I know that this is slightly off topic, but me and one of the other learners, we're
2	much more willing to divulge very personal information if we can do it in the
3	language.
4	Like things that I would never tell anyone, ever, about my personal life, but
5	because we could talk about it in the language—right down to discussing her
6	father's weight.
7	I would never comment on anybody's father's weight.
8	But it's like, I knew how to say it in the language, and so I was like, "Your dad
9	looks like he's getting a little chubby."
10	And she was like, "Yeah. He is gaining weight. He doesn't look well."
11	And, you know, like things that we normally would *never* have spoken about.
12 JF;	Mm, mhm?
13 GP;	I know that doesn't really answer your question, but—
14 JF;	Oh, no, it's—yeah, I think that's definitely related to learning and humor and stuff
15	too, yeah.
16 GP;	Mhm.
17 JF;	Hm.
18	Do you have a sense for why that is?
19 GP;	Part of it I think is just not being willing to miss an opportunity to use language
20	that we know.
21 JF;	Mm, mhm?
22 GP;	And also a way—
23	You know, because it's kind of like,
24	I guess it *is* kind of like being in a different mind frame.
25	It's like not my normal mind frame, you know, and so it feels separate somehow.
26	So, it's a nice way to talk about it, but without it being too real to my English

27   brain.

Gayla further comments in a 2020 interview that Alutiiq "opened up" her relationship with this friend to discuss personal topics: "I don't think we have the type of friendship that would lend to comfortability with those types of conversations in English, but we had a different type of friendship speaking Alutiiq to each other. It kind of opened things up for a deeper conversation" (20200925_Gayla_Pedersen). This suggests that Alutiiq language can be a medium for creating close relationships.

Gayla's reflection that Alutiiq offers a "different mind frame" that is not "too real to [her] English brain" (lines 24 and 25) seems to align with the emotional distancing hypothesis. That is, one way of explaining the ease of discussing personal topics in Alutiiq is simply that it is less emotionally intense to discuss these topics in any additional language. Yet this presents a paradox: how can learning and speaking Alutiiq feel more emotionally intense than English in some ways, "opening up" deeper conversations and social bonds, yet allow for greater detachment in others?

One possible explanation relates to a distinction between emotions *about* language and emotions experienced *through* language. The emotional distancing hypothesis, like other work in second language acquisition, was formulated and tested primarily with respect to immigrant and foreign language learners (McIvor 2020:80). Unlike the participants in the above experimental studies, for whom "heritage language" is synonymous with "first language," Alutiiq language learners acquire Alutiiq as their "heritage mother tongue" (McCarty 2008)—a language that, though not acquired in childhood, is imbued with ethnoracial heritage and identity. Learning and speaking Alutiiq can therefore evoke emotions related to cultural trauma, concerns about language loss, and pressure to succeed as

a language learner. For these reasons, unlike heritage language learners in non-Indigenous contexts, Alutiiq language activists may experience intense and difficult emotions *about* Alutiiq, yet not *through* Alutiiq.

Regarding emotions experienced *through* Alutiiq, the situation may also not be as straightforward as the term "emotional distancing" suggests. Instead of a metaphor of "distance," it might be more useful to consider the systems of social constructs associated with Alutiiq and English language use, which Alutiiq language activists often refer to as different "worldviews" or "brains." For instance, Alisha Drabek comments, "I think translating things into Alutiiq or speaking in Alutiiq does kind of twist it. It allows you to hook into a different worldview, and tap into it I guess." When coining new words, some Alutiiq Elders comment on whether the terms make sense to their "Alutiiq brain," similarly to Gayla Pedersen's comment about her "English brain." This understanding of an Alutiiq worldview encoded in language has parallels in other language revitalization contexts; in Hornberger et al.'s (2016) ethnography of Lenape language education in Pennsylvania, a student in the Lenape language community comments, "I would support anyone taking any language class…whether or not you get very far in the language. You get a different viewpoint, it changes how you think about things" (Hornberger, De Korne, & Weinberg 2016). An Alutiiq worldview may provide, not exactly "distance" from emotionally difficult topics, but an alternate lens of viewing them. Counceller (personal communication) observes that it may be easier to talk about difficult topics relating to health and wellness in Alutiiq because Alutiiq culture does not include the associated institutionalization and stigma that comes with a Western mindset. Additionally, Gayla Pedersen comments in a follow-up interview that using Alutiiq language can provide a sense of novelty that overcomes

hesitation to discuss personal topics: "the novelty of being able to say something in the language will push you to overcome the awkwardness of what it is you have to say" (20200925_Gayla_Pedersen).

Another factor that may make it easier to discuss sensitive topics in Alutiiq is the role of sociocultural contexts of language use in determining emotional experiences of speaking. Harris et al. (2006) propose that languages are experienced as more or less emotional according to the emotional intensity of the contexts in which they are learned and spoken: a language learned only in a classroom might evoke less intense emotions than a language learned through peer socialization. Looking beyond emotional intensity to types of emotional and social practice, Alutiiq language learners might also associate Alutiiq with past experiences of safe disclosure. As Dehrich Chya observes in example 14, the separation of Alutiiq from Western mindsets, the potential for Alutiiq as a private language in public spaces (discussed more in the following section), and the close social bonds between Alutiiq speakers all facilitate the use of Alutiiq as a means for discussing personal topics. Due to these experiences of private Alutiiq conversation, Alutiiq language activists may grow to associate Alutiiq language with memories of safe disclosure among trusted friends, and experience it as an easier means of communicating about emotionally difficult topics.

Furthermore, because of the links between Alutiiq language and Alutiiq heritage, language activists may associate Alutiiq with the intimacy and support of family members. For instance, in response to the survey question *Does speaking Alutiiq feel different to you than speaking other languages? If so, how so?*, Respondent 8 commented, "It feels more personal to me than other languages. Like a relative as opposed to a friend." Another possibility that Gayla Pedersen raises is that the experience of speaking Alutiiq already

evokes such vulnerability that speakers may choose more emotionally intense topics to "balance out" that vulnerability: "There's a definite feeling of vulnerability in using the language, and insecurity. And perhaps choosing a more intense topic kind of balances that out."

The "emotional distancing" effect of Alutiiq may therefore be understood not as distance between an Alutiiq language learner and the Alutiiq language, but between Alutiiq and Western worldviews and social groups (Figure 1). It should be noted that the "New Alutiiq speaker" and the "English speaker" are one and the same: the emotional distance occurs across an individual's "English brain" and "Alutiiq brain." By accessing their Alutiiq-speaking, -thinking, and -feeling selves, new Alutiiq speakers can therefore navigate sensitive topics that would be difficult to discuss in English, in part due to their past experiences of social support and privacy in doing so (Figure 3).
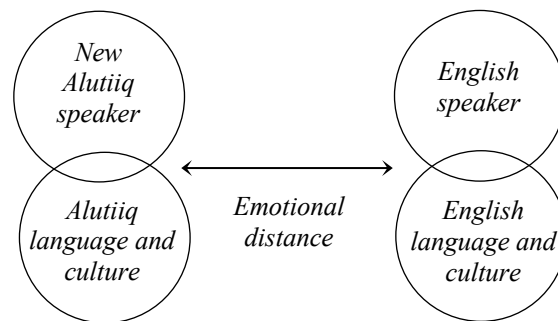
Figure 3: Emotional distancing between Alutiiq language
movement participants' "English brains" and "Alutiiq brains"

Speaking Alutiiq as a means of creating private spaces

Previous work on language revitalization has used the concept of a 'breathing space' to describe places in which minoritized languages can exist without being overwhelmed by dominant languages. Fishman (1991:28) writes of the "ethnolinguistic breathing space that

small cultures always require for their co-existence in a world dominated by ethnolinguistic

behemoths," noting that some of these breathing spaces may be physical spaces (58). Cenoz

and Gorter (2017) list "functional breathing spaces" as one guiding principle for sustainable

translanguaging in minoritized language contexts, and Belmar and Glass (2020) discuss the

role of virtual online communities as breathing spaces for minoritized languages. As I

mention in Chapter 3, Alutiiq immersion events and other community gatherings can serve as

breathing spaces to strengthen the vitality of Alutiiq language. I argue here that Alutiiq

language use does not just require spaces for language vitality, but also creates spaces for

privacy, concentration, and wholeness and humanity in times of crisis.

Private public spaces

One type of space that can be created through Alutiiq language use is what I refer to as

"private public spaces." These spaces occur within public places, but are made private

through the use of Alutiiq, a language that non-Alutiiq-speaking bystanders are unlikely to

understand. In response to my question about whether speaking Alutiiq feels different than

speaking a non-heritage additional language, Dehrich labels these moments as "that sort of

created private space" (20), adding that speaking a language that only the listener can

understand makes it "almost like you're alone with them" and allows for discussion of

"things that you wouldn't want just anybody to hear or know." Dehrich adds that while these

conversations often feature humorous and "inappropriate" topics of conversation, they can

also be used to create privacy even when no particularly sensitive topics are being discussed.

(20)

1 DC;   It's almost like an inside joke that you have.
2   That like, you know, if we're in a public setting, and talking about something that

3	wouldn't be ok to talk about in English at that specific location you know or
4	whatever in the store, doing it in Alutiiq, where nobody understands you, is kind
5	of funny.
6	Just because nobody else knows what you're saying.
7 JF;	It's like a form of power almost.
8 DC;	Mhm.
9 JF;	Yeah.
10	Yeah, because–I've like picked up little bits of other languages, and I don't think
11	I've had that experience so much, of like being able to reveal more personal
12	things.
13 DC;	Mhm.
14 JF;	So maybe it's a combination of the emotional distancing stuff *and* that like secret
15	language, and having a social group that speaks it with you?
16 DC;	You know, what I think it might be beyond just talking about like something that
17	might be inappropriate, is, being able to create a private space.
18	That's what it comes down to.
19	Because I was just thinking about this again, being in like a grocery store.
20	It doesn't have to be something that you wouldn't normally say in English, so
21	much as something that,
22	when you're talking with somebody, you know, people in the Alutiiq language
23	community have all pretty much become really close, and so you can talk about
24	all sorts of things together.
25	I think that if you're talking about something, anything personal, just being able
26	to do it in that sort of created private space,
27	because if you're speaking to somebody who only one other person understands
28	you, then it's almost like you're alone with them,
29	so you can talk about things that you wouldn't want just anybody to hear or know.

(20200821_Dehrich_Chya)

Dehrich's use of the phrase "inside joke" in line 1 suggests that these interactions are in part

a means of maintaining or strengthening close social relationships with other Alutiiq speakers

and learners, creating intimacy as well as privacy. Gayla Pedersen, similarly, comments that

she sometimes uses Alutiiq in public places to demonstrate a close social bond to the person

she's speaking with.

Another Alutiiq language activist, Respondent 3 in the survey, reports that she uses

Alutiiq with her children in public, saying, "It's fun to have a secret language to use with my

kids in public so they understand they aren't being put on the spot to be looked at or

'scolded' and people are nosy and what we do is none of their business :)." This comment links the use of Alutiiq as a private language with enjoyment ("It's fun to have a secret language," maintenance of the children's privacy, especially in moments of discipline, ("so they understand they aren't being put on the spot to be looked at or 'scolded'"), and maintenance of the family's privacy as a whole ("people are nosy and what we do is none of their business").

Alutiiq is also used to create privacy in digital public spaces such as Facebook. Some Alutiiq language activists post Facebook statuses and comments in Alutiiq or using Alutiiq words. Typically, they do not use English translations unless requested by friends who don't understand the initial post or comment. Similarly to speaking Alutiiq in the grocery store, posting in Alutiiq on Facebook creates a private public space that both increases the visibility of Alutiiq and allows for private communication and connection between Alutiiq language activists.

Gayla Pedersen further comments that her enjoyment of learning and speaking Alutiiq is in part due to her experiences as a monolingual child with friends who could converse privately in languages such as Tagalog, Ilocano and Spanish (21).

(21)

1 JF;	So the emotional distancing stuff, another thing related to that, I thought, is that
2	maybe it could be easier to disclose certain things in Alutiiq because it's a private
3	or secret language, that onlookers or passersby can't understand?
4	Possibly?
5 GP;	Yes?
6	Well that's definitely a small joy for me personally.
7	Having grown up in a small town that is deeply segmented—
8	"Divided" is not the right word, but you know we have the Filipino community,
9	the Hispanic community, and the Caucasian or English-speaking community,
10	and then there's the Native community, which has actually gotten quite small.
11	Especially like talking with my mom, you know she said that, when she was in
12	elementary school here, half the kids were Native.

13	And it was probably like ten, fifteen years ago last time I looked at the statistics,
14	but Kodiak was only 17% Alaska Native.
15	But you know growing up in a community where there were multiple other
16	cultures that heavily populated the area, and they could speak their you know
17	native languages, either Tagalog or Ilocano or Spanish, and not having my own
18	language—
19	Outside of English, I mean everybody spoke English.
20	But they also had their other—they were naturally bilingual.
21	And that was something that I was always kind of taken with, and probably you
22	know, earlier on, jealous of.
23	And so yeah, definitely a—I don't know if pride is the right word, but a
24	satisfaction in being able to speak a different language, just in general, and not
25	being monolingual, I think definitely was a motivating factor.
26	And might be why, yeah.
27	Like not necessarily like a secret language, but kind of like a secret language.
28	I think that that definitely hits on some aspects of it.

(20200925_Gayla_Pedersen)

Remembering her admiration and perhaps jealousy of her bilingual Tagalog-, Ilocano-, or Spanish-speaking friends (lines 15-22), Gayla describes her current emotions about being able to speak Alutiiq as "a small joy" and "satisfaction." Her inclusion of the statistics of the Alaska Native population in Kodiak in line 8 relates these emotions to broader dynamics of minoritization. Gayla's comments suggest that speaking Alutiiq allows Alutiiq people—like other minoritized groups in Kodiak—to resist the dominance of English and by extension, of whiteness and coloniality. This resistance occurs both through raising the visibility and audibility of Alutiiq and through not being understood by those who don't understand Alutiiq.

"Speaking in my language to myself": Concentration through self-talk

In addition to conversely privately in Alutiiq with others, one Alutiiq language activist mentions using Alutiiq self-talk in order to improve her concentration—creating, in a sense, an inner breathing space. "Self-talk," "inner speech," or "inner dialogue" has been argued to

play a key role in self-awareness (Morin 1993, 2005), task planning (Lidstone, Meins, & Fernyhough 2010), and problem solving (Perrone-Bertolotti et al. 2014). In response to the question "If you speak Alutiiq in public places, why do you do so? What is this experience like?", Respondent 3 commented in the survey that she uses Alutiiq as a means of self-talk in order to improve memory and focus, saying, "It's my way of talking to myself, for instance if I am in the grocery store and in a rush speaking in my language to myself helps me truly remember and focus on my goals and shopping list." The example she provides is of a hurried task in a public space ("for instance if I am in the grocery store and in a rush"). Through the phrase *speaking in my language to myself*, she constructs a close personal connection to the Alutiiq language (***my language***). As with the use of Alutiiq to create private public spaces, Respondent 3's use of Alutiiq for self-talk creates a mental space apart from distracting and stressful outside conditions.

Spaces to be whole and human in times of crisis

Learning Alutiiq language, as well as speaking it conversationally, can also create spaces apart from stressors. One example of this occurred during the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic, which disrupted the daily lives of Alutiiq people in Kodiak and elsewhere in the United States by presenting a serious health risk, restricting travel and socializing, and causing job loss and economic instability. As in-person Alutiiq language gatherings were discontinued due to health concerns, Alutiiq language activists began to hold Alutiiq language events via video chat. These events attracted Alutiiq people living outside Kodiak, who had not been able to participate in in-person language gatherings because of their location. In response to a question about how participating in digital Alutiiq language gatherings had affected their

well-being (*If you've been able to participate in Alutiiq language activities during the COVID-19 pandemic, how has this affected your well-being (if at all)?*), survey respondents said that learning and speaking Alutiiq made them feel more socially connected, grounded, human, and whole, in contrast to "get[ting] wrapped up in academics or social media or all the stressful things in the news" (22-24).

(22) [Question: If participating in the language movement has affected your overall well-being, how so?]

It grounds me and makes me feel more human. Dedicating some time every week, even if it's only an hour for language club, to learning the language makes me a more whole person. Otherwise I think it's too easy to get wrapped up in academics or social media or all the stressful things in the news. -Respondent 4

(23) [Question: If you've been able to participate in Alutiiq language activities during the COVID-19 pandemic, how has this affected your well-being (if at all)?]

This has definitely improved my well-being. Beyond being a way to connect to others (which is a constant struggle during the pandemic), it grounds me in a very uncertain time. Doing work to learn Alutiiq is a healthy way for me to balance the other things I'm trying to accomplish during the pandemic and make sure I do not neglect my human self (as a student who often spends the bulk of my time on academics). Language learning makes me feel good and helps my mental health. -Respondent 4

(24) [Question: If you've been able to participate in Alutiiq language activities during the COVID-19 pandemic, how has this affected your well-being (if at all)?]

It's been a nice break from other life and from other news. -Respondent 1

Through community connection, digital Alutiiq language learning offers a rest or "break" from stressors such as academic work, uncertainty, and alarming news. The themes of humanity and wholeness through Alutiiq language learning ("my human self," 23; "makes me feel more human," 22) may relate to the respondents' comments about language learning as a means of connecting to their Alutiiq cultural heritage. These insights also demand consideration of the ways in which academic settings fail to treat students, and particularly

Indigenous and other minoritized students, as "whole people" (Ingleton 1999; Yorks & Kasl 2002). In the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, in particular, I have heard and seen many instructors grappling with the disconnect between their empathetic desire to adjust to students' traumatic pandemic experiences and the dehumanizing norms of academic instruction.

The public places and external stressors mentioned in the above examples—grocery stores, academic work, the news—are commercial and institutional settings with the potential to dehumanize people as customers, students, or viewers. Speaking, learning, or thinking in Alutiiq in these settings, or as a respite from them, is therefore a means not only of symbolic resistance but of emotional and social self-protection.

4.4 My own social and emotional experiences of speaking Alutiiq

As a white scholar from outside the Alutiiq community, I have been fortunate to have the opportunity to learn some Alutiiq. Learning Alutiiq was initially more challenging for me than learning other languages, such as French and Japanese, because its structure is very different from English and because there aren't as many easily accessible Alutiiq language media (such as TV shows, movies, songs, etc.) as there are for dominant languages. However, I've also enjoyed learning Alutiiq more than these languages because of the playful and humorous settings in which it was taught to me, and I've found it easier to remember and retain over time.

Not being an Alutiiq person, I haven't experienced intense pressure to succeed as an Alutiiq language learner, and I haven't had the same awareness of colonial traumas. Even as a non-Alutiiq person, though, I've been able to experience some of the humanizing effect of

Alutiiq as a means of creating private spaces and accessing a non-Western worldview. I've

enjoyed speaking Alutiiq as a private language in public spaces and via social media with my

Alutiiq-speaking friends, in ways that I hope have not been intrusive or appropriative.

Because of my limited language proficiency in Alutiiq, I find that explaining problems in

Alutiiq makes me distill them to a simple form, which can help make them feel less

overwhelming and generate new insights. Talking through problems that I've experienced in

Western contexts in Alutiiq makes me realize that many of these problems are linked to

Western institutions and social constructs, and reminds me that these ways of living and

thinking aren't the only possible ones. My associations of Alutiiq with friends, enjoyment,

and humor also make it easier for me to discuss difficult topics in Alutiiq.

4.5 Conclusion

Alutiiq language activists' reflections reveal that speaking Alutiiq can be simultaneously

draining and fulfilling; that it can be both more emotionally intense than speaking other

additional languages, and yet provide an easier way of talking about emotionally difficult

topics; and that although engaging in the language movement may bring up colonial trauma,

it also has profound power to humanize and heal. These healing and humanizing effects

occur by connecting language activists to their Alutiiq heritage and identity, strengthening

community ties, and offering the ability to create spaces for private conversation, cognitive

and emotional processing, and rest in times of crisis. These benefits are all the more

compelling given that Alutiiq language activists report lack of adequate funding and

personnel. Given these results, what is needed is more support for Indigenous community-led

language movements, without narrowly defining the success of these movements in terms of

language fluency alone but rather with full consideration of language movements' potential benefits to Indigenous community members. In the following chapter, I examine another such benefit beyond language fluency, analyzing the role of the Alutiiq language movement in the transmission environmental knowledges and values.

CHAPTER 5

ENVIRONMENTAL KNOWLEDGES AND VALUES IN ALUTIIQ LANGUAGE

REVITALIZATION

5.1 Introduction

As I write this dissertation, the world is experiencing anthropogenic climate change to an

unprecedented degree (Gills & Morgan 2020; Ripple et al. 2019), as well as rapid loss of

biodiversity (Ceballos et al. 2015). California, where this dissertation was written, has

witnessed increasingly severe wildfires over the past several years, which have been linked to

climate change (Goss et al. 2020). In response to these linked crises, many are organizing to

work towards climate justice. Following previous scholarship (Chatterton, Featherstone, &

Routledge 2013; Dawson 2010; Gardiner 2011; Schlosberg & Collins 2014), I define

"climate justice" as the pursuit of social justice and ecological sustainability through

equitable participation, with a focus on historical and current inequities of environmental

destruction and profit.

Many scholars and activists have observed the interwovenness of climate destruction and

colonialism, noting also the profound importance of Indigenous leadership to environmental

and climate justice (LaDuke 1999; Whyte 2017; Baldwin, Noodin & Perley 2018; Gilio-

Whitaker 2019). Whyte (2017), for example, terms anthropogenic climate change "an

intensification of environmental change imposed on Indigenous peoples by colonialism" and

comments that "renewing Indigenous knowledges, such as traditional ecological knowledge,

can bring together Indigenous communities to strengthen *their own* [emphasis original] self-

determined planning for climate change" (153-154). Whyte further notes that "Indigenous

peoples often imagine climate change futures from their perspectives (a) as societies with

deep collective histories of having to be well-organized to adapt environmental

change *and* (b) as societies who must reckon with the disruptions of historic and ongoing

practices of colonialism, capitalism, and industrialization" (154). Baldwin, Noodin, and

Perley (2018) likewise see American Indian communities as experts in surviving

environmental and climate change, writing, "As we anticipate and face the next round of

mass extinction, we can look to American Indian strategies of awakening, emergent vitality,

and sovereignty for guidance in surviving what will become a global New World" (918).

In this chapter, I argue that Indigenous language movements, as forms of decolonial

resistance and environmental education, contribute to climate justice. I begin with a critique

of problematic engagements with Indigenous environmental knowledges, including

fetishization of these knowledges and extractive approaches that frame them as universal

human property. Drawing on historical and contemporary data, I then show how land-based

knowledges and values pervade Alutiiq language and culture, how environmental injustices

influenced Alutiiq language shift by displacing communities, and how settler-led wildlife

conservation infringes on Alutiiq subsistence practices yet fails to protect culturally

important plants. I further show how environmental knowledges and values are transmitted

via the Alutiiq language movement through both land-based curriculum materials and

intergenerational conversations that frame sustainable lifestyles in terms of pleasure rather

than austerity. These findings exemplify how Indigenous language movements can serve as a

means of place-based, decolonial environmental education, and thus contribute to

environmental and climate justice.

5.2 Problematic engagement with Indigenous environmental knowledge: Fetishization and extractivism

It is important for me, as a white settler researcher, to acknowledge the problematic ways in which settler researchers and publics have engaged with Indigenous environmental knowledges and values. While there is growing recognition of the importance of Traditional Ecological Knowledge, or TEK (Inglis 1993; Menzies 2006:6), this knowledge—when it is not discounted—is frequently commodified. Settler researchers often write, for instance, that Traditional Ecological Knowledge is "useful" to dominant science or can "strengthen" it, that it should be "incorporated" into dominant science, that it "offers" insights, that is has been "discovered" by settler researchers, and that it is part of "human" knowledge. All of these phrases suggest that dominant science should remain the main framework, rather than recognizing the validity of Traditional Ecological Knowledge as an epistemological framework in its own right that might challenge some aspects of dominant science. Furthermore, these phrases erase the agency of Indigenous peoples in deciding whether and how to share their knowledge, a prominent theme in the Indigenous Data Sovereingty movement (Kukutai & Taylor 2016; Rainie et al. 2019; Walter & Suina 2019). These universal ownership and commodification discourses parallel those of language endangerment that Hill (2002) critiques (see section 2.2), and are problematic for the same reasons. Kimmerer (2002) offers an alternative means of conceptualizing Traditional Ecological Knowledge in relation to scientific ecological knowledge, seeing the two intellectual traditions as equal and proposing ways to weave them together rather than subordinating one to the other.

Settler publics also frequently portray Indigenous environmental knowledge in problematic ways. Mass media depictions of Native Americans, in particular, often further an essentialist stereotype of a mystical connection with nature, overlooking Indigenous peoples' specific environmental knowledges and spiritual beliefs (Mihesuah 1996; LeValdo-Gayton 2011; McLaurin 2012). LeValdo-Gayton (2011) presents the example of Jacob Black, an Indigenous character from Stephanie Meyers' *Twilight* books, who has "the mystical yet savage ability to turn into a wolf" (251). This caricature, like many depictions by settler authors, reinforces harmful tropes of Native men as violent and hypersexual, as well as invoking an essentialist image of nature-based mysticism that disregards the Quileute tribe's actual wolf-related spiritual traditions (National Geographic Society Newsroom 2012). Less fetishizing discourses of Indigenous environmental knowledge and values can still set up purist expectations that Indigenous people must always behave in a way that aligns with white environmentalism, though in actuality, objectives of sustainable development do not automatically benefit Indigenous people. For instance, in Santa Barbara, a proposed wind turbine project drew controversy because it infringed on Chumash sacred sites, as well as bird habitats (Hayden 2019): this illustrates how externally imposed goals for sustainable development can conflict with the needs of both Indigenous communities and the local environment.

Purist expectations of Indigenous environmentalism (often narrowly imagined as identical to white environmentalism) are similar to the "lasting" phenomenon that Davis (2017) observes with regards to language, where Indigenous language speakers are held to a purposefully unrealistic standard of "authentic" language use that is then said to be disappearing—or, in this case, that may be used to pressure Indigenous people to accept

green development projects that are not in their best interests. Additionally, Indigenous environmental knowledge can be misappropriated in a variety of ways for purposes that do not align with environmental justice: for example, on the conservative news site Breitbart, a commenter on a climate denialist article on the 2020 wildfires that devastated the West Coast of the U.S. mentions controlled burns conducted by "local tribes" in Idaho as part of an erroneous argument denying the role of climate change in increasing the incidence of wildfires (Kraychik 2020). Finally, by presenting Indigenous people's connections with nature as part of a larger project of exoticization, these discourses assume that the unmarked, normal state is that of dislocation from the land (though many non-Indigenous people, too, experience or seek various forms of connection with nature). This reinscribes a view of human/nature dualism (Paterson 2006) and overlooks the ways in which industrialization and extractive capitalism have systematically disconnected people—and especially marginalized people—from the places they live.

In writing this chapter, I seek to avoid these pitfalls of fetishization and commodification by recognizing specific, socially and historically situated Alutiiq environmental epistemologies and values and considering how they are transmitted through the language movement, not primarily for the preservation of "universal human knowledge," but in service of Alutiiq cultural reclamation and community well-being. I further recognize that Alutiiq self-determination and representational sovereignty applies not only to Alutiiq language and culture, but also to environmental knowledge and values, and to the intersections among them.

5.3 Alutiiq environmental knowledge, values, and stewardship

To understand the role of the language movement in transmitting environmental knowledges and values, it is first necessary to specify what is meant by "environmental knowledges," "values," and "stewardship." Following previous scholarship on these topics within the Alutiiq community, I define *environmental knowledge* as any information pertaining to local land, sea, plant life, and animal life. By *environmental values,* I mean ideologies about how people should interact with these more-than-human places and beings. I use the term *environmental stewardship* to refer to "the actions taken by individuals, groups or networks of actors, with various motivations and levels of capacity, to protect, care for or responsibly use the environment in pursuit of environmental and/or social outcomes in diverse social–ecological contexts" (Bennett et al. 2018). The scope of Alutiiq environmental knowledge, values, and stewardship is too great to fully encompass here; however, the following sections are intended to give a sense of their breadth and depth, their importance to subsistence lifestyles and safety, and their relevance to Alutiiq identity and language in both historical and contemporary contexts.

Alutiiq environmental knowledge

Drabek (2012) observes that Alutiiq people have detailed knowledge of their local environment, including both land and sea. Examples she provides include knowledge of "ocean navigation, including methods of reading the stars, currents, tides, winds, and animal behaviors (Mishler, 2001; Crowell et al., 2001)," "weather and natural catastrophic event predictions, including ways to contend with the often harsh environment," and medicinal plant lore (Drabek 2012:101). Excerpt 1 is from a Lost Villages collection interview between

Deborah Robinson (an interviewer working for the Kodiak Area Native Association in order to determine why people left now-abandoned Alutiiq Villages) and Sven Haakanson Sr. (an interviewee who was mayor of Old Harbor and lived in Eagle Harbor before it was abandoned). As the excerpt shows, these kinds of knowledge are essential to safe seafaring and subsistence hunting (1).[10]

(1)

```
1 SH;   But they had weather forecasters, which was really interesting.
2       They knew what the animals did.
3       How you know the seagulls fly high, when pressure.
4       They'd use like Two-Headed Island, and ((inaudible)) use Ugat Island.
5       They could tell by the haze.
6       They'd ((inaudible)), and know which way the wind's gonna blow.
7       We had an old man in Ouzinkie that used to go outside, and he'd use Whale Island.
8       And he could tell the pressures by the images.
9       Sometimes it looked like a mirage, still day it would look closer.
10      Or the fog on the hill all the way up and down, he would listen to the radio, he'd find
11      out the weather forecast.
12      And he'd tell us and he was right, every time.
13      And he said they used to hunt, and the same way each village had, you know.
14      They'd look at the stars, and they could tell by a ring around the moon, or certain
15      haze, and different colors in the stars by atmospheric pressure.
16      And they'd tell the hunters when to go and not to go, and the ones that don't listen
17      would drown, and there's stories about that.
18      They learned to listen to their weather forecasters.
```

-Sven Haakanson Sr. (Lost Village interviews: AM213_3_SideB_0)

Weather forecasting is, of course, important to many non-Native seafarers in the area as well. However, Haakanson's observations attest to Alutiiq weather forecasters' close attentiveness to a range of local phenomena, including animal behavior, visibility of landmarks, and astronomical changes. As he comments, Alutiiq weather forecasters were able to determine

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[10] All excerpts from the Lost Village collection are owned by the Kodiak Area Native Association and are in the repository of the Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository. The Lost Village collection can be accessed online at http://languagearchive.alutiiqmuseum.org/collection/lost-village-interviews-1990-1991.

the weather with a great deal of precision ("He was right, every time," line 12), and were

therefore taken seriously by hunters ("They learned to listen to their weather forecasters,"

line 18).

Environmental knowledge is recognized within the Alutiiq community as important, not

only for purposes of safety and subsistence, but for Alutiiq identity. In another interview in

the same collection (Excerpt 2), Alutiiq speaker Natalie Simeonoff characterizes a "strictly

Native way of life" as "fish[ing] in the summertime and stay[ing] home in the wintertime,

and trap[ping] in the wintertime" (AM213_17_SideB_0). In this interview, Simeonoff links

environmental knowledge such as knowing how to gather mushrooms with Native culture

and Russian Orthodoxy. She relates ignorance of these practices, on the other hand, to "non-

Native influence" and a Baptist mission, contrasting her experiences with those of her

husband Kelly (2).

(2)

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1 DR;  And Kelly's family I take it were all Orthodox?
2 NS;  Oh absolutely.
3      Kelly was raised over here and he was raised in a different fashion.
4      Well, we were raised very much alike except that my mother grew up in the mission,
5      and she got the mission's influence, you know, on everything.
6      And she didn't know some of the useful things, like how to gather mushrooms, things
7      like that.
8      Kelly's family grew up knowing all these things, you know.
9 DR;  Sure.
10 NS; And some of the Russian influence, whereas Mama didn't—
11     We didn't get it over on Woody Island, because we had more of the non-Native
12     influence.
```

(Natalie Simeonoff, Lost Villages interviews: AM213_17_SideB_0)

In contemporary Alutiiq society, too, environmental knowledge and subsistence practices

are linked to Alutiiq identity and, more generally, Alaska Native identity. This was evident,

for example, in my survey of 8 Alutiiq language activists (introduced in more detail in Chapter 4, pp. 102-103). When asked if participating in the Alutiiq language movement had affected her knowledge of the local environment, Respondent 3 commented, "It hasn't that much for me. I grew up in Port Lions and I myself am an Alaska Native. The only thing that was missing from me being what some might call a 'proper' Native was speaking my language." By invoking the concept of being "what some might call a 'proper' Native" (which parallel's Simeonoff's mention of a "strictly Native way of life") and mentioning that she grew up in Port Lions (a remote village west of Kodiak, where many people practice subsistence hunting and fishing) in response to this question, Respondent 3 implies that the language movement did not impact her local environmental knowledge because she already possessed environmental knowledge prior to engaging in the language movement. This response frames environmental knowledge and Alutiiq language knowledge as two core elements of both Alutiiq identity (e.g. with reference to Port Lions) and multiregional Alaska Native identity (e.g. "Alaska Native", "what some might call a 'proper' Native"). Furthermore, through the phrase "the only thing […] missing from me being what some might call a 'proper' Native," Respondent 3 suggests that Native environmental knowledge and language, perhaps along with other forms of cultural knowledge, provide a sense of wholeness as linked to Native identity. In combination with the above excerpts, her survey response demonstrates the centrality of environmental knowledge, as well as Alutiiq language, to Alutiiq identity in both historical and contemporary contexts.

Alutiiq environmental values: Conceptualizations of human-environment relationships

In addition to environmental knowledge, the Alutiiq language movement transmits environmental values that conceptualize how humans are related to, and should interact with, each other and the environment. One such concept, which has been discussed by several Alutiiq scholars, is that of *lla*. Drabek (2012:174) cites Leer's (n.d.) definition of *lla* as "outside, outdoors, universe, world, weather, awareness, consciousness, wits, (common) sense." *Lla* is analogous to the Yup'ik concept of *ella* (Kawagley 2006:14), which Cook (2013:16) analyzes as "the awareness that humans live in a responsive, sentient world that seeks to be treated with care and respect." In addition to meaning 'weather' and 'outside' when used without derivational suffixes, *lla* is commonly used in the Alutiiq word *llangluni*, meaning "to become conscious."

As Drabek (2012) observes, Alutiiq worldviews see humans as closely connected to other animals, as evidenced through stories of animal transformation. She notes that bears are traditionally believed to be descended from people (p. 156), and that there are many stories in which humans transform into animals or vice versa. Examples include the Qateryuk ('Grouse Girl') story, in which a ptarmigan transforms into a woman and back (p. 152), and the Bear Woman story, in which a woman transforms into a bear (p. 181). These stories also encode values of how humans should interact with animals. In the Qateryuk story, a man who treats the ptarmigan kindly is rewarded, while a man who treats her cruelly is punished (p. 152). Similar values are encoded in hunting rituals: for instance, Dehrich Chya (personal communication) comments that it is traditional to throw a part of a hunted animal back into the water as a way of expressing gratitude to the animal. As I argue in section 5.5, these

themes of human-animal interconnectedness and respectful resource use pervade Alutiiq language curriculum materials and interactions.

Alutiiq environmental stewardship

While Indigenous environmental knowledge is often highlighted in settler valorizations of Indigenous languages, Indigenous environmental stewardship is less often acknowledged. However, environmental stewardship is also a key component of contemporary as well as historical Alutiiq culture. Drabek (2012:101-102) observes that traditional Alutiiq resource management included protocols that required hunters to ask permission to hunt in specific territories, which were monitored by Elders who served as resource managers; this practice protected animal populations from being overhunted. Currently, many Alutiiq community members are concerned about declining biodiversity in the area. For instance, responding to an interview question I asked about environmental issues in Kodiak, Alutiiq language activist and expert herbalist Gayla Pedersen contrasts the high diversity of plants in remote islands she visited on a fishing trip (3, lines 1-9 and 16) with the scarcity of plants in Kodiak (line 13).

(3)

```
1 GP;  I mean Alaska's kind of rural to begin with.
2      And the places I went this summer, we went out the Aleutian chain, I'm positive that
3      we stopped places that people probably haven't set foot maybe ever.
4      You know because there's a thousand million little beaches and nooks and coves and
5      crannies, and islands and islets and sandbars and this that and the other thing.
6      and there was definitely some places where people have been.
7      I got to visit an old sulfur mine that has been abandoned for decades.
8      It's overgrown.
9      But even though there's cattle on that island specifically, the amount and the diversity
10     of plants far surpasses—
11     Like here in town, I know where there's plants and I know where there's patches of
12     things.
```

13	And I visit them and I harvest from them very gingerly and very very—
14	You know, it's like, "Ooh, I went to this one last year, so I'll go to a different one this
15	year."
16	Just because of the scarcity.
17	And part of that could be regional, but I've also heard, you know just talking to older
18	people, they're like, "Oh yeah, there used to be tons of this, but you don't see it
19	anymore."
20	And there's just all kinds of stuff like that.
21	And so going to these really remote environments, the amount of plants and the
22	diversity was astonishing to me.

(20200925_Gayla_Pedersen)

In lines 11-16, Gayla characterizes her harvesting of local plants as extremely careful ("very gingerly"), voicing herself deciding where to harvest based on concerns about scarcity ("Ooh, I went to this one last year, so I'll go to a different one this year"). This high level of care and attentiveness, evident also in Gayla's work to educate others about responsible harvesting via guided tours, illustrates her ongoing commitment to environmental stewardship. It also illustrates the extent to which environmental stewardship requires highly local knowledge and direct connection, e.g. Gayla's knowledge of which patches of plants have been recently harvested.

Though Gayla is especially knowledgeable about Alutiiq plant lore and dedicated to responsible stewardship, these values are evident in other Alutiiq community members' comments and practices as well (such as the older people she mentions in lines 18-19). Media produced by the Alutiiq language movement also discuss environmental stewardship: for instance, alutiiqeducation.org features the page *Nunapet Carliarluki* ('Taking Care of Our Land'), discussing human-animal relations in Alutiiq cosmology, responsible subsistence hunting practices, and Elders' comments about the need to keep the creeks clean (Alutiiq Education, 2020). In order to avoid colonialist approaches that seek to extract and expropriate Indigenous environmental knowledge as "universal," it is important to recognize

that these forms of knowledge are embedded in agentive stewardship practices like those discussed above.

5.4 Effects of settler-colonialism and capitalism on Alutiiq resource management

In her description of Alutiiq resource management systems, Drabek (2012) adds that these systems were disrupted by the United States' acquisition of Alaska and the establishment of the Alaska Department of Fish & Game, which robbed Alutiiq people of their right to traditional resource management (101-102). One main way in which this occurred was through commercialization of fishing, which was, and remains, a mainstay of many Alutiiq people's livelihoods. Carothers (2010) examines how state regulations of fishing rights alienated Alutiiq people from subsistence fishing by creating permit rules that did not match up with their kin-based and rural fishing systems and by incentivizing the sale of fishing permits to outsiders. While many Alutiiq people were able to make a living by participating in commercial fisheries, or through canneries, these policies largely shifted wealth and rights away from Alutiiq communities. Carothers observes that these effects have been especially harmful to village communities because they made it impossible for younger generations to engage in fishing: "Within one generation the effects of the cascade of resource enclosure and commodification has fundamentally changed village communities. […] Many interviewees stress the 'acing out of the young' [i.e., exclusion of youth] from pursuing fishing livelihoods has been especially detrimental to maintaining remote village communities" (107).

Archival evidence from the Lost Villages collection aligns with Carothers' analysis. In the same Lost Villages interview with Deborah Robinson where he explains why he left the

now-abandoned village of Eagle Harbor, Sven Haakanson Sr. lists the commercialization of fishing as one main reason (4). Haakanson explains how overfishing "killed off" streams (line 15, line 21), disrupting the previously abundant opportunities for subsistence fishing and forcing Alutiiq people to relocate away from the village.

(4)

1 DR;	How about the fishing?
2	Is there pretty good fishing close to Eagle Harbor?
3 SH;	There used to be.
4	There used to be real good, and that's why the village was there.
5	But overuse of the stream, and stuff, see before there was thousands of fish that
6	went right in Eagle Harbor itself.
7 DR;	Really?
8	Was that mostly at Saltery?
9 SH;	But when they start selling them commercially, without any law, people you
10	know just fished until there wasn't any fish left.
11	And these weren't actually village people, too.
12 DR;	With fish traps, and stuff like that?
13 SH;	Well, they'd beach seine, and they'd close the crick off and catch all the fish.
14	And then in a few years they'd have to go to Hidden Bay and Saltery Cove,
15	and other areas, because commercial fishing was killing their main stream off.
16	Because they used to put up all the fish and have dried fish and smoked fish and
17	salt fish and, when the crick ((inaudible)).
18 DR;	You think that was a factor too, that people couldn't put up their own fish?
19 SH;	That was one of the factors, because when they start sending in boats and just you
20	know cutting streams off.
21	And they did, they killed streams off like here in Old Harbor.
22	They had beach gangs that come up from San Francisco in big ships.
23	And they had no power to stop them, and you know, they tried to join and work
24	with them.
25	But they totally wiped out streams around the island.
26	Like Santa Flavia, Three Saints' Bay, Newman Bay.
27	And they'd close the streams off, even put wire mesh fencing, keep the fish out.
28	So they can catch them.
29	And using bluestone and stuff.
30	So that was one of the factors.
31	No more fish, you had to travel far.

(Sven Haakanson Sr., Lost Villages interview, AM213_3_SideA_0, 37:24-39:07)

Relocation away from the villages disrupted communities, and in some cases meant moving to areas under stronger influence from missions, where children were often not permitted to speak Alutiiq. By preventing subsistence fishing, commercial fishing therefore contributed to Alutiiq language shift.

Colonial models of wildlife conservation, as well as environmental destruction, continue to infringe on Alutiiq resource management rights. On the one hand, local park rangers have failed to adequately protect environmental resources of importance to the Alutiiq community; on the other hand, they have criticized Alutiiq people for practicing traditional, sustainable subsistence gathering. For instance, Gayla Pedersen recounts in an interview with me how park rangers did not take action to protect traditional plants such as nettles and Devil's Club (5).

(5)

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1 GP;   I was absolutely outraged.
2       They sprayed a traditional nettle patch in Fort Abercrombie, and destroyed it, and
3       they were doing absolutely nothing.
4       Somebody called me and told me they were picking the tips off the devil's club,
5       which destroys the plant.
6       So she called the park ranger, and they were like, "Well if the Native people aren't
7       going to harvest them, why not let the other people harvest them?"
8       It's like, "Well, you know…"
9       There's just lack of knowledge about how to properly preserve this area.
10      Which is why there's no more Labrador Tea.
11      Because it's a slow grower, it takes decades to mature into a large plant.
12      And just, things are just being wiped out.
```
                                                          (20200925_Gayla_Pedersen)

An excerpt from an interview with Hanna Sholl reveals how, alongside this inadequate protection of plants important to Alutiiq culture, wildlife troopers have inappropriately criticized Alutiiq community members for gathering grass (6).

(6)

1 HS; I was just looking for someone who could teach me to make natural cordage out of
2   Indigenous plants here.
3   And there's no one who can do it.
4   I mean, [Name] can do it, but she's not here.
5   And so that environmental knowledge is gone.
6   Oh, I have an excellent one for that too.
7   So [Name], this was [Name], she has gathered grass on the same beach in Fort
8   Abercrombie her whole life.
9   And technically it's—you know probably at the mean high tide, our winter storms
10   would put the high tide above the grass, so technically it's legal.
11   But she was gathering grass one day, and the wildlife trooper came down and just let
12   her have it.
13   And wouldn't let her take the grass, and just ridiculed her for what she was doing.
14   And she posted about it or something, and she stated that like, "I've been doing this
15   since I was a child, and now all of a sudden I can't."
16   And so, had [Name] not been the person that [Name] was, that incorrect overstepping
17   could discourage her to the point of not continuing doing this.
18   Because everyone knows, processing grass is not easy.
19   And she's getting older, and it might be to the point where it's like, "Oh, I'm not
20   going to deal with this anymore."
21   And then that craft dies.
22   And it's not being passed on.
23   So, I think that there's a responsibility by those who are managing our lands to also
24   take that kind of stuff in consideration.

(20200902_Hanna_Sholl)

Hanna further comments that hunting regulations during COVID-19 meat shortages have

worsened food insecurity, adding that these hunting regulations do not match traditional

practices that also limit hunting to certain seasons: "We know that there's times you don't

hunt cows because they have calves in them. And if you hunt the mom caribou and the baby

caribou, then that will hurt the line, but there's also times when they regulate to simply

regulate, and areas they simply regulate to regulate" (20200902_Hanna_Sholl). Local settler-

led wildlife conversation, then, fails on two fronts: it is both unfairly restrictive, and

inadequate to addressing Alutiiq community needs.

Furthermore, in the context of an interview conversation about environmental conservation organizations' misappropriations of Indigenous voices, Hanna notes that despite the negative impacts of the 1989 Exxon Valdez oil spill (Wooley 1995), oil companies are currently co-opting Indigenous voices for radio marketing using economic coercion (7).

(7)

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1 HS;  There's a bill that they're trying to pass, a tax bill for oil companies here in Alaska.
2      And they targeted out Native business owners with land and put them on their radio
3      marketing.
4      And I listened to it, and I was like, "Oh my gosh."
5      "I know that this person is getting paid, because they wouldn't be saying this
6      otherwise."
7      And then at the end of the thing it says, "Paid for by ConocoPhillips and Exxon
8      Mobil."
9      And I'm like—I get it.
10     If someone were like, "I'm going to pay you twenty thousand dollars, will you do this
11     radio ad?"
12     And if my family needed to eat, or that could help my child go through school, or
13     take care of medical bills that my Indian Health Service decides not to cover,
14     I would be hard-pressed to say no.
15     You can see where money really just has its way with everything, but this too.
16     ((laughs))
```

<div align="right">(20200902_Hanna_Sholl)</div>

This co-opting of Indigenous voices is especially troubling because climate change, which is driven largely by fossil fuel emissions, has already begun to noticeably affect Kodiak. When I asked Gayla Pedersen in a 2020 interview if she had noticed any signs of climate change, she listed dramatic changes among local plants, insects, fish, water, and seasonal temperatures (8).

(8)

```
1 GP;  When I was younger, there was a definite succession of plants and berries.
2      And now everything happens all at once.
3      Literally stuffing blueberries into salmonberries.
4      And eating cranberries long before the frost comes.
```

5	And that never used to happen.
6	It was salmonberries, stop.
7	Blueberries, stop.
8	Cranberries—
9	You know, and now it's just like, everything happens at once.
10	The plants are dying before it's even time.
11	Summer's not even over, and all the fireweed in my yard is already blown out and
12	dead.
13	Yeah.
14	Now my brother was telling me, I don't know where he got his information from, and
15	so there could be zero validity to this, but he said that there is a mini cycle within the
16	larger cycle of warming and cooling, like six years.
17	Or not as drastic, but he said that—
18	It'll be interesting to see what happens.
19	He said that this is our last really warm summer.
20	For the next like five or six years.
21	And it's been hot and dry.
22	The leaves change color now, where before the warm to cold switch was so quick that
23	they just turned brown and fell off and died.
24	And I'd never seen leaf changes until I moved down south, and now it's happening
25	here.
26	And that was never something I'd experienced.
27	But like right now it's so beautiful outside, because of all of the reds and yellows and
28	golds and oranges.
29	And I've never seen that before here.
30	The fish are doing different things, and different fish are showing up, different bugs
31	are showing up, different birds are showing up.
32	They're catching those giant sunfish in southeast, and there's different jellyfish.
33	I've noticed several different jellyfish that I've never seen before, and I grew up
34	on the water.
35	But I'm seeing a lot of ones that influoresce, or phosphoresce.
36	I don't know exactly what it is that they're doing, but they're lighting up, and it's
37	pretty interesting.
38	So yeah, things are changing and I don't know why.
39	And I don't know how much of this is a cycle within a cycle within a cycle.
40	Because one of the things that the Elders told me about is that what Fish and Game
41	doesn't take into account is that cod, crab, and shrimp run in 60-80 year cycles.
42	You know, because they were talking about the king crab die-off, and they did say
43	yes they were overfished, however that happened right at the same time as they were
44	coming to the end of their 80-year cycle.
45	And there has been lots of shrimp lately, and a lot less cod.
46	And yeah, so there's bigger cycles that are traditional knowledge that we don't have
47	anymore.
48	Especially since like a lot of the Elders are passing away.
49	And you know I would get snippets of information, but they're gone, and now that
50	information is as well.

51   But I know that the cod and the salmon are being caught more up north because the
52   water's cooler.
53   So it definitely is, those things are being noticed, and it is, it is happening.
54   As to why or anything, I don't know.

<div align="right">(20200925_Gayla_Pedersen)</div>

While Gayla expresses uncertainty here about the causes of the phenological changes she observes ("Things are changing and I don't know why," line 38; "As to why or anything, I don't know," line 54) due to a possible "cycle within a cycle within a cycle" (line 39), she describes these changes in response to my question about signs of climate change in Kodiak, suggesting that she considers them to be potentially caused by it. When I asked about the importance of fishing to Kodiak's economy, implying that these environmental changes may harm the local economy, Gayla replied, "That's where my money comes from, and my mom's money, and my brothers' money, and most of my friends' money, you know. You know I have my jobs and stuff like that, but I mean, we have our house because of the fishing money."

I then brought up the subject of California's wildfires, which at the time of this interview had recently caused a great amount of smoke in Santa Barbara, where I was living. In relation to the topic of wildfires, Gayla commented on changes in the amount of rain in Kodiak and resulting water shortages in Chignik Lagoon (8, cont'd).

(8, cont'd)

69 GP;   Anyways, yeah.
70   That's about all—I think I covered everything I have to rant on those topics.
71 JF;   Uh-huh?
72 GP;   Yeah.
73 JF;   Here it's been pretty obvious.
74   Even if you have no clue about what the environment's doing, it's like, "The sky
75   is orange." ((laughs))
76   "Ash is falling."
77 GP;   ((laughs)) "Weird."
78   Yeah.

79	Oh, yeah.
80	I didn't even—you know, we didn't have news or internet for two months.
81	And so, yeah, we got all our information secondhand.
82	It's like, "Oh, the redwoods are gone."
83	It's like, "What?"
84 JF;	Yeah.
85 GP;	I still don't know how accurate that is.
86	But,
87 JF;	I guess some of them are, yeah.
88 GP;	Oh, that's terrible.
89 JF;	We didn't get bad fires this far south, but you know, like fire season still hasn't
90	officially started so. ((laughs))
91 GP;	((laughs)) Oh no, that's terrible.
92	((sighs)) Yeah, well, we finally got rain here. […]
93	We finally got rain here two days ago.
94 JF;	Uh-huh?
95 GP;	And it ruined a bunch of stuff in my yard.
96	I got to come home and see my yard looking good, and then the rain came, and it
97	ripped the cap off my orchard, and—
98	You know because I have a little indoor orchard and stuff like that.
99	Which I got apples this year, I'm very excited.
100	But yeah, the rain came and it did a lot of destruction, so.
101 JF;	Oh no.
102 GP;	It got really dry here, and people's wells—
103	I don't know.
104	That's the other thing, you know, the water has been different rain-wise.
105	We're rainforest up here and they had to—
106	Some relief organization brought Chignik Lagoon four thousand cases of water
107	because their reservoir went dry for the first time ever, in recorded history.
108 JF;	Uh-huh?
109	Wow.
110 GP;	Yeah.
111	That's crazy.

(20200925_Gayla_Pedersen)

The changes Gayla notes pose a multitude of risks to the Alutiiq community and to Kodiak as a whole. In addition to the possibility of increased climate disasters, climate change seems likely to result in disruptions to commercial fishing and could impede water access. The legacy of colonial environmental destruction and suppression of Alutiiq resource management persists in the present era, threatening the safety and economic security of the Alutiiq community as well as the transmission of Alutiiq environmental knowledges.

5.5 Transmission of environmental knowledges and values through Alutiiq language

In this context of ongoing climate destruction and suppression of Alutiiq subsistence rights, Alutiiq language revitalization plays a vital role in the intergenerational transmission of Alutiiq environmental knowledges and values. A majority of language activists in the survey said that participating in the language movement affected their knowledge of the local environment, their thoughts about how people should interact with the environment, their sense of connection to the land, and their participation in outdoor activities (Table 1).

Table 1: Frequency of responses to questions regarding the influence of language movement participation on environmental knowledge, values, and experiences

#	Question: To what extent has participating in the Alutiiq language movement affected…	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	A lot	Total
1	…your knowledge of the local environment? (e.g. plants, animals, places)	1	2	3	2	8
2	…your thoughts about how people should interact with the environment?	2	1	1	4	8
3	…your sense of connection to the land?	2	0	4	2	8
4	…your participation in outdoor activities?	3	2	1	2	8

Commenting on how language movement participation affected their knowledge of the local environment, respondents elaborated, "Having traditional knowledge as well as western knowledge leads to a deep comfortability" and "It is good to learn our ancestors' names for plants and animals." These responses suggest that conceptualizing the local environment through Alutiiq language strengthens a sense of connection to Alutiiq heritage and increases meaningful positive connections (e.g. "deep comfortability") to the local environment.

In response to the question about how language movement participation affected their views of how people should interact with the environment, respondents commented that it increased their interest in how their ancestors lived in it, influenced their sense of the need to

protect it because of Alutiiq spirituality, and made them more concerned about the

environmentally destructive behaviors of others (9-11).

(9) *It helps inspire interest in how my ancestors lived in the environment.* -Respondent 6

(10) *The culture/language tells us that things have their own spirit, and those spirits must be respected. I don't know that I believe in the spirits per se, but I do think the environment needs to be respected.* -Respondent 1

(11) *[It] makes it harder to see people being destructive, but there is so little that can be done. They are ruining the forest and the rivers and fish runs.* -Respondent 8

Reflecting on how language movement participation influenced their sense of connection

to the land, respondents wrote, "It is not something I can explain. It deepens [the] emotional

impact," "It helps to hear the stories behind place names," and "I spent a lot of time learning

place names of Kodiak island. It's neat to have that knowledge." Place names, descriptive

words for plants and animals, and other encodings of environmental knowledge in Alutiiq

language combine with narratives and community language events to strengthen Alutiiq

language activists' connection to their cultural heritage and to the land.

Land-based education

Many of the above practices are part of a move towards land-based education in the Alutiiq

language movement. As Dehrich Chya notes in a 2020 interview with me, Alutiiq language

activists have made an intentional choice to incorporate local plants, animals, and weather

into Alutiiq language teaching (12).

(12)

1 JF;   Of like, any kinds of curriculum materials, or like you know Alutiiq Word of the
2   Week stuff, it seems like often times those are about like local plants or animals
3   or places, or weather or stuff like that.
4   So I was just wondering if you think that that's kind of like a conscious effort,

5		or…?
6	DC;	Definitely.
7		I think that people—
8		Especially recently, within the last decade, there's been a lot of focus on making
9		sure what you're teaching people is relative to them.
10		You don't want to be learning, you know—
11		When we teach about animals in Alutiiq, we don't teach them words for like
12		giraffe or elephant, because they're not going to use that ever.
13		But they might, you know, every day you might go out and you see a seal in the
14		water, or a puffin flying, and all of that stuff.
15		Recently especially I think that there's been a large push for sort of like land-
16		based,
17	JF;	Mhm?
18	DC;	a push for land-based education.
19		You know, things that you see around you and interact with.
20		And it gives more opportunity to use that language and those educational
21		materials, because you can go for a walk and say, "Hey, there's an eagle, it's
22		going to catch fish."
23		Or things like that, rather than like, you know, "The giraffe is sleeping in the
24		desert."
25	JF;	Uh-huh?
26	DC;	Or in the savannah. Whatever.
27	JF;	Right, yeah. ((laughs))
28	DC;	You know, that's not relative to us.
29		And so that's been an important part of language education.
30	JF;	Do you think land-based education relates to decoloniality as well, or is it…?
31	DC;	Yeah, I think so.
32		A lot of curriculum in schools today is not land-based.
33		It's just generally, you learn about those sorts of extravagant animals.
34		If you go to a classroom I'm sure they learn more about monkeys and giraffes
35		than they do about seals and whales.
36		Being able to teach things locally I think does provide some sort of
37		decolonization.
38		And certainly if it's done in the language, I think even more so, that provides
39		some level of decolonization.

(20200821_Dehrich_Chya)

Dehrich comments that this type of land-based education is applicable and "relative" to

Alutiiq language learners, noting that it is more useful in everyday life ("every day you might

go out and you see a seal in the water, or a puffin flying, and all of that stuff;" "you can go

for a walk and say, 'Hey, there's an eagle, it's going to catch fish'") than non-land-based,

colonial models that teach decontextualized vocabulary for more-than-human beings not

present in the students' surroundings. In answer to my question about whether land-based education is related to decoloniality, Dehrich replies that he believes it is decolonial in comparison with dominant, non-land-based educational models, especially when it occurs through Alutiiq language (line 26). These two different approaches further suggest a difference in ideologies of what a language, or speakers of that language, should be able to express. In colonial language learning paradigms, speakers are expected to learn to name everything, even places and beings that are unfamiliar to them; in decolonial, land-based paradigms, being able to name locally important places and beings may be sufficient.

Land-based Alutiiq language teaching pervades many aspects of the language movement, including vocabulary lists, classroom activities, songs, picture books, phone apps, and immersion gathering events. For instance, when I volunteered in the Alutiit'stun Niuwawik (Alutiiq Language Nest), students played with toy seals, deer, foxes, and other local animals. They sang songs such as "Unguwallriat Atuun" ('The Animals' Song,' featuring local animals and places), and were read aloud to from app-based and hard copy picture books including the Qateryuk ('Ptarmigan') story (created by Candace Branson and illustrated by David Tucker), *Kaugya'angcum Qawangurtuwa* ('Small Fox's Dream', created by April Counceller and illustrated by Mary Ruskovich), and *Kiagumuuq!* ('It is Summer,' created by Candace Branson and illustrated by David Tucker).[11] Environmental knowledge is incorporated into these curriculum materials, not only as the goal of each activity or resource (for instance, by teaching the names for local animals, plants, and places), but as the medium through which other concepts and knowledges are taught. For instance, in a set of matching card games in which the goal is to match up identical animals by memorizing their location

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[11] https://alutiiqmuseum.org/teachers/publications

on a grid, students learn not only to identify each animal, but also the concept *Ayukutuk* ('They (2) are the same') and *Ayukuten'ituk* ('They (2) are not the same'). Similarly to Alutiiq language immersion, this pedagogical style can be considered environmentally immersive: that is, students are immersed in both Alutiiq language and local environmental knowledge.

Furthermore, Alutiiq language curricula and related materials teach students not only to identify local animals (as well as plants, places, and weather), but also convey substantive knowledge about the behaviors of animals and the life cycles of plants. Another activity in the Alutiit'stun Niuwawik taught children to identify local animals' tracks through a game in which they imitated the animals' gaits. Additionally, the picture book *Naken Taitaartat Alagnat?* ('Where Do Berries Come From?', created by Gayla Pedersen and illustrated by Gloria Selby) teaches students about the life cycle of salmonberries. Many materials aimed at adult learners likewise incorporate in-depth knowledge of the local environment. Examples include "Alutiiq Plants,"[12] a phone app that contains information about Alutiiq plant lore and plant names, and the "Environment" section of the radio program *Alutiiq Word of the Week.*[13]

Cultural activities conducted in conjunction with Alutiiq language learner further transmit environmental knowledges. At immersion gatherings and informal meetups, Alutiiq language activists often make items such as alder salve and *taariqs* (whisks made from wild ryegrass roots used to cleanse the skin and improve circulation in steam baths; Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository 2020). Through Alutiiq song and dance, participants learn environmental knowledge and conceptualizations of resource use. For instance, the song

[12] https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.alutiiqplants.project1&hl=en_US&gl=US
[13] https://www.alutiiqmuseum.org/word-of-the-week-archive/184-environment?site=2

Ugtua ('Puffin Song,' literally 'I Am Climbing'; shared by Sperry Ash) describes harvesting puffin eggs, and the song *Arwam Atuutii* ('Whaler Song,' literally 'Whale's Song'; [14] shared by Loren Anderson) teaches a conceptualization of hunted animals as gifts to hunters (13).[15]

(13)

1 Gui gwani pikiyutaq
  I here am a gift

2 Imarmek pikiyutamken
  From the sea I give you a gift

3 Llatuumluni pisurtuq iimiulluku
  [The hunter] hunts with awareness and good aim

4 Tukniluni pisurtuq
  [The hunter] hunts with strength

5 Suuget nerkwarluki
  Feeding the people

6 Ugalluku pisurtuq
  [The hunter] hunts skillfully

7 Atam cali, atam cali, unguwaqa
  And so, and so, my life

8 Pisurtam tunuwaqa
  I give it to the hunter

These lyrics express a frame in which the whale, the "I" of lines 1 and 2, chooses to offer itself up to the hunter instead of being hunted against its wishes. This conceptualization differs from dominant Western ideologies of hunting, which see hunted creatures as unwilling to be hunted. The concept of animals offering themselves up to hunters is

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[14] I have modified the translation of the lyrics from the text provided on alutiiqlanguage.org to be a slightly more literal translation, in order to convey the close links between Alutiiq language and environmental values. Both song texts and audio are available at http://www.alutiiqlanguage.org/songs.

documented in other accounts of Alutiiq culture, as well: for instance, Drabek (2012:152) comments, "in order to give themselves up in a hunt they [animals] expect to be respected." In line 3, the hunter is characterized as not only strong and skilled, but also aware: the word *llaatuumluni* is translated in Leer et al. (n.d.) as "to be aware, mindful; to have one's wits about one; to know what one is doing; to be conscious or aware (of what is happening)." In addition, the song specifies that the hunter's goal is to feed the people (line 6), emphasizing the need for the hunt and conveying a value of generosity.

Students, as well as language teachers, actively engage with environmental knowledges and values through the Alutiiq language movement. For example, when I interviewed a 5-year-old student from the Alutiit'stun Niuwawik about her experiences, local animals featured prominently in her responses. When I asked what was her favorite part of learning Alutiiq, she told me that her favorite part was learning seal noises and bear noises, commenting also "[roaring noise] means *taquka'aq* [bear]." When I asked what Alutiiq words she'd like to know, she replied that she'd like to learn the words for "bunny" and "fox," and elaborated that she was concerned that the local cats were eating rabbits. While this student's young age may have increased her affinity for local animals independently from her involvement in the language movement, older students likewise engage with local animals, plants, places, and weather through Alutiiq language. For instance, Alutiiq educator Peggy Azuyak shared college-level student projects that included a retelling of a traditional story about a Raven character and a Crab character, a poem that personified the ocean, and a series of haikus focused on storms, bears, an eagle, and a silver salmon, among other topics. Recognizing both Alutiiq language and local environmental knowledge as central to Alutiiq

culture, the language movement immerses learners in both, and learners in turn take up these themes.

Encoding of environmental knowledge in Alutiiq language

Several language activists note that, in addition to intentional efforts to teach land-based materials through the language movement, the Alutiiq language itself inspires land-based education because of its descriptiveness. Alutiiq nouns often describe properties of the objects to which they refer, providing insight into, for instance, the physical characteristics and uses of local plants. In response to the survey question "If the language movement has affected your knowledge of the local environment (e.g. plants, animals, places), how so?," Respondent 1 commented, "I have learned names of plants in the Alutiiq language. Sometimes, the words have literal translations that give insight to properties of the plant (e.g., if it will burn you)." Gayla Pedersen mentioned in an interview that she is motivated to learn Alutiiq plant names in order to lend insight into both their use and the "Alutiiq thought process" that conceptualizes them (14).

(14)

```
1 JF;     And has learning Alutiiq affected either your knowledge of like local plants and
2         animals, or I guess how you conceptualize them?
3 GP;     It has.
4         One of my most exciting things, I got to choose the name for the beach greens,
5         when they were doing the Lost Words New Words Council stuff.
6         I got to choose that, so that made me really happy.
7         But I think just learning their names in Alutiiq—
8         I've definitely tried to learn the names of all the plants in Alutiiq and interpret
9         them.
10        You know, to just lend insight into maybe how they used the plants.
11        As well as the Alutiiq thought process.
12        I was actually really disappointed when we interpreted the word for Devil's Club,
13        which is Cukilanarpaq.
14        It's 'The Big One That's Liable to Give You a Splinter.'
```

15	And I was like, "Geez, I was really hoping for something a little more mystical
16	than that."
17	People always talk about how Devil's Club is such a powerful plant.
18	Even the wood was used as a talisman and stuff like that.
19	There was not only medicinal power but spiritual power with that plant.
20	I was just hoping for a little more than—
21 JF;	"Watch out!"
22 GP;	"That one's liable to give you a splinter."
23	But yeah, so that's how it's affected me.
24	Always looking for interpretation.

<div align="right">(20200925_Gayla_Pedersen)</div>

In the above excerpt, Gayla remarks that she was disappointed by the information encoded in *Cukilanarpaq* ('Devil's Club;' literally 'The big one that's liable to give you a splinter'). Although in this case, Gayla did not learn the kind of information she was hoping for, her comment reveals an expectation for names to reflect the properties of the things being named: in this case, for the name for a spiritually powerful plant to describe or evoke that power. As Gayla notes, Alutiiq plant names (as well as animal names) encode useful and culturally important information about their referents, and often serve as starting points for discussions of the plants' properties and traditional uses.

Transmission of environmental values through conversations with Elders

In part through their work in the language movement, many Alutiiq Elders transmit environmental values of thrift and anti-consumerism via conversations and narratives. I've heard several Elders comment on how many fewer things people used to have and consume when they were growing up. For example, in a 2005 conversation, Elder Clyda Christiansen commented, "Caqiitallriit-naa su'ut cuumi, amlesqanek caqiitallriakut" ('People didn't use to have a lot of things back then, we didn't have a lot of things'), and I've heard similar comments from Elders Sophie Shepherd and Kathryn Chichenoff. I also remember Elder Florence Pestrikoff saying, "Egqaaqlluki" ('They keep throwing things away') as part of a

<div align="center">172</div>

criticism of excessive consumption. In a Lost Villages collection interview (and as part of a conversation about traditional times for certain activities, such as playing *laptuuk* [an outdoor game also known as Alutiiq baseball]), Elder Natalie Simeonoff remarks that having "too much of everything" can be confusing, in contrast to the subsistence lifestyle she remembers (15).

(15)

```
1 NS;  I truly think oftentimes people are confused by having too much of everything, you
2         know.
3         They do.
4 DR;  Too many choices to make ((inaudible)),
5 NS;  Too many choices.
6         Too many kinds of food.
7         You know in those days, when rhubarb was ripe you had rhubarb, you know.
8         When the green vegetables came in you had all of them that you wanted, and we lived
9         out of our garden practically.
10       When the berries were ripe we put up berries for the summer.
11       For the wintertime we'd make jam and things like that, but you didn't have any more
12       berries until—you know, we had no freezers.
13       And when the salmon was fresh we ate salmon just every day, when we could get it.
14       And we dried fish and we salted fish, and smoked it.
15       And so you had that for the wintertime use, you know.
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(Natalie Simeonoff, AM213_17_SideB_0)

While many Elders acknowledge that subsistence lifestyles entail a lot of hard work, they often, like Simeonoff, frame them in a positive light. For example, in a 2014 visit with me, Elder Sophie Shepherd shares fond memories of traditional subsistence foods such as duck, seal, flounder, and cranberries (16).

(16)

```
1 SS;  People got to know how it was when grew up.
2         Like we always say, we didn't have anything, but we were happy.
3         We always had something to eat.
4         We had nice church clothes.
5         We always wore them to church only, as soon as we'd get out of church we'd
```

6 take them off and put our old clothes on.

7 JF: Yeah, asirpiartuq tawaten.
   Yeah, it's really good that way.

8 SS; Guangkuta nitniqlluki, atgurngaluta.
   We listened to them, and we were happy.

9 Caqit tamaita—nerkumta, nuta'at—
   Everything—when we ate, the new ones—

10 Nuta'at iqallugsurluteng unuami.
   They would go fishing for new ones in the morning.

11 Akgua'aku piturluki.
   And eat them in the afternoon.

12 JF; Qasarluki—
   Eat them raw—

13 SS; Saqul'aat ernerpak pisurluki, pilluteng.
   They would hunt ducks during the day, and get them.

14 Akgua'aku asircarluki.
   And clean them in the evening.

15 Unuaqu-llu kenirluki.
   The next morning they would cook them.

16 Aa'ingia'aq, saqul'aat, roasted saqul'aat, uu.
   How nice, duck, roasted duck, mm.

17 Aa'i, caqit tamartaanka.
   Aa'i, I miss things.

18 Saqul'aat, isuwiq, how they call—waa'ut.
   Ducks, seal, how they call—flounders.

19 JF; Waa'ut?
   Flounders?

20 SS; Small flounders like this, they're small like this.

21 JF; Waa'ut?
   Flounders?

22 SS; Waa'ut, mhm.
 Flounders.

23   Small flounders.
24   They have a name, but we always call them small—
25   Mikelngut, waa'ut.
 The small ones, flounders.

26   Waa'ut, mhm.
 Flounders, mhm.

27 JF; Mm, aa'ignia'aq.
 Mm, nice.

28   Maamama saaʀitaaqai.
 My mother would fry them.

29   Makut gwani.
 These ones.

30   Crispy crispy, aa'ia piturnir—
 Crispy crispy, aa'ia [they were] good to eat—

31   Saaʀiluni waa'unek, rice-mek cali kenirluni.
 She would fry flounder, and she would cook rice too.

32   Saqul'aarturkumta, cranberry-ret pisullrepet, homemade cranberry sauce-mek
33   pililuteng, aa'i.
 When we ate duck, they would make cranberry sauce from the cranberries we picked,
 aa'i.

34   Asingia'arluteng, piturnirluteng.
 They were nice and good, they were good to eat.

(Sophie Shepherd, 7/31/14)

Sophie expresses a stance of intense enjoyment of traditional foods through several strategies

in this excerpt. In lines 16 and 34, she uses the postbase *-ngia'ar-* ('nice') to describe the

ducks her family hunted and cooked (*aa'ignia'aq* 'how nice,' *asingnia'arluteng* '[they were]

nice and good'). In line 17, she comments, *Aa'i, caqit tamartaanka* ('Aa'i, I miss things'),

taking a stance of nostalgia. Through sensory descriptions like *crispy crispy* (line 30) and

detailed accounts of which specific foods were eaten together (lines 31-33), she draws the

175

listener into her remembrance of her enjoyment of the duck and other traditional foods—a remembrance that is also linked to her memories of her family (for instance, through the mentions of her mother in lines 28-31).

Furthermore, in a 2017 visit with me and language activist Susan Malutin, Sophie remembers the hard work that her family had to do during her childhood, but comments on how people used to help each other with this work. She also recalls used to enjoy community social events such as going dancing with other young women (17).

(17)

1 SS;   Cuumi su'ut ikasutaallriit.
In the old days people wanted to help each other.

2   Paapangua'allraqa, kenerkanek iwa'illkuteng, tan'uraarat ikayurluku.
My poor father, when he'd look for firewood, the boys would help him.

3   Ikayurluki.
They would help them.

4   Guangkuta skaulurluta.
We would go to school.

5   Skauluq nangkan, home agluta, puckat taangamek imirluki.
When school ended, we'd go home, and we'd fill the barrels with water.

6   Tan'uraarat kenerkaliraarluteng, pirarluki.
The boys would make firewood first, quickly.

7   Kenerkat—how do they say "chop?"
Firewood—how do they say "chop?"

8   Kindling-ret, kindling-nek pililuteng.
Kindling, they would make kindling.

9 SM; Mhm.

10 JF; Mm.

11 SS; Kenegkat miklliluki staupi asirluteng kuallriit right away.
They'd make the firewood small so that they burned well right away.

12   Tan'uraarat pilarluteng, gui-llu aqumlluanga tawa'ut.
The boys would saw, and I'd sit there.

13   Taumi awa'i kesiin taquskumta, taumi awa'i kesiin wamluta.
And then only when we were finished, only then we would play.

14   Caqit tamarpia'ita…
Everything…

15   Puckangq'rtaallriit, taangamek imirluki.
They had barrels, they would fill them with water.

16   Guangkuta bucket-nek, kuiguamen agluta, caskasinamek imirluki.
We would [take] buckets, and go to the creek, and fill them with big cups.

17   Tawaken kuinglluta home agluta.
Then we would walk home.

18   Aa'i pektaallriakut cuumi ai.
Aa'i we worked all the time back then.

19   Friday night, agnguaqutartut.
Friday night, they would dance.

20   Aayaya. ((laughs))
Oh my. ((laughs))

21   Mhm. ((laughs))

22   Guangkuta arya'arat, cimiutaallriakut taqmanek.
Us girls, we used to trade dresses.

23   We used to trade dresses for the dance, because we didn't want to wear the same dress to the dance every time.

24   Aayaya.
Oh my.

25   We had curling—iron-nek laampamen, kerosene lamp-men, uqnirluki.
We had curling—we'd hold irons to the lamp, to the kerosene lamp, to heat them.

26   Aa'i, allrani uqnarpakarluku, nuyapet kuagkwarluki.
Aa'i, sometimes we'd get it too hot, and it would burn our hair.

27   ((laughs)) Futii.

((laughs)) *Smelly.*

28   Nuyarcuninani.
Smelling like hair.

29   Aayaya.
Oh my.

30   Su'ut agnguarluteng, piiwagkunateng.
People would dance, without drinking beer.

31   Raalluta maallurpiaq.
We really had fun.

(Sophie Shepherd, 8/29/17)

Sophie initially frames this narrative as an example of how people used to help each other in the old days (line 1). Expressing sympathy for her 'poor father' (*Papangua'allraqa*, line 2) who had to gather firewood, she adds that the young men in the family would assist him, making this task easier. Though she did not participate herself in gathering firewood, Sophie remembers how she used to gather water from the creek in barrels (lines 15-17), commenting, *Aa'i pektaallriakut cuumi ai* ("We worked all the time back then"). Having acknowledged the intensity of this work, Sophie then reflects on the experience of going dancing on Friday nights. Her reflection includes a description of young women engaging in homosocial closeness by trading dresses (line 23) and curling their hair (lines 25-28). Sophie's laughter in lines 20, 21, and 27, her use of the expression *Aayaya* ('Oh my') in lines 20, 24, and 29, and her closing comment that *Raalluta maallurpiaq* ("We really had fun") infuses this description with humor and warmth.

    Elders' stories and comments do not seem intended to chastise younger members of the Alutiiq community, but to reflect on how much things have changed over the course of their lives, and to critique the excessive consumption of outsiders. Likewise, in my presentation of these stories, I do not mean to impose an unrealistic or purist expectation of anti-

consumption as some kind of requirement for authentic Alutiiq identity (similarly to the impossible requirements for "authentic" Indigenous language use noted by Davis 2017). While some Alutiiq people continue to live subsistence lifestyles, or practice elements of them, others may not, and I recognize all of these choices as valid ways of being authentically Alutiiq in the contemporary world.

Instead, I hope to convey what strikes me as particularly powerful about Alutiiq Elders' stories and memories about subsistence lifestyles: the vividness, detail, and warmth with which they convey socioeconomic systems and lifeways that differ from the current ones. As Schneider-Mayerson and Bellamy (2019) argue, "Another world is possible" has become a rallying cry of climate justice movements—yet to inspire change, it is necessary to know, or at least thoroughly imagine, what such a world might be like. Discourses of sustainability often carry a tone of austerity, framing climate action as a matter of sacrificing personal luxuries such as travel, diet, and shopping while often minimizing the responsibility of governments and corporations (Graham-Leigh 2015). Alutiiq Elders' narratives, in contrast, typically do not portray their childhood subsistence lifestyles as austere: comments on how hard they worked are accompanied by reflections on material pleasures and joyful social connection. Their stories attest to the possibility of abundance and fulfillment within sustainability. They align closely with what proponents of economic degrowth term "frugal abundance" (Latouche 2014), "radical abundance" (Hickel 2019), or "radical simplicity" (Alexander 2017), and are perhaps more persuasive than theories, because they are based on the Elders' lived experiences.

5.6 Alutiiq language revitalization and climate change

Indigenous peoples have been shown to face disproportionate harms of climate change due to environmental racism, other compounding forms of social injustice, and lack of access to land-based livelihoods and cultures (Tsosie 2007; Baird 2008; Ford 2012; Durkalec et al. 2015). However, many Indigenous communities also possess great agency in the face of climate threats—and in the face of ongoing colonial constraints on their ability to adapt to them. Drawing on a review of over 200 articles published from 2010-2020, Ford et al. (2020) find that, although environmental destruction can disproportionately affect Indigenous peoples due to many Indigenous people's profound material, cultural, and spiritual connections to place, this same connection to place can provide strength and wellness. Furthermore, they find that many Indigenous communities have strong social support networks that, in times of hardship, can provide systems of mutual aid and collective action.

Archival data provides evidence that, for some members of the Alutiiq community, intergenerational communication has been an essential part of disaster response and adaptation. In 1964, a tidal wave destroyed several villages on Kodiak Island, forcing the residents to relocate. In an interview with Deborah Robinson, Sven Haakanson Sr. recounts how the village chief, Roger Williams, was unable to persuade the older generation to move to the village of Old Harbor rather than Akhiok because he could not speak Alutiiq (referred to here as *Aleut*, another term preferred by some older community members). Although Haakanson also comments that Williams' English language skills enabled him to communicate with outside organizations such as the BIA and the Red Cross, he underscores that being bilingual in English and Alutiiq would have allowed Williams to convince older community members to move to a location that would have offered more benefits (18).

(18)

1 DR; And how did it happen that he [Roger Williams] got to be chief?
2 SH; Because he could speak English talking to the BIA, Red Cross, and organizing.
3   I thought he did a real good job.
4 DR; So that was an important thing, that the chief would be able to speak English?
5 SH; Speak English, in that [inaudible].
6 DR; And that was more important at the time, because of the circumstance of the tidal
7   wave, than being able to speak Aleut and talk to old people?
8 SH; Yes.
9   If he could have talked both, I think he could have conveyed the importance of
10   moving here.
12   But see, he couldn't talk Aleut.
13   He wouldn't understand what they were talking about, and he couldn't interrupt them.

(Lost Villages interview, AM213_3_SideA_0: 9:03-9:42)

"This was Roger Williams' problem," Haakanson further explained. "He couldn't convey in

Aleut the reasons […] I believe if Roger could talk Aleut, so he can explain the benefits like

light, water, sewer, airport, locality, school mainly, he could have. But he talked to

translators, and it was hard. And the older people talked Aleut" (Lost Villages interview,

AM213_3_SideA_0:6:39-7:30). Haakanson's comments about the difficulties of translation,

Williams' lack of comprehension, and Williams' inability to interrupt older people's

conversations reveal that Williams' lack of Alutiiq language ability impaired his ability to

engage in intergenerational conversation and decision-making in multiple ways that could

not easily be overcome. It is possible, also, that the language divide may have hampered

intergenerational communication for ideological reasons, creating a sense of distance

between Williams and the older generation.

In contemporary Alutiiq communities, mutual intelligibility between generations is not a

problem to this extent: all current Elders speak English as well as Alutiiq. However,

intergenerational communication and collaborative decision-making remain important in

times of crisis. During the COVID-19 pandemic, for instance, when I was unable to travel to Kodiak, I noticed that many Alutiiq community members posted on social media about the importance of protecting Elders' health. Some Elders, in turn, shared Alutiiq-language messages about how to protect the rest of the community. By nurturing strong intergenerational social networks, the Alutiiq language movement facilitates community responses to disaster, including climate disasters. Furthermore, Elders' use of Alutiiq language in these times likely lends greater weight to calls for behaviors that benefit the community, drawing on the respect afforded to them both as Elders and as Alutiiq culture bearers.

The epistemologies and values encoded in Indigenous languages, too, can play an important role in climate change preparedness. Reflecting on the topic of language and climate justice, Bernard Perley (personal communication) highlights the implicit assumption that the "language" in question is English or another hegemonic language—the same language in which a great deal of environmental and climate destruction has been perpetrated, erased, and justified. Perley comments that Indigenous languages, in contrast, might provide much-needed perspectives to conceptualize the climate crisis and what should be done about it. In their book *An Ecotopian Lexicon*, environmental studies scholars Matthew Schneider-Mayerson and Brent Bellamy similarly articulate a need for terms not yet found in English to describe and deal with the climate crisis, such as the South American term *buen vivir* (a philosophy of community and environmental well-being). Indigenous languages, and the concepts they encode, could help to guide Indigenous environmental self-determination, and might provide models for climate change resistance and adaptation in non-Indigenous contexts as well.

5.7 Conclusion

In the previous chapter, I discussed how Alutiiq language movement participation benefits community members' well-being by connecting them to their cultural heritage, strengthening intracommunity relationships, and offering an Alutiiq mindset as a means of navigating hardships. In this chapter, I have discussed how Alutiiq language revitalization transmits environmental knowledges and values in a context of historical and ongoing environmental destruction and oppression. In doing so, I have embraced a broad conceptualization of what Indigenous language movements are for—seeing them not only as revivals of abstract systems, but as a means of experiencing and transforming the world. Noting this transformative power, I note also that (like Indigenous languages themselves) Indigenous environmental knowledges and values, and their expressions through language, do not belong to everyone, but to Indigenous communities. I follow Indigenous scholars in environmental studies in calling for Indigenous environmental knowledges and values to be framed not merely as objects of study, or as resources to be extracted and integrated into other epistemologies, but instead as frameworks for Indigenous environmental self-determination and climate change preparedness.

CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

In this dissertation, I have discussed colonial ideologies about language revitalization and sought to advance decolonial frameworks and methods in their place. These decolonial frameworks and methods include Indigenous self-determination and expertise, resistance of false dichotomies and their accompanying value judgments, pluralism and heterogeneity in Indigenous language movements, ideological and experiential (as well as linguistic) complexity, and the importance of Indigenous language movements beyond fluency. To illustrate the theme of valid heterogeneity in the context of Kodiak Alutiiq language revitalization, I have analyzed linguistic innovation and translanguaging as multifaceted and varied practices that are related to, rather than distinct from, "traditional" language use and monolingual language immersion (Chapter 3). To illustrate the importance of the Alutiiq language movement beyond generating fluent speakers, I have shown how participants experience the language movement as a way of connecting to their heritage, building relationships with others in the community, relieving stress, and creating privacy within white public spaces (Chapter 4). Furthermore, I have analyzed the Alutiiq language movement as a form of environmental education, showing how it transmits knowledges and values relating to the local land in a context of historical and ongoing environmental injustice (Chapter 5).

Throughout this work, I have drawn on my experience as a white settler researcher working with the Kodiak Alutiiq community, reflecting on the ways in which I have perpetuated colonial models of fieldwork. I hope that these reflections may be of interest to

Indigenous scholars and community members within and outside the Alutiiq community, as well as to settler linguists who wish to resist colonial perspectives, frameworks, and methods.

6.2. Colonial and decolonial perspectives on Indigenous language revitalization: Insights from the Alutiiq language movement

Colonialism in linguistics

In Chapter 2, I have joined many others in arguing that coloniality has not only shaped linguistic fieldwork and analysis in the past, but continues to permeate it in many forms in the present (Errington 2001; Hill 2002; Rice 2006; Davis 2017; Czaykowska-Higgins 2009; Leonard and Haynes 2010). This occurs through comments from settler linguists about Indigenous people's speakerhood, such as offhand evaluations of their fluency or lamentations that there are no "real" speakers left in Indigenous language revitalization movements; through undergraduate and graduate linguistics courses that treat Indigenous languages as symbolic systems without discussing their cultural significance, the colonial contexts of language shift, or colonial fieldwork dynamics (Tsikewa, forthcoming); through inappropriate fieldwork methods that frame settler linguists as experts and erase the agency, expertise, and self-determination of Indigenous people; through funding structures that assume colonial definitions of Indigenous language as a universally shared resource; and through popular imaginings of settler linguists as conquerors, saviors, or both.

Colonial ideologies of language revitalization, specifically, include assumptions about the goals of Indigenous language movements and devaluations of practices that do not match up with these imposed goals. Many of the settler-authored materials and frameworks I have encountered as a linguist assume that the central or even only goal of language revitalization

is to generate fluent speakers who speak in a way that is extremely similar to, if not exactly

the same as, some form of "traditional" language. This assumption assumes and enforces

boundaries between tradition versus modernity, conservation versus innovation, Elders

versus youth, and language purity versus language mixing, privileging the former of each

pair over the latter.

Decolonization

As I have noted, I follow Tuck and Yang (2012) in understanding decolonization not as a

superficial buzzword to be leveraged by settler researchers in attempts at self-exoneration,

but as a process with deep and far-reaching material, societal, and political consequences. I

am not sure that this dissertation even begins to make a substantive contribution towards

decolonization in this sense. However, conscious of the ways in which I have engaged in

colonial models of linguistic fieldwork and education, I have tried to critique and resist these

same models. In my own work, I see decolonization as an ongoing process of reflexive

awareness and listening to Indigenous community members and scholars.

Indigenous self-determination

Many dominant models of linguistic fieldwork—including some I have been exposed to as a

student—do not fully respect or acknowledge Indigenous self-determination. Fieldwork

projects and interactions often proceed from settler linguists' interests, obtaining Indigenous

participants' consent but not considering their goals and input. Settler linguists' evaluations

of Indigenous language movements and speakers, furthermore, often implicitly impose purist

ideals regarding fluency and "authentic" language use. In Chapter 2, I have joined

Czaykowska-Higgins (2009), Leonard and Haynes (2010), Tsikewa (forthcoming), and others in arguing for more recognition of Indigenous self-determination not only in planning language programs and policies, but also in determining speakerhood, choosing whether and how research will be conducted, training linguistic fieldworkers, and defining the goals of language movements. Throughout this dissertation, I have striven to prioritize Indigenous self-determination by making decisions related to terminology and data presentation in collaboration with Alutiiq community members.

Indigenous expertise

As well as not recognizing Indigenous self-determination, dominant models of linguistic fieldwork often fail to recognize Indigenous expertise. Many linguists maintain that speakers who have not studied linguistics do not have reliable knowledge about their language practices. In Indigenous contexts, where there are often histories of violence at the hands of settler researchers, this belief takes on a patronizing and even dehumanizing cast. The assumption that Indigenous language activists' expertise is subject to evaluation by outsiders—with its implication that settler researchers understand language revitalization better, even though they have typically not experienced it—runs counter to Indigenous sovereignty and linguistic self-determination. Disregarding Indigenous language activists' expertise is also counterproductive to the goal of better understanding language revitalization. As I have shown, Alutiiq language activists have many insights that I, as a white outsider trained in linguistics, did not—insights not in the sense of data for me to interpret, but in the sense of theoretical contributions. This expertise includes both structural

knowledge of the Alutiiq language and reflections on contextually situated experiences of speaking, learning, and teaching Alutiiq.

Ideological and experiential complexity

While many settler linguists have dwelled on, and sometimes fetishized, the structural complexity of Indigenous languages, they have less often engaged with the ideological and experiential complexity of Indigenous language movement participation, instead painting Indigenous communities and individuals in an overly simplistic light. For example, generalizations about the practices and language ideologies of Elders versus youth often erase meaningful variation within these generational groups. This dissertation has only grazed the surface of these kinds of complexities in the Alutiiq language movement, yet even these limited findings give a partial sense of what may be erased through overgeneralization. Some examples include language activists' varied attitudes towards different translanguaging practices (Chapter 3) and their multifaceted emotional and social experiences of speaking Alutiiq in public and private places (Chapter 4). Language activists report, for instance, that they view some stigmatized types of translanguaging (such as calquing and literal translation) as resources for insight into differences between Alutiiq and colonial cultures, while feeling conflicted about others. Furthermore, language activists express more ambivalence towards English-Alutiiq language mixing than Russian borrowings due to the disparate sociocultural contexts of English versus Russian colonization (i.e., the current status of English as the majoritized language and the reindexicalization of Russian language and culture as a form of Alutiiq heritage). The current relationship of English-speaking and Alutiiq culture likewise informs language activists' emotional and social experiences of speaking Alutiiq. They note

that while learning and speaking Alutiiq is more emotionally intense—and therefore often more difficult—than learning and speaking other languages, it is also easier to divulge personal information in Alutiiq because it feels less limited by the sociocultural and communicative norms that dominate their English-speaking lives. Language activists also report using Alutiiq to create privacy in public contexts, disrupting white public spaces and aiding in the development of close social ties within the language movement.

Though it is possible to identify some recurring patterns across individuals' experiences, such as the above observations, it is neither easy nor useful (at least for this analysis) to generalize about different social groups within the Alutiiq language movement. For instance, I did not find any general tendencies across all youth language activists or all Elders regarding attitudes towards linguistic innovation or language mixing: instead, I found that language activists expressed ambivalent and context-dependent attitudes towards these practices, and some noted that their attitudes had changed over time.

Instead of seeking only or mainly to generalize about Alutiiq language revitalization, therefore, I have tried to foreground the pluralism and heterogeneity of the views and practices that comprise it. Considering many ways of speaking, learning, and relating to the Alutiiq language, I have argued that these many ways can coexist, and that one should not be assumed, from an outsider's perspective, to be more valid than the others. This diversity of needs, goals, and learning styles within the Alutiiq language movement, and likely other Indigenous language movements, presents a challenge to educators working with limited resources. It also presents a challenge for language documentation. Ideally, enough resources would be available to accommodate a range of different educational needs and goals and document a plurality of Indigenous language varieties and ideologies within a single

community. When this is not possible, outsider linguists engaged in language documentation should coordinate closely with community members to determine how to mitigate and/or acknowledge the partiality of the documentation efforts and products.

Resistance of false dichotomies and their accompanying value judgments

One way in which settler researchers sometimes oversimplify Indigenous language movements is through false dichotomies. For instance, settler scholarship often implicitly or explicitly contrasts innovation versus continuation of traditions, language mixing versus language immersion, and acceptance of language change versus linguistic purism. In Chapter 2 and 3, I have shown that these dichotomies do not accurately apply to the Alutiiq language movement. Superficially innovative word coining practices, for instance, further traditions of language play, and literal translation and sociophonetic translanguaging are used by language activists for purposes of critical transcultural commentary, highlighting rather than collapsing differences between Alutiiq and colonial cultures. As I mention in section 3.4, language immersion itself could be considered a form of translanguaging: language activists reflect that, in order to "stay in the language," they often make use of calques from English to Alutiiq. Language ideologies that might be termed "language purism," such as discomfort with others' language innovations, coexist for individuals with attitudes that the language can and should change. Dichotomous categorizations of Indigenous language use are often accompanied by value judgments: for example, the valorization of "traditional" forms of language use can come at the expense of new speakers who are labeled inauthentic. Conversely, the valorization of innovative youth language can overlook Elders' innovative and creative language practices. Externally imposed dichotomies are not merely

counterproductive to ethnographic analysis, but a form of colonial domination that can have serious repercussions within Indigenous language movements.

Importance of Indigenous language movements beyond fluency

Returning to the question of whether language revitalization can "work," I have unpacked the assumption that success consists of widespread language fluency. My research has suggested that, although fluency is an important goal for some Alutiiq language activists, many identify benefits of the language movement beyond fluency (Chapter 4). Survey respondents and interviewees report an increased sense of connection to their Alutiiq heritage, stronger relationships with other community members, and enjoyment of the process of language learning. While the experience of revitalizing Alutiiq can bring up colonial trauma, speaking Alutiiq can be a means of processing or expressing sensitive topics, and it can also can create private spaces that resist the hegemony of white public spaces in Kodiak. During the COVID-19 pandemic, furthermore, Alutiiq language activists comment that online Alutiiq language interaction has provided relief from stressful and dehumanizing situations.

Another benefit of Alutiiq language revitalization, which is increasingly relevant in light of the worsening climate crisis, is the transmission of local environmental knowledges and values (Chapter 5). Kodiak Island is the site of historical and ongoing environmental destruction and resource theft: commercial fisheries have alienated many Alutiiq people from their fishing rights, contemporary wildlife preservation efforts infringe on Alutiiq subsistence, and fossil fuel emissions have led to observable and alarming effects of climate change on local plants and animals. With its emphasis on land-based education, the Alutiiq language movement helps to transmit environmental knowledge. In addition, the Alutiiq

language movement furthers Alutiiq conceptualizations of relationships between human and more-than-human beings, emphasizing the interconnectedness of life and promoting respectful stewardship. Elders' reflections about their childhoods offer insights into ways of living that are both sustainable and fulfilling, with a high degree of social connectedness. Elder Sven Haakanson Sr.'s reflections about the 1964 tidal wave further reveal the importance of intergenerational communication to disaster response, suggesting that the Alutiiq language movement, with its focus on intergenerational relationships, could play a role in increasing climate change preparedness in the community. It is clear from these results, and from those dealing with emotionality and well-being, that Alutiiq language revitalization provides many important benefits beyond language fluency.

Adopting this holistic consideration of the benefits of Indigenous language revitalization, the limitations of settler linguists' expertise becomes clear. While settler scholars may be able to identify some best practices for promoting fluency, such as speaking in the home or setting up immersion programs, these practices may or may not serve community members' goals apart from and beyond fluency (as narrowly defined by colonial linguistics). The privileging of fluency and language as a symbolic system is deeply ingrained in dominant models of language revitalization: it is evident in phrases such as *save the language*, *language vitality*, and even *language revitalization* itself. Therefore, it is important for settler linguists like myself to be aware that these terms may be misleading, instilling a false sense of expertise and prematurely limiting the parameters of what successful language movements can look like.

6.3 Potential changes to pedagogy, funding, and fieldwork methods

In light of the limitations of my positionality as a white settler researcher, I am leery of making suggestions for how linguistic pedagogy, funding, and fieldwork methods could be altered or even reconceived in order to move away from colonial models. However, as also described in Chapter 2, I offer the following suggestions as preliminary proposals for changes that must ultimately be grounded in Indigenous perspectives.

Pedagogy

Some of the linguistics courses I have taken have touched on colonialism and included perspectives from Indigenous scholars, but this has been the exception rather than the norm, and has tended to occur at the end of these courses or as a special elective. Rather than relegating these topics to positions that imply that they are optional, it would be better to foreground them before presenting material that originates in colonial frameworks. Additionally, discussions of colonialism in courses I have taken only sometimes confront it as an ongoing reality rather than a distant past. In order for students to recognize and challenge colonial frameworks, it is important to recognize their persistence in the present. Another possibly helpful change would be to teach community-driven methods as part of foundational coursework, instead of as, at best, a supplemental course.

Funding

As I have tried to implement community-based methods, I have noticed that funding structures often make this difficult. Many grant applications assume a model in which an outside researcher first develops a research question and project plan and then obtains

consent from community members. Theoretical contributions are often highly valued, while non-theoretical community goals are minimized or ignored. At a more general level, funding is often allocated to outsider researchers rather than Indigenous community members. The privileging of language as a code, too, is ingrained in funding structures that narrowly define their goals in terms of Indigenous language preservation and not in terms of wider benefits to Indigenous communities. While it may be possible to conduct community-driven language revitalization and research programs within these current flawed frameworks, changes to funding structures could make it much easier to do so while limiting the influence of colonial research models.

Fieldwork methods

Many field methods courses I have taken have focused largely, or completely, on how to record interactions and transcribe and manage data. As Tsikewa (forthcoming) observes, only a minority of linguistics field methods courses dedicate significant time to examining issues of consent, cultural competence, fieldwork ethics, and power imbalances. More emphasis on these latter issues would have been extremely helpful to me as a young fieldworker. As I have become increasingly uneasy first with the cultural inappropriateness of elicitation methods, then with the intrusiveness of participant ethnography, I have grappled with the tension between my desire to be a productive worker and my desire not to make people uncomfortable. I ultimately decided that it was more important not to make people uncomfortable, but it took me a long time to come to this conclusion, in part because it was often hard to distinguish others' discomfort from my own nervousness or awkwardness. The findings of this dissertation suggest that fieldwork methods should be reoriented, at least in

research relationships between Indigenous communities and settler scholars, to prioritize research participants' comfort and well-being. This might involve, among other things, normalizing ethnographic refusal even in the absence of an obvious "no" (see Simpson 2007) and acknowledging discomfort on the part of any participant as a valid basis for stopping data collection.

6.4 Closing thoughts

Above, I have emphasized my regret at having engaged in colonial models of linguistic research. I hope to have channeled this regret into challenging these models and forewarning other settler researchers of my mistakes. My goal is not to absolve myself, but to help prevent the field of linguistics and dominant models of language revitalization from doing further harm of this kind.

I also feel great admiration and gratitude for my friends and mentors in the Alutiiq community. Their guidance has helped me to clarify problems with dominant frameworks, ideologies, and methods, and to envision alternatives. In the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, they have generously shared their time and insights with me. Similarly to how some survey respondents noted that Alutiiq language meetings provided them with a break from daily stress, the process of researching and writing this dissertation has allowed me a respite in an especially stressful time, bringing back many happy memories and allowing me to reconnect with friends I couldn't see in person. I hope that the result may be of some use or value to all who contributed. Quyanaasinaq.

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APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

,	continuing intonation
.	falling intonation
?	rising intonation
""	constructed dialogue
;	symbol after speaker initials
italics (within line)	prosodic (speech style) emphasis
italics (whole line)	translation[16]
((laughter))	laughter
bold	analytical emphasis
[…]	deleted excerpt
[]	comment or translation

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[16] To distinguish italicized translations from prosodic emphasis of a whole line, I also offset translations with spaces around the original line and gloss.

PRONUNCIATION OF ALUTIIQ ORTHOGRAPHY

For a more detailed explanation of Alutiiq orthography, see Counceller and Leer (2012).

Alutiiq letter	International Phonetic Alphabet character	Pronunciation
a	/a/	Similar to d<u>o</u>t
c	/t͡ʃ/	Similar to <u>ch</u>erry
e	/ə/	Similar to b<u>e</u>gin
f	/f/	Similar to <u>f</u>eel
g	/x/	Similar to Ba<u>ch</u>
gw	/xʷ/	Similar to "hw"
hm	/m̥/	Similar to "hm"
hn	/n̥/	Similar to "hn"
hng	/ŋ̊/	Similar to "hng"
i	/i/	Similar to b<u>ee</u>t
k	/k/	Similar to <u>c</u>ouch
kw	/kʷ/	Similar to <u>qu</u>ite
l	/l/	Similar to <u>l</u>ove
ll	/ɬ/	Similar to "hl"
m	/m/	Similar to <u>m</u>oon
n	/n/	Similar to <u>n</u>ine
ng	/ŋ/	Similar to si<u>ng</u>
p	/p/	Similar to <u>p</u>oke
q	/q/	Similar to "k" pronounced far back in

			the throat
r	/χ/		Similar to "Ba<u>ch</u>" pronounced far back in the throat
ʀ	/ɹ/		Similar to sta<u>r</u>
s	/s/ or /ʃ/		Similar to <u>s</u>oon (Southern style) or <u>sh</u>ine (Northern style)
t	/t/		Similar to <u>t</u>ongue
u	/u/		Similar to r<u>oo</u>t
w	/w/		Similar to <u>w</u>ind
y	/j/		Similar to <u>y</u>oung

APPENDIX C

SURVEY

Alutiiq language, well-being, and the environment

I. Alutiiq language movement participation

1) What Alutiiq language and/or cultural practices do you participate in? [Open response]

2) Which of the following activities do you participate in? Please select all that apply.

   a) Speaking Alutiiq
   b) Learning Alutiiq
   c) Teaching Alutiiq
   d) Dancing and/or drumming
   e) Beading
   f) Skin sewing
   g) Carving
   h) Preparing traditional foods
   i) Other:

3) How long have you been involved with the Alutiiq language movement?

   a) 0-1 years
   b) 1-3 years
   c) 3-5 years
   d) More than 5 years

4) What is your main motivation for participating in the Alutiiq language movement? [Open response]

5) In what situations do you speak Alutiiq? Please select all that apply.

   a) In school
   b) With family
   c) At community events
   d) Other:

6) If you speak Alutiiq in public places, why do you do so? What is this experience like? [Open response]

7) If you *don't* speak Alutiiq in public spaces, why not? [Open response]

<u>II. Well-being</u>

8) Does speaking Alutiiq feel different to you than speaking other languages? If so, how so? [Open response]

9) How has participating in the Alutiiq language movement affected you overall? [Open response]

10) How has participating in the Alutiiq language movement affected...

    a) ...your overall well-being? (negative/harmful effect, no effect, or positive/beneficial effect)

    b) ...your sense of belonging to a community? (negative/harmful effect, no effect, or positive/beneficial effect)

    c) ...your sense of your identity? (negative/harmful effect, no effect, or positive/beneficial effect)

    d) ...your physical health? (negative/harmful effect, no effect, or positive/beneficial effect)

11) If it has affected your overall well-being, how so? [Open response]

12) If it has affected your sense of belonging to a community, how so? [Open response]

13) If it has affected your sense of your identity, how so? [Open response]

14) If it has affected your physical health, how so? [Open response]

15) To what extent have you been able to participate in Alutiiq language activities during the COVID-19 pandemic? [Open response]

16) If you've been able to participate in Alutiiq language activities during the COVID-19 pandemic, how have you done so? [Open response]

17) If you've been able to participate in Alutiiq language activities during the COVID-19 pandemic, how has this affected your well-being (if at all)? [Open response]

18) If you *haven't* been able to participate in Alutiiq language activities during the COVID-19 pandemic, how has this affected your well-being (if at all)? [Open response]

19) Which of the following statements are true of you? Please select all that apply.

    a) I am a parent of at least one child who is learning Alutiiq
    b) I am a family member (non-parent) of at least one child who is learning Alutiiq
    c) I teach Alutiiq to a child or children

20) What do you think are the biggest difficulties that Alutiiq youth face? [Open response]

21) How do you think the Alutiiq language movement affects Alutiiq youth? [Open response]

IV. Environment

22) Has participating in the Alutiiq language movement affected your relationship with the environment? If so, how so? [Open response]

23) To what extent has participating in the Alutiiq language movement affected...

    a) ...your knowledge of the local environment? (e.g. plants, animals, places) (Not at all/Slightly/Somewhat/A lot)

    b) ...your thoughts about how people should interact with the environment? (Not at all/Slightly/Somewhat/A lot)

    c) ...your sense of connection to the land? (Not at all/Slightly/Somewhat/A lot)

    d) ...your participation in outdoor activities? (Not at all/Slightly/Somewhat/A lot)

24) If it has affected your knowledge of the local environment (e.g. plants, animals, places), how so? [Open response]

25) If it has affected your thoughts about how people should interact with the environment, how so? [Open response]

26) If it has affected your sense of connection to the land, how so? [Open response]

27) If it has affected your participation in outdoor activities, how so? [Open response]

V. Demographic information

28) How would you describe your gender? (optional) [Open response]

29) How would you describe your heritage or ethnicity? (optional) [Open response]

30) How old are you? (optional)

    a) Under 25
    b) 25-50
    c) 50-75
    d) Over 75

31) Which of the following terms do you prefer?

    a) Alutiiq
    b) Sugpiaq
    c) Other: