New Technologies and Contested Ideologies

The Tagish FirstVoices Project

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In December 2004 representatives of the Yukon government and the First People's Cultural Foundation of British Columbia signed an agreement to facilitate the use of digital multimedia technology to archive and teach endangered Native languages.[1] "Without initiatives like FirstVoices, indigenous languages and cultural knowledge are at risk of disappearing forever," Yukon premier Dennis Fentie said in a prepared statement.[2] The Tagish language website project being conducted by the Carcross Tagish First Nation was funded by this agreement and is one example of the ways Native communities are using digital technologies for cultural and linguistic self-representation.[3] In many cases, the use of new media generates wide-ranging discussions concerning cultural values, modes of representation and teaching, and contrasts between Native and non-Native ideologies. This article examines the discourses of the Tagish website team as they formulate an Indigenous language ideology based on traditional values and contemporary responses to language endangerment that contrasts with the approaches of outside agencies.

The Tagish website project makes use of digital sound files, photographs, videos, and text. In addition to promoting language revitalization efforts, the new technologies used in this project have also facilitated community control over the representation of the Tagish language and culture. Access to new media has made it possible for the local community to manage and conduct the project, and the technological sophistication of the website lends authority to their efforts. A central concern of the project members has been defining their language ideology as they take control of the representation of their heritage.

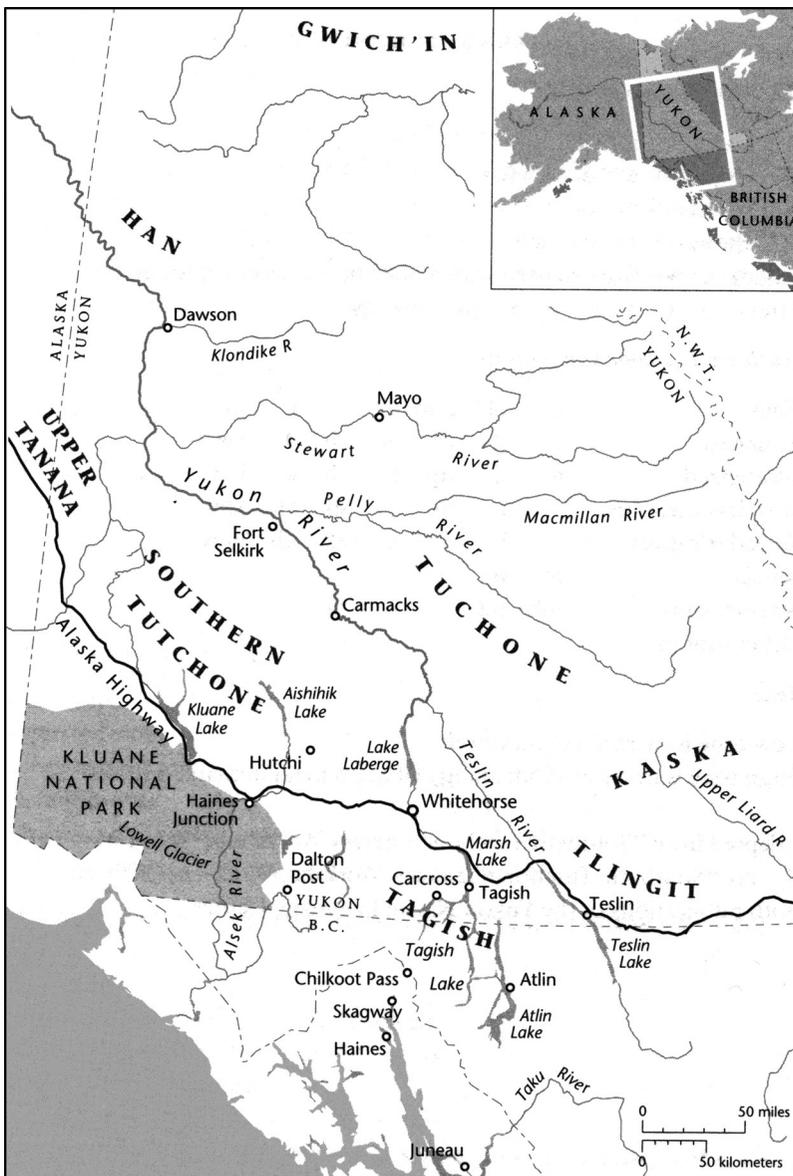Canadian political economist and communications theorist Harold

FIGURE 1. Location of Tagish-Tlingt Traditional Territory. Reprinted from *The Social Life of Stories: Narratives and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory*, by Julie Cruikshank. Used by permission of the University of Nebraska Press. © 1998 by the University of Nebraska Press.

Innis suggested that innovations in communications technology often compel realignment in the monopoly or oligopoly of knowledge.[4] Borrowing imagery from Hegel, who wrote, "Minerva's owl begins its flight only in the gathering dusk," Innis identified cases where the flowering of culture has come before a final collapse.[5] Similarly, the use of digital technologies by Indigenous groups is also facilitating a realignment of authority as local communities are able to represent their own languages and cultures in sophisticated ways.

This study is based on our experiences participating in the Tagish FirstVoices project and earlier language documentation initiatives. Between 1992 and 1994 one of us (Moore) conducted language documentation projects for the Yukon Native Language Centre and the Carcross Tagish First Nation. At that time Tagish was already the most endangered Yukon Native language, with only three fluent speakers. In 2004 we assisted the First People's Cultural Foundation with the development of a keyboard and unicode font for Yukon languages, met with them to discuss their projects, and transcribed sound files as the Tagish FirstVoices team recorded them.

In December 2004 one of us (Moore) traveled to the Yukon to work with the Tagish project and participated in the project members' discussions. Three main elders were working with the project: Lucy Wren, who may be the only fluent speaker of Tagish, her son Norman James, and Clara Schinkel. Other local elders also provided project oversight or contributed in other ways. Two young adults from the community, Jason Greenaway and Sophia Smith, recorded materials and uploaded them to the Internet. As a linguist working with the project, it was possible for one of us (Moore) to record the discussions of the participants and later interview them in a context of shared trust based on common goals. One of us (Hennessy) conducted an analysis of the FirstVoices projects and reviewed the transcripts of interviews. Our description of this project reflects an outside academic perspective that is informed by the views of community members.

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

The Tagish website constitutes a nexus of repatriation, and the process of reasserting local control inevitably creates opportunities for conceptual-

izing ideologies and redefining relations with other institutions. Making reference to identity formation, anthropologist Jennifer Kramer has characterized repatriation as "the desire to obtain the right to self-define who one is as an individual and as a First Nation."[6] As the Tagish First-Voices project members assert authority over the representation of their language and culture, they simultaneously define themselves in the way they formulate their language ideologies.

The subject of language ideologies has been a focus of several recent studies and is especially appropriate for the analysis of the Tagish project.[7] The principles that the project members articulate can be considered ideologies in the sense that they provide a coherent agenda for changing the existing social order to achieve language revitalization. Paul Friedrich provides a particularly useful description of several key meanings of ideology, which reflect popular meanings as well as usage in some significant body of scientific analysis.[8] Two of these meanings are particularly applicable to the Tagish case. According to one, ideology entails "the basic notions or ideas that members of a society hold about a fairly definite, if not bounded, set or area such as honor, matrilineal affiliation, or the division of labor, and the interrelations and implications of such sets of notions."[9] Friedrich says that ideology in this sense concerns the conceptual and intellectual components of culture as opposed to observed or statistically measured practices. When used in this sense, ideology has coherence, an agenda, and a validating, mythic quality, and these features are evident in the Tagish case. While based partly on historical practices, the views of the Tagish team have also evolved in response to recent public discourses about language and culture.

According to Freidrich's second definition, ideology is a system of ideas for "promoting, perpetuating, or changing a social or cultural order; in brief, it is political ideas in action."[10] He says that these sets of ideas arise from the engagement of creative individuals with practical problems and reflect the will of some social group for control or change. This definition is particularly appropriate for the Tagish project because the participants are determined to change the social order that has restricted their ability to maintain their language, and they see themselves turning the tables by reinstating traditional practices. We will use the expression "language ideology" to refer to the basic ideas that the Tagish-Tlingit have about language and the way it is used and represented and

their ideas for changing the social order to institute practices that conform more closely to their values and practices.

Recent studies of language ideology have differed in the extent to which they describe ideological principles as being widely shared within a community or as contested between community members. Some studies have proposed that prominent sites of language use influence everyday language. Paul Kroskrity, for example, finds that among the Arizona Tewa the more explicit rules for language use in *kiva* ritual performance "provide local models for the generation and evaluation of more mundane speech forms and verbal practices."[11]

Charles Briggs has pointed to a fundamental dilemma in Kroskrity's description, which is relevant for the Tagish case as well, suggesting that Kroskrity downplays the extent to which the ideals of *kiva* ceremonial speech are internally and externally contested. Briggs says that since the Tewa language ideology "resists the complex and contested array of ideologies imposed on Arizona Tewa by missionaries, school teachers, [and] bureaucrats, . . . such resistance must be, at least to some extent, complex, dynamic, heterogeneous, and dialogic."[12] In the Tagish case, the contested nature of language ideologies is readily apparent since the participants comment on the repressive practices of the residential schools and the contentious history of Native-white relations in the Yukon.

Kroskrity counters Brigg's criticisms by arguing that models of Tewa *kiva* speech have become "naturalized" for members of the community to such an extent that, although they influence many aspects of everyday language use, they are not part of the members "discursive consciousness."[13] By not examining the ways they are contested, he aligns himself with the Tewa and avoids privileging his own analytical perspective as an outside expert.[14] Kroskrity says, "But while such contestation may underlie the genesis and reproduction of all ideologies, it is important to observe that members do not seem to regard all language ideologies as debatable or equally subject to discussion."[15] He argues for taking cues from community members concerning which aspects of ideology should be analyzed and to what extent conflicting views should be pursued. The views of the Tagish FirstVoices team are respected in this study, but this has not restricted observations concerning the contested nature of language ideologies since such comparisons are articulated by the team members themselves.

The ideologies of the Tagish project members stress local control over the development of language resources by (1) recognizing the elders as cultural and linguistic authorities, (2) training younger community members to document the language, (3) making use of the potlatch and associated traditions as a prestigious model of language use and cultural representation, and (4) making all language resources available to the local community in multiple modalities, free of charge.

In language programs and projects conducted by outside agencies, such as the Yukon Native Language Centre and the Department of Education, non-Native scholars have assumed central roles in both documentation and planning. By implementing their language ideology in the way they conduct the website project, the Tagish team breaks with the established practices of outside agencies. The language materials used by these agencies are often based on generic templates that have a tenuous connection to the local culture. Although these materials have been produced with government funding, community members who want to learn their language have to purchase them from the outside agencies.

THE LANGUAGE AND THE COMMUNITY

The Tagish, whose traditional territory is in southwestern Yukon and northwestern British Columbia, have a dual cultural and linguistic identity based on both Tagish and Tlingit traditions. Tagish is a highly endangered Athabaskan language that is closely related to the neighboring languages Tahltan, Kaska, and Southern Tutchone. Tlingit, which is spoken in coastal southeast Alaska and northern British Columbia as well as southwestern Yukon, is only remotely related to Athabaskan languages.

The Tagish-Tlingit have a unique relation to their language because of historic language shifts, first from Tagish to Tlingit and then from Tlingit to English. In the nineteenth century the Tagish traded extensively with the coastal Tlingit, who dominated trade to the interior. As a result, the Tlingit language gradually replaced Tagish.[16] After 1898 English became the dominant language as thousands of gold miners traveled through Tagish-Tlingit territory to the Klondike gold fields. The shift from Native languages to English was further hastened by the establishment of the first residential mission school in the Yukon in 1911.[17] Many Tagish and Tlingit children attended the Chooutla Anglican residential

FIGURE 2. 1912 Carcross Potlatch Sponsored by Skookum Jim and Others. Used by permission of Royal British Columbia Museum PN9650.

school near Carcross, Yukon, which had become the major population center for the Tagish-Tlingit after the Gold Rush.

As a result of the English-only language policies of the school, many students lost fluency in Tagish and Tlingit, a process that accelerated when school attendance became mandatory after World War II. Because the use of Tagish had already declined as Tlingit became more dominant in the nineteenth century, Tagish is now the most endangered Yukon Native language. Lucy Wren, who may be the only remaining fluent speaker of the language, did not attend residential school and was able to learn Tagish by listening to her parents and other grownups. She said, "My mom, my grandma, my grandpa, all of them spoke Tagish. They talk together you know. But when they talk to us kids, they talk to us in *Łingít* language."[18] Wren herself is fluent in Tlingit as well as Tagish and worked for many years as a Tlingit language instructor in the local school.

The language ideologies of the current generation of Tagish-Tlingit elders were formed in the context of resistance to the values and practices of the teachers and administrators of the residential schools, who believed that Native languages had little value.[19] Norman James says that the abusive practices of the residential schools created a lasting barrier to the revival of the language: "The language is very hard to get back because it was taken away from them. That was abuse; they've been abused, and that abuse has not gone away very easy. It's still hanging on because they never gave them a chance to go ahead . . . they hold them back."[20] The missionaries adopted a harsh authoritarian model that included policies prohibiting the use of Native languages and provisions for severe punishment.[21]

Negative views of Native languages persisted until the 1970s, when racist attitudes that were reflected in the practices of the residential schools began to soften and Native language courses were introduced in Yukon schools. The school programs administered by the Yukon Department of Education focused on basic conversational training. Most non-Native Yukoners opposed more extensive use of Native languages in the schools, however, because they continued to believe that English and French were more valuable than Native languages. English is the main language of instruction in most Yukon schools, and the funding for French instruction is several times the level of Native language funding. French immersion programs and French first language programs were

initiated for students from kindergarten to grade twelve in the territory, but no comparable programs were initiated for Native languages. The Tagish project members contest these negative views by stressing the positive features of Native language and by arguing that language forms an essential link to culture and identity.

In recent years, the Tagish-Tlingit have become more conscious of language issues as a result of regional, national, and international attention to Indigenous rights and endangered languages. Political awareness of language issues has steadily increased as a result of forty years of Yukon land claims negotiations. Furthermore, constitutional provisions for French language rights in Canada have motivated Native politicians to seek similar recognition for Indigenous languages. Programs for teaching Native languages in the public schools and for using them on television and radio have increased public awareness, as have major Yukon-wide language conferences.[22] Native languages can also be heard at prominent events such as the Yukon International Storytelling Festival, and Tagish has received particular attention both because it is highly endangered and because one of the last fluent speakers, Angela Sidney, who is now deceased, was a celebrated storyteller and cultural authority.

The shift to using English and the increasing political awareness of language issues have made people more conscious of the central role of language in culture. Linguistic anthropologist Barbra Meek says that among the neighboring Kaska the language of everyday use for most of the community has shifted to English in the last fifty years.[23] She argues that this has fundamentally changed the status of Native language in the community because "The language that was once the code for everyday communications has now become the language of Elders, a language of authority and prestige (removing it even further from its once everyday status)."[24] Similarly, Robin Ridington describes how the Dane-zaa of British Columbia were anxious to record their songs and stories for future generations when he first visited the community in the 1960s.[25] At that time recording and teaching the language was not a priority. Today, however, the Dane-zaa give equal priority to the documentation of their language along with other sorts of traditions.

As in the Kaska and Dane-zaa cases, the Tagish and Tlingit languages were once an assumed rather than featured aspect of cultural representation. The focus at events such as historic potlatches was on the songs,

speeches, dances, regalia, and ceremonial objects rather than on the everyday uses of language, which were considered unremarkable. The prestige of potlatch discourses has made them influential models for the use of language, much like the Kiva speech among the Tewa as described by Kroskrity. The influence of the discourses associated with potlatches, including oral traditions, is clearest in the website participants' discussions. The language materials on the website itself include both basic words and sentences that have been adapted from outside models, such as the language lessons published by the Yukon Native Language Centre and materials that the Tagish-Tlingit have developed themselves. Their own materials, such as their personal introductions and the "message to the children," conform to their cultural principles. Their wider discussions concerning the scope and goals of the project are more reflective of their language ideology and commonly include discussions of oral traditions, past potlatch performances, or lineage rights. The widespread availability of computers and other forms of digital technology is the most recent factor affecting the use and representation of the Tagish language.

The development of writing systems for Native languages has contributed to the authority of outside institutions, such as the Yukon Native Language Centre. Few community members have become literate in the orthographies used by linguists. The cost advantages of producing written language materials for all Yukon languages and providing instruction for Native language instructors at one central location were also factors in the consolidation of control over language representation by the Native Language Centre. In contrast, the use of new technologies has facilitated community-based projects because multimedia productions can now be achieved by community members. The use of these technologies has also facilitated interactions between community members and specialists, such as linguists and computer programmers. Sound files for transcription can be sent to a linguist as an e-mail attachment, and programmers or font developers can be consulted by e-mail, eliminating the need for these specialists being physically in the community. Developing local expertise in the use of digital technologies has been the key to implementing community control in the Tagish project. The technology lends prestige to the representation of the language and culture, and outside specialists can still be consulted as necessary without diminishing the authority of the local project members.

The main tenants of the language ideologies of the Tagish FirstVoices team became apparent as Native elders and young adults gave detailed descriptions of what the project means to them and how it relates to Tagish-Tlingit history, language, and the land. While the website itself is an important locus for the representation of the Tagish language and Tagish-Tlingit culture, the wider discussions of the participants are even more significant for the articulation of language ideologies. These discussions parallel the metadiscursive import of gossip about curing performances among the Warao, as documented by Briggs.[26] In both cases, the participants articulate basic principles of their approaches and contrast them with the views of others.

The language ideologies of the Tagish FirstVoices team can be conceptualized in terms of three main themes: the holistic nature of language and culture, a preference for traditional modes of social interaction, and the centrality of the elders' knowledge.

First Principle: Holistic Concept of Language

The first principle is that language is inseparably intertwined with identity, culture, traditions, and the land. This can be conceived in more theoretical terms as being based on culturally appropriate "indexicality," which refers to the ways that symbolic aspects of cultural representations are used to index other cultural elements.[27] The potlatch, with its concentrated use of symbols, is a prototypical example of indexicality. Similarly, the Tagish FirstVoices website and its associated discussions reference a range of traditions that are essential for Tagish-Tlingit identity.

The starting point for discussions about the integrated nature of language and culture is often the lineage system. Elder Clara Schinkel stressed the importance of this system for identity: "The language is our identity. It's who we are. If you give up your language, you give up who you are. You know my father was a Tlingit. He was Deisheetaan, and my mother was a Dak̲l'aweidí; she was a Tagish person. I follow in my mother's lineage, and all my children follow in my lineage."[28] The Tagish-Tlingit moiety system divides the society into two sides that are called "Wolf" and "Crow." Lineages, which trace their formation to a specific

historical event and founding members, have rights to crests, resources, personal names, and songs. Language is integrated with this system through oratory, singing, and naming.

Schinkel described the potlatch that was held in Tagish when the long-house was relocated to illustrate the ways personal names, lineages, and the environment are integrated:

> They gave the Da*kl*'weidí special names and only people from their lineage could use those names. There was Keinas.a*x;* that name is from when the ice is melting in the lake and the ice tinkles going through the river like a bell. That's what Keinas.a*x* means and that was later my brother Charlie's name. Another name they gave us was Ada*x*.ayamdagoot, and that later became my sister Shirley's name. Ada*x*.ayamdagoot was also the name of that longhouse, and it means "It Moved with a Purpose." They moved that longhouse because it was going to be washed away, so that was the purpose of moving it.

Tagish and Tlingit personal names define who a person is, and the Tagish elders have made it a priority to document these names and use them on the website.[29]

The elders also conceptualize the way their language links them to their lived experiences on the land. Elder Norman James depicts language as the key to living on the land and to the maintenance of the environment:

> Right now I say the land is like a language and the language is like the land. Everything they done on the land was done by language. It was looked after by the language; the environment was looked after by the language; everything they did was done by language. That's the whole Yukon I'm talking about. Everybody done it the same way; they done it with language.

In their efforts to conceptualize the nature of language, the Tagish team has articulated an inclusive ideology integrating language with identity, cultural traditions, and the land. The members of the team draw a contrast between their holistic ideology and the concepts behind more generic language teaching materials that neglect local cultural features. While the language resources they have produced for the website reflect

their language ideology, they have also included more generic materials from other sources that were readily available.

This holistic concept of language has shaped the content of the website. For example, the website home page features a picture of Carcross, Yukon, the largest Tagish-Tlingit community, nestled between spectacular mountains and lakes. Lucy Wren, the most fluent speaker of Tagish, introduces herself on the website first in English and then in Tagish by reference to her lineage and moiety as well as by her English and Tagish names, "My name is Lucy Wren. My Indian name is Wolf Mother. I am Wolf and I am *Dakl'aweidí. Azhìzhē* Lucy Wren *shuchùzhē. Dene k'èh Agaymā shuchùzhē. Agay isht'ē; Dakl'aweidí isht'ē.*"[30] The website also includes pictures of significant sites in the community and of local residents, including newborn babies. One set of language resources will be available to the general public on the web, while other resources will only be available to community members.

While the Tagish FirstVoices team share a holistic view of language, the language ideologies of other community members are less uniform. At least one elder who attended residential school steadfastly denies that the Tagish language exists, and even Lucy Wren is mildly concerned that some users of the website may confuse Tagish and Tlingit. The team members have developed and discussed their language ideologies together, and it is likely that the views of other community members are more diverse since they have not been part of this process.

Second Principle: Applying Traditional Modes of Social Interaction

Based on the teachings they received and the way they observed things being done in the past, the members of the Tagish FirstVoices team strives to conduct themselves according to traditional modes of social interaction. One of the basic concepts that guides the team is respect, which is grounded in a broader set of principles and traditions dictating proper forms of interaction with kin and with the natural world. The project members emphasize the need to treat people equally and to provide equal access to resources. Other ideals include the desirability of balancing gender roles and an emphasis on assuring the intergenerational transfer of knowledge achieved by placing young people in roles that facilitate their instruction by elders.

While Tagish-Tlingit women, such as Angela Sidney, took a leading role in earlier documentation projects, elder Norman James provides the FirstVoices project with a male perspective.[31] His statements about the relation between the language and the land reflects a male perspective that is based on his experiences as a hunter and big game guide. The Tagish-Tlingit men also articulate a different perspective on language endangerment, one that refuses to acknowledge the possibility that the language will be forever lost. Norman James said, "The language will quit, but the land won't. The land will keep the language there, how they live on the land, the culture, the traditions. Everything our ancestors done, it's still there." Similarly, at a language conference in White-horse, Tagish-Tlingit elder Pete Sidney expressed his irritation at continually hearing people talk about language loss: "Another thing I dislike hearing about is that we lost, we lost our heritage, we lost our language. Let's examine that for a minute. What is language? Where does it come from? . . . language is a gift of the Creator for the purpose of communication and any gift of the Creator you as well as myself know that it can never deteriorate . . . all we have to do is dust it off."[32] Although the dynamics of language shift were such that the last three fluent speakers of the language were women, the contributions of the male members of this project have been a major factor in its success.

In an effort to reach consensus about important issues, the Tagish team members talk among themselves continuously, a process Norman James says reflects cultural ideals for cooperation based on mutual understanding. The emphasis on reaching consensus was also important for potlatches, which were an occasion for bringing forth traditions, together with associated claims to specific rights, so that they could be discussed and evaluated by the community.[33] One of the reasons the Tagish team members value meaningful participation and consensus building is their frustration with the barriers to participation that exist in programs that are not community controlled.

The role of the young adults in recording the language and traditions with the elders makes this project different than earlier documentation projects that were conducted by outside researchers. Norman James sees their roles in this project as a return to the traditional practice of using the young people as messengers to neighboring communities: "Like I said, a long time ago, I think the elders made elders out of the young people by using them for messengers, going from one community to the

other. They sometimes take a week, maybe a month, and they send messages with them to the other community, and then they bring messages back. So this would make me think they were making elders out of the young people." Although messages today are transferred at instantaneous speed over the Internet, the training of young adults in this project parallels traditional forms of instruction.

Third Principle: The Centrality of the Elders' Knowledge

The FirstVoices project repatriates authority over the representation of the language and culture to the Tagish-Tlingit elders, while enhancing their prestige through the use of contemporary technologies. Jason Greenaway described the central role that the elders play in the project: "We go through everything with our elders. We present to our elders, so they guide us. When I have questions, I have to ask because we can't be confused doing this. We need to grasp it right the first time."

In Kaska language projects elders have also assumed a dominant role. Meek claims that "A key element of their current language ideology is the construction of the position of Elders as the distributors of knowledge, now and in the past."[34] She says that this process has been facilitated by recent government policies that provided funding for Native language programming.

The Tagish-Tlingit elders stake out a central role for themselves as they talk about how this project relates Tagish-Tlingit traditions. All the team members talk about the way the elders connect them to their ancestors through their knowledge, a theme Norman James addressed when he said, "The elders can take the young people back forty years, from beyond the day they were born." The elders are especially interested in the Tagish FirstVoices project as a means of relaying their knowledge to future generations. "I'm looking far into the future, to unborn babies born twenty years from now, and how will I have unity with them?" James asked.

The Tagish FirstVoices team of elders and young community members is using this project as an opportunity to conceptualize an Indigenous language ideology to guide locally based language revitalization. They have a unique opportunity to consider their approaches because the Carcross Tagish First Nation has regained control over the representation of their

language and culture to a larger audience through the use of digital technologies. Other Indigenous groups have taken similar approaches by making use of technologies such as video, film, and web-based multimedia to represent themselves to a global audience.[35] Local control facilitates the conceptualization of language ideology because possible topics that were not addressed by outside institutions can become prominent parts of community-developed materials.

The current endangered status of Tagish reflects, in part, the impact of language ideologies that privileged English over Native languages and the implementation of those ideologies in the restrictive policies of the residential schools. There is now greater awareness of Native language issues, and Yukon First Nations continue to press for greater community control over language resources by initiating locally controlled language projects. Despite these trends, outside institutions, such as the Yukon Native Language Centre, remain influential in this field.

The ideologies of the participants in the Tagish project reflect contentious dialogues, both historical and contemporary, between the Tagish-Tlingit and the larger society concerning the value of Native languages and related issues. The team members have jointly conceived a language ideology that will guide them in repatriating their language and traditions, and they hope that the FirstVoices project will serve as a model for other Native groups. Jason Greenaway expressed what local control means for the Tagish team:

> Here is an exciting new way to be able to do this [represent the language], and Yukon and B.C. First Nations can start doing it themselves, and that's the whole point. That's what everyone is talking about, "We need to take our language back. We need to take our language back." Well here's our chance; let's take it back, and then set it free. Do you know what I mean? Just set it free! And it's all about grassroots doing it, and why are people scared [referring to outside agencies]? It makes me wonder.

Native communities are using digital technologies to regain control of their language resources, while conceptualizing Indigenous ideologies to use in restoring these languages. As new technologies contribute to a realignment of control, the Tagish-Tlingit hope that the flight of Minerva's owl anticipates a new dawn for endangered languages.

NOTES

1. The First People's Cultural Foundation is a nonprofit organization that works to raise awareness and funding for Aboriginal language revitalization. Through the FirstVoices project they provide training and support to Indigenous communities archiving their language resources online at www.FirstVoices.com.

2. "Partnership Will Help Languages Survive," *Whitehorse Star,* December 9, 2004.

3. Tagish and Tlingit are the heritage languages of the Carcross Tagish First Nation. The hyphenated designation "Tagish-Tlingit" will be used in this article to indicate the dual linguistic and cultural identity of the Tagish and Tlingit people of the First Nation. In the name of the website, Tagish alone is used because the focus of the website is on the Tagish language. The name of the First Nation, the Carcross Tagish First Nation, refers to Carcross and Tagish, which are the main population centers.

4. Harold Innis, "Minerva's Owl," in *The Basis of Communication* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951), 4.

5. Harold Innis, "Minerva's Owl," 3.

6. Jennifer Kramer, "Figurative Repatriation: First Nations 'Artist Warriors' Recover, Reclaim, and Return Cultural Property through Self-Definition," *Journal of Material Culture* 9, no. 2 (2004): 163.

7. Paul Kroskrity, Bambi Schieffelin, and Kathryn Woolard, *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Polities, and Identities* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2000).

8. Paul Friedrich, "Language, Ideology, and Political Economy," *American Anthropologist* 91, no. 2 (1989): 295–312.

9. Friedrich, "Language, Ideology, and Political Economy," 301.

10. Friedrich, "Language, Ideology, and Political Economy," 301.

11. Paul Kroskrity, "Arizona Tewa Kiva Speech as a Manifestation of a Domi-

nant Language Ideology," *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory,* ed. Bambi Schieffelin, Paul Kroskrity, and Kathryn Woolard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 104.

12. Charles Briggs, "'You're a Liar—You're Just Like a Woman!': Constructing Dominant Ideologies of Language in Warao Men's Gossip," in *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory,* ed. Paul Kroskrity, Bambi Schieffelin, and Kathryn Woolard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 248.

13. Kroskrity, "Arizona Tewa Kiva Speech," 117.

14. Kroskrity, "Arizona Tewa Kiva Speech," 117.

15. Kroskrity, "Arizona Tewa Kiva Speech," 118.

16. Catharine McClellan, "Tagish," in *Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 6, Subarctic,* ed. June Helm (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1981), 481.

17. Ken Coates, *Best Left as Indians: Native-White Relations in the Yukon Territory, 1840–1973* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 147.

18. Lucy Wren, interview by the author, December 17, 2004. *Łingít* is the Tlingit term for the Tlingit language.

19. Coates, *Best Left as Indians,* 227.

20. Norman James, interview by the author, December 16, 2004.

21. Coates, *Best Left as Indians,* 150.

22. The Voices of the Talking Circle conference (Whitehorse 1991), sponsored by the government of Yukon and the Council for Yukon Indians, brought together representatives from each Yukon First Nation to formulate plans for language revitalization.

23. Barbra Meek, "Kaska Language Socialization, Acquisition and Shift" (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2001).

24. Barbra Meek, "Kaska Language Socialization, Acquisition and Shift," 195.

25. Robin Ridington, "Archiving Actualities: Sharing Authority with Dane-Zaa First Nations" *Comma* 1 (2003): 61–68.

26. Charles Briggs, "'You're a Liar—You're Just Like a Woman!'"

27. Michael Silverstein, "Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology," in *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels,* ed. Paul Clyne, William Hanks, and Carol Hofbauer (Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society, 1979), 193–247.

28. Clara Schinkel, interview by the author, December 16, 2004.

29. Angela Sidney and Julie Cruikshank, *Haa Shagóon: Our Family History* (Whitehorse: Yukon Native Languages Project, 1983).

30. The Tagish orthography developed by the Yukon Native Language Centre, and described on their website at http://www.yukoncollege.yk.ca/ynlc/ YNLCinfo/Tagish.html (accessed August 22, 2005), is used in this article. The

Tlingit orthography developed by Gillian Story and Constance Naish is used for Tlingit words as preferred by the Language Advisory Committee of the Carcross Tagish First Nation. This orthography is described on the Sealaska website at http://www.sealaskaheritage.org/programs/ tlingit_alphabet.htm (accessed August 22, 2005).

31. Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990).

32. Government of Yukon, *Voices of the Talking Circle* (Whitehorse, Yukon: Yukon Executive Office, Aboriginal Languages Branch, 1991), 11. Jane Hill examines similar sorts of community responses to scholarly descriptions of language endangerment in "'Expert Rhetorics' in Advocacy for Endangered Languages: Who Is Listening and What Do They Hear?" *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 12, no. 2 (2002): 119–56.

33. Julie Cruikshank, "Pete's Song," in *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 25–44.

34. Meek, "Kaska Language Socialization, Acquisition and Shift," 197.

35. Terence Turner, for example, describes how, as part of efforts to achieve local control and sway public sentiment, the Kayapo made the acquisition of video equipment a top priority in the 1980s. See "Representing, Resisting, Rethinking: Historical Transformations of Kayapo Culture and Anthropological Consciousness," in *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge,* ed. George Stocking (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 285–313.