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Introduction

I press repeat on my iPod as I approach the stoplight, hoping to fit in some more Keiwa practice. It is early morning on a bright March day in 2008, and I am up early, winding through Albuquerque traffic on my way to San Ramón Pueblo. My Keiwa teacher, John (a pseudonym), and I have been preparing materials for the upcoming summer language program, writing and recording texts in this Pueblo language for the ten young-adult students who have signed up. During the long drive to San Ramón, through increasingly rural New Mexico towns, I continue to listen to the dialogues John and I have prepared, trying to understand the pronoun system, which has been eluding me for years.

I greet the few people sitting at the library computers checking their e-mail and make my way to the office that houses the pueblo's language program. John, the program's director, peers out the door into the library and hurriedly ushers me inside. "I want to show you something," he says, moving over to a file cabinet next to the locked storage closet that houses the tribe's archives. Checking again to make sure that I am the only one listening, he pulls out a copy of Elsie Clews Parsons's 1962 book, *Isleta Paintings*. "You won't believe what this lady did," he whispers, showing me the collection of paintings from one of the Rio Grande pueblos that Parsons commissioned while she was conducting ethnographic research in New Mexico in the early twentieth century. Depicting dozens of ceremonial practices inside the

central Pueblo ritual space, the kiva, the paintings also contain written examples of Pueblo languages. John explains that the volume was produced under duress, with Parsons apparently purchasing the paintings from a recent Pueblo parolee who had few resources. As we look through the book, he continues to remark on the inappropriateness of these words and images being published, adding, "The artist's family still catches hell for this." Although it might appear that John himself was making these scenes inappropriately available by choosing to keep a copy of the book and by showing it to a non–community member, John was modeling the importance of indirectness, propriety, and the close management of cultural knowledge, stances that I saw enacted again and again during the ten-year period when the tribe introduced indigenous language literacy and I worked as part of the language program.

Parsons, although she published prolifically, had little to say about what it was like to work with Pueblos, especially regarding attitudes about controlling cultural knowledge. In Desley Deacon's biography, Parsons is quoted in a letter to her son: "High winds, sand laden, are bad for the throat particularly after nights of sleep broken by crying babies and by adults ceremonially wailing for a dead daughter. Besides, I had to play scientific detective unusually vigilantly to get meager facts, so suspicious are the Acomas of any White" (Deacon 1997:178). In *Pueblo Mothers and Children* (1991[1919]), however, Parsons presents a contrasting view to such conservatism, remarking, "The Pueblo Indian is unsurpassable as a pourer of wine into new bottles!" (Deacon 1997:226). Mirroring John's seemingly paradoxical attitudes toward controlling access to cultural information, Parsons presents apparently oppositional descriptions of the Pueblo people she worked with: conservative and uncooperative, but also resourceful and innovative.

Linguists, anthropologists, and other researchers interested in working in the Southwest are no longer warned of the uncomfortable conditions that Parsons described. At present, the majority of the nineteen New Mexican Pueblo communities (and one each in Texas and Arizona) have prosperous casinos and other economic ventures, as well as political, social, and geographic ties to the Hispanic and Anglo populations in Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and other New Mexico towns. Especially at pueblos like San Ramón, which are near large population centers, tribal members often go off-reservation to work, attend meetings, go out to eat, and engage in leisure activities, even at times residing in towns or suburbs near their home pueblos if housing is not available. Similarly, many tribes now employ a large number of nontribal members as part of their gaming and resort operations, potentially blurring the lines between Pueblo and non-Pueblo further and dimming the reputation Parsons advances of Pueblos' "suspicion" of outsiders. At the same time, despite these intersections of indigenous and non-indigenous populations in New Mexico, the pueblos are still perceived as distinct spaces, and prospective researchers are still likely to be cautioned regarding the difficulty of working productively in Pueblo communities. Pueblo people have a reputation for being friendly and welcoming but are also seen as secretive and cautious in ceremonial or research contexts. As I began to conduct

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research in New Mexico during graduate school, colleagues thoughtfully advised me regarding how difficult it would be to look at Pueblo languages. Even today, after more than ten years of participating in several Pueblo language programs, my ability to work in such settings continues to change. This book tells part of that story.

The idea of Pueblos' rigidity and conservatism coexists with Parsons's second remark, which highlights the flexibility and creativity she encountered when studying the intersection of Christianity and Native religions and child socialization throughout the region. The depiction of Pueblo people as innovators who are able to effectively respond to change would seem to contradict their reputation for secrecy, rigidity, and immutability. But current evidence of this proclivity is abundant, from the success of Pueblo gaming operations, to the ability of tribes to respond to and shape state policies, to tribal participation in pan–American Indian events. The decision to write down the San Ramón Keiwa language for the first time is another example of such innovation. At the same time, the potential for indigenous language literacy to compromise Pueblo secrecy presents a real threat to these communities. The focus of my project is to examine the paradox exemplified by John's copy of the Parsons book and by academic and popular depictions of Pueblo communities through the lens of Pueblos' literacy in indigenous languages.

In this book, I trace the short history of tribally directed indigenous language literacy at San Ramón Pueblo, beginning with the creation of a Keiwa orthography in early 2003, through the creation of a Keiwa-English dictionary and other pedagogical materials, up to the ongoing debate regarding writing in the pueblo, the eventual decision to return to oral-only language instruction, and the digital repatriation of language materials. First, I problematize the idea that the decision to produce written materials in this historically oral language is seemingly at odds with the linguistically and culturally "conservative" reputation shared by many tribes in the Southwest (Dozier 1983[1970]; Hinton and Hale 2001; Kroskrity 1993, 1998, 2000; Mithun 2001a) and potentially disrupts the control of both the intra- and intercommunity circulation of cultural knowledge at San Ramón Pueblo. This paradox is evident not only in the way Pueblo cultures are described by non–community members like Parsons but also in the fact that at San Ramón, some community members identify writing Keiwa as a controversial act. Tribal members are at once eager to innovate, producing written materials to aid language learning, yet wary of the possible risks involved with writing Keiwa. Potential hazards include the inappropriate circulation of cultural knowledge, language standardization, and damage to the religious system. It is precisely this tension that John illustrated when taking the book out of its special hiding place to show examples of the Keiwa language that had been inappropriately produced and circulated. Therefore, examining the paradox of San Ramón Keiwa literacy involves questioning the efficacy of such binary distinctions (for example, innovative-conservative and modern-traditional) in Indian Country and elsewhere while describing the implications of this tension for San Ramón people.

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Second, by looking at San Ramón literacy ethnographically, I augment approaches in anthropology that aim to understand writing practices (Ahearn 2001; Bender 2002a, 2002b; Besnier 1995; Collins 1995), adapting these authors' arguments for the presence of numerous, situated, contingent literacies. Unlike Collins (1995), I do not engage in critiquing the "universalist" assumptions regarding the cognitive or psychological consequences of this example of emergent indigenous language literacy. Instead, I concentrate on looking at the role of literacy in the formation of groups and the ways that such groups have been connected to political participation in the social science literature, using the San Ramón case as a counterexample to some of the prototypical cases of textual circulation. At San Ramón Pueblo, literacy is a technology capable not only of spreading information but also of controlling it, in two ways: first, through regulating the circulation of cultural materials and, second, by shaping their formation during processes of editing and negotiation. At San Ramón, writing works both as a fixative for transforming language and culture into heritable objects and as a tool for revising forms of cultural property that can continue to be curated, managed, and perfected, two ways of "fixing the books" for current and future community members. My project also adds to the literature that foregrounds the importance of examining language in material forms and the status of written texts as valued and contested cultural objects (Blommaert 2008; Hull 2003, 2012; Keane 2003, 2007; Silverstein and Urban 1996).

Third, as part of looking at San Ramón literacy, I also look closely at the texts themselves. Throughout this book, I ask how the choices that authors make when crafting indigenous language texts index the larger goals and visions of a community. I describe the formal properties of various types of text, including dictionary example sentences, personal narratives, and pedagogical language dialogues, and the ways these pieces are intertextually linked with other written and oral texts. I show that the apparent contradiction surrounding San Ramón literacy actually reflects the often unexpected uses of texts that occur in contexts of revitalization and emergent literacy (Moore 2006) and the multiple language ideologies that are being indexed and utilized by community members. What are often thought of as "neutral" types of written work—dictionaries, curricula, and pedagogical dialogues—are used to teach community members vital cultural knowledge and ways of speaking, but they include fragments of local information in decontextualized illustrative materials, which in the current political climate at the pueblo is seen as risky. The overarching goal of communicating San Ramón cultural knowledge, rather than simply teaching grammatical structures or phonological rules, is revealed through the elements of established registers and genres in the dictionary example sentences and written dialogues. Current and future audiences are imagined as being able to correctly recontextualize San Ramón speech forms and the values they index.

In addition to looking at indigenous language literacy and the content of San Ramón texts, my ethnolinguistic study of San Ramón Pueblo contributes to theories explaining secrecy in two ways: by broadening understandings of concealment,

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avoidance, and information control among the Rio Grande Pueblos and by contributing to theorizations of secrecy in non-Pueblo contexts. In addition to transmitting salient cultural knowledge and information about the Keiwa language, community members reinforce language ideologies that privilege secrecy and indirectness. Conveying salient cultural information in pedagogical materials depends on triggering specific indexical associations, which are apparent in the creative manipulations of authority, audience, and temporality by Keiwa authors. Such linguistic and stylistic devices are used as resources to index collective local identities, an appropriate indirect stance, and other values. The simultaneous suppression and dissemination of information found in these examples of textual creation and circulation at San Ramón Pueblo mirrors the logic of secrecy itself, which depends on a certain measure of shared knowledge to communicate the significance of limited information. For me to fully understand the importance of the "secret" information contained in the Parsons book, for example, John had to give me access to the forbidden words and images contained in it.

Connected to this focus and my other research questions, I ask how secrecy is related to indigenous language literacy and whether approaches to information control and emergent writing practices mirror aspects of other social phenomena at San Ramón centering on perfectibility. In Pueblo and non-Pueblo contexts, processes of continual refinement, editing, and perfecting highlight the importance of the social work being done, assert the right of authors and participants to control the shape and circulation of cultural forms, and index idealized—in this case, indirect and collective—forms of sociality. Perfectibility thus resembles Pueblo secrecy and other proprietary practices in that it allows for the owners of cultural objects—in this case, written indigenous language texts—to exert greater control over their value and circulation. The dictionary, as an endlessly perfectible work worth painstaking editing and re-editing, accrues value just as the hidden copy of *Isleta Paintings* gains value through limited circulation and careful revelation.

By our considering the San Ramón example and looking at the connections between writing and secrecy, perfectibility, and various other practices, a critique of the formation of publics arises. What I show in this analysis is that theorists of the public sphere miss a large part of what literacy is all about: the ability to revise. Scholars, including Jürgen Habermas (1989), Michael Warner (1995, 2002a, 2002b), and Benedict Anderson (1991), have described the technology of literacy as one capable of disseminating information, contributing to the formation of publics and counterpublics, and creating particular forms of liberal democracy and conceptions of nationhood and community. By studying the proprietary practices in Pueblo writing, I show that literacy also has the potential to regulate and control the circulation of cultural knowledge and, in turn, both reflects and reinforces local models of interaction and personhood that privilege indirectness. I look at the public-private distinction in order to argue that the consequences of literacy do not always derive from the unbridled circulation of texts. As the example of Parsons's book illustrates, the lives of texts and the consequences for their authors also hinge on limiting viewership.

Community Background

As readers familiar with the Rio Grande valley or Native North American tribes have likely surmised, "San Ramón" is a pseudonym I created for the community that is the focus of this book. San Ramón is the Catholic patron saint of secrecy. Because many of the Rio Grande pueblos are named for their patron saints, this choice seemed to be in keeping with those naming practices. Linguists will notice that I also created a pseudonym for the language, a portmanteau of some indigenous Pueblo languages in the region: Keres, Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa. Additionally, I use aliases for all community residents and have given them no surnames, and I have obscured facts that point too directly to the specific location of the pueblo or the identities of the individuals who participated in this research. Although the widespread availability of electronic information and the limited number of Rio Grande pueblos mean that these efforts to disguise both people and place could be circumvented, I made this choice (independently and without the insistence of my Pueblo colleagues) in order to reflect the importance that is placed on the careful circulation of cultural knowledge and the centrality of inference and avoidance in this community. Similarly, I have omitted tokens of the Keiwa language in this book or in any other of my publicly available materials, a decision made in collaboration with tribal members. This signals a methodological departure from many works in linguistics and linguistic anthropology, and I hope that this decision makes a methodological contribution to these fields since I analyze the data in translation. In combination, these aesthetic, methodological, and ethical choices help to illustrate aspects of San Ramón language ideologies, writing practices, and emphasis on avoidance, issues I will discuss at length.

San Ramón Pueblo is located in central New Mexico, on the east side of the Rio Grande valley. Consisting of approximately 25,000 acres, San Ramón is one of the nineteen federally recognized tribes in New Mexico,[1] often referred to collectively as the "Rio Grande Pueblos" due to shared aspects of history, religion, culture, and—with the exception of Zuni Pueblo—proximity to the major water source in the region. A twentieth pueblo, Ysleta del Sur, is located in El Paso, Texas. The Hopi reservation, located within the Navajo reservation in northeastern Arizona, contains within it a Tewa-speaking pueblo, and both have many cultural and social connections with the other pueblos. The tribal website lists San Ramón's population as approximately five hundred people. Some tribal members live off-reservation in Santa Fe, Albuquerque, or their suburbs, and still others reside in other parts of New Mexico or out of state. In addition, there are nontribal members living at San Ramón Pueblo, resulting from intermarriage, disenrollment, and a long-standing tradition of adopting children from other Native American communities in New Mexico.

Community members at San Ramón divide the pueblo geographically into two parts: the "old village" and, by process of elimination, everything else. At the center is the old village, consisting of the plaza, which is a ceremonial and community space, and the oldest homes, which are closest to the plaza. Aside from an occasional, temporary jacal (thatched hut) made of vigas (wooden beams or logs) used for

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ceremonial purposes, the plaza contains no structures, serving as a site for religious functions that can attract hundreds of dancers, drummers, singers, and spectators. During the day, kids play in front of relatives' houses, and people cross the plaza on foot to run errands or visit neighbors. The homes that surround the rectangular space are made of adobe, and most are a single level. These residences are in high demand. What they lack in square footage is made up for by the status that comes from living in centrally located buildings that serve as multifamily feasting places during community and religious observances, close to the plaza and other ceremonial sites. Currently, the tribe is rebuilding all the original houses surrounding the plaza, in some cases, razing structures and erecting entirely new homes. The large, adobe community center is also located in the old village and is used for daily senior lunches and for special events, such as wedding receptions and baptism celebrations. The tribal offices and the meeting room for the tribal council are housed in this same complex, which includes the offices of many nontribal employees, such as the administrative staff and the census director, who maintains the membership rolls.

Just outside the plaza area are additional houses, some built in the 1950s and 1960s as part of a Housing and Urban Development program. Many HUD houses and historic buildings have hive-shaped, adobe *hornos* (ovens) in their yards, for baking bread and pies for feasts and weddings. The "old day school" building now houses the tribal library and computer lab and is adjacent to the Head Start building, the gym, and the community health clinic. The new church, financed by gaming revenues, sits above the center of town; a view of San Ramón Mountain is framed by its large windows. There are three other main residential areas in the pueblo, two of which contain houses built in the 1980s, and there is one street of single-family homes that were recently completed. Tribal programs helped members to purchase these homes, which quickly filled, and plans for increased construction at the pueblo are under way.

Although more people at San Ramón are purchasing dwellings billed as single-family homes, the reality of household structures is more fluid. Most community members live in multigenerational households with grandparents, grandchildren, or godchildren sharing the space. Also, friends and family members frequently stop by to have meals or talk, and young children often sleep over at one another's homes, especially if they live in Albuquerque or Santa Fe and are visiting the pueblo. The houses of particular families, as well as the institutional spaces of the library, the gym, and the community center, are the places at the pueblo that people frequently pass through or where they gather to visit. Jewelry and food vendors from neighboring pueblos and the Navajo reservation, also, stop at these locations to sell their products and to catch up with people they know at San Ramón.

As at the other Rio Grande pueblos, the economy at San Ramón was, until recently, based on agriculture, hunting, cattle management, and day labor. Mirroring the experiences of numerous other North American tribes, the decision to focus on gaming for economic development has brought a rapid increase in salary and

standard of living for community members in the twenty-first century. In 2001, San Ramón completed construction on a new casino to replace the existing bingo hall. Like the previous building, the new casino is located along a major highway near Santa Fe, the state's most popular tourist destination. It is one of the largest casinos in the Southwest, employing more than two thousand people. Tribal members are now guaranteed employment, and many people work at all levels of the operation and at tribal offices and other economic ventures supported by gaming money.

Expenditures from gaming revenues have built a new church and athletic center and financed other construction projects, provided private school, collegiate, and continuing education tuition for all children and adults at the pueblo, and established an after-school tutoring program. The tribe is in the process of designing a new cultural center and swimming pool, as well as remodeling the existing athletic facilities. Like many other tribes that have been successful in the gaming industry, San Ramón Pueblo has been diversifying its economic development projects, such as investing in sustainable land management projects and Native American art and opening a luxury resort, concert hall, and golf course adjacent to the casino. The pueblo has also used its funds for political contributions and charitable giving, including a donation of $1 million to Hurricane Katrina relief in September 2005.

Cultural anthropologist Jessica Cattelino's (2008) analysis of the effects of Seminole gaming on indigenous communities in South Florida shows that Native-owned casinos often accomplish a range of social functions, an observation that holds true in the San Ramón example. Many San Ramón couples now choose to hold their wedding receptions at the casino resort, and the large ballrooms are also the sites of birthday parties and other special events. The banquet facilities can accommodate large numbers of guests, an important feature since it is customary at San Ramón Pueblo to invite the entire community along with friends from Hispanic, Anglo, and other Indian communities. Tribal members regularly visit with friends and family members they encounter when having lunch at the buffet or listening to the casino house band during happy hour. Although gathering places in the village, such as the library, the gym, and the senior center, remain the principal locations for San Ramón social life, the casino is a shared space for tribal members, friends from Albuquerque and Santa Fe, and casino patrons.

The San Ramón casino also serves as a showplace for cultural and historical objects associated with the community and with Pueblo traditions more generally. Large color photographs of past and present tribal councilmen greet patrons as they enter the main rotunda at the casino. Framed black-and-white pictures of community members and photographs of the pueblo from the turn of the twentieth century adorn the grand main gaming space, which houses the slot machines and table games, and the walls of the buffet restaurant. Each time I visit the casino with tribal members, they pause to discuss the old photographs, trying to determine the identity of everyone in the pictures, recounting old stories, and remembering buildings that no longer exist.

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The accomplishments and traditions of other pueblos are also on display at San Ramón casino. Successful Pueblo artists from other parts of New Mexico have works prominently exhibited throughout the complex, including sculptures, black-and-white pottery, and inlaid silver and stone jewelry. Many of these Pueblo people are celebrated participants in the Santa Fe Indian Market, an annual international art fair that is one of the most influential institutions worldwide for the sale and evaluation of indigenous art.[2] Simultaneously, the dominant artistic and architectural motifs in the casino's design index a regional style that many scholars have identified as part of the Southwest's emergence as a tourist destination (Mullin 2001; Wilson 1997).

One aspect of life at San Ramón Pueblo that has changed dramatically as a result of gaming revenues is education. Approximately one-half of the children at San Ramón Pueblo attend public schools five miles away in the county seat of Coronado, a school district that also serves four other neighboring pueblos and the primarily Hispanic community where it is located. The remaining children attend private, parochial, or federal Indian schools in Albuquerque or Santa Fe, including a charter school whose mission is to serve Native students in the region. The tribe has instituted a policy requiring that all enrolled tribal members receive high school diplomas in order to maintain their health benefits and receive other economic incentives. GED certification classes and college courses sponsored by the University of New Mexico are regularly offered in Coronado, and San Ramón's Head Start teachers and other staff are given time off for continuing education. Presently, most adults at San Ramón Pueblo earn associate's degrees or higher, mostly at New Mexico institutions. Many high schoolers study filmmaking at the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, responding to the growth of the film and television industries in the state. Although tribal members talk about the pressure to stay close to home in order to help with family and community responsibilities, an increasing number of young adults from San Ramón Pueblo are attending four-year institutions out of state, traveling back during the summer and school breaks to participate in ceremonial feasts and dances.

It is outside the focus of this book (and would be highly inappropriate) to describe the religious and ceremonial practices at San Ramón Pueblo, but some basic information regarding the intertwining of the political and religious systems is necessary in order to contextualize beliefs regarding secrecy and cultural knowledge and to understand the current political climate at the pueblo.[3] The political/religious posts of governor, lieutenant governor, war chief, and lieutenant war chief are filled by appointment yearly, although in the twenty-first century, the same cabinet members have held these positions for several consecutive years. All governors and lieutenant governors become tribal council members for life. The lieutenant governor serves as the tribal judge in tribal court, and the war chief and the lieutenant war chief oversee the religious activities at the pueblo. Some pueblos have switched to a constitutional model with elected tribal officials, but San Ramón continues to use an appointment system. Similarly, many pueblos allow women to serve on tribal councils, but San

Ramón's council remains an all-male body. Tribal officials also take part in state and national political activities, as exemplified by a former San Ramón governor's speech at a Democratic National Convention and community participation in a joint House and Senate hearing on language revitalization in Native North American communities. The chairperson for the group charged with getting out the New Mexico Native American vote for Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign was a San Ramón tribal member, reflecting the widespread community support for Democratic Party politics at the national and state levels.

When asked about religious affiliation, people at San Ramón typically respond "Indian Catholic" or "Catholic, but I also practice the traditional faith." Describing the role played by the Catholic priest at the pueblo, a member of the education staff remarked, "The priest also does his thing for all in the white man's way," indicating that Catholic practices coexist with Pueblo religion but take somewhat of a backseat to the "Indian religion." Some community members participate in religious observances at other pueblos, because of their family connections or knowledge of a specific dance or ritual. Many elders were also active in the movement to canonize Kateri Tekakwitha, a seventeenth-century Anishinaabe/Haudenosaunee woman who many at the pueblo and elsewhere describe as "the first Native American saint."[4] Even though Kateri was successfully canonized in 2012 and many community members made the trip to Rome for the canonization, the annual conferences where members of Kateri prayer circles would meet and petition the Vatican continue. Many Pueblo ceremonial dances and feasts are open to friends and to members of the public, but details regarding religious practice are kept secret. For the purposes of this book, two dimensions of San Ramón's religious practice should be stressed: the interrelated nature of religion and politics at the pueblo and the belief that the careful treatment of secret knowledge (including the ability to speak the Keiwa language) ensures the health of the religious/political system.

Although active in international Catholic organizations and national political parties, when San Ramón people talk politics and religion, the focus is usually local. Decisions made by tribal leaders control almost all aspects of life in the community. Land and housing can be granted or taken away on an individual or familial basis; tribal and ceremonial jobs are assigned or revoked. Most significant, decisions about tribal membership are made by the tribal council, specifically, by a few individuals who control the bulk of the political and religious power at the pueblo. Predictably, different factions support or challenge specific actions of the political and religious leaders, as well as the system of governance more generally and the ways that religious doctrine is interpreted by the current leadership. Community members also compare their political and religious climate with those of other pueblos, discussing how other tribes govern and allocate resources and offering opinions on the merit of various approaches.

The issue of membership has become an increasingly prominent concern at San Ramón Pueblo. Tribal membership, like indigenous language literacy, has numerous

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and sometimes competing definitions in Pueblo contexts, and it is currently the most fraught political and social issue at San Ramón. When policies change, the membership shifts, and the threat of further shifts is always present. Community members worry about getting their children and grandchildren "on the rolls," they worry about whose tribal affiliation might be threatened, and they talk about what can get someone kicked off the membership list.

Until the start of the twenty-first century, tribal membership was determined by a combination of genealogy, clan affiliation, and participation in cultural activities. In 2000, the tribe announced that it would be switching to a system that utilized "blood quantum"[5] to determine tribal membership, and many community members were disenfranchised as a result. The Census Department at the pueblo created a list of all enrolled members—organized according to the percentage of San Ramón parentage, ranging from "full" to 1/32—which circulated through the tribal offices, seen by employees and curious onlookers. In 2007, women who were married to non–San Ramón community members, as well as the children of such unions, were expunged from the tribal rolls, a decision that radically affected many families' access to health care, housing, and educational benefits. According to critics of the recent tribal administrations, both the assignment of blood quantum percentages and the 2007 ruling have been unevenly enforced, with the prevailing assumption that such measures are being used to disenfranchise critics and to maintain political and religious control. Some opponents of these policies fear the political, economic, and religious consequences of direct protest, but opposition groups have formed in response to these developments. Their efforts have resulted in a degree of success, with some tribal members regaining their previous membership status. Still, the issue remains extremely contentious on all sides. Community members often remark, "We never had these problems before we had money," which echoes critiques of "casino capitalism" that John and Jean Comaroff (2009) identify in other Native North American and global contexts.

Other pueblos are struggling with similar membership controversies, which are a common topic for gossip at San Ramón, with community members reporting on the political developments in neighboring reservations. Santa Clara Pueblo, famous for its role in a groundbreaking Supreme Court case, recently modified its membership policy. The decision in *Santa Clara Pueblo et al. v. Martinez et al.* (1978) had established the right of Native American tribes to make their own decisions regarding membership, similar to other sovereign nations' ability to make decisions regarding citizenship and immigration. The case involved a Santa Clara tribal member whose children had been denied membership because they had a Navajo father. The US Supreme Court ruled that this was not a case of sex discrimination (the offspring of male tribal members maintained their membership status) and that membership decisions were subject to tribes' sovereign right to constitute their communities.[6] The 2012 change at Santa Clara, still being adjudicated, calls for the potential reenrollment of children born of nontribal men and Santa Clara mothers. A Santa Clara

member, quoted in an article in the *Santa Fe New Mexican* (2012), described the general attitude toward membership in her community, echoing the feelings at San Ramón. The reporter wrote: "The member, who favored the change but asked not to be identified, called membership 'a touchy issue' at Santa Clara. 'It's affected every family in the community with such animosity and all sorts of issues that come up in any family,' she said. 'So much is at stake that people feel uneasy talking about it.'" Perhaps even surpassing the discussion of religious practice as a touchy issue, tribal membership remains a central political and social issue at San Ramón Pueblo.

Part of the reason for the centrality of membership status is that so much is at stake. Individual and family housing, education, and health care are potentially threatened by disenrollment. For example, children attending private schools in Albuquerque or Santa Fe and those riding tribal buses to get to school are no longer able to take advantage of the tribal money or services that make these things possible. Houses and fields are distributed on an individual basis, with membership status often given as a reason for making housing and land decisions. Virtually all of these tribally funded benefits and programs have expanded during the twenty-first century as casino revenues have increased, making the gulf between enrolled and non-enrolled community members even starker. The effects of disenrollment and uncertain membership status, however, do not end at the tribal level. Many federal programs, including those run by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Indian Health Service, require proof of enrollment in order for people to receive services. Tribal membership is thus a political classification rather than an ethnic designation, since exclusion from such services by virtue of being disenrolled does not violate the equal protection clause of the US Constitution (Justin Richland, personal communication 2013).

Although analytically distinct, the political, economic, and affective consequences of membership often overlap at San Ramón and figure into how families and individuals experience disenrollment. A friend whose children had been removed from the rolls and who feared that other family members might lose their tribal membership status asked, "Would that mean that we're still Indian?" Although there were economic consequences (both of her children were excluded from attending private schools), when talking about it, she stressed the ways that disenrollment intersected with indigenous subjectivities. This is one example of how discourses regarding affluence and membership are intertwined at San Ramón Pueblo. Many community members link discussions of the positively perceived aspects of greater wealth (greater casino revenues lead to greater political power and control over language and cultural policies) with the negative developments (the casino engenders more greed and therefore tighter membership standards).

In addition to being "on the rolls," there are concomitant and competing ways of discussing San Ramón subjectivities. Invoking or using the Keiwa language is certainly one of the most salient (and contentious) dimensions of embodying what is considered to be an authentic San Ramón identity, but looking at how historians,

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anthropologists, and linguists have theorized notions of identity and belonging helps to further explain this issue. In *Real Indians* (2003), the sociologist Eva Marie Garroutte considers four approaches used by Indians and non-Indians to decide who can appropriately claim to be Native American, tracing how assertions of indigeneity have been grounded at various points in US history by using legal means, racial and biological discourses, cultural foundations, and self-identification. This model is useful in outlining many of the ways San Ramón people identify themselves as community members and as indigenous people and how processes of identification are changing.

The legal definition of who is a San Ramón Pueblo member is determined by the tribal council. It is there that decisions affecting membership are discussed and voted on, such as the recent rulings removing certain groups from the rolls. At present, the census director is a non-Native employee whose responsibility is to maintain the current enrollment data as determined by the council and to confirm tribal status when individuals or families require proof of enrollment. As already stated, such legal definitions of San Ramón indigenous identity are potentially impermanent, depending on the decisions made by the tribal council and the patterns of enforcement. While it might seem that being on the rolls is only an economic issue rather than a true reflection of ethnic or cultural identity, for people at San Ramón Pueblo, it is also a powerful symbol of indigeneity and belonging. After having their tribal membership revoked or called into question, many community members, like my friend quoted above, express doubt about "really being Indian" and lament the loss of the economic advantages of being tribal members. More important, they see membership status as a central part of San Ramón identity. At the pueblo, being on the rolls is not a bureaucratic detail, but a powerful symbol of emplacement and authenticity.

Racial and biological definitions of indigeneity also increasingly have entered into discussions about Native identity at the pueblo. Unlike the anthropologist Circe Sturm's (2002, 2011) accounts of comparisons made among Cherokees that describe how physical characteristics are used to talk about indigenous identity, San Ramón community members do not usually discuss ethnic identity in terms of physical traits. At the pueblo, tribal and community members exhibit a wide range of skin tones, eye colors, body types, and other possible variations, but the greater context of New Mexico also contributes to this stance. In the 2010 US Census, 9.4 percent of the state's respondents identified as Native American, and 46.3 percent identified as Hispanic. Given these large Hispanic and Native populations, both as percentages of the total population and in comparison with other states, racial ideologies do not necessarily uphold whiteness as the unmarked racial category in New Mexico. The added complexity of the potential distinctions between Nuevomexicano, Chicano, Mexican, and Hispanic designations (among others), which are central to discussions of race and ethnicity in the region, further disassociates physical type from descriptions of ethnic or racial identities.[7] I have been present during numerous conversations at San Ramón in which certain traits were held up as ideals and others devalued, but it is

not typical to align particular attributes with being Indian (although racial ideologies are often invoked when describing nonregional tribes). However, because blood quantum is being used as part of the tribal council's legal definition of San Ramón identity, "blood" is becoming a more central metaphor. Many people speculate about the "full-blooded" status of individuals, often asserting that this is a status impossible to prove or calling out individuals for claiming certain amounts of San Ramón blood. As Kauanui (2008), Sturm (2002), TallBear (2013), and others point out, linking racial ideologies to national identity can be a dangerous process. Whereas many people are hopeful that future administrations at San Ramón will reverse some of the decisions based on racial and biological definitions, some community members speak privately about the need for "a second Pueblo Revolt"[8] if such trends continue.

One way in which the community has been affected by these changes in the reckoning of indigenous identity is exemplified in Ellie's son, Michael. Ellie, who passed away in 2010, was a founding member of the San Ramón language program and a central contributor to the dictionary project. San Ramón Pueblo has a long history of adopting children from other indigenous communities in New Mexico. All the adoptees are given San Ramón names, have kiva ceremonies, and are raised in the same manner as other children in the village. Differing from this pattern slightly, Ellie and her husband adopted their son while they were stationed abroad fifty years ago. Michael's adoptive family on both sides is from San Ramón, he participates in ceremonial activities, and he is a Keiwa speaker. However, the tribal government made a decision to remove Michael and his children from the membership list because he is "white." Because he and his wife, who is from a neighboring pueblo, are tribal employees, they have been able to keep some benefits, but their children are no longer able to attend private schools at the expense of the tribe or participate in after-school programs. Community members largely reject this focus on race and associated repercussions such as these. However, directly protesting this or other membership decisions is risky, and critics fear that their families could be adversely affected and their own membership status reversed.

Most Pueblos adopt the third framework that Garroutte (2003) outlines for indexing Indian identity: establishing membership through cultural definitions. Often, this is framed in terms of lineage and descent, with speakers saying things like "My mom is from Taos, and my dad is from here" or "My dad was Spanish, but the rest of my family is from San Ramón." Although occasionally utilizing racial ideologies, such discursive moves establish cultural continuity and the place of the individual or family within it by describing a continuous Pueblo family history. In fact, San Ramón residents and members of other Pueblo communities pride themselves on being some of the only Native North American groups who were not forcibly relocated by the US government and who remain on their ancestral lands, making this link between land and culture an additional resource in the construction of indigenous identity.[9] The inverse of this discourse is that there remains tremendous anxiety about their forebears having to flee and then repopulate their pueblos following the

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Spanish reconquest of New Spain in 1692. However, talking about what their ancestors must have struggled with in terms of Spanish retribution during this period and during other eras of colonial and federal rule serves as an additional way for San Ramón people to discursively link themselves with the history of the Rio Grande valley even as they work to save face as part of such interactions.

Another way that San Ramón people commonly utilize cultural foundations to establish Indian identity is their participation in specific practices. If an individual has had a kiva ceremony, was given an "Indian" name, or participates in dances and other ceremonial activities, then he or she is "Indian." This label also extends to members of other Pueblo communities, who share many of the same political and religious practices, and to Navajos, Apaches, and urban Indians from other parts of the country living in Albuquerque and Santa Fe. These pan-Pueblo and pan-indigenous regional identities are manifested in countless ways: dancing at events in other communities, selling traditional clothing to friends and at area feast days, listening to the Shiprock-based hip-hop group Robby Bee and the Boyz from the Rez, or putting a "This Truck Powered by Frybread" bumper sticker on your vehicle, among many other formal and informal practices. As the sociocultural linguists Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall (2004) enumerate in their study of the various "tactics of intersubjectivity" used during processes of identity formation and the semiotic processes such approaches rely on, Pueblos utilize a variety of linguistic and visual resources to distinguish, authenticate, and authorize behaviors, discourses, and symbols associated with and constitutive of the embodiment of a San Ramón identity. Conversely, other processes of identification rely on "acts of alterity" (Hastings and Manning 2004), calling out certain behaviors, styles, or stances as decidedly non-Indian or non-Pueblo, themes I explore in chapter 6.

A central component of daily life at San Ramón Pueblo that also serves as a marker of indigenous identity is the importance placed on controlling access to cultural information. This book focuses on how control is embodied and ratified through linguistic practices, but this central feature of San Ramón life is evident even to the casual observer. At all entrances to the pueblo, signs are posted that state "No photos," "No sketching," and "No cell phones during religious events," along with prohibitions regarding alcohol and firearms. Another example of this emphasis occurs at the pueblo when a member of the community passes away. Tribal members are notified immediately of a death in the community, and the deceased's clan immediately makes preparations. Nontribal employees either are sent home from work to avoid witnessing certain ceremonial events or must remain in their offices and away from the old village. Non-clan affiliates who are tribal members must avoid "seeing anything," which is how one person vaguely described this process of active avoidance. These policies are not explicitly stated but are known to tribal members and eventually intuited by non-Indian employees and friends. Nontribal employees who are perceived as not respecting or understanding these prohibitions do not typically remain in their positions for long. All friends and family members are welcome to

attend the memorial service at the Catholic Church and the wake at the community center, which normally occurs the following month. Although the people at San Ramón are happy to answer questions regarding the proper behavior for outsiders in this situation and others that require the appropriate recognition of distance,[10] local ideals of information control are largely communicated indirectly, which works to reinforce the local models of knowledge transmission. Such avoidance permeates language use and other practices at the pueblo, a central theme of this book.

Garroutte's (2003) fourth category of figuring indigenous identity, self-identification, is largely absent at San Ramón Pueblo. In Sturm's study of Cherokee processes of identification, *Becoming Indian* (2011), she shows how for some individuals, indigeneity is expressed at the individual level, with "racial shifting" becoming more common as people no longer identify as white. Community members at San Ramón, however, openly scoff at such definitions, deriding people who "decide to be Indian" as "wannabes," "not real Indians," or "fake New Agers who hang out in Santa Fe." At the same time, disenrollment practices are forcing community members to discuss indigenous identity at the individual level because families are increasingly made up of not only Pueblos and non-Pueblos but also enrolled, disenrolled, and unenrolled members.

Language Use

In this shifting and politically charged context, the San Ramón language program was created. At San Ramón Pueblo, English had been increasingly replacing Keiwa due to centuries of religious and cultural persecution, the forced assimilation at federal Indian schools, and the prevalence of English-language mass media—patterns of language shift that resemble those found in other indigenous North American communities. For years, tribal members worked to teach Keiwa orally to their families and groups of friends. Now, gaming and resort revenues have enabled the creation of a language director position and increased funding for institutionalized language-learning programs. In 2002, decisions about indigenous language policy began to be made at the tribal level, with the language director responsible for deciding how best to promote the increased use of Keiwa at the pueblo.

Community members refer to Keiwa, the Native language spoken at San Ramón Pueblo, by using the Keiwa words for "Indian speech," "Keiwa," or, most commonly, "Indian." The Keiwa language is spoken at two other pueblos, and a related dialect is spoken at two additional pueblos in the area. At San Ramón, there are approximately thirty fluent speakers of Keiwa, all of whom are over sixty-five years old. This mirrors the patterns of language shift at the other Rio Grande pueblos, whose populations comprise speakers of languages from the Kiowa-Tanoan and Keres families and Zuni, a language isolate. Across New Mexico, English is increasingly replacing Native languages and, to some extent, Spanish as the dominant code at home, work, and school.

Although data that reflect levels of fluency aid in illustrating the general patterns

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of language loss in Pueblo and other indigenous communities, they do not adequately describe language use at San Ramón Pueblo. Information about the number of fluent speakers depends on local political and ceremonial pressures, as well as the immediate context surrounding the inquiry. For example, tribal members who play significant religious or political roles are more likely to be counted as "speakers" than are the community members who use the language for everyday interactions, regardless of actual Keiwa ability or frequency of use. This hints at an ideology shaping ideas about speakerhood at San Ramón Pueblo. Far from a static definition based on an individual's facility for producing or understanding referential regularities in Keiwa, the idealized speaker is a ceremonially knowledgeable male, tasked with using the language for religious purposes.

Despite the sensitivity of the topic, there are situations in which community members openly discuss language shift. I observed a discussion at the San Ramón senior center regarding the importance of the language program, during which the names of individual speakers were listed one by one, called out while the group was finishing lunch. Some members have asked that information on levels of fluency be enhanced, especially in contexts that include community members from other tribes in the region. Finally, many people are able to comprehend but not produce utterances in the language, further complicating the ability to adequately capture levels of fluency. The number of San Ramón Keiwa speakers mentioned above is culled from the enrollment lists, which members of the dictionary committee divided into speakers and nonspeakers, but it should be considered only an approximation.

The limited contexts in which San Ramón Keiwa is spoken at the pueblo also restrict the use and transmission of the language. All tribal business is conducted in English, as are the continuing education and wellness classes for adults. The San Ramón Pueblo Head Start program has a predominantly English curriculum, although the school's directors have started to require employees who speak Keiwa to use the language in the classroom and have hired several teachers from a neighboring pueblo to better meet this requirement. After-school and summer programs are conducted in English, as are the majority of religious services, including Catholic masses and some portions of the ceremonies of the traditional faith. Moreover, the majority of non-institutional, casual interactions in the community take place in English, with only a few speakers supplementing their speech with Spanish greetings and terminology and fewer still employing San Ramón Keiwa greetings and expressions.

Geography has always played a role in patterns of language shift and transmission. The proximity of many Rio Grande pueblos to the colonial capital of Santa Fe during the period of early contact with the Spanish often subjected people to punishment for speaking Native languages (Simmons 1979). For most of the twentieth century, indigenous people in New Mexico were forced to attend Indian boarding schools in Albuquerque and Santa Fe, where students often roomed with children who spoke different languages. The students were brutally punished for speaking their Native language while on school property.[11] Many of the San Ramón Keiwa

speakers I work with say that the decision to speak English with their own children is based on their experiences at Indian school but lament the fact that their children and grandchildren are not speakers of their Native language. During their lifetime, they have been castigated both for speaking Keiwa and for not speaking Keiwa, and many people express confusion and guilt regarding this shift.

Forced assimilation is the most frequent reason for language loss cited by community members at San Ramón. However, geography and size have also hastened the shift to English. The pueblo is close to some of Albuquerque and Santa Fe's fastest growing suburbs and several primarily Spanish-speaking communities. In addition, unlike some Rio Grande pueblos, San Ramón Pueblo cannot support schools, stores, and other institutions. As a result, the community has numerous institutional and economic connections to Albuquerque and Santa Fe, the political, economic, and educational centers of the region. These ties have increased with the surrounding population growth and the greater mobility engendered by economic prosperity at the pueblo.

Paralleling the trajectory of the other Rio Grande pueblos, San Ramón has only recently chosen to participate in language projects that involve nontribal members. This reflects a long-standing reluctance in Pueblo communities to host non-indigenous researchers and anger over the misuse of written materials that have detailed aspects of Pueblo religion and culture (Deacon 1997; Dozier 1951, 1983[1970]; Kroskrity 1993, 1998, 2000, 2012b; Norcini 2007; Spicer 1961). Scholars who have conducted linguistic or anthropological research in New Mexico pueblos have discussed this reluctance to share cultural knowledge or to write indigenous languages. Parsons, for instance, sees the difficulty she had in gaining access to several New Mexico pueblos as simply a methodological hurdle (Deacon 1997). Elizabeth Brandt, an anthropologist who worked at several pueblos under the direction of the linguist George Trager in 1970, links the avoidance of writing and the reluctance to participate in language programs to the religious and ceremonial structure: "I believe it could be demonstrated that secrets would not be given away unless the traditional religious organization had begun to disintegrate. After this process got underway, we would expect that the political system would show serious changes and realignments, and that a village would accept writing and other forms of data storage" (1980:143).

It is interesting to note that writing has been adopted at San Ramón Pueblo during a period characterized by increased political and religious organization, when tribal leaders have gained even more influence over secular and nonsecular aspects of life at the pueblo. Brandt's analysis ignores secrecy's continuous productivity. As I detail in the following chapter, discretionary practices are iterative, with new information to be kept hidden always being put into play, making the full-scale religious disintegration Brandt predicts always out of reach. Despite the persistence and transformation of avoidance practices, there is a growing anxiety regarding indigenous identity and language use, and the decisions to write the language and to partner with outside researchers came at a time of great uncertainty and upheaval. It is in

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this context that I began to work as a documentary linguist, curriculum designer, teacher, and ethnographer at San Ramón Pueblo.

Project History

While visiting family members in New Mexico during summers and holidays over the years, I noticed and eventually began following several stories in the popular press about Pueblo communities. Such articles emphasized the rapid increases in revenues for tribes that had opened casinos. These pieces often expressed concerns about the loss of indigenous culture that are similar to those Cattelino (2008, 2010) describes in her analyses of attitudes toward Indian wealth in South Florida, with indigenous and non-indigenous New Mexicans talking about the corrupting influence of gaming on Native ways of life. At the same time, stories appeared discussing the increased interest in Native language learning among indigenous people, the greater degree of community control over language policy that indigenous people now enjoyed, and the sometimes conflicting views that Pueblo communities had about using writing as part of language revitalization programs both in their communities and in the New Mexico public schools. What both discourses emphasized was that this was a critical time for indigenous communities in New Mexico, a time when "Native culture" was at its strongest and at its most vulnerable. These discourses are embedded in a larger framework of ideas about multiculturalism in New Mexico, including the idea of tripartite cultural harmony that scholars have shown to be a strategic simplification (Guthrie 2010; Mullin 2001; Trujillo 2009; Wilson 1997).

In 2002, I moved to New Mexico with the goal of studying language ideologies in a Pueblo community during this particular historical moment. Melissa Axelrod, a linguist at the University of New Mexico, invited me to meet with tribal employees in the Education Department at San Ramón Pueblo who had recently contacted her about starting a dictionary project. They had obtained from a neighboring pueblo a document written in the late 1970s by missionaries working for the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and wanted to create a version of the lexicon that would reflect the form of the language spoken at San Ramón. Axelrod, graduate student Jordan Lachler, and a group of three Keiwa speakers, John, Ellie, and Betty, had just finished developing a preliminary orthography and generously invited me to join the project. Later that year, I began working as a tutor for the tribe's after-school program, which is housed in the library. In between helping students to design science fair projects and trying in vain to remember algebra, I started to work more closely with John, the language director, and Domingo, another Education Department employee and tribal member, whose offices were nearby. Before long, I was going to San Ramón every weekday, helping to refine the orthography and making headway on the dictionary project.

During the initial meetings, the community members participating in the language program emphasized the importance of making written materials easy to use.

For example, they chose not to represent contrastive tone as part of the orthography for fear that diacritics would intimidate potential language learners. For the same reason, tribal members also made the decision that the first edition of the dictionary would not include "too much grammatical information" as part of the individual entries; later versions could possibly include "some rules" of their language at the end of the document. For each entry in the existing SIL dictionary, committee members began by deciding whether the word was used at San Ramón and, if the word was Spanish, whether it should be included at all. Following this, the group would agree on a spelling for each lexical item and determine whether they liked the extant example sentence. As the project continued, most of the committee's work went into the evaluation and creation of illustrative material, since the majority of the SIL dictionary's example sentences were judged to be inadequate. Most of the SIL sentences were excerpts from a New Testament translation and were judged to be either ungrammatical or culturally irrelevant. "We can do better than that," members of the committee remarked. They then took turns authoring sentences while I served as scribe, and new lexical items and accompanying examples were continually added.

After hours of entering example sentences into the database following the completion of the first draft, I noticed that the majority of the illustrative material was instructive in tone; most of it seemed like parts of a conversation rather than what I thought of as "reference" material (by this I mean atomized, contextually neutral sentences designed for the general reader); and, most important, the example sentences included information that I intuitively felt or was explicitly told was secret—and also culturally important. This apparent paradox was reaffirmed by the way community members discussed the dictionary and other written texts in the language, stressing the importance of controlling access to cultural information but emphasizing that texts created by the language program could "teach people how to be San Ramón." Statements such as this made clear the competing goals reflected in the dictionary example sentences and in more general discussions about language and identity.

With the permission of the language committee, I began to conduct ethnographic research while volunteering as a linguist and curriculum designer at the same time. For a year and a half, beginning in January 2003, I lived in New Mexico and spent my weekdays at the pueblo, working with members of the language program on the dictionary and on the creation of pedagogical materials. From 2004 to 2010, I made regular visits to the pueblo, ranging from one-week stays to accomplish a particular project with the language committee or attend a community event, to longer visits over holidays. For three summers (2007–2009), I helped to design and implement a summer language program for young adults and served as a co-instructor during the eight-week programs. While working in these capacities, I continued to conduct ethnographic and linguistic research. When I was not in New Mexico, I communicated with colleagues at the pueblo by telephone and e-mail, working with Keiwa speakers to add entries to the dictionary database, discussing ongoing projects, and chatting about events at the pueblo. During this time, I invested in a telephone

landline that I answered only in Keiwa, which also turned out to be an effective way of avoiding solicitors. Since joining the Anthropology Department at the University of New Mexico in 2010, I have continued to do ethnographic research at San Ramón while also working at two other pueblos as part of their language programs.

As the project developed, I began to devote more time to analyzing particular institutional sites at San Ramón where decisions about language revitalization and the creation of written materials occurred. An example of one such context was the series of dictionary committee meetings to edit the first draft of the lexicon. As mentioned above, a group of fluent Keiwa speakers made decisions about the inclusion or exclusion of particular lexical items, about spelling, and about whether to approve the existing example sentences or create replacements. Observing these sessions (while also working as a scribe) enabled me to ascertain the favored example sentences, the reasons given by community members for the superiority of these, and the variables privileged during processes of reaching consensus among the dictionary authors.

In addition to institutional environments directly related to creating language materials, I continue to have access to numerous other contexts at San Ramón and in the region generally where language use and language policy are explicitly discussed. These include discussions at the senior citizen meal site regarding the language program, meetings with Head Start parents focusing on second language acquisition and preschool language curricula, and monthly meetings of the educational staff, the division at the pueblo responsible for establishing and implementing language policy. Working as a tutor enabled me to get to know many younger community members not directly involved with the language program, as well as their parents and grandparents. These and other instances gave me an understanding of how community members characterize the utility of the dictionary and written materials more broadly, who has access to written materials and how this is negotiated and controlled, and why community members participate in (or avoid) the language program.

The fieldwork I continue to conduct in non-institutional, social contexts also informs this book. Keiwa speakers' and nonspeakers' opinions regarding what the language revitalization program should encompass, how language has changed at the pueblo, and why being able to speak or read Keiwa is important continue to be frequent topics of conversation at parties, weddings, feast days, and other events. Since I started teaching at UNM, I also have discussed language and community events with community members and other Pueblo people who work on campus or go to the university. I am sure that talk about language occurs with more frequency in my interactions as a result of my professional identification as a linguist and my history of work with the tribe. However, my continued ethnographic research has shown that community members perceive this to be a critical time in their community for language preservation, and discussions of language policy and laments about the state of the Keiwa language are common. Additionally, I believe that my status as an outsider, but one who has knowledge of Keiwa and local affairs, has led to frank

discussions about sensitive topics, such as membership, identity, and San Ramón culture. In order to honor the confidence that individuals place in me by sharing such information, I neither quote from such conversations nor include them directly as part of my analysis. Although such talks between friends have contributed to my understanding of both the San Ramón community and Pueblo culture as a whole, I do not consider them part of my research.

Project Methodologies

Conducting ethnographic and linguistic research that has been both lengthy and regular has given me a greater understanding of the Keiwa language and social life at San Ramón and how these things have changed over time. And, it is the key to my ability to work in this community. Such a project would not have been tenable without my spending a great deal of time at the pueblo establishing relationships with the language program staff and other tribal members. Concomitantly, the ability to accurately interpret and write about my findings depends on my understanding and observance of local attitudes regarding appropriateness and propriety, for example, using only English translations of Keiwa texts in this book. In this sense, the methodology both reflects the focus of this project and makes the project possible.

In addition to the ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork I conducted, I analyzed the syntactic and stylistic features of the San Ramón Keiwa dictionary's example sentences and lengthier texts in Keiwa. To better understand grammatical regularities in the language, I consulted the few available resources that describe the grammar of Pueblo languages (for example, Brandt 1970; Harrington 1909, 1910a, 1910b, 1912; Leap 1970a, 1970b; Speirs 1966, 1972; F. Trager 1968; G. Trager 1936, 1942, 1943, 1946, 1948, 1954, 1960, 1961; Watkins and McKenzie 1984). To augment my understanding of the Keiwa language, I also consulted with Logan Sutton, a graduate student in linguistics at the University of New Mexico whose research centers on the grammar and phonology of the Kiowa-Tanoan family, along with Keres, Uto-Aztecan, and Zuni materials held at UNM's library.

For each San Ramón dictionary example sentence, I created an interlinear gloss to compare the Keiwa texts according to various grammatical features. For instance, my analysis of pronoun choice, in chapter 3, relies on my assessment of preferred methods of person marking throughout the document, a task made possible by the initial step of creating glosses. Along with all the approved dictionary example sentences, I explored the structure of sentences that were not selected for inclusion in the final draft, which provided a means of characterizing which criteria were being used when choosing illustrative material and which information was deemed to be too sensitive to risk circulating. Like my treatment of all information at San Ramón Pueblo that is not intended for general circulation, I do not disclose the content of these sentences as part of this book or any other project I am involved with. Instead, I use this approach to enhance my understanding regarding the shifting nature of

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information control and the broadly preferred, grammatical and stylistic features of the example material.

Finally, as part of situating the creation of the San Ramón lexicon in a larger framework, I utilized a comparative approach to studying dictionary design. This involved the investigation of hundreds of lexicons in numerous traditions and resulted in the analysis in chapter 3. Furthermore, I conducted interviews with Steve Kleinedler, a lexicographer who currently works for a mainstream English reference dictionary, the *American Heritage Dictionary*. Utilizing comparative lexicography as a methodology accomplished several tasks. Primarily, it allowed for a systematic understanding of the ways that the San Ramón text differed from other lexicons by comparing its function, design, use of illustrative material, and other factors. Simultaneously, the dictionary's similarity to a few key texts provided me with a better insight into the imagined audiences that are being indexed as part of the creation and circulation of the lexicon. Comparing examples of extant dictionaries also allowed me to ascertain what my colleagues on the San Ramón dictionary committee valued in the project, ranging from aesthetic preferences to the identification with particular values and goals espoused by various lexicographers.

Particular individuals' approaches to language study have played large roles in my methodologies, my questions, and my understanding of language use at San Ramón Pueblo. In particular, John, the former language program director, was responsible for many of the texts I analyze in this book, as well as being my primary Keiwa teacher. Because of his family background and community position, he is highly knowledgeable about ceremonial language and local ideologies involving how and why to control cultural information. His influence guided my research in the direction I eventually took. Although I do not single out agency as a central theme, my book shares a methodological focus with Paul Kroskrity's study of "the types of agency exhibited by an elder and language activist" (2009a:191). Tying together analyses of language structure, individual action, and community transformation, he details the work of a Western Mono speaker and "emphasize[s] an especially robust agency that is something more than merely a 'capacity to act'; it is rather an awareness leading to the transformation of selves and systems" (192). John's work as a language activist and community leader mirrors this case, reflecting the changing ways that the San Ramón community and language are being figured as part of an emergent indigenous language literacy in the twenty-first century.

Plan of the Book

This book roughly follows the chronological development of Keiwa literacy over a ten-year period, 2003–2013. Throughout, I return to my original research focuses: the paradoxical nature of San Ramón literacy; the formal and intertextual dimensions of Keiwa texts; Pueblo and non-Pueblo secrecy; and the relationship between literacy and information control. In chapter 2, I theorize two concepts central to

understanding the decision to write (and eventually to forbid writing) the Keiwa language: literacy and secrecy. I look at the dominant and emergent language ideologies at San Ramón Pueblo and how these beliefs about appropriate language use have been reflected in new practices with texts.

In chapter 3, I focus on lexicography, examining the significance of a dictionary being the first written work in this community and its properties as a text. I summarize a comparison of various dictionaries in order to highlight the ways that the San Ramón lexicon resembles and differs from other works. Following this, I survey the central syntactic and stylistic resources employed by the San Ramón dictionary authors when constructing example sentences. I pay close attention to person-marking strategies and tense/aspect use, highlighting the notions of audience, authority, and temporality in these short texts.

In chapter 4, I look at the ways that Keiwa literacy expanded after the initial dictionary project. I analyze a recorded (and, eventually, written) text that was produced as part of a language curriculum but ultimately had a very different purpose. I use this example to develop my critique of how literacy has been depicted in the West and to formulate an alternative reading of how texts can be used as part of the constitution of private, rather than public, spheres. Additionally, I connect this text to the generic features and content of the dictionary example sentences, showing how the dictionary's illustrative material draws on established San Ramón speech genres and associated goals.

Chapter 5 draws on ethnographic and textual examples from San Ramón to illustrate a new way of characterizing language revitalization projects: as social movements that draw on tropes of nostalgia, hope, and faith to accomplish various types of social work. I draw on works of religion scholars to support my argument regarding the focus on the past in language-learning materials and in discourses about language loss, planning, and revitalization.

In chapter 6, I return to the chronology of San Ramón indigenous language literacy by looking closely at another ostensibly neutral, pedagogical text: a soap opera written by members of the young-adult Keiwa language class. Describing the end of the era of tribally sanctioned, institutionalized Keiwa literacy, I devote the book's conclusion, chapter 7, to detailing the implications of San Ramón writing both for community members and for understandings of secrecy, publics, and circulatory practices, as well as the construction and presentation of anthropological knowledge.

This ethnographic study of emergent literacy provides a more complete picture of Pueblo secrecy and propriety by examining the relationships between prevailing linguistic ideologies, intertextual connections, and the contexts surrounding the production of Keiwa texts. San Ramón Keiwa literacy, rather than representing a break with linguistic ideologies privileging information control, is, as Parsons observed, an example of pouring the same wine into new vessels, of honoring existing local ideologies while utilizing additional, sometimes unexpected, discursive and ideological resources.