UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

BIBLE TRANSLATION AND LANGUAGE RENEWAL: A COLLABORATIVE

APPROACH

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN APPLIED LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGY

By

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Norman, Oklahoma
2016

BIBLE TRANSLATION AND LANGUAGE RENEWAL: A COLLABORATIVE
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DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

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Abstract

Many indigenous languages face attrition globally as the languages of the West continue to grow in influence. As linguists and indigenous speech communities struggle to organize effective language programs, many languages become dormant, as no new speakers learn the language natively. Many communities face this reality as a result of the global and colonial forces of the twentieth century, including the effects of colonial evangelistic Christianity. An evaluation of these historical factors as well as contemporary issues in indigenous religious movements and developments in collaborative research indicates that an opportunity exists, in the translation of Bibles into indigenous languages, for indigenous communities to bring renewal to their languages by collaborating with linguists, anthropologists, and the Christian community. In communities in which indigenous forms of Christianity already exist, a translated Bible can serve as a significant point of access for community members interested in indigenous languages.

Introduction

This paper basically represents an attempt at a convergence between two worlds—not only two worlds in the sense that it, hopefully, integrates contributions from somewhat distinct spheres of academia, but additionally in the somewhat more concrete sense of bringing together separate community interests in a model of collaborative research.

In speech communities around the world, speakers of endangered languages find their indigenous identity at risk as fewer children learn indigenous languages natively. Linguists, linguistic anthropologists, and community activists work passionately to preserve and archive such linguistic data and, more importantly, to institute community programs which allow traditional and indigenous languages to serve significant roles in new social domains. This is the first 'world' addressed heretofore. In the second are found theologians, religious leaders, and lay church members, specifically those from the Christian tradition. From its beginnings, Christianity has stressed the significance of evangelism and proselytism, and for at least several hundred years this has included an emphasis on the translation of Bibles into the native languages of "unreached" people groups. This tradition persists today, and emphasis is placed, to varying degrees, upon the value of indigenous languages and careful translation practices.

The history of relationships between these communities is often complicated and uncomfortable, to say the very least. Interactions with anthropologists have not always been in the best interest of indigenous communities (and it might not be unrealistic to claim that this is true in the majority of cases), and interactions with foreign religious

institutions have nearly always sought to replace religious systems (and often, in turn, social systems and societal institutions) with those preferred by practitioners of European and North American Christianity. These interactions, in general, have refused to recognize the complexity of human culture, viewing these 'other' kinds of people as essentially distinct from the more civilized European. But it is much more than a history of poor relationships that makes this project seem rather unrealistic: the fundamental goals of indigenous community leaders, linguistics, anthropologists, and Christian leaders are quite different, and at times they even seem irreconcilable.

Yet despite such dire circumstances, this paper aims to demonstrate not only that all of these communities can collaborate, but that this can be done in such a manner that recognizes the complex and inherent social value of each community and its members. Basic philosophical tenets of egoism bring the aforementioned discouraging reminder that everyone involved is, ultimately, working for his or her own benefit, but by means of what is an admittedly complex theory of collaborative research, a model of collaboration is proposed which appeals not to altruism, but to the accomplishment of the goals of each group effectively and efficiently.

The paper itself comes in roughly three parts. The first section—chapter one—provides a brief discussion of the history of colonization and its effects upon the relevant communities. This provides a context for discussing the detriments perpetrated and experienced by those involved. The first section of chapter one speaks broadly to the dehumanizing efforts of colonization, speaking somewhat briefly of the relationship between agency and identity in indigenous speech communities. After this, the second section pays special attention to the effects of colonization on indigenous languages,

paying special attention to the transformation and perception of language ideologies. This chapter also argues that changing language ideologies play an integral role in the construction of roles in the academic linguistic process. Finally, it describes the plurality of religious systems which came into contact as the result of colonization, and the ensuing relationships that developed (and continue to develop) between them.

Chapter two begins with a brief, transitional conversation about religious pluralism in the context of collaborative research. This second section attempts to describe the likely goals of members from each relevant community involved, and how the project hopes to help each community meet those goals with minimal compromise. It begins by describing the typical goals of academic linguistics, and how these are, generally speaking, preserved in a collaborative research model. It continues to describe the potential benefits to the anthropological community and continues to emphasize, once again, that the primary goal is to meet the needs of the speech community, and attempts to describe the myriad benefits that this research model potentially provides. This chapter ends with a conversation of the potential benefits to theologians, religious leaders, and religious communities. Here, a distinction is made between the "fundamental" goal of this project, as described at the beginning of chapter two, which sees socioreligion as a domain of language reclamation, and the "additional" benefits, described in this portion of chapter two, to religious community members.

The final section is something of a discussion of "applied theory"—although it is far from ethnographic. Chapter three describes the actual translation process in theoretical terms, addressing a brief history of collaboration between religious communities and academic language researchers as well as the translation philosophies

upon which a collaborative translation approach draws. It ends with a discussion of varieties and philosophies of Bible translation. Chapter four gives an analysis of forms of Hebrew poetry which appear in the Old Testament. This serves as a demonstration of the complexities of translation in a particular genre of Biblical literature, and also includes some conversation about ways that translation of poetry is especially difficult. Chapter five takes a further step in this direction, discussing a number of Pawnee texts whose comparison to biblical literature might contribute to a collaborative project by drawing on stylistic and thematic similarities, while also giving a brief example of a translation of a verse from the book of Psalms.

It is my hope that in presenting this project, I am able to demonstrate the need for a theoretical research model which sees every participant as valuable and which works to accomplish the goals of all who are involved. Collaboration requires creative problem solving and intuitive methods of research, and the proposition that Bible translation can serve as a hub of access for each community involved in a research project serves as an example of this.

Identity and Agency

Identity and Essentialism

Before any discussion of the roles of participants in collaborative research and community work can even begin, some abstraction is necessary in order to discuss the significance of collaboration as a model for research. Language research stands to benefit substantially from a more equitable distribution of academic authority, and collaboration with religious community members and leaders requires special attention, given uneasy histories with evangelistic religious groups and indigenous communities. Before addressing either of these specifically (both are still rather broad topics), a discussion of the more fundamental reasons, both practical and theoretical, that collaboration must be the defining characteristic of academic, community-based research is in order. The context out of which such concerns arise is a complicated history of manipulation by colonial forces among indigenous communities around the world. The detrimental effects of occupying and colonial forces were widespread during the twentieth century. Many of the struggles indigenous communities faced in the wake of colonization are related, but the ongoing effects of language contact and shift are most relevant to the discussion at hand.

In a language contact situation (a situation in which multiple languages are spoken in proximate domains of use), there are most basically two possible results (Thomason 2001:10). Languages can coexist with some degree of relative equality if community members embrace multilingualism. Languages in bilingual and multilingual

societies are typically assigned a function within a society, such that languages serve a purpose within a given domain. In such a diglossic societal structure, two separate languages may be used respectively at home and in business or professional contexts (Fishman 1991:85). It should be recognized that there is a significant risk of social stratification in these situations, such that one language, such as the professional language, becomes a prestige language at the expense of other languages. However, examples abound of communities with healthy diglossia, and discussion of these risks is not directly relevant for the current discussion. Alternatively, languages in contact may experience a variety of situations which may be classified as interference (Crowley & Bowern 2010:266). From these interferences mixed languages, pidgins, and creoles may develop. Of more harm and more serious concern, however, is the risk that speakers of a language choose no longer to speak their native language (2010:289). As the number of domains in which a language is spoken decreases, the likelihood that the language will be transmitted to younger generations of speakers also decreases (Fishman 1991:42). This is language shift, and this is a more accurate depiction of the linguistic reality of many indigenous speech communities.

Historically, the influence of colonially-empowered language speakers upon speakers of indigenous communities has been drastic. Colonialism, especially during the boarding school era, devastated cultural and linguistic identities in indigenous communities across North America. The boarding school was the premier vessel for the provision of education to Native North American communities. The establishment of the boarding school system depended upon an evolutionary perspective which saw culture progressing teleologically. Indian culture was archaic and inefficient, and those

who worked in boarding schools genuinely believed that it was their responsibility to educate these savage peoples so that they could function in what seemed clearly to be a more civilized, Eurocentric culture. Boarding schools and day schools were bastions of civilization for people lacking in civilization (Adams 1995:28).

One of the greatest difficulties facing boarding school educators was the instruction of English to Native students. Creative methods of curriculum development were devised, some of which found success, but in general students learned very slowly. In some ways, this difficulty could be attributed to the structural and formal differences between English and the variety of indigenous languages represented in the boarding school classroom. Few syntactical and morphological similarities were apparent, and sometimes it was difficult to even translate lexical items satisfactorily. This was exacerbated by the fact gap between English language educators and the languages of the students. Few, if any, English language instructors knew anything about the features of the native languages of their students, and even if they had, the variety of languages represented made interpretation a nearly impossible task (Adams 1995:137-9).

Another aspect of this language contact which caused tension was the inherent relationship between language and culture. Language education often required a restructuring of ways of viewing the world as much as it required the acquisition of a new lexicon and grammar. And language was also deeply connected to its uses, so that its social and contextual use affected its acquisition. Native languages were connected both to ways of looking at the world and ways of being in the world (Adams 1995:139). Overcoming these differences—in seeing and being—between English and a student's native language often became an insurmountable task. Recognizing that language was

closely tied to one's traditional ways of living as a part of a whole cultural system, educators did not hesitate to broaden the scope of their project from education and language acquisition to outright cultural indoctrination. For this purpose, only the separation of persons from their culture, even physically, would do. Discussing off-reservation schooling, P. P. Wilcox said, "On the reservation no school can be so conducted as to remove the children from the influence of the idle and vicious who are everywhere present. Only by removing them beyond the reach of this influence can they be benefited by the teaching of the schoolmaster" (1995:36).

Separated now from the environments in which their language and culture thrived, students struggled to maintain their Native identity. Further measures were enacted to ensure that no identity maintenance could occur. Realizing that English proficiency could not be acquired without complete emersion, "no Indian" rules were established in schools. In the best circumstances, students were rewarded for success in the use of their new language, or for going extended periods of time without speaking their native language. In the much more frequent and horrific instances, children were punished for using their native language (1995:140). It is important to keep in mind that throughout all of this, the underlying goal was larger than the development of adept citizens of Western society, proficient in the English language. All of these efforts were part of a systematic deconstruction of Native identity. This meant a sort of negative language planning, wherein colonial leaders intentionally devised systems which would perpetuate certain ideological beliefs about indigenous languages as well as the English language.

Many chose to speak a dominant language due to apparent social realities about the use of this language. Recognizing the potentially limited resources which would be available to them if they continued to only speak their native languages socially or in public or fearing social stigmatization associated with speaking an indigenous language, the colonial language is learned. This perceived stigma is not an unfounded fear. More often than being entirely voluntary, the choice to put distance between oneself and one's native language is the result of discrimination and social pressures against multilingualism (Harrison 2008:8). As language use was discouraged in the midst of global colonialism, communities which had historically taken pride in their native languages around the world ceased transmitting their language to younger generations, and many languages faced numerical stagnation in their speaker base.

The work of many linguists today is part of a long-term response to the reality that the dismal status of the world's indigenous languages is the result of foreign, colonial influence. The role of the typical (perhaps stereotypical) foreign documentary linguist is to travel to a community whose language is at risk and, by transcribing the speech of elders and any other native speakers of the language available, to document the grammatical structures and features of the language and produce a dictionary of the language's vocabulary. Through these documentary efforts, linguists are able to ensure the preservation of linguistic materials, combatting the "erosion of the human knowledge base," as described in *When Languages Die* (Harrison 2008:15).

It may be quite obvious from the rather diagnostic description above, but such a model of linguistic research is problematic for a number of reasons. Language research based upon such an academic model has been fairly criticized for failing to address the

needs of speech community members (Czaykowska-Higgins 2009:20). Many linguists produce materials which could legitimately be of use to community activists for the development of linguistic curricula, but never publish their material in a manner in which it is accessible to the public or provide copies of their final product to the community whose language has been studied. Those most equipped for linguistic research, it would seem, are members of the speech community. The majority of indigenous speech communities, however, do not have trained linguists among their populations who are properly equipped for language preservation and documentation. In response to this reality, linguists have begun to approach their research more collaboratively. Models of linguistic research which empower community members to participate (beyond simply participation as informants, or "data generators," as described in "Collaborative Linguistic Fieldwork") demonstrate equality between community members and foreign, academic linguists (Yamada 2007:258). Some of the most innovatively empowering models of collaborative research, such as Yamada's fieldwork among the Kari'nja community of Suriname, not only involve community involvement in the research process, but effectively train community members to continue to advocate and enact language preservation projects without the need for assistance from foreign academics (2007:263-9).

The problem with non-collaborative research models is more serious than simply not returning linguistic materials to the speech community, although this is perhaps seriously symbolic of the greater misfortune involved. Most basically, the psychological implications of the very presence of a non-native linguist are potentially that dependence on foreign provision still plagues the indigenous speech community.

Shaw writes that "this manifest lack of control can easily engender anger, resentment, volatile feelings of being ripped off because the researcher, like the Colonialists, has taken what they wanted but not lived up to the community's expectations of continuity and reciprocity" (2007:7). Typically, communities whose languages are endangered must still come to grips with the lasting effects of the social stigmatization of their language. Language shift and colonial influences convince many community members that their language is less valuable or functional than dominant languages. These ideologies persist to this day for many (LaFortune 2000:31).

To what extent, then, does the presence of a foreign researcher among a community imply that native speakers are still insufficiently able to defend their own language against the variety of historical and social forces which subordinate it? Ideological values, such as those which convince an individual that his or her language is a thing of shame, are deeply held. Linguists must, in turn, recognize the breadth of the gap that must be bridged here. Those hoping to effect change in language shift necessarily hope to combat years of assumptions about the ignominious nature of an indigenous language in older generations and the impracticality and inefficacy of the language taught to younger generations.

A brief thought experiment (which is certainly a correlate to real events in certain language communities) might help to reveal a subtler, but at least comparably serious, ideological problem which exists for some working in language documentation and preservation. Imagining a very real scenario in which a linguist arrives in a community to document an endangered language, one might envision any number of objections that may be faced. Certainly the aforementioned fear is realistic that a citizen

of a colonial country has returned to "steal" the community's linguistic knowledge, a sort of cherry-on-top of the sundae which is the mass of thefts and appropriations by colonial powers. A linguist may also encounter individuals who are convinced that there is no need to put effort into reversing language shift in the community. Once again, any number of factors could lead to such a seemingly pessimistic attitude toward one's native language. For the present conversation, only one needs to be discussed: as a result of years of indoctrination by colonial influences, an individual has been convinced that the indigenous language is of no value.

Two possible responses to long-held ideological beliefs about one's indigenous language are immediately evident. In response to those who have these beliefs, but are optimistic about the status of their language, the linguist is likely to also be relatively positive. The linguist's training will likely be a very useful tool to the community in reaffirming the value of the indigenous language and in producing materials for language instruction. In response to those who are less optimistic, such as in the example mentioned above, linguists might tend toward persuasion, armed with a lexicon of theoretical reasons an individual should love and respect his or her own indigenous language and culture. This combative stance is, in some way, understandable; linguists often understand that these ideologies are typically held only because of discriminatory practices by foreign powers in the past.

To be clear, the purpose of the following discussion is not to argue whether linguists should or should not try to convince individuals of the values of their indigenous languages, but to demonstrate that the role of the linguist is philosophically complex, and that without such an acknowledgement, even the most collaborative

research will be incomplete in terms of academic equality. While it seems that the efforts of linguists to reverse negative perceptions of indigenous languages work toward equality by beneficially and necessarily educating indigenous community members regarding language and language ideology, the assumption that a linguist can fulfill this sort of educational role betrays an essentialist perspective regarding indigenous communities. This essentialism, in turn, threatens the individual and communal agency that collaborative research models attempt to invigorate.

Essentialist perspectives are heavily attested historically. The primary contributions of both Plato and Aristotle to the philosophical discipline of metaphysics were their respective essentialist interpretive frameworks. These continued to inform and affect philosophical anthropology for centuries, and it was to these essentialist perspectives that early anthropologists in their own discipline responded with theories which espoused notions of cultural relativity and which emphasized the nature of individuals as products of their cultures.

Whenever a linguist combats a negative response to language preservation or revitalization, he or she implies that the cultural values of the precolonial society are to be valued above those currently present. Yet even these precolonial values are constructed from a variety of historical and social events. So does not the linguist hope to point back to some former ideal of the indigenous society? Is not the linguist aiming to reconstruct some sort of essential culture, unadulterated by influence from the rest of the world? Perhaps the linguist hopes to point back to the time when negative colonial influence had not affected the culture of the indigenous community—but what about this moment in time indicates that this is the essence of the indigenous culture to begin

with? Whenever a claim is made that a person holds a particular belief or ideology only because of a particular cause, no real recognition of the myriad factors that inform an individual's perspectives and ideologies is made. To claim that an individual's opposition to reversing language shift is only the result of the brainwashing of colonial influences is to claim that there is some essential part of this individual which is not informed by his or her culture and that can actually be accessed.

A few clear objections should be addressed before discussing the implications of essentialist doctrine upon language agency and empowerment. Initially, this may be an unnecessary problematization. Further, this entire discussion does resemble a "slippery slope" argument if misread. Such a claim might read as follows: If linguists and anthropologists try to remedy the wrongs done during the colonial era, they will have to continue to peel back layers, so to speak, in order to understand the essential culture of a society. The actual claim here is simply that colonial influences, while they were negative and their lasting impact today is unfortunate, are, in reality, a part of a much larger matrix of influences on societies that exist today. Put otherwise, there is no way to actually get at "Culture X *minus* Colonial-Cultural-Influence".

In many ways, however, attempts to reinvent a prior construction of a culture, or perhaps more accurately to reverse the negative past effects of cultural contact, are reminiscent of the lamentations made by Vine Deloria, Jr., while discussing the negative impact of efforts to reconstruct Native American cultures, while Native communities were trying to adapt to contemporary society. Certainly this is putting it strongly, and neither linguists nor linguistic anthropologists are exactly hoping to reconstruct a culture from a prior time when efforts are made to revitalize a

community's language. But just as many Native communities were less concerned with returning to their cultural "roots," so to speak, there are communities in which linguistic revitalization is less of a priority than finding a way to subsist successfully in a global society. Is it fundamentally immoral for a community to be more than willing to adopt a dominant language under such circumstances? Even if it were, it is unclear why this choice should be left up to linguists—more specifically, why this decision should be made by a foreign individual, representing historically colonial forces. Language agency, then, is taken from the speech community entirely.

Collaborative research models, then, offer an alternative approach to the problem of language agency. These models attempt to recognize both the significance of reserving language agency for speech communities and the potential resources that academics foreign to the community might offer. Academic linguists only serve indigenous speech communities insofar as they are able to offer resources which provide solutions to the social goals of the communities at hand. The obvious dilemma here is that one of the resources, and a key one, which might be offered is education about language shift and renewal. This is problematic because, as this chapter has attempted to demonstrate, this is very politically and ideologically charged. In order to begin working toward a solution to this, an open discourse must begin between speech community members and foreign academic individuals and institutions—but this must center on the goals of the community, rather than those of academic institutions.

Language Ideology and Academic Authority

Language research, as a collaborative process, recognizes the inherent value of all individuals involved, from those traditionally labeled as the researchers to those traditionally labeled participants. Participant observation, as a methodological approach to social research, begins to break down this barrier, but methods which approach collaboration, as discussed here, attempt to disperse authority amongst members equally. When real collaboration begins to define language research, both foreign linguistic agents and speech community members are recognized as fully capable of contributing to the corpus of linguistic data and its particular social applications within the speech community. Collaborative research is not only an essential methodology because of this reflection of a perspective which fundamentally values all who are involved, but because it plays an essential role in both the restoration (or more accurately, decolonization) of language ideology and the establishment of linguistic authority, properly, in active use of the language by members of the speech community.

George Tinker describes the situation at hand succinctly in his book, *American Indian Liberation*: "Colonizers' control of the colonized means that the colonized are forced to accede to the colonizer's language, social structures, economic structures, and political structures" (2008:25). Colonization, as the brief discussion of its historical details in the above section indicated, included the repression of indigenous languages. As Tinker indicates above, this repression encompasses more than the prohibition of speaking a language or the limiting of the available domains for its use. Language is closely related to these other sociocultural realities and systems by which communities function, and although it might seem an exaggeration to describe language as the

foundation upon which these things are built, the disintegration of language necessarily entails fragmentation, at least, of these social institutions.

The best way to understand the interrelationship between language and cultural organization, at least in relationship to language renewal, might be to engage in some 'reverse engineering'. Language attrition has not occurred by chance, but as a key part of a strategic, long-term plan for the subordination of peoples. What can these strategies reveal about the significance of language health with reference to the thriving of cultures, and what can that reveal about the insufficiencies of models of language renewal research?

It was recognized relatively early in the colonial project, broadly speaking, that its success would be heavily dependent upon linguistic imperialism. Unless English (or, as the case may be, French, Portuguese, Dutch, or Spanish), could become relatively standardized, very serious problems, of both the pragmatic and the ideological sort, would emerge. Other essential tasks of the colonial machine required a reliable means of somewhat complex communication. Education, for example, required a much greater variety of linguistic resources than the development of a pidgin might accomplish. More notably, the ideological goals—perhaps best described as psychological and cultural goals—required this. Again, the domain of education is a fitting example.

The context of language shift under colonialism must not be forgotten. In the colonies, colonial leadership stood to gain significantly from the establishment of systems by which indigenous populations could not only be controlled, but manipulated for the benefit of the colonizers. In this model of expansion, language education played a major role in the modernization of indigenous populations, an early step in educating

locals to serve as intermediaries between colonial leaders and the general populations of the colonies (Phillipson 1991:110). In order to streamline this process, strictly monolingual policies were put into effect, such that any benefits from the presence of colonial powers became dependent upon English language proficiency (Misra 1982:150).

Taking only a single example (although probably any of the colonial languages could fit the model as well), English has been described as a capitalist neo-imperial language. In service to the broader mission of imperial capitalism, English was obviously crucial in providing means of coercion in communities seeking the benefits of the infrastructures established by colonizers. Further, as English use surpassed that of native and indigenous languages, an accumulation of linguistic capital took place (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 2010:82). As English gained social influence in a wider array of sociolinguistic domains, English speakers could accumulate social and even political capital through their access to economic, intellectual, and cultural resources.

It is difficult to observe language shift in the colonial context and assert that its occurrence has only been tangential to other colonial policies. Colonial language planning—the strategic deconstruction of language ideologies and attempts to make indigenous languages irrelevant in their former domains of use—result from the essentialist notions by which colonialism has historically operated. This is, of course, true of linguistic imperialism as much as it is true of the broader colonial project. It is at this point that the dehumanizing power of colonial essentialism meets the linguistic aspects of colonial education.

Of course, underlying all of these motivations, as well as the myriad goals of distinct colonial powers, was the assumption that for the attainment of Reason, only English (or another colonial language) would be sufficient (Phillipson 1991:111-3). These indigenous languages were inherently incapable of serving as languages of use in the new and modern world. Here exist two distinct problems for the prospects of language renewal: a set of linguicist assumptions and a set of essentialist assumptions about language.

The linguicism here is hard to miss. English (or French, or another colonial language) is assumed to be better equipped for the roles which citizens of modern society (Euro-American/Western society) must assume. This has often accompanied blatant racism. Education, as mentioned, was seen as a rich domain of language in which English use was to be enforced. Many recognized the value of teaching indigenous languages for a period of time in students' early years, noting that for many students, particularly ethnic minorities who were 'more naturally' suited for physical and manual labor, the intellectual demands of learning English at highly-functioning levels was unnecessary, if not counterproductive (Phillipson 1992:115-9). For the menial worker, any form of communication would do. For those destined for sophistication, however, only English (or French, or another colonial language) was sufficient. Colonial linguicism also entailed a set of assumptions about the proper role of language. The worship of Reason which followed the Enlightenment maintained that language served only referential functions. What would later become standard understandings about the ability of the spoken and written word in linguistic anthropology in the non-referential functions of language were assigned the status of

'magic.' With this came a new variety of inconsistencies in language ideology between the colonizer and the colonized. Incongruities were overlooked between European languages, which were believed (falsely, of course) to only refer and describe, and ideological systems which recognized the performative powers of language (Samuels 2006:540-1). There are numerous problems with this perspective that could be discussed, such as the harmful assumptions of cultural evolution, but these introductory notes are sufficient for the current discussion.

There is also a thread of linguistic essentialism which haunts such conversation. The aforementioned linguicism asserted that indigenous languages had not been sufficiently equipped for the demands of the rapidly changing industrial world. Such a view is almost laughably ignorant about the adaptability of language. A perspective which asserts that an indigenous language's lack of contemporary vocabulary marks its invalidity ignores the entire history of his or her own language, which underwent tremendous changes to meet the demands of changing technologies and social structures. At this point, it might serve well to recall that in this discussion, the topic is not "Language", but individual languages, with unique speech communities, capable of creative problem solving and linguistic adaptation, as has happened worldwide since the beginning of spoken language.

The scope of language research, then, can't only be the reclamation of domains of language use, but must also include the reconstruction of a healthy language ideology. In fact, for any sort of language domain reclamation, language ideologies must be assessed and reinforced. The systematic deconstruction of language ideology was an extended project, spanning several generations, at least, although a scope of

several centuries of colonialism is not at all unrealistic. Language researchers must work to reform these deeply entrenched ideological frameworks.

The word 'reconstruct,' is, however, somewhat troublesome. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, a notion tends to permeate those researching indigenous languages, especially those in severe danger of attrition or dormancy, that the ultimate goal is a sort of retroaction. Just as anthropological perspectives which romanticize the 'exotic' world of the Indian are criticized, often to the detriment of actual Native communities, so this notion must face objection (Deloria 1969). If language research is to be considered any kind of activism on behalf of speech communities, it must work toward the good of the members of the speech community. Speech communities must be allowed to have agency over their own language ideologies.

This is the first step in what Czaykowska-Higgins describes as a process of democratization. The goal of this process, which is essential to any useful notion of collaboration in research, is the dispersion of authority between the active research parties:

> "community knowledge, community ways of knowing, community ways of constructing knowledge, and community ways of disseminating knowledge are highly valued by all parties. Western, Euro-centric, or academic knowledge is thus not privileged to the exclusion of other knowledge" (2009:25).

Under this democratic premise, preference is not given to a knowledge as assembled by the foreign or academic process. Neither is this process assumed as the only or best means of research. To step away from a model of research in which this

knowledge-system is central requires the active participation of community members as academics. Here, "academic" does not mean an individual stepping into the role of leadership in the Western academic research complex. The use of the term "academic" here, rather, highlights the equality of value of all members—foreign and indigenous—in a process of research for the sake of the speech community. Instead of describing the native speaker as an "academic" (thinking of collaboration as a sort of promotion from "informant" to "academic" probably highlights the hegemony of traditional research models more than it helps establish academic democracy), it might be more fitting to redefine the role of the traditional "academic," such that his or her title does not assert authority over linguistic data and sociolinguistic research factors.

So rather than reconstructing language ideologies, new language ideologies are being constructed. After all, today's speech community is not the same as the thriving speech community of so many yesterdays ago, that 'interpretive other' to which anthropologists and linguistic anthropologists often refer. The speech community has changed (not to mention the language), and with it, the social application of language has taken new forms in many communities. Language research must make room for this change. Indeed, language research must not only accommodate for this, but be designed in a manner which expects it. In collaborative linguistic research, researchers are allowing room for new communities and members to develop their own systems of language use, and along with this, to develop unique and healthy ideologies about their language, its use, and its relationship to their culture and the cultures of other communities and societies.

Religious Pluralism, or Not

The development of resources as a collaborative, community effort (both

community-based and community-oriented), then, is an essential tenet of thorough

linguistic work. As an instrument of community progress, it must be, in some way,

widely representative of the speech community. Similarly, as this section (hopefully)

demonstrates, the project as a community religious movement must emphasize

community values and goals. A gloss of the historical relationships between indigenous

communities and European religious movements demonstrates not only the pragmatic

difficulties in this (in particular, overcoming the very well-earned lack of trust), but the

deeper ideological conflicts which have driven these complicated relationships (and

which continue to do so).

Missionary Conquest outlines well the variety of ways in which Christian

missionaries contributed to the oppression of communities in Native North America

which he describes as cultural genocide. At times, Christian participation in cultural

genocide was explicit, while at other times it resulted less consciously from the

systemic powers already in motion (Tinker 1993:5-6). The involvement of missionaries

in what Tinker describes as the religious aspects of cultural genocide is readily

apparent. Missionaries often became involved in the passing and enforcing of laws

which banned native forms of prayer and ceremony. Missionaries, who had significant

political and economic power, taught almost exclusively of the superiority of the

Christian religion. With this message came the notion of the mutual exclusion of Native

religious practice and Euro-American Christian worship. At other times, Christians

were directly involved in military operations focused on the suppression of Native forms of religion, as at Wounded Knee (1993:7).

Often, missionaries participated in political and economic practices which contributed to the genocide of Native cultures even in non-religious domains. Many notable missionaries in North America served in official positions with the United States government, placing them in strategic roles wherein their influence as religious leaders and their goals as government employees were blurred, if not made identical. Often, missionaries received significant funding from governmental agencies through land grants and funding for missionary schools, thus becoming financially wedded to the goals of colonial governmental authorities (Tinker 1993:6). Missionaries from all denominations traveled with the support of political authorities who believed that the goals of missionaries, even those not explicitly participating in the colonial project, would ultimately expedite the processes of cultural genocide.

Missionary involvement in political cultural genocide, especially as employees of colonizing governments, made missionaries accountable for the actions of their associated governmental authorities. These missionaries had responsibilities to represent their governments (and their colonial goals) well, and so the missionary and colonial projects often became so intertwined as to be indistinct (1993:65). Social aspects of cultural genocide were key in the work of many missionaries who failed to recognize their own enculturation, assuming that their Euro-American forms of worship were necessarily linked to the theological and doctrinal facts which they preached as instrumental in the conversion process (1993:76). For many American Christian missionaries, biblical passages were interpreted such that the Christianization of North

America (and its Europeanization, as these processes were inseparable) were not only justified, but a key part of the eschatological motivation for much of the Manifest Destiny spirit (Twiss 2015:87-8). So missionary involvement in the government-sponsored colonial projects, such as the establishment of boarding schools (and all of the tragedy associated with this era) was compatible with the Gospel, despite the philosophy of dehumanization which it necessarily entailed (Tinker 1993:3).

These atrocities reveal a widespread and thorough disregard for the notion of 'human rights' outright. The fact that these were committed not only in the name of colonial and imperial forces, but in the name of the kingdom of God, creates an impenetrable barrier for many communities to all forms of the Christian religion. The simple claim that the actions of some who identify with a particular religion do not represent the whole is not sufficient for most. In fact, this claim, which basically boils down to the statement, "My version of Christianity is correct, and don't blame me for the actions of heretics," tends to sound particularly unapologetic and void of legitimate sympathy. In lieu of compassion, this last-ditch effort to maintain some respect for orthodoxy only exacerbates the conception of the Christian religion which believes it to be a religious system which orients a person toward the afterlife, leaving believers unconcerned with the effects of their decisions and actions.

Unsurprisingly, the disastrous effects of missionary colonialism are myriad. Because the colonial project and the missionary movements originating in Europe and spreading to Africa and North and South America were inseparable, the vestiges of colonial oppression which continued to haunt indigenous communities (and which often continue to devastate communities) have persisted in their association with the spread of

Christianity. Christendom preached a gospel of violence and assimilation, and Christian congregations have struggled to regain the trust of indigenous communities ever since.

This is basically identical to the challenge that many contemporary linguists face when working with speech communities whose languages are endangered. After decades of ideological reinforcement, many of the last speakers of languages have become convinced that there is, essentially, something evil in the nature of their first languages. Given the original deconstruction of language ideology by Western institutions, community members may have difficulty trusting that these contemporary Western researchers have the best interests of indigenous speech community members at heart. If linguistic research is primarily carried out by Western linguists, indigenous language speakers have good reason to question the validity of the motivation behind this work. For this reason, collaboration must include the training of community members as linguists if the community's language agency is to be recognized.

And, often, these suspicions are well-founded. Hindsight is 20/20, so they say, and it is a simple thing to look at the violence of colonial and imperial movements and decry the terrors committed. However, death was not the only result of colonial imposition—not that the genocidal efforts of colonial forces are anything but appalling. The colonial project was inspired by both economic and political motives, and vestiges of such self-interest permeate academic and religious work with indigenous communities in the present tense. Communities welcoming anthropologists, linguists, and religious leaders are still liable to be the victims of manipulation and abuse for the benefit of a foreign individual or institution. For all of these reasons—the historical abuse, and the relatively valid concern that similar manipulation might be occurring in

contemporary research—it is essential that religious authority be given to the indigenous community. Unless communities are given autonomy over their own religious tradition and practice, it is impossible to pretend that some sort of underlying ideologically essentializing motivation is at work. Collaboration is necessary in research among indigenous communities.

So far, little of the discussion has given any clear indication as to how this relates to the overall development of a collaborative model of research. For some, attempts to regain trust have been made complicated by the lack of realization that, often, contemporary forms of Christianity continue to be colonial in nature. The presence of Christian churches in Native communities today, however, seems to indicate that there is at least the possibility that Christianity can exist alongside traditional religious and ritual systems. There are very legitimate reasons to worry that the basic theological and orthopractical tenets of Christianity necessitate the subjugation of cultures and people, but contemporary Native movements toward contextualized Christianity demonstrate otherwise.

To begin to discuss Bible translation as a tool in a larger research model of collaboration by discussing the compatibility of Christian and traditional values seems to beg the question. This is why, thus far, the conversation has focused mostly on the historically complicating factors relating to religious synthesis (Begay & Maryboy 2000:505). Some discussion of competing values and worldview is included below, but it is mostly relegated to the task of chapter two.

In many of the communities dealing with language attrition, there is already some form of establishment of the Christian religion. And as has been mentioned

already, language research is complicated, in part, by the difficulty of the adoption of new domains of language use. Language acquisition is time-intensive, with almost no short term benefit; this is especially true in projects in which the goal is multi-generational, as is the case in research involving many indigenous languages which are approaching dormancy. Because of the significance which religion plays as a social structure, broadly speaking, it seems wise to consider it as an avenue for language renewal. If Christianity is of significance to speech community members, then it seems a natural social domain for language research, even given the complications which such research entails.

The most apparent challenge at the outset of the projection of a model for collaborative research, even as a thought experiment, is the potential for conflict in ideological perspectives regarding the disbursement of religious authority. This section has served primarily to outline some of the difficulties at hand, while alluding to the possibility of recovery under a model of shared religious authority akin to the model of shared linguistic authority discussed previously in this chapter. The discussion of religious authority continues later, particularly in the latter portion of chapter two, wherein both the social benefits of shared religious-research authority and the theological benefits to the religious community (both Native and otherwise) is outlined.

Collaborative Research & Bible Translation

What are We Really Doing Here?

At the outset of this paper, it was emphasized that collaboration between diverse and traditionally distinct communities is quite complicated. Each of the communities described (academic linguists, religious leaders, and speech community members) consists of diverse populations; individuals and communities, in their complexity, work toward goals that are far from identical. Heretofore, the discussion has emphasized the harm done, historically, due to colonial influence, with reference to each community. But for truly collaborative research, as this paper proposes, to be a worthwhile and effective endeavor, more than a recognition of past harms is necessary; the goals of each community involved must be taken into consideration. The following chapter attempts to describe the benefits that various communities participating in collaborative research can hope to attain.

Before discussing the merits of participation in collaborative research particular to anthropologists, linguists, religious adherents, and indigenous populations, a brief note seems fitting regarding the nature of collaboration as discussed throughout this paper on something of a more fundamental level. The unsteady relationships between evangelistic religious communities and indigenous communities has been discussed above, and its details do not need expounding at present. The nature of Christian evangelism and Christianization, even when divorced from its role in the colonial project, has apparently traditionally required several assertions about the priority of the

cultural systems of Euro-American Christians over the cultures and societies of indigenous communities. A message of conversion necessitates some sort of transformation, and the typical conversion narrative of Evangelical Christianity has given preference toward practicing the White man's religion the way the White man does. More basically, the notion that an indigenous culture is incomplete without conversion to this foreign religious system is not particularly reconcilable with the fundamentally relativistic approach of cultural anthropology. This has been addressed by many critics of the work of SIL, who are apt to point out that despite the quality linguistic data produced by the organization, it cannot be considered without also considering the overarching goal of evangelism which is explicit to the functions of the organization (Epps 2009:641).

These issues are discussed in some more depth at the end of chapter two (this conversation is of immense personal interest, but serves as something of an addendum to the basic principles of the collaboration proposed throughout this paper). For now, it should be emphasized that collaborative research models seek to incorporate goals of all who are participating, but give priority to speech community members, whose autonomy and self-authority, and their preservation, are most important. Toward this point, it is crucial to remember that research occurs in a temporal context, as well as a spatial context. An assertion of essentializing research ideologies, as discussed in chapter one, is that there is a 'pure' form of a society which existed before the influence of foreign cultures. This is an appealing thought for the postcolonialist; it seems admirable enough to recognize the great harm done by foreign, colonial forces. Before colonial powers came into contact with indigenous communities, these communities

were not, however, stagnant. They, too, were filled with complex people who shared complex relationships with one another and with members of neighboring communities.

As a matter of fact, it is a step toward pride, rather than humility, for one to assume that the goal of revitalization and language revitalization programs is to return to a 'golden age' of culture, particularly when language research is initiated and led by outsiders to the speech community, as this necessitates a claim that indigenous cultures did not have complex, human interactions before 'we' showed up. What this means is that collaborative revitalization work in indigenous communities today must meet the needs of community members today. Obviously, the merits of connection with traditional cultural forms are myriad, but to ignore the context in which actual individuals and communities exist currently is to assert that these communities only have value insofar as they can travel back in time, pretending to be members of a more interesting society. Put thusly, the essentialism is obvious.

With reference to the relationship between indigenous communities and the church, this means that the role of Christian leaders and community members is not due to the benefits of the Christian message or the significance of any conversion experience, but is due to the presence of Christian influence within indigenous communities which already exists. Put simply, as far as this paper is concerned, translation of Bibles into indigenous languages has nothing to do with the evangelical message of Christianity, or with Christianity at all. Rather, this tool shows promise as a means of claiming a domain of language use which is already significant for speech community members. In communities in which Christianity is already a significant socioreligious system, it seems an obvious prospect for language reclamation, and as far

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as speech community members are interested in projects such as Bible translation into indigenous languages, it is worth exploring.

Benefits to the Linguist

The collaborative research that this paper hopes to model is, conceptually, very broad, but its immediate concern is with linguistic research and language renewal. Naturally, then, it seems fitting to begin discussing the benefits of collaborative research in terms of the benefits to academic linguists and academic linguistics. This may turn out to be the simplest discussion to have, as even the benefits of non-collaborative research are relatively apparent. In collaborative research, however, these are maximized, and it also becomes clear that there is an abundance of additional reason why linguists ought to look to collaborative language research as the standard in academic work. Collaborative research is most definitely advantageous for the sake of the accumulation of higher quality linguistic data for linguistics, sociolinguistics, and discourse analysis, while also offering potential academic benefits for linguists in collaboration with speech communities.

Before discussing collaboration more directly, as is necessitated by the demands of this chapter, a reminder might be in order that although the rhetoric employed here might indicate otherwise, collaboration can take place in a number of forms, and issues of collaboration in research are not necessarily binary: good, "collaborative" research and bad/colonial, "non-collaborative" research. One's approach to research might be

placed on any number of locations along a spectrum from lesser to greater collaborative effort. This is discussed with less nuance throughout this paper for the sake of brevity, but the idea is that research should *tend* toward collaboration insofar as it is an acceptable model for the speech community.

In terms of the production of linguistic data, the most obvious, and perhaps most practical, result of collaborative research is the potential for access to a broader corpus of linguistic knowledge. Collaborative approaches prefer interaction with language speakers, rather than texts, and lend themselves to the participation of more individuals than research in which foreign agents are responsible for the entire process of linguistic analysis and language planning. Collaboration with more native speakers provides access to a wider range of speech forms, and this greater linguistic sample size gives validity to linguistic research findings. Collaboration, then, has the potential to lead to greater accuracy in linguistic analysis, providing a better foundation from which to begin the processes of language planning.

Collaborative research doesn't only require interaction with more speakers of the language, but work alongside these speakers, who are also contributing to the academic process (Czaykowska-Higgins 2009:24). The basic fact of having 'more hands on deck' allows more voices to speak to difficulties in the academic analysis of language. When problems arise, a team of problem-solvers is much more reliable than an individual attempting to provide complete analysis of the entirety of a language's nuances (Epps 2009:645-6).

In the least collaborative traditional models of language research and planning, foreign linguists, rather than members of the speech community, have been responsible

for the majority of the academic labor. These research models tend to emphasize the goals of academic institutions, rather than those of the speech community (Czaykowska-Higgins 2009:20). As such, the minimal amount of interaction with native speakers necessary to draft an accurate sketch of the grammar and vocabulary is usually necessary. Collaboration, however, requires interaction with a much greater variety of speakers, providing a more thorough sketch of the properties of the language.

Ideally, language research is concerned with more than the production of a body of linguistic data in the forms of a grammar and lexicon. In the realm of language renewal, this is most certainly the case. Collaboration in general provides more opportunity for conversation and observation of language in actual practice, potentially giving researchers greater insight into discursive and sociolinguistic factors in a language's pragmatic system. Collaboration between multiple parties with distinct goals—such as the collaboration with which this project is chiefly concerned in socioreligious contexts—increases the researchers' access to this information.

By partnering with those in the speech community and in indigenous religious communities, researchers can interact with multiple forms of speech. The simple notion here is that the greater the number of domains of language studied, the greater the quality of the understanding of the language will be. Varieties of language may vary from one domain to the next, and specialized vocabularies could be overlooked if the scope of language research is narrowed.

These matters have concerned the actual study of language as a part of the academic research process, but there seem to be substantial benefits to researchers in terms of the broader mechanisms of Western academia. Arguments for the collaborative

model tend to give less emphasis toward this aspect of research, as research for the benefit of the Western academy has historically cost a great deal. Deloria warned strongly of the dangers of "knowledge for knowledge's sake" (1969:94). In the collaborative model, however, community interests are made primary, and researchers can still benefit secondarily. Language research which is collaborative, as discussed above, tends to provide a better account of the language in reality. This means that the research will be more reputable by Western academic standards. Collaboration also brings increased reliability of information, by the simple virtue of the increased number of hands on deck. More involvement leads to better problem solving and more double-checking, in essence. More importantly, language research which has been in part accomplished by the community is less suspect of bias toward an individual's particular research interests.

Collaboration, by its very nature, prioritizes healthy relationships between researchers and speech community members. If research is completed successfully, researchers are more likely to be able to maintain these relationships, potentially opening up the door for further collaboration at a later point in time. Along with this, it is important to keep in mind that collaborative approaches, especially those which have most emphasized the involvement of speech community members, provide some degree of linguistic training to community members. This is especially geared toward long-term, sustainable academic work. Not only does this empower native language speakers in gaining autonomy over their own language, it lays the groundwork for continued work in language renewal even in the absence of Western and foreign academic linguists.

If this collaboration occurs within the context of socioreligious communities (or, at least, in cooperation with them), native linguists will have access to yet another domain of language use—and not only this, but a domain of language use which has ritual significance to those associated with it. It might also be added here that even without considering the negative or positive aspects of the presence of Christianity among indigenous speech communities, it serves to benefit the speech community in language documentation, at the very least, to have ties to a global religion which has vested interest in the maintenance of such a project. The presence of Christianity among indigenous speech communities is not likely to fade in the near future, meaning that a connection between this religious context and an endangered language could extend the life of the language by several decades. While this will certainly bring significant conflict, the potential benefits are worth considering, and indigenous communities have demonstrated creativity in contextualization to adapt such resources (Twiss 2015).

Linguists, academic researchers, and academic institutions must consider the broader contexts of their work, considering the benefits of collaborative research in language renewal projects. In doing so, the goals of academia do not have to be neglected, even if they will require some modification. I argue that this is actually better for linguists, academic institutions, and linguistics as an academic discipline. Further, collaboration even with indigenous Christian communities, which might be considered to be somewhat culturally volatile (given sometimes conflicting goals), stands to benefit the work of linguistics among indigenous speech communities.

Benefits to the Anthropologist

Language renewal is a field of academic interest not only to linguists, but to linguistic anthropologists. After all, the conversation surrounding language contact, change, and loss is a conversation about the interactions of language and culture. It considers, in applied terms, their interrelationship. Described in very coarse terms, the anthropologist's interest in language is not in its technical properties so much as in its contextual and social roles and what a society's language reflects about its own social structures and organization. Collaboration in research, it has been demonstrated, is advantageous both in its benefits to the work of individual linguists and its contributions to linguistics as an academic field. Similarly, anthropologists working with indigenous speech communities have good cause to seek out collaborative approaches in their research, as collaborative research, even beyond participant observation, presents the potential for even more robust cultural and linguistic ethnography.

Ethnographic research has traditionally maintained a fairly straightforward structure: a researcher leaves his or her social world in order to research an aspect of another, which is called the "field". "Fieldwork" is research done in the "field," this separate social world (Schensul & LeCompte 2013:23). There are some good reasons to maintain this distinction between the social worlds of the researcher and the researched; most notably, this serves as a philosophical barrier to interpretive bias. By drawing a hard line between the social world of the researcher and what is occurring in the "field," ethnography is more reliably objective (2013:25-6).

In the last few decades, however, significant theoretical advancements have been made with regard to ethnographic methodology. It's become much more apparent

that the Nagelian "view from nowhere" is absent from all forms of ethnographic work. Each researcher interprets his or her research from a particular framework, often with admitted biases and academic, political, or humanitarian agendas. A researcher's own culture colors his or her perception of any culture he or she observes. Schensul's & LeCompte's primer in ethnography states that ethnographic knowledge is ethnographic experience (2013:27). From here, researchers can either pretend that the recognition of bias is sufficient to demonstrate analytical objectivity or situate research within broader global cultural contexts of change and contact. I, of course, argue both that the latter is the best academic practice and that it is foundational in arguing for collaborative approaches to research.

The popularization of participant observation in social research has been instrumental in creating a more intellectually honest environment. In some ways, its application had revealed some of the major flaws in the traditionally hard distinction between the researcher and the researched; the concern of many academics that a researcher might "go native" demonstrates a great deal of latent racism and unspoken notions of cultural superiority (Powdermaker 2012). What would it mean to "go native"? It's certainly not so clear as just "becoming" a member of the "other" society. How many cultural norms must one adopt before being deemed "native" by the Western academy?[1] And what about those who've carried out what has been called "insider" ethnography, in which academic research is done by a member of a community on its

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[1] The obvious response here would be that a researcher is "native" when members of a society accept him or her as such, but I find it hard to believe that this has been the case more than a handful of times in the history of ethnographic research. Further, it's always Western academics who fear that their colleagues might "go native," rather than members of the researched community who are having the discussion of inclusion & exclusion.

own cultural systems? Is this invalid, since they're already "native"? That sounds absurd, but for the notion of "going native" to be a valid concern for some researchers, it must have at least some relevance for all researchers, and this can only be the case for "insiders" if there's an underlying assertion that the Western academy has in some sense "rescued" them from their own culture, or at least created a division such that there can be a "them" and an "us" in the research context. Even if it could be clearly delineated conceptually, what is so dangerous or frightful about "going native"?[2]

The importance of participant observation as a research method is that it helped to dissolve these distinctions in the field. Even if researchers still maintained notions of opposition to the adoption of the culture being studied, participant observation brought people together and fostered empathy. Even if researchers still emphasized their own academic goals, the personability of participant observation made manipulative practices much more difficult to enact. As a method of research, however, it resists collaboration.

Should anthropology and ethnography begin to transition to collaborative models of research? A sampling of the ideological problems foundational to some of the more traditional ethnographic approaches has already been given, but I argue that the potential benefits to the ethnographic process as a result of the widespread use of collaborative research models are more important in arguing for their adoption. Since anthropologists have more openly acknowledged their own interpretive biases, the

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[2] Perhaps this ignores some of the valid concerns that early worries about "going native" had; namely, the concern that one's involvement in the research community's culture might result in disproportionately biased analysis. Perhaps this is a fair concern, but it sounds like a worry that association with non-Western culture might lead to a less-than-objective ethnography, and anthropology should be far past this.

multiplicity of voices influencing ethnographic interpretation has, generally, been praised, rather than condemned. If it is true that no ethnographic data can be completely separate from the interpretive lenses out of which they arise, then the value of ethnographic data comes from the conversant voices of those participating in research. Put differently, a particular ethnography is no longer important because it gives an accurate depiction of a particular cultural system in a vacuum, but because it provides an account of a cultural system in discourse with global forces and as interpreted by a particular researcher coming from a particular tradition.

Collaboration increases the number of voices speaking into research. As discussed previously, this also ensures a sort of increase in "checks and balances," such that an anthropologist is less capable of reporting on a culture in a manner which misrepresents the community studied (Scheper-Hughes 2012). Just as was discussed with reference to the discipline of linguistics, this means several very important things for anthropology. First, it seems as if this provides greater reliability for anthropological research. Secondly, collaboration requires trust in the ability of native participants to contribute thoughtfully. Participation in the anthropological aspects of language research provide opportunities for community members to demonstrate the value of non-Western ways of knowing. This may afford opportunities to contribute to the Western anthropology academy in the future, but at the very least, Western anthropological approaches are made more diverse by their participation with indigenous academic models. So not only does collaboration assume healthy, trustful relationships, it also gives academic voice to native community members.

As anthropologists collaborate with speech community members, specifically in projects which include a Bible translation component, the potential benefits are dependent upon the particularities of the speech community being studied. Anthropologists might be exposed to a more complete picture of the roles of language in religion in a particular society, perhaps including some insight into the presence and use of ritual language in religious contexts. Anthropologists may observe a more thorough interaction of religious systems and traditions synchronically.

The actual process of translation will be rich in anthropologically significant data. How does the indigenous language interact with the Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic of the Bible? What cannot be translated? What aspects of traditional religious systems might be analogous to aspects of Christianity such that they are incorporated into a Bible translation? How does the very notion of a holy text relate to traditional religious systems? Even if an anthropologist remains completely neutral regarding the benefits or detriments of a Bible being translated into an indigenous language, the process of translation itself will undoubtedly give him or her a glimpse into the interactions of many traditions, as well as how their conflicts are negotiated.

The picture of Bible translation as beneficiary to anthropologists in linguistic research given here is certainly a bit naïve. There are many complications (some of which are quite valid and some of which are not worth discussion) that have not been mentioned heretofore. They are addressed in brief in chapter three, but at this point it is sufficient to demonstrate that despite the apparent problems of conflicting interests and sometimes contradictory assumptions about religious systems and their interaction, there is room for collaboration here. And, I argue, collaboration is non-negotiable.

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Benefits to the Speech Community Member

This section of this chapter is not particularly necessary. By that it is not at all meant that the goals of speech community members are irrelevant or that they do not stand to gain from collaborative research. On the contrary, it seems so apparent that collaboration works in the interest of the speech community that it hardly seems worth mentioning. In fact, the rest of this chapter has really been about this very issue. Nonetheless, I argue that speech community members stand to gain even more from these collaborative projects, in ways akin to the benefits mentioned previously in this chapter.

What the speech community stands to gain from collaborative research is, in fact, the most important matter in collaborative research. The idea of collaboration is that all participants approach the table with a sort of humility such that 'everyone gets a piece of the pie'. To butcher an already poor analogy, doesn't the pie belong to the speech community to begin with? Language renewal accomplishes many things, but language renewal, if it is about anything, is about promoting the role of language use among speech community members.

Collaboration is fundamentally for the speech community due to its motivation as a reaction against the essentializing nature of much ethnographic and social research. This chapter has already mentioned that the respective academic disciplines stand to benefit from collaborative research models which primary function for the benefit of indigenous community members. As much as collaboration is beneficial to the longevity of academics, it is beneficial to those speech community members who will

receive training in these important academic fields. Along with this education might come economic benefits and community/political influence.

As the benefits of the collaborative process have been discussed throughout the paper, the more pressing question at hand is that of the benefits, specifically, of Bible translation for the speech community. There are two sets of answers to this question: one for speech community members who are also members of the Christian religious community, and one for those who are not. This section deals with the latter, while the next addresses the former.

To begin with, this project has operated entirely under the assumption that an indigenous language Bible translation is a resource of interest to the particular indigenous speech community. This demand is likely to come from members of the Christian community, but the production of such a document might benefit non-religious (or at least non-Christian) community members as well. The production of such an extended document in an indigenous language will serve, beyond its religious capacities, as a lasting linguistic reservoir. Documentation is not the primary goal of language renewal, and documentation is not the best manner of preserving language systems, but documentation is one of the goals of language renewal, and documentation, even if it is not accomplished most efficiently or ideally, is still documentation.

For advocates of language renewal within a community, a key challenge in motivating community members to learn indigenous languages is the simple difficulty of language acquisition. Learning a language takes time, and people have busy lives. Thus, one of the most effective strategies in language renewal has been to find domains

of language use which can be appropriated as a starting point (Yamada 2007:273). If community members are already attached to a religious tradition such as Christianity, in which a written document is central and in which it is asserted that comprehension of the document is so significant that its readers ideally ought to have access to a translation of it in their own native language, Bible translation seems like a very reasonable point of access for interest in indigenous languages. Granted, the very issue in communities in which language renewal is emphasized is that indigenous languages generally have very few native L-1 speakers. However, even in communities in which indigenous languages are not widely spoken as first languages, there is often great interest in cultural revitalization in general. Thus, Bible translation functions in a broader project of cultural revitalization.

Regardless of affiliation with Christianity in an indigenous community, community members interested in cultural revitalization and language renewal would likely benefit greatly from a partnership with religious and academic institutions who also have interest in language renewal and cultural interaction. This section, again, has overlooked some major complications in this project, such as the highly political (and theologically divisive) nature of Bible translation, but the present emphasis is on collaboration for the production of linguistic material, and such a project would undoubtedly produce material which would benefit those working toward language renewal within a community.

Benefits to the Theologian

This final discussion takes something of a distinct turn from the rest of this paper, and in some ways is added out of personal interest as much as it is added as a part of the larger argument for collaboration in social research, and language research in particular. It first addresses the benefits toward members of the religious community, keeping in line with the previous three sections of this chapter. Beyond this, it attempts to address some of the issues relevant to the religious community that are more theological or esoteric in nature. It includes a discussion of collaboration in translation as well as an address of some anticipated points of opposition. A brief mention is also made of contemporary contextual practices in indigenous Christianity (for this I am greatly indebted to Richard Twiss' *Rescuing the Gospel from the Cowboys*).

Before addressing these issues, let me be transparent about my own relationship to these issues. I do not pretend to have written this paper without bias, although I hope to have minimized the effects of whatever biases I have. As someone who identifies with the Christian religion as well as someone who had even considered a career in Bible translation with SIL, I clearly stand to gain from promoting a notion that a form of Christianity can exist which does not require the subjugation of indigenous cultures. This has not been an issue throughout the paper, as it has operated under the assumption of a community in which the Christian religious presence already exists. While this section's aim is not to convince the reader that the adoption of Christianity is the best option for Native communities, it does, at least, hope to convince the reader that it is not the worst option for communities. Perhaps, even, it can convince that it's not that bad of an option. Nonetheless, I have my own convictions by which I must believe that this is

the case, and while I hope that I have not been misguided in this belief throughout the paper, I feel it necessary to have admitted such a possibility.

For the religious community, collaboration with secular institutions in the production of an indigenous language Bible translation might be quite problematic. This explains the existence of SIL and Wycliffe, and their success as missionary organizations. For Christian communities, the integrity of the Bible is very important. As a holy document—"god-breathed," in fact—accuracy in translation is generally considered to be paramount as the foundation for good, orthodox theology. Accuracy in translation, of course, requires much more than an understanding of the vocabularies of the relevant languages, and many Christians will even admit the importance of understanding the cultural context surrounding the composition of the Bible (although there's certainly no consensus upon what this means).

If Christian communities are primarily concerned with the theological results of an accurate translation, I argue that cooperation with linguists and academic researchers is, still, to their benefit. Just as has been described regarding the production of research materials for linguists and anthropologists, collaboration models provide opportunities for multifaceted discussion. Certainly the goals of academics working in collaboration on a Bible translation are likely to be distinct from those of members of the religious community, but these goals do not preclude the translation's accuracy. It is preposterous to think that a researcher's intent would be to in some way "corrupt" a document that is of socioreligious significance to the community. The collaborative model demands that all participants respect each other's goals, and there is no exception here; even if a researcher has no interest in the evangelistic goals which might be associated with the

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religious community's desire to produce an indigenous language Bible, he or she can still collaborate in the translation project. Evangelism, or whatever religious goals might be contentious, is not well-bounded. The collaborative translation project can be much more clearly delineated, however.

While the notion that collaboration will actually work toward the production of a higher quality product is of considerable note, there are some theological reasons which are more convincing as motivation for religious communities to aim toward collaboration, even with non-religious individuals and institutions. Religious institutions which are proselytistic in nature demand something of an external focus. In collaboration, religious communities can accomplish these religious demands at at least two points. First, collaboration with non-religious individuals and institutions requires interaction with members outside the religious community; it is actually tautologous. If a community's emphasis is on evangelism, then it must include an emphasis on time spent with these individuals. Not only is it an opportunity for evangelism, it seems to be the ideal evangelistic opportunity, as the central task is already religious in nature.

Secondly, and this is at least slightly less esoteric than the previous point, collaboration with the non-religious accents the Christian message of incarnation. The term "incarnation" appears frequently in Christian theology, typically as the adjective used to describe Jesus: Jesus, although ultimately a deity, became a human being ("put on flesh") in order to accomplish his soteriological purpose. Although Christian theology does not tend to hold the mission of the Church to be identical to that of Jesus in his death, the two are related. In his letter to the Philippians, the apostle Paul writes that Christians should "have this mind among yourselves, which is yours in Christ

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Jesus, who, though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, by taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men." This idea—that just as Jesus' task required stepping out of sacred space into the secular realm, the church must also step beyond its walls into "the world"—permeates Christian theology.

In this regard, collaboration also serves to provide Christian institutions with opportunities to establish strong and healthy relationships with community members and organizations. All forms and denominations of Christianity with which I am familiar place an emphasis on this to some degree, even beyond the notion of "incarnation" as described above and the very practical goal of physically being near those whom Christians most hope to reach. By establishing strong relationships within the community regardless of their religious affiliation, churches help to ensure their long-term place in the community. By partnering with those working to revitalize culture and renew indigenous languages, churches can demonstrate their care for people, as well as their resonance with responses to historical traumas (including reparations for the role of Christianity in the colonial project).

Despite the immense influence Twiss' book has had on the composition of this entire paper, it seems only necessary to briefly mention his discussion of contextualization of Christianity which is, for anthropologists, fascinating, and for me, a bright light of hope. This paper has concerned itself with communities with preexistent Christian presence, foregoing the question of the actual merits of Christianity among indigenous communities. Commenting on practices of contextualization at this point is probably more for my own sake than as a contribution to the thesis of this paper, but

hopefully it gives some feet to what has been mostly an idealistic optimism. *Rescuing the Gospel from the Cowboys* outlines the practices of a variety of Native North American Christian communities in which traditional practices have been incorporated into contemporary Christian worship services. His discussion of syncretism might be especially insightful to those who stand in opposition to the sorts of contextualization for which he advocates (Twiss 2015:28). Twiss, like me, is not free from bias, and as a Christian leader and theologian, his advocacy for Christianity and its advancement is apparent. But his discussion of Christianity as a phenomenon within indigenous religious contexts seems to prioritize the maintenance and revitalization of native cultures, to the point that his approach had been dismissed by not a few Evangelical Christian leaders and organizations (2015:17).

Can Christianity serve as something of a bridge between the Western cultural context in which many indigenous communities find themselves and the traditions being lost to time and the colonizers? Twiss seems to indicate not only that this is possible, but that it is actually happening today in many indigenous communities. It's a complicated notion, especially considering the historical relationships between indigenous communities and Western religious leaders (see chapter one). But under indigenous leadership, Christianity is clearly serving as a vessel of cultural healing for many indigenous communities today.

Translation: History and Philosophy

Until now, "translation" has been a bit of a buzzword with little provision of definition or clear delineation of its functions as a sociocultural and sociolinguistic process. There may have been a time in which the idea of translation was taken for granted as a simple process, but the ongoing study of linguistic anthropologists has continually demonstrated the layered complexity it entails. The work of linguistic anthropologists and religious leaders has often been intertwined for a number of historical reasons, but this relationship also stems from a set of shared understandings of the role of language in society such that overlapping philosophies regarding translation can be observed. This chapter aims to provide a brief overview of the development of translation philosophies, with some discussion of their impact on the interrelationship between the distinct fields of study discussed heretofore.

Translation, as a practice, must first be understood as something distinct from lexical replacement. It is the case when considering some very closely related languages that the process of translation might be nearly as simple as this—a word-for-word supplantation of identical terms between two linguistic systems—but even in these seemingly simple acts, linguistic processes are quite layered in meaning. It might serve those discussing these issues better to discuss this greater range of complexities involved in the process of translation. Translation is not, however, a more complex

version of this folk-theorized theory of lexical replacement, but is rather an entirely different sort of project.

It is useful to recognize that something exists which is popularly called "translation" which refers to a more complex process of lexical replacement—a process by which texts are created in a new language and which recognizes the effects of distinct grammatical and linguistic structures on the new form of the text and which may even address the significance of certain cultural factors in the social roles of the text. What is really being addressed here, and what is often (and I argue ought to always be) the concern of linguists, anthropologists, and religious communities, is a richer view of translation which fundamentally admits that translation does not bring a text into existence in a new form within a linguistic framework, but creates an entirely new text in this process. Translation, then, can literally only approximate meaning; it is the creation of a new linguistic artifact with reference to an extant one, not the reinterpretation of a text into a new communicative system.

Becker and others draw a line between two linguistic notions: "language" and "languaging" (Becker 1995:8). Speaking very broadly, the former refers to the system of language, which might be understood as the traditionally structural aspects of language use, whereas the latter refers to discourse more broadly, attempting to understand the inner, cognitive systems by which language becomes significant in social contexts (1995:9). These notions don't just refer to the distinction between the work of linguists (concerned with the study of "language") and linguistic anthropologists (concerned with "languaging") as it might seem from this generalized overview, however, and Becker's discussion of his personal experience in realizing

their distinction might provide a helpful analog; he writes, "When I learn Burmese, what am I learning? Facts? A skill? A new part in a drama? Or beyond that, beyond translation…a new self-consciousness, not replacing the old one but coming more and more to stand separate beside it" (1995:3).

Becker seems to be describing something like the Whorfian notion that the acquisition of proficiency in a new language requires a new, unique way of interpreting the world. He affirms this, but moves beyond it: "languaging," and leaning a new system of "langauging," does not provide a new linguistic system for the interpretation of external stimuli, but provides a new way of shaping the external world based on the available internal, cognitive resources (1995:9-10). In this way, it is language which shapes thought, rather than thought which shapes language. In learning a new language, Becker argues (and I concur) that language acquisition is really the acquisition of a new set of tools by which thought is formed.

With reference to translation, this notion's implications are drastic. If "the meaning of a text…is a set of relations" (1995:25), then translation requires, of course, an understanding of the relations between language, cultural practice, societal worldview, and foreign societal perspectives (including relations between practices of "languaging"), but beyond this an understanding of the relation of a linguistic system and its implications upon the identity of the individual within a sociolinguistic context. Here, Becker demonstrates the influence Kenneth Pike on his academic work in a clear emphasis on the emic linguistic perspective (1995:17; Pike 1972:102). This perspective of "language" and "languaging" leads to an emphasis on what is done to and by the individual speaker when he or she interacts with the world by employing language.

Those intending to create a meaningful translation of a text must, then, recognize that the final product of translation is an entirely new thing—something that stands beside the original text, with its own identity as an artifact. All of the other aspects of thorough, rich translation are secondary to this, as the relationships of the original texts to the prior texts which affect its interpretation and social function can only function properly in the entire interpretive project once the realization has been made that the language (or "languaging") itself is what relates a text to other, prior texts (1995:15). Access to a language's repertoire of prior texts (which range from literal texts to cultural practices which affect language use) are integral to the ability to employ a language well. Thus, translations must have access to this repertoire, or attempt, in some way, to emulate it.

Take, for example, this very paper. It would be very difficult to produce a translation of it that is interesting or of value with only this document, a dictionary of another language, and an understanding of that language's grammar. To translate it with any significance, one also need to take into account the particular context of its composition. To take this into account properly, one would need to understand the context of the author at the time of its composition, which in turn would require some understanding of the larger contexts of the author's life: For what purpose did I write this paper? And out of what context did I develop such that of all the combinations of words, this was the one that I felt compelled to create? To understand such large-scale notions, one would also need to have some understanding of the culture(s) which have been formative in my personal development, which would, of course, require knowledge of the shared repertoire of prior texts—a knowledge of which would also

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probably be essential in the translation of the text itself, as much of this paper draws not only from the specific histories of the communities discussed throughout, but from the broader corpus of shared textual knowledge that can be roughly associated with Standard American English speech and rhetoric.

Beyond this, one might be inclined to point out that the intent of the translator would influence the degree to which these aforementioned factors would be relevant. An overly emic approach might become self-aggrandizing, while an overly etic approach might read entirely foreign notions into the text. Nonetheless, it is unimaginable that some understanding of these factors and their relations with one another would not be instrumental in the creation of a parallel text in a new linguistic form. For this reason, collaboration with the author only seems like a sensible approach in terms of making the best use of available resources.

Similarly, I have argued, translators working in collaboration stand to gain quite considerable benefit in their collaborative efforts. Language competence rests in prior text competence, which is almost unique to those who've learned a language natively and within its social contexts (Becker 1995:86). A translator who refuses to work in collaboration with native speakers risks the creation of a text which lacks substance and any semblance of parallel meaning. This seems to be true on the other end of things: a translator must keep in mind these same factors with regard to the language in which the new text is being created, otherwise it is unlikely to have any effect among the community for which it is intended. This is why I have argued for collaboration between speech communities, linguists, and religious institutions: translators have potential access to participants of the indigenous speech community as well as those in

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the religious community who will utilize the text, and it seems short-sighted to ignore the abundance of cultural resources that these circumstances imply.[3] Collaboration and the translation philosophy discussed above, I argue, require one another. Both are important aims in quality translation work, but even if only one was desired, it seems that accomplishing one without the other would be something of a paradoxical task.

Translation and Beyond

Connecting this conversation about translation philosophy and the particular conversation about Bible translation technique and philosophy is a rich history of conversation about the nature of translation and of the translated form of a text. This discussion—that of the value of textual fidelity and stylistic realism—is outlined well in "Translating Oral Literature in Indigenous Societies," in a summary of the historical outlooks of linguists and anthropologists like Dell Hymes, Edward Sapir, and Franz Boas (O'Neil 2013).

This question is presented as key to discussions of translation (and the possibility of translation at all: should a translation remain truer to the original text's content or stylistic form?) This question haunts translators and linguists, and it most certainly predates the work of any modern linguist (2013:220-3). It is a central question in biblical translation, as is discussed both at the end of this chapter and in examples given in the following chapter. The impact of this question—and its answer—is also

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[3] I admit that this paragraph, in some ways, begs the question of collaboration by assuming that this sort of translation project—a translation of the Bible into an indigenous language—is a good idea. This fact was addressed extensively in chapter two, wherein I discussed the potential benefits of a project of such orientation.

largely dependent upon the genre of the text at hand; those translating poetic texts tend to be much more concerned with the maintenance of stylistic forms in translation, or at least to be more keenly aware of the significance of their alteration (Hymes 2003).

The question indicates something of a false dichotomy, as if the two ideas are in contrast with one another and translators are able to choose one path to follow. The discussion in this chapter has demonstrated that this seems to be a bit of a simplistic view of the situation.[4] It is not so much the case that there are two paths to translation—textual fidelity and stylistic realism, to borrow O'Neill's terms—as it is that there is a vast expanse between an original text and a translated one, and that a great number of decisions—perhaps an infinite number—must be made in order to create a final, finished product; in crossing this expanse, so to speak, a translator must ask him or herself these sorts of questions many times over.

Many linguists, including some anthropologists who have been mentioned previously in this discussion (notably Franz Boas) have sought a solution in the methodological response of collaboration (Wilner 2005). The multiplicity of voices speaking into the creation of a new, translated text also lends a multiplicity of perspectives about the purpose of the original text in its context as well as the new text in its theoretical contexts. This was also the response to this question by Kenneth Pike and, generally speaking, of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in its academic research of indigenous languages.

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[4] Admittedly, the point of such an explanation is not to thoroughly describe the full range of translation philosophies, but to highlight one of the most common problems in the work of translation.

The work of SIL is, obviously, directly relevant to the argument of this paper. SIL requires a belief that academic linguistics and religious translation can work in conjunction for the mutual benefit of one another; Pike was also well-known as an individual who strived ceaselessly to perform these otherwise separate duties exceptionally (Headland 2001:507-8). Pike's work with SIL continually emphasized the dual purposes of Christian evangelism and scientific linguistic research. It would be ill-advised to assume that SIL has always performed either duty perfectly, but Pike and linguists of his caliber, in conjunction with SIL, inarguably contributed greatly to the work of academic linguistics (Olson 2009).

The translation of the Bible is a project which requires the translation of literature from a variety of genres. Whether considering the New Testament epistles and their structures or the forms of Biblical Hebrew poetry, translators must continually address the question of form and content; in short, Pike and Hymes have always been asking the same question. But beyond both form and content (and encompassing them both) is context. These questions must be asked within the paradigm of the study of the context of a text's effective prior texts and the ways in which a language user relates these texts to the text at hand. This requires the fullest possible understanding of both emic and etic perspectives on language use—a goal that can only be approximated, and seemingly best so through collaborative models of language research.

By presenting a case for academic collaboration through Bible translation, it must be clearly stated that this isn't a new or particularly novel concept; SIL's mention here has only been brief, but it has been to pay homage to a rich history which I do not wish to overlook. Methodologically, collaboration seems to be the proper direction for

anthropological and linguistic work, and as these fields develop, new sets of problems and questions will develop. This chapter has attempted to demonstrate that collaboration, including, specifically, collaboration in biblical translation, can serve as an innovative and effective response to the complexities of translation as a practice. Before discussing some specific issues relating to generic Bible translation (chapter four) and some case studies in translating biblical passages (chapter five), this chapter concludes with a discussion of some common themes which pervade conversations regarding Bible translation philosophies.

Bible Translation, in Particular

The multitude of English Bible translations available today is a testament to the very complicated nature of Bible translation. Translation, by its very nature, is a difficult conceptual practice, and the political and religious weight it assumes in Bible translation projects is difficult to overstate. Questions such as "Which translation is best?" or "What translation is most literal?" are not uncommon, and they demonstrate the importance of translation in the religious life. No answer to these questions is provided here, but a brief attempt is made to outline the philosophies which affect translation projects, primarily by means of a discussion of the translation philosophies which might best suit a Bible translation project in the context of collaborative language renewal research.

In previous chapters, the importance of "accuracy" in translation was mentioned. Indeed, "accuracy" might be the central issue in all translation, but it is a term much more easily used than realized. How does one judge a translation's "accuracy"? The features of distinct languages are often so incomparable that it seems an impossible task. This problem is often simplified in conversations about English Bible translations by placing translations upon a spectrum from "word-for-word" translations

to "phrase-to-phrase" translations. Figure 3a, taken from the website of a popular Bible publishing website, also describes some translations as "paraphrases".[5] This is helpful, and serves its purpose well for religious community members without extensive linguistic or theological training, but it is not especially accurate. No translation is word-for-word, of course. Such a notion defies the properties the translation language and the original languages of the Bible, whose morphological and syntactical properties make word-for-word translation impossible. For languages even more genetically removed from Biblical Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic, any hopes of a word-for-word translation are guaranteed to be impossible.

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[5] http://www.nlt.to/translations/index

In many churches, folk attribution of religious authority is directly related to the way one portrays one's preferred translation. Religious practitioners, desiring accuracy in translation, often assume that "word-for-word" translations are the most accurate translations. Many other issues play a role in the translation process, but this single question might determine whether or not a religious community member believes that a leader has divine authority.

This creates a bit of problem (one which is not addressed in this paper), as I argue that translations which might be deemed "paraphrases" or "interpretations" in English are likely to demonstrate the best translation philosophies for collaborative research Bible translations. In figure 3a, the translation abbreviated "MSG" is The Message. As "word-for-word" translations are generally preferred, it might not be surprising that The Message is not well-regarded. It is described commonly as a "paraphrase," and this is mostly accurate. The author, Eugene H. Peterson, is a well-established voice as an author of books in theology and Christian living. The Message is not regarded well as an accurate translation because, rather than being presented as a translated Bible, it tends to be translated as the product of Peterson's experience as a Bible Study leader; while leading a study at his church, those in attendance found his "paraphrasing" of the biblical passages helpful in connecting Biblical passages to their own contexts.

Although not included on the chart in Figure 3a, another noteworthy example of Bible translation worth mentioning is Clarence Jordan's *The Cotton Patch Gospel*. Jordan attempted to highlight particular themes in the New Testament, particularly themes of race relations in the Gospels (the books of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,

which give accounts of the life of Jesus). He accomplished this by giving a very specifically contextualized retelling of these stories, set in the United States South. Specific locations in the New Testament are replaced with Southern U.S. cities, scenes of crucifixion are replaced with scenes of lynching, and conflicts between Jews & Samaritans are replaced by conflicts between White and Black Americans (Jordan 2012:iii).

Are the Cotton Patch Gospels accurate? Many would say that they are not, and most would not even describe them as translations. Clarence Jordan would likely not have referred to them as translations, and Eugene H. Peterson probably does not believe The Message to be a "translation" in any technical sense either. But if the question of accuracy has to do with the messages which are being conveyed in the Bible, then perhaps there's more merit to them. And if translation must take into account the fact that there is no research "from nowhere," then isn't a translation which takes into account both the context of the author(s) and the reader(s) especially valuable? Perhaps Jordan's retelling of the story of the Good Samaritan sounds little like that found in the KJV, NIV, ESV, or NASB English Bible translations, but it is possible that it has communicated much more meaningfully what the Gospel authors (and Jesus) intended. At this point, of course, the conversation has become very far removed from objectivity, but I only mean to demonstrate the ephemerality of the definition of the word "accuracy" in this context.

Are The Message and The Cotton Patch Gospels the ideal form of translation? I neither can nor want to answer this question. They have attempted to wrestle with very distinct cultures in such a manner that respects both and resists simplicity. If

collaboration can take place between linguists, indigenous language speakers, and

indigenous Christians to produce an indigenous language Bible, this seems like it might

be the sort of translation philosophy which will probably be both necessary and most

beneficial to all involved.

Hebrew Poetry & Poetic Translation

Artistry is a vibrant cultural phenomenon in all societies and anthropologists have long considered the relationships between a society's values and its forms of art. The correlation is not well-defined, as it is consistently seen that each affects the other, but the great variety of phenomena which fall under the categorization of 'the arts' (a nebulous and ill-bounded category, to be certain), are incredibly revelatory as cultural artifacts. Far more than items and actions with notable aesthetic properties, works of art serve as vessels of survival, transmitting cultural information in a particularly deep manner. Thus, the manner in which a work of art is perceived may be the most important fact about it, for the transmission of such crucial information is dependent upon its reception.

Considering this, it seems that attempts to understand the roles of artistic forms external to the society in which they are most relevant and most fully imbued with meaning are especially difficult. To make matters worse, there is a great desire for many to be able to translate artistic artifacts not only across sociocultural boundaries, but across linguistic boundaries. Amidst so many variables, can any confidence be maintained regarding the accuracy of analyses of another society's works of art or art forms which employ linguistic resources once translated? Perhaps, although this process cannot be simple, and approaches to such task must constantly be changing, just as the societies, cultures, and languages at play are constantly being changed. Here, examples of Biblical Hebrew poetry are examined and considered. How has this balancing act been carried out in the past? How can this process be improved? Most importantly, what all is really at stake, and what might be the deeper significance of these issues?

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These questions may only be answered in part, but the "interpretive truth" model developed herein hopefully provides a more nuanced framework of translative poetics.

Defining 'poetry' as a type of artistic representation may be no simpler than defining 'art' as a category of cultural semiosis, as described above. Within a single cultural system, poetry seems to elude definition, so pursuing a sufficient cross-cultural definition is almost certainly futile. Nonetheless, the establishment of a set of diagnostic criteria for identifying poetry or art is not necessary, or even particularly practical. Rather, by assessing those things that certainly are poetic in nature, the essential poetic properties may become apparent. In fact, not every speech community or language even maintains a word equivalent to the English "poetry," although there clearly exist things which seem justifiably called "poems" in the sense of the English word. Such is the case in Biblical Hebrew, in fact (Kugel 1981:69). Such instances reinforce the fact that poetry defies clear delineation and point to the fact that the category, although clearly real, may be something of an imposition upon the system in which it is alleged to occur.

One of many binary oppositions that is often assumed, whether accurately or not, pervades any conversation about interpretation and translation: form and function. Translation is often made out to be a practice which chooses one of these as a preferred fundamental philosophy (as is quite apparent in later discussions of translation), and while they may be somewhat reified categories, they are useful as organizational tools from which to begin: if there exists any systematic way to recognize poetry, it is likely by a patterning of either its forms or its functions.

Even a discussion of poetry based solely on its structural features, however, avoids standardization. The distinctly linguistic nature of poetry necessitates that its

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forms are dependent upon the language in which it occurs. Poetic forms must be distinguished first in terms of the scope of their aesthetic features over the linguistic resources employed in any piece of poetry or poetic event. Banti describes a sort of wide classification, which he terms *poetic procedures*, under which one might find any sort of specialized speech. In other words, in the use of anything which falls into this category preference is given to aesthetic features over linguistic resources, but to widely varying degrees. Additionally, Banti describes *poetry in a strict sense*, which are those forms of communication especially selected in a society for the accomplishment of whatever poetry does. Here, the aforementioned preference of aesthetic features is very clear, as examples below of the types of structural features common to *strictly* poetic artwork should demonstrate (2003:293-4).

If specialized speech seems to be a basically useful baseline for viewing poetry, how exactly does it differ from ordinary speech (or writing)? Again, this is entirely dependent, in reality, upon the linguistic resources available in any given language, but there do appear to be a few general principles which effectively categorize these language-dependent features. Banti describes three types of formal organization seen in poetic procedures: alterations in register, alterations in melody, and alterations in meter (2003: 295). Changes in vocal register can take the form of modified timbre, intensity, or the frequency range of one's voice. Though this procedure can be significant in poetry (especially in performances of written poetry, such as recitation of religious literature), the poetry considered in this paper is solely written, with performed and spoken varieties only existing as interpretations of the textual forms. Thus, it is not given extensive attention.

Changes to melodic features of speech appear in recitations of many varieties of religious literature. For some, monotone recitation is significant as an aesthetic representation of the need to separate religious devotion from whimsical, secular emotion (2003:296). This form is also adopted due to practical constraints, for some, such as in call-and-response texts in some churches. Here, regardless of the melody employed by the speaker, the tendency of the crowd, in repetition or response, is toward a monotonous version. Many take the opposite procedural approach in poetics, choosing instead to emphasize certain melodic features of speech. This can range from tonal accentuation to nearly song-like speech. It has become somewhat popularized in a contemporary art form known as the 'slam poem,' in which a written text is performed, typically *a cappella*, and specific melodic and metrical styles are employed to compensate for the lack of instrumental accompaniment. Metrical adjustments to speech are very well-established as poetic procedures, and are often readily recognizable. Styles of meter in English poetry are systematic and have been studied thoroughly; the alternating stress of iambic pentameter is easily detected by most students of English literature. Children's rhymes often reflect similarly patterned syllabic sequences, though these frequently function independent of the lexical and semantic properties of a text, consisting frequently of nonsense words and patterns of semantically bare sounds (2003:297).

Turning to poetry in the *strict* sense, the deeper content of the poem must be addressed, in addition to structural and formal features. Here, it is not enough to look only to the semantic content of the poem, although the words included are where the greatest meaning is imbued in the sense of the author's intent. Further, the role of poetry

in the particular society in which the poem occurs must be addressed—and not just the role of poetry broadly, but the role of poetry of whatever genre is at hand. And as a social artifact, poetry can be analyzed as a vessel which reflects, whether explicitly or implicitly, the values of the cultural system out of which it is born. Its functional analysis must be in terms of the functions available in a cultural system, if it is to be treated fairly.

While poetry of one society cannot be judged by the criteria or constraints placed on poetry from another society's system of artistic representation, a semiotic model seemingly employed in the arts of most societies, and in some most prominently active in poetry, is that of metaphor. A system of analogous symbolism, metaphor provides artists with a means of imbuing meaning on a level deeper than semantics and imagery. With few lexical resources, the entire semantic attributions of one word or phrase can be quickly imposed on another which might never, in ordinary speech, be associated with the former.

A number of the key features of Biblical Hebrew poetry are intrinsically linked to features of Biblical Hebrew as a language. A Semitic language, Hebrew shares many features with Arabic; nearly all words consist of triconsonantal roots, with vowels added in derived and inflected forms of these roots. In most Biblical Hebrew texts, Masoretic notations are included to indicate the vowel sounds associated with each syllable. These are significant facts to keep in mind while assessing examples herein,

particularly considering the specialized grammar and lexicon utilized in Biblical Hebrew poetry.[6]

Adele Berlin describes the most fundamental features of the Hebrew poem—terseness and parallelism:

> "It is…the predominance of parallelism, combined with terseness, which marks the poetic expression of the Bible…. The perception of the dominance of parallelism in poetry is not only a factor of its quantity, for large amounts can be found in prose, but also a factor of the terseness which tends to produce phonetic and syntactic balance in parallel lines…. Without losing its terseness, it constructs relationships between its parts such that the final product is unified." (Berlin 1985:5).

Hebrew poems valiantly attempt to communicate as much information as possible in as few words as are required. Any syntactic elements deemed superfluous are often removed, leaving very sparse sentences and phrases. When possible, unnecessary verbs are left out, and substantive adjectives are used liberally. Even definite articles and conjunctions, which are prefixed forms in Hebrew, are often excluded for the sake of brevity:

Psalm 23:4

גם	כי־	אלך	בגיא	צלמות	לא־	אירא	רע
gam	ki?	ɛlɛk	bəgəɪ	tsalmavɛt	lo?	ira:	ra:
even	as	I walk	in-valley	deep darkness	not	I fear	evil

כי־	אתה	עמדי	שבטך	ומשענתך	המה	ינחמני	
ki?	atah	imadi	ʃivtəka	vəmiʃanteka	hɛmah	jənaχameni	
for	you	with-me	your-rod	and-your-staff	they	comfort-me	

"Even though I walk in **the valley** of gloom, I will not fear evil, for you are with me; your rod and your staff comfort me."

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[6] This is a feature common to poetry in many languages (Banti 2003:306).

Here, /bəgeɪ/ (בגיא), literally 'in-valley,' appears, with no definite article. Typically, the prefixed definite article, /ha/ (ה) would appear in the form of an elided vowel (given the presence of the prefixed particle, /ba/ (ב): /bagej/. Such forms are absent in much of Biblical Hebrew poetry, despite the fact that such a change is only slight, phonologically. Similarly, the prefixed conjunction, "and," is frequently excluded:

Proverbs 9:2

שלחנה	ערכה	אף	יינה	מסכה	טבחה	טבחה
ʃʊlχanah	arka:h	ap	jejna:h	maskah	tivχah	tavχah
table-her	she-has-furnished	also	wine-her	she-has-mixed	beasts-her	she-has-killed

"**She has slaughtered her beasts and prepared** her wine; also she has prepared her table"

The inclusion of the conjunction here would only be an addition of a single syllable, /və/ (ו): /tavχah tivχah maskah/ would become /tavχah tivχah **və**maskah/. As is discussed momentarily, Hebrew poetry nearly always features a pairing of two statements (bicola). At the beginning of one of these lines, the conjunction seems to appear as readily as in ordinary or prose literature, but within a sentence, the preference appears to be brevity, and it is used infrequently. Although it ultimately depends upon the syntactic features of the bicolon, these sorts of tendencies toward terser application of linguistic resources frequently result in very short, but semantically rich bicola in Hebrew poems:

Proverbs 16:24

צוף־	דבש	אמרי־	נעם	מתוק	לנפש	ומרפא	לעצם
tsup	dəbas	imreɪ	noʔam	maːtoq	lanːɛpɛʃ	vəmarpɛ	laʔatsɛm
comb	of-honey	words	pleasant	sweet	to-life	and-remedy	to-bones

"Pleasant words are a honeycomb, sweet for life and a remedy for the bones"

Translation of this verse, seven words in Hebrew, requires about twice as many English words (13 in this translation, 14 in the NIV Bible). The conjunction appears once in this verse, but there is no use of the definite article. Further, no verbs appear in either colon. Rather, adjectives appear with no copulae (this is not unique to poetic applications of Hebrew, but it is especially frequent in poetic literature). This can be seen again here:

Proverbs 12:5

מחשבות	צדיקים	משפט	תחבלות	רשעים	מרמה
maχʃəbot	tsadijqim	miʃpat	taχvulot	rəʃaʔijm	mirmah
thoughts	righteous-*pl.*	just	counsels	wicked-*pl.*	deceit

"The thoughts of the righteous are just, but the counsel of the wicked is deceitful"

Parallelism is widely considered to be the most noteworthy feature of the Hebrew poem. As mentioned above, the standard line of Hebrew poetry consists of a bicolon: two statements that stand in intentional relationship to each other. The relationship between the cola is usually both grammatical and semantic, as the examples below shall demonstrate (Lucas 2008:521). The more structural analyses of Biblical parallelism emphasize the phonological, morphological, and syntactic similarities between each colon in a pair. Semantic similarities are also emphasized by another

frequently employed set of analytical tools, adapted by many Old Testament scholars

from a fundamental theory of analysis proposed by Lowth (Tucker 2008:585).

Whatever assessment is made, these typologies exist to classify varieties of parallel

poetic structures to determine their significance, and, in turn, provide a framework for

understanding the relationship between the two lines.

Though not all lines of Hebrew poetry maintain it, the most prevalent aspect of

structural parallelism is that of repeated syntactic form. Between the two lines, authors

of Hebrew poetry often make attempts to repeat grammatical forms between lines,

giving different, but grammatically equivalent, substitutions (Berlin 1985:32):

Psalm 103:10

לֹא	כחטאינו	עשה	לנו
lo	kaχətaʔeɪnu	asaːh	laːnu
not	according to-sins-our	he-dealt	to-us
ולֹא	כעונתינו	גמל	עלינו
vəlo	kaʔəʔonoteɪnu	gamal	ʔaleɪnu
and-not	according to-transgressions-our	he-rewarded	to-us

      "Not according to our sins has he dealt with us
       And not according to our transgressions has he rewarded us"

Here, parallel syntactic structures can be observed. Each line features the

negative particle, /lo/ (לֹא), a prepositional phrase, a verb, and its indirect object.

Further, morphological parallelism is present in this verse, as well. Each prepositional

phrase follows the same inflected pattern:

/ka - ʔəʔonot - eɪnu/	/ka - χətaʔ - eɪnu/
כעונתינו	כחטאינו
PREP-NOUN (M/P)-POSS. SUFFIX (1.P.)	PREP-NOUN (M.P.)-POSS. SUFFIX (1.P.)
"according to our sins"	"according to our transgressions"

This same grammatical equivalency is observed with the verb:

/gamal/	/asa:h/
גמל	עשה
3 M S	3 M S
"he rewarded"	"he dealt"

As well as the indirect object of the verb:

/ʔaleɪnu/	/la:nu/
עלינו	לנו
PREP-SUFFIX (1.P.)	PREP-SUFFIX (1.P.)
"upon us"	"to us"

More is mentioned later about phonological parallelism.

The three basic types of parallel structures posited by Lowth (and adopted and adapted in nearly all literature on Biblical Hebrew poetry since) are synonymous, antithetic, and synthetic parallelism. Each category seems somewhat self explanatory, so only brief examples are given, with minimal descrition of their features and semantic properties.

Synonymously parallel structures feature two cola in which the meaning of the second is basically a restatement of the meaning of the first. Often, although not always, parallel grammatical features, such as those described above, can be observed in these lines, such that the second line will match the grammatical and syntactic characteristics of the first, substituting semantically similar words:

Psalm 77:11

אזכור	מעללי־	יה
ɛdzəkir	maʕal:eɪ	ya:h
I-will-remember	works	YHWH

כי־	אזכרה	מקדם	פלאך
kiʔ	ɛdzkərah	miqɛdɛm	pilʔɛka:
surely	I-will-remember	from-old	wonders-your

"I will remember the works of YHWH; yes I will remember your wonders of old"

Both cola of this pair express very similar meaning: the intent of the speaker to retain, in memory, the historical interactions of God and his people. The similarities are especially clear here, as the exact same verb and verbal form is repeated in the second line (with the addition of the prepositional prefix, /ki/ (כי).

Much like poetry employing synonymous parallelism, antithetic parallelism demostrates similar grammatical features between two distinct lines in a bicolon. The distinct feature here, which is likely no surprise, is that the parallel structures stand to place the two lines in semantic contrast to one another. Some instances of antithetic parallelism employ similarly simple, conscise line-forms, as observed in the synonymity of Psalm 14:34:

Proverbs 14:34

צדקה	תרומם־	גוי
tsədaqah	təromɛm	goj
righteousness	it-exalts	nation

וחסד	לאמים	חטאת
vəχɛsɛd	ləʔumim	χata:t
and-reproach	to-people	sin

"Righteousness exalts a nation, but sin is a shame to a people"

Other antithetical parallel lines of poetry are less straightforward:

Psalm 1:6

כי־	יודע	יהוה	דרך	צדיקים
ki	jodeʔa	yahweh	dɛrɛk	tsadiqim
for	he-knows	YHWH	way	righteous-*pl.*

ודרך	רשעים	תאבד
vədɛrɛk	roʃaʔim	tobɛd
and-way	wicked-*pl.*	will-perish

"For YHWH knows the path of those who are righteous, but the way of those who are wicked will perish"

Here, the structure of the second line doesn't reflect that of the first in any noteworthy or significant way. Nonetheless, the meaning of the second stands in clear contrast to the first, and the relationship established by the structure of parallelism gives the proper context for semantic precision in interpreting the second line.

The third category proposed by Lowth, synthetic parallelism is a sort of umbrella for those lines of Hebrew poetry which do not clearly seem to be paired in synonymity or antithesis to one another. For this reason, many find it to be far too broad a category to be of any use, and is the least widely accepted part of Lowth's typological system. The idea behind his notion of synthetic parallelism, beyond serving as a catchall for otherwise unclassified poetry, is that the second line of a bicolon may serve to provide additional information about the meaning or context of the first. Rather than repeating or reinforcing the meaning of the first colon, as in synonymous parallelism,

the second line serves to advance or expand the point of the entire poetic unit (Tucker 2008:586):

Proverbs 21:4

רום־	עינים	ורחב־	לב
rum	eɪnajim	vərχab	lɛb
raised	eyes	and-proud	heart
נר	רשעים	חטאת	
nir	rəʃaʔim	χata:t	
light	wicked-pl.	sin	

"Lofty eyes and an arrogant heart—the light of the wicked—are sin"

Just as frequent—if not even more so—are synthetically parallel lines of poetry in which the second line is simply the completion of a clause or thought initiated in the first line (hence the sense of "advancing" parallelism, quite distinct from synonymous parallelism):

Proverbs 7:27

דרכי	שאול	ביתה	
darkeɪ	ʃəʔol	beɪta:h	
way-to	Sheol	house-her	
ירדות	אל־	חדרי־	מות
jordot	ɛl	χadreɪ	mavɛt
going down	to	chambers-of	death

"Her house is the way to Sheol, going down to the chambers of death"

It is possible that these examples are somewhat gratuitous. After all, the purpose here is not to discuss each type of poetic structure in Biblical Hebrew and the best translation practices for each, explicitly, but to look at broader issues in translation, and in particular considering, still broadly, what is required to translate poetry attentive to contextual issues in both the original and receiving languages. But to properly

understand the width of the gap that must be bridged in such issues of translation, excess seems necessary. These are forms that make up perhaps the entirety of the corpus of Biblical poetry, and whether their significance can be pinpointed and converted or not, it cannot be forgotten that they are, in fact, significant artistic forms.

Beyond parallelism, only a few poetic styles require attention. The first, far from being unique to Hebrew poetry, is the use of literacy-dependent literary devices (such as alliteration and acrostics). Hebrew poems occasionally employ these, and due to certain phonological features of the Hebrew language, these really are unique features to the written language, unique from the history of oral poetry within the Hebrew language.[7] Proverbs 31 demonstrates the Hebrew acrostic poem well. Beginning at verse 10, each verse begins with a successive letter of the Hebrew alphabet, through the end of the chapter in verse 31. A variety of Psalms and Proverbs feature this pattern, and several passages in Lamentations employ this method as well. Most noteworthy is Psalm 119, which features sets of eight verses, wherein each verse in every successive set of verses begins with the same successive letter of the Hebrew alphabet. Here are the first 64 verses of the Psalm; every section of eight verses is organized to begin with the next successive letter of the Hebrew alphabet. These sections, then, begin with א, ב, ג, ד, ה, ו, ז, and ה.

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[7] In many instances of acrostic poetry in Biblical Hebrew, lines begin with successive letters of the Hebrew alphabet, but do not follow strict allophonic rules in the use of these letters. These poems rarely distinguish between /p/ and /f/, or /b/ and /v/, which are notated with the same Hebrew letters: פ and ב, respectively. Similarly, א and ע, which technically represent a glottal stop, /ʔ/, often are realized only as the vowels associated with the /ʔ/ consonant in the templatic form of the root, but no real attempt is made in acrostics in which several lines begin with the same letter to standardize here and use forms featuring the same vowel sound. Thus, it appears that many of these poems must have come into circulation as written poems, rather than as oral poems, although interestingly enough, /s/ and /ʃ/ are sometimes made distinct, although also represented by the same basic letter (ש), as was the case with /p/, /f/, /b/, and /v/.

Table 4a

As mentioned above, phonological parallelism does appear in Hebrew poetry, specifically in the form of paronomasia, or pun.[8] Plays on words rely entirely upon phonetic characteristics of words and similar phonological patterns in words which may not regularly be related or associated. Such is the case in Biblical Hebrew poetry as well. This can be seen in Psalm 122:7, in which a clear correlation is drawn between the words /ʃalom/ (שלום), "peace," and /ʃalvah/ (שלוה), "security".[9] Word play of this variety also appears in Song of Songs:

Song of Songs 1:3

לריח	שמניך	טובים	שמן	תורק
ləreɪχa	ʃəmaneɪka	tovim	ʃemen	torak
for-aroma	oils-your	good-pl.	oil	poured out

שמך	על־כן	עלמות	אהבוך	
ʃəmeka	al ken	alamot	aheboka	
name-your	thusly	virgins	love-you *(acc.)*	

"Because of the fragrance of your ointments, your name is like ointment poured out. For this reason, the virgins love you."

/ʃəmaneika/ (שמניך) "your oils" and /ʃəmɛka/ (שמך) "your name" are clear phonological parallels here, and this phonological relationship plays a key role in the imagery of the love poetry of this text.

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[8] "Paronomasia" is the preferred term used here, if only to avoid the general association of comedy with the term "pun," although both simply mean 'word play' in the basic sense.
[9] Here, the similarity between these words is somewhat opaque. Due to the oddity of the Hebrew language that the letter representing /v/ can sometimes represent /w/ following a vowel (or simply serve as an elongation of /ɔ/), the pronunciation is somewhat unclear here. In writing, however (as can be seen), the similarity is sufficiently transparent.

This begins to steer the conversation toward the complexities of translation, giving a glimpse of the smallest of complications in trying to bring a poem to life sufficiently in a new linguistic environment. Rarely, especially when translating between languages which are not closely genetically related or which share few areal features, will phonologically-dependent literary devices be able to be maintained once translated. Similar complications arise when considering differences in morphology and syntax. Poetic features employed in one language may depend upon that language's morphological processes. English poetry often emphasized rhyming as a key feature of "successful" poetry, but English morphology requires little affixation. In a case-marked language, rhyming is not particularly impressive as an artistic effort, as the language effectively builds rhyming into the language. Hebrew does not mark case (although Greek does), but certain Hebrew verbal conjugations rely heavily upon affixation. Consider the example above from Psalm 103:10, in which the highly structured synonymously parallel form causes three of the four words in each colon to rhyme with its correspondent word. If two languages do not share a basic sentence order, such as Biblical Hebrew and modern English, how can the careful craftsmanship of the original poem be maintained when rearranged?

And in all of this, no discussion has yet to arise about issues which are typically at the forefront of questions of translation, biblical or otherwise, such as words which do not appear in one of the relevant languages (/ʃalɔm/ becomes "peace" in many English translations, which seems to ignore the larger notion of completion and wholeness which are natural connotations of the Hebrew word), or words in one language which do not seem to correspond well to only one word in the other language

(/mɪʃpat/ means both 'justice' and 'judgment' in various biblical passages, and in these contexts the line between the two terms, in English, seems rather distinct, despite the convergence of the two in Hebrew; in Ezekiel, a rather notorious passage employs all senses of the word /ruaħ/: 'breath,' 'wind,' and 'spirit'), or the deeper cultural contexts in which these poems occur. For what purpose was any given poem written, and how does this affect its interpretation?

Although a paper of such small scope as this one can only offer a scant analysis of these issues, and attempting to condense their entirety into a brief discussion probably reveals a very simplistic assessment of the issues at hand, two key concepts seem to be essential in establishing a philosophy of translation for such complex sociolinguistic phenomena as poetry. But if a model can be established for translating the more complex of linguistic artifacts, even if it is not airtight or effective in all cases, it is likely that it might be beneficial as a tool for translation more broadly.

Metaphor has been mentioned briefly in this paper as a feature common to poetry. It is a highly productive resource of artistry, employed by poets of likely all societies that create any linguistic work akin to poetry. These applied, localized metaphors can accomplish fantastical things in only a few words, but what may be even more central to what is accomplished in many forms of poetry may be the exploitation of the resources of a society's cognitive metaphors. Functioning on what might be termed a 'grand scale' within a society, cognitive metaphors not only serve as aesthetically robust descriptions of one thing or idea in terms of the properties of another, but as systems of organizing cultural values by such comparison. These tend to function below the level of conscious recognition, but pervade speech and

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communication, such as the DEATH IS DEPARTURE metaphor often employed by speakers of English (Lakoff 1989:1). The fact that they are so pervasive without recognition is perhaps the most interesting fact about them, and is certainly proof of their influence, in turn, on the way that those who use them perceive their worlds.

Folk definitions of "poetry" as a form of specialized speech are likely to focus on its reality as a more "effortful" form of language. Poetry cannot usually be readily understood without effort, and without some sort of psychological attempts to wrestle with the author (Briggs and Monaco 1990:3). If poetry really is a sort of linguistic form more deeply rooted in a language's aesthetic and semantic resources, then the best assessments and analyses of poetry (and, in turn, any satisfactory translation) will require an understanding of as many of these resources as can be accessed by the translator. Systematic analysis of the conceptual metaphors of a language, then, will likely provide a necessary foundation for interpreting the cultural significance of poetry and other aesthetically rich linguistic artifacts.

Although this is an especially simplistic philosophical approach—a claim that a single concept such as conceptual metaphor might open some sort of door to more useful, honest, and accurate translation—it is far from a simple one in actual application. It will require the utilization of the full range of theoretical tools of cognitive anthropology and discourse analysis. Here, a page from the book of a few biblical translators might be borrowed; namely, the realization that language is always used in context, which means that linguistic appropriation should be dependent upon the relevant context(s). It is not uncommon for a biblical student to own a variety of translations for a variety of contexts—one for personal use, which may be more

technical, and may include numerous textual notes, another for use in more public settings, which may be more readable and straightforward. Is anything about this approach dishonest? Not particularly, but for every translation, the workload of linguists and literary scholars multiplies.

Certainly a theoretical approach which demands more work is not prone to popularity. It also likely ignores a variety of real, practical constraints upon research and fieldwork. Nonetheless, to imagine that a translation could or should be a much more simple process seems to betray a variety of essentialist perspectives. To believe that the translation of a poem only requires the minimal amount of understanding of the language or culture of the author is to believe that these social facts are of little significance. Linguistically, a view of language which imagines that it doesn't change significantly over time is necessary to maintain that ongoing consideration of the contexts in which a text will be used are not vital. This linguistic essentialism, so to speak, will also lead one to ignore the fact that rapidly occurring cultural shifts necessitate reevaluation of the supposed relationships between the relevant sociocultural spheres.

It would be intellectually venturesome to imagine that the answers to history's questions of translation have been solved here. Realistically, there's no reason to believe that any answers have actually been proposed. Rather, new questions have been asked, albeit in a roundabout, perhaps convoluted manner. The goal of this discussion was precisely to bring up such questions, in hopes that the groundwork can be lay for future research which might be formative in the fields of cognitive poetics, aesthetics, and philosophies of language. Further, nothing herein can be considered original or

groundbreaking, but it might serve as a sort of ecumenical starting point, bringing together the theoretical frameworks of a variety of academic fields for the sake of a better direction in studying, interpreting, and translating those works of art, called poetry, which serve as vessels of rich semantic and sociolinguistic reality.

Pawnee Texts and Translation

Approaching Translation

My interest in the Pawnee language began as a result of a number of conversations with two colleagues at the University of Oklahoma, Zachary Rice and Taylor Moore, whose studies have focused upon Pawnee language renewal and cultural revitalization. Both are members of the Pawnee tribe, and their interest in the Applied Linguistic Anthropology program was primarily for the sake of training to work in language renewal in the Pawnee community.

After enrolling in several classes with Zach and Taylor, we began discussing their goals with the Pawnee language program. They asked if I would be interested in helping in some capacity, and after discussing my background in Biblical languages, we began to discuss the possible benefit of a translation of the Bible into the Pawnee language. The two believed that a Pawnee Bible could be a helpful resource for Pawnee community members as it could provide access to the language in a domain of use—the context of Christian community—that was already both familiar and significant to many members of the Pawnee community. From here, Zach and Taylor provided me with a number of resources to begin studying the Pawnee language, in hopes that a collaborative Pawnee project could begin in the future.

This chapter represents the beginnings of this process. It is, in some ways, inauthentic, as the only real collaborative aspect is in its origins. Some discussion of issues relating to translation of literature of a variety of biblical genres into the Pawnee

language is provided, and some attempts at the actual process of translation are given, but there is no collaborative aspect to the actual discussion and translation of passages. It does represent an attempt to take into consideration the broader context of Pawnee literature and literacy to the extent that this can be accomplished by an individual working with texts only, and, as has also been mentioned previously, it hopes to lay a foundation for collaborative work in the future. At the very least, it should give some representation of the complexities in comparing genres and stylistic forms between two linguistic systems.

The following analyses compare texts which can be broadly described as belonging to the same genre. At this point, it is critical to keep in mind that literary genres are also culturally bounded linguistic phenomena. Any given society is free to dictate the bounds of the authority and social role of any particular form of literature or performance. So although some comparisons between Pawnee songs and certain forms of Hebrew poetry are implied here, and with some good reason, they are not held as identical forms of written or oral literature. As a result of the culturally-bounded nature of these categories, generic translation becomes very complicated, as it will often require the translation of a text in a particular genre into a language which has nothing analogous to the original text's genre. This is the case with Bible translation into Pawnee.

Similarly, there are multiple layers of discussion in the following pages. Some of these biblical passages have been selected for their structural similarity to certain Pawnee songs while some have been selected because of similar thematic elements, which still seems to fall into the realm of emphasis on *style* over *content*. Optimal

discussion here centers upon actual attempts at basic translations; by comparing the Pawnee forms which appear in similar texts to these biblical passages, perhaps some interesting notes can be made about the process of a larger translation project. Often, however, conversation is limited, by availability of resources, to comparisons between the content of Pawnee stories only available in English in hopes to predict the direction of a fuller, more thorough attempt at translation.

Psalm 93

Although only a portion of this text is given more than cursory attention, the psalm is relatively short. So, to begin, its full English text (NIV) is given here:

[1]The Lord reigns, he is robed in majesty;

    the Lord is robed in majesty and armed with strength;

    indeed, the world is established, firm and secure.

[2]Your throne was established long ago;

    you are from all eternity.

[3]The seas have lifted up, Lord,

    the seas have lifted up their voice;

    the seas have lifted up their pounding waves.

[4]Mightier than the thunder of the great waters,

    mightier than the breakers of the sea—

    the Lord on high is mighty.

[5]Your statutes, Lord, stand firm;

    holiness adorns your house

    for endless days.

A common theme in many of the psalms is the response to the character of God as a protector in times of trial and difficulty. Part of the appeal of the characterization of God throughout the psalms, although it's certainly not a theme exclusive to the book of Psalms, is that those who believe in him can find peace and freedom from fears. Psalm 23, a widely popular psalm, demonstrates this well: "Even though I walk / through the darkest valley /I will fear no evil / for you are with me / your rod and your staff / they comfort me". In Psalm 93, the psalmist focuses upon the sovereignty of God over potential natural sources of peril in verses three and four: "The seas have lifted up, Lord, / the seas have lifted up their voice; / the seas have lifted up their pounding waves. / Mightier than the thunder of the great waters, / mightier than the breakers of the sea— / the Lord on high is mighty."

Frances Densmore's collection of Pawnee songs includes a short war song about a boy who, similarly, sought comfort from naturally-occurring sources of danger.[10] Amidst a harsh storm, the boy was struck with fear after hearing the loud thunder strike. In a dream, the thunder speaks to him, reassuring him of his safety. The thunder also teaches him a song which he later sings in times of war to remind him of this encounter. Densmore's free translation of the text is provided here:

> Beloved, it is good,
> He is saying quietly,
> The thunder, it is good. (1929:61-2)

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[10] My use of the word term "naturally-occurring" here is not meant to refer to a distinction between naturally- and supernaturally-occurring event or a distinction between naturally- and man-made events, but to group these events into a general category of "natural disasters," as they are popularly understood.

In the dream, the boy is told, "Do not be afraid, your father is coming" (1929:61). The song is not only about a recollection of this reassurance, however, and neither is it a general call to bravery amidst fearful circumstances. Rather, it is a song which specifically indexes the source of fear (the thunder) and reconditions a response of reverence for it. The hearer is taught that not only is the thunder a thing not to be feared, it is a thing to be appreciated, for it is good. The analogous relationship between these two pieces is partial, at best, but seems to reflect a common theme, generally speaking. Further, biblical passages such as Psalm 93:4 are often cited in support of the assertion that God's sovereignty extends to events, such as "naturally-occurring" events, which are beyond the control of human actors or which seem otherwise random.

Psalm 93 features repetition of key terms between lines; this is not uncommon in Hebrew poetry. Verse three consists of three lines, each of which contains three words. In each, two are common with each of the others:

<div dir="rtl">

נשאו נהרו יהוה
נשאו נהרות קולם
ישאו נהרות דכים:

</div>

In English, "The seas have lifted up." Another Pawnee song in Densmore's collection, entitled "A Woman Welcomes the Warriors," features similar repetition, although the song's contents are hardly comparable. The song consists of a single sentence: *hia wetaturakerit* ("Ah, now I have seen you"), repeated in varying portions and with a varied melody:

Verse four of Psalm 93 features less direct repetition; although English translations indicate a similar thematic repetition between the three separate verses, the root word translated "mighty/mightier" is only seen in two, although the line structure certainly implies the common theme. Here is the original text:

מקלות מים רבים אדירים משברי־ים אדיר במרום יהוה:

Wherein the words can be glossed as follows (Hebrew word order is reversed here):

מקלות	מים	רבים	אדירים	משברי	ים	אדיר	במרום	יהוה
Than-voices	waters	many-*pl*	mighty-*pl*	waves	sea	mighty	in-height-*pl*	YHWH

In Pawnee, then, the verse might read as follows:

"Tiwákarihùraariʾ Atiʾas pakaʾuʾ rakictiirahpi / tiwákarihùraariʾ Atiʾas tíkiicawikatuùkukuʾ / Atiʾas Tiirawaahat'"

tiwákarihùraariʾ	Atiʾas	pakaʾuʾ	rakictiirahpi	tiwákarihùraariʾ
he speaks more loudly	God	voice	ocean	he speaks more loudly
Atiʾas	tíkiicawikatuùkukuʾ	Atiʾas	Tiirawaahat'	
God	waves-are-surging	God	the power in the Heavens	

This translation is a rough, preliminary starting point. It would certainly need some refinement, but reflects some of the general considerations of translation as discussed in chapter three. It attempts to take into consideration some factors present in both the original Hebrew text and some Pawnee songs which, upon initial investigation, appear to be generically similar, and it also attempts to retain thematic factors which seem to connect the two stylistic literary forms. Repetition is seen of *tiwákarihùraariʾ Ati'as*, after similarly repeated Hebrew pattern, and the relationship between the divine subject and the "natural" world is emphasized. To this point, a verb related to speech is used, so that the verse implies "God speaks with more power than do the ocean and its waves" more than most English translations, which speak directly to power. More considerations might lead to the decision that this translation is poor due to factors such as the inherent anthropomorphism. Speaking purely of translation, if one can do such a thing, this is a less accurate translation. However, the intent of the verse in the larger artistic narrative of the passage is maintained in this translation, and perhaps is strengthened in its connection to Pawnee stories such as that of "The Thunder Spoke Quietly".

Two additional factors complicated translating this verse. First, the proper name of God is used in the Hebrew text. In nearly all English texts, this is translated as "Lord" just as the word which actually means "lord" would be. Translation of the proper names of divine figures is incredibly complicated; luckily, this is not the first time an attempt has been made to translate biblical passages into the Pawnee language, so although it is a very brief tradition, there is a tradition to follow. "Tiirawaahat" seemed the most fitting term at first, but notes in the primary dictionary for this work

indicated that "Ati'as" served both the more contemporary function and seemed to indicate a specific character more than the former term, which generally spoke of "the all-pervasive power of the universe," or "The Heavens" (Parks 2008:179, 513). Given this history, it also seemed clear that a connection to the Hebrew worship vocabulary which describes God as the ruler of the domain of the heavens would be a powerful connection, so that "Ati'as Tiirawaahat," something like "God is the power of the heavens" seemed like a wise communicative decision.

Generic Comparisons

An extensive discussion of many further samples of translated verses, like that above, would be helpful at this point for the sake of discussing specific theoretical considerations in producing a contemporary, translated Pawnee Bible. Rather, it might be helpful to discuss, more broadly, some Pawnee texts which have also demonstrated similarities to passages of biblical literature without giving extensive attention to their actual translation. Working only from texts, Pawnee translations are likely to read inauthentically, as I'm confident is the case with the above attempt to translate Psalm 93:4. In place of translations, an introductory discussion addresses readily apparent points of connection between Pawnee texts and biblical Greek and Hebrew passages. In discussing these, a foundation can be laid upon which a specific translation theory can be built for a Pawnee Bible translation—in the context, hopefully, of a truly collaborative project.

In a 1965 language documentary project, Gene Weltfish published an album of recorded Pawnee songs with an accompanying piece of literature describing the context of these texts and also providing transcriptions of most of the recorded songs.[11] In this collection is a series of several Pawnee love songs. This particular series consists of distinct songs for men and women: one track entitled "Man's Love Song" and three tracks distinctly marked as "Woman's Love Song."

The format of these songs bears striking resemblance to the Song of Songs, a book of Hebrew love poetry. In this book, a male and female character alternate expressing their desire for one another, with interspersed commentary from a mutually amicable third party. Although the series of love songs in Weltfish's record is not any canonical collection, its similarities are notable. Weltfish's transcription of the second "Woman's Love Song," for instance, appears as follows:

taku	hiru	kuuwia		
someone	here	I wish he were coming		
titaku	hawa	hiru	kuuwiaa	
right here	again	here	I wish he were coming	(1965:5)

Compare this to, for instance, Song of Songs 6:13:

"Come back, come back, O Shulammite;

Come back, come back, that we may gaze on you!"

Or 8:5:

"Who is this coming up from the desert leaning on her lover?"

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[11] The original singer was Mark Evarts, and, amazingly, it is still publicly accessible; the CD is even available for digital streaming through audio services like Spotify.

Despite some clear stylistic similarities observed here, I chose not to provide a translation of these biblical passages into Pawnee here, as Song of Songs is a considerably short book in the larger canon of the Hebrew Bible, such that it is not particularly representative of what might be more significant issues in translation. What this does demonstrate, however, is at least one instance of both something of a shared poetic vocabulary and a common stylistic theme.

Another rich Pawnee text, and one which was readily available as a reference in the language, is a series of transcribed interviews with Roaming Scout.[12] One series of texts, entitled "Ethics," is Roaming Scout's narrative description of the solutions to a number of ethical problems, such as how the community ought to handle theft and how individuals should handle personal disputes. Despite the extensive detail in these accounts (the collection contains well over 1,000 pages of PDF files), they do not appear to account a legal code so much as they provide a narrative description of community ethical proceedings.

How might one consider the stylistic and structural features of these texts in comparison to biblical passages? Put otherwise, to what biblical passages should one hope to compare Roaming Scout's collection if one hopes to produce a meaningful Pawnee Bible translation? This question gets at the limitations of this specific conversation, as a collaborative discussion of the role of the Roaming Scout collection is necessary. Do the ethical principles he discusses still resonate with Pawnee identity? If they do not, what historical events led to changes in Pawnee ethical philosophy? This

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[12] These documents are available publicly through the American Indian Studies Research Institute website: http://zia.aisri.indiana.edu/~corpora/RoamingScout.php

may determine whether his conversation is considered to mirror the teachings of Jesus in the Gospels (the books of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John) or the Pharisees, against whom Jesus preaches in specific response to their allegedly antiquated application of the Jewish legal system. Beyond this, does Roaming Scout's narrative style resonate with traditional Pawnee oral narrative or not? This decision could affect the way these narrative structures are implemented in translations of narrative passages in books such as Exodus and 1 Samuel, for instance.

George Bird Grinnell's entire collection of Hero and Folk Tales was especially of interest for this project (1893). A number of accounts therein were reminiscent of accounts throughout the book of Genesis: mythic tales used to establish characters in an oral history by which the ancestral history of the socioreligious community is established. One, entitled "A Story of Faith," describes a young man's discovery that he is fated to become a doctor through unfortunate circumstances; he is secretly poisoned by another doctor whom he trusts, much like Joseph is betrayed by his brother and sold into slavery, one of a series of unfortunate events which leads to his discovery of his role in the history of the nation of Israel (1893:98-103). This book is, however, over 100 years old, and assuming that the stories therein are still part of Pawnee cultural identity without any active conversation with Pawnee community members would be presumptuous. Further, these texts are all provided exclusively in English. They may still reveal thematic elements of Pawnee narrative, as well as significant stories specific to Pawnee tradition, but little information about Pawnee literary structure will likely be revealed through them independently.

The Limitations of This Project, and Moving Forward

My hope is not that this chapter has simply demonstrated what *cannot* be done, although I've tried to highlight the limitations of the circumstances of the composition of this paper honestly. Rather, an attempt has been made here to demonstrate the rich potential for connection in literary and compositional styles from even a cursory examination of a wide variety of Pawnee literature and narrative. This has not been an attempt to demonstrate that, in some way, the Pawnee and Hebrew traditions are actually quite similar, as this is untrue, but it has hoped to show how, despite very different linguistic systems, written and oral traditions, and processes of transmitting cultural and religious history, these two traditions can successfully interact. Their interaction, however, is entirely dependent upon successful and highly organized collaborative work. The previous chapters have attempted to demonstrate this by theoretical means and discussions of the consequences of research methods which neglect the value of the contributions of all participants. This chapter has given a brief demonstration of the limitations of individualistic research and translation—many additional verse translations could have been provided here, but without the contributions of speech community members, it is very unlikely that any translation produced would bear cultural, religious, or linguistic significance.

Closing Remarks

Over the last few decades, an ongoing discourse has existed about the language used to describe the cycle of language use; it could be called a metadiscourse of language attrition. Linguists and anthropologists have described the problems with traditional descriptions of language "death" and "endangerment." Advocacy for the use of indigenous languages have fought the battle against "extinction." Aptly, it has been pointed out that these metaphors seem needlessly hopeless; dead things do not come back to life, and no longer remain relevant unless as topics of historical interest or reference. Indigenous speech communities, however, are often much more hopeful about the future of their languages. A colleague once challenged the deterministic vocabulary associated with this statistical view of language by reminding that when even one new speaker learns a language, the life of the language is expanded by perhaps 60 years more. These metaphors, borrowed from the discourse about biological life and diversity, and employed frequently in discussions of environmental care, don't paint a very optimistic picture of the future of indigenous languages and their speech communities.

Yet, there is something appealing about these metaphors, as they serve as reminders that what is at stake in language renewal is not a dataset, but something arguably more organic. Language renewal, in its myriad forms, is language research which concerns itself with the life of a language. Perhaps languages do not have life in the biological sense, but they are indisputably linked to the way of life of their speakers. For this reason, all language research must tend toward collaborative approaches.

It is likely not difficult to recognize the benefits of collaborative research. Ideologically, the admission that research which is mutually beneficial while also empowering community members is rather straightforward. In application, however, the notion resists simplicity for a number of reasons. To synthesize a variety of problems with collaborative research, it can succinctly be stated that as research tends toward collaboration, it becomes exceedingly more difficult to actually do. The least collaborative research models require a single academic individual extracting information from the fewest number of informants for the sake of a publication. This isn't exactly a simple process, but relative to the approaches for which this paper has advocated, it contains few variables. Increased collaboration brings exponential increases in variables; more individuals are involved, more individuals' concerns must be met, and there is greater potential for conflict, disagreement, and frustration.

There are a few reasons why these complications are cause for legitimate concern. Many serving in academic roles in language research only have a limited availability of funds, meaning that time is precious and that efficiency is key. Those working in language renewal research are not solely working on the language renewal project, and may already be stretched for time between their commitments.

Despite complications, I maintain that there is no excuse for avoiding collaboration in research. For too long, academic researchers have seen speech communities as sources of academic knowledge, either hoping to extract knowledge for their own academic and research goals or for the sake of the documentation of human knowledge (this latter motivation is praiseworthy, but incomplete), rather than as communities of human beings, each as complex and significant as the researcher. The

ethical demands of advocacy research have demonstrated the importance of the contributions of these researchers in cultural revitalization, and with this in mind, it is essential that researchers working with indigenous communities contribute to the goals of the speech community, with individual and institutional goals only existing tangentially. For the anthropologist, the option of viewing members of indigenous speech communities as anything less than complex individuals simply does not exist, and in order for research to recognize this thoroughly, the complexity and messiness of the thing is likely unavoidable.

In *Researching Language*, an important model of Empowering Research is put forward (in fact, one of the most important sources in this paper is Yamada's "Collaborative Linguistic Fieldwork," which draws heavily on *Researching Language*), but the assertion is made that empowering models of research are not the ideal for all linguistic work (Cameron 1992:22). This is a significant distinction between my model of collaboration and their model of empowerment, as collaboration really is the direction toward which all research must begin to transition. Collaboration will not look identical in all research, and I don't want to overlook the incredible difficulty of its actual implication. But if the alternative is research which essentializes people, cultures, and speech communities, then language research must be abandoned in its entirety.

At this point, it's clear that this paper has emphasized the theoretical directions of collaboration in general much more than the actual process of implementing Bible translation as a tool in language renewal. I fear that my zealous advocacy for collaboration in research is somewhat overbearing, if not optimistic. But isn't the assertion that Bible translation can be a tool in benefit of all those involved in such a

project? There is much risk involved in inviting these three communities to sit at one table: indigenous speech communities, who have been historically manipulated without end by foreign religious and academic institutions, and both those academics and religious communities whose distinct interests once fueled this manipulation (and who also might not be especially fond of each other's interests as participants). I don't think I was absentminded in trying to demonstrate that this is feasible; it's hard to picture a more volatile scenario. So if this can work, then what limits are there to collaborative research?
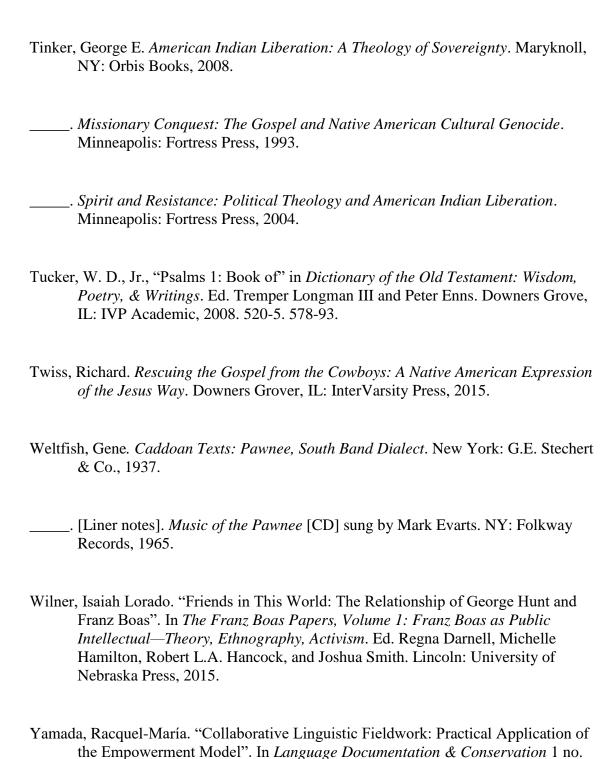
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