Western Journal of Communication

ISSN: 1057-0314 (Print) 1745-1027 (Online) Journal homepage: http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rwjc20

# "Just listen": "Listening" and landscape among the blackfeet

Donal Carbaugh

**To cite this article:** Donal Carbaugh (1999) "Just listen": "Listening" and landscape among the blackfeet, Western Journal of Communication, 63:3, 250-270, DOI: 10.1080/10570319909374641

**To link to this article:** http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10570319909374641

Published online: 06 Jun 2009.

Submit your article to this journal

Article views: 301

View related articles

Citing articles: 39 View citing articles

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at
http://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?journalCode=rwjc20

**Download by:** [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] **Date:** 21 April 2016, At: 07:26

*Western Journal of Communication,* 63(3) (Summer 1999), 250–270

# "Just Listen": "Listening" and Landscape Among the Blackfeet

Donal Carbaugh

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

This ethnographic narrative explores "listening" as a cultural form of communication. The investigation examines both linguistic references to this form and its actual nonverbal enactment among Blackfeet people. Brought into view is a rich and deep way of dwelling-in-place: This complex way of being derives from and helps constitute cultural and physical spaces; provides a traditional, nonverbal way of being in those places; invites various cultural agents as spirited co-participants in this communication; valorizes and intensely activates the non-oral acts of watching, listening, and sensing nonverbally; and, offers a deeply historical way of consulting cultural traditions and places as an aid to the various contingencies of one's life. Blackfeet "listening" is thus a highly reflective and revelatory mode of communication that can open one to the mysteries of unity between the physical and spiritual, to the relationships between natural and human forms, and to the intimate links between places and persons, all the while providing protection, power, and enhanced knowledge of one's small place in the world. A cultural discourse theory focused upon terms for communicative action is demonstrated; intercultural conflicts are discussed that involve "listening" and "speaking" as orientations to place.

What we need is a new definition [of landscape] . . . What chances does it offer for freedom of choice of action? What chances for meaningful relationships with other men and with the landscape itself? What chances for individual fulfillment and for social change?

—John Brinckerhoff Jackson

Human beings have some talents, but not developed beyond those of any one of the other forms of life. The special human ability is to communicate with other forms of life, learn from them all, and act as a focal point for things they wish to express. In any sacred

DONAL A. CARBAUGH (Ph.D., University of Washington, 1984) is a Professor in the Department of Communication at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003. Portions of this research were presented at the Conference on Narrative and Identity, Institute for Cultural Studies, Vienna, Austria, December 1995; as the Keynote Address at the Conference on Narrative Psychology and Place, University of Turin, Italy, October 1996; at the National Communication Association, San Diego, California, November 1996; and as the Keynote Address of the Southwest Communication Association, Arizona State University-West, April, 1997. My thanks to Jens Brockmeier, Carla Barbisio, Young Kim, Charles Braithwaite, and Dawn Braithwaite, respectively, for arranging these opportunities and to the participants for their lively discussions. Special thanks to Betsy Bach of the University of Montana for making an extended stay in Montana possible during the summer of 1989. Portions of this research were funded by a grant from the Office of Research Affairs, University of Massachusetts. My deepest thanks to many Blackfeet who have offered their time and knowledge and places. I have tried to listen carefully, and as always, the meaning here is the listener's.

location, therefore, humans become the instrument by which all of creation is able to interact and express its totality of satisfaction.

—Vine Deloria, Jr. (Sioux)

In native discourse, the local landscape falls neatly and repeatedly into places—and places . . . are social constructions par excellence.

—Keith Basso

HOW DOES ONE COME TO KNOW PLACES? What role does communication play in this process?

In what follows, we find a very special kind of discursive and cultural resource at work. Specifically, in the following case, we explore a deeply significant form of "listening" used among some people known to themselves as *nizitapi* (real people), to others as Blackfeet, groups of men and women who have lived from the beginning in northern Montana, USA.[1] When used in a special way by Blackfeet, the term, "listening," REFERS to a form of communication that is unique to them; when ENACTED in its special way, "listening" connects participants intimately to a specific physical place. Of main concern in what follows, then, is this cultural form of "listening" as it is being used by these people both as a cultural term about, and an enactment of communication. In this way, the communication form refers to cultural practices in this particular community; in the conduct of these practices, Blackfeet people become linked intimately to physical spaces, thus providing for them a deep way of being and acting and dwelling-in-place.[2]

Recent discourse and culture studies have reminded us how intimately related cultural worlds and discursive practices indeed are (see Sherzer, 1987; Urban, 1991). At times in our daily routines, or as travelers, or as ethnographers, we can be quickly reminded of this, especially when we lose our place in-the-world. In a moment, we may become perplexed as to where we are, with the perplexity deepening if our available discourse is less than nuanced about that place. What we should do, next, may confound us, for willful and efficacious action can hinge completely upon proper assessments of the place we are in. Without knowing the place, we are unsure how to act. Discourses of place thus suggest cultural actions, yet any one place might suggest multiple cultural discourses. We may think we know something, through a discourse, yet this knowing may be somewhat out of its cultural place, as when one ascends a small hill for lunch, only to find later that one's lunch site is a sacred burial mound. In retrospect, we find our habitual action and cultural knowledge were somehow out of place. Caught in moments like these—a place without a discourse, or a discourse out of its place—we can feel *displaced,* or *dislocated.* Cultural places without their discourses, or discourses out of their cultural place, each shows only part of a picture, an under-exposed view, suggesting how each can work with the other to form a more vivid joint production.

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

Early on, Benjamin Lee Whorf (1941) explored ways situated, "habitual thought and behavior" was related to, and could be used to deepen our understandings of routine linguistic patterns, exploring mainly how cultural action related to, what he called, "fashions of speaking." How is it that people, and different peoples, act in-the-world; how does that habitual action, and differences in action, relate to their patterns of language use? A legacy of Whorf, and Edward Sapir, has been the suggested linking of cultural patterns of behavior and thought with linguistic routines. One ethnographic way of studying discourse and culture has been so developed, thus, to explore peoples' linguistic patterns as cultural routines (e.g., Hymes, 1981). A small and recent group of ethnographic work has explored how fashions of speaking relate to places. Studies by Philipsen (1976) and Basso (1996) have drawn attention to ways discourse keeps the past and places, that is, cultural traditions, alive in the present.[3] Related works have been reexamining "linguistic relativity" especially how languages relate people differently to various cultural situations and the "natural" thoughts active in them (see e.g., Gumperz & Levinson, 1996; Lucy, 1992). All remind us how deeply discourse and language is being variously fashioned by people in, and about place.

Place itself, therefore, can enter rather dramatically as a special kind of contextual concern in cultural and communication studies (see Feld & Basso, 1996). At least for some people, places can (and do) "speak," if only we—citizens and scholars alike—take the time to "listen" accordingly. Auditing communication processes in this way can help all of us learn more about places, about ourselves, about others, about how "we" are related, about what we can (and should) do, about how we can (and should) feel. There is, I think, much we can learn from "listening" to places through discourses and cultures. The results can be surprising, even mysterious. We may find, as a way of knowing places, a linguistic cultural routine, at other times ways of knowing are non-linguistic. Whether the latter involve cultural communication outside of language, I cannot say, at least not here, through this printed medium. The irony of discussing in words a way of knowing places that is, I believe, in a cultural sense, at least partially non-linguistic, should not escape our notice. For some places can teach us much more than we can willfully and verbally communicate. Learnings can extend not just into places, but to various discursive ways—verbal and nonverbal—of knowing (them). Places, in other words, can communicate beyond words, if only we "listen."

Yet of course, when writing of these matters, we use words. And my effort here occurs in a place of its own. Thus, what I put forth here is a kind of "translation" of one form of a Blackfeet cultural discourse—"listening" among Blackfeet—into another—writing among academics. This occurs through one channel and genre of "presentation," a written essay. As such, the presentation is designed, for the most part but not

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

exclusively, for a nonnative population, although several native readers, and listeners, have read or heard, encouraged, and commented upon it. My general hope is that all readers are invited to revisit the intimate relations between linguistic and nonlinguistic discourses, and ways these are linked to cultures and places. What I seek to offer is an ethnographic narrative about such concerns, organized more specifically to suggest the following: that discourse and culture come hand-in-hand; that senses of place run deeply into cultural discourses; that these can include communication forms that may be, in large part, non-linguistic; and further that some cultural uses of discourse and language, such as the directive to "just listen," can, for some people, presume this basic, non-linguistic communication process, as a kind of cultural action prior to language. We shall bear in mind, then, in what follows, both the link between linguistic discourse and place, and the non-linguistic meditative acts such places can invite and create. In fact we must do so, if we are to honor the cultural place of this discourse. If we do not, we risk, again, dislocating those people from the places to which they listen, in which they dwell.[4]

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

## A Discursive Practice AND Cultural Places

Two Bears had left a message for me with the front desk personnel of the Museum of the Plains Indian.[5] His windshield had been smashed by vandals last night. He would have to make a trip some forty-five miles east to Cut Bank to get a new one. "Please be patient," the museum personnel told me. "He'll be back shortly after nine o'clock." Having been through the museum several times over the years, and repeatedly this summer (of 1996), I took the opportunity to walk outside and enjoy the warm July breeze. I considered walking the couple of blocks back to my family's apartment, but decided to relax in the sun, watch the wind roll over the plains, and enjoy the view of the Rocky Mountain Range to the west—the "backbone" of the world as the Blackfeet have called it.

While doing so, my mind wondered to the apparent contrasts in front of me on that morning, a museum of traditional artifacts amidst a diverse and complex set of contemporary lives, a townsite of 80% unemployment amidst a pristine, powerful landscape, and a vandalized windshield for a cultural leader of the Blackfeet Nation.

As I was soaking in the morning sun and these thoughts, I noticed a van pull up. Sure enough, at around nine thirty, Two Bears had arrived. He had agreed the day before to show me and three others around the reservation, and so he motioned for us to come, indicating that he was ready to go. As we crawled into his van, he talked about the "kids who prowl Browning's main street at night" and for some reason target windshields with their rocks. "It cost about $300 to replace it," he said.

As he drove down Browning's Main Street Two Bears told us: "There are about 15,000 enrolled Blackfeet tribal members. About 7,000 live on

the reservation." Of these, "about four to five percent practice traditional Blackfeet ways." Earlier—in 1979–1980, in 1985, and in 1989—I had talked with several tribal members who were "living the traditional Blackfeet ways," navigating "the modern day world" through their own traditional practices. Two Bears, Rising Wolf, Slow Talker, and others had explained to me that these provided a rich pool of social resources for contemporary living. Driving down the Main Street of Browning, however, it was difficult for me to envision these cultural ways being practiced here.

On the eastern outskirts of town, Two Bears swerved across the road, drove into a pull-off, and without any warning, continued right out into a field. Almost knocked off my seat, I realized we were following some invisible dirt path which eventually emptied right onto the plains. Rumbling along, I noticed we were situated in a bit of a small bowl, with one very slight ridge around the bowl being created a century earlier by the tracks of the Great Northern Railway.

As I pondered the Railway, Two Bears informed us that we were nestled into a site of traditional activities. "This," Two Bears told us, "is a sacred site, the site of the Sun Dance." As we looked around, I noticed the remains of five Sun Lodges. The custom is that each was to be used only once. Asking us not to take any pictures—"the elders request that this site be treated as sacred with no pictures taken"—Two Bears recounted the Blackfeet tale of Scar Face, of a young disfigured boy who was healed by the Sun and thus was able to gather the favor of a pretty young woman. We stood in silence a while.

Two Bears asked:

Did you ever pray to the sun or leave an offering for the sun? It is the source of light, warmth, and makes things grow. We believe we should be thankful for that . . . Our religion tells us that all of this (waving his arm broadly) is connected. The rocks, the grass, the sun. The pipes that we use in our ceremonies are made of stone (he shapes his hands as a bowl). The stone represents the earth (his hands become a globe). The stem is made of wood. It represents all living things. The smoke of the pipe is like a spirit. You see it briefly, then it disappears, up to the Creator. We believe that all things are connected like this.

Two Bears invites us into a prolonged period of silence, to pray, meditate, or leave an offering—"usually of tobacco"—if we wished. Each of us quietly move away by ourselves to look at the lodges and pray. After a long, silent, reflective period at this sacred site, we slowly gather to leave. As we move to the van, finding it hard to leave the site, Two Bears pauses, looks around him at the grass, at the lodges, at the small rolling ridges immediately surrounding us, at the grand mountains in the distance, at the beautiful blue sky. Feeling the warmth of the sun, the coolness of the breeze, and hearing the meadowlarks warble, he is visibly delighted:

If you have a problem, or can't find an answer for something, our belief is that you can come out here, or to the mountains, or just about anywhere, sit down and listen. If you sit and listen patiently, you'll find an answer.

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

We stood together silently for a few more moments, then quietly crawled into the van.

As we drove across the vast plains, Two Bears developed the idea of "sitting and listening" by describing "fasting" and other activities associated with traditional ceremonies. This prompted him to comment further about how some "Indians" market sacred ceremonies for the public, here in the United States and in Europe. "That's crooked. It's just wrong to put a price on religious things," he said.

Moving further out onto the open plains, we turned down a bumpy road coming to a stop on a slight rise, able to see the vast open prairie and the beauty of the plains. Two Bears turned to us and suggested something, his way of being in such a place:

You can come out here and sit down. Just sit down and listen. In time, you might hear a raven and realize that raven is saying something to you. Or you might talk to a tree. But you have to listen. Be quiet. Be patient. The answer will come to you . . . We are realists. We are part of all of this (gesturing to the plains, to the immense "backbone" of mountains to the west, trees, grass). We listen to this.

After a couple of hours and many miles of driving through several parts of the reservation's lands, we wound our way deep into an inner sanctuary, to what we learn from Two Bears is a geographic site rich with potential for contemporary living and deep with the lessons of history. Down a long dirt road, over a bridge, up on a small ridge, through two fences, again, we are no longer on a visible road, just driving across prairie grass. We stop, look over several small ridges, notice some distant cliffs of multicolored rock. Just over a close rise, a beautiful, hidden, verdant valley reveals itself, a hidden emerald scene amidst a sea of golden grasses. Two Bears' thoughts turn to his contemporaries:

This would be an ideal place for those of our people having trouble with drugs or alcohol. They could come out here and think about things. It's ideal for that.

As we stand on top of a small ridge, we overlook a meandering stream punctuated with large Cottonwood trees, banks thickly covered with reeds and grasses, an oasis amidst a golden brown prairie. His thoughts bring the past to the present. He explains how his ancestors ran buffalo across these ridges, guiding them through a kind of grandly orchestrated "V" of flags and stones to jump off the cliff right here. The scale of the event, covering miles, was huge and impressive. As we walk to the base of the cliff, I am amazed at the quantity of buffalo bones and teeth evident, all of which create a deep, several inch layer in the earth's surface. Signs of an immediate past lay right here. We find stones, "scrapers," used to rub buffalo flesh from hide. Twice Two Bears motions to the cliff above and the valley floor below:

Imagine from down below here, buffalo coming over the cliff, men tending to them, drinking buffalo blood, eating the marrow, roasting and eating the back meat, women

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

cutting the other meat into strips and drying it in the sun. Kids excited and running around. Imagine how exciting of a time it was. Everyone was happy.

As we walk from the small valley up the hill to leave, Two Bears stops and reflects:

Just listen
(a pause of about 1 minute reveals utter tranquility, a few birds sing, followed by a magnificent silence and stillness with a distant sound—of cars, planes, trains—not to be heard)
Once I heard a mountain lion down there (gesturing to the stream). Have you ever heard one? You'll never forget it. This is an ideal place to come.

While riding back to the Museum, a German woman asks Two Bears how he learned all that he knew. "I was raised by my grandmother who knew the traditional ways. Every night she would tell me a story." Then laughing he adds, "And if she didn't think I was listening, I'd be told the same story the next night!" We all laugh. Two Bears then tells us a few traditional Blackfeet stories of the complex trickster, Napi. Eventually, we arrive at the Museum, each of us gives Two Bears payment for the day, what he calls an "offering."

Having started with a shattered windshield, and now well into the beautifully sunset evening, Two Bears was exhausted. He asks me to call him in the morning. We'd have to get together again, he says, perhaps at his encampment, stay in his lodge, have some swiss steak, visit some people there.

As was typical after spending time with him, I was saturated and content as I made my way back to my apartment.

## "Listening" as a Cultural Communicative Form: A Complex Message about Communication Itself

How is it, as Two Bears says above, when one has "a problem" or "can't find an answer," one can go to a special place, "sit down and listen"? How can it be, if you do this, "you'll find an answer"? Or how is it that "you might hear a raven," or "talk to a tree," or listen "to a mountain lion"? Or, if you are "quiet" and "patient," "the answer will come to you"? Why is it that a remote, verdant valley is "an ideal place" for "our people having trouble with drugs or alcohol"? And how is it that this "place" is a good one in which "to think about things"? Is this largely metaphor as a way of saying something? Or is there a Blackfeet culture in which this form of living and these expressive practices are quite real? If so, what cultural features are active in these communicative practices? In short, what Blackfeet premises make these practices make sense?

In this day's activities and commentary by Two Bears, there appears repeatedly a prominent symbolic category, *and* a prominent form of symbolic practice, "listening." A site of Sun Lodges, a vast prairie, a verdant valley, each demonstrates a scene in which the term, "listen-

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

ing," and the practice of listening, are being used by Two Bears both to describe his life in its cultural place, and to enact a traditional way of dwelling there. Communicating through this and related terms, and conducting this and related practices provides for Two Bears and other Blackfeet people, a significant and forceful cultural form of action.

In the moments of social interaction described above, Two Bears uses language that is intimately linked to and motivated by the immediate physical and cultural landscape in which he finds himself. For example, Two Bears informs us of a shared belief, "our belief that you can come out here, or to the mountains, or just about anywhere, sit down and listen." The immediate landscape is thus composed of a combination of physical and cultural qualities. Within this place, so conceived, Two Bears says, is created a cultural motive for "listening." The place thus invites a cultural form of action, "listening," with that form of action being attentive to the site as something to which it is worth our while to "listen." His plea to us "to listen," then, is aroused by the place, just as the place becomes full of significance through this cultural form. In this practice of "listening," an activity and place become intimately entwined, for this cultural form and this natural site reveal themselves together.

This cultural practice by Two Bears, here, is a complex communication process. Part of the complexity involves the way a verbal message is being used to draw attention to a prominent nonverbal means of communicating. For example, in his oral utterance to us about "listening," in this landscape, he is commenting about a non-oral act of listening to this landscape. This nonverbal act is itself a deeply cultural form of action in which the Blackfeet persona and the physical place become intimately linked, in a particularly Blackfeet way. To listen this way—that is, in the way Two Bears mentions, and does, here—is thus to be linked to a place and to be linked to a place this way is to live within it, at least partly, through this nonverbal form of listening. Further, Two Bears' comment, itself, "that you can come out here . . . sit down and listen," follows directly from his very nonverbal act of "listening" in this place. The Blackfeet person and place thus become inseparably linked. As Two Bears' actions demonstrate here: One should "listen" to places; then one can sensibly make a linguistic reference to this "listening" form; with this form, in the first instance, being a non-linguistic mode of learning from, and inhabiting places.[6]

Some kinds of places are apparently more appropriate for this kind of Blackfeet "listening" than are others, although—according to Two Bears—"just about anywhere" might do. Examples of such places that Two Bears mentions are "here" or "out here" on the quiet plains, "this" verdant valley, the former buffalo jump as "an ideal place," or "the mountains," each being a place where "sitting and listening" can (and should) be done.

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

Elsewhere, and fifteen years earlier (in 1980), while first hiking in a stunning, beautiful, and remote valley along the Rocky Mountain front, assuming I was alone, I stumbled upon a Blackfeet man sitting by himself, colored cloth tied to a tree close to him. At the time I was a bit dumbstruck by the sight. I understand his action, now, upon reflection, to be a "listening" one. During other similar events such as spiritual encampments, when on a prominent ridge, in a glade of trees, or upon an open meadow, one might find others in such a scene. In such places, one can on occasion see others, or engage oneself in acts of "listening." Two Bears says "just about anywhere" might do,[7] but there are particularly "ideal" places for "listening." But why these places?

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

Each of these and similar places carry qualities that are conducive to certain kinds of cultural practices. The "best" apparently combine three, a visual scene of natural beauty, an aural tone of tranquility, and a history of valued cultural activity. For example, the Sun Lodges sit in a pleasant natural bowl, far enough from a state highway to be accessible yet generally quiet, and a known historical site of a most sacred ceremony, the Sun Dance. The buffalo jump memorializes historical activities, in a splendidly tranquil place, bountiful with nature's beauty. Ideal places for "listening" combine these three qualities together, a weaving of naturalistic beauty, solemnity, and historical tradition, thus transforming nature's sites into culture's sacred scenes, places which invite, can speak, and in turn be re-created through the "listening" form.

The link between sacredness, place, and the "listening" form can be a strong one. For example, those familiar with the salient cultural heritage can attend nonverbally to the remains of the Sun Lodges, and begin seeing and hearing the sacred activities, the excitement, the ways of living that have occurred there for years. The past, and all it represents, comes alive through "listening" in this present place. Similarly, at the buffalo jump, "listening" brings to the fore the life this place has sustained, and all that it now physically embodies. In these historical, tranquil, and beautiful places, the land speaks. What it says, and what one can hear, is sacred. Through the process, "listening" keeps tradition alive in the present, remaking it in current circumstances, and thus remembering—or identifying with—landscapes as sacred places; all of this, from a physical site to the re-construction of a traditional cultural scene, comes to life through the "listening" form.

There is another, important cultural sense in which sacredness, place, and "listening" are inter-related. Here, however, it is not so much that a place is heard and known as a sacred place, as it is assumed that almost any place—"just about anywhere" according to Two Bears—might reveal sacredness to a listener. In a city watching a small child, marvelling at the intricate patterns in a stone, watching a spider in the corner of the living room, all might suggest sacredness to a listener. Situated activities as these might suggest something spiritual to a

listener. And one should be open to this ever-present feature in the world. "Listening," then, can be doubly placed as a cultural attentiveness to a known sacred place, and to the sacredness in just about any place. As a way of dwelling, the cultural form thus attunes to, and contributes to the creation of the sacred.

Are there specific acts that comprise "listening" as a cultural form of action? Two Bears mentioned several: "You can come out here . . . sit down and listen, . . . sit and listen patiently"; "you have to listen. Be quiet. Be patient"; you can "think"; "you might hear." "Listening" this way can involve the listener in an intense, efficacious, and complex set of communicative acts in which one is not speaking, discussing, or disclosing, but sitting quietly, watching, and feeling-the-place, through all the senses. Presumed for the acts is an active co-presence with the natural and historical place in which, and to which one listens. The belief is that one can—at some times more than others—eventually "hear" and learn from it. Such acts are thus not so much internally focused on one's meditative self, but externally focused on one's place through an active attentiveness to that scene, to the highly active powers and insights it offers. In the process, one becomes a part of the scene, hearing and feeling with it.

When involved in such action, from a Blackfeet view, to what might one one listen; or, what might one "hear"? There are many potential instruments and sources of messages being made available through this cultural form. Two Bears brings several to his commentary: "You might hear a raven and realize that raven is saying something to you"; "you might talk to a tree"; "I heard a mountain lion"; or, in short, as "realists," "we listen to (all of) this." The raven, the tree, the mountain lion, all of the animals, plants, rocks, water, trees, breeze, and so on can "speak," if one just "listens." Each thus can be consulted and listened to as a source of important, inspirational, and powerful messages. The "belief" that the natural world is expressively active is, according to Two Bears, not a fanciful nor farcical mysticism, but a Blackfeet kind of "realism." People, animals, rocks, and trees are *actually* co-present and co-participant with people as embodiments of the spirit(s) in the world. Attending to this "real" world is a key motive for "listening," and renders animals and trees and places generally as spirited speakers to—and thus as potentially hearable by—us all. This is something widely accessible, if only we listen appropriately.[8]

As a consequent of this belief, Blackfeet who use this form have access to powerful messages, and can share the potential benefits of attending to "all of this," as Two Bears says. As Deloria put it in our opening quote (1991, p. 38), humans have the "special ability" to learn "to communicate with other forms of life." Further, "the myriad forms of life which inhabit the land require specific forms of communication and interaction" (p. 38). One such form is "listening," with its attentiveness

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

to cultural and physical places, to actions and specific sites, to tradition, the natural and present world.

Yet, how does one know what a place "says"? The knowledge does not necessarily come easily. And much hinges on the listener. In fact, particular revelations may, but need not necessarily take days or years. Whatever the time frame, the objective of meditating on who and where we are, what it all means, and the means for doing so—through an active silence-in-place—remains the same. One "listens" to that immediately real, historically transmitted, spiritually infused, deeply interconnected world, to that complex arrangement in order better to understand that of which one is inevitably a small part.

The communicative process, so conceived and acted in a Blackfeet way, can also expose one as an "other" who, for whatever reasons, is somewhat deaf to these messages, doesn't quite hear them, and was caught not "listening."

I was walking with Two Bears up a small trail from the valley floor to the cliff above. I was reflecting upon the hunting skills of the earlier Blackfeet community, the vibrant traditional encampments, practices that connected generations of people to each other and their places through these cultural activities. We walked slowly, quietly, sun on our backs, a refreshing breeze on our faces. Occasionally in the earth I'd see a buffalo tooth, jaw, or other bone. I could hear the rustling of the wind through the short prairie grass that is unique on these northern plains. The water moved along the stream bed, adding a trickling sound to the rustling of the grass. Captured by my thoughts, I was reveling in the tranquility and solitude of the place. Two Bears turned to me and asked: "Did you get that?" My first thought was, "get what?" I didn't hear anything. Immersed in my own reflections, I had missed something. Prompted by Two Bears' question, somehow I was able to call up from my mind's recesses an earlier and distant raven's call, "caw caw caw." Two Bears' wry smile brought to mind the immediate point of his question. Well, yes, I thought, I guess I did hear something. But the distant bird I heard was, to Two Bears, saying something worthy of comment. The raven had spoken. I wondered out loud, "What did the raven say?" Two Bears responded: "He's talkin' to ya." But what did he say, I wondered? Before I asked, I realized I had already asked this kind of question before on other occasions, several—if not too many—times. The answer was always the same. "This is for the listener to decide. The meaning will be the listener's."[9]

I was delighted at how seamlessly "listening" had worked its way into Two Bears' routines, but also reminded once again of my own habitual ways, focused as they often are to hear the human over the animal, the individual person above the activities of the place, the linguistic thought over the audible nonverbal, and to Blackfeet, deeply communicative activities. Yes, indeed, Two Bears had reminded me to listen, and this meaning was mine.

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

The kind of "listening" invoked here by Two Bears functions in a complex way: It is a carrier of cultural content, a historical way of being that invokes that history in the present; one recalls for example the encampment at the buffalo jump, one's ancestors and the values in traditional lives and ways; it is also a means of connecting with places, like these, and all that makes them what they are, rocks, ravens and trees included; it is further a deeply historical kind of conduct itself. As such, "listening" provides a traditional way of actively co-participating in a largely non-oral, non-verbal, yet "real" and spiritual world. Through this traditional kind of "listening," one can become part of a multidimensional realm of non-spoken activity that is emphatically real, highly communicative, inspiring, personally rewarding, and deeply meditative.

In its proper physical and cultural place, this communicative act is adamantly actual and can involve deeply significant consultations with non-human spirits and powers that are active in the world. Note that Two Bears emphasizes above—and repeatedly in our discussions—what he calls a "realism," a declaration of a cultural reality that integrates objects and people and spirits into a world that can be and should be "heard." The process of connecting with and learning from this world is especially pronounced and amplified in traditional ceremonies of fasting or in vision quests (e.g., Ewers, 1958, pp. 162 ff.; McClintock, 1992, pp. 354–367; Schultz & Donaldson, 1930, esp. pp. 48–69). One's hope in these acts is based on one's faith that this process will open a spiritual and natural world for one's inspection and thus allow one protection from harm, a renewal of power, and a deeper understanding of one's place within the real forces at work in a complex and at times unfriendly world.

The form is of particular, practical importance as a general way of being and dwelling in place. For example, Two Bears heard the raven say something to him, in this deeply historical site, with the raven's communication offering something worthy of comment. During troubled times, the form can reveal insights through special places where some help may appear. For example, Two Bears mentions how "a problem" one has, or lack of "an answer" one seeks, may invite certain insights from a proper listening place. When listening, there, to its powerful messages, one should not expect, but one might "find an answer." Similarly, when seeking, or when one has "trouble with alcohol or drugs," one can silently listen in a proper place. Through the form, one might gain greater protection from harm and deepen one's understanding. The form offers a way of being that is ever-open to the insights places can suggest. The form, thus, can open a sensed imperfection to nonverbal, real, sensible features—the active agents—in the world, some of which can act in quite surprising ways, thereby offering insight, an enhanced sense of power and place within that world.

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

There is the potential for mystery in this "listening" process that is important to emphasize.[10] One does not make "listening" happen through an assertion of one's own will. In fact, efforts to "listen" this way will likely fail. In other words, one can put oneself in a proper place to "listen," but the success and quality of the process is something that issues forth from the place, coming along of its own. On special occasions, and if good fortune permits, the spirits in the world can come in ways that defy normal expectations, and reveal sacred truths. The hope and faith associated with the action is captured when Two Bears claims: "Sit and listen patiently, you'll find an answer," or "the answer will come to you." But again, "listening" is not a product one makes and wills for oneself; it is a gift from that world in which one lives, coming sometimes, as Percy Bullchild (1985) says, through "the power of mystery" (p. x). In this sense, within this Blackfeet form, one can be opened to uncontrollable, real, powerful, sacred forces in the world and should open one's self to knowing and understanding them. These can and will fashion what one hears, feels, and will become. A proper affective attitude, in these moments, is humility within what is potentially a quite potent and sacred scene, asking pity for one's feeble self, seeking sympathy and compassion because one has been placed in the presence of possibly uncontrollable and overwhelming forces. In the process, the spirits of the cultural and physical scene become figured largely over and through oneself, the actor. The belief is, if not immediately then eventually, the form-in-place, sometimes infused with the power of mystery, will yield potent and powerful insights that are of deep and enduring value (e.g., insights into life's perplexing nature, enhanced power as an actor).[11]

To refer to "listening," then, as Two Bears does above, or to enact it, is to invoke a complex cultural communicative form: It is a form that derives from and helps constitute cultural and physical places; it provides a traditional, nonverbal way of being in those places; it invites various entities as spirited co-participants in this communication; it valorizes and intensely activates the non-oral communicative acts of watching, listening, and sensing nonverbally; it offers a deeply historical way of consulting the traditions and current cosmic arrangement of places as an aid to the various contingencies of contemporary life. Blackfeet "listening" is thus a highly reflective and revelatory mode of communication that can open one to the mysteries of unity between the physical and the spiritual, relationships between natural and human forms, and links between places and persons, all the while providing protection, power, and enhanced knowledge of one's small place in the world.

## Active Places and People: A Blackfeet Cultural Discourse

An interpretation of the above cultural communicative form can be summarized through a series of cultural propositions. Following the

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

interpretive procedure of prior works, this brings into sharper view a system of traditional Blackfeet beliefs and morals about dwelling (living in place), doing (proper action), feeling (emotion expression), and being (identity).[12] The system is offered here simply as a kind of summary of relevant premises as they are active in the "listening" form. Clearly, there are other, related premises for other forms of action. The following relevant and incomplete set of propositions offer my interpretation of Blackfeet beliefs and morals in "listening."

To "listen" in this Blackfeet way is to **DWELL-in-the-World** based upon basic realist beliefs about, and a moral for acting within that world. The basic beliefs are these: Things, people, animals, and places are interconnected in ways that are knowable, and unknowable; Spirits exist in things, people, animals, and places. The basic moral imperative: People should be attentive to this.

As a form of communication conduct, "listening" is a practice, or **Way of DOING** something. Basic beliefs about this action are these: People's actions are part of this interconnected world; People can and should listen to this world; By listening, people can become attuned to this world; Becoming attuned to this is good.

"Listening" also suggests a **Range of FEELING** and various objects of feeling. Basic beliefs about emotion are: People can feel (and see) the interconnectedness of things, places, and people; When tuned into this, feeling is integrated through things, places, and people: This is good; When not tuned into this, people are confused, sad, and down.

Finally, and in summary, "listening" is a **Way of BEING** that involves these basic beliefs about identity: Traditional Blackfeet acts are intimately situated in cultural, especially reservation places; The reservation is a place, and traditional places where people can actively live, and are motivated by those places to live in the proper way; This way recreates the basic beliefs about dwelling, doing, and feeling that are activated in, and by those very places.

These cultural and discursive propositions, when active among people, create for them a way of living, a particular sense of places, and spiritually animate those places with actors that are human and nonhuman. Dwelling in such places among such actors is to be living in a special physical culturescape or scene. To be there is not just a belief about this place, but a moral imperative that one dwell in such a place, at least at times, in this proper and particular way.

The basic belief about acting mentioned here, again, focuses our attention on listening. As elaborated above, this form of action is a morally sanctioned way of becoming attuned to, and learning from a complex spiritual and natural world. Basic beliefs about emotion are

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

activated through this cultural process as animals, trees, and places generally become objects of positive and sometimes intense emotion. One learns that such "things" are real, alive, and worthy of feeling. Realizing this can, as Rising Wolf put it to me, "make you jump with cheer and joy."

These basic propositions, when active, as in the traditional "listening" form, constitute both conditions for and enactments of a Blackfeet discourse, a way of being a person that is intimately situated in places, dwelling a particular way while there, cultivating proper feelings about the place, its features and people, such that this way of being and these places become inextricably intertwined.

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

## "Listening" in Other Cultural Scenes

The Pawnee and Otoe American Indian writer, Anna Lee Walters, has recently published a series of autobiographical stories. In a telling and early passage she writes:

> Listening is the first sense to develop in the womb. It is not surprising, then, that I was conscious of sounds earlier than anything else as an infant. Mainly, these were the sounds of the universe, the outdoors. They included whishing bird wings rising up into the sky, rustling trees, the cry of the mourning dove, and the rippling wind. (Walters, 1992, p. 12)

In one of Walters' stories, she describes a dialogue between an "old man" and a "visitor." The wise old sage sat at night watching the visitor for over an hour. He then formulated a lesson and its moral for his visitor in these words:

> It is important and curious to remember that everything we two-leggeds know about being human, we learned from the four-leggeds, the animals and birds, and everything else in the universe. None of this knowledge is solely your own . . . All these creatures and beings out here talk . . . Even today.
> They told our elders a lot . . .
> Listen . . .
> Old folks always say that the distance between two-leggeds and four-leggeds nowadays hasn't changed four-leggeds in any way. The distance has only changed us two-leggeds, made us worse off, more pitiful. They say the four-leggeds still talk the way they always have. It's we who've forgotten to listen. (pp. 30-32)

As Walters creates her stories here, one autobiographical, the other a morality tale, she uses a cultural form. Just as the old sage implores his visitor to listen, so she implores her reader to step into that form of communication, into that way of dwelling in place and feeling about it. Through this form, she instructs us how important lessons can be learned, problems in one's life can be addressed, inspiration gained, with our personal capacities for understanding and living in the world being richly enhanced in the process. Hopefully, by now, as a result of the above analyses, the depth and potential of this form has become more discernible, as a way of linking people to their places, its landscapes and all that that includes.

A failure to understand such a form can lead outsiders to quick and disastrous judgments. An author of a recent book on Native American Indian issues reported a discussion between himself and a Warm Springs Indian concerning land-use and management. The Indian had told him: "Listen to the things that [have] no mouths" (Bordewich, 1996, p. 157). Later, while discussing the controversial placement of a large astronomical observatory on top of Mount Graham in Arizona, a mountain deemed sacred to some Apache people, he ran into a similar admonition. He was told, in his words, that "silence was a form of piety." In so many gestures, the Indians were saying something like this: "We know what we know, deeply, by listening in this place. This is all we can report to you. To say more is to discredit and dishonor our way of knowing and being in our sacred places." The admonition aroused a bewildered disbelief in the outsider who formulated his reply in this way: Representatives of the Indians "were presenting silence as the ultimate argument . . . To say nothing was to say everything . . . It was a stunning argument. In lieu of fact, they offered mystery and a blank slate" (Bordewich, 1996, p. 218). To the outsider, such actions were nearly incomprehensible, and clearly unsatisfactory.

Needless to say, he did not have available to him an understanding nor appreciation of "listening" to such places, and hearing what they had to say. Neither, apparently, did he understand how that form itself is a deep historical root of identity that others can easily uproot, quickly cast aside, and leave to wither in the heat of their own day.

This is the kind of reaction one can anticipate when two largely incommensurate, culturally based practices, run into one another. For the one valorizes "listening" as a communicative form, activates shared beliefs about what that makes available, and utilizes silence as a communal means for increasing understanding of oneself and one's environment; for the other, speaking is valorized as a communicative form, with beliefs being constructed upon deliberative "facts," and verbal activity providing the primary means for knowing oneself and one's places. To each, the other is not quite right. And thus, the relations between each can strain the identities at work in such places, setting a scene for contesting people and places, too often nurturing only one at the expense of another.

And so it goes, as culturally based forms give birth to different cultural realities, different linguistic and communicative practices, different senses of dwelling in places, of acting and feeling there, of identity and location. By attending to the role of discursive practices in individual and cultural lives, especially those connecting people to place, perhaps we can create a better understanding of communication, especially of each about the other. Perhaps further, we can increase the therapeutic means available to each of us for our own understandings, and for deeper insights, from personal to global ecologies, if we just listen accordingly.

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

## NOTES

1. Several Blackfeet authors have produced writings about Blackfeet culture and history, including oral histories (e.g., Bullchild, 1985; Hungry Wolf, 1980; Long Lance, 1928), overviews of Blackfeet life (Kipp, 1993; Long Standing Bear Chief, 1992), thematic inscriptions of Blackfeet heritage (e.g., Ground, 1978; Rides at the Door, 1979) and a superb set of novels (e.g., Welch, 1974, 1987). Traditional ethnographic studies by others about Blackfeet culture are also available (e.g., Bradley, 1923; Goldfrank, 1945; Lewis, 1941, 1942; McClintock, 1992; Wissler, 1911, 1918; Wissler & Duvall, 1908) as is a dictionary of the Blackfoot language (Frantz & Russell, 1995). A popular series of essays appeared early in this century written by James Willard Schultz who married a Blackfeet bride (1907/1983, 1962, 1988; also see Grinnell, 1926, and Schultz & Donaldson, 1930). More recent examinations are those by Dempsey (1972, 1994), Ewers (1958), Kidd (1986), and McFee (1968, 1977). None of these studies sustain a focus upon communication itself, social interaction, and contemporary cultural life. Others have studied communication among other Native American peoples (e.g., Basso, 1996; Braithwaite, 1997; Darnell, 1988; Foley, 1995; Hymes, 1981; Philips, 1993; Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Weider & Pratt, 1990, 1993). For recent discussions of American Indian identity and cultural domination see Medicine (1994) and O'Neill (1994), among others.

2. The following analyses employ a basic ethnographic orientation discussed in detail elsewhere (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992; Hymes, 1972; Philipsen, 1989). The specific communicative activity of concern in this essay is both a cultural term for communicative action (i.e., "listening") and the activities so designated. The analysis is conducted by using a conceptual heuristic designed especially for such culturally based, metapragmatic terms, and practices, like this "listening" form (Carbaugh, 1989). This conceptual system has been used in various qualitative and quantitative studies (e.g., Baxter, 1993; Baxter & Goldsmith, 1990; and Hall & Valde, 1995).

The particular findings reported here derive from a corpus of fieldwork data collected periodically over the past 18 years (during parts of 1979, 1980, 1985, 1989, 1996, 1997) amounting to about 12 months of fieldwork. The specific analytical procedure can be summarized as following these general phases: (1) a discovery and observation in two parts, (a) of a focal term or phrase about communicative action that is prominent, potent, and recurrent in a cultural scene or community, as well as (b) the symbolic enactments the term makes relevant; (2) a detailed description, respectively, of both (a) the actual, routine linguistic practices that make use of the specific term, and (b) enactments of the focal communicative action as it is done in everyday scenes; (3) an analysis of these discursive enactments as culturally situated acts-in-events exploring how each employs the distinctive form of communicative action; and (4) an interpretation of the communal meanings that are active in those discursive practices, with special attention being paid to folk conceptions of communication itself, and the deeper meanings about being, relating, feeling, and dwelling that are associated with those practices.

3. For a sampling of a related body of work on environmental communication see Cantrill (1993), the essays in Cantrill and Oravec (1996), Lange (1993), and Peterson (1997). Similarly, I have explored the dueling discourses that activate a land-use dispute in western Massachusetts (Carbaugh, 1996, pp. 157–190).

4. My use of the "dwelling" concept is informed by Heidegger (1971, 1977), and used by Ingold (1992), as well as Feld and Basso (1996, pp. 3–11).

5. The name, Two Bears, is a pseudonym, as are the names Rising Wolf and Slow Talker. I use these pseudonyms to honor the commitments I have made during the course of these studies.

6. In terms of Searle's speech act theory, the illocutionary force at work here, when "listening" is explicitly mentioned, is partly at least, representational; with the point of the utterance (e.g., "if you sit and listen patiently") being to describe, however briefly, an action, to fit words about that action to a presumed cultural and physical world, to express a belief that the act is a potent way to be in that world, and to presume an extra-linguistic ethos of Blackfeet life for the realization of the act being so represented. This reading leans most heavily on dimensions 1, 2, 3, 4, and 10 in Searle's explication of illocutionary force (see Searle, 1990, pp. 350–355). The illocutionary force is also, at

times, a moderate directive (e.g., "just listen") inviting the hearer to do the very act of "listening" represented above.

7. A Native American reader of the essay made this observation which delighted me no end:

I believe, and this may be different from Two Bears, that where-ever I 'listen' in this great land, must have sacredness, in the respect that the ancestors lived everywhere on this land and the world and all its creatures are sacred. But as Awiakta, the Cherokee poet, writer, and activist has said it is difficult to 'listen' through concrete.

Indeed!

8. Also, as is evident in Blackfeet history (e.g., see Bullchild, 1985) and novels (e.g., see Welch, 1987) and various occasions of storytelling, this access has diminished with the coming of "the modern day world," this latter phrase often operating as a code phrase meaning, "the whiteman's world."

9. The superb novel *Fools Crow* by Blackfeet author James Welch contains several dialogues between Blackfeet and animals. For a sustained example, see the dialogue between the raven, a "power animal" of a healer, the healer, and the title character. In the dialogue, raven and Fools Crow show their ability to speak and interact with each other through a shared universal language (1987, pp. 46–58).

10. Note that the "listening" form can work in ways both mundane, and, mysterious. For the latter, I am quite influenced by Two Bears', Rising Wolf's, and many others' stories about the possible mysteries created and unveiled through the form. Also, I am influenced by the late Blackfeet elder and author Percy Bullchild (1985), who discussed—especially through the Scarface myth—various surprising ways a spirit can make itself known and "give you its powers of mystery" (pp. 325–390; see also Welch, 1987).

11. I have explored these events and their history through the narrative form in my paper: " 'The people will come to you': Blackfeet narrative as a resource for contemporary living."

12. The interpretive procedure has been summarized elsewhere and applied in a variety of essays (e.g., Carbaugh, 1996b; Fitch, 1998; Hall & Valde, 1995; Philipsen, 1992).

## REFERENCES

Basso, K. (1990). *Western Apache language and culture.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Basso, K. (1996). *Wisdom sits in places: Landscape and language among the Western Apache.* Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Baxter, L. (1993). "Talking things through" and "putting it in writing": Two codes of communication in an academic institution. *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 21,* 313–326.

Baxter, L., & Goldsmith, D. (1990). Cultural terms for communication events among some American high school adolescents. *Western Journal of Speech Communication, 54,* 377–394.

Bordewich, F. (1996). *Killing the white man's Indian: Reinventing Native Americans at the end of the twentieth century.* New York: Doubleday.

Bradley, J. H. (1923). *Characteristics, habits, and customs of the Blackfeet Indian* (Vol. 16). Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana. Helena, MT: Historical Society of Montana.

Braithwaite, C. (1997). Sa'ah naagháí bik'eh hózhóón: An ethnography of Navajo educational communication practices. *Communication Education, 46,* 219–233.

Bullchild, P. (1985). *The sun came down: The history of the world as my Blackfeet Elders told it.* San Francisco, CA: Harper.

Cantrill, J. (1993). Communication and our environment: Categorizing research in environmental advocacy. *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 21,* 66–95.

Cantrill, J., & Oravec, C. (Eds.). (1996). *The symbolic earth: Discourse and our creation of the environment.* Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

Carbaugh, D. (1989). Fifty terms for talk: A cross-cultural study. *International and Intercultural Communication Annual, 13,* 93–120.

Carbaugh, D. (1996a). Naturalizing communication and culture. In J. Cantrill & C. Oravec (Eds.), *The symbolic earth: Discourse and our creation of the environment* (pp. 38–57). Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.

Carbaugh, D. (1996b). *Situating selves: The communication of social identities in American scenes.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Carbaugh, D., & Hastings, S. (1992). A role for communication theory in ethnography and cultural analysis. *Communication Theory, 2,* 156–165.

Darnell, R. (1988). The implications of Cree interactional etiquette. In R. Darnell & M. Foster (Eds.), *Native North American interaction patterns* (pp. 69–77). Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Deloria, Jr., V. (1991). Reflection and revelation: Knowing land, places and ourselves. In J. A. Swan (Ed.), *The power of place: Sacred ground in natural and human environments* (pp. 28–40). Wheaton, IL: Quest Books.

Dempsey, H. A. (1972). *Crowfoot: Chief of the Blackfeet.* Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Dempsey, H. A. (1994). *The amazing death of Calf Shirt and other Blackfoot stories: Three hundred years of Blackfoot history.* Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Fifth House Publishers.

Ewers, J. C. (1958). *The Blackfeet: Raiders on the northwest plains.* Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Feld, S., & Basso, K. (Eds.). (1996). *Senses of place.* Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Fitch, K. (1998). *Speaking relationally: Culture and interpersonal communication in Colombia.* New York: Guilford Press.

Foley, D. E. (1995). *The heartland chronicles.* Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Frantz, D., & Russell, N. J. (1995). *Blackfoot dictionary of stems, roots, and affixes* (2nd ed.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Goldfrank, E. (1945). *Changing configurations in the social organization of a Blackfoot tribe during the reserve period (The blood of Alberta, Canada).* In A. I. Hallowell (Ed.), *Monographs of the American Ethnological Society:* No. 8. New York: Augustin.

Grinnell, G. B. (1962). *Blackfoot lodge tales.* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Ground, M. (1978). *Grass Woman stories.* Browning, MT: Blackfeet Heritage Program.

Gumperz, J. & Levinson, S. (Eds.). (1996). *Rethinking linguistic relativity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hall, B. J., & Valde, K. (1995). "Brown nosing" as a cultural resource in American organizational speech. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 28,* 131–150.

Heidegger, M. (1971). *Poetry, language, thought.* New York: Harper.

Heidegger, M. (1977). Building dwelling thinking. In D. Krell (Ed.), *Martin Heidegger: Basic writings* (pp. 319–339). New York: Harper.

Hungry Wolf, B. (1980). *The ways of my grandmothers.* New York: Morrow.

Hymes, D. (1972). Models of the interaction of language to social life. In J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication* (pp. 35–71). New York: Holt.

Hymes, D. (1981). *"In vain I tried to tell you": Essays in Native American ethnopoetics.* Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Ingold, T. (1992). Culture and the perception of the environment. In E. Croll & D. Parkin (Eds.), *Bush base, forest farm: Culture, environment, and development* (pp. 39–56). London: Routledge.

Jackson, J. B. (1994). *A sense of place, a sense of time.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Kidd, K. E. (1986). *Blackfoot ethnography.* Edmonton, Alberta: Archaeological Survey of Alberta. [Manuscript Series No. 8.]

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

Kipp, D. R. (1993, June). The Blackfeet: A Native American perspective. *Montana Magazine, 119,* 4–11.

Lange, J. (1993). The logic of competing information campaigns: Conflict over old growth and the spotted owl. *Communication Monographs, 60,* 239–257.

Lewis, O. (1941). Manly-hearted women among the North Peigan. *American Anthropologist, 43,* 173-187.

Lewis, O. (1942). *The effect of white contact upon Blackfoot culture* In A. I. Hallowell, (Ed.), *Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, No. 6.* New York: Augustin.

Long Lance. (1928). *Long Lance: The autobiography of a Blackfoot Indian Chief by Chicago Buffalo Child Long Lance.* London: Faber.

Long Standing Bear Chief. (1992). *Ni-Kso-Ko-Wa: Blackfoot spirituality, traditions, values and beliefs.* Browning, MT: Spirit Talk Press.

Lucy, J. (1992). *Language diversity and thought: A reformulation of the linguistic relativity hypothesis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McClintock, W. (1992). *The old north trail: Life, legends and religion among the Blackfeet Indians.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

McFee, M. (1968). The 150% man, a product of Blackfeet acculturation. *American Anthropologist, 70,* 1096–1103.

McFee, M. (1977). Modern Blackfeet: Montanans on a reservation. In G. Spindler & L. Spindler (Eds.), *Native North American cultures: Four cases* (pp. 225–360). New York: Holt.

Medicine, B. (1994, Winter). North American indigenous women and cultural domination. *Cultural Survival Quarterly, 17,* 66–69.

O'Neill, T. D. (1994). Telling about Whites, talking about Indians: Oppression, resistance, and contemporary American Indian identity. *Cultural Anthropology, 9,* 94–126.

Peterson, T. R. (1997). *Sharing the earth: The rhetoric of sustainable development.* Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.

Philips, S. U. (1993). *The invisible culture: Communication in classroom and community on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland.

Philipsen, G. (1976). Places for speaking in Teamsterville. *Quarterly Journal of Speech, 62,* 15–25.

Philipsen, G. (1989). An ethnographic approach to communication studies. In B. Dervin, L. Grossberg, B. O'Keefe & E. Wartella (Eds.), *Rethinking communication (Vol. 2): Paradigm exemplars* (pp. 258–268). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Philipsen, G. (1992). *Speaking culturally: Explorations in social communication.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Rides at the Door, D. D. (1979). *Napi stories.* Browning, MT: Blackfeet Heritage Program.

Schultz, J. W. (1983/1907). *My life as an Indian: The story of a red woman and a white man in the lodges of the Blackfeet.* Lewiston, ID: Confluence Press.

Schultz, J. W. (1962). *Blackfeet and buffalo: Memories of life among the Indians.* Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Schultz, J. W. (1988). *Recently discovered tales of life among the Indians.* Missoula, MT: Mountain Press.

Schultz, J. W., & Donaldson, J. L. (1930). *The sun god's children.* Boston: Houghton.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (1981). *Narrative, literacy, and face in interethnic communication.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Searle, J. (1990). A classification of illocutionary acts. In D. Carbaugh (Ed.), *Cultural communication and intercultural contact* (pp. 349–372). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Sherzer, J. (1987). A discourse-centered approach to language and culture. *American Anthropologist, 89,* 295–309.

Urban, G. (1991). *A discourse-centered approach to culture.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Walters, A. L. (1992). *Talking Indian: Reflections on survival and writing.* Ithaca, NY: Firebrand Books.

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016

Weider, L., and Pratt, S. (1993). The case of "saying a few words" and "talking for another" among the Osage people: "Public speaking" as an object of ethnography. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 26,* 353–408.

Weider, L., and Pratt, S. (1990). On being a recognizable Indian among Indians. In D. Carbaugh (Ed.), *Cultural communication and intercultural contact* (pp. 45–64). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Welch, J. (1974). *Winter in the blood.* New York: Penguin.

Welch, J. (1987). *Fools crow.* New York: Penguin.

Whorf, B. L. (1941/1956). The relation of habitual thought and behavior to language. In J. Carroll (Ed.), *Language, thought, and reality: Selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf* (pp. 134–159). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Wissler, C. (1911). *The social life of the Blackfoot Indians.* In *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (Vol. 7). New York: The Trustees.

Wissler, C. (1918). *The Sun Dance of the Blackfoot Indians.* In *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (Vol. 16). New York: The Trustees.

Wissler, C., & Duvall, D. C. (1908). *Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians.* In *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (Vol. 2). New York: The Trustees.

Downloaded by [Aalto-yliopiston kirjasto] at 07:26 21 April 2016