

2019

Mapping Ideologies: Place Names in Glacier National Park

Kaitlin E. Pipitone

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MAPPING IDEOLOGIES: PLACE NAMES IN GLACIER NATIONAL PARK

By

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Thesis

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Arts
in Anthropology, Linguistics

The University of Montana
Missoula, MT

May 2019

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Mapping Ideologies: Place Names in Glacier National Park

Chairperson: Dr. Leora Bar-el

This thesis examines the intersection of place names and language ideologies. In particular, I identify and analyze the emergent language ideologies in discussions about place names in six written sources related to Glacier National Park. I propose that the authors construct language ideologies about place names through the three semiotic processes identified by Irvine and Gal (2000): iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure. Further, I argue that language ideologies have historically authorized choices about place names on the basis of linguistic differentiation.

Examining six written sources, the publication of which span nearly a century, I identify several excerpts in which authors exhibit language ideologies or, “beliefs and feelings about language” (Field and Kroskrity 2009: 4) when they differentiate Indigenous place names from Euro-American place names. I consider the sources educative as each provides the public with information about the park and its place names. I analyze the excerpts as examples of iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure. Through iconization, a linguistic form becomes linked to the people who use it; through fractal recursivity, an opposition at one level (for example, a social level) may be projected onto another level; and through erasure, linguistic forms or the people who use them are rendered nonexistent when they do not conform with an individual’s ideology.

The analysis proposed in this thesis has both theoretical and broader implications. First, this thesis contributes to the canon of language ideology research by extending the framework of Irvine and Gal (2000) to discussions about place names for the first time. Second, this research adds to the growing body of place name research dubbed critical toponymies which move the focus of place name studies from the toponym itself to the power dynamics involved in toponymic processes. Thus, within critical toponymies, this thesis offers a new theoretical approach to place name ideologies. Third, this thesis also suggests that the three semiotic processes identified by Irvine and Gal will predictably co-occur. Finally, this research raises awareness about the role of language ideologies in public discourse about place names.

Acknowledgements

People say that being a grad student can be a lonely slog. I wholeheartedly assumed that motherhood would exacerbate the loneliness. But the truth is, I have never felt lonely since moving to Montana and starting this program. I have been surrounded by the kindness and warmth and brilliance of both my professors and my peers, so I have a lot of people to thank.

Thank you to my peers. I have regularly basked in the support and genius of fellow students since my first day here. In particular, I would like to acknowledge Cassady Fairlane, my first friend in grad school, whose presence in Missoula is sorely missed. To the other students in my ANTY 500 class that I still call friends: Danielle Price and Michaela Shifley. Special thanks to both Dani and Michaela (and Rachel Steffen) for listening to me practice my defense presentation. Thank you to the students I met later: Liz Dolinar, Kate Kolwicz, Rebekah Skoog, Anne Smyrl; all the coffee, walks, conversations, and (at times) lamentations kept my spirits high. To the linguistics grad students, who have always warmly welcomed me in their classes and all of whom I consider friends: David Heath, Jessica Holtz, Meriah Horseman, Jarrett Hopewell, Lynn Nelson, and Samantha Prins.

Super special thanks to Nikki Manning. How fortuitous that I met her in an anthropology class my first semester. She has been a wonderful mentor, an invaluable confidant, and a remarkable friend. I will always be grateful for her invitation to work in the Historical Archaeology lab when I just needed to be around people. I can't imagine grad school without her.

Thank you to my anthropology and linguistics professors: Dr. Richard Sattler, Dr. Gregory Campbell, Dr. Irene Appelbaum, Dr. Leora Bar-el, Dr. Mizuki Miyashita, and Dr. Tully Thibau. Undoubtedly, their classes and expertise all influenced this project in various ways.

Special thanks to my committee members. Dr. Gregory Campbell and Dr. Sarah Halvorson provided thoughtful feedback and asked challenging questions that not only offered new perspectives but also improved this thesis.

This thesis would absolutely not have been possible without the unwavering support, endless patience, and expert guidance of my committee chair and advisor, Dr. Leora Bar-el. Because this project was originally conceived in one of Dr. Bar-el's classes, she has seen, read, and edited every iteration of this work. Her feedback, encouragement, and enthusiasm (as it relates to this project and other projects) have made me a better student, a better writer, a better linguist, and a better anthropologist. She may not know this, but I have wanted to work with her since I began researching the UMT program, and I am so grateful that she decided to take me on as an advisee.

I would like to thank my family. Though I am sure they would prefer me to live closer, my parents have always supported my decision to move to Montana and pursue my graduate education. I would like to extend special thanks to my mother who planned several visits to help me with my daughter when I knew I would be working hard to meet deadlines.

I would also like to thank my partner, Jacob Brown. Who knew that one conversation about the Missouri River would amount to more than 10 years of blissful adventure? Arguably, moving to Montana and having a child has been our most exciting adventure yet. Jacob regularly rearranged his work schedule to accommodate my school schedule and take care of our most perfect daughter. He also regularly (and perhaps generously) reminded me of my brilliance which always inspired me to keep doing the work.

And finally, I would like to thank my daughter, Chamomile. As she is truly my source of inspiration, I would like to dedicate this work to her.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	vi
List of Figures.....	viii
List of Table	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 A Note About Orthography.....	6
Chapter 2: Place Names	8
Chapter 3: Place Name Studies	10
3.1 Introduction	10
3.2 North American Indigenous Place Name Studies	11
3.2.1 Etymological Approaches.....	11
3.2.2 Typological Approaches.....	13
3.2.3 Landscape Approaches	16
3.2.4 Euro-American Place-Naming Convention.....	18
3.3 Critical Toponymies.....	19
3.3.1 Attitudes toward Indigenous Toponym Restoration in Australia	20
3.3.2 Attitudes toward Toponyms in Oslo.....	21
3.4 Summary	24
Chapter 4 Theoretical Framework: Language Ideologies.....	25
4.1 Introduction	25
4.2 Defining Language Ideologies	25
4.3 Theoretical Framework of Irvine and Gal (2000).....	27
4.3.1 Iconization	27
4.3.2 Fractal Recursivity.....	29
4.3.3 Erasure	32
4.3.4 Simultaneity of Semiotic Processes.....	33
4.4 Summary	38
Chapter 5: Source Material.....	40
5.1 Introduction	40
5.3 Sources.....	44
5.3.1 <i>Glacier national park</i> . n.d. Great Northern Railway brochure.....	45
5.3.2 Grant, Madison. 1919. <i>Early History of Glacier National Park Montana</i>	46
5.3.3 Schultz, James Willard. 1926. <i>Signposts of Adventure</i>	48
5.3.4 Ruhle, George C. 1975. <i>Origins of Place Names</i> manuscript.....	50
5.3.5 Ruhle, George Cornelius. 1986. <i>Roads and Trails of Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park: The Ruhle Handbook</i>	51
5.3.6 Holterman, Jack. 2006. <i>Place Names of Glacier National Park</i>	52

5.4 Summary	52
Chapter 6: Place Name Ideologies in Glacier National Park	54
6.1 Introduction	54
6.2 Iconization.....	54
6.3 Fractal Recursivity.....	65
6.4 Erasure	71
6.5 Simultaneity of Semiotic Processes.....	79
6.6 Themes.....	81
6.7 Summary	83
Chapter 7: Conclusions, Implications, and Mapping Further Research	85
7.1 Conclusions	85
7.2 Implications	86
7.2.1 Theoretical Implications	86
7.2.2 Broader Implications	88
7.3 Mapping Future Research.....	88
7.3.1 Extend Research to Include Other National Parks	88
7.3.2 Socio-onomastic Survey	90
APPENDIX A: Data excerpts.....	91
References	93

List of Figures

Figure 1: Fractal Recursivity	31
Figure 2: Fractal Recursivity in Nguni Languages	34
Figure 3: Fractal Recursivity of Indigenous/Non-Indigenous Dichotomy	69

List of Tables

Table 1: Schultz (1926) Kootenai Names for Glaciers in Glacier National Park	61
Table 2: Co-occurrence of Semiotic Processes	84

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The goal of this thesis is to examine the intersection of place names and language ideologies. In particular, I identify and analyze the emergent language ideologies in discussions about place names in six written sources related to Glacier National Park. By examining the sources through the lens of language ideologies, I propose that the authors construct language ideologies about place names through the three semiotic processes identified by Irvine and Gal (2000): iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure.

Place names comprise a near-universal linguistic category (Basso 1996; Burenhult and Levinson 2008; Meadows 2008). Nearly all communities assign names to the physical environment¹. Names lend places specificity in that they provide a means of distinguishing one place from another (Barber and Berdan 1998). But beyond their mere referential function, place names reveal information related to a community's identity because communities tend to name places in ways that reflect their cultural values. Thus, instead of simply "picking out" (Basso 1988, 103) a location, a place name may conjure a wide range of associations. The mention of a place name may spark an emotional connection to a specific locale, and even if one has not visited the place, they may be able to imagine what it might be like by just hearing the name. This is because place names embody a wealth of cultural information related to geography, cultural values, cultural contact, the environment, and history.

Much of the literature related to North American Indigenous place names approaches toponyms (another word for place names) as a unit of analysis. Etymological, typological, and

¹ Burenhult and Levinson (2008) suggest that the village Kata Kolok in Bali may be a possible exception.

landscape approaches to North American Indigenous toponyms offer perspectives about the historical, linguistic, and cultural information that might be gleaned from place names. For example, etymological approaches offer a historical examination of North American Indigenous toponyms like **Bannock**. Bright (2002) suggests the name **Bannock** derives from the name of a Numic tribe in Idaho, *pannákwati*; the name was later converted through folk etymology to **Bannock**, a word for the Scottish flapjack consumed by early settlers and traders. In typological approaches to North American Indigenous toponyms, authors classify Indigenous place names based on their meanings. For example, Afable and Beeler (1996) suggest the following four-part typology: (i) descriptive names, (ii) locational names, (iii) names referring to human activities, and (iv) names referring to history, mythology, or folklore. Landscape approaches to North American place names seek to examine the intimate relationship between people and the landscape they inhabit. For example, Hunn (1996) reveals that the Sahaptin-named landscape of the Celilo Falls area archived cultural information prior to its flooding to create the Dalles Dam. In many approaches to North American Indigenous place names, Indigenous toponyms are juxtaposed with Euro-American toponyms. Authors suggest that commemorative names (names that honor significant individuals) were uncommon in Indigenous cultures while commemorative names were extremely common in the Euro-American tradition (Afable and Beeler 1996; Hunn 1996; Thornton 2008).

While the existing literature related to North American Indigenous place names focuses on place-naming practices and toponyms themselves, a growing body of literature moves the focus of place name studies from the place name itself to the power dynamics involved in toponymic processes. This body of literature, dubbed “critical toponymies,” encompasses research related to communities’ attitudes about place names (Kostanski and Puzey 2016;

Vuolteenaho and Berg 2009). Until now, much of the critical toponymy literature has been focused on communities outside of the United States. My research responds to this gap by examining the Euro-American attitudes about Euro-American and Indigenous place names in Glacier National Park through the lens of language ideologies.

Broadly defined, language ideologies are “beliefs and feelings about language” (Field and Kroskrity 2009, 4) including “beliefs about the superiority or inferiority of specific languages” (Field and Kroskrity 2009, 11). All speakers possess language ideologies, though the notions that speakers have about language may not be deliberate or systematic; when it comes to language ideologies, there is “no view from nowhere, no gaze that is not positioned” (Irvine and Gal 2000, 36). A language ideology may characterize the nature of language in general: “Language is what separates humans from other species” (Ahearn 2017, 23); or a language ideology may characterize particular languages: “French is such a romantic language!” (Ahearn 2017, 23). Often a speaker’s language ideology will prescribe the particular use of a language in particular contexts: “People who live in the United States should speak English” (Ahearn 2017, 23).

Language ideologies surface at speakers’ perceived boundaries of language—not necessarily at a regional boundary but, rather, at a sociolinguistic boundary where speakers perceive difference. The resulting linguistic differentiation leads speakers to map their ideas about language onto other speakers, events, or linguistic activities (Irvine and Gal 2000; Woolard and Schloffelin 1994). Through language ideologies, speakers inextricably link linguistic forms to the people who use them. As a result, the linguistic forms become a means of indexing speakers, social groups, or languages (Irvine and Gal 2000).

Irvine and Gal (2000) suggest that language ideologies locate, interpret, and rationalize linguistic differentiation by means of three semiotic processes: iconization, fractal recursivity,

and erasure. Through iconization, “[l]inguistic features that index social groups [...] appear to be iconic representations of them” (37); fractal recursivity produces “an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level” (38); erasure “renders some persons or activities (or linguistic phenomena) invisible” (38). The authors suggest that these semiotic processes rarely work in isolation; more commonly, multiple processes occur simultaneously. Ultimately, this conceptual framework of ideologies suggests that speakers’ attitudes about language are what explain or rationalize speakers’ perceptions of linguistic differentiation. Further, speakers’ ideologies regarding linguistic differentiation may contribute to language change or authorize actions on the basis of perceived linguistic differentiation.

In this thesis, I draw on literature related to place names, place name studies, and language ideologies to identify language ideologies as they emerge in written sources regarding the place names of Glacier National Park. The six written sources I consult span nearly a century (in terms of publication date, 1919-2006). In these sources, authors map their language ideologies onto the place names of Glacier National Park when they differentiate Indigenous names from Euro-American place names. In differentiating between Indigenous place names and Euro-American place names, authors often exhibit “beliefs about the superiority or inferiority” (Field and Kroskrity 2009, 11) of particular place names; in particular, the authors reveal views about what constitutes an “appropriate” place name. In dichotomizing Indigenous and Euro-American place names, some authors suggest that Indigenous place names are often “too long” or “too difficult to pronounce” to be considered place names (Grant 1919; Ruhle 1975; Schultz 1926). Another author suggests that Indigenous place names “are not names at all” because they are merely descriptions (Holterman 2006). Often these language ideologies become the basis for choosing one place name over another. Thus, language ideologies about place names come to

authorize naming practices on the basis of linguistic differentiation. In some cases, language ideologies rationalize the erasure of Indigenous toponyms altogether. Many of the names affected by language ideologies are still in use today. Because each source consulted in this thesis provided the public with information about the park and the place names within the park, I consider the source material educative. Thus, the language ideologies of the authors may have influenced or shaped readers' beliefs, feelings, or attitudes about place names in Glacier National Park.

I argue that the emergent language ideologies in written sources related to place names of Glacier National Park may be analyzed according to the framework outlined by Irvine and Gal (2000). I present excerpts from the six written sources and analyze them as examples of iconization, fractal recursivity, or erasure. Further, I argue that language ideologies have historically authorized choices about place names on the basis of language differentiation. Because many of the affected place names are still in use today, these toponyms are inextricably linked to the ideologies that influenced or created them. Further, because these written sources were (and still are) educative, I propose that language ideologies may be perpetuated through time by being presented as facts in educative written sources.

Several implications emerge from this analysis. This thesis contributes to the canon of language ideology research by extending the framework of Irvine and Gal (2000) to discussions about place names for the first time. Additionally, this research adds to the growing body of literature concerned with critical toponymies as it highlights the attitudes of authors toward place names in Glacier National Park; this thesis offers the first critical look at toponymy through the lens of language ideologies. Finally, this research suggests that the three semiotic processes of Irvine and Gal will predictably co-occur.

More broadly, this research raises awareness about the role of language ideologies in public discourse about place names. This thesis may contextualize ongoing discussions about changing or restoring Indigenous place names. In particular, this research could be used to identify the motivations, attitudes, and effects related to choosing one place name over another.

This thesis is organized as follows: in Chapter 2, I discuss place names, their significance, and what types of information may be gleaned from place names. In Chapter 3, I present several approaches to place name studies; in particular, I focus on three different approaches to North American Indigenous place name studies, the Euro-American place-naming convention, and critical toponymies. In Chapter 4, I define language ideologies, and I outline Irvine and Gal's (2000) theoretical framework which proposes that language ideologies are constructed through three semiotic processes: iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure. In Chapter 5, I briefly discuss the establishment of Glacier National Park and its place names before describing each of the written sources consulted for this study. In Chapter 6, I present and analyze data from the written sources as instances of iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure. In Chapter 7, I summarize my thesis, outline both the theoretical and broader implications, and discuss issues for further research.

1.2 A Note About Orthography

Because this thesis discusses place names in multiple languages, I have adapted the orthography (i.e. the written representations) of the place names in the following ways. In all cases, the orthographic representation of place names matches the orthography provided by the source. All place names in a language other than English have been italicized. Where appropriate, English glosses of place names in languages other than English are provided in

single quotes. Present-day place names appear in bold; please note that I have also decided to bold present-day place names when they appear in quotes from the various sources I consult. For example, Schultz (1926) discusses a waterfall in Glacier National Park; the present-day name is **Florence Falls**, the Blackfoot name Schultz offers is *Pai'ota Oh'tôkwi*, and the English gloss (also provided by Schultz) of the Blackfoot name is 'Flying Woman Falls.'

Chapter 2: Place Names

Place names comprise a near-universal linguistic category (Basso 1996; Burenhult and Levinson 2008; Meadows 2008). Nearly all communities assign names to the physical environment. Names lend places specificity in that they provide a means of distinguishing one place from another (Barber and Berdan 1998). Though many people perceive this referential function as their singular purpose, Basso (1988) suggests that toponyms are “among the most highly charged and richly evocative of all linguistic symbols” (103) as they convey a wide range of associations connected to a specific locale. While people use place names to communicate about the world around them, place names also mark places as distinct from other locations. This is to say that named places bear some significance to the people who named them because place names conjure some sense of “what happened here” (Basso 1996, 5). In particular, place names expose the intimate relationships between a community and their environment. For example, toponyms can track the history of a community; place names in Britain reveals the settlement patterns of Germanic tribes after their arrival from Northwestern Europe (today’s northwest Germany) (Culpepper 2005). Culpepper suggests that the Angles gave their name to **East Anglia**, comprised of **Norfolk** (‘north folk’) county and **Suffolk** (‘south folk’) county; the Saxons settled in the south, as evidenced by place names such as **Sussex** (‘south saxons’) county, **Essex** (‘east saxons’) county, and **Middlesex** (‘middle saxons’) county.

Place names also reflect a community’s knowledge, detail past and present cultural activities, reveal cultural values, or detail natural processes (Afable and Beeler 1996; Atik and Swaffield 2017; Barber and Berdan 1998; Zenk 2008). A descriptive North American Indigenous name may reflect knowledge of the environment and use of a particular site. For example, the Kiowa name for a tributary of the Arkansas River in Colorado is *Gúl-qúl-dé-è-vâu* (‘Creek

Where There Is Paint') which Meadows (2008) explains was named due to the presence of a large supply of clay for paint. Through place names, the Kiowa marked places where mineral paint could be found for decorative and religious use (Meadows 2008).

Additionally, toponyms function as a tool by which people appropriate or claim the physical environment (Basso 1988; Meadows 2008). For example, Atik and Swaffield (2017) suggest that renaming the landscape is often one of the first actions of a colonizing group. Finally, place names serve a mnemonic function in that they may index stories or themes present in the oral tradition of the naming community (Afable and Beeler 1996; Oetelaar and Oetelaar 2006). As a result, named landscapes archive a vast amount of information (Atik and Swaffield 2017; Thornton 2008).

Chapter 3: Place Name Studies

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss scholarly approaches to place name studies. Examining place name studies reveals various ways that place names may be analyzed. North American Indigenous place name studies have often focused on the analysis of the place name itself. Further, North American Indigenous place name studies have often highlighted the distinction between Indigenous place-naming conventions and Euro-American place-naming conventions. I discuss approaches to North American Indigenous place name studies in §3.2; the central unit of analysis in these studies is the toponym itself. In particular, I focus on three approaches that I identify as “etymological,” “typological,” and “landscape” approaches. Because much of the data I present in Chapter 6 emphasizes the distinction between Indigenous and Euro-American place-naming conventions, I highlight the distinguishing features of Euro-American place-naming conventions as described in North American Indigenous place name studies. In §3.3, I discuss the growing body of scholarly literature concerning “critical toponymies”. Critical toponymies move the analytical focus from the place name itself to the power dynamics involved in the place-naming (or toponymic) process. As an illustration of critical toponymies, I offer examples of two case studies that analyze attitudes about place names. The first examines a community’s attitudes toward a controversial proposal to restore Indigenous toponyms in an Australian National Park (Kostanski 2016). The second analyzes Oslo residents’ attitudes about place names in a linguistically diverse neighborhood (Berezkina 2016). Although focused on toponyms outside North America, both cases emphasize participants’ attitudes toward place names from minority languages. Further, both of the critical toponymies presented in this chapter highlight attitudes related to what constitutes an “appropriate” place name including concerns such as the

“pronounceability,” the length, and the sound of place names. Many of the same themes emerge in the sources I consult in discussions about place names in Glacier National Park. My thesis contributes to this growing body of literature within the critical toponymy approaches to place names because it examines speakers’ attitudes about North American Indigenous and Euro-American place names of Glacier National Park through the theoretical lens of language ideologies.

3.2 North American Indigenous Place Name Studies

This section provides an overview of various approaches to North American Indigenous place name studies. I highlight three different scholarly approaches that I describe as etymological, typological, and landscape approaches.

3.2.1 Etymological Approaches

Scholars have often approached North American Indigenous place name studies through etymological research. This type of research typically entails the collection and compilation of North American Indigenous place names into a dictionary-style work. Place names are presented with accompanying information, often including pronunciation and etymological information.

For example, Bright (2002) proposed the North American Placenames of the United States Project (NAPUS) which entailed the creation of a comprehensive dictionary focused on U.S. place names of Indigenous origin. Bright collected data from the Geographic Names Information System (GNIS), U.S. place name dictionaries, regional place name dictionaries, and regional Indigenous place name dictionaries. Bright presents sample entries of place names in California of Indigenous origin to illustrate the format of the NAPUS dictionary:

Bannock (Calif., San Bernardino Co.) [ban' ək] From the name of a Numic Indian tribe in Idaho, *pannákwti* (HNAI 11:306). The term was changed by folk etymology to “Bannock,” after a kind of Scottish flapjack much used by early traders and settlers (Gudde/Bright).

Bohemotash (Calif., Shasta Co.) [bō hē' mə tash] From Wintu *bohema thoos*, lit. ‘big camp’ (Shepherd).

Bolinas (Calif., Marin Co.) [bō lē' nəs]. A map of 1834 has the word “Baulenes” on the peninsula which now includes Bolinas Point, Duxbury Point, and the town of Bolinas. The name *Baulenes*, possibly from a Coast Miwok word of undetermined meaning, probably referred to the Indians who inhabited the region (Gudde/Bright).

(Bright 2002, 327)

Bright explicitly seeks to highlight North American Indigenous place names that have entered into English usage. Bright aims to include names not only with North American Indigenous etymologies but also names that are associated with North American Indigenous culture and history, both “historically valid and locally believed” (Bright 2002, 335). In considering which names to collect for the NAPUS project, Bright outlines a typology that includes the following categories (among others) of place names. Bright defines “Indigenous Derivations” as “genuine” native place names or names of prominent Indigenous individuals borrowed into English; examples include **Chicago**, **Tucson**, **Seattle**, and **Spokane**. “Pseudo-Amerindian Terms” are place names that Bright suggests are commonly assumed to be derived from Indigenous languages. For example, Bright discusses the name **Lake Itasca**, the name of the Minnesota lake that feeds the Mississippi River; commonly assumed to be an Indigenous derivation, **Lake Itasca** is a place name invented by Henry R. Schoolcraft. Schoolcraft rearranged letters from a Latin phrase that supposedly meant ‘true head(waters).’ Bright defines “Translations” as English place name terms that are commonly assumed to be literal translations of Indigenous terms including place names, associated descriptions, or elements from Indigenous myths. This category may include calques which are considered word-for-word translations of

Indigenous place names. For example, Bright suggests the name **Medicine Bow Mountain** (in Colorado and Wyoming) is assumed to translate into a Shoshone term for a magical bow. Bright suggests that the origins of place names within the “Translations” category are difficult to confirm. He asserts that many of the translated toponyms could simply be adaptations of common Indigenous nouns later applied as place names. Bright defines “Adopted European Names” as commemorative names of Indigenous people. In this category he includes calques of personal names, such as **Black Hawk** and **Big Foot** (in Wisconsin), which Bright suggests are names of Algonquian leaders (Bright 2002, 330-335).

3.2.2 Typological Approaches

Many North American Indigenous place name studies seek to categorize Indigenous toponyms based on a wide variety of criteria. For example, Afable and Beeler (1996) suggest that North American Indigenous place names may be categorized according to the following four-part typology: (i) descriptive names, (ii) locational names, (iii) names referring to human activities carried out at a site, or (iv) names referring to history, folklore, or mythology.

Descriptive names may be used to refer to (a) a site’s physical appearance, (b) the presence of particular animals, birds, insects, or fishes, (c) the resemblance of a site to a part of the human or an animal body, (d) a color associated with the site, or (e) a sound associated with the site. Typically, the descriptive category contains the largest number of North American Indigenous place names (Meadows 2008). Afable and Beeler offer the following examples of descriptive place names²:

² Examples in this section (3.2.2) are presented exactly as they appear in Afable and Beeler (1996). The first word in the example identifies the language of the place name, the italicized word is the phonemic representation of the place name in its source language, the English gloss appears in single quotes, the

- [1] Teton (Lakhota): *Mníšoše* ‘turbid water’, the **Missouri River**
- [2] Western Abenaki: *zalɔnaktegw* ‘sumac cone river’, **Saranac River**, New York
- [3] Quileute: *toqʷsá·tal* ‘sea lion hunting place’, **Sea Lion Rock**, La Push, Washington
- [4] Navajo: *Be’ek’id Halchíí* ‘red lake’, **Red Lake**, Arizona and **Ganado Lake**, Arizona
- [5] Barbareño Chumash: *šnoxš* ‘it is (like) a nose’, bluff near **Maria Ignacio Creek**, Santa Barbara region
- [6] Kwakiutl: *dámliwas* ‘place of rumbling noise’, **Baronet Passage**, British Columbia

In [1], the Teton name *Mníšoše* describes the physical appearance of the river; in [2], the Western Abenaki name *zalɔnaktegw* describes the presence of the sumac plant near the river; in [3], the Quileute name *toqʷsá·tal* describes the presence of sea lions and practice of hunting sea lions at a particular site; in [4] the Navajo name *Be’ek’id Halchíí* describes the color of two lakes in Arizona; in [5], the Barbareño Chumash name *šnoxš* describes a site’s resemblance to a body part; in [6], the Kwakiutl name *dámliwas* describes a sound associated with a particular site.

According to Afable and Beeler, locational names comprise the second largest category of North American Indigenous names. Locational names characterize a contrast of location, orientation, or direction. Afable and Beeler suggest that North American Indigenous locational names emphasize contrasts such as upriver versus downriver, offshore versus onshore, or inland versus coastal. The authors suggest that this practice differs from the Euro-American naming pattern that prioritizes cardinal directions. Afable and Beeler list the following examples:

- [7] Mohawk: *skahnéhtati* ‘beyond the pines’, **Albany**, New York
- [8] Tanaina: *tudaćən* ‘on water side’, **Coyote Lake**, Alaska

final word or phrase marks the present-day name of the feature. For details regarding the source languages of the place names presented in this thesis, see Mithun 1999.

In [7], the Mohawk name *skahnéhtati* emphasizes that the location is beyond the pines rather than within the pines; in [8], the Tanaina name *tudač̣ən* emphasizes that the location is near the water.

Names referring to human activities carried out at a site are associated with frequent or recurring activities including the presence of man-made structures or culturally-significant artifacts (Afable and Beeler 1996; Meadows 2008). For example:

[9] Ahtna: *çaqe·nanalye·sden* ‘where the women are carried across’, a fording place near rapids at upper **Miles Lake**, lower Copper River, Alaska

[10] Navajo: *Tsék’i Na’asdzooí* ‘place upon which there is writing’, **Inspiration Rock**, El Morro, New Mexico

In [9], the Ahtna name *çaqe·nanalye·sden* refers to recurrent fording of the river by women at the specified location. In [10], the Navajo name *Tsék’i Na’asdzooí* refers to a sandstone wall in New Mexico filled with petroglyphs dating from the pre-Columbian era to the end of the twentieth century (National Park Service 2017).

The final category identified by Afable and Beeler is comprised of names derived from history, mythology, or folklore. The authors suggest that the meaning of the names in this category are often obscure; the meanings of the names may often only be determined through examination of oral tradition or ethnohistory (Afable and Beeler 1996; Meadows 2008). Afable and Beeler offer the following examples:

[11] Karok: *ʔam·kyá·ra·m* ‘salmon-making place’, on **Klamath River**, California

[12] Kwakwiltl: *yálx̣^wdə̀mə* ‘where heads are hung on rock’, place near **Knight Inlet**, British Columbia

[13] Lushootseed: *çililiç* ‘two groups fighting a battle’, a site of a pile of rocks, **Kitsap Peninsula**, Washington.

In [11], the Karok name *ʔam·kyá·ra·m* refers to the mythic origin of salmon; in [12], the Kwakwiltl name *yáłx^wdə̀ma* references a location where the heads of killed enemies were hung on poles; in [13], the Lushootseed name *ɣililiɣ* refers to a myth in which the rocks are warriors petrified in stone.

The typology outlined by Afable and Beeler has provided the basis for several North American Indigenous place name studies (Cowell 2004; Cowell and Moss Sr. 2003; Meadows 2008). Though the typology seeks to categorize place names based on these criteria, often the categories will overlap in that a toponym may not only describe a physical characteristic of a site but also reference a human activity carried out at a site or some aspect of the Indigenous group's history, mythology, or folklore (Afable and Beeler 1996; Meadows 2008).

3.2.3 Landscape Approaches

Landscape studies incorporate the significance of place names as means of closely examining the intimate relationship between people and landscape (Basso 1996; Eide 2011; Thornton 2008). Through the application of language to landscape, place-naming renders the physical environment meaningful and, as such, becomes a vital tool in constructing a cultural landscape. Much of the work on North American Indigenous toponyms illustrates the intimate relationships between Indigenous communities and the environments they inhabited (Cowell and Moss, Sr. 2003; Cowell et al. 2016; Hunn 1996; Meadows 2008; Oetelaar and Oetelaar 2006; Thornton 2008; Zenk 2008). In landscape approaches to place names, authors examine the relationship of one community to the landscape through place names in the community's native language. This type of information provides a means of re-constructing history, a process Basso (1996) terms place-making. Of the act of place-making, Basso suggests that if it is a "way of

constructing the past, a venerable means of doing human history, it is also a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities” (Basso 1996, 7). At the intersection of landscape and place names, the movement and history of people as it relates their cultural practices and values becomes more clearly defined. Named places outline these cyclical movements and “elicit appropriate narratives” (Oetelaar and Oetelaar 2006, 376) as people move through the landscape.

For example, Hunn (1996) suggests that the toponymic density of an area reflects a region’s cultural importance and intensity of land use to the people who cyclically moved through the landscape. During his compilation of a gazetteer of over 1000 Sahaptin place names, Hunn worked with James Selam (a Sahaptin-speaking elder from the John Day River community) to recover Sahaptin names for fishing sites at Celilo Falls on the Columbia River. Because many of the other regions within the traditional Sahaptin range appear devoid of named places, Hunn suggests the dense concentration of named sites at Celilo Falls demonstrates the cultural importance of the square mile fishing area. Many of the names of the fishing sites described the type of fishing practice associated with each fishing spot; examples include *sapawilalatatpamá* ‘for netting jumping fish’, and *tayxaytpamá* ‘for spear fishing’. Other names in the area describe the physical environment, including sounds and rock shapes, such as *atím* ‘sound of the falls’, and *sk’in* ‘cradleboard’. While *sk’in* ‘cradleboard’ was topographically descriptive in that it described the shape of the rock, it was also metaphorical; Hunn suggests that the cradleboard shaped rock was Coyote’s cradleboard, from the Sahaptin Coyote myth in which Coyote outwitted the Swallow Sisters when he turned into a baby and floated down the river on a cradleboard. The myth results in Coyote’s creation of Celilo Falls and *sk’in* ‘cradleboard’ (the cradleboard-shaped rock) serves as a reminder. These toponyms offer cultural information

related to fishing practices and elicit site-specific narratives. This information was at risk of being lost due to the flooding of Celilo Falls area in the process of creating the Dalles Dam in 1957 (Afable and Beeler 1996; Hunn 1996).

3.2.4 Euro-American Place-Naming Convention

Within North American Indigenous place name studies, authors will often juxtapose Indigenous naming conventions with Euro-American naming conventions. Authors suggest that naming places for people has largely been considered a Euro-American practice (Afable and Beeler 1996; Cowell and Moss, Sr. 2003; Hunn 1996; Meadows 2008; Thornton 2008). For example, in comparing Tlingit toponymy to English toponymy in Glacier Bay in Southeast Alaska, Thornton finds that more than two thirds of the English toponyms honor individuals including explorers, missionaries, scientists, surveyors, and others: **La Perouse Glacier**, **Muir Inlet**, **Young Island**, **Riggs Glacier**, **Lars Island**. Further, Thornton finds that Tlingit individuals were also honored by Euro-Americans; for example, **Kahsoto Glacier** was named for a leader of the Hoonah community, Kasohto, while **Kloh-Kutz Glacier** was named for a leader of the Chilkat community, Kohklux. Thornton asserts that naming places for people would have been considered “odd, if not inappropriate” in Tlingit culture (2008: 103). Further, Thornton suggests that, when comparing English and Tlingit toponyms for the same landscape in Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, another naming pattern emerged; the Euro-American (English-speaking) culture favored naming mountains and glaciers while the Tlingit culture favored naming islands, bays, streams, and habitation sites.

3.3 Critical Toponymies

Recent literature calls for a critical turn in place name studies that necessitates a distinction between studies about place names and studies about toponymic processes (Giraut and Houssay-Holzchuch 2016; Kostanski and Puzey 2016; Vuolteenaho and Berg 2009). Vuolteenaho and Berg (2009) suggest that previous place name research focused on the place names themselves has largely been atheoretical and conducted primarily by etymologists and linguists hoping to offer some understanding of the landscape. Further, they suggest that these studies have shied away from politics and failed to recognize their “own complicity in power struggles over toponymies” by producing “suspiciously innocent and bloodless accounts of history” (Vuolteenaho and Berg 2009, 6). Vuolteenaho and Berg dub this shift “critical toponymies” and suggest that it moves the focus of place name studies from the toponyms themselves to the power dynamics involved in naming places. Kostanski and Puzey (2016) characterize this critical turn as the scholarly response to Bourdieu (1991): “the social sciences must take as their object of study the social operations of naming and the rites of institution through which they are accomplished” (105). Thus, new approaches to place name studies have not only increased focus on Indigenous and minority toponyms but also situated a new focus on the hegemonic discourse related to place-naming (Kostanski and Puzey 2016). Kostanski and Puzey identify these new approaches rising from various disciplines including geography, sociolinguistics, anthropology, and language policy among others. Within these new approaches exists a growing body of research related to attitudes about place names. Below, I provide two examples of recent studies related to attitudes about place names.

3.3.1 Attitudes toward Indigenous Toponym Restoration in Australia

Kostanski (2016) examines the outcomes of a controversial proposal to restore Indigenous toponyms in Grampians National Park, a national park in Victoria, Australia (now officially recognized as Grampians/Gariwerd National Park). Sponsored by the Victorian government, the 1989/90 proposal was widely debated by the general public and generated hundreds of letters written by community members to local, regional, and state newspapers. The letters detailed writers' attachment to the toponyms in question and the writers' reasons for supporting or rejecting the proposal to restore Indigenous names. Kostanski suggests that the overwhelming interest related to the proposal demonstrated that community members had formulated ideas about what place names meant to them. To collect attitudinal data related to toponymic attachment (defined by the author as the connection of people to toponyms), Kostanski conducted a survey and oral history interviews with individuals that the author identified from the letters written during the proposal period. The questionnaire consisted of a mental mapping exercise that asked participants to indicate which names they used to refer to park locations. The questionnaire also asked participants to state whether or not they originally supported the proposal to restore Indigenous names to places in the national park. Examining the results through the theoretical lens of toponymic attachment, Kostanski explains various positive and negative reactions that people had to the Indigenous name restoration proposal.

Kostanski finds that, while a majority of participants were originally opposed to renaming the park itself, many participants felt comfortable with the restoration and utilization of Indigenous names for Indigenous rock-art sites within the park. Kostanski attributes this concession to the facet of toponymic attachment theory that (1) links people to places' cultural background and (2) highlights the characteristics of a place. In other words, Kostanski argues

that participants were more willing to use Indigenous toponyms for Indigenous rock-art sites because they believed Indigenous names to be “more appropriate” than non-Indigenous names for the rock-art sites. Participants recognized a connection between the place name as a symbol of Indigenous cultural heritage and the place as also being representative of Indigenous cultural heritage.

Kostanski identifies two reasons that some non-Indigenous participants opposed the restoration of Indigenous toponyms: (i) the non-Indigenous participants’ perceived difficulty of pronunciation of Indigenous toponyms, and (ii) unfamiliarity with the meaning of the Indigenous toponyms. Several participants suggested that place names needed to have historical weight or (as one participant described) an “under-story” (99); non-Indigenous participants who had a deeper understanding of Indigenous cultural heritage and history were much more likely to support the restoration of Indigenous names than those who lacked knowledge of Indigenous culture.

3.3.2 Attitudes toward Toponyms in Oslo

Berezkina (2016) examines the attitudes of Oslo residents toward place names through the use of a linguistic landscape methodology and the administration of a socio-onomastic attitudinal survey. Berezkina defines the linguistic landscape as “the visibility or salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region” (Landry and Bourhis 1997, 23, cited in Berezkina 2016, 120). The author suggests that studying the linguistic landscape offers insight regarding the linguistic diversity of an area’s residents and their language ideologies. In studying the linguistic landscape of an ethnically diverse neighborhood in central Oslo, Berezkina finds that more than half of the signage consists exclusively of

Norwegian, making it the most visible language in the neighborhood. The second most visible language is English. Signage that used Non-Western languages included signs in Arabic, Urdu, Tamil, or Kurdish, but of these languages Urdu was the most visible in that it was the most frequent. Berezkina suggests this is due to the long-term presence of a large population of Pakistani immigrants in the neighborhood.

Based on the diversity of the linguistic landscape, Berezkina (2016) conducted an anonymous socio-onomastic attitudinal survey focused on the attitudes of three ethnic groups (Norwegian, Polish, and Pakistani) to place names in Oslo; Berezkina received 108 responses: 47 ethnic Norwegians, 32 individuals with Pakistani backgrounds, and 29 people with Polish backgrounds. In addition to the survey, Berezkina also conducted in-depth interviews with two people from each target group (six interviews total). By asking participants to evaluate a street named *Rubina Ranas gate*, Berezkina investigated the residents' attitudes toward the creation of new place names reflective of Non-Norwegian culture; *Rubina Ranas gate* was named for Rubina Rana, the first Non-Western (Pakistani) person to have a street named for them. Berezkina found that most participants who were familiar with Rubina Rana positively evaluated the name *Rubina Ranas gate*. Berezkina determines that both Pakistani and Norwegian respondents supported the creation of place names reflective of immigrant culture because they considered naming places to reflect the multiculturalism in Oslo a positive step toward representation of the multicultural community.

While most participants positively evaluated toponyms reflective of immigrant culture in Oslo, Berezkina also outlines some concerns expressed by other participants; some participants suggested that Non-Western place names should only be commemorative (named for people) while two participants felt that an influx of Non-Western place names might result in

“ghettoization” (Berezkina 2016, 130). Berezkina explains that these two participants were concerned that by giving places foreign names, Norwegians would feel excluded or unwelcome in these places. Further, the same two participants suspected that the people who speak the source language of the foreign place names would feel encouraged to inhabit those places.

Finally, the study offers an overview of the factors that elicited positive attitudes to place names in Oslo among the three ethnic groups. Berezkina identifies the main factors as: (i) association with location, (ii) content of the name, (iii) length of the name, (iv) sound of the name, and (v) habit. Berezkina suggests that the stronger the association between the name and the location, the more positively the place name was perceived. Related to the content of the names, Berezkina reports that participants tended to show preferences for names that they perceived to be:

- *Connected to history*. For example, *Torshov*, from Old Norse *Þórshof*, ‘place of worship of Thor’
- *Positive*. Names that contained positive words or have positive associations. For example, *Sorgenfrigata* ‘Sorrowless street’ or *Eventyrveien* ‘Fairy-tale road.’
- *Distinctive*. Unique names that stand out. For example, *Bukken Bruses vei* ‘Billy Goat Gruff Road.’
- *Relevant*. Names considered relevant to the location; often these are descriptive names. For example, *Gressholmen* ‘Grass islet’, which refers to a grass-covered island.

(Berezkina 2016, 132)

Additionally, many participants preferred short names to long names which Berezkina connects to the perceived difficulty of pronunciation of long Norwegian names for immigrants with a different linguistic background. Participants also preferred “pleasant-sounding names” (Berezkina 2016, 133). For example, Berezkina reports that a Norwegian participant did not like the name *Holstein* because it “sounded” German. Finally, Berezkina concludes that names

received positive evaluations based on how well-known the name was or how accustomed participants were to using the name; she categorizes this tendency as habit.

Due to the fact that Norwegian participants demonstrated a stronger connection to the Norwegian place names, Berezkina (2016) ultimately concludes that people have weaker connections to names that do not correlate with their cultural backgrounds.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has offered an overview of scholarly approaches to place name studies. I have shown how scholars have traditionally approached North American Indigenous place name studies. I have also shown how scholars analyze Indigenous place names and juxtapose Indigenous place-naming conventions with Euro-American place-naming conventions; within Indigenous place name studies, Euro-American toponyms are often characterized as commemorative (places are named for people) while North American Indigenous cultures rarely name places for people. I also present two examples of the critical toponymy studies in which the unit of analysis is moved from the place name itself to the toponymic processes involved in naming places. My research draws on both North American Indigenous place name research and the critical toponymies discussed here. The analysis I present in Chapter 6 exposes attitudes about North American Indigenous and Euro-American place names in Glacier National Park. These attitudes often result from the juxtaposition of Indigenous and Euro-American naming conventions.

Chapter 4 Theoretical Framework: Language Ideologies

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present an overview of the theoretical concept of language ideologies. In section §4.2, I broadly discuss language ideologies. In §4.3, I outline the theoretical framework presented by Irvine and Gal (2000) used to analyze language ideologies through the identification of three semiotic processes: *iconization* (§4.3.1), *fractal recursivity* (§4.3.2), and *erasure* (§4.3.3). In §4.3.4, I illustrate how the semiotic processes commonly co-occur to reinforce speakers' language ideologies.

4.2 Defining Language Ideologies

Language ideologies have been the focus of extensive research (Field 2009; Field & Kroskrity 2009; Irvine and Gal 2000; Kroskrity 2004; Philips 2015; Silverstein 1979; Wood 2014; Woolard 1998; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). Broadly defined, language ideologies are “beliefs and feelings about language” (Field and Kroskrity 2009, 4) including beliefs about the “superiority or inferiority of specific languages” (Field and Kroskrity 2009, 11). Similarly, Ahearn (2011) defines language ideologies as “the attitudes, opinions, beliefs, or theories that we all have about language” (23). When considered together, the definitions suggest that language ideologies encompass the notions that speakers possess about language. Speakers' ideologies about language may concern language in general, as in the following example: “Language is what separates humans from other species” (Ahearn 2011, 23). Speakers' ideologies about language may also concern particular languages; for example, a speaker may believe that one language is more “romantic” than another. Speakers' ideologies may concern particular linguistic structure; for example, speakers may consider languages complex due to grammatical differences from their own language. Speakers' ideologies may prescribe that language should be used in a

certain way or that a particular language should be used in particular contexts; for example, a speaker may believe that people should speak English in the United States (Ahearn 2011).

Philips (2015) asserts that one of the most influential language ideologies that has been documented in language ideology research is the ideology that both nations and languages are “boundable” entities; Philips suggests that the ideology relies on the notion that each country needs one national standard language. According to this ideology, the national language should be a prestigious dialect of a language spoken by the majority. This ideology constrains minority and Indigenous languages; speakers of minority languages experience pressure to eliminate the use of the non-standard language.

Reflections of socio-cultural ideologies, language ideologies are about more than just language (Ahearn 2011; Irvine 1989). Language ideologies surface at the perceived boundaries of language—not necessarily at a regional boundary, but rather at a sociolinguistic boundary where speakers perceive difference. This linguistic differentiation, or this act of perceiving difference between languages or language varieties, leads speakers to map their ideas and attitudes about language onto other speakers, events, or linguistic activities (Irvine and Gal 2000; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). Thus, language ideologies “envision and enact links of language to group and personal identity” (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, 56); in other words, through their language ideologies, speakers inextricably link linguistic forms to the people who use them. As a result, the linguistic forms become a means of indexing speakers or social groups (Irvine and Gal 2000; Wood 2014). When a linguistic form becomes a means of indexing speakers or social groups, it is the speaker’s language ideology that seeks to rationalize or explain the linguistic difference.

4.3 Theoretical Framework of Irvine and Gal (2000)

Irvine and Gal (2000) suggest that “identifying a language presuppose[s] a boundary or opposition to other languages with which it contrasts in the larger sociolinguistic field” (35). In differentiating one language from another, speakers map their understanding of linguistic differences onto people and events. Irvine and Gal call these conceptual schemes language ideologies. Irvine and Gal suggest that language ideologies locate, interpret, and rationalize linguistic differentiation by means of three semiotic processes: *iconization*, *fractal recursivity*, and *erasure*. The processes work in the following ways: through iconization, “[I]inguistic features that index social groups [...] appear to be iconic representations of them” (37); fractal recursivity produces “an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level” (38); erasure “renders some persons or activities (or linguistic phenomena) invisible” (38). Irvine and Gal suggest that these semiotic processes rarely work in isolation; more commonly, multiple processes occur simultaneously. Though analytically distinct in that they may be identified and described in isolation from one another, all three processes concern the way speakers understand the links between linguistic forms and social phenomena.

In the following subsections, I present examples of each semiotic process to illustrate how they work to construct ideologies. I conclude with a subsection that describes how the semiotic processes often work simultaneously.

4.3.1 Iconization

Irvine and Gal suggest that “[i]conization involves a transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked” (37). More specifically, through the process of iconization, a linguistic feature, or an

entire language, that indexes a social group becomes an iconic representation of the group as if the linguistic feature or language reveals the inherent nature of the group. By characterizing the link between linguistic feature (or language) and social group as inherent, iconization inevitably leads people to essentialize the social group that uses the linguistic feature or language. In other words, iconization leads speakers to understand languages and social groups as homogeneous based on speakers' interpretation of the linguistic form or language (Field 2009; Irvine and Gal 2000; Wood 2014; Woolard 1998).

For example, Irvine and Gal (2000) present a case study focused on the conditions under which Nguni languages acquired click consonants. According to the authors, the Nguni languages (the southernmost branch of the Bantu language family) did not exhibit click consonants at the time of contact with Khoi languages. Rather, the authors assert that Nguni languages developed clicks from being in contact with Khoi languages which were indigenous to Africa at the time the Nguni speakers arrived. Because speakers of Nguni languages would have never heard clicks before, Irvine and Gal suggest that clicks would have sounded "very foreign" (40) to Nguni speakers when they were first confronted with the unfamiliar consonants after the Nguni speakers' arrival in Southern Africa; yet, now clicks are found in Nguni languages. The authors allege that it was "apparently for the very reason of their conspicuous foreignness that clicks were first adopted into the Nguni languages providing a means for Nguni-speakers themselves to express social difference and linguistic abnormality" (40). According to Irvine and Gal, an avoidance (or respect) register is found in all Nguni languages and shows a higher percentage of clicks when compared with everyday Nguni vocabulary. Avoidance registers allow speakers to communicate through the use of a substitute set of words and expressions that replace taboo words and expressions (Fleming 2014). The Nguni avoidance register, called

hlonipha, historically required speakers to display respect to elder affinal relatives and royalty by avoiding the utterance of sound sequences in the respected person's name. Adopting clicks allowed Nguni speakers to supplement an avoidance register by replacing these sequences with phonological alternants. Further, any words that possessed the names' core syllables were also prohibited and required phonological alternants as well. Thus, Nguni languages began to introduce clicks into *hlonipha* to replace the "offending consonants" (Irvine and Gal 2000, 42) as they "sounded very foreign" (40). Irvine and Gal suggest that, once the clicks became part of the *hlonipha* vocabulary, the sounds would have become more familiar and lost their "respectful" aura over time. The authors contend that this familiarity explains why the sounds are retained in Khoi lexical borrowings (such as place names and specialty goods) and why some *hlonipha* words eventually developed into everyday vocabulary.

In this example, Irvine and Gal suggest that the Bantu-speakers' recognition of a linguistic difference between their own languages and Khoi languages led to the iconization of the click consonants; the authors suggest the click consonants of Khoi languages became icons of "foreignness". Because of this perceived linguistic difference between Bantu languages and Khoi languages, the Nguni-speakers were able to construct another linguistic difference within their own language (the *hlonipha* register) by incorporating the clicks as icons of foreignness.

4.3.2 Fractal Recursivity

Irvine and Gal (2000) define fractal recursivity as "the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level" (38). Thus, any perceived difference at one level (for example, a social level), may be projected onto another level (for example, a linguistic level) through the process of fractal recursivity. Irvine and Gal explain that the linguistic

differentiation process involves dichotomizing or partitioning languages or social groups in opposition to one another. In fractal recursivity, it is this dichotomy or opposition that recurs at other levels. According to Andronis (2003), “[i]ntegral to the idea of fractal recursivity is that the same oppositions that distinguish given groups from one another on larger scales can also be found within those groups” (264). This suggests that intergroup distinctions may be projected at an intragroup level (Irvine and Gal 2000). In this way, fractal recursivity can “create an identity for a given group and further divide it” (Andronis 2003, 264). Distinguishing a social group or language from another social group or language works to create a group identity by recognizing the differences between them. Projecting the same distinction within the group would further divide that identity created by distinguishing one group from another.

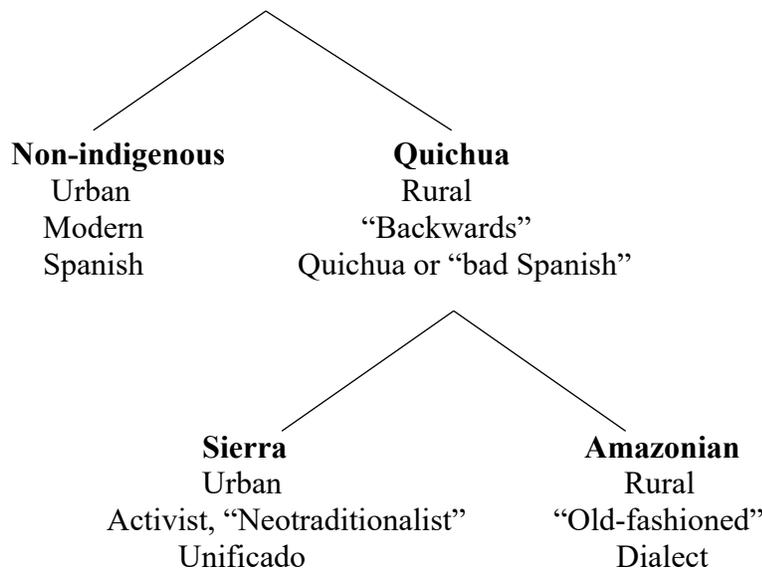
In a case study of language ideologies and linguistic differentiation, Andronis (2003) examines the language ideologies held by the non-Indigenous and Indigenous populations of Quichua-speaking Ecuador. Andronis explains that, as they generally reflect pervasive sociocultural ideologies, language ideologies held by the non-Indigenous population of Ecuador negatively value the Quichua language. The majority non-Indigenous community (Spanish speakers) views the speakers of Quichua as “low prestige,” “backwards,” or “peasants” (264), while Spanish speakers have historically considered themselves “civilized” (264). Andronis suggests that the association of speakers of Quichua to “low prestige,” and speakers of Spanish to “high prestige” have been extended to the languages themselves.

Additionally, Andronis (2003) notes that while there is one major dialectal division in Quichua (Highland and Lowland), considerable variation exists at the dialect and sub-dialect level of the Highland and Lowland groups. Following the introduction of the standardized form of Quichua (*Quichua Unificado* or ‘Unified Quichua’), some of the Indigenous communities

began to feel alienated due to the fact that the standardized form does not reflect this extensive dialect variation. Morphologically, the standardized form most resembles the Highland (Sierra) dialects. Within Indigenous communities, Quichua speakers who began to use Unified Quichua came to be viewed as “educated” by other speakers of Unified Quichua. Conversely, speakers of Lowland Quichua might view speakers of Unified Quichua as inauthentic or “neotraditionalist,” in that the Unified Quichua speakers are not perceived as “*really* indigenous” by the speakers of the Lowland dialect (Andronis 2003: 268). Further, speakers of Lowland (Amazonian) Quichua dialects came to be viewed as “rural” or “old-fashioned” by speakers of Unified Quichua.

Andronis provides the following figure to illustrate the process of fractal recursivity:

Figure 1. Fractal Recursivity



(Andronis 2003: 268)

As Figure 1 illustrates, an ideological dichotomy that distinguishes the non-Indigenous speakers as high-prestige from the Quichua speakers as low-prestige is reproduced within the Quichua-speaking community. Following the introduction of the standardized Unified Quichua, the

dichotomy recognizes the speakers of Highland (Sierra) dialects of Quichua as high-prestige due to the similarities between Highland dialects and Unified Quichua, while the speakers of Lowland (Amazonian) dialects of Quichua are considered “old-fashioned” or low-prestige (Andronis 2003).

4.3.3 Erasure

As defined by Irvine and Gal (2000), erasure is the semiotic process whereby people, activities, or sociolinguistic phenomena are rendered invisible through simplification of the sociolinguistic field. This is to say that participants ignore or transform linguistic variation when it does not fit with the ideological scheme because “a linguistic ideology is a totalizing vision” (38). For example, if a language ideology imagines an entire social group or language as inherently homogenous, the internal variation of the language or social group would be ignored (or erased) to support the ideological structure.

As another aspect of the ideologies associated with Quichua in Ecuador, Andronis (2003) provides some consultants’ negative statements about Quichua that demonstrate the process of erasure (see also discussion of fractal recursivity in §4.3.2):

- [1] *El Quichua es diferente. No se utiliza la “o”*
Quichua is different. It doesn’t utilize the (letter) “o”.
- [2] *El quichua es un dialect sin gramática.*
Quichua is a dialect without grammar. [(Haboud 1998, p.197)]
- [3] *Ya no hay indios. No tienen cultura... ni hablan Quichua. Son campesinos no más.*
There aren’t any Indians anymore. They don’t have a culture... nor do they speak Quichua. They’re just peasants.

Andronis (2003) suggests that these statements (collected during Andronis's fieldwork in Ecuador) reflect the attitudes of the non-Indigenous majority that recognize Quichua speakers and, by extension, Quichua as low-prestige. Andronis states that [1] "relegates all of the different characteristics of Quichua to the fact that it does not have a certain vowel" (265); consequently, the entire Quichua language has been reduced to the fact that it does not contain a particular vowel, thereby disregarding all complexity of the language. Andronis suggests that in [2], the entire language is first reduced to the level of dialect and then described as being without grammatical structure. This statement, again, ignores (erases) any grammatical complexity of the language. Andronis claims that [3] is the most extreme example of erasure as it renders the entire Quichua people and their language non-existent.

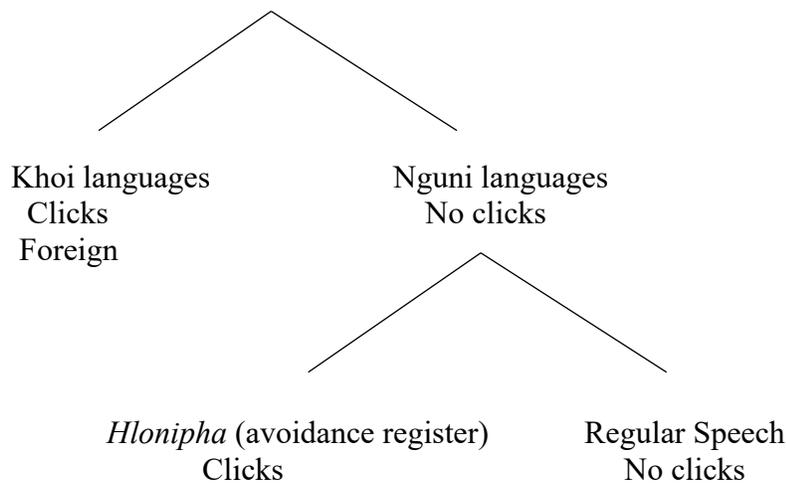
4.3.4 Simultaneity of Semiotic Processes

While Irvine and Gal (2000) isolate iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure as three distinct semiotic processes, they suggest that the processes often work simultaneously to construct language ideologies. The authors present three case studies in which all three processes may be observed simultaneously.

Exploring the conditions under which Nguni languages developed clicks (see §4.3.1), the authors assert that speakers of Nguni languages iconically linked clicks with foreign languages, and, in turn, utilized the clicks as an extended inventory for an avoidance register. The perceived link between clicks and foreignness is an example of iconization; the click consonants became icons of "foreignness" to Nguni speakers. As icons of "foreignness," the click consonants identified a boundary of difference in that they allowed Nguni speakers to differentiate their own language from Khoi languages. This differentiation between the Nguni languages and the Khoi

languages by Nguni speakers became the basis for constructing difference within the Nguni language; as icons of foreignness, the clicks were adopted into Nguni languages to supplement the avoidance register *hlonipha*. The construction of the avoidance register using the clicks mirrors the differentiation identified between Nguni and Khoi languages, and, thus, becomes an example of fractal recursivity. Figure 2, below, illustrates the process of fractal recursivity from the intergroup level to the intragroup level:

Figure 2. Fractal Recursivity in Nguni Languages



Finally, Irvine and Gal suggest that the iconization of the clicks as “foreign” identifies a sharp boundary between Nguni speakers and Khoi speakers (46). This iconization becomes the basis for erasure, as the identification of a sharp boundary between the two groups and their languages ignores (or erases) the multilingualism of the Khoi speakers and the complexity of Nguni-Khoi relations. Some Khoi provided services to Nguni as traders, some Nguni entered Khoi society as refugees, and the groups regularly intermarried. These complex social relationships illustrate that social boundaries were more fluid than the language ideology suggested.

In the second case study, Irvine and Gal focus on nineteenth century European linguistic and ethnographic descriptions of three distinct but related languages of Senegal: Fula, Wolof, and Sereer. The authors suggest that, though each of the languages tend to be concentrated in general areas north of the Gambia River (Fula is most widely spoken in the northeast of the region; Wolof spoken centrally and coastally; Sereer is most widely spoken in the south), the three languages overlap geographically due to widespread multilingualism. Though the languages overlap geographically, nineteenth century European mapping projects sorted the languages into three distinct territories. Drawing sharp linguistic boundaries reflected the nineteenth century European ideologies that created a link between language and nation; according to Irvine and Gal, identifying a language was equivalent to identifying a nation. European powers used the identification of languages and their corresponding geographic areas to order and divide the African continent among colonial empires. Based on the ideology that linked language to nation, the perceived boundaries of a language paralleled the boundaries of the geographic territories. In this ideological scheme, entire languages become icons of nations and the people who spoke them. Authors of the mapping project assumed that ethnic populations were monolingual. Thus, regional multilingualism was ignored (or erased) to create sharp geographic boundaries on the maps.

By linking language, nation, and population, Irvine and Gal (2000) suggest that European linguists and ethnographers utilized the mapping project to “disentangle the supposed history of conquests and represent legitimate territorial claims” (53). According to the authors, European scholars believed that ethnic groups were monolingual and that an inherent relationship existed between language and the “spirit of a nation” (52); in the case of the languages of Senegal, European linguists understood languages to be inextricable from political and religious

relationships among the groups. For example, Fula bore a strong connection to Islam because of its association with eleventh century converts and advocates of the eighteenth-century Muslim revival; Sereer had associations with “resistance to Islam” (Irvine and Gal 2000, 52); Wolof was “the language of political administration” (Irvine and Gal 2000, 52) widely spoken on the coasts and in other parts of the region as a language of trade. Further, European scholars organized the languages and their speakers according to a hierarchy based on skin color. Fula speakers often had lighter skin than Wolof speakers, so European linguists and ethnographers considered them “higher in race and intelligence” (53). European scholars believed that Fula influenced Wolof which, in turn, influenced Sereer. Sereer speakers were considered “simple-minded” and “primitive” by European scholars because of their dark skin; Irvine and Gal suggest that the European scholars assumed that all black Africans (including Sereer speakers) were “primitive” and “simple-minded.” Using this ideological scheme, European linguists and ethnographers rationalized any territorial multilingualism through a constructed history of conquest similar in structure to that of Europe. Within this history, relationships of Europeans to Africans paralleled relationships amongst Africans which the authors suggest is an example of fractal recursivity.

Another case study examines the political contestation of Macedonian speech varieties. Though the Republic of Macedonia declared independence from Yugoslavia in 1991, the newly-formed country faced several contested claims to its territory partially due to its linguistic diversity. Irvine and Gal (2000) suggest that the political contestation of Macedonian speech varieties stemmed from the Western European ideology linked language with sovereignty and national identity. Because language was linked to national identity, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece each claimed the territory based on two assertions: (i) that their national languages were spoken there and (ii) that the Macedonian language demonstrated similarities to their own. Linking

language to territory is an example of iconization, while ignoring the large-scale multilingualism within Macedonian is an example of erasure. The authors also suggest that this context illustrates fractal recursivity: any observed multilingualism bolstered the European belief that the region lacked order. This perceived lack of order was identified at a familial level as well because families were multilingual and often children of the same family would learn different languages in order to extend their social networks. For example, children of a Bulgarian family may learn Greek or Serbian and then adopt the corresponding nationality. This reproduction of multilingualism from the national level to the familial level brought with it the Western European ideology that linked multilingualism to disorder. Thus, Western European powers imagined the territory as well as the people who lived there as “primitive” and “barbaric” (Irvine and Gal 2000, 64).

Finally, all three semiotic processes are also evident in the Quichua example presented in §4.3.2 and §4.3.3. Andronis (2003) suggests that the non-Indigenous majority community differentiates Quichua from Spanish by negatively valuing the Quichua language. By describing the language as “uneducated” or “backwards,” the non-indigenous majority of Ecuador iconize the Quichua language “as being marginal” (265). Following the introduction of a standardized Quichua (Quichua Unificado), this differentiation that recognizes Spanish as “civilized” and Quichua as “backwards” is projected at the intralanguage level within Quichua. Speakers of Quichua Unificado perceive speakers of lowland Quichua dialects as “old-fashioned” or “backwards.” Andronis (2003) identifies the projection of this opposition from one level to another as *fractal recursivity* (see §4.2.2). In both cases, at the level of language (Spanish/Quichua) and dialect (Highland-Quichua Unificado/Lowland), the process of erasure

ignores any complexity within the marginalized language or dialect that is recognized as “rural” or “backwards” (see §4.2.3).

As evidenced by these case studies, the semiotic processes conceptually overlap and, as such, will always co-occur. As demonstrated by the Nguni and Quichua case studies, the process of iconization naturally creates an opposition through differentiation. When a language, dialect, or linguistic feature becomes an icon of “foreignness” (such as the click consonants of Khoi languages) or “backwards-ness” (such as Quichua), that language or feature is iconized in opposition to another language or feature (such as the Nguni languages which did not exhibit clicks, or a language like Spanish that is associated with “being civilized”). Then, it is that opposition created by the iconization that forms the basis of fractal recursivity. The opposition can be projected onto or constructed within another level, such as the adoption of clicks within the Nguni avoidance register or the reflection of the high-prestige/low-prestige dichotomy within Quichua. In all cases, iconization inherently links language (or the people who speak it) to one feature, thus homogenizing the language in a way that erases any and all variation. For example, by iconizing clicks as “foreign,” speakers of Nguni languages imagined a sharp boundary of differentiation between Nguni languages and Khoi languages. This iconic link disregarded the fact that speakers of both groups were familiar with the opposing language as speakers were commonly multilingual.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter I have introduced the concept of language ideologies as “beliefs and feelings about language” (Field and Kroskrity 2009, 4) including beliefs about the “superiority or inferiority of specific languages” (Field and Kroskrity 2009, 11). I have presented the theoretical

framework of Irvine and Gal (2000) as one way to analyze language ideologies. I have outlined the three semiotic processes that Irvine and Gal suggest construct speakers' language ideologies: iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure. The examples of these processes also illustrate their co-occurrence. In Chapter 6, I use Irvine and Gal's framework as outlined to analyze the language ideologies about place names that emerge in written sources related to Glacier National Park.

Chapter 5: Source Material

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce, describe, and contextualize the sources I analyze in Chapter 6. In particular, I discuss the historic interest in place names at the park since Glacier National Park's establishment in 1910 in §5.2. In §5.3, I describe each individual source that I analyze in Chapter 6.

5.2 Naming Places in Glacier National Park

Established in 1910 by President William Howard Taft, Glacier National Park occupies a large swath of land in northwestern Montana bisected by the Rocky Mountains. Known by many as “the Crown of the Continent” (Grinnell 1901), “a land of striking scenery” (Grinnell 1901, 660), and “the best care-killing scenery on the continent” (Muir 1902, 63), the Glacier region has long been touted for its incredible landscape. Up until 1910, the region was generally recognized as “practically unknown” (McClintock 1910, 15), an unmapped and unexplored, pristine wilderness without evidence of human use or habitation (Grant 1919; Grinnell 1901; Muir 1902).

Though many Indigenous groups frequented the Glacier National Park region prior to the creation of the park, present-day maps of Glacier National Park retain very few Indigenous names. Indigenous groups associated with the region include the Blackfeet (specifically, the South Piegan³), the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes⁴, and the Kalispell (Pend

³ The modern Blackfoot Confederacy is made up of four tribes: the North Piegan (Aapátóhshi Pikunni); the South Piegan (Aamsskáápi Pikunni), generally referred to as Pikunni but also known as Blackfeet in Montana; the Blood (Káínai); and the Siksika, also known as Blackfoot (Thompson et al. 2015: 11).

⁴ Three tribes make up the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation: the Bitterroot Salish, the Upper Pend d'Oreille, and the Kootenai. The Flathead Reservation is in Western Montana, but the territories of the three groups extended into parts of Idaho, British Columbia, and

d'Oreille), along with bands of Crow, Atsina (Gros Ventre), Nakota (Stoney), Cree, and Assiniboine (Reeves and Peacock 2001; Thompson et al. 2015). Archaeological evidence suggests that Indigenous groups have been connected to the Glacier region since the late Pleistocene (Reeves and Peacock 2001, Thompson et al. 2015). The two tribes that are most commonly associated with the Glacier region are the Kootenai and the Blackfeet (Holterman 2006, Reeves and Peacock 2001, Schultz 1926, Thompson et al. 2015). Today, members of both tribes live on reservations near the park: the Kootenai on the Flathead Reservation to the west and the Blackfeet on Blackfeet reservation to the east.

Following the establishment of Glacier National Park, the subject of the park's place names became a popular topic in public discourse. The park published pamphlets with special attention to park toponyms (Grant 1919), newspapers published articles urging the preservation of Indigenous names in the park (*The Daily Missoulian* 1918; *The Evening Index* 1916), and authors such as James Willard Schultz collected (and assigned) Indigenous names to topographic features (Schultz 1926). In particular, Schultz (1916) describes naming **Flat Top Mountain**⁵ (151), **Red Eagle Mountain** (152), **Red Eagle Lake** (152), **Singleshot Mountain** (152), **Divide Mountain** (152), **Kootenai Mountain** (152), **Almost-A-Dog Mountain** (154), **Grinnell Glacier** and **Mount Grinnell** (155), **Going-to-the-Sun Mountain** (156), **Blackfeet Glacier** (156), and **Gunsight Pass** (156). The Department of the Interior and the National Park Service began to publish a monthly bulletin in 1927 in which the park superintendent, park naturalist, and various rangers reported park highlights to the public; in several issues, Park Naturalist George C. Ruhle

Wyoming (www.csktribes.org). Some of the data presented in Chapter 6 specifically references the Kootenai.

⁵ Present-day place names are presented in bold. All place names in a language other than English are italicized. Where appropriate, English glosses of place names in languages other than English are provided in single quotes (see §1.2).

included material regarding the origin of place names in the park (National Park Service 1927). Later, the Park Service released information about place names in Glacier National Park in 1960 as part of their administrative history (Robinson 1960). More recently, Holterman (2006) and Thompson et al. (2015) have also explored the topic of place names in the park.

Nearly every source I have consulted suggests that Indigenous names preceded present-day place names in Glacier National Park (Grant 1919; Holterman 2006; National Park Service 1927; Reeves and Peacock 2001; Ruhle 1975; Ruhle 1983; Schultz 1926; Thompson et al. 2015). The sources vary in the amount of attention they devote to the Indigenous place names; for example, some sources specifically focus on the collection of the Indigenous place names (Schultz 1926) while others mention Indigenous place names as a part of a site's history (Holterman 2006). It is generally reported that only a few Indigenous place names persist in the park⁶. It is also reported that the Blackfoot names that persist are not the original names but were renamed at some point (Robinson 1960; Thompson et al. 2015). Reeves and Peacock (2001) suggest that writers such as Holtz and Bemis (1917) and Laut (1926) popularized and perpetuated the idea that some of the Blackfoot names assigned by Schultz and Grinnell in the park's infancy were original Blackfeet toponyms. In particular, Reeves and Peacock discuss the controversy surrounding the name **Going-to-the-Sun**. Writers like Holtz and Bemis (1917), Laut (1926), and a Great Northern Railway brochure (n.d.) include stories describing the supposed Indigenous origin of the name **Going-to-the-Sun** but Schultz suggests that the Blackfeet "had no

⁶ Thompson et al (2015) suggest that **Kintla Lake** and **Kishenehn Creek** are original Kootenai names; according to Robinson (1960), the word *kintla* means 'sack' in English while the word *kishenehn* means 'no good' in English. Holterman (2006) on both counts and provides the same story as Robinson (1960) regarding **Kintla Lake**. The sources suggest the Kootenai avoided this lake because a member of their tribe drowned here, and the body was never recovered.

story about” the name (Schultz letter to Superintendent Eakin 1928, as cited in Reeves and Peacock 2001, 180).

The orthographies (the written representation of a language) used for Indigenous place names are inconsistent in the sources. In particular, Schultz creates an orthography for Blackfoot and Kootenai based on (what he calls) the Italian pronunciation of the vowels, as noted in the following excerpt:

The Indian words in this book are given the Italian pronunciation of the vowels, with the addition of several diacritical marks, as follows:

a as in father.	o as in oat.
â as in hat.	ô as oo in coon.
e as a in ate.	u as in cute.
ê as in then.	û as in but.
î as e in eat.	' the accent.
î as in it.	ai as i in kite.

(Schultz 1926, 19)

Holterman updates Schultz’s orthography through consultation with the Kootenai Cultural Committee and the Piegan Institute⁷ in Browning to standardize the Kootenai and Blackfoot names offered by Schultz. Some authors suggest that English glosses or translations of place names in the Park are the original Indigenous names (Grant 1919; Great Northern Railroad n.d.; Laut 1926; Ruhle 1986). In a project focused on the seasonal rounds of the Blackfeet and the Kootenai, Thompson et al. (2015) focus a chapter on Blackfoot and Kootenai place names in the Glacier National Park region. Thompson et al. (2015) only provide English glosses of the proposed original Indigenous toponyms though the project was completed in collaboration with the Kootenai Culture Committee and the Pikunni Traditional Association.

⁷ The Piegan Institute is a nonprofit founded in 1987 to research, promote, and preserve Native American languages. The Piegan Institute focuses on the Blackfoot language of the Blackfeet Tribe of Montana (<https://www.pieganinstitute.org>).

Despite their differences, the majority of the sources generally report that the topographic features on the west side of the park had Kootenai names while features on the east side of the park had Blackfoot names prior to their present-day names (Holterman 2006; Reeves and Peacock 2001; Schultz 1926; Thompson et al. 2015).

5.3 Sources

Data for this project was compiled through analysis of a diverse collection of written sources related to Glacier National Park. Though I consulted sources topically related to Glacier National Park, sources were not always specifically focused on place names but all referred to place names in the park. The publication dates of the sources I consulted span nearly a century (between 1919 and 2006). Data was extracted from six sources in particular: an early park pamphlet (Grant 1919), a Great Northern Railroad tourist brochure (n.d.), an early 20th century historic account detailing life among Indigenous groups specifically focused on the collection of Indigenous place names (Schultz 1926), an originally unpublished manuscript later published as a newspaper article (Ruhle 1972), a Glacier National Park guidebook (Ruhle 1986), and a recent book about the place names of Glacier National Park (Holterman 2006). All of these sources may be considered educative in that they each aim to offer the general public information about the park. Each of the sources was included because the authors exhibited attitudes about Indigenous and/or Euro-American place names in Glacier National Park. Because none of the sources were written by Indigenous authors, all sources reflect a Euro-American perspective. I briefly describe each of the sources in the following subsections.

5.3.1 *Glacier national park. n.d. Great Northern Railway brochure.*

Part of a larger publicity campaign called ‘See America First,’ Great Northern Railway pamphlets such as the one analyzed in this thesis sought to attract tourists to the recently-created Glacier National Park (Shaffer 2001). Replete with enticing images, the brochures introduced a landscape with “more rugged mountain peaks, more glaciers, more picturesque lakes, more streams and waterfalls than exist anywhere else in America in so condensed an area” (Great Northern Railway, n.d.: 4). Further, in her introduction to the pamphlet, Mary Roberts Rhinehart implored United States citizens, “[i]f you are normal and philosophical, if you love your country, if you are willing to learn how little you count in the eternal scheme of things, go ride in the Rocky Mountains and save your soul” (3). Sections of the brochure highlight the geological history of Glacier National Park, the flora and fauna native to the park, the history of the “vanishing race—the Blackfeet Indians” (n.d.: 3), and the benefits of National Parks for the people of the United States. These benefits included the preservation of natural wonders, access to hot springs, preservation of Indigenous architecture, and opportunities for rejuvenating vacations.

The brochure references most place names of the park in descriptions of topographic features or descriptions of the various excursions available to the tourist. For example, in a section of the brochure describing the Going-to-the-Sun region of the park, the brochure details a possible excursion in that section of the park:

Sexton Glacier, hanging high on the mountain side, is in plain view from the deck of the launch. It is a popular side trip from Going-to-the-Sun Chalets to **Sexton Glacier**. A very pretty trail follows **Baring Creek**, and horses may be ridden to the very edge of the ice. West of the chalets is **Gunsight Lake**. From the foot of this lake is a short climb to **Blackfeet Glacier**, the largest, and in many respects the most interesting, of all the glaciers in the Park to explore. (Great Northern Railway n.d., 15)

In other sections of the brochure, the author references Indigenous place names. Discussion of Indigenous place names is often couched in descriptions of the early Indigenous inhabitants of the region, as illustrated in the following passage:

The Blackfeet and Piegan Indians have left a lasting impress of their occupation of this region, as the names of many mountains, lakes and waterfalls still bear the original Indian names, such as **Rising Wolf**, **Going-to-the-Sun**, and **Almost-a-Dog** mountains, **Morning Eagle Falls**, and **Two Medicine Lakes**. They also contributed to the mysticism and romance of the country by the tales of their early day ceremonies in the walled-in valleys, their hunting exploits on the prairies, and the religious significance they attach to several of the high peaks. (Great Northern Railway n.d.: 11)

Finally, the brochure orients the visitor to the various regions of the park and the related amenities that the visitor might find; for example, the brochure maps train stations, hotels, and nearby walking, driving, or camping excursions with detailed and educative descriptions of natural attractions in each area.

5.3.2 Grant, Madison. 1919. *Early History of Glacier National Park Montana*.

Nine years after the establishment of the park⁸, Grant's⁹ (1919) pamphlet detailing the early history of Glacier National Park was distributed by the Department of the Interior and National Park Service. Similar to the Great Northern Railway pamphlet described in §5.3.1, this pamphlet offers a wealth of educative information for the interested visitor to Glacier National Park. It opens with a section entitled "National Parks at a Glance," that situates Glacier in a

⁸ Glacier National Park was established 1910 by William Howard Taft.

⁹ A well-known eugenicist, an advocate of immigration restriction legislation, and author of *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916), Madison Grant's interest in the place names of Glacier National Park inevitably leads to questions about the driving forces of place name assignment in United States National Parks. Analysis of the role of Grant's ideological background in motivating place name changes is beyond the scope of this thesis. For more information about Madison Grant, see Spiro 2000, Spiro 2009, Allen 2013.

burgeoning National Park system that, at the time, was expanding geographically to include various swaths of land in different parts of the country¹⁰.

Grant notes the remoteness of the region by suggesting it had “scarcely been visited before the building of the Northern Pacific Railroad except by an occasional mountain man or trapper” (1919: 3). Though the Indigenous groups that frequented the area are briefly mentioned, Grant offers a history of the region that largely begins with Euro-American contact and suggests that the first known stories of the region came from missionaries. The pamphlet outlines events leading up to the establishment of the park, including the various geological surveying projects, the mining excitement in the region, and the regular hunting expeditions of George Bird Grinnell. Grinnell, a New Yorker and longtime editor of *Forest and Stream*, traveled to Montana to hunt with James Willard Schultz after reading Schultz’s articles about hunting with the Blackfeet (Stanley 2017). Grinnell’s frequent trips to the region ultimately inspired Grinnell to conceptualize the preservation of the region as a National Park.

Place names play a large role in the pamphlet, as Grant devotes nearly half of the pages to discussing how various features of the park acquired their names. For example, he calls **Chief Mountain** “by far the boldest natural feature of the region” (3) and dates its name to an 1804 Lewis and Clark map. In fact, Grant devotes much of the pamphlet to discussing the assignment of place names to topographic features in Glacier National Park. In most cases, Grant presents names assigned by Grinnell for his friends and associates; for example, Grant suggests **Mount Wilbur** was named by Grinnell for E.R. Wilbur, “a successful New York business man” (1919: 10) and Grinnell’s associate on the editorial staff of *Forest and Stream*. Grant suggests **Mount Gould** was named by Grinnell for his hunting companion George H. Gould and **Allen Mountain**

¹⁰ According to the pamphlet, 19 parks had already been established by 1919.

was named by Grinnell for Cornelia Seward Allen, the granddaughter of Secretary of State William H. Seward (Grant 1919). Though Grant offers a few English glosses of Indigenous names, most of the names he presents are recently applied toponyms that reflect the Euro-American tradition in which features are named after people.

4.3.3 Schultz, James Willard. 1926. *Signposts of Adventure*

A self-proclaimed friend and honorary member of the Pikuni tribe, James Willard Schultz (1926) reports that he was recruited by members of the Blackfeet tribe to collect the Indigenous names of topographic features in Glacier National Park. In Schultz' retelling of the Blackfeet experience following the creation of the park, Schultz illustrates the betrayal felt by the Blackfeet at the outset of the work. Schultz includes a lamentation that he attributes to Blackfeet member Tail-Feathers-Coming-Over-the-Hill:

It is true that, nineteen winters ago, we sold to the whites this Backbone-of-the-World portion of our reservation. But did we at the same time sell to them the names that we—and our fathers before us—had given to these mountains, lakes, and streams? No! We did not sell them! And now the whites have wiped them out, and upon the map of the country have put their own names; foolish names of no meaning whatever! Our names for the region were, in a way, the history of our people to far back times. My friends, the whites' names should at once be wiped out and our names restored to the maps of the regions, that our children who come after us may be ever reminded of the bravery, the dignity, the in-every-way fine character of their once powerful ancestors, and so be ever proud of the blood in their veins. (1926, 5)

Schultz enlists the help of two Blackfeet assistants (Takes-Gun-First and Curly Bear) and identifies a series of goals to motivate the research; Schultz suggests that his goals also reflect the goals of the Blackfeet. Schultz proposes that all “white” names for topographic features should be erased (with the exception of the names of white men associated with the Blackfeet tribe, either as members or friends). Schultz also suggests that he and other members of the

Blackfeet should name previously unnamed points on the east side of the park. Finally, Schultz proposes that he and his Blackfeet associates should retrieve names for topographic features on the west side of the park from the Kootenai.

Ultimately, the book lists 165 Blackfoot names and 153 Kootenai names. Each entry includes a phonetic representation of the Indigenous name in its native language (in the orthography created by Schultz), an English gloss of the Indigenous name, and the corresponding present-day name. Some entries include annotations. For example, an entry might include an annotation regarding the origin of the name or commentary about the suitability of either the Indigenous or present-day name:

Âp'ah Owapspi Iye'túktai. Weasel Eyes Creek. **Baring Creek.**

The basin in which this creek heads is noted for the very large huckleberries or blueberries that grow there; hence its name. Weasel Eyes is a most appropriate name for huckleberries, for they very closely resemble the eyes of that animal. Actually, âp'ah is the white or winter weasel. The summer or yellow-furred weasel is otah'; from otokwe' (yellow) and nitah' (lone one)

(Schultz 1926, 118-119).

The Blackfoot entries exhibit more frequent and detailed annotations than the Kootenai names; Schultz provides annotations for nearly all of 165 Blackfoot toponyms while he only provides annotations for 10 of the 153 Kootenai toponyms. Several authors question the authenticity of the names Schultz collected (Reeves and Peacock 2001; Thompson et al. 2015). For example, Thompson et al. (2015) suggest that only 25-30 of the Blackfoot names reported by Schultz appear to be original Indigenous names.

Schultz also includes a hand-drawn map of Glacier National Park that highlights the topographic features for which Schultz collected Indigenous names. Schultz labels each topographic feature on the map with the feature's present-day name and a number. The number of each feature correlates with a corresponding entry of an Indigenous name and associated information.

5.3.4. Ruhle, George C. 1975. *Origins of Place Names* manuscript.

The first naturalist of Glacier National Park, George C. Ruhle was tasked to collect information regarding the park names and their origins by Superintendent J. Ross Eakin. Originally intended to be published as a book, the manuscript was written by Ruhle in the 1930s but was not published until 1975 when the *Hungry Horse News*¹¹ presented it in a series of installments. The manuscript highlights the information collected by Ruhle regarding place names in Glacier National Park. Initially, the manuscript traces the history of mapping the area prior to the establishment of the park. Ultimately, it details the suggestions and attempts of its author to uncover information about the original Indigenous names of the park's topographic features. Because Eakin intended to eliminate and replace "unauthentic" place names in Glacier, Ruhle collected toponyms and their origins with the intention of restoring more "authentic" names to both already-named and unnamed features of the park (Ruhle 1975). To determine the most "authentic" and "suitable" toponyms, Ruhle outlines a series of principles to guide any naming suggestions. Ruhle suggests that "authentic" names are the "oldest or traditional" names of features. Further, when research does not yield the discovery of a "traditional" name, Ruhle recommends:

[s]election of satisfactory and attractive descriptive, historical, or commemorative names for prominent, unnamed features for which no traditional name is known. If none of these are available then a sufficiently distinctive name should be chosen (Ruhle 1975, 11).

Ruhle's other recommendations included the substitution of Indigenous equivalents when no Indigenous name could be found, the deletion of toponyms without historical value, and the use

¹¹ A local newspaper based in Columbia Falls, MT, a town just outside Glacier National Park.

of Indigenous names when the names are not “too long, too harsh, or too unpronounceable” (Ruhle 1975, 11).

5.3.5 Ruhle, George Cornelius. 1986. *Roads and Trails of Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park: The Ruhle Handbook*.

Originally conceived and used as a manual to train park employees, Ruhle’s work now guides park visitors along park roads and trails. Organized into two sections (“Roads” and “Trails”), the book provides detailed accounts of the roads and trails that wind through the park; Ruhle describes drives and hikes in different areas of the park based on park boundaries and topographic features. Entries often include historical information related to features, places, and their names.

For example, the first section guides the reader through a drive along the 50.8 mile stretch between **West Glacier** to **St. Mary** along the **Going-to-the Sun Road**. Ruhle offers general information about the route itself before detailing points of interest along the way. Place name origins are discussed intermittently; at mile 2.0, Ruhle reports that **Apgar** was named for Milo B. Apgar, the first settler of the area; at mile 13.3, Ruhle describes the origin of the name for **Sacred Dancing Cascade**:

“[t]he ancient name for **Lake McDonald** was Sacred Dancing Lake, given by the Kutenais who came to its shores in summertime to perform their ceremonial rites. For years the author strove without success to have the traditional name restored to the lake and stream. Former Chief Park Naturalist Francis Elmore finally was able to perpetuate it for this bit of singing water” (1986, 12).

Unlike Ruhle’s (1975) manuscript published in the *Hungry Horse News*, Ruhle’s (1986) guidebook does not focus explicitly on place names in the park. Commentary about place names appears in many sections with varying degrees of detail.

5.3.6 Holterman, Jack. 2006. *Place Names of Glacier National Park*.

Holterman (2006) presents an alphabetical list of present-day place names in Glacier National Park that correspond with the 1968 topographical map created by the United States Geological Survey. Entries include present-day place names with a brief history of the name dating back to Indigenous names where possible. Holterman includes updated orthographic representations of previously-proposed Indigenous names. For example, Holterman updates all of the place names provided by Schultz (1926). Holterman only offers the Indigenous names within the entries of their corresponding present-day names. Thus, for a reader to learn about Indigenous names of Glacier National Park, the reader would have to know the corresponding present-day name. Further, Holterman admits that he has simply accepted the Blackfoot and Kootenai names offered by Schultz (1926) but has worked to update the orthographies with the Kootenai Culture Committee and the Piegan Institute in Browning.

5.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of the establishment of Glacier National Park and the historic interest in Glacier National Park's place names including the people who have assigned names to features in the park and the authors who have devoted attention to place names and their origins. While most sources suggest that Indigenous place names preceded present-day names in the park, sources also suggest that very few of the Indigenous toponyms still remain (Holterman 2006; Reeves and Peacock 2001; Schultz 1926; Thompson et al. 2015). Further, sources offer conflicting information about which toponyms derive from Indigenous names; early sources perpetuate stories about supposed-Indigenous toponyms that later sources suggest were not "original Indigenous" names (Holtz and Bemis 1917; Laut 1926; Reeves and

Peacock 2001). This chapter describes each of the six sources that are analyzed in this thesis: an early park pamphlet (Grant 1919), a Great Northern Railway brochure (n.d.), a historical account aimed at collecting Indigenous place names in Glacier National Park (Schultz 1926), a previously unpublished manuscript focused on the origin of place names in Glacier National Park (Ruhle 1975), a Glacier National Park guidebook (Ruhle 1986), and a recent book about place names in Glacier National Park (Holterman 2006). In Chapter 6, I analyze the ideologies about place names that emerge in these sources.

Chapter 6: Place Name Ideologies in Glacier National Park

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I highlight excerpts from the source material described in Chapter 5. I focus on passages in which authors discuss place names and reveal the authors' ideologies about place names in Glacier National Park. I analyze these excerpts using Irvine and Gal's (2000) language ideology theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 4. In §6.2, I present examples of iconization; in §6.3, I present examples of fractal recursivity; in §6.4, I present examples of erasure. In §6.5, I present examples in which the semiotic processes co-occur. In §6.6, I discuss ideological themes that emerge in the data. In §6.7, I summarize my findings.

6.2 Iconization

Iconization involves a sign relationship between linguistic features and the speakers who use them. More specifically, linguistic features or even whole languages come to represent or index an individual, a group, or culture (Irvine and Gal 2000; Wood 2014). Across the various sources I examined for this project, multiple iconic relationships emerge in discussions about places names of Glacier National Park.

Consider the following example drawn from a pamphlet published by the National Park Service shortly after the establishment of Glacier National Park. Example [1] reveals various ideological motivations of the author. In particular, Grant's ideologies regarding "Indian" place names and English place names rationalize his positive opinion of George Bird Grinnell's choice of names for topographic features of Glacier National Park:

[1] It is fortunate that a man of education and imagination like Mr. Grinnell was instrumental in naming the topographical features of Glacier Park, as it is obvious that Indian names have been used wherever their pronunciation or reasonable length makes them possible. Many Indian names are so long and so unpronounceable in the original that, unless altered beyond recognition, they can not be used as names for natural features. (Grant 1919, 12).

I analyze Grant's statement to mean that Grinnell's education and imagination are fortuitous, as Grant suggests those qualities makes him uniquely effective in his naming the features. Thus, according to Grant, Grinnell's skills in this task seemingly exceed the abilities of the Indigenous people who had previously named these features; Grant asserts that the Indigenous names are often "too long" or "unpronounceable," and, as such, he claims that they cannot be used as names for the topographic features of the park. Ultimately, Grant suggests that it is due to Grinnell's endeavors that that the park's topographic features have suitable names.

Further, Grant (1919) describes the Indigenous place names with the following adjectives: "long," "unpronounceable," and "inappropriate" (12). The Indigenous toponyms become iconically linked to complexity or foreignness due to their length and perceived unpronounceability. Consequently, Grant deems the Indigenous toponyms "inappropriate" due to the perceived difficulty of their length and perceived difficulty of pronunciation for people who do not speak the Indigenous languages, even where they preceded Grinnell's names.

In the following passage [2], the unidentified author of a Great Northern Railroad brochure (n.d.) discusses the Blackfeet application of place names to topographic features of the Glacier National Park region:

- [2] The Blackfeet and Piegan Indians have left a lasting impress of their occupation of this region, as the names of many of the mountains, lakes and waterfalls still bear the original Indian names, such as Rising Wolf, Going-to-the-Sun and Almost-a-Dog mountains, Morning Eagle Falls, and Two Medicine Lakes” (Great Northern Railroad n.d., 11)

Similar to Kostanski’s (2016) analysis of the connection between places, place names, and Indigenous cultural heritage (as discussed in §3.3.1), I argue that this excerpt reveals an iconic link between Indigenous place names and Indigenous culture. The author suggests that the place names provide residual cultural evidence of the Blackfeet occupation of the region. As discussed in §3.3.1 above, Kostanski argues that participants of her survey recognized a link between a place name as a symbol of Indigenous cultural heritage and the place as being representative of Indigenous heritage. Further, the author of [2] suggests that the place names in [2] are “original Indian names,” even though all of the included place names are English glosses of Blackfoot¹² place names. I contend that this reveals the author’s ideological notions about the nature of Indigenous toponyms because they do not specify that the English place names are translations from Blackfoot. Monmonier (2006) suggests that many settlers imposed English on place names in Western states. Thus, toponyms of Indigenous origin, including commemorative place names, reflect this linguistic imperialism and were considered the “original Indian names” by non-native people even though they were in English rather than in the Indigenous language (in this case, Blackfoot). These types of place names fall into Bright’s (2002) subcategory of “Translations” of Indigenous place names. Bright suggests that translated place names, such as **Rising Wolf**, **Going-to-the-Sun**, **Almost-a-Dog**, **Morning Eagle**, and **Two Medicine**, were commonly

¹² Blackfoot is a highly-endangered Plains Algonquian language spoken by members of the Blackfoot Confederacy on the Blackfoot (Siksika), Blood (Kainaa), and Piegan (Apatohsippiikani) Reserves in Alberta, Canada as well as on the Blackfeet (South Piegan) Reservation in Montana. Though 2,820 tribal members speak the language on reserves in Canada, fewer than 100 Blackfeet members speak Blackfoot in Montana according to Eberhard et al. 2019 (see also Mithun 1999).

assumed to be literal translations of Indigenous toponyms, descriptions, or symbolic features of Indigenous legends. In this case, the names listed in example [2] would be considered calques¹³; according to Bright, Indigenous toponymic calques are thought to translate directly into the source language.

While all the place names referenced in [2] are English glosses of Indigenous names, most of these names were assigned by Schultz which raises questions about their authenticity as “original Indian names” (Holterman 2006; Reeves and Peacock 2001; Schultz 1916; Schultz 1926; Thompson et al. 2015.). Reeves and Peacock (2001) suggest that the vast majority of Indigenous names in Glacier National Park were assigned by non-native people. Schultz himself describes naming several of the topographic features. For example, Schultz (1916) discusses naming **Almost-a-Dog Mountain** in 1884 for a Blackfeet survivor of the Baker Massacre. Later, Schultz (1926) assigns the name **Going-to-the-Sun Mountain** in 1885. Further, Reeves and Peacock (2001) suggest that any original Blackfoot names in Glacier National Park may be “descriptive of the color, such as **Red Mountain** – or shape, such as **Bear Mountain** – or [have] some particular biological association, such as **Goat Mountain**” (178). I propose that the ideological notion that the toponyms referred to in [2] are original stems from the iconic link between Indigenous place names and Indigenous culture. Most of the toponyms in [2] are English translations of Indigenous names, follow the Euro-American naming convention that names places for people, and were assigned by Schultz. Because of the iconic links between Indigenous place names and Indigenous culture, the author of the Great Northern Railroad

¹³ As defined by Crystal (2008), calque is a term used to refer to linguistic borrowing in which morphemes of the borrowed word (or in this case, place name) are translated item by item into the new language.

brochure suggests the names are “original” Indigenous names, even though they are English glosses.

In the following example, the author of a Great Northern Railroad brochure iconically links indigenous place names to complexity:

- [3] “The-river-where-the-two-medicine-lodges-were-built” is the way the Indians designated the stream that drains the three lakes of the **Two Medicine Valley**” (Great Northern Railroad 1922,13)

The author suggests the toponym ‘the-river-where-the-two-medicine-lodges-were-built’ is the original Indigenous name of **Two Medicine River**. Because the two names are juxtaposed, I analyze the previous name as an icon of complexity or foreignness, as evidenced by the author’s use of hyphens to demonstrate that a string of English words combine to construct an Indigenous place name. The original Indigenous name in its native language is not given. The hyphens function to emphasize the indigeneity of the toponym by illustrating a distinction between English and Indigenous languages.

In the following passage, James Willard Schultz (1926) discusses the name assigned to a glacier by the United States Geological Survey (U.S.G.S) as compared to the Kootenai¹⁴ name for the same glacier:

- [4] The United States Geological Survey named this the **Blackfoot Glacier**; an appropriate name for this, the largest glacier in the Park. The Kutenai Indians, however, have a far better, far more romantic name for it, as will appear in the list of names on the west side of the Park (Schultz 1926: 83).

¹⁴ Kootenai is a highly-endangered language spoken in British Columbia, Idaho, and Montana. Kootenai is currently considered a language isolate, which means that it is not genetically related to any other languages. Alternate names for the language include: Kutenai, Kootenay, Ktunaxa, and Ksanka (Mithun 1999). In British Columbia, Canada, there are 25 speakers and 20 semi-speakers. In Montana and Idaho, there are 220 speakers, though speaker numbers are decreasing according to Eberhard et al. 2019.

Here, Schultz describes the commemorative Euro-American name (**Blackfoot Glacier**) as “appropriate” whereas he suggests the Kootenai name is not only “far better” than the English but also “far more romantic.” Though he assures the reader the Kootenai name for **Blackfoot Glacier** will be listed, Schultz ultimately does not supply one. In [4], I argue that Schultz iconically links Indigenous place names to “romanticism” and suggests that the romantic element associated with Indigenous place names makes Indigenous toponyms superior (or “far better”) than English place names. Holterman (2006) suggests the glacier was previously known as ‘Old Man Ice’ by the Kootenai, which is a reference to the Coyote myth according to Thompson et al. (2015). Assuming Schultz was familiar with the Kootenai place name as he suggests in [4], I propose that the iconic link between Indigenous place names and “romanticism” stems from the fact that the Kootenai name refers to a Kootenai myth.

In [5], Schultz (1926) discusses the original Blackfoot name as compared to the preferred name for present-day **Divide Mountain**:

- [5] The Blackfeet name for this is ‘Mountain-from-which-the-Water-goes-to-the-Behind Direction-and-to-the-South-Direction’; so long a name in their language that we make it as it is upon the white men’s map, **Divide Mountain** (Schultz 1926, 98).

Schultz (1926) suggests that the Blackfoot name is quite long in its original language. As a result, he proposes that the toponym be recorded on his map of Indigenous place names in the same way that it is recorded on the present-day map: **Divide Mountain**. This notion that the name is too long reveals that Schultz believes that place names must be of a certain length, especially if they are to be recorded on a map. As a result, he proposes the abbreviation of the English gloss of the Blackfoot name (‘Mountain-from-which-the-Water-goes-to-the-Behind Direction-and-to-the-South-Direction’) to **Divide Mountain**. In example [5], Schultz links

length and Indigenous languages in that place names that Schultz considers too long of unreasonable length become icons of the Blackfoot language. As noted in §3.3.2, Berezkina (2106) also that the length of toponyms affects residents' attitudes toward place names in Oslo.

In [6], Schultz (1926) compares the Blackfoot names that he collects for topographic features on the east side of the park to the Kootenai names that he collects for features on the west side of the park:

- [6] Unlike the Blackfeet tribes' names of the east-side features of the Park, there is little of romantic interest attached to these Kutenai, west-side names, with the exception of the names of various glaciers. They are, for the most part, simply the names of men of the tribe who were successful hunters, or 'magicians.' The Kutenais were not warriors; their coups were the killings of grizzly bears. They were a timid people, passing their lives in the remote fastnesses of mountains. (Schultz 1926: 205)

Schultz suggests that, with the exception of some of the glaciers on the east side of the park, the Kootenai names lack romantic interest. Schultz (1926) offers 12 Kootenai names for glaciers, given in Table 1 below. The first column displays the Kootenai place names (as collected and transcribed by Schultz), the second column displays Schultz's English glosses of the Kootenai place names, and the third column displays the corresponding present-day names of the features.

Table 1: Schultz (1926) Kootenai names for Glaciers in Glacier National Park		
Kootenai name	English Gloss	Present-day name
<i>Kokin'okwuto'man Ahkwaiswil'ko</i>	'Thirsty Woman Ice'	Lupfer Glacier
<i>Kaĩntso'at'nan Ahkwaiswil'ko</i>	'No Bear Ice'	Pumpelly Glacier
<i>Miskotowom Ahkwaiswil'ko</i>	'Blossom of Wild Rhubarb Ice'	Sperry Glacier
<i>Kotopchi Ahkwaiswil'ko</i>	'Old Man's Daughter's Ice'	Harrison Glacier
<i>Nahsu'kin Ahkwaiswil'ko</i>	'Chief Glacier'	Vulture Glacier
<i>Ahkokwatka'kin Ahkwaiswil'ko</i>	'Otter Woman Ice'	Rainbow Glacier
<i>Maiũkah'na Ahkwaiswil'ko</i>	'Weasel Collar Glacier'	Carter Glacier
<i>Kahkaswin' Ahkwaiswil'ko</i>	'Stilts Glacier'	Boulder Glacier
<i>Yakilwokakitawo Ahkwaiswil'ko</i>	'Long Bow Ice'	Harris Glacier
<i>Kintla Ahkwaiswil'ko</i>	'Sack Glacier'	Kintla Glacier
<i>Kawũspah'tin Ahkwaiswil'ko</i>	'Red Woman Glacier'	Agassiz Glacier
<i>Atski-yakila-achiki Ahkwaiswil'ko</i>	'Ice-where-the-Goats'-Children-Play Glacier'	Baby Glacier

Schultz offers few, if any, annotations for the Kootenai names of glaciers in the Glacier National Park region, though he does suggest that he was “more than pleased with the descriptive quality” (1926, 8) of some of these Kootenai names including *Atski-yakila-achiki Ahkwaiswil'ko* ('Ice-where-the-Goats'-Children-Play'). In the entry regarding *Yakilwokakitawo Ahkwaiswil'ko* ('Long Bow Ice'), he offers a brief annotation concerning the toponym's origin:

“According to the legend, years ago there was a giant man named Red Medicine. Traveling one day by this glacier he found a long bow; hence its name” (Schultz 1926, 222).

The entry for 'Ice-where-the-Goats'-Children-Play' Glacier includes a note about its use by the Kootenai; Schultz claims the Kootenai used to slide down this glacier during their annual religious ceremony at 'Sacred Dancing Lake' (present-day **Lake McDonald**) (1926). Thompson

et al. (2015) suggest that several of the Kootenai names for glaciers refer to Coyote and his son Rhubarb, including ‘Old Man’s Daughter,’ ‘No Bear Ice,’ and ‘Blossom of Wild Rhubarb Ice.’ Because many of these Kootenai place names refer to Kootenai myths, I argue that Schultz reinforces the iconic link between Kootenai place names and “romanticism” as discussed in example [4] above; Schultz links Indigenous (in this case, Kootenai) place names to “romanticism” when the names refer to Indigenous myths.

Though Schultz suggests the Kootenai names for glaciers are romantic in [6] above, Schultz juxtaposes the other Kootenai place names (for mountains, lakes, creeks, and other features) with the Blackfoot names. Schultz asserts that, overall, the Blackfoot place names are more romantic than the Kootenai place names. Most of the Blackfoot place names identified by Schultz commemorate historic Blackfeet tribal leaders and warriors. According to Schultz, the Kootenai toponyms do not commemorate warriors. Thus, I propose that Schultz refers to Indigenous place names as romantic when they refer to Indigenous myths or significant tribal leaders. By suggesting that most of the Kootenai names lack “romantic interest,” Schultz creates an opposition between the Kootenai and the Blackfoot names. Further, Schultz suggests that the Kootenai were a “timid” people. Schultz contends that the timidity of the Kootenai is reflected in their place names when he suggests that the Kootenai toponyms were “simply the names of men [because...t]he Kutenais were not warriors” (Schultz 1926, 205). Thus, Schultz iconically links Blackfoot toponyms to an idea of “romanticism” while the Kootenai names become iconically linked to “timidity.”

Ruhle (1975) describes the circumstances under which he proposes the utilization of Indigenous place names for topographic features of the park. The first naturalist of Glacier National Park, George C. Ruhle was tasked to collect information regarding the origin of park

names by Superintendent J. Ross Eakin¹⁵. Ruhle collected toponyms and their origins with the intention of restoring more authentic names to both already-named and unnamed features of the park (Ruhle 1975). Ruhle suggests that “authentic” toponyms are the “oldest or traditional names of a place” and suggests that the “most appropriate should be restored wherever and whenever feasible” (Ruhle 1975, 11). In a manuscript published by a local Montana newspaper, Ruhle (1975) proposed a list of principles to guide any Glacier National Park naming suggestions to the United States Board of Geographic Names. The following excerpt is the sixth principle on his list:

- [7] Use of Indian names whenever they are not too long, too harsh, or too unpronounceable. Translation of Indian names [...] should be given second choice. When neither of these is available, distinctive English names should be chosen. Examples of splendid existing Indian names are **Siyeh**, **Appistoki**, and **Kintla**. Examples of the second type: **Almost A Dog**, **Going-to-the-Sun**, **White Quiver**, and **Chief**. Examples of the third class: **Swiftcurrent**, **Triple Divide**, (Three Ocean was better), **Avalanche**. (Ruhle 1975, emphasis Ruhle’s)

This passage reveals Ruhle’s ideological notion that place names must be of a particular length (“not too long”), a particular prosody (not “too harsh”), and “pronounceable.”. He suggests that Indigenous place names should only be used when they meet these criteria. I propose that Ruhle’s suggestion that Indigenous toponyms may be “too long” or “too unpronounceable” reveals an iconic link between Indigenous place names and complexity or foreignness. Ruhle offers several examples of what he considers acceptable place names. For example, Ruhle lists **Siyeh**, **Appistoki**, and **Kintla** as examples of existing Indigenous place names that meet his criteria. Although he does not offer examples of Indigenous place names that do not meet his criteria, Ruhle suggests that translations of Indigenous place names be applied to topographic

¹⁵ According to the National Park Service website, Eakin was the superintendent of Glacier from 1921-24 and 1927-31 (National Park Service 2016).

features in Glacier National Park; he includes the names **Almost a Dog**, **Going-to-the-Sun**, and **Chief** as examples of translations of Indigenous place names. Finally, where, according to Ruhle, the original Indigenous name is inadequate and a translation is unavailable, he recommends “distinctive” English place names be assigned to topographic features. As examples of this type of place name, Ruhle mentions **Swiftcurrent**, **Triple Divide**, and **Avalanche**. He does not offer examples of Indigenous place names that are “too long, too harsh, or too unpronounceable.” I propose that Ruhle renders any examples of difficult (“long,” “harsh,” “unpronounceable”) place names superfluous due to his suggestion that place names should not be used in these cases. Similarly, Berezkina (2016) finds that the length, the sound, and the pronounceability of toponyms all affect Oslo residents’ attitudes toward place names, as discussed in §3.3.2.

In a guidebook originally conceived as a “Driver’s Manual” for park personnel, Ruhle (1976) guides park visitors with detailed directions along roads and trails accompanied by historical information related to features, places, and toponyms. In [8], Ruhle describes the names he assigned to two small lakes off the **Cracker Lake Trail** on the east side of the park:

- [8] **Allen Creek** is reached 1.8 miles from the hotel. It drains two beautiful lakelets, **Falling Leaf** and **Snow Moon**, tucked snugly in a niche on **Allen Mt**. The names are Indian for September and October and were given by the author on an autumn visit while fall colors still flared at the lower lake, but somber, silvery hues of winter were already stealing upon the upper basin. (Ruhle 1976, 116).

Following the criteria Ruhle himself outlined in [7], Ruhle (1976) explains that he assigned translations of Indigenous names to these small lakes. Ruhle does not suggest that these names correlate with original Indigenous names of the lakes. Rather, the toponyms are English glosses of Indigenous words for the months September and October. As Ruhle details in [8], he assigns the names based on their descriptive nature; for example, he suggests that when he visited the

first lake, the “fall colors still flared at the lower lake” (1986, 116) which inspired the name Falling Leaf. Describing the second lake, Ruhle explains that “somber, silvery hues of winter were already stealing upon the upper basin” (1986, 116) which inspired him to assign the name Snow Moon. Even though Ruhle admits these toponyms do not correlate with any traditional Indigenous names for the features, I argue that he deems the names appropriate based on the iconic link between descriptive place names and Indigenous languages.

In examples [9] and [10], Holterman (2006) characterizes the nature of Indigenous place names:

- [9] Many American Indian “names” are really not names as much as descriptions of events using a verb as basic: “where we dance,” “how the eagle runs”. (Holterman 2006,10)
- [10] The old Blackfoot “name” for the lakes is *Paht-omahxikimi*: “inside big water.” (Big water = lake.) This of course is not really a name but a description. (Holterman 2006, 178)

In these passages, I propose that descriptive place names are iconically linked to Indigenous languages. Holterman suggests that descriptions are not place names. This ideology is reiterated by the fact that Holterman repeatedly refers to Indigenous place names with quotation marks around the word *names*, as if to illegitimatize the Indigenous toponyms. Because Holterman proposes that descriptions are “really not names,” Indigenous place names cannot be considered “real” place names.

6.3 Fractal Recursivity

Fractal recursivity involves the “projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level” (38). Features that index or characterize social groups may

be projected from one level to another. In §6.2 above I argue that some authors of Glacier National Park texts iconically link complexity or foreignness to Indigenous language by differentiating it from their own language and creating a link between Euro-American names and intelligibility. Once that opposition is created through the essentialization of Indigenous languages and English, the opposition may be projected onto a social level in which the speakers of the Indigenous language are considered to be inherently complex or foreign.

Example [1], repeated as [11] below, describes Grinnell's process of naming and renaming topographic features in Glacier National Park:

- [11] It is fortunate that a man of education and imagination like Mr. Grinnell was instrumental in naming the topographical features of Glacier Park, as it is obvious that Indian names have been used wherever their pronunciation or reasonable length makes them possible. Many Indian names are so long and so unpronounceable in the original that, unless altered beyond recognition, they can not be used as names for natural features. The inappropriate name of two beautiful sheets of water named **St. Mary Lake** is an example of what might otherwise have happened to the terminology of Glacier National Park" (Grant 1919, 12).

In addition to iconization, example [11] also illustrates the semiotic process fractal recursivity. In iconizing complexity as an inherent feature of Indigenous languages, Grant creates a dichotomy. Grant identifies Indigenous place names as difficult or incomprehensible and identifies Euro-American place names as intelligible or straightforward. This dichotomy is based on Grant's ability to understand his own language and inability to speak the Indigenous language (or languages). As Irvine and Gal (2000) suggest, "linguistic forms, including whole languages, can index social groups" (37), then the passage in example [12] above illustrates an example of fractal recursivity; because the author does not understand the people using the language, he

projects this lack of understanding onto the linguistic form and presumes not to understand the language itself.

In [12], Schultz describes the reasons why Grinnell chose the name **Gunsight Mountain**:

[12] Standing at the east edge of **Gunsight Lake** and looking west through the narrow pass, **Gunsight Mountain** juts up at its far end in a way to remind one of the sight on a rifle barrel. So it was that Dr. Grinnell most appropriately named these three topographical features of the Park (Schultz 1926, 108)

The passage explains that Grinnell chose the name **Gunsight Mountain** due to the fact that the mountain resembles the barrel of a rifle. I analyze this passage as an example of fractal recursivity because Schultz projects the understanding of Indigenous place-naming conventions onto the Euro-American naming conventions. That is, typically Indigenous place names have been characterized as having descriptive qualities while Euro-American place names have been characterized as being commemorative. Schultz suggests **Gunsight Mountain** is an “appropriate” name because it is descriptive. After collecting Blackfoot and Kootenai names in the Glacier National Park region, Schultz admits that he “was more than pleased” (1926, 8) with the descriptive quality of some of the Indigenous place names. Schultz (1926) states two of the main goals of the collection: (i) to erase all the white names of topographic features and (ii) to give Indigenous names to various features that the tribes had neglected to name. The fact that Schultz considers this English name, given by a non-Indigenous person (George Bird Grinnell), appropriate suggests that he approves of descriptive toponyms. Even though it is not an Indigenous name, Schultz considers the English name appropriate because it resembles Indigenous place names in that it is descriptive.

In example [4], repeated as [13] below, Schultz (1926) discusses the name given to a glacier in the park by the United States Geological Survey. In example [6], repeated as [14]

below, Schultz characterizes the differences that he recognizes between Blackfoot and Kootenai toponyms:

- [13] The United States Geological Survey named this the **Blackfeet Glacier**; an appropriate name for this, the largest glacier in the Park. The Kutenai Indians, however, have a far better, far more romantic name for it, as will appear in the list of names on the west side of the Park (Schultz 1926, 83).
- [14] Unlike the Blackfeet tribes' names of the east-side features of the Park, there is little of romantic interest attached to these Kutenai, west-side names, with the exception of the names of various glaciers. They are, for the most part, simply the names of men of the tribe who were successful hunters, or 'magicians.' The Kutenais were not warriors; their coups were the killings of grizzly bears. They were a timid people, passing their lives in the remote fastnesses of mountains. (Schultz 1926, 205)

In [13], Schultz suggests that the Kootenai name for **Blackfeet Glacier** is far more romantic than the name assigned by the United States Geological Survey. In doing so, Schultz pits Kootenai toponyms against English toponyms and creates a dichotomy that recognizes the Kootenai toponyms as "romantic". When considered alongside [14], Schultz seemingly reproduces this opposition at the Indigenous level between Blackfoot and Kootenai toponyms. In [13], Schultz considers Kootenai names superior to English place names (as evidenced by his claim that the Kootenai have a far "better" name for the particular feature) due to the romanticism that he associates with them. In [14], Schultz states that he prefers the Blackfoot place names to the Kootenai names because the Blackfoot place names are more "romantic" than the Kootenai names. Further, in juxtaposing the simplicity of the Kootenai names with the romanticism of the Blackfoot names, Schultz maps this sentiment onto the speakers themselves in an act of fractal recursivity: he suggests that the Kootenai were a timid people rather than warriors, and this is reflected in the simplicity of their naming conventions.

Adapted from Figure 1 (Andronis 2003, 268) in §3.3.2, Figure 3 illustrates the reproduction of Schultz's (1926) Indigenous/Non-Indigenous dichotomy within the Indigenous level.

Figure 3. Fractal Recursivity of Indigenous/Non-Indigenous dichotomy

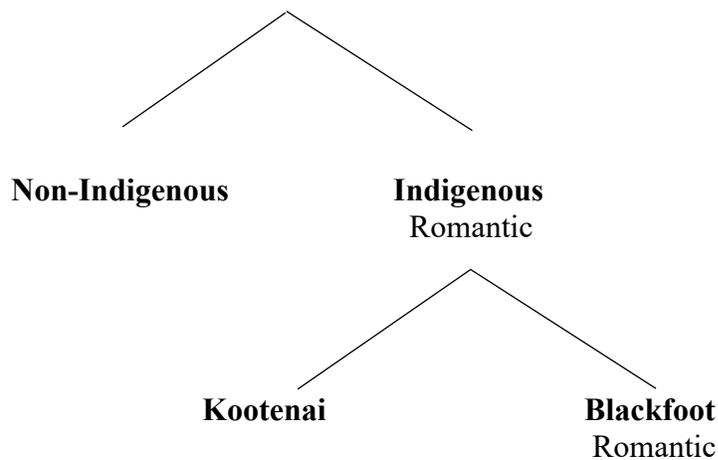


Figure 2 shows the reproduction of the Indigenous/Non-Indigenous dichotomy by illustrating how Schultz considers the Blackfoot names both superior to and more romantic than the Kootenai place names. The top tier of the schema illustrates the differentiation between English toponyms (Non-Indigenous) and Kootenai toponyms (Indigenous), as identified by Schultz in example [13]. The bottom tier of the schema illustrates how that dichotomy is reproduced within the Indigenous level to differentiate between Blackfoot and Kootenai place names. Schultz projected the dichotomous nature of Indigenous and non-Indigenous naming conventions onto the Blackfoot and Kootenai names. It was common practice in Euro-American naming tradition to commemorate significant people by naming topographic features after them (A fable and Beeler 1996, Meadows 2008, Thornton 2008). In his efforts to retroactively apply Blackfoot

names to topographic features in the Glacier region, Schultz collects and proposes commemorative names of historic Blackfoot members for nearly 60% of the submissions. Thus, I argue that Schultz's perception that Blackfoot names are superior to the Kootenai names results from the projection of the Indigenous/Non-Indigenous dichotomy onto the Indigenous names.

According to Schultz (1926), the majority of the mountains in Glacier National Park are named for important members of the Blackfoot tribe, such as noteworthy chiefs and warriors. Examples include: *Pi'ta Siksiûm Îstûkî* ('Black Eagle Mountain'), named for Black Eagle, a warrior who died circa 1870 in a battle with the Assiniboinés, *Stum'ik Otokan' Îstûkî* ('Bull Head Mountain'), named for Bull Head, a celebrated chief who saved a war party from an attack by Snakes, and *Is'okwiomakan Îstûkî* ('Heavy Runner Mountain'), named for Heavy Runner, a celebrated member of the Blackfoot whom Schultz (1926) describes as "one of the bravest big-hearted chiefs of the Pikuni who ever lived" (102). I argue that Schultz favors these toponyms because they commemorate significant members of the Blackfoot tribe and correlate with his ideology that place names should honor people. Even though many of the Kootenai toponyms provided by Schultz (1926) also honor people, Schultz distinguishes between the Blackfoot and the Kootenai names by suggesting that the Blackfoot names celebrate warriors rather than timid Kootenai tribal members whose "coups were the killing of grizzly bears" (205). By suggesting that the commemorative Blackfoot place names are more romantic than the Kootenai place names, Schultz reproduces the Indigenous/Non-Indigenous dichotomy at the Indigenous level in an act of fractal recursivity.

In [15] Schultz describes the circumstances under which he and Tail-Feathers-Coming-over-the-Hill¹⁶ rename one of the mountains in Glacier National Park:

¹⁶ One of the Blackfoot members that assisted Schultz in assigning Blackfoot names to the topographic features of Glacier National Park in *Signposts of Adventure* (1926).

- [15] The original name of this mountain was Nitai' Ispi Ístûkî, Lone High Mountain. In 1885, when hunting along its base with my old friend, Tail-Feathers-Coming-over-the-Hill, I suggested that we give it a more appropriate name, Sun Going-to Mountain. He replied: Ai! That is a better name for it; a very sacred name. We will so name it. when we arrive home, we will tell our people about it, and their hearts will be glad. Next to **Chief Mountain**, as you know, we regard this as the most beautiful of all our mountains: so is it right that it bear so sacred a name (Schultz 1926, 118)

Schultz (1926) suggests creating a more “appropriate” name for *Nitai' Ispi Ístûkî* (‘Lone High Mountain’). As recounted by Schultz in [15], the mountain’s beauty and sacred nature inspires Schultz to suggest renaming it. Tail-Feathers-Coming-Over-the-Hill explains that it warrants a sacred name. Schultz and Tail-Feathers-Coming-Over-the-Hill project their understanding of sacred from the landscape level to the linguistic level in applying sacred names to sacred topographic features. According to Reeves and Peacock (2001), sacred Blackfoot sites were often associated with visionary experiences, religious activities, or the presence of sacred materials.

6.4 Erasure

According to Irvine and Gal (2000), erasure is the semiotic process that “renders some persons, activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible” (38) through the simplification of the sociolinguistic field. Through erasure, variation in a social group or language is ignored (or erased) due to inconsistencies with a speaker’s ideological scheme that suggests a language (or the social group that uses it) is homogenous. Irvine and Gal propose that erasure does not necessarily mean “actual eradication” (38) of the inconsistent element, though the practical erasure of the element may happen when circumstances permit.

Example [11] above, repeated as example [16] below, also exhibits the semiotic process erasure:

[16] It is fortunate that a man of education and imagination like Mr. Grinnell was instrumental in naming the topographical features of Glacier Park, as it is obvious that Indian names have been used wherever their pronunciation or reasonable length makes them possible. Many Indian names are so long and so unpronounceable in the original that, unless altered beyond recognition, they can not be used as names for natural features. The inappropriate name of two beautiful sheets of water named **St. Mary Lake** is an example of what might otherwise have happened to the terminology of Glacier National Park” (Grant 1919, 12).

I argue that example [16] exhibits three instances of erasure. The first stems from Grant’s ideology that suggests that place names must be easy to pronounce and of reasonable length. Where place names are inconsistent with Grant’s ideology, the toponyms are disregarded as “inappropriate” place names. For example, according to the author any toponyms that are “too long” and “so unpronounceable in the original [...] cannot be used as place names for natural features” at all. Consequently, these names become subject to the semiotic process erasure. Throughout the pamphlet, Grant describes instances in which Grinnell assigned Indigenous place names “wherever their pronunciation or reasonable length [made] them possible” (1919: 12). For example, Grant cites **Red Eagle Lake, Red Eagle Mountain, Chief Mountain, Little Chief Mountain, and Almost-a-Dog Mountain** as examples of “acceptable” Indigenous toponyms. Though Grant supports the use of Indigenous place names, he only offers English glosses of Indigenous place names applied by George Bird Grinnell, a non-Indigenous person. Because “long” and “difficult” Indigenous place names are inconsistent with Grant’s idea of an “appropriate” toponym, Grant suggests they must be “transformed” (Irvine and Gal 2000: 38), or “altered beyond recognition,” to be considered suitable names. Indigenous names do not fit Grant’s ideological scheme; thus, Indigenous names are erased or disregarded. Further, I propose that, in suggesting that any Indigenous names are unpronounceable, Grant disregards (or erases) the entire Indigenous community for whom the names would not be “unpronounceable.”

The second example of erasure in [16] above is the erasure of the Indigenous name for **St. Mary Lake**. Grant suggests that this name is “inappropriate” and that it should instead be known as Chief Mountain Lake due to the fact that it is “dominated by the great peak known as Chief Mountain” (1919, 4) and the name “Chief Mountain is of Indian origin” (9). Most authors suggest that the original Indigenous name of the lake was descriptive; previous glosses of the Blackfoot toponym for **St. Mary Lake** include: ‘Inside Big Water’ (Holterman 2006, 178), ‘In Lakes’ (McClintock 1910, 439), ‘Inside Lakes’ (Schultz 1916, 182), or ‘Lakes Inside’ (Thompson et al. 2015, 208)¹⁷. Holtz and Bemis (1917) suggest it was called ‘Good-Spirit-Woman’ (192), which they say refers to St. Mary of the Catholic Church. Holterman (2006) also suggests that a modern Blackfoot name for the lake is *Nato-aki omahxikimi*, which he glosses as ‘Holy Lady Big Water’ and explains as a translation of the present-day name **St. Mary Lake**. This correlates with the name offered by Holtz and Bemis (1917). However, it also reflects the proposition made by Reeves and Peacock (2001) that Indigenous names applied by non-Indigenous people (including some present-day names in the park) were not the original Indigenous names but were promoted and perpetuated by popular writers in the early twentieth century. Thus, the suggestion that the name Chief Mountain Lake would be more “appropriate” than **St. Mary Lake** merely because the name is presumably of Indigenous origin works to erase any Indigenous toponyms previously applied to the lake by the Indigenous people of the region.

Finally, Grant (1919) uses the term “Indian” to describe any and all Indigenous place names. By describing place names as “Indian,” Grant disregards the variation of the Indigenous languages that would have been spoken in the region; several native groups frequented the Glacier region prior to the establishment of the park. As previously discussed in Chapter 5, the

¹⁷ While most of the others only cite the name as an English gloss, Holterman (2006) offers an updated Blackfoot orthographic representation: *Paht-omahxikimi*

Blackfeet and the Kootenai are the Indigenous groups most commonly associated with the area. Other associated Indigenous groups include the Salish and Upper Kalispel, Interior Salish groups (including Coeur d'Alene, Lower Kalispel, Spokane, and Colville), Nez Perce, Northern Shoshone, Crow, Stoney, Assiniboine, and Cree among others (Reeves and Peacock 2001). The presence of multiple Indigenous groups means that multiple languages would have been spoken in the region prior to the establishment of the park including Blackfoot, Kootenai, Salish, Sahaptin, Shoshone, Crow, Stoney, Assiniboine, and Cree.

In [17], Schultz (1926) describes the origin of the name Two Medicine River:

- [17] Its present name was given to it when, in the long-ago the Pikuni held their annual religious ceremony, the Okan', in its valley at the foot of the mountains, and shortly afterward, only a few days later, the Bloods trailed in from the north and built their Okan' close beside the one of the Pikuni. As I have already explained, the meaning of the word Okan' is 'The Vision'; so, rightly this would be 'Two Vision Lodges River.' However, as the early traders' word 'medicine' is now generally known to have been applied to the spiritual — religious — life and rites of the Indians, it is well to let the name remain as it is upon the maps of the region: **Two Medicine River.**" (Schultz 1926, 43-44)

In particular, Schultz (1926) describes the misinterpretation of the word "medicine" by early traders. Schultz suggests that the word "medicine" commonly implied some spiritual or religious aspect of Indigenous life. As such, he recommends that the name **Two Medicine River** should remain on the maps. Similarly, Berezkina (2016) argues that participants of the socio-onomastic survey preferred toponyms that they were accustomed to using (see §3.3.2). Like Berezkina (2016), I argue that example [17] points to an ideology that favors a name in common usage over a name over a more directly translated Indigenous name. Instead of changing the name to more closely reflect an original Indigenous name, Schultz opts to leave it the same, thereby erasing the English gloss of the Indigenous name 'Two Vision Lodges River.' Similar to the second erasure process in example [16], the Indigenous name is erased because it does not coincide with

Schultz's ideology. The river referenced in example [17] is still called **Two Medicine River** today.

In [18], Schultz describes the reasons why he abbreviates a Blackfoot toponym:

- [18] The Blackfeet name for this is 'Mountain-from-which-the-Water-goes-to-the-Behind-Direction-and-to-the-South-Direction'; so long a name in their language that we make its it is upon the white men's map, **Divide Mountain** (Schultz 1926, 98)

Example [18] exhibits two instances of erasure. The first erasure process occurs when Schultz substitutes an English gloss for an Indigenous toponym; Schultz (1926) records the English gloss mentioned in example [18] ('Mountain-from-which-the-water-goes-to-the-Behind-Direction-and-to-the-South-Direction') as the original Blackfoot name for **Divide Mountain**. Using English glosses to stand in for names in Indigenous languages is an example of erasure, as the Indigenous names in their respective languages are absent. This example of erasure appears especially glaring as Schultz (1926) generally includes an orthographic representation of the Blackfoot and Kootenai names he collects. The second erasure process occurs when Schultz justifies the abbreviated English gloss (**Divide Mountain**) of the Blackfoot name 'Mountain-from-which-the-water-goes-to-the-Behind-Direction-and-to-the-South-Direction' by suggesting that it is too long in its original form to fit on a map. Schultz's ideology suggests that place names must be of a particular length. As a result, place names (in this case, English glosses of Indigenous names) that are "too long" become subject to the semiotic process erasure. The mountain that Schultz refers to in example [18] is still known as **Divide Mountain** today.

In example [15], repeated as [19] below, Schultz describes the circumstances under which he created a new name for a mountain in Glacier National Park:

- [19] The original name of this mountain was Nitai' Ispi Îstûkî, Lone High Mountain. In 1885, when hunting along its base with my old friend, Tail-Feathers-Coming-over-the-Hill, I suggested that we give it a more appropriate name, Sun Going-to Mountain. He replied: Ai! That is a better name for it; a very sacred name. We will so name it. when we arrive home, we will tell our people about it, and their hearts will be glad. Next to **Chief Mountain**, as you know, we regard this as the most beautiful of all our mountains: so is it right that it bear so sacred a name (Schultz 1926, 118)

In this passage Schultz erases a historic Blackfoot name. Schultz suggests creating a “more appropriate” name for *Nitai' Ispi Îstûkî* (‘Lone High Mountain’) because he proposed that the name did not reflect the sacred nature of the mountain. From that point forward, the mountain becomes known as Sun-Going-To Mountain while any previous name falls into disuse through the process of erasure.

Example [14] in §6.3 above, repeated as example [20] below, also illustrates the semiotic process erasure:

- [20] Unlike the Blackfeet tribes’ names of the east-side features of the Park, there is little of romantic interest attached to these Kutenai, west-side names, with the exception of the names of various glaciers. They are, for the most part, simply the names of men of the tribe who were successful hunters, or ‘magicians.’ The Kutenais were not warriors; their coups were the killings of grizzly bears. They were a timid people, passing their lives in the remote fastnesses of mountains. (Schultz 1926, 205)

Schultz suggests that the Kootenai place names he collected lack “romantic” interest; as a result, Schultz disregards any “romantic” Kootenai names. Further, though Schultz (1926) collects similar numbers of Blackfoot and Kootenai names (153 Kootenai names and 165 Blackfoot names) for *Signposts of Adventure*, Schultz emphasizes the significance of the Blackfoot names by providing greater detail about the Blackfoot toponyms than the Kootenai toponyms. Schultz fills 182 pages (20-203) presenting the proposed 165 original (or recently created) Blackfoot

names of Glacier National Park, while he spends only 21 pages on the Kootenai names he collected (204-225). Though Schultz intends to legitimize the Indigenous names of the park features, his extra attention to Blackfoot names juxtaposed with the paucity of information he provides regarding the “simple” Kootenai names works to erase meaning attached to the Kootenai names. In the 21 pages that Schultz spends discussing Kootenai place names, he devotes little attention to discussing the toponyms’ origins or meanings; Schultz only includes additional descriptive information for 10 Kootenai toponyms compared to nearly all of the Blackfoot toponyms. I argue that the lack of information provided by Schultz regarding the Kootenai names obscures or erases any meaning attached to them.

Many authors question the authenticity of the Kootenai names provided by Schultz (Reeves and Peacock 2001; Thompson et al. 2015). Thompson et al. (2015) suggest that a large amount of cultural information may be gleaned from the Kootenai names in Glacier National Park as they refer to Kootenai myths, significant plants, significant Kootenai people, or significant cultural activities that occurred at particular sites. For example, one Kootenai toponym that sources cite consistently is ‘Sacred Dancing Lake’ which is the English gloss of a Kootenai name for present-day **Lake McDonald** (Holterman 2006; Reeves and Peacock 2001; Schultz 1926; Thompson et al. 2015). Schultz disregards or erases the meaning attached to Kootenai toponyms by suggesting that they were “simply the names of men of the tribe.” The process of erasure strengthens Schultz’s ideology that considers the Blackfoot toponyms superior to the Kootenai toponyms he collected.

Example [8] in §6.2, repeated as example [21] below, presents another example of the semiotic process erasure. In [21], Ruhle describes two small lakes off the **Cracker Lake Trail** and his reasons for naming them:

- [21] **Allen Creek** is reached 1.8 miles from the hotel. It drains two beautiful lakelets, **Falling Leaf** and **Snow Moon**, tucked snugly in a niche on **Allen Mt.** The names are Indian for September and October and were given by the author on an autumn visit while fall colors still flared at the lower lake, but somber, silvery hues of winter were already stealing upon the upper basin. (Ruhle 1976, 116).

Ruhle (1976) suggests that he gave two small unnamed lakes the names **Falling Leaf** and **Snow Moon** which he describes as “Indian [names] for September and October” (116). In neglecting to specify from which Indigenous language the names derive, Ruhle overlooks the fact that multiple Indigenous languages exist and consequently homogenizes Indigenous languages. As discussed above, many native groups frequented the Glacier region and, thus, many Indigenous languages would have been spoken in the area. In fact, Holterman (2006) suggests that the name Ruhle assigned to **Falling Leaf** derives from the Chippewa but suggests the name **Snow Moon** was assumed to be derived from a Blackfoot word for February. Holterman suggests that no Blackfoot equivalent exists. The lakes Ruhle describes in [21] are still known as **Falling Leaf** and **Snow Moon**.

Examples [9] and [10] above, repeated as examples [22] and [23] below, also exhibit the semiotic process erasure:

- [22] Many American Indian ‘names’ are really not names as much as descriptions of events using a verb as basic: “where we dance,” “how the eagle runs”. (Holterman 2006,10)
- [23] The old Blackfoot “name” for the lakes is *Paht-omahxikimi*: “inside big water.” (Big water = lake.) This of course is to really a name but a description. (Holterman 2006, 178)

Holterman (2006) claims that indigenous names are “really not names” (10). In doing so, Holterman suggests that place names cannot be “descriptions”. Thus, only names that adhere to

the Euro-American naming convention are authentic according to this ideological scheme. Further, Holterman suggests that verb stems form the base of Indigenous place names; however, the examples he gives to illustrate this generalization contradict his claim because “where we dance” describes a place (noun) and “how the eagle runs” describes a manner (adverb). Even though his examples suggest that Indigenous names are not restricted to verb stems, Holterman disregards or erases all Indigenous names due to their divergence from the Euro-American naming scheme that emphasizes naming places for significant people.

6.5 Simultaneity of Semiotic Processes

In several of the Glacier National Park examples I analyze above, the semiotic processes outlined by Irvine and Gal (2000) do not function in isolation. Rather, multiple processes occur simultaneously in varying combinations. In two examples, all three processes occur simultaneously.

In example [23], repeated from [16] in §6.4., iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure co-occur:

- [23] It is fortunate that a man of education and imagination like Mr. Grinnell was instrumental in naming the topographical features of Glacier Park, as it is obvious that Indian names have been used wherever their pronunciation or reasonable length makes them possible. Many Indian names are so long and so unpronounceable in the original that, unless altered beyond recognition, they can not be used as names for natural features. The inappropriate name of two beautiful sheets of water named **St. Mary Lake** is an example of what might otherwise have happened to the terminology of Glacier National Park” (Grant 1919, 12).

In example [23], an iconic link exists between Indigenous place names and complexity (see §6.2). In iconizing Indigenous place names as complex linguistic forms, Grant creates a

dichotomy; Indigenous place names are complex while the Euro-American place names assigned by Grinnell are intelligible (see §6.3). Irvine and Gal (2000) suggest that “linguistic forms [...] can index social groups” (37). Thus, the complexity of the Indigenous place names reflects the complexity or foreignness of the group as understood by Grant. Because Grant does not understand the Indigenous people using Indigenous language, he projects this lack of understanding from the social level to the linguistic level; his attitudes toward the people using the language are reflected in his attitudes for the place names. Further, in iconizing Indigenous place names as complex, Grant justifies the erasure of Indigenous place names. Grant also disregards (erases) the entire Indigenous population by suggesting that Indigenous place names can be “unpronounceable.” According to Grant, Indigenous toponyms “cannot be used as names for natural features” when they are “too long” or “unpronounceable.” According to Grant, Grinnell assigned Indigenous place names “wherever their pronunciation and reasonable length” made them “appropriate,” though in most cases Grant only discusses English glosses of Indigenous place names as examples of “acceptable” toponyms. Throughout the pamphlet, Grant also praises the Euro-American names Grinnell assigned to topographic features to commemorate non-native people. Consequently, Indigenous place names become subject to the semiotic process erasure (see §6.4). Thus, not only are the processes co-occurring, but they depend upon each other to strengthen Grant’s language ideology. Because Grant asserts that Indigenous place names tend to be too complex in their “original” forms, the semiotic processes justify the erasure of Indigenous place names where they are too long or too difficult to pronounce.

In [24], presented as [20] in §6.4 above, all three semiotic processes again occur simultaneously:

[24] Unlike the Blackfeet tribes' names of the east-side features of the Park, there is little of romantic interest attached to these Kutenai, west-side names, with the exception of the names of various glaciers. They are, for the most part, simply the names of men of the tribe who were successful hunters, or 'magicians.' The Kutenais were not warriors; their coups were the killings of grizzly bears. They were a timid people, passing their lives in the remote fastnesses of mountains. (Schultz 1926: 205)

In [24], Schultz iconically links the Blackfoot names to romanticism. By iconically linking the Blackfoot names to romanticism, Schultz creates an opposition between the Blackfoot and Kootenai toponyms; according to Schultz, the Blackfoot names are characterized as romantic while the Kootenai names are "unlike the Blackfeet tribes names." This iconization becomes the basis for fractal recursivity when Schultz projects the opposition of romantic and unromantic onto the Blackfeet and Kootenai people. He projects the opposition from a linguistic level (the place names) to a social level (the people) when he claims that the Kootenai were a "timid people" unlike the Blackfeet (see §6.3). Further, by iconizing the Blackfoot names as romantic, Schultz homogenizes Kootenai place names and Kootenai people; he considers the place names "simply names of men" who were not warriors. Any Kootenai place names that deviate from this ideological schema (see §6.4) become subject to the semiotic process erasure.

6.6 Themes

By examining the data through the lens of the Irvine and Gal language ideology framework, several ideological themes emerge.

Several authors homogenize Indigenous culture by referring to names as "Indian" rather than referring to a specific language or tribe. In particular, Grant (1919), the Great Northern Railroad (1922), and Ruhle (1975, 1986) all cite examples of "Indian" names; discussing place names as "Indian" or non-Indian creates a totalizing scheme in which no variation is recognized

among the various Indigenous languages that would have been spoken in this area. By extension, these places could have been named by any of the various groups that routinely moved through the region prior to the establishment of the park in any of their respective languages.

Another ideological theme that emerges in the data is the authors' tendency to report English glosses as "original Indian names" (Great Northern Railroad n.d.; Ruhle 1986; Schultz 1926). For example, the author of the Great Northern Railroad (n.d.) brochure suggests **Rising Wolf Mountain, Going-to-the-Sun Mountain, Almost-a-Dog Mountain, Morning Eagle Falls, and Two Medicine Lakes** are all "original Indian names" (13). Similarly, Schultz suggests the original Blackfoot name for **Divide Mountain** was Mountain-from-which-the-water-goes-to-the-Behind-Direction-and-to-the-South-Direction. Ruhle (1986) suggests the names **Falling Leaf** and **Snow Moon** are "Indian [names] for September and October" (116).

Finally, many of the authors possess ideological notions about what constitutes an "appropriate" place name for topographic features in Glacier National Park. The notion of an "appropriate" place name often emerges in passages that iconize Indigenous place names as complex; many authors including Grant (1919), Ruhle (1975), and Schultz (1926) suggest that Indigenous names tend to be "too long" or "unpronounceable" and cannot be used as names for topographic features in Glacier National Park.

Some of these themes emerge in previous studies concerning attitudes towards toponyms. In particular, the ideology that suggests "appropriate" place names must be pronounceable, of a certain length, and sound a certain way emerges in both Kostanski (2016) and Berezkina (2016). Kostanski identifies pronounceability (or unpronounceability) of Indigenous place names as one reason that participants opposed the restoration of Indigenous toponyms in Australia. Similarly, Berezkina argues that the participants of the socio-onomastic survey in Oslo reacted positively to

“pleasant-sounding” place names and preferred place names that were short. The parallels between my findings and those of Kostanski (2016) and Berezkina (2016) suggest that some of the ideological themes identified in written sources about toponyms in Glacier National Park may extend to place-naming processes elsewhere.

6.7 Summary

In this chapter, I analyzed excerpts from six written sources related to place names in Glacier National Park. I argue that in each example, the author exhibits language ideologies related to place names in the park. I propose that the authors’ language ideologies about place names may be analyzed according to the theoretical framework outlined by Irvine and Gal (2000). The theoretical framework suggests that language ideologies are constructed through three semiotic processes: iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure.

The following table illustrates the semiotic processes as they occur in the data set presented in §6.2 - §6.5. Because some of the examples have been presented more than once, the first column indicates the corresponding example number from Appendix A. The following columns indicate which of the semiotic processes occur in the corresponding example. An ‘x’ in the column indicates the occurrence of the semiotic process.

Table 2 Co-occurrence of semiotic processes

Data	Iconization	Fractal Recursivity	Erasure
[1]	x	x	x
[2]	x		x
[3]	x		x
[4]			x
[5]	x	x	
[6]	x		x
[7]		x	
[8]		x	x
[9]	x	x	x
[10]	x		x
[11]	x		x
[12]	x		x
[13]	x		x

In the data analyzed here, erasure emerges as the most prevalent of all the semiotic processes, occurring in 11 instances. Iconization is the second-most prevalent, occurring in 10 examples. Fractal recursivity is the least prevalent, occurring in five excerpts. Iconization and erasure each relate to the process of linguistic differentiation. When authors perceive differences between languages, they characterize these differences by creating iconic links between languages, linguistic forms, or people. Thus, in differentiating between languages, authors nearly always create an iconic link. Iconization and erasure nearly always co-occur; exceptions are examples [4] and [8], where erasure occurs without iconization, and [5], where iconization occurs without erasure. I propose that iconization always results in a homogenization of the language in question. In homogenizing a language based on one feature, authors erase any variation that may contradict this homogenization. Fractal recursivity only occurs alone in example [7]. In all other instances, fractal recursivity co-occurs with either iconization or erasure or both.

Chapter 7: Conclusions, Implications, and Mapping Further Research

7.1 Conclusions

In this thesis, I have proposed that the authors of six written sources related to Glacier National Park exhibit language ideologies about place names in the park. Further, I have proposed that the authors' language ideologies can be analyzed through the application of the theoretical framework outlined by Irvine and Gal (2000); Irvine and Gal suggest that language ideologies are constructed through three semiotic processes: iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure. At least one of the semiotic processes occurs in each example presented in Chapter 6; often multiple semiotic processes occur in the same example.

Because the sources I consult for this thesis span nearly a century, this thesis demonstrates that the emergent language ideologies related to place names in Glacier National Park persist through time. This research also reinforces the notion that there is no "view from nowhere, no gaze that is not positioned" (Irvine and Gal 2000, 36). The various written sources include ephemeral park materials (Grant 1919; Great Northern Railway n.d.), sources written by park personnel (Ruhle 1975; Ruhle 1986), and sources focused on collecting toponyms in Glacier National Park (Holterman 2006; Schultz 1926). Thus, authors' language ideologies contributed to the assignment of toponyms in the park. Since the affected place names are still in use, these place names in Glacier National Park may be considered ideologically-charged linguistic forms in that they are inextricably bound to the ideologies that motivated or contributed to their creation. Finally, the source material presented in this thesis was (and still is) meant to be educative in that it was widely available to (and written for) the public. Consequently, the language ideologies of the authors may have influenced or shaped readers' attitudes about place names in Glacier National Park.

7.2 Implications

This section outlines the theoretical and broader implications of the analysis presented in this thesis. In §7.2.1, I discuss three theoretical implications: (i) the contribution of this analysis to the canon of language ideology research, (ii) the contribution of this analysis to the growing body of critical toponymies literature, and (iii) the predictable co-occurrence of the three semiotic processes identified by Irvine and Gal. In §7.2.2, I discuss the broader implications of this analysis. In particular, I outline how this analysis can contextualize contemporary discussions about the restoration of Indigenous place names.

7.2.1 Theoretical Implications

This research contributes to the canon of language ideology research. In particular, this project extends the application of Irvine and Gal's (2000) theoretical framework that identifies iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure as the three semiotic processes that construct language ideologies. This thesis applies the framework to language ideologies as they emerge in written sources about place names in Glacier National Park. Previous studies have utilized the Irvine and Gal framework to analyze language ideologies in various domains: language socialization and revitalization (Wood 2014), contact and standardization contexts (Andronis 2003), animated film (Petrucci 2015), perceptual dialectology studies (Evans 2013), among others (Kroskrity 2004; Kroskrity 2013; Messing 2002; Messing 2007; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). Because the theoretical framework has not previously been applied to discussions about place names, this thesis offers a new application of the Irvine and Gal framework.

Second, this analysis adds to the growing body of literature concerned with critical toponymies (as outlined in §3.3). Within the body of critical toponymies, this analysis offers a

new theoretical approach in that it is the first to apply the theoretical framework of Irvine and Gal (2000) to place name research. Critical toponymy studies have applied various theoretical frameworks and approaches to toponymic processes such as linguistic landscape theory (Berezkina 2016, Scott 2016), toponymic attachment theory (Kostanski 2016), and folk onomastics (Ainiala 2016). Thus, this thesis offers a new theoretical approach to critical toponymy. Further, previous studies about attitudes toward place names investigate naming issues around the world in countries such as Australia (Kostanski 2016), Finland (Ainiala 2016), and Norway (Berezkina 2016), among others (Saparov 2017, Scott 2016). The analysis presented in this thesis contributes to this literature by offering a preliminary study of attitudes about place names in a United States National Park.

Finally, this research suggests that the three semiotic processes of Irvine and Gal's (2000) framework will predictably co-occur. As argued in Chapter 6, iconization inherently links language (or the people who use it) to one feature, thereby homogenizing the language (or speakers) in a way that erases any variation; in linking language to one feature, iconization also creates an opposition in which a speaker recognizes a difference between their native language and another language. The opposition created by iconization can be projected from one level to another through fractal recursivity; if a speaker recognizes a language as unintelligible or complex as compared to their own language, that linguistic opposition may be projected onto a social level or vice versa. Because a speaker does not understand a language, the speaker presumes they do not understand the people using the language.

7.2.2 Broader Implications

This research raises awareness about the role of language ideologies in public discussions about place names. Not only are place names all around us, but discourse about place names increasingly emerges in the media (Davis 2015; Gopnik 2015; Heygi 2018; Lydon 2017). In particular, this research may contribute to the ongoing discussions regarding the restoration of Indigenous place names in contexts outside of Glacier National Park. When proposed as new toponyms, Indigenous names may still be considered “too hard to pronounce” (McIlwain 2018; Milton and Abbott 2019; Richards 2018). The analysis presented in this thesis can contextualize and potentially impact discussions regarding the changing of place names by working toward recognizing the motivations, attitudes, and effects related to choosing one name over another.

7.3 Mapping Future Research

In this section I outline the two areas for future research. In §7.3.1, I propose extending the research to include additional National Parks. In §7.3.2, I discuss conducting a survey to collect data about contemporary attitudes about place names in Glacier National Park.

7.3.1 Extend Research to Include Other National Parks

By examining the Glacier National Park data through the lens of the Irvine and Gal (2000) language ideology framework, several ideological themes emerge, including beliefs about the complexity of Indigenous place names beliefs about what constitutes an “appropriate” place name for topographic features. Preliminary research on emergent ideologies about place names in other National Parks suggests that similar ideological patterns exist. For example, in a 2018 Instagram post, Zion National Park noted that the park’s name was changed 100 years ago

because the original Southern Paiute name *Mukuntuweap* was too difficult for “westerners to say” (Zionnps, March 18, 2018). Bunnell (1892) discusses the Indigenous name of a rock formation in Yosemite National Park which he christened **Three Brothers**:

I soon learned that they were called by the Indians “Kom-po-pai-zes,” from a fancied resemblance of the peaks to heads of frogs when sitting up ready to leap. A fanciful interpretation has been given the Indian name as meaning “mountains playing leap-frog,” but a literal translation is not desirable. (147)

Sources suggest that Bunnell found the literal translation of the Miwok name offensive due to its sexual nature (Browning 1988; Solnit 1999). Because Bunnell found the Miwok name offensive, he recorded the English gloss as “mountains playing leap-frog” in place of the literal translation. Bunnell’s actions work to erase the literal translation of the Miwok name because the toponym does not coincide with his ideology that recognized the place name as “inappropriate.”

Extending this research to include multiple parks could further explore the link between National Park place names, national identity, and tourism. Many of the sources I have consulted suggest that Ruhle switched many of the names of Glacier National Park to reflect prior Indigenous names (Holterman 2006; Robinson 1960; Ruhle 1975; Ruhle 1986). Further research may suggest that Indigenous names iconically linked to the exotic or the romantic may have been routinely reassigned to topographic features in National Parks in order to attract tourists. For example, Cowell (2004) suggests that Arapaho place names were not in use prior to the establishment of Rocky Mountain National Park. He proposes that “interesting” Arapaho names were assigned to features to attract tourists. The place-naming ideologies in National Parks could possibly be linked to the creation of an American identity that the parks represented (Spence 1999; Shaffer 2001). Shaffer suggests that the early ephemeral literature of the National Parks sought to present the parks as “icons of the nation” (2001, 104) and that “[u]nder the leadership

of the National Park Service, the United States government, [...] began to define and promote a national tourism as a ritual of American citizenship” (92). This touristic enterprise was integrally linked to an American identity but that identity seemed to partially rely upon the erasure of Indigenous culture.

7.3.2 Socio-onomastic Survey

Expanding the data set by collecting data through socio-onomastic surveys would offer additional information about speakers’ language ideologies related to place names in Glacier National Park. Socio-onomastic surveys probe participants’ beliefs and perceptions regarding names. Survey data could supplement the written sources analyzed in this thesis to offer a more holistic look at speakers’ attitudes about the place names in Glacier National. For example, conducting surveys with park visitors could reveal the existence (or lack thereof) of ideological patterns similar to the ideological patterns exhibited in the data presented in this thesis. Surveys would also offer a contemporary perspective of individuals’ ideologies about place names in Glacier National Park

Surveys conducted within Indigenous communities would offer the opportunity to compare language ideologies cross-culturally. Because both Blackfoot and Kootenai place names have been referenced in the historical records of Glacier National Park, exploring attitudes about existing place names and Indigenous place names within these two Indigenous communities may reveal how contemporary Indigenous place name ideologies may differ from the Euro-American ideologies analyzed in this thesis. Surveying multiple Indigenous communities may reveal ideological differences about place names between the Indigenous communities.

APPENDIX A: Data excerpts

- [1] It is fortunate that a man of education and imagination like Mr. Grinnell was instrumental in naming the topographical features of Glacier Park, as it is obvious that Indian names have been used wherever their pronunciation or reasonable length makes them possible. Many Indian names are so long and so unpronounceable in the original that, unless altered beyond recognition, they can not be used as names for natural features. The inappropriate name of two beautiful sheets of water named **St. Mary Lake** is an example of what might otherwise have happened to the terminology of Glacier National Park” (Grant 1919, 12).
- [2] The Blackfeet and Piegan Indians have left a lasting impress of their occupation of this region, as the names of many of the mountains, lakes and waterfalls still bear the original Indian names, such as **Rising Wolf, Going-to-the-Sun** and **Almost-a-Dog** mountains, **Morning Eagle Falls**, and **Two Medicine Lakes**” (Great Northern Railroad 1922, 11)
- [3] The-river-where-the-two-medicine-lodges-were-built” is the way the Indians designated the stream that drains the three lakes of the **Two Medicine Valley**” (Great Northern Railroad 1922,13)
- [4] Its present name was given to it when, in the long-ago the Pikuni held their annual religious ceremony, the Okan’, in its valley at the foot of the mountains, and shortly afterward, only a few days later, the Bloods trailed in from the north and built their Okan’ close beside the one of the Pikuni. As I have already explained, the meaning of the word Okan’ is ‘The Vision’; so, rightly this would be ‘Two Vision Lodges River.’ However, as the early traders’ word ‘medicine’ is now generally known to have been applied to the spiritual — religious — life and rites of the Indians, it is well to let the name remain as it is upon the maps of the region: **Two Medicine River.**” (Schultz 1926, 43-44)
- [5] The United States Geological Survey named this the **Blackfeet Glacier**; an appropriate name for this, the largest glacier in the Park. The Kutenai Indians, however, have a far better, far more romantic name for it, as will appear in the list of names on the west side of the Park (Schultz 1926, 83).
- [6] The Blackfeet name for this is ‘Mountain-from-which-the-Water-goes-to-the-Behind Direction-and-to-the-South-Direction’; so long a name in their language that we make its it is upon the white men’s map, **Divide Mountain** (Schultz 1926, 98)
- [7] Standing at the east edge of **Gunsight Lake** and looking west through the narrow pass, **Gunsight Mountain** juts up at its far end in a way to remind one of the sight on a rifle barrel. So it was that Dr. Grinnell most appropriately named these three topographical features of the Park (Schultz 1926, 108)

- [8] The original name of this mountain was Nitai' Ispi Îstûkî, Lone High Mountain. In 1885, when hunting along its base with my old friend, Tail-Feathers-Coming-over-the-Hill, I suggested that we give it a more appropriate name, Sun Going-to Mountain. He replied: Ai! That is a better name for it; a very sacred name. We will so name it. when we arrive home, we will tell our people about it, and their hearts will be glad. Next to **Chief Mountain**, as you know, we regard this as the most beautiful of all our mountains: so is it right that it bear so sacred a name (Schultz 1926, 118)
- [9] Unlike the Blackfeet tribes' names of the east-side features of the Park, there is little of romantic interest attached to these Kutenai, west-side names, with the exception of the names of various glaciers. They are, for the most part, simply the names of men of the tribe who were successful hunters, or 'magicians.' The Kutenais were not warriors; their coups were the killings of grizzly bears. They were a timid people, passing their lives in the remote fastnesses of mountains. (Schultz 1926, 205)
- [10] Use of Indian names whenever they are not too long, too harsh, or too unpronounceable. Translation of Indian names [...] should be given second choice. When neither of these is available, distinctive English names should be chosen. Examples of splendid existing Indian names are **Siyeh**, **Appistoki**, and **Kintla**. Examples of the second type: **Almost A Dog**, **Going-to-the-Sun**, **White Quiver**, and **Chief**. Examples of the third class: **Swiftcurrent**, **Triple Divide**, (Three Ocean was better), **Avalanche**. (Ruhle 1975, emphasis Ruhle's)
- [11] **Allen Creek** is reached 1.8 miles from the hotel. It drains two beautiful lakelets, **Falling Leaf** and **Snow Moon**, tucked snugly in a niche on **Allen Mt**. The names are Indian for September and October and were given by the author on an autumn visit while fall colors still flared at the lower lake, but somber, silvery hues of winter were already stealing upon the upper basin. (Ruhle 1986, 116).
- [12] Many American Indian 'names' are really not names as much as descriptions of events. (Holterman 2006, 10)
- [13] The old Blackfoot "name" for the lakes is *Paht-omahxikimi*: "inside big water." (Big water = lake.) This of course is to really a name but a description. (Holterman 2006, 178)

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