

CHAPTER 7

Blackfeet Discourses about Dwelling-in-Place Our Homeland, a National Park

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Since the beginning, according to Blackfeet elders, the universe has been made of particles of energy, and fields of force that combine into various forms which we might call “the land” or “mother earth,” including the “wind,” “tree,” “bear,” or “human.” These energies and forces are deemed irreducible as they include both spiritual and material qualities. All that is, and has been, or will be, according to this view is a result of this enduring energy and these formative forces. Our role as people is to listen to, learn from, and become attuned to the world as such. In doing so, if done well, we can continually enhance the ways we dwell in our world.

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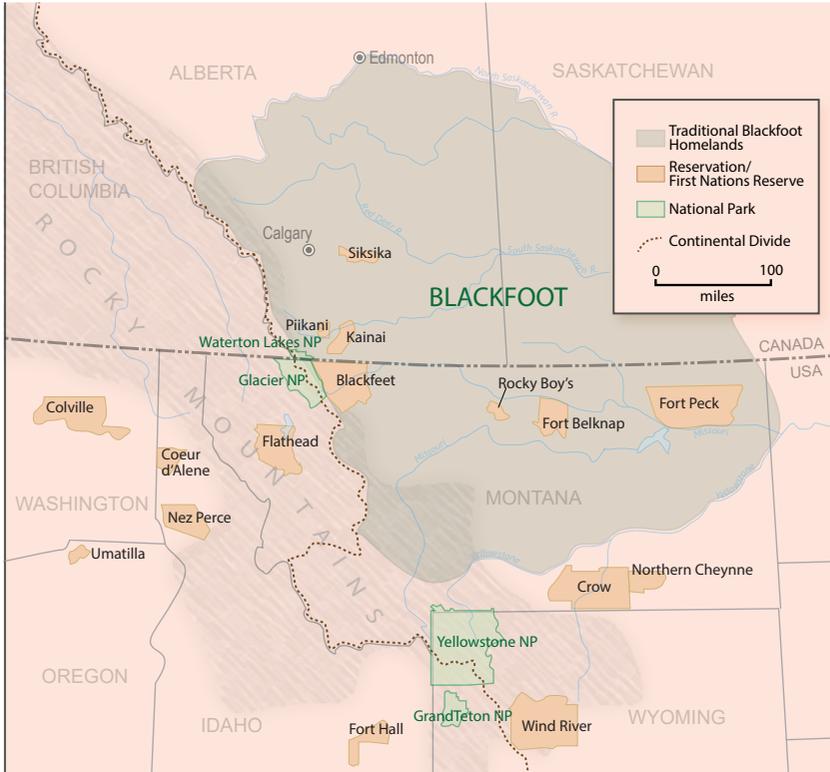
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Figure 7.1: Interpretive Site about Blackfeet (*Amskapi Piikuni*). Photo: Donal Carbaugh.

The paragraph above is an effort to place in short linguistic form, in prose, a complex truth which has been spoken to me at times by Blackfeet speakers.¹ The thoughts that follow focus on snippets of discourse which I have heard over the decades for the most part from speakers with whom I have spent time. Each speaks about a dwelling-place, the homeland of Blackfeet (*Amskapi Piikuni*) people. Each speaker has special standing to so comment as their remarks are a product not only of English, but also of the Blackfoot language. Each also is knowledgeable in living “two different kinds of life”—what in Blackfeet discourse can be called “contemporary ways” and “traditional ways,” with the latter being deeply able to address many dynamics in today’s world. Each also has lived not only away from but mostly within traditional Blackfeet territory.

The main purpose of this chapter is to present to readers the spoken words of these Blackfeet people who have discussed their



Map 7.1: Original Blackfeet Territory. Map: Heli Rekiranta.

homeland, its landscape, and all that it entails. In the process, the chapter seeks to help readers hear in those words a Blackfeet way of speaking about their land, to introduce some of the cultural meanings of Blackfeet in that way of speaking about it, and to offer an understanding of this way as a communal touchstone which is anchored in the discourse Blackfeet participants produce as they speak about their homeland.

Background

Blackfeet people have lived on the northern great plains of the North American continent since their beginning; see Map 7.1.

Prior to and during the 1700s, Blackfeet people moved freely on the plains, up, down, and into the Rocky Mountain front, this being the area lightly shaded in Map 7.1. (The far left of the shaded area illustrates the Continental Divide of the Rocky Mountains.) In 1818, a border between Canada and the United States was established along the 49th parallel, a border which would become significant to Blackfeet people. The border would dissect what is known as the Blackfoot Confederacy, placing three of the Blackfoot bands, the *Kainai*, *Siksika*, and *Aapatohsi Piikuni* onto reserves, and others on a reservation known as the Blackfeet (or *Amskapi Piikuni* in the Blackfoot language). This is the largest geographic reservation of the Confederacy, the largest section of dark shading in Map 7.1.

In 1910, some of this landscape was declared by Canada and the United States to be “the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park,” the larger portion in the United States being called simply Glacier National Park. Glacier National Park is immediately to the west of the Blackfeet Nation and was, of course, part of the aboriginal Blackfeet homeland depicted in Map 7.1.

An earlier essay contrasted place-names, stories, and other topographical nomenclature used by Blackfeet people who referred to this landscape as their “homeland” or, at times, as their “reservation,” the latter a small parcel—relative to the Blackfeet homeland—being so declared by the US Government for the Blackfeet. These earlier studies analyzed in detail some of the contrasting ways in which Blackfeet (as “homeland”) and non-native people (as a “park”) have conceived of and evaluated this landscape.²

The cross-cultural comparisons alluded to, in the following, include not only the language participants use to discuss the land, but, moreover, practices people use in order to get to know that landscape itself. One such prominent Blackfeet form used to access knowledge involves “listening,” which I (DC) have studied in detail over the decades. This means of learning about nature is in its first instance principally a non-linguistic practice.³ The practice involves a kind of deep attentiveness through which one may



Figure 7.2: The Museum of the Plains Indian, Eean Grimshaw. Photo: Donal Carbaugh.

gain insights about one's surroundings, become attuned to the forces and energies which enliven the land, and then eventually one might learn better what should be said and/or done about it.⁴

The Blackfeet voices introduced below are focused, then, on this landscape and tutored in this way of learning about and living with it. (These are not typically the voices most people hear when tourists visit “the Park.”)

The Approach

The theory and methodology used in this chapter is elaborated on in detail elsewhere.⁵ The idea is that the ways we use language derive radically from our patterns of local use and meaning. And so, we need a way of analyzing that language as such, as particular to place and people, which we call “cultural discourse analysis.” Of particular concern in this chapter is putting Blackfeet peoples’

spoken words carefully onto the page, in order to capture some of their oral qualities. The form of quoting the speakers thus attends very carefully to the ways in which speakers use their words. This is an effort to capture elements of intonation and pausing, thus line breaks occur typically when a speaker pauses; the effort also draws attention to parallel structures such that word repetitions or linguistic emphases are noticed at the beginning of lines. The lines of speaking are also broken into stanzas which draw attention to major themes, or rhetorical emphases, only some of which are commented on below.

This approach to the speakers' ways of speaking honors what has been called the ethno-poetics or the cultural aesthetics of sound we now hear in the ways verbal commentary is produced and interpreted. (Further comments on the approach are available and interested readers are encouraged to consult those.⁶) Cultural discourse analyses of these oral texts also draw attention, in part, to cultural propositions speakers are formulating, to points they are making in their communication. The intent is to stay as close as possible in the initial analyses to speakers' words and their meanings, to honor what is being said by them, to hear the participants' voices, and to be able eventually to interpret their meanings in what is being spoken. This is crucially important in cross-cultural encounters when ways of speaking may sound unintelligible, one to another. This, we know, is a risk in the types of verbal commentary we consider below.

Here, to begin, is a preview of what follows; this is an effort to orient readers to some of the major themes of Blackfeet communication in the speakers' words. These are formulated here briefly in the form of cultural propositions—as these made by and familiar to Blackfeet:

The landscape is our backbone;

It is where earth touches the sky;

Sometimes, while there, spirits do show up;

This is where our prayers are gathered;

We honor this by communicating with nature every day;

Our traditions are profoundly important;
 Our traditional ways honor our landscape, nature's ways.

Lea Whitford and Earl Old Person: The Landscape Is Our Backbone

Lea Whitford is a prominent member of Blackfeet Nation having served as a faculty member at Blackfeet Community College and as a member of the Montana House of Representatives. Her comments which follow appeared in a Montana TV documentary about Blackfeet people. Her views are often sought and in what follows she emphasizes a particular form of land-based education. The last few lines which echo hers are spoken by Honorary Blackfeet Chief Earl Old Person:

Lea Whitford:

- 1 I think it's important to share with our families and our children, the values, our histories
- 2 because that helps them ground themselves in their identity
- 3 and that's going to be WAY more important than anything materialistic
- 4 that they could pick up and have
- 5 My favorite thing is just being able to roam all over Blackfoot territory
- 6 look at the landscape from uh native perspectives that can ok
- 7 my ancestors were here
- 8 like to see what the landscape has as far as stories
- 9 and what it can tell us as people today
- 10 Earl Old Person: Our land base is something that
- 11 we want to retain, to keep
- 12 because our land base is the backbone of our reservation

In the first four lines, we can hear Ms. Whitford emphasize the importance of educating children in traditional Blackfeet “values” and “history.” This “grounds themselves in their identity” (line 2) which is more important than any “materialistic” possessions that money can buy. The most favored, priceless thing to her is “Blackfeet territory” and “the landscape” because “my ancestors were here” (lines 5–7). This land evokes deep “stories” (line 8); there is much “it can tell us as people today” (line 9). Chief Old Person adds: “our land base is the backbone of our reservation” (line 12).



Figure 7.3: Chief Mountain. Photo: Wikimedia Commons / National Park Service. No protection is claimed in original US Government works.

Rising Wolf: Where Earth Touches the Sky

While at the University of Montana, I heard about Rising Wolf from a woman who knew him well. She knew I was trying to learn about Blackfeet views of the world and suggested I get together with Rising Wolf, who kindly agreed to meet with me. I had been talking to Rising Wolf about the ways in which he, as a Blackfeet man, thought about our society today. He enjoyed using the metaphor of moving between places as a “time capsule” with today’s “contemporary” world being troubled and off-track morally, but through his “traditional ways” he could live anew by practicing today an ancient wisdom. He had talked in some detail about ways in which money can lead to the corruption of our peoples, about the difficulty of young people being educated in a traditional way, and how movement between the reservation and off-reservation places can lead to confusion. At that point in our conversation, with a smile, he

circled back to the reservation, his homeland, with detailed thoughts about its landscape. I asked him: “When you’re [on your homeland], and you look across the plains, you look up to the mountains and glaciers, what do you see? What do you feel?” He said this:

- 1 What I always look at is
 2 I see where earth touches the sky
 3 and I like to look at it in the evenings
 4 where you can actually say
 5 in that point in time
 6 you can walk from one space to another
- 7 and to me, a lot of that is reality and factual
 8 and a lot of it’s a dream to me ...
- 9 you can see the purple flowers, goin’ over the hills, and goin’ up to a light blue,
 10 and then you can see the white or the snow, on the mountains,
 11 and then right above that you get the light blue again
 12 and it shades back into the purple sky right above you
- 13 now, that’s where the sky is touching the earth,
 14 and it’s just a perfect blend of color, of shades of color.
- 15 and so I get this feeling that I’m standing in heaven
 16 at the same time I’m standin’ on earth because
 17 I look up and the same place I’m standing
 18 I see the same colors, the same thing
 19 I see the purple right above me, the dark blue, the light blue,
 20 and the white mountains
 21 and then the light blue coming back and the purple right underneath it
 22 and it’s just part of the earth itself, heaven and earth
 23 just bein’ part of that for that one particular moment
 24 even if it takes a second just to realize that
- 25 It’s just a regenerating feeling. It’s a—all of a sudden
 26 I keep going back to the time capsule ‘cause you feel like
 27 you’re the only one on earth for that split second.
 28 that you’re the only one there



Figure 7.4: Blackfeet Lodges and Rocky Mountain Front. Photo: Donal Carbaugh.

Knowing how easily this misalignment can happen, a malformed being out of space whose timing is off, Rising Wolf moved on to recount one type of remedy: a search for proper help.

Rising Wolf: The Spirits Did Show Up

I had asked Rising Wolf about the phrase, “time capsule,” which he had used to discuss being stuck in today’s world without the proper or traditional benefits of one’s homeland. He responded in the following way, but note that “time” here is bent, such that ancient lessons, when living today, can bring one to life anew, thereby redressing a misaligned being-in-the-world. For what one can find is an ancient wisdom which is grounded in the past yet also being brought into the present today; in the process this can regenerate life, leading to a renewal of alignment with the world, becoming better attuned to its material and spiritual energies. The landscape offers as much if only we open ourselves to it; it is indeed full of necessary insights and, if you are careful, as Rising Wolf is, you may learn from that too. As he said of one such experience:

1 In fact, one time I woke up in the middle of sweet grass.
 2 It was so beautiful
 3 Well, I sat there and
 4 I realized it was sweet grass and
 5 I just (.) started grabbin' it by handfuls and
 6 I thought, well,
 7 I'll wait
 8 see what else is here
 9 and I just started checkin' around

10 And the spirits did show up
 11 I just laid on that sweet grass
 12 and hung onto it
 13 and just started prayin'
 14 And tell them to take pity on me

15 Nowadays, I say
 16 I'm a little confused so
 17 You gotta watch my mind
 18 It might wander off and
 19 Think about something else

20 But my heart's going to hang on and
 21 Hope nothing but the good happens
 22 Because there has to be a balance

There are several remarkable aspects Rising Wolf recounts here about his relationship with the landscape. Note (on lines 1 and 4) that the experience involves a shift from one sort of orientation or consciousness to another as Rising Wolf “woke up” and “realized” where he was. This is a stance of humility, acknowledging that one is not the ultimate willful source of such things as these moments arise as a part of a powerful mystery. They happen, you can work to create circumstances where they may happen, but you cannot will such things to happen to you. The element of mystery is important.

Note also the situating device included (on line 1). Rising Wolf says he found himself “in the middle of sweet grass.” This is a



Figure 7.5: Blackfeet Artist Jay Laber’s Blackfeet Warriors. Photo: Donal Carbaugh.

physical place that is beautiful and pleasant (lines 2–5); this is also a cultural scene, which invokes a sacred plant often burned in ceremonies, while also invoking a sacred place, the Sweet Grass Hills, which is the site of historical encampments and sacred ceremonies, a place where prayers are known to gather. One well-known Blackfeet origin story says this place is the place where life began. And so it is a place where the sweet grass, nature’s incense, grows and sacred rituals are practiced.

Notice how Rising Wolf draws our attention to his way of acting in this beautiful, sacred landscape. His acts involve watching, listening, and feeling (such as “grabbin’ it” on line 5), accompanied by a keen anticipation of what might be there (such as “wait, see, checkin’ around” on lines 7–9).

Then we find the “spirits did show up” (on line 10). He recounts his humbling presence before them, asking them for “pity” (line 14), confessing that he is “confused” (line 16) and that his “mind

wanders” (line 18). Admitting frailty and fault, nonetheless, his “heart’s going to hang on and hope nothing but the good happens” (lines 20–21).

A “balance” (line 22) in life is indeed not only possible, but preferred and restored. This goes deep by balancing several dimensions, including the spiritual and material, as active in the traditional and contemporary worlds. When the “spirits show up,” a renewal of balance can come as the landscape speaks, if only we can ably listen as Rising Wolf does here.

Curly Bear: Where Our Prayers Are Gathered

As Chief Earl Old Person mentioned above, and as Rising Wolf illustrates, the mountain landscape in Blackfeet country is conceived of as “the backbone of the world.” This place, largely conceived (see Map 7.1) includes the birthplace of the Blackfeet people, is a sustaining force of material–spiritual life, provides insights when one is troubled, and is a constant source of education, as well as utter beauty. Indeed, the land holds in place all of this. In the words of a Blackfeet kinfolk, the western Apache, “wisdom sits in places.”⁸ This is a well-known feature of traditional Blackfeet life.

Over the years, Curly Bear, a Cultural Director of the Blackfeet and longtime teacher of mine, had taken me to places that were important to Blackfeet people. He would periodically stop, listen, reflect, and then move onward. He would occasionally remind me to so listen. As he was sitting in his encampment in Writing-on-the-stone Provincial Park, across the national border from the Sweet Grass Hills, he looked over the landscape and uttered these words:

The Sweet Grass Hills is where we believe all our prayers are gathered before they go up to the creator ... As I sit looking at the Sweet Grass Hills, I realize there is a oneness. They support each other, and I can feel that connection as I sit here. (He hears a chorus of coyotes that began howling at sunset.) Indians believe the

coyotes are spirits that guard sacred places, so we always welcome them. But there are powerful spirits in this place.⁹

Rising Wolf: Communicating with Nature Every Day

The powerful spirits in this place may occasionally show themselves. The traditional practice described by Rising Wolf cannot make spirits come, but can build the opportunity for such revelatory potential to occur of its own power. This is especially helpful when one is out of sorts or in need of aid. One way of opening oneself to this sort of help is to “just listen,” to be attentive to nature in order to understand what the land offers as a response to one’s plight. A proper stance is learning the spiritual power of the landscape or environment of which one has been blessed to be a small part. Some terms used to describe this complex process by Blackfeet are “listen,” but also when emphasizing a spiritual dimension, “dream,” “ceremony,” “prayer,” and “smudge.” Rising Wolf stresses the nature of this process and its everyday importance:

- 1 When you’re trying to communicate
- 2 with what nature’s tryin’ to offer you, around you

- 3 In our prayers
- 4 we ask the water
- 5 we ask the fire
- 6 we ask the air and
- 7 we ask the earth to help us
- 8 we go from the smudge
- 9 which is the smoke that goes and carries our prayers to the spiritual world

- 10 we go to there
- 11 we ask for the knowledge of the universe
- 12 we ask for the help of mother earth
- 13 for the food that she gives us
- 14 we give thanks and
- 15 ask for more help

16 we ask the water for everything that is given us
 17 we thank it

 18 and in this way
 19 in this direction
 20 we try to do that every day
 21 Every day, I mean
 22 in the morning when the sun rises
 23 We pray to the sun for lettin' us
 24 Thank it for lettin' us see it one more time
 25 and when it sets and the moon rises
 26 We thank the moon in the same way
 27 For lettin' us see it one more time

Rising Wolf provides this as an elaborate description of what can be done when one needs to address one's shortcomings, or is seeking help, and as a result can learn from the natural-spiritual world. During a practice of "prayer," he asks "water, fire, air, earth" for "help" (lines 4–7). Or in a "smudge," the link to the spiritual world can become reflectively pronounced as "the knowledge of the universe"; when it becomes so, one honors the sustenance provided by "mother earth" and gives "thanks" for that (lines 8–17).

Rising Wolf emphasizes that this sort of humility is crucial to exercise "in this way, in this direction, every day" (lines 18–20). Doing so is to thank the land, the sun, the moon, the wind, the water, and all of creation for what is offered, for sustaining life and for learning to live better. In summary, Rising Wolf reminds us about what comes out of this practice (as in line 2 below) is knowledge, connection to one's world, goodness, and joy:

1 If you think of nature every day, and pray to it every day
 2 things like that will happen more often

 3 But if you don't
 4 then the old money gods will be with you most of the time

5 and it probably will never happen
 6 it probably will never happen
 7 because there's just too many gods there [laughs]

8 That's what I was saying with practice
 9 the more practice you do
 10 the more you stay with your beliefs
 11 and your understanding of yourself
 12 and you don't confuse the two
 13 then the stronger you get in understanding what's around you
 14 and the easier you're susceptible to seein' and understanding things
 15 and communicating
 16 touchin' and tastin' and smelling
 17 where you can go into a dream
 18 and you can wake up
 19 and wished you were back in that dream [laughs]
 20 Y'know
 21 because it was so real
 22 and the enjoyment of it

Smokey Rides at the Door: The Importance of Our Traditions

Smokey Rides at the Door, a Blackfeet tribal member and traditionalist, has practiced the traditional ways described above during his long life. He worries that the contemporary ways mentioned above—with their emphases on money, consumerism, and ecological violation—will not allow for learning the sort of knowledge practiced by these Blackfeet people:

1 Western civilization is beginning to realize that by taking and taking and taking
 2 our diminishment of the earth is drawing near.
 3 Our glaciers are drying up
 ...
 11 We can continue to learn from our traditions, acting from them.
 12 We will see the regeneration of Mother Earth and the people that are living on it.
 13 That's why Indian people are so important.
 14 We haven't ventured very far from that understanding of our connection to Mother Earth.¹⁰



Figure 7.6: Many Glacier area. Photo: Donal Carbaugh.

William Big Bull: The Traditional Way, the Natural Way¹¹

William Big Bull is a member of the Blackfoot confederacy who, like Lea Whitford, Earl Old Person, Rising Wolf, Curly Bear,

Smokey Rides at the Door, and many others, finds deep value today in practicing the land-based ways of living and learning seamlessly alluded to by these people. These ways, when done regularly, help keep one attuned to the land, the homeland of Blackfeet people, as a material–spiritual place. William Big Bull emphasizes the importance of listening to nature; he summarizes this view and a variety of profoundly important points for us:

1 In the traditional way, *kanistitopi*
 2 the way you understand it
 3 and how yourself
 4 when you present yourself and
 5 I've said twice about that *kiyayo* [bear]
 6 about that bear because it's around us every day
 7 but isn't only
 8 it's thousands of animals
 9 small ones, big ones
 10 the ones that live in the earth every day
 11 the ones that sleep and rest through the winter
 12 you know come back alive in the springtime
 13 the ones we don't see
 14 Everything around us in the natural way

15 Again there is a way of living with it
 16 And our people did that for thousands and thousands of years.

17 So did your people, you know this is an important thing
 18 association is important

19 But at the same time now
 20 we've become intertwined in our lives and
 21 we come to places like this to spend some time to teach a little bit of our knowledge
 22 I guess the whole idea is *kiyatakiopstoko*
 23 to wake you up
 24 to use the knowledge
 25 just simply wake you up
 26 you don't become a servant to it
 27 you don't own it
 28 but the thing about it is
 29 is if you don't listen
 30 it might own you

31 That's the natural world
 32 and I have this saying
 33 you know nature takes care of us
 34 nature takes care of itself
 35 that's the way of the world
 36 and today because we're expecting everybody else
 37 governments and everybody else around us
 38 complain to them they'll take care of it for us.

39 The world that we need to take care of
 40 we all have to take care of it
 41 because we have families
 42 we have a future every day
 43 you think of your future
 44 you don't just think
 45 because you woke up today that's it
 46 and that connection
 47 how we have to live together
 48 and use that knowledge today
 49 in the traditional language that we're working with
 50 and teaching ways
 51 to preserve it in their minds
 52 and to make it resonant in their minds
 53 so they hear it every day

By Way of Concluding: A Note on Indigeneity

William Big Bull's words here (as the others above) address how "our [indigenous] people" understand the land, nature, and a particular way of living with it. He reminds us that "your people" or the rest of us also knew this way of living. He leads us, today, back to some ways we may have lost, to waking us up to those ways in order to live more attuned to the land, nature, spirits, and the places we know. Big Bull's act here may be characterized as a move to "re-indigeneity," to learning new ways of living in a traditional way, to listening better to the knowledge which is before us in the natural world.¹² His words also offer a way of speaking about our world, a way not typically found in many parks or natures' classrooms. Surely, we can add this way to others, becoming more educated not only about our histories, but better equipped in sustainable and mindful ways of living today.



Figure 7.7: Blackfeet Buffalo. Photo: Donal Carbaugh.

We began by emphasizing that this knowledge is at its base full of forces and energies which recombine into (at times) physical forms. As the Blackfoot scholar Leroy Little Bear has put it: “In Aboriginal philosophy, existence consists of energy. All things are animate, imbued with spirit, and in constant motion. In this realm of energy and spirit, interrelationships between all entities are of paramount importance, space is a more important referent than time.”¹³ Those entities involve connections among all of us and our places. As we struggle to know our landscapes, our histories, as we productively use this sort of knowledge, we can take better care of ourselves, our families, our world. Certainly from our places, in these ways, we can live better, if we just listen and learn.

Notes

¹ For recent monographs about this, see Blackfeet and/or Blackfoot authors Bastien, *Blackfoot Ways of Knowing*; Gone, “So I Can Be Like a Whiteman,” 369–400; Holy White Mountain, “Silence Itself,” 109–14; Howe, *Retelling Trickster*; LaPier, *Invisible Reality*; Little Bear, “World Views Colliding”; Wagner, “Among My People.”

- ² See Carbaugh and Rudnick, “Which Place, What Story?” 167–84.
- ³ See Howe, *Retelling Trickster*, especially 3–29.
- ⁴ Several essays have explored multiple facets and features in this form of listening. See Carbaugh, “*Just Listen*”; Carbaugh, “Two Different Ways of Knowing,” 34–49; Carbaugh, “Quoting ‘the Environment,’” 63–73; Carbaugh, *Cultures in Conversation*; Carbaugh, “I Speak the Language,” 319–34; Carbaugh, “People Will Come,” 103–27; Carbaugh and Grimshaw, “Two Different Kinds of Life.”
- ⁵ For a recent treatment, see Carbaugh and Cerulli, “Cultural Discourse Analysis,” 1–9. For a programmatic essay, see Carbaugh, “Cultural Discourse Analysis,” 167–82. For a special focus on studying discourses of dwelling, see Carbaugh and Cerulli, “Cultural Discourses of Dwelling,” 4–23. A recent article explicates the theory relative to others: see Scollo, “Cultural Approaches to Discourse Analysis,” 1–32. A recent book of research which utilizes the approach is also available: see Scollo and Milburn, *Global Communication*. An expansive and growing bibliography of literature is available from the authors.
- ⁶ See Webster and Kroskrity, “Introducing Ethnopoetics,” 1–11. An excellent earlier example of ethnopoetic transcription appears in Cerulli, “Ma’iingan Is Our Brother,” 247–60.
- ⁷ This prominent Blackfeet discourse contrasts, via a cyclical symbolic form, “the contemporary world” with “the traditional ways”; it is analyzed in detail elsewhere, including its abstract qualities, web of meanings, and larger cultural spheres from whence it comes and to which it contrasts. See Carbaugh and Grimshaw, “Two Different Kinds of Life,” 21–36.
- ⁸ Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*.
- ⁹ Reported in the *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, September 20, 1998, 1.
- ¹⁰ The quote is from *Smokey Rides at the Door*, quoted in Thompson, Kootenai Culture Committee & Pikunni Traditional Association, *People before the Park*, 202–03.
- ¹¹ The following words were spoken in Glacier National Park on July 3, 2018 by William Big Bull. They were recorded by Eean Grimshaw as part of his doctoral dissertation research on Blackfeet ways of speaking with special attention to the Native America Speaks program at Glacier.
- ¹² William Big Bull is not alone in the view that we can all, Blackfeet and non-Blackfeet alike, benefit from listening in this way. See, e.g.,

the similar public remarks made by Blackfeet Joe McKay among others in Carbaugh and Grimshaw, “Two Different Kinds of Life.” For a helpful and detailed essay on this usage of “re-indigenization,” see Andersson, “Re-Indigenizing National Parks,” 65–83.

¹³ See Little Bear, “World Views Colliding.”

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