





Volume 18, Number 2 Fall 2012

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Lloyd Miller, Editor; Ann Kaupp, Assistant Editor

SACC's mission is to encourage dialogue and collaboration among teachers of anthropology across sub-disciplines and institutional settings, and to promote excellence in the teaching of anthropology. *Teaching Anthropology: SACC Notes* advances this mission by providing members with news of SACC activities, including annual meetings, and publishing articles and commentaries on teaching, research, and of general anthropological interest.

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### President's Award Recipients

- 1991—Richard Furlow
- 1992—Chuck Ellenbaum
- 1996—Lloyd Miller
- 1997-Phil Stein
- 2000-Anthony Balzano
- 2001-Mark Lewine
- 2002—Mark Tromans
- 2005-Melvin Johnson
- 2006—Rebecca Stein
- 2008—Deborah Shepherd, Lloyd Miller
- 2009—Laura Tubelle de González
- 2010-Rob Edwards
- 2011—Ann Kaupp



hear this year's featured speaker, Dr. Carolyn Brettell, University Distinguished Professor of Anthropology and Ruth Collins Altshuler Director of the Dedman College Interdisciplinary Institute at Southern Methodist University. Dr. Brettell will speak on her fieldwork with immigrant communities in Europe and North America. After our afternoon paper sessions on Thursday, we will be picked up at the hotel by a bus from *Around Austin* that will take on us on a guided tour of Austin's high points of interest. We will be dropped off in the center of the city, with time to roam the 2<sup>nd</sup> Street through 6<sup>th</sup> Street area for dining (on your own), shopping, and of course, music! The bus will return later in the evening to provide transportation back to the hotel.

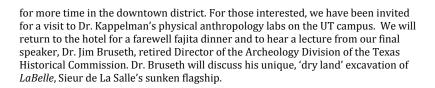
On Friday morning, April 12, after a hot breakfast and a morning of papers, we will hear a presentation by Dr. John Kappelman, UT Anthropology Professor at UT Austin, who will share information on his *Virtual Labs, eSkeleton* website and *eLabs* and Test system he has designed for online teaching. We will enjoy another lunch at the hotel, followed by a General Business Meeting, and a raffle drawing, then more papers.

That evening we will break for the manager's Happy Hour and dinner on your own. The hotel provides van service to the nearby station where you can grab the local Metro train for a 30-minute ride to downtown and another chance to experience the food, sights and sounds of Austin. One of Austin's key attractions are the bats that emerge at dusk, starting in early April, and running through late August. Trains cost a dollar each way and run every 15 minutes until 7:30 pm, when they begin running every hour until midnight.



On Saturday morning, after another hot breakfast, we will board the bus for a onehour trip out to the famous Gault Site. We will be taken on a tour of this important paleoindian site, which has the largest single collection of Clovis artifacts of any site in North America, and holds potential for an earlier, pre-Clovis component. **If you plan on taking this tour, be sure to bring your hiking boots (or sturdy walking shoes) and hats!** On our bus ride back, a Texas BBQ lunch will be provided by Johnny's BBQ, heartily recommended by the crewmembers of the Gault excavation team! Upon return to the hotel, we will have time to freshen up, rest and/or return

#### Teaching Anthropology: SACC Notes Volume 18, Number 2 Fall 2012



Welcome to Austin, Y'All! Tim Sullivan, President Society for Anthropology in Community Colleges

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xi9iN2Tmdsw





### Introduction

In this "Archaeology Matters" column (reprinted with the author's permission from Vol. 14, No. 1, fall 2007 of this publication), Bob Muckle satirizes the apparently symbiotic relationship between archaeology articles and trendy journalism in the popular media. He includes famous lists and periodic public voter surveys, such as the "Seven Wonders of the World," lesser-known surveys like "the most disappointing tourist attraction in Britain," and celebrity popularization of archaeology in movies and other media.

Linda Light discusses matters of linguistic survival among the myriads of indigenous cultures whose welfare the world's industrialized nations have ignored while exploiting indigenous resources. She emphasizes the anthropological reality that most of these languages will soon become extinct and provides a useful listing of the world's top 30 languages by numbers of native speakers. She presented this paper at the 2012 SACCfest in San Diego.

In this paper, which won her SACC's 2012 Student Excellence Award, **Ember Knight** provides an ethnographic sketch of "open mic" standup comedy culture in Los Angeles. As both participant and observer, she discovers that, rather than stepping-stones to professional careers, open mic communities are surprisingly self-contained.

By exploring the human tendency to "characterize and predict" what's on other people's minds, **Diane Levine** devises exercises to teach her students the insightful art of thinking about their own language usage. In so doing, she provides us with some delightfully relevant examples. She presented this paper at the AAA Montreal 2011 meetings as part of SACC's invited session, Current Issues in Anthropology: Five-Fields Update.

In my commentary, I revisit an earlier essay of mine in which I fantasized teaching college liberal arts courses bereft of grades and credits, after learning that several prestigious universities are now offering courses online free of charge and reaching hundreds of thousands of students worldwide. I question whether this is a passing fad or a new chapter in higher education.

Ann Kaupp permits us to publish a slightly edited version of her farewell essay from the fall 2012 issue of Anthropolog, a departmental newsletter she founded and edited for Smithsonian's Anthropology Outreach Office. In this essay, Ann reviews some of the many activities and accomplishments of the Office during her 34 years of service.

In this paper, presented at the AAA Montreal 2011 meetings as part of SACC's Čurrent invited session, Issues in Anthropology: Five-Fields Update, Andrea Freeman examines some problems that affect attempts to integrate science and humanism in archaeology. She describes issues of funding, space allocation and opportunities, as well as recent emphases-especially in the US-on STEM (science, technology, engineering and math), at the expense of more humanistic education, and offers some promising prospects in a recently developed course, "Archaeology and the Media."

Lloyd Miller

### Notes on Contributors

- **Andrea Freeman** is an Associate Professor of Archaeology, Geography, and Geoscience at the University of Calgary. She is currently program coordinator for the Earth Sciences program. A geoarchaeologist with training in anthropological archaeology, she is book reviews editor for *Geoarchaeology: An International Journal* and has served as Division Chair for the Archaeological Geology Division of the Geological Society of America and co-Chair of the Geoarchaeology Interest Group for the Society of American Archaeology. Andrea is also an avid mountain biker and teaches skiing to deaf children suffering from cerebral palsy through the Canadian Association for Disabled Skiing.
- **Ann Kaupp** retired in December 2012 from her position as head of the Smithsonian Institution's Anthropology Outreach Office. She also has been Managing Editor for Smithsonian's widely popular *AnthroNotes*, a publication for educators. Ann is a pastpresident of SACC and was instrumental in developing our website. She has held a number of SACC offices, including Assistant Editor for *Teaching Anthropology: SACC Notes*, and, to SACC's good fortune, will continue to serve in this capacity.
- **Ember Knight** is the 2012 recipient of SACC's Student Award for Academic Excellence. The Awards Committee chose her paper for its quality of research, organization, fascinating subject matter and readability. A student at Santa Monica College (CA), Ember presented her paper at the 2012 SACCfest in San Diego.
- **Diane Levine** is a professor of anthropology and chair of the Department of Anthropological and Geographical Sciences at Los Angeles Pierce College. Her specialty in the field of anthropology is linguistics. Along with Bruce M. Rowe, she has co-authored three editions of *A Concise Introduction to Linguistics*. Additionally, she is a mother and grandmother, with a lifelong interest in reading, traveling, and environmental issues.
- **Linda Light** is a full-time lecturer in linguistic anthropology at California State University Long Beach. She also has taught cultural anthropology at several community colleges in Orange County. She was a key consultant in the creaton of a series of educational videos for anthropology titled *Our Diverse World*. In addition, she is a mother and grandmother, loves to read, travel, play tennis, ride her horse and hike in the desert and mountains.
- Lloyd Miller has edited *Teaching Anthropology: SACC Notes* and has been SACC's contributing editor to the AAA newsletter, *Anthropology News*, since 1991. He is professor emeritus of anthropology and Spanish at Des Moines Area Community College (IA). His anthropological autobiography, "An Accidental Anthropologist," is published in *The Tao of Anthropology*, Jack Kelso, editor. University Press of Florida, 2008. He is also a father and grandfather who loves to read, travel and ride a motorcycle.
- **Bob Muckle** has been teaching and writing about archaeology for more than 20 years. His work at Capilano University in North Vancouver, British Columbia, includes directing an annual archaeological field school. Bob contributes regularly to *Anthropology News*, and his column, "Archaeology Matters," has been a regular feature in *Teaching Anthropology: SACC Notes*. He is also a past president of SACC.



I love Stonehenge...and I

currently have a Stonehenge

screensaver on my

computer...Besides all the

engineering and architectural

achievements. I also love the fact

that the mock band Spinal Tap

paid tribute to the site through

their song "Stonehenge."

# (Editor's note: This article is reprinted with the author's permission from Vol 14, No. 1, fall 2007 of this publication.)

I've been following the increasing incorporation of archaeology into popular culture over the past number of years. One thing I've noticed is that archaeology-related stories in mainstream media reporting appear to be following trends in television and tabloid journalism, such as 'top ten' lists; voting by the public; and references to celebrities in almost any context. It is in this spirit of superficiality that I offer this column.

Of all the archaeologyrelated lists that have recently appeared in various kinds of media, my favorite is the "New Seven Wonders of the World." It was the Greek scholar Herodutus in the fifth century BC who first came up with the original seven wonders of the ancient world, which included the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, the Egyptian pyramids, and some other sites

I'm not familiar with. Later lists include the Lighthouse at Alexandria, the Roman Colosseum, the Great Wall of China, the Leaning Tower of Pisa, and the Taj Mahal. Those lists, however, were not good enough for Bernard Weber, a Swiss-based Canadian who has had previous careers as a film-maker, aviator, museum curator and explorer.

A few years ago Weber launched a global contest to come up with the New Seven Wonders of the World. The terms of reference for consideration included being human-made, completed before 2000 and in an "acceptable" state of preservation, whatever that is supposed to mean. Why these criteria were chosen remains a mystery to me. At one point in 2005, close to 200 sites were up for consideration, and by 2006 the list was reduced to 20.

The contest organizers, led by Weber, claim close to 100 million votes were cast on-line, by telephone and as text-messages. There was no mechanism in place to prevent people, agencies or governments from from the contest to aid in restoration projects around the world. It was no surprise to me that when asked, after the final announcement of the new seven wonders, organizers claimed that there was no profit. I find this a bit hard to believe. The web site for the new wonders list (<u>www.new7wonders.com</u>) is full of advertising for tours and merchandise. Want to buy a pin, bag, button, hat or shirt identifying your favorite wonder? How about a tour to one

casting multiple votes, and the organizers reserved the

right to disqualify any votes that were cast. The stated

objective of the contest was to use profit generated

or more of the newly designated wonders? You can even download the official New Seven Wonders of the World official song for a price.

The final New Seven Wonders of the World was announced in Lisbon, Portugal, on July 7<sup>th</sup>, 2007 (the seven wonders being announced on the seventh day, of the seventh month, of the seventh vear thing). As if to give the

contest some credence, media sources reporting on the announcement rarely failed to mention that celebrities in attendance included **Jennifer Lopez** and **Hilary Swank**.

The winners are, in alphabetical order, Chichen Itza (Mexico); Christ the Redeemer Statue (Brazil); Great Wall of China; Machu Picchu (Peru); Petra (Jordan); Roman Colosseum (Italy), and the Taj Mahal (India). The Great Pyramid of Giza was considered an "honorary candidate." Some of the finalists that didn't make the cut include Stonehenge, the Acropolis of Athens, and Angkor.

I know the list is superficial, and as one report puts it "decidedly unscientific," but still, as an archaeologist, I feel kind of offended. I mean...a statue of Christ beating out Stonehenge, the Acropolis, and Angkor? These are three of my favourite sites, and it isn't like the nominee was the actual Christ. The Christ the Redeemer Statue is a statue. I know it's big (38 meters), has a wonderful setting overlooking Rio and has become an important symbol to many Brazilians, but what's the wonder? We know when it was made (1926-1931) and why it was made (at the request of the Archdiocese of Rio de Janeiro). We also know the names of the designer and the sculptor. The statue isn't even reported to cry, bleed or perform miracles.

Since I didn't vote, I probably shouldn't complain, but having a statue beat out Stonehenge is hard to take. I love Stonehenge. Years ago I wore a watch with a plastic model of Stonehenge on the face, and I currently have a Stonehenge screensaver on my computer. I like the fact that there is still lots to wonder about Stonehenge, including the central purpose of it, how the stones were transported and lifted, how the site relates to a nearby village occupied at the same time and why people accept claims to the site by Druids, Wiccans, various fringe groups and people who just like to party there. Besides all the engineering and architectural achievements, I also love the fact that the mock band Spinal Tap paid tribute to the site through their song "Stonehenge."

How could voters exclude the Acropolis? If not deserving its engineering on and architecture, the fact that it is often used to symbolize western civilization and all that goes with that must be considered. the United Even Nations, through its entry the on UNESCO world heritage list,

describes it as "symbolizing the idea of world heritage." Further, people—especially Greeks—are really, really attached to that site. Just ask Coca-Cola. A few years ago they had a print advertising campaign in which they replaced the pillars of the Parthenon with coke bottles. The rage among Greeks was immediate. And just this summer the government gave permission for some designated heritage buildings in Athens to be destroyed in order to improve the view to the Acropolis.

I also take exception to the exclusion of Angkor. This has to be one of the all-time great sites for its architecture, engineering and sheer scale of development. It is probably the largest settlement of the pre-Industrial era in terms of both physical size and population. Current estimates are placing the population as numbering about one million in this mass of urban sprawl. Besides, if my sources are correct, **Angelia Jolie**, in her role as archaeologist Lara Croft in the *Tomb Raider* series, was filmed there. That ought to be reason enough alone to have made the top seven. I don't know if **Brad Pitt** has ever been there. And what about Moenjodaro? The population of this city numbered in the tens of thousands more than 4000 years ago, provides the first evidence of highly sophisticated urban planning and many of the houses had indoor plumbing connected to a city-wide subterranean sewer system. Why so few people are familiar with this site and the civilization associated with it has long been a big wonder to me. Is it because it is too hard to spell?

And how about Xian in China? Those several thousand terra cotta warriors are only at the edge of the site. The emperor's tomb, by all accounts undisturbed, is yet to be excavated. Personally, I wonder how the Chinese can be so patient as to leave the tomb (estimated by remote sensing techniques to have a ceiling 30 meters high) alone, waiting for future generations of archaeologists to examine. Further, the next instalment of *The Mummy* movie series, *Mummy* 3, scheduled for release during the summer of 2008, reportedly will include some scenes filmed there.

Almost all media reports of the final results of the contest commented on the nearly 100 million votes that

Fridgehenge..more than 200 discarded fridges in New Mexico, roughly similar to Stonehenge..."It started out as a statement about American consumerism and waste, and then ...became waste itself." were cast, as if that were a significant number. I'm more impressed by the almost four million tickets that have been bought for the **King Tut** exhibit during its current U.S. tour, and the 25 million ticket requests for the upcoming **Led Zeppelin** reunion concert. Americans cast more than 70 million votes in a

two- or three-hour period for the last night of voting in the sixth season of *American Idol*. Imagine if someone had manipulated the voters or the voting system to re-direct all those votes for **Jordin Sparks** and **Blake Lewis** to the Statue of Liberty, the only U.S. site to make the final 22!

Although I don't agree with the final selections, I do get some satisfaction from knowing that six of the chosen seven are among the several hundred "world heritage sites" identified by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Not that the UNESCO world heritage list isn't rife with its own biases, but it does have a very rigorous process for getting on the list. The sole selection from the New Seven Wonders not already identified as a world heritage site is the Christ the Redeemer statue. Not surprisingly, UNESCO has distanced itself from the New Seven Wonders of the World.

Of course, I'm not the only one to complain or offer opinions about the New Wonders. Many people continue to describe items of their own doing to some whenever they see a celebrity

associated with an archaeology

the program is probably of highly

questionable scholarship, and to

smash their television.

nebulous list of the seven wonders, or create their own list from scratch. Just this September, Apple's chief executive, Steve Jobs, referring to the new iPod, was quoted as saying "We think it's one of the Seven Wonders of the World." Maybe Jobs should take a course in archaeology.

Good Morning America and USA Today also recently came up with their own list of New Seven Wonders and, in a most bizarre fashion, have included eight wonders! I don't know what their criteria were, but it seems rather uneven and eclectic. It includes Mayan ruins, Old Jerusalem, a palace in Tibet, a marine park, migrations of animals in East Africa, the Grand Canyon, the Internet and the polar ice caps. That's the kind of list you get, I suppose, when it becomes media driven and voted on by the pubic.

About a year ago, a list emerged showing that British voters included Stonehenge as the top symbol

of England. It was somewhat confusing, therefore, when this past August another report out of England showed that Stonehenge "Most the was voted Disappointing" tourist attraction in Britain. The recent poll was conducted by a travel company and had more than 1200 adult respondents. A spokesperson for

the company referred to Stonehenge as "an isolated pile of rocks in a usually muddy field." For comparison, the Statue of Liberty and the Egyptian pyramids were ranked, respectively, as the fifth and eighth most disappointing attractions in the world.

In the spirit of manufacturing superficial lists and incorporating voting to determine the winner, and as homage to televised award shows, I now offer the number one vote getters for archaeology stories in the media since June, 2007. I was the only voter.

In the Category of the most likely archaeological or quasi-archaeological information to be retained by archaeology students: the announcement of the title to the next Indiana Jones movie. It was made public during the televised MTV Award Show in September. Few of my students had done the required reading for the lecture on the day following the announcement, but many did know the title: Indiana Jones and the kingdom of the crystal skull. Cate Blanchett joins Harrison Ford for this one. Shia LeBeouf is also in the cast. I have no idea who this is, but college students do. A number of alternate suggestions of titles for this and forthcoming movies in the series came out within hours. Topping the list of my favorites in that category is Indiana Jones and what is Cate Blanchett doing in this movie?

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produced good or at least drinkable ale. Whether their hypothesis was confirmed or rejected didn't seem to matter. Archaeologists around the world are tipping their glasses to these two. Making and drinking beer as research, and then getting good publicity. Good for them. In the Category of best visuals to accompany a news story: a story about the discovery of a Bronze Age brooch in Sweden. "Archaeologist Makes Mickey Mouse Discovery" read the headline of one news report. The archaeologists who excavated it say it was probably supposed to be a lion's I usually tell my students that head, but I've seen a photo and it

looks like Mickey. In the Category of best story on television, it's a clue that headline: 'Viking Ship Resurfaces

under Merseyside Boozer.' That was the headline of a story describing recent archaeological work in England. Apparently, locals knew of the ship back in the

1930s but didn't report it for fear archaeologists would get involved and perhaps close down the pub. Recent remote sensing work indicates the ship is there and might be one of the best preserved Viking ships anywhere.

In the Category of You've just gotta love the Irish:

the admission, in print, by two Irish archaeologists

who, while recovering from hangovers, came up with

the hypothesis that particular features on the Irish

landscape they were investigating may have had something to do with past brewing practices. They did

some experiments and, according to one report,

In the Category of most disheartening story: Fridgehenge monument dismantled. Located in New Mexico, this monument included more than 200 discarded fridges in a pattern roughly similar to Stonehenge. I love the quote by a Santa Fe city spokesperson: "It started out as a statement about American consumerism and waste, and then it sort of became waste itself." I actually felt pretty sad when I read this news. I was hoping to see Fridgehenge one day during a tour of Stonehenge-replica sites throughout North America. Oh well, there is another fridgehenge in New Zealand and plenty more Stonehenge-derivative sites on this continent that I'd still like to see. On top of that list is Carhenge. Located in Nebraska, Carhenge consists of 38 cars arranged in the Stonehenge-way, with a 1962 Cadillac as the heel stone.

In the Category of most annoying personality associated, even peripherally, with archaeology: James "I am King of the World" Cameron, the academy award winning director of The Titanic

starring **Leonardo DiCaprio** and **Kate Winslet**. Cameron was part of a news conference to announce the purported discovery of the tomb of Jesus and his family. I usually tell my students that whenever they see a celebrity associated with an archaeology story on television, it's a clue that the program is probably of highly questionable scholarship, and to smash their television. Of course, the archaeological community is doubtful about it really being the tomb of Jesus. It turns out that Cameron was the executive producer of a documentary of the find, called *James Cameron Presents the Lost Tomb of Jesus*,

which is available for sale. I don't think he will be getting an academy award for this one.

In the Category of most beautiful actress that claims to have wanted to be an

archaeologist: a two-way tie between Jessica Biel and Scarlett Johannson. Biel, voted number one in *Stuff Magazine's* '100 Sexiest Women of 2007' apparently dreamed of being an archaeologist when she was younger. Many would give that award to Johannson, who also claims to have wanted to be an archaeologist. One recent report quotes her saying "If I weren't making movies, I'd be an archaeologist, looking for fossils. ...Cut to me in 120 degree heat, picking at a rock with a four inch needle." Sounds like she's confusing archaeology with palaeontology, geology, and drugs. Both Biel and Johannson have been romantically linked with Justin Timberlake. I don't know what he wants to do if that singing and acting thing doesn't work out.

In the Category of most famous rock star that should stay silent in regard to all things archaeological: **Bill Wyman**, of **Rolling Stones** fame. In a previous column I mentioned that Wyman had indicated that he would have liked to become an archaeologist. Now comes word that he has recently published a book on metal detecting for treasure and has his own signature-brand detector for sale. One report quotes him as saying "Metal-detecting is not just for anoraks or eccentrics—its probably the best and most enjoyable way of learning about history." He claims to have uncovered Roman and Medieval sites. Doesn't he make enough money already without destroying and counselling others to destroy archaeological sites?

Despite the ease at making fun of references to archaeology in the media, it should be appreciated that the increasing use of archaeology in popular culture is serious business. It isn't uncommon to have sessions

Imagine, in a single day or night [in Las Vegas], you could visit Egyptian pyramids, Venetian canals, the Eiffel Tower, Caesar's palace and Camelot! the past few years. The guru in this emerging area of interest is Swedish archaeologist

**Cornelius Holtorf**, who has two books out on it – *From Stonehenge to Las Vegas: Archaeology as Popular Culture* and *Archaeology is a Brand!* 

Glancing at those two books on my bookshelf as I was finishing this column gave me an idea. Maybe I should try to start some archaeology classes for celebrities, especially for those who insist on talking about archaeology in public. I think I will start by attempting to recruit James Cameron, Bill Wyman, Steve Jobs and Scarlett Johansson as students. To address potential problems with gender inequity, I will also invite Jessica Biel and Angelina Jolie. We are all busy people, so I will hold most classes over the Internet. There will be one mandatory field trip in Las Vegas. What could be better than that? Imagine, in a single day or night, you could visit Egyptian pyramids, Venetian canals, the Eiffel Tower, Caesar's palace and Camelot!

Of course, I will need some funding to get this class off the ground. So, I will sell the rights to film us to some television production company. And we will invite audience participation in the form of voting. Watch for it. 74



## Language Survival, Biodiversity Survival and Anthropologists

Linda Light



I have a new term to introduce to you: *biolinguistic*, as in *biolinguistic diversity*: What is it? Anthropologist Joshua Bell (2011) reported that, based on current trends, Linguists expect that up to 90% of the world's languages will become extinct by the end of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and environmentalists fear that up to one-half of the world's biological species will become extinct by the end of this same century.

Some anthropologists believe that these two facts are related, and they further believe that environmental issues can be mitigated by preserving linguistic (and cultural) diversity. Sociolinguists Daniel Nettle and

Suzanne Romaine (2000) argue that the extinction of languages is part of the larger picture of a pending collapse of the worldwide ecosystem, that the

struggle to preserve environmental resources like threatened rainforests can't be separated from the struggle by many cultures to survive. Romaine and Nettles use the term *biolinguistic diversity* to mean "the rich spectrum of life encompassing all the earth's species of plants and animals along with human cultures and their languages." The causes of language and culture extinction and environmental destruction, then, reside together at the intersection of ecology, politics and globalization.

#### How do languages die?

A language is not a disembodied entity like other categories of culture. It is a complex system that exists in the minds of the living human members of a speech community and marks their membership in and selfidentity with it. A community of people can exist only where a habitable environment sustains them. When these communities fail to thrive, so do their languages. More and more individual speakers die, or they deliberately stop passing their language down to the next generation. Over time, the community increasingly limits the contexts in which its language is used, until people stop using it altogether in favor of some other language, usually a dominant Western one. Language death is often associated with stressful or untenable circumstances, which have included genocide, ethnocide, habitat destruction or externally

applied political, social and/or economic pressures on the culture.

#### World languages by the numbers:

Today, of the 6000 or so languages that survived the European "age of exploration," almost half of the world population speak only 15 of them. However, fewer than 100,000 people speak ninety percent of them. Not all of these languages are threatened just because of the small numbers of speakers, but most of them are, and linguists have not studied the majority.

> The greatest linguistic diversity is found in areas indigenous peoples inhabit. They represent a tiny portion of the world population but speak at least 60% of its languages. They are most

densely located in the tropics: equatorial Africa, Central America, south Asia, and the western Pacific island archipelagos. These areas are also the locations of the tropical forests and ocean reefs that are home to up to 90% of the earth's biological species.

Ecologists have great difficulty answering questions about how many species of plants and animals exist. Estimates vary from a total of 3 million to 80 million species, but only about one million have ever been described and given names by Western science. The areas richest in biodiversity are, again, in the tropics, where scientists have never cataloged or studied the great majority of species, much as linguists have never studied the languages in the most linguistically diverse areas, also in the tropics.

Species extinction rates are also not easy to calculate, and estimates vary from a conservative 27,000 to 90,000 species every year. But even the lower estimate vastly exceeds the so-called background rate of extinction before human intervention, which was about one species every other year!

Most tropical species are adapted to a relatively narrow ecological niche, with limited distribution, while those of the higher latitudes of Europe and Asia are much less diverse but are more broadly distributed geographically. The tropical biological species are more vulnerable to extinction because of their limited area and numbers, so any natural environmental change can wipe out an entire ecological niche. But by

ever be science.

In Papua New Guinea, less than 0.01%

of the world's population speaks over

13% of its languages!

far the more serious threat comes from human activities: intensive one-crop agriculture, mining and oil extraction, logging, and other activities that induce global warming and modern chemical pollution. These activities can destroy a much wider swath of environments.

A case study that illustrates well the "natural" state of diversity is Papua New Guinea on the eastern half of the island of New Guinea, probably the most biolinguistically diverse country in the world. It is home to about four million people who speak nearly 800 languages (that is, less than 0.01% of the world's population speaks over 13% of its languages)! Most of Papua New Guinea's languages have fewer than 5000 speakers and one-third have fewer than 500

speakers. Eighty percent of its land area is covered by rain forest. Most of its plant species are found nowhere else in the world, and its animal diversity, including the rich marine life in the offshore coral reefs, is spectacular.

However, both the billion-dollar-a-year logging industry and growing mining operations, especially by foreign companies, are cutting deep into this diversity. In the western half of the island—formerly Irian Jaya and now known as the West Papua province of Indonesia, these commercial activities far exceed those in Papua New Guinea, so much so that West Papuans are illegally crossing the border into Papua New Guinea in increasing numbers.

## What is the connection between a language and the environment of its speakers?

Like biological species, languages are highly adapted to their environments. They reflect and encode the world, the worldview and the knowledge of their speakers. Indigenous language communities have deep and intimate knowledge about their natural environment that is largely unknown to modern scientists. Since this knowledge is embedded in the vocabulary and the syntactic and semantic systems of a language, when the language is lost, so is the knowledge.

The lexicon, or vocabulary, of a language is an inventory of the items a culture talks about and has categorized in order to make sense of the world and deal with it effectively. For example, fish have great economic and cultural importance among the island societies of Oceania, and this is reflected in the rich lexicons that deal with all aspects of the fish and their environments that islanders depend on for survival.

In Palau, for example, there are about 1000 fish species, and Palauan fishermen knew, long before

biologists existed, details about the anatomy, behavior, growth patterns and habitat of most of those species (and far more than modern biologists know even today). Western biological taxonomies are based on formal similarities between species, but native ones are often based on function: For example: Some species of fish in Palau have a generic name based on the type of hook best suited to catch them. One term refers to a common illness that causes fever and sores, and the same term refers to the fish that is used to treat it.

Important species most relied on for food often have more than one name, reflecting the stage in its life cycle, different habitats, behavioral patterns, colors, or fishing techniques most effective for catching them. In other words, the very words they use reflect and perpetuate the intimate knowledge island fishermen have for the ecology they rely on.

Much of fish behavior is related to the moon's phases and the tides. Throughout Oceania, the names given to certain days of the lunar months reflect the likelihood of successful fishing. For example, in the Caroline Islands, the name for the night before the new moon is *otolol*, meaning, "to swarm." The name indicates that the best fishing days cluster around the new moon. In Hawaii and Tahiti, two sets of days of the lunar month have names containing the particle `*ole* or `*ore*; one occurs in the first quarter of the moon and the other in the third quarter. The same name is given to the prevailing wind during those phases. The words mean "nil," or "nothing," because those days were considered bad for fishing as well as for planting.

Another example comes from the Haunóo of the Philippines, a group of swidden farmers living on an island in the northwestern part of the archipelago. They distinguish by name more than 450 types of animals. They gather and have names for over 1000 types of plants from the wild used for various purposes, and over 400 are cultivated in their gardens. In addition, they have four different terms for the degree of soil firmness, nine color terms that distinguish different soil types, five classes of land topography and three different ways of classifying slopes. The knowledge encoded in this vocabulary would be invaluable for any



Decorated Huli Wigman,

from Journeys International

outsider interested in understanding and preserving that ecosystem.

#### What about the "modern" world?

People in modern societies have largely lost their psychic connection with the natural world, but of course their survival is still intimately dependent on it. The developed nations have ransacked their own environments to feed their industrial development, and they continue to mine those of traditional societies, while rationalizing it in the name of "modernizing" those societies in an effort to help them to become "more like us." Those who resist are ethnocentrically seen as willfully remaining in a "backward" or "primitive" way of life. Yet now, in a belated effort, those industrialized societies are beginning to try to protect their own environments while at the same time continuing to exploit those of the indigenous societies.

The problem, of course, is that the contemporary economic standard is absolutely unsustainable. For example, the current population of the United States, 300 million, comprises less than 5% of the world's population of about 7 billion. However, it consumes over 25% of its energy resources, and, in the process, produces a large proportion of its pollution. All those developing societies can't possibly become "more like us," even if they wanted to (and China and India definitely do want to). The math doesn't compute.

Projects devised by international development agencies that are imposed on traditional societies tend to suppress traditional ways of life, environmental knowledge and the languages that encode these societies, rather than allowing them to integrate changes gradually into the existing fabrics of their cultures. Recent decades have seen something of a small reversal in thinking by such international agencies. For example, UNESCO proclaimed 1993 as the Year of Indigenous Peoples, and the United Nations in 2007 adopted the Declaration of Rights of Indigenous Peoples. But they still have a long way to go in this direction.

# What can be done, and how can anthropologists help?

What remains of the world's biolinguistic diversity must be preserved. To accomplish this, a fundamental revolution in thinking will have to take place in international, national and regional policies in order to promote sustainable development of local ecosystems.

Besides an all-out effort to reverse destructive behaviors engendered by the industrialized world, an effective solution to the problem will require empowering local people to apply their indigenous knowledge to it. The people themselves will need to do most of the work, and members of traditional communities must be involved at every stage of planning and implementation. Here is where cultural anthropologists can help.

This same approach has to be applied to language and culture survival. It is in this area that linguistic anthropologists can and have been playing a crucial role. Some are already involved in helping groups preserve their languages in an effort to save their cultures. But the task is so monumental and resources so limited that a triage approach will be required by setting realistic priorities, identifying threatened language communities, and stabilizing those that have a reasonable chance of survival.

It also is important to encourage younger generations to acquire an appreciation for their indigenous cultural identities as they learn their own languages. Their self-identification with the culture is crucial to this process, because without transmission to the next generation there will be no language survival. The *AnthroNotes* issue describes some excellent ongoing programs as a start.

Ultimately, the preservation of environmental diversity depends in part on preserving the communities and habitats of people who use them, and anthropologists are uniquely qualified to play a crucial role in the process. 7A

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#### Appendix 1 begins next page

<sup>2000</sup> Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages. Oxford University Press.

#### **APPENDIX 1**

There are approximately 6000 languages currently spoken around the world, the majority of which have only a small number of speakers. About 4 billion of the earth's 6.5 billion people, or over 60% of the earth's population, speak one of the following 30 languages as their native tongue.

Languages are ordered in the table below by numbers of native speakers. Numbers of second-language speakers are given where known. Second language speakers are those whose native language is typically a minority language of the country in which they live and who learn the second language because it is the official national language of the country where they reside.

Top 30 Languages by Number of Native Speakers

Data source: Ethnologue: Languages of the World, 15th ed. (2005) & Wikipedia.org.

	Language	approximate # of speakers	Where is it spoken as an official language?
1.	Mandarin Chinese	NATIVE: 873 million 2nd: 178 million TOTAL: 1.051 billion	OFFICIAL: People's Republic of China, Republic of China, Singapore
2.	Hindi	NATIVE: 370 million 2nd:120 million TOTAL: 490 million	OFFICIAL: India, Fiji
3.	Spanish	NATIVE: 350 million 2nd: 70 million TOTAL: 420 million	OFFICIAL: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, United States (New Mexico, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, Venezuela
4.	English	NATIVE: 340 million TOTAL: 510 million	OFFICIAL: Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, The Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Botswana, Brunei, Cameroon, Canada, Dominica, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Fiji, The Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guyana, Hong Kong (People's Republic of China), India, Ireland, Jamaica, Kenya, Kiribati, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Maldives, Malta, Marshall Islands, Maritius, Micronesia, Namibia, Nauru, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevs, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somolia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Tanzania, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Tuvalu, Uganda, United Kingdom, United States, Vanuatu, Zambia, Zimbabwe.
5.	Arabic	NATIVE: 206 million 2nd: 24 million	OFFICIAL: Modern Standard Arabic: Algeria, Bahrain, Chad, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait,

		TOTAL: 230 million [World Almanac est. total 255 million]	Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Niger, Oman, Palestinian Territories, Quatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Western Sahara, Yemen.   Hasaniya Arabic: Mauritania, Senegal NATIONAL: Mali Note: These figures combine all the varieties of Arabic. Some data sources, e.g. CIA World Fact Book, World Almanac, Ethnologue, treat
6.	Portuguese	NATIVE: 203 million 2nd: 10 million	these varieties as separate languages. OFFICIAL: Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, East Timor, Guinea- Bissau, Macau (People's Republic of China), Mozambique,
		TOTAL: 213 million	Portugal, São Tomé e Príncipe.
7.	Bengali	NATIVE: 196 million TOTAL: 215 million	OFFICIAL: Bangladesh, India (Tripura, West Bengal)
8.	Russian	NATIVE: 145 million 2nd: 110 million TOTAL: 255 million	OFFICIAL: Abkhazia (part of Georgia), Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyyrgyzstan, Russia, Transnistria (part of Moldova).
9.	Japanese	NATIVE: 126 million 2nd: 1 million TOTAL: 127 million	OFFICIAL: Japan, Palau
10.	<u>German</u>	NATIVE: 101 million 2nd: 128 million TOTAL: 229 million	OFFICIAL: Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy (South Tyrol), Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Poland, Siwtzerland
	Language	# of speakers	Where is it spoken as an official language?
11.	Panjabi	Western: 60 million Eastern: 28 million TOTAL: 88 million	OFFICIAL: India (Punjab) NATIONAL: Pakistan
12.	Javanese	76 million	OFFICIAL: Indonesia (esp. Java)
13.	Korean	71 million	OFFICIAL: North Korea, South Korea
14.	Vietnamese	NATIVE: 70 million 2nd: 16 million TOTAL: 86 million	OFFICIAL: Vietnam
15.	Telugu	NATIVE: 70 million 2nd: 5 million	OFFICIAL: India (Andhra Pradesh)

16.	Marathi	NATIVE: 68 million 2nd: 3 million	OFFICIAL: India (Daman and Diu, Goa, Maharashtra)
		TOTAL: 71 million	
17.	Tamil	NATIVE: 68 million 2nd: 9 million TOTAL: 77 million	OFFICIAL: India (Tamil Nadu), Singapore, Sri Lanka
18.	French	NATIVE: 67 million 2nd: 63 million TOTAL: 130 million	OFFICIAL or NATIONAL: Belgium, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, France, French Polynesia, Gabon, Guernsey, Guinea, Halti, India (Karikal, Pondicherry), Italy, Jersey, Lebanon Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Martinique, Mauritius, Mayotte, Monaco, New Caledonia, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Seychelles, Switzerland, Togo, United States (Louisiana), Vanuatu.
19.	Urdu	NATIVE: 61 million 2nd: 43 million TOTAL: 104 million	OFFICIAL: India (Jammu and Kashmir), Pakistan.
20.	Italian	61 million	OFFICIAL: Croatia (Istria Country), Italy, San Marino, Slovenia, Switzerland.
	Language	# of speakers	Where is it spoken as an official language?
21.	Language Turkish	# of speakers NATIVE: 60 million 2nd: 15 million TOTAL: 75 million	Where is it spoken as an official language? OFFICIAL: Bulgaria (Kurdzhali Province and areas of South and East Bulgaria), Cyprus, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Turkey
21.		NATIVE: 60 million 2nd: 15 million	OFFICIAL: Bulgaria (Kurdzhali Province and areas of South and East Bulgaria), Cyprus, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus,
	Turkish	NATIVE: 60 million 2nd: 15 million TOTAL: 75 million	OFFICIAL: Bulgaria (Kurdzhali Province and areas of South and East Bulgaria), Cyprus, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Turkey
22.	Turkish Persian	NATIVE: 60 million 2nd: 15 million TOTAL: 75 million 54 million	OFFICIAL: Bulgaria (Kurdzhali Province and areas of South and East Bulgaria), Cyprus, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Turkey OFFICIAL: Afghanistan, Iran, Tajikistan. OFFICIAL: India (Gujarat, Daman and Diu, Dadra and Nagar
22. 23.	Turkish Persian Gujariati	NATIVE: 60 million 2nd: 15 million TOTAL: 75 million 54 million 46 million	OFFICIAL: Bulgaria (Kurdzhali Province and areas of South and East Bulgaria), Cyprus, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Turkey OFFICIAL: Afghanistan, Iran, Tajikistan. OFFICIAL: India (Gujarat, Daman and Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli).
22. 23. 24.	Turkish Persian Gujariati Polish	NATIVE: 60 million 2nd: 15 million TOTAL: 75 million 54 million 46 million 46 million	OFFICIAL: Bulgaria (Kurdzhali Province and areas of South and East Bulgaria), Cyprus, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Turkey OFFICIAL: Afghanistan, Iran, Tajikistan. OFFICIAL: India (Gujarat, Daman and Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli). OFFICIAL: Poland

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28.	Oriya	32 million	OFFICIAL: India (Orissa).
29.	Burmese	NATIVE: 32 million 2nd: 10 million TOTAL: 42 million	OFFICIAL: Myanmar.
30.	Thai	NATIVE: 20 million 2nd: 40 million TOTAL: 60 million	OFFICIAL: Thailand.



### "It's Quiet in Here" Open Mic Comedy in Greater Los Angeles Ember Knight

While open mics advertise

themselves as the first stepping-

stone towards fame,... the skills

and capital developed... are not

transferable to other contexts.

Performance is a funny thing. Like a quantum measurement, its existence necessitates the presence of an observer. One cannot perform in a vacuum. But how does the individual acquire an audience? As a kid, I spent my time after school in rehearsals for various local productions. I liked being onstage, and I liked knowing that my kin and dear-to-heart were out there watching me, indistinguishable in the dark auditorium. They sat amongst other people's parents and friends, parents and friends being the best audiences ever.

But at some point in high school, I realized that if I wanted to continue performing, I would have to appeal to a wider public. My peers were floating off to

universities while the "real world" loomed towards me. At this point I decided that the best way to compete as a performer in a service economy would be to provide opportunities for laughter. So I started looking into standup comedy.

"How to start?" I asked the

Internet. In response, Google showed me a landscape of tantalizing ads within my zip code. Among the list of links were invitations such as: "Be the next big star!" and "Think you have what it takes to make 'em laugh?" and the particular phrase, "open mic." It seemed that "open mics" were occurring all around the city, and that participation in them led to a career in standup comedy. All I had to do was show up, perform and appeal to the audience. What I didn't bank on was that the people I would have to appeal to were themselves comedians.

This study concerns the function of open mics in fostering collective and individual identity. Additionally, it examines open mics as the medium for propagating a structured subculture, cultivating traits that are uniquely applicable to its own context. Over the course of six months, I conducted fieldwork in greater Los Angeles that included participant observation and narrative analysis. My findings are described briefly below.

To begin with, open mics are publicly accessible performance events. They provide a microphone and sound system to the general public and are usually



hosted at a bar or café. Sometimes they are held for a specific type of

performance art, in this case, for standup comedy. Although theoretically one could go just to watch, in practice, aspiring comics attend these mics, taking three-minute turns on stage before returning to their role as surrogate audience members.

The open mics in Los Angeles advertise themselves as the first stepping-stone towards fame. Individuals travel to Los Angeles from around the world in order to pursue a career in standup comedy, and when they get there, the open mics provide them

> with an accessible means of symbolic production. All of the things that make up comedy *mise en scene*—a stage, a microphone and stand and an audience—are available to the amateur. For this reason, open mics maintain a close proximity to the professional comedy clubs in the Hollywood area.

Individuals who attend open mics regularly are known as "mikers" in the comedy community. Committed mikers will invest an average of five hours a day at open mics, going in the evenings and after their day jobs. This commitment can be understood as a spatiotemporal relationship to the concept of success. Through diligent open mic participation over time, mikers hope to integrate into the professional comedy community that exists literally right down the street. This would theoretically be accomplished by using the open mic as both a medium for practicing standup performance and also for cultivating social capital in the larger comedy community.

Although open mics *do* cultivate performance skills and social capital, individuals don't seem to advance beyond these levels and into the professional realm. This is because the skills and capital developed at open mics are not transferable to other contexts. Rather, the structure of an open mic event directly results in the cultivation of limitations on the individual's commercial appeal. For example, mikers do not usually socialize outside of the open mic context. Instead, they engage in a ritual of structured socializing, taking three-minute speech turns onstage. Social capitol is then negotiated through the miserly exchange of laughter in response to these speech turns. In order to get laughs, which are rare, comic speech must exemplify group ideology.

Miker ideology dictates that claiming the title of "comic" denotes intrinsic identity in addition to a professional function. For example, non-comics are referred to as "real people." On

the other hand, a comic identity can be understood as a "glorified other," an individual who feels detached from his or her larger cultural context, but who sanctifies this detachment through descriptive humorous speech.

In order to join the ingroup, mikers must demonstrate their communal relevancy, and this means

proving themselves intrinsically comedic in nature. To be a comic, as understood by the community, one must be able to elicit laughter from an audience as well as verify identity as "other." Mikers use open mic performance as a medium for demonstrating this relevancy. Namely, they attempt to elicit each other's laughter by performing comedic speech that exemplifies group ideology and the glorification of otherness. This is accomplished through a linguistic practice known as "riffing."

"Riffing" means performing non-scripted comedic speech material about personal experience, and it is supposed to prove that a comic can talk about anything and make it funny: that the quality "funny" is located not in the subject matter but in the speakers themselves. This specific skill requires the deliberate construction of narrative in a joke format. In order to garner speech material, mikers look for the joke potential in every part of their lives, sometimes even creating situations that they believe will be fruitful subjects for comedic speech. By framing their interactions within the larger social context as not only dysfunctional but also consistently humorous, mikers demonstrate their identities as fundamentally "comic," and, as such, relevant to the communal context. Additionally, when the individual approaches situations with the aim of re-scripting them for latter use, "otherness" is actively cultivated. Riffing necessitates sculpting a worldview that can be tapped for comedic effect at the drop of a hat. And once



cultivated, this identity is only relevant to the open mic setting.

Riffing and other ideologically cohesive speech work at open mics, because other comics laugh at them, and they laugh because it gives them social capital to do so. Because of the intimacy of an open mic setting, an individual laugh demonstrates to everyone present that the person who laughed related to the preceding speech and the experience as "other" being described. Thus both comic identities are re-

enforced: that of the performer and that of the vocalizing audience member. In this way, laughter can be interpreted as a sort of communal currency, given only in response to speech that enforces shared identity.

The scarcity of laughter is a main difference between open mics and professional comedy events. Audiences of "real people" attend professional

comedy shows with an expectation that opportunities for laughter will occur (Rutter 1977). However, open mic audiences attend strictly because they want to perform. As a result, the measures taken by a miker to elicit laughter, and thereby prove his or her worth as a comic, are applicable only within the open mic context.

Because they are exposed to standup on a nightly basis, and because this standup is generally written in a contextually specific way, mikers have a unique and stringent set of standards for comedic speech. These standards often diverge from those of a mainstream audience. In fact, many mikers described "real people" as having terrible taste in comedy. Mikers use the term "hacky" to describe comedic speech material that does not follow ideological standards. This includes plagiarized, over-used or formulaic speech. The performance of hacky material threatens a comic's validity. This has implications for the community's gender politics, which favor males as the default comic body (Grimes 2010).

Open mics exhibit roughly a seven-to-one male majority. This is a self-perpetuating phenomenon, because performed comedic speech must exemplify shared experience. This rules out speech material describing experience-as-female, because the majority of the community cannot relate. For them, *all* femalegendered material appears over-used and formulaic. Supporting this gender bias is a stereotype that women, as a class, are not as funny as men. Female mikers negotiate their gender by disassociating from other females. Essentially, in order to demonstrate their own communal relevancy, miker women advertise themselves as an exception to the rule.

"Racy" or "offensive" speech also is prevalent at open mic events. Miker speech material tends to exploit taboo subjects beyond what is accepted by most pedestrian audiences of standup comedy. As participants described, they "go too far" for the typical audience member. In order to prove identity-as-comic, mikers will rarely admit discomfort with subject matter. Instead, they actively push the boundaries under the umbrella of "it's only a joke."

In summary, open mics facilitate the construction of identity-as-comic. This identity is based on a glorification of "otherness." Additionally, by categorizing femaleness as non-comic, the open mic community retains individuals who are ether male or who view themselves as female exceptions. Of the small percentage moving forward in the comedy industry, most will be men, and all will harbor a bias toward male-relatable speech. Such instances of success are few and far between, in part because of a bias against so-called "hacky" speech, resulting in restricted commercial appeal.

Finally, by entrenching themselves in a communally-specific identity, supported by deliberate narrative construction and propagated by a spatiotemporal relationship to the goal of success, mikers confine themselves indefinitely within the open mic community. Although some do successfully group together at the professional level, most do not. Perhaps most importantly, individuals who know that their open mic performance is not propelling their professional careers still attend on a nightly basis.

And this is understandable. Once individuals acculturate to a community that allots them uninterrupted turns to speak and permits them to employ racial slurs, sexist generalizations and references to violence, they may find it difficult to join and perform in other communities where these habits are not sanctioned. 74

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### Theory of the (Student's) Mind Diane Levine

I'm going to presuppose that we all know about the experiment with the monkey in the mirror who doesn't recognize its own image and doesn't try to remove the daub of paint from its head. On the other hand, the chimpanzee in the mirror recognizes that the image is a reflection of itself, and it tries to remove the paint. But what about the human scientists performing this experiment? They put themselves in the mind of chimpanzee and conclude that it knows that the paint is a foreign substance and usually not a part of its reflection. That's why the chimpanzee has the desire to remove it. This characteristic of human thought is the concept of *theory of the mind*.

Theory of mind is the ability to characterize and predict the mental states of others-something I did

when I assumed that you were familiar with the experiment, and what the experimenters are doing about their monkey and chimpanzee subjects. Humans, perhaps before they can even speak, show a desire to share what they have on their minds. Around age four, children begin to accurately assess the content of other people's minds. Certainly five-year-old children are constantly informing parents, or anyone else who will listen, what they want and what is interesting to them. They

might make predictions about people's emotional state and ask people if they are happy or sad based on something that a person said or that person's tone of voice, facial expressions or other non-verbal behaviors. One strategy children use in language acquisition seems to be social: to know what new words mean, they try to think like other people. Certainly, adults are always making assumptions about what other people believe or know, including what they think about themselves. This ability to calculate the thoughts of others, albeit not always accurately, is a major trait of human cognition and communication.

So (I'm presupposing you ask), what does this have to do with teaching? One of the tasks of teaching is to characterize and predict the mental states of the students. When we teach anthropology (or any discipline), we assume our students don't know our jargon, so we set about teaching them the new jargon associated with that discipline and teaching them to use that vocabulary. But a special difficulty in teaching linguistics is teaching students not just to use language, but also to think *about* language. So over the years,





I've developed some strategies to help them do this.

First, I introduce them to **Neologisms**—how new words are made. We teach that word meanings are arbitrary—that the sound we assign to symbolize something has no essential connection to the thing. (That's why we can use the sounds in the word "table" and the Spanish speakers can use the sounds in the word "mesa" to mean the same object.) But students are often unaware that word meanings come from somewhere—they may have a vague sense (especially if they have looked carefully at a dictionary or participated seriously in a spelling bee) that words are related to Latin or Old German, but they are not used to thinking about the processes and rules

governing the formation of new words.

So I start the class with newly coined words—this year it was *Carmaggedon* and *Bugnado*—words that I had heard for the first time this summer. New words are easier to analyze because they have not yet become so familiar that their origin is lost to conscious memory. Don't forget that all words started out this way, but when they become institutionalized, their origin is lost to all but the etymology buffs.

•*Carmaggedon*—is a <u>blending</u> of "car" and "Armageddon" and referred to the massive traffic jam expected from a weekend shut down of 10 miles on US 405 in Los Angeles. (Perhaps those of you from the east coast are more familiar with *snowmageddon*)

•*Bugnado*—is a <u>blending</u> of "bug" and "tornado" and refers to an infestation of flying insects in the Midwest

(http://www.npr.org/2011/08/20/139815838/

#### giant-bugnado-swarms-in-americas-heartland)

(Blending is one of the nine processes for coining neologisms that we talk about in the course.)

Why is the first syllable of the larger word the one that's replaced? Why not "Armagecar" or "tornabug." (Students often say, "It sounds more natural.") Once again, this is something they've never thought about. This leads to a discussion of word order. There are alternative word orders, not just the one that we are used to. We use this word order for the same reason that we put adjectives first before nouns. English is a right-headed language; the head of a phrase goes on the right. (This leads to a discussion of "headedness" that we'll talk about all through the semester.) In a noun phrase, the noun will be on the right and the adjective on the left. So carmageddon is a car Armageddon and bugnado is a bug tornado.

And for the etymology buffs among you: What does Armageddon mean? It's the biblical place where the last battle will be fought. *Har Meggido* in Hebrew is a left headed language, and *Meggido Mountain* in English is a right headed language.

Tornado: 1550s, navigator's word for violent windy thunderstorm in the tropical Atlantic, probably a mangled borrowing from Sp. tronada "thunderstorm," from tronar "to thunder," from L. tonare "to thunder" (see thunder). Metathesis of -o- and -r- in modern spelling influenced by Sp. tornar "to twist, turn," from L. tornare "to turn." Meaning "extremely violent whirlwind" is first found in the 1620s.

Ado: in commando, desperado, tornado, and other words of Spanish and Portuguese origin, "person or group participating in an action," from L. -atus, pp. suffix of verbs of the first conjugation (cf.-ade). (From <u>http://</u>www.etymonline.com).

Students explained new words that they had heard:

*Glamping* blends the words Glamour + Camping. There is more emphasis on the right word (camping) than on the left word (glamour). There are other words like *murse* (man's+purse) and similar *mandals* (man's +sandal) where the emphasis is on the second word rather than on the first, which is essentially like an adjective to the noun. Ex: glamorous camping, etc.

A word I recently heard when I was in a grocery store was the word *grapple*. A grapple is a cross between a grape and an apple. The word includes the prefix of grape and the suffix of apple.

Blending is the process of taking two or more words (compounding), clipping parts off one or more of the words and combining them. I feel that people use blending especially when they are trying to shorten a word. For example, many younger girls wear skirts that have shorts under them. This would produce the blended word, *skorts*.

Just as breakfast and lunch make brunch, a word that I hear a lot at work when my coworkers did not have lunch but are going to eat dinner is *linner*: lunch and dinner put together. Also, *liger* is a lion and a tiger mixed!

#### Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis: a dry topic?

But what if you recall an embarrassing moment or a time you didn't quite know what to say? (This strategy works for teaching about cultural relativism and ethnocentrism too!)

Hi. How are you?

Fine. How are you? Fine.

When is this the wrong answer and why? This is how I introduce the topic of greeting rituals and the maxims of conversation, as part of the larger topic of pragmatics. The maxims of conversation in English are:

Quantity—Say neither more nor less than is required.

Quality—Say only what you believe to be the truth.

Relevance—Say only what is appropriate for the topic.

Manner-Be brief, concise and clear.

When English speakers exchange greetings, the content of the greeting doesn't change, even if one of the speakers is sick or upset. This is because most speakers of English perceive the question "How are you?" to be part of a greeting ritual, not an actual request for a detailed description of your condition. They are observing the maxims of quantity (saying just the right amount) and relevance (saying what is appropriate). So they respond to the greeting with the appropriate greeting response.

But what if, upon entering the examining room, a doctor says to you:

"Good afternoon. How are you?"

In this case, the maxims of quantity, relevance and quality (telling the truth) require that your answer involve a description of your physical condition.

"I have a fever, cough, and sore throat."

As with many cultural expectations, students (and teachers and anthropologists) often are aware of the conversational maxims only when they are violated. So when you greet someone with:

"Hi. How are you?"

And the response is:

"Terrible. My car broke down, my parents are mad at me, and I have the flu, too."

The immediate reaction (either spoken or unspoken) might be:

TMI (too much information)!

And, of course, if you are ill and you answer the doctor's request for information as if it were a greeting, you find yourself violating the maxim of quality (truthfulness) and manner (clarity) by saying:

Fine. But I have a fever, cough, and sore throat.

The maxim of quality requires that you only ask a question when you don't know the answer. Students find this topic funny as they recall that the teacher (me)

is violating this maxim by asking rhetorical questions -(of course a lecture is not a conversation). Other

examples include a comedian's monologue and a lawyer's closing statement.

One student wrote:

If I am eating at a restaurant and the server decides to talk to me for the next hour about their hopes and dreams, I would never return to the restaurant. However, it is appropriate for the comedian or teacher to speak for long

periods of time and ask questions instead of using statements.

Another student wrote about a fictional conversation in the TV show, *Family Guy*, illustrating the maxim of relevance.

Lois: Peter, what exactly did they inject you with?

Peter: Oh all sorts of things. Hepatitis vaccine, a couple



of steroids, the gay gene, calcium, vitamin B extract...

**Lois:** What did you just say?

**Peter:** The gay gene. I assume that's the one you meant even though it wasn't literally the last

thing I said when you said, "what did you just say?" It's just that clearly (it) was most unusual...

In this exchange, Peter explains that under normal circumstances, after listing a set of items and someone asks, "what did you just say," he would interpret "what" as referring to the most recent item in the list (presumably because of the semantics of "just"). But in this case, one earlier item was more "unusual" than the others.

#### Discourse markers-So...

Discourse markers are words that are not a grammatical part of the sentence, but are used by speakers to begin a conversational turn or to indicate their attitude. Some common (less marked) discourse markers are *oh*, *well*, *now*, *then*, and *you know*. However, more distinctive discourse markers can vary

by the speaker's age, gender, education and geographic region. Students are amazed to find out that something

they have been criticized for (using "like") is a part of linguistics. It has social meaning; it's not just a failing of some sort.

American teenage girls often start a turn with "like":

"Like this is so embarrassing."

"Like they're staring right at us."1

Scientists interviewed on NPR (especially the young hip scientists) often start a turn with "so":

Q: "What gave you the idea to look at objects to see if we leave a bacterial fingerprint?"

A: "So your body is coated with bacteria inside and out."  $^{\scriptscriptstyle 2}$ 

"Q: "Tell us about this special image (from the Hubble telescope) that was released this week."

A: "So, well, of course it's also an image of something that is right up there in the heavens."<sup>3</sup>

Australians interviewed on Australian Broadcasting Corporation radio often start a turn with "look." In British English, look would signal a rather aggressive message rebuking someone, such as "Look, you can't just throw stuff on the floor like that," but in the Australian radio interview it seems to have the same meaning as "You know." (Thanks to Anthea Fraser Gupta at <u>www.askalinguist.com</u> for this example.)

Q: "Why do you divide yourself between writing and the practice of medicine?

A: "Look, writing is very lonely."

Q: "Why do you think this novel stands the test of time?"

A: "Look, I don't know; well, I think they are universal stories."  $^{\!\!\!\!^4}$ 

In conversation, my Australian friends often use the discourse marker, "yeah, no." The "yeah" says, "I heard and understood your question and I agree you were right to ask it and the answer might be yes in some circumstances." The "no" functions as a qualifier, such as "but."

<sup>2</sup> *Talk of the Nation Science Friday*, "Bacterial Forensics" March 19, 2010. National Public Radio, <u>http://</u>www.sciencefriday.com/program/archives/201003193.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> *Valley Girl*, 1983, Martha Coolige, director; Wayne Crawford and Andrew Lane, writers; Thomas Coleman, executive producer; MGM Home Entertainment DVD (2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Talk of the Nation Science Friday*, "The Hubble at 20" April 23, 2010, National Public Radio,< http:// www.sciencefriday.com/program/archives/201004232>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Saturday Extra, Interview with Peter Goldsworthy, April 3, 2010, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, <a href="http://www.abc.net.au/rn/saturdayextra/stories/2010/2861233.htm">http://www.abc.net.au/rn/saturdayextra/stories/2010/2861233.htm</a>

Q: "Did you enjoy staying at Peter and Daniel's?"

A: "Yeah, no, unfortunately I'm allergic to cats so while their house is very comfortable, I had to take allergy medicine the whole time."

If you're familiar with Toastmasters Intl, you know that they have an "um" counter in their meetings. I send students off with an assignment to be a "like" counter among their friends or a "so" counter with their teachers. (I invite you to be a "so" and "well" counter at future conferences you attend.) What are the social meanings of these discourse markers? Not surprisingly, students find that their friends use "like" more than their parents and teachers do. They find (just as linguists do) that their friends use "like" mostly among friends and mostly when socializing; they don't use it as much when talking to their parents and teachers or when seriously talking about schoolwork.

I also suggest that they listen to radio or television conversations from different parts of the Englishspeaking world to see what discourse markers the people use to begin their conversational turns. An example last year from a reporter in Australia:

"Look, the flooding in Queensland has reached the inland..."

I also assign them to listen to their friends and family. An example from the mall near school (we are in the San Fernando Valley after all):

"Like, you know, I really don't need it but like I really like want it."

And an example from home:

"Well, um, I don't' really, um want to punish you but, um, well, I told you not to do that."

And (my favorite parental admonition reported by a student):

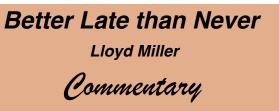
"Well, uh, you know, you shouldn't be saying "like" all the time."

So with linguistics, just like any subject we're teaching, we use our human brain (and theory of mind) to get into the mind of the student. And we predict what will get that mind's attention. (We're making it relevant to the student.) What new (and funny or odd) words have you heard recently and how were they formed? When have you been embarrassed or unclear about the right thing to say? What do you say that makes your speech different from that of your parents or teachers? (And how can you defend yourself from criticism?)

Once we've got their attention, then we can proceed! 74

# To honor the memory of Ray Bradbury, the masterful science fiction writer who passed away in June 2012 at the age of 91, I'm re-running one of my favorite passages from his novel, *Fahrenheit 451*.

"If you don't want a man unhappy politically, don't give him two sides to a question to worry him; give him one. Better yet, give him none. Let him forget there is war. If the government is inefficient, top-heavy, and tax-mad, better it be all those than that people worry over it. Peace, Montag. Give the people contests they win by remembering the words to more popular songs or the names of state capitals or how much corn lowa grew last year. Cram them full of noncombustible data, chock them so damned full of 'facts' they feel stuffed, but absolutely 'brilliant' with information. Then they'll feel they're thinking, they'll get a <u>sense</u> of motion without moving. And they'll be happy, because facts of that sort don't change. Don't give them any slippery stuff like philosophy or sociology to tie things up with. That way lies melancholy.... So bring on your clubs and parties, your acrobats and magicians, your daredevils, jet cars, motorcycles, heliocopters, your sex and heroin, more of everything to do with automatic reflex. If the drama is bad, if the film says nothing, if the play is hollow, sting me with the theremin, loudly. I'll think I'm responding to the play, when it's only a tactile reaction to vibration. But I don't care. I just like solid entertainment."





Twelve years ago I mused on the idea of teaching liberal arts courses without grades or degrees. I thought I was fantasizing. Now a distinguished Stanford University research professor who is offering free online classes predicts that college degrees will eventually disappear!

In the summer 2000 issue of this publication (Vol. 7, No. 1), when I was about to retire, I asked,

What would it be like if colleges and universities stopped issuing baccalaureate degrees in the liberal arts and sciences? What if we just taught our subjects and no longer dispensed grades and credits? How would liberal arts

education fare if we no longer served as the credentialing taxonomists for the world of work?

I acknowledged that both higher education officials and students behaved as though liberal arts studies were mainly exercises to fulfill degree requirements and had little to do with the realities of

preparing for careers or getting jobs. Therefore, students spent more time negotiating with their professors over grades than they did discussing the subject matter of their courses.

I then offered an educational fantasy of what would happen if we were to abolish undergraduate liberal arts degrees and just teach our courses. We would only give tests and assignments to inform students of their progress and grade inflation would no longer be a problem. Employers from both the public and private sectors would eventually establish their own ways of assessing job applicants. I concluded the essay as follows:

In the short run, many [students] wouldn't come around. Our classrooms, Internet sights and libraries would be quite sparsely populated for a while. However, in the longer run students would return when they realized that the liberal arts education we dispensed really did make them more employable. K-12 schools would also be able to refocus their efforts on educational matters. When people got around to realizing the true importance of education, they would demand it.

Online courses . . . if taught by qualified and competent instructors, might just become the most economically feasible . . . enterprise to deliver the educational goods.

Would all this really work? I think so. Could we pull it off? I doubt it, but it's nice to fantasize.

Some of the leading US universities now offer online classes free of charge to anyone who wishes to take them. According to *The Week* magazine (September 7, 2012), "Stanford, Duke, Princeton, and Johns Hopkins are among the 16 universities that have partnered with a newly launched company called Coursera to offer more than 100 free online courses this academic year. MIT, Harvard, and the University of California-Berkeley are following suit through a nonprofit venture called edX." More than a million people from around the world have

enrolled in these courses.

It seems that the universities want to be leaders in the development of new forms of education and be part of the technology revolution, as more people are reading eBooks and getting their information through a variety of electronically sophisticated devices. Many

schools also consider this an investment that will provide profits later on. "The potential upside for this experiment is so big that it's hard for me to imagine any large research university that wouldn't want to be involved," said Richard DeMillo, director of the Center for 21<sup>st</sup> Century Universities at Georgia Tech. Stanford computer sciences professor Andrew Ng, co-founder of Coursera, recently taught an online course to 100,000 students. To reach that many people, he said, "I would have had to teach my normal Stanford course for 250 years."

Others, of course, decry the effort, stating that many students and their parents still stand in line to pay upwards of \$50,000 a year to attend on-campus classes at America's prestigious universities and colleges. Some say that online courses are mostly a monolog between teacher and students with little or no dialog or interaction. Also, attrition rates are high; fewer than 15 percent completed a Stanford online artificial intelligence course last year. In the May 2001 issue of the *Anthropology News* Dialogue section, I wrote an article titled "Beware the Wave of the Future" in which I declared that technological innovations in education, each in its turn touted to be the next wave of the future, fell short of the goal. Those that made positive contributions became part of the general repertoire of educational methodology, but none came to dominate the field. TV courses did not supplant the live classroom. Of online instruction (then incipient), I said:

Internet courses will be a much-welcomed addition to the regular curriculum if they are developed and taught by competent faculty who are adequately paid for their skills, time and service. If, on the other hand, they are created to maximize institutional profits at the sacrifice of educational quality, most of them will fail, quickly and at much cost to the institutions that created them. They too are no wave of the future.

I think it's still too early to draw any conclusions about the Internet's place in education's future, but I do think online teaching will be a supplement rather than a replacement for campus classrooms. It seems that their most promising uses will be as venues for certain kinds of education and training that lead directly to jobs. An example that *The Week* article gives is of an unemployed University of Chicago law school graduate who took several Stanford courses in building data bases and landed a quite satisfying job as a programmer for a media website.

Campus classrooms that offer the possibility of live interaction between interested students and their professors as well as with each other will continue to be the norm at institutions that respect and reward their faculty. But free online classes offered by prestigious universities and colleges may be a promising development. Students who could never afford to pay on-campus tuition at these institutions might get a taste of quality higher education and pursue their newfound interests at community colleges and other more affordable institutions.

Lifelong learning is indeed here to stay. As careers are changing more often, new skills and the educational methods to impart them become increasingly essential components. Online courses that are flexible and can keep up with needed changes, if taught by qualified and competent instructors, might just become the most economically feasible and efficient enterprise to deliver the educational goods. 7A

History: special people in special places at special times. Anthropology: everyone else the rest of the time.

Katrina Worley, 1997

We could certainly slow the aging process down if it had to work its way through Congress

Will Rogers

I had a rose named after me and I was very flattered. But I was not pleased to read the description in the catalog: -'No good in a bed, but fine against a wall.'

Eleanor Roosevelt

# Highlights of my Career at the Smithsonian Ann Kaupp



After 34 years working for the Anthropology Department and 25 years as head of the Anthropology Outreach Office, I am retiring with many memories, enormous gratitude, and a renewed spirit. I'd like to share with you some of my fond recollections of my years here.

On leaving a department meeting in 1985, a curator turned to me and said, "I didn't know half of those Society for Anthropology in Community people in the room." The Colleges (SACC), a section of the AAA. department had grown considerably and like today

hosted fellows, interns, and volunteers that stretched our numbers significantly. It was that encounter that sparked my idea of creating a department newsletter to help acquaint staff, museum administration, and associates with the wide range of research and activities that department colleagues are engaged in and that contribute to our understanding of the human species.

The first issue of the department newsletter, Anthro News, was published in December 1985. A naming contest was held and William Sturtevant offered the winning title Anthropolog, which headlined in February 1986. Producing Anthropolog has given me great satisfaction over the past 27 years as I have valued the opportunity to highlight and share the department's enormous accomplishments. Humor has been a hallmark. For example, when Chip Wills (University of NM) was a Fellow in the department, we created a humorous column titled "Ask Dr. Chip." I made up the questions and Chip wrote the answers.

In the 80s, after another successful department holiday party with scrumptious victuals, staff generously contributed their popular recipes for the production of The Raw and the Cooked Book. A second edition was produced in 1997 (a hard bound copy can be found in the department library). If another cookbook is published, the recipes and illustrations for Eric Hollinger and Lauren Sieg's anthropological cakes created for several holiday parties would be a wonderful addition.

For four years (1978-1982) Ruth Selig, Alison Brooks, JoAnne Lanouette, and I worked as a team on the National Science Foundation-funded George

University/ Washington

Smithsonian Institution Anthropology for Teachers Program. It was a great pleasure to contribute to this program that introduced local teachers to my favorite field of study and to work with such highly talented and creative women. It was out of this program that the

award-winning AnthroNotes was born in 1979 and has [A] highlight of my career was being continued for 33 years as an elected the 2008-09 President of the international publication with over 9.000 educators and anthropologists on the mailing list. What a pleasure it has been to develop each issue

> with my co-editors, to interact and collaborate with distinguished anthropologists from around the country, and to provide an important resource for educators who incorporate the information into their classrooms or enrich their own learning.

> In 2002 AnthroNotes received the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) Award for Excellence in Public Education "for presenting archaeological and anthropological research to the public in an engaging and accessible style, and for encouraging the study of these disciplines in the classrooms across the nation." The publication has resulted in two edited Smithsonian books, Anthropology Explored: The Best of Smithsonian AnthroNotes, published in 1998, edited by Ruth Selig and Marilyn London and a 2004 revised and expanded edition, edited by Selig, London and Kaupp.

Of course, many other activities have made my job fulfilling and memorable. For instance, in 1987 the museum undertook a Company McKinsey strategic planning process, led by this international management company. The director's office invited me to chair a task force comprised of curators, public affairs staff, educators, and



Kayaking in Ha Long Bay, Vietnam



With a natural history friend in Mali, Africa

archivists. This wonderful collaboration led to a 14page task force report, "On professional and public service in the National of Museum Natural History." Another activity that I was rather proud of was my modest effort to get the National Mall paved. The Smithsonian Institution Women's Council produced a publication called the Four Star, which seemed an appropriate venue to express

my displeasure with the mall walkways. During times of rain or snow, staff as well as the public had to jump puddles to get from one side of the Mall to the other. These walkways also made it difficult for those pushing strollers, using walkers or wheel chairs. The Smithsonian's accessibility office and that of the National Park Service whom I interviewed gave me their full support. My research at the National Capital Planning Commission about the establishment of the National Mall led to a four-page article, "The National Mall: Swamped with Problems" (1988). *AnthroNotes* 

artist and George Washington University (GWU) professor Robert Humphrey illustrated the article, showing a submarine, a whale, a deep-sea diver, and other humans and creatures treading water in front of the Castle. This *Four Star* article inspired several "letters to the editor."

As it became evident that a lot of misinformation was being taught about American Indians in schools, a two- day teacher symposium, funded by various Smithsonian sources, was organized for elementary teachers in the DC metropolitan area. After careful research, anthropologists and several American Indian educators from around the country were invited to come and share their knowledge. About 100 teachers had applied but we could only take 60. The success of this symposium led to the National Council for Social Studies asking me to organize a preconference workshop for their next annual meeting in DC.

A related project involved a critical review of over 800 books on American Indians for young people, which was made available online. Maureen Malloy (now education manager of the SAA and program manager for the Chesapeake Regional Office of Project Archaeology), and GWU museum interns Fiona Burnett and Cheryl Wilson (now at the National Museum of the American Indian—NMAI) made up my team for this multi-year project. Native colleagues, an educator and a librarian, respectively, wrote the Foreword and Preface to the bibliography. The Heard Museum in Arizona requested permission to make hard copies of the bibliography for their local teachers.

The Anthropology Department had a voice in the American Anthropological Association's investigation into the state of anthropology and education. Ruth Selig and I were invited members of the AAA's Anthropology Education Commission (1999-2002) and the AAA Task Force on Teaching Anthropology. I co-chaired Committee 3 (Review and Development of Curricula Materials (1988 - 1992).

Collaborations with colleagues of other anthropological organizations led to workshops to introduce teachers to anthropology: "Teaching the Past Through Archaeology" (2000), with the Society for American Archaeology's Public Education Committee;



Ann and a distant cousin consider the state of the world.

"Daily Life and Trade in the Ancient Near East" (2006), with the American Schools of Oriental Research; and "What Bones Can Tell Us: Forensic Anthropology at the Smithsonian" (2006), led by Dave Hunt and Marilyn London, in to frequent teacher response inquiries about the topic. I also helped organize with the American Psychological Association's Young Scholars Social Science Planning Committee two workshops for teachers and high school seniors on the topics of "Organized Crime" and Media as Persuasion."

Another highlight of my career was being elected the 2008-09 President of the Society for Anthropology in Community Colleges (SACC), a section of the AAA. I thoroughly enjoyed organizing a meeting in DC that was attended by 70 anthropologists from two-and four-year colleges in North America and introducing them to the work of Smithsonian researchers.

More recently I experienced the great fun of producing 12 videos, working with the talented videographers and editors Karma Foley and Raphael Talisman. Six department staff members talked about their museum careers and six researchers shared their knowledge about the early anthropology collections that helped lay the foundation for the Smithsonian collections. These videos were another opportunity to inform the public about our research and collections and give a face to the department. The videos are available on the department website, other professional organizational websites, and on YouTube and iTunes.

Over the years, I have produced a variety of articles for *AnthroNotes* and other publications; book reviews, including one for *American Anthropologist*; and staff obituaries for the *AAA newsletter*.

My years at the Smithsonian have been thoroughly enjoyable, having the opportunity of working with such talented and dedicated people, attending wonderful symposia and courses, and especially being given the freedom to explore a variety of ways to contribute to the Smithsonian's mission — "the increase and diffusion of knowledge." Our location on the National Mall with proximity to the other Smithsonian museums, which I often visit, was an added plus.

Thank you, colleagues, for your responsiveness over the years to my calls for news, your collegiality, and assistance when I needed it. I am truly grateful for my years here, and leave with fond memories.

Although I have retired from the museum, I'm pleased to stay involved with SACC, working with Lloyd as his assistant editor of SACC Notes, and, if the pocketbook allows, to attend some of the SACC Fests. Being part of this professional organization has enriched my career in anthropology in so many ways and connected me with like-minded people who want to share their enthusiasm for this fascinating field of study with students, educators, and the public.

SACC has much to offer in teaching and contributing to the discipline through it's annual meetings, listserve and social media where members share resources and ideas, *SACC Notes* and the *AN* column and the website. It's a dynamic organization that I have been proud to be part of for more than a decade. Thank you for your collegiality, friendship and good humor. You are the best! Ann 7A



The field of archaeology is one of the

most expensive and cumbersome of the

social sciences. It doesn't help that in

North America, the "heritage" we study is

typically not our own!

### The Power of Integrating Science and Humanism in Archaeology

Andrea Freeman

For decades, archaeology has struggled with a division among more scientific and more humanistic approaches. This division became a bit more significant as critiques emerged from the British post-processual school beginning in the 1980s. Archaeologists in the Americas struggled with the

post-processual critique and eventually attempted to merge this with some of their own philosophies. However, divisions still exist among those practicing humanistic and scientific archaeologies, particularly as we all become more specialized in

our interests. We see this in the struggle for repatriation of human remains (the Kennewick controversy is a notable example of this), and among individual subfields of archaeology. The polarization of approaches within archaeology makes the field difficult to define, creating institutional biases within the academy and the federal government, as well as bias in public perception of the relevance of archaeology. However, the integration of humanistic and scientific approaches has improved, and may be the key to creating social capital for archaeology and branding our field as socially relevant.

#### The Role of Scientific/Humanist Division in Funding Bias, Infrastructure Support, and Power

Many biases impede the progress of archaeology, particularly in terms of funding, infrastructure support, power, physical space and communication. Funding agencies (whether in the US or in Canada) have distinctly separate pools for archaeology and the sciences. While aspects of my research are geoscientific, I am principally an archaeologist, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC). As is typical of many interdisciplinary scientists. I fall into a bit of a black hole, wherein communicating the value of theoretical approaches stemming from the sciences may not be viewed as promoting the goals of archaeology, and conversely, doing archaeology may not be valued among the natural scientists with whom I share common research interests.

My principal funding agency has asked me to fulfill mandates of the social sciences, to bring more

humanism to my research (a bit like adding vegetables to my dessert, even though I'm thankful to be offered the dessert!). I am certainly aware of and even have

> some experience employing these mandates. However, striking a balance between the competing needs to carry out my (sometimes expensive) research as well as fulfill mandates pressed on me by the funding agency is often difficult. As a

note, I hear this complaint from many of my colleagues, some of them funded through scientific branches. However, as I am not funded by Canada's "scientific" agency (NSERC), I am not able to draw on the additional resources available to researchers in the sciences, such as undergraduate research assistants and additional infrastructure support (research tools and instruments). Were I to carry out the geological aspects of my research through NSERC, I would be able to receive this additional support.

Finally, because the pot is smaller, the "golden handshake" is also smaller. As my institution places greater value on what in the United States would be Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) research, technical and administrative support is lost. With all of this, space (a top necessity for social scientists who need labs and storage) and even power are further diminished.

Within the funding framework for Canada, larger projects that integrate multiple researchers are now being heavily promoted. The International Polar Year (2007-2008) project that used funding from IPY and federal granting councils (NSERC in Canada) to study problems in the Arctic included economic, environmental and health concerns among the funded research initiatives. A handful of archaeological projects were funded through IPY and some of the "humanistic" studies explored the relationships among aboriginal culture, oil and gas development and climate change. Similarly, SSHRCs Partnership Grants program is gaining ground as the best place to seek social sciences funding, but requires both a focus in one of the five priority areas (fortunately "aboriginal



research" is one) and multiple partners (from industry or other academic institutions).

I was lucky enough to be able to participate in a pilot version of one of these programs called the "Major Collaborative Research Initiative" early in my career. Interdisciplinary institutes, like the University of Calgary's Institute for Sustainable Energy, Environment and Economy (ISEE) are also emerging. One would think that archaeology could easily fit into many of these programs, and yet we are excluded. In order to achieve the goal of using these sources of funding and gaining infrastructure support, we need to manage better our ability to carry out bridged scientific/humanistic research and to promote our value to a public short on resources and heavy on emerging issues.

#### **Creating Better Interdisciplinary Projects**

Eighty years ago, a geologist working on an archaeological site would have been trained almost exclusively in the geosciences. Today, most geoarchaeologists (my own subfield) have training in archaeology (and perhaps anthropology) and geoscience, physical geography or any number of scientific approaches. Even with this broad training, geoarchaeologists working on archaeological projects are often still viewed as specialists, whose purpose is provide advice about the context of the to archaeological site or the origin of materials used for artifact manufacture, rather than interpretive information on how humans "experienced" the landscape or why they selected certain raw materials.

The integration of both scientific and humanistic perspectives is not easy. Diane Lyons and I have been working together on her ethnoarchaeological project in Ethiopia for almost six years now (Lyons and Freeman 2009). In 2007, Diane and I went to Ethiopia to study the production practices of potters from eastern Tigray. We derived a series of both scientific and cultural explanations for some of the production practices Diane had observed previously, and set out to explain why potters were using unusual techniques in their production of traditional ceramic vessels (boiling clay, adding high quantities of temper). On the first day, we determined that while our market potters were using high quantities of temper, clay boiling was unique to household production. Thus, what seemed like a relatively easy set of hypotheses and tests became more complicated. We relied heavily on informant interviews and also visited the raw material sources used by the potters.

Though I had worked with modern potters in northern Mexico for my Master's degree at the



Andrea collecting samples in Ethiopia

University of Arizona years before and had some experience in ethnographic interviewing, it became clear after only a few short days that our very different perspectives were yielding different interpretations of the interviews themselves. I was frustrated! Though I knew about the concepts of informant and researcher biases (David and Kramer 2001), I was merely documenting, while Diane, with her extensive knowledge of Tigrinia craft production, was better able to contextualize the interviews. We have managed to work through our differences in understanding, but it is an ongoing process, as every step in the research process involves these issues.

There are many great examples integrating both scientific and humanistic approaches in archaeology, but I will focus on one for which I have great fondness, the Kutoyis Archaeological project (KAP). Since 2007, Nieves Zedeño and her Blackfeet partners have been investigating the Two Medicine Bison site (Kutoyis) in Montana. Dr. Zedeño and colleagues are using both landscape archaeology (a humanistic approach) and geoarchaeology (a scientific approach) to explore the landscape architecture of the site over several hundred years. They wish to understand economic intensification and the development of social complexity among bison hunters. The integration of both scientific and humanistic data from this project is remarkable, and project members are now working toward nominating Kutoyis as a World Heritage Site.

#### The Role that Scientific/Humanistic Polarization Plays on Public Perception and the Academy

Perhaps the most troubling outcome of the polarization of scientific and humanistic approaches is how the broader public perceives archaeologists. Archaeologists, by and large, recognize the necessity of making their research accessible to the public. In fact, we often desire this. Yet, the polarization among scientific and humanistic approaches plays into a public perception that pre-exists. That is, the arts, humanities or social sciences do not contribute to the overall welfare of our countries or our economies. The scientific methods we use in archaeology (radiocarbon dating, neutron activation analysis) are expensive, the space needs (laboratories and museums) are large and the human issues appear to be unrelated to modern needs. The field of archaeology is one of the most expensive and cumbersome of the social sciences. It doesn't help that in North America, the "heritage" we study is typically not our own!

The North American financial crisis placed considerable pressure on governments to reduce and justify spending. The obvious way that this trickles down to the academy is in preferential spending for the sciences. Very recently, the Premier of Alberta, a province rich in royalties from oil but also rich in tourism and archaeology, announced that research funding for post-secondary institutions would be driven by the needs of industry. This common theme is echoed among all levels of government and supported by society. Yet, at the very core of the issue is not only whether science should trump humanism in receiving funding, but also the very essence of post-secondary education and research: academic freedom.

Challenging this philosophy is the oft-cited observation, rarely valued by the public, that some of the best new knowledge is built "outside the box." The "black swans" of academic knowledge (see Taleb 2010) rare, unpredictable,

unanticipated discoveries, like Patty Crown's (Crown and Hurst 2009) discovery of chocolate at Chaco Canyon, NM—often emerge when good fortune meets the prepared mind of an inquisitive scholar. Importantly, outside the scientific box are a whole host of ideas that challenge scientific scholars with the realities of flawed human interests. The challenge to all anthropologists is to demonstrate the value of humanistic approaches to the goals of society, including its scientific goals. In turn, archaeologists must meet the challenge by justifying why studying the past will address the issues of the present.

As archaeologists we are all keenly aware of the value that exploration of the past has for present society. We are readily able to cite proof of the usefulness of archaeology, particularly in our undergraduate courses. A single special issue in *Current Anthropology* on working memory (2010) encompassed two central questions in archaeology: how do people decide what actions to take (the humanist question)? And what are the results of those actions (the scientific question)?

Broadly defined, archaeologists attempt to address the past lives of our species, complex organisms that often defy rationality. Examples of how archaeology has contributed to modern society include studies of social and behavioral reasons for the adoption (or lack of adoption) of new technology during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (see Schiffer 2010), the use of biological anthropology in forensics, past human responses to climate change (Holliday and Meltzer 2010), the origin of traits we consider uniquely human, such as intelligence and cooperation, the evolution of cognitive functions, the origins of teaching, the emergence of violence (Martin et al. 2012) and the role of children in society. Why, then, do we have a poor record of demonstrating this value to the broader public?

#### **Teaching and Molding Public Perceptions**

As a consequence of my faculty's desire to have each department maximize student numbers for our courses, my department developed a series of courses directed toward students with a general interest in archaeology. Our "Archaeology and Popular Culture"

series has three topics: 1.Frauds, Myths, and Mysteries;2. Human Origins; and 3.Archaeology and the Media.

As one of two instructors offering the latter course, I approach my instruction of "Archaeology and the Media" with two specific objectives.

My first objective in this course is to teach students what archaeology is and isn't. Through a series of lectures and projects aimed to hone critical thinking skills, my students explore varied media (from newspapers to movies to the Internet) and (hopefully) walk away with knowledge of why and how archaeologists do what they do. My second objective in this course is to teach an appreciation for cultural differences and for the heritage resources that provide evidence of humanity's past. One of the group projects in which they participate involves selecting a red-listed (endangered) heritage site to save. Students must demonstrate why they believe the site they selected deserves saving more than others, come up with a specific plan to mitigate the loss or destruction of the site, and develop an initiative to raise money for the project. By participating in this project, they gain an appreciation of important cultural resources. Perhaps more importantly, they are faced with the difficulty that all governments face: how to protect these valuable heritage resources and how to include that value in your budget.

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The Internet and social media provide abundant ways to engage the public. I recently participated in a science café, held at a bar/restaurant in Calgary. I have seen these posted by many of my colleagues on Facebook. Archaeology Southwest (formerly The Center for Desert Archaeology) has been offering a "Tea and Archaeology" and "Archaeology Café" series, which started in 2008 and has become a monthly or bimonthly event in Phoenix and Tucson. Their video archive is also posted to the Internet at www.archaeologysouthwest.org. Among nationally promoted public events are the "Indiana Jones: Myth, Reality and 21st century Archaeology" series hosted by Joe Schuldenrein and broadcast by VoiceAmerica through the Internet and podcasts. Since September 2011, Dr. Schuldenrein has offered these weekly programs, interviewing archaeologists about their excavations, discoveries or other hot topics in archaeology.

But is it enough to participate in these events? How do we get the public to be interested in more than Mayan doomsday predictions? Are we not "preaching to the choir" when we engage the interested public in these events?

#### Moving Forward, Gaining Ground

As an integrative discipline, the strength of archaeology is an ability to incorporate both scientific and humanistic aspects of the exploration of our past. When targeted in directions that benefit society, we can gain additional capital both in interest and in funding. We should be able to make our voices better heard on issues of global climate change and natural resource use, particularly when the extraction of resources impacts aboriginal populations and their heritage landscapes. We should be able to participate in dialogues about the nature of human economies, gun violence and the rise of social media. And, we should be able to strengthen our core products through both traditional and novel media outlets.

Tourism and museums are one of the core products archaeologists offer. No matter how important to us, not every site deserves World Heritage recognition, much less an entrance fee. However, we can deliver this product other ways. Virtual museums and virtual tours are becoming more common (see virtualmuseum.ca). While they offer great teaching tools and easy public access, they do not necessarily deliver tourism dollars directly to governments. They

do, on the other hand, offer the social capital that has been drained by the ill informed (like Florida's Projects governor Rick Scott). like CyArk (archive.cyark.org) are working to preserve our cultural heritage and to deliver virtual tours like we have never seen before. The same technology is being employed by archaeologists to create virtual exhibits (see http://www.glenbow.org/thule/ for a virtual exploration of a Thule whalebone house or http:// www.archaeologysouthwest.org/what-we-do/ initiatives/vv/ for a virtual tour of pottery from the American Southwest). 74

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