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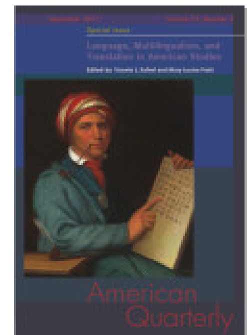

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Elimination, Dispossession, Transcendence: Settler Monolingualism and Racialization in the United States

Sarah Dowling

It is surprising how little discussion monolingualism receives in American studies, when analyses of linguistic difference and language politics are critically important in the majority of its most closely related fields.[1] In Latinx studies, Caribbean studies, African American literature, postcolonial studies, and numerous other bodies of scholarship, language politics and linguistic difference are discussed with depth and conceptual sophistication. And although American studies scholars tend not to return the favor, their work is frequently cited by sociolinguists, linguistic anthropologists, and others engaged in the study of languages in the US.[2] While our closest colleagues have offered us all the tools necessary to discuss the country's structuring linguistic ideology, only a very small number of American studies scholars have attempted to do so. Perhaps our general disinterest in monolingualism is attributable to the fact that the US is not demographically monolingual. As most readers will know, more than 20 percent of Americans speak a language other than English at home, and Spanish is the country's de facto second language.[3] However, the country's multilingualism does not prompt most Americanists to discuss linguistic difference. Maybe this lack of discussion arises from the unsavory association of the term *monolingualism* and of language politics in general with the English Only movement of the 1980s and other, more recent nativist mobilizations. A further and more likely possibility is that scholars simply share what Mary Louise Pratt has described as the linguistic "ambivalence" of the broader American public.[4] Pratt suggests that Americans are "both proud of their multilingual history and committed to English as the lingua franca," a contradiction that paves a path to quiescence on myriad issues of language politics.[5] Whatever the reason, this lack of critical attention to language aligns with what Vicente L. Rafael describes as a structuring assumption that language is no more than "an instrument of communication subservient to human control . . . no more than a malleable media [*sic*] for conveying human ideas and intentions, as if

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ideas and intentions could exist outside their material constitution in writing and speech."[6] Against this instrumentalist view, I argue that critical analysis of monolingualism is necessary to developing a robust theory of settler colonial racialization in the United States.

To be clear, the term *monolingualism* does not refer to a numerical tipping point past which a given language becomes dominant. Monolingualism is not a demographic measure. Rather, as scholars in other disciplines have long since established, monolingualism is an ideology; it is a structure that organizes social life.[7] Monolingualism is a cultural paradigm that has been in existence since the late eighteenth century and has arisen and become dominant in tandem with the modern nation-state. It profoundly influences the ways that we imagine individuals and subjectivities, as well as the collectives in which they are grouped and gathered. The delineation of cultures, ethnicities, and nations depends largely on the belief that languages are bounded, separate entities that properly belong to bounded, separate groups of people.[8] Within what the Germanist scholar Yasemin Yildiz calls "the monolingual paradigm," individuals are imagined to possess one "true" language only; through this possession, they are organically linked to an exclusive and clearly demarcated ethnicity, culture, and nation.[9] Thus, while monolingualism is at times dismissed as a kind of backwardness—two different versions of this include "the US is *actually* multilingual!" or "he can *barely* speak English!"—to ignore the structural character of monolingualism is to ignore the active processes of monolingualization that are suffused throughout US society. These processes have produced and continue to produce more monolingual subjects, more monolingual communities, and more monolingual institutions (without, of course, fully eliminating multilingualism). To center monolingualism within critical theory is to call attention to the shaping of populations, disciplines, and institutions, and to highlight the effects of these flexible yet constitutive exclusions.

When monolingualism and settler colonialism are brought into conversation, it quickly becomes apparent that monolingualism is at once a technique and an expression of settler sovereignty. Not only are US laws, economy, educational systems, media, and other fundamental social structures encoded and conducted overwhelmingly in English, but, in contrast to the instrumentalist view of language as a mere tool of communication, the naturalization of English as the "native" language of the United States serves the goals of settler colonialism. English-language monolingualism eliminates and it dispossesses; it works in tandem with other white supremacist logics in order to produce and perpetuate settler power.

Scholars in American studies have learned from critical race theory that whiteness is a particular kind of property, and that property and racialization are intimately intertwined.[10] However, we have not seriously considered that language is also and even more explicitly imagined as a type of property, one that carries the capacity to define what type of person one is, and where and with whom one properly belongs. Although language and race are conceptually related, it is obvious that they cannot be homologized, nor, I am arguing, can linguistic difference be treated as merely epiphenomenal to racial difference. Against the dominant tendency to instrumentalize and naturalize language, I want to show that monolingualism must be viewed as a structural condition of life in the United States, one that plays a crucial role in settler colonial racialization. First, I describe monolingualism's unique ideological work of naturalizing a particular language as belonging to a particular place, and of elevating speakers of this language as those who properly belong to this place. Across the history of the United States, monolingualism has been mobilized to bolster the temporal-territorial claims to belonging made by the state and by individual settlers. This specific version of monolingualist ideology, which I call *settler monolingualism*, is not some historical fait accompli but an ongoing process, a structure that animates contemporary US racial formations.[11] Second, I argue that monolingualism must to be understood as a "logic of elimination" in the mode suggested by Patrick Wolfe.[12] Not only does monolingualism play an important role in the tireless work of destroying Indigenous societies; it also plays a crucial role in the production of more settlers. Monolingualism thus has destructive as well as productive capacities; it reconfigures populations in the service of settler power. Third, I argue that the "mono" in monolingualism does not just refer to a specific language but to the singular version of the language that is considered acceptable and appropriate, what sociolinguists call the "prestige dialect." In other words, the clear and well-known consequences of failing to speak English in the "right way" illuminate the heterogeneity of settler colonial racialization. The narrowing and specification of what counts as "American English" is at once a key component of anti-Blackness and a disqualification flexibly applied to a broad range of Black and non-Black speakers. True to monolingualist form, the narrow range of acceptable varieties of English dispossesses specific populations and renders them aliens who are subject to numerous forms of legal and extralegal exclusion. Monolingualism intersects with and intensifies other white supremacist structures in tracing the boundaries of belonging.

However, settler monolingualism differs from the better-studied monolingualisms in one important way: the selective mobilization of *multi*lingualism

conceals how English, and the exclusionary and hierarchical versioning within it, operates in the service of settler power. Representations of multilingualism are often deployed in ways that suggest that the settler colony has transcended the European model of the nation-state, with its backward monolingual and monocultural ideologies and social structures. I argue that within the United States multilingualism often naturalizes and entrenches settlement: not only are certain multilinguals deemed particularly worthy of inheriting the structural position of the settler, but the coding of multilingualism as "new" positions English as historical and even as natural to this region. Ironically, multilingualism furthers the goal of settler monolingualism by making English native. In a region rich with languages, accents, and language varieties, settler monolingualism is a specifically *white* noise: it drowns out what Jodi Byrd has called "colonial cacophony" in order to assert itself as neutral and normative.[13]

Settler Monolingualism

In American studies, language has largely been treated as incidental or subsidiary to other, more important structures. However, in their article "Unsettling Race and Language: Toward a Raciolinguistic Perspective," Jonathan Rosa and Nelson Flores show that like racial categories, linguistic categories arise from modernity's structuring colonial divisions. They argue that "two central components of the European colonial formation of modernity were the construction and naturalization of the concept of race along with the construction and naturalization of languages as bounded and separate objects associated with particular racial groups."[14] Rosa and Flores demonstrate the necessity of a "raciolinguistic perspective" in which theorists attend to and describe how race and language are conaturalized through an "ongoing rearticulation of colonial distinctions between populations and modes of communication that come to be positioned as more or less normatively European."[15] They show how colonial histories "shape and often overdetermine interpretations of racialized subjects' language practices" and argue for the necessity of "a theory of racialized language perception."[16] Speaking to their own fields—sociocultural and linguistic anthropology, and educational linguistics, respectively—Rosa and Flores show how racially hegemonic perceptions of language are enacted by white and nonwhite individuals, as well as by institutions, policies, and technologies, in their analyses of the language practices of people of color. Drawing on Rosa and Flores's work, I contend that in naturalizing English-language monolingualism and in treating linguistic difference as a mere effect or symptom of other, a priori racial differences, American studies risks underanalyzing and

misconstruing a set of foundational divisions structuring colonial modernity. Monolingualism is a specific mode of naturalizing a particular language and its speakers as belonging to a particular place. Within monolingualist ideologies, the speakers of a specific language are imagined as the sole possessors of a particular territory—they belong to it, and it belongs to them. Linkages between the English language, white, masculine personhood, and the space and time of the United States have been widely expressed across US history. In tracing the contours of one such expression in John Jay's *Federalist* (No. 2), I outline a specifically American monolingualism—a *settler* monolingualism—structured through twinned logics of elimination and dispossession. Settler monolingualism was not something achieved in Jay's time; rather, it is an iterative set of exclusive claims to belonging and possession. It is the social structure that arises from these as though they were performatives.

Monolingualism is typically theorized with regard to the formation of European nation-states in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some of the best-known expressions include those of nineteenth-century German Romantics such as Friedrich Schleiermacher and Wolfgang von Goethe, who advocated the union of separate German-speaking principalities on the basis of their shared culture and language.[17] These authors and others constructed forceful homologies linking language, culture, and territory, and relying on biologizing metaphors such as the "mother tongue," the "fraternity" of citizens, and the "national family."[18] For obvious reasons of history and demography, their work seems only minimally relevant in a US context. What is less frequently considered in discussions of monolingualism, however, is that some of the most influential theorizations of the role of language in the development of the nation-state suggest that monolingualist ideologies developed first in the Americas and were then exported back to Europe, where they flourished. In *Imagined Communities*, for example, Benedict Anderson argues that the possibility of imagining oneself as a member of a nation arose historically when and where the importance of belonging to a religious community whose uniquely sacred language offered privileged access to the truth began to wane, and where fields of exchange and communication in spoken vernaculars gained prominence. Anderson claims that the changing use of spoken vernaculars in emergent print cultures allowed people to imagine themselves as intimately connected to "the hundreds of thousands, even millions," of others who shared their language.[19] While Anderson's theories about the importance of the novel and the newspaper in achieving this new consciousness have been widely taken up, his more speculative suggestions about the origins of this consciousness in the Western Hemisphere are less frequently considered.[20] However, Anderson

states quite forcefully that "functionaries" and "printmen" in the US and Latin America developed and articulated "early conceptions of their nation-ness—*well before most of Europe*," doing so on the basis of their shared territory, media, and, importantly, language.[21]

Anderson focuses on his Latin American examples, but a small number of other theorists have discussed the influence of monolingualist ideologies in the early US, arguing that studies of language ideology must consider this critical period.[22] Vicente L. Rafael, for example, argues for an American notion of translation as assimilation, which is expressed in contemporary domestic and foreign policy and can be traced back across the history of the United States. Drawing on the writings of Jay, Noah Webster, and other literary and political figures, Rafael demonstrates that there is a long "history of insisting that the U.S. has always been, was meant to be, and forever must remain a monolingual nation," even though the English language has only been spoken on this continent for a few centuries, and even though substantial communities of non-Anglophones have always been present in the United States.[23] Rafael offers the illuminating example of Jay's writing in *The Federalist* in 1788, wherein Jay argues that "Providence has been pleased to give this one connected country to one united people, a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion."[24] As Rafael shows, Jay understands "America" as "a unitary formation, a place where language, religion, and kinship are seamlessly woven into each other."[25] While Jay's direct mention of language is brief, his emphasis on the coherence and connectedness of the country's physical territory, and on the united character of the American people, is important to emphasize. Jay positions this perfect unity, in which "this country and this people seem to have been made for each other," in contrast to an unnatural and Babel-like state of "unsocial, jealous, and alien sovereignties." Jay suggests that this division is particularly inappropriate, given that "the strongest ties" link Americans to one another and to the physical territory that they inhabit.[26]

To build on Rafael's close reading, Jay's insistence that Americans share "the same ancestors," the "same language," and the "same religion" is not only a technique of projecting the so-called creole state (Anderson's term) against its European metropole or of asserting unity against internal forces of fragmentation. It is also a projection of this "united people" backward in time.[27] Jay argues that the "people" are specifically "united" in their shared *descent*, which is distinct and separate from that of the European contemporaries whom Jay reconfigures as his colonists. However, Jay's "connected country" and "united people" do not merely share the same language and the same space.[28] Creat-

ing a blueprint for subsequent articulations of monolingualist logic, a shared language serves as evidence of a biological and ethnic link, and therefore as justification for a claim to territory.[29] Rather than inhabit "detached and distant territories," "independent America" is made up of "one connected, fertile, wide-spreading country"—"an inheritance so proper . . . for a band of brethren, united to each other by the strongest ties."[30] Jay's ultimate (and repeated) attribution of this territorial claim to a gift of "Providence" reveals that much as the European variants of monolingualist thought cast their territorial and ethnic claims into time immemorial, so did their American forerunners and contemporaries. While one might point to the absurdity of Jay's projections of the American people forward and backward into time, or object that many non-English-speaking communities (including his own forefathers) had lived and continued to live in the United States, such complaints miss the ideological character of his remarks. Whether what Jay says is demographically true, his writings exemplify the powerful rhetorical linkage between language, territory, culture, and ethnicity—one that not only was leveraged in developing the nation-states of Europe but was just as powerfully articulated in the early US.

Language is a primary expression of settler sovereignty; it served as a mark of the sovereignty that historical settlers carried with them to this continent, and it remains a measure of legitimate belonging that is co-articulated with race as a mobile and flexible determinant of cultural citizenship. What is most notable about articulations of settler monolingualism such as Jay's, though, is not the way they characterize settler subjectivity. It is the way that monolingualist logics temporalize claims to territorial possession and belonging, mobilizing logics of lineage, descent, and inheritance in order to cast the existence of the settler state backward—far backward—in time. As Elizabeth Povinelli has shown, settler states ground their claims to rightful existence in a logic of priority; Jay's writing exemplifies the ways that they seek to position themselves as tied to territory in an unbroken chain of lineal descent. Monolingualist ideologies subtend and are inseparable from this logic of priority. Even though the new countries of the Western Hemisphere shared and still share their languages with the European countries from whence the initial European colonists (or some portion thereof) came, this linguistic continuity should not be understood as mere paradox or irony, still less as evidence of so-called postcolonial colonialism. Rather, this continuity is more accurately understood as a demonstration of the temporalization of settler claims to sovereignty. Viewing this continuity through the lens of monolingualism shows how settler claims to sovereignty are not only made in the present tense; instead, on the basis of continuity in language—which is demonstrative of continuity in culture and peoplehood—the settler state casts itself forward and backward in time.

As I show, processes of monolingualization are suffused throughout US society in ways that naturalize settlement, continually renewing and reasserting these temporal-territorial claims. Evidently, however, in projecting the horizon of their own legitimacy forward and backward, settler states create a new problem for themselves. That is, settler colonies are always confronted with the need to manage the truth of their own existence, the reality that someone else was here first and is still here. As I show, monolingualization is a crucial technique in managing and governing these populations and others. Settler monolingualism functions as a key technique of elimination, attacking the continuity of Indigenous cultures. Just as importantly, it serves as a way to produce new settlers who can participate in the ongoing project of maintaining and renewing territorial possession.

Monolingualism as a Logic of Elimination

To come to terms with the structural force of monolingualism in the United States, we must revise the idea that the country is a *cementerio de lenguas*, a language graveyard.[31] This country is not a peaceful burial site where those who have died are lovingly and respectfully laid to rest. Instead, it is a place where specific, organized acts of violence were and are carried out. This violence has been swift, spectacular, and horrific; it has been slow, mundane, and habitual. Because of this range of modes, monolingualism must be understood in connection with the settler colonial logic of elimination as it is defined by Wolfe, which encompasses a spectrum of acts ranging from mass violence to techniques of incorporation and assimilation, all of which combine to eradicate Indigenous peoples and to neutralize the threat to settler claims to territorial possession that Indigenous peoples represent. The settler colonial logic of elimination refers to more than just "summary liquidation"; it describes the dissolution of preexisting Indigenous societies as well as the erection of "a new colonial society on the expropriated land base."[32] In the United States, monolingualism has been and continues to be critical to both processes. Examining monolingualism's relationship to the settler colonial logic of elimination reveals the fundamental continuities between overt physical violence and the use of inclusion and assimilation to manage and eradicate populations deemed problematic or undesirable. Attending to monolingualism significantly reconfigures colonization, highlighting its cultural and intellectual costs, as well as its tendency to victimize children. It also reveals that the techniques of termination used on Indigenous peoples can be adapted and applied to other populations in order to produce more settlers so that the settler state can consolidate and maintain its cultural, territorial, and political control.

In his now-classic article "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," Wolfe describes the "logic of elimination" that animates settler colonialism: in order for the settler to secure and maintain territorial possession, the Native, who stands in the way of the settler's claim, must be removed.[33] Because the settler's claim to territorial possession must be constantly reasserted and renewed, "elimination is an organizing principal [*sic*] of settler-colonial society rather than a one-off (and superseded) occurrence."[34] To cite one of Wolfe's most important catchphrases, "invasion is a structure not an event."[35] This means that colonization is not completed in a particular historical moment but suffused throughout society, giving shape to its institutions and social structures. Importantly, Wolfe claims that the structure of invasion produces settler colonial societies' racial formations through a binary opposition between settler and Native, and that "race is made in the targeting."[36] The ways that Indigenous peoples are targeted for elimination vary widely, however: in addition to overt physical violence, Indigenous peoples are targeted for elimination through "officially encouraged miscegenation, the breaking-down of native title into alienable individual freeholds, native citizenship, child abduction, religious conversion, resocialization in total institutions such as missions or boarding schools, and a whole range of cognate biocultural assimilations."[37] These techniques are eliminatory because they attack groups' or communities' capacity to exist *as groups*—they are attempts to engineer problem populations out of existence, even if isolated individuals persist to tread water in the mainstream. Thus elimination diminishes Indigenous populations' total numbers, but it also diminishes their status as distinct and specific populations: Indigenous peoples are forcibly enfolded into the general population in ways that blunt the force of their claims to distinct and separate existence.

While discussions of settler colonialism have become prominent in American studies, even prompting accusations of faddishness, the intellectual and cultural components of elimination are not always considered with specificity or nuance.[38] What might be gained in calling attention to the (attempted) elimination of Indigenous *languages*, to considering the specific role of monolingualization in the work of Indigenous genocide and in the work of erecting a new colonial society? A number of early Americanist scholars have shown that the proliferation of glossaries, vocabularies, and dictionaries of Indigenous languages in the seventeenth century and afterward did not reinforce the position of these languages as "the language of America," to borrow a phrase from Roger Williams.[39] Rather, the production of these texts served the ends of colonization, facilitating the evangelization of their speakers, the development and expansion of trade networks, and ultimately the assimilatory version of the eradication and replacement of Indigenous peoples.[40] Nonetheless, since the nineteenth

century the US has changed its tactics and has engaged in a sustained attack on Indigenous languages through its Indian boarding school program, through adoption schemes, and, more recently, through foster care and incarceration. These processes are widely discussed and represented in Indigenous arts, literatures, and popular culture, both historical and contemporary. One state, Maine, has even convened a truth and reconciliation commission, the Maine Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which has described Indigenous children's disproportionate entry into care (to use the accepted but inappropriate term) as cultural genocide precisely because of the ways it has affected linguistic and cultural continuity for Wabanaki peoples.[41] If languages are widely understood as marking the boundaries of groups, as well as encoding and expressing groups' unique worldviews, then eliminating or threatening a group's language should be understood as a direct attack on its existence as such. Further, threats to a group's language can also serve as cunning and subtle attacks on the group's capacity to assert claims or rights.[42]

Attending to monolingualization requires a shift in thinking about US colonialism—a recasting of roles wherein the classroom, the private home, and other such spaces become the theaters of domination. Correspondingly, the agents of colonialism are teachers, social workers, and others employed in feminized professions. The primary, immediate victims are women and, especially, children. As the historian Margaret D. Jacobs has shown, putting Indigenous women and children at the center of analysis reveals the extent of the destruction visited on Indigenous peoples as distinct and sovereign entities.[43]

> Unlike more masculine terrains of colonialism, removal and institutionalization of indigenous children was largely a feminine domain, defined primarily around mothering, particularly targeted at indigenous women, and implemented largely by white women. Government authorities and reformers relied not only on racial representation, but also on gendered images of indigenous people, particularly regarding motherhood, as a justification for intervening in the intimate spaces of indigenous communities.[44]

In other words, to center processes of monolingualization—which tend to target children as their preferred objects of violence—does not simply shift our understanding of Indigenous histories. It fundamentally transforms our analyses of US colonialism, and of the most basic linguistic and cultural conditions in the US. These are not niche concerns belonging only to the parties directly affected; rather, as Jacobs argues, they implicate a broad range of bureaucracies and professions, and significantly recast the role of the white woman engaged in the "helping" professions. The centuries-long attempt at monolingualizing Indigenous nations demonstrates that monolingualism is a structural condition

of life in the United States—one that American studies scholars have largely failed to consider, let alone critique.

Although monolingualization is often discussed as a phenomenon that applies only or primarily to new immigrants—a painful moment on the journey to becoming American—connecting this process to the settler colonial logic of elimination casts it in a different light, revealing its pervasiveness and its intimate connection to the most fundamental US social structures. The racialized targeting for elimination that defines the position of the Native can be adapted and deployed in a range of different ways to destroy the specificity of any number of populations deemed undesirable. Calling attention to processes of monolingualization may lead to productive connections between a range of coercive educational institutions that aimed (and still aim) to eradicate the nonnormative language practices of their students as a way to minimize the distinctness of those students' communities.[45] Having undergone such targeting, however, some immigrant groups become eligible for the process that Rey Chow and Jasbir Puar have called "ascendancy" to whiteness, a process whereby they become eligible to inherit the structural position of the settler.[46] Securing possession of English offers a path to settler sovereignty—"an ability to be untouched by the demands or obligations of any specifiable sphere, boundary, or scope."[47] In other words, securing freedom from specificity, partiality, and, as Rafael has argued, *from translation* is one important way that groups and individuals are able to ascend to and occupy the position of the settler.[48] In this way, monolingualization augments the population of settlers: its production of more monolingual speakers, more monolingual communities, and more monolingual institutions continues the process of settlement, entrenching it and making it seem natural and inevitable. Settler monolingualism is like whiteness, but it is not whiteness; it entwines with whiteness and aligns with whiteness, but also remains distinct from it in important ways. For this reason, Wolfe's binary analysis of settler colonial racialization is insufficient. Analyses of monolingualization must be intersected with other forms of racialization operative in the US settler colony, as the capacity to fully and properly possess the English language is, as I discuss, highly conditional upon one's race.

Monolingualism as a Structure of Dispossession

Settler monolingualism, like most other lay and scholarly perspectives on race and language, depends on the idea that languages, language varieties, and racial groups are real "things" and that they are distinct from one another in empirically verifiable ways. It also depends on the broader monolingualist notion that

every group possesses a language of its own, or at least an empirically distinct set of linguistic features. The ideological twinning of linguistic forms and racial categories in the US—as well as the perception that these forms and categories are both natural and stable—reifies the boundaries between groups of English speakers, such that each racially delineated group is imagined to possess a distinctive language variety.[49] To borrow a helpful formulation from Rosa, there is a fundamental expectation of "looking like a language" and "sounding like a race."[50] As a broad range of scholars in Black studies and Black literary writers have established, the reification of the boundaries between English-language varieties in the Americas serves to dispossess and disqualify Black populations: in the words of Derek Walcott and Dionne Brand, "no language is neutral."[51] Rather than ensure the possession of a unique mother tongue for every group, monolingualization leaves Black people with "no mother to tongue / [and] no tongue to mother," to quote another poet, M. NourbeSe Philip.[52] If, as scholars in critical race theory have shown, property and racialization are intimately intertwined, then we ought to consider how the possession of language varieties deemed nonstandard—and the concomitant exclusion from possessing the prestige dialect, Standard American English—carries the capacity to define what type of person one is, and where and with whom one properly belongs. The *mono* in monolingualism is crucial to this question: monolingualist ideologies insist on singular and specific versions of the language as acceptable and appropriate; they do not embrace all varieties of a language but politicize divisions within languages in ways that dispossess particular communities of speakers, marking them as aliens within the territory identified with the language. Settler monolingualism intersects with and reinforces other racist social structures in order to dispossess and alienate Black people in the United States: the narrowing and specification of what counts as Standard American English is at once a key component of anti-Blackness and a disqualification flexibly applied to a broad range of Black and non-Black speakers.

While many scholars working in settler colonial studies have tended to rely on the structuring binary suggested by Wolfe, the limitations of his account of settler colonial racialization are quite obvious, in that he attempts to subsume Black people within the structural position of the settler, a position that cannot be flatly equated with racial whiteness but that nevertheless bears a constitutive relationship to it.[53] Those scholars who bring settler colonial studies into dialogue with Black studies offer richer, often triadic models of settler colonial racialization, drawing on foundational triangulations such as Sylvia Wynter's European-Negro-Indian formulation, or Frank Wilderson's Red-White-Black.[54] Tiffany Lethabo King, for example, begins from a critique of the disciplinary

formations in settler colonial studies, American studies, and other humanist critical theories that "render Black people and Indigenous people as an antagonism."[55] Drawing on numerous trajectories of Black thought from throughout the Americas—Black Canadian studies, US Black studies, and Anglophone Caribbean studies in particular—King develops a concept of "conquistador humanism" in order to describe how Indigenous and Black people are *both* positioned on the bottom rungs of the human order.[56] King shows that the conquistador-humanist ranking system persists to this day: Indigenous and Black dehumanization and death are constant, and "the ideal and proper human remains an exclusive category" that produces "other" humans and less-than-human figures.[57] Modulating her approach between Wynter's emphasis on the constant revision of the human and Wilderson's contention that the category must be destroyed, King shows that while settler colonial studies has typically positioned Blackness "just offstage" in its theorization of conquest, Blackness must instead be placed "directly under the spotlight" in order to illuminate the "sets of relations and conflict that would bring forth the modern notion of the human and inform conquest."[58]

Attending to linguistic ideologies offers one strategy for bringing Blackness to the center in understanding the modern notion of the human that has informed and undergirded colonization in the Americas. The positioning of Black and Indigenous peoples on the bottom rungs of human order, for example, is based partly on linguistic criteria. Linguistic ideologies that arose in tandem with colonialism and modernity framed racialized subjects' language practices as inadequate for complex thought, and positioned European languages as superior to, and more sophisticated than, non-European ones.[59] From the onset of colonization, Black and Indigenous peoples were "stripped of their humanity at least in part through representations of their languages in animalistic terms that suggested they were incapable of expressing ideas that European colonizers thought were integral to becoming a full human beings," such as Christian doctrine, science, or abstract thought in general.[60] As Rosa and Flores show, such ideologies are rearticulated in recent times: racialized subjects' language practices are still perceived as inherently deficient and are deemed inadequate for participation in definitively human activities, such as maximizing one's capacities in the global economy.

Centering Blackness within critical accounts of settler colonial racialization also helps clarify the important but undertheorized relationships between language and land that determine the foundational structures of belonging in the US and elsewhere in the Anglophone Americas. Iyko Day, for example, highlights the role of territoriality in settler colonial racialization, but emphasizes

that settler colonialism has always required “a disposable reserve army labor force” of people who are structurally alienated from the land.[61] In the US and elsewhere, this labor force was initially supplied through the enslavement of Black people, but Day contends that the category of the alien has evolved to encompass other populations who have subsequently been recruited to transform Indigenous land into white property and capital. Day distinguishes a governing logic of elimination targeting Indigenous peoples from a governing logic of racial exclusion that flexibly targets a range of racialized populations beginning with Black people in the United States. Opposing those scholars who claim that Asian racialization is derived from a prototypical anti-Blackness, as well as those who suggest that Asian Americans are positioned at a midway point in a racial spectrum stretching from Black to white, Day argues for the heterogeneity of race under settler colonialism and, more specifically, for the heterogeneity of the alien category. She claims that “a logic of exclusion is the *prerequisite* for the recruitment of alien labor” and that it functions “either to reproduce an exclusive labor force in the case of African slaves or to render an Asian labor presence highly conditional on the demands of capital. Both are subject to forms of segregation, either on a national or an international scale.”[62] Populations that fall within the alien category are not reducible to one another but experience structurally related modes of exclusion from territory and indeed from humanity itself.

The alienation from territory and from humanity that Day describes emerges particularly clearly when we attend to the role of monolingualist ideologies in creating and reinforcing the structural logic of exclusion that defines alien racialization. The monolingualist equation between language, territory, and culture intersects with anti-Blackness in particularly noxious ways. To return to the poem by Philip that I cited earlier, English is at once considered the “mother tongue” of Black people in the Anglophone Americas and a “foreign language” that they do not properly possess.[63] Dominant perceptions of Black relationships to the English language suggest that Black people have “no tongue / to mother” and are left instead with a “dumb-tongued / dub-tongued / damn dumb / tongue.”[64] In this way, Black people are structurally positioned as alien to the English language and to the US territory now equated with it: Black English is considered different than and separate from the American English that is identified as the singular language of the United States. The formally experimental, collage-like composition of Philip’s poem reveals the pervasiveness of such perspectives on Black alienation from English: the piece is composed of fragmentary quotations that appear to be taken from texts representing the

fields of law, science, education, and mythology. These representative bits of language surround and give shape to a central column of apparently personal testimony, revealing the profound influence of the belief that for Black people "english / is a foreign anguish."[65] The narrowing and specification of what counts as English, and the structural alienation of Black people from it, thus serve as key techniques of alienation and dispossession.

Philip's poem—written from her Caribbean origins and current social location in Canada—shows that beyond the disciplinary bounds of American studies, relationships between monolingualism and racialization are well-established topics. American studies scholars would do well to consider that in order to produce a "connected country" for a "united people" who speak "the same language," to return to Jay's phrasing, other languages had to be eradicated—specifically, the Indigenous languages of the first peoples of this continent, *and* the Indigenous languages of Black people who were transported to it. The continuous narrowing and specification of what counts as this "same language" disqualifies speakers from belonging to the "connected country" and "united people" for which the language is the metonym. While speakers of other languages often have their humanity reinforced and assured as they come to align themselves with the monolingualist linkages between language, culture, and territory, for Black people—and for Indigenous people and some other racialized subjects—speaking English does not serve as a straight path to full humanity and self-actualization, nor does it assure membership within the national-linguistic family, or (even symbolic) territorial possession. Instead, the colonial inducement to speak English is part of a long-standing structure of dispossession. This linguistic condition is described by Édouard Glissant as an "*échos-monde*": it is a reverberation of the world of the slave ship and the plantation that is at work in our world; it is an illumination of the structures of our world; and although it diverts and diverges from these structures, it also "gain[s] strength within" them.[66] Thus, at the intersections of language and race, one of the most persistent questions in settler colonial studies and in American studies' critiques of diversity politics arises: which populations are eligible to inherit the settler's humanity and sovereign territorial right, and by what means are they able to do so? These questions are sharpened when they are articulated with regard to language: while non-standard Englishes are often disqualificatory, as I have explained, certain languages other than English can be deployed in order to exemplify the ways that the US has transcended the nation-state model in order to innovate more inclusive forms of national belonging.

In the final section of this essay, I argue that the selective mobilization of multilingualism within settler monolingualism reveals its critical difference from other monolingualisms. Settler colonies, and the US in particular, claim to have innovated multiculturalisms that make them more democratic and more just than their European counterparts. I insist, however, that US multiculturalisms are founded on a fundamentally monolingualist structure: in positioning languages other than English as "new," the state and individual settlers reinforce the temporal-territorial claims on which settlement depends, positioning English as a deep historical stratum whose connection to territory exceeds and surpasses that of the other languages that it graciously and magnanimously supports.

Transcending the Nation-State

Throughout this essay, I have aimed to show that the US adheres to a linguistic ideology that I term *settler monolingualism*, a specific form of monolingualism characterized by an eliminatory approach to languages other than English, and by a restriction and specification of the proper possessors of the English language that traverses the familiar paths of white supremacy. Language is not a neutral and transparent medium through which ideas and information are communicated. Rather, the English language forms a crucial part of the structure of settler colonial claims-making in the US insofar as it establishes and enacts a set of relations to territory. The ideological equation of the United States with the English language is an expression of Indigenous elimination; it entails the structural exclusion of Blackness. It is clear, however, that this linguistic ideology is well concealed by the obfuscating convergences of neoliberalist self-improvement rhetorics and contemporary diversity politics—indeed, many forms of bi- and multilingualism are considered highly valuable. Here, a brief comparison between Canada and the US is useful. While Canada's official state policies of bilingualism and multiculturalism are often cited as evidence of its fundamental difference from the US, I have argued elsewhere that these policies are equally indicative of an ideology of settler monolingualism, save that in Canada two distinct settler monolingualisms are cherished and protected by the state and by individual settlers, rather than one.[67] Perhaps what most distinguishes settler monolingualism from the better-studied monolingualisms is its tendency to selectively mobilize multilingualism and multiculturalism in order to conceal the operations of settler power. Especially in the contemporary moment, representations of multilingualism suggest that the settler colony has transcended the narrow and restrictive European model of the nation-state,

with its outmoded monolingual and monocultural formations. Against this backwardness, representations of multilingualism—almost always figured as "new"—reveal the special forms of belonging and justice innovated in so-called nations of immigrants. In positioning multilingualism as new, however, such representations bolster the temporal-territorial claims made by the settler society, ironically entrenching monolingualism. English—and, in Canada, French alongside it—is figured as the deep historical layer supporting any "new" linguistic diversity: the admission of once-alien languages demonstrates the unique, flexible, and noncoercive forms of freedom, justice, and belonging available in a settler colony. While settler colonialism presents itself as having transcended the monolingual and monocultural structures of the nation-state, monolingualism continues to undergird and reverberate through contemporary US and Canadian diversity politics.

To give one brief example of this particular deployment of multilingualism, my last zip code in the United States was 98118, which mainly covers the Rainier Valley neighborhood in South Seattle, Washington. For the past decade or so, journalists and residents of the Seattle area have celebrated 98118, calling it "America's most diverse ZIP code"—or saying that it is at least one of them.[68] Readers might be surprised by this designation: on the one hand, Seattle's diversity is not often recognized, and its whiteness tends to be emphasized, if not exaggerated. On the other, numerous other zip codes have also been deemed the most diverse in the country—a quick Google search turns up many lists of others, mostly in California, New York, Hawai'i, and Texas. Perhaps some readers will object that this designation is meaningless. After all, the US Census Bureau makes no judgments as to the comparative diversity of US zip codes. Whatever objections one might offer, the idea that the Rainier Valley is uniquely diverse is a determination made largely on the basis of the number of languages other than English that its residents speak in their homes. About 56 percent of public-school students in the 98118 zip code speak a language other than English at home, which is nearly two and a half times the national average. American Community Survey data collected from 2009–13 reveals that the linguistic diversity of Seattle as a whole exceeds that of many larger cities: with 166 languages spoken in its homes, Seattle is more linguistically diverse than Chicago, Dallas, Philadelphia, Houston, Miami, Atlanta, Boston, San Francisco, Detroit, or Phoenix.[69]

Accounts of this linguistic diversity tend to position it as new, attributing the high number of languages in the area to the arrival of immigrants from Southeast Asia, the Horn of Africa, and other regions since the 1980s. The enumeration of these "new" languages and the celebration of the "new" di-

versity they exemplify serves monolingualist ends: the effect of listing dozens of immigrant languages is to position English as the substrate on which they rest. As the implicit point of contrast against which these languages appear, English is natural, neutral, and ironically *native*. The racialized immigrant communities of the 98118 zip code may or may not be eligible to inherit the structural position of the settler, but their presence serves as an occasion to demonstrate that the US settler colony, *by virtue of being a settler colony*, has surpassed its monolingual and monocultural nation-state counterparts. The presence of different languages, and of the "different" people who speak them, suggests that the US has unbound itself from the equation of people, language, and territory that defines the nation-state model. However, it is more accurate to say that the US has not abandoned this equation but has rearticulated the relationship between its three terms.

Let us attend to what is not mentioned within these journalistic, statistical, and even conversational accounts. First, it is not mentioned that the Rainier Valley is in a region that is recognized as a global hotspot of linguistic diversity: when it comes to Indigenous languages, the Pacific Northwest is one of the most linguistically diverse regions on the planet. Not only is the raw number of languages belonging to the area exceptionally high, but the area is also home to a high number of language families. As most readers are no doubt aware, these languages are under extreme threat as a result of having endured over a century and a half of linguistic colonialism. However, due to their very small numbers of speakers, these languages are only very rarely captured in statistical data; they are seldom described in journalism. In a cunning enactment of the logic of elimination, Indigenous languages are buried under the rubble of monolingualist construction. Second, the term *language* itself is typically left undefined, so that what counts as a language is never mentioned. This means that the logic of exclusion is also operational: difference within the English language is moot, unquestioned, and unexamined. English itself is naturalized in the form of Standard American English, the language in which statistics and journalism are communicated. Such celebrations of linguistic diversity make clear that the terms *monolingualism* and *multilingualism* are neither mere numerical descriptors nor each other's natural opposites. Rather, they are components of a linguistic ideology that plays a powerful role in shaping national belonging: only those who legitimately possess a specific language are able to successfully embody and belong to the nation.

The position of the "conquistador-settler," to use King's term, describes a particular relationship to land and to Indigenous people, but also names a

"relationship to the ongoing violence of [Indigenous] genocide" and "to the institution of slavery, its afterlife, and ongoing practices and regimes of anti-Black violence."[70] My term *settler monolingualism* similarly attempts to capture the unique relationship of monolingualism to the historical but continual practices of Indigenous genocide and anti-Black violence. My intent is that this term concurrently evokes the violence that is endlessly enacted on Black and Indigenous people *as* a relationship to land; this term calls up a historical legacy of whiteness that is not only embodied by white people in the contemporary moment. Settler monolingualism braids the logics of elimination and exclusion with a selective mobilization of multilingualism whereby certain racialized populations are enabled to attain the structural position of the settler. Social differentiation arises through the relationship between settler colonialism and global capitalism; displaced populations are alternately gathered into the position of the settler and expelled into the dispossessed positions associated with Blackness and Indigeneity, always in ways that maintain the settler colonial order and its emplacement within the capitalist system.

Language is not merely a neutral, transparent medium through which the settler expresses a priori notions of territorial control, relationships to Indigenous genocide, and to the institution of slavery and its afterlife. Instead, language constructs, constitutes, codifies, and perpetuates these relationships—indeed, we ought to remember here that there are only four "major" languages in the Americas, all of them European in origin. But the relevance of these languages cannot be understood simply by asserting or embracing a constructivist perspective and saying that language makes reality. To understand the specific role that language plays in American settler colonial management schemas, it is necessary to employ what Rosa and Flores call a "raciolinguistic perspective," and to describe the ways that race and language are conaturalized through the constant and ongoing rearticulation of colonial distinctions between populations and modes of communication, the ways that these are positioned and hierarchized as more or less normatively European.[71] In other words, placing ideologies of race and language at the center of analysis offers new ways to understand settler colonialism's logic of elimination, its logic of dispossession, and its insistence that it has transcended the limited forms of belonging that characterize the nation-state. Critical approaches to monolingualism allow for a careful unpacking of the ways that humanity is asserted, codified, and naturalized in the US settler colony; most crucially, attending to monolingualism enables a focus on the ways that Black and Native death are made to function as settler colonialism's structural conditions of possibility.

Notes

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1. To offer only one small demonstration of this lack of discussion, when I wrote this essay, *American Quarterly* had published only six essays containing the term *monolingual*, one of which was a call for greater attention to issues of language politics and translation.
2. Kirsten Silva Gruesz, "Lexical Snacks at the Citizen Restaurant: A Response to Vicki Ruiz," *American Quarterly* 60.1 (2008): 39.
3. The phrase *de facto second language* is often used to describe the position of Spanish in the US, which serves as a useful reminder that the country as a whole has no official language. However, a majority of states have designated English as their official language, while seven states and territories have also designated languages other than English as official languages. Alaska, Hawai'i, South Dakota, American Samoa, Guam, and the Northern Mariana Islands have each designated English as their official language alongside one or more Indigenous languages, and Puerto Rico has designated English and Spanish as its official languages.
4. Mary Louise Pratt, "Building a New Public Idea about Language," *Profession* (2003): 113.
5. Pratt, 118.
6. Vicente L. Rafael, "Translation, American English, and the National Insecurities of Empire," in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti, 3rd ed. (London: Routledge, 2012), 453.
7. Yasemin Yildiz, *Beyond the Mother Tongue: The Postmonolingual Condition* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012).
8. Jacques Derrida, *Monolingualism of the Other; or, The Prosthesis of Origin*, trans. Patrick Mensah (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).
9. Yildiz, *Beyond the Mother Tongue*, 2.
10. Cheryl I. Harris, "Whiteness as Property," *Harvard Law Review* 106.8 (1993): 1707–91; Brenna Bhandar, *Colonial Lives of Property: Law, Land, and Racial Regimes of Ownership* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018).
11. Sarah Dowling, *Translingual Poetics: Writing Personhood under Settler Colonialism* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2018).
12. Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8.4 (2006): 387–409.
13. Jodi Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 36.
14. Jonathan Rosa and Nelson Flores, "Unsettling Race and Language: Toward a Raciolinguistic Perspective," *Language in Society* 46 (2017): 623.
15. Jonathan Rosa, *Looking like a Language, Sounding like a Race* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 5.
16. Rosa and Flores, "Unsettling Race and Language," 627.
17. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "Translations," trans. Sharon Sloan, in Venuti, *Translation Studies Reader*, 64–66; Friedrich Schleiermacher, "On the Different Methods of Translating," trans. Susan Bernofsky, in Venuti, *Translation Studies Reader*, 43–63.
18. Lori Chamberlain, "Gender and the Metaphorics of Translation," in Venuti, *Translation Studies Reader*, 254–68.
19. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 44.
20. Elizabeth Povinelli is an important exception; she engages substantially with Anderson's concept of creole nationalisms, and I rely on her work in this section. See Povinelli, "The Governance of the Prior," *Interventions* 13.1 (2011): 13–30. For further discussion of these dynamics in Latin America, see Raúl Coronado, *A World Not to Come: A History of Latino Writing and Print Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).
21. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 65, 49.
22. See Gruesz, "Lexical Snacks at the Citizen Restaurant." In the next section, I briefly discuss the production of dictionaries, vocabularies, and glossaries of Indigenous languages by settlers in the early US,

which have tended to serve the ends of colonization rather than securing territorial possession for the speakers of these languages.

23. Rafael, "Translation, American English and the National Insecurities of Empire," 455.
24. John Jay, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton, *The Federalist*, ed. George W. Carey and James McClellan (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2001), 6.
25. Rafael, "Translation, American English and the National Insecurities of Empire," 455.
26. Jay, Madison, and Hamilton, *Federalist*, 6.
27. Jay, Madison, and Hamilton, 6.
28. Jay, Madison, and Hamilton, 6.
29. Jay's writings on American monolingualism precede the foundational texts on monolingualism written by Europeans such as Schleiermacher and Goethe by several decades, supporting Anderson's suggestion that monolingualist ideologies flourished in this hemisphere prior to, or at least contemporaneously with the earliest European articulations. Additionally, it is important to remember that while monolingualism tends to be associated with the rise of nationalism, in many nineteenth-century European contexts monolingualism was also mobilized as a defense against intra-European colonization. In this respect, American articulations of monolingualist ideologies (whether from the US or from Latin America) serve as more obvious precedents for those expressed in nineteenth-century Europe.
30. Jay, Madison, and Hamilton, 6.
31. Although I am referring to the common terms *graveyard* and *burial*, I want to be clear that the use of metaphors of deadness and extinction in describing Indigenous languages has been criticized by Indigenous individuals and communities engaged in the work of language reclamation and revitalization. As Daryl Baldwin, Margaret Noodin, and Bernard C. Perley write, "American Indian language advocates have been pushing back to shift the focus away from extinction and toward vitalities emerging from communities of continuity. It is not enough to challenge colonial concepts: there has to be a solution" ("Surviving the Sixth Extinction: American Indian Strategies for Life in the New World," in *After Extinction*, ed. Richard Grusin [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018], 205). They argue that emphasizing vitality "allow[s] communities to see the promise and potential in their respective languages and thereby provides members with agency and mutually coordinated futures. See also Bernard C. Perley, "Zombie Linguistics: Experts, Endangered Languages and the Curse of Undead Voices," *Anthropological Forum* 22.2 (2012): 133–49.
32. Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 390, 388.
33. Wolfe, 387.
34. Wolfe, 388.
35. Wolfe, 388.
36. Wolfe, 388.
37. Wolfe, 388.
38. I do not mean to suggest that these conversations are not happening outside American studies; instead, I am suggesting that within the field "Indigenous genocide" is often used in totalizing ways. Its denotation as well as its implications ought to be considered with greater specificity and care.
39. Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America: The Tomaquag Museum Edition*, ed. Kathleen Bragdon and Dawn Dove (Yardley, PA: Westholme, 2019).
40. Sarah Rivett, *Unscripted America: Indigenous Languages and the Origins of a Literary Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
41. *Beyond the Mandate: Continuing the Conversation* (Hermon: Maine-Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth & Reconciliation Commission, 2015).
42. Elizabeth Povinelli, *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002). See also Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014); and Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).
43. Margaret D. Jacobs, "Genocide or Ethnic Cleansing? Are These Our Only Choices?," *Western Historical Quarterly* 47 (2016): 444–48.
44. Margaret D. Jacobs, "Maternal Colonialism: White Women and Indigenous Child Removal in the American West and Australia, 1880–1940," *Western Historical Quarterly* 36.4 (2005): 456.
45. Janet Neigh, *Recalling Recitation in the Americas: Borderless Curriculum, Performance Poetry, and Reading* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017).

46. Jasbir Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Rey Chow, *The Protestant Ethnic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 3.
47. Povinelli, "Governance of the Prior," 15.
48. Although he does not make his argument with specific reference to settler colonialism, Rafael's "American notion of translation as assimilation" has important resonances with settler colonial logics and should be brought into conversation with settler colonial studies ("Translation, American English and the National Insecurities of Empire," 452).
49. Rosa and Flores, "Unsettling Race and Language," 631.
50. Rosa, *Looking like a Language, Sounding like a Race.*
51. Derek Walcott, *Midsummer* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1984); Dionne Brand, *No Language Is Neutral* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1998).
52. M. NourbeSe Philip, "Discourse on the Logic of Language," in *She Tries Her Tongue, Her Silence Softly Breaks* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2015), 30.
53. In a less widely cited piece, Wolfe argues that because the opposition between the settler and the Native is structural, there can be no opting out of it, either for the white descendants of settlers or for racialized, non-Indigenous groups. Wolfe even goes so far as to claim that enslaved Black people and their descendants ought to be considered settlers because "their presence, however involuntary, was part of the process of Native dispossession," a claim that has been widely disputed and thoroughly refuted by other scholars, as I discuss below. See Patrick Wolfe, "Recuperating Binarism: A Heretical Introduction," *Settler Colonial Studies* 3.3–4 (2013): 263.
54. Sylvia Wynter, "1492: A New World View," in *Race, Discourse, and the Origin of the Americas: A New World View*, ed. Vera Lawrence Hyatt and Rex M. Nettleford (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 5–57; Frank B. Wilderson III, *Red, White & Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).
55. Tiffany Lethabo King, *The Black Shoals: Offshore Formations of Black and Native Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019), 7.
56. King, 16.
57. King, 17.
58. King, 18.
59. Steven Greenblatt, *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (London: Routledge, 2007); Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002).
60. Rosa and Flores, "Unsettling Race and Language," 624.
61. Iyko Day, *Alien Capital: Asian Racialization and the Logic of Settler Colonial Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 34.
62. Day, 34.
63. Philip, "Discourse on the Logic of Language," 30.
64. Philip, 30.
65. Philip, 32.
66. Édouard Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, trans. Betsy Wing (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 93.
67. Dowling, *Translingual Poetics.*
68. Neal Peirce, "Seattle's Rainier Valley, One of America's 'Dynamic Neighborhoods,'" *Seattle Times*, June 20, 2010, www.seattletimes.com/opinion/seattles-rainier-valley-one-of-americas-dynamic-neighborhoods/.
69. US Census Bureau, "Census Bureau Reports at Least 350 Languages Spoken in U.S. Homes," November 3, 215, www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2015/cb15-185.html.
70. King, *Black Shoals*, 212n.
71. Rosa, *Looking like a Language, Sounding like a Race*, 5.