

*Endangered Austronesian and
Australian Aboriginal languages:
essays on language documentation,
archiving, and revitalization*

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Endangered Austronesian and Australian Aboriginal languages: essays on language documentation, archiving, and revitalization

Edited by
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1 *Introduction*

GUNTER SENFT

*When a people no longer dares to defend its language,
it is ripe for slavery.* Rémy de Gourmont

*My culture and my language have the right to exist, and
no one has the authority to dismiss that.* James Kelman

One of the more positive developments to be observed in the discipline of linguistics over the last 20 years or so is the fact that the topic of language death — up to the 1990s an issue researched by only a few pioneers such as Dorian (1973, 1977, 1981, 1989) Schmidt (1985) and Tsitsipis (1981, 1983) — has finally attracted the general interest of a gradually growing group of linguists. In 1991 Robins and Uhlenbeck edited a volume on ‘Endangered languages’. This publication was also meant as a kind of preparation for the 1992 *Comité International Permanent des Lingistes*/Permanent International Committee of Linguists (CIPL) conference in Canada which centered on this issue. In the same year, Hale edited a set of six essays, all of which explicitly dealing with this topic (Hale 1992a, b; Hale et al. 1992).¹ More and more linguists are becoming aware of the fact that they ‘must do some serious rethinking of [their] priorities, lest linguistics go down in history as the only science that presided obliviously over the disappearance of 90% of the very field to which it is dedicated’ (Krauss 1992:10).

In the meantime, committees on, and foundations and societies for, endangered languages were founded.² There are more and more conferences on the topic, and in 2000 the German Volkswagen foundation started funding a program for the documentation of endangered languages (for information visit the websites <http://www.volkswagen-stiftung.de> and <http://www.mpi.nl/DOBES>).³ In the last few years a number of excellent books were published on the study, documentation and maintenance of endangered

¹ These papers were first presented at the 1992 CIPL conference.

² I am one of the co-founders of the ‘Gesellschaft für bedrohte Sprachen’ (the German Society for Endangered Languages) which grew out of the ‘Arbeitsgruppe für bedrohte Sprachen’ of the ‘Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft’; the members of the ‘Arbeitsgruppe’ submitted the proposal for funding the documentation of endangered languages to the Volkswagen Foundation.

³ For links to relevant organizations, projects, archives etc. see the websites of the ‘Foundation for Endangered Languages’ and the ‘Gesellschaft für bedrohte Sprachen e.V.’ <http://www.ogmios.org/links.htm>; http://www.uni-koeln.de/gbs/e_index.html; and <http://www.uni-koeln.de/gbs/Broschure.pdf>.

languages (Brenzinger 1992; Grenoble and Whaley 1998a, 2005; Hagège 2000; Janse and Tol 2003; Maffi 2001a; Matsumura 1998; Nettle and Romaine 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000; see also Mufwene 2004) and the present volume aims to contribute to this endeavor. The probably most influential and widely read book on this topic, however, was Crystal's (2000) monograph 'Language Death'. The following introductory remarks will rely on many of the arguments made there (see also Senft 2001) and in the volumes published by Grenoble and Whaley (1998a, 2005), Maffi (2001a) and Nettle and Romaine (2000).⁴

'A language dies when nobody speaks it any more' (Crystal 2000:1). But is this really such a problem given the world's many languages? Despite the fact that we do not — and probably cannot — know the exact number of languages that are spoken in the world today Crystal (2000:11) comes up with the cautious estimate somewhere in the range of 5000–7000 languages. However, he points out that 'just 4% of the world's languages are spoken by 96% of the population. Turning this statistic on its head: 96% of the world's languages are spoken by just 4% of the population' (Crystal 2000:14). Based on this statistic about 4000 languages can be considered to be endangered at the moment. With respect to the global situation of language endangerment it seems realistic that in the next 100 years 50% of the languages that are still spoken on earth will have died. Nettle and Romaine (2000:8) give even more pessimistic figures (see also Krauss 1992; UNESCO 2003:4). Thus, it has been high time indeed for linguists to respond to this situation, not only because they know that languages are interesting in themselves, but also because they should have realized that languages express identity, that they are repositories of history, and that they contribute to the sum of human knowledge (see Woodbury 1993; Maffi 2001a). Moreover, it seems to be obvious that our species (like any other species) needs diversity to survive (see Crystal 2000:32–54; Harmon 2001, 2002; Hale 1998; Maffi 2001b; Mishler 2001; Mithun 1998). This is actually the central thesis of Luisa Maffi's (2001a) volume 'On Biocultural Diversity': it is argued that the predicted decline in linguistic diversity can only be prevented if the interdependence of linguistic, cultural and biological diversity is recognized (see also Mufwene 2004). In his review of Maffi's anthology Nicolle (2004) succinctly summarized the main argument of the volume as follows:

One aspect of culture and language which is under threat in many language communities is traditional ecological knowledge: the concepts and terminology which inform a community's understanding of and interaction with the natural world. If a language ceases to be used in this domain, the associated knowledge is lost to the community, and when this knowledge is lost, so — often — is the way of life which it supported. With the loss of a way of life, it is a short step to the loss of other aspects of culture and ultimately to assimilation into the dominant language community, resulting in language death.

A number of the contributors to Maffi's volume for example Pawley (2001) and Moore (2001) provide suggestions for what can be done to maintain biocultural diversity from a linguistic point of view. These suggestions rely on the insight which Dixon (1997:144) unpretentiously formulated as follows:

⁴ An anonymous referee criticized that Crystal's book 'is deliberately popular, and hardly an appropriate source for a summary in this context'. For me Crystal's book is a landmark in the field and I am convinced that the impact it had — and still has — with respect to the support of language documentation, archiving and revitalization projects is unequalled.

The most important task in linguistics today — indeed, the only really important task — is to get out in the field and describe languages, while this can still be done [...] If every linguistics student (and faculty member) in the world today worked on just one language that is in need of study, the prospects for full documentation of endangered languages (before they fade away) would be rosy. I doubt if one linguist in twenty is doing this.

As well as Dixon, Crystal also points out that ‘the analysis of a previously undescribed language is ‘the toughest task in linguistics’, yet ‘the most exciting and the most satisfying of work’ (Crystal 2000:65; see also Corbett 2001). In the meantime it seems that this argument has contributed fundamentally to convince many people that we all should care about endangered languages. Moreover, more and more people who are dealing with endangered languages have been realizing that writing a grammar of a so far undescribed language is only a first step in the full documentation of these languages!

‘If people care about endangered languages, they will want something to be done’ (Crystal 2000:68). However, before we can act, we have to know answers to the question: ‘Why do languages die?’ There is no simple answer to this question, but there are certain trends and factors that play an important role with respect to language endangerment and language death. Among these trends and factors are those which put speakers of a specific language in physical danger, like natural catastrophes, climatic changes, famines and droughts, imported diseases, desertification, military conflicts and genocide; and those which change the culture of speakers of a specific language, for example cultural assimilation, urbanization, language policies, and the media, especially television. Grenoble and Whaley (1998b) discuss such factors. Based on Edwards (1992) framework for the typology of minority languages, they distinguish between micro- and macro-level variables, rank them, and show how they interact with one another on the community-internal and on the community-external level. In their typology of language endangerment the following three crucial issues influence the fate of endangered languages (Grenoble and Whaley 1998b:51ff.; see also Dorian 1998; Nettle and Romaine 2000:1–23; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000):

- economics;
- a community’s access to the indigenous language and culture and access to the majority language; and
- motivation which ‘can sway an entire community toward or away from its native language in favor of the majority language’ (Grenoble and Whaley (1998b:53).

We will come back to these issues below.

Crystal (2000:78ff.) points out that linguistically we can observe three broad stages in language and culture assimilation situations: in the first stage there is ‘immense pressure on the people to speak the dominant language’; the second can be characterized as a ‘period of emerging bilingualism’; and in the third stage is a stage ‘in which the younger generation becomes increasingly proficient the new language, identifying more with it, and finding their first language less relevant to their new needs’. If a speech community has already reached this final stage attempts to prevent languages from dying have hardly any chance any more. Crystal (2000:79) emphasizes that it ‘is the second stage — the stage of emergent bilingualism — where there is a real chance’ to slow down, stop, or even reverse the decline of the dominated language because it is still possible to foster positive language attitudes. This is not a simple task, because, as we have seen, ‘[t]he forces which cause language death are [...] massive’ (Crystal 2000:89). Thus, the description and

documentation of endangered languages is just a first step in solving the problem of endangered languages — there are many more issues involved here!

Where should linguists begin then? First of all we have to establish the top priorities for all the attempts to reduce the threat of language endangerment. We first have to take stock and to establish what the really urgent cases are, of course (see Tryon's paper in this volume). We have to develop a 'theoretical frame to orient the fact-finding and to provide guidelines about assessment and diagnosis' (Crystal 2000:92ff.), because '[s]uch a framework would yield models which could identify and interrelate the relevant variables involved in endangerment, and these models would generate empirical hypotheses about such matters as rate of decline or stages in revival' (Crystal 2000:93). Another important task for projects that aim at the documentation or even at the revitalization of endangered languages consists in fostering positive community attitudes within the endangered speech communities. This can be extremely difficult and quite delicate (as some of the papers in this volume illustrate). Only the speech community itself can save its language! Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998:96ff.) have emphasized this basic insight as follows:

The reversal effort requires widespread, intense conviction that this is the right thing to do. This ideological clarification must be assumed prior to any successful community effort. The effort requires a community level of commitment, and an awareness that this is a "do-it-yourself" effort. Language reversal cannot be done *to* one or *for* one by others.

Linguists and language teachers can only try to convince members of endangered speech communities that their language is an important part of their culture, cultural heritage, and ethnicity (see also Grinevald 1998). Language preservation always implies culture maintenance — as Woodbury (1993) impressively illustrated in the seminal paper in which he defends the proposition, 'When a language dies a culture dies'. Woodbury (1993:127) points out that

codes are not really interchangeable: individual codes, and the ways they are practiced in individual communities, *are* linked, indirectly or directly, to essential cultural content. Language preservation is therefore a crucial part of the maintenance of cultural diversity [...] As long as one assumes that cultural diversity is a basic human value and that cultural and linguistic autonomy is a basic human right, it is the social responsibility of linguistics to support endangered languages, as well as its scientific responsibility.

Thus, language preservation is not just about writing grammars and dictionaries of endangered languages and developing educational programs for the speakers of these languages, it is also about preserving the cultures of these speakers! Projects that aim to document and to revitalize endangered languages require not only descriptive and — in the revitalization case — applied linguistic competence, they also ask for ethnographic and anthropological linguistic expertise.⁵

To know something about the 'factors which cause a language to decline' and about 'the effect of this process on people's attitudes' is absolutely necessary in order to put linguists and language teachers 'in a position to make informed decisions about when and how to intervene, in order to reverse language shift — or indeed about whether intervention is

⁵ It is interesting to note, however, that Foley (1997:395ff.) only very briefly discusses the topic of 'language death'. Duranti (1997) does not even mention it and in his 2004 volume there is just one paper by Mithun on 'linguistic diversity' — but this essay does not discuss 'diversity' from an endangered language point of view.

practicable or desirable' (Crystal 2000:127). Crystal (2000:130–141) isolates the following six factors that 'should be recognized as postulates for a theory of language revitalization':⁶

- An endangered language will progress if speakers increase their prestige within the dominant community.
- An endangered language will progress if its speakers increase their wealth relative to the dominant community.
- An endangered language will progress if its speakers increase their legitimate power in the eyes of the dominant community.
- An endangered language will progress if its speakers have a strong presence in the educational system.
- An endangered language will progress if its speakers can write their language down.
- An endangered language will progress if its speakers can make use of electronic technology.

Crystal also elaborates on the role of linguists and their motivation in working with endangered languages. Here the author emphasizes something which should be regarded as a truism for all linguists and other social scientists — and not only for those researching endangered languages (Crystal 2000:145):

The concept of linguists working on such languages with no interest in the people who speak them — other than to see them as a source of data for a thesis or publication — is, or should be as unacceptable a notion as it would be if doctors collected medical data without caring what is happening subsequently to the patients. This point would not be worth making if it had not often happened.

That a linguist has to emphasize this ethical issue — so basic and central for all linguistic data collection and empirical research — does not shed a very positive light on the ethical standards within our discipline. However, as I already mentioned above, it seems that the programs to document and revitalize endangered languages have already had important implications for our discipline as a whole — even with respect to our ethics!

Fieldworkers, other linguists and social scientists, archivers and technicians engaged in the documentation and archiving of endangered languages, and applied linguists and language teachers engaged in revitalization programs are confronted with many psychological, ethical, and social demands. Collecting a corpus of a language that aims to be representative for its speakers' ways of speaking is not a trivial task at all. Questions of how and where to archive the documented data on what kind of technical medium constitute complex problems. There are questions of copyright issues with respect to the data archived, and decisions that have to be made with respect to who may have access to what kind(s) of data. To come up with curricula for teaching an endangered language is an art in itself. All these endeavors are demanding — and whoever engages in such an enterprise should be aware that it may imply a life-long commitment.

This book deals with the three cornerstones of activities for endangered languages: documentation, archiving, and revitalization. The anthology focuses on endangered Austronesian (mostly Oceanic) and Australian Aboriginal languages.⁷

⁶ Note the relationship between these six factors and Grenoble and Whaley's list of the three crucial issues that influence the fate of endangered languages presented previously.

The first four papers deal with issues of LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION. Vanuatu is the country that ‘possibly has the honor of having more indigenous languages per head of speakers than any other country on earth’ (Lynch and Crowley 2001:xii). In his contribution, ‘The endangered languages of Vanuatu’, Darrell Tryon provides us with a tentative list of more than 100 extant vernaculars in Vanuatu today. This list is based on reports of 70 ni-Vanuatu field officers who met in Port Vila for a Vanuatu Cultural Centre Fieldworkers Workshop in 2004 to map extant languages and to exchange their research results with respect to extinct and seriously endangered languages. The Vanuatu Cultural Centre coordinates all linguistic research in the country. Lists like those presented by Tryon enable linguists to establish the top priorities in the documentation of endangered languages. Tryon comes to the conclusion that the next five years will be crucial if we are to obtain records of the endangered languages of Vanuatu. The fieldworkers of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre and a number of expatriate researchers try their very best to record these languages before they disappear.

Gabriele Cablitz’s contribution is ‘A field report on a language documentation project on the Marquesas in French Polynesia’. The author provides a brief introduction to the Marquesan languages, the archipelago, and its speech community and then discusses internal and external causes for language endangerment in French Polynesia. First of all she points out that throughout French Polynesia a shift from the indigenous Polynesian languages to French can be observed. The main reasons for this development are quite obvious: French is the only official language in French Polynesia, the French education system has been introduced to the area ever since the mid-1960s, the media are broadcasting in French, and the language attitudes of the Marquesan speech community itself support this shift to French. Moreover, the author points out that internal dominance and the hegemonic forces of Tahiti have contributed to a loss in distinctive culture and language variety on all French Polynesian archipelagos. Cablitz discusses the Marquesans’ language attitudes in some detail and elaborates on the responses of the speech community to the present state of their language and their culture. She emphasizes that despite the changing attitudes towards their own languages many Marquesans ‘strongly desire to document their cultural knowledge and language in order to maintain their intimate link with the past’. In 1978 this desire led to a cultural revival movement that culminated in the recently created local language academy *Thuna 'Eo 'Enata*. The paper ends with a presentation of Cablitz’s documentation project and with a discussion of the reactions of the Marquesan speech community to this project.

In her paper ‘Language endangerment: situations of loss *and* gain’ Ingjerd Hoëm points out that the situation of the Tokelau language community was described as language death as early as the first period of missionary activity, that is from the 1860s. The church languages were Latin, later replaced by Tokelauan and Samoan, the latter of which also became the preferred language of literacy. As early as 1913 the atoll population requested for the teaching of English in their schools, and the generations born in New Zealand turn increasingly to English. Even so, the Tokelau language is still the main medium of

⁷ Most of the papers in this anthology were presented at the 6th Conference of the European Society for Oceanists (ESfO) ‘Pacific Challenges: Questioning Concepts, Rethinking Conflicts’, Marseilles, 6th–8th of July 2005 in the session ‘Endangered languages — endangered cultures’. This session was organized and coordinated by Marie Salaün and myself. I would like to thank Marie Salaün and all the other colleagues participating in this session for their engagement, for their helpful comments on the various presentations, and for the lively discussions.

communication in the atoll communities these days. Given these facts the author points out that ‘it is at this stage empirically correct to describe the language situation both in terms of language loss and in terms of strategic acquisition of new registers’. On this basis Hoëm discusses the concept of loss of language and of culture, as implied by theories of modernization. In a detailed overview of the Tokelau language situation the author points out that video technology, DVD players, and the internet are used to send recordings of important events, for example weddings, to family members elsewhere. Hence, these media are also used to disseminate Tokelauan speaking productions. Hoëm explores how some of these new media of expression, including newsletter and administrative reports, in combination with greater contact with versions of English, can be seen to affect the Tokelau language and the communicative practices of its speakers. In oral Tokelauan the flow of information in discourse varies across text types. This variation is due to factors of social control. Within the text types ‘history’, ‘life-history’ and ‘administrative report’ that are recognizable as having their roots in English text types Hoëm shows that we also observe a considerable variation of information flow — a variation which is common and clearly marked in oral Tokelauan. The presence of this feature in written Tokelauan genres represents an addition to standard English usage. The author concludes that language loss is clearly seen especially in the fate of genres that were central to the Tokelau oral literature. However, she points out that Tokelauan has also gained additional registers, new media and new spaces of expression.

In my paper, ‘Culture change — language change: missionaries and moribund varieties of Kilivila’, I emphasize that with respect to levels of endangerment Kilivila, the Austronesian language of the Trobriand Islanders of Papua New Guinea, can still be classified as a viable but relatively small language. It is ‘spoken in [a community] that [is relatively] isolated [and] with a strong internal organization, and aware of the way [its] language is a marker of identity’ (Crystal 2000:20). However, I also point out that two of its varieties, the *biga megwa* — the ‘language of magic’ and the *biga baloma* — the ‘language of the spirits of the dead’ are highly endangered and now moribund. My paper first presents examples of text genres that constitute these two indigenous varieties of Kilivila and then explains how and why they have to be classified as being doomed to die. It ends with an assessment of this development and its impact on the language and culture of the Trobriand Islanders.

The following three papers deal with issues of the ARCHIVING of documented materials. Nick Thieberger starts his paper ‘Linguistic preservation and linguistic responsibility: examples from the Pacific’ with the observation that linguists often portray their work to the public as involving preservation. While we see newspaper articles about ‘saving endangered languages’ describing a linguist writing a grammatical description, it is clear that languages are not preserved by this kind of activity. However, if we take seriously the notion of preservation of even the small collections of material that linguists may make we need to provide a means by which the material can be stored and located into the future. In 2003 a group of Australian linguists and musicologists began to build a digital means to store, describe and locate this kind of data for languages of the region. To date a number of collections of reel-to-reel field recordings from the Pacific, PNG, Indonesia and West Papua have been digitized. By training new fieldworkers and by conforming to international standards data recordings will become much more useful both for linguists and for the descendants of those speakers whose languages were recorded. Thiebergers paper reflects on language documentation and curation of linguistic data from the

perspective of building the ‘Pacific And Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (PARADISEC)’ and its methodological implications for fieldwork and relations with host communities and countries in the Pacific.

In their paper ‘Digital archiving — a necessity in documentary linguistics’ Peter Wittenburg and Paul Trilsbeek first discuss the influence of advances in digital technology on linguistics research, in particular on documentary linguistics. They then describe the creation, analysis, and archiving of language resources. They also focus on the different users of the language resources and describe the architecture of a modern language resource archive. The paper ends with a discussion of some more advanced methods of giving access to language resources via the web. This paper documents the work of the Technical Group at the Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, the host of the DOBES (Dokumentation bedrohter Sprachen — Documentation of endangered languages) program archive, which is financed by the Volkswagen Foundation.

Over the past few years groups from the University of California, Berkeley, and elsewhere, have set up the Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative (ECAI) to connect areas of the world through digital geographic information systems. From these projects scholars have unified a technical information network with parameters to chart global spatial-temporal data. Research data are indexed for retrieval and displayed on a map-based interface on remote servers, maintained by individual scholars or academic institutions, and available by users over the internet. This project combines the generation of a digital version of an older printed language map with the collection of data on contemporary languages areas. In their paper ‘Empowering Pacific languages and cultures mapping with applied case studies in Taiwan and the Philippines’ David Blundell, Michael Buckland, Jeanette Zerneke, Yu-Hsiu Lu and Andrew Limond present a series of studies relating to the Pacific languages and cultures undertaken by the ECAI and collaborators. The projects presented are:

- a digital atlas of languages of the Pacific,
- a map of Formosan Austronesian languages,
- an interface to Cebuano library catalogue records, and
- fieldwork of language and culture mapping of Lan-yu (Taiwan) and the Batanes Islands (Philippines).

The ECAI approach presents another interesting tool that is very useful for the documentation of endangered languages and the archiving of documented material. Like one of the new tools presented in Wittenburg and Trilsbeek’s paper it presents endangered languages via geographic information.

The last five papers deal with REVITALIZATION issues of endangered languages. They all confirm the importance of Crystal’s six postulates for a theory of language revitalization quoted previously.

The Central Malukan islands in eastern Indonesia are characterized by high linguistic diversity and the most serious language endangerment in Indonesia. Despite the urgent need for documentation (perhaps as many as 50% of the languages of Central Maluku are endangered), research was suspended through recent years (1998–2002) of civil unrest (*kerusuhan*). Researchers returning to Maluku are noting a remarkable upsurge in interest in indigenous languages (*bahasa tanah*), and concomitant concern about language endangerment. Margaret Florey and Michael Ewing’s paper on ‘Political acts and language revitalization: community and state in Maluku’ explores the link between civil unrest and

recent changes in attitudes toward indigenous languages, which may have an impact on language survival. In the post *kerusuhan* era, the past is re-imagined to raise the status of *bahasa tanah* and other cultural attributes vis-à-vis local identities and reconciliation. The authors discuss an innovative training program which is being developed and piloted with speakers of Malukan languages and their descendents to empower individuals and communities to undertake language documentation and implement language revitalization or maintenance at the grassroots level.

By 1991 the heavily settled south east of Australia had been characterized as a disaster area for indigenous languages: just one language still alive and that with only a few aged speakers. However, Jakelin Troy and Michael Walsh argue in their paper ‘A linguistic renaissance in the south east of Australia’ that this perception is flawed and needs to be re-evaluated in the light of recent activities. The last 20–25 years have seen a series of remarkable developments in a considerable variety of languages which have been described as ‘extinct’. The authors focus on such activities and developments in the states of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. They end their paper discussing three essentials for the politics of language revitalization:

- indigenous consultation and control;
- resources: material – human – moral; and
- appropriate involvement of the academy.

The last three papers report on language revitalization activities in New Zealand. Sophie Nock’s paper ‘*Te reo Māori* — Māori language revitalization’ focuses on Māori responses and initiatives in Māori language revitalization, the birth of *Te Kohanga Reo* (Language Nests), the *Kura Kaupapa Māori* and *Wharekura* (Māori Language Schools) and the inevitable step into the tertiary arena of *Te Whare Wānanga* (Māori Universities). Nock discusses the history of *Te reo Māori* from its earliest recordings, the impact of colonization, the progress made by Māori in the revitalization, maintenance and retention of their indigenous language, language acquisition programs and finally the status of the language today.

In her paper ‘Learning style preferences and New Zealand Māori students: questioning folk wisdom’ Diane Johnson reports on the preliminary findings of a research project whose aim is to determine whether there are any significant differences between learning style preference patterns in the case of students from different ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. The study focuses on Māori versus non-Māori students in years 7–10 (aged 10–14 approximately) of schooling in New Zealand. In particular, the research aims to address the frequently articulated claim that Māori students as a group are more inclined than other student groups towards oral, interactive, task-centered learning. The implications of research of this type for the teaching and learning of endangered languages such as Māori are discussed.

In her paper ‘Classroom-based language revitalization: the interaction between curriculum planning and teacher development in the case of Māori language’ Winifred Crombie reports on a draft curriculum guidelines document for the teaching and learning of the Māori language as a subject in New Zealand schools. Crombie prepared this document in 2003 together with James (Hemi) Whaanga under contract to the New Zealand Ministry of Education. That draft curriculum document was then trialed in a number of schools and discussed by a curriculum review team set up by the Ministry of Education. The development of the draft curriculum document itself, briefly outlined here,

was relatively straightforward. Some of the issues that arose out of the review process, were, however, more complex. These issues, together with the author's responses to them, are the main focus of attention in this paper. They and other aspects of the curriculum development process are especially of interest to those persons who are engaged in language revitalization efforts involving classroom-based learning.

The thirteen papers of this anthology illustrate the complexity of its topic. Although this complexity with respect to language documentation projects, archiving and revitalization programs is exemplified in the main with studies on Austronesian and Australian Aboriginal languages, linguists, other social scientists and pedagogues working with other endangered languages of the world face and have to overcome basically the same problems. The selection of the contributions presented here may be eclectic, but they are certainly representative for all the activities in the field all over the world. Thus, we are engaged here in a wide field, indeed. However, its multifarious challenges — addressed in the contributions to this volume — should incite all of us to get engaged in the endeavour to document and archive, and, if possible, to revitalize as many endangered languages as possible. There is much to do — so let us do it before it is too late!

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Part I

The documentation of endangered languages

2 *The endangered languages of Vanuatu*

DARRELL TRYON

1 Introduction

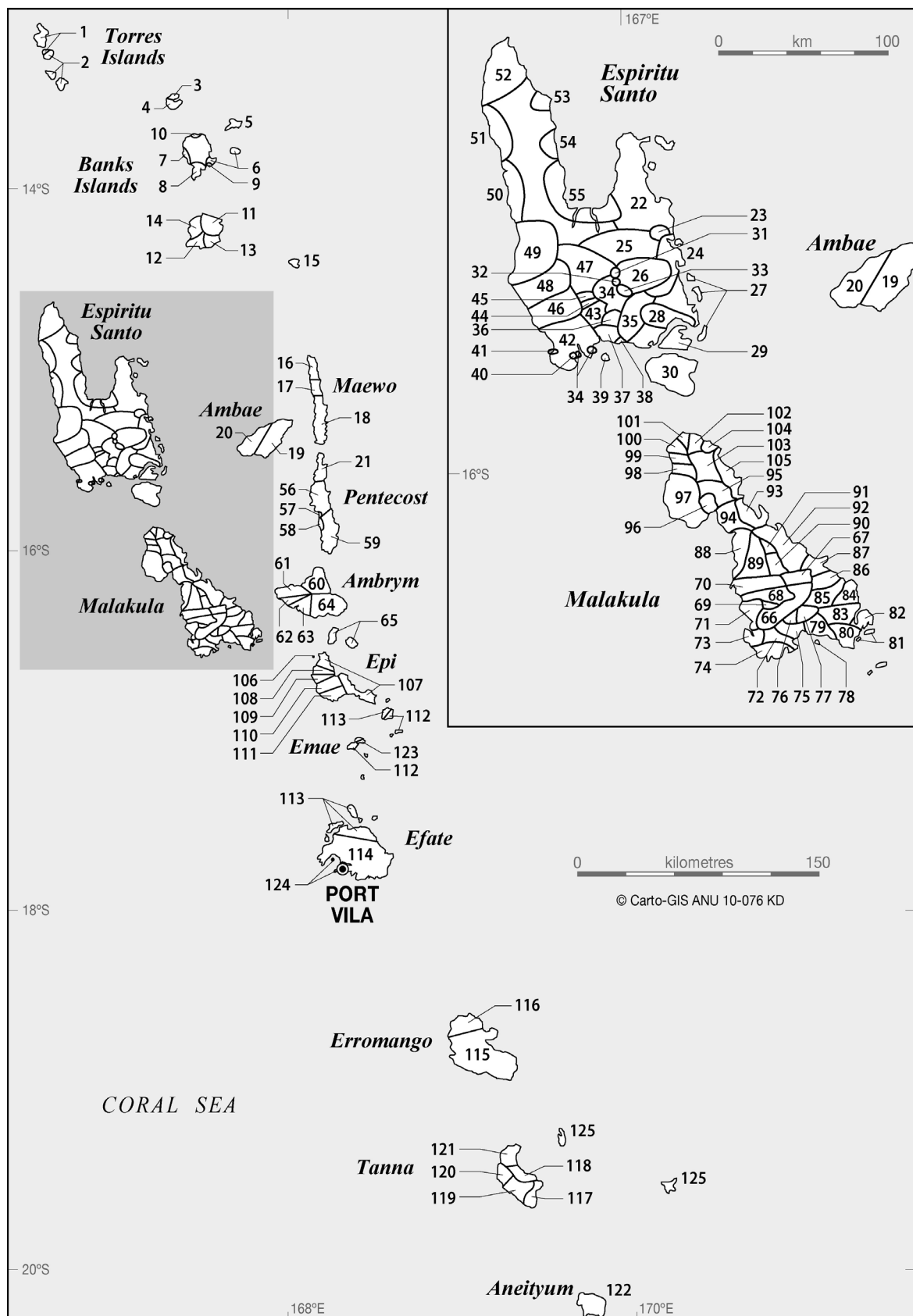
Situated in the southwest Pacific, Vanuatu was formerly known as the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides until it attained its independence as a sovereign state in 1980. This state had a population enumerated at 200,000 in 1999 (Vanuatu Government 2000). Current estimates put the figure closer to 220,000. The national language of Vanuatu is Bislama, one of the varieties of Melanesian Pidgin English. The languages of education are English and French. However, Vanuatu is remarkable in that it has one of the highest language densities in the world, with approximately 110 distinct indigenous languages, all Austronesian, and many more dialects and sub-languages.¹

While detailed anthropological research on Vanuatu societies goes back to the early 20th century (Speiser 1923; Humphreys 1926; Deacon 1934; Layard 1942), fieldwork-based comparative language and linguistic studies are less elaborate, limited in that period to Codrington: *The Melanesian languages* (1885), Macdonald: *South Sea languages* vols 1 and 2 (1889, 1891) and Ray: *A comparative study of the Melanesian island languages* (1926).² All three of these linguistic studies were based on missionary reports on individual languages for which information was available at that period.

The first fuller survey of the languages of Vanuatu was compiled by Arthur Capell (1962), titled *A linguistic survey of the south-western Pacific*. This survey covered New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu. It covered roughly a dozen of the languages of the Vanuatu group, based mainly on earlier written reports. Capell's survey was followed by Pawley's comparative study of the Eastern Oceanic languages (Pawley 1972), also based on available written sources. Sixteen Vanuatu languages are represented in this landmark classification, the first to employ the techniques of the comparative method.

¹ Although there are 125 languages listed in this paper, the status of some of them remains uncertain for the present, as a number of the speech varieties of the larger islands are borderline cases in terms of language/dialect distinction.

² Codrington (1885) includes grammatical sketches from a few of the languages of the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and New Caledonia, while Ray (1926) covers much the same area, together with the Loyalty Islands (New Caledonia). Macdonald (1889, 1891) provides basic materials on ten Vanuatu languages.



NORTH CENTRAL VANUATU		
1	Hiw	44 Moiso
2	Loh	45 Kiai
3	Lehali	46 Kene
4	Lehalurup	47 Merei/tiale
5	Mwotlap	48 Bura
6	Mota	49 Kula (Wusi)
7	Vera'a	50 'Oa (Tasmate)
8	Vurës	51 Nokuku
9	Mwesen	52 Valpei
10	Lemerig	53 Vunapu
11	Nume	54 Piamatsina
12	Koro	55 Tolomako (Big Bay)
13	Wetuk	56 Apma
14	Lakona	57 Sowa
15	Mwerlav	58 Ske
16	Marino	59 Sa
17	Central Maewo	60 North Ambrym
18	Baetora	61 Lonwolwol
19	North-east Ambae	62 Dakaka
20	Nduindui	63 Port Vato
21	Raga	64 South-east Ambryn
22	Nekep (Sakao)	65 Paama
23	Nethalp	66 Nevetangiene (Mbotkote)
24	Ngen (Shark Bay)	67 Nioleien
25	Toksiki/soisuru	68 Nevwol (Nabwol)
26	Farafi	69 Newoteyene
27	Lonavu (Mavea)	70 Nasaria
28	Biliru	71 Ninde (Mewun)
29	Aore	72 Naati
30	Tamambo (Malo)	73 Nahava (Sinesip)
31	Farnanto	74 Naha'ai
32	Ati/meris	75 Navwien
33	Atin	76 Natanggan
34	Ande	77 Sörsörian
35	Farsav	78 Akhamb
36	Aje	79 Nasvang-farun
37	Ale (Wailapa)	80 Avokh-marpagho
38	Movono (Tangoa)	81 'Uliveo (Maskelynes)
39	Araki	82 Port Sandwich
40	Redlahtur	83 Nisvai-vetbong
41	Daruru	84 Banam Bay
42	Akei	85 Mbwenelang
43	Mores/ko	86 Aulua
		87 Pangkumu-tisman
		88 Neve'ei
		89 Avava
		90 Vivti
		91 Nitita
		92 Niverver
		93 Naman
		94 Larëvat
		95 Dirakh (Mae)
		96 Tape (Marakus)
		97 V'enën Taut
		98 Petarmul (Malua Bay)
		99 Najit (Tenmial)
		100 Nese (Matanvat)
		101 Naha (Vovo)
		102 Potovro
		103 Njav
		104 Vao
		105 North-east Malakula
		106 Lamen
		107 Lewo
		108 Bierbo
		109 Baki
		110 Lake (Maii)
		111 Bieria
		112 Namakir
		113 Nakanamanga
		114 South Efate
		SOUTHERN VANUATU
		115 Sie
		116 Ura
		117 Nafe (Kwamera)
		118 Narak (Whitesands)
		119 Nawal (South-west Tanna)
		120 Natuar (Lenakel)
		121 Naga (North Tanna)
		122 Aneityum (Anecom)
		POLYNESIAN OUTLIERS
		123 Emwae
		124 Mele-fila (Ifira)
		125 Futuna-aniwa

Map 1: The languages of Vanuatu

From 1969 until 1974 the present writer carried out extensive field research throughout the New Hebrides archipelago in an endeavour to extend earlier surveys. This resulted in *New Hebrides languages: an internal classification* (Tryon 1976). Tryon's survey was followed by the work of Clark (1985), confirming the evidence for a North-Central Vanuatu subgroup. More recently Lynch and Crowley published *Languages of Vanuatu: a new survey and bibliography* (2001). This work provided an update on the language situation in Vanuatu up to 2000, although many uncertainties remained, especially concerning the languages of the two largest islands, Malakula and Santo.

All the languages of Vanuatu³ are members of a large subgroup of Oceanic, known as Southern Oceanic, which includes all of the languages of Vanuatu and New Caledonia. Within Vanuatu there are two major subgroups, North-Central Vanuatu and Southern Vanuatu, the major break being located in the Efate area (see Map 1).

The North-Central Vanuatu subgroup falls into two clear, well-established divisions.

- (a) The Northern Vanuatu subgroup consisting of the languages of the Banks and Torres Islands, Espiritu Santo, Maewo, Ambae and North Pentecost⁴ (languages 1–55).
- (b) The Central Vanuatu subgroup consisting of the languages of the remainder of Pentecost, Malakula, Ambrym, Paama, Epi, Efate and the Shepherd Islands (languages 56–116).

The Southern Vanuatu subgroup consists of the languages of Erromango, Tanna and Aneityum (languages 117–125).

In the 30 years since the appearance of the first of the more comprehensive surveys (Tryon 1976), quite a number of the smaller languages of Vanuatu have become seriously endangered, and some have disappeared altogether, a few, alas, with little or no documentation. However, serious efforts to record and document endangered and/or moribund languages in the archipelago have been made over the past decade, especially on Malakula by the late Terry Crowley and his students (see Crowley 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d).

Another major contribution to this recording effort has been made by the present writer and the Vanuatu Cultural Centre/National Museum and its network of ni-Vanuatu⁵ 'fieldworkers', through a series of annual workshops, beginning in 1980.

In 2004 the Vanuatu National Museum/Vanuatu Cultural Centre held a Fieldworkers' Workshop dedicated solely to reviewing and evaluating the language situation throughout the country. The 70 fieldworkers,⁶ representing all of the islands in the republic, came together in Port Vila for two weeks to: review previous language surveys; bring their knowledge to bear on mapping extant Vanuatu languages; and communicate the fruit of their research into extinct and seriously endangered languages, which they had been

³ Excluding the Polynesian Outlier languages Fakamae, Ifira-Mele and Futuna-Aniwa, which belong to the Central Pacific subgroup (comprising Fijian, Rotuman and the Polynesian languages).

⁴ Raga (No.21), the language of North Pentecost, is listed with all of the Pentecost languages, following Santo.

⁵ Ni-Vanuatu is the term which the indigenous inhabitants of Vanuatu chose to describe themselves once the Republic of Vanuatu was proclaimed in 1980.

⁶ The Vanuatu Cultural Centre fieldworkers are senior members of their communities who act as cultural leaders. They have nearly all received some training in anthropology, archaeology and linguistics through the annual VKS (Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta) workshops, since Independence. They also work with and act as official mentors for overseas researchers in Vanuatu.

investigating on their home islands for the previous year. Their reports form the basis of this evaluation of the current situation and of the languages which have been lost since 1980 or are perilously close to disappearing.

The boundary between language and dialect is not always clear-cut, as even in lexicostatistical terms a number of Vanuatu languages/dialects share close to 80% common basic vocabulary. Most ni-Vanuatu have no real difficulty in distinguishing between what in Bislama is termed a *smol lanwis* (dialect) and a *lanwis* (language). Many ni-Vanuatu, however, tend to over-differentiate, naturally enough, for questions of group identity, distinguishing one's own group from one's neighbours, are important to them. However, the Vanuatu Cultural Centre fieldworkers are clear about adopting the criterion of mutual intelligibility, rather than shared cognate percentages, as the basis upon which to distinguish language and dialect. Their opinion is rarely at odds with that of linguists working in specific areas of the country. Whenever there is a disagreement, it lies in the fact that ni-Vanuatu tend to be 'splitters', while they see the linguists as 'lumpers'.

2 The languages of Vanuatu

Having considered previous surveys of the languages of Vanuatu and taken into account the reports of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre fieldworkers' network, the current consensus is that the languages of Vanuatu, their geographical distribution and numbers of speakers, provisionally, are as follows (see Map 1):

TORRES ISLANDS

Language	Island	Speakers	Villages
1. Hiw, Tegua	Hiw	235	All villages on Hiw, Metoma, Northern Tegua
2. Loh, Toga	Loh-Toga	500	All villages on Loh, Toga, and Tegua (except Northern Tegua)

BANKS ISLANDS

Language	Island	Speakers	Villages
3. Lehali	Ureparapara	250	Lehali, Lekwarangle
4. Lehalurup (Reefs) ⁷	Ureparapara	200	Lehalurup
5. Mwotlap	Motalava	1300	All villages ⁸
6. Mota ⁹	Mota ¹⁰	700	10 villages
7. Vēra'a	Vanua Lava	275	Vatrata, Le'ep
8. Vurēs	Vanua Lava ¹¹	1050	Vetumboso, Wasava, Mwesen
9. Mwēsēn	Vanua Lava	20	Mosina ¹²

⁷ The language of the Reef Islands, between Ureparapara and Mota Lava, whose population moved to Ureparapara in 1958 following seismic activity which rendered the Reef Islands uninhabitable. The Reef Islands people are reported by fieldworker Eli Fiel) to have originated in northern Vanua Lava.

⁸ Aplow (Valuwa) dialect spoken in village of the same name, but elsewhere a single dialect.

⁹ Fieldworker: Paul Marsilan.

¹⁰ Two dialects distinguished: Wenaoh and Wetaq. The Wenaoh dialect, used in Bible and Scriptural translations, has few remaining speakers. Wetaq is the dialect common to Mota speakers today.

¹¹ Fieldworker: Eli Field

¹² There are also speakers of Vurēs in Mosina village.

10. Lēmērig	Vanua Lava	10	Vatrata, Lesa, Mbek
*Gōbōn ¹³	Vanua Lava	extinct	Port Patteson (formerly)
*Lalngetak	Vanua Lava	extinct	East Vanua Lava
[Mota	Vanua Lava	50–100	In east Vanua Lava]
[Mwotlap	Vanua Lava	100–200	NE Vanua Lava: Lalngetak, Mbek]
11. Nume	Gaua	900	Namasariu, Lebot, Tarasag
12. Mokoro ¹⁴	Gaua	73	Mokoro, Biam, Koro
13. Wetuk	Gaua	48	Dorig
14. Lakona	Gaua	1250	West Gaua
[*Toula	Gaua	1	Close to crater lake]
[Mwotlap	Gaua	50	Spoken in Lemoga village]
15. Mwerlav	Mere Lava	1550	All villages on Mere Lava and Merig. ¹⁵

MAEWO

Language	Island	Speakers	Villages
16. Sungmwadia (Marino)	N Maewo ¹⁶	650	Northern villages
17. Sungmwadaka	C Maewo	1400	Peterara, central Maewo
18. Sungmwalohe	S Maewo	1330	Southern villages
[Sungmwaxaxe ¹⁷	Far South	400	Far south Maewo]

AMBAE¹⁸

Language	Island	Speakers	Villages
19. North-East Ambae	Ambae	5000	Lombaha to NE to Lolovanghe to Waluriki
20. West Ambae	West Ambae	8700	Nduindui area
*Odia	Ambae	extinct	Louvumbaka
*Ekarue	Ambae	extinct	Lolowalu

¹³ Also referred to as Alo Teqel (Codrington 1885).

¹⁴ The Biam and Koro languages (Tryon 1976) are extinct. Inhabitants of these villages speak Mokoro today. Fieldworker John Starr reports that Wetamut (see Tryon 1976) is also extinct today.

¹⁵ Two dialects distinguished: Mwerlav and Mwerig. Mwerlav is also spoken on the east coast of Gaua and on Maewo and Santo (at Turtle Bay), by expatriate Merelavans.

¹⁶ There are recent migrants from Mere Lava (Banks) living in north Maewo. According to fieldworker Jeffrey Uli Boe they also speak Sungmwadia.

¹⁷ Raga language from north Pentecost; Raga-speaking people have lived in far south Maewo for many decades.

¹⁸ Dickinson Pata, fieldworker for Ambae, considers that there are three languages spoken on Ambae: North, South and East. Hyslop (2001) and Tryon (1976) consider that the received wisdom on Ambae is that there are only two languages, North-East and West Ambae, with numerous closely related dialects.

SANTO (ESPIRITU SANTO)

Language	Island	Speakers	Villages
22. Nekep ¹⁹	NE Santo	4000	Port Olry, Hog Harbour ²⁰
23. *Nethalp	NE Santo	extinct	Lorediakarkar
24. Ngen	NE Santo	10	Vanafo
25. Toksiki/Soisoru	E Santo	30	Far side of Fortsenal and Morgrif; some at Namoru
26. Farafi	E Santo	10	Butmas, Tur, Maniok
27. Lonavu	E Santo	250	Mavea I., ²¹ Aissi I., Tutuba
28. Biliru	SE Santo	10	Tambotalo, Beleru, Lambue
29. *Aore	SE Santo	extinct	Aore I.
30. Tamambo	SE Santo	4000	Malo I.
31. Farnanto	SE Santo	100	Nambauk, Tanmet, Tafua
32. Ati/Meris	SE Santo	200	Fumbak, Naturuk, Nambauk
33. Atin (Farnantin)	SE Santo	100	Fumatal, Nambauk
34. Ande	SC Santo	500	Lutunnae to Mavunlevu
35. Farsav	SE Santo	400	Nambel, Tanovoli, Narango
36. Aje	S Santo	10	Patunmevu, Nambaka
37. Ale (Wailapa)	S Santo	500	Fimele, Wailapa
38. Movono (Tangoa)	S Santo	370	Tangoa I.
39. Araki	SW Santo	10	Araki I.
40. Redlahtur	SW Santo	100	Tanovusivusi
41. Daruru	SW Santo	100?	Pelmol
42. Akei ²²	SW Santo	4000	Coastal and inland SW Santo ²³
43. Mores/Ko	SW Santo	100	Tanmet, Lotunai, Namafun

¹⁹ Also known as N'kep and Sakao (Guy 1977). Fieldworker Chief Kuvu Keven reports that there were four dialects of Nekep, spoken between Cape Quieros and Shark Bay, as follows: N'heme (northern dialect), N'kep (southern dialect), Nthalp (extinct, but formerly Shark Bay area [today inhabited by migrants from Malakula and Ambae (Kole 2), Pentecost, the Banks Islands and Paama] and Lorediakarkar), and Nevottve (extinct, formerly east of Jordan River at Big Bay). Only the N'heme and N'kep dialects remain today. Many of the traditional Nekep-speaking villages are today occupied by people from other areas on Santo, or even from other islands, especially in southeast Santo. Port Olry 1 is inhabited by Tolomako (Big Bay) speakers, relocated to the Port Olry mission area by Catholic missionaries during the 1950s. Lelek and Loren are inhabited by people from Pentecost, Lorediakarkar by people from Paama and Ambrym, while in villages such as Nomanio, Pelron, Lathhi and Tontas Bislama is the main language used. Pilot Island is inhabited by people from Vanafo, settled there by missionaries, as is Natawa village.

²⁰ Also Sarah 1, Sarah 2, Sarah 3, Kole 1, Kole 2, Lathhi, Levan, Lovalikar, Luarev, Bne, Lorevalk, Luat, Lovocar, Lorim, Hala, Rotal. Today Kole 2 is inhabited by people from Malakula and Ambae, making Bislama the main intergroup language.

²¹ Chief Kuvu Keven reports that the people of Mavea moved to Tutuba in 1946, during World War II.

²² Ande and Kene are considered endangered languages as the children come down to the coast for schooling and there they learn Akei.

²³ Akei (and closely related dialects) is reported to extend from southwest Santo as far north as Big Bay bush villages, forming an extended dialect chain.

44. Moiso	SW Santo	100	Moriuli
45. Kiai	SW Santo	450	Wailapa, Fortsenale, Namoru
46. Kene	SW Santo	300	Vuimele, Pilipili, Lepurpuri
47. Merei/Tiale	SW Santo	400	Tavuimoli, Patuitano, Tombet
48. Bura	SW Santo	300	Linduri, Saktui, Mapten
49. Kula (Wusi)	W Santo	350	Wusi, Kerepua, Elia 1
50. 'Oa (Tasmate)	W Santo	300	Tasmate, Sulesal, Vasalea
51. Nokuku	NW Santo	250	Olpoë, Nokuku, Penaoru
52. Valpei	NW Santo	300	Wunpuko, Valpei, Hokua
53. Vunapu	NW Santo	250?	Vunapu, Pesena
54. Piamatsina	NW Santo	250?	Piamatsina, Piamaeo
55. Tolomako (Big Bay)	NW Santo	900	Jureviu, Tuturu, Matantas
*Netavu	SE Santo	extinct ²⁴	SE Santo (Luganville)
*Niethro	E Santo	extinct	Pilot I. and adjacent mainland
*Nokanoka	SW Santo	extinct	Moriuli
*Latu	W Santo	extinct ²⁵	Kerepua
*Mwe'ea	W Santo	extinct	Kerepua
*Sinie	W Santo	extinct	Kerepua
*Menie	W Santo	extinct	Kerepua

PENTECOST

Language	Island	Speakers	Villages
21. Raga ²⁶	N Pentecost	6500	Laone to Nabarangiu
*Mbwere	N Pentecost	extinct	
*Nggasai	N Pentecost	2 ²⁷	Loltong bush area
56. Apma	C Pentecost	7800	Namaram to Hot Water
*Subelakan ²⁸	C Pentecost	extinct	Central Pentecost
57 *Sowa	C Pentecost	extinct ²⁹	Vanaia village
58. Ske	C Pentecost	600	Baravet village
59. Sa ³⁰	S Pentecost	2500	All villages south of Hot Water

²⁴ Reportedly spoken by Joseph André.

²⁵ Fieldworker Frank Lenki reports that there are four extinct languages in the Wusi/Kerepua area.

²⁶ Tradition has it that Raga, North-East Ambae and South Maewo were originally a single language, claimed to be proven by a traditional sand-drawing.

²⁷ Fieldworker Kolambas reports that the last two speakers are Vira Sanial and Basil Tabe.

²⁸ Bruce Tabi, fieldworker for Central Pentecost, reports that this was a metathesised version of a neighbouring Central Pentecost dialect.

²⁹ Reportedly became extinct in 1980; recorded in Tryon (1976).

³⁰ There is a dialect chain situation in the Sa language area. Ha is a dialect variant of Sa, not a separate language.

AMBRYM

Language	Island	Speakers	Villages
60. North Ambrym Teha ³¹	Ambrym	5250	North Ambrym Retlam, Ranbwe, Fanrereo, Fanla, Linbul, Metamli, Melelat, Fonah, Magam
Che			Lonle, Tonbang, Ranhor, Noveha, Uwou, Vogur, Fantan, Tepol
Ngeye			Olal, Arimal, Fonmut, Barleo, Fonteng
Ngele			Konkon
Ngelo			Wilit, Fanveur
Ke		2	Fanbo
61. Lonwolwol. (West Ambrym) ³²	Ambrym	1200	West Ambrym Dip Point, Wakon, Craig Cove, Sulol Mekon, Ranu, Malvar, Wehen, Fule, Lele
62. Dakaka	Ambrym	1100	Baiap, Sesivi, Mesap, Meltengen, Yelevak, Mapkinkin, Laeu, Sinisup Lonol (bush), Falivuru, Beleptakever
63. Port Vato	Ambrym	700	Port Vato (10 villages)
*Ral Aru	Ambrym	extinct	Buluk
*Ral Uri	Ambrym	extinct	Lonamien (inland Craig Cove)
64. SE Ambrym	Ambrym ³³	3700	SE Ambrym, all villages from Endu to Taveak

PAAMA

65. Paama	Paama	6000	All villages; also in urban areas of Port Vila and Santo
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MALAKULA

Language	Island	Speakers	Villages
66. Nevetangiene (Mbotkote)	S Malakula	200 ³⁴	Lendamboi, Mobarek, Yapkatas
67. Nioleien ³⁵	S Malakula	100	Mbangir

³¹ There is only a single language in north Ambrym, with five major dialects, listed above, reported by fieldworker James Tainmal.

³² Also known as Craig Cove. Fieldworker Philip Talevu.

³³ Fieldworker Kalvat Massing reports that following the 1952 earthquake some SE Ambrym people were relocated to Epi (returning to SE Ambrym after one year), while many others were relocated permanently to Mele-Maat on Efate.

³⁴ With up to 400 migrants at Tavendrua, Letokas and Lawa to the west, Mbwtin and Mbangir to the east, and Bonvor to the south (Lynch and Crowley 2001:72).

³⁵ It is likely that Nevetangiene (Mbotkote), Nioleien, Nevwol and Newoteyene are mutually intelligible, and thus dialects of a single language. The considerable multilingualism which prevails in this remote area makes it difficult to determine their status without further fieldwork.

68. Nevwol (Nabwol)	SW Malakula	100?	Letokhas, Lawitambus, Yapkamavis, Kamanliveur
69. Newoteyene	SW Malakula	50?	Tabaraman
70. *Nasarian	SW Malakula	extinct	Tavendrua (Dixon Reef)
71. Ninde (Mewun)	SW Malakula	1100	Windua, Lorlow, Labo
72. Naati ³⁶	SW Malakula	extinct	Venamboas
73. Nahava (Sinesip)	SW Malakula	600	Lembinwen, Caroline Bay
74. Naha'ai	SW Malakula	1100	Tomman I., Bonvor, Milip
75. *Navwien	S Malakula	extinct	Bonvor
76. *Natanggan	S Malakula	extinct	Meninemboas/Bonvor
77. *Sörsörian	S Malakula	extinct	Meninemboas
78. Akhamb	S Malakula	750	Akhamb I.
79. Nasvang-Farun	S Malakula	100	Farun
80. Avokh-Marpagho	SE Malakula	300	Avokh I., Marpagho
81. Uliveo (Maskelynes)	SE Malakula	1100	Maskelyne I. ³⁷
Uluveu	SE Malakula		Uluveu I. ³⁸
Hoti ³⁹	SE Malakula		Pelongk village, Sakau I. ⁴⁰
Nevock	SE Malakula		Nevock I.
*Vulae		extinct	Vulae I.
Penhai	SE Malakula		Rahoven I. and Penhai village on mainland
82. Port Sandwich	SE Malakula	900	Lamap area
83. Nisvai-Vetbong	SE Malakula	100	Vetbong
84. Banam Bay	SE Malakula	900	Vartabo, Remep
85. Mbwenelang	SE Malakula	200?	Lambulmbwatwei ⁴¹
86. Aulua	SE Malakula	850	Aulua, Lambulpatu
87. Pangkumu-Tisman	SE Malakula	800	Unua, Rerep
88. Neve'ei	C Malakula	750	Vinmavis, Tisvel
89. Avava ⁴²	C Malakula	675	Tisvel, Taremp, Tembimbi, Khatbol
90. Vivti	C Malakula	10	Khatbol, Limap, Taremp
91. *Nitita	C Malakula	extinct	Lingarak
92. Niverver	C Malakula	1250	Lingarak, Limap, Bushman's Bay, Sarmette
93. Naman	C Malakula	30	Litzlitz, Senal, Lakatoro

³⁶ Nahati is a dialect of Naati (spoken by Kailik, brother of fieldworker Aiar Rantes). The Naati people formerly inhabited the village of Lormin, while Nahati speakers came from Loorndemes.

³⁷ Consisting of Vulae, Ravohen, Pakatel, Nevock, Sakau and Uluveu Islands.

³⁸ Better known as Koliveu. Bible translated into this dialect, the common dialect of the Maskelynes.

³⁹ Hoti is still used in song language according to fieldworker Dickinson Dick.

⁴⁰ On Sakau I. half of the population comes from Uluveu and the remainder use the language of Lamap.

⁴¹ Charpentier (1982:42) reports that there were only five native speakers left, but that the language was understood by some 480 people.

⁴² Avava was formerly spoken in central inland Malakula, but Avava speakers have migrated to the west coast, at Tisvel, where half of the people speak Avava, while on the east coast Avava is spoken in Taremp, Tembimbi and Khatbol.

94. Larevat	C Malakula	675	Larevat
95. Dirakh (Mae) ⁴³	N Malakula	900	Mae, Bwatarlilip, Bangguru, Bethel Rori, Atchin, Orap
96. Tape (Marakhus)	N Malakula	10	East of Brenwei, Tautu
97. V'ënën Taut (Big Nambas)	NW Malakula	2000	Brenwei to Tenmaru
98. Patarmul (Malua Bay) ⁴⁴	NW Malakula	140	Malua Bay, Metekun, Atchin
99. Najit (Tenmial)	NW Malakula	10?	Tenmial
100. Nese (Matanvat)	NW Malakula	10	Matanvat SDA
101. Naha (Vovo)	NW Malakula	225	Vovo, Alavas
102. Potovro	N Malakula	150	Potovro
103. Njav	N Malakula	20	Tanmalilip
104. Vao	NE Malakula	1900	Vao I. and mainland opposite
105. NE Malakula ⁴⁵ Uripiv ⁴⁶	NE Malakula	4000	Uripiv to Atchin From Uripiv I. as far north as Atchin
Nale Towla ⁴⁷			Wala-Rano dialect of Uripiv, also at Pinalum, Norsup I.
Nale Tojan ⁴⁸			Atchin I. dialect of Uripiv

EPI

Language	Island	Speakers	Villages
106. Lamen	Epi	850	Lamenu I. (all villages)
107. Lewo ⁴⁹	Epi	2200	West Epi from northern point to Big Bay and down to Tasiko area, SE Epi
108. Bierebo	W Epi	800	Bonkovia
109. Baki	W Epi	350	Burumba

⁴³ Half of the population of Orap speaks Dirakh, the remainder Atchin. Tamedal Massing lists the following villages as having Dirakh (Tirakh) speakers: Batarnar, Navamb*, Dakdrou, Dakl*, Tnalgah, Ryah, Beterun, Vetvat, Batarvgalin, Lalbri, Batarmel, Beterliv, Mek, Nalindrander. There were movements out from Tirakh territory in north Malakula to Mae, Wala (via Mae), and Betel/ Rori; the people of the now abandoned Tirakh village of Navamb migrated to Orap.

⁴⁴ Patarmul speakers, originally in central north Malakula, (Patarmul, Bweterbu and Bwetengar villages), have migrated west to Malua Bay and east to Atchin.

⁴⁵ Spoken today at Uripiv, Lakatoro/Senal, Litzlitz, Louni (Bushman's Bay), Uri, Tautu, Wala, Rano, Atchin. Some dialect differences, but mutual intelligibility maintained according to fieldworker Numa Fred.

⁴⁶ Also known as Nale Turipiv.

⁴⁷ Reported by fieldworker Naro Gary.

⁴⁸ Fieldworker Bernard Rossi reports that on Atchin there are also speakers of Dirakh and Bwatarmul.

⁴⁹ Lewo is a multi-dialectal language with three main dialects: NW Epi to Big Bay; Mate to Nul (Malpa dialect); Filakara area (Tasiko or Taasiko area). Etchin Shem states that Tasiko is the name given to SE Epi, while Lewo is the old name for West Epi. They were thus originally place names.

110. Lake (Maii)	W Epi	175	Mafilao (Mae-Morae)
111. Bieria	W Epi	25	Vovo
*Natuaki	SE Epi	extinct	Votlo bush
*Ningkira	SE Epi	extinct (2) ⁵⁰	Taliko

EFATE AND SHEPHERD IS.

Language	Island	Speakers	Villages
112. Namakir ⁵¹	Shepherd I.	3750	Mataso, Makura, Emwae, Tongoa, ⁵² Tongariki, Buninga
123. Fakamae ⁵³	Shepherd I.	400	Emwae Makatea, Tongamea
113. Nakanamanga	Efate/Shepherds	9500	Tongoa (half), ⁵⁴ Emwae (one third), ⁵⁵ N Efate, ⁵⁶ S Epi (Tasiko area)
114. South Efate ⁵⁷	Efate	6000	Leleppa, ⁵⁸ Pango, Erakor, ⁵⁹ Eratap, ⁶⁰ Eton
124. Mele-Fila ⁶¹	Efate	3500	Ifira I., Mele

⁵⁰ Remembered by Fieldworker Etchin Shem and his sister.

⁵¹ Etchin Shem distinguishes eight varieties: Mataso; Makura, Emwae, N. Efate (immigrant communities); Tafa and Bongabonga on Tongoa (extinct dialect today); Buninga; Tongariki; Tongoa; Euta-Tongoa; other Tongoa dialects. Etchin Shem also reports that there a Namakir (Namakura) speakers resident on Efate at Mangaliliu, Epau, Ekipe as well as Pango and Erakor. On Epi they are also present at Fuluvala and Tekelele.

⁵² Namakir is spoken in the following villages on Tongoa: Bongabonga, Meriu, Mangarisu, Euta, Matangi, Itakoma.

⁵³ Chief Ti Makura Timothy reports that Fakamae (a Polynesian Outlier language) is also called Fakamakata. The Polynesian Outlier languages Fakamae (123), Mele-Fila (124) and Futuna-Aniwa (125) are listed in their home areas, but set apart in the classification presented in Map 1.

⁵⁴ Nakanamanga is spoken in the following villages on Tongoa: Purau, Kurumambe, Pele, Woraviu, Lupalea, Ravenga, Lumbukuti, Panita.

⁵⁵ In two villages: Sesake and Marae.

⁵⁶ Tradition has it that Nakanamanga originated at Takara on north Efate. Fieldworker Taman Willie reports that there is a separate dialect of Nakanamanga spoken by only two or three people at Epau village. He also states that Farealapa village on Nguna I. shares the same dialect as Sesake on Emwae, both having originated at Panita on Tongoa.

⁵⁷ Oral tradition links South Efate and Erromango. Traditional Erromangan stone money was discovered at Teouma, supposedly brought by Erromangan women who floated from Erromanga to Efate.

⁵⁸ Fieldworker Douglas Meto says that the use of the Ngunese Bible is having a deleterious effect on the Leleppa dialect and that there are some Ngunese borrowings in Leleppa as a result of mission activity.

⁵⁹ Fieldworker Manuel Wayene states that the South Efate language is known as Nafsan in his dialect.

⁶⁰ Fieldworker Silas Alben reports three dialect divisions: Eton/Eratap-Pango-Erakor/Leleppa. The people of Eratap, Erakor and Pango are said to have originated from Bouffa (Epwuf) village in inland Efate.

⁶¹ Polynesian Outlier language.

ERROMANGO

Language	Island	Speakers	Villages
115. Sie ⁶²	Erromango	1900	Throughout Erromango
116. Ura	Erromango	10	N Erromango
*Utaha	Erromango	extinct	NW Erromango
*Enyau/Yocu ⁶³	Erromango	extinct	W Erromango
*Novulamleg	Erromango	extinct	NE Erromango

TANNA

Language	Island	Speakers	Villages
117. Nafe	SW Tanna	3500	SW Tanna: Kwamera
118. Narak (Whitesands)	E Tanna	6500	Fatumtasika (Imafotu>Enprapen) Tumamine (Lawagi>Lautabil) Nakvsiasoli (Iluan>Latapu) Nakusi (Enipang>Waisisi) Nakusi (Newinigi>Lapangtawa) Kasaru (Lapangtawa>Ipekel)
119. Nawal (Nivhaal)	SW Tanna	4500	Namal Kag, Namal Alpahu, Namal Neteling, Namal Asul, Namatautou, Nakula, Kaluas, Tuhu
120. Natwar (Lenakel)	W Tanna	10,000	Rakahul, Lawiniao, Namruar, Nowanakiniao, Nimata, Navoilieng, Nariaken, Iru
121. Naga	N Tanna	4500	Northern third of Tanna

ANEITYUM

Language	Island	Speakers	Villages
122. Aneityum ⁶⁴	Intas Anejom ⁶⁵	800	All villages ⁶⁶

FUTUNA AND ANIWA

Language	Island	Speakers	Villages
125. Futuna-Aniwa	Futuna ⁶⁷ and Aniwa	1800	All villages on Futuna and Aniwa; some in Vila

⁶² Sie, also known as Sye, is the only living language spoken on Erromango today. In the old literature it is also referred to as Horung. Erromango suffered severe depopulation during the 19th century, the whole population being regrouped by the missionaries into a single village. The traditional distribution of languages is shown in Map 1. (See Lynch 1983.)

⁶³ Yocu and Sie are considered to be dialects of a single language.

⁶⁴ Also known as Keamu, said by fieldworker Frank Inhat to be an introduced name.

⁶⁵ There is a suggestion that there were once two languages, one in the west and the other in the east of the island.

⁶⁶ Futunese and Narak (Tanna) used in some villages, and some language mixing reported by fieldworkers Frank Inhat and Simo Joel.

⁶⁷ West Futuna, spoken on Futuna and Aniwa, is a Polynesian Outlier language. Also known as Imere.

3 Extinct, moribund and endangered languages of Vanuatu

The list of Vanuatu languages provided here must still be considered provisional, in spite of decades of language research carried out by an ever-increasing group of linguistic researchers. This caveat applies especially to the languages of the large islands of Espiritu Santo and Malakula, where even now new remnant languages are being discovered.

As discussed earlier, another remaining problem is the distinction between ‘language’ and ‘dialect’, for there has been a tendency to over-differentiate, especially on the part of ni-Vanuatu themselves. Indeed, there are chains of mutually intelligible dialects in some areas, especially southwest and central Espiritu Santo and in north-east Malakula, where dialect A, for example, can understand dialect B and B can understand C, but comprehension between A and C is severely reduced.

3.1 Extinct and moribund languages

It is perhaps important to distinguish two categories of extinct languages in Vanuatu, namely:

- (a) languages whose names are remembered from the past, but for which little or no other information is available other than the fact that their extinction took place many years ago.
- (b) languages which are known to have become extinct within the past decade or two and for which some information and/or the names of the last speakers are still remembered.⁶⁸

In the first category one may number the following:

Island	Language	Region
Banks Islands	Gōbōn	Vanua Lava
	Lalngetak	Vanua Lava
Ambae	Odia	Louvumbaka (dialect)
	Ekarue	Lolowalu (dialect)
Santo	Niethro	Pilot I., E Santo
	Nokanoka	Moriuli, SW Santo
	Latu	W Santo
	Mwe’ea	W Santo
	Sinie	W Santo
	Memie	W Santo
Pentecost	Mbwere	N Pentecost (dialect of Raga?)
	Nggasai	N Pentecost (dialect of Raga?)
Ambrym	Ral Aru	W Ambrym
	Ral Uri	W Ambrym
Malakula	Nivat	Central Malakula
Epi	Natuaki	Votlo bush area, SW Epi
Erromango	Utaha	NW Erromango
	Enyau/Yocu	W Erromango
	Novulamleg	NE Erromango

⁶⁸ These more recently extinct languages, for which the history is known, have retained a language number in the map of the languages of Vanuatu (Map 1) and the list of languages

The languages in the second category are languages which are reported to have become extinct within the past decade or two or which were reported some years ago to have fewer than twenty speakers and are now presumed to be dangerously moribund if not already extinct.⁶⁹ Languages in this category include:

Island	Language	Region	Speakers
Banks Islands	Lēmērig	Vanua Lava	10
	Mwēsēn	Vanua Lava	20
	Toula	Gaua	1
Santo	Beleru	SE Santo	3
	Netavu	SE Santo	1
	Tavalpei	NW Santo	1
	Vevatot	NW Santo	2
	Moiso	SC Santo	4
	Aje	SC Santo	10
	Bot	SC Santo	1
	Araki	SW Santo	10
	Aore	SE Santo	extinct since 1972
	Nethalp	NE Santo	extinct since 1975
Pentecost	Sowa	C Pentecost	extinct since 1975
Malakula	Hoti	Maskelynes	3 ('Uliveo dialect)
	Naati	SW Malakula	10
	Gara	E Malakula	3
	Umbruul	W Malakula	10
	Nitita	E Malakula	extinct 2005
	Viviti	E Malakula	10
	Naman	C Malakula	10
	Tape	NE Malakula	10
	Nese	NW Malakula	10
	Njav	N Malakula	20
Epi	Ningkira	SE Epi	2
Erromango	Ura	N Erromango	5

3.2 Endangered languages

While all of the languages listed as extinct/moribund above may be considered 'seriously endangered', and so requiring urgent recording and documentation, there are numerous languages in Vanuatu with 100 speakers or fewer. These too are 'endangered', especially those spoken close to urban or peri-urban areas near Port Vila (Efate) and Luganville (Santo). Languages which fall into this category include:

⁶⁹ Recent work by a number of linguists, and especially by the fieldworkers of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre, has revealed a number of previously unrecorded languages spoken by very small refugee communities within a number of villages throughout Vanuatu.

Language	Location	Speakers
Lehalurup	Ureparapara, Banks Islands	100
Mwēsēn	Vanua Lava, Banks Islands	20
Mokoro	Gaua, Banks Islands	75
Wetuk	Gaua, Banks Islands	50
Ngen	E Santo	10
Toksiki	E Santo	30
Farafi	E Santo	10
Farnanto	E Santo	100
Atin	E Santo	100
Redlahtur	SW Santo	100
Daruru	SW Santo	100
Moiso	SW Santo	100
Nioleien	SE Malakula	50
Nevwol	SW Malakula	100?
Newoteyene	SW Malakula	50
Nasvang-Farun	S Malakula	100
Nisvai-Vetbong	SE Malakula	100
Bieria	SW Epi	25

4 Conclusion

The next decade will be crucial if we are to obtain a record of the endangered and moribund languages of Vanuatu for which we have little or no documentation. For while the late Terry Crowley and some of his graduate students have made significant progress, especially in central Malakula, there are still twenty to thirty languages which will disappear within the next generation. The greatest threat is posed by rapidly increasing urbanization, which results in the lingua franca Bislama taking over as the most common medium of communication. In many cases, the last speakers of these seriously endangered languages are elderly, making transmission of the language to younger generations improbable.

The Vanuatu Cultural Centre, which co-ordinates linguistic research in Vanuatu, is launching a major research effort involving its own ni-Vanuatu fieldworkers, especially those living close to endangered language communities. This is being enhanced by a steady stream of expatriate graduate student linguists who work in tandem with them.

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3

A field report on a language documentation project on the Marquesas in French Polynesia

GABRIELE H. CABLITZ

1 Introduction¹

In this paper I will report on a language documentation project on the Marquesas islands. This documentation project is part of the DOBES²-program — financed by the Volkswagen Foundation in Germany — which aims to document endangered languages world-wide.

In the first part of this paper I will discuss language endangerment, the effects on the linguistic development of children, and the (internal and external) language policies in French Polynesia and on the Marquesas islands. In the second part of this paper I will discuss the different attitudes and responses of the Marquesan speech community to the present state of their language and culture and the various initiatives undertaken by the speech community, in particular that of the recently created local language academy *Tuhuna 'Eo 'Enata*. Finally, I will present details about the content of our documentation project and the responses of the speech community to it. In particular I will discuss the cooperation with the Marquesan speech community and their expectations towards such a documentation project.

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² DoBeS = Dokumentation bedrohter Sprachen (documentation of endangered languages).

2 Sociolinguistic setting and language endangerment

2.1 The Marquesan languages, the archipelago, and its speech community

The Marquesan languages, North Marquesan and South Marquesan, belong to the Eastern Oceanic branch of the Austronesian language family and within this branch they belong to the Eastern Polynesian subgroup. The two Marquesan languages are most closely related to Hawai'ian and Mangarevan and these four languages together form the Marquesic subgroup. This subgroup is distinct from Proto Tahitic which includes Tahitian, Tuamotuan, Rarotongan and New Zealand Maori (Pawley 1966; Green 1966). South Marquesan (S-MQA) is spoken on the islands Hiva 'Oa, Tahuata and Fatu Iva; the languages of Nuku Hiva and 'Ua Pou can be roughly grouped together as North Marquesan (N-MQA).

The Marquesas islands represent one of five archipelagos of French Polynesia. French Polynesia is a so-called POM (*pays d'outre mer*) of France which has partial internal self-government. France retains control over jurisdiction, defense, immigration, the police, foreign trade and television and radio broadcasting. Responsibility for educational issues is divided between France and the territorial government in French Polynesia. In primary, secondary and further education the language of instruction is exclusively French. French is also the only official language of French Polynesia.

According to the 1996 census 8064 people live on the Marquesas islands of which around 5% are not of Marquesan origin (Blanchard 1997). The majority of the non-indigenous population are French ex-patriates which are either married to indigenous people or are working there for a limited period of time.

The first 100 years of intensive European contact, beginning in the late 18th century, is known to have had a dramatic and negative impact on Marquesan demographics. By 1920 the depopulation reached its climax with less than 2000 indigenous people recorded in the census; according to some estimates there was a drop of almost 95% of the population compared to that prior to European contact (Rollin 1974). Since then, the demographic situation has slowly improved and today around 70% of the Marquesan population is under 30 years of age.

2.2 Language endangerment in French Polynesia: internal and external causes

A shift from the indigenous Polynesian languages to French is a development which can be observed throughout French Polynesia (Tetahiotupa 2000). This is partly due to the fact that in the last 30 to 40 years life in French Polynesia, including the Marquesas, has become increasingly westernized, a development which was greatly accelerated by the installation of the *Centre d'Expérimentation du Pacifique* (CEP), the atomic testing ground on Mururoa (Tuamotu) in the 1960s. Three factors have largely contributed to the language shift from Marquesan to French as a home language:

1. The **French education system** has been introduced in all areas of French Polynesia with the last schools in the most isolated areas of the Marquesas being opened in mid-1960s (Le Cléac'h 1996).
2. A **media revolution** took place in the mid 1980s in French Polynesia. Today almost all households have a television and radio, many also have a video or DVD player and 95% of broadcasts are in French (Marere 1988).

3. The **language attitudes** of the Marquesan speech community (Tetahiotupa 2000; discussed further below).

The media revolution and western ‘modernization’ in French Polynesia and on the Marquesas did not only have drastic and devastating effects on the indigenous languages, but also on communicative practices and the transmission of remaining cultural practices. Western products such as processed food, clothes, building materials for houses, cars, tools etc. have become established and are widely popular due to regular supplies from Tahiti every two to three weeks. This development has greatly replaced indigenous traditional ways and practices, in particular in the domains of food preparation, the manufacturing of traditional artefacts and the everyday use of natural products. Having undoubtedly also made daily life easier in many ways, western modernization is viewed by many Marquesans as progress. The possession of western products is generally taken to imply high status for the individual, and having grown up with the convenience of the western life-style no Marquesan would want to go back to a fully traditional life in order to completely revive their cultural heritage.

However, at the very heart of this drastic change in life-style, many Marquesans strongly desire to document their cultural knowledge and language in order to maintain their intimate link with the past — their *tupuna* ‘ancestors’.

2.3 Language transmission and language practices

On the Marquesas the major language shift from Marquesan to French as a home language started in the 1970s and 1980s.³ This shift is still on-going.

In the most populated areas of the Marquesas islands (Taiohae, Hakahau and Atuona), where about 70% of the population lives, the principal language used to address children at home has clearly shifted from Marquesan to French and as a result the majority of children aged under eighteen have acquired French as their first language. In those urbanized centres of the Marquesas, one finds French administration, schools of secondary education (equivalent to the French *collège*), larger hospitals, and shops which are often run by French ex-patriates. Thus, Marquesans have an intense contact with French people and the western life-style on a daily basis.

All young Marquesans still possess some kind of passive competence of Marquesan not only due to the fact that they might be surrounded by fully competent speakers of Marquesan, but also because they often receive linguistic input from both languages. Many only have a comprehension of Marquesan; knowledge of Marquesan often depends on the family situation in which they grow up (for example, the presence of older people increases the chances of a higher competence level). Some of these youngsters occasionally acquire Marquesan as a second language at a later stage in childhood, mostly around age eight to ten.

³ The island of Tahiti is two generations (or more) ahead in the general development of socio-economic, cultural and linguistic changes because it has always been the political, economical, administrative and educational center of French Polynesia. My guest mother on Tahiti — born in 1935 — grew up in Papeete, the capital, and had already learnt French as a first language at the end of the 1930s. She has comprehension of Tahitian but only learnt to speak the language at the age of seventeen or eighteen, so might be called a semi-speaker. A similar kind of pattern can be observed for the Marquesas today.

In the more isolated areas the majority of children still acquire Marquesan as their first language, but the tendency is evidently towards French as a home language because parents increasingly feel the urge to come up to educational requirements. Despite the fact that the dominant language used in small valleys is still Marquesan one can observe frequent code-switching and code-mixing.

In general, the speech of Marquesans is often characterized by code-switching and code-mixing, a phenomenon which is often negatively labelled as *sarabia* or *charabia*, a kind a gibberish or double dutch. The language-learning child has a very varied and complex linguistic input which is often shaped unconsciously by the need to make oneself understood regardless of which language might be used (for example, *aũē c'est puta le popo* 'oh dear, the ball has a hole', *c'est reva* 'it's done', *je vais à tai/uta* 'I am going to the sea-region/inland').

Regardless of these particularities of language input, the main language of address is French and not surprisingly the child starts producing French words and phrases first but occasionally uses some Marquesan words such as *mai* 'come', *puta* 'broken' or *tutae* 'shit'. Parents and caretakers tend to use Marquesan words upon which there is a kind of taboo, probably for reasons of wanting to be more secretive with its meaning and content (for example, *tutae* 'shit').

Even if Marquesan is still spoken at home, all Marquesan children from age three or sometimes two and a half — an age when the productive language acquisition process sets in — are fully immersed in French for much of the day. At that age they have to attend the so-called *classes préparatoires* in which French is spoken exclusively. The schooling in the *classes préparatoires* is more or less compulsory otherwise parents or caretakers would lose their child benefits which is a steady source of income for a number of families.

In his thesis Tetahiotupa (2000) has pointed out that this development has a devastating effect on the language development of children because parents often have a poor command of French (ibid.:67ff.). The transmission of French as a first language by native speakers of Marquesan who have insufficiently acquired French as a second language, coupled with the incomplete transmission of the indigenous languages, results in a kind of 'semi-lingualism' and develops into a new linguistic vernacular, possibly a 'mixed language' (ibid.). This is a problem which can be observed throughout French Polynesia.

Not so long ago it was forbidden to speak Marquesan during lessons and school breaks, and some adult consultants told me that they were sometimes severely punished when trying to speak Marquesan during school hours. This is not the case anymore, but the use of Marquesan during school hours by pupils is not favoured or promoted by local school teachers.

2.3 Language attitudes and reasons for language shifting

The main reasons for shifting from Marquesan to French as a home language are economic pressures and professional requirements. Primary, secondary and further education are exclusively in French and in order to ensure success in school life and further education many parents decide to address their children exclusively in French at home. A good command of French is nowadays a basic requirement when seeking salaried labour on the Marquesas and elsewhere in French Polynesia.

The attitudes of the Marquesan speech community towards the French language are basically divided into two different camps. One camp quite consciously shifts from Marquesan to French because they believe that French as a world language opens the doors

to the western and industrialized world (Tetahiotupa 2000:79). Many of these are primary school teachers who have obtained or wish to obtain salaried labour. Motivated by their own success, they encourage and prompt parents and caretakers (in particular in the most isolated areas of the Marquesas) to use French as a home language in order to assure success in school and in later life.

The other camp laments the increasing loss and change of their indigenous language and appeals publicly to reintroduce Marquesan as the language of instruction in schools. Ironically, when these Marquesans address these problems in public they often do it in French. And most ironically, these Marquesans educate their own children at home in French (Riley 2001).

The argument that education opens the doors to salaried labour has become a foregone conclusion in recent years. About ten years ago it was a rarity that a child would do the *baccalauréat*,⁴ let alone go on to university; nowadays there is at least one child per family which is accessing higher education often up to university level.

Often Marquesans have no choice other than to push their children towards higher education because the education system is not at all adapted to their local needs. It does not provide young Marquesans with the option of learning practical specialized professions (such as mechanics, electrical engineers or the like) and a young Marquesan has to leave for metropolitan France to acquire these skills. In general, one can state that the whole education system is out of context.⁵

Tetahiotupa (2000) also mentions other more affective reasons why French is often preferred to Marquesan. In Tahiti Marquesans are often ashamed of speaking Marquesan because it is stigmatized by Tahitians as being the language of savages and anthropophagi. On the Marquesas especially, women use French as a sign of politeness, of being well-educated and of showing that they belong to the modern western world.

One can summarize that the language attitudes of the Marquesan speech community greatly contribute to the shift from Marquesan to French as a home language.

The above mentioned causes of language death do not only apply to the Marquesas, but can be observed throughout French Polynesia.

3 Cultural and linguistic revival in French Polynesia

3.1 The *ma'ohi* movement

The Polynesians reacted to the overwhelming influence and increasing presence of France in their islands and in the 1960s cries for independence became louder, and projects to preserve and revive the linguistic and cultural heritage of French Polynesia were already being launched at this time. The creation of a Tahitian language academy (*Fare Vana'a*), a centre for the study of human sciences of Polynesia (*Te Ana Vaha Rau*) and a museum were established which all focused on the promotion of the Tahitian language and culture.⁶

⁴ In the French school system the *baccalauréat* qualifies pupils to enter university.

⁵ Teachers on the *collège* level have to apply the same curriculum as in France (for example, making the reading of Baudelaire, Hugo or Molière compulsory), a task almost impossible to tackle as a Marquesan pupil naturally has a very different linguistic and cultural background to a French pupil.

⁶ At its inception, the *Fare Vana'a* was created to safeguard all Polynesian languages and cultures. Due to the fact that the majority of academy members were of Tahitian descent, the focus quickly turned towards Tahitian.

This *ma'ohi*-movement only promoted Tahitian language and culture and had little interest in the preservation of other indigenous languages spoken in French Polynesia, often regarding them as simple dialects of Tahitian. For numerous Tahitian intellectuals *reo Tahiti* 'the Tahitian language' is considered to be the *reo ma'ohi* 'the Polynesian mother language'.

Tahitian was — until recently — the only indigenous language to be broadcast on radio and television alongside French (with at least 5% of the broadcastings being in Tahitian).

In 1978 Tahitian became the second official language of French Polynesia next to French. This status of Tahitian was abolished again in 1996 in the course of the Treaty of Maastricht. Today French is the only official language in French Polynesia.

However, Tahitian has still retained an important position in public life and education. Tahitian is compulsory in most schools of French Polynesia and an obligatory subject when doing the *baccalauréat*. Tahitian is also needed to secure employment in administration, a highly desirable area of work for many young Polynesians.

Some researchers estimate that there has been a massive 'tahitianization' of most Polynesian languages spoken in French Polynesia (J.-M. Charpentier pers. comm.).

On the Tuamotus, with Tahitian language church services, Bible, and television and radio broadcastings, most people cannot distinguish between their own island vernacular, the Tuamotuan *lingua franca* Pa'umotu⁷ and Tahitian. Only very few old people — mostly over age 60 — are still able to distinguish between the vernaculars. The situation is extremely worrying for the survival of these, almost moribund, languages.

Most archipelagos of French Polynesia — except the Marquesas — have hardly shown any resistance at all to the hegemonic forces of Tahiti, mostly seeing themselves as part of a larger socio-political entity dominated by Tahiti.

The situation on the remote Marquesas is in many ways quite different to all other French Polynesian archipelagos, but also gives cause for concern.

3.2 Cultural revival on the Marquesas

There has been a strong cultural revival movement on the Marquesas which can be traced back to 1978.

This revival movement is very characteristic of the Marquesans and an outcome of the internal politics in French Polynesia. The formation of the Marquesan cultural revival movement is not only an attempt to prevent the disappearance of the distinct cultural identity of the Marquesans, but also a reaction to the hegemonic forces of Tahiti.

In the late 1970s some local Marquesan personalities demonstrated resistance to the Tahitian *ma'ohi* movement by creating the *Motu Haka* association for the preservation of the Marquesan language and culture.⁸ The association was successful in restoring the right to teach Marquesan instead of Tahitian in all schools of the Marquesas, but they had little financial support from the local government in Tahiti to support projects similar to that of the Tahitian Academy.

⁷ Pa'umotu is a *lingua franca* which evolved in the 19th century through Tuamotuans from different islands working as oyster divers for the French Polynesian button industry.

⁸ The Marquesan archipelago is the only island group in French Polynesia where the local vernaculars are taught in school and not Tahitian; until this day no other archipelago has restored the rights to teach their own vernaculars.

After 20 years of perseverance and resistance against the Tahitian hegemony they were also successful in creating their own language academy in 1998 which is a recognized institution of French Polynesia. The *Tuhuna 'Eo 'Enata*, the Marquesan Academy, is in fact a continuation of the *Motu Haka* association as many academy members were also active in the *Motu Haka* association. Due to the personal engagement of the *Motu Haka* members they managed to organize regular Marquesan festivals and revive the arts and music and dance in particular among the younger population.

Unlike the Tahitian *ma'ohi* movement, the Marquesan revival movement is not to be linked with independence politics in the spirit of Pouvana'a's strive for independence from France. The leaders of the Marquesan revival movement very much desire to be independent from Tahiti, but — similar to the Mayotte concept — they wanted to be directly attached to France.⁹

It is a very characteristic feature of the strong-willed and proud Marquesans to distinguish themselves from Tahiti. There are many interesting displays of pro-French and anti-Tahitian spirits; the most dramatic may be when Marquesan politicians invited France to relocate their nuclear testing grounds to the Marquesas in case of a rupture between France and Tahiti. That linguistic and cultural issues also often function as a political instrument was recently manifested when an official Marquesan orthography, distinct from that of the Tahitian Academy, was created.

From the point of view of the colonial history of the area, the Marquesas, with a Catholic majority, are distinguished from Tahiti which is predominantly Protestant and this fact further adds to the cultural differences between the two island groups. The Catholic church has played a dominant role in the revival movement of the Marquesas under the leadership of the former Marquesan bishop Mgr. Le Cléac'h who also initiated the *Motu Haka* association and translated the Bible into Marquesan.

However, one often has the impression that the Catholic church does not want to revive the Marquesan culture to the extent that it would conflict with Catholic morals. For example, whilst encouraging an element of cultural revival, the church also required people to make a commitment not to practice and prepare traditional plant medicine. Along with tattooing these practices were considered to be heathen.¹⁰ In an effort to keep young Marquesans involved into church practices, the church has admitted a number of old traditions in church life (for example, using drums during the Mass, performing Polynesian dances during religious feasts, etc.).

The cultural revival has taken root in every corner of the Marquesas. In particular old ways of life (for example, horse-riding) or, more significantly, Marquesan tattooing motifs and patterns copied from books (for example, von den Steinen (1925/1928) on the art of Marquesan tattooing) have become a real mark of identity for many Marquesans to the extent that they like to adorn themselves even without understanding the deeper symbolism behind certain tattoo patterns.

Another important issue (and delicate matter) for the cultural revival movement is the authenticity of their reproduced traditions.

There are basically two groups with distinct views on this matter. One group consists of traditionalists trying to revive and reconstruct the traditions more or less faithfully from

⁹ These politics are now known as *la politique marquisienne* 'the Marquesan politics'.

¹⁰ Only fifteen years ago tattooing was still disdained by many strict Marquesan catholics and considered to be vulgar and diabolic. The same people rejecting these practices previously are now often proudly tattooed themselves.

books of early scholars and travel writers of the early contact period.¹¹ The other group quite literally tries to re-create their culture by integrating traditional elements with those of other Polynesian cultures or by simply creating completely new elements.

Many Marquesans, mostly older ones, have strong objections when their culture is not reproduced faithfully, in particular with respect to the domains of song, dance and storytelling. This creates a lot of animosity and some tension in the Marquesan speech community and they often like to accuse each other of re-inventing or completely inventing cultural content. The most knowledgeable of the speech community are often under attack by a small self-styled elite of Marquesans who have acquired diplomas enabling them to practice professions introduced by the French or western socio-political system (school teachers, etc.). People with such diplomas are considered to be *ma'ama* 'intelligent', and often these people stigmatize illiterate people or people without diplomas as *pō ke'eke'e* 'ignorant, uneducated (lit. 'night black')' or *puriki* (N-MQR) or *potano* (S-MQR) 'stupid (lit. 'donkey')'. However, some Marquesans are now starting to realize that formal education is not the sole indicator of intelligence and that traditional education can also be of value. Quite ironically, Marquesans with diplomas were so entrenched in their studies that they had little time left over to receive a good traditional education and therefore often lack a substantial traditional knowledge. However, being the *po'i ma'ama*, the intellectual elite (lit. 'people intelligent'), they are under much pressure to fulfil the expectations of the speech community.

Whether the portrayed knowledge of a particular person is authentic or not is difficult to judge for most Marquesans for two reasons. First of all, the cultural knowledge was only transmitted to a few selected or chosen persons within a family who were supposed to transmit their knowledge again to a chosen person from his or her family. This selective transmission was still practised among the generations born before modernization set in on a large scale in the 1960s. Secondly, since the dramatic demographic low-point of their population in the 1920s the survival of the Marquesan people was largely in the hands of the Catholic church. Old cultural practices were not tolerated in any public context and only secretly talked about or practised at home. As a consequence of these two aspects in the recent past of the Marquesas, there are only a very few people today who possess a deep cultural knowledge of their traditional society.

Tourism has also been a factor in effecting changes and transformations of cultural artefacts. In particular the use of Marquesan tattooing motifs has been enlarged on a wide commercial level having become a real trademark of French Polynesia. One finds Marquesan tattooing motifs not only on *tapa* (traditional cloth made of tree bark) and *pareus* (local dress), but also as designs on cars, telephone cards, T-shirts and the like. Much to the dissatisfaction of Marquesans there is no recognition that these designs have a Marquesan origin: on these products one often finds *Tahiti et ses îles* (Tahiti and its islands) in small print.

Although the initial phase of the cultural revival movement was characterized by great enthusiasm and a lot of cultural activity, unfortunately this seems to have died down considerably in recent years.

For many Marquesan political leaders and revivalists the efforts have become more and more laborious not only because they have received little financial support from the local government in Tahiti until recently, but also because there is a lot of local rivalry between

¹¹ For example, von den Steinen's (1925/1928) book on the art of Marquesan tattooing or the numerous books which had been published after the Bayard Dominique expedition from Hawai'i in the 1920s.

the different islands, and sometimes even on a valley-to-valley basis or between individual Marquesans themselves.¹²

3.3 Linguistic revival on the Marquesas

Although cultural revival has been achieved to some extent linguistic revival is still at a very initial stage. A new impulse came in 1998 when the Marquesan Academy — *Tuhuna 'Eo 'Enata* (lit. 'the masters of the Marquesan language') — was officially acknowledged by the territorial assembly, to be an institution of French Polynesia with a fixed annual subvention to advance their language work. The Marquesan Academy consists of thirteen members: there are two representatives per inhabited island and one representative for the Marquesan community on Tahiti.¹³ The academy members meet about every three months for three days, mostly during school holidays as most members are primary school teachers.

The first academy members were proposed by the former bishop Mgr. Le Cléac'h and the ministry of cultural affairs. Only those Marquesans who had received some kind of formal education were chosen. Some of the current members were even favoured over older monolingual speakers of Marquesan. Older speakers — with a substantial knowledge of the culture — were disfavoured for the reason that they would not be able to speak French and therefore they could not follow the discussions during their meetings which are often held in French.¹⁴

In general one can observe that the efforts of the Marquesan Academy to maintain the language is often influenced by the dominant colonial language and culture.

The Marquesan Academy is working in seclusion from the public. The local population cannot access nor interact with the Academy except when specifically invited to do so. The Academy's first task has been focused mainly on the replacement of French loan words by making up Marquesan equivalent expressions, very much in the fashion of the French language academy (*Académie française*).

The work of the Marquesan Academy is in fact an example where one can observe that language purism and the influence by the dominant language and culture is quite harmful.

Their word creations to replace French loan words show how much their efforts are influenced by western norms and the grammatical analysis of European languages. The majority of speakers use the French code-switched form *signature* 'signature' and *signer* 'sign' ('*a hano ta 'oe signature* or '*a signer 'oe*) to refer to a *signature* and the act of *signing*. However, the Academy has proposed the following Marquesan equivalents for *signature* and *signer*: *ko patu* for *signer* and *ko 'ima* for *signature*. According to the academy members *ko patu* would appropriately replace *signer* because *patu* is often used to express the action of writing and *ko* denotes in general an instrument. Thus, *ko patu* literally means 'instrument write'. *Ko 'ima*, on the other hand, literally means 'instrument

¹² Rivalry is in fact a characteristic feature of traditional Marquesan society. Unlike Tahiti, there was no unifying leader on the Marquesas. Almost each valley had its own political leader who was not subordinated to any other chief which created a very different structure of political powers and interaction (Thomas 1990; Denning 1980).

¹³ The number of academy members is disproportionate with respect to numbers of inhabitants. Whereas there are only 8000 Marquesans living on the Marquesas, the Marquesan community on Tahiti consists of around 14,000 people.

¹⁴ This is very much in the fashion of how cultural revival was often practised, namely through the medium of French.

hand'. As the French word *signature* is a noun they tried to find a word for the second part of the Marquesan compound which is used in nominal contexts denoting a thing or an entity (here a body-part), but not an action. In other words: action words should replace French verbs, but not French nouns.

This is a very un-Polynesian way of word formation because in many — if not all — Polynesian languages there is no verb-noun distinction on the lexical level (see for example, Broschart 1991; Vonen 2000; Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992). Apart from grammatical particles most content words can potentially function as a verb, noun or attribute/modifier in any type of phrase in Marquesan (Cablitz 2006). Thus, forming words with the lexical distinction of nouns and verbs is a grammatical concept adopted from Indo-European languages which is by no means a Polynesian concept.

A number of Marquesans are of the opinion that the Marquesan Academy is in the process of deforming their language. The Marquesan equivalents of French loan words provoke a lot of mockery (*hakame'e* 'make fun of') among the population who are not willing to adopt the proposed words such as *puha ata* (lit. 'box image') for *tere* (< Fr. *télé* 'television'), *patu ahi* (lit. 'write fire') for *stiro* (< Fr. *stylo* 'pen'), etc. Only a few words, for example, have been accepted and are now used in contemporary Marquesan *ki'itea* 'western/white people' (lit. 'skin white') and *ko'uta'u* for *merci* 'thanks'. The latter, however, always provokes a lot of discussion, in particular among the older population. *Ko'uta'u/ko'utau* actually means that the person uttering that word desires to return a favour to the addressee one day, which has a deep significance in a society of traditional 'giving and taking' (*donnant-donnant*). However, the word *ko'uta'u* 'thanks' is used very much in the western sense — without an implied return of favour. The Academy tried to find a word for a concept which had formerly not existed in the same way in their culture.

There has also been some friction between the Marquesan Academy and some older Marquesans whom the Academy either completely ignored or tried to 'correct', criticising their knowledge and accusing them of lying about and re-inventing cultural contents (the notion of *tivava/tiko'e*).

Ignoring the knowledge of older people has been a well known problem in other parts of French Polynesia (E. Tetahiotupa pers. comm.), where it may cause them to totally withdraw from interactions with language and culture preservation projects and programs altogether.

In general the Marquesan Academy works within a very set frame of right and wrong and there is a clear tendency to be prescriptive than rather descriptive. The desire to maintain and revive their language is a difficult task to tackle because traditionally their culture was orally transmitted. They have only little experience of transmitting their knowledge by writing and in having lost their traditions they fall back to the methods and regulations of a system that others deeply reject.

4 The current documentation project of the endangered Marquesan languages

In 2003 the project 'Documentation of the Marquesan languages and culture in French Polynesia' was awarded funding by the Volkswagen Foundation (Germany) within the DoBeS-program. The aim of this project is to document the endangered Marquesan languages in various different contexts and socio-cultural interactions. The project was initiated together with Edgar Tetahiotupa, a native speaker of South Marquesan who completed a PhD in anthropology in France. Between 2003 and 2006 we have documented the following topics: story-telling, songs and dances, traditional food preparation, plant

medicine, handicrafts (for example, plaiting, bark cloth (*tapa*) fabrication), fishing and navigation techniques, plant products and gardening/planting, trick languages, toponymy and culturally important places, and contemporary events (for example, political protest marches in 2004).

The collected data mainly exist in the form of audio and video recordings. We have also included photographs of plants, animals, etc. as well as of important steps in the preparation of food, plant medicine or other aspects of the traditional material culture. For the documentation of food preparation, plant medicine and plant products we documented the whole procedure, mostly in the form of video and photographs. Some items only exist as digital audio files, in summarising complex procedures or describing aspects of the preparation in detail. For the documentation of fermented breadfruit preparation, for instance, a one-hour video recording is accompanied by short verbal summaries existing as five-minute audio files. Some audio files explain additional techniques and variations of the preparation forms that are depicted in the video material.

Documentation of fishing and navigation techniques, toponymy and contemporary events all exist as video items. A number of narratives, songs, elicitations and conversations in Marquesan trick languages, and informal interviews have also been recorded on video.

The narratives reveal a number of aspects about the former culture such as death rituals, taboos, social structure, polyandry, cannibalism, famine, planting (for example, breadfruit), warfare, fishing etc. Additionally, we have conducted informal interviews that deal with topics such as the life cycle (initiation, death and birth rites, giving birth), supernatural beings and ancestral spirits, feasts, the Marquesan taboo-system, food preparation techniques, Marquesan polyandry and additional explanations of the procedural recordings.¹⁵ Local field assistants were primarily involved in this kind of data collection, interviewing the consultants on these topics to avoid foreigner talk (see Mosel 1984:13). There is now a group of seven Marquesans from three different islands who work for the project regularly. Having acquired skills to use a computer-based transcription tool as well as a dictionary-making tool, they continue to work independently outside fieldwork periods.

The recordings have been transcribed and translated together with native speakers. Translations of the transcripts exist in French as well as English. We are doing the basic annotation (translation) in two European languages for the following reasons. French is a necessary requirement because the home language has largely shifted from Marquesan to French on the Marquesas and, therefore, if language revitalization will take place, it will be via the medium of French. We have also chosen English because earlier documentation of the Marquesan culture was mainly done by the Bayard Dominick Expedition of the Bishop Museum (Honolulu, Hawai'i) in the 1920s in English. This allows the speech community better access to the existing documentation of their culture.

Apart from annotated video and audio sessions we are working on a trilingual general dictionary as well as on thematic glossaries.

The Marquesan languages consist of six distinct dialects, each dialect being spoken on a different island. Although the literature generally divides the Marquesan vernaculars into two distinct groups, North Marquesan (*'eo 'enana*) and South Marquesan (*'eo 'enata*)

¹⁵ Note that these informal interviews on preparation techniques are basically a different text type than the summaries of preparation forms which have more of an instructive nature.

(Green 1966; Hughes and Fischer 1998; see also Lewis 2009), each island vernacular has distinct lexical, phonological and morphological characteristics.'

Although it is advisable to give preference to one dialect, mainly for practical and time-constraint reasons (cf. Mosel 2004:41ff.), our documents and dictionary and glossaries include all six Marquesan dialects — we do not only represent one regional variety. This was done for several reasons. First of all, the speech community feels that the richness of their language lies in its dialectal variability and that all dialects have to be documented to an equal extent. This conception is also reflected in the set-up of the Marquesan Language Academy in that all islands have two representatives. Also, there is no single, regional variety which is the obvious choice to select as a standard variety of the Marquesan language.

There are also other good reasons to include all dialects. First of all, each island has retained distinct cultural practices which are often not spread throughout the entire Marquesan archipelago (for example, *tapa* production (Fatu Iva island), plant medicine (Tahuata, 'Ua Pou), narratives (Nuku Hiva, 'Ua Pou, Hiva 'Oa), trick languages (Nuku Hiva, Hiva 'Oa), and traditional food preparation ('Ua Pou)). To be able to document these topics we had to work with different speakers from different dialects.

We have mainly focused on five different islands (Nuku Hiva, 'Ua Pou (North Marquesas), Hiva 'Oa, Tahuata and Fatu Iva (South Marquesas)) comprising a total of 64 different speakers (Nuku Hiva 16, 'Ua Pou 17, Hiva 'Oa 14, Tahuata 9, Fatu Iva 6). We only have one recording from the 'Ua Huka dialect (North Marquesas).

The ages of the speakers range from around 40 to 92. Over 25 of our consultants have died since the beginning of the project in 2003, and thus the urgency to do recordings was very high. All our speakers have acquired Marquesan as their first language. A number of speakers — mostly older ones (60+) — have not acquired French as a second language, but often demonstrate a high level of competence in Tahitian. Although we focused our recordings on the speech of older speakers — as this was the explicit wish of the speech community — the recordings also contain the speech of younger speakers and children as they often spontaneously interacted during the making of the documents. These recordings reveal a great deal about how adults and caretakers verbally interact with children or address them and they provide many examples of the speech of youngsters and children.¹⁶

With respect to local institutions, we have had support from the Marquesan Academy, which assisted in introducing and promoting the project to the speech community on all islands.

Another local institution with which the project is cooperating is the CRDP of French Polynesia (*Centre de Recherches et de Documentation Pédagogiques de Polynésie française*) located on Tahiti. Within the CRDP the main cooperation partner is the anthropologist Edgar Tetahiotupa who will be in charge of a new branch of the CRDP on the Marquesas. He will eventually develop the material — collected and documented during our on-going project — into pedagogical material.

Finally we are in collaboration with ethno-botanists¹⁷ on Hawai'i who have undertaken a project documenting the flora of the Marquesas between 1997 and 2003. The main focus of our collaboration is to match scientific names for plants used, for example, in the plant

¹⁶ Note that a large corpus of child language and the language of adolescents already existed before the beginning of this project. It was therefore not a priority to focus on these age groups.

¹⁷ Botanists working at the NTBG (*National Tropical Botanical Garden*) on the Hawaiian islands.

medicine documentation. The collaboration has also complemented our work on a breadfruit glossary.

Traditionally, breadfruit was — and still is — one of the staple foods of the Marquesas, but it is nowadays increasingly replaced by imported rice. This does not only endanger the cultural practices and uses of breadfruit, but also its cultivation and this therefore urgently needs to be documented. There are said to be 40 to 50 different breadfruit varieties on the Marquesas which are not only used as staple food, but also for building canoes, making adhesives or preparing plant medicine, etc. During fieldwork we have collected more than 60 breadfruit names of which some are regional variants. For our breadfruit glossary we are in the process of writing vernacular definitions of the characteristics of the respective breadfruit varieties as well as documenting the different uses (food, medicinal, material culture) in the Marquesan vernacular. All vernacular definitions and description are translated into French and English.

5 Reactions of the speech community to a documentation project of their endangered languages

Members of the Marquesan speech community have been reacting quite differently to our documentation project. In general, the documentation of their language is a very sensitive issue as this is the last stronghold of their distinct identity. For several reasons it is quite difficult for researchers from the outside of Polynesia (that are not of Polynesian descent) to get real and easy access to the community.

Having lost most of their cultural practices and being about to lose their language too, mainly owing to colonialization, christianization and globalization, Marquesans have quite naturally built up higher barriers to the outside world. In the past years one can observe an increase in anti-foreigner (*hao 'e*) and anti-French feelings in particular.

Learning and being able to speak their language is a necessity if one wishes to accomplish thorough documentation. Being able to speak the language not only opens many doors, it also gains some respect for the researcher because the population of French ex-patriates makes very little effort to learn the local language.

Marquesans are generally quite mistrusting of people they do not know regardless whether they are Marquesan, Polynesian, or of any other nationality. Only gradually after constant observation of the other's behaviour do Marquesans open up and start to trust and have confidence in a person. This building up of trust can take several field trips.

Mistrust against foreign researchers has been also provoked by the fact that a large number of artefacts from old sites and caves have been taken outside the country. Marquesans often feel robbed of their own culture and therefore have a natural fear that any new foreign researcher will do the same. This attitude has made it very hard for external researchers to gain the trust of the community.

As the DoBeS project is being undertaken in very close cooperation with several Marquesans I had a lot of support from the local population and as a result the project turned more and more into their own project. The Marquesan collaborators see the project as an opportunity to explain their culture for the first time as Marquesans instead of relying on foreign researchers to explain it from an external perspective. They have taken responsibility for recordings and have started to work independently outside fieldwork periods, learning how to manipulate several programs used for language documentation (for transcriptions and dictionary work).

The data have been collected with local collaborators from each island. South Marquesans would not easily accept a field assistant from the North Marquesas, and vice versa as there are clearly-felt local rivalries among them. Moreover, there are also considerable differences between the Northern and Southern vernaculars, as well as differences in the local culture and history.

Although I had proposed certain topics, the documentation was also basically guided by the ideas of our field assistants. Our main focus in the documentation project is on traditional food preparation, plant medicine and story-telling.

There have been some interesting reactions to the kinds of topics we have been documenting. Despite the fact that the domains of food and plant medicine preparation are endangered cultural practices and despite the fact that the speech community is highly motivated to safeguard their linguistic and cultural heritage we have experienced a very varied willingness to document these two domains.

As food preparation used to be a communal effort in the village, there was a willingness among local communities to document this aspect. It was almost a communal gathering or event, with people coming along to give their comments, gossip or volunteering to assist in the often quite complicated and time consuming procedures of preparation.

For creating recordings concerning plant medicine the collaboration was much harder to obtain because the making of traditional medicine and the transmission of its knowledge is connected with taboos. If consultants agreed to do a documentary on plant medicine they insisted that we could not just create the medicine for the sake of doing it, but the resulting medicine had to be used. Therefore we had to find somebody with the corresponding illness or I had to be treated myself. Some people did not allow us to document their plant medicine for quite different reasons. For some Marquesans it was a long-standing taboo to pass on knowledge outside their family. This taboo, obviously, extends to foreigners as well as Marquesans of other families and villages. The knowledge of plant medicine had to be passed on only within the family¹⁸ and a disrespect of this taboo could lead to (ancestral spirits) punishment by their *tupuna* in the form of illnesses or even death.

Among the community in general, illness is today considered to be caused by biological dysfunction of the body. However, disrespect of unspoken taboos such as the removal of ancient artefacts from former sacred or taboo places is still believed to be punished by *tupuna* using severe illnesses.

Stories about people catching illnesses through disrespect of these unspoken taboos are plentiful and vivid. In ancient Marquesan society these punishments by the gods were caused by *ha'a* the vengeful anger of the gods at the infringement of a taboo (Handy 1927:234). Illnesses were only occasionally thought to be caused by black magic or demons (*nati kaha* or *nani kaha*). The taboo character of these objects and places is supposed to have been lifted by ceremonies (*ha'ame'iie* 'lift taboo') performed by the Catholic church.¹⁹

Talking about the notion of *mana* (supernatural or spiritual powers), which was often connected with taboo objects and places, is a difficult topic to handle, and conversations often lead to an interpretation of Polynesian *mana* in the Catholic sense of being '*eteni* 'pagan' or the work of *tiaporo* 'devils' or *tatane* 'Satan'. Even though the researcher might get good access to the indigenous culture, there are certain aspects of this culture which

¹⁸ Traditionally knowledge transmission was a selective and controlled affair and was confined only to chosen members of the family (cf. above).

¹⁹ Note that 90% of the population has adopted the Catholic faith.

collaborators do not wish to document or discuss for fear that it might lead to the revival of rituals with which they are uncomfortable.

In the case of the documentation of plant medicine, one of my main consultants informed me that illnesses were, traditionally, only treated within the family, and that healers were not allowed to heal members outside of their family. This also explains why contemporary healers are ‘specialists’ for certain illnesses because they might typically occur in their own family.

Today, these restrictions do not exist anymore. However, there is still evidence of these old traditions. For example, when preparing a medicine, they would always leave one leaf of each plant ingredient aside for the *tupuna* when healing close relatives in order to thank the ancestors for having passed on their knowledge and therefore for having helped to cure the illness. This is not practised for non-relatives or distant relatives thus showing that the practice is still only associated with close family groups.

In general one can say that the willingness to share or pass on knowledge to outsiders is very differently and almost individually handled. Some have shown great cooperation and eagerness to document their knowledge whilst others are very reluctant and cautious or secretive about their cultural knowledge.

6 Summary and conclusion

Major changes in the linguistic as well as the cultural domain in French Polynesia came about with the installation of the atomic testing grounds (CEP) on Mururoa and the subsequent modernization of all French Polynesian archipelagos. However, external western ideas and implementation of politics and strategies with the aim of modernising a former colony are not the only causes of endangerment of the indigenous languages and cultures in French Polynesia.

We have seen that internal dominance and the hegemonic forces of Tahiti have largely contributed to a loss in distinctive culture and language of all other French Polynesian archipelagos. Although the Marquesan language is increasingly tahitianized through Marquesan working migrants living for long periods of their lives on Tahiti as well as through the unavoidable exposure to local broadcast media, one can say that the Marquesas islands — compared to all other archipelagos in French Polynesia — are the island group which has maintained the most distinctive culture and language.

The conflict between Tahiti and the Marquesas is not a recent one, but a characteristic feature observed well back into history. It has provoked Marquesans to show resistance and form a remarkable cultural revival movement as well as their own language academy, *Tuhuna 'Eo 'Enata*. Their achievements are also due to their proud and strong-willed nature. The isolation and remoteness of their islands have also helped Marquesans to retain elements of their distinctiveness.

In general, Marquesan youngsters are quite proud of their distinct Marquesan identity which manifests itself in the strong revival of tattooing and dancing and the arts in general.

Their cultural revival has been mostly in the medium of French and the awareness that their language is dwindling away is only slowly dawning.

The French language is still highly esteemed as being the language which opens the door to the western world and to much desired salaried labour via higher education. This makes language revival even harder for the advocates of the Marquesan language.

However, in the past years I have observed a change in attitude towards their own language by members of the speech community. Not only are old people vehemently

supporting linguistic revival, but also younger people are publicly promoting it more and more by expressing themselves in their own language.

Despite the secretiveness in cultural matters, many Marquesans have been very cooperative in our documentation project. They have realized that their language and culture needs to be documented and have transformed the documentation project into their own.

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4

Language endangerment: situations of loss and gain

INGJERD HOËM

1 The modernist assumptions of salvage ethnography

Within the field of anthropology the practice of salvage ethnography, also called urgent anthropology, is commonly associated with the eminent cultural anthropologist and linguist Franz Boas and the documentary efforts related to the disruption or loss of Native American languages, cultures and societies. This kind of activity has been central to the profession ever since, and the holistic method of ethnographic recording has been the main means of achieving such documentation.

Among the students of social anthropology at Oslo University, Norway, in the early 1980s, there was a common saying that their most well-known and well-travelled Professor in Social Anthropology, Fredrik Barth, always took care that he came to a fieldwork site ahead of the Coca-Cola bottle. The saying seemed self-explanatory at the time.

In hindsight there are at least two implicit assumptions contained in the saying: that people's life worlds 'before contact' represent authentic testimonies that are inherently worthy of recording, and that the forces of modernity (represented in this example by the products of the Coca-Cola company) are on the move — and will soon result in what we with the present day terminology would call a globalized world. These assumptions were largely left unquestioned in the 1980s.

Lately however, a paradoxical situation has emerged: as the issue of language endangerment and language death has hit linguistics with some urgency, the recognition of a need for documentation of vanishing cultures has receded into the background within mainstream social anthropology.

It is possible to identify at least two main reasons for this state of affairs. Firstly, the political aspects of representation have entered social anthropology, accompanied by an increasing awareness of the disparate nature of the sources of authority of academics and the voices of those who enter into the construction of a scientific text. The post-modern reflections on the representations of 'others' in anthropological texts, accompanied by deconstruction of what Paine (1981) has called 'our authorial authority' is illustrative of this trend — a trend that has served to cast serious doubt about the value of traditional ethnographic writing. Secondly, the belief that the world has become globalized to the extent that there are no significant cultural differences left anymore — at least not of the pre-contact, authentic, traditional kind — also contributes to render the salvage enterprise pointless for those who share this view.

It is important to note, however, that in theories of modernity this notion of traditional, authentic, virgin territory comes together with its inseparable shadow twin image of the raped, disenchanted and modern world. This duality of vision is particularly prominent in descriptions of the Oceanic region, where National Geographic images of still undiscovered tribes in the New Guineas Highlands vie with development agencies, loggers, miners, tourist industry enterprises and environmental lobbyists for attention. Academic production also reflect this duality on many levels, for example in the extraordinary amount of studies still focused on pre-contact pasts as compared with studies of contemporary linguistic and cultural practices. Also, there is a common notion applicable to most of the Pacific region, namely that of its languages and cultures having been ‘done’ by the earlier wave of documentary efforts, and hence not of great interest for today’s researchers.

2 Some ‘whys and hows’ of documentation

In order to overcome these un-nuanced images obscuring so many vital aspects of communicative practices and related social processes in the region, I propose that we concentrate our efforts on the documentation of the factual array of contemporary speech genres (for an illustration of one possible approach see Senft, this volume), instead of focussing singularly on the rescue of what we consider to be authentic, indigenous or old in our documentation.

There are many unsolved questions related to how documentation should best be carried out, and ultimately the choice of what should be documented has to be faced. Let me illustrate: in a review of a collection of Samoan oral texts (compiled by one of my colleagues in the Oceania Project at Oslo University), the reviewer questioned the value of the publication on two separate grounds. Firstly, the reviewer objected to the fact that the book contained genealogical material that should have been kept secret — and by implication presumably never should have been conveyed by the rightful owners of the genealogy, a Samoan *’aiga*, to an outside researcher. Secondly, that some of the texts had previously been published was presented as a reason that the publication was superfluous.

The first argument presents an interesting challenge to projects of language documentation and preservation in terms of indigenous rights of ownership. In such cases, in my view, the critical factor must be the eventual permission given by the owners of the oral material. However, and more importantly for the discussion of this particular case of Samoan genealogies, the argument presented about indigenous rights to secrecy points to patterns of communication and to underlying values and attitudes that ultimately can be traced to a particular form of social distribution of knowledge, interesting as an object of study and documentation in its own right (see also Hoëm 1995a).

On the final point of contention (that of certain texts having previously been published) the reviewer added that the publication of a new version was of as little value as if someone had decided to publish more versions of the folk tale Little Red Riding Hood. In the context of language endangerment, I would suggest that it always brings added value to corpora of language documentation to have more than one version of any text on record. Furthermore, to document all kinds of texts, from ‘traditional’ to ‘modern’, from vernacular to ‘hybrid’, personal letters to public speeches and so on, has been shown to be of great value if our goal is to produce anything that bears resemblance to the actual variety in communicative practices in any language community. For illustrations of these two particular examples see,

for example, the works by Besnier (1988, 1989) on personal letters from Nukulaelae in Tuvalu, and by Duranti (1994) on public speechmaking in Samoa.

But as the above example of the review shows, in practice and inseparable from any language exist the debates about and the attitudes towards it.¹ In the following I shall describe some aspects of this interconnectedness in order to show how such patterns may be analyzed, and in what way they can be of importance to our understanding of languages and other life worlds.

3 Assessing language endangerment: examples from Tokelau

The three Tokelau atolls, Nukunonu, Fakaofu and Atafu are situated north of Samoa, and have approximately 1500 inhabitants altogether. The Tokelau communities that gradually became established outside of Tokelau (in Samoa, Hawaii, mainland USA, New Zealand and Australia) from the mid 1960s comprise approximately 6000 people. However, the total number of inhabitants on the atolls has never exceeded around 1700.

The situation of the Tokelau language community could be assessed as showing signs of language endangerment as early as the first period of missionary activity, that is, from the 1860s. Early on Tokelau language suffered a loss of status as a medium of importance in relation to the language of their larger closest island neighbors as Samoan became the preferred language of literacy. From early on, the church languages were Latin and Samoan, in the Catholic and Protestant congregations respectively. The use of Latin in the Catholic congregations of Nukunonu and Fakaofu was discontinued after the 2nd Vatican Council (held in 1962–65, with the ruling on the use of the vernacular in 1963), and was subsequently replaced with Tokelauan.

Historically there is evidence for a certain stigmatization of Tokelauan as a result of the importing of other languages as the languages of church and schooling. As a remnant of this, there is still a widespread attitude that Tokelau is an impoverished, *mativa*, language (see Hoëm 1995a). This notion goes hand in hand with the belief that Samoan and English are comparatively richer languages, even though these attitudes are changing somewhat due to efforts of upgrading the teaching of, and introducing new uses for Tokelauan.

The atoll population's repeated requests (the first one as early as 1913) for the teaching of English — that is, to be allowed to teach in English, and to receive teachers to do so — should in this context be treated more as a deliberate distancing from Samoan than a direct reflection of attitudes towards the vernacular.

Today, the Tokelau language still remains the main everyday medium of communication in the atoll communities. However, the new generations born in New Zealand turn increasingly to English. In other words, it is at this stage empirically correct to describe the language situation both in terms of language loss *and* in terms of strategic acquisition of new registers.

4 The Tokelau language situation

The Tokelau language belongs to the Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. Linguistically classified as belonging to the Samoic Outlier Subgroup of Polynesian it is closely related to the languages of its neighboring countries, Tuvalu and Samoa and to the languages of its Polynesian speaking island neighbors in the east,

¹ See also Silverstein (1998).

Northern Cook Islands, Pukapuka, Manihiki and Rakahanga, and to the languages of Sikaiana and Luangiua in the Solomon Islands (Hovdhaugen et al. 1989).

The differences between the language of Tokelau and that of their closest neighbor Samoa are many, and they are manifest on the phonological, morphological and syntactic levels. Perhaps the most immediately striking difference is the absence in Tokelauan of the sociolinguistically marked phonological variants found in Samoan, namely the so-called *t*- and the *k*-language, also referred to as *tautala lelei*, ‘good talk’, and *tautala leaga*, ‘bad talk’, respectively.² Furthermore, the ‘chiefly language’ or ‘respect vocabulary’ found in Samoan does not have an exact equivalent in Tokelauan either. The use of what in Tokelau is called the ‘real’, ‘true’ or ‘old’ language, *Tokelau moni*, marks authority and respect, but given the dominant egalitarian ethos, these relationships are not systematically communicated in the same way as in the more clearly stratified Samoan society.

As mentioned above, Samoan has been present in Tokelau as the medium of literacy and used for all official communications since the advent of the missions in 1863 up until quite recently, when it was replaced by English as the medium for official communication. Huntsman (1980:xiii) notes how in the missionary compounds where schooling took place, the medium of instruction was Samoan and the pupils were punished for speaking Tokelauan. (For an analysis of the influence of Samoan on Tokelauan, see Hovdhaugen 1992.)

How to represent the Tokelau language in writing has been a controversial issue from the start. A situation has gradually emerged where different linguistic items, that is, phonological dialect markers, have been turned into signs that in a metonymical way stand for a whole cluster of cultural values that carry socio-political significance. The language controversies fall largely into a pattern of inter-atoll rivalry (Hoëm 1999, 2004).

The Roman alphabet was introduced by the Catholic and Protestant missions in the middle of the last century. At that time, however, no attempts were made to create an orthography for Tokelauan, as the missionaries found the language to bear such a close resemblance to Samoan, into which the Bible was already translated. As the Tokelau population was small, they did not consider it worth the effort to attempt a translation of the Bible. As a consequence of this, the Samoan language became the main medium for acquiring literacy. Latin was used in the Catholic congregation, but there it was employed mainly in an oral context, used in the recitation of the Mass. In this way, as Huntsman (1980) explains, Samoan was established as the only proper mode of communication in ‘matters of importance’ such as religion and education — in short, in anything having an official nature. Tokelauan was placed in an inferior position, and was reserved only for informal use among Tokelauans.

If we look for instance at an administrative report from the New Zealand Department of Island Territories from the late 1940s, it is stated that:

[...] communication by speech is per medium of the Samoan language. The Tokelau people have their own dialect which is not immediately understood by Samoans, but it happens that the Bible they use is the Samoan version, and most of their pastors are Samoans who are accustomed to preaching in Samoan. The official language is therefore Samoan and all Tokelau islanders are bilingual. It is a fact that the old Tokelauan language is gradually dying out, and most people under fifty are unreliable informants in relation to research on the Tokelauan language itself (1948:10; my underlining).

² For further description of the Samoan language situation, see Shore (1982:275).

One important thing to note with regards to the interpretation of this statement is that in this speech community, at any point in time, most people under 50 would not consider themselves to be reliable informants on anything having to do with Tokelau tradition, including language. Nobody so young would be entitled to demonstrate knowledge about any traditional subject in public situations (see Hoëm 1995a for illustration of the social distribution of knowledge in Tokelau). In other words, it is probably more correct to say that this administrative report describes communicative practices and attitudes towards making public statements and claims to knowledge in the village communities. It does not correctly describe the state of the Tokelau language at the time.

A different picture, which shows a change in policy, is found in another New Zealand Department of Island Territories report from 1980, where it is stated that, 'Tokelauan is normally spoken on the atolls, but most Tokelauans speak some English, which is taught as a second language' (1980:3). That this last language scenario is so different from the one presented in 1948 may partly be due to greater familiarity with the conditions on the islands. But it also may be interpreted as reflecting an effect of the efforts that had taken place to strengthen the Tokelau language.

Samoan retained its position as the church language used in the Protestant congregations until the mid 1960s when slowly and gradually Tokelauan began to take over. In the Catholic congregations Latin was wholly replaced by the vernacular in the mid 1980s when the first Mass book in Tokelauan was produced. In the schools, the use of Tokelauan had earlier been discouraged and the use of English promoted. This policy was discontinued about the same time. In New Zealand surveys have shown passive understanding of Tokelauan by the second generation, but with English as the dominant mode of expression.

At the time I began to conduct fieldwork in Tokelau, in the mid-1980s, each village had one publicly owned video and the pastor would preview the films shown and pass quickly over scenes that he deemed indecent and therefore unsuitable when screening the films in public. Nowadays, most families own or have access to video or DVD players, and order films independently, thus undermining the previous censorship. Furthermore, the presence in the 21st century of satellite television has added to the array of choice. As a consequence, familiarity with certain elements of spoken English and cultural expressions has expanded enormously. The new digital technology is also used, as in many other parts of the Pacific, to send recordings of important events, such as weddings and so on, to family members elsewhere. And importantly, this medium is also used to disseminate Tokelauan speaking productions. Tokelau is also 'on the web'. Tokelau government-institutions sell email addresses, lease telephone lines and have their own websites. Finally, people in the atolls currently have access, although not always reliable, to internet services. This goes a long way to alleviate the high degree of isolation Tokelau has previously suffered. Simultaneously, the use of Tokelauan in schools, in the churches, and in new written genres has flourished during the last decades. In the New Zealand communities, language nests (kindergartens or in Tokelauan *kohaga leo*) have been established, and efforts to heighten language consciousness and pride are common.

In the following I shall explore in detail how some of these new media of expression, including newsletter and administrative reports, in combination with the greater contact with versions of English, can be seen to affect Tokelau language and communicative practices.

5 Information flow and social face

Across Tokelau oral and written expressions we find a great deal of variation related to the degree of implicitness and explicitness with which information is represented. Moreover, this variation seems linked to factors such as topic, genre, and situation, including participants and the relationships between them. In many cases, the deictic (spatio-temporal) anchoring of a particular narrative is provided by gestures and glances, and to deduce the references of spatial clues to the relationships between characters and arguments, outside of the context of production of the linguistic expression, is difficult and sometimes impossible.

Common spoken or written linguistic sequences such as: /*fanatu*/ (*fano*+*atu*, verb+particle, ‘went there’) or /*fano*, *fano*, *fano*/ (go, verbal action repeated, ‘walked on and on’) in itself, taken in isolation, gives the listener or reader no clues to ‘who went where’. The identification of referents in such cases is possible only if one were there to witness the act, or if the referents can be identified from anchoring in previous discourse. (For an illustration of this phenomenon in Samoan see Duranti 1994:30ff.).

Syntactically, Tokelauan is a verb-initial language. This implies that sentences beginning with a verb and/or in combination with a tense/aspect marker — such as in *fanatu* (‘went there’) or *kua fano* (PERF go, ‘has gone’) — represent the typical, unmarked category (see also Hooper 1986, and Vonen 1993). A.M. Vonen writes: ‘Syntactically, Tokelau can be characterized as a verb-initial, dependent marking (in the sense of Nichols (1986)) language with ergative case marking’. He continues: ‘I consider the verbal-initial structures more basic to syntax than the verbal-second structures, since in post-verbal position the marking of constituents is more differentiated. For example, a nominal phase in fronted position can never be introduced by the ergative preposition *e*’ (Vonen 1993:87).

Verb-initial syntax is a feature Tokelauan shares with many Polynesian languages (Krupa 1982:122ff.). Sentences that place the topic of discussion first, as in ‘*Ko au*, ko Kula Fialoa’ (for a full version of this text, see Hoëm 2004 and Hoëm 1995b), ‘*I*, am Kula Fiaola’, while syntactically possible, are less common and occur mainly within what we may call ‘English’ influenced text-types and speech situations, where a dominant frame of interpretation seems to be that dissemination of information is intrinsically valuable.

This attitude is in great contrast to dominant practice within the Tokelau speech communities, where in many situations, such as at a political meeting or when discussing certain topics — as when speaking about a morally sensitive issue — it is commonly of crucial importance for the speaker to control the addressee’s access to information. In such speech situations, accordingly, the linguistic material is often highly obscure. In other situations the need for control is not marked in the same way, and information is represented more explicitly.

What is interesting in this connection is that concerns having to do with the social distribution of knowledge and the moral universe may also be reflected linguistically. In other words, factors having to do with the speech situation affect the information flow in spoken, but also in written Tokelauan (Hoëm 2004).

So far I have indicated that the flow of information in discourse varies across text-types, and I have argued that it is possible to connect this variation to factors having to do with moral concerns, or rather, with the social control that is expressed as a concern with ‘social face’, *mata*, and which is exercised through the representation of agency as relations of command and responsibility. I shall now conclude by focusing on the issue of whether such variations in information flow co-vary with influence from English text-types.

6 Does information flow correlate with text-type?

In his 1993 study, Vonen suggests that ‘a more detailed study of Tokelau syntax will benefit from distinguishing between various [...] text-types’ (Vonen 1993:87). I have carried out such an investigation, the results of which can be seen in full in Hoëm (1995b), and in a simplified version in Hoëm (2004). The following is an illustration of the variation that I found, some of which may be as Vonen predicted, related to norms for formal written discourse. However, there are also other factors, related to norms of oral communication, which are equally important for shaping the information flow (Chafe 1979) across various text-types.

The first text from which I present an excerpt (Narrative 1) was composed by the headmaster of the Nukunonu Matiti School, on the occasion of the New Zealand Governor General’s visit to Tokelau. As a text it is unique, both because the two other schools in Tokelau do not have such renderings of their histories, and in that renderings of local history do not usually come in such a form. The text was presented in written form on a board outside the school buildings, and it was later painted on the wall of the school itself.

Narrative 1: ‘Care for coconuts’

Taku *Tala*
my(sp.cont.sg.ref.) story/account³
‘My History’

1904. *Na* *talia* *ai* *e* *te*
1904 PAST(compl.) accept/acknowledge ANAPH ERG ART(sp.sg.)

Uluga Talafau te *popo* *ake* *mai*
Uluga Talafau ART(sp.sg.) ripe.coconut be.washed.ashore hither

ke *toto*.
so.that grow/plant/cultivate
‘1904. The Ulugatalafau accepted the ripe coconut washed ashore so that it might grow.’

1906. *Ha=ihu*.
1906 COLL=nose
‘1906. Sprouting.’

1909. *Matala* *te* *lau=homo*,
1909 be.open/loose/free ART(sp.sg.) leaves=sprout.of.a.germinating coconut

kenakena, *lau=tovivi*, *lau=matemate*.
be.coloured.brown/yellowish leaf=black.naped.tern leaf=dead(pl.)
‘1909. The germinating coconut’s sprout opens, brown/yellowish, black leaves, dead leaves.’

1912. *Kua mauaka* *te* *pulapula*.
1912 PERF have.roots/be.well.rooted ART(sp.sg.) coconut.seedling.
‘1912. The coconut-seedling came to be well rooted.’

1940. *Na* *lahi* *ai* *na* *falitega*
1940 PAST(compl.) many ANAPH ART(sp.pl.) arranging

³ *Tala* can also mean ‘legend’, but does not traditionally refer to ‘history’. ‘History’ is either *tala anamua* or *tala mai mua*

The rich use of imagery prevalent in this narrative is common in predominantly verbal genres, such as songs and speeches. The main textual figure, which serves to create narrative coherence, is the imagery of the various stages of development of a coconut. The syntax in the main follows the standard pattern of verb-initiality. For an illustration of this, consider how the sentences in Narrative 1 all start with a verbal construction. On the semantic level, there are more clues as to what the text is about, but they are consistently not made explicit, except for one mention of the name of the school.

As mentioned earlier, this text does not lend itself to classification as a prototypical written text, and one of the clearest linguistic indications of this is the almost absolute (one occurrence may be found in an embedded clause) non-occurrence of the topic marker, *ko* (see Vonen 1993:87–92, for a discussion of topic marking and written discourse in Tokelauan). This text is highly elliptic, and down-playing of agency is dominant.

Unlike the Narrative 1, Narrative 2 focuses on an individual person. Moreover, the narrative genre is a life history. This text was produced for the local newsletter *Vainiu mai Fakafotu* in Fakaofu.

<i>Tala</i>	<i>pukupuku</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>toku</i>
story/account	short	POSS(non-cont.)	my(sp.non-contr.sg)
<i>olaga</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>fakamanuiaga</i>	<i>a</i>
life	and	blessing	POSS(cont.)
			<i>te</i>
			ART(sp.sg.)

Aliki na ko mauagia.

Lord PAST(compl.) PRES get/obtain

‘A short story of my life and [the] blessings of the Lord that were obtained.’

Na tuhia 3/10/92.

PAST(compl.) write 3/10/92

‘Written 3/10/92.’

Ko au ko K. Kula Fiaola na fanau mai
PRES I PRES K. Kula Fiaola PAST(compl.) born hither

au i te aho 30/4/24.

I LOC ART(sp.sg.) day 30/4/24

‘I am K. Kula Fiaola I was born on the day 30/4/24.’

Ko oku matua ko Fiaola ma Kula ni
PRES my(sp.non-contr.pl) parent PRES Fiaola and Kula ART(nsp.pl.)

matua Kelihiano, nae galulue foki i te
parent Christian PAST(contin.) work(pl.) EMPH LOC ART(sp.sg.)

tofi tiakono,

position deacons

‘My parents [were] Fiaola and Kula, Christian parents, and they worked in the position [of] deacons,’

mo tauhi kaiga

for care extended family

‘for taking care of extended.families’

nae fehoahoani malohi foki ki te Ekalehia ma
PAST(contin.) help strong EMPH DIR ART(sp.sg.) Church and

te nuku ma te komiti tumama,
ART(sp.sg.) village and ART(sp.sg.) committee sanitation

‘and helped strongly in the Church and the village and the sanitation [women’s] committee,’

ma akoako lelei ki matou te fanau.
and teach well DIR we(pl.exc.) ART(sp.sg.) children

‘and taught well to us the children.’

E toka fitu (7) te fanau, e toka tolu (3) ia tama,
GENR HUM seven ART(sp.sg.) children GENR HUM three ABS boy

e toka fa (4) ia teine.

GENR HUM four ABS girl

‘The children were seven, three were boys, and four were girls.’

Na akoako lelei ki matou i te Tuhi Paia
PAST(compl.) study well DIR we(pl.exc.) LOC ART(sp.sg.) book holy

mo te poto faka=i ena ona po
for ART(sp.sg.) knowledge/wisdom CAUS=those its(sp.non-cont.pl) night

(*fakafetai ki te Atua*).
 thanks DIR ART(sp.sg.) Lord.)

‘We were taught well in the Bible for the wisdom [contained there] those nights
 (thanks to the Lord).’

This is also an unusual text. It is unusual in the sense that it is of a new kind — the newsletters in Tokelau are probably among the first to publicly present such life histories. The framing chronology is also recognizable from the Narrative 1, *Taku tala*, and it is striking that they are both presented as being *tala* (tales or stories). Looking at the other characteristics of Narrative 2, however, one sees a striking difference in the degree of explicitness. There is no need to look outside the text for further contextual information to be able to interpret the events that are referred to. One could say that this may be related to the fact that few if any socio-political events of the kind that inform the first text are mentioned in Narrative 2. The text’s explicitness may at least partially be interpreted as a result of the narrator’s attempt to render what has actually taken place in her life in accordance with the norms of what is considered a morally proper (ideal) life.

In this narrative there is no use of metaphor whatsoever, and the syntax is fuller in the sense that there is more frequent use of lexical words to describe so-called real-life events. The syntactical structure is also more varied, ranging from *ko*-fronted constructions (19 cases) to ordinary verb-initial sentences and to ergative ones (six cases). The text is closer to what would ordinarily count as a prototypical written text, of an essayistic type, not unlike the women’s stories elicited by Vonen and Hovdhaugen (see Hoëm 1992). There is one trait, however, that is atypical of a written text, namely the ‘thanksgiving’ part which may be interpreted as signifying the factor of involvement that Chafe has suggested can be used as a diagnostic criterion of a spoken text (Chafe 1979).

The final narrative represents yet another innovation, namely an administrative report.

Narrative 3: ‘Why go to New York?’

Malaga a Tokelau ki Malo Kaufakatahi
 journey/travelling.party POSS(cont.) Tokelau DIR United Nations
 ‘Tokelau’s journey to [the] United Nations’

Kupu Tomua
 word introduction
 ‘Introductory Words’

Na fakatekia te toka=lahi=ga o
 PAST(compl.) CAUS=surprise ART(sp.sg.) HUM=many=NOM POSS(non-cont.)

tagata i te ahiahi=ga a na hui
 people LOC ART(sp.sg.) visit=NOM POSS(cont.) ART(sp. pl.) representative

o Tokelau ki Malo Kaufakatahi.
 POSS(non-cont.) Tokelau DIR United Nations
 ‘Many people were surprised by the visit of the representatives of Tokelau to [the] United Nations.’

Ve ake ai foki he lagona, aihea
 hold an opinion ANAPH too ART(nsp.sg.) feel why

nei te kua teki atu lava ni
now ART(sp.sg.) PERF surprise away EMPH ART(nsp.sg.)

hui kua olo ki Malo Kaufakatahi.
representative PERF go(pl.) DIR United Nations

‘And some probably also wondered why suddenly some representatives went to the United Nations.’

Hove pe kua fakauiga ve ia
maybe Q PERF CAUS=meaning like that

pe manatu kua i te takitaki=ga o
Q consideration PERF LOC ART(sp.sg.) leader=NOM POSS(non-cont.)

Tokelau ka iei he hui=ga
Tokelau FUT exist ART(nsp.sg.) change=NOM

i te tulaga e=i ei te
LOC ART(sp.sg.) position GENR=exist ART(sp.sg.)

malo i te vaitaimi nei, pe ona
government LOC ART(sp.sg.) time now Q because

foki ko te Tokelau muamua te kua
too PRES ART(sp.sg.) Tokelau first ART(sp.sg.) PERF

kavea ma Failautuhi Fakapitoa ka olo
take and Secretary be.specially.concerned.with FUT go(pl.)

ve ai oi lipoti na fakafitauli i
be.like ANAPH and.then report ART(sp.pl.) problem LOC

te va o Niu Hila ma Tokelau
ART(sp.sg.) relationship POSS(non-cont.) New Zealand and Tokelau

ki Malo Kaufakatahi.
DIR United Nations

‘Maybe [they] considered that it was in the leadership of Tokelau, that there would be a change in the position of the government at this time, or that it was because the first Tokelauan became Official Secretary that they were going like that to report the problems in the relationship between New Zealand and Tokelau to the United Nations.’

Narrative 3 resembles Narrative 2, ‘A life and blessings,’ in that the subject matter is accessible and relatively transparent on the basis of the information given in the text. Compared with Narrative 1 (and the speeches presented in Hoëm 1992), one would expect a high frequency of ellipses, due to the clearly political nature of the subject. However, this is not the case. The main interpretive frame of the narrative, subsequently presented in the first passage under the heading ‘Introductory Words’ and as repeated in the heading ‘Main Theme of the Visit’, is to be found in the project of conveying new and vital information to the people of Tokelau. This project is unusual within the context of the traditional political institutions, but it makes sense within the institutions of the Tokelau Public Service. Given the particular nature of the information presented in this narrative — information that it is not yet common knowledge — it would be virtually impossible to use the ordinary strategies of double meanings and veiled references here. That the presentation of this

information is a difficult and politically sensitive task, however, may clearly be induced from the sentence constructions.

The sentence constructions in Narrative 3 differ from those of the previous texts in that many of them are excessively back-heavy. Elsewhere I have suggested that this sentence construction could be called ‘informative post-supposition’ in contrast with Hooper’s analysis of what she calls a tendency towards ‘informative presupposition’ across Tokelau text-types (Hoëm 2004:112; Hooper 1987:20). It is almost impossible to know what most of the sentences or phrases are about (at least for a reader used to a different information flow) before the whole passage has been read, and only then is it possible to re-construct the meaning by retracing one’s steps backwards.

The pattern we encounter here seems to be somewhat the opposite of Narrative 1 in that it goes far in its attempts to satisfy the readers’ need for information. It is important to note, however, that the gravity of this task is balanced by writing in the most polite, self-effacing way possible. This effect is largely achieved through a strategy of embeddedness, mainly through the use of what in the *Tokelau dictionary* (TD) are called ‘reason clauses’, introduced in this case by the conjunction *ona*, and by clauses of ‘purpose and caution, introduced by the subordinating conjunction *ke*’ (TD:xlvi). The absence of metaphor is also notable in Narrative 3 when compared to Narrative 1.

As mentioned above, there are no hidden meanings in the text. In contrast to Narrative 1, ‘Care for coconuts’, the bureaucratic or modernistic view of a text as a means of conveying information is apparent here as a frame. However, the presentation is done in such a way as to ensure that Tokelau sensitivities are heeded.

7 Concepts of social relationships and linguistic representation

All of the three text-types presented above — a ‘history’, ‘life history’ and ‘administrative report’ — are recognizable as having its roots in English text types. There are no precedent equivalents in Tokelau oral tradition. However, as we have seen, the information flow varies considerably from text to text in a manner that can ultimately be traced to the relationship between the author, the protagonists of the texts, and the intended audience. This variation is common and clearly marked in oral Tokelauan. Its presence in written Tokelauan genres represents an addition to the standard English usage.

The language situation presents an overall impression of flexibility and fluidity as Tokelauan evolves into a written language and new forms of expression are created.

8 Conclusion: loss *and* gain

The presence of language loss is perhaps most clearly seen in the fate of genres central to the Tokelau oral literature, for example when the previously common practice of telling stories (*kakai*) in the evenings is replaced by other activities such as watching videos, listening to cassettes or the radio, and guitar playing. Another example is a consequence of the fact that much political discourse now takes place in English: people say that the old important words disappear (on the concepts of ‘old’ or ‘high’ words in Tokelauan, see Hoëm 1995a). People also complain that cherished old songs are not heard anymore. On occasion though, these kinds of language registers may be heard, for example during a house-building session or a fishing expedition. They may be on the way out in the sense of traditional usage, but are clearly valued and are therefore frequently integrated into new forms of expression.

Tokelau has always been open to culture and language contact. Genres such as the ever popular *fatele*, the Tokelau song-dance, is an import from Tuvalu, and perceptive Tokelauans have commented that the next generation will probably think of the *fatele* as traditional. The same goes for the *pehe lagilagi*, which, though an integral part of many formal public gatherings, is an import from Samoa. Tokelau is comparatively small and has always cultivated some degree of fluency in outside Pacific (and European) cultures and languages. Against the threatening scenario of language death, one should take heart from the Tokelau culture and society's surprising resilience throughout its known history (famous examples are the regeneration of the communities after the advent of epidemic diseases and Peruvian slave raiders in the 1860s (see Hooper and Huntsman 1996)).

The question of gain is perhaps not so easily answered as it always must be seen in relation to the issue of loss. As I have shown, on the one hand we see persistent patterns of Tokelauan representations of social relationships also in the 'new' and English-influenced text-types. On the other hand, we have the factor of the respective statuses of the languages to take into account.

English can be described, following the analysis of Crystal (2000), as the language of cultural modernity. Samoan can be characterized as the language of 'high culture' (and the same is the case for the earlier use of Latin). In contrast, Tokelauan is the language of social belonging and identity, and of cultural revival. Most importantly, in the atoll communities, Tokelauan is the mother tongue and is acquired as a first language by all who are born there. That this language situation will continue is likely, given the Tokelau people's uncontested control over their atoll territory. This is of course in stark contrast to the minority situation in New Zealand, and serves to provide the New Zealand communities with a 'language sanctuary'. In this connection, it is of particular significance that the vernacular has entered into new social spaces and means of expression. As mentioned above, Tokelauan has gained additional registers, new media and new spaces of expression, and some of these are also useful outside of Tokelau.

This last observation makes for a return to the introductory quotation about Fredrik Barth: in terms of projects of documentation, we should take care to also include linguistic and cultural products such as 'the Coca-Cola bottle' in our documentary efforts. This is important, as we cannot simply take for granted that the forces and products of modernity and of globalization (that this bottle may serve as a symbol of) are manifested, interpreted or come to be used in similar ways all over the world.

Note

All the texts presented above are rendered as they were given. I have not undertaken any editing nor attempted any standardization of writing conventions etc. Note particularly that my translations are not written in standard English, but are kept as close as possible to the Tokelauan version, so as to convey as much of the semantics and the original style of the texts as possible.

The interlinear glossing is focused on word semantics. Words are only analyzed into morphemes when it is considered illuminating for the understanding of the text. I have separated the causative prefix (CAUS) *faka-* and the nominalizing (NOM) suffix *-ga* only when they are not lexicalized and/or where this may be relevant for the semantic and stylistic interpretation of the texts.

The following abbreviations are used in the interlinear glosses:

ABS	absolutive	inc.	inclusive
ANAPH	anaphoric pronoun	LOC	locative (<i>i</i>)
ART	article	NEG	negative particle
CAUS	causative (<i>faka=</i>)	NOM	nominaliser
COLL	collective (<i>ha=</i>)	nsp.	nonspecific
compl.	completed action	NUM	numeral classifier
cont.	control	p.	particle
contin.	continuous action	PAST	past
DIR	directional (<i>ki</i>)	PERF	perfect
du.	dual	pl.	plural
EMPH	emphatic particle	POSS	possessive
ERG	ergative	PRES	presentative (<i>ko</i>), topic marker
exc.	exclusive	PROG	progressive (<i>koi</i>)
FUT	future	Q	question particles
GENR	general tense-aspect-mood particle	sg.	singular
HUM	human numeral classifier (<i>toka=</i>)	sp.	Specific
		=	morpheme boundary

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5

Culture change — language change: missionaries and moribund varieties of Kilivila

GUNTER SENFT

Παντα ρει και ουδεν μενει
Ηρακλειτος

1 Introduction¹

When I first set foot on Trobriand Islands' soil in 1982 to start my first fifteen months of field research there I had the quite romantic feeling that it was like stepping right into the picture so vividly presented in Bronislaw Malinowski's ethnographic masterpieces published in the first quarter of the last century. However, by the time of my second period of field research in 1989 the situation had completely changed. During my various fieldtrips over the last 22 years I have noticed that the culture of the Trobriand Islanders has been changing rather dramatically, and it is an old and trivial insight that culture change must affect language and must itself be reflected in some way or other in the language of the speech community undergoing this change. After having returned from my second field trip to the Trobriands I described the changes I observed in 1989 with respect to the Trobriand Islanders' language and culture (see Senft 1992) — and, unfortunately and sadly, the pessimistic predictions I made then have proven to be right by now. But is 'language change' not one of the most important constitutive and defining features of every natural language? And what have ordinary and general dynamic processes of language change and their results to do with the topics of 'endangered languages' and 'language death'? These questions are central for this paper. In what follows I will first report on the general status of Kilivila with respect to levels of its endangerment (see Crystal 2000:19ff.). Then I will present two registers or language varieties of Kilivila that are moribund by now and explain how and why they have to be classified as being doomed

¹ This paper is based on by now more than three years of field research on the Trobriand Islands in 1982/83, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2001, 2003, and 2004. I want to thank the German Research Society and especially the Max Planck Society for their support in realizing my field research. I thank the National and Provincial Governments in Papua New Guinea, the Institute for PNG Studies, especially Don Niles, and the National Research Institute, especially Jim Robins, for their assistance with, and permission for, my research projects. Last but not least I express my great gratitude to the people of the Trobriand Islands, especially to the inhabitants of Tauwema; I thank them for their hospitality, friendship, and patient cooperation.

to die. The paper ends with a general discussion of the two general questions raised above and an attempt to assess the observed and reported changes with respect to their impact on the language and culture of the Trobriand Islanders as a whole.

2 Kilivila and its level of endangerment²

Kilivila, the language of the Trobriand Islanders, is one of 40 Austronesian languages spoken in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea.³ It is an agglutinative language and its general word order pattern is VOS (Senft 1986). The Austronesian languages spoken in Milne Bay Province⁴ are grouped into twelve language families, one of them labeled Kilivila. The Kilivila language family encompasses the languages Budibud (or Nada, with about 200 speakers), Muyuw (or Murua, with about 4000 speakers) and Kilivila (or Kiriwina, Boyowa, with about 28,000 speakers). Kilivila is spoken on the islands Kiriwina, Vakuta, Kitava, Kaile'una, Kuiawa, Munuwata and Simsim. The languages Muyuw and Kilivila are each split into mutually understandable local dialects. Typologically, Kilivila is classified as a Western Melanesian Oceanic language belonging to the 'Papuan-Tip-Cluster' group (Capell 1976:6, 9; Ross 1988:25, 190ff.; Senft 1986:6).

The Trobriand Islanders have become famous, even outside of anthropology, because of the ethnographic masterpieces on their culture published by the famous anthropologist Bronislaw Kasper Malinowski, who did field research there between 1916 and 1920 (see Senft 1999, 2005b, 2006). The Trobrianders belong to the ethnic group called 'Northern Massim'. They are gardeners, doing slash and burn cultivation of the bush; their most important crop is yams. Moreover, they are also famous for being excellent canoe builders, carvers, and navigators, especially in connection with the ritualized 'Kula' trade, an exchange of shell valuables that covers a wide area of the Melanesian part of the Pacific (see Malinowski 1922; Leach and Leach 1983; Persson 1999; Campbell 2002). The society is matrilinear but virilocal.

Kilivila is of special interest to linguists for various reasons.⁵ It is a language with VOS word order as its unmarked word order pattern, it has rather complex serial verb constructions (see Senft 1986:39–42, 2004a:50), its marking of tense/aspect/mood is complex and difficult to describe without access to detailed contextual information (see Senft 1994a), and it seems that the terms 'transitive' and 'intransitive' are basically inadequate for describing the verbal expression and the argument structure of Kilivila (see Senft 1996a; Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992:720ff.).

² The first part of this section draws on Senft (2005a:207–208).

³ Today 869 languages are still spoken in Papua New Guinea; however, most of these languages (but not Kilivila — see below) are highly endangered.

⁴ In Milne Bay we also find 'at least eight non-Austronesian languages' (Lithgow 1976:446).

⁵ Besides my own research on the language of the Trobriand Islanders (see: <http://www.mpi.nl/Members/GunterSenft/Publications>) the following other publications on — or in — Kilivila are available: Fellows' (1901); Baldwin (n.d., 1945, 1950); Malinowski (1920, 1935, 1936); McGhee and Dwyer (1949a, b); Cunningham (1990); Lawton (1979, 1984, 1997, 1993 (see Senft 1996a); 1995 (see Senft 1996c)); Hutchins (1980); Kasaipwalova (1978); Kasaipwalova and Beier (1978a, b); Leach (1981); and Scoditti (1990, 1996 (see also Senft 1993)). For further references to publications on the language and culture of the Trobriand Islanders see Persson (1999) and Senft (1986:155–157, 163–173, 1996b:355–369). After Malinowski's pioneering research on the Trobriands the most important anthropological contributions are Powell (1957) and Weiner (1976, 1988).

Moreover, Kilivila has a fourfold series of possessive pronouns, partly realized as free possessive pronominal pronouns, partly realized as possessive pronominal affixes. One of these series is only produced in a specific semantic context, referring to food only. The other three series are used to distinguish different degrees of possession; one series marks inalienable possession, two series mark alienable possession of inedible things (Senft 1986:47–54). These possessive pronominal forms classify the Kilivila noun. Finally, Kilivila is probably most interesting for linguists because it is a classifier language with a complex system of nominal classification that consists of quantifiers, repeaters and noun classifiers proper. I refer to all these formatives within this sophisticated system with the general term Malinowski coined for them ‘classificatory particles’ (see Senft 1996b).

With respect to levels of endangerment Kilivila can still be classified as a viable but relatively small language: it is ‘spoken in [a community] that [is relatively] isolated [and] with a strong internal organization, and aware of the way [its] language is a marker of identity’ (Crystal 2000:20).

The Trobriand Islanders are extremely proud of their language. This pride almost comes up to arrogance (which is, of course, an absolutely positive quality from the point of view of language endangerment and language maintenance). Among other things this pride is made manifest by the fact that the Islanders do not speak Tok Pisin on the Trobriands. Government officials working in Losuia, the governmental centre of the Islands, are expected to learn Kilivila if they come from other parts and language communities of Papua New Guinea.⁶

Kilivila is still the mother tongue of all the children born on the Trobriands. A number of older people can also speak Motu, the old coastal lingua franca of Papua New Guinea (see Dutton 1985); however, they hardly ever do so and the young generation does not learn Motu any more. English is taught at the missionary and government schools on the islands and has acquired the status of the second language especially of the educated youth who use it to communicate with tourists and Papua New Guineans.

Another issue that supports my (maybe too optimistic) classification of Kilivila as a language that is not endangered is the Trobriand Islanders’ metalinguistic awareness that is documented in their extremely rich metalinguistic vocabulary. The speakers of Kilivila differentiate and metalinguistically label eight what I have called situational-intentional varieties. As I have pointed out elsewhere (see Senft 1986:124ff., 1991) I use this label to refer to registers or varieties of Kilivila that are used in a given special situation and produced to pursue (a) certain intention(s). These registers are constituted by a number of genres that are metalinguistically labeled as well. I managed to document all these registers and (almost) all of their constitutive genres during the various periods of my field research on the Trobriands (see Senft 2004b).

Two of these situational-intentional varieties, the *biga megwa*, the ‘language of magic’, and the *biga baloma*, the ‘language of the spirits of the dead’, are highly endangered and actually moribund these days. These two registers are the focus of the following two sections, which describe, characterize and illustrate these varieties together with their constitutive genres.

⁶ During the first months of their stay they usually communicate with the Islanders in English, typically with a younger Trobriand Islander as an interpreter.

3 The *biga baloma* ‘language of the spirits of the dead’ and its level of endangerment

The *biga baloma*, ‘language of the spirits of the dead’, is also called *biga tommwaya*, ‘old people’s language’. It is an archaic variety of Kilivila that has always been very rarely used in everyday discourse and conversation. If words or phrases that are characteristic for this register are used in everyday interaction, they serve the function of sociolinguistic variables⁷ which indicate high status of the speaker. In general, this situational-intentional variety is only used in highly ritualized contexts. The register is constituted by specific songs, subsumed under the specific genre label *wosi milamala*, ‘songs of the harvest festival’. They are sung during the harvest festivals, after the death of a Trobriander, and during the first mourning ceremonies. The majority of these songs describe the carefree ‘life’ of the spirits of the dead in their ‘underworld paradise’ on Tuma Island (Malinowski 1916; Baldwin 1945, 1950).

The Trobriand Islanders believe in an immortal ‘spirit’ — the *baloma*. After the death of a person the *baloma* — together with another ‘spirit’ called *kosi* — stays at her or his village until the dead body is buried. The *kosi* monitors the first mourning ceremonies; if the deceased is bewailed appropriately, this spirit also dies; however, if the *kosi* finds some fault with the mourning ceremonies, the spirit will become immortal and punish the responsible people by playing nasty tricks on them or by even frightening them to death. After the burial the *baloma* spirit — who resembles the deceased as an adolescent — has to leave her or his former village. The *baloma* then swims to Tuma Island, following a route that is specific for the island where s/he lived. These routes come together at a relatively high coral reef at the southern tip of Tuma, where they can be seen as breaks in the coral cliff. The routes end at a hole (with a diameter of approximately 25 cm), and this hole is the entrance to the Tuma underworld. The entrance is guarded by Topileta. Malinowski (1974:121, 156) characterizes Topileta as a ‘culture hero’ and as ‘the headman of the villages of the dead’. According to my consultant Tokunupei, Topileta is one of the four children of the primordial father Tudava and his wife Moyetukwa. Every *baloma* has to meet Topileta, who will take her or him to a nearby coral stone that looks like a stalagmite. This stone is called *gilela va sopi*. There is a tiny mould on top of this stone which is always filled with a little bit of water. Topileta wets his finger with this water and wipes his wet finger over the eyes of the *baloma*, who then can see the Tuma underworld and may enter it. However, Topileta first asks for a small gift, usually a betel-nut (that is put under the tongue of every deceased before the burial); if the guardian deals with a very beautiful female *baloma*, he may also ask her for some sexual favours. The *baloma* enjoy a carefree ‘life’ in eternal youth; in the Tuma underworld food is available in abundance — the *baloma* do not have to work for it; like unmarried young people the *baloma* enjoy an extremely free sexual life, always ready, willing and able to have a new love affair (see Malinowski 1929). Moreover, the male *baloma* also engage in Kula expeditions where they ritually exchange Kula-valuable — like the living Trobriand Islanders do (see

⁷ Labov (1972:237) states, ‘We may define a *sociolinguistic variable* as one which is correlated with some nonlinguistic variable of the social context: of the speaker, the addressee, the audience, the setting, etc. Some linguistic features (which we will call *indicators*) show a regular distribution over socioeconomic, ethnic, or age groups, but are used by each individual in more or less the same way in any context. If the social contexts concerned can be ordered in some kind of hierarchy (like socioeconomic or age groups), these indicators can be said to be stratified. More highly developed sociolinguistic variables (which we will call *markers*) not only show social distribution, but also stylistic differentiation’.

Malinowski 1922). If a *baloma* is bored with this kind of living, he or she may swim back to the Trobriand Islands and enter the body of a carelessly bathing clans-woman who will give birth to the child she conceived in this way.⁸ The *baloma* speak their own language variety, the *biga baloma* or *biga tommwaya*. Magical formulae also represent many features of the *biga baloma/biga tommwaya* register. However, because other features are also constitutive for these formulae, the Trobriand Islanders classify them as constituting a variety of their own, namely the *biga megwa* — the ‘magic speech’ register (see below). Both magical formulae and songs have been passed on from generation to generation with the immanent claim to preserve their linguistic form. The majority of the people citing these magical formulae and singing these songs do not or no longer understand their semantic content.

During the last few years the number of people who actually understand the *wosi milamala*, the songs that are constitutive for this register, has decreased dramatically. In the village Tauwema on Kaile’una Island, my place of residence on the Trobriands, there are only eight people left who still have this competence. Thus, this genre is highly in danger of getting completely lost in — and for — the Trobriand culture. Actually, I am convinced that the *wosi milamala* and with them the *biga baloma/biga tommwaya* register have to be classified as moribund!

For the Trobriand Islanders, the most important event in the course of the year is still the period of the harvest festivals that were first described by Malinowski (1935; see also Senft 1996d:385ff.). This period is called *milamala* and, according to my observations on Kaile’una Island up to the mid 1990s, it may last for almost three months. Until then, the actual time in which the Trobriand Islanders celebrated the *milamala*-period differed in four geographical districts. The *milamala* was first celebrated on Kitava Island, then — one month later each — in the Northern part of Kiriwina Island, then in the Southern half of Kiriwina and the outlying islands, and finally on Vakuta Island. However, since the mid 1990s the *milamala* harvest festival has been reduced by the local Kiriwina Community Council (in cooperation with the churches and the Milne Bay Provincial Government) to just one day (and one night) only!⁹

After getting in the yam harvest, the Trobriand Islanders open the *milamala* period of harvest festivals with a cycle of festive dances accompanied by drums and songs — the *wosi milamala*.

Based on the decision of the village chief, the important garden magicians, and the expert dancing instructor, the villagers — in a food distribution called *katukaula* — formally present yams, taro, sweet potatoes, fish, sugarcane, and betel-nuts to the *baloma*, the ‘spirits of the dead’ (Malinowski 1916) just before sunrise. They believe that the *baloma* leave their ‘underworld paradise’ on Tuma Island at this time and visit their former villages.

⁸ For a different account of the *baloma* and the role of Topileta see Malinowski (1974); for the discussion of the ‘virgin birth’ controversy see Senft (1999:15ff., 2006).

⁹ This may have had economical reasons. During the *milamala* festival huge amounts of food were offered and consumed by the village communities and their visiting guests. By about 1996 the population on the Trobriands had increased to such a degree that the Islanders were forced to cultivate the bush every three or even every two years instead of letting former gardens lie fallow for at least five years. Thus, food had become scarce; however, food — especially yams — still implies status on the Islands. Thus, it was probably a wise political decision to save food and at the same time to also save face for the yam gardeners who simply could not have the huge amounts of food at their disposal as they used to have before.

Then most men and some girls dress up carefully in their traditional clothes. The girls wear their so-called 'grass-skirts' (*doba*) that are made out of fibres of banana leaves. The men wear their traditional loin-cloth (*mwebua*), made out of the bark of the betel-palm; in addition they also wear 'grass-skirts' which were given to them by the female kinsmen of their wives. Although the men in this matrilinear culture are not related whatsoever with these persons, they wear the skirts to honour this group and to show that their marriage has created a bond with these people. Thus, this skirt can also be understood as a sign indicating the good marital relationships between the respective men and their wives — as a woman's ability to contribute bundles and skirts to every exchange during a certain mourning ritual is a public statement of her husband's support and wealth (Weiner 1976:198) — because the 'major responsibility of a man to his wife is to provision her with additional wealth' in *doba* (Weiner 1976:197).

All the dancers decorate their faces with asymmetrical ornaments in red, white and black colours which are made out of betel-nuts, chalk and charcoal respectively. They anoint their bodies with coconut oil and an essence made out of fragrant herbs and afterwards sprinkle their torsos with yellow leaves taken from the blossoms of a certain tree. They all wear white feathers of cockatoos in their carefully combed hair and armlets made of natural fibres on their upper arms which emphasize the men's muscles and frame the girls' breasts — thus increasing the physical beauty of the persons. Some of the dancers also wear necklaces (the so-called *bagi* made out of the red parts of the spondylus shell), tortoise-shell earrings (*paya*), and boars' tusks (*doga*). Moreover, some men also wear belts made of small white cowrie-shells around their waists, knees and/or ankles (*bunadoga*, *luluboda*, *kwepitapatila*). Most of these adornments do not only mark the wealth of their bearers but also their status within the highly stratified Trobriand society with its clans and subclans (see Weiner 1976:237ff.).

After some final magical rites, where the dancers' relatives or the dance master of the village whisper magical spells on their bodies to make them dance more gracefully, the dancers gather at the centre of the village, where in the meantime a group of mostly elderly men, some with drums and some with long sticks, has gathered. As soon as this group starts to sing and drum, the dancers start dancing in circles around them. The *wosi milamala* are intoned and ended in a very specific way. They consist of verses with two to nine lines each; they are repeated *ad libitum* and they have a very characteristic melody. The singing and dancing may last for more than three hours. As already mentioned above, the *milama* songs are sung in the language of the *baloma* (which represents the speech of the ancestors, the 'old people') as a salute to the 'spirits of the dead' and to honour and celebrate them (see Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Senft 1991; Senft 2003). The songs are a verbal manifestation of the Trobrianders' belief in the *baloma*. The songs very poetically and quite erotically describe the 'life' of the spirits of the dead in their Tuma Island paradise. As stated above, the Trobriand Islanders believe that these spirits can be reborn; moreover, they can also visit their former villages, and they all do this regularly during the *milamala* period. During these visits the *baloma* see whether the villagers living there now still know how to garden, how to celebrate a good harvest, and how to behave even while celebrating exuberantly. 'Depending on whether or not they are pleased with what they see, the spirits enhance or hinder the next year's production' of yams (Damon 1982:231).

Together with the above mentioned *katukaula* food distribution for the spirits of the dead, the *wosi milamala* and the song-accompanying dances mark the official beginning of the *milamala* period of harvest festivals.

However, till the mid 1990s the *wosi milamala* were not only sung to open the harvest festivals, but were also sung in the late evenings, and sometimes formed the transition from one day to the other in the course of the (traditional, that is pre-mid 1990s) *milamala* period. This period was characterized by conviviality, flirtation and amorous adventures. During such festive periods, social norms, rules and regulations were interpreted in a more liberal and generous way than otherwise. This may have led to jealousy and rivalry that — in escalation — may even have threatened the community. However, as my consultants told me, the *wosi milamala* served the function to prevent such a development. The songs reminded the Trobrianders of the presence of the *baloma* and of the social norms that are valid even for the spirits of the dead in their paradise. Thus the guardians of the norms of the past are present, checking whether this past is still present in their former villages. The *baloma* must not be offended by unseemly and indecent behaviour, and this includes, for example, jealousy amongst bachelors. Keeping this in mind, the Trobrianders must control their behaviour — especially their emotions, because nobody would dare to offend the spirits of the dead. Thus, the ‘past’ is present during the *milamala* period, and the ‘present’ during this period is deeply anchored in, and needs to be similar to, the ‘past’. The singing of the *wosi milamala* assures the community that there is a virtually transcendental regulative authority controlling its members’ behaviour and thus warding off developments that may turn out to be dangerous for the community. I have elsewhere defined ‘ritual communication’ as a type of strategic action that serves the functions of social bonding and of blocking aggression, and that can ban elements of danger which may affect the community’s social harmony — within the verbal domain, at least — just by verbalizing these elements of danger more or less explicitly and by bringing them up for discussion (Senft 1991:246). In this sense, these songs can be regarded — from an etic point of view, of course, — as a special form of ritual communication.

The important function of the *wosi milamala* with respect to rituals in the Trobriand society becomes evident if we take into consideration that they are also sung — without the accompanying drumming, though — after the death of a Trobriander and during the first mourning ceremonies (see Weiner 1976; Senft 1985a). As mentioned above, the Trobriand Islanders believe that the *baloma* of dead persons stay with their relatives until the burial of the corpse, after which they go to Tuma Island. This eschatological ‘fact’ is the link between mourning ritual and harvest festival. On the basis of this belief the function of these songs in the mourning ritual can be interpreted as follows: the songs — especially those songs that describe the carefree ‘life’ of the spirits of the dead in their Tuma ‘paradise’ — may ease the *baloma*’s grief of parting; moreover, the songs should also console the bereaved, reminding them of the fact that dying is just a ‘rite de passage’ (van Gennep 1909), a transition from one form of existence to another. Here the songs remind the Trobriand Islanders that the present as well as the future is anchored in the past; moreover, for the *baloma*, the spirit of a dead person, the future is not at all different from the past. Life in the Tuma underworld is always the same. There is just a present. After a few days in the Tuma underworld the *baloma* forget their past; and it is only when the *baloma* get tired of their carefree life in Tuma and think of getting reborn that a future opens up for them.

Referring to this common knowledge coded in the community’s religious superstructure, the songs sung in the *biga baloma* variety of Kilivila contribute to channel and control emotions during the mourning ceremonies and to maintain the bonds between members of the bereaved community, because they permit a ‘distanced reenactment of

situations of emotional distress' (Scheff 1977:488). (This last quote summarizes Scheff's attempt to define the concept 'ritual', by the way.) We can summarize that the *wosi milamala* are not only sung at extraordinary occasions, but that they themselves can also be regarded as an extraordinary form of ritual communication which secures the construction of the society's social reality (Berger and Luckmann 1966) on the basis of its norm-controlling and bonding functions. Moreover, this form of ritual communication also preserves in a very specific way culture in oral tradition.

Before I present one cycle of these songs, I just want to finish the description of the *milamala* festival with a brief remark on how the end of this period is still officially and publicly marked. As to my observations of the complete *milamala* period in Tauwema village on Kaile'una Island the festivals end with the villagers, especially the youngsters, chasing back the spirits of the dead to their Tuma underworld by throwing stones, sand, and even rotten coconuts and yams towards the invisible *baloma*. The 'past' which was present up till then in the conscience, in the life, of the Trobriand Islanders is thus chased away. This rite that finishes the festive *milamala* period (or rather, the festive *milamala* day and night these days) clearly signifies that ordinary time with its clear separation between 'past', 'present' and 'future' will take over again.

In my corpus of Kilivila data I have documented fourteen song cycles comprising 127 stanzas (including cycles with as few as two and as many as seventeen stanzas). Till the middle of the 1960s the Trobriand Islanders also used this genre to communicate news to their deceased. However, as mentioned above, most of these songs describe the 'life' of the spirit of the dead in the Tuma underworld. The following *wosi milamala* cycle illustrates this genre. In the example given here I have ordered the stanzas in such a way that the story told in the cycle emerges. With the exception of one occasion when a few days after the death of the respected elder, Mwasei, my consultants Bulasa, Bwetadou, Mobiliuya, Mokivola, Kalivabu and Kapatu came to my house in Tauwema in June 1997 to sing *wosi milamala* for me, I never heard *wosi milamala* cycles sung with ordered stanzas — especially not during the actual period of the *milamala* festival. The fact that the informed Trobriander immediately assigns a story to a stanza belonging to a specific *wosi milamala* cycle further highlights the aspect of 'insider knowledge' that is intertwined with this genre.

I will illustrate the genre (and the register) with the song cycle called *Wosi Onegava* — 'The songs of the canoe *Onegava*':¹⁰

<i>Wosi Onegava</i>	Songs of the canoe <i>Onegava</i>
<i>Setoyegu inagu,</i>	'I wish my mother was here,
<i>ilamgu Bweyova,</i>	I cry for Boyowa (= Kiriwina Island),
<i>laveyami gukwauya.</i>	you decorated my basket.
<i>Sana unumwedudu</i>	Pointing to tobacco and
<i>venu – magubweyava –</i>	<i>venu</i> -herbs – my belongings –
<i>yobu nitugwai.</i>	and caring for my child.

¹⁰ The *biga baloma/biga tommwaya* variety is so different from the Kilivila spoken these days that I cannot give morpheme-interlinearized transcriptions of the texts. The English translations presented here are the result of working together with consultants who sang these songs and those who still knew their meaning. They provided me with modern Kilivila paraphrases for each and every songline — and my English translations are based on these paraphrases (see also Senft 2003).

*Iyogibu tamagu,
bavadara gubua,
okasana bomatu.*

*Masaguma vana,
okeoli nemya.*

*Vana –
bivoli vom.*

*Bavasaki gubwuita,
egaega bomatu,
vavoligu vivila.*

*Bwerara – magubwuita –
bweyava o kunugu,
bwenisi vivinai.*

*Iva'oli vivina,
ivarara bomatu,
ivatusi vagana.*

*Kominegu, tamagu,
mivetupa – unata –
veyumegu nubegu.*

*Venubegu Voli,
inubegu Voli!*

*Kasabava mwana –
migina ya'uverara.*

*Varara – To'unata –
bikasa o migim.
Bwenisi – kegayobu.*

*Rabige'utu bwadagu,
rabigebwena rivana –
bigideyobu – nuagu.*

*Bikamapu tabugu,
bikatoi varam,
vasanegu bponu.*

*Ulivorigu bwena,
m'kwegamya wosi.*

*Kegamya vivina,
keganena vatova,
nemvemya guwosi.*

*Kegamya Vevara,
kegimwedudu bomatu.*

He is sad my father,
I stroll around with my betel-nut,
We will reunite in the North.

I put them in my armband, the herbs,
The *keoli*-herbs in the *nemya*-armband.

Vana-herbs –
They will touch your body.

I pick my wreath of flowers,
the earth quakes in the North,
my wife – a girl.

Blossoming soon – my wreath of flowers –
he puts it on my head,
they like him the girls.

He goes to her, to the girl,
she hides in the North
he knows her at the beach.

I quarrel with my fate, my father,
unrequited love – this man –
he comes back with my girl-friend.

My friend Voli,
my friend Voli!

Get in rows for the dance, for the game –
faces – pandanus-leaves flutter in the wind.

She is hiding – To'unata –
in the row with the others he will appear before you.
He is beautiful – good words.

His speech my brother,
his well chosen words –
they will hurt me – I know.

We two will be one my friend,
her crying continues,
he gives me the betel-nut.

My body is beautiful,
you are humming a song.

Humming girl,
the air begins,
she is practicing my song.

Humming in Vevara,
whispering in the North.

*Mikevana Verara,
mikamya bomatu –
bukweganisa va baku.*

*Mikevana – vivina –
mikamya – varam –
kweganisa gu'osi.*

*Mikeyobu vina,
kumisa wosi,
yamwemya vana.*

*Inekudu – ineoli,
titavagu – buva –
banagisa Tuma!*

*Bigideoli tau.
Bigidemapu – vana.*

*Veyobu – kagu kauya –
vadudu vivina,
vetaki o migim!
Kuvadunu – tuagu –
vasanegu kiyaya –
bavetaki vamwana!*

*Butula Onegova.
M'yegu. Bonokum
toden, ivina'i
tokasa okwadeva.*

*Basila o negova,
bakipu keurata,
bakau akwemya!*

*Vatoa kagu kauya –
vadudu agu mwali –
yevata o kwadeva.*

Your singing in Vevara,
your humming in the North –
they will not like it in the midst of their village.

Your singing – girl –
your humming – tears –
they did not like my song.

You carry the children, you girls,
you practice singing the songs,
you sway your hips, herbs are in your armbands.

To bind the bunch of herbs – they are moved,
I long for her – my betel-nut –
I will go there and see: Tuma!

She longs for him, for the man.
He wants her – sweet smelling herbs in the armband.

Veyobu – my little basket –
walking with the girls,
playing the game, your face is so beautiful!
Come you two – you friends –
I give what I have –
I like playing this game!

This is the song of the canoe *Onegava*.
The wind blows. With herbs in their armbands,
there they are standing, the girls,
in a row they are standing at the beach.

I will sit in the canoe,
I will count the crew,
I will dare it and I hum my song!

Putting down my basket –
they come for my *mwali*-shells –
they watch them there at the beach.'

This song cycle describes the carefree, festive and erotic life of the *baloma* in the Tuma underworld paradise and mentions a Kula expedition. I do not want to further interpret this *wosi milamala* cycle. I want to emphasize though, that every native speaker of Kilivila hearing these songs (or reading a text like this one with the lyrics transcribed) will immediately recognize that these songs are sung in the *biga baloma/bigga tommwaya* register of Kilivila — despite the fact that most of the native speakers can no longer understand what is said in these songs (as pointed out above).

To conclude this section I want to emphasize once more that the *wosi milamala* and with them the *biga baloma/bigga tommwaya* register of Kilivila as a whole is highly endangered — if not already moribund. I would also like to point out that only the anthropological-linguistic reconstruction of the knowledge codified and narrated in a very

specific register opens up the Trobriand Islanders' collective religious knowledge and their *weltanschauung* for any outside observer. Trobriand eschatology is codified in the specific register called *biga tommwaya/biga baloma*; the insider with a true interest in and knowledge of the register constituting the genre *wosi milamala* will learn much more about the mythic and timeless connections that constitute the Trobriand meaning of life than someone who may have heard as a child about the existence of the *baloma* and their life in the Tuma underworld but otherwise may be indifferent with respect to these eschatological matters.¹¹

4 The *biga megwa* 'language of magic' and its level of endangerment

As mentioned above, the *biga megwa*, 'the language of magic', is very similar and closely related to the *biga tommwaya/biga baloma* variety. The variety not only encompasses archaic words and syntactic constructions, but also so-called magical words and loan words from other Austronesian languages, the meaning of which is unknown to the layman (and sometimes even to the magician); there are also many words and expressions the semantics of which are only known to the owners of these formulae (see Malinowski 1935 vol. II; Senft 1985b, 1997a, 2001). Malinowski contrasts this variety, which he calls *megwa la biga* ('magic its speech') with ordinary speech, which he calls *livala la biga* ('speech its language, spoken (everyday) language'; see Malinowski 1935 vol. II:225). This variety is highly situation dependent, of course, and the magical formulae, *megwa*, that constitute this register are characterized by a number of stylistic features and devices such as alliteration, anaphora, rhyme, repetition, metaphor, allegro rules, onomatopoeic words, and by a very special rhythm of their own. Trobrianders differentiate between various forms of magic. All these specific forms of magic have their special magical formulae. Although these formulae quite often also have specific names, they are all subsumed under the genre label *megwa*.

The expression *megwa* or its more archaic variant *migavela* can be glossed as 'magic, magical formula, spell'. There is another archaic noun, *kema*, that can also be glossed as 'magic, spell'. The Trobrianders differentiate between various forms of magic; they know weather magic, black magic, healing magic, garden magic, fishing magic, dance magic, beauty magic, love magic, sailing and canoe magic, and magic against earthquakes, witches and sharks. Most of the various forms of magic and most magical formulae have special labels in Kilivila, for example, the death magic *tiginuvayu*, the love magical formulae *kasina*, *koivaga*, *sulumveyuva*, the smoke magic *kegau*, the carving magic *kwegiva'elu*, the magic to prevent the theft of betel-nuts *silami*, the counter magic against sickness *yuvisa*, and the health magic *kaikakaya*.

As pointed out elsewhere (Senft 1997a), the Trobriand Islanders have always been famous for being great magicians (see for example, Malinowski 1922, 1935, 1974; Powell 1957, 1960; Weiner 1976, 1983, 1988). Until recently all Trobriand Islanders used magical formulae to reach certain aims with the firm conviction that they can thus influence and control nature and the course of, and events in, their lives. The magical formula is the most important part of the magical rite(s). Besides the knowledge of how to perform the magical rite, the possession of the magical formulae guarantees that the desired effect of the magic

¹¹ For further examples of *wosi milamala* see Baldwin (1945, 1950); Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Senft (1991).

will come true.¹² There are specialists for certain kinds of magic. All magic is regarded as personal property. There is a basic belief that magic came to the Trobriand Islands together with the first ancestors of the four clans. In the matrilineal Trobriand society individuals inherit magic from their matrilineal relatives, from their fathers, or from specialists. In general, experts, such as master-carvers, weavers, canoe-builders, sail-makers, healers, etc., accept apprentices and pass their skills on to these apprentices together with the magic that goes or may go with their special skills. The Trobriand Islanders differentiate between:

- magicians in general, the *tomegwa* ‘male magician’, *namegwa* ‘female magician’, *towosi* ‘male chanter of magic’ or *nawosi* ‘female chanter of magic’;
- sorcerers, the *bwagau* or *tobubwagau/nabubwagau* male/female sorcerers, the experts in ‘black magic’ in general, and
- the flying witches, the *munukwau*, the experts in ‘black magic’ in particular.

The following phrases refer to the activities of magicians:

<i>epaisewa megwa</i>	‘s/he is working (with her/his) magic’,
<i>emegwa</i>	‘s/he is doing magic’,
<i>ekasilam/ekapekwani/emigai megwa</i>	‘s/he is whispering magic’,
<i>ekauke’ula megwa</i>	‘s/he is carrying/wielding magic’.

The first two phrases refer to the magical ritual as a whole and in general, and the last two phrases refer to the recitation of the magical formula in particular. Moreover, there are a number of expressions that refer to how the magicians and sorcerers perform their magic. Among other things, they can:

- | | |
|--|--|
| • put a spell on someone or something | <i>emigamegwa yokwa</i>
‘s/he puts a spell on you’; |
| • bewitch someone or something | <i>ebugwau yokwa</i>
‘s/he bewitches you’; |
| • foretell things | <i>ekebigibogi yowai</i>
‘s/he foretells war’; |
| • speak their magical formulae over leaves | <i>eyopoi megwa</i>
‘s/he speaks magic over leaves’; |
| • put a spell on a canoe whipping it with a string to make it faster | <i>elepa waga</i>
‘s/he puts a spell on a canoe’; |
| • perform wind magic spitting | <i>epulapula yagila</i>
‘s/he spits wind magic’; |
| • heal with their magic | <i>ekatumova</i> ,
‘s/he heals with magic’,
<i>evigikwalem</i>
‘s/he tries healing magic on you’; |
| • pick leaves for health magic and then perform the magical rite with them | <i>eyoudali</i>
‘s/he performs healing magic with leaves’. |

¹² I want to note here that this is completely in accord with what Malinowski (1974) and Cassirer say about magic (see for example, Cassirer 1923:65; 1925:253, 265; see also 1929:79, 127, 142). For a discussion of Malinowski’s understanding of magic see Kippenberg (1987:23–31). See also Tambiah (1985:33f.).

While reciting — or rather whispering and murmuring — magical formulae, the magician's accentuation of the words and phrases creates a special and characteristic rhythm. The short but clearly audible pauses the magician makes while reciting the formulae can be interpreted as text formation signals. Malinowski (1935:213) and Weiner (1983:703) rightly praised the phonetic, rhythmic, alliterative, onomatopoeic and metaphorical effects, the various repetitions and the thus prosodically unique characteristics of the language of magic. It is especially the phonetic, suprasegmental and poetic characteristics that mark the special status of magical formulae as a genre of its own. Moreover, as pointed out above, with the majority of these formulae we find so-called magical words (magical and not 'sacred' words as Tambiah (1985:25) refers to them in a strange mixing up of 'paradigms'), names (of the formula or its former owners), things (like feathers and spears) and references (to the moon, to animals, to rivers, and taboos) the meanings of which are completely unknown even to the magicians themselves. This is the reason why Malinowski pointed out the 'two-fold character' of the language of magic characterized by 'the coefficients of weirdness and intelligibility' (Malinowski 1974:231). Thus Tambiah's (1985:35) claim that 'Trobriand magical language is intelligible language' has to be refuted as only partly true (see also Malinowski 1935 vol. II:224; Schmitz 1975:97f.).¹³ It is true that there are parts in a magical formula that are easy to understand; however, this does not hold for the magical formula as a whole. This observation, the specific formal and stylistic characteristics of the magical formulae mentioned so far and the fact that the Trobrianders themselves differentiate the *biga megwa* register from other situational-intentional varieties settles the issue of 'whether magical speech [...] is a different genre from ordinary speech' as it was raised by Tambiah (1990:80). For the Trobriand Islanders the *biga megwa* is certainly different from ordinary speech, otherwise they would not mark it explicitly in their metalanguage. Moreover, this concept also proves what Tambiah (1985:34) attempts to deny so vigorously, namely that 'the primitive has [...] the magical attitude to words'. Malinowski rightly 'affirmed the truth of this classical assertion' — and both linguistic and ethnographic facts here confirm Malinowski's insights and contradict once more one of so many theories that aim to criticize the findings of the great pioneer of ethnography.¹⁴

Expert magicians perform their rites on request and they expect betel-nuts, yams, tobacco, and nowadays money for their services. Usually, magicians have to observe food taboos for at least a day before they start their rites and while they perform them. They get

¹³ If the magical language reads intelligibly for someone who is not familiar with Kilivila and therefore only reads and relies on the field researcher's glosses, it is the merit of the field researcher and his or her familiarity with the language and his or her cooperation with the consultants that made it possible to come up with intelligible glosses.

¹⁴ Tambiah's argument that I am refuting here runs as follows: 'The basic fallacy of linguists and philosophers who search for the origins of the magical attitude to words is their prior assumption and acceptance that the primitive has in fact such an attitude. This axiom they have derived principally from Frazer, and indeed from Malinowski, who had affirmed the truth of this classical assertion on the basis of his fieldwork' (Tambiah 1985:34). I cannot refrain from thinking that here, as well as with his rather unqualified statement quoted and already refuted above that 'Trobriand magical language is intelligible language' (Tambiah 1985:35), Tambiah sounds like an 'armchair' anthropologist who tries to criticize the fieldworker on the basis of an assumed better theory. Although we all know that this famous anthropologist can look back to long periods of field research in various and different fields and has contributed widely to anthropological theory, it remains a mystery to me why he — like so many outstanding anthropologists — tries to find faults with Malinowski by all means and at any costs. The master may have interpreted this as a kind of Freudian patricide...

their compensation after they have finished their rituals. The fame of a magician depends on his or her success, of course. And this success is believed to basically depend on the magicians' strict observance of taboos that go with their magic — the magical rites have to follow and obey clearly defined conventions and rules — and on the correct reciting of the respective formula which has to be stereotypically recalled, remembered, and verbally reproduced by the acting magicians. The formulae inherited from the powerful ancestors will not have the desired effect if the magician does not always recite them in the same unchanged wording in which they were passed to the Islanders by their first ancestors. The only other possible and acceptable explanation for a magician's failure is the fact that he or she may have worked unknowingly in competition with another magician's more powerful magic. Thus, the effect of the formulae are based on the power and the will of the magician and his or her magical formula. Most formulae emphasize these powers explicitly. The magicians control the powers of nature by their own magical power and expertise which are manifest in the magical formulae they inherited from their ancestors. With respect to magic on the Trobriands Tambiah's (1985:81) statement that it 'is inappropriate to subject these performative rites to verification' is completely off the point. The work of magicians, especially when they perform their magical rites for the community or for an individual, are minutely monitored — and the status, prestige, and 'face' of magicians are solely dependent on their success.

The magicians direct all magical formulae towards specific addressees. Among these addressees are things, natural powers, substances, spirits, and animals, for example, water, magical stones, whet-stones, bodies, clouds, yam seedlings and plants, sweet potatoes, teeth of animals, pieces of wood, spirits, crocodiles, wild pigs, and wild dogs (see Senft 1997a). All these addressees are personalized in the respective formulae. Some of these addressees are mediating substances (Tambiah 1985:41) that — like go-betweens — take up the verbal assertions of the formulae and convey them to the final recipient of the magic.

All formulae pursue certain aims which they will reach either by ordering and commanding their addressees to do or change something, or by foretelling changes, processes, and developments that are necessary for reaching these aims, or by just describing the conditions and effects at which the formulae aim. Malinowski (1974:74) characterized this aspect of magic as: 'the use of words which invoke, state, or command the desired aim'. About 60 years later Tambiah (1985:60, 78) connected this observation with Austin's speech act theory (Austin 1962) and rightly called these verbal acts 'illocutionary' or 'performative' acts.

The speech situation in which magicians on the Trobriand Islands find themselves engaged is special, indeed. According to my consultants and to all the magicians that presented me with, or sold me, their formulae, the act of 'whispering, carrying, or saying the magic' (see above) is not a monological activity. On the contrary, the magicians engage in a kind of conversation with their addressee(s). For the Trobriand magicians the addressees of their formulae have to behave like partners in a conversation (see Senft 1985b:88), at least they have to take over the function of listeners — because the power of the magical words forces them to do this. Thus, all formulae personalize their addressees. According to my Trobriand consultants the interactants in the communicative situation of magic are the magician on the one side and the intermediate and/or mediate addressees of the magical formula on the other side. The magicians address their interlocutor verbally — and the addressees then have to react nonverbally. That is to say: the addressees of the

formulae either have to support and fulfill the orders they hear in the formula and see that the described aims will be reached, or they will not react to the magician's formula because the addressees either have to obey the power and will of another magician's stronger and more powerful formula or because the magician has broken a taboo or made a mistake in reciting the formula and therefore cannot force the power of his or her magic on the respective addressees. Thus, whether the communication between the magicians and their addressees is successful or not — from the point of view of the magician — is completely dependent on the nonverbal reaction of the verbally addressed. From the Trobrianders', the emic, point of view, the performance of magic is always a communicative event characterized by a verbal-nonverbal conversation between magician and personalized addressee (regardless of whether the addressee is animate or inanimate). To summarize this emic view once more: the Trobriand magician talks to an addressee, the addressee listens and reacts, and therefore both are engaged in a special type of conversation.

When I first came to the Trobriand Islands in 1982, magic still played a dominant role and the power of magicians and their magical formulae clearly pervaded everyday life on the Trobriands. In 1983 the chief of Tauwema, Kilagola, gave me parts of his canoe magic as a present, when he adopted me as one of his sons. His brother Weyei made me a similar present consisting of five formulae of his weather magic as a sign of his friendship (see Senft 1985b). And Vaka'ila, one of the oldest men of the village, presented me with a number of formulae of his garden magic because I reminded him of his late brother Keyalabwala. These three men were the only persons who offered me such personal and secret information — and I was rather proud of being honoured by these men in this way.

In 1989, however, more than twelve women and men approached my wife and me and offered to sell magical formulae for money and tobacco. We felt as if we were in the middle of a big closing-down sale for magic. This is clear evidence for the fact that the magical formulae have lost their importance for the majority of Trobriand Islanders. This is certainly the result of a more than century-long fight between traditional magicians and Christian missionaries (see below). In 1983 Trobriand Islands Christians still lived in an interesting form of syncretism that combined traditional belief in magic and Trobriand eschatology (Malinowski 1974) with Christian ideas. In 1989 these syncretic features of Trobriand Islands Christianity had already decreased dramatically. The magicians, both female or male, were increasingly losing influence in the society, and accordingly the estimation and appreciation of their magical skills and their knowledge of magical formulae decreased. Thus, magical formulae had started to not only lose their societal and political value but also their value as personal property. Therefore, many Trobrianders thought that there was no need any more to bequeath the formulae to the members of the younger generation. In turn, the younger generation hardly saw any sense any more in learning these formulae in a number of long and tiresome lessons their elder (matrilineal) relatives, their fathers, or some experts used to teach them. This decrease in the importance of magic will most probably result in the loss of the genre and the situational-intentional variety constituted by the magical formulae. Thus, *megwa* and the *biga megwa* will most probably share the fate of the *wosi milamala* and the *biga baloma/biga tommwaya*.

In what follows I present a magical formula that was donated to me by one of my fellow villagers in Tauwema. The magical formula represents healing magic (see Senft 1997a:371–373). I got this magic from Kasilasila, a man of about 65 years of age, in July 1989. Kasilasila lived in Tauwema; he was a member of the Lukwasisiga clan. The name of the magic is *kemakoda* or *koda* magic. The health magician is obliged to always observe

certain food taboos, so that he can immediately act whenever his services are necessary and requested. The *koda* magic works for lacerations, stab wounds (especially if inflicted by a spear), cuts and shark-bites. The formula is first recited over the water with which the healer cleans the wound. This water is called *lalakwia*. Then the healer takes a special stone called *dakwadakuna* which is his (or her) personal property, whispers the magic on this stone, wraps leaves around it and then places the wrapped stone for a certain amount of time he (or she) thinks to be adequate on various areas below and above the wounded person's heart (for the role of stones in magic see Frazer 1922:43). The person with the wound(s) that have to be cured also has to sleep (at least) a night on this stone. If the wound does not close and heal fast enough, the rite will be performed so long until the magic shows the desired effect. I recorded the formula in Tauwema on July 29th 1989. It runs as follows:

	<i>Matala dakwadakwa</i>	'Its eye <i>dakwadakwa</i> -stone
	<i>matala matala</i>	its eye its eye
	<i>lalakwia matala</i>	<i>lalakwia</i> -water its eye
	<i>keidauta matala</i>	<i>kaidauta</i> -feather its eye
5	<i>kemakoda kemakoda</i>	<i>kemakoda</i> magic <i>kemakoda</i>
	<i>kagu pwolala</i>	my scab
	<i>seidididididi aleipatu</i>	<i>seidididididi</i> I close
	<i>yatala o la kemakoda</i>	one in its <i>kemakoda</i> magic
	<i>yegula Kasilasila</i>	I <i>kasilasila</i>
10	<i>kanai</i>	<i>kanai</i> -fish
	<i>sigulu</i>	dry banana-leaf
	<i>beba bouna bouna</i>	butterfly good good
	<i>bouna bouna</i>	good good
	<i>sikeda</i>	their road
15	<i>sikeda</i>	their road
	<i>sikedava</i>	their new road
	<i>sikeda</i>	their road
	<i>sikeda</i>	their road
	<i>sikedamugwa</i>	their old road
20	<i>atem</i>	I cut you
	<i>buyai itamatem</i>	blood it cures you
	<i>buyai itasuvaletem</i>	blood it stops
	<i>buyai takadem</i>	blood we clot
	<i>buyai tagayem</i>	blood we do not hurt you
25	<i>buyai kagu pwalala</i>	blood my scab
	<i>seididididididi</i>	<i>seididididididi</i>
	<i>mguvala</i>	your well-being
	<i>bigogova</i>	it will get well
	<i>bibwipam</i>	blood will run through your body

30	<i>mguvala</i>	your well-being
	<i>bigogova</i>	it will get well
	<i>e'ulitaboda</i>	the wound closes
	<i>mguvala</i>	your well-being
	<i>bigogwa</i>	it will get well
35	<i>epokonikani</i>	it hurts
	<i>mguvala</i>	your well-being
	<i>bigogova</i>	it will get well
	<i>e i yoku mguvala</i>	eh ih you your well-being
	<i>bigogova</i>	it will get well
40	<i>kalusimalisi</i>	we put a spell on you
	<i>mguvala</i>	your well-being
	<i>bigogova</i>	it will get well
	<i>matala siyakaila</i>	tip of the <i>siyakaila</i> -wood
	<i>matala kasiyakaila</i>	tip of the <i>kasiyakaila</i> -spear
45	<i>mguvala</i>	your well-being
	<i>bigogova</i>	it will get well
	<i>matala emiliukotu</i>	tip of the <i>emiliukotu</i> -spear
	<i>mguvala</i>	your well-being
	<i>bigogova</i>	it will get well
50	<i>matala kemwayaka</i>	tip of the <i>kemwayaka</i> -wood
	<i>mguvala</i>	your well-being
	<i>bigogova</i>	it will get well
	<i>bouna bouna</i>	good, good
	<i>sikeda sikeda</i>	their road, their road
55	<i>sikedavau</i>	their new road
	<i>sikeda sikeda</i>	their road, their road
	<i>sikedamugwa</i>	their old road
	<i>atem</i>	I cut you
	<i>buyai tamatam</i>	blood, we heal you
60	<i>buyai tamatam</i>	blood, we heal you
	<i>buyai itasuvalem</i>	blood it stops
	<i>buyai</i>	blood
	<i>kagu pwalala</i>	my scab
	<i>seididididididi</i>	<i>seididididididi</i>
65	<i>kanaiy</i>	(fast like) <i>kanaya</i> -fish
	<i>akipatuma</i>	I hold it tight
	<i>yegula Kasilasila</i>	I myself Kasilasila
	<i>o lu kemakoda</i>	in its <i>kemakoda</i> magic
	<i>kanai</i>	<i>kanai</i> -fish

70	<i>sigilubu</i>	dry banana leaf
	<i>beba</i>	butterfly
	<i>gala mwolisala</i>	no pain
	<i>gala kwasala</i>	nothing remains
	<i>iputu iyausa</i>	it closes, it stops
75	<i>tchchchch eee</i>	tchchchch eee'

The whispered recitation of this formula in its specific rhythm lasts for one minute and 26 seconds.

In the first two lines Kasilasila refers to the 'eye' of his magical *dakwadakwa* stone with which he performs his health magic. *Dakwadakwa* is the magical name of the stone Kasilasila refers to as *dakwadakuna* in profane contexts. The very first lines reveal that this stone has a special status: it has an eye with which it sees the wounds it is used to close. However, the attention of the stone's eye is also directed to the *lalakwa* water with which the healer first cleaned the wound and over which he also recited this magical formula. In line 4 Kasilasila also mentions a feather called *keidauta* — however, the magician does not use this feather in his ritual and he himself does not know the meaning of this feather and its specific importance for the magic as a whole. In lines 5–9 Kasilasila first mentions the name of the magic twice and then foretells what he, Kasilasila, is going to do. He refers to his 'scab' with which he will quickly close something flexible and open (*ya-tala*, 'flexible-one') which is not specified but must be the wound. The scab is in the *kemakoda* magic that Kasilasila has put on the *dakwadakwa* stone. The onomatopoeic expression *seidididididi* indicates the swiftness of this action — in profane contexts it is generally used by children to describe a fast surf from the border of the reef to the beach. In line 9 Kasilasila mentions his own name and thus explicitly refers to his power that he has transferred to the magical stone. In lines 10–12 the formula refers to a fish, a butterfly and a dry banana-leaf — two animals and a material that are small, light and swift and quickly driven away by a strong current or a fresh gale. This is another means to emphasize the speed of the healing process — and lines 12 and 13 point out four times that everything will be good again, soon.

In lines 14–19 the magician refers to the blood stream (the roads of blood), pretending in line 20 that he is cutting his patient (implied here is that he does this cutting with his magical stone). In lines 21–26 the formula expresses that this causes a new stream of blood that cures the patient and lets the blood of his or her wound stop and clot. However, this new 'cutting' does not hurt; on the contrary, Kasilasila's scab put on the stone with the spell will quickly close the wound. Again, the expression *seidididididi* indicates swiftness of the action.

In the lines 27–53 the formula conjures the healing of the wound: the addressing of the patient's well-being (*mguvala*) and the statement that 'it will get well' (*bigogova* or *bigogwa*) is repeated nine times. In lines 43, 44, 47, and 50 three spears are mentioned. Kasilasila only knows that *Emiliukotu* was the name of his father's spear — however, the magician again does not know anything about the meaning of mentioning these spears and about their specific importance for and in this magical rite. This part of the formula ends with line 53 that (like the lines 12 and 13 above) point out twice that everything will be good again.

Lines 54–65 repeat almost identically the part of the formula that was already recited in the lines 14–26. The only difference here is that the curing, the clotting of the blood, and

the pain-free treatment is not mentioned again. What is mentioned here twice, however, is the fact that Kasilasila and his spell (he put on the water and the magical stone) will heal the wounded person. Moreover, this part of the formula emphasizes not only with the onomatopoeic *seidididididi* expression but also with the additional mentioning of the quick and swift *kanaya*-fish (a small reef-fish I cannot determine biologically) the swiftness of the healing process.

In lines 66–68 the magician again explicitly refers to himself and to the *kemakoda* magic which he is holding tight in the magical stone. Mentioning the fish, the dry banana-leaf and the butterfly in lines 69–71 conjures the swiftness of the healing process once more, lines 72–74 assure the wounded person that there will be no pain and no permanent damage to his or her health and that the wound will close and stop bleeding.

The formula ends with onomatopoeic sounds that seem to resemble the transition of the spoken magical word into the water and the magical stone — the intermediate addressees of this magical formula — and from there into the wound and the patient's body — the immediate and direct addressees of the *kemakoda* magic.

If we look at the formula as a whole again, we can summarize its text formation as follows:

Part A:	The magic, its components and the magician's action Lines 1–13
Part B:	The bleeding will be stopped swiftly Lines 14–26
Part C:	The healing of the wound is conjured Lines 27–53
Part B':	The bleeding will be stopped swiftly Lines 54–65
Part D:	The magician's power and the effect of his magic: wounds will close and heal swiftly and completely Lines 66–75. ¹⁵

To conclude this section I want to emphasize once more that I am convinced that this genre and with it the *biga megwa* register of Kilivila as a whole is highly endangered — if not already moribund. In the next section I will discuss why the two situational-intentional varieties of Kilivila, the *biga baloma*/*biga tommwaya* and the *biga megwa* — are doomed to die on the Trobriand Islands.

5 Why have the *biga megwa* and the *biga baloma* become moribund language varieties of Kilivila?

The Overseas Mission Department of the Methodist Church commenced work in the Trobriand Islands as early as 1894 (see Senft 1992, 1994b, 1997b).

In 1935 Roman Catholic Missionaries (M.S.C.) from Australia began their work on the Trobriands. Up to 1988 the Roman Catholic Church was represented by two Australian priests from the Mission of the Sacred Heart. Then the bishop of the Massim diocese allowed the Italian P.I.M.E. mission to start their work on the Trobriands, and moved the

¹⁵ For further examples of *megwa* see Malinowski (1935 vol. II); Senft (1985b, 1997a;).

two M.S.C. missionaries to Alotau and to a small island in the Louisiade Archipelago. At present there is one priest from Itlay based on Kiriwina Island.

In the late seventies the church of the Seventh Day Adventists started to perform their missionary work in a few villages on the Trobriand Islands. However, so far they have only played a marginal role there.

The Church encompassing most believers is the Methodist Church. Today all Methodist priests on the Trobriand Islands are Papua New Guineans, and every village with a Methodist church has at least one local village priest, the so-called *misinari*. The Catholics took over this policy of the Methodists and established a network of local catechists in the villages with Catholic inhabitants; these catechists are also called *misinari*.

In general, the Methodist *misinari* are individuals with highly motivated social upward mobility in the Trobriand society, which is stratified according to a strict hierarchy (see Malinowski 1929, 1935; Powell 1957; Weiner 1976, 1988). They undergo a few months training at a mission school where they learn to master English (to a certain degree), to write, and especially to read, interpret and expound the Gospels that have been translated into (a slightly Dobu-based variety of) Kilivila (Lawton 1997). The *misinari* gain prestige as specially trained lay-priests, catechists or deacons associated with the influential mission.

As Robert Louis Stevenson had already noted in 1896, with respect to the South Seas there 'is but one source of power and the one ground of dignity — rank' (Stevenson 1896:282). This holds true for the Trobriand society, too: Trobriand society is highly stratified. The most important means of access to political power is membership in the highest ranking subclans. There are some other means to acquire status within the society, such as being a versatile rhetorician, a master-carver, an expert magician, etc. However, compared to the political significance of in-born rank, these alternatives for achieving status are of secondary importance. In former times, individuals belonging to the two lowest ranking clans of the four main Trobriand clans had little chance of gaining status or exercising any kind of political influence.

With the growing influence of the Christian churches on the Trobriands members of these two lowest ranking clans involved themselves in these new institutions of political impact. With the increase of the churches' power, being a *misinari* implies being a woman or a man of rank. Most of the Trobriand *misinari* nowadays belong to the lower two of the four Trobriand clans. People who are matrilineally born into these two lower clans have almost no chance to gain political influence (if they do not inherit knowledge of special magical formulae). The fact that the *misinari* — still a relatively young group of social climbers — have achieved political influence within the villages is documented by the ritualized greeting formula that is used to start important public speeches: in this formula the *misinari* are addressed immediately after the chief(s).¹⁶

This indicates that the *misinari* — at least with respect to official acknowledgement — displaced the magicians, traditionally the second most important representatives of social power and control, following in rank immediately after the chief. According to Malinowski (1926:93):

[magic] invariably ranges itself on the side of the powerful, wealthy and influential, sorcery remains a support of vested interest [...] in the long run, of law and order. It is always a conservative force, and it furnishes really the main source of the

¹⁶ The formula runs: *Agutoki kweguyau, agutoki misinari, agutoki tommota ...*; it can be translated as 'Honorable chiefs, dear village church leaders, people from/of (name of the respective village)'.

wholesome fear of punishment and retribution indispensable in any orderly society. There is hardly anything more pernicious, therefore, in the many European ways of interference with savage peoples, than the bitter animosity with which Missionary, Planter, and Official alike pursue the sorcerer. The rash, haphazard, unscientific application of our morals, laws, and customs to native societies, and the destruction of native law, quasi-legal machinery and instruments of power leads only to anarchy and moral atrophy and in the long run to the extinction of culture and race.

Malinowski was completely aware of the processes of culture change the missionaries had to induce in Trobriand society to achieve rank — and thus power. The missionaries had to fight first and foremost the magicians, their *weltanschauung*, and the model of culture they represented and guarded. Because the magicians were too powerful, the missionaries could not start directly to fight their ‘natural enemy’, the ‘sorcerer’, who stands for conservatism, the old tribal order, the old beliefs and appointment of power (see Malinowski 1926:93). Therefore, they had to fight first against the standards and values the Trobriand magicians represented. Belief in magic was not denounced directly as something ‘heathenistic’. Instead, the strategy pursued to fight these ‘pagan’ customs — according to the village priests’ judgment — has been much more subtle: the local village priests and catechist, the *misinari*, argue that there are two ways to live one’s life. One way is the old, traditional way which includes magic and the eschatological belief in the immortal spirits of the dead living in the underground paradise on Tuma island. The other way is the new Christian way of life with its specific Christian beliefs and its own eschatological ideas. Both ways are mutually exclusive, or, to say it in the local priests’ words: ‘one can either walk on the way of the ancestors or on the Christian way together with *Jesu Keriso*, the Lord Jesus Christ’. If people want to ensure a good yam harvest, if they need rain or want to have more sunny days, they are told to pray for it in the church. By now there are even some special public prayers for good harvests. Women especially accept this more recent way of Christian preaching and self-presentation, and the clear and simple alternatives — the traditional magicians with their formulae and rites on the one hand and the *misinari* and their prayers on the other hand — cause much tension in families where the husbands of pious wives are expert magicians. As mentioned above, magicians, both female and male, have gradually lost influence in the society, and accordingly the estimation of their magical skills and their knowledge of magical formulae has decreased. As mentioned above, many Trobrianders think that there is actually no need any more to bequeath the formulae to the members of the younger generation, and in turn, the younger generation these days hardly sees any sense in learning these formulae. I want to point out that the Trobriand Islanders’ belief in the magical power of words included their conviction in magic as a means of controlling nature as well as the incidents affecting their personal lives. Once this conviction is lost a political and ritual power vacuum remains — and *misinari* and missionaries use this vacuum for their own means and ends. The magician’s ritual and political power has been replaced by the priest’s ritual and political power in Trobriand society.

Thus, the increasing influence of Christian belief and the growth of the local village priests’ status and political power is responsible for the loss of the text category ‘magical formula’ and thus for the moribund state of the situational-intentional variety constituted by the magical formulae, the *biga megwa*.

However, the changes in the Trobriand Islanders’ evaluation of the concepts ‘magic’ and ‘religion’ do not only affect the *biga megwa*. The Christian religion and its specific eschatology is also gradually replacing the indigenous Trobriand eschatology. As pointed

out above Trobriand eschatological knowledge is codified in the *wosi milamala* — and with the religious changes induced by the missionaries and *misinari* these songs also lose their meaning and significance for the society. As mentioned above, they are still sung to preserve some part of the ritual aspect of the harvest festival and of the respective mourning ceremony, but the singers of these songs no longer know what they are singing about. Many of the *wosi milamala* are already forgotten, and I am convinced that in a few years the *biga baloma* variety will have died.

The loss of the *biga baloma* and the *biga megwa* varieties of Kilivila affect indigenous forms of ritual language. In general we can regard ritual language as the recognized culmination of the learning of knowledge which is basic and fundamental for the social construction of a society's reality. This reality, in turn, fosters its stability with the help of the relative stability of ritual language. As I have outlined above, the changes that affect these language varieties are induced by cultural change. However, such language changes, once induced, have severe consequences for the organization and construction of the culture of the respective society in turn because it escalates the dynamics of change.

The *misinari* have finally been very successful in changing the society they infiltrated and which they have been indoctrinating for more than a hundred years. The induced changes have affected the indigenous belief system of the Trobriand Islanders. Necessarily, these changes resulted also in new European and Christian biased systems of social and religious values and beliefs. And that these profound changes are also reflected in the language of the Trobriand Islanders is only natural: the processes of change influenced the language which in turn served to foster these changes! The missionaries have managed to replace the indigenous Trobriand magic, science, and eschatological belief system by Christian 'magic', 'science' and religion.

6 Everything flows, nothing stands still

I am completely aware of the fact that '[it] is easy to blame the missionary. But it is his business to make changes' (Stevenson 1896:41). In the preceding sections I described how culture change induced by missionaries is responsible for the fact that two situational-intentional varieties of Kilivila are doomed to die. I started this paper with the remark that it is a trivial insight that culture change also results in language change and I pointed out that language change is one of the most important constitutive and defining features of every natural language. Everything flows — as Heraclitus is said to have said. So why lament the loss of these language varieties, especially given the fact that the Kilivila language as a whole is far from being endangered?

If we look at various specific varieties in Western-European languages we realize, for example, that former magical formulae and the language variety in which they were written have also died out — I refer to the two famous Old High German *Merseburger Zaubersprüche* (see Schlosser 1970). However, there is one big difference here: Many of these archaic texts of European languages that illustrate various levels of their historical development were written and therefore could be preserved up to our times. They are documented and thus everybody interested in these texts has access to them. And this is not the case for the varieties of Kilivila described and illustrated in this paper!

It is true that cultures as well as languages are dynamic phenomena — that's the way it is — but our primary task as scientists is to describe and document these dynamics. On a secondary level of our research we may more or less subjectively evaluate these dynamics and their results. It is on a completely different and much more political than scientific

level, however, that we have the chance to influence the directions of these dynamics — on the basis of our scientific insights, of course. But as to the scientific level of our argumentation, the facts force us to accept that in all cultures and in all languages we observe dynamic processes that result in cultural and linguistic change. I am determined to observe and describe these dynamic processes that affect the Trobriand Islanders' language and culture in the years to come; however, I also feel obliged to document as many aspects as possible of endangered cultural knowledge that are encoded and manifest in the Trobriand Islanders language in general and in their oral tradition in particular.

I think the great merit of the 'Endangered Languages Debate' is that it has been raising the awareness of the linguistic peer group that we have to document these languages that are dying or doomed to die as comprehensively as possible if we do not want to lose important parts of human knowledge and proofs for the incredible diversity and flexibility of human cognition. Thus, I agree with Dixon that the 'most important task in linguistics today indeed, the only really important task — is to get out in the field and describe languages while this can still be done' (Dixon 1997:144). However, I would like to add that these descriptions of languages must also include the descriptions of the cultures of their speakers, because — as we have learned from Malinowski (1920:78) — 'linguistics without ethnography would fare as badly as ethnography without the light thrown in it by language'!

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Part II

*The archiving of the
documented materials*

6

Linguistic preservation and linguistic responsibility: examples from the Pacific

NICK THIEBERGER

1 Introduction¹

Linguists often claim that the work they do will preserve endangered languages. This is a noble claim, and one that may be genuinely felt, but what does it actually mean? Linguists, and ethnographers more broadly, can preserve records of languages and cultures they work with, but cannot claim to be preserving the language or culture itself. Proper records need to be created using standard formats that will endure and be locatable in the future. Fortunately, new tools have emerged at the same time as, or perhaps partly as a motivating factor for, a change in approach to linguistic practice among linguists, which we can broadly characterize as language documentation. These tools allow us to interact with primary data in a way that was previously not possible and to present an analysis together with access to that data. Most importantly, creation of well-formed records allows speakers to locate and access recordings, a crucial part of our responsibility to those we work with and to their descendants.

Language revitalization is becoming increasingly popular as seen in the programs described, for example, in Hinton and Hale (2001) or Grenoble and Whaley (2006), and is often motivated by the realization that many languages are in serious danger of not being spoken within a generation or two (Grenoble and Whaley 1998). For languages with few or no current speakers there are reintroduction programs drawing on historical records (Thieberger 1995) and it is the creation of good records for later reuse in these kinds of programs that is the main topic of this paper. The content of such records has been discussed at length by Himmelmann (1998, 2006) and includes a range of discourse styles spoken by as great a variety of speakers as possible. This chapter, however, focusses not on the content of documentary records, but on their form and on the means by which they can be incorporated into linguistic research.

¹ A version of this paper was presented at the Conference on the Indigenous, organized by the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur, June 2005. Thanks to Linda Barwick for comments on an earlier draft.

2 Preservation or publicity

Language preservation is a theme on some 81,300 websites,² most of which are concerned with supporting ongoing use of a language by interventions of various kinds, including oral programs, literature, music and so on. When promoted by speakers and local communities these are potentially vital and exciting activities and linguists have a role in their support. On the other hand, we all must have seen newspaper reports about a linguist or linguistics department which is saving endangered languages, and read on to find that they are doing fieldwork and writing a grammar. What is being saved here? For example, a linguistic research centre was described as working ‘with many small tribal groups, preparing texts and other materials that help retain near-extinct languages for future generations’ (*Melbourne Age* 2005-06-20). On closer examination it is clear that the valuable research being conducted here resulted in the normal academic outputs of written grammars of the languages. In what sense could this be regarded as ‘retaining’ languages (allowing of course for a certain journalistic flamboyance in the choice of words)? This research centre, like many such departments, made no provision for the safe storage of research data and saw the successful result of fieldwork as being just a grammatical description of the language. This is better than no record, but is not providing the data on which its claims are based. Further it is not providing narratives, songs, conversations, or examples of language in use that speakers of the language could reasonably expect to be results of fieldwork on their languages. The director of this centre explicitly railed against the use of new technological approaches appropriate to language documentation:

A word addressed to junior colleagues who think that it will improve their work to immerse it in the latest electronic technology. Don’t. Because it won’t ... I used pencil, pen and spiral-bound notebooks, plus a couple of good-quality tape recorders. No video camera ... No lap-top. No shoebox or anything of that nature. (Dixon 2006)

Fortunately this recalcitrant attitude is not shared by many linguists, as most understand the need to conduct fieldwork in a way that will result both in good long-term records and in descriptive work.

Another project that claims to preserve languages is the Rosetta Project Language Archive,³ a ‘near permanent archive of 1000 languages’ — not ‘words from’, nor ‘aspects of’ — but ‘languages’. This website stores wordlists and images of Genesis translations for as many languages as it can (2376 at last count), and some languages have more detail. It has a wordlist database of 1384 languages with 404,451 ‘distinct words’. It appears that there is no audio or video material stored in this collection. The initial impetus for this project was to microscopically inscribe data from 1000 languages into a titanium disk that would persist over time, with multiple copies tending to make survival of some more likely. The claim that it ‘stores languages’ may have popular appeal, but is a rhetoric of language salvation distinct from the substance of linguistic archiving for long-term access to the range of material produced by a typical language documentation project.

² Google search on ‘language preservation’ 8th March 2006.

³ <http://www.rosettaproject.org>

3 Messianic saviors of language

Can linguists offer much towards maintenance of linguistic diversity? Mufwene (2001, 2002:191) suggests that linguists have ignored the broader context of language change in their calls for language maintenance.

No human intervention will stop the endangerment of the Native languages unless it recreates socioeconomic ecologies that may either grant them selective advantage or make them equally competitive with the European languages. (Mufwene 2001:156)

In Mufwene's view, it is a range of non-linguistic features that will determine whether a language continues to be spoken and so linguists can have little influence on ongoing use of language. Topping (2003) observes that linguists can provide support, for example, in the form of material for language programs. In a conference paper in 1994 he wrote about an intensive effort he was involved in to record Micronesian languages as part of a group who felt 'perhaps arrogantly, that linguists had not only a role, but a responsibility to help preserve the languages of Micronesia. Emboldened with this messianic complex, and a substantial source of funding, we launched a major project to ensure their survival' (2003:524). He notes that the project resulted in grammars of a number of previously undescribed languages and some 1300 texts, but that after a short period these texts were only to be found in the University of Hawai'i library (2003:525). Small Pacific communities typically do not have the resources to provide long-term storage of the outputs of linguistic research, such as grammars or dictionaries, let alone the unique recordings that need special care. Thus there is a new sense of (hopefully not arrogant) responsibility among yet another generation of linguists to ensure that the current production of similar material is better provided for than it has been in the past.

In a similarly sombre tone, Newman (2003) notes that, in the USA, there has not been enough emphasis on linguistic fieldwork and training of fieldworkers, but that, when linguists do get involved with communities they can do 'too much', in the form of what he calls 'linguistic social work' (2003:5–6). 'The primary justification for doing research on an endangered language has to be the scientific value of providing that documentation and in preserving aspects of that language and culture for posterity' (2003:6). Perhaps linguists can get sidelined from the main emphasis on production of a grammar by a sense of responsibility to the people they are working with. This should, of course, be a good thing, but is not rewarded by the academic programs we have built to date. With new workflows based around new technologies it is now possible to provide useful outcomes from our fieldwork at the same time as constructing the kind of language documentation that will in time also be required by the Academy as part of a grammatical description of a previously undescribed language. The question I want to focus on here is how to look after this data in the long term.

4 Preservation for reintroduction

In Australia in the past twenty years in particular there has been a significant effort to locate historical records about indigenous languages. In part this effort has been motivated by a general resurgence of identity among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (McConvell and Thieberger 2001:40), in part by the availability of funding for language centers and activities in various parts of the country, and in part by the legal process in which linguistic continuity using early documentation can assist in establishing rights to Native Title (Henderson and Nash 2002). For some languages, however, there is little or no

available information, and the typical record, where it does exist, is made up of wordlists in various kinds of spelling systems, and more rarely some sentences or grammatical notes. Locating this material is difficult, determining what language it represents is not always easy, and making use of it can be arduous, involving interpreting archaic handwriting and making sense of the often partial information recorded (Thieberger 1995). Using this material provides great motivation for preparing better records today in a form that we would have liked to find for the language data we are trying to locate in the archives. Field material prepared today would have rich descriptive material about who was recorded, where and when, preferably using standard terms (such as the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) standard for language names). This descriptive material would be provided in a searchable form in order to announce its existence, and the data itself would be housed on durable media in a format that could be accessed in future.

5 Archiving and digital curation as preservation

In the past few years we have seen digital archives established in various parts of the world in response to needs expressed by the community of linguists. The major initiatives leading this move have been the Open Language Archives Community (OLAC)⁴ and the Max Planck Institute at Nijmegen's ISLE Metadata Initiative (IMDI),⁵ each providing infrastructure including metadata sets and advice on formats for archival data. In Australia, a group of linguists and musicologists developed a proposal for a digital repository, the Pacific And Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (PARADISEC), which first received funding in 2003. The major impetus was the growing collection of tapes and associated recorded material from current, retired and deceased researchers. PARADISEC was established precisely because there was no adequate repository of this kind — national repositories such as the National Library of Australia or the National Film and Sound Archive are not funded to look after material recorded outside of Australia. They have, nevertheless, been extremely supportive of our work and provided training and advice and the loan of equipment.

The PARADISEC collection of some five terabytes, including around 3000 hours of audio and video data, is housed in four separate locations in two cities, Sydney and Canberra,⁶ and we are planning to have mirrored copies on other continents in future as part of the Digital Endangered Languages and Musics Network (DELANMAN⁷). A digital collection can be copied and mirrored without loss of quality; the major requirements are proper authentication procedures to safeguard access to the data, large hard disks and speedy networks. We are yet to place our collection on a secure funding footing, but have the commitment of the National Computational Infrastructure (NCI) to migrate the current collection over time.

6 Ability to locate material

Traditionally, collections of video, pictures, tapes and notes made in the course of fieldwork are kept by the researcher until they retire or later. It has required some effort on

⁴ <http://www.language-archives.org/>

⁵ International Standard for Language Engineering (ISLE), <http://www.mpi.nl/ISLE/>

⁶ At the National Computational Infrastructure (NCI)

⁷ <http://www.delaman.org>

the part of anyone interested in reading these notes or in hearing these tapes, first, to know that they exist at all, and, second, to locate them and be able to use them. A solution is to provide descriptive tools for small collections that can both announce the existence of a collection and provide a simple but sufficient description of what is in the collection. By using standard ways of describing these collections and by publishing these descriptions on the web they become a resource available to the research community. We have adopted the standards proposed by the Open Language Archives Community or OLAC, which include a set of basic descriptive information or metadata as outlined in Table 1.⁸

Table 1: Key metadata fields used by PARADISEC

1.	Title	Item name
2.	Identifier	Unique resource identifier
3.	Contributor	Name of the person primarily responsible for creating the resource
4.	Item	Identification as given by the depositor
5.	Role*	annotator; artist; author; complier; composer; consultant; data_inputter; depositor; developer; editor; illustrator; interviewer; participant; performer; photographer; recorder; researcher; respondent; speaker; signer; singer; sponsor; transcriber; translator
6.	Coverage	ISO country code (soon to be supplemented by lat/long polygons)
7.	Language as in source	Freeform language name as given by the depositor
8.	Subject language and code*	ISO-693 (formerly Ethnologue) language names and codes
9.	Content language and code*	"
10.	Date	Date the item was created
11.	Data type*	lexicon; primary text; language description; song; instrumental music
12.	Rights	Access conditions

7 Locating the speakers or performers or their descendants

When introducing PARADISEC to relevant agencies in the Pacific it is easy to be portrayed as a new colonial expropriator. In the past researchers have done themselves and their colleagues little good by extracting information for their own purposes with little return to the communities they work with. As an example, Vanuatu closed the door on

⁸ This is a summary of some of the key metadata fields in use at PARADISEC at present. Those marked with an asterisk are repeatable. There are a further 20 or so metadata fields that are not listed here but a fuller list can be downloaded from our website, <http://paradisec.org.au>. All of these are a subset of the whole catalogue that we use to manage our collection.

linguistic research after independence, and only allowed researchers back once a research policy had been instituted. The contract a researcher must sign to work in Vanuatu stipulates that they will produce material in the national interest in a form that can be used at the local community level, and that recordings must be placed in the national repository, the Vanuatu Cultural Centre.

A major motivation for preserving field recordings is to make them available to the speakers recorded and to their descendants. While it may appear that the use of digital technology for encoding these recordings puts them out of the reach of the speaker in the village, we take it as our responsibility to use the best possible means to secure the data in a way that allows it to be reused in future. Reusability means that the archival copy can be reproduced in more accessible forms, and so we make CD audio copies, or Mp3 copies on CD for distribution. As it is often impossible for us, based in Australia, to know where these CDs should go to for repatriation, we rely on local cultural centers to take the copies and then make them available to the appropriate people. We have provided CDs of research material to the Vanuatu Cultural Centre and the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies and produced digital versions of tapes for a speaker of a New Caledonian language who recorded them in 1980. We are hoping to expand this network throughout the region.

8 Citing data in our analysis

A grammatical description can provide a point of entry to a digitized corpus (Thieberger 2009). Traditionally grammars rarely acknowledge the source of example sentences, or give a broader context of their occurrences. In the presentation of scientific hypotheses and arguments it is unusual, if not unheard of, to present conclusions without presenting the set of data on which they are based. Presenting the relevant data set makes the author accountable and allows others to verify the analysis based on the same data as used by the author. It has, on the contrary, long been the accepted practice among linguists to give an example as proof that a certain morpheme, word or construction occurs, without citation of the source of that example. If an example has no citable source it is impossible for the reader to verify that it actually occurred, or what kind of context it may have occurred in. While, in the past, it was difficult to cite points where an example occurred within analog data, it has become much easier in the past decade with increased use of digital media (as shown in Thieberger 2006). Nevertheless, it is still rare to find such citation forms in theses, grammars and academic papers. Part of the problem has been the lack of suitable software for building media-based corpora, and that has been addressed by tools like Transcriber⁹ or Elan,¹⁰ which are especially for creating time-aligned transcripts of media files. Another part of the problem was that there were no suitable repositories that would provide persistent identification for citation of archival data. That too has changed as the international network of digital language archives expands and we are seeing regional archives conforming to the kinds of standards discussed, for example, in Bird and Simons (2003).

When we have citable data sources with persistent identification, then we can build on them to create new and more complex objects. Thus an entry for a tree name in a lexical database could include a field that contains the filename of the picture of the tree, and include a time-coded reference to a video clip in which the tree and its uses are discussed.

⁹ <http://www.etca.fr/CTA/gip/Projets/Transcriber/>

¹⁰ <http://www.mpi.nl/tools/elan.html>

The user can follow these links because they have targets that can be resolved, due to good naming practices and persistent locations of the objects involved. Similarly, we can create links between field notes and media they refer to, or provide a textual index of manuscript material, linked to images of the material itself. As part of PARADISEC's curation of Stephen Wurm's collection, we have taken images of pages of handwritten transcripts and aligned them with time-coded segments of related audio files. Putting these images on the web allows researchers in Europe to access material that would otherwise have to be consulted on paper in a single location.¹¹

The methods discussed above enrich the documentation we can leave behind while facilitating our own analysis via the immediacy with which we can test our claims with the data. In this way we are shifting from being the only authoritative voice pronouncing indisputable facts to an interpretive voice that invites further analysis by others.

9 Avoiding inappropriate use of the material

Having established safe archival digital copies of the data, the task of managing this collection includes questions of access. The rights in this kind of data can be difficult to determine, especially if the recorder has passed on and we have no way of knowing how to contact those recorded. If there was provision in their will for the material to be looked after then it is likely that they also provided some indication of how it could be used. Ideally there would be a document outlining the form of consent provided by the speakers to the recorder that outlined who can look at the data, or make copies, and what can they use it for. We encourage the use of consent forms by fieldworkers and ask them to ensure that the people they work with can tell them how the recordings may be used.

When tapes or other data are deposited in an archive a deposit form specifies what conditions are to be placed on their access. Access to any of the material in PARADISEC's collection is subject to receiving a signed access form. Authorized users can access the collection via a password and username, which can be assigned to a user for a limited period of time and for access at the level of a single item, or at the level of a collection of items.

10 Ensuring its longevity

A major reason for digitizing analog tapes is that a digital sound file is the best archival form for this data. Dixon's quaint plea (quoted above) for analog-only recording completely ignores the impending loss of recorders and playback machines for analog tape. Digital data can be copied with no loss of resolution, unlike analog tapes for which each copy loses some of the signal. Digital copies are the same as originals, which means that multiple copies can be made and stored in diverse locations, so increasing the likelihood that copies will survive. Digital data can also be migrated automatically and globally to new platforms and media: that is, a whole collection can be copied without having to handle small media objects like cassettes, tapes or records as we used to do. Because technology will keep changing, the key to ensuring longevity of data storage is to keep migrating data and to store it in open formats (those that do not require proprietary software to be read).

¹¹ The Wurm papers can be seen here: <http://paradisec.org.au/fieldnotes/SAW2.htm>. See also the large collection of notes from Arthur Capell's collection: <http://paradisec.org.au/fieldnotes/AC2.htm>

11 Alternative to taking this path

There is a growing awareness among linguists that language documentation involves activities that are distinct from those involved in language description (see Himmelmann 1998; Woodbury 2003). Linguists are now at a point where we can either engage with language documentation and its possibilities, or continue to work as we have for some decades now. What if we decide not to pursue the possibilities offered by digitizing, and choose not to engage with the approach advocated by the emerging network of language archives in the spirit of language documentation? The invaluable recordings we make will become unplayable as the machines we used break down and can no longer be repaired. In the worst case, our files will be held in proprietary software that we can no longer read and they too will become unusable. We certainly will face problems in using data for new purposes, as, for example, in changing the form of dictionary we want to present from a Microsoft Word document to a structured lexicon. If we simply type the dictionary using font changes to indicate parts of the dictionary entry then we are bound to introduce errors and inconsistencies into the work, and any change we want to make to that work has to be similarly made by hand to each individual item in the dictionary. If on the other hand, we structure our lexical database so that each part is marked for the kind of entity that it is (headword, part of speech, definition and so on) then we can allow the output form of the dictionary to be determined by its structure. This also allows us to convert the structured data into a styled MS Word document, a web-based dictionary, or a multimedia tool. The crucial point is that the underlying data is in a well-structured form that can be archived, as it is a simple text file.

Loss of access to the data is a critical issue for our relationship to the people we record. We are entrusted by them and by the funding agencies that support our work to create not only a grammatical analysis of a language but also a permanent record of the data that we work with.

12 Implications for current fieldwork

At PARADISEC we have been active in providing training in new techniques for linguists, postgraduate students, and for language workers in Aboriginal language centers. We have participated in the establishment of an advisory group called the Resource Network for Linguistic Diversity (RNLD),¹² which maintains a mailing list and web-based advice pages in order to provide a network for those involved in language work. New tools and methods for conducting linguistic research are appearing all the time, and by sharing ideas and experience we hope that we can strengthen language documentation efforts. Based on the kinds of considerations outlined so far in this paper, there are a number of implications for fieldwork practice. The first is that we have to discuss the expectations of the people recorded about how the data can be used so that we are in a position to safely archive it and to specify access conditions for it. We advocate the use of a 'consent form' that lays out what can and cannot be done with the data. When we record someone we need to clarify with them how the recording can be used: this is best done by use of a signed consent form, or the acceptable alternative of recording the speaker's intentions. It is not always an easy task to get across what we want to use the recordings for, and there may be a conflict between the notion of free information for academic purposes and the

¹² <http://rnld.org>

local conception of particular items of knowledge being owned by individuals (as discussed in Whimp and Busse 2000). Further, there are very real intellectual property issues involved in exposing local knowledge in a broader venue like a published work. All of this becomes even more complicated when we consider lodging recordings in an archive and then plan for long-term access conditions. Nevertheless, these are issues that need to be recognized, discussed and addressed as part of the broader project of language documentation.

When making a recording it is crucial to note on the recording medium (if it is an analog recording) and in an appropriate database the metadata or cataloging information that will make this recording locatable in future. Filenames should be as short as possible, use case consistently, and not use non-ASCII characters or spaces.¹³ As outlined earlier, this is the basic descriptive information that will be made available via search engines. Recordings themselves should be high quality wav files, which means using good microphones with flashram recorders and avoiding any compression algorithms like Mp3 or ATRAC (as in minidisks). Older recordings should be digitized using appropriate equipment: not only to ensure their ongoing legibility, but also because digital media provide a means for time-aligned transcription. Connecting a tape-recorder output to a normal computer input is not a suitable way to digitize archival audio data, because internal machine noise can create clicks and dropout in the signal. External soundcards are a preferable means of digitizing.

Transcription of these digital files should include time-alignment, using, for example, the tools mentioned earlier, Transcriber or Elan, to produce plain text transcripts with stand-off markup of time-codes that looks something like this:

<Sync time="36.972"/> Ore. Wel kumurin, patli , patli. <Sync time="41.188"/>

These transcripts allow us to work with our data at a fine-grained level (the sentence, or, if we want, the word) which then allows us to automate retrieval of this information at that level and to check and improve our transcripts. As noted above, it will become an integral part of linguistic field analysis to be able to cite parts of a corpus in this way and to use these citations in our descriptive work.

As we select parts of our transcriptions for more detailed analysis, beginning with interlinearization, we can maintain the time-code references and so produce richly annotated texts that are playable. Subsequent textual work, such as linking to a lexicon, can then build on this complex data.

Ultimately we will be able to create richly interlinked documents that use the predictable structure we have encoded to create automatic links. For example, if we tag all utterances for type (exclamation, narrative, procedural, etc) and the speaker's name, and we have a table listing speakers and their characteristics, it should be possible to hear all exclamations made by a male speaker under thirty. Similarly, a grammatical description can be created in the same way, and so allow automatic interlinking between the information in the grammar and the corpus of texts that it draws on.

¹³ See the discussion of file naming here: <http://paradisec.org.au/info.html>

13 Conclusion

Linguists can assist in language programs, but the main effort for language revitalization has to come from speakers or language learners. Linguists can, and I suggest must, preserve the best possible records of a language they have been working with. Long-term access to primary materials requires that they be described adequately so that others can locate them and that they be prepared in a format that can endure and is not bound to particular equipment or operating systems to be legible. A proper archival effort requires dedicated infrastructure and must not be left to the vagary of institutional neglect.

Our experience at PARADISEC is that researchers will engage with new techniques for recording and annotating field materials when they understand that it will provide better outcomes from their work. It is critical for successful curation of digital linguistic data that we train practitioners in new methods so that they can create archival data as part of their normal practice. In my department now, postgraduate students are depositing their material before analyzing it, turning the old understanding of archiving on its head.

In addition to the importance of preparing data for repatriation and for reuse in the future, the methods described in this paper allow us to create citable forms of our research data in order to do better research now. This means we can provide data together with an analysis and so allow our claims to be tested. Finally, our responsibility to the people we record means that we can create locatable and accessible data repositories. There is a confluence of new technological tools with an awareness among many linguists of the need to deal responsibly with data they collect. The example of PARADISEC shows that linguists can take advantage of new tools and existing infrastructure, such as metadata schemas, to develop digital repositories for curation of the unique material we record.

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7 *Digital archiving — a necessity in documentary linguistics*

PETER WITTENBURG and PAUL TRILSBEEK

1 Introduction

In this paper we will first discuss the influence of advances in digital technology on linguistics research, in particular on documentary linguistics (§2). Next, the creation, analysis, and archiving of language resources is described (§3). In §4, we focus on the different users of the language resources and describe the architecture of a modern language resource archive. Lastly, we discuss some more advanced methods of giving access to language resources via the web (§5).

2 The digital revolution

The development of digital technology has been revolutionizing linguistic research, in particular research and activities with respect to the documentation of languages and the recording, curation, and archiving of linguistic data. The following six factors are especially significant in this revolution:

- **Miniaturization**

Digital technology allows engineers to build miniaturized circuitry, and increasingly small recording devices are available for recording not only the sounds of language but also the situative context and the cultural activities in which languages are used. Compressed formats such as MP3 (see the glossary at the end of this chapter) or MiniDisc make it possible to record sound for more than four hours without interruption. Although uncompressed formats are much more suitable for long-term preservation, using compression is an option that some field workers prefer when documenting data in special situations (for example, when recording long ceremonies).

- **Lossless copying**

With digital technology we can copy and process data without any loss of information. Each copying of analogue recordings decreased the quality of the recorded data. This phenomenon together with the limited lifetime of the magnetic tapes and optical film created almost insurmountable problems with respect to long-term preservation of the recordings. With digital technology we

can now create as many copies as necessary without harming the quality of the stored data representations and thus migrate to new storage technology when the old is fading out. We can therefore focus on the preservation of the content and need not care any more about the physical carrier.

- **Storage technology**

Digital storage technology has been changing dramatically as well. The enormous increase of information density per square millimeter now also allows the storing of uncompressed audio data. For video data it is generally still necessary to apply compression techniques such as for example DV or MPEG2. These compression standards offer a quality that is as good or better than a DVD, which is generally sufficient for the analyses of linguistic data.

- **Unified representation**

Digital technology allows us to treat all kinds of information — be it texts, images, sounds, movies, arbitrary time series, etc. — with the same kind of generic technology. All information is represented by sequences of bits/bytes packaged into larger units and associated with packaging information at different levels. This packaging information tells us what kind of information is encoded in the bit stream, how the encoding is done, and how the information is packaged. Because all kinds of information are treated in the same generic way it is possible to access and handle these various kinds of data using just one piece of technical equipment — a desktop or laptop computer, or even a PDA. The computer allows us to bring different media together and work with them simultaneously.

- **Fast networks**

Digital technology also allows us to exchange information easily and incredibly quickly. Increasingly fast networks make it possible to transfer video data in real-time or even faster. One hour of video data that are encoded in reasonable quality MPEG4 can be transferred within a few minutes.¹ In general much shorter fragments are required for analyzing video data in a stepwise manner.

- **Data separation and aggregation**

Due to its unified representation and its packaging quality, digital technology allows us to separate data if necessary, but also to aggregate and relate data. Thus we can create data patterns of almost any complexity as long as we are able to manage them. For example, lexica can contain multimedia illustrations such as images or video clips, relational links to some higher level ‘knowledge spaces’, or links to fragments of annotated recordings.

¹ A one-hour MPEG4 video encoded with 512 Kb/sec which is often used for web presentation of video can theoretically be sent in about 40 minutes across a 1 Mb/sec connection and in about 2 seconds across national backbone networks where 1 Gb/sec or faster connections are becoming widespread.

Thus, digital technology has opened up new strata for the documentation of languages and cultures. In particular, it has contributed decisively to the preservation of these culturally highly treasured data. Digital technology also boosts the productivity of the documentation process: the fact that data are available on laptops in the field makes it possible to enrich them without distorting their original content. With respect to scientific analyses it is now possible that other researchers than the researcher who recorded the data can work with the primary recordings; they can come up with additional analyses and may even correct earlier analyses with the help of commentaries.

However, there are two sides to everything, and this holds for digital technology as well. The possibilities of digital technology may entice some researchers to not bother about a careful a priori design for the intended data documentation, or motivate researchers to record as many scenes as possible with the result of large collections of unanalyzed material. Nevertheless, having all recorded data available may help researchers to study and analyse them at a later time, either in the field or in their study, as long as the data recordings are associated with keyword type of metadata such as the IMDI (ISLE² Metadata Initiative) standard descriptors. These provide information about the language community and their language, and about the time and place of the recording, etc. (see below; see also Broeder et al. 2005). Creating metadata is the minimal requirement to not end up with an unmanageable and structureless mass of data.

Since the copying of data has become so easy the issue of intellectual property rights and ethical aspects with respect to the documented data have become increasingly relevant. Management mechanisms for complex digital data rights have severe shortcomings; among other things they are expensive and limit research possibilities. Therefore they are not applied by language resource archives at this moment. Detailed codes of conduct that describe and prescribe the appropriate ethical behaviour of data users with the emphasis that the peer community will control the users' adherence to these codes of conduct seems to be the only effective means to prevent misuse of the data within the community of researchers. With respect to controlling users that do not belong to this community one has to rely on the law. However, the digital usage scenario is international; this means that we are confronted with different legal systems.

At the technical end the main dangers of digital technology are that digital representations in general are much more fragile than analogue ones. If certain patterns become unreadable on a storage medium it can mean — in the worst case — that the whole recording becomes unreadable. More efforts have to be made to create copies of the data and to distribute them as widely as possible. Moreover, the archivists have to migrate to new storage technologies in shorter time spans.

3 Language resource life cycle

Due to the described changes in technology we can easily identify a schematic and simplified life-cycle diagram which is typical for the work in documentary linguistics (see Figure 1). It differs considerably from life-cycle diagrams that were valid before the digital recording, processing and storage technology entered the field.

² ISLE = International Standards for Language Engineering, an EC funded project; www.mpi.nl/IMDI.

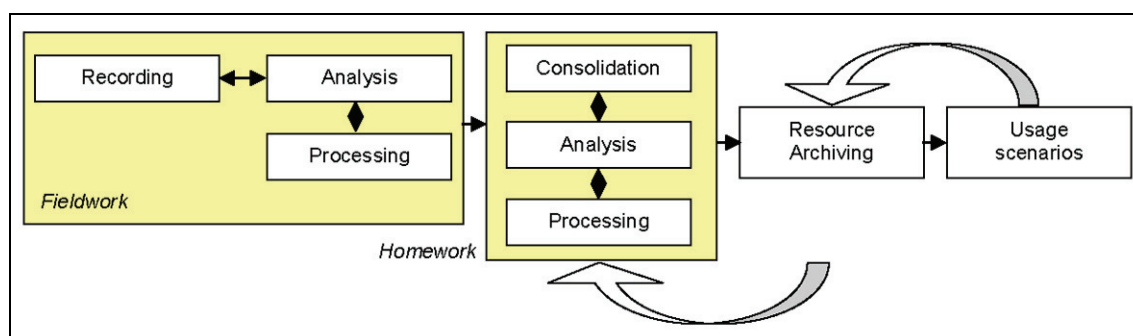


Figure 1: The language resource life cycle in documentary linguistics

The following four steps are part of the current life-cycle diagram:

- The fieldwork, which includes an increasing amount of local data processing and immediate feedback from the speech community being researched.
- The consolidation of the data collected during field research at the home institution, with detailed data processing steps and data analyses. Results of this work may contribute to the planning of additional fieldtrips and to the improvement of future data recordings.
- The products of the documentary work will be stored in digital resource centers; we refer to them with the term ‘Language Resource Archives’. The archivists control the accessibility of the data according to defined legal and ethical rules and ensure long-term preservation of the data. Since documentary work will never be finished, the archives will contain several versions of most resources.
- In agreement with the ‘*Live* Archives’ initiative³ we assume that users will not only use the archived resources for their own purposes (if they are allowed to access them), but to actively participate in their enrichment by adding extensions and commentaries. One can assume that these enrichments will be filtered by trained researchers and partly be included in the official documentation.

In the following subsections we discuss these steps in more detail.

3.1 Fieldwork situation

Fieldwork is to a large extent unpredictable; field researchers have to adapt to the schedules of their consultants and the field researchers’ time schedules themselves are usually tight, given the various practical tasks that have to be carried out. Data recording sessions and analyses are influenced by many constraints.

Improved energy supply — be it by solar panel boxes or improved power networks — make it possible for fieldworkers to start their analyses of the primary material in the field. The fact that researchers can copy digital video- and audio-recordings⁴ to their laptops allows them to analyse and annotate the recorded data in the field more easily than before.

³ ‘*Live* Archives’ is an initiative of the partners of the DAM-LR (Distributed Access Management for Language Resources, www.mpi.nl/dam-lr) project and is already supported by various other institutions.

⁴ Most of the currently available recording devices produce immediately digital data.

This boosts their efficiency with respect to transcriptions, translations, morpheme-interlinear glossings, etc. In general, technological developments have been improving the conditions and possibilities of field research in a number of ways:

- It is possible now to create a larger quantity of high quality multimedia recordings.
- The new technical possibilities for data recording help researchers to create language corpora that are much more balanced with respect to the various ways of speaking of the speech communities and the text categories or genres that they use both in everyday and in ritual or otherwise formalized communication situations.
- Modern editing and annotating software (such as ELAN⁵ or Shoebox⁶) allows field researchers to start analysing their data already in the field in a professional way. They can incorporate their field notes (grammatical notes, anthropological linguistic and ethnographic notes, etc.) in papers that they will write back home without having to retype everything again.
- The researchers can start to write metadata descriptions (using the IMDI standard, for example) to prepare the organization of their data sessions/recordings while in the field. These metadata descriptions are essential for good data documentation; they cover information about the resources and their underlying relation and constitute the basis for resource management and retrieval.

To sum up, modern technology contributes enormously to improve the efficiency of fieldwork because much relevant work with respect to data processing and analysis can already be done immediately after the recording of the data. However, some more traditionally oriented researchers have argued that the heavy usage of modern technology may distract researchers from proper linguistic analysis. Of course it requires some time to learn how to handle all the new data recording devices and to efficiently use modern hardware and software tools. But in the near future the professional use of modern technology will become a must for all field researchers, and more and more fieldworkers participate already in training courses before they go to the field. We observe that knowledge networks about modern digital processing continuously improve on a worldwide scale. It goes without saying that modern technology richly contributes to the documentation of languages and cultures and the efficiency of the work, provided that field researchers have learned how to use it professionally.

3.2 Home situation

After returning from the field, researchers can already refer to and work with their computer-generated data in their study. Now they can start with their in-depth documentation, minute processing, and detailed analysis of these data. This phase includes steps such as:

- the generation of a canonic corpus-structure as a means of organizing and classifying the material and for identifying gaps in the documentation;

⁵ ELAN: www.mpi.nl/elan

⁶ Shoebox: www.sil.org/computing/shoebox

- the identification of those segments in sound and video recordings that are meaningful and useful for the documentation purpose;
- the completion of the metadata records for the relevant resources;
- a detailed linguistic analysis of the linguistic and ethnographic data at all relevant levels (this is actually an incremental process);
- the completion of the annotations and the lexical descriptions based on improved insights in the documented language; and
- the creation of comprehensive notes and descriptions that document different aspects of the language and culture.

3.3 Resource archiving

Language resource archives can be seen as repositories where a well-organized and complete copy of all resources is stored in a relatively mature state. It is the task of the archivists to guarantee the accessibility of the data and their long-term preservation. There are many reasons to hand over data resources to such an archive. We will just mention the following ones:

- It is necessary to make all aspects of the documentation work as explicit as possible; this is usually not done if the data resources remain in private workspaces only.
- It is necessary to properly organize data resources and to document their numerous internal relations to guarantee optimal information for other users.
- Individual users, project-groups or even many institutions do not have the capacity or stability to guarantee the accessibility of the data and their long-term preservation. According to Schüller (2004) about 80% of our recordings of linguistic and cultural data are endangered due to inappropriate treatment.

However, even if data are submitted to an archive, much knowledge about the contents of these data will remain with the researchers who collected them. Even good metadata descriptions may contain some categorizations that are not completely satisfying — either for the researchers who collected the data and provided the metadata descriptions or for the user of these data.

Archived resources will be used by various groups and it is impossible to anticipate the nature of this usage. Due to these uncertainties it is important that the archive stores data in a neutral and atomic way and offers access services to support a high degree of granularity. Access granularity may not be limited to the level of ‘a corpus’, a ‘whole annotated media recording’ or a ‘complete lexicon’, it must be possible to access fragments or parts. It can be observed that the notion of ‘a corpus’, for example, is fading, since a single resource can be part of different data collections that reflect different or changing theoretical positions of the researchers. In compliance with the ‘*Live* Archives’ principles,⁷ we prefer to speak about ‘collections of resources’ that will be enriched and dynamically extended in a number of dimensions: users will draw new relations between these resources — sometimes in unexpected ways — and users will more and more create temporary virtual

⁷ See www.mpi.nl/dam-lr

‘corpora’ of their own which may consist of a selection of resources from many different contributions according to the users’ specific requirements.

In many cases re-digitization of the field recordings is necessary. In the field it is often necessary to use heavily compressed formats, particularly for video, due to the limitations of storage capacity. However, an archive will always aim at the highest feasible quality of the data representations. When a recording is digitized again and if the annotation process was already started in the field, it is important that the time alignment information is preserved for the recorded data.

3.4 Usage scenarios

As already mentioned above we can hardly make assumptions about the various types of usages since there are so many possible user groups with different interests. However, the following general usage scenarios have to be considered by any archive that documents the language and culture of various speech communities:

- The needs of the researcher communities have to be addressed. Even here the usage scenarios will be extremely different from each other. Anthropologists, for example, will look at the archived data completely differently than linguists. Only detailed metadata descriptions will serve the needs of the researchers interested in these data. The IMDI vocabulary allows researchers to ask specific questions, for example questions with respect to the age of consultants (relevant for language development studies, for example) or questions about the communication modality (relevant for studies on gestures in different languages).
- Certainly the needs of the speech communities whose language and culture is documented have to be addressed. Speech communities usually want to use language resources for their own purposes, for example for educational programs. However, it remains an open issue whether neutral archival representations of the data are suitable for indigenous communities. Specially created guided tours that present the material in culture specific ways as suggested by David Nathan (2006) may be more suitable. However, their creation requires special skills and thus cannot be done by archivists.
- Another potentially interested group are journalists looking for interesting stories. Usually they are working under high time pressure and expect quick answers and suitable ready-made resources (such as photos). They need fast data mining and easy content inspection methods.
- Many young people are genuinely interested in language and culture differences and specific linguistic and cultural phenomena. In general, they want to explore an unknown domain where age-group specific commentary presented with some special effects will certainly foster their understanding of the data. Thus, data enrichment strategies are important to attract young people.
- Finally, the documentation of languages and cultures of various speech communities should address the interest of future generations. To support future use of these data we have to create the best possible quality of the data now (this is the main argument against the MiniDisc and MP3 formats) and use formats that can easily be transformed to future standards without any loss of information whatsoever.

There will be many other user groups, especially the ‘general public’; however, as mentioned above, we cannot predict everything with respect to possible usage scenarios. It is obvious that members of all of these groups will not want to be just passive users of the archive. Adolescents may want to get entertained by the data, researchers may want to comment on the data and improve them, members of the speech communities may also use the data for specific cultural purposes, etc. With all these user groups, however, we can distinguish at least two cycles: an offline and an online cycle. The offline cycle requires the user to first download resources onto a private computer in order to create a new layer of annotation or to apply a specific algorithm on it. The online cycle will be more suitable for the commentary and improvement work. In particular the latter will be increasingly attractive (as indicated by the success of community-built information sites such as Wikipedia).

4 Interaction patterns

The language resource life cycle indicates that different groups — depositors, archivists and users — with different interests and backgrounds have to interact with each other. This interaction cannot be without tensions. Therefore, it seems to be useful to briefly sketch the different interests of the various groups involved. This may contribute to achieving a better understanding and mutual acceptance between them.

- The **depositors** record the data and create additional material to annotate, describe and enrich them in various ways. They submit these data to the archivists. Depositors are strongly interested in tools that ensure maximal efficiency and convenience during their field research and for their data analyses. They are not especially interested in issues such as open and stable formats, etc. They are also interested in support for using the collected data as quickly as possible so that they can present their material to the speech community, for example. These interests may not correspond with most of the neutral usage scenarios that the archivist will primarily provide.
- The **users** want to use the archived material for various purposes. As already mentioned above this group is not coherent at all. However, generally speaking users are interested in presentation formats that are attractive, functional, and easily accessible and understandable. The vast majority of them are not interested in details with respect to how the data are stored in the archive.
- The **archivists** have to solve long-term preservation problems, organize the material in a consistent way, and grant access to resources to different groups of users, some of which will have the permission to work with the archived data and to deposit the results of their work to the archive. The archive’s internal representations have to be compliant with international and widely used standards. Only neutral representations that abstract away from single use cases will finally be flexible enough to meet the different requirements.

The obvious differences of the three groups involved necessitate as close interaction between them, in particular between depositors and archivists, to avoid mutual frustrations. A few essential questions that have to be addressed in this interaction are shown in the Figure 2.

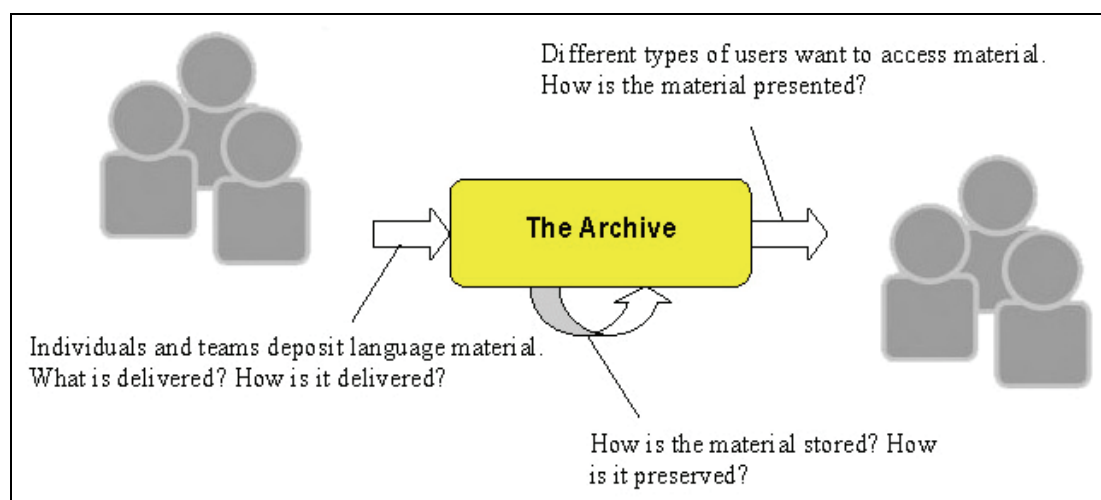


Figure 2: Some essential questions of interaction between depositors, archivists, and archive users

Given the development of technology and tools we can assume that the formats and encodings provided by the depositors are often not compliant with those that will be used in the archive. While the first are determined by the tools used by the field researchers, the latter are determined by the need to achieve format consistency that is necessary to guarantee unified accessibility, openness and long-term support of the data. The vast majority of archivists therefore uses generic XML schemas,⁸ for example the Lexical Markup Framework being defined by ISO TC37/SC4 for lexica, because this generic framework or model allows the archivist to build just one unified access tool for all the different lexica archived. Yet most of the smart tools researchers use do not support such generic formats. Therefore, when the researchers deposit their data to the archive — at archive upload time, so to speak — certain conversions have to be made. The problem here is that in some cases these conversions may cause some loss of information.

At the archive access side conversions have to be made, too. For example the IMDI metadata files that are captured in XML files have to be transformed to HTML files on the fly to allow for browsing through them with normal web browsers. Due to the various forms of data usage a couple of specific technologies will be used (dependent on the state of the art, of course). However, as long as archivists support generic formats, it can be expected that increasingly more converters will become available that meet the various requirements. The introduction of generic formats in the archive reduces the complexity of the problem from an $N \times M$ to an $N + M$, as is indicated in Figure 3. Assuming that we have 3 input formats ($N=3$) and 3 output formats ($M=3$) we would have to develop 9 converters if there is no generic format; however, only 6 converters are necessary if we have such a generic format. (Note that the representational power of the generic format needs to be strong enough to guarantee that no relevant data is lost during conversation.)

⁸ XML schemas are structure specifications of classes of documents such as for lexica.

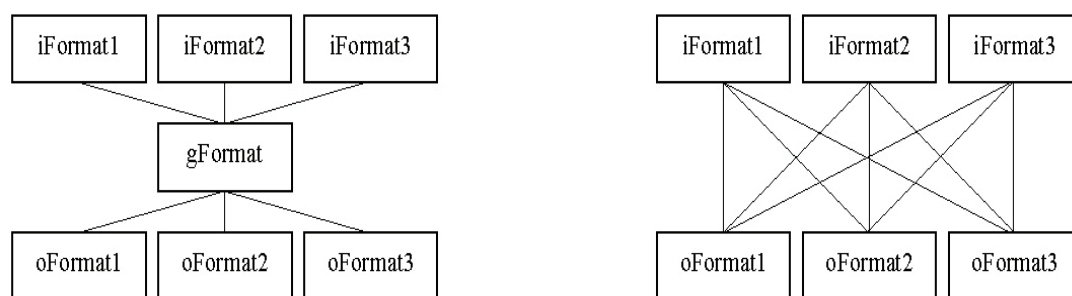


Figure 3: Complexity of conversion challenges, with and without generic format

In what follows we will elaborate on the main principles of modern digital archiving in some more detail.

5 Principles of modern digital archives

In §2 above we mentioned important consequences of the digital revolution. Archives have to react to these developments, and this reaction has led to the formulation of a couple of principles that modern digital archives should adhere to. These principles are fully compliant with what has been formulated by the above mentioned *Live* Archives initiative. Basically the *Live* Archives idea is that language resource archives should develop into centers for interactive and collaborative knowledge creation and sharing, each archive being integrated in a network of service and resource providers. This contrasts fundamentally with the traditional concept in which archives are centers to primarily preserve physical objects with the implication of limiting access to them. To preserve our knowledge as part of our cultural memory the modern digital archive comprises all relevant information that is, and will be, generated in the scientific domains involved, for example:

- recordings of cultural and linguistic activities and events;
- data enrichment and updating by additional scientific annotations;
- commentaries and other enrichments⁹ from various interested scholars, speech community members, and the interested public;¹⁰ and
- attributed relations that creatively combine content in new ways (as a specific form of commentary).

This increasingly rich and bundled information and knowledge base constitutes the essential part of the archive. To fulfill the essential tasks of access, enrichment and preservation archivists have to adhere to the principles presented and discussed in the following subsections.

⁹ All such enrichments can have multimedia content, that is, they can be combinations of texts, sounds, images, and video clips.

¹⁰ Archives have to be an open exchange place for information (like, for example, the Wikipedia community), however, archivists, depositors and users have to develop quality criteria to prevent inappropriate entries.

5.1 Long-term preservation

The primary task of any archive will remain the long-term preservation of all stored resources and the guarantee of persistent access to them. Given the fragile magnetic and optical storage media we have at the present time and their limited life-spans (due to both chemical processes and technological innovation), long-term preservation requires not only migration to new storage technologies at regular intervals (because old technology will become erroneous and technologically outdated), but also distribution of the stored contents to different places (to safeguard the data with respect to potential computer crashes or other dangers).

Long-term preservation refers first and foremost to the preservation of the bit streams, that is, its focus is on the persistence of the basic digital representations. The packaging of the bit streams is defined by standards and tools. These standards and tools change over time and determine the way the bit streams are interpreted. It is the embedding and packaging of the information that determines whether a certain bit stream will be interpreted, for example, as part of a video, or as a sequence of Chinese characters, as indicated in the Figure 4 below.

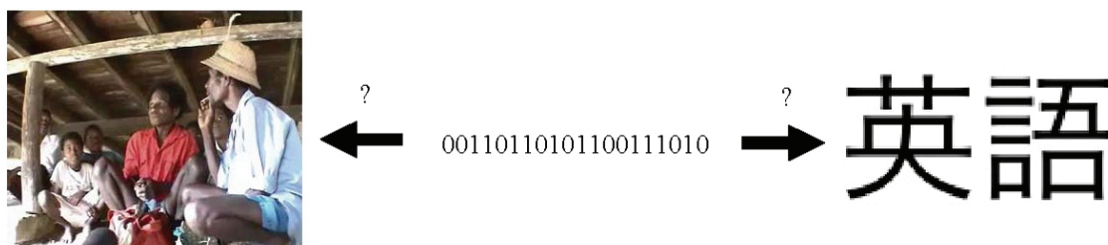


Figure 4: The problem of bit stream interpretation if information about the file format or encoding is lost

Technological innovation will continue with at least the same speed we have been experiencing during the last decades, that is, new standards and in particular new tools will be developed. In general, tools change more rapidly than widely accepted standards. Thus, with respect to long-term archiving we have to primarily rely on open and widely used standards (as pointed out above). Because there are no general long-term solutions to the bit stream interpretation problem and due to the high innovation rate we will need to convert the existing formats to new ones after a given period of time. The coherence of archives will be a major factor for their success rate. Only format coherence will ensure that possible conversion steps will be efficient and therefore financially feasible and that the interpretability and the accessibility of the (majority of the) archived data are guaranteed.

Currently, a lot of data is collected using tools that produce encapsulated and proprietary formats; most researchers are not aware of this. Tools such as Word or Filemaker are widely used for example to create annotations and lexica. But both these programs primarily use these encapsulated and proprietary formats. For most of the data collected with such tools we will not manage to create open formats; this means that after a while they will only be accessible with larger investments in time or money. Hopefully some current initiatives to promote the use of open XML-based document formats will improve the situation somewhat as far as word processing applications are concerned.

5.2 Logical versus physical organization

An archive has to store data in physical containers such as disks which are associated with servers, that is, at the physical level each resource can be identified by a given physical address. However, due to technological innovation and changes at the system management level these addresses will frequently change. Moreover, these addresses are not meaningful in a linguistic sense: their organization is determined by system management arguments (such as access performance) and the manifold relations between the resources cannot be expressed. Therefore, it is crucial to introduce standard keyword type metadata descriptions such as IMDI. They fulfill the following functions to the users and archive managers:

- Metadata descriptions define a persistent logical organization structure that is motivated by linguistically meaningful concepts and independent from all changes at the physical level (typically caused by IT personnel). They organize the domain in a way that researchers understand and allow them to find resources easily by browsing or searching methods.
- Metadata descriptions allow the depositor and archive manager to describe important relations amongst the resources such as the bundling between a video recording, an additional audio recording and the various layers of annotations of one data collection session.
- The canonical metadata organization¹¹ created by the depositor and/or archivist will remain stable and thus functions as a reference organization. The metadata infrastructure can be implemented such that individual researchers can create their own specific forms of organization in parallel to the canonical one. These forms may be more suitable to address specific scientific questions or they may just represent the users, preferred organization of the selected collection of data.
- Metadata descriptions have to be created according to an XML schema and have to be stored as open XML data so that any service provider can re-use them for creating new interesting resource collections.
- Bundling resources occurs at different levels. At the recording session level all resources are bundled that share the same time axes, that is, that result from the same event. Bundling can also mean to relate a series of photos or sound clips with a multimedia lexicon. At a higher level bundling can be used, for example, to group all resources that belong to one language or just resources that describe specific phenomena to be observed in this language, for example, certain features of its sound system.

The experience in the DoBeS programme (Dokumentation Bedrohter Sprachen, Documentation of endangered languages) financed by the Volkswagen Foundation with its archive at the MPI for Psycholinguistics has shown that researchers create very different organizational structures. Some prefer flat and therefore simple structures while others prefer very detailed ones. Exactly which tools and procedures will help the novice user to easily navigate and find suitable resources is dependent on the nature of those resources. A typical organization form is shown in Figure 5. At the top level the nodes refer to different

¹¹ The canonical metadata organization is the one invented by the depositor to structure his data according to his view and insights. Other users may create their own organizations and therefore their own views on the collection.

institutions and projects such as the CGN (Dutch Spoken Corpus), DBD (Dutch Bilingual Database) and DoBeS Archive. At the next level the nodes represent the languages documented in the DoBeS programme. The Tofa language team has adopted a relatively flat structure where at the top a number of information files are added and where a difference is made between ethnographical and language resources. Under the language node one can find nodes representing the different languages (Tofa, Tozhu, and Tuha) studied by the Tofa team. Under these nodes are the data sessions, in the example is a video (TUDH41.mpg) and a sound file (TUDH41.wav).

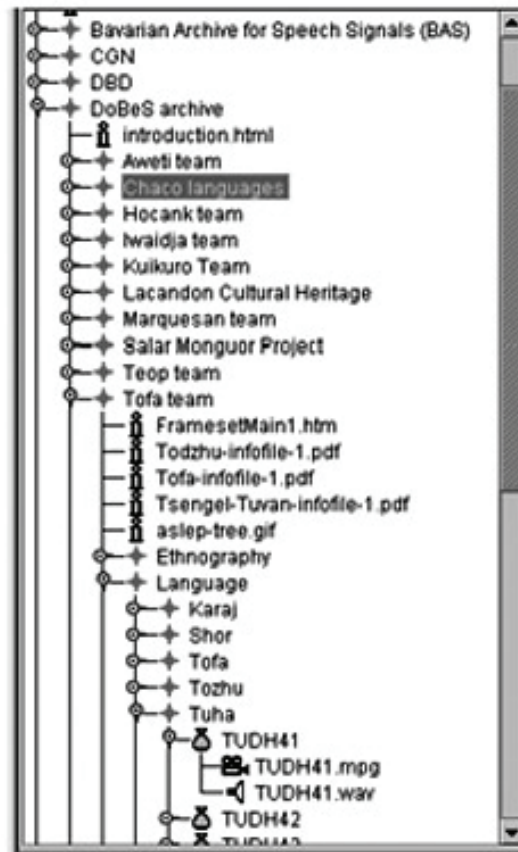


Figure 5: Typical organization of resources in the MPI archive

The metadata descriptions contain references to the physical address. It is the task of the archive managers to take care of reference consistency in case of changes in the physical structure.

In addition to the so far described explicit link structure metadata descriptions have many implicit link structures as well. Metadata descriptions typically contain a number of elements such as ‘language spoken’, ‘date of recording’, ‘location of recording’, ‘age of speaker’ and ‘sex of speaker’. A ranking of all resources according to the ‘age of speakers’ at first place and then according to the ‘sex of the speaker’ would yield a certain implicit organization.

The canonical metadata organization together with the content of all other descriptions contain crucial and additional information; therefore they have to be archived and stored in open schema-based formats as well.

5.3 Persistent and Unique Resource Identifiers (URIDs)

As mentioned above, physical addresses will be subject to changes; actually, this is crucial for maintaining stability and persistence and for avoiding all the frustrations we frequently experience when we navigate through the worldwide web (WWW) and find dead links. We pointed out that metadata can be introduced to create a stable and persistent logical organization of the data that is independent of the physical one. However, in *Live Archives* we find a rich reference structure for different resources: metadata will not be the only resource type that points to physical resource addresses (URLs). Pointers, for example, are used in a lexicon to refer to fragments of media recordings or references are created between a lexical entry and a specific grammatical description (or vice versa). The problem archivists have to solve here is how they can assure that all these references will remain stable even if the physical addresses change.

It is impossible to search for all resources that include references to a specific resource and then change them. However, it is possible to introduce another layer of abstraction and give each archive object a unique and persistent ‘number’ — actually a string of characters similar to the ISBN numbers for books. All references should contain this Unique Resource Identifier (URID). When referencing to such a URID, a service needs to translate it into one or more physical addresses — the latter in the case that there are several copies of a resource.¹² Whenever a physical location of a copy of a resource changes only the mapping between the unique identifier and the physical address stored at one location needs to be changed. This seems to be the only way of managing the challenge of providing stable references. Metadata will probably contain both addresses — the physical address and the URID — to provide redundancy. Figure 6 indicates the proposed referencing scheme.

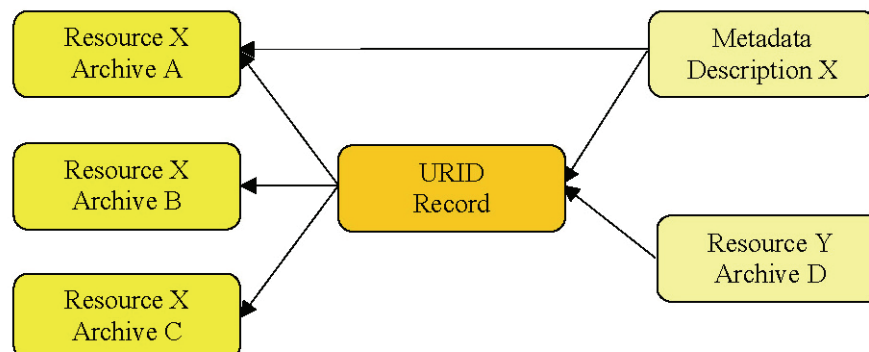


Figure 6: URIDs and stable referencing

Resource Y (and many others) stored in an arbitrary archive includes a pointer to resource X without knowing that there are three copies that are stored at three different locations. Resource Y points to a URID record. Dependent on the circumstances it will activate one of the physical addresses. Metadata descriptions point to the ‘original’ copy, but also include a pointer to the URID entry. In such a referencing scheme only two entries have to be updated when physical addresses are changed

¹² Due to the task of long-term preservation it will be necessary that there are several copies for all archival objects which are stored at different locations. For the DOBES archive seven copies are created for each object.

5.4 Upload and versioning

Documentation is an ongoing process that affects several dimensions: (1) Theories change and new insights require the modification of annotations and other entries. (2) Additional data, for example new annotations for already existing tiers or for completely new tiers, or new lexical entries, need to be incorporated into the archive. This requires the possibility of uploading new versions of the archived data. Of course, older versions stored must not be overwritten, because references to older versions have to be maintained and newer versions could be corrupt or contain errors. In general only the specialists will be interested in older versions, the general user just wants to see the latest one. Therefore a smart versioning system is required that will hide older versions, but make them available on request. The versioning system should also be able to handle the references, that is, if there is a reference to an older version it has to be checked whether the reference should be changed to point to the new version. Such references could point, for example, to an annotation that was deleted by the researcher in the new version. In this case we expect that the reference to the old version will be maintained. However, users should then be informed that there is a newer version.

5.5 Access management system

For archives that store the data of language documentation projects it is of great importance to provide a reliable access management system that is based on agreed principles guiding the access. Consultants and depositors must be sure that their privacy requirements are treated seriously. The access management system of a modern archive that serves the needs of language documentation has to offer at least the following features:

- The ethical rules with respect to handling the data and the principles of user behaviour have to be made explicit and should be as transparent as possible so that all involved persons are informed about them and follow them.
- It has to define the rules of archiving and claim the copyright on behalf of the creators of the archived data.
- It has to administer changing specifications with respect to the use of the data: consultants may decide, for example, that resources that were accessible for a certain period of time become inaccessible.
- A layered system of access permissions must be defined that ranges from resources that are accessible to everybody (for example, derived material like metadata descriptions) to resources that are open on request only to resources that are inaccessible.

The handling of access permissions is primarily the archivists' task, however, in many cases the depositors themselves may want handle these permissions. The access management system should permit both alternatives.

Depositors and actual producers of the data, the members of the community whose speech is documented, will have open access to all the resources. This may require special forms of agreement, given the fact that archivists usually do not know the members of the various speech communities.

In most cases depositors are the anchor points for all access matters because only they know all the relevant details with respect to the nature of the data and the situation in which they were recorded.

A request system has to be set up that allows potential users to specify their interests and their intentions with respect to using the archived resources. On the basis of these requests, access permissions are granted or denied by the archivists and/or the depositors.

The management of access permissions for a large amount of resources stored in big modern archives is a complex administrative task. Therefore, it is necessary to support administrators with powerful operations such as ‘close the access to all videos contained in a certain sub-tree in the archive’ that can be implemented in one single operation.

In general archives should support an open access policy, that is, wherever open access does not violate legal and ethical rules, resources should be made available to researchers and the interested public, provided that any commercial usage is excluded. This implies that derived linguistic data such as grammatical descriptions or lexica should be accessible and open to every user.

It is widely agreed that metadata descriptions have to be openly accessible because they provide information with respect to what kind of resources are available in the archive. Resources that should not even be traceable through metadata descriptions should be kept separately in the archive.

5.6 Layers of access

As pointed out above many different groups of users have to be granted access to the archived resources. It is obvious that not all interests can be met and that priorities have to be defined. The list of options given here is only illustrative. The methods referred to are implemented for the archives stored at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. We differentiate between a metadata and a content layer. The metadata layer may be used to find suitable resources or to calculate overall statistics, whereas the content layer gives access to the resources themselves. There should be modes for combining these two to allow for combined searches in both layers.

A metadata search typically allows formulating queries such as ‘give me all resources in language X spoken by a 4-year-old female child’. A typical content query could be ‘give me all annotations where a noun is followed by a verb with maximally two other words in between’. A typical research question combining the two layers could be taken from a researcher interested in language acquisition studies: ‘give me all annotations from 4-year-old girls where pronouns are used and relate that with those from 6-year-old girls’.

In the metadata layer a number of different access methods should be supported: users should be able to browse in linked and increasingly often in cross-archive metadata domains.¹³ Users should be able to create their own bookmarks and linked metadata domains that suit their interests with respect to the collection of resources. Users should be able to carry out unstructured ‘google-like’ searches on the metadata descriptions and it should be possible to store the list of hits in form of a new temporary ‘working corpus’. Although unstructured queries yield many unwanted hits they have the advantage that they can be formulated easily without knowing the details of the vocabulary and that they also operate on unstructured elements with prose texts such as descriptions. Users should be able to carry out structured searches that make use of the metadata vocabulary. This will decrease the number of unwanted hits. However, the user has to know about the vocabulary used.

¹³ The IMDI and OLAC portals already allow the user to do metadata searches across archives.

Geographic browsing should be supported as well; we will come back to this point below. As already mentioned above, depositors and/or archivists will create a canonical organization of a given collection that represents their perspective on the archived resources. This organization may already include several paths to a certain resource; for example, a resource can be organized according to fieldtrips or according to genres. Other users may create their own forms of organization of the data. Geographic browsing starts with maps and represents yet another form of organization of the stored data. This is illustrated by the two examples shown in Figure 7.

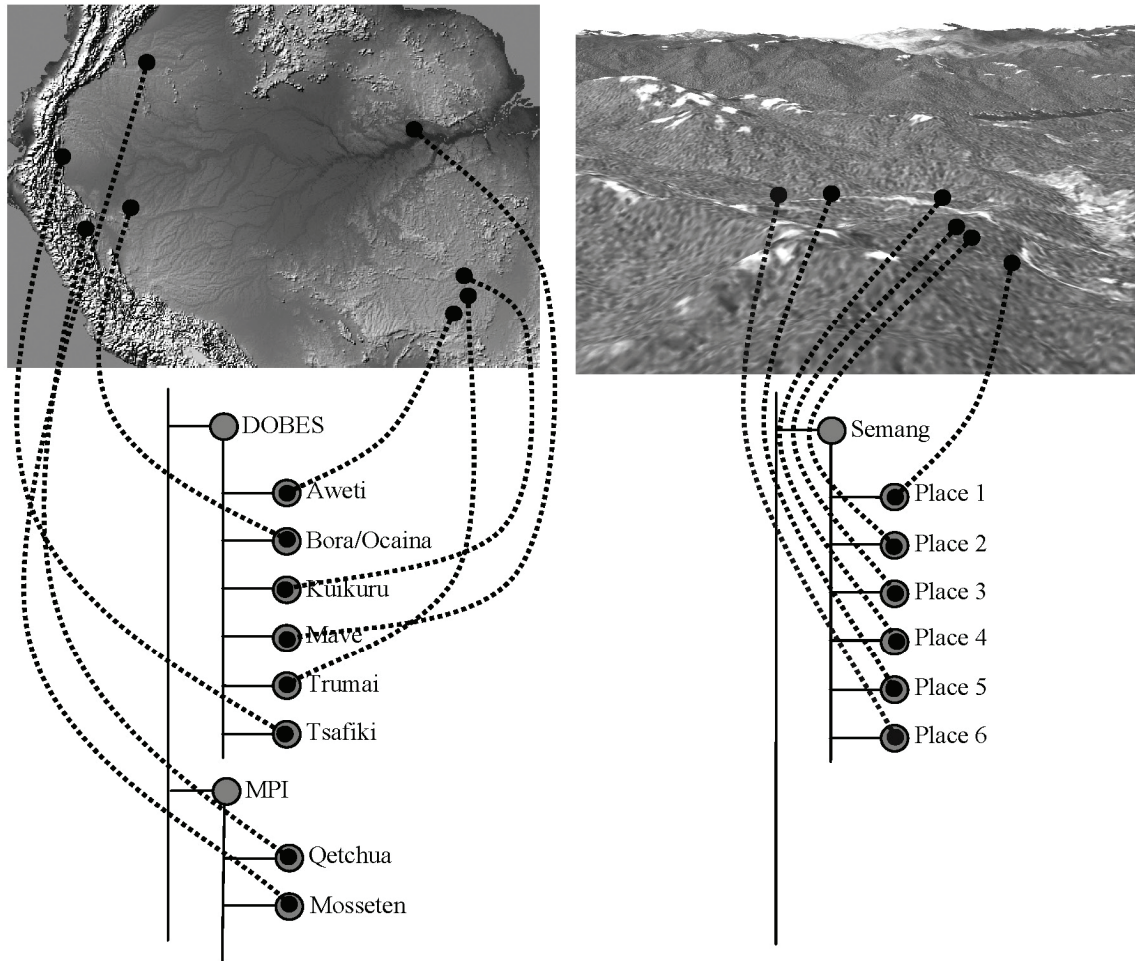


Figure 7: Examples of geographic browsing interfaces

The left diagram shows a fragment of the South American continent with a number of spots where languages were documented by researchers from the MPI and from the DoBeS programme. Geographic browsing enables users to easily find such places and look for the language they are interested in. The information contained in the geographic information system will point to the entry nodes in the canonical archive tree organization. The right diagram shows a path on the Malay peninsula where a fieldworker visited a number of places subsequently to collect data. The geographic view intuitively reminds him of the various places and the order in which he visited them. By selecting a certain spot on the

map the researcher will directly be connected to all resources that have to do with it, provided that the archive organization has been structured appropriately. These two examples may give an idea how the geographical paradigm could be used as a complementary view to simplify archive browsing. This paradigm may also help to make language archives more attractive to non-linguist user groups.

As to the content layer, we can also imagine many different usage scenarios, each of which will require completely different strategies. Here we can only refer to a few possible scenarios.

Users who find an interesting resource probably want to see the content of this resource directly via the web. Assuming that appropriate viewers are available on the user's computer, texts and images can be shown and sound and images played for a quick inspection.

Alternatively, users may want to work on the found resource; for example, perhaps they want to add annotations. In this case they may prefer to first download the resource to their computer and then start to work on it locally to have exact timing control.

Some users may want to calculate statistics on a whole range of resources, or archivists may want to create a complete copy of a collection to install it on a new regional server. For these scenarios it must be possible to select a node in the archive and download all resources below this node, including all relevant information such as metadata.

Some users may want to not only look at a single resource such as a video or an annotation, but also to access an annotated video with all its layers of information directly via the web. Others may want to access a multimedia lexicon immediately. Advanced web applications such as ANNEX¹⁴ and LEXUS¹⁵ have to be available that support such modes of operation. For screenshots illustrating this type of usage see the figures in 9 and 10 below.

Some users may want to collaborate with other researchers and work together on the data online; in this case we need tools that support such online collaborative work. This requires close interaction with the upload system, because whenever changed content needs to be uploaded into the archive appropriate measures have to be taken to create new versions and to assign the respective unique resource identifiers.

A number of researchers want to re-use the stored material for language revitalization purposes. The archive should offer modes that help speech communities to easily navigate in the metadata domain and to easily access lexical information and annotated media streams. However, an intensive interaction with specialists and community members is required to come up with suitably simple user interfaces. In addition, it should be possible for researchers to easily create hardcopy outputs of the textual data like lexica, grammatical descriptions and various kinds of annotations, which can be used for language revitalization or other such projects.

5.7 Interoperability support

Archivists that are confronted with material submitted to the archive by different depositors can expect to be confronted with interoperability problems such as the following:

¹⁴ ANNEX site: www.mpi.nl/annex

¹⁵ LEXUS site: www.mpi.nl/lexus

- The depositors will have used different tools for collecting the data and they will have created different formats and technical encodings for documenting them (including a number of different character sets).
- The depositors will have chosen structures that are in line with their linguistic intentions. So we can expect that each team within the DoBeS project will create for example its own lexical structure, that is, the type of attributes and their structural embedding will be highly language specific.
- The linguistic concepts used for the various annotations and lexica to describe linguistic phenomena will vary substantially not only at the lexical attribute or annotation tier level but also at the value level.

When a user is working with archived resources, it must be possible to overcome all the interoperability problems. The best solution to overcome technical encoding differences is to convert all incoming encodings, for example character and video encodings, to one type of representation. For character encoding, UNICODE is the obvious choice. To overcome format and structural differences there is a worldwide trend to use generic XML formats that are powerful enough to represent all the different varieties. In the area of lexica for example ISO TC37/SC4¹⁶ is working on a flexible standard called Lexical Markup Framework (LMF) that has such a generic capability. The LEXUS¹⁷ lexicon tool has implemented LMF and has import filters for formats such as Shoebox and CHAT. This allows LEXUS users to represent all lexical formats and structures with the help of one single flexible framework and to visualize and manipulate them.

However, the most difficult problem to deal with is the one created by different terminologies. Since these are chosen based on linguistic insights they cannot be transferred or unified. However, to enable operations that involve searching across different collections archives have to start thinking of frameworks that allow researchers to create different types of relations between the concepts used in these collections. These relations captured in bottom-up driven ‘practical ontologies’ can be seen as pragmatic definitions that help to solve practical problems. Other initiatives such as GOLD¹⁸ and ISO TC37/SC4 have started to create ‘central reference ontologies or concept registries’ that contain concepts and in the case of GOLD also relations that are claimed to be widely agreed amongst the researchers. In the case of concept registries such as the ISO Data Category Registry, the idea is that researchers refer to one of the centrally defined concepts where possible or even re-use them in their lexica and annotations. In doing so, the researchers would implicitly create an interoperable domain. However, it remains an open question whether linguists in general are ready or willing to re-use concepts from such central registries to overcome the semantic interoperability problems in the next few years.

A bottom-up approach where researchers can easily define relations between concepts that can be found in their resources may be more promising. However, since the creation of such relation files requires a reasonable amount of work it will be necessary to have mechanisms that allow researchers to share them. Archives have to be aware of the increasing pressure on them to provide frameworks for the creation, manipulation and sharing of practical ontologies.

¹⁶ ISO TC37/SC4 = International Standardization Organization, Technical Committee 37, Sub-Committee 4 responsible for Language Resource Management

¹⁷ LEXUS: www.mpi.nl/lexus

¹⁸ GOLD: <http://emeld.org/tools/ontology.cfm>

5.8 Commentary frameworks

Part of the *Live* Archives view is that archives offer forums for exchanging information and opinions about the stored resources and drawing new types of conclusions about these resources.

Members of the speech communities want to be actively involved in the documentation of their language at all stages, that is, they want to add suggestions for improvements, add photos and other material to illustrate fragments and to extend the documentation in case of gaps.

Researchers want to comment on annotations and lexical attributes, to add interesting additional information or data, and to draw relations between different parts found in the resources.

There will be many more requests that all go into the same direction, requiring the opening of the archive as a forum for discussion and enrichment. As yet we do not have the technology to meet all these demands.

Whatever the solution will be, archivists must never touch the original resource, as this must be kept separate from later commentaries. Moreover, the depositors of the original resources and their comments have to be clearly identified.

5.9 Summary

We have discussed a number of principles to which modern digital archives should adhere in order to meet current and future requirements. *Live* Archives follow these principles. They see themselves as centers for open information and opinion exchange and thus differ from traditional archives that are understood first and foremost as centers for preserving physical objects that are only accessible by specialists. Increasingly, more digital archives are following the *Live* Archive principles, although the technical realization of some of them still poses a number of problems that have to be solved in the next few years. In the following section we discuss a few tools that may help to solve some of these problems.

6 Tools for advanced archive usage

In this section we present some tools for advanced archive usage that are being developed by the technical group of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen; however, we want to point out that there are also a number of other very active groups that are developing similar tools, but for the purposes pursued here it is not possible to refer to all these activities (in this context we would like to refer the reader to Thieberger's contribution to this volume).

6.1 Access via geographic information

In §5.6 we already mentioned the possibility to access metadata information via geographic browsing. In the example presented (Figure 7) the tool 'Google Earth' was used for visualizing the maps. Layered information can easily be stored on top of the geographic maps as shown in Figure 8.¹⁹

¹⁹ For legal reasons, public domain satellite imagery has been used in Figures 7 and 8 instead of Google Earth imagery.

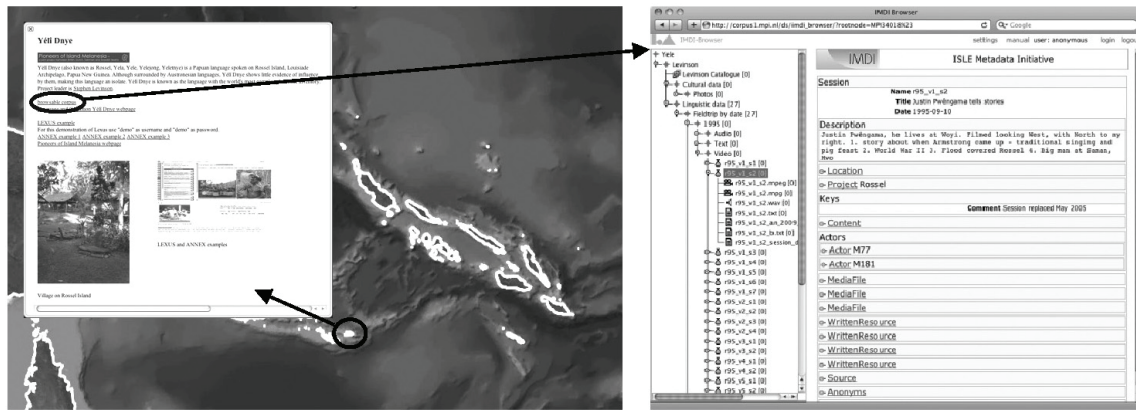


Figure 8: Layered information stored with geographic maps

Figure 8 illustrates our usage of the ‘Google Earth’ tool with an example from Yéli Dnye, the Papuan language spoken on Rossel Island in Papua New Guinea. When clicking on the mark on the map some general information is launched consisting of a description, a photo snapshot of a typical spot, a reference to the personal page of the researcher, a pointer to the appropriate node in the archive, a link to start up the web-based lexicon tool (see below) and three examples of annotated media files. All this gives a very fast first impression about the language and the culture of the people. Having selected the archive node one can continue to browse and search in the archive.²⁰ It is up to the data depositors, of course, what kind of information they want to present via such methods.

6.2 Web-based annotation work

Another tool that can be launched from the ‘Google Earth’ information block, but also from the metadata browser of any other web application is a web-based annotation viewer called ANNEX.²¹

ANNEX is the first of a set of tools allowing the user to work on complex structures via the web. Currently, it does not have the possibility to change existing annotations or to create new ones. This feature will be added in due course; however, two big problems have to be kept in mind: (1) Manipulating annotations via the web means storing the new results in the archive or at least in a temporary workspace. Uploading a new version can only be done via the normal quality and coherence control. (2) Media presentation via the web is not time accurate, that is, for annotating at frame accuracy level one should first download the necessary resources and then work with a local tool such as ELAN.²²

ANNEX has import modules for Shoebox and CHAT files. All these resources will be part of searches and they can be viewed with the layout as the ELAN files. It should be mentioned here that the layout of the user interface is customizable to a certain extent to accommodate different user preferences.

²⁰ The appropriate Google Earth (.kmz) file can be downloaded from the MPI web site and the mentioned operations can be tried out.

²¹ ANNEX is the web-based cousin of the well-known ELAN annotation tool working on local computers; www.mpi.nl/annex.

²² ELAN: www.mpi.nl/elan

Figure 9 presents three screenshots, two of them showing different views on annotated media resources and one showing the search interface. Since ANNEX is a web-based tool, it can be used to carry out content searches on the whole MPI archive which currently covers about 50 million annotations (utterances/sentences). The searches can either be structured or unstructured. However, as indicated above, the semantic interoperability problems have to be solved by the user. The hits of searches can be played immediately and only the fragments of interest are shown. Content searches can be combined with metadata searches.

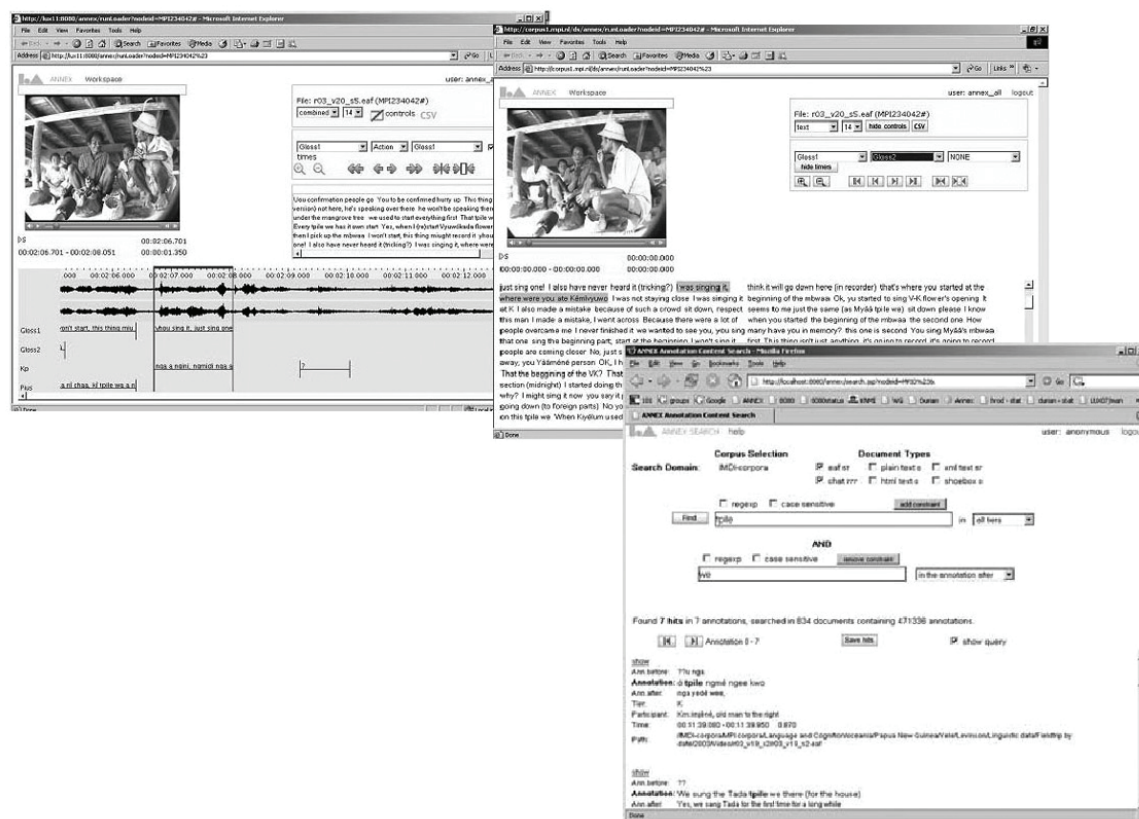


Figure 9: Screenshots of web-based annotation work with ANNEX

6.3 Web-based lexicon work

The multimedia lexicon tool LEXUS is based on the flexible Lexical Markup Framework (LMF) that is currently being worked out by ISO TC37/SC4; it claims to be able to represent all known lexicon structures. LEXUS is a web-based tool that allows the definition and manipulation of lexical structures as well as content. It can also operate on local computers when installed via a package that contains a web server and a database.

LEXUS is the second tool that allows users to work with complex structures via the web — in this case lexica with multimedia extensions and the option to draw relations between arbitrary elements. Any attribute can be associated with text, media files or even with media fragments stored in the archive. LEXUS supports a workspace concept, that is, users can ask for a workspace and use it to create new lexica or lexicon versions. LEXUS can also import Shoebox/Toolbox and Chat lexica and allows users to customize screen layouts

according to their wishes. Users familiar with a book-style layout of lexica, for example, can create a similar look and feel.

Figure 10 presents three screenshots, two of them showing different views on lexical entries and one showing the relation feature. The left figure shows an entry list with short information per entry and broader information for the selected one including a sound and a video clip. The upper right shows the structure of the entry and some values. The third screenshot shows the relations that are defined for the entry *tpile wee*. It has two relations with two different types ('is_a', 'contrasts_with'). LMF basically allows the creation of arbitrary tree structures. The relation feature allows the definition of layered semantic networks on top of the tree.

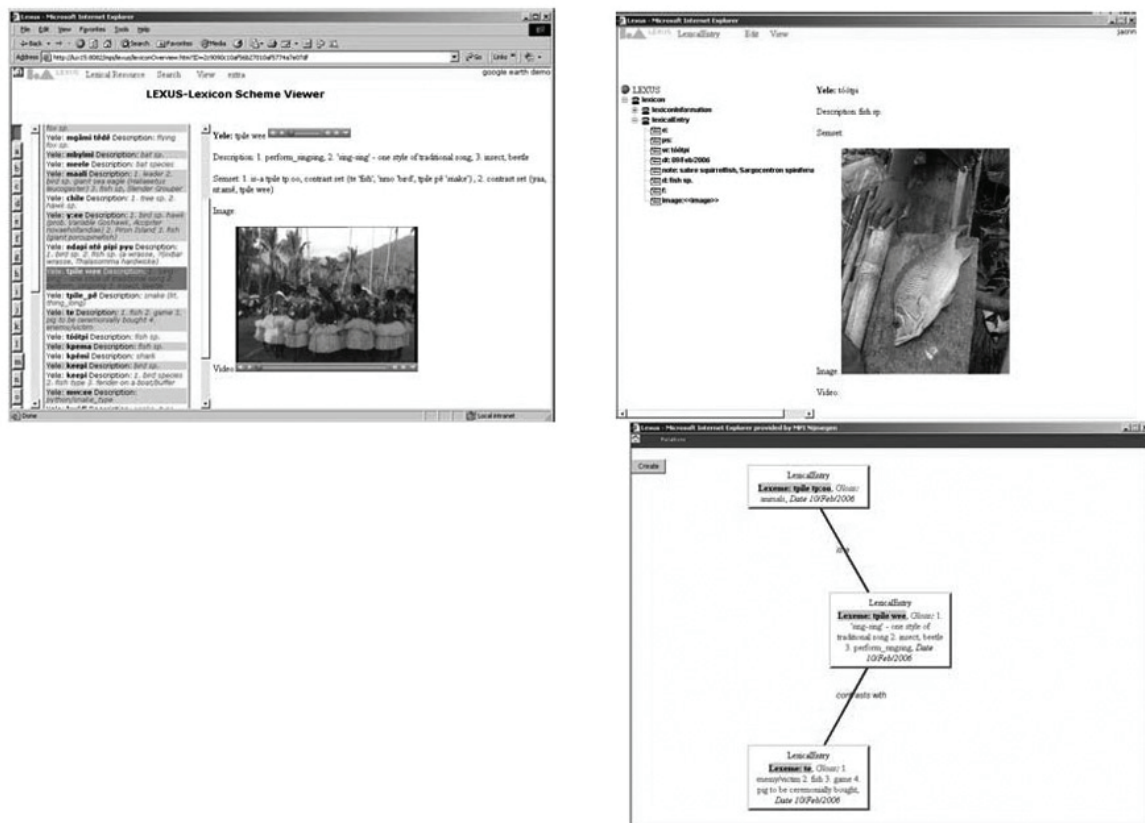


Figure 10: Screenshots of web-based lexicon work with LEXUS

6.4 Interaction between web applications

We have already indicated that it was very easy to integrate applications such as IMDI tools, ANNEX and LEXUS into the Google Earth framework. Parameterized links can be included that will start the applications with the correct resources. Similar approaches will be used when integrating other web applications. Since both ANNEX and LEXUS are web applications it is also comparatively easy to integrate them to a new type of service. When looking at an annotation, a word could be selected and a search could be issued to start up the lexicon tool showing the lexical entry for exactly that word. Other modes of interaction

can be integrated such as ‘create a wordlist for a selected set of transcriptions’. A number of such interactions will be developed to satisfy the user’s wishes.

An example of web interaction is the exchange of information between the LEXUS tool and the ISO Data Category Registry service at ISOCat.²³ When creating a new lexicon or when expanding the structure of a given lexicon, one can select a concept from the ISO concept registry to extend the schema of a lexicon with a new attribute. When doing so, LEXUS interacts with the registry service via the web and provides all required information.

Many other examples can be given. The underlying principle is always the same: two web applications/services can easily call on each other via the web and exchange the required information. If they are designed as true web services, developers can easily integrate interfaces into their programs to start this kind of interaction. This will open completely new possibilities also with respect to connecting to other useful services offered via the Internet. Figure 11 illustrates the principle of this interaction.

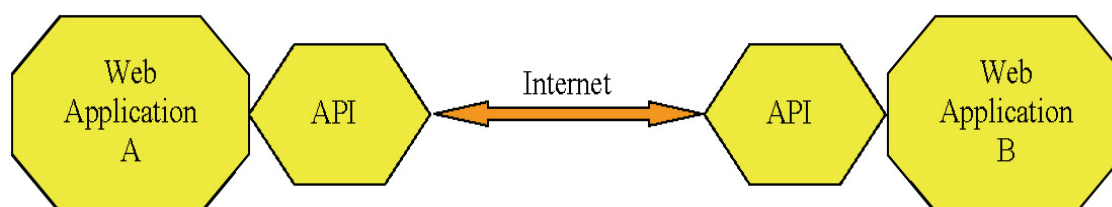


Figure 11: Schema for interaction between web-based applications

Two web applications can easily talk to each other via standardized programming interfaces. In the case of true web services these are specified openly with the help of WSDL²⁴ and the messages are exchanged according to the so-called SOAP²⁵ specifications.

7 Language resource archives as service centers

Digital language resource archives that adhere to the *Live* Archives principles will form essential pillars in the emerging eHumanities scenario where a stable and persistent landscape of web services of all types will be offered to the interested researcher. Standardized interface descriptions will make it easy to create new combined types of services. They will be the islands of stability in a quickly emerging world of digital resources and services, since they will maintain registries indicating to people what kind of resources and services are available. However, we would like to emphasize that they can only fulfill the role of an open forum for resources, services and commentary if they follow an open policy for researchers.

²³ ISOCat data category registry; www.isocat.org

²⁴ WSDL = Web Services Description Language; www.w3.org/TR/wsdl

²⁵ SOAP = Simple Object Access Protocol; www.w3.org/TR/soap

Glossary

ANNEX	web-based multimedia annotation viewer.
API	Application Programming Interface. A means of giving other software programs access to certain functionality of a software program.
CHAT	format developed for transcription and coding of child language, part of the Child Language Data Exchange System (CHILDES).
DV	Digital Video, standard for tape-based digital video.
ELAN	Software program for creating time-aligned multi-layered annotations of audio and video files.
IMDI	ISLE Meta Data Initiative, a metadata standard and tools specifically designed for linguistic resources.
IT	Information Technology
LEXUS	lexicon tool that is based on the Lexicon Markup Framework (LMF) format and that allows the inclusion of multimedia material to illustrate the lexical items.
LMF	Lexicon Markup Framework, a flexible XML format for lexica.
MP3	psycho-acoustically based compression standard for audio.
MPEG2	compression standard for video, for example used on DVD discs and for digital television.
MPEG4	compression standard for video, often used for video on the web.
PDA	‘Personal Digital Assistant’, a small handheld computer.
SOAP	Simple Object Access Protocol, a protocol by which different web services can communicate with each other.
UNICODE	character encoding that provides a unique number for a very large number of characters.
URID:	Unique Resource IDentifier, used to give resources on the web a unique, persistent identification code.
URL	Uniform Resource Locator, used to address web pages or resources on the web.
WSDL	Web Services Description Language, an XML format for describing web services.
XML	eXtensible Markup Language. General-purpose specification for creating custom markup languages. Examples of specific XML formats are XHTML for web pages, OOXML for office documents, LMF for lexica and GPX for geographical coordinates.

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8

Empowering Pacific languages and cultures mapping with applied case studies in Taiwan and the Philippines

DAVID BLUNDELL, MICHAEL BUCKLAND and JEANETTE ZERNEKE with YU-HSIU LU and ANDREW LIMOND

1 Introduction¹

The Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative (ECAI), based at the University of California, Berkeley, is an informal collaboration among scholars, information technology specialists, librarians, and others interested in advancing scholarship and education in the humanities and social sciences through increased attention to place and time. Groups from Berkeley and elsewhere have sought to identify internet-accessible resources that have been encoded for their spatial and temporal scope, to create a catalog ('clearinghouse') of resources, to develop software to handle geo-temporal data, and to encourage the adoption of standards and best practices.

¹ This paper is the result of a collaborative team effort of the Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative (ECAI) Austronesia Team, especially David Blundell (ECAI Anthropology and Language Editor for Austronesia Team – Pacific Language Mapping, Associate Professor, National Chengchi University, Taipei), Michael Buckland (Co-director of ECAI, University of California, Berkeley), Jeanette Zerneke (Technical Director of ECAI, and formerly Director of Information Systems and Services, International and Area Studies, University of California, Berkeley), Lawrence Crissman (formerly directing Spatial Data Projects, Associate Professor of Asian Studies, Griffith University, Brisbane), Ray Larson (Professor, School of Information, University of California, Berkeley), Eric Yen, Hsiung-ming Liao and Pei for Geo-spatial Maps (Computing Centre, Academia Sinica), Yu-Hsiu Lu (Associate Professor, Institute of Music, Soochow University), Kimberly Carl (Technical Associate of ECAI, and Director of Information Systems and Services, International and Area Studies, University of California, Berkeley), Chien-hsiang Lin (professional documentary filmmaker in Taiwan), Andrew Limond (documentary filmmaker, graduate from Oxford University, specializing in Lan-yu boat construction), Christian Anderson (anthropologist). Funding for the current work derives from the N.W. Lin Foundation for Culture and Education Endowment at the University of California, Berkeley.

For the panel session presentation arrangements of this work we thank Gunter Senft (Max Planck Institute, Nijmegen, the Netherlands) and Marie Salaün (University of Paris-V, France) as organizers of 'Pacific Challenges: Questioning Concepts, Rethinking Conflicts', Session 10 Endangered Languages — Endangered Cultures at the 6th Conference of the European Society for Oceanists (ESfO), Marseilles, France, 6th–8th July 2005.

The objective is not to make a singular, centralized digital cultural atlas, but to influence scholarship through increased attention to place and time. ECAI operates at three levels: advocacy for use of place and time; encouraging the development of infrastructure through collaboration, standards, and technology; and gaining practical experience and providing proof-of-concept through exploratory projects (Lancaster and Henderson 1998; more at <http://www.ecai.org>).

This paper reviews studies relating to Pacific languages and cultures undertaken by the ECAI Austronesia team (<http://ecai.org/austronesiaweb/>) with collaborators from several institutions. Selected projects include: a digital atlas of languages of the Pacific; a map of Formosan and Yami languages; an interface to Cebuano library catalog records (<http://www.ecai.org/imls2002/cebuano/CebuanoIndex.html>); and fieldwork of language and culture mapping of Lan-yu (Taiwan) and the Batanes Islands (Philippines) (<http://ecai.org/batanesatlas>).

2 Language and cultural mapping

When researching language maps, several distinctions come into play. Charting a language could refer to ‘mapping communications’ as a field theoretical approach (that is, ethnography of communication, media conveyance) to the ways and means people utilize in formulating and transferring ideas and information. Another mapping purpose could be in the conceptual ‘reference to space and spatial directions’ given in a language (see Senft 1997). Here, language mapping is concerned with the production of an ‘atlas of languages’ with boundaries.

Serious physical and theoretical problems occur when defining a language and its dialects and when attempting to mark the geographic limits of a language. Individual languages are referred to by various names, often by a name that did not originate with the speakers of that language, but was selected from field studies or in previous accounts of the literature referring to the language. Then, as the language speakers move spatially, or as the language becomes a dialect, the supposed language shifts position on a map. Also, speakers adopt other languages, becoming bilingual or multilingual, complicating geo-census data.

The two standard types of language maps are language area maps and isogloss maps. Language area maps show the spatial extent of the use of a given language or dialect. Isogloss maps record the geographical distribution of individual language features, such as local vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation. The co-occurrence of distinctive features constitutes a basis for dialect studies. Although other forms of cultural maps can be found, for example the distribution of material culture, language maps are the commonest example of a cultural map and the strong relationship between language and culture allows language maps to serve as surrogates for cultural maps if other data are not available. Geographical mapping of a language provides one dimension. Recording and displaying changes over time, where evidence can be found, allows a view of language dispersal and a more complete perspective.

Digital techniques facilitate placing cultural data on a map and digital resources can be made accessible over the Internet. In this way, as with the school children’s websites discussed below, distantly separated speakers and students can become connected and increase the chances of creating or retaining a sense of cultural community.

Languages evolve in communities and communities develop in contexts. An additional advantage of digital maps is that language maps can be combined with other kinds of maps

showing other geographic features, physical or cultural, that form part of the environment and context of the community being studied.

3 Mapping endangered languages

Every language offers a different way of seeing the world. Varieties of world views are expressed in sets of communicative parameters, for example, simple cardinal directions create specific meanings to spatial orientation in different languages (see Senft 1997). As with endeavors that require ethnology, languages that are endangered require sensitive research among the few speakers who grasp the essence of it. Stephen A. Wurm, founding editor of *Pacific Linguistics*, launched a new publication series (Series D), 'Materials on languages in danger of disappearing in the Asia-Pacific region'. This series invited scholarly exchange views on languages that were: potentially endangered, defined by a community where 'a number of children no longer learn the language'; endangered, where there are 'very few children speakers, [and] many young adults have only a passive or rudimentary knowledge of the language'; seriously endangered, where 'the youngest speakers are fifty years or so old'; moribund, where 'a small number of very old speakers exist'; and the almost extinct where 'a handful of semi-speakers and perhaps one or two speakers are left' (Wurm 1997).

That languages with few speakers can be spread out across large distances is a challenge for accurate mapping. Yet, as ethnographers work on the fine-tuning of language location, dispersal, and meanings, the language studied could yield another view of human cognition.

4 The Pacific Neighborhood Consortium (PNC)

In the early 1990s, at the University of California, especially at the Berkeley and San Diego campuses, there was discussion of creating an exchange of cultural knowledge across the Pacific using the fledgling Internet (*Pacific Neighborhood Project* 1990, *Berkeley Image Database Project* 1991). For example, digital images of objects in the collections of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley might be displayed for exhibition or for research at the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines in Taipei (see Walsey 1995). Catalog records, with both written description and visual images, if electronically recorded, could be transferred to different venues as digital files. These ideas led to the formation in 1991 of the Pacific Neighborhood Consortium (PNC), initially based at the University of California, Berkeley, and, since 1997, administered by the Computing Centre of Academia Sinica, Taiwan. The PNC mission is to facilitate information exchange through computing and digital communications technologies by fostering technical development, interdisciplinary sharing, and cultural knowledge. This is an invitation to visit museums, libraries, and institutions of advanced research by way of the Internet. 'The ultimate goal is to enable scholars to regard themselves, not as separated by vast distances, but as residents of a virtual neighborhood' (see PNC website page: <http://www.pnclink.org/about.htm>).

5 The Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative (ECAI)

Lewis R. Lancaster, professor of Buddhist studies, East Asian Languages and Cultures at the University of California, Berkeley, experimented with digital media for ancient texts. He directed the Electronic Buddhist Text Initiative (EBTI) for standardizing texts and the

use of compact disc format. This work helped advance the mission of the Pacific Neighborhood Consortium for international scholarly display of cultural materials. In 1997, Lewis Lancaster formed a group of scholars to join him in forming the Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative (ECAI) to address the difficulties of developing maps in the humanities and, especially, the need for dynamic maps capable of showing changes over time (Lancaster 2002). ECAI focuses on one aspect of PNC's interests and extends the geographical scope to the whole Earth.

ECAI has grown into an informal global consortium incorporating scholars in the humanities, social sciences, and history; archivists, librarians and curators; members of non-governmental organizations; and information technology researchers. Anyone interested in ECAI's mission is encouraged to participate (see <http://ecai.org/participating/index.html>).

Scholars, librarians, and curators developing digital projects that can be visualized in time and space are encouraged to use standards that are interoperable with the work of others, to make their work available, and to register details of their work in the ECAI clearinghouse to make it more visible. By registering metadata for each data set with the ECAI Metadata Clearinghouse, material on remote servers, maintained by individual scholars or by academic institutions, can be identified by users over the Internet (see Zerneke 2005).

*TimeMap*TM is a set of software tools developed by Ian Johnson and Artem Osmakov at the University of Sydney, Australia, to support the shared use of spatio-temporal dynamic maps. *TimeMap* is a suite of software for *recording, indexing, analyzing, combining, and delivering data* with temporal and spatial components and supports a range of functions needed by the ECAI community. Functions include: making text, images, hyperlinks, tabular data, and multimedia applications hosted on the Internet available in a single interface; tools to query the data catalogued in the ECAI clearinghouse; means of downloading selected data from Internet sites on to a local drive for further analysis with other software packages; editing diverse data sets into a single time-aware map ('mapspace'); methods of display and animation of maps flowing through time dimensions. *TimeMap* is an open source project (see <http://www.timemap.net>; Johnson 1998; Zerneke and Johnson 2002).

The efforts of the ECAI and other spatio-temporal mapping collaborative efforts to map language and culture across regions of the world offer an opportunity for charting geo-referenced data in layers of time. An archaeological site attributed to certain language speakers could be geo-referenced in a time sequence showing historic artifacts that could be in museums, walls, burials, landforms, and fields of cultivation. A present speaker of the language could be recorded in context with his or her geo-referenced environment placed on the map.

6 The ECAI Austronesia Team

For most of the region of Island Southeast Asia and Oceania, the Austronesian language family has prevailed for several thousand years, extending from archaic origins. Austronesian languages include the Formosan languages of Taiwan and the Malayo-Polynesian languages of the Philippines, Malaysia, the islands of Indonesia, Micronesia and Polynesia, and the Indian Ocean island of Madagascar. This language family prevails across the vast expanse of ocean as an essentially island-based language and was the most broadly spread of languages prior to the arrival of South Asian languages, Arabic, and, especially, European languages. From the 19th century to the Second World War, the Pacific was highlighted as a region of linguistic and ethnological research. Since that time,

the Pacific languages have become increasingly endangered. The globalization of a few languages, notably English, and regional domination by national languages, such as Mandarin, Malay, or Tagalog, across speakers of various Austronesian groups overlay and threaten so-called lesser niche languages. Language is valuable, regardless of its extent, influence, or number of speakers, as part of the basic richness of humanity and as part of world heritage.

In October 1997 at the *Conference on Austronesian Studies in Taiwan: Retrospect and Prospect* (see Blundell 2009a) at Berkeley, Lewis Lancaster invited scholars to form a team to develop spatio-temporal research on the indigenous languages and cultures of the Taiwan area and the Austronesian dispersal from prehistory (Bellwood 2009). Projects commenced with basic language data on the national level (see Figure 1). Digital language maps were developed to the community level. Paul Jen-kuai Li at Academia Sinica demonstrated the ECAI *TimeMap* for interactive mapping of the dispersal of Formosan languages and a Batanic language, Yami. The dynamic temporal language map showed the ability to track language dispersal based on historical records from three distinct time periods and sources, drawing on written records sourced from Dutch, Chinese, and Japanese (Li 2001a, 2001b).

From 2001, Jeanette Zerneke, Director of Information Systems and Services, International and Area Studies, UC Berkeley, and Director of ECAI Technology, has created and edited websites for Pacific language mapping and the ECAI Austronesia Team. The ECAI Austronesia Team website provides a workplace for the Austronesia Team researchers who have specific interests to create and present projects. These include the projects described below.

7 ECAI Digital Language Atlas of the Pacific Area

The Pacific language mapping website drew heavily on the commitment and hard work of the Computing Centre of Academia Sinica and of the Spatial Data Projects at the Griffith Asia Pacific Research Institute, Griffith University, to scan and digitize most of the maps in the *The language atlas of the Pacific area*, edited by S.A. Wurm and Shiro Hattori (1981, 1983). The Australian Academy of the Humanities, which owns the copyright to the printed maps, has graciously permitted their reproduction and distribution in this form through ECAI. The current ECAI Digital Language Atlas of the Pacific Area includes a vectorized dataset developed from the original 47-leaf atlas of language boundaries.

The geographic content of shorelines and language boundaries of the paper maps were digitally traced into a seamless atlas using as a reference the *Digital chart of the world* (DCW). The DCW is a comprehensive 1:1,000,000 scale vector base map of the world designed to meet the needs of pilots and aircrews in medium-and low-altitude navigation and to support military operational planning, intelligence briefings, and other needs. The primary source for this data set is the Operational Navigation Chart (ONC) series produced by the United States, Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom and issued by the US Defense Mapping Agency (DMA, an ancestor of the present National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency). The data currency varies from place to place, ranging from the mid 1960s to the early 1990s and includes numerous thematic layers including country boundaries, urbanized areas and points, altitude, land cover, cultural landmarks, transportation structure, and other features.

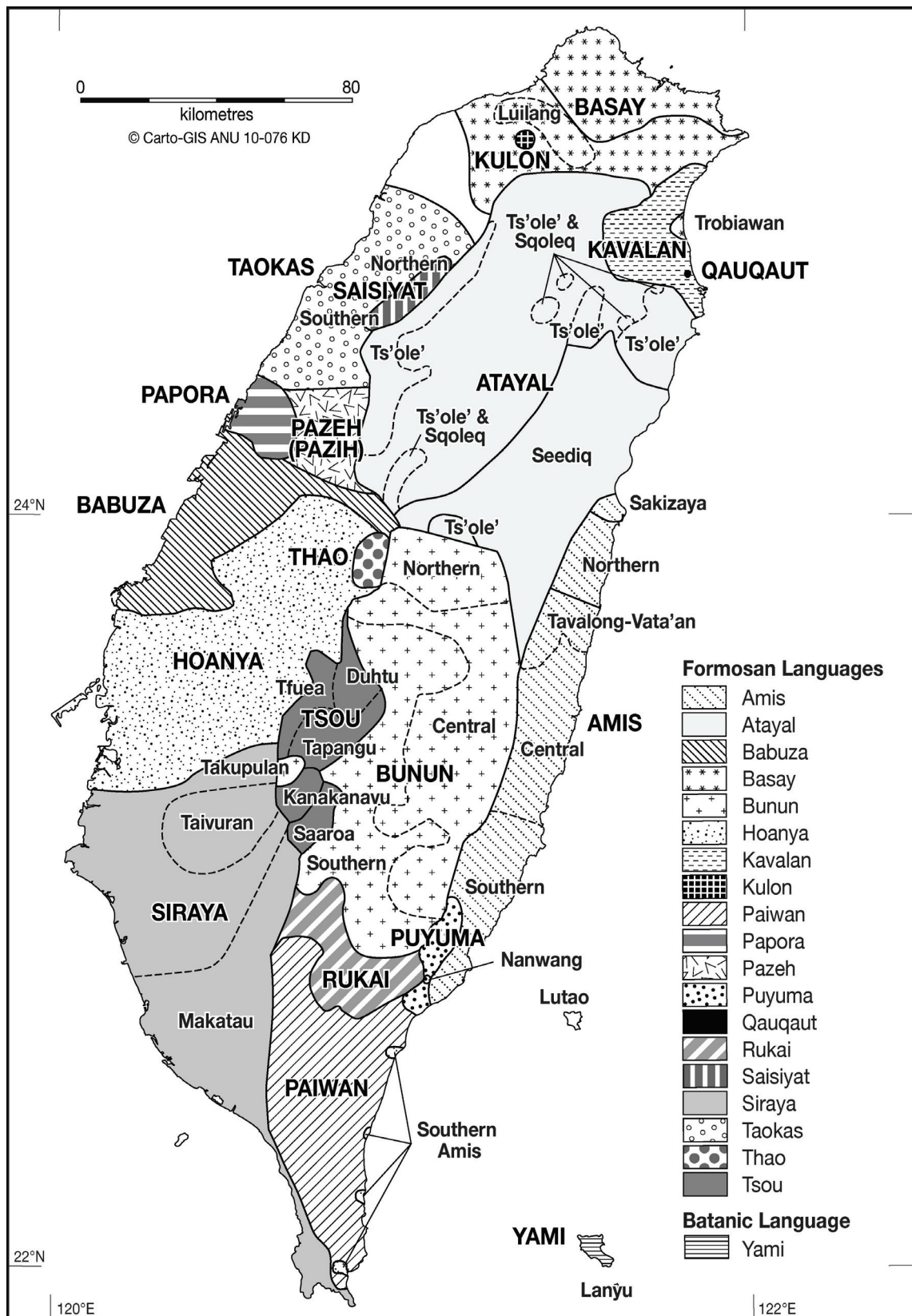


Figure 1: Language map of the Formosan languages and Yami based on historical and contemporary locations given by Tsuchida in Wurm and Hattori (1983 [1981]) Map 30. See Blundell (2009a:46) (graphics by Carto-GIS ANU).

The GIS version of the ECAI Digital Language Atlas of the Pacific Area data is viewable using the *TimeMap* dynamic map browser (www.timemap.net). See: <http://ecai.org/austronesiaweb/pacificlanguages.htm>. The dynamic map and GIS data provide valuable resources for the Austronesian team researchers to use in their own projects.

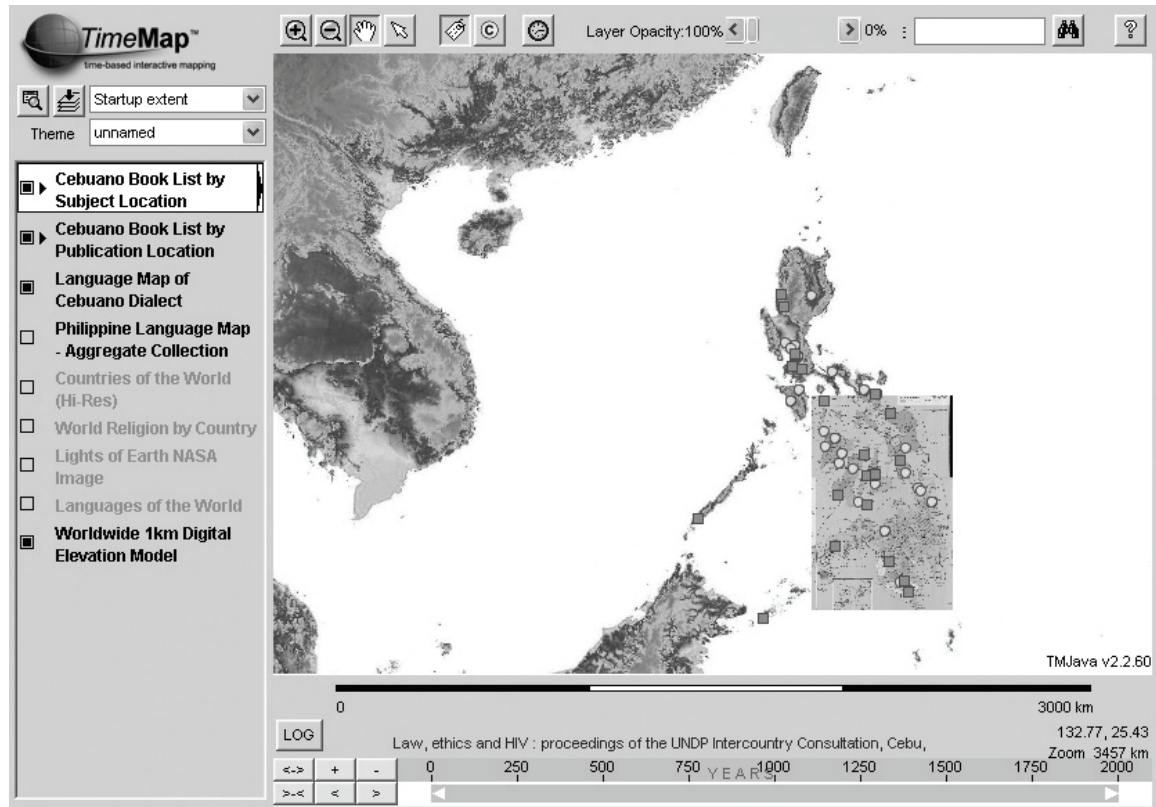


Figure 2: A selected view of the ECAI Digital Language Atlas of the Pacific. It includes the Pacific area, Southeast Asia (apart from Burma), and Madagascar. The Dataset is registered as ECAI Clearinghouse Record Number 20237.

8 Cebuano library catalog interface

The Cebuano Language Atlas was created as a demonstration project for a project focused on improving geographical searching in library catalogs entitled ‘Going places in the catalogue: improved geographical access’, supported by the US Federal Institute of Museum and Library Services. It was a collaborative work between ECAI and the School of Information at University of California Berkeley. This interactive atlas showcased over 700 records of books about, or published in, the Cebuano language and/or the Cebu region of the central Philippines (Figures 2 and 3).

Catalog records were harvested from MELVYL (catalogue of University of California libraries), US Library of Congress, and COPAC (union catalog of British research libraries) using the query ‘Cebu’ or ‘Cebuano’ and the Z39.50 search and retrieve protocol in the retrieval system Cheshire (see <http://www.ecai.org/imls2002/cebuano/CebuanoIndex.html>; Buckland 2002; Buckland et al. 2004). The retrieved records were formatted into a tab-delimited spreadsheet. A Cheshire script added latitude and longitude to each place of

publication and geographic name subject heading, or geographic subdivision found in the records, by searching a Cheshire database of the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency gazetteer of names for the Philippines (over 70,000 entries).

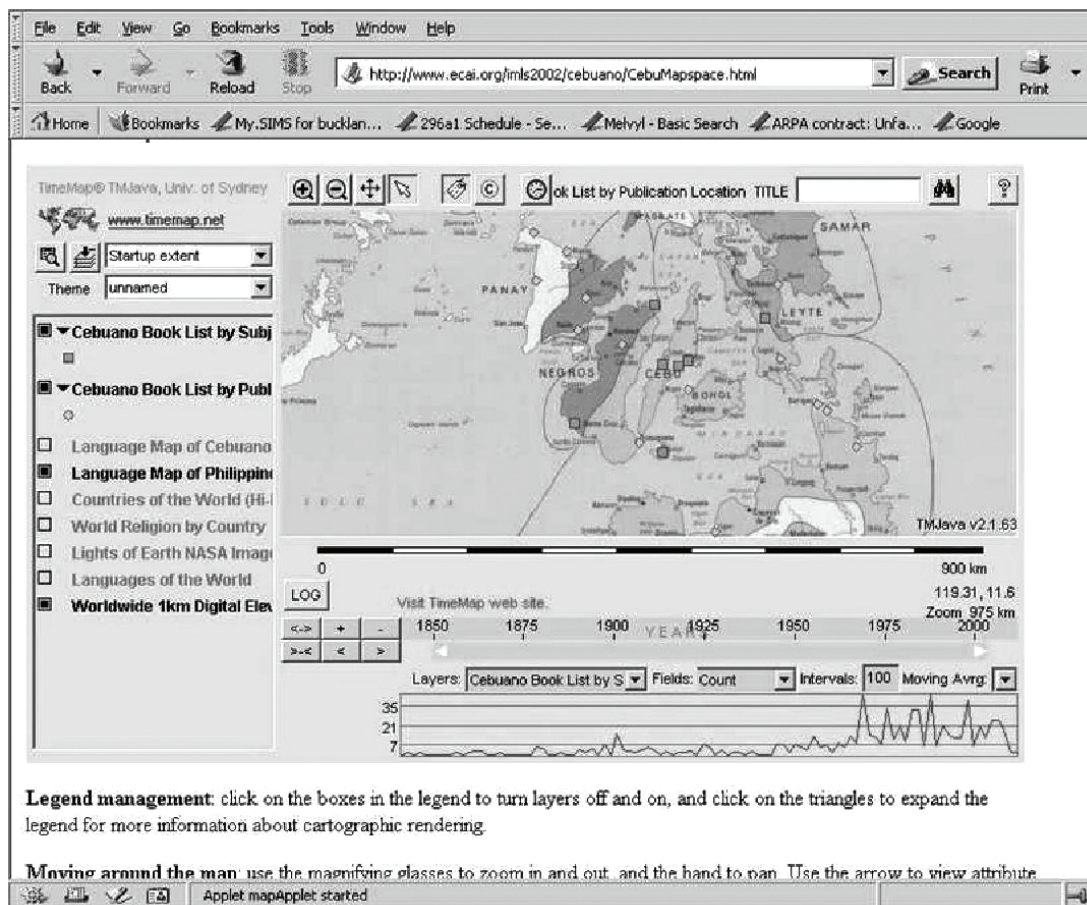


Figure 3: Spatio-temporal interface to Cebuano-related library catalog records, with language map. Cebuano prototype screenshot used in the final project report (Buckland et al. 2004).

A prototype screenshot from the ECAI Cebuano Language Atlas is shown in Figure 3. A dynamic map interface supports panning, zooming, and adjusting the time period of interest. Small squares on the map marked places contained in subject headings and small circles indicated places of publication. Clicking on any square or circle would display the corresponding catalog records associated with that place, including the name of the library owning a copy of the book. A timeline bar and frequency graph are at the bottom.

The interface also shows contextual information, with map layers for the geography of the Cebuano language and other Philippines languages, political boundaries, religious adherence, topography, and other information. Kimberly Carl, Ray R. Larson, Jeanette Zerneke, and others created this interactive atlas at UC Berkeley, using TMWin tools developed by the *TimeMap* Project, University of Sydney (www.timemap.net).

The component data sources, with the exception of the scanned language maps and the geo-referenced book list, were already listed in the ECAI Metadata Clearinghouse. Sources included scanned maps from Wurm and Hattori (1981), and *Countries of the World* (high

resolution) by Earth Science Research Institute (ESRI, a company providing digital geographic information systems (GIS) software and technology), international boundaries provided by the Asia Pacific Spatial Data Project at Griffith University, and *Languages of the World* from Ethnologue (<http://www.ethnologue.com>). This interactive interface is at <http://www.ecai.org/imls2002/cebuano/CebuanoIndex.html>.



Figure 4: TimeMap language dispersal layer with spatial temporal frames to the Batanes (1000 years before present) and Orchid Island (700 years before present) by Paul Jen-kuai Li (2001a) displayed on Google Earth (<http://ecai.org/BatanesAtlas/BatanesDynamicMap/batanes-standalone3-05.htm>).

9 Field studies of Lan-yu (Orchid Island) of Taiwan and Batanes Islands of the Philippines

This project deals with the language and culture of Lan-yu (Orchid Island, or Irala) of Taiwan and the Batanes Islands, the smallest and most northern island province of the Philippines (Moriguchi 1998). These islands straddle the Bashi Channel. The Bashiic cultural arena includes the Yami speakers of Lan-yu in the north and the Batanic speakers south between Taiwan and the Philippines. The Yami as well as most people of the Batanes claim origins from Itbayat and Batan islands. The project includes field research and

participation by Yu-Hsiu Lu, Associate Professor, Institute of Music, Soochow University; Chien-hsiang Lin, professional documentary filmmaker; Andrew Limond, documentary filmmaker from Oxford University specializing in boat construction; Christian Anderson, anthropologist; and others. In California, ECAI technical support is provided by Jeanette Zerneke, Howie Lan and Kimberly Carl, UC Berkeley. The documentation and presentation of the research is intended to demonstrate the use of geographical information systems to facilitate local and scholarly input.

The documentation stems from guidelines of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage: oral traditions, including language as intangible cultural heritage; performance of arts; social practices, rituals and festivals; knowledge and practices concerning nature and observations of the universe; traditional craftsmanship (including lineage of craft, and revitalization). The research process emphasizes the four guidelines established by the UNESCO programs of documenting intangible cultural heritage: (1) Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Living Heritage, (2) Living Human Treasures, (3) Endangered Languages, and (4) Traditional Music.

The focus is on the connection between Lan-yu and the Batanes, and four features are documented: (1) singing with heritage content, (2) boat construction, (3) language sources, and (4) other cultural aspects.

9.1 The Batanes Islands

The semi-tropical Batanes group of islands is the northernmost province of the Philippines. The Batanes Islands are at the south end of the Bashi Channel 190 kilometers from Taiwan. Of the ten volcanic and coral uplifted islands composing the province, three of the largest islands are inhabited: Batan (7000 hectares), Sabtang (1600 hectares), and Itbayat (9000 hectares). A fourth island, Ivuho, lying about a 1.5 kilometers from Sabtang, has some families raising cattle. The other, uninhabited islands are Yam'i, North, Mavudis, Siayan, Di-nem, and Dequey. The province has a total island area of 230 sq. km, the smallest in the Philippines. The seasons include: *rayun* (summer), March to May; *amian* (winter) November to February; and *kachachimuyen*, the rainy season for the other months, with sudden warmer conditions (*dekey a rayun*) during two weeks between September and October.

The language and people of the Batanes are known as Ivatan. The languages of Lan-yu, Itbayat, Batan, and Sabtang are mutually intelligible with dialects between islands and within islands. The language of the Batanes is classified as Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Western Malayo-Polynesian, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Bashiic, and Ivatan (for studies of the Batanes see Alonzo 1966; Madrigal 1983; Benedek 1987; Hidalgo 1996; and Castro 1998.)

The Batanese islanders people probably originated from Luzon sometime just over a thousand years ago. The province has six municipalities with the towns Ivana, Uyugan, Mahatao, and Basco (or Vasay), the provincial capital, on Batan Island and two other island-wide municipalities of Sabtang and Itbayat.

Archaeological explorations in the islands of Batan, Sabtang, Ivuho, and Itbayat have identified five types of sites: (1) *ijang*, defense rampart structures on promontory or highland areas; (2) *nakavajayan*, abandoned habitations; (3) Nephrite jade workshops and other Neolithic sites of pottery and slate blades from Taiwan dating from 2500–4500 BP (Szabo et al. 2003; Bellwood and Dizon 2005); (4) 16th century burials marked by stones in

a boat shape; and (5) jar burials (later burials were done according to the methods of the Dominican friars from the Spanish administration).

9.2 Lan-yu (Orchid Island, or Irala)

Lan-yu (Orchid Island, or Irala) is north of the Batanes archipelago separated by the Bashi Channel. It is an island of 45 sq. km, about 80 km southeast of Taitung City, Taiwan, and is populated by 4250 Yami speakers inhabiting six villages (for bibliographic references, see Chiang 2004). In this strongly matriarchal society, women grow taro in complex irrigated fields surrounding villages. The people of Lan-yu claim ancestry to the Batanes, and most probably migration was from Itbayat beginning about seven hundred years ago. Yami is the designation of the language mutually intelligible among the six villages with Lang Dao having a dialect variation. Men construct plank boats for fishing. Traditional homes are built semi-underground. From March to June, flying fish are harvested in the Black Current (or Kuroshio Current, from Japanese 'black stream') flowing south to the north.

Lan-yu simply means 'orchid' in Mandarin, as wild orchids (*Tuberolabium kotoense*) were found in abundance there. Thus the name given as Orchid Island is a direct translation from Mandarin to English. Another name 'Botel Tobago' appears on early European maps expressing a trade item or shape of the island (that is, a tobacco bottle used by sailors). Irala is a Batanes language name for the island. The classification of the language is Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Western Malayo-Polynesian, Northern Philippine, Bashiic-Central Luzon-Northern Mindoro, Bashiic, and Yami. The island is under the administration of Lan-yu Hsiang, Taitung County, Taiwan.

The Yami speakers recently also call themselves Tao (meaning people) as part of a resurgence of ethnic self-identity after the lifting of martial law (that had kept the governing status quo in place from 1947 to 1987) enabled a renaissance of ethnic choices. The term Yami came from a Japanese ethnologist, Niaoju Lungtsang. Taiwan and Lan-yu were under the rule of Japan from 1895, and through the mid-20th century Japanese ethnologists researching the indigenous groups classified them by names derived from field studies. Yami has continued officially since the Japanese period as the name of the Lan-yu people. In Lan-yu, however, people identify themselves by a specific locality, essentially their village name. The village communities are called Ye You, Yu Jen, Hong Tou, Ye Yin, Dong Qin, and Lang Dao. To invent another name overarching the six villages is problematic for the people. Opinions are divided as to conserving 'Yami' or selecting 'Tao' — neither of which is completely satisfactory to the local people who are divided about the choices (Limond 2002).

9.3 Association of Lan-yu with the Batanes in oral tradition

In Yen-yin Village, the Shun-yong Chang family is regarded as the last to emigrate from the Batanes Islands to Lan-yu. Their oral tradition includes the story of their family's migration. According to field interviews their seniors still sang the songs in the early 1990s, that described the interaction between the people of Lan-yu and the Batanes Islands. For example, the Batanes people sang 'We two separate here returning to our respective communities, you return directly to your own island by the easy-sail paddle', and the Yami respond, 'You use a very good paddle sailing back to your Batanes Islands. We have the same blood'.

Early in the 20th century, the wax cylinder recordings by Kitasato Takeshi of Otani University, Kyoto, Japan, includes eight pieces of music about the Yami. The quality of recording is not clear and each interpreter holds a different explanation. But they all agreed that in the second story description in this recorded material, the Yami people's /r/ (tongue-curved sound) was pronounced as /z/ (tongue flipping sound) of the Batan people. This could be explained as a mistake caused by the transition of wax cylinders to today's acoustic facility, or by the interviewee being by chance from Batan Island, or a particularity of local language at that time.

9.4 Construction of an ocean-going boat

Traditionally, Yami speakers voyaged by sea to the southward Batanes Islands and, in the past, boat sails were made from stitched palm fiber. Our research included observation of the construction of an ocean-going boat. A case study by Andrew Limond in 2004 shows wood harvested and shaped by Syaman Raponan and Si Maoyong for making a two-man boat (*pikavangan*). (A one-man boat (*pikatangan*) is more common.) The material was from a single breadfruit tree, known in the local language as *cipowo*, which must have been around 15 years old. These trees provide most of the planking for boats of any size, though they are not used for every section. On this occasion, the timber was split into two parts. Because of the curve of the buttress root of that particular tree, the prow (*morongana*) and stern (*maojina*) were cut from this one piece of wood.

The craft of making one-man or two-man boats for fishing prevails among the men of Lan-yu. The ten-man boat is infrequently made and requires the consensus of the village and the supervision of the elders. Elders of each village decide matters in their society. Respect for the elderly is based on their knowledge of the heritage embedded in lore and craft. The young Yami are educated through observing more senior people.

The most recent ten-man boats were constructed and launched in Ye You Village and Hong Tou Village in 2004. It takes the community a few years to plan, including the growing of taro by the women, and construction of the boat by the men. The elders 'sing' poetic narratives the night preceding the launch until morning. Before the launch, pigs are slaughtered, and the meat and taro are separately distributed to the villagers. Symbolizing a twenty-man craft, the boat is then occupied by twenty men on the ground. Then it is lifted and tossed in the air before being placed in the sea. (Other accounts of boat building include Leach 1936–37 and Jeng 1985.)

The construction of a twenty-man boat is a taboo among the villages of Lan-yu. Making such a boat would require lifting the taboo across the six villages. Politically at this time, a consensus for that work seems unlikely, although the idea of cross-cultural exchange across the Bashi Channel has recently arisen and there has been correspondence and visits by flight and power boat via Taiwan and Luzon. Direct sailing by traditional sea craft across international seas is a goal, and voyages have been made in motor powered craft. To construct and launch the twenty-man boat required for a traditional crossing, complete cooperation would be required among the six villages of Lan-yu and interest by the people from the Batanes in accomplishing the task would be needed.

9.5 Comparison of islands: Lan-yu Island and the Batanes

It is evident from information from Yami speakers and from other Batanic narratives relating to origins and ways of doing things, such as the fishing customs, that these people

have moved in a pattern of migration with the Black Current flowing north from the tropical Pacific east of the Philippines and Taiwan to southern Japan.

The Yami (Lan-yu), Ivatan (Batan Island) and Itbayat (Itbayat Island) have a common source with Luzon dating back a thousand years. The Yami arrived at their island seven hundred years ago from the main islands of the Batanes. Yami speakers maintain an oral heritage based on poetic songs. From the 16th century, the Bashiic region came under European colonial influence from the Spanish, and to a lesser extent from the Dutch in the 17th century. About three hundred years ago the Yami ceased sailing the open Bashi Channel to the Batanes Islands in their own boats. European shipping provided transportation across the Bashi Channel (Figure 4).

Yami narratives are based on genealogical lineage. Repeating the legend and its version is considered 'rightful' where there is recognition of basic ancestral elements. In the Batanes, these legends are classified as folktales such as the Simina-Vohang story pointing to the Batanic origin of Lan-yu settlements. The legend of Siapen-Mitozid tells about the Yami isolating their communities from the Batanes for three centuries. In the past hundred years with direct colonizing influences from the authorities, whether they are governmental or church, the oral tradition has declined seriously and is just now being recorded only from elders over the age of fifty. The Yami *rawod* and *anohod* narrative legends, originally a mainstay of the oral heritage, are now recited as symbolic chants. Other features of the societies, such as taboo forbidding specific actions, are also collapsing.

The Orchid Island project further documents and compares the Bashiic region with geographic information for Lan-yu and the main islands of the Batanes using *TimeMap* software to display topography, places of habitation, archaeological sites, narrative pathways across the Bashi Channel, oral traditions, language variations, and cultural attributes. These features are being added to the ECAI Austronesia website (Orchid Island and the Batanes 2005).

10 Local Taiwan children's website development

Over the last several years in Taiwan, school children of Formosan language speaking villages have set up multilingual websites to express their culture. Websites created by children of indigenous communities are linked to the Internet showing the capabilities of community involvement with simplified digitization tools that allow community input of language resources from specific locations (view the 2005 Taiwan school children's websites: Fu-Shan Elementary School at 'Tranan' (indigenous name of their village), Wu-Lai District, Taipei County (<http://gsh.taiwanschoolnet.org/gsh2005/3895/index.htm>); and Jing-Yue Elementary School, 'Love Atayal – Care for Ryohen', at Jing-Yue Community, Nan-Ao Village, Yi-Lan County (<http://gsh.taiwanschoolnet.org/gsh2005/3749/index.htm>). Teachers, college and university students, parents, and local elders volunteer to give their time and share facilities during after-school hours to the children who take up the initiative to develop cultural heritage websites. The websites result in 'Cyber Fair' awards and participants raising their sense of identity with accomplishments in promoting the value of the local environment and culture with maps, photography, illustrations, and multilingual texts.

11 Future cultural mapping

ECAI projects demonstrate the feasibility of starting with a world map and then zooming into regions or specific language or cultural areas and providing geo-referenced links with related online resources such as library catalog records, text corpora, online dictionaries, and related databases. Space expressed as latitude and longitude and calendar time provide a lingua franca across all disciplines and a basis for bringing together resources from very diverse sources in an interdisciplinary manner. Interactive map displays that can show data pertaining to different periods of time provide a unifying means of access and also a basis for the visual analysis of data sets by scholars and by members of indigenous communities themselves.

These projects are collaborative efforts providing models for combining digital versions of older printed language maps with the collection of data on contemporary languages areas in order to examine language and culture dynamics visually (Blundell 2009b, 2004; Blundell and Zerneke 2002; Blundell and Buckland 2004; Blundell, Zerneke and Buckland 2006). With digital maps, contextual layers of topography, administrative boundaries, and current place names as well as links to sound files, video recordings, and other examples of cultural heritage documentation, our intention is to develop ongoing research tools for local community and scholarly exchange of language vitalization.

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Part III

Revitalization of endangered languages

9

Political acts and language revitalization: community and state in Maluku

MARGARET FLOREY and MICHAEL C. EWING

1 Language activism: principle to practice¹

As the politics of fieldwork are increasingly radicalized, linguistic fieldworkers have been at the forefront of the development of a new research paradigm that advocates much greater involvement by community members in linguistic research, and sees linguists and community members working more and more in partnership. Grinevald was one of the first to articulate this stance, arguing the need for academic linguists to reassess their working relationships with speakers and their communities, particularly in regard to community participation in decision-making vis-à-vis the research process (for example, Grinevald 2003; Craig 1992). Descriptions of individual attempts to enact such a model have begun to emerge — for example, Wilkins (1992) and Stebbins (2003) describe the experiences and struggles of working within an action research framework, aiming for research to be directed entirely by the speech community.

Cameron et al. (1993) compellingly address the issue of power, knowledge and control in relationships between researchers and the research community. The authors identify three frameworks for conceptualising relations between the parties:

- i. ethical model: research *on* social subjects
- ii. advocacy model: research *on* and *for* social subjects
- iii. empowerment model: research *on*, *for* and *with* social subjects

The empowerment model is seen as a means for both parties to realize their goals: in conjunction with the investigation of their own research questions, researchers acknowledge the subjects' agendas and share expertise to facilitate their fruition. While arguing for an empowerment model, Cameron et al. point to the complexities of locating power, noting the interactions between its shifting and multiple dimensions. They acknowledge that

¹ We are deeply grateful to the many people who have assisted us in gathering the data reported here. Thanks to Simon Musgrave for discussion which has assisted us enormously. This research was funded by a Major Documentation Project grant (MDP0009) from the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Programme, SOAS, UK (*Documentation of four moribund Moluccan languages: Eastern Indonesia and the Dutch diaspora*) and by an Australian Research Council Discovery Project grant (DP0343379) (*Cross-linguistic study of endangered Maluku languages: Eastern Indonesia and the Dutch diaspora*).

empowerment is ‘not just a matter of giving people ‘more power’ but of recognizing that every group in a community is itself an arena for conflict and struggle’ (1993:89).

Grinevald (2003:58) has recently identified the emergence of a fourth model for linguistic field research:

iv. fieldwork *by* speakers of the language community themselves

For communities, partnerships with academic linguists provide an opportunity to gain the skills that are essential for undertaking field research and language revitalization or maintenance activities. For the academic community, working within an empowerment framework provides new, more rewarding modes of engaging with communities, and also strengthens opportunities for working towards language revitalization or maintenance. Sections of the academic community are looking for ways of meeting the challenge of providing training to community members. For example, Woodbury and England (2004) outline an academic program that offers linguistic training to speakers of indigenous languages of Latin America. Florey (2004, 2010) describes a program that seeks to empower community language activists in Central Maluku, eastern Indonesia, through training in language documentation and language maintenance techniques.

In some sociopolitical environments, linguists are finding that the goal of working within an empowerment framework can be frustrated due to a wide range of factors from power and status differentials, to challenges wrought by local sociocultural conditions (political suppression, fear of political activism, etcetera), and to disparities in political awareness. In such settings, non-indigenous linguists commonly continue to direct the field research, albeit while trying to engage the community as much as possible and to build capacity through various strategies. This scenario raises challenging questions: Does language maintenance activity led by non-indigenous linguists constitute yet another appropriation of indigenous agency? How do linguists balance concern for language endangerment and language documentation with the goal of community involvement and ownership? Under these circumstances, (how) can we move from ideal or ethical principle to practice? Grinevald takes the provocative stance that there may be cases in which it is better not to undertake fieldwork, and suggests that we should ‘attend to those communities that are seeking the help and expertise of linguists’ (2003:62). Certainly we have mounting evidence that language maintenance or revitalization cannot succeed unless members of the speech community are politically engaged with language endangerment and form the goal of language maintenance for themselves (for example, Fishman 1991, 2001). Crystal (2003:19) notes that both bottom-up (community) and top-down (government) support are crucial elements in language maintenance enterprises.

It appears that successful language activism draws on a complex interaction between a number of factors:

- triggers for community engagement with language endangerment
- top-down (government) support
- bottom-up (community) ownership and action
- resolve on the part of linguists to work within an empowerment framework
- appropriate training programs to facilitate community involvement in research

This paper constitutes a case study in which political events in Maluku, eastern Indonesia, have triggered an awareness of language endangerment and led communities to

begin to act on that awareness and to seek ways of working in partnership with linguists. Key questions that we ask in this paper are: What factors can trigger that essential political engagement with language endangerment by speakers of minority languages? How does this political engagement transform into language activism? How can these contexts/moments be transformative both for communities and for researchers?

2 Triggers for political engagement with language endangerment

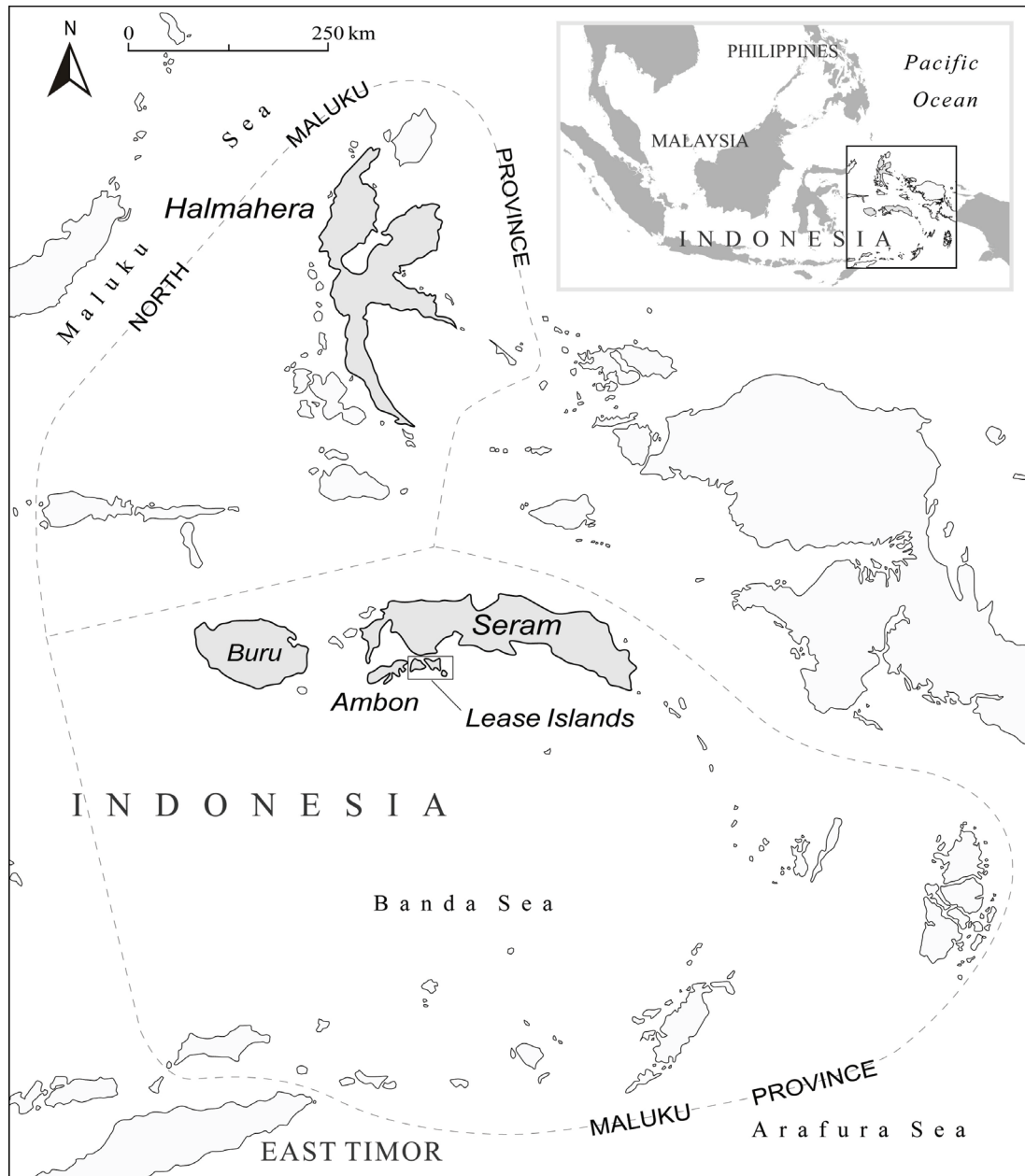
2.1 Ambonese Malay, Malukan identity and language loss

Two key factors in the sociopolitical background of Maluku are crucially linked to language endangerment and the lack of political engagement by the community with this issue: the rise of Ambonese Malay, and Malukan resistance to incorporation into the Indonesian state.

The geopolitical region of the Malukan islands is rich in linguistic diversity, with 128 Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages (Florey 2006). Forty-two of the Austronesian languages are spoken in the fourteen islands of Central Maluku (Map 1), which include Ambon Island, on which the regional capital of Ambon city is located, the Lease islands (Haruku, Saparua, Nusalaut), Buru Island, and Seram Island. This area was formerly an administrative district (now divided in two) and still has currency on ethnolinguistic grounds vis-à-vis the northern and south-eastern regions of Maluku. Perhaps as many as 50% of the languages of Central Maluku are endangered (see Florey 2005a), yet there has been little consciousness of or political engagement with language endangerment and indigenous languages have long been neglected.

A historic link between religious identity and language use in Central Maluku has been widely reported (see Florey 1991, 1997). Villages that converted to Christianity in the Dutch colonial era from the late 16th century enjoyed closer contact with the colonial authorities. The ensuing access to education and employment also encouraged the use of Ambonese Malay as a lingua franca. The sociopolitical currency of this Malay-based creole led to more rapid loss of indigenous languages in Christian villages. Muslim Ambonese also spoke Ambonese Malay in interactions with Christians (cf. Kennedy 1955:56), however, in contrast with Christian villages, indigenous languages spoken in Muslim villages retained their importance in most domains. It has been noted that this pattern of greater language maintenance in Muslim villages is breaking down in the modern era and languages in these settings are now increasingly endangered (see Florey 2005b, 2009; Musgrave and Ewing 2006).

In the postcolonial era from the mid-20th century, political events also impacted greatly on language attitudes and language use. Following independence from the Dutch, many Malukans, primarily from the Christian communities of Central Maluku, resisted incorporation into the Republic of Indonesia (see Florey and van Engelenhoven 2001). An independent Republic of the South Moluccas, *Republik Maluku Selatan* (RMS) was proclaimed on Ambon Island on 24 April 1950. Some 12,500 Malukan soldiers who served in the *Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger* (KNIL ‘Royal Netherlands-Indies Army’) and supported Malukan independence were transported to the Netherlands with their families. Following a prolonged and destructive guerrilla war, the RMS was defeated by the Indonesian armed forces in 1964. Through the remainder of the 20th century, the Indonesian government continued to suppress any remnants of resistance.



Map 1: Indonesia showing Maluku and Central Maluku

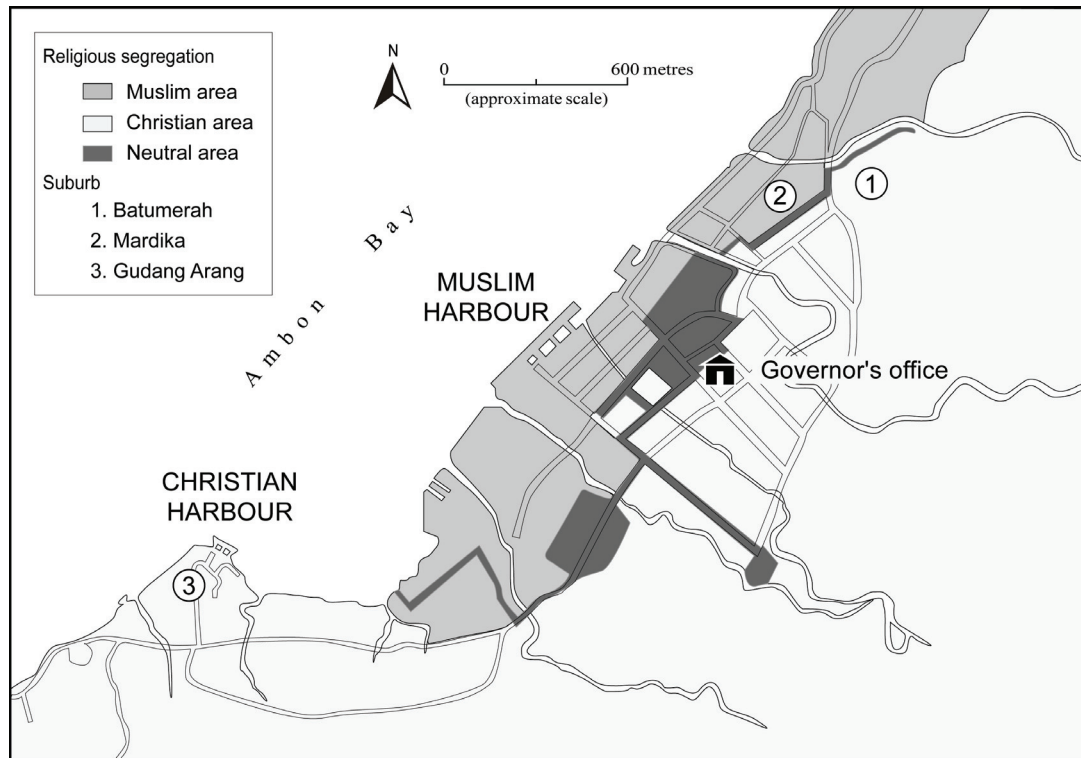
Despite their political integration into the Indonesian state following the cessation of hostilities, Christians and Muslims continued to share a sense of alienation from the larger Indonesian state. Part of the discourse of 'Malukan-ness' was a sense of marginalization from the decision-making processes of the central government. Malukuans felt powerless to prevent the sale of their natural resources to national and foreign interests (wood, petroleum and other minerals), and aggrieved at the inequities that they perceived between the infrastructure provided to the Javanese (roads, houses, etcetera) and the lack of such facilities in Maluku. Any local problems were overshadowed by the shared struggle against these larger issues, which unified a sense of Malukan identity.

In this context, it has been socially, politically, and linguistically more important to the people of Central Maluku, both Christian and Muslim, to mark their regional identity in contrast to a wider Indonesian identity. This contrast has been more important than marking membership of a local ethnolinguistic group. Ambonese Malay, as a creole widely used by Central Malukans, has provided an ideal marker of regional identity. With many loans from Dutch and Portuguese, and some from indigenous Malukan languages, Ambonese Malay is markedly different to Indonesian (van Minde 1997). Florey and van Engelenhoven (2001) outline the important role that Malay played in the RMS. It was the language of the proclamation, and also unified and identified the Malukan community both in Indonesia and in the Dutch diaspora. Ambonese Malay is a high status creole that is a source of pride to the people of Central Maluku both in the homeland and in the diaspora. Many songs have been written and recorded in Ambonese Malay, regular newspaper columns about local Ambonese life are also written in Ambonese Malay, and the language is heard everywhere in the region — on the streets, in local buses, at the market, and occasionally in informal segments of church services.

2.2 Transformative events

Throughout the later part of the 20th century Maluku, on the surface at least, appeared unified and in a state of relative calm. Beginning in 1999 that harmony was shattered when local tensions erupted over a seemingly minor incident in Ambon city between a Christian minibus driver and a Muslim passenger in the primarily Muslim suburb of Batumerah (Bertrand 2002). Christians and Muslims who had lived safely side-by-side for centuries became enemies overnight and a three-year period of civil conflict and sectarian violence began in the (then) province of Maluku. This unrest — *kerusuhan* in Indonesian — wreaked enormous destruction on the Maluku region. Mosques and churches were the target for bombings. Ambon city quickly became segregated into religious regions (Map 2), and people could no longer move freely from one area to another to get to their homes, to visit friends and relatives or to go to the market. With only a small neutral zone, there were two harbours, two sets of buses, and separate marketplaces.

Barbed wire, sandbagged barriers and armoured cars became a common sight in the streets. Sniper fire, mortars, bombs and war parties led to thousands of deaths, and many more people were injured. Throughout Maluku, whole villages were destroyed and more than 500,000 people were displaced to refugee camps. The infrastructure of key institutions in Ambon city was greatly damaged, and all the records held in the governor's office were lost when it was burned to the ground. Educational institutions were particularly badly hit by the conflict. The state university (Pattimura) and the Christian university (UKIM) were destroyed, as were many primary and high schools. When the Malino peace accord was signed in February 2002, the area had been split into two provinces and Maluku's reputation as a bastion of Christian–Muslim social harmony had been destroyed.



Map 2: Segregation in Ambon city (Source: UN OCHA 2004)

During the *kerusuhan* period Indonesian national identity was severely discredited among many Malukans. As a result of Suharto's largely successful efforts to equate his New Order government (1966–98) with the state and with the nation, the collapse of his government, in many people's eyes, also saw the collapse of the legitimacy of the nation-state. This intensified or reinvigorated separatist sentiments. In this environment the pan-Malukan identity, which had been conceived in contrast to the wider Indonesian state, quickly lost any meaning. Ethnolinguistic groups became fragmented and pulled into conflict with each other, particularly those that were composed of both Muslim and Christian villages. One widely publicized case was the Christian village of Waai on eastern Ambon Island, which was attacked with great loss of life and the destruction of the entire village by the Muslim villages with which it shares its ethnolinguistic heritage — Tulehu, Tial, Tengah-tengah and Liang. In western Ambon, the Christian village of Allang lived uneasily alongside its Muslim sibling village of Wakasih. In southern Seram, there was conflict between the Muslim village of Rutah and its sibling villages of Soahuku, Amahei, Makariki and Haruru.

The *kerusuhan* pushed people to seek refuge in their most local unit, which became the people's most important source of identity and support during the conflict. In the complex environment of the city, this was often one's local suburb as there is an historical tendency for Ambon's suburbs to reflect a particular ethnic and religious identity. Those who found themselves in border areas or in mixed communities remained precariously in their homes to protect their property or fled to the safety of a relative's home. Out of town, the village, as a locally defined polity rather than a nationally defined geographic space, was most commonly the place to which people retreated for support and safety.

Many stories are now told of the role that indigenous languages, locally referred to as *bahasa tanah*, reportedly played during the conflict. While the veracity of these reports is impossible to establish, they do provide insights into language attitudes and the resurgence of interest in *bahasa tanah*. For example, Christians in Ambon and Seram assert that Liang and Tulehu used their local language to plan the attack on Waai — their Christian sibling in which there is very little residual knowledge of the language. Residents of Christian villages say they felt greatly disadvantaged by being primarily speakers of Malay and Indonesian, and thus not having a secret language that they could use to warn each other of conflict or to plan attack or retreat. A school principal who comes from Wakasihi and works in Rutah suggested that the *kerusuhan* may not have happened or that peace could have been restored more quickly if people in both Allang and Wakasihi still shared their common ancestral language. He suggested that language would overtly link them as a family or as one community. He noted that the same might have held true for Rutah and the four Christian villages that share its linguistic heritage.

Many of the stories about the role of language in the *kerusuhan* can be reread as an awakening consciousness, particularly by Christian Malukuans, of the loss of the cultural and linguistic complex of the ancestral past. The advantages which had derived from their colonial alignment with the Dutch and the benefits of that alignment which continued to flow into the postcolonial era had alienated them from their roots at the most local level. For both Christians and Muslims the *kerusuhan* highlighted the salience of *bahasa tanah* vis-à-vis ancestral and community ties. The *kerusuhan* experience has radically altered all aspects of life in Maluku, and these stories demonstrate the transformative effect it has had on attitudes towards indigenous languages and language endangerment.

3 Transforming political engagement into language activism

In the early stages of the reconciliation movement people began re-emerging from the refuge they had taken in their villages during the *kerusuhan* and began to reassess their roles and identities. At all levels of society and government Malukuans are grappling with the desire to reengage with their past and build towards the future. This process has involved questions of how to reincorporate components of their linguistic and cultural heritage into their village level identity while working to reunite with other villages with which they share this heritage. At the same time people are looking to find ways to rebuild a wider Malukan sense of identity across the province.

The reconciliation period coincides with the period of regional autonomy in Indonesia. With regional autonomy, political and economic authority has been devolved from the central government in Jakarta to the hundreds of district level governments throughout the country. All over Indonesia grassroots movements and local forms of political engagement have been emerging (see for example the papers in Aspinall and Fealy 2003). In Maluku, this political context has opened up new opportunities for incorporating into the reconciliation process references to *bahasa tanah*, forms of local governance, and *adat* (local customary practices of social organization and cultural representation). From 2002, representatives of both Muslim and Christian communities held negotiations that culminated in the Malino accord, bringing a formal end to the civil unrest in Maluku. As part of these negotiations, participants in an inter-faith Maluku Reconciliation and Reconstruction Meeting in Brussels produced a document outlining a recommended approach to the rebuilding of Maluku. This document was widely reported and circulated

amongst Moluccans and their international supporters (see, for example, Maluku2000, 2004). It contains suggestions for action to be taken on a range of key issues including working with refugees and other traumatized people, rebuilding infrastructure, developing small industries, improving police–community relations, and forming an Interfaith Council. Crucially, the document begins by asserting the importance of *adat*, including indigenous languages, in the reconciliation and reconstruction process. The first three points in the body of this reconciliation document are aimed at refocusing the role of *adat* while the fourth also references *bahasa tanah* as part of the larger concept of Malukan cultural values:

1. For the sake of long-term success of the reconciliation process it is vital that the following leaders are involved in a key role in the reconciliation and reconstruction process of Maluku:
 - Traditional village leaders (*Raja*)
 - Traditional village councils (*Saniri*)
 - Youth and religious leaders and intellectuals
2. To consolidate the reconciliation and reconstruction process, we recommend that the *Adat* system is revitalized. This process should be undertaken by traditional leaders in co-operation with religious leaders and experts.
3. One of the key aspects of the revitalising the *Adat* system is to transform the role of *Adat* from a tradition/ritual-orientated role to a modernized social/political one.
4. We recommend that the teaching of traditional and cultural values of Maluku (for example, history, culture, language and art) will be incorporated in the school curriculum from Primary to Tertiary level education.

These statements demonstrate the importance that participants placed on the role of localized practice, in the form of *adat* and *bahasa tanah*, while at the same time explicitly stating the need for this localized practice to be reformulated in order for it to function within the context of reconstruction. The *adat* leaders mentioned in the document represent this localized village-based practice, while religious and governmental leaders represent larger forces that operate at the regional and national levels. By bringing together *adat*, religious and government leaders as cooperative players in the reconciliation process, the document reflects the multidimensional nature of the causes of the *kerusuhan* and the multiple levels on which the reconciliation process must occur. The transformative nature of this endeavour informs both village level initiatives and the approaches taken by various elements within the provincial and district bureaucracies. Attitudes towards language activism that are developing among these different groups sometimes converge and sometimes work in opposition. This complex scenario brings with it multiple challenges and forms a crucial crossroads for the future of *bahasa tanah* and intra-Malukan relations more generally.

3.1 Community initiated language revitalization

Researchers returning to Maluku a year after the Malino accord was signed saw a marked community level change in attitude towards *bahasa tanah*. The *kerusuhan* had triggered political engagement with indigenous languages for the first time, and the first

indications of language activism were also apparent. For example, an elder in Soahuku village in southern Seram Island had built an anthropology museum to house cultural artefacts and to act as a centre for cultural activities. Teachers in primary schools had developed language classes in the Muslim village of Tulehu (Ambon Island) and the Christian village of Lohiasapalewa (Alune language, Seram Island). In Christian Hulaliu (Haruku Island), where the language had been reported as moribund (Collins and Voorhoeve 1981), classes had commenced in the junior high school and the teacher suggested that there was now a new generation of speakers. Young people in Allang showed a resurgence of interest in their language through their youth groups that planned to promote the language and produce schoolbooks.

These community initiatives evidence the bottom-up support that Crystal (2003) points to as one of the crucial elements in successful language revitalization. They also demonstrate that regional autonomy was affording communities much greater freedom to assert themselves than had ever before been possible.

3.2 Government intentioned language revitalization

At the same time that bottom-up language activism has been appearing, top-down support for indigenous languages has also begun to emerge from government and regional institutions. The fourth recommendation of the Reconciliation and Reconstruction Meeting cited above (Maluku2000) illustrates this change in attitudes and policy directions. A government sponsored initiative in this area is the establishment of the Maluku Cultural Institute, which is charged with researching aspects of local tradition, culture and language and has the explicit goal of supporting the reunification of Maluku. Additionally, the provincial governor's office has introduced a policy of promoting the teaching of *bahasa tanah* in schools and the National Library of Maluku is seeking to develop its Malukan Studies collection.

All of these top-down initiatives have the goal of promoting local Malukan culture and identity in order to support the rebuilding of the province. This is a potentially positive step for language revitalization and language maintenance in the region, yet there are subtle complexities in assumptions about the nature of Malukan culture that lie behind these government programs and policies. In Indonesia, references to *adat* must be viewed in the context of cultural history and government cultural politics. For example, *adat* leaders have long been configured in contradistinction to religious leaders and government representatives (Cooley 1961; Kennedy 1955). During Suharto's New Order regime, a key government project was to strip the different systems of traditional social-political organization found across Indonesia of any real power. Real cultural diversity and local identity were seen as potentially threatening to the central government, its program of economic development and to the unity of the Indonesian state. New Order cultural politics thus promoted sanitized representations of cultural variation by recasting emblematic components of culture, such as dress, music, and ceremonial performance, as folkloric symbols of diversity. Thus stripped of any real power and meaning, local culture could be used for the propagation of centralized government initiatives and the representation of pan-Indonesian unity. Commentary on the New Order government's appropriation of cultural diversity regularly evokes the analogy of Taman Mini, the Jakarta theme park displaying one set of characteristic cultural artefacts representing each province in the country (Errington 1997; Spyer 2000:164–168).

In this context, the reconciliation document highlights the complex and conditional relationship between *adat* and *adat* leaders on the one hand, and governmental institutions and government-sanctioned leaders on the other. These *adat* leaders are meant to work with religious leaders and ‘intellectuals/experts’, and, unlike the antagonistic relationship that sometimes existed in the past, these groups are now being brought together as cooperative players in the reconciliation process. The document can be seen as reversing the past trend of subordinating *adat*. By reinvigorating *adat* systems, there is the possibility of *adat* leaders regaining some of the real political power they once had. Throughout the reform period that has followed the fall of Suharto, similar programs of revitalising *adat* systems in the face of discredited government bureaucracy have been occurring across Indonesia (Acciaoli 2002; Warren 2005). Yet in the Maluku reconciliation document the *adat* system is not represented as something that should operate independently. With *adat* being placed in a cooperative role with established religious, governmental and educational institutions and personnel, it is not difficult to also read these points as promoting continued government supervision and control of *adat* as it takes on a reinvigorated role within society.

The reconciliation document stresses the need to ‘transform’ *adat* into a modern political force. *Adat* is characterized as ‘traditional/ritual-oriented’ and this might be understood as referring to pre-modern systems of local customary social organization that can be adapted to operate in the modern context. Another possibility is that *adat* is being understood through the legacy of New Order cultural politics. The speech by a government official at the inauguration of the Maluku Cultural Institute (Ambon Express 2004) suggests this latter approach was still pervasive, even six years after the end of the Suharto regime. This speech highlighted certain social-cultural systems as emblematic of pan-Maluku culture. These included the traditional system of inter-village alliances called *pela-gandong*, the system of proscriptions on resource use called *sasi*, as well as customary village organizations, traditional performing arts, and regional language. This official government rhetoric ignores the diversity with which such institutions are instantiated locally. Instead there is a romantic conception that these cultural components are the same across all villages. As pan-Maluku cultural elements that cut across religions divisions, their revival is meant to strengthen social ties throughout the province. The Maluku Cultural Institute, like other top-down initiatives, is run by the elite of Maluku, who are themselves largely alienated from their indigenous roots. The notions of ‘tradition’ and ‘culture’ that they bring to the reconciliation process are those with which they had previously been inculcated by the Suharto regime. One of the most striking examples of this romantic concept is the promotion of a single *bahasa tanah*. In part for ease of administering school language programs, in part from a sincere belief in a single Malukan culture, many government officials promote the idea that there is, or should be, one Malukan language. Such a concept is, of course, contrary to what linguists know of the actual language situation, and more crucially, it is also contrary to local communities’ experiences and aspirations. Florey and van Engelenhoven (2001:202–203) have discussed belief in the existence of a single *bahasa tanah* in the Dutch Moluccan context as part of what they call the ‘Alifuru concept’. The word *Alifuru* was used to refer derogatorily to mountain peoples, particularly those of Seram Island. This word has been reclaimed by Central Moluccans in the Netherlands, and the Alifuru concept encapsulates the romanticized notion of what it means to be Moluccan in the Dutch diaspora. It is

interesting to note this concept taking root in the homeland as a Pan-Maluku identity has developed.

In the area of language revitalization and cultural revitalization more generally, there are clear discrepancies between the approaches being taken by some government officials and approaches taken by communities. Nonetheless, there are people from government institutions who do recognize the importance of true cultural diversity in ensuring the integration of *adat* and language initiatives within local communities. Although there are differing opinions in government circles about how to work with these revitalization processes, it is important that awareness and engagement have emerged in the form of the top-down support which Crystal (2003) points to as another essential component for language revitalization.

3.3 Local political acts in interplay with broader political contexts – political nexus

These examples have shown that exactly how *adat* is to be reconfigured and integrated and exactly how much variation is to be recognized among *adat* systems are issues that are open to varied interpretation by different parties. Given the approach of some government officials and seen in the context of recent Indonesian political history, the initiatives now being taken in many villages to reclaim their cultural and linguistic heritage are actually quite courageous. This re-imagining of the past to raise the status of *bahasa tanah* and other cultural practices can be attributed to the transformative nature of the *kerusuhan*. Although different stakeholders may have differing interpretations of what *adat* and *bahasa tanah* are, the fact that these issues are on the table and are being discussed from the local level up through the provincial level shows the development of a political nexus which is providing unprecedented opportunities for people to engage in language activism in Central Maluku.

4 Transforming relationships: speaker and academic communities

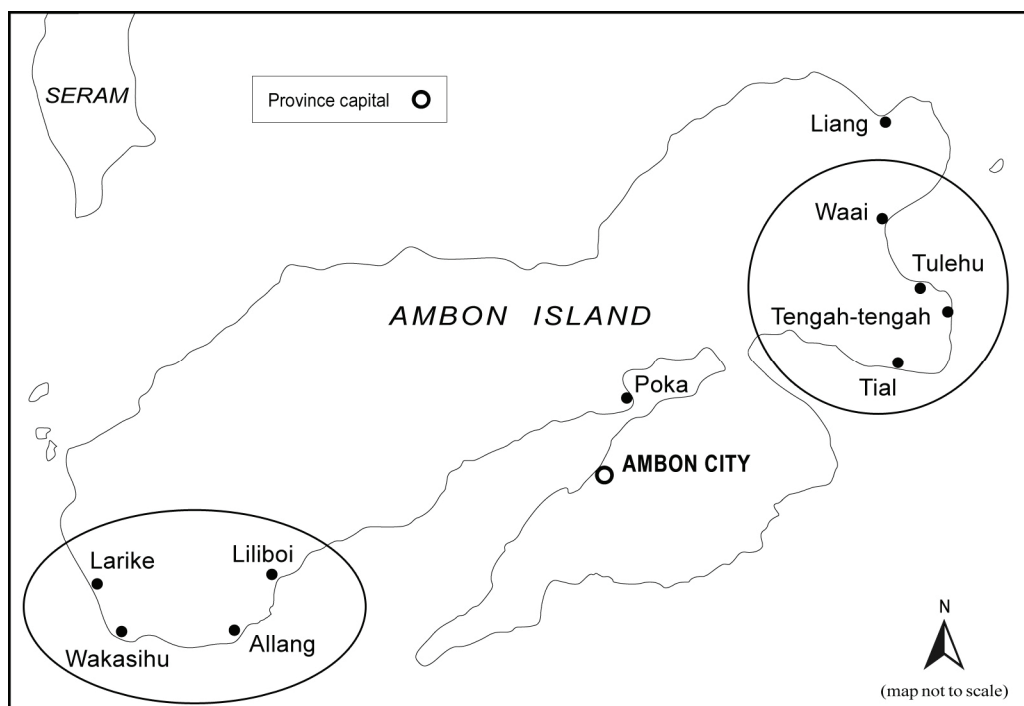
The events of the *kerusuhan* and the reconciliation movement have provided a transformative opportunity for language activism. At the community level, there is clear political engagement with language endangerment and language revitalization. Despite the tensions between top-down and bottom-up approaches, for the first time the critical elements of government support for *bahasa tanah* and community ownership of language activities are both present. These circumstances have offered field linguists new possibilities for building partnerships in language activism with communities in Maluku, and greater opportunities for longer-term language revitalization. The next stage in moving from principle to practice in regard to an empowerment framework for fieldwork is to identify community goals and needs and determine if and how these might be incorporated alongside field research. This section outlines some of the ways that the research team (comprising the authors, Simon Musgrave, and Betty Litamahuputty) has worked to meet the goals of such an approach to fieldwork.

4.1 Reconciliation with wider ethnolinguistic communities

In the current post-*kerusuhan* era, ethnolinguistic communities that comprise both Muslim and Christian villages have voiced a desire to reconcile and come together once

again as a community. For example, tension and suspicion arose between the neighbouring villages of Christian Allang and Muslim Wakasihu during the conflict (although in this case no outright violence occurred). People in both villages are now looking for ways of building bridges. One such initiative is through cooperative building works. A new government school building is being erected in Allang and people from Wakasihu have come to assist with the construction. In turn, when a new school is built in Wakasihu, people from Allang will contribute to the work. People from both villages now readily acknowledge that they share the same language, with slight dialect variation. Language activities are seen as another path to realize their goal of reconciliation.

One strategy which the research team has implemented to respond to the goal of reconciliation is by basing research in both Muslim and Christian villages. On Ambon Island, research is being conducted in partnership with community members in two locations (Map 3).



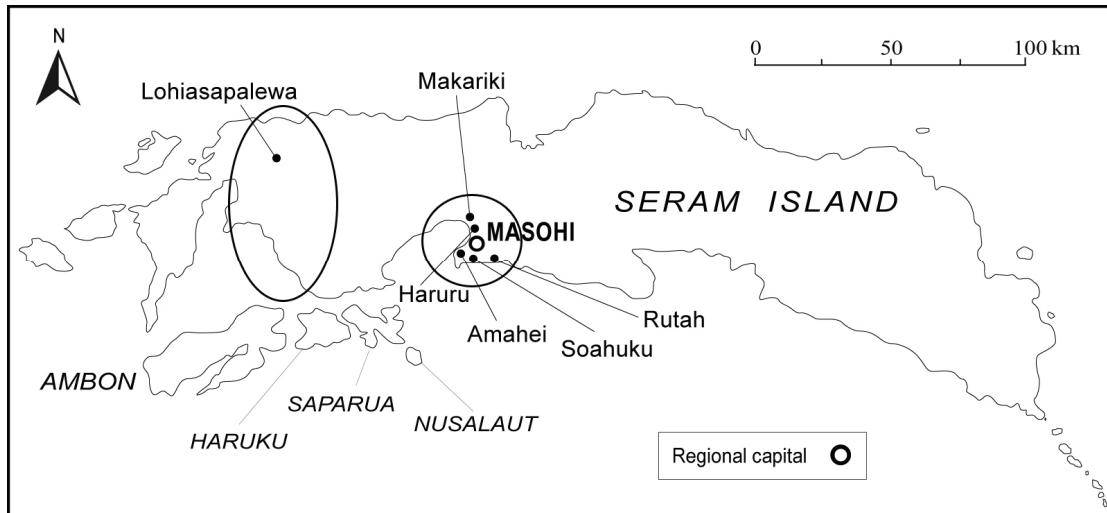
Map 3: Ambon Island research sites

Allang–Wakasihu. As noted above, Allang and Wakasihu are dialects of the same language. This ethnolinguistic group, located in western Ambon Island, also encompasses the Muslim village of Larike and the Christian village of Liliboi. In Allang, the primary research site with a population of over 4000, there are approximately 70 Allang speakers, or less than 2% of the population. The language is now silent in Liliboi. In the two Muslim villages of Wakasihu and Larike language shift to Ambonese Malay is occurring, although the language is still strong.

Tulehu, Tengah-tengah, Tial, Waai. Language vitality in this ethnolinguistic group is strongest in the three Muslim villages of Tulehu, Tengah-tengah, and Tial (which Musgrave terms *Souw Amana Teru*, see Musgrave and Ewing 2006). Research indicates that some 10,000 of the 18,790 people in these three villages (53%) are fluent speakers of

Souw Amana Teru, and there may be a further 6000 passive bilinguals. There are a few elderly rememberers in the Christian village of Waai and language use is limited to the domain of ritual practices. As noted earlier, Waai was destroyed during the *kerusuhan* but villagers are now returning and the village is being rebuilt. *Adat* rituals formed a part of the ceremonies held to mark their return.

On Seram Island, research is being conducted in partnership with community members in both Muslim and Christian villages (Map 4).



Map 4: Seram Island research sites

Rutah, Amahei, Haruru, Makariki, Soahuku. This language of southern Seram Island is strongest in the Muslim village of Rutah, although, like Allang, perhaps only 2% of the population of 2286 people are fluent speakers. The language is moribund in the four Christian villages, with a total of no more than ten speakers. In Rutah, the *muatan lokal* component of the school curriculum which allows for local language and/or culture content has been used to teach English language.

4.2 Training and education

In order for community members to be able to undertake their own linguistic research, training and education in linguistics and information technology is a priority. Many educational institutions from primary to tertiary level were destroyed during the *kerusuhan* and education in Ambon still faces many challenges. The Pattimura University campus at Poka (on the south coast of Ambon's northern peninsula) was destroyed in July 2000 and a city campus was built to accommodate classes during the *kerusuhan* and reconciliation years. In the eyes of Muslim Ambonese, Pattimura continues to be associated too closely with Christians, and the return to the Poka campus was hampered by repeated threats that it would be destroyed unless the university executive clearly met the reconciliation goals of representative access and staffing levels for Muslims and Christians.

In the years before the *kerusuhan* there was no linguistics program at Pattimura, although some linguistic training was available under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), which had established its regional base on the university campus.

However the SIL facilities were also destroyed when the university was attacked. Senior university staff who support the reconciliation goals of expanding the roles of customary law and indigenous languages would like to see the development of a linguistics program, but in the current uneasy stage of rebuilding, planning and implementation of such goals are difficult.

If the process of setting up facilities for research, training, and materials development is difficult at the level of the university, such educational opportunities are virtually nonexistent at the village level. Yet the strongest desire for detailed documentation of languages and the development of teaching materials for use in schools comes directly from village communities. Support of these local aspirations has become a central part of our work through providing an opportunity for community members in each site to draw on the skills of the research team. This has included training speakers and their descendents in the technical skills needed to carry on language documentation and develop language maintenance. Community language workers in each of the villages where we have been working have been actively involved in recording and transcribing data, administering language vitality tests, and liaising with other members of the community in a range of issues related to language revitalization. Additionally, younger non-speakers in some communities have taken on the role of language apprentices working with older speakers (see Hinton 2001). These youths have, for example, produced booklets for use in schools that are made up of photographs that they have taken of everyday village life, accompanied by captions in the indigenous language that they have collected from older speakers in the community. These activities are beginning to repair the breaks in language transmission between the older, speaker generations and the younger, non-speaker generations.

In order to bring this kind of training back to the university sector and to help develop ties between local communities and provincial institutions, the research team organized a one-week residential language maintenance training program.² The workshop brought together speakers and descendents from four different ethnolinguistic communities and staff from schools, universities and other key institutions including Darussalam and Pattimura Universities and the National Library of Ambon. The workshop offered training in language documentation methodology as well an introduction to objective ways of analysing and comparing different *bahasa tanah*. Participants in the workshop developed proposal writing skills and the outcomes of these activities included a number of proposals for community-initiated projects that will involve Christian and Muslim villages working in partnership.

Training of this sort focuses community members on their own expertise and helps to build capacity for communities to undertake their own research. The workshop was able to support institutional regeneration, further the training of village residents, and start building a local resource pool for language maintenance activities. Training also strengthens the research capabilities of academics and develops expertise which will help to counter some of the more romantic notions of language and culture promulgated from certain government circles. Importantly, this workshop also brought Christians and Muslims together from four different ethnolinguistic communities. This was the first time since the *kerusuhan* for many of these people to meet and work so intensively with members of the 'other' community. The language maintenance projects which were developed during the workshop are a way of continuing these positive interactions into the future.

² See Florey (2009) for a more detailed discussion and critique of training methods and challenges.

4.3 Not all communities are ready to be involved in language work

While there have been positive outcomes among the research and training activities that we have been able to undertake in partnership with many communities in Central Maluku since the reconciliation period, this has not been the case in all settings. The long-term traumatic effects of the *kerusuhan* are still apparent wherever one goes in Maluku at this time, and in some communities the level of suspicion, fear, and grief that are still being felt is so high as to preclude engagement with language endangerment and the rise of language activism. The ongoing recovery process in such communities means that personal and community resources are directed to areas other than language. Distrust of people from outside the village community means that engaging with either neighbouring villages or outside researchers is not currently a possibility. The only appropriate response to this is to respect a community's decision not to be involved with language maintenance. As a result we are, in the first instance, working with communities that are themselves in the initial stages of language activism (cf. Grinevald 2003). At the same time, we remain aware that ongoing changes in the social-political climate can result in other communities moving into a stage of more active engagement with language issues in the future. Such a shift in attitude might come about as a result of further internal healing in the community and a more outwardly oriented reengagement with neighbouring villages and with the wider Malukan community.

4.4 Tensions within government and educational sectors

As we have seen, there has been a dramatic shift towards language activism at the village level in many communities in Maluku. In addition, many aspects of government policy and the actions of individual members of the bureaucracy point toward top-down support for working with *bahasa tanah*. However, given the far reaching effects of the *kerusuhan* on all aspects of life in Maluku, it is not surprising that social, political and personal tensions remain high and can hold back progress in different aspects of redevelopment, including language activism.

Maluku was closed during the *kerusuhan* and even after the Malino accord was implemented special permits were needed for outsiders to enter the region while a state of civil emergency was still in effect. The status of Maluku has been normalized and it is now open like any other province in Indonesia. Yet this open status is interpreted differently by different agencies, including by various Indonesian diplomatic missions around the world and by those overseeing research. This can cause uncertainties for building cooperative programs between Malukan communities and international researchers. It is clear that there will be ongoing obstacles that all stakeholders in the reconciliation process have to negotiate, including community members who want to initiate language programs and local and foreign researchers with an interest in the languages of Maluku. Sensitivity to the situation and a willingness to cooperate with the different players involved is crucial to assuaging concerns of government, educational and security authorities. For example, the workshop described above included an opening ceremony to which bureaucratic officials were invited. The rector of Pattimura University and the head of the district education department gave opening speeches and a representative of the security forces was present.

More complex difficulties can arise where there are politicized divisions within communities and institutions. These might result from long standing personal issues. They

might be directly related to the sectarian fallout of the *kerusuhan*. Tensions can also arise when reformers who are trying to develop and improve opportunities in Maluku are perceived as threatening by people who feel more secure with some form of the older status quo. And these different kinds of motivations can of course be interwoven to produce situations in which researchers, like members of communities where they work, need to move carefully, cooperating with people who are prepared to work with us, engaging members of different factions when possible, and stepping back when necessary, as we would do in the case of difficult language situations already mentioned above.

5 Conclusion

Linguistic research was necessarily suspended during the *kerusuhan*, and there were times in which we wondered if circumstances would ever change to see the resumption of peace and permit our return. At the same time, language endangerment was accelerating due to the ongoing events. This suggested that local engagement with language and building an empowerment framework between communities and researchers were aspirations that might never be attained. The case of Maluku has shown, however, that major social-political events, even those which are enormously destructive like the *kerusuhan*, can in fact have tremendous transformative effects. Communities are now experiencing a stronger sense of their needs and their aspirations, which in turn means that there are new opportunities for researchers to find tangible ways of enacting the goal of working in partnership with these communities in an empowerment framework. Some of the tangible outcomes of this synergy can be seen in the community-based projects developed during the language maintenance workshop described previously. These include a detailed proposal for the development of a language and culture centre in Lohiasapalewa as the site for locally conducted research and archiving, and a Cultural Association in Allang which has prepared a proposal for government funding to begin language revitalization work. Other initiatives, which involve members from different ethnolinguistic communities cutting across secular boundaries, include the development of educational materials for schools and the production of an agricultural dictionary. The dictionary team proposes to document a cross-linguistic vocabulary of agricultural terminology, and also to include ethno-botanical information and ethnographic descriptions of traditional agricultural practices from different communities. A final project would see the documentation of ritual language, a proposal which itself opened up a healthy dialogue between members of different communities and academics about the privileged nature of specialized knowledge and the extent to which such knowledge should be allowed to enter into the wider public domain.

The dramatic changes in awareness of and engagement with language endangerment that have occurred as part of the post-*kerusuhan* reconciliation process in Maluku demonstrate that the rise of language activism may be triggered by the most challenging of transformative circumstances. In the case of Central Maluku this has included engagement from all sides — communities, government, academia — in a process of ongoing reassessment, dialogue and activity. It also emphasises the need for flexibility and openness on the part of all stakeholders to be able to respond to the constantly shifting sociopolitical environment in order to create synergies for language activism.

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10 *A linguistic renaissance in the south east of Australia*

JAKELIN TROY and MICHAEL WALSH

1 Introduction¹

There has been a perception that most of the languages of south east Australia are either extinct or moribund and that there is little that can be done about this situation. We believe that this perception is flawed and needs to be re-evaluated in the light of recent activities. In this paper we will mainly focus on such activities in the states of New South Wales (NSW), Victoria and South Australia (SA).

To set the scene, we start by recalling the very divergent views on the state of endangered languages in south east Australia. At one end of the spectrum there is a claim that essentially all — perhaps with one exception — of the languages of south east Australia are extinct and that there is no point in attempting to revive them (Dixon 1991:235ff.). In opposition to such perspectives is an acknowledgment that the languages have suffered considerable decline over the more than 200 years of non-Aboriginal settlement but there is also a determination to rebuild (Bell 2002:46–47). Given the divergence of opinion it is worth considering the state of language attrition more closely.

2 Determining the actual state of endangered languages in south east Australia

The Australian Census for 2006 reports that just 804 out of the 138,506 Indigenous people in the state of New South Wales speak an Australian Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language (<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs%40census.nsf/>). The statistics are similarly grim for the state of Victoria (284 speakers out of a little over 30,000 Indigenous people) and for South Australia (2955 out of 25,557). At first blush the South Australian figures may seem more encouraging. However a little over 2000 of the nearly 3000 Indigenous language speakers in South Australia are using Western Desert varieties like Pitjantjatjara or Yankunytjatjara from the remote north west corner of the state. In any case the figures should not be taken too literally, as the questions posed by the Census are likely to produce misleading answers. Participants in the Census are given two choices to comment about their language proficiency: they can indicate that they speak a language

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‘very well or well’; or ‘not well or not at all’. If the two authors of this paper were asked to comment about our proficiency in French we would have to choose the latter: not well or not at all. But then how would one know that we are not prepared to assert that we speak French well or very well but that we do speak it to some extent? One could easily conclude that we do not speak the language at all. Nevertheless for South Australia some 526 of the nearly 3000 total number of speakers are shown as ‘not well or not at all’! It is anyone’s guess whether most of the 526 are partial speakers or non-speakers. Another reason to be suspicious of the census figures is that the counts are ‘Based on location on Census Night’. This means that there could be small groups of speakers whose main language is not indigenous to the area in which the census figures were collected.

In South Australia the Department of Education and Children’s Services (DECS) has offered a range of school based programs to support Aboriginal languages. In 2000 the total number of learners was 2500 while in 2007 the number had almost doubled to 4749. For both totals roughly half the learners are Aboriginal and half non-Aboriginal (DECS 2007:4). From these figures it is apparent that there has been significant under-reporting in the 2006 Census and we can report from our own experience in New South Wales that under-reporting is a common response. In a fairly recent survey McConvell and Thieberger (2001:2) observe that ‘[t]here has been a decrease of 90% in the number of Indigenous languages spoken fluently and regularly by all age groups in Australia since 1800’ (see also Commonwealth of Australia 2005). However this does not mean that only 10% of the languages are spoken. Linguistic knowledge and use varies considerably across Indigenous Australia so that it is quite uncommon to find an Indigenous person in Australia who knows not a single word of their ancestral language(s). Often an Indigenous person who claims that their language has gone will nevertheless know at least a few words and some stock phrases. Such a person may be at once proud and ashamed of this knowledge: proud because it is a marker of their linguistic identity but ashamed that they do not know as much as their grandparents. In short there is often under-reporting in the surveys, as we found in a wide ranging survey of the language situation in NSW in 1999–2000 (Hosking et al. 2000, see also Troy and Walsh 2005; Walsh 2003, 2005a, b).

We conclude with an observation from an Elder of the Kurna group from Adelaide in South Australia, someone who has been closely involved in the revival of his language in recent years:

I used to try to speak the language; I’d say ‘Mai yungainja udejega’ [Come and have something to eat, my friend] and they’d say ‘Stop that, stop that, speak English’ and I used to get rather annoyed as to why they would do that. Then I realized years later why they did that. They knew that if I learned all the things they knew anthropologists would be able to ask me and quickly get the answers to the questions they were seeking. The old people said ‘We’ll not teach the children either, so they [the anthropologists] will have to spend 40,000 years learning what we have learnt, rather than learning it in two minutes’. (O’Brien 1990:110)

This kind of observation is not so uncommon among Aboriginal people but should not be taken to indicate that active discouragement from within an Aboriginal group to use an ancestral language was pervasive, and even when it had been practised its effects can be reversed. As we will see a little later it is the Kurna who provide one of the more spectacular examples of language revitalization.

3 Recent developments

Whatever the ‘real’ situation in south east Australia, the last 20–25 years have seen a series of remarkable developments in a considerable variety of languages which have been described as ‘extinct’.

3.1 South Australia

Until rather recently little attention had been devoted to South Australia’s Indigenous languages with the main exception being Pitjantjatjara, which has traditionally been spoken in the remote north west of this large state (984,377 sq kms). However SA’s Department of Education and Children’s Services was ‘supporting the teaching and learning of Australian Indigenous languages in school and centre programs — in 2001, in excess of 3000 Indigenous and non-Indigenous students in 84 distinct programs, between 62 sites, in nine Indigenous languages’ (Amery 2002:10). Among these languages are: Narungga (discussed in detail below); the neighbouring languages, Kurna and Ngarrindjeri (supported through the work of the linguists Rob Amery and Mary-Anne Gale respectively); Adnyamathanha and Arabana (supported through curriculum materials each running to round 500 pages developed, respectively, by Guy Tunstill (2004) and Greg Wilson and Luise Hercus (2004)).

3.1.1 Focus on Narungga

The Narungga language of the Yorke Peninsula area has undergone a remarkable renaissance in recent years. Like many languages of south-east Australia, Narungga has been described as extinct (Gordon and Grimes 2005; <http://www.abc.net.au/rn/arts/ling/stories/s1433360.htm>).

Starting in 2001 very significant progress has been made in documentation, materials development and teaching of the language. By 2007, eleven books had been published including two dictionaries (a picture dictionary for children as well as one for adults), a grammar (Wanganeen et al. 2006) and several children’s readers.

3.2 Victoria

Much of the activity in Victoria has been supported through the Victorian Aboriginal Corporation for Languages (VACL, see <http://www.vaclang.org.au>). At present five language programs are supported and these work in with the newly developed curriculum guide for the Indigenous languages of Victoria (Learner 2004; see also <http://www.vcaa.vic.edu.au/vce/studies/lote/ausindigenous/ausindigindex.html>). Considering the relatively low levels of language documentation (Blake 2002) this recent activity is extraordinary. Some detail on one of the Victorian languages, Yorta Yorta, is set out by Walsh (2005a) but here we turn to the supposedly extinct Dhudhuroa and WayWurru languages.

3.2.1 Focus on Dhudhuroa and WayWurru

Starting in late 1998 significant efforts have been made already with very little outside support; see <http://www.vaclang.org.au/language-program.aspx?ID=10>. It is expected that additional activity will follow in the not too distant future.

3.3 New South Wales

3.3.1 Focus on Gamilaraay

In what follows we list and briefly comment on recent activities in NSW:

- 1999–2000. NSW language survey: *Strong language, strong culture* (Hosking et al. 2000). The survey basically posed two questions: what is the current situation with regard to Aboriginal languages in NSW, and, what do Aboriginal people want to see happen in the future.
- 2001 onwards. Aboriginal Curriculum Unit of the NSW Board of Studies coordinates introduction of an Aboriginal Languages syllabus into NSW schools.
- 2002 onwards. NSW Department of Aboriginal Affairs has been developing a NSW Aboriginal Languages Policy.
- March 2003. NSW Aboriginal Language Research and Resource Centre established.
- June 2003. Aboriginal Languages K-10 Syllabus published by the NSW Board of Studies. See http://www.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au/writing_briefs/index.html?stamp-2#aboriginallanguages
- November 2003 onwards. Setting up the NSW Aboriginal Languages Database.
- January 2004. Trialling the Aboriginal languages syllabus in a number of NSW schools.
- June 2004. First of 12 consultative meetings (to May 2005) re dual naming, the process whereby Aboriginal placenames are reinstated alongside the introduced placename (for example *Dawes Point*, the southern foot of the Sydney Harbour Bridge has the reinstated name *Tar-ra*, the original name in the Dhank language).
- July 30 2004. Official launch of Aboriginal Languages K-10 Syllabus and NSW Aboriginal Languages Policy. See <http://www.daa.nsw.gov.au/policies/langpolicy.html>.
- 2004–06. Planning for a course at the University of Sydney designed to meet the training needs of Indigenous people intending to teach and develop materials for Indigenous languages was underway in 2004 (Hobson 2004) and 2005. The course was launched for the first time in early 2006 (see <http://www.koori.usyd.edu.au/studying/postgrad.shtml>). A somewhat similar course began at the same time at Monash University in Victoria (<http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/ling/pglangen/>). The latter course intends to service the needs of Indigenous peoples in the Asia-Pacific region and has a greater focus on documentation of Indigenous languages.
- 2005. Bowraville Central School, Stewarts Point Primary School and Nambucca Heads High School began implementing the newly introduced NSW Aboriginal Languages K-10 Syllabus for the Gumbaynggirr language.
- 2007. First set of graduates from the newly introduced Masters of Indigenous Language Education at the University of Sydney.
- 2008. Twenty-five schools being funded for work on Aboriginal languages, see for example: <http://ab-ed.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au/go/aboriginal-languages/learning-from-each-school-s-experience>; expression of interest from 20 new schools; TAFE (roughly equivalent to polytechnics or community colleges) courses either begun

or in planning stages. Talks are in progress about the introduction of Aboriginal languages into the last two years of high school in NSW. Incidentally, the state of Victoria's teaching has so far only been for the final two years of high school. This apparent anomaly has more to do with the nature of the educational bureaucracies in the two jurisdictions than with the most straightforward introduction of endangered and not overly well documented languages into the school system. Clearly there can be advantages in starting Indigenous language instruction at the most introductory level, where curricular expectations are not so demanding. However Victoria is now moving towards Indigenous language instruction from the earliest years of schooling.

In trying to uplift the Indigenous language situation in NSW we have looked to initiatives elsewhere: to other parts of the Pacific (Hawaii and New Zealand) and the Pacific rim (British Columbia, California and Japan) (see also Walsh 2002).

3.3.2 Recent activities in NSW

The Gamilaraay language (northern NSW) has had an incredible resurgence over the last ten to fifteen years. Much of the credit for this should go to John Giacon, who was assigned as a teacher to the remote township of Walgett in northern NSW in the 1990s. He found that Aboriginal students fared quite poorly in the largely alien school environment and felt that one important factor in improving the integration of Aboriginal students was through language revitalization. He began working with local Aboriginal people and with the written records but soon realized that it would be necessary to gain skills in linguistics. After undertaking this doubly demanding commitment he has succeeded in producing an impressive range of documentary and pedagogical materials (including Giacon and Betts 1999; Ash, Giacon and Lissarrague 2003) and has spearheaded the resurgence of the language. In 2008 he has been teaching a more advanced strand of Gamilaraay at the University of Sydney, the elementary strand having started some years earlier (see http://www.koori.usyd.edu.au/studying/aborig_studies.shtml#2605). To put this in context it should be noted that very few Indigenous languages are taught at university level in Australia, let alone one that was regarded as virtually extinct only a short while ago.

4 The way forward: three essentials

We see the way forward — not just for south east Australia in particular but Indigenous languages in general — as relying on three essential factors:

- Indigenous consultation and control.
- Resources: material; human; moral.
- Appropriate involvement of the academy.

These are three of the six factors identified by Crystal (2004) in connection with language revitalization. We focus just on these three because of their particular relevance to the Indigenous language situation in south east Australia.

4.1 Indigenous consultation and control

To our knowledge any successful attempt at linguistic revival in south east Australia has involved Indigenous consultation and control from the outset. There have been attempts which have made some progress and then foundered because of a loss of ongoing Indigenous consultation and control. Without this control Indigenous communities become concerned about the protection of their intellectual property and in some instances become suspicious of further language documentation by linguists or the use of that documentation by educational and other authorities. Given that much of the funding for Indigenous language programmes comes from government, there is a tension between accountability to various government authorities who control the purse-strings and real control by Indigenous people. There is no simple solution to this tension — rather it is a matter of negotiation and compromise. In our view one reason for the relative success of language programmes in south east Australia is the ongoing support and outreach to Aboriginal people involved in these programmes. It can be quite daunting to take on the demanding task of language revitalization in remote communities. To alleviate this isolation Aboriginal people involved in such programmes, teachers and linguists are brought together at conferences (like the one in Adelaide in June 2008 for programmes in South Australia) or workshops like the Sharing Workshops for programmes in New South Wales held at Coffs Harbour in August 2006, Bourke in May 2007 and Sydney in October 2007.

4.2 Resources: material; human; moral

For Indigenous languages to prosper it is clear that resources are needed. Resources may be material — in the form of language documentation or teaching materials — or they may be human: the linguists, teachers and policy makers. However, what may be the most important area for resources are what we might refer to as moral resources. As Crystal (2004:47) observes ‘Most people have yet to develop a language conscience’. Unlike other issues — including the environment — most people simply don’t really care all that much about the plight of endangered languages. It is part of Crystal’s view that much more effort should be devoted to making people care more. If they did care enough then there would be a much greater chance that real progress could be made:

This is the twenty-first-century challenge. Could we save a few thousand languages, just like that? Of course, if the will and funding were available. So how much would it cost? [...] About some £900 million to have a real impact on the present crisis [assuming £100,000/year for 3 years for 3,000 languages] [...] sounds like a lot. But let us put in perspective. It is equivalent to a couple of days’ oil revenues, in an average year. Three thousand languages documented and their revitalization initiated for around a billion pounds/dollars? Where else would you get such value for money? (Crystal 2004:62)

4.3 Appropriate involvement of the academy

It would appear that there is a need for the academy to develop a language conscience as well. One difficulty for more senior linguists is their awareness that younger people with a background in linguistics may not be well served in terms of an academic career when they decide to participate in the process of language revitalization. The work is quite demanding not just in terms of the time expended but also by virtue of emotional wear and tear. There is a danger of such people suffering burnout and leaving the field altogether. However

even those who persevere are wont to find that their chances of academic advancement are limited as publications deriving from language revitalization are often regarded as less significant than work in theoretical linguistics. And this problem extends to those who have already gained a foothold in academia, as Pensalfini (2004:154) elaborates. The time should have passed where the academy can make statements of support for such work in public but privately devalue and therefore discourage it.

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11

Te reo Māori – *Māori language revitalization*

SOPHIE NOCK

E kore koe e ngaro tōku reo rangatira.
You my noble language will never die.

1 Foreword

Tēnei te mihi whānui ki a koutou katoa e rau rangatira mā, te hunga e kaingākau ana ki ngā reo o te ao whānui. He mihi matakuihui hoki tēnei ki a koutou e whai whakaaro ana ki te rapu māramatanga mō tēnei reo rangatira.

He hōnore, he korōria ki te runga rawa. Nāna te rangi me te whenua i hanga, nāna hoki tātou i poipoi kia tae ora mai ai tātou ki tēnei whenua ahakoa no ngā tōpito o te ao whānui tātou.

Me tūhonohono ō tātou whakaaro ki te wāhi ngaro, ki ō tātou tūpuna hoki kua ngaro i te tirohanga kanohi. Kāti, kua ea te whakaaro ki a rātou, waiho rātou ki a rātou.

Ko tātou e huihui mai nei; ko tātou hoki ngā urupā o rātou mā, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa.

E tika ana kia rongu mai koutou i te reo tūturu o Aotearoa, te reo Māori, ko te reo tapu tūāuriuri whāioio, tuku iho, tuku iho, tuku iho nō tō tātou kaihangā. Nāna tēnei reo i homai ki te iwi Māori, kia poipoia, kia penapenatia, kia manaakitia, kia kōrerotia hoki i runga i te mata o te whenua, kia kore ai ngā whakatipuranga kāore anō kia whānau mai e kī atu ai, kei hea tōku reo Māori? Nā te aha koutou ngā kaitiaki o te reo Māori i kore ai e tiaki, e pūmau kia ora tonu ake te reo Māori hei taonga mō te ao whānui?

Nā reira, e hoa mā ngā mihi whānui ki a koutou katoa me tō koutou kaha ki te pānui i ngā pitopito kōrero mō tēnei reo rangatira kia paku mōhio pai ai, kia whakapāhōtia hoki ngā whakaaro e pā ana ki te reo tūturu o Aotearoa.

Kāti rā ngā kōrero i roto i te reo Māori, hei whakakapi ake i tēnei wāhanga o aku kōrero, i roto i te ao Māori e tika ana kia waiata tētahi waiata kia ea ai ngā tikanga a te Māori.

Waiata

*Hutia te rito,
 Hutia te rito o te harakeke,
 Kei hea te kōmako e kō,
 Kī mai ki a au,
 He aha te mea nui?
 He aha te mea nui o te ao?
 Māku e kī atu,
 He tangata, he tangata, he tangata, hi!!*

Greetings to each and every one of you who shares a passion for languages of the world and an understanding of the Māori language. I offer you my warmest greetings. The following is a paper I delivered at the Sixth Conference of the European Society for Oceanists (ESfO) in 2005.

I must begin by acknowledging the creator of the Sky father and the Earth Mother, and recognize that through his grace and blessings, we are all able to participate in the sharing of our experiences and knowledge.

It is a Māori tradition and custom that we also acknowledge our ancestors who have passed on, but are here today with us in spirit. They, the caretakers, and the ploughers, have helped determine our destinies.

To us, their legacies, I say greetings once, greetings twice, greetings three times.

It is fitting and appropriate that this paper should begin with an introduction in the mother tongue of the indigenous Māori people of New Zealand. This language from the mists of antiquity has been handed down through endless generations, from the creator implanted in the nursery and given to us the Māori people to protect, to care and to speak so that its continued existence can be assured, lest the unborn generations ask the question, what have you the caretakers of my Māori language done with my noble language?

Therefore, I thank you for taking part in this journey, the journey of the Māori language, so that the world may also know of its beauty and its elegance. It is a traditional Māori custom to conclude an introduction of this type with a song or proverb. The song proverb below asks the question: *What is the greatest thing in this world?* The reply is: *It is the people.*

Song/A Māori proverb

Pull out the centre of the flax,
 Where is the bellbird, dear friend?
 You ask me,
 What are the important things of the world?
 I reply forcefully
 It is people; it is people; it is people.

2 The Māori people: their language and their knowledge

The Māori people make up 14% of the total population of four million in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The majority of Māori affiliate to one or more of the over forty tribal identities recognized in New Zealand. *Te reo Māori*/The Māori language is the ancestral tongue of

the Māori people, the early inhabitants of New Zealand. It is the language in which the Treaty of Waitangi, a treaty document between the indigenous population and the British Crown, was signed in 1840.

Māori was not recorded in written form before the colonial settlers arrived (Biggs 1968: 66). However, Māori had their own way of retaining and maintaining history, knowledge, and genealogy: 'A great body of myth, legend, and historical tradition was passed down the generations in prose narrative, sung poetry, and genealogical recital, the three literary media of pre-European Māori society' (Biggs 1968:77). The intergenerational transmission of this body of knowledge in *te reo Māori* was secured through the extended family groupings and the unique sacred learning houses/institutions known as *te whare wānanga* (Smith 1913:2).

Māori lived in a tribal kinship society, with extended family groupings sometimes numbering up to 20 or 30 people:

The basic social unit in Māori society was the *whanau*, an extended family which included three generations. At the head were the *kamautua* and *kuia*, the male and female elders of the group. They were the storehouses of knowledge, the minders and mentors of children (Walker 1990:63)

Therefore much of the teaching was carried out by the *kaumātua* and *kuia*.

Te whare wānanga, according to tradition, were kept separate from all dwellings. Their absolute sanctity was upheld at all times and women were forbidden to enter or even approach them. However, in more contemporary times women have been known to participate in teachings within these *whare wānanga*.

In ancient times, most tribal areas had *whare wānanga*, with one or more *tohunga* (chosen or appointed ones) who did the teaching (Marsden 1981:155). Each of these places of learning had its own philosophical beliefs, history, genealogy, traditions and teaching practices according to tribal area. Entry was restricted to male students who had superior genealogy and/or were selected by the tribe to attend because they demonstrated great potential, intellect and skill. Students of these *whare wānanga* were prohibited from socialising, and at certain times from eating, sleeping and frolicking. The learning was extremely sacred and no distractions were permitted. Failure to adhere to the principles and philosophy of the *whare wānanga* resulted in expulsion. However, after undergoing a cleansing ritual, some were given a second chance, '*kia mau i te tamaiti ngā whakaakoranga i roto i te whare wānanga*' 'this is to encourage the child to take hold of the teachings of the sacred house of learning' (Ngata 1970:13). This quotation from a highly respected elder in the early 1900s signifies the importance of retaining the sacred knowledge of the *whare wānanga*.

Within the *whare wānanga*, students were taught a range of things, including *karakia* (ancient and sacred prayers and/or chants); *whakapapa* (genealogy); *whakapono* (philosophical beliefs); *mākutu* (curses); *tikanga* (traditional customs and practises); and *waiata* (ancient laments, songs and poetry) (Smith 1913:10). It is important to note that even after *te reo Māori* became a written language, writing was not permitted in *whare wānanga*. Instead, the students would use sacred memory props, such as *taiaha* (weaponry) or *rākau* (trees), which included helpful carvings, to help with retention.

3 First contacts

The Māori people of New Zealand are the *tangata whenua* (the indigenous people of the land). Before colonization, their culture was the dominant culture of Aotearoa. They had full and complete sovereignty, governance and control of the land. It has been estimated that the Māori population was between 150,000 and 200,000 in the 1760s (Statistics New Zealand 2002). Initial European contact records the brief arrival of explorer Abel Tasman in 1642, followed later by Captain James Cook in 1769. On board Captain Cook's ship was Tūpaia, a native Tahitian, who travelled with Cook as an interpreter (Salmond 1997). In this, one of the earliest recorded contacts between Māori people and people from other lands, it was discovered that the Māori language was very similar in a number of ways to the Tahitian language.

European and American whalers, sealers and missionaries began arriving in New Zealand from about 1800 onwards. From these early encounters began the subjugation of Māori culture by the new settlers. At the very forefront of this subjugation was subjugation of the Māori language. Very early on, missionaries discovered that in order to trade they needed to acquire the language: 'The first book in Māori, *A Korao no New Zealand* (1815) was prepared by Thomas Kendall' (Biggs 1968:66). To help expedite learning and the promulgation of the Gospel, missionaries developed an orthographic system and produced grammars and dictionaries of the Māori language:

The first schoolteachers of Māori children were missionaries, the first mission school being started at the Bay of Islands in 1816 by the Church Missionary Society (Biggs 1968:73).

The establishment of missionary schools, which initially taught through the medium of the Māori language, proved to be so successful that 'by the middle of the nineteenth century a higher proportion of the Māori than of the settlers were literate in their own language' (Biggs 1968:73). However, Biggs notes that the use of Māori as a language of instruction began to be questioned as early as 1832 (1968:73). With the arrival of many more English settlers from the 1840s onwards, a colonial government and infrastructure was established. From this point on, education was subject to legislation, legislation that would ultimately lead to the banning of the Māori language from educational establishments.

4 Colonization

In 1847, the Education Ordinance Act was introduced after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (in 1840). The aim of this Act was to promote instruction in the English language, and to help expedite assimilation by keeping Māori children away from their natural living environment. Subsidized church boarding schools were established 'with the view of isolating Māori children from the "demoralising influence" of their villages' (Walker 1991:4). To hasten subjugation, legislation forbidding the Māori language to be spoken in schools was formalized in the Native School Act 1858 (p.5).

Māori children were exposed to a different world, culture and ultimately a different language. When they returned home from school, they were totally confused by the conflict between European thought and the Māori thought. Further confusion resulted from the fact that whereas they were forbidden to speak Māori at school, they were often forbidden to speak English at home.

In 1867, with the introduction into legislation of the Native School Act, all Māori schools were placed under the authority of the government. Prior to that date, Māori had

some control over their schools. From that point on, Māori children were severely reprimanded if they spoke Māori at school. With the passing of the Native School Act, the shift towards English as the primary language of both cultural groups began in earnest. From that point on, raw power was used to suppress the heart and soul of a people in what was a deliberate and often-practiced colonial strategy based on the knowledge that language is power.

In 1900, over 90% of Māori children arrived at school with Māori as their first language. By 1960, the figure had fallen to 26% (Biggs 1968); by 1984, it is likely to have been less than 2%. According to Walker (1991:14), '[t]he historical record indicates that for more than a century the education system has been used as an artefact of colonialism to maintain Pākehā/non-Māori domination and Māori subjection'. The colonial masters had not only promoted negative attitudes towards the Māori language among the colonizers, they had also, before long, convinced Māori parents that English was necessary to secure employment and that retaining Māori language represented a barrier to acquiring English. Consequently, many Māori parents began to discourage the use of the Māori language at home. With the reduction in domains in which Māori was used, the language was almost doomed to extinction.

5 Urbanization

Shortly after World War II, Māori began the exodus from rural tribal areas to towns and cities. Existence in the rural areas became increasingly difficult. As many Māori lost their land to colonial encroachment, it became increasingly difficult to find work in rural areas. There was, however, the dream of a better life in the towns. In 1945, 80% of Māori lived within their rural tribal boundaries; by 1980, the figure was only 10%. Furthermore, many of those who had moved to the towns had not secured employment.

When Māori arrived in the towns, they were totally isolated from the close-knit ties they experienced in their tribal surroundings where they lived in extended family groupings. Throughout the urban migration, Māori families were often placed in predominantly non-Māori suburbs, a result of the government's 'pepper-potting' policy, which involved scattering Māori families in a bid to hasten assimilation. This had a huge impact on Māori language and culture. Sub-standard housing, high unemployment and poor health, together with the loss of family support networks, created a breeding ground for the emergence of social problems. Māori were ill equipped for the dramatic changes that lay ahead of them. However, although many Māori stopped speaking the Māori language to their children at home and severed ties with their rural communities, there were a few who, against all odds, retained their language and cultural roots.

Concern about the new city born generation of young Māori began to grow. As Metge (1976:328) observed, 'many city born young people have little or no opportunity to experience Māori culture continuously and at depth'. There was generally little or no Māori content in the school curriculum. Furthermore, the almost total dominance of English in the media represented a serious challenge to the survival of the language and culture.

6 Benton's language survey

In the 1970s, a language survey conducted by Benton (1997) involving 6470 families and almost 33,000 individuals in the North Island of New Zealand revealed the perilous

state of the Māori language. According to fluent speakers of Māori, only two Māori language domains remained relatively secure — the *marae* (institutions where Māori gathered to take part in cultural activities) and a number of religious institutions. In all other domains, including schools, the English language had taken over almost completely. As mentioned previously, this was nowhere more striking than in the exclusion of the Māori language in the school curriculum.

It was clear that Māori was, by the 1970s, playing only a very marginal role in the upbringing of Māori children, and that, if nature were left to take its course, Māori would be a language without native speakers with the passing of the present generation of Māori speaking parents (Benton 1997:12).

Once these findings were highlighted, Māori began the long and difficult task of attempting to restore the Māori language.

7 Māori initiatives

During the 1970s, Māori began to speak out, voicing their discontent about the status of the Māori people, their language and their culture. A group of young Māori, called *Ngā Tamatoa* (The Young Warriors) presented petitions to Parliament and successfully campaigned for Māori to be taught in primary schools (Jackson 1993). As a result, the first bilingual school was opened at Rūātoki in 1976. The Māori language had once again become a language of educational instruction, literacy and social communication for Māori children. A linguistic and cultural renaissance was under way. The Māori *kapa haka* (performing arts) enjoyed resurgence alongside the Māori language that was the vehicle of their expression. Māori initiatives to revitalize the Māori language began in earnest. In the late seventies, Katarina Mataira and Ngoi Pēwhairangi began the teaching of Māori language, using the *Ataarangi* (Shadow) approach first introduced by Caleb Gattegno in Switzerland: 'It is not a structural or a linguistic or a direct (or any other) method of teaching languages [...] It is but a way in which everything and everyone serves one aim to make everyone into the competent learner' (Gattegno 1978:89). As Mataira (1980:15) notes:

The primary tenet of the 'Silent Way' therefore, is the subordination of teaching to learning. As a way through which the foreign language might be learned, the native tongue is suppressed and the target language used as the medium of instruction. Cuisenaire rods are used to illustrate meaning, and together with a series of wall charts are used to trigger utterances.

This gave many Māori people, as second language learners, an opportunity to rediscover their language. Many of these classes had their beginnings in Polytechnic Institutes at tertiary level.

Several respected Māori elders gathered to discuss further restoration and revitalization strategies. The most influential of these was the *Kōhanga Reo* (Language Nest) movement, a movement that involved the establishment of Māori language preschools. This movement had a huge impact on the Māori language and Māori people as a whole. It also had a major impact in the international arena, particularly initially in Hawai'i and among the First Nations people of the Americas. One of the founding elders and avid supporters of this movement was Sir James Hēnare, who promoted the importance of *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge/education). What was most significant about these developments was that the impetus came from the Māori people themselves.

8 The *Kōhanga Reo* (Language Nest) movement

Kōhanga Reo became a political movement for the educational emancipation of Māori from Pākehā (non-Māori) control (Walker 1991:9)

The first *Kōhanga Reo* was established in Wainuiomata, Wellington in 1982. Rapidly, *Kōhanga Reo* were established throughout the country so that by the end of 1982 there were 100 of them. In the initial stages, costs were borne by families and committees, parents offering their garages or spare rooms as a location for these language nests. Community or church halls, or any other available buildings, were also used.

Kōhanga Reo adopted a holistic approach, interwoven with Māori cultural ethos. However, parents were quick to realize that this movement would not be successful without the repositories and caretakers of the language playing an integral part in transmission, restoration and maintenance of the language. For that reason, native speaking Māori elders were brought into *Kōhanga Reo* to help underpin the movement. Thus, *Kōhanga Reo* became *whānau*-based (extended family-based), involving the parents of the children who attended as well as members of the local community or tribal area. The *whānau* are the decision-makers. Their responsibilities include the management and the overall running of the *Kōhanga Reo*. They are also members of the assessment body of *Whakapakari Tino Rangatiratanga* (Developing Self-determination/Sovereignty), the three-year training course for teachers at *Kōhanga*. This training course demands a high level of competency in Māori language and *tikanga* (customs) and places considerable emphasis on research skills. Much of the work was, and still is, voluntary, being primarily carried out by the *whānau*. The *Kōhanga Reo* National Trust is the governing body, responsible for administering all monies and for supporting *Kōhanga Reo* throughout the country.

In 2001, there were 31,000 Māori enrolments of children aged 0–4 years in early childhood education. Of these, 9500 (14%) were enrolled in 560 *Kōhanga Reo*. Enrolments peaked at 14,032 in 1996. However, since then numbers have steadily declined. Despite this, the *Kōhanga Reo* movement remains recognized as the most exciting and powerful national initiative undertaken by Māori for Māori.

9 *Kura Kaupapa Māori*

The second step in emancipation from Pākehā control through education was taken over the next five years with the establishment of the independent *Kura Kaupapa Māori* (Walker 1991:10).

Although many mainstream schools have now established bilingual units, Māori parents were not convinced that these were wholly effective. Many felt that the language acquired in *Kōhanga Reo* was not sufficiently consolidated in bilingual units. Furthermore, student retention in bilingual units is poor. Many parents wanted more. So began the push to establish *Kura Kaupapa Māori* (Māori Primary Schools) where *te reo Māori* is taught and where teaching is based on ‘commitment to the *Te Aho Matua/Māori* principles for life as a working philosophy for all aspects of school life’ (New Zealand Education Review Office 1995:3).

As stated in a Ministry of Education report (New Zealand Ministry of Education 1997:11, *Kura Kaupapa Māori* are seen as ‘providing a holistic Māori spiritual, cultural and educational environment’ where ‘Māori values and beliefs are important features’, an

environment in which everything that takes place ‘supports the revitalization of te reo Māori’, and one in which the overall running of the school rests ‘with the whānau’.

In 1985, the first *Kura Kaupapa Māori* was established at the *Hoani Waititi Marae*. It was named after one of the trailblazers of the revitalization of *te reo Māori* from the tribe of *Te Whānau-ā-Apanui*. As in the case of the *Kōhanga Reo* movement, committed parents were forced to bear the costs of establishing these schools. They were often under-resourced, understaffed, and undervalued; the result of this being that progress was slow. Each new *Kura Kaupapa Māori* was forced to go through an apprenticeship before the Ministry of Education would recognize it and grant it full governmental funding. In 2002, there were 61 *Kura Kaupapa Māori* with approximately 5428 enrolments. Like *Kōhanga Reo*, *Kura Kaupapa Māori* have proven to be a successful initiative by Māori in the renaissance of the Māori language.

Following on from *Kura Kaupapa Māori*, *Whare Kura* (Māori Secondary/High Schools) were established. These schools are extensions of existing *Kura Kaupapa Māori*, catering for older students. However, the small number of *Whare Kura* means that participation in Māori-medium education at the higher levels of secondary schooling is low.

10 Official recognition of *te reo Māori*

The Waitangi Tribunal was established under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 (and its amendments) to hear claims against the Crown by Māori in relation, in particular, to misappropriation of their land by colonizers and to report its findings and recommendations to the Minister of Māori Affairs. In Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Crown had guaranteed the protection of the Māori language. In 1985, a well-known and highly respected elder from Taranaki, Huirangi Waikerepuru, a staunch believer in the importance of Māori language revitalization, in collaboration with *Ngā Kaiwhakapumau i Te Reo* (Inc), lodged a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal in relation to the language. He, along with many Māori, felt that the government had a duty under the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi, to support and protect the Māori language through affirmative action and positive promotion. As a result of this claim, the Māori Language became an official language of New Zealand through the Māori Language Act 1987, and *Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo* (The Māori Language Commission) was established.

The responsibilities of the Māori Language Commission are extensive. They include the creation of new words, the establishment and development of a lexical database, the delivery of Māori language services of various kinds and the coordination of Māori Language research nationally: ‘*Kia ora te reo Māori hei reo matua, hei reo korero mo Aotearoa*’ [‘Māori language is a living national *taonga* (treasure) for all New Zealanders’]) (*Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori*/The Māori Language Commission 2004).

The Māori Language Commission has instigated many language programmes to help rejuvenate the language, including establishing an annual *Wiki o Te Reo* (Māori Language Week). In 2001, another initiative by the Māori Language commission saw the beginning of *Mā Te Reo* (By/for The Language), an initiative involving support for a wide range of projects that contribute to the revitalization of the Māori language.

One of the most significant recent developments has been the support for the use of *te reo Māori* in the media. Between 1989 and 1994, *Iwi* (Tribal) Radio Stations were established. Currently, there are 21 *Iwi* Radio Stations throughout the country. In March 2005, a Māori Television Station was launched in Auckland, New Zealand. The task of Māori Television, as in the case of *Iwi* Radio Stations, is to play a major role in

rejuvenating and revitalising Māori language and culture throughout the country. Although funding, staff and broadcasting hours are limited, early indications are that people are tuning in and watching Māori Television, not only Māori but also non-Māori.

11 *Whare Wānanga*

Māori *Whare Wānanga* (tertiary institutes of learning) were established throughout the country from 1981 through to 1997. Three of the largest and most significant of these are *Te Wānanga o Raukawa*, *Te Wānanga o Awanuiarangi* and *Te Whare Wānanga o Aotearoa*. These *Wānanga* were initially wholly separate from mainstream tertiary education institutions and, following the pattern of all previous Māori initiatives, were initially obliged to operate without government funding, unlike their counterparts in the mainstream. Many of the *Wānanga* courses have a strong emphasis on Māori *kaupapa* (philosophy); others are similar to those offered in the mainstream.

12 *Te Tohu Paetahi*

The University of Waikato is one of the seven mainstream universities in the country; it has the unique distinction of being the first university in the country to offer a total immersion undergraduate degree taught through the medium of *te reo Māori*. In 1991, with the collaboration of other disciplines within the university, the first intake of more than twenty students enrolled in the undergraduate degree — *Te Tohu Paetahi* (Bachelor of Arts), majoring in *te reo Māori*.

In the first year of study, students begin with six language proficiency development papers taught through the medium of *te reo Māori*. Students attend classes from nine in the morning until three in the afternoon, five days a week. Each of the six courses is four to five weeks duration; each week students must complete a written and/or oral assessment.

Students are streamed according to their proficiency in *te reo Māori*. Currently there are two streams, beginners and advanced. By the end of the first year, advanced students have completed most of the courses required for their major subject — *te reo Māori*; the beginner stream students have completed the first two of three levels required to complete a major in *te reo Māori*. They may opt to complete their level three papers in *te reo Māori* in either their second or third year of study. This program has played a significant role in Māori language revitalization and many former students continue to contribute to language revitalization as, for example, teachers, policy analysts, and broadcasters.

13 *Iwi/Tribal authorities language planning*

Several *iwi* (tribes) have developed their own language planning programs, individually tailored to suit the specific needs and aspirations of each *iwi*. In 1975, the *Raukawa Marae* trustees, trustees of a *marae* belonging to a tribe in the Ōtaki area (lower North island), established an experimental program of tribal development called *Whakatipuranga Rua Mano* (Generation 2000). Their primary aim was to assist tribes and sub-tribes to prepare educationally, culturally, politically and economically for the 21st century. Central to their vision and mission was the enhancement of *te reo Māori*. This, together with the fact that many *iwi* have now signed settlement deals with the government in relation to past injustices, means that Māori are now in a much stronger financial, linguistic and cultural position than many would have predicted was possible in the 1960s and 1970s. As an

example, *Kāi Tahu Whānui* (a South island tribe), a tribe that has suffered the greatest loss of *te reo Māori* of all of the *iwi* in New Zealand, developed a vision called *Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Wawata* (One thousand homes, one thousand aspirations). Their aim is that by the year 2025, they should have at least one thousand families speaking *te reo Māori* within their homes as an everyday language of communication.

14 Status of *te reo Māori*

In 1999, *Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori* (The Māori Language Commission) conducted a further survey of *te reo Māori*. They found that although over 50% of the older generation could speak *te reo Māori*, only 8% considered themselves to be native speakers or highly proficient speakers. Of this group, over 30% were over 60 years of age. The grave concern was that so many of these people, the caretakers of the language, were being lost each year.

A Survey of the Health of the Māori Language (*Te Puni Kokiri* [Ministry of Māori Development] 2001) showed that 14% of Māori children attended *Kōhanga Reo*. Within the primary school sector, 17% of Māori children attended Māori-medium schools. This indicates that there has been a steady increase from 1996. Overall, parents expressed satisfaction with the Māori language outcomes of Māori-medium education, but they expressed considerably less satisfaction with the Māori language outcomes of mainstream education that involved the teaching and learning of *te reo Māori* as a school subject.

15 Conclusion

Te reo Māori is the native language of the indigenous people of Aotearoa. It is at the very heart of Māori identity. It is also an essential feature of the linguistic landscape of Aotearoa. It is part of the rich heritage and culture of the country and one of the things that defines the country's identity. It is spoken nowhere else in the world. If the language is lost, so too will be Māori history, oratory, poetry and song. It is still too early to say with certainty that the language will not be lost. If it is to be safe, it must become, once again, the language of homes and meeting places. The domains in which it is used must expand. There must be far stronger government support, and support from the people of the country generally, than there has been in the past.

Kaua e noho noa iho ki ngā pūtaketanga o te maunga, engari, ekea tōna taumatatanga kia taea ai te kī, āe, kua eke Tangaroa, kua eke panuku, haumi e, hui e, tāiki e!

Let us not become complacent and marvel at our accomplishments but always strive for continued excellence and then we can say we have truly accomplished our dreams and desires.

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12 *Learning style preferences and New Zealand Māori students: questioning folk wisdom*

DIANE JOHNSON

1 Introduction: the research context

For many years, particularly through the decade between 1960 and 1970, New Zealand's national educational achievement was ranked among the best of the countries in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). New Zealand students scored highly in international literacy and numeracy tests, being consistently among the leaders in the international league tables. However, over recent years, New Zealand's educational reputation has diminished. Although the best of New Zealand's students still score well in international, educational comparisons, there is a lengthening tail of students who are under-achieving in relation to international benchmarks. The New Zealand Secretary for Education, Howard Fancy, in a speech to New Zealand school Principals in 2004 (Fancy 2004:30–33), reported that:

While we have high average achievement, we have one of the world's widest gaps between our highest and lowest achievers.

Studies such as PISA¹ also showed that we had one of the world's highest within school variance of achievement.

The reality is that too many students — especially those from poor socio-economic backgrounds or who are Māori or Pasifika are not doing as well as they should.

In response to this problem, the New Zealand Ministry of Education proposed the creation of a number of national remedial strategies formulated on the basis of a critical evaluation of current educational practice and research evidence. At the core of the strategies is a refocussing on the effectiveness of teaching and learning, the professional activities of teachers being 'placed at the centre of the learning matrix' (Fancy 2004:69). Teachers are encouraged to enter into rigorous debate on the subject of their profession and, through this debate, to provide direction for prioritising research, professional development and allocation of resources. The objective is that schools:

¹ Programme for Student Assessment run by the OECD.

[...] will be characterised by their ability to analyse the quality and range of information available to teachers and schools in increasingly sophisticated ways to inform the quality of their judgements and the development of their strategies (Fancy 2004:85).

Critically, good teachers 'will be skilled in recognising individual differences and harnessing these in their classroom teaching strategies' (Fancy 2004:42).

In directing the focus of national educational research and development towards issues of effective teaching and learning and student achievement, the Ministry of Education signals a clear intention to address the issue of the underachievement of Māori and Pasifika² students and those from poor socio-economic backgrounds. However, the whole issue of under-achievement is complex, and while research efforts need to identify factors in the current educational system that create the gaps through which these at-risk students are falling, they also need to provide robust and effective direction for the development of pedagogic resources that will support and sustain real change. In line with that, the Ministry of Education's *Statement of Intent* 2003–08 (NZ Ministry of Education 2003:31), asserts that improvements will be made through:

- Providers being deliberate and strategic about their plans for student achievement and clear about the information/evidence basis that underpins them.
- Providers developing explicit strategies for students and groups of students not doing well. Particular attention needs to be paid to shaping strategies for Māori and Pasifika students, who are over-represented in those leaving school without qualifications, and who, on average, are not performing well.

2 Research in progress

In 2004, the award-winning New Zealand journalist and social commentator, Colin James (2004), reported on significant research projects that, to date, had focussed, either directly or indirectly, on the achievement levels of Māori and Pasifika students. These projects, led by C. Wylie of the National Council for Education Research (NCER), S.L. McNaughton and J. Hattie of the University of Auckland, and Russell Bishop of the University of Waikato, and largely funded either by the Ministry of Education or the National Council for Education Research, identify and analyse many of the socio-cultural issues affecting Māori and Pasifika students within the mainstream school system. Wylie and Thompson (2003) note, for example, that students who have good pre-school educational experiences tend to be more successful in later education. Whereas Bishop (2003) and McNaughton et al. (2001) both find that teachers believe that family circumstances and socio-economic status are key factors in student achievement, Hattie (2003), Bishop (2003) and McNaughton et al. (2001) all observe that students believe that their relationships with teachers have the most influence on their achievement.

This kind of information is very useful, as is the information about matters such as socio-cultural differences, inter-personal and inter-cultural communication, and absenteeism that these research projects provide. However, they have little to say about other significant issues relating to pedagogic processes such as the development and content of lessons and teaching materials.

² Pasifika students are those from a Pacific Island background including the islands of Samoa, Tonga, Niue, Tokelau, Tuvalu and Rarotonga.

Te Kotahitanga,³ a project directed by Russell Bishop, set out to examine how Year 9 and 10 Māori student achievement in mainstream school could be improved. In the final research report, Bishop is highly critical of the commonly-held teacher belief that the problem of under-achievement in Māori students lies beyond the classroom and in their homes. He labels this an example of ‘deficit theorising’ (2003:3) viewing it as a manifestation of minoritization and colonialist, neo-colonialist and post-colonialist rule. Parallels are drawn between teacher beliefs and Jerome Bruner’s (1996) notion of a ‘folk pedagogy’ where teachers become so entrenched in their view that any meaningful change becomes difficult to effect. However, while the final research report provides strong advocacy for Māori students, it does little to address the problem of educational under-achievement among Māori students. Not only does it fail to interrogate student beliefs (which may be as entrenched and, possibly, in some cases as misguided as those attributed to many teachers), but it also fails to provide any robust strategies for addressing the problem of educational under-achievement among Māori students. Instead, it simply provides a list of ideal teacher qualities and behaviours (Bishop 2003:Ch.7) as follows:

1. *Manaakitanga*: They care for the students as culturally-located human beings above all else.
(*Mana* refers to authority and *aki*, the task of urging someone to act. It refers to the task of building and nurturing a supportive and loving environment).
2. *Mana motuhake*: They care for the performance of their students.
(In modern times *mana* has taken on various meanings such as legitimization and authority and can also relate to an individual’s or a group’s ability to participate at the local and global level. *Mana motuhake* involves the development of personal or group identity and independence).
3. *Ngā tūrangā takitahi me ngā mana whakahaere*: They are able to create a secure, well-managed learning environment.
(*Ngā tūrangā takitahi me ngā mana whakahaere* involves specific individual roles and responsibilities that are required in order to achieve individual and group outcomes).
4. *Wānanga*: They are able to engage in effective teaching interactions with Māori students as Māori.
(As well as being known as Māori centres of learning *wānanga* as a learning forum involves a rich and dynamic sharing of knowledge. With this exchange of views ideas are given life and spirit through dialogue, debate and careful consideration in order to reshape and accommodate new knowledge).
5. *Ako*: They can use strategies that promote effective teaching interactions and relationships with their learners.
(*Ako* means to learn as well as to teach. It is both the acquisition of knowledge and the processing and imparting of knowledge. More importantly *ako* is a teaching-learning practice that is culturally specific and appropriate to Māori pedagogy).

³ *Kotahitanga* is defined as ‘a collaborative response towards a commonly held vision, goal or other such purpose or outcome’ (Bishop 2003:Ch.7:5).

6. *Kotahitanga*: They promote, monitor and reflect on outcomes that in turn lead to improvements in educational achievement for Māori students.
(*Kotahitanga* is a collaborative response towards a commonly held vision, goal or other such purpose or outcome).

Within the New Zealand educational context, these attitudes and behaviours are, no doubt, among those we might expect of any well-trained teaching professional, and there is considerable value in clearly identifying them. However, doing so does little, in itself, to promote positive change, particularly where it is done in a context that involves the attribution of blame and could, therefore, lead to further entrenchment of those attitudes and behaviours that are deemed unacceptable and/or simply wrong.

3 Replacing folk pedagogy with ... folk pedagogy

It is widely believed in New Zealand educational circles that the major research projects referred to above will provide the much sought-after solutions to the problems of low achievement among Māori and Pasifika students. Media response to them has been overwhelmingly positive. Misa (2004:19), for example, in discussing Bishop's *Te Kotahitanga* project says:

Of course, there'll be those who will see this as just another example of ethnic favouritism, but, in fact, the lessons learned in this project will end up benefiting everyone, especially those in danger of being sidelined by the failings of our education system.

General confidence in these projects is also reflected in the substantial amount of research funding that has already been allocated to them. Furthermore, the Minister of Education, Trevor Mallard, 'is steering part of the \$120 million teacher professional development programme towards alignment with the McNaughton and Bishop initiatives' (James 2004:11).

Identifying problems and providing effective solutions are two very different things. The projects to which reference has been made are few in number, involve a relatively small number of research subjects, and provide 'solutions' in the form of recommendations for very general attitudinal and behavioural modification among teachers, without any real indication of how these attitudinal and behavioural modifications are to be achieved. At a time when there is, in New Zealand educational circles, a focus on policy and planning that is firmly evidence-based, the Ministry of Education and the National Council for Educational Research might be well advised to look more widely for sources of information and for recommendations in relation to change and change management. This is especially so in view of the fact that the New Zealand Secretary for Education (Fancy 2004:106–110), has insisted that the role of the Ministry of Education is to 'analyse achievement data — not to judge schools or teachers' but 'to help identify areas for policy focus, for dialogue with the profession and for targeting research and professional development'. This needs to be reflected in 'a growing commitment to greater information and transparency about the areas of relative strength and weakness in student achievement' and 'a focus on how successful interventions and practices might be more widely scaled up'. If the research focus is too narrow, as I believe it is in the case of the major projects referred to above, the risk is that one type of the folk pedagogy, about which Bishop (2003) is so critical, will simply be replaced by another.

4 Learning to make a difference

It is unlikely that the perceived under-achievement of Māori and Pasifika students in New Zealand schools is attributable to a single factor — the extent to which their teachers exhibit attitudes and behaviours which affirm their values and sense of identity. It is important, therefore, to conduct research whose aim is to determine whether there are other factors which contribute to this under-achievement. In spite of a growing body of evidence to the contrary (see for example, Hill and Hawk 2000), there is still a tendency in New Zealand to believe that Māori and Pasifika students prefer oral, interactive, task-centred learning to other types of learning. This belief needs to be subjected to rigorous research. What are the learning style preferences of Māori and Pasifika students? What are the learning style preferences of other students? What teaching and learning styles are observable in New Zealand classrooms? Given that one aspect of effective teaching is generally considered to be extending students' learning repertoire, what are the implications of any detectable learning style preferences among learner groups?

In 2005, a group of researchers, both Māori and non-Māori, at the University of Waikato in New Zealand began the first stage of an independent research project whose aim was to investigate the learning preferences of Māori and Pasifika students in comparison with other student groups in New Zealand schools.⁴ The second stage of the research project, which began in 2006, investigates the relationship between the learning style preferences of individual students and their responses to a range of different teaching materials relating to the teaching and learning of languages, including the teaching and learning of Māori. Whilst acknowledging the need to adopt culturally sensitive pedagogies, the members of the research group felt that some widely held assumptions about the learning style preferences of Māori students, and of indigenous students generally, were supported neither by their own observations nor by the research literature that was available.⁵

5 Methodology

The research project reported on in this paper involved, initially, gathering data about the learning-style preferences of students from all ethnic backgrounds in Years 7–10 (around 10–14 years of age) in a range of different New Zealand schools. These data were gathered through the administration of a Myers-Briggs type learning styles inventory⁶ developed by John Schindler at California State University, Los Angeles. In order to preserve the overall validity and reliability of the Schindler questionnaire, it was important not to make any fundamental changes to it. However, a number of the questions were

⁴ The group included Ian Bruce and Anthea Fester from the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and Rauhina Cooper, Winifred Crombie, Waldo Houia, Ngaere Houia-Roberts, Tom Roa, Hine Kahukura Te Kanawa and Hemi Whaanga from the School of Māori and Pacific Development. Data for this part of the research project were collected by Anthea Fester, Waldo Houia, Ngaere Houia-Roberts, Hine Kahukura Te Kanawa and Hemi Whaanga.

⁵ See, for example, Aboriginal Education Unit (1993); Anderson (1988); Andrews and Hughes (1988); Banks (1988); Bindarriy et al. (1991); Cole et al. (1971); Cooper (1980); Groome (1995); Harris (1990, 1995); Irvine and Berry (1988); Jacob and Jordan (1987); Kearins (1982); Keefe (1987); Kleinfeld and Nelson (1991); Malin (1990); More (1989, 1990); Ogbu (1987); Reynolds and Skilbeck (1976); Sternberg (1990; 2003); Swisher and Deyhle (1989); Vyas (1988); Yu and Bain (1985).

⁶ An example of this learning styles inventory is available on-line at: <http://www.oswego.edu/plsi/>.

adapted (with permission) in order to reflect more adequately the linguistic and cultural context of the New Zealand students. For example, the original questionnaire (Question 11) asked students:

Which is the bigger compliment

- a) *He/she is really nice.*
- b) *He/she is really smart.*

For New Zealand students, the word *smart* has negative connotations. They are more likely to associate the word 'smart' with impertinence than with intelligence. The word 'smart' was therefore changed to 'clever'.

The Māori researchers in the group also felt that a number of the questions were problematic from a cultural point of view. For example, the original questionnaire (Question 7) asked:

Is it worse to do

- a) *mean things*
- b) *unfair things*

It was felt that for a number of New Zealand students 'mean' and 'unfair' were virtually indistinguishable. After much discussion, this question was altered to read:

Is it worse to do

- a) *nasty things*
- b) *unfair things*

In addition, to facilitate links between this stage of the project and a later stage (involving the development and trialling of different types of resource for language teaching and learning), the students were asked to fill out a background questionnaire at the same time as completing the learning styles inventory. This questionnaire asked students to provide information about their own language skills, their language learning experiences and the linguistic environment provided by their immediate and extended families. Data from this background questionnaire were cross-referenced with the learning styles inventory results, providing a richer data set. In order to provide a broad representative profile of New Zealand school students, the data were gathered from 625 students in different types of school (mainstream schools and *Kura Kaupapa Māori* schools⁷) in different settings (both rural and urban) across a whole region of the country.⁸

6 Sample findings

Final fine-detail analysis of the data from the whole population of 625 students is not yet available. However, some of the data have been analysed and the results are reported here.

⁷ *Kura Kaupapa Māori* are state schools in which Māori language, culture and values predominate and in which the principal language of instruction is Māori.

⁸ Further data are currently being gathered in other areas of the country.

Table 1 indicates the overall distribution of ‘learning style codes’⁹ across the 103 students surveyed in a single school (a *Kura Kaupapa Māori*) in which all of the research participants identify as Māori.

Table 1: Distribution of learning style codes among 103 students in Years 7–10 of a single *Kura Kaupapa Māori* (School R)

ISTJ 9	ISFJ 4	INFJ 5	INTJ 9
ISTP 3	ISFP 3	INFP 5	INTP 5
ESTP 1	ESFP 4	ENFP 3	ENTP 3
ESTJ 6	ESFJ 24	ENFJ 11	ENTJ 8

The largest learning style code group, ESFJ, is made up of a little over 23% of the total cohort. Briggs-Myers (1998:13) characterises those who are associated with this learning style code in the following way:

Warmhearted, conscientious and cooperative. Want harmony in their environment, work with determination to establish it. Like to work with others to complete tasks accurately and on time. Loyal, follow through even in small matters. Notice what others need in their day-by-day lives and try to provide it. Want to be appreciated for who they are and for what they contribute.

In the one other *Kura Kaupapa Māori* already surveyed, the percentage of students assigned to the same learning style code (ESFJ) was 22%. Although the overall percentage of those assigned to the ESFJ learning style code in the case of schools whose students come from a range of ethnic backgrounds (including Māori) was lower (15%), there was, in all cases, a higher percentage of assignments to the ESFJ learning style code overall than to any other code.

The data thus far suggest either that Māori students have a slightly higher tendency towards the ESFJ learning style (which indicates preference for a collaborative, co-operative approach) or that Māori students in *Kura Kaupapa Māori* settings have a slightly higher tendency towards this learning style than does the school population overall. More detailed analysis should reveal whether either of these is the case. It may be, for example, that Māori students in mainstream school settings have no greater tendency towards the ESFJ learning style than do students of other ethnicities in the same setting.

When individual strands of the learning style codes are unravelled, an interesting picture emerges. In Table 2, the individual components of the overall learning style codes for the group of students reported in Table 1 are extracted and compared with Schindler’s data on the average distribution of each learning style code component across a general population sample (see <http://www.oswego.edu/plsi/>).

⁹ An explanation of the learning style codes developed by Schindler is available at: <http://www.oswego.edu/plsi/>

Table 2: Individual components of learning style codes for students in Years 7–10 of a single *Kura Kaupapa Māori* (School R) compared with a general population sample

Learning style strand	Percentage: School R cohort	Percentage: General population sample
E= Extrovert	56%	60%
I= Introvert	41%	40%
S= Sensate	52%	65%
N= Intuitive	47.5%	35%
F= Feeler	63 % of females 49% of males	65% of females 45% of males
T= Thinker	51% of males 37% of females	55% of males 35% of females
J= Judger	73%	45%
P= Perceiver	26%	55%

So far as categories E (Extrovert) and I (Introvert) are concerned, the distribution of Māori students in School R is very close to that of the general population sample. However, there are differences in categories S (Sensate) and N (Intuitive), and even greater differences in categories J (Judger) and P (Perceiver). Given the much higher percentage of students in School R in the J category and the much lower percentage in the P category (as compared with the percentage of the general population in the same categories), it is interesting to note what Briggs-Myers (1980:37) says about those in these categories:

Judging types want structure, an orderly schedule, a time frame, and closure on one topic before going on to the next.

Perceiving types want flexibility, the opportunity to explore and to follow interesting tangential information as it comes up.

7 Implications for general educational practice

The research results thus far suggest that a slightly higher percentage of Māori students (possibly only those Māori students in Māori immersion school settings) have a preference for co-operative, collaborative learning than do students in general. They also indicate, however, that the overwhelming majority of Māori students in a Māori-immersion school setting are likely to respond well to clearly structured, well-organized learning in which the processes are transparent.

Although information of this type can be of assistance to teachers, it needs to be interpreted with caution. It is clearly important that students should enjoy learning in a way that reflects their own learning style preferences for some of the time, but it is also important that they should be encouraged to explore other approaches so that they become resilient, adaptable learners. This is likely to be particularly true of those students who are not experiencing success in the current education system.

Skehan (1998:239) observes that the learning style preference of an individual student is not fixed at one extreme or another of two opposite poles, but is somewhere along a

continuum where it 'manifests itself in a fairly fixed type of behaviour, with a person's position being relatively stable'. Even so, effective learners may have available to them 'a range of styles, so that different situations can be responded to variably, with the individual responding in whatever way seems adequate to the task in hand' (Skehan 1998:239).

There are obvious dangers associated with (a) making assumptions about the ways in which students prefer to learn, and (b) offering them an educational programme that simply reflects these assumptions. In such a context, students may fail to become capable meta-learners, something that is likely to have an adverse effect on their overall educational achievement.

8 Implications for the revitalization of the Māori language

Eighty-five percent of Māori students in New Zealand are currently in mainstream education and the New Zealand Ministry of Education (2001) predicts that 'in twenty years time, approximately 40% of all primary school-age children and 35% of all secondary school-age children will be of Māori and/or Pacific descent'. While some Māori students are currently very successful within the current system, many are not and the retention rates for Māori students at senior levels of the educational system are generally poor. Clearly, the future of New Zealand depends to a very considerable extent on its ability to provide an education system in which Māori and Pasifika students experience success. For those in mainstream education, providing opportunities for the learning of Māori and Pacific languages and cultures may be part of the answer in that it can have a positive effect on students' sense of identity and value. However, if the teaching and learning of indigenous and heritage languages in the context of mainstream schooling is to be effective, it must be done in ways that are appropriate, and that reflect and complement students' sense of cultural identity. From this perspective, information about the approaches to teaching and learning adopted in *Kura Kaupapa Māori* may have much to offer teachers and learners in mainstream school settings.

Whether or not there is some link between learning style preference and socio-cultural background, it remains the case that classes will be made up of learners who have a variety of learning style preferences. The next stage of the learning styles research project focusses on the learning style preferences of teachers in mainstream and Māori-immersion settings, on the ways in which teacher learning style preferences are — or are not — reflected in their choice of teaching resources and learning tasks, and the interaction between the learning style preferences of individual students and their response to a range of language learning materials. This should provide information that is of some value in planning for the future of education in New Zealand. After all, as Skehan (1998:260) notes, 'adapting a particular methodology for different learner types, or using different methodologies with different sorts of learner, might produce better results than is the case where no such adaptations are made'.

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13

Classroom-based language revitalization: the interaction between curriculum planning and teacher development in the case of Māori language

WINIFRED CROMBIE

1 The Māori language in contemporary New Zealand

Until the 1940s, Māori was the first language of most members of Māori communities in New Zealand. However, around about the time of the Second World War, a number of factors led to a more rapid shift from Māori to English than had been evident earlier (Benton 1981; Harlow 2003; Te Puni Kōkiri 1998). By 1978, only a minority of those who identified as Māori could speak the language and very few of those who could were in the younger age groups. At that time, there were approximately 70,000 native speakers of the language, and approximately 115,000 people who could understand the language with ease (Benton 1981:15). A survey conducted by The Māori language Commission in 1998 indicated that at that time only around 10,000 people had a 'high' or 'very high' level of fluency in the language (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998:34) in spite of the fact that Māori was recognized as an official language in New Zealand in 1987 (Māori Language Act 1987).

2 The teaching and learning of the Māori language in the contemporary New Zealand school context

In 1862, Henry Taylor, an inspector of Native Schools, observed in a report that '[the] Native language [...] is [...] an obstacle in the way of civilisation' and 'so long as it exists there is a barrier to the free and unrestrained intercourse which ought to exist'. He added that '[the] schoolroom alone has power to break down this wall of partition' (Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives 1862). As Benton (1981:8ff.) notes, similar views can also be found in documents published by the then Department of Education as late as the 1970s although a Māori language renaissance, led by Māori, was already under way.

Attitudes towards the Māori language and approaches to the teaching and learning of Māori and through the medium of Māori in schools in New Zealand have gradually changed. As of 1 July 2004, 29,579 students in New Zealand schools were involved in Māori-medium education, that is, in educational contexts in which the teaching of some, or all, curriculum subjects is conducted (either in bilingual or immersion programmes) through the medium of the Māori language (a 1.7% increase over July 2003). This represented 3.9% of all students and 16.9% of Māori students. Of these, 5995 (3.7% of all Māori students) were enrolled in one of the 62 *Kura Kaupapa Māori* (state schools in which Māori language, culture and values predominate and in which the principal language of instruction is Māori). In addition, 23,620 students were learning Māori language as a school subject for three or more hours each week in 2004. Of these, 15,160 (9.4% of all Māori students) were Māori (New Zealand Ministry of Education: Māori medium education, 2004). Even so, the Māori language is now used in very few homes in New Zealand and there are very few domains in which Māori is the usual medium of communication (see Houia-Roberts 2004:9). Although it is recognized that the survival of the Māori language will ultimately depend on inter-generational transmission in the home, ‘in all but a few cases this is not currently possible’ and ‘[until] it is “the schools are our best hope”’ (Houia-Roberts 2004:22ff.). However, there is a shortage of teachers who have a high level of proficiency in the language and who are trained to teach the language, a shortage that is particularly acute in mainstream (as opposed to Māori immersion) school settings. Many teachers of the language, and many of those who teach through the medium of the language, are themselves second language learners.

3 Background to the development of curriculum guidelines for the teaching of Māori language as a subject in mainstream schools in New Zealand

Between 1996 and 2003, I was involved as one of the three principal writers¹ of curriculum guidelines and curriculum support materials for French and German in the New Zealand school curriculum (New Zealand Ministry of Education 2002a, b; 2004a, b).

Knowing that the New Zealand Ministry of Education intended to require schools to offer a language other than the language of instruction to learners in Years 7–10 of schooling from 2007, a Māori colleague and I approached the Ministry in 2003 with a plan to design curriculum guidelines for Māori language as a subject in mainstream schooling. We believed that it was important that curriculum guidelines for Māori language were available in 2007 and we also believed that much of the research that had underpinned the recent preparation of curriculum guidelines for other languages would be directly relevant since many of the issues that needed to be addressed were similar. Furthermore, we felt that the consultation with teachers, schools and communities that accompanies the preparation of curriculum guidelines, and the professional development activities that are associated with them, would be likely to have a positive impact on attitudes towards the teaching and learning of the language. If, on the other hand, there were no appropriate curriculum guidelines available in 2007, it seemed to us that schools would be less likely to opt for Māori in deciding which language or languages to make available.

Although the preparation of curriculum guidelines for Māori language as a subject in mainstream schooling was not at that point listed as one of the Ministry’s immediate

¹ The others were Diane Johnson and Ian Bruce of The University of Waikato

objectives, our proposal was accepted. Producing the first draft of the document was relatively straightforward. Much of the necessary background research had already been conducted in connection with the recently completed curriculum guideline documents for French and German and many of the issues that needed to be addressed had already been addressed in that context. Even so, there were significant differences. Māori is the indigenous language of New Zealand. Since 1987, it has been recognized as an official language of the country. In many areas of the country, there are Māori speakers and Māori-speaking communities who can assist teachers and students. Even so, many of those who teach Māori as a subject in the mainstream, particularly at the early stages, do not themselves have a high level of proficiency in the language or an extensive understanding of aspects of Māori culture and many are not themselves Māori.

4 The first draft of the curriculum guidelines for Māori language in New Zealand schools

The first task was to design draft curriculum guidelines for Māori language as a subject in mainstream schooling, draft guidelines that would then be subject to a process of consultation. In line with other New Zealand curriculum documents, this curriculum guidelines document would have eight progressive levels of achievement, the highest three levels being associated with national examinations. The eight progressive levels would not be directly associated with years of schooling since learners begin learning the Māori language at different stages and ages, progress through the levels in different ways and at different speeds, and may, or may not, choose (or have the opportunity) to cover all eight levels.

We decided that the draft curriculum guidelines document for Māori language should have the same overall structure as the curriculum guidelines documents for French and German:

- an introductory section (approximately one quarter of the document), including discussion of the advantages of teaching and learning Māori language in New Zealand schools, an introduction to the layout and content of the document, discussion of the relationship of this document to the New Zealand Curriculum Framework (New Zealand Ministry of Education 1993) generally, and recommendations about using the guidelines in the design of school-based language programmes;
- a main section divided into eight parts, each of which outlined one of the eight progressive curriculum levels;
- a glossary of terms.

A number of decisions were made at the outset of the curriculum development project, each of them potentially contentious:

- the introductory section of the document should include discussion of issues of concern to teachers, parents and students, such as, for example, the reasons for teaching and learning Māori as a subject in New Zealand schools and the advantages (for Māori and non-Māori students) to be gained from it, questions relating to regional language varieties, contemporary approaches to the teaching and learning of languages, and ways of involving parents and communities in the teaching and learning process;

- in line with the recommendations made in a survey and critical evaluation of aspects of the teaching and learning of languages in New Zealand schools (Johnson 2000), the curriculum document would draw upon the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFRL) which provides a reasoned basis for the international comparison of language objectives and language qualifications (Council of Europe 2001);
- the document would include four proficiency target statements (one associated with every two curriculum levels) that could be related to the Common Reference Levels outlined in Council of Europe documentation (Council of Europe 2001:21–42) and to the proficiency target statements in the New Zealand French and German curriculum guidelines documents (New Zealand Ministry of Education 2002a, b);
- there would be a small number of achievement objectives at each curriculum level (expressed in terms of communicative outcomes rather than specific linguistic realizations) and they should be the same as, or very similar to, those included at each level of the recently completed curriculum guidelines for French and German;
- at each curriculum level, the achievement objectives would be accompanied by *strands* (reading, writing, listening and speaking), *suggested socio-cultural aspects*, *suggested text-types*, *suggested topics*, and *suggested learning and assessment activities*, examples of the type of language that might be associated with the realization of each of the achievement objectives at the level at which it was introduced, and footnotes focusing on aspects of the structure of the language.

Each of these decisions was made for what we believed to be good reasons.

Our decision to draw upon the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFRL) was based on the fact that it offers a consistent, coherent and comprehensive framework for the description of the different facets of language competence and provides a basis for establishing a set of common standards and levels for language teaching and learning which allows for international comparison of language objectives and language qualifications (Bruce and Whaanga 2002). We were aware, however, that teachers of Māori might feel that a framework developed in Europe, one that was not primarily designed with indigenous languages in mind, had little to offer so far as the design of curriculum guidelines for an indigenous Polynesian language was concerned.

A number of existing curriculum guidelines documents for languages in the New Zealand curriculum (Spanish, Chinese, Japanese and Korean) included four proficiency target statements labelled *emergent communication*, *survival skills*, *social competence* and *personal independence*. However, as Johnson (2000:220) observes, these proficiency target statements referred to the same curriculum levels in two cases only — Spanish (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 1995a) and Chinese (1995b) — and were surprisingly different in terms of coverage of curriculum levels in the case of Japanese (1998a) and Korean (1998b) (see Table 1 where EC = Emergent Communication; SS = Survival Skills; SC = Social Competence and PI = Personal Independence).

Table 1: The relationship between proficiency target statements and curriculum levels in the New Zealand curriculum guidelines documents for Spanish, Chinese, Japanese and Korean

	EC	EC and SS	SS	SS and SC	SC	PI
Spanish: Curriculum levels	Levels 1 and 2		Levels 3 and 4		Levels 5 and 6	Levels 7 and 8
Chinese: Curriculum levels	Levels 1 and 2		Levels 3 and 4		Levels 5 and 6	Levels 7 and 8
Japanese: Curriculum levels	Levels 1–3	Level 4	Levels 5 and 6	Level 7	Level 8	
Korean: Curriculum levels	Levels 1–4		Levels 5–8			

This raised what seemed to the writers of the French and German curriculum guidelines documents to be a significant issue. Therefore, in designing these documents, they attempted to determine whether there was a relationship between these four proficiency levels (Emergent Communication, Survival Skills, Social Competence and Personal Independence) and the six Common Reference Levels (CRL) within the CEFRL: A1 – Breakthrough level and A2 – Waystage level (basic user); B1 – Threshold level and B2 – Vantage level (independent user); and C1 – Effective proficiency level and C2 – Mastery level (proficient user). In consultation with a group of French and German language teachers, they decided that the top level (Personal Independence) was roughly equivalent, in the case of French and German, to the third level (B1 – Threshold level) of the CRL (see Table 2).

Table 2: Common Reference Levels (Council of Europe) compared with proficiency levels in two New Zealand language curriculum documents

Common reference levels (Council of Europe)		Proficiency levels: <i>French in the New Zealand Curriculum</i> and <i>German in the New Zealand Curriculum</i>	
The basic user	A1: Breakthrough level	Emergent communication	Curriculum levels 1 and 2
	A2: Waystage level	Survival skills	Curriculum levels 3 and 4
		Social competence	Curriculum levels 5 and 6
The independent user	B1: Threshold level	Personal independence	Curriculum levels 7 and 8
	B2: Vantage level		
The proficient user	C1: Effective proficiency level		
	C2: Mastery level		

English is the first language of the majority of language learners in New Zealand schools. Languages belonging to the same language family as English, particularly those with an alphabetic writing system, might be expected to present fewer problems for these learners than other languages. Given the same amount of time, they might therefore be expected to make more rapid progress and reach a higher overall level of proficiency in these languages than in others.

Issues such as this do not create problems for the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages because no assumptions are made about the length of time it takes, or the amount of input normally needed, to reach particular levels. However, in the case of the New Zealand Curriculum Framework, the top three curriculum levels (levels 6–8) are intended to be associated with particular levels (levels 1–3) of the National Qualifications Framework and with particular qualification standards. There is, therefore, an underlying assumption that all students, whatever language they are learning, will have an opportunity to reach approximately the same level of proficiency after approximately the same amount of exposure to the target language.

In the process of designing the draft curriculum guidelines for Māori (a Polynesian language), we asked a group of teachers of the language to give us their views about the relationship between the proficiency levels indicated in the curriculum document and the Common Reference Levels. Once again, the top two curriculum levels (personal independence) were associated, in terms of overall proficiency, with Threshold level in the CRL. In this context, it is relevant to note that Māori has an alphabetic writing system. In addition, although the majority of learners in mainstream schooling may have had little exposure to Māori at the beginning of their study of the Māori language (except in the case of those Māori words that are commonly used in New Zealand English), they are likely, during the course of their studies, to be involved with Māori-speaking communities, to take part in Māori gatherings, and to be introduced to Māori broadcasting. In this respect, their experience of the language in use may be richer than that which is available to learners of a number of other languages in New Zealand. Even so, it may simply be that the breadth of each of the CRL proficiency bands is such that teachers of other non-Indo-European languages would also equate overall proficiency at levels 7 and 8 with Threshold level in the CRL.

The next potentially contentious decision was that the small number of achievement objectives at each curriculum level would be the same as, or very similar to, those included at each level of the recently completed curriculum guidelines for French and German.

Achievement objectives for languages in the New Zealand curriculum are expressed in terms of communicative outcomes rather than specific linguistic realizations. The following three achievement objectives are examples of those that appear in the draft curriculum guidelines for Māori. The first appears at curriculum level 2, the second at curriculum level 3, the third at curriculum level 4:

- communicate about likes and dislikes, giving reasons where appropriate;
- give and follow directions;
- communicate about obligations and responsibilities.

The decision to include the same achievement objectives at each curriculum level for all three languages (French, German and Māori) was based on the belief that all students can

aim to perform similar types of communicative task at the same stage of learning whatever their target language (although they may do so in very different ways).²

In this context, it is important to note that once an achievement objective has been introduced at a particular level (with the exception of those introduced at level 8), it remains in the curriculum, being recycled at higher levels where it is associated with more complex language than is the case at the level where it is first introduced. Thus, although the curriculum document includes suggestions about the type of language with which each achievement objective might be associated when it is introduced, it is for teachers to decide which way (or ways) of realizing communicative objectives is most appropriate for their classes.³

Some teachers may wish to introduce achievement objectives in the order in which they are listed within a level, others may prefer to reorder and/or combine them in ways they consider more suitable for particular groups of learners. The achievement objectives at each curriculum level can be ordered and combined in all sorts of different ways. They can be linked to achievement objectives from lower levels in ways that allow for a combination of revision and extension. They can be supplemented by achievement objectives from higher levels. The key to this outcomes-based curriculum is flexibility, and flexibility is also the key to learner-centred education. The curriculum document is intended to help teachers, learners and communities to work together in partnership to make the best possible use of the flexibility that is built into the curriculum guidelines.

The decision to include suggestions about the type of language that might be associated with each of the achievement objectives along with examples and notes about the language could be seen as a departure from the principle of flexibility. However, we believed that this would be the case only if what were intended as suggestions were interpreted as prescriptions. The same could also be said of the decision to include suggested learning and assessment activities and suggested topics, socio-cultural aspects and text-types. We were therefore particularly interested in how these aspects of the curriculum document would be received by teachers.

5 The trialling of the draft curriculum document

The draft curriculum document was subjected to extensive trialling, in which we were not involved, over an eighteen month period. The trialling involved eight facilitators and 25 teachers from different areas of the country. Four instruments were used in the trialling:

- written questionnaires for teachers;
- semi-structured interviews with teachers;
- classroom-based observation schedules; and
- questionnaires for facilitators.

Although many of the issues that arose out of the trials were directly related to the curriculum document itself, others were less directly related to it, referring, in particular, to opportunities for teacher professional development of various kinds. These included requests for:

² If this principle were extended to cover other languages in the future, there would be internal coherence in New Zealand language curriculum guidelines documents in terms of expectations in relation to communicative outcomes.

³ This is part of the built-in flexibility of this type of communicative, outcomes-based curriculum.

- provision of a list of existing grammar books;
- production of a clearly written pedagogically-oriented grammar;
- an indication of dialect differences;
- a guide to teaching grammar and pronunciation;
- information about how to conduct diagnostic testing (expressed indirectly);
- information about how to teach mixed ability/level groups;
- information about learning styles;
- information about lesson planning;
- support for beginning teachers and those with limited language skills.

Although we would not be able to deal with these issues directly in the curriculum document itself, they provided valuable information for the Ministry of Education in terms of the types of provision that might be made available in other ways in the future. For example, teachers could be referred to existing publications, including articles on curriculum implementation such as those by Johnson (2003) and Johnson and Houia (2005).

So far as the curriculum document itself is concerned, there was general agreement on the need for:

- an increase in cultural content in relation to the suggested topics, socio-cultural aspects and learning and assessment activities;
- simplification of the metalanguage used throughout the document;
- reinforcement of the fact that the examples were intended to be no more than indicative.

Many of those involved in the trials also felt that there should be:

- translation of the Māori examples into English;
- a clearer indication of the relationship between strands (reading, writing, listening, speaking) and achievement objectives;
- a clearer indication of what a curriculum (in the context of the New Zealand Curriculum Framework) is and what it is not;
- a strengthening of the links between this curriculum document and other areas of the school curriculum.

In considering the report of the trials, the Ministry's curriculum review group made a number of recommendations, including:

- references throughout to the Māori language and Māori culture should be replaced by references to *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori*;
- suggested socio-cultural aspects, topics and learning and assessment activities should be reviewed with a view to increasing opportunities for mainstream students to understand aspects of Māori culture;
- specific reference should be made to Māori text-types (such as, for example, *whaikōrero* (oration/speech) and *mōteatea* (traditional songs));
- opportunities for cross-curricular integration should be identified;
- to avoid any possibility that they would be interpreted as a listing of expected lesson content, the number of examples should be reduced;

- examples should be accompanied by English translations;
- the four proficiency target statements (i.e., the four stages of language development) should be given Māori names;
- a visual strand (viewing and presenting) should be added to the skills strand (i.e., to the statement of expected reading, writing, listening and speaking skills) at each level;
- appropriate metaphors should be used to convey critical ideas;
- one of the achievement objectives (*communicate about ownership*) should be removed and another (*introduce themselves and others and respond to introductions*) should be reformulated in a more culturally appropriate way;
- more reference should be made to the role that *whānau* (extended family), *hāpu* (sub-tribe) and *iwi* (tribe) can play in language programme planning and implementation;
- a pull-out chart summarizing the curriculum levels should be included.

We were interested to note that although those involved in the curriculum trials wanted to see a strengthening of the sections of the curriculum document that referred to the unique position of Māori in New Zealand, there were no fundamental objections to references to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. Nor were there any fundamental objections to the way in which the achievement objectives were conceived and articulated or, with the exception of the request to reconsider two of them, to the fact that the achievement objectives at each level echoed those included in the curriculum documents for French and German. So far as the proficiency target statements were concerned, there seemed to be general acceptance of the decision that they should be associated with the same curriculum levels as they were in the case of French and German, although at least one of those consulted felt that setting a *higher* level of proficiency for Māori would have been appropriate in view of its significance within New Zealand.

6 Preparing a revised version of the curriculum document

In revising the draft curriculum document, the two original members of the writing team were joined by a third.⁴ Members of the writing group were also able to draw on the expertise of the Ministry of Education representative involved in the project⁵ and that of an advisory team made up of five experienced language professionals — three from the North Island⁶ and two from the South Island.⁷

We responded to the main points that emerged from the curriculum trials and the deliberations of the Ministry's advisory group in a number of ways. We agreed that using *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori* rather than *Māori language* and *Māori culture*, especially as these expressions are widely understood throughout New Zealand, would give the document a more authentic feel. We also felt that because the curriculum trials had indicated that teachers were interested not only in becoming more proficient in Māori

⁴ Ngaere Houia-Roberts, a native speaker of Māori who has many years of experience as a teacher and teacher trainer.

⁵ Alice Patrick.

⁶ Hana Pomare, Rewa Paewai and Min O'Carroll.

⁷ Rachel Martin and Megan Ellison.

language, but also in understanding more about the language, we should not only retain the language notes that appeared in the draft version of the curriculum document, but move them to a more prominent position.⁸

7 Review of suggested socio-cultural aspects, topics, text-types and learning and assessment activities

The socio-cultural aspects, topics and text-types were reviewed from the perspective of increasing their direct relevance to Māori culture. A range of additional text-types was suggested for inclusion at each curriculum level. Thus, for example, at curriculum level 6, we suggested including *karakia* (prayers); *karanga* (welcome calls by women) and *whaikōrero* (formal speeches). We also suggested replacing the suggested socio-cultural aspects originally included by ‘cultural themes’ (a term suggested by the Ministry’s representative and a member of the Ministry’s advisory group) which were specific to Māori. Thus, for example, at curriculum level 3, our suggestion was that the first list below should be replaced by the second which we felt, though essentially different, to be equally consistent with the achievement objectives at that level:

Sport and leisure in Māori communities; Transport systems in New Zealand with particular reference to Māori communities; Significant places; Ancestry.

Tūrangawaewae (My place (to stand)); *Manaakitanga* (Hospitality); *Te Tiaki i te Taiao* (Care of the environment); *Kaumātua* (Elders).

Our decision to recommend the use of Māori to express these concepts related to a general feeling that to attempt to express them in English was potentially misleading. However, because some of the teachers consulted had requested translation of the examples originally included in the document and because the document needs to be as widely available as possible, we provided translations. We also suggested including a statement such as the following in the introductory section of the document:

Anyone who has been brought up as a speaker of Māori knows that simply to translate ‘*kaitiaki*’ as ‘guardian’ involves a fundamental misrepresentation of the way in which native speakers of Māori view the environment. The English word ‘guardian’ carries none of the connotations of reciprocity and genealogical relatedness that are associated with the word ‘*kaitiaki*’. For this reason, the authors of this document agonized over the question of whether to provide translations of the Māori words and examples that appear in it. Their decision to do so was largely based on their belief that the document should be available to as wide a readership as possible. However, readers are advised that these translations are intended to do no more than provide some assistance to readers who are not familiar with *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori*.

At each curriculum level, the suggested learning and assessment activities were reconsidered and some added. Thus, for example, in association with one of the achievement objectives at curriculum level 8 (*recount a series of events to inform, persuade, or entertain*), we suggested adding the following two:

⁸ The following note, which appears alongside particles under the heading of *Suggested language focus* at curriculum level 3, is an example of the type of information provided: *The e ... ana combination is widely used to express the ongoing or progressive nature of an event.*

Students could be learning through:

- analysing and discussing some of the imagery and symbolism in selected *mōteatea* (traditional songs);
- preparing a multi-media presentation on an issue of significance to Māori (e.g., attitudes towards the foreshore and seabed).

8 Identification of opportunities for cross-curricular integration

In reviewing the suggested learning and assessment activities, we took into account the need to consider opportunities for cross-curricular integration. We also suggested including a table which included the type of information in Table 3.

Table 3: Example of the type of information provided about cross-curricular links in the New Zealand curriculum guidelines for Māori language

Achievement objective	Activity – Students could be learning through	Relates to
8.2 develop an argument or point of view, with reasons	• putting forward a proposition (e.g., that it is healthier to be a vegetarian than a meat eater) and providing supporting details • reading a letter to a newspaper in which the victim of a robbery expresses their opinions about how criminals should be treated, and taking part in a class discussion about those opinions • preparing a Powerpoint presentation about the possible implications of a particular scenario (e.g., the possible consequences if Aotearoa were to become a Republic and the Treaty of Waitangi were not to be included in the Constitution)	Health and Physical Education Social Sciences Technology

9 Reduction of the number of examples and provision of translations

We accepted that, in order to avoid any possibility that the examples were seen as prescriptions rather than suggestions, the number should be reduced. We also accepted the need to provide translations, although this was done in the context of the cautionary statement about translation to which reference was made above.

10 Inclusion of Māori names for the four proficiency target statements

We suggested referring to the four proficiency bands included in the curriculum document in the following way:

- *Te Hunga Paopao* (emergent communication) — levels 1 and 2;
- *Te Hunga Pīkari* (survival skills) — levels 3 and 4;
- *Te Hunga Whakapīrahoraho* (social competence) levels 5 and 6;
- *Te Hunga Tauhihi* (personal independence) — levels 7 and 8.

The Māori labels used were those that had been used earlier with reference to proficiency levels by a former Māori language commissioner, Timoti Karetu. To attempt to translate these terms seemed to us impossible without trivialising them. We therefore suggested that they should be illustrated. We suggested two illustrations to accompany the first proficiency level — a baby bird emerging from an egg and a group of birds in a nest being fed by a parent bird. To accompany the second proficiency level, we suggested an illustration of a young bird struggling to extract a worm from the earth. To accompany the third level, we suggested an illustration of a group of young birds perched on a wire and singing together. To accompany the fourth proficiency level, we suggested an illustration of an adult bird in full flight.

11 Inclusion of a visual strand (viewing and presenting)

We designed a visual strand (viewing and presenting) that we believed to be consistent with the other strands of the curriculum document at each curriculum level. An example (from curriculum level 4 and curriculum level 8) is provided in Table 4:

Table 4: Samples of suggested content of visual strand (viewing and presenting) in the New Zealand curriculum guidelines for Māori language

<i>Mātakitaki: Viewing Strand</i>		<i>Whakaari: Presenting Strand</i>	
<i>At the end of Level 4, students can:</i>	<i>At the end of Level 8, students can:</i>	<i>At the end of Level 4, students can:</i>	<i>At the end of level 8, students can:</i>
identify some features of verbal and visual language and make use of them to communicate information, ideas or narrative, through drama, video, still photography, or webpage design	analyse the ways in which speakers and writers combine visual and verbal features to present ideas and information in order to achieve particular effects in a range of genres and socio-cultural settings	view and use visual texts to retrieve, organise, and present information coherently, using appropriate technology (e.g. Clip Art and Powerpoint) for effective presentation	combine verbal and visual features to present ideas and information to achieve particular effects orally and in writing in a range of genres and socio-cultural settings

12 Use of appropriate metaphors to convey critical ideas

In a number of places throughout the curriculum document, we suggested adding *whakatauhākī* (proverbial sayings) that expressed critical concepts metaphorically such as:

Ko te reo te waka e kawē ana i ngā tikanga Māori

(Language is the canoe in which Maori culture travels)

(New Zealand Learning Media and New Zealand Ministry of Education 1996:2).

13 Reconsideration of two of the achievement objectives

We looked carefully at the two achievement objectives that were drawn to our attention by the Ministry of Education curriculum review group. These were:

- introduce themselves and others and respond to introductions;
- communicate about ownership.

So far as the first achievement objective above is concerned, we did not feel that it should be omitted. Although we acknowledged that it is unacceptable to introduce oneself in certain formal settings within Māoridom, we felt that what may have been misleading was not the achievement objective itself but the nature of one of the examples we had provided. We therefore changed the examples and added a note about introductions.

So far as the second of the achievement objectives above is concerned, we acknowledged that ownership is conceived of very differently in Māori communities than it is in many Western contexts. Once again, we felt that one of the examples we had provided may have been misleading. We changed the word ‘ownership’ to ‘possession’ but felt that this achievement objective was necessary, particularly in view of the fact that the Māori language has a number of structures indicating possession.

14 More extensive reference to the role of *whānau* (extended family), *iwi* (tribe) and *hāpu* (clan) in language programme planning and implementation

We agreed that the significance of *whānau*, *hāpu* and *iwi* within Māori society meant that they should have been given more prominence in the curriculum guidelines. We therefore included a number of additional references to them and added the following recommendation to a section dealing with programme planning: *Identify the contribution that iwi, hāpu and whānau can play in the teaching and learning process.*

15 Inclusion of a pull-out chart summarizing the curriculum levels

In considering how we might put together a pull-out chart summarizing each of the curriculum levels, we came up with a format that we felt should be reflected within the curriculum document itself. Because it allowed for an entire level (with the exception of examples, suggested language focus and suggested leaning and assessment activities) to be represented on a single page, it became considerably easier for readers to track the links between the achievement objectives and other aspects of the curriculum. An example is provided in the Appendix.

16 Conclusion

In supporting this curriculum development project, the New Zealand Ministry of Education initiated a collaborative process whose benefits for everyone involved extended beyond the production of a curriculum guidelines document for Māori language in mainstream schooling. It provided a context in which teachers and researchers in different sectors of New Zealand education could draw upon one another’s knowledge, skills and understanding, one in which they could reflect, together with members of their local communities, on a wide range of issues concerning the teaching and learning of languages and, in particular, the teaching and learning of Māori, the indigenous language of New

Zealand, in the context of mainstream schooling. It gave everyone involved an opportunity to reflect on the ways in which the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages could inform, rather than inhibit, discussion of the similarities and differences between curriculum documents designed for foreign languages and those designed for indigenous languages such as Māori. It gave teachers an opportunity to express a range of professional concerns, some relating directly to the curriculum document itself, others not. It gave the Ministry of Education an opportunity to identify areas where the provision of teacher professional development opportunities would be likely to be welcomed. The end product (a curriculum guidelines document) is, in many ways, less important than the processes involved in creating it or the processes involved in bringing it to life in classrooms, processes that will spawn further discussion and further development activities relating to teaching and learning resources and professional practice.

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